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The Routledge Handbook of Planning History

Edited by Carola Hein

THE ROUTLEDGE HANDBOOK OF PLANNING HISTORY

The Routledge Handbook of Planning History offers a comprehensive interdisciplinary overview of planning history since its emergence in the late 19th century, investigating the history of the discipline, its core writings, key people, institutions, vehicles, education, and practice. Combining theoretical, methodological, historical, comparative, and global approaches to planning history, *The Routledge Handbook of Planning History* explores the state of the discipline, its achievements and shortcomings, and its future challenges.

A foundation for the discipline and a springboard for scholarly research, *The Routledge Handbook of Planning History* explores planning history on an international scale in thirty-eight chapters, providing readers with unique opportunities for comparison. The diverse contributions open up new perspectives on the many ways in which contemporary events, changing research needs, and cutting-edge methodologies shape the writing of planning history.

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THE ROUTLEDGE HANDBOOK OF PLANNING HISTORY

Edited by Carola Hein

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THE WHAT, WHY, AND HOW OF PLANNING HISTORY

Carola Hein

Planning is a complex discipline, with more than one body of terminology, multiple interpretations, and manifold applications through space and over time, and historians have commented on it from a variety of perspectives. *Urban planning, city planning, town planning, urban design*—practitioners and scholars working in English use numerous terms to describe the design and regulation of spaces, their physical form, and their use, function, and impact. Other languages and traditions further describe and categorize these activities in various and often diverging ways. The variety of terms and concepts used to describe planning history and historiography—captured in this book and illustrated



Figure 1.1 Word cloud of *The Planning History Handbook*.

Source: Wordle.net.

in a word cloud—exemplifies the complexity of the topic and the multiplicity of approaches and disciplines (Figure 1.1). As diverse and multiple are the actors that contribute to it and the methodologies and the tools they use. Politicians, economists, planners, and urban designers have shaped physical spaces through many kinds of interventions, considering planning variously as an aesthetic, economic, political, or even engineering endeavor. Different planning approaches can coexist in a single city: whereas the design of ports can be the result of economic needs and engineering planning, the design of a representative government district might be the result of political interests and aesthetic planning, and revitalization of a former industrial site may focus on social needs and multifunctional use. Planning also varies in different national and cultural contexts, from Soviet-era five-year plans that translated into spatial development, to building plans from social engineers that resulted in urban forms, to City Beautiful-type New Urbanism. These contexts shape planning practice, as well as planning education and planning history.

The different terms and disciplines are further complicated by change over time. The design of urban form has a much longer history than modern planning, including the four-thousand-year history of the Imperial Chinese cities, the plans of Hippodamus of Milet for Greek cities, the planned cities of the Mayas, Renaissance and Baroque planning, or the Law of the Indies. In all of these cases, national or local leaders put extensive funds and manpower into carrying out the plans. Many of these earlier interventions are still visible in our cities. They continue to shape practice in multiple ways, through governance structures or planning cultures, through inherent path dependencies of institutions or laws and regulations, as formal references, or as frameworks for design, transformation, and preservation. More concretely, multiple cities have copied them, and professional planners of later years have learned and borrowed from them.

In the late 19th century, one form of planning emerged as a discipline in England, continental Europe, and the United States. It was conceived as a rational, modernist pursuit for societal improvement in response to the urban ills produced by the industrial revolution. Planning practitioners tried to respond to rapidly transforming cities, to new forms of production and consumption, to uncontrolled population growth, and to new types of transportation and communication. In short, planning targeted hygiene, housing, and transportation. As industrialization and colonial empires spread, various models of planning followed colonial and postcolonial geographies of power, political allegiances, corporate interests, and professional networks of planners. The global spread of Ebenezer Howard's 1902 garden city concept before World War I stands as an example, with German, French Japanese, or Russian writers making early references to Howard's schemata and fully translating his work into their languages (Figures 1.2, 7.2, 11.3). The diffusion of these concepts has continued, with their translations into Czech, Polish, Chinese, or Arabic, opening up new research possibilities on border-crossing planning concepts.

The discipline and focus of planning has shifted in tune with political and economic developments as well as societal changes across the decades. Today, planning is primarily a forward-looking discipline, in which past developments and approaches play a limited but changing role. Over time, some architects and planners have looked to the past as a toolbox, while others cite prior plans only in passing, or ignore them altogether.

This change is also reflected in planning education. A brief look at curricula and their change over time indicates that planning schools increasingly prefer to teach planning theory rather than planning history, and most planning schools do not train planning historians. But discerning what planning is, and what the city is in time and place, planning history builds awareness of diverse ideological and theoretical positions. It also allows for new approaches to emerge that challenge ideas of modernity in urban form and function, and that call into question concepts of planning and representations of space.

Acknowledging these dynamics and their historical development, the *Handbook* starts with the assumption that planning is a flexible system rather than a fixed one. Taking a networked, cross-cultural, balanced approach, and writing from different vantage points, the *Handbook* explores spatial

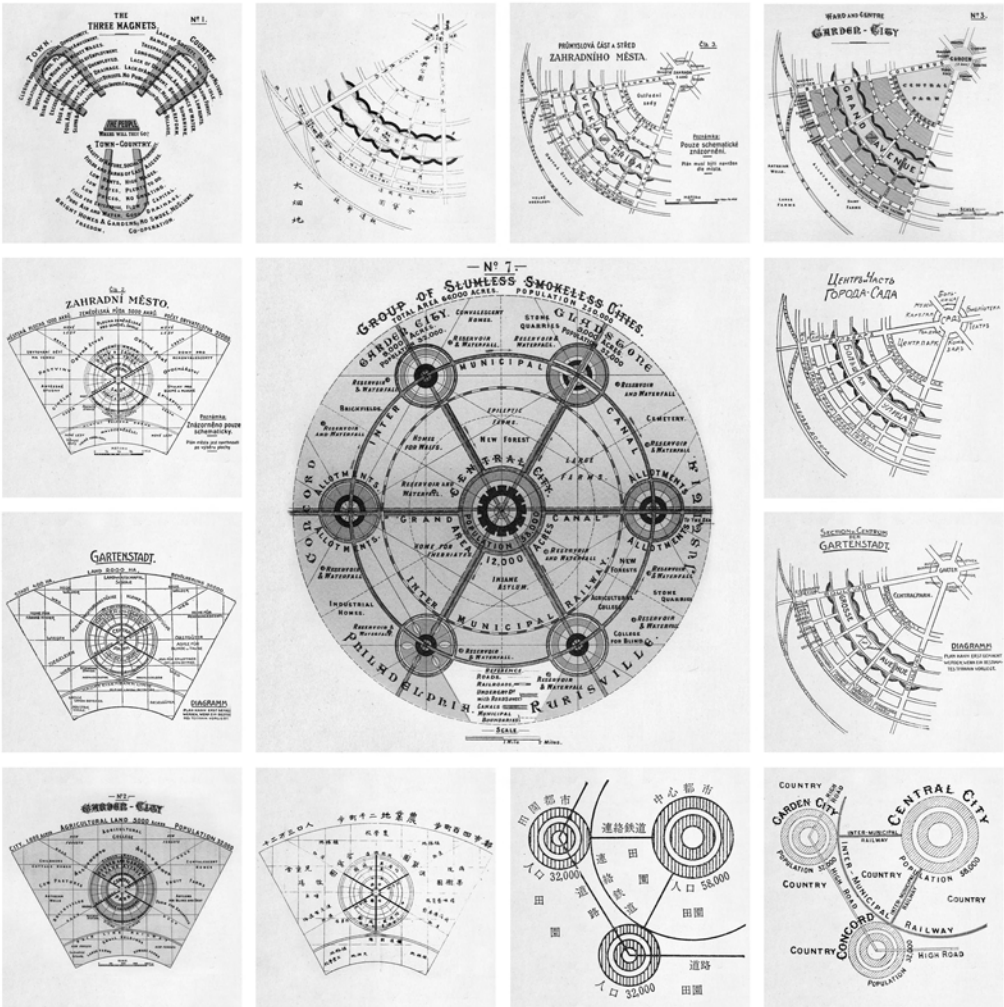


Figure 1.2 The global spread of the garden city by Ebenezer Howard through time. Diagrams, 1, 2, 3 and 5, originally published in English, are shown here with their translations into German, French, Japanese, Czech, and Russian.

Source: from top line, left to right: Top line: Diagram No. 1, *The Three Magnets* in: Ebenezer Howard, *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Ltd. 1898; Diagram No. 3, translated into Japanese in: Naimushō Chihōkyoku, Denentoshi, Tokyo: Hakubunkan, Meiji 40 1907; Diagram No. 3, translated into Czech, in: Hruza, Jirí, *Stavitelé měst*, Praha: Agora, 2011; Diagram No. 3, in: Ebenezer Howard, *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Ltd. 1898. Second line: Diagram No. 2, translated into Czech, in: Hruza, Jirí, *Stavitelé měst*, Praha: Agora, 2011; Diagram No. 3, translated by Alexander Block into Russian, in: Goroda Budushavo, St. Petersburg, 1911. Center: Diagram No. 7, in: Ebenezer Howard, *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Ltd. 1898. Third line: Diagram No. 2, *Gartenstädte in Sicht* translated into German by Maria Wallroth-Unterlip, Jena: E Diederichs, 1907; Diagram No. 3, *Gartenstädte in Sicht* translated into German by Maria Wallroth-Unterlip, Jena: E Diederichs, 1907. Bottom line: Diagram No. 2, in: Ebenezer Howard, *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Ltd. 1898; Diagram No. 2, translated into Japanese in: Naimushō Chihōkyoku, Denentoshi, Tokyo: Hakubunkan, Meiji 40 1907; Diagram No. 5, translated into Japanese in: “Nishiyama Uzō, “The Structure of the Base of Life,” *Kenchikugaku kenkyū* no. 110+111 (1942). Reprinted in Nishiyama Uzō, *Chikikūkanron*, Tokyo: Keisō shobō, 1968; Diagram No. 5, in: Ebenezer Howard, *Garden Cities of Tomorrow*, London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1922.

traditions and cultural landscapes—imagine folding and unfolding the world anew, as in the Dymaxion map made by the American architect Buckminster Fuller.

The *Handbook* further posits that planning *history* is an interdisciplinary field with contributions from multiple disciplines. Urban historians, economic historians, social historians, architectural historians, and historians of landscape and the environment have all tackled questions of plans and planning, including housing, construction, local government, social policy, utopianism, urban form, and so forth, as part of larger research projects. All of these fields are well established, with their own journals, conferences, and major publications, and they can advance research in the field of planning history. Given the existence of these fields, what then is the particularity and *raison d'être* of planning history as a field, with specialized journals focused on histories of planning, plans, and planners, or on the history of city and regional planning, particularly in the Americas, as stated respectively in the mission statements of *Planning Perspectives*, or the *Journal of Planning History*? Why do we need planning history? And, how should it be done? This publication is conceived as a foundational publication for students from different disciplinary backgrounds, as well as academics and professionals from around the world to understand the historical origins, the methodological practices, and the academic output of planning history.

What Is Planning History?

This handbook maps the range of what we mean by *planning history*. Some authors in this handbook define planning history as describing the formal, aesthetic appearance of the built environment, taking an architectural or urban design approach. For others, planning history comes out of the social sciences, and for yet other scholars it is the focus of urban geography, or is situated in political, social, and economic histories.

Planning History as a field has existed since the 1970s, and several institutions and journals focus on it, but this handbook is the first to provide a foundation for research in the field. It complements wide-ranging English-language books like Peter Hall's seminal *Cities of Tomorrow* (Hall, 1988 [1996, 2014]). While being one of the first books to explore the history of planning, and its theory and practice, Hall's work did not reflect on the field of planning history itself. Several readers present original texts of 19th- and 20th-century planning (LeGates and Stout, 2003; Birch, 2008; Larice and Macdonald, 2012; Wegener, Button, and Nijkamp, 2007). Broader questions of global planning cultures, as tackled in other works, also include reflections on historical trajectories and their relations to specific national and local traditions (Sanyal, 2005). But the *Handbook* is very different, composed of new and original work by leading scholars in the field, including pieces that will themselves become classics.

The *Handbook* first establishes the premises and achievements of interdisciplinary and international planning history, and the key players and institutions. It then goes beyond this established narrative by exploring new methodological, theoretical, and typological approaches. It posits that a wider range of narratives is important to the rewriting, rethinking, and reorienting of planning history itself. If Sub-Saharan African planning, for instance, has largely been left out of the canon of planning history, a more expansive understanding of these histories can prove transformative (Silva, 2015). Such a rethinking also involves acknowledging the places and languages from which planning history is written, and questioning underlying premises. It acknowledges the extensive historiography of planning, and that much of the important writing on planning history came out of England and the US first. It also emphasizes that these are in the end regional or national stories that need to be paralleled with other approaches guided by different language patterns and by different political, economic, social, and cultural approaches to planning. Reflecting on the multiple planning histories and historiographies of Southeast Asia and South Asia, for example, requires that authors

understand planning in relation to the transformation of formality as an expression of state power. The *Handbook* sets the stage for expanding scholarship, encouraging scholars to ask what connections have remained unwritten, what networks unconsidered.

The *Handbook* adds new perspectives to planning history. It builds on recent writing that has aimed to overcome the limitations of both discipline and geography. Research in planning history, including research by some of the authors of this book, has started to address the challenges of planning history writing, including the need to overcome national stories, and to go beyond empirical and narrative-driven research to develop theories (Ward et al., 2011; Nasr and Volait, 2003; Hein, 2014). While such an approach cannot be comprehensive, this handbook at least models new global planning histories, giving insights into different approaches, geographical patterns, languages, and principles. It aims to further open up the parallel worlds of academic planning history in different disciplines, and to facilitate the emergence of collective languages, terminologies, methodologies, and theories. A diversity of approaches enriches a discussion of planning history. It can also throw into relief the disciplinary logics involved in writing about planning.

Why Planning History?

Planning history helps us to understand planning's past influence on our cities, regions, and nations, and to imagine the future of planning as a professional practice, as the past performance of the discipline is challenged and global challenges require comprehensive new measures. Planning has been called upon since the mid-19th century to propose interventions that would channel future development based on calculations, assumptions, and formal criteria from the past. Planners have taken up this complex challenge, often with the best of intentions. They have worked with national governments and local elites, occasionally involving civic society. They have responded to the needs of expanding cities and of transforming nations. They have provided new infrastructure and identified functional zones. They have projected urban futures in times of war and disaster as well as peace. They work to integrate existing (planned) spaces and established (planning) cultures into their interventions. At a time when informal urbanism is becoming more prominent, planning history provides an opportunity to understand the motivations for planned interventions and serve as a foundation for future intervention.

As a means to better understand the role of planning in the historical transformation of cities and regions, planning history can also help us understand the downsides or shortcomings of historic planning practice and the needs for novel approaches. For example, in some areas of the world, planning has created more economic, social, or ethnic inequalities rather than solving them, and a close analysis can help understand the reasons for these shortcomings. In other areas, attempts to undo former colonial planning practice can benefit from a comprehensive understanding of the complexity of colonial planning practice, ranging from legal practices to aesthetic and symbolic interactions. Furthermore, the emergence of informal settlements that in some areas of the world are more extensive than planned ones raises questions about the necessary flexibility of planning and the changing intersection between planned spaces and informal urban development. Many interventions have simply failed, or have been too inflexible to accommodate urban change. In short, not all blueprints established to guide urban development have succeeded.

Planning has shaped our environment extensively but it has also faced extensive criticism—and that at a time when it may be most needed. Over the last decade, cities and regions around the world have been facing increased challenges ranging from climate change and global water rise to migration and population growth, and comprehensive solutions are needed to create resilient systems. Planning history can be an important and valuable tool for conceptualizing resilient planning systems for the future, speaking to the challenges of the future, and integrating lessons from the past.

The American planning historian Larry Vale introduced the concept of critical resilience, arguing that such discussions need to be more attuned to issues of power and politics in moments of disaster and post-trauma (Vale, 2016). Pointing out that planning historians are well trained in analyzing historical disaster recovery, Vale believes that this analytical tool should be applied more widely when thinking about contemporary and future resilience. We do not need ideological answers or engineers who engage only with future challenges; we need planners with a sense of history and historians with a sense of planning.

Planning historians also have an important role in analyzing past plans for a bygone future, pointing out challenges for future visions. As they evaluate and sometimes revive visions of the future, they provide grounding for contemporary design. The planning of Berlin as a capital is just one example of the impact that visionary plans have had on planning discussions worldwide (Hein, 1991). Numerous visionary projects for Berlin that did not become reality—from monumental plans under Albert Speer, Adolf Hitler’s favorite architect, to megastructural projects for the 1957–1958 Capital Berlin competition—have informed projects in later decades. These visions can be as inspirational as realized plans (or even more so); they can travel through time and space, influencing later decision-making or flourishing where they find fertile ground. Speer’s projects, while not realized, would shape planning decisions in West Berlin from the end of the war until after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, with subsequent planners avoiding all monumental or axial designs. Other concepts live on, and many have since been realized in piecemeal fashion at the hand of public institutions and corporations: megastructural visions established in Europe and Japan can be seen as predecessors of extensive underground shopping malls, huge skyscrapers connected by pedestrian bridges, and large infrastructure such as floating airports (Hein, 2016). Spatial planning has even left its imprint on *Sim City* and other computer games, where the history of real cities intersects with visionary projects and everyday urban experiences.

How (to Write) Planning History?

The notion of planning is intimately related to the concept of modernity and modernization after the industrial revolution, and to the assumption that changing the physical spaces of a city would change its residents’ life conditions, and social and cultural patterns (Scott, 1998). Planning historians have contributed to writing the history of modernity, documenting the efforts of leading planners, strains of practice, and intervention. In turn, this handbook both documents and reconsiders planning history and its connection with modernity by going beyond the fixed notions of scholars, who explored urban transformation in the early industrialized countries, notably in Europe and North America. Rethinking the definition of “modern” as being related to industrialization, the book both defines the concept of planning, and revises that definition, going beyond the concept of planning as “progress” and the activity of the historical “avant-garde,” and exploring planned interventions in conjunction with vernacular or unplanned spaces. As historian Manfredo Tafuri put it:

The history of contemporary urban planning does not at all coincide with the history of the avant-garde hypothesis. On the contrary, as certain philological investigations have been able to ascertain, the tradition of urban planning rests on foundations constructed outside of any avant-garde experience. . . . This necessitates a radical reexamination of the relationship between the history of urban planning and the parallel history of the ideologies of the modern movement. If this method is followed, many myths are destined to crumble (1987).

Questioning the concept of the modern in planning brings new themes and questions to the forefront of research. Planning has presented itself as a science, employing social engineering,

traffic engineering, and other supposedly objective methodologies. However, few planners or historians have questioned or tested the results of specific interventions. Perhaps even worse, what was presented as a scientific response to health in one era later itself became seen as a health hazard. For example, blocks and slabs in greenery-type housing projects of the 1920s and 1950s are now condemned for reasons of security and aesthetics, elements that are important to walkability, a topic that scholars today have recognized as essential to combat obesity and build community. Working from a historical perspective to challenge assumptions about progress and modernity and the ways in which they have shaped planning, the book shows how understandings of the modern city have emerged and changed as cultural constructions.

As a result of the prominence of a Western, that is Euro–American–Australian, approach in history writing, there are lines of influences that are taken for granted rather than being critically explored and reflected. Mesopotamia was connected with Greece and the Roman Empire but often appears as disconnected from them in contemporary writing, as it now belongs to the Arab world, while they count as European. Scholars have long considered Japan a recipient of planning practices rather than a translator or generator of them, as Asian languages and approaches to planning history do not easily communicate with languages and scholarly discussions in Europe and North America (Hein, 2017).

Historiography is never objective, but we have to be very careful to make sure that it doesn't become only subjective. To do that, historians (including those of planning) provide evidence that is significant and appropriate. The “history of practice” as examined by historians focuses on how people acted in the past, but typically does not consider the past's implications for the present. In contrast, practitioners “practice history,” that is, they turn to history for their work in the present, but they do not always consider the past on its own merits. This is also true for analysis that crosses borders: often books “learning from” other cultures are about creating an argument for planning rather than gaining understanding. Treating planning history explicitly as the history of a future-oriented discipline, this handbook explores the changing history of how the discipline has narrated the past and how practitioners have mobilized the past for the future.

Questions of planning's authorship, spatiality, and temporality are reproduced in planning history as it has traced the development of planning and its targets, focusing on issues of hygiene, infrastructure, and housing, and on capital design, infrastructure planning, and heritage (the use of the past itself). But planning histories have not addressed all areas, time periods, or practices in the same ways. The writing of history at times went hand in hand with the making of history. Some of the early planning histories have been written to legitimize a group of planners or a specific ideology. Occasionally (architectural or urban) historians were even part of iconic movements: Kenneth Frampton famously documented the modern movement, and Noboru Kawazoe wrote for and with the Japanese metabolists. These engagements raise the question of how historians more generally have created an official narrative of the modern city and its planning while being affiliated or intellectually connected with certain movements.

When planning historians narrate the past, they risk creating heroic histories. The actors of planning and thus the heroes of planning history were often elite white males who followed their “interest” or “genius.” Emphasizing these stories—not necessarily historians' conscious goals but rather the result of a specific cultural moment—ensured that other plans and planners would be ignored and that a celebratory track record emerged. The resulting planning history can be read as a listing of their achievements without acknowledging the specific political, social, economic, or cultural context. Studies abound of Baron Georges-Eugène Haussmann, Ildefonso Cerdá, Ebenezer Howard, Le Corbusier, Robert Moses, and the Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM), and their respective plans. Even when histories are critical, these are often still the types of projects and images that figure prominently.

Heroic stories also risk perpetuating gendered structures. But women have always been in planning. While fewer women were active as planners in the early years, upper-class women tried to help

the poor, such as the German writer and social activist Bettina von Arnim, who worked with the architect Wilhelm Stier to propose for a city of the poor, establishing a well-recognized line of intervention in planning by women. By the 1920s and 1930s, women started to become professional planners: Catherine Bauer and her sister Elizabeth Bauer Mock, and Jaqueline Tyrwhitt are just some examples. Planning history also has its female leaders, from Francoise Choay to Annie Fourcaut, Susan Fainstein, Leonie Sandercock, Donatella Calabi, and Helen Meller, who have contributed innovative approaches. Many of these authors are referenced in the *Handbook*, but a full account of planning history from a female lens is still missing.

Other patterns of planning that have yet to be fully acknowledged in planning history include the history of engineering. The history of engineering has been closely connected to that of planning, but historians have yet to recognize engineers' contributions to planning. Studying the ways in which planners have picked up new technologies in attempts to promote organized, planned spaces over unplanned ones may reveal new connections in the long-term narrative of planning. Planners have not been initiators but have picked up on engineering responses as drivers and executors. Visionaries like Le Corbusier promoted engineering, and dressed it up. Elevators, trains, cars, and planes—all these different means of transportation have provided the incentive for extensive changes of urban form and function. Trains and cars provided the opportunity and tools for suburbia, while planes allowed for the creation of networks of cities more closely connected to each other than each city was connected to its surrounding urban area. Engineers made it their goal to counter the forces of nature while planners and architects provided the designs and rationales that sustained the transformation. New materials made possible buildings and entire cities that could be defended against water, earthquake, or climate, in river deltas once flooded on a regular basis, on coastlines or next to rivers, in areas that were prone to earthquakes or tsunamis, or ones located in punishingly hot and cold climates. But the engineer's preferred focus remains narrow, whereas planning implies some degree of comprehensiveness, a social or environmental function.

Moreover, critical planning histories and awareness of missing narratives can provide a foundation for planning that addresses the challenges of the future. For example, historical analysis of the physical and financial flows of petroleum can help us understand the formation of modern cities, making visible that industry's need of industrial, administrative, retail, and ancillary spaces, as well as its representation of the built environment in advertisement, art, architecture, or urban form. Such a study can also help us anticipate and design for changes in an imminent post-oil future: remediating and repurposing defunct refineries and storage tanks, rethinking infrastructural and other linkages between oil industries and headquarters, reorganizing global towards more circular economies. Understanding how and these systems and dynamics developed historically will help planners imagine new futures for them.

Connecting past, present, and future, the *Handbook* can help challenge the teaching of planning and its history in the diverse educational systems, in planning schools, and in other academic departments. That also might mean integrating and teaching design thinking not only in the context of planning education, but also in social science departments, and developing relevant curricula that engage with new perspectives. The *Handbook* hopes to seed this process, and invites complementary research.

Imagining the Future(s) of Planning History?

Such a complex topic cannot be handled in a single volume, and this book doesn't pretend to cover every country, city, topic, or historical moment. Themes that could have been included—planning and nature, planning in all under-studied parts of the world, social planning, planning scales—were discussed in the Planning History Workshop in 2015. For various reasons, mostly stemming from practical limits, they have not been included in this version of the *Handbook*.

The *Handbook* does touch on the problem of definition (what is planned? what is unplanned?), but those places organized without any state involvement are the subject of another volume.

Acknowledging biases in terms of culture, colonialism, gender, and fields of inquiry will be a necessary foundation for planning historians going beyond this book. For example, they will have to reflect on the writing of planning histories involving countries that have fought wars against each other. Questions of gender will be central, especially when they engage with planning in societies where men dominate the public realm, considering not only questions of exclusion and the role of women but constructions of masculinity itself. They will have to reflect on the role of theory elaborated in European and North American analyses of megacities in China and elsewhere, as it ignores the specificity of these cities and theories of those cultures. Other boundary-pushing work for planning historians will concern the “urbanization” of oceans—the proliferation of drilling platforms, energy parks, and other floating structures—questions of energy networks and food landscapes, and the study of commodity flows and their influence on the built environment.

Structure and Overall Contribution of the *Handbook*

The *Handbook* investigates the history of planning since its emergence as a discipline in the mid-19th century. It does so while both recognizing and provincializing Euro-American-Australian traditions of international planning history, and introducing new approaches that take into account global approaches and themes. Scholars in the *Handbook* start to challenge the traditional writing of planning history as a history of heroes and unique ideas. They go beyond the current state of planning history, providing both new global standpoints and new approaches, querying official iconographies, including other disciplines, and investigating different parts of the world. The *Handbook* establishes a first step towards overcoming biases such as the focus on English-language sources, and develops novel interdisciplinary, transcultural, and postcolonial approaches. It examines sites, dynamics, and typologies, and explores the state of the field—its achievements and shortcomings and future challenges. It thus serves as a foundation for defining the field and as a springboard for scholars, practitioners, and students engaging in innovative research.

Given the broad range of achievements, challenges, and needs in planning and planning history, this handbook aims to do two things: to write planning history and to write the historiography of planning history. Each of these factors is balanced differently in each chapter. It provides a broad audience with a truly international planning history and the unique opportunity of exploring these findings comparatively. Four parts and thirty-eight chapters offer insights into the academic writing of planning history—its core writings, key people, institutions, vehicles, education, and practice. As such it places the writing of planning history in relation to geographical and temporal context, considering theory and methodology, scales and cultures.

These historic investigations focus on the period since the mid-19th century, seen as the beginning of the modern discipline, while acknowledging earlier dynamics. To both enrich historical analysis and provide insights for future planning, this book looks critically at the ways in which planning history is being written and taught. The contributions open new perspectives on topics that merit further investigation, and identify literature in areas in which planning historians have been active but that are not systematically explored yet. It explores moments where the selection of topics reflects, accompanies, or precedes political discussions and societal change.

The *Handbook* consists of four parts of varying lengths with a complementary focus. Part I addresses cutting-edge questions of **Agents, Theories, Methods, and Typologies** that have shaped the evolving subdiscipline of planning history over time, through the writings of established and recognized planning historians and leaders of the International Planning History Society (IPHS). These latter explorations set the stage for Part II. **Time, Place, and Culture** starts to address the broad array of topics missing in the current scholarship, turning from Euro-American to

global planning history and opening up a framework for global analysis in global language systems. The next chapters then engage with regional stories and their specific political, economic, social, and cultural frameworks. Part III, **Sites and Dynamics: Issues, Movements, Themes, and Debates**, then explores broader place- and typology-based approaches in planning history, tracking new lines of interdisciplinary and transnational investigation, and spearheading research into new/underexplored sites and dynamics (many of them intrinsically global, translocal, or transcultural). Part IV on **Futures** comprises essays that explore new perspectives on topics that merit further investigation, pointing to current research foci and opening perspectives on future research. Each of the parts follows its own chronological, thematic, or scalar logic.

The *Handbook* takes stock of the state of planning history, reconnects it with the discipline of planning, and explores future directions—notably at the global scale. It calls for scholars and practitioners alike to rethink planning. It identifies lessons from the past, and positions them in larger contexts of histories of continuities and change. It analyzes planning histories and historiographies while acknowledging the difficulties of comparing planning in a global setting. The selection of topics reflects, accompanies, or precedes political discussions and descriptions of societal change: from landscape to infrastructure, from housing to issues of social justice and community building. The chapters position these writings, authors, and approaches in their general political, economic, social, and geographical context. The *Handbook* combines theoretical, methodological, historical, comparative, and global approaches to planning history—a comprehensive and synthetic approach for which there is no precedent.

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PART I

Writing Planning History

Agents, Theories, Methods, and Typologies



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2

THE PIONEERS, INSTITUTIONS, AND VEHICLES OF PLANNING HISTORY

Stephen V. Ward

Since the 1970s, there has been a remarkable flowering of research and publications about the history of urban and regional planning. This growth has been apparent in most major world regions, though it has been most striking in the affluent countries with the most developed higher-education and research infrastructure. These also tend to have the most elaborate and historically rooted modern planning traditions. In general, planning history has come from individual researchers, or from small research teams or clusters based in a variety of academic disciplines, including planning, history, geography, architecture, and history of art. Yet, although some work was directly supported by specific research grants, research in planning history has not generally been a high priority for major research funders.

An intriguing question therefore presents itself: what produced this flowering of research into planning history? In part certainly, it coincided with the rise of a more generally questioning attitude to planning and its results in many parts of the world. In a particularly structuralist moment in 1981, one of the main pioneers of planning history equated it with the economic deceleration of the 1970s after the long post-1945 boom, prompting a process of critical reflection and taking stock (Sutcliffe, 1981b). Whatever its fundamental cause, this growth of planning history research has created a new subfield of specialist knowledge within the academic disciplines of planning and closely related subjects. It also forms part of a longer-term trend to diversification within the discipline of history. Over recent decades, historians have identified new subjects, less fixated on traditional concerns of nations, leaders, major events, and economic achievements. More attention has been given to the everyday experience of the wider mass of people and factors (such as planning) which have shaped their lives. Alongside this, the volume of relevant archival material has grown spectacularly as new governmental and private records have become available and much material has been digitalized.

All these more general factors have undoubtedly been necessary for the historical turn in research into planning. Yet they are not alone sufficient to explain it. Clearly the intellectual curiosity of individual researchers has been fundamental, but so too have a few key pioneering individuals who have been “intellectual entrepreneurs.” Their seminal influence arose not just through their own work, but more importantly in their realization that if the new area of study was ever going to flourish, it needed dedicated networks, institutions, and outlets. Only through these means could new and emergent works of planning history research by a wider group of researchers be nurtured and encouraged, benefit from informed criticism and advice, and be published. The creation of this new and distinct intellectual space within which planning history has been able to grow has been of immense significance. It is something easily now taken for granted, but without which it would

have been difficult to establish the value of historical knowledge and analysis in the planning field. This chapter identifies and discusses the contribution of these pioneers together with the networks and the major vehicles of dissemination that they established.

Gordon Cherry, Anthony Sutcliffe, and the History of Planning Group

The pioneers referred to in this chapter were certainly not the first to examine the history of planning. Historical writing about urban planning was evident even as the modern conception of planning began to crystallize in the early 20th century. This body of literature continued to be refreshed with later studies, though less because of new scholarship than to reflect changing perspectives about the nature of planning through the century. Thus the emergence of more functionalist thinking in relation to the understanding of architecture and urban design by the 1930s and 1940s saw a rethinking of urban history and attempts to shape the city. By the 1950s and 1960s, however, some notable contributions to historical scholarship about planning were appearing in several countries (Ward, Freestone, and Silver, 2011). Yet it was not until the 1970s that specifically planning history networks began to give a robust foundation for these studies, allowing them to be refined and synthesized.

The key figures who laid this foundation were two English university academics. One, Gordon Cherry, had come from a geography background, before working as a practicing town planner (Boulton, 1996). Alongside his day-to-day work, he developed an interest in the social and historical roots of contemporary planning. In 1968 he became deputy director of the new Centre for Urban and Regional Studies at the University of Birmingham. Two years earlier, in the History department of the same university, a young urban historian, Anthony Sutcliffe, was also appointed (Ward, Meller, and Rudkin, 2012). He was to be the other key figure. Funded by the City of Birmingham, Sutcliffe, working with Roger Smith, was to research and write the third volume of the prestigious *History of Birmingham* (Sutcliffe and Smith, 1972).



Figure 2.1 Tony Sutcliffe (L) and Gordon Cherry (R), the two founding fathers of the International Planning History Society and its predecessors, seen here at the joint conference of the Society of American City and Regional Planning History and the Planning History Group held in Richmond, Virginia, in 1991.

Source: Gilbert Stelter.

By 1970, therefore, Cherry and Sutcliffe had discovered each other's existence but had had little contact because neither was yet aware of the other's interest in planning history (Sutcliffe, 1996). This was scarcely surprising since, until then, neither's work had matured sufficiently for them to have published anything of substance on the topic. In that year Sutcliffe published the fruits of his doctoral research on town planning in central Paris undertaken at the Sorbonne in Paris in a critically acclaimed book (Sutcliffe, 1970). Cherry also published what was essentially a historical examination of the social roots of town planning, a book which laid down a marker for the importance of history in the academic discipline of planning (Cherry, 1970). Within the next few years, both published other books about planning history (Sutcliffe and Smith, 1972; Sutcliffe [ed.], 1974; Cherry, 1972, 1974, 1975). Now both realized that, from their different starting points, they had an interest in common.

During 1973–1974, Sutcliffe (by then at the University of Sheffield) and Cherry began to hatch plans for a study group focused on planning history. Its template was the Urban History Group, founded by the pioneering British urban historian H. J. (Jim) Dyos in 1963 (Cannadine, 1982), an offshoot of the Economic History Society. But the new study group was entirely independent. The first meeting of what was soon being called the History of Planning Group occurred at the Centre for Urban and Regional Studies, Birmingham, in October 1974. From their different disciplinary backgrounds, Sutcliffe and Cherry brought together around 30 interested people, a diverse group comprising academics with a few retired or practicing practitioners (Cherry, 1984).

Other meetings soon followed, with British attendees and occasionally visitors from elsewhere. By the later 1970s, the multi-lingual Sutcliffe was, through his own research interests, developing active connections with France, Germany, North America, and elsewhere. He knew that more researchers in other countries were becoming similarly interested in planning history. From the outset, Sutcliffe was eager to ensure that the History of Planning Group did not become locked into a solely British frame of reference.

The First International Planning History Conference and the Planning History Group

Cherry, who soon became leader of the group, also began to realize the value of making the network more completely international, a shift definitively signaled by the first international planning history conference, held in London in 1977. Organized largely by Sutcliffe, it brought together pioneers of planning history research and study from 16 countries. The delegate list indicates almost 150 attendees (ICHURP, 1977). Half came from Britain; significant groups came from the United States and West Germany; smaller numbers came from other European countries (including Poland and Czechoslovakia, then Communist states), as well as Canada, Japan, Australia, and Lebanon (although its single delegate was actually a British national). Several were already well known figures and many subsequently became key figures in the international network of planning history.

Sutcliffe had also wanted to use the conference to cement links between planning history and urban history. But, although this link began promisingly, Jim Dyos died suddenly in 1978 and the Urban History Group lost its leader. While other urban historians did much to develop his legacy, no one could immediately take his place (Cannadine, 1982; Rodgers 1989). In time Sutcliffe might perhaps himself have assumed that role, but he was by now largely and successfully engaged in planning history, most notably with a seminal study of the international bases of modern planning, *Towards the Planned City* (Sutcliffe, 1981a). He certainly never abandoned urban history (Fraser and Sutcliffe [eds.], 1983). By the early 1980s, however, he had real doubts whether the city, as distinct from the social, economic, and political processes occurring within the city, was itself a valid subject for historical inquiry (Mandelbaum, 1985).

Towards the end of the decade, the History of Planning Group was more snappily retitled as the Planning History Group (PHG) and formally organized on a membership basis, with Cherry continuing as chairman. Occasional newsletters had originally been issued but in 1979, this method of group communication was replaced by a more regular publication, *Planning History Bulletin* (PHB). In its second issue the chairman reported 243 members, of whom 141 were based in the UK and 102 from other countries. Of these, 41 were based in the United States, 13 in Canada, 11 West Germany, nine Italy, five Japan, seven Netherlands, four Australia, three each from Poland and Sweden, two each from Spain and Switzerland, and one each from France and New Zealand (Cherry, 1979). Thereafter growth was slower, with 277 members in 1983, by then almost equally balanced between UK and non-UK (Cherry, 1983). The late 1970s to early 1980s growth in PHG's international membership emphasizes how much this UK-based society was reaching out to kindred spirits elsewhere.

Many PHG members were also, of course, members of other study groups and networks, typically reflecting their academic disciplinary affiliation. To some extent, such networks were also providing some outlet for the growing interest in planning history, yet in a less-focused way than was possible within PHG. Yet there is no evidence that any organized groups or networks that existed anywhere prior to the PHG were exclusively devoted to planning history. The years that followed the 1977 London conference saw the creation of planning history networks or clusters of varying degrees of formality based outside Britain, particularly during the 1980s.

The Origins of the Society for American City and Regional Planning History

The largest cluster of kindred spirits, as can be seen, came from the USA and Canada, largely at that time associated with the American Urban History Group. This had been founded in 1954, an inspiration for Jim Dyos in Britain in the 1960s (Mohl, 1998). By the 1970s, American urban history was a strongly established field, its leading figures already becoming well known to Sutcliffe (and he to them). The synergies between urban and planning history were perhaps stronger in North America than in Britain, as the conscious creation and shaping of towns and cities was more integral to the making of the USA as an urban nation than in Britain. Proportionately more American urban historians also examined the 20th century, in contrast to their UK equivalents, who tended to focus on the Victorian and earlier periods, before the emergence of modern urban planning.

Even so, some American planning academics clearly felt this rising interest in planning history was not being fully acknowledged either within the urban history field or the city planning profession. Some, a minority, of the American attendees at the 1977 London conference were from planning rather than history schools, most notably John Reps, Donald Krueckeberg, and Eugenie Birch. However, the direct influence of that conference and the UK-based PHG on subsequent developments in the USA can be debated. At the very least, PHG was an important example that encouraged growing American interest in planning history. In 1981 Birch informed PHG of recent American planning history meetings held under the auspices of the main national organizations of historians, architectural historians, and professional planners (Cherry, 1981). Yet there was clearly some American reluctance to identify too closely with the UK-based body. Thus in April 1983 the Planning History Group, identified as an informal group of the Organization of American Historians, sponsored a lunch during that organization's Cincinnati conference (Gerckens, 1983). The informal group (about 30 attended the lunch) included urban historians (notably Blaine Brownell) and planners (notably Donald Krueckeberg). Greetings were read from Sutcliffe on behalf of the UK-based International Planning History Group, and the formalization of links with this organization was discussed but rejected. It was decided to continue informal

arrangements, with Krueckeberg acting as link between the two groups. On this basis, other early American planning history meetings continued, for example at the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning conference in San Francisco in October 1983 (Krueckeberg, 1984).

It is unclear whether any larger ambition lay behind the decision to avoid a closer relationship with the Cherry–Sutcliffe network. What is definite is that in 1986 a new and completely independent American study organization specifically devoted to planning history was formed, the Society for American City and Regional Planning History (SACRPH) (www.sacrph.org/). Citing the opening speeches at a SACRPH conference a few years later, the American urban historian, Carl Abbott, attributed its formation to essentially national and professional frustrations. Its creators were “city planning school faculty and practitioners who were tired of seeing the history of the planning profession given the polite brushoff in academic curricula and professional conferences” (Abbott, 1992). Certainly its driving force, Larry Gerckens, although present at the 1983 lunch and author of the brief report in the *Planning History Bulletin*, had, as yet, no direct contacts with the Cherry–Sutcliffe network.

Gerckens, a man of astonishing energy and enthusiasm, was professor of planning at Ohio State University, though had retired to set up as a freelance teacher and planning consultant. His pioneering contribution to planning history was to raise its professional profile through teaching, educational administration, and professional practice, rather than research authorship. He hosted the first two conferences of SACRPH, both in Columbus, Ohio (in 1986 and 1987), which attracted 30 and 50 delegates respectively; by the third event, in Cincinnati in 1989, the number had grown to 100.

American urban historians did not themselves in 1986 have a network organization, which might have responded more effectively to this historical yearning felt by planning academics and practitioners. (The Urban History Group created by the first generation of American urban historians had become moribund by the mid-1970s [Mohl, 1998].) Now change was afoot, and a new Urban History Association (UHA) was formed in 1988 that was soon enthusiastically supported by younger American urban historians (Wade, 1989). A key aim for the new organization was to foster meaningful connections between urban historians and other disciplines. Thus the two quite new organizations for American planning and urban history quickly established close and friendly relations, their memberships and leaderships soon overlapping.

The UHA lent its support to SACRPH’s fourth conference at Richmond, Virginia, in 1991, which attracted some 250 delegates, making it the largest planning history gathering which had then occurred anywhere (Abbott, 1992). Organized by Chris Silver, then of Virginia Commonwealth University, this event was also a landmark in another respect: it involved the PHG, becoming its fifth international conference. The number of international attendees was not large, but they were diverse in origin and included key figures from planning history in several different countries. It was also almost certainly the first time that Gerckens, Cherry, and Sutcliffe had actually met.

The Development of Planning History Networks in West Germany

Meanwhile, individual leaders had emerged in other countries, and clusters or network groupings had formed around them. The most developed was in West Germany. Here there was a strong and growing interest in the history of urban planning, coming, as elsewhere, mainly from urban history and planning and related disciplines, including architectural history. Two important journals, *Informationen zur modernen Stadtgeschichte* (founded in 1970) and *Die Alte Stadt* (1974), published research on urban planning and development, urban history, and historic conservation. It was therefore quite natural that these concerns soon impinged on the history of planning itself. In part this was simply recognizing Germany’s seminal role in the emergence of modern urban planning. Yet this was scarcely celebrating past successes, which was certainly a contributory aspect in the UK and

USA. More than anywhere else, the growth of planning history in West Germany from the 1970s became an integral part of a wider critical reflection on planning, a way to draw lessons.

Thus the country's planning historians did not (possibly could not) shy away from "the dark side" of Germany's history, and how planning—though ostensibly a technical, apolitical field—was also a real part of this. For example, the opening keynote address of the 1977 international conference by Gerd Albers, from the Technical University of Munich, was about German planning through a turbulent century that saw major regime changes (Albers, 1980). Albers was already something of an elder statesman of German planning, who played an important role in encouraging the study of its history, especially of the discipline of planning and its key figures. Soon, however, younger heads were also hard at work and particular clusters of planning history discourse soon began to emerge.

The most energetic and productive was associated with the Lehrstuhl für Planungstheorie und Stadtentwicklung at the Technische Hochschule in Aachen, headed by Gerhard Fehl. Fehl and his close colleague, Juan Rodríguez-Lores, both attended the 1977 London conference. From 1981, with Werner-Reimers Foundation funding, they organized biennial planning history colloquia in the attractive small-town setting of Bad Homburg (PHB, 1986a). Invited German and international experts from various disciplines participated, fostering rigorous debate. The group took a wide view of planning history, embracing how the urban environment was produced (PHB, 1982; Weiland, 1983). Fehl also played an important role encouraging younger German talents, including Harald Bodenschatz, Karl Friedhelm Fischer, and Dirk Schubert, laying the basis for a new generation of planning historians. The results of the colloquia were published in a series of edited works (e.g., Fehl and Rodríguez-Lores [eds.], 1983; Rodríguez-Lores and Fehl [eds.], 1985, 1988; Harlander and Fehl [eds.], 1986; Bollerey, Fehl, and Hartmann [eds.], 1990).

Other individuals were soon researching and writing planning history elsewhere in West Germany (particularly in the nearby Dortmund). Some German architectural historians, notably Harmut Frank, Niels Gutschow, and Werner Durth, were also becoming increasingly interested in the history of urban planning. But it was the planning academics at Aachen who formed the main early West German hub for planning history endeavor.

Planning History Networks in Other Countries

A significant hub of activity that grew principally from a disciplinary focus on architectural history was at the Istituto Universitario di Architettura di Venezia (Venice) in Italy. Here were several significant pioneers of modern urban planning history, including Giorgio Piccinato (author of a key work on early German planning history and contributor to the Aachen group's colloquia) and Donatella Calabi, both of whom attended the 1977 London conference.

Another important grouping, also focused on architectural history, grew in the Netherlands around Ed Taverne at the Instituut voor Kunstgeschiedenis (art history institute) at the University of Groningen during the later 1970s and early 1980s (Taverne, 1985). From here came a string of important research studies as new talents were nurtured, notably Koos Bosma, Cor Wagenaar, and Gerrie Andela. Taverne also headed an informal Dutch association for the history of spatial planning, created in the early 1980s. The association also brought in other Dutch innovators in planning history, including Peter de Ruijter (whose premature death in 1986 removed an important pioneering talent) and Arnold van der Valk from the Instituut voor Planologie, University of Amsterdam (Faludi and van der Valk, 1994, ix). In the longer term, however, the architectural historians have remained the most active Dutch researchers in this field.

In other countries, national and regional standard bearers included Shun-ichi Watanabe, then of the Building Research Institute of the Japanese Ministry of Construction. Watanabe's fluency in

English and familiarity with the British and American planning scenes made him a vital intermediary. From 1977, when he attended the London conference, he quickly developed warm personal links with both Cherry and Sutcliffe. Showing the same extraordinary energy and commitment that characterized many of the pioneers, he took many important initiatives in succeeding years to establish an intellectual and professional space for planning history in Japan.

Thus in 1978 he organized a pioneering session devoted to planning history at the annual conference of the City Planning Institute of Japan. Out of this came a Japanese Planning History Group that held annual meetings (Watanabe, 1985) through which Watanabe recruited a sizeable Japanese contingent of the UK-based Planning History Group (33 members by 1986). From 1980, he also led the Housing Policy Research Group in Japan (actually a planning history group but so-called to secure funding). This existed until 1988, when Watanabe moved to a post less focused on planning history, and funding lapsed. It was fitting testimony to his efforts that the third International Planning History Conference, the first one outside Britain, was held in Tokyo (in 1988).

Similarly, other pioneers emerged elsewhere. In Australia, influenced by American and British developments, urban history was growing into a very significant field of research interest. By the 1970s, this was extending into planning history and the creation of the British-based Planning History Group was an important stimulus. In 1986 the first definite steps to create a loose Australian Planning History Group were taken by Alan Hutchings of the South Australian Planning Commission (PHB, 1986b). More than elsewhere, much initial impetus came from practitioners, and the first national meeting occurred within the Royal Australian Planning Institute Congress (celebrating the Australia's bicentennial) in Melbourne in September 1988 (Hutchings, 1988). To coincide, Hutchings and



Figure 2.2 From 1977, international conferences were the key discursive and networking events of planning history. The select covers of proceedings depicted here capture some key moments in the institution's history: The 1988 event in Tokyo, held jointly with the City Planning Institute of Japan, was the first one outside Britain. The 2006 Conference in New Delhi was the first major IPHS event to be held in a developing country. The number of participants has risen from Thessaloniki to Sydney, Istanbul, and Delft with over 400 delegates and a series of seven proceedings.

Sources: Archives of the proceedings of the IPHS <http://journals.library.tudelft.nl/index.php/iphs/issue/archive>.

Robert Freestone edited a special planning history issue of the institute's journal, *Australian Planner* (Freestone and Hutchings, 1988).

Freestone soon emerged as Australia's leading planning historian, especially after returning to academic life at the University of New South Wales in 1991. Like his equivalents elsewhere, however, he was more than an individual researcher. With Hutchings and others, he ensured that local interests in planning history became part of a national network, also embracing New Zealand. Without ever becoming a formal membership-based organization, the Australasian Urban History/Planning History Group (as it is now called) has become a network with regular biennial conferences and an active website (AUHPHG, 2015).

Individuals and networks were also active in other countries, showing varying degrees of connection to the Cherry-Sutcliffe network. Some national networks have been stimulated by organizing international planning history conferences, notably in Greece and Finland during the 1990s (PH, 1993; PH, 1999). Yet neither were simple clones of the PHG model.

Moreover, there were also some countries with quite different networks to those of the Anglophone pattern.

Publishing Planning History

The original UK networking model, meanwhile, continued to develop, creating important outlets to disseminate planning history studies. In fact, the most important and enduring direct outcome of the early conferences was a book series launched by Cherry and Sutcliffe, again taking a central role in defining the new field (Ward, Meller, and Rudkin, 2012). The first books captured permanent value out of the transitory sense of intellectual excitement and cohesion that the first conferences uncovered. Published initially by Mansell, later by Spon and finally Routledge, the initial emphasis on conference-derived collections gave way to more authored works or themed edited collections. The series soon established itself with the major conferences as the premier vehicles for promoting



Figure 2.3 Ann Rudkin, planning history publisher extraordinaire, has edited every single book in the planning history series established by Cherry and Sutcliffe. She is seen here in 1980 at Bekonscot model village in Beaconsfield, England, with Peter Hall, perhaps the best-known planning historian of all. The picture shows them as the giants of their respective crafts that they truly are.

Source: Ann Rudkin.

and disseminating planning history. To date, over 50 books have appeared in the series. They set high standards of scholarship for the subfield of planning history, and charted new dimensions of planning history research. All remain essential reading on their respective subjects.

Cherry and Sutcliffe were assisted by a remarkable publishing editor, Ann Rudkin (Figure 2.3) (originally Ann Drybrough-Smith, under which name she edited the early volumes). It was her editorial skills, and frequent battles against default tendencies to blandness and mean spiritedness within large academic publishers, that ensured planning history became equated with attractive, high-quality books with long shelf lives. She ensured that they really did look more interesting and authoritative than typical books on planning. Uniquely, her editorial skills were combined with an extraordinary knowledge of planning and planners. She deserves recognition as a pioneer of planning history in her own right.

After the conferences and the book series, the third major vehicle on which planning history moved forward was (and remains) the academic journal *Planning Perspectives*, defined as an “international journal of history, planning and the environment.” It was not, however, the first planning history journal, a distinction held by *Planning History Bulletin*. Over time PHB grew from a newsletter into a magazine, renamed *Planning History* in 1988. Yet, although it published research-based shorter pieces, there was no outlet for longer, refereed papers until *Planning Perspectives* appeared in 1986. Unlike the *PHB/Planning History*, which was produced and distributed by the PHG, the new refereed journal came from the stable of a major publisher, originally under the Spon imprint, later Routledge.

Initially appearing three times a year, then quarterly, *Planning Perspectives* was a continuing outlet for high-quality international planning history research and scholarship. In itself it played a key role in defining an intellectual space for planning history. It was never the only outlet for planning history scholarship, with planning journals such as *Die Alte Stadt*, *Town Planning Review*, and *Journal of the American Association of Planners* having honorable records in this respect. However, *Planning Perspectives* was for many years the only one exclusively dedicated to that field. Here the combination of historical approach and focus on planning was automatically understood as academically valid: it was not judged on a case-by-case basis as planning historians submitting to many other journals found. Yet, by appearing so consistently, and now into its fourth decade, it has helped validate planning history in the minds of other editors and readers.

Cherry and Sutcliffe were founding editors and co-edited the journal until Cherry's death in 1996, after which Sutcliffe edited it alone until 2001. Successive editors have been able to build on this firm grounding, especially in conjunction with IPHS international conferences. Its global reach and the consistently high quality have ensured that it has become a valued part of the Routledge journals list. Now through electronic publication it has become very widely available to academic and other major libraries throughout much of the world. In 2001, it was joined by the *American Journal of Planning History*, associated with SACRPH but also increasingly international in its outlook. After some initial rivalry, the two journals co-exist productively, proving the quantity and quality of planning history scholarship that now exists. In 2008, *Planning History* became a special IPHS section within *Planning Perspectives*.

Later Developments

The 1990s saw several changes in the institutional bases of planning history and cognate areas. Most directly relevant was that the PHG became the International Planning History Society (IPHS) in 1993. This came to a head because the development of SACRPH as a large nationally based body created an anomalous situation for its members. Many wished to participate in PHG as an international organization but not as a UK national body. However, there had been some dwindling of interest during the 1980s in a purely UK-based organization. Both Sutcliffe and Cherry were already

thinking that internationalization represented the most sensible direction. They (especially Sutcliffe) also feared that if the PHG did not take the initiative, SACRPH eventually would. After discussions at the 1991 Richmond conference and consultation of PHG membership, the PHG was recast as the IPHS. Over time, this change has had important consequences. Cherry, having remained chairman of the PHG for its whole existence, became first president of IPHS and was succeeded on his death by another UK president, the present author. Gradually, though, IPHS began to lose many signs of its original national identity. The following presidents have been Australian (Robert Freestone), Finnish (Laura Kolbe), American (Eugenie Birch), and German (Dirk Schubert), with an Australian (Christine Garnaut) set to succeed.

The same trend has been apparent in IPHS's most important achievement, continuing what Sutcliffe and Cherry began in 1977. Since 1994 there has been a regular program of biennial conferences which have moved planning history into new regions of the world, generating new interests. Successively these events were held in Hong Kong (1994), Thessaloniki (1996), Sydney (1998), Helsinki (2000), London/Letchworth (2002), Barcelona (2004), New Delhi (2006), Chicago (2008), Istanbul (2010), Sao Paulo (2012), Saint Augustine, Florida (2014), Delft (2016), and Yokohama (2018).

Meanwhile, there has been some formalization of national planning history or related networks in other countries. The internet has made it easier to create a network organization compared to the 1970s. Now a well-designed and regularly updated website can, with continued development and updating, credibly (and creditably) present and link a community of scholars, especially if reinforced by newer electronic social media, an aspect rich with opportunities for fresh initiatives. Organizationally, the most significant shifts since the 1990s have been within urban history, where a European Urban History Association was reconstituted as an active network in 1992 (Lees, 1993). This body developed an active program of conferences and meetings, encouraging stronger network membership organizations to develop at national level, notably the French Société Française d'Histoire Urbaine, formed 1998 (<http://sfhu.hypotheses.org/>) and the German Gesellschaft für Stadtgeschichte und Urbanisierungsforschung (GSU), formed 2000 (www.gsu.tu-darmstadt.de/). These various organizations, and those elsewhere, have to some extent involved themselves in planning history, especially so in Germany, where the GSU has a very active planning history membership and program.

More recently there have also been promising new initiatives in Japan in 2010, where a Planning Heritage Study Group focusing on planning historical themes was established with funding from the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS). Its first seminar was held in 2013. Meanwhile in China in 2012, an Academic Committee of Planning History and Theory was established, chaired by Dong Wei of the Department of Planning, Nanjing University. Organized under the auspices of the City Planning Institute of China, the new body held its first symposium meeting in May 2013 (PP, 2013). In November of that year the new Japanese group and members of the Chinese body held a two-day joint workshop in Tokyo during the City Planning Institute of Japan's annual conference, exploring future academic collaboration (Nakajima, 2015).

Conclusion

The story is then a continuing and unfinished one. Most pioneers of the first generation have now departed the scene and others are appearing, while the institutions remain, though are not unchanging. It is probably inevitable and desirable that some process of institutional making and remaking continues, as new pioneers with ideas, energy, and organizational skills appear. The original duality of planning history within, alongside, or sometimes in opposition to urban and architectural history

remains. The greatest continuity, however, has been in relation to the vehicles of planning history, where conferences and publications continue to be the most tangible products of this field. This chapter must end by honoring those who initiated all these things. Without them, the planning history field would not exist.

Related Topics

Freestone: Writing Planning History in the English-Speaking World

Monclús, Díez: *Urbanisme, Urbanismo, Urbanistica*: Latin European Urbanism

Orillard: *Urbanisme* and the Francophone Sphere

Kress: The German Traditions of *Städtebau* and *Stadtlandschaft* and Their Diffusion Through Global Exchange

Hein: Idioms of Japanese Planning Historiography

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3

INTERDISCIPLINARITY IN PLANNING HISTORY

Nancy H. Kwak

Planning history has been from its origins an interdisciplinary enterprise, and should be understood as a field rather than a discipline with a self-conscious, deeply rooted identity. Rather than insights from within planning history, this chapter offers more of a historian's—and specifically, an urban historian's—view. Both are necessary in understanding the field: planning history relied and continues to rely on a cross-fertilization of historical methods with planning practices; in tracing the intellectual lineage of historical developments within planning, scholars relied on research methods fundamental to the practice of history (the use of archival, primary, and secondary sources), as well as the spatial analysis and surveying techniques of planning. Over the course of the 20th century, writers of planning history also came to incorporate subject matter and approaches typically found within other disciplines and fields like architecture, sociology, geography, political science, economics, and anthropology. In so doing, these scholars were participants in a much larger interdisciplinary movement: in much the same way geographers actively engaged scholars across the humanities and social sciences in a theoretically rich study of the production of space, for instance, scholars across the disciplines made use of cultural anthropologist Frank Boaz's insight that “any sense of unity that the concept of culture implicitly predicts for a group is really a subjective unity, one that is constituted only in the mind of the observer, such as a politician, a market strategist, an urban planner, an artist, or a social scientist” (Rotenberg, 2012). Some of the best planning histories, then, have explained the development of subjective unities—unities that were at times hegemonic, at other times fraying, and inconsistently produced by an array of historical actors that could (but did not always) include official urban planners.

An exploration of planning history thus requires a consideration of shifting interdisciplinary contributions and layering of methods. Embedded within this are interdisciplinary approaches to power and transnationality; postcolonial history and an increased scholarly interest in globalization and interconnectedness have critically influenced how planning historians frame the past. *Intradisciplinary* debates within history have shaped planning history, also, with social, cultural, and environmental “turns” in history influencing scholarship in important ways.

The Origins of Interdisciplinarity in Planning History

There are many reasons why interdisciplinarity played and continues to play such an integral part in planning history's evolution. Planning history finds its roots in separate efforts to justify planning as a profession as well as to narrate the broader sweep of government efforts in shaping the

built form. In both professional and intellectual aspects, history and planning methods were present at the field's conception. For American scholars, planning history emerged from urban history. Both planning fields conceptualized the city as a distinct entity, with planning history focusing more on the specific aspects of state order and governance within urban history's emphases on cities and city-making processes. Urban history's interdisciplinarity likewise shaped planning history, with community, postcolonial theory and design, and built environment studies making it all but impossible to examine governmental action without consideration of people, built form, and places. Put another way, interdisciplinarity loosened the boundaries of "planning" itself to be about much more than the state.

While various historiographers offer different birth dates for the start of urban history in the US, it is clear that by the 1930s, a new generation—the "new urban history"—drew strongly from both historical as well as sociological approaches (Abbott, 1996; Mohl, 2011). Within the discipline of history, urban historians challenged the primacy of the rural frontier in defining national character. Arthur M. Schlesinger Sr. set the foundations for a veritable cottage industry of urban histories with his monograph, *Rise of the City, 1878–1898* (Schlesinger, 1933), and critical essay, "The City in American History" (1940), in which he laid out a very different understanding of national expansion and identity than that put forward by Frederic Jackson Turner. (Turner famously argued in 1893 that Americans gained their exceptional identity—"that coarseness and strength combined with acuteness and acquisitiveness . . . that dominant individualism"—from the constant taming of the frontier.) At the same time that Schlesinger participated in this debate among historians, he also borrowed from the work of Chicago School sociologists in his socio-spatial and geographical approaches (Park, 1925). Schlesinger's student Richard C. Wade continued expanding the burgeoning field, serving as "a pioneer in the interdisciplinary study of urban history," and examining the city "as a living, breathing, complicated and not always harmonious organism" (Grimes, 2008; Wade, 1959). In Britain, historian Harold James Dyos pursued a similar vision of the modern city as a complex organism, writing of Victorian London in order to "make the city known to its citizens," to "help people come to terms with the city and make sense of their environment" (Dyos and Wolff, 1973). Plans and planning mattered to these scholars as a part of an organized urbanism. Wade, for instance, argued Western cities' grid format and adjacency to waterfronts represented "the difference between town organization and country life" (Wade, 1959).

Even as urban history gained momentum in the 20th century, interest in interdisciplinarity grew. Early writings by Karl Lamprecht, Henri Berr, James Harvey Robinson, Harry Elmer Barnes, Charles Beard, Lucien Febvre, Marc Bloch, and others urged bridge-building, collaboration, and even synthesis with scholarship from other disciplines (Horn and Ritter, 1986). During and immediately after World War II, scholars in "the arts, architecture, city planning, housing reform, [and] the social sciences" worked closely in both "historical study and professional practice" with a "commitment to the centrality of humanistic values in a troubled world, a sense of mission characteristic of academic discourse in the 1940s" (Wright, 1990). By the 1950s, works like David Potter's *People of Plenty* resonated widely in the call for various disciplines—in Potter's case, historians and behavioral scientists—to understand "that, if they are ever to scale the heights on which they hope to find a science of man, they must go roped together like other mountaineers" (Potter, 1954). Institutional changes mirrored intellectual ones: in the US, for example, universities established interdisciplinary American Studies programs during the 1950s and 1960s. The *Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies* was founded in 1970.

As more scholars pursued interdisciplinary approaches in these postwar decades, those interested in cities and plans began debating the very meaning of categories like "urban," "urbanization," and "cities." Some called into question the feasibility of quantitative historical research by historians. Still others disagreed vigorously with each other about the possibilities of urban history as a

subject-field versus a scrutiny of “urban as process” (Lampard, 1961). Schlesinger’s student Oscar Handlin contended the modern city was an organ—“the heart, the brain . . . of that great leviathan, the modern state”—and that there were as yet too many studies of the city in history, and too few of the history of cities (Handlin, 1966). It is unclear if Handlin meant to deliberately reference historian and sociologist Lewis Mumford’s natural history of urbanism, *The City in History* (Mumford, 1961), published a short five years earlier; for Mumford, sociological approaches came together with historical ones to reframe cities as a “theater of social action” where “unified plans and buildings become a symbol of [men’s] social relatedness” (Mumford, 1937). Social action, built form, and plans all interacted to produce an urbanism that could not be understood by any one of these elements alone. Whether explicitly directed at Mumford or no, Handlin was clearly dissatisfied with the state of the field, calling for a more rigorous examination of the historical development of the modern city. Mumford, for his part, was clearly concerned with the modern city even as he drew from sociologist, geographer, and town planner Patrick Geddes’s interdisciplinary methods to present a grand narrative of Western modernism. Like Geddes, Mumford adopted an eclectic mishmash of biological, sociological, geographical, and town planning approaches to tell this history (Geddes, 1915). Other scholars struggled with a lack of consensus about what precisely urban historians were studying. The application of a wide-ranging or indeterminate interdisciplinary approach resulted in what historian Francois Bedarida called “a series of scattered initiatives” and a confusion of approaches and topics (Bedarida, 1968; 1983). At the practical level, Theodore Hershberg put forward his assessment of limits rather bluntly: “the efforts of historians working as individuals to master new methods and techniques and read in the literature of other disciplines has on the whole been as entirely commendable as it has been hopelessly insufficient” (Hershberg, 1978). And from the point of view of planning history, urban historians emphasized city as form and function over city as object of policy—thus offering tacit commentary about the limited power of official policy and policy makers over a tumultuous, dynamic urbanism.

Planning history emerged in tandem with these debates. Key actors had interdisciplinary backgrounds: in Britain, Gordon Cherry trained in geography at Queen Mary College in London and worked in a city planning department before joining the Centre of Urban and Regional Studies in Birmingham University, neatly embodying in one scholar the disciplinary transitions between geography, planning, and planning history (Boulton, 1996). Cherry eventually worked closely with urban historian Anthony Sutcliffe to organize the professional scaffolding for planning history, including conferences and a society, the Planning History Group. Cherry, Sutcliffe, and members of the Planning History Group not only emerged from interdisciplinary training and work experiences; they also embraced interdisciplinary methods as a larger philosophical commitment to thinking about the modern city in a multidimensional, synthesized way. Disciplinary traditions mattered less than practical outcomes: methods were freely borrowed from geography, city planning, history, and more to improve urban policies and plans in the present and future. This sort of functional approach to the past has proved particularly persuasive in schools of planning; according to a recently published introductory urban and regional planning reader, the study of history continues to serve three purposes: “It builds professional identity. . . . It provides the context for understanding the origin and course of the planning decisions that affect contemporary conditions. It helps today’s students learn from past techniques to see what worked and what didn’t and to frame questions about how they will practice planning” (Birch, 2009).

Interdisciplinary Approaches to Power in Planning

For others, however, planning history held less prescriptive power. Planning needed to be considered as power and process, it was argued; planning history could draw more deeply from the

intersections of history with urban theory, anthropology, political science, and geography. Henri Lefebvre and Michel Foucault connected space with capitalism in powerful texts that resonated across disciplinary borders (Foucault, 1972; Lefebvre, 1974); David Harvey, Manuel Castells, and Peter Marcuse further developed this line of reasoning, applying Marxist theory to link planning with “a privileged facilitation of capitalist demands, and a purposeful neglect of social needs,” in the process challenging the characterization of planning as a benevolent act (Yiftachel, Goldhaber, and Nuriel, 2009). These and other related theorizations of power, space, and place produced what would eventually be known as the urban justice literature of the 1970s. Planning history as a field did not fundamentally transform as a result of these challenges, but instead splintered into different specialties.

In challenging frame as well as content, urban justice literature represented part of a much larger spatial turn—with space not merely as the repository for human history and activity, but rather as a production and a social process. This critical evaluation of space and spatiality emerged first from geography and quickly spread, influencing other disciplines and helping to “facilitate interdisciplinary inquiry that offer[ed] a richer, more contextualized understanding of human experience, social relations, and the production of culture,” according to geographer Barney Warf and Latin American colonial literature and culture scholar Santa Arias (Warf and Arias, 2009). The spatial turn brought disciplines into conversation with each other, and it also served as a prism for parsing out disciplinary perspectives. Spatiality, then, served as a “vehicle for examining what it mean[t] to be interdisciplinary or multidisciplinary, to cross the borders and divides that . . . organized the academic division of labor” (Warf and Arias, 2009).

The spatial turn had the most profound effects on researchers who studied colonial and post-colonial planning. These scholars interrogated the historical relationship between authority and built form, between politics and spatiality. Planning history could be understood as one part of the work of “technician[s] of general ideas,” to borrow from anthropologist Paul Rabinow. In this frame, planners developed expertise through the exercise of “social technologies of pacification” within the “social laboratories” of cities (Rabinow, 1989). Plans could be seen as a process of visualization—of a “strategic [appeal] to hegemonic images of modernity and discourses of social engineering . . . to restructure the local urban scene” (Ghannam, 1998; Ghannam, 2002). Scholars from a wide array of disciplines converged in their discussions of planning as an exercise of power—whether in Sub-Saharan Africa, Southeast Asia, North Africa, or South Asia—an exercise that was incompletely realized, with persistent “social orders” that, as Simone said, were “denied official recognition and . . . usually misinterpreted as ‘traditional,’ ‘irregular,’ or ‘spontaneous’” (Abu-Lughod, 1980; Mabogunje, 1990; King, 1991; Wright, 1991; Yeoh, 1996; Çelik, 1997; Simone, 2004; Njoh, 2007). In other words, planning was not a historical fact, but rather a vehicle by which government actors asserted their worldview (including their desired power relations). If planning historians simply wrote histories of state of plans without consideration of this larger context of struggle, they would be erasing nonstate actors from their narratives, diminishing the importance and legitimacy of nonstate planning with words like “spontaneous,” “irregular,” “fringe,” and “informal.” Many favelas had organized social relations and systems to distribute resources, for instance, but city planners viewed these spaces as “unplanned,” and eventually, “informal.” Planning historians needed to grapple with the complexity of these relationships, rather than accepting the state’s view wholesale and narrating state planning history separate from other forms of very real—but not state-determined—planning.

Ultimately, then, this rich body of colonial and postcolonial studies challenged the very framework of planning history. Scholars like architect, planner, and historian Jyoti Hosagrahar did not propose a more inclusive or expansive celebration of “minority discourses and knowledges in order to include them in their subordinate positions;” rather, she “question[ed] the very master

narrative” of modernity—a narrative that served normative purposes and that served particular agendas (Hosagrahar, 2005). While Hosagrahar focused more on the construction of modernity, the same move could be applied to planning and planning history broadly. Writing a history positing some urban changes as “planned” and others as “unplanned” reifies the state’s authority, legitimizing some urban imaginaries and delegitimizing others. Put another way, and borrowing this time from Abidin Kusno, an understanding of empire might present urban space not only as a site of oppression, domination, and silencing, but also as “the site of identity formation and an arena for the production of new social and political consciousness”—as a place where new subjectivities came to be (Kusno, 2010). In this context, scholars faced two choices. They could expand their definition of plans and planning to think critically about their nature: to scrutinize state planning of urban space, yes, and also to consider the deliberate remaking and use of city space by urbanites as a type of planning, and to reconsider the automatic authority that historians grant to bureaucratic government planning bodies. Alternately, scholars could reject this critical treatment of the category of “planning,” and restrict the nomenclature of “planning history” to those imaginaries generated by the state, accepting in the process the state’s definitions of “planned” and “unplanned.” In other words, the lack of a coherent field of planning history is due at least in part to an intellectual disagreement about where to draw lines in such wide-ranging interdisciplinary inquiry.

Scholars interested in governmentality have chosen the latter of the two options, treating planning as an instrument of the state, as a part of a state’s assertion of authority. Political scientist and anthropologist James C. Scott’s ideas about urban order and development proved enormously influential as way of thinking specifically about the apparatus of planning. States not only articulated power but actually gained it through planning and through the creation of new, managed categories (Scott, 1998). Political scientist Timothy Mitchell built on these ideas, observing the role of Egyptian planners in resident participation in village design: in Cairo, planners believed that “the very process of planning would be the means for [villagers] to recover their lost individuality . . . through developing their power to make decisions. They would develop into subjects of the nation” (Mitchell, 2002). Social anthropologist Richard Baxstrom’s study of planning history in Brickfields illustrated this same emphasis on process and meaning by examining not the planned destruction and “redevelopment,” nor even the resistance to these plans, but rather the way “belief itself came to be a defining factor in the creation of ethical subjects and spaces of living in urban Malaysia” (Baxstrom, 2008). US historians and American Studies scholars, meanwhile, wrote new narratives about the creation of poverty and community participation as managerial techniques of the state (Goldstein, 2012; Immerwahr, 2015).

Interdisciplinarity played a key part in the development of this research. Scholars clearly read across disciplinary lines and built on shared research questions to think of planning and plans in a more richly textured way. In fact, one might think of the ever-growing scholarship on place and space as a way to see this challenge to top-down planning and reconceptualize politics (Dikeç, 2012). When dissecting spatial histories of power and meaning, a range of disciplinary tools provided different ways to understand social meaning, contested power relations, the role of the state, and the geography of modernization. Theory also provided common ground. Concepts of space and place have benefited from rigorous debate amongst geographers and amongst historians of science, but the concepts themselves have been “differently expressed” within each group. Geographer Charles Withers argued there was “value in looking at these different views in order to understand that whilst place is a commonplace term it is not agreed upon: working with imprecision has been both opportunity and restriction” (Withers, 2009).

Debates over definition point to a very basic problem with planning history as a coherent field; how, after all, could boundaries be set for planning history if scholars did not agree on a

definition of planning itself? Many of the individuals very explicitly writing and talking about plans and planning did not identify as “planning historians.” This challenge, of course, lends an air of artificiality to any attempt to write a coherent, cohesive, intellectual, and historiographical account of “planning history” as a single thing. Should a survey of planning history be limited to those studies revealing planning as a regulatory or managerial activity with very specific state-controlled agendas? Should planning history analyze grassroots community builders, favela leaders, and informal settlers on the same terms and with the same definitions and analytical frameworks as with state planning? If yes, many informal settlements might be labeled unplanned spaces, in direct contradiction to those scholars arguing for the importance of community planning.

These sorts of questions have had profound implications for urban planners, and one of the most direct challenges to the traditions of planning history came from Leonie Sandercock, an urban planner with training in history and urban research. At the turn of the 21st century, Sandercock decried the limited definition of planning history as a narrative about the rise of the profession and its related objective of city building. Planning historians systematically excluded other narratives by the very act of definition. If instead planning historians defined planning as “community building,” Sandercock argued, they might produce less heroic stories and a broader understanding of planning that accounted for multiple sources of knowledge and action. According to Sandercock, such nascent “insurgent planning histories” had already begun to be written, “challeng[ing] our very definition of what constitutes planning.” For Sandercock, this insurgence was the result of a more explicitly cross-disciplinary effort—presumably because scholars could not so readily find subaltern perspectives in professional and state archives (Sandercock, 1998). Some scholars responded that the simple addition of “unplanned” spaces into planning history might not necessarily transform the frame, however. Stephen V. Ward, Robert Freestone, and Christopher Silver argued that even active inclusion of non-Western historical perspectives might be “unconsciously muted by being developed and expressed through these more traditional channels” (Ward, Freestone, and Silver, 2011).

Interdisciplinary Approaches to Transnational Planning

Interdisciplinarity, then, played a foundational and ongoing role in the debates that sprung up around definitions of the field of planning history. Interdisciplinarity also helped break apart (at least conceptually) the commitment to national boundaries: for some planning historians, the undeniable movement of professional planners and planning ideas served as the first step to more transnational planning histories. Whether in infrastructural improvements, singular concepts like the Garden City, or regulatory techniques like zoning, itinerant planners exchanged ideas and advice in what would become a web of global, intellectual urban networks. In tracking and narrating the work of such footloose planners, planning historians followed suit: geographer and town planner Peter Hall produced what would become a classic of planning history in 1988, explicitly prioritizing the flow of ideas (by Hall’s own title, an “intellectual history”), while also connecting ideas with processes of transplantation and a close scrutiny of physical, built urbanism—arguably, architectural and social histories with clear connections to planning and design (Hall, 1988). This last element distinguished Hall’s work from comparable transnational studies like Dan Rodgers’ *Atlantic Crossings*, a weighty history of North Atlantic progressivism. That work included planners and architects like Raymond Unwin, Georges Haussmann, and Daniel Burnham, but viewed planning history more through the lens of social politics (Rodgers, 1996). Practical conditions put limits on these intellectual approaches to transnational planning history, with many planning historians favoring research in a select few, mostly Western European languages, with a smaller but significant inclusion of Japanese texts.

Other planning historians drew from a different interdisciplinary well. In thinking about transnationality through the lens of interdisciplinary approaches to power, scholars like Joe Nasr and Mercedes Volait put forward the idea that “planning and architectural discourse can be shaped by domestic realities . . . as much as by the experience of professional planners,” that non-planning or non-implementation could be the result of local choice, of local planning, and that planning was a “complex dialectic between center and periphery” (Nasr and Volait, 2003). Returning to earlier themes, then, but from a slightly different direction, Nasr and Volait brought the methods of colonial and postcolonial studies into conversation with non-colonial urban settings and with the study of the built environment generally.

These various influential writings exerted considerable stimulus for a growing body of transnational, international, and global studies of urban renewal, town planning exhibitions, modern mass housing, and various itinerant architects and planners. The result was a growing body of non-national planning histories that freely mixed architecture, history, and planning (Ethington et al., 2009; Urban, 2011; Klemek, 2011; Stanek and Avermaete, 2012; Shoshkes, 2013; Kwak, 2015). The new and growing subfield of transnational planning histories employed a unique mix of disciplinary methods, blending architectural theory, planning, and history without much methodological comment.

Without doubt, however, transnational planning history was at its very core an interdisciplinary project. Shane Ewen declared transnational urban and planning history an interdeterminate subject “located at the interstices of multiple disciplines” and a “natural bedfellow for urban historians” interested in the “manifestation and spread of innovative practices, technologies, and a creative class of urban professionals (scientists, engineers, designers, planning consultants)” (Ewen, 2016). Indeed, Ewen is right to observe that many transnational planning histories have thus far kept the definition of planning within the categories of “professionals” and “experts” —albeit, in more expansive ways to include the aforementioned “urban professionals.” Such transnational works have highlighted ever-more interdisciplinary professional associations and organizations like the International Planning History Society (Ewen, 2016).

Comparative transnational studies likewise employed interdisciplinary approaches, with scholars like Lawrence Vale easily crossing national and disciplinary boundaries and drawing from wide-ranging expertise in history, planning, and international relations to write a classic study of the reformulation of modern national identity through the design of national capitals (Vale, 1992). By 2011–2012, Hein’s edited volume on port cities (Hein, 2011) and Vale’s 2012 coedited volume on global planning illustrated how widely accepted interdisciplinary methods had become in planning history, at least among a select international group of scholars pursuing related questions of urban development and planning at the international, comparative, or transnational scales. Jiat-hwee Chang’s monograph on tropical architecture is simply the most recent example of this sort of interdisciplinarity (Chang, 2016).

Conclusion

Without doubt, interdisciplinarity played and continues to play a critical role in defining the field of planning history. Given the challenges presented here, it seems unavoidable that planning historians will have to much more deliberately reconsider the assumptions embedded in the very delineation of planning. Looking at the historiography, it is clear that planning history has gone through a series of changes as a field, beginning with foundational works narrating the formation of a profession and presupposing a coherent set of plans and planners; to a rethinking of the character of planning from ideal types to hotly contested, potentially problematic, and incompletely realized processes; to a challenge of the very terms themselves, with scholars critically examining the way “plans” and

“planning” worked normatively to produce centers and peripheries, sanctioned and unsanctioned spaces. Given this incredibly rich historiography, it is probably insufficient to simply conclude that future planning histories ought to adhere to a definition of plans and planning without more substantively responding to these important challenges.

Related Topics

Batey: The History of Planning Methodology

Freestone: Writing Planning History in the English-Speaking World

Kusno: Southeast Asia: Colonial Discourses

Kusno: Postcolonial Southeast Asia

Hosagrahar: A History of Heritage Conservation in City Planning

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4

PLANNING HISTORY AND THEORY

Institutions, Comparison, and Temporal Processes

André Sorensen

Does planning history need theory? Compared to most other historical social science research, explicitly theoretical work is rare in planning history. For example, Peter Hall's brilliant *Cities of Tomorrow* is great planning history but scarcely mentions any theoretical framing explicitly, apart from claiming a desire to reassert the importance of actors and ideas over structural forces in shaping events. Hall's grand narrative clearly relies on more than a concept of agency, but he reveals few of his theoretical assumptions. Many planning historians do frame their research theoretically, but few if any have attempted to develop theoretical approaches specific to planning history. This chapter argues that *macro comparative historical analysis* and *historical institutionalism* provide valuable theoretical and methodological approaches for planning history, and that issues particular to planning, including the development of institutions of local governance, and the regulation of land and property development, provide opportunities to contribute to these theories.

It is important to note at the outset that planning historians are in good company in their lack of attention to issues of theory. Mainstream history research is seldom explicitly theoretically driven, most historians preferring to immerse themselves in particular eras, and to develop interpretations and trajectories based on the particularities of their cases. Guldi and Armitage based their controversial *History Manifesto* on the charge that professional historians immersed themselves too deeply in "micro history," becoming experts in particular events and archives while relinquishing work on theory, the big picture, and longer historical trajectories (Guldi and Armitage, 2014).

Similarly, Pierson accuses most contemporary social science—especially political science—of having abandoned longer-run historical study to focus on empirical "snapshots" in time, focusing on short-term causes and short-term outcomes rather than developing theory that can explain longer-term and cumulative processes. He suggests that the snapshot approach can be valuable for some social processes, but will mean that "there are important things that we do not see at all, and what we do see we often misunderstand" (Pierson, 2004, p. 79). Pierson argues that the main value of a historical approach in social science is neither the development of empirical knowledge nor methodological innovation, but the development of theory: social processes are temporal phenomena, and historical research on timing, sequencing, and cumulative processes of change over time requires sustained theoretical engagement.

The other standard arguments in favor of careful and explicit theoretical framing of research projects are that it helps to develop powerful and relevant questions, and makes meaningful comparison possible (Bendix, 1964; Tilly, 1984; Skocpol, 1994). This seems especially true in planning and

planning history: as urban policy and governance systems encompass such high levels of complexity and variety, a clear theoretical framing is essential to be able to distinguish the unique attributes of particular cases, and also to discern larger patterns, processes, and regularities. Theory is essential for generalization across diverse cases, and comparison is an essential component of both theory-building and the development of a cumulative body of knowledge (Tilly, 1984).

Of course, even though there has been little attempt to develop theory specific to planning history, many researchers deploy theory and conceptual frameworks from other disciplines in developing new interpretations of planning history. Major examples include Richard Foglesong's Marxist analysis of the development of American planning prior to 1920 (Foglesong, 1986); Christine Boyer's (1983) engagement with Foucault in her development of a theory of urban power and governmentality; Hayden's (1984) feminist critique of the patriarchy embedded in suburban planning and design; Sandercock's (1998) framing of insurgent planning approaches; Brenner's (2004) analysis of urban governance rescaling; the postcolonial work of King (1980) and Home (1997) examining the history of planning in colonies and ex-colonies, among others. Each of these authors explicitly and productively engages theories originating in other disciplines to frame their planning histories. This is important and influential work, but it seems fair to suggest that the primary goal of this work is not theory development, but reinterpretation of the historical record.

Other work in planning theory examines trajectories in planning history as evidence. Exemplary here is John Friedmann's (1987) seminal *Planning in the Public Domain*, which developed not only an influential approach to planning theory, but also detailed an intellectual history of planning theory, from Jeremy Bentham and Saint-Simon in the 18th century through to Castells and Hayden in the late 20th century. Although the history of planning theory is a different project than the theory of planning history, one certainly contributes to the other.

One significant area where planning history has contributed to larger urban theory is in the area of policy mobility. Several of the early works in this field were by planning historians (Ward, 2002; Nasr and Volait, 2003; Healey and Upton, 2010), even though these are seldom cited by the more recent and higher-profile publications on urban policy mobilities, and little of this more recent work mentions planning history (see, e.g., Larner and Laurie, 2010; Peck and Theodore, 2010; McCann, 2011).

What is most lacking, however, is proactive work on theory building within planning history, and significant engagement with and contributions to theoretical debates in other urban disciplines. This chapter develops an institutional approach to theorizing planning history research, drawing on macro comparative historical analysis (CHA), and Historical Institutionalism (HI). Comparative historical analysis is an interdisciplinary research agenda that emphasizes comparative study of big questions and structures over long periods, while HI is a theory originating in political science that focuses on the role of institutions in structuring social, political, and economic processes, as discussed below. I argue that a combination of these approaches can inform explicit theory development in planning history; can contribute to the development of planning history theory that focuses on comparing and explaining the historical trajectories of urban planning governance institutions in different jurisdictions, and is an opportunity for planning historians to contribute to a comparative understanding of differentiation in trajectories of urban industrialization and economic development since the early 20th century.

Macro comparative historical analysis and HI provide valuable insights for planning history, but it is important to note that they have failed to engage with major issues of social and political development specific to urban governance and urban planning, remaining trapped in a nation-state perspective (see, e.g., Mahon and Keil, 2009). The core subjects of planning history—including the evolution of planning institutions structuring urban land and property development, and the role of those institutions in shaping property development and property rights in land—are fundamental to understanding contemporary urbanization processes. The study of these big structures and large

processes in comparative perspective is a major opportunity for planning historians to contribute to larger debates and theory-building in social science. This challenge seems particularly important today, as urbanization and city-building have become increasingly central to the development of capitalism itself.

Comparative Historical Analysis in Social Science

It is surprising that planning historians have engaged so little with comparative historical analysis in social science, as the main concerns of both are similar: how governance systems and priorities change over time, in parallel with the evolution of capitalism; how approaches to the challenges of industrialization and urbanization differ, and a focus on the different roles and power of particular actors and groups in major processes of change. Often preceded by the adjective “macro” because of a preference for big structures and long time spans, comparative historical analysis is a broad grouping of work, particularly in historical sociology and political science, that shares “a concern with causal analysis, an emphasis on processes over time, and the use of systematic and contextualized comparison” (Mahoney and Rueschemeyer. 2003, p. 10). Comparative historical analysis explores how societies change over time, the major causes of social revolutions, and how democratic institutions develop (or fail to) in different countries. As Tilly (1984) famously put it, the goal of comparative historical research is to understand big structures, large processes, and huge comparisons, and to use such comparisons to make credible generalizations about social change, including state formation, democratization, and the development of capitalism.

Mahoney and Rueschemeyer (2003) argue that all comparative historical analysis fits comfortably within historical institutionalism, a broader grouping. Comparative historical analysis is a broad category that includes a significant range of theoretical and methodological approaches. Early research was prompted by the upheavals of the industrial revolution and the progressive geographic spread of capitalism, and associated transformations of existing social and economic practices: exactly the context of most planning history. As Mahoney and Rueschemeyer (2003) argue, such changes are always best studied through explicitly cross-national comparisons, and must focus on temporal processes that unfold over time.

The social sciences originated with such large-scale research during the 19th century, including the work of Marx, Durkheim, and Weber. But as the social sciences differentiated into the academic disciplines we know today, such broadly framed approaches declined. Major early examples of a renewed interest in large-scale historical comparisons in the 1960s includes work by Reinhard Bendix (1964) and Barrington Moore (1966).

Moore (1966) was seminal in renewing interest in comparative macro history. He sought to explain why different countries took different paths in their transformation from agrarian societies to modern industrial ones. He distinguished four broad outcomes: liberal capitalist democracy (England, France, and the United States), fascism (Germany and Japan), communism (Russia, China), and stalled democracy (India). Moore focused on the role of the landed classes (lords and peasants) in major revolutionary processes, how capitalist markets emerged in agriculture, and the timing of major processes of change in each country as the main explanatory variables shaping different pathways. Subsequent research both developed and challenged his conclusions (Anderson, 1974; Tilly, 1990; Skocpol, 1994).

Comparative historical analysis research has proliferated in recent decades, prompting Collins (1999) to declare that we are currently seeing a “Golden Age” of comparative macro historical sociology. Major examples of this renewal of comparative historical research include work by Tilly (1990), Evans (1995), and Thelen (2004). A stellar recent example that provides valuable concepts for comparative research in planning history is Mahoney’s (2010) analysis of the long-lasting

legacies of different colonial regimes, with particular attention to Spanish American colonies. Mahoney specifies an HI theoretical frame that focuses on the differences between colonizing regimes and the impacts of different institutional legacies on long-run patterns of development. He develops a general theory of colonialism and development based on an examination of the institutions established by different European colonizers, different levels in the intensity of colonization, different levels of social organization of pre-colonization indigenous peoples, and the governance institutions that were established during colonization. Mahoney focuses on the profoundly unequal distributional qualities of institutions, which he suggests always privilege some actors over others. He argues that in comparing colonial regimes attention must be paid to laws that regulate access to labor and land, and cultural institutions that generate social status, often on the basis of ethnoracial categories. He argues that because such institutions have profound distributional consequences, they help to constitute and mobilize particular elite economic actors.

Planning history can benefit from similar attention to the analysis of big structures and major institutions over long temporal frames. As existing work is almost entirely focused on nation-states as the basic unit of analysis, planning historians have an opportunity to focus attention on issues specific to urban governance, urban land and property, and the role of urban and regional planning institutions in differentiated patterns of socio-economic development.

Historical Institutional Approaches to Planning History

The suggestion here is that the big-picture, long-term approach of macro comparative historical analysis is valuable for planning history, but requires careful attention to historical institutionalist (HI) theory and methods (also see Sorensen, 2015). HI is a research program originating in political science that gained prominence in the 1990s; it focuses on the role of institutions in shaping political, economic, and social behavior over time (Hall and Taylor, 1996). After defining “institutions,” this brief introduction focuses on five core concepts: that positive feedback to institutional power in some cases generates path dependence and branching patterns of institutional development; an emphasis on contingent critical junctures of institution formation; the idea that institutions unavoidably produce unequal distributional effects that structure political opportunity and mobilization; a focus on structured processes of incremental institutional change that privilege certain pathways and change processes over others, and the concept of institutional complementarities and co-evolution processes that help maintain great variation among urban planning systems. I suggest that together these five concepts provide a valuable conceptual toolbox for planning history research, and particularly international comparative studies.

The definition of institutions is important, and there are many approaches, depending on the focus of research. A widely cited definition is Peter A. Hall’s: “The formal rules, compliance procedures, and standard operating practices that structure the relationship between individuals in various units of the polity and economy” (cited in Thelen and Steinmo, 1992). More narrowly, Streeck and Thelen (2005, p. 9) define institutions as “collectively enforced expectations with respect to the behavior of specific categories of actors or to the performance of certain activities.” Urban planning can be understood as the creation, modification, and enforcement of such institutions relating to urban space. For the application of HI in planning history it is useful to conceive of urban property as institutionalized space, and of particular configurations of urban space and property as institutions.

It is useful to start with path dependence, a term which has entered popular discourse as meaning simply that “history matters,” but which has a more specific meaning in HI. The premise is that some institutions tend to generate self-reinforcing dynamics, or positive feedback effects, which promote continuity and generate enduring trajectories of institutional development. Such positive feedback means that the particular institutions or sets of institutions that generate such feedback

become difficult or costly to change, and make it difficult to revert to earlier available options. This creates developmental trajectories that resemble branching processes in which “the probability of further steps along the same path increases with each move down the path” (Pierson, 2004, p. 21). Path dependence is therefore defined by Pierson as “referring to social processes that exhibit positive feedback and thus generate branching patterns of historical development” (Pierson, 2004, p. 21). One source of positive feedback is that individuals or groups who benefit from the institution have an incentive to resist changes that will reduce their power or rewards (Hacker, 2002; Pierson, 2004; Mahoney and Thelen, 2010). Where such self-reinforcing positive feedback exists, critical junctures of new institution formation, when new developmental trajectories are launched, become very important (Collier and Collier, 1991; Capoccia and Kelemen, 2007).

It is clear that many planning institutions fit this model. Planning can be understood as a complex set of institutions (rules, shared understandings, decision-processes and organizations) established to regulate processes of urban change. Once particular planning institutions become established, they generate new ways of working, structure relationships between multiple urban actors, establish decision-rules for policy revisions, and create financing mechanisms and debt instruments for urban infrastructure that tend to benefit some actors more than others. Such institutions encourage some projects at the same time that they prevent others.

The concept of path dependence thus raises a number of important questions for planning history. First, which planning institutions tend to be path dependent, and why? (It is certainly not the case that all institutions are path dependent.) Are urban institutions sometimes designed to be path dependent to resist later changes? What kinds of positive feedback mechanisms exist in urban governance and planning? It seems likely that the high value of urban property, and the role that planning can have in regulating land development and protecting long-run place qualities and property values must be central here, but further research is needed to dig in to the various ways this plays out in different places.

In urban space the large sunk costs of investments in immovable buildings and infrastructure generates significant continuity. But the suggestion here is that purely institutional factors may be equally or more path dependent. Sunk costs in buildings are frequently discarded as they are torn down and replaced with something larger, and redevelopment is constant in growing cities. But a policy such as single-family-detached zoning of neighborhoods, while permitting renovations and even replacement of individual buildings, will often be vigorously defended when change is threatened. There are many examples where such rules are more path dependent than particular collections of sunk costs. Similar political support for parks and greenspace, and other valued urban amenities is common. The delineation of municipal boundaries is largely arbitrary and contingent, but these often become highly resistant to change because of loyalties to place, and because over time multiple other institutions develop to fit those boundaries. A fuller exploration of the path dependent aspects of planning and urban governance seems likely to be productive.

A second core concept of Historical Institutionalism is the idea that many institutions are created during critical junctures that are caused primarily by exogenous factors. During the last decade, scholars have moved on from the early “punctuated equilibrium” approach to institutional change, which focused on critical junctures of institution-formation followed by periods of greater stability, or “developmental pathways,” and towards a greater emphasis on incremental and continuous processes of endogenous change. But the idea of critical junctures is still valuable. A critical juncture is a period of crisis that results in major institutional change, a time when established structures fail to provide either adequate solutions to pressing problems or convincing explanations of changing contexts. In such moments of crisis, actors start to seek new approaches. Katznelson describes critical junctures as “times when the advantages of the status quo are broken, thus conducting an uncommon range of choice” (Katznelson, 2003, p. 282). As Capoccia and Kelemen suggest,

“During critical junctures change is substantially less constrained than it is during the phases of path dependence that precede and follow them. In critical junctures contingency is enhanced, as the structural constraints imposed on actors during the path-dependent phase are substantially relaxed.” (Capoccia and Kelemen, 2007, p. 368).

The idea of contingency is that during critical junctures multiple possible futures are present, and the actual outcome will depend on the particular circumstances, timing, combinations of actors, and power relations at the time new institutions are established. During critical junctures, decisions have unavoidably to be made with less than full information, and the particular choices made are influenced by multiple factors, so minor differences in conditions may lead to different outcomes in different places. Such contingency does not mean that the choices made are in any sense random, but it does mean that it is impossible to predict in advance what the outcome will be.

Many sets of institutions are established during critical junctures of major institutional change or crisis. In planning history, a prime example is the establishment in all the advanced countries of modern planning systems at the beginning of the 20th century in response to the 19th-century urban crisis of industrialization. There was significant variety in the new planning institutions that emerged in different jurisdictions, and these differences have proven enduring.

The timing and sequencing of critical junctures of new institution-building clearly have profound impacts on the choices made. For example, the institutional choices made in a given jurisdiction’s first attempts to establish large-scale water supply and waste-water management systems are likely to vary dramatically not only in relationship to the technological choices available and the level of economic development, but also to timing relative to other historic processes. Cities that established water supply systems at the beginning of the 20th century tended to choose municipal ownership and operation, while at the end of the century, privatization and public-private partnerships were the norm for new water systems. The hard infrastructure of pipes and purification plants is an obvious case of path dependence generated by sunk costs, but the more purely institutional factors (long-term debt and debt-service institutions, management and maintenance arrangements and associated jobs, service and safety guarantees, among many others) are also powerful obstacles to wholesale change outside of critical junctures such as municipal bankruptcy. A systematic comparison of the timing, sequencing, and patterns of the critical junctures of institution-building in diverse jurisdictions and times is likely to be productive.

Big questions about critical junctures in planning history include: What critical junctures of institutional development should planning historians focus on? Which actors played prominent roles during particular critical junctures, and how does this vary between jurisdictions? What is the impact of the timing and sequencing of particular critical junctures in relation to other aspects of institutional, economic, and political development in shaping the choices made? For example, jurisdictions that establish effective land-development controls before or during significant urbanization are certain to develop differently than those that urbanize before effective planning institutions are established.

A third claim of HI is that institutions unavoidably distribute valued resources unequally even when intended to be neutral (Mahoney, 2010), and such unequal distributional effects can powerfully structure both political opportunity and mobilization. In this view, institutions are understood not as static sets of rules, but as the product of political conflicts and as the legacy of past struggles. They are continually contested, as they shape political power, choices, and behavior, and can serve to mobilize action either for their reform, or in their defense. As Lowndes puts it concisely: “institutional rules embody power relations by privileging certain positions and certain courses of action over others—they express ‘patterns of distributional advantage’” (Lowndes, 2009, p. 95). Similarly, Mahoney and Thelen (2010, p. 8) describe institutions as “*distributional instruments* laden with power implications” (emphasis in original). It takes power to impose new sets of rules, but once established, those rules can sometimes be used to reinforce a position of advantage, and may

therefore be worth protecting. Where a particular institution is enduring, this can be understood as evidence that the institution provides a large enough reward to mobilize support coalitions in its defense when it is threatened. This is one aspect of positive feedback, or the self-reinforcing quality of some institutions.

The big questions for planning history are: How well does this description fit planning institutions? Which institutions appear to be contested in these ways? How does the multi-scalar character of many planning systems—with many laws passed by upper-level governments, but implemented by municipalities—shape collective action to change the rules of the game? How has such skirmishing over rules shaped the evolution of planning systems in different jurisdictions (for example in the varied European “families” of urban governance and planning described by Newman and Thornley [1996])? It seems clear that the varied ways that urban governance institutions structure collective action in different jurisdictions are important sources of differentiation in planning systems.

A fourth major focus of HI is on processes of incremental and endogenously driven institutional change that privilege certain actors and pathways over others. In response to valid criticism that HI was too focused on continuity and path dependence, a major focus of research over the last decade has been on incremental change (see Mahoney and Thelen, 2010). The current thinking is that institutions clearly evolve outside of critical junctures, and that such changes are shaped by characteristics of the institution in question, by institutional settings and revision procedures, and by the characteristics of the actors who seek change. Although obviously a simplification, this is easiest to express as a simple binary: change is most sought by those who were losers in previous rounds of institutional development, and who have the most to gain from policy change, while those who benefit from existing arrangements are more likely to seek to further entrench or strengthen existing rules.

A useful typology of patterns of institutional change focuses on two factors structuring change (see Mahoney and Thelen, 2010, p. 14): the extent to which there is discretion in the enforcement of institutional rules, and the degree to which there are veto points or veto players who are able to block change. The combination of these two variables leads to a simple typology diagram with four possible types of institutional change (see Sorensen, 2011; 2015). Where there is little discretion in enforcement, and limited veto possibilities, *Displacement* (the removal of existing rules and creation of new ones) is likely. This describes most normal policy change. Where there is little discretion in enforcement but strong veto possibilities, *Layering* (the addition of new rules on top of existing ones) is more likely, as actors desiring change may not be able to get rid of existing institutions, but it may be possible to create new ones that modify the way existing rules work. An example is the addition of environmental assessment requirements to the routine evaluation of some property development projects. Where there are high levels of discretion or interpretation in the enforcement of the rules, however, other possibilities for institutional change are available. Where there are weak veto possibilities and significant discretion in the interpretation or enforcement of rules, *Conversion* (the incremental change of policies over time by small changes in implementation) is a likely mode of change. An example of conversion might be the weak or non-enforcement of environmental regulations by some neoliberal regimes. And finally where there are high levels of discretion in enforcement and strong veto possibilities, *Drift* (where the failure to adapt policies to a changing environment means that the impact of an institution changes or weakens significantly over time) is most likely because actors seeking change are blocked from policy change. An obvious example of drift is the failure to revise municipal boundaries for growing cities, creating fragmentation and serious challenges for coordinated planning of growth.

It is clear that many urban planning and governance institutions do see incremental change processes over time, and that many urban institutions are open to significant levels of interpretation and discretion in enforcement. Even in a situation of stable rules, different interpretations of the rules, or strict or lax enforcement of them can lead in practice to different patterns of institutional change. The question is which sorts of institutions tend to see which types of incremental change processes,

and how this can help us to better understand patterns and processes of incremental change. Are there characteristics of urban spatiality and property relations that require modifications to this typology? What insights does this provide for understanding patterns of urban policy change?

A fifth concept of HI is the idea of institutional complementarities and institutional co-evolution which assume that in most cases institutions do not exist in splendid isolation, but work in conjunction with other institutions. They not only shape each others' patterns of development and incremental change, but also can be mutually reinforcing: in many cases, institutions co-evolve in interdependent and complementary ways. North (1990) described such complementary institutions as "interdependent webs of an institutional matrix." Urban planning is a matrix of dozens or even hundreds of different institutions that have profound impacts on each others' operation and implementation processes. The concept of co-evolution is that incremental change and mutual adaptation over time affects all the institutions in a matrix (see Van Assche, Duineveld, and Beunen, 2015; Van Assche, Duineveld, and Beunen forthcoming). Institutional co-evolution also increases the likelihood of significant differences emerging between jurisdictions, because in each jurisdiction the particular sets of institutions that co-evolve most closely and trigger changes may be different, with environmental challenges prominent in one place, economic changes dominating changes in another, or a particular disaster or risk driving change in a third.

Land, Municipal Institutions, and Planning History

Urban planning, in HI perspective, is the set of institutions involved in the regulation of urban space and property development processes. Historical institutionalism offers a valuable theoretical approach to research in planning history, as cities are rich in interlocking institutional structures, many of which appear prone to path dependent processes and positive feedback effects. This is a relatively unexplored institutional terrain, as HI has focused almost exclusively on nation-states, and has neglected cities and local governance. Planning and urban governance present an exceptionally dense and consequential set of institutions that is increasingly important for managing and regulating processes of urban growth and capital investment in cities. Local states play a central role in regulating the production of new urban property rights during land development, and in defining and protecting those property rights. Indeed, to a greater degree than in perhaps any other market, the state and planning institutions are fundamental and indispensable to the existence and continued value of urban property, and to the working of property markets.

Yet HI requires modification to adapt it to the context of cities as spatial entities, and planning as the set of institutions charged with the management of space. Mainstream historical institutionalism treats politics as an aspatial phenomenon, so the goal here is to suggest a conceptual framework for applying historical institutionalism to planning history and to cities, which are profoundly spatial. I argue that it will be useful to disaggregate urban institutions into three main types: urban space and property, urban infrastructure, and urban governance. This is easiest to visualize in the case of rural to urban land development. Here, not only do bulldozers remove trees and level the land, but new property units are created. These are serviced by complex sets of hard and soft infrastructure including pipes, public space networks including streets, and other municipal services, and are regulated by dense sets of institutions, including land and building regulations, fire codes, police powers, and municipal finance laws to pay for infrastructure maintenance and services. Urban space cannot exist without property institutions, infrastructure institutions, and governance institutions, each of which has its own logic and political dynamics, but all of which intersect and are spatialized in particular properties and urban areas.

Urban space thus conceived has a particularly path dependent character, not primarily because of sunk costs, but because of the complex of rules, configurations, and relationships of property/infrastructure/governance that are established in urbanization processes. These sets of institutions

must co-evolve because they are linked to particular places and spatial patterns. While particular rules do change over time, the larger spatial patterns and relationships are extraordinarily enduring. Cities can be seen as collections of institutionalized property (including public property), produced in particular circumstances and though specific sets of rules. Here the time–geographical approach of Pred (1984) is valuable. Pred argued that processes of making urban space can be seen as a complex “sedimentation of structuration,” or accumulations of facts on the ground produced by the institutional structures in place at particular times: “To speak of place-specific constraints and enabling conditions that are based on resources, rules, and norms is to speak of constraints and enabling conditions that are based on geographically and historically specific power relations between individuals, collectivities, and institutions” (Pred, 1984, p. 286). Crucially, every decision and change means that other possibilities are precluded (Pred, 1984, p. 288), in a particularly spatial version of contingency in urban development trajectories. I argue that many urban development processes are unidirectional, as it is easier to develop new property than to revert to a prior state, both because of increased complexity and higher property values after development.

In this perspective cities are: spatial arrangements of capital investment in urban property and the varied interests that these give rise to, that are produced by and sustained with complex and costly infrastructures that must be built, managed and maintained, and have developed in the context of specific and evolving governance structures, powers, and compromises. Land and property institutions, infrastructure institutions, and governance institutions co-evolve in interdependent ways that exhibit great diversity in different jurisdictions, and such diversity appears durable, with lasting differences between planning approaches and outcomes in different places. Contingent moments of legislative and political development create varied planning regimes and landscapes of property, which in some cases appear to be highly path dependent. HI thus provides a powerful tool for comparative urban and planning history research.

Conclusion

Historical institutionalist approaches generate a number of major research opportunities for planning historians. First, it will be important to understand and carefully define the kinds of positive feedback effects that tend to reinforce continuity or structure incremental changes in urban planning institutions. It seems clear that property value and the potential returns to capital investment in urban property are major elements here. But so also are democratic political processes, and the values that are embodied in living places. The spatial embodiment of urban institutions generates particularly powerful sets of institutional configurations and relationships that in turn create both theoretical challenges and opportunities for an urban and spatially sensitive contribution to HI by planning historians.

This approach also provides one answer to recent calls for cross-national comparative urban research methods and theory that can move beyond the comparison of cities of similar size, wealth, and governance structure, and beyond the usual suspects examined by global cities research, to include the huge diversity of cities in developing countries (Robinson, 2006; McFarlane, 2010; Robinson, 2011). If we compare planning institutions designed to regulate and manage the creation of urban property, the landscapes of property that are produced, the infrastructure systems that support them, and the governance systems that structure each of these, then we can investigate very different cities, as we are not comparing the city as a whole, but the component institutions that shape them. Understanding the institutions that structure the production and regulation of property in cities is particularly important if we wish to compare planning histories of different cities and countries.

There are clear opportunities for a broad and productive research agenda that employs HI concepts and theories as part of macro historical comparative research in planning history.

Related Topics

Freestone: Biographical Method

Ward: Planning Diffusion: Agents, Mechanisms, Networks, and Theories

Home: Global Systems Foundations of the Discipline: Colonial, Postcolonial, and Other Power Structures

Sorensen: Global Suburbanization in Planning History

Silver: Educating Planners in History: A Global Perspective

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5

THE HISTORY OF PLANNING METHODOLOGY

Peter Batey

As part of a history of planning methodology, this chapter investigates a set of research questions from the practitioner's perspective, asking about plan-making processes and methodology; who was included (citizens, government, social scientists) in plan-making; and how best practices of plan-making were disseminated. It explores two themes in some detail: *survey-before-plan*, a notion that was expounded by Patrick Geddes during the very early days of planning and which has continued to influence how plans are made ever since; and *the handling of inter-relationships in plan-making*.

The idea of developing a history of how plans are prepared and kept up to date is not new, and in fact featured in some of the early deliberations of the (then) Planning History Group more than thirty years ago. An important landmark may be seen in the journal *Built Environment*, which in 1981 published a theme issue on planning history containing work which, in the words of the guest editor, Anthony Sutcliffe, was "representative of a new wave of self-conscious planning history which has welled up since the early 1970s" (Sutcliffe 1981: 65). Significantly, that new wave included some early attempts to produce a history of planning methodology (Breheny and Batey 1981; Marshall and Masser 1981) explicitly aimed at countering the "pre-occupation of so much planning history with physical creations" (Sutcliffe 1981: 66).

This interest in a history of planning methodology was partly prompted by the intensive plan-making activity of that time. In many parts of the world, this activity led to new thinking about the plan-making process and the methods associated with it. Traditional approaches to plan-making began to be questioned, particularly by those who had not participated in earlier rounds of plan-making. Above all, there was a willingness among practitioners to learn about what had gone before and about what might be possible in future.

Britain was one of those countries where, in the 1970s, there was a major preoccupation with the task of plan-making. The earlier generation of land use development plans ushered in by the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act was set to be replaced by a two-tier system: upper tier *structure plans* containing a written statement of strategic spatial policy; and lower tier *local plans* intended to provide the basis for implementing structure plan policies and a framework for development control (Davies 1999). With their emphasis on written policies backed up by reasoned justification, structure plans in particular were quite different from the map-based plans they replaced. Planning practitioners were keen to learn more about how they might go about preparing these new plans and to exchange best practice in the use of methods that might help them do this. This led the late Michael Breheny—who was working in the Gloucestershire County Planning Department and later

held a chair in Planning at the University of Reading—and me to organize a series of workshops throughout the country for planning practitioners and practice-focused academics. This workshop series was known as the workshop on regional science methods in structure planning. It was held under the auspices of the British Section of the Regional Science Association, an inter-disciplinary organization focusing on advancing rigorous urban and regional research.

The workshops were focused on methods that contributed to the *how* of making a plan and keeping it up to date. Marshall and Masser (1981) make a useful distinction between methods *in* planning (the collection of techniques used to assist in the planning process), and methods *of* planning (conceptual or operational models defining the procedural stages used in formulating plans or particular planning policies), i.e., the “shape of the planning process.” Here we are concerned with both kinds of methods. We used the term *systematic methods* to indicate those formal methods—quantitative and qualitative—expressed as a series of logical steps and capable of being applied consistently. They included methods used for analysis and projection of key variables such as population and employment; methods for developing and evaluating strategies; and methods for monitoring implementation of plans. A collection of papers from the workshop was published in two issues of the *Town Planning Review* (Batey and Breheny 1978a; 1978b) under the title *Systematic Methods in British Planning Practice*. Topics included: census analysis, land use-transportation modeling, integrated forecasting of population and employment, plan generation and evaluation, and plan monitoring. We deliberately excluded those planning concepts and techniques forming the *content* of a plan: planning devices such as the green belt, growth poles, the neighborhood unit, and zoning.

We were curious about how plans were prepared in the past. It became clear that this was a field so far largely neglected by planning historians and yet quite central to the concerns of planners themselves (Batey and Breheny 1982). Knowing more about how earlier plans were prepared, and what aspects worked well, might assist planners in choosing a methodology for new plans. This is particularly relevant in situations where plan-making takes place in intensive phases separated by long intervals of relative inactivity. Valuable plan-making experience might be lost, for example, when planners move on to posts elsewhere or are promoted to managerial positions not directly connected with plan-making.

We therefore decided to organize a workshop series on the history of planning methodology. Formed in 1981, the history workshop proved very helpful in defining the scope of a history (or histories) of planning methodology. Beginning with a broad chronological history, from the turn of the 20th century (Batey and Breheny 1982), the workshop went on to consider two particular periods—the 1940s and the 1960s—where it is known that there was intensive plan-making activity associated with the introduction of fresh planning legislation and new forms of development plan. Other sessions considered the role of surveys in plan-making and, making a connection with planning theory, rationality in planning (Breheny and Hooper 1985). At each session of the history workshop, a number of key practitioners, by then retired, presented “memoir presentations” that are held by the author at the University of Liverpool. In some cases their experience extended as far back as the 1930s, which meant that they directly linked workshop participants with planning practice across a 50-year time period.

Since then, important work has been published assessing the role of particular individuals in the development and on the dissemination of methods or methodological approaches (for example, Meller [1990] on Patrick Geddes; Shoshkes [2013] on Jaqueline Tyrwhitt; and Beauregard [2007] on Homer Hoyt). A major technical study has been completed of the history of a subfield of planning methods, urban travel demand forecasting (Boyce and Williams 2015). And an exploration of the use of methods in two particular wartime plans—the Middlesbrough Survey and Plan and the County of London Plan—has demonstrated the value of detailed investigations of how plan-making has been influenced by the wider social, cultural and political context (Dehaene 2007).

But a comprehensive account of the history of planning methodology is beyond the scope of this chapter; instead, it will examine two underlying themes that have shaped the plan-making process: *survey-before plan*, and *the handling of interrelationships in plan-making*. Survey-before-plan has proved to be one of the most enduring ideas in plan-making, and continues to have relevance to contemporary plans. There are important issues here concerned with the scope and purpose of surveys, the link between survey and plan, and the contributions made by the various members of the planning team, who are likely to be drawn from a range of disciplines and professions. The second theme also reflects the multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary nature of plan-making. An important function of plans, at whatever level, is to integrate and coordinate activity. Plan-makers need an appreciation and understanding of the interrelationships between the activities affected by the plan. And since a plan is intended to guide decisions about future activities, consideration needs to be given to how these decisions themselves are inter-related.

Theme 1: Survey-Before-Plan

By 1909, the fledgling field of town planning was starting to acquire its first textbooks, records of what had been achieved so far, and compendiums of advice and encouragement for those contemplating the preparation of a plan. Raymond Unwin's book, *Town Planning in Practice*, quoted here, was one comprehensive addition to the planning literature. Its advice would prove to be one of the most enduring principles associated with the plan-making process (Breheny 1989): "Before any plan for a new town or for a scheme of town development can with prudence be commenced, a survey must be made of all existing conditions, and this survey cannot well be too wide or too complete" (Unwin 1909: 140–141).

This thinking and much of its dissemination may be attributed to Patrick Geddes, a pioneer of British planning with training in botany whose wide-ranging career later embraced the social sciences and especially the then new discipline of sociology (Meller 1990). In developing his ideas about surveys, Geddes was strongly influenced by the work of late 19th-century French regional geographers and sociologists, notably Paul Vidal de la Blache, Élisée Reclus, and Frederic Le Play (Hall 2009: 146), but it was Geddes himself who coined the term survey-before-plan, drawing an analogy with medical diagnosis before treatment. He put his ideas into practice, leading and participating in a number of civic surveys, of which Dunfermline and Edinburgh are among the best known (Meller 1990).

Geddes also publicized the importance of systematic surveys as the foundation of successful plan-making (Geddes 1915). Working with the Cities Committee of the Sociological Society (Sociological Society 1911), he produced a pamphlet, "City Survey Before Planning," aimed at local authorities considering whether to develop town planning schemes under the first planning legislation, the 1909 Act. He pointed out the drawbacks of town planning without a survey, outlined the general headings for a preliminary survey, and argued strongly for a public exhibition displaying the results of the survey and—to raise aspirations—presenting some of the best planning schemes produced in other cities. Geddes wanted to ensure that plan-making was based on a sufficiently broad vision, taking in the social aspects as well as matters to do with ordering the physical environment (Meller 1990: 181).

Other early planners offered their own suggestions about the scope of the survey and who should carry it out. Abercrombie envisioned a division of functions. A survey team, made up of a range of experts, would collect and present a large body of data and statistics, described by Abercrombie (1916: 186) as a theoretical survey. These experts, including social scientists, were expected to provide a degree of objectivity, their survey forming a firm base from which the town planner could develop the plan. But the town planner should also have conducted his or her own practical survey, a task

that would perhaps nowadays be referred to as appraisal. Abercrombie wrote about his own practice of carrying out “a thorough perambulation of the town, accompanied by a shorthand clerk, noting everything good and bad connected with the city plan on the spot” (1916: 187). Later the same day, he would write up these notes, classifying them and adding his own comments and deductions.

The crucial step between survey and plan was seen by Unwin and others as a “creative leap.” Not until the 1950s, after the rational planning model was introduced into the planning literature by Meyerson and Banfield (1955), did a more systematic and logical plan-making process start to be followed, although not without its own problems.

One of the most important influences on surveys in planning was a series of major social surveys on both sides of the Atlantic. At the beginning of the 20th century, Charles Booth’s survey of London, Seebohm Rowntree’s study of York, Florence Kelley’s work on the Hull-House Maps and Papers in Chicago, and the Pittsburgh study led by Paul Kellogg all generated substantial publications providing a comprehensive account of the plight of the poor in large cities and making an urgent call for government action. Planners were thereby able to learn about systematic survey methods, the use of statistical methods to analyze survey results, and the role that social mapping could play in presenting those results.

Moreover, the Pittsburgh survey of 1907 inspired many American city planners to embark upon systematic data-collection exercises. This trend was reinforced, from 1911 onwards, by an efficiency craze that swept the country, linking data gathering with *scientific management* and its proselytizer, Frederick W. Taylor (Peterson 2003). Taylorism was taken up with gusto by many leading businessmen, city officials, and politicians; many city planners felt that if they were to convince civic leaders of the merits of their city plans, they too needed to be more scientific in their diagnosis of a city’s problems (Scott 1969). They argued that planning was about more than civic beautification, or the City Beautiful. Some went so far as to present planning as an exact science—the City Scientific (Ford 1913). While this failed to attract lasting support, it nevertheless stands as an interesting precedent of the so-called systems approach of the 1960s.

Shelby Harrison, who had worked on the Pittsburgh survey and a number of others, documented the growth of the survey movement in a 1930 review (Eaton and Harrison 1930). By 1928, more than 150 city and regional planning surveys had been completed. Harrison also commented on the role of experts in the survey team: civic and social workers, engineers, surveyors, social research workers, city planners, and journalists and publicity workers. He saw the survey as a combination of applied social science and astute publicity ensuring that survey findings became well known and that suitable action was taken.

The survey movement had its critics. Patrick Abercrombie, for example, thought that the Geddesian survey formula lacked well-defined objectives, and was thus too open-ended and liable to lead to the collection of unnecessary data (Abercrombie 1916: 171; Dehaene 2007: 40). Thomas Adams too was highly critical of Geddes’s approach, charging that they “do not contain a great deal of data for purposes of practical town planning” (Adams 1932: 103).

Adams was speaking from his experience developing the Regional Plan for New York, after taking over as General Director of Plans and Surveys in 1923. Work had begun two years earlier and Adams found that he had inherited several disparate surveys, each of which, its author felt, should form the basis of the Regional Plan. He was faced with the mammoth task of editing these documents, imposing a common format on them; each of the resulting eight survey volumes outlined problems and opportunities, identifying trends and making specific recommendations. Ultimately, however, the Regional Plan itself turned out to be a more limited exercise in physical planning, and much of the vast amount of data was never used (Simpson 1985: 139).

The 1940s proved to be another remarkably productive period in the development of planning methodology in Britain, despite the disruption and hardship of the world war and its aftermath.

Many of Patrick Geddes's ideas, long forgotten by planning practitioners, were rediscovered; plan-making was increasingly seen as teamwork involving a range of disciplines and professions; for some planners there was freedom to experiment with new techniques in the collection, analysis, and presentation of survey data, and planning was beginning to rely upon applied social science research. As the country looked forward to postwar reconstruction, the public and political profile of planning was at an all-time high. Then the 1947 Planning Act, which required all counties and county boroughs to prepare a development plan, placed heavy demands upon the planning profession. A severe shortage of planning staff with plan-making experience meant that many local authorities were not yet geared up to produce the new plans.

A pivotal role in helping to ensure these demands were met was played by Jaqueline Tyrwhitt (a planner, landscape architect, and educator who was among those who played a major role in the postwar Modern Movement) and her small group at the Association of Planning and Regional Reconstruction (APRR). It was Tyrwhitt who was largely responsible for reviving interest in Geddes's ideas, particularly the survey-before-plan rubric and the idea that the city region was the geographical basis for plan-making. Tyrwhitt achieved this by editing a new, abridged edition of Geddes's classic text, *Cities in Evolution*, and bringing together in a single volume his writings on planning in India (where he had put some of his own ideas into practice) (Geddes 1949; Tyrwhitt 1947; and Shoshkes 2013). And, thanks to Tyrwhitt's exceptional drive and determination, the APRR took on the major task of training planners, mounting correspondence courses during the war, and delivering intensive, three-month courses when peacetime resumed. For the latter, she used her extensive network to gather together a team of high-caliber lecturers whose contributions were in due course published in an important planning textbook (APRR 1950), thus ensuring a much wider audience.

The APRR textbook broke new ground, both in its scope and its practical approach to the making of plans. The team of contributors was drawn from the full range of disciplines and professions, including the social sciences, now seen as relevant to planning. In the introduction, William Holford described a planning process involving three parts: *survey*, *development plan*, and *program*. He identified several different kinds of *survey*, including the economic, the social, and the geographical, which he saw, echoing Abercrombie, as a prelude to an architectural or engineering type of survey, "the first formative process in the making of a design" (Holford 1950: x). He then outlined the *development plan*, or the design process between the survey and a final plan, making an instructive attempt to elaborate upon what earlier planners had referred to simply as a creative leap. For the third part of his planning process, the *program*, Holford considered plan implementation, focusing on the administrative, financial, and legal context in which planning was taking place.

The textbook itself provided an authoritative and up-to-date account of the field of planning. For example, a planner seeking advice on how to prepare a 1947 Act report of survey would find two major sections of the book devoted to the planning survey and the social survey, both offering practical, detailed guidance. These sections drew heavily on the APRR's involvement in the Middlesbrough Survey and Plan, at the time the most advanced example of plan-making in Britain.

That plan was commissioned by Middlesbrough County Borough Council in northeast England towards the end of the war and published in 1946 (Lock 1946). The planning team was led by Max Lock, an architect-planner and longtime disciple of Geddes. Lock took the view that the planner could no longer work as a narrow technical practitioner, but needed to collaborate with other disciplines, in particular the "science of sociology" (Lock 1947: xiii). So he assembled an impressive and interdisciplinary team to undertake the plan: the sociologist Ruth Glass from the APRR would lead on the analysis of neighborhood structure, health and education services, and retail trade, the geographer Arthur Smailes would cover the economic and geographical aspects, while Lock himself, with Jessica Albery and Justin Blanco White, would be responsible for the physical survey.

Jaqueline Tyrwhitt would advise on the collection and mapping of social data. A large team of volunteers was recruited to help in carrying out the surveys.

Lock also believed passionately that plan-making should involve ordinary people who, he argued, were the *client* for the plan (Motouchi and Tiratsoo 2004). Fortuitously, in 1944, the government chose Middlesbrough as the location for the government’s annual household survey, and a random sample of 1 in 23 of the population was surveyed, yielding valuable information on household characteristics and, possibly more importantly, public opinion. In addition, in a pioneering initiative, citizens’ panels were formed, to understand how residents themselves perceived neighborhood boundaries and to gauge public opinion on redevelopment proposals (Glass 1948).

The surveys were designed to be consistent one with another, and innovative use was made of *neighborhoods* as spatial units for analyzing social and housing data. The geographical analysis was innovative too, making extensive use of *catchment areas* in the study of particular services (Figure 5.1). Lock and his team synthesized the survey findings by transferring much of the data onto transparent map overlays, creating a *sieve map* to study them in combination. Clapson (2013) suggests that some of this work was strongly influenced by the land economist Homer Hoyt, who had used the technique of map overlay in a study of Richmond, Virginia (Beauregard 2007). This systematic approach to analyzing and synthesizing survey findings proved extremely useful in formulating the plan itself, providing an evidence trail with which to support plan proposals, a considerable advance on the “creative leap” of earlier plans.

A second example, also demonstrating important advances in planning method, is the Planning Survey of Herefordshire, *English County*, carried out by the West Midland Group on Post-War Reconstruction and Planning, a loose association of geographical, social, and economic researchers, civil servants, local authority officials, academics, and businessmen (Dehaene 2007). It had backing from the Bournville Village Trust, but no official status. The group also drew upon a strong academic team of researchers at the University of Birmingham, including the economist Philip

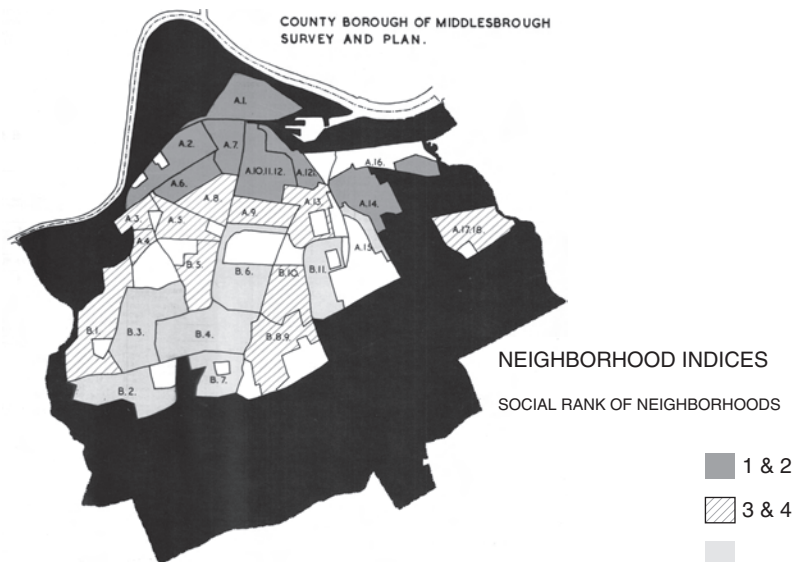


Figure 5.1 Neighborhoods in Middlesbrough classified according to social rank. The poorest neighborhoods are those at the extreme northern edge of the town. The next residential belt, at the “border” to the south, is also on the fringe of poverty. Only the southern neighborhoods, with the exception of the new housing estates, are comparatively prosperous.

Source: Lock 1946.

Sargant Florence. The Survey had two main aims: “to provide a groundwork of facts upon which those responsible for planning in Herefordshire and the West Midlands may base their planning schemes, and to describe a technique of investigation which may usefully be applied to a wider field” (West Midland Group 1946: 7). Its value is its highly systematic approach, its use of cartographic techniques to analyze and present spatial data, and its new ways of analyzing regional economic data, drawing on Sargant Florence’s own research and his connections with the US National Resources Planning Board (Clapson 2013) (Figures 5.2 and 5.3). In the absence of official guidelines, the group took an experimental approach, testing out new analytical techniques while recognizing the need for these to be practicable. The group and its associates went on to complete surveys along similar lines for the Birmingham Conurbation, for the county town of Worcester, and for the large industrial center of Wolverhampton. While all of these surveys contained suggestions for future action,

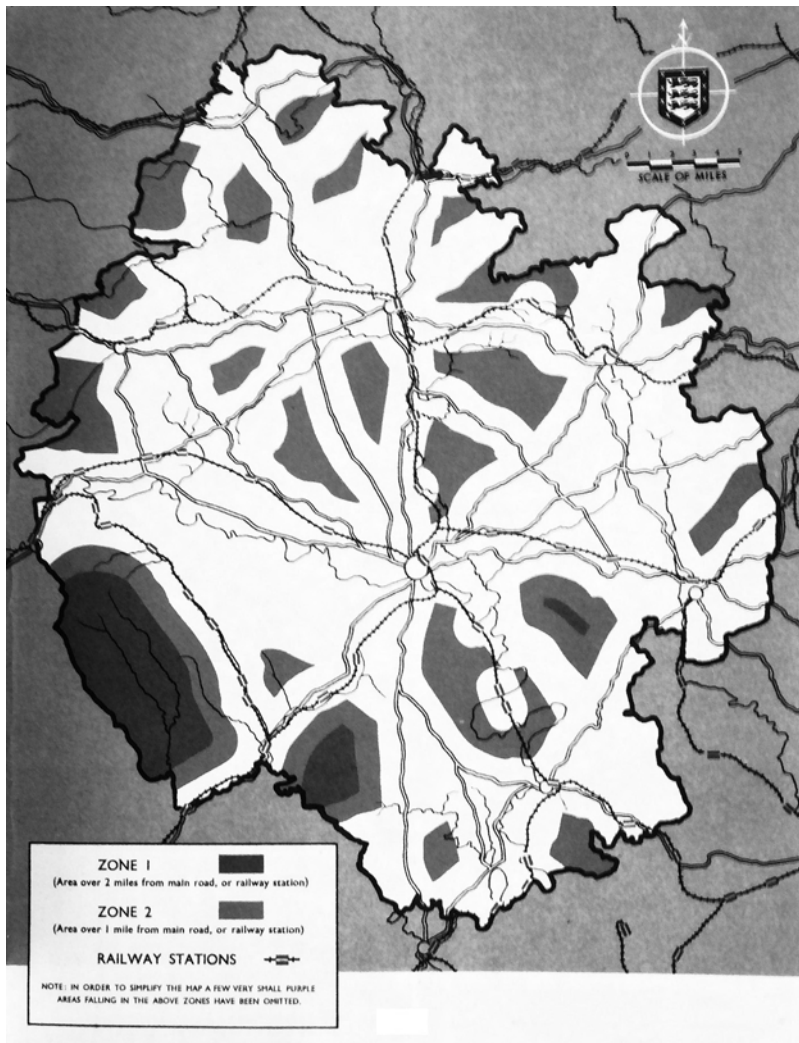


Figure 5.2 English County in 1946: showing least accessible areas of the county, an early application of “buffering,” now a standard technique in GIS.

Source: West Midland Group 1946.

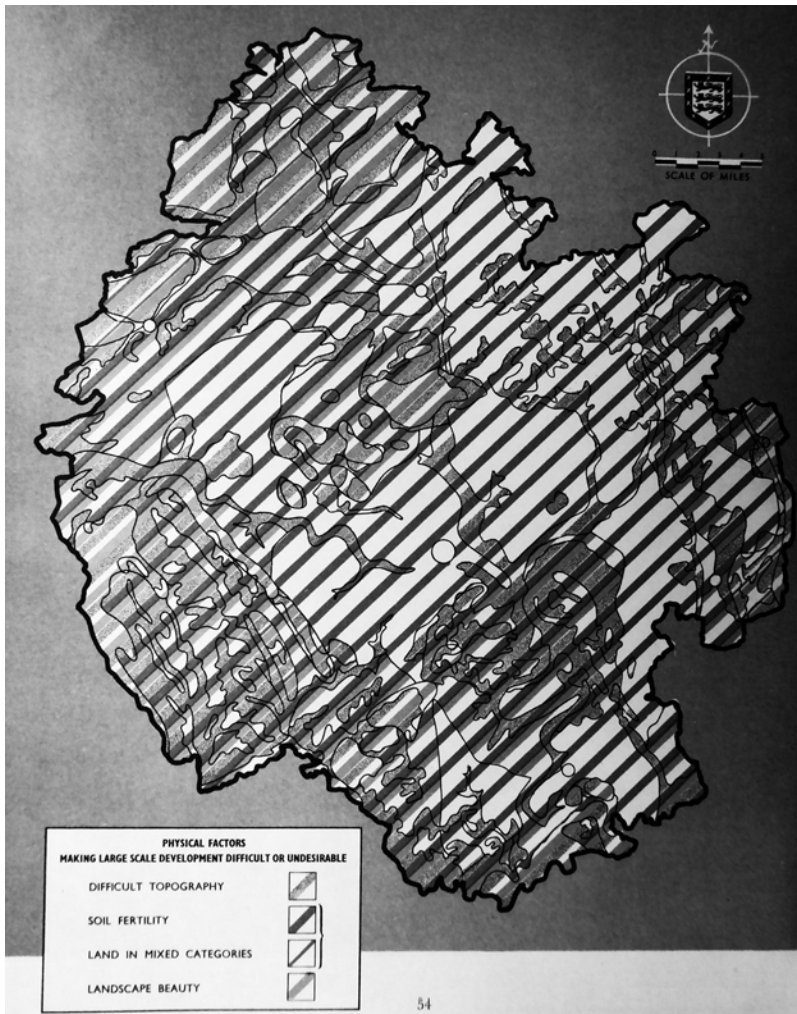


Figure 5.3 English County in 1946: an early use of the sieve map technique using map overlays, showing land with the fewest development constraints.

Source: West Midland Group 1946.

none of them saw their primary role as prescriptive, leaving firm recommendations to the town planner and to the statutory development plans they believed were due to follow shortly.

The textbook, together with the recently completed experimental planning surveys and plans, ought perhaps to have stimulated some excellent 1947 Act development plans with exemplary reports of survey. But the results were generally uninspiring plans, with little evidence of innovation or imagination in planning technique, delivered late. Why?

First, one could argue that British planners were overwhelmed with guidance—the APRR textbook ran to 613 pages—and that what was really needed was a short, practical, and accessible manual on plan-making. The APRR team was certainly aware of and impressed by one such publication: *Action for Cities: A Guide to Community Planning* (Tyrwhitt: HPM Workshop Transcript, May 11, 1982; Public Administration Service 1943). That American text used examples from three cities—Salt Lake City, Tacoma, and Corpus Christi—where the plan-making process it proposed had been tested.

It was intended to help communities without a well-staffed planning department, precisely the position in which many British local authorities found themselves. Without access to *Action for Cities*, however, their lack of experience in plan-making meant that the high standard set by the experimental plans and surveys was far beyond their reach.

Moreover, local authorities, working with limited resources, could find themselves with conflicting priorities. Lewis Keeble (HPM Workshop Transcript, January 29, 1982) recalled that it was not uncommon for an authority to decide that it was more important to focus initially on establishing a workable system for the control of development. In those circumstances, the development plan would have to wait, and even then it was more likely to be a matter of doing just enough, rather than aiming to produce a showpiece plan. Keeble also suggested that in a small number of cases councilors and officials resisted finalizing a plan because an approved plan might, they felt, tie their hands in making decisions about development.

There is evidence too that the team-based approach was not working well. Christie Willatts, a geographer employed in the civil service on planning matters, pointed to the sometimes strained relationship between social scientists and planners: “I and my fellow geographers were first confronted by professional planners with the view that our responsibility concluded with the preparation of a survey and that thereafter—and sometimes without waiting for it—the planners would propound solutions” (Christie Willatts: HPM Workshop Transcript, January 29, 1982). Based on her Middlesbrough experience, Ruth Glass recommended that different specialists should be consulted during the course of the survey; while their methods would necessarily be varied, their approach to the problems of planning should be unified: “Town planners, architects, geographers and social scientists have yet to learn to synthesize their specific points of view, and they can learn it only through the experience of cooperative work” (Glass 1948: 192).

Finally, many planning offices were organized badly in the 1950s and early 1960s. Research (or information) would typically be its own section, staffed by geographers and other social scientists. Professional planners, with responsibility for making development plans, were located in another section, adding to the difficulties identified by Glass and by Willatts of coordinating survey and plan. Jackson, writing in the early 1960s, reinforces this division of functions. His book on surveys is directed at the cadre of social scientists by then working in planning offices, but never satisfactorily addresses how survey and plan are brought together (Jackson 1963).

Theme 2: The Handling of Inter-Relationships in Plan-Making

“Planners have become prisoners of the discovery that in the city everything affects everything else” (Wingo 1964). In this oft-quoted statement, Lowdon Wingo was making the point that inter-relationships are important in cities, plan-making, and development decisions. Urban development models, then very new, measured direct and indirect impacts, helping planners see linkages within a city. Knowing that such interrelationships existed of course meant it was hard then to ignore them: hence the reference to being “prisoners of the discovery [of interrelationships].” The quotation appeared, among other places, in a special issue (May 1965) of the *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, which contained a state-of-the-art review of urban development models, including a shopping model linking the spatial distribution of population (and therefore spending power) to the pattern of retail centers, and the Lowry model, a comprehensive model focusing on the spatial distribution of population and employment and the cost of travel. At the time, these models were generating considerable interest among planning practitioners on both sides of the Atlantic. One of the contributors, Ira Lowry, himself a leading figure in formulating such models, used the Wingo quotation to preface a paper exploring the thinking behind urban modeling (Lowry 1965). He hoped that the paper would lead planners to better-informed decisions on the design and use of

urban models, and to avoid over-ambitious and fashionable methods and models ill-suited to their needs. Whether it had the desired effect is debatable, but certainly by the mid-1970s the value of such big models was being seriously questioned (see Lee [1973] and Pack [1975]), in large part because they did not appreciate organizational context.

It would be wrong, however, to regard the 1960s as the point at which planners were first exhorted to take account of interrelationships in a city. Geddes had, 50 years earlier, drawn attention to the interrelationship between folk (population), work (economic activity), and place (space/environment), the triad generally attributed to the French sociologist Frederic Le Play (Meller 1990). In Geddes's view, planners needed not only to study each of these topics individually, but also to examine the two-way relationships or interactions (folk-work, work-place, folk-place, place-folk, etc.) between the topics. While later protagonists were concerned to model these relationships mathematically, Geddes had no such intent. He saw it as an opportunity to promote a holistic view of cities in which the sum is greater than the parts. As we shall see, this particular piece of advice has not always been heeded.

Nonetheless, in Britain, planners' concern with interrelationships was perhaps most clearly expressed in the so-called *systems approach* from the late 1960s onwards. Led by two planning academics based at the University of Manchester—Brian McLoughlin and George Chadwick, both of whom wrote textbooks on the subject (McLoughlin 1969; Chadwick 1971)—the systems approach viewed the city as a series of interacting spatial activity systems that could be modeled with mathematical equations. McLoughlin in particular was very effective in promoting systems thinking among planners, through his writing and conference presentations, and, most significantly, through directing one of the most important subregional studies, that of Leicester and Leicestershire in the English East Midlands. From the late 1960s onwards, subregional studies were carried out in parts of the country where the chief planning issue was one of allocating population and employment growth. Although commissioned by groups of local authorities, planning teams working on these studies enjoyed a high degree of autonomy, possibly because of the sensitive politics associated with growth allocation. They were free to experiment with the systems approach, often using computers for the first time. Several of the studies developed new techniques for generating alternative spatial strategies, and used spatial interaction models to measure the impacts of each alternative strategy (Cowling and Steeley 1973; Wannop 1985).

These subregional studies stimulated the strong interest in methods that accompanied the introduction of structure plans in the 1970s. Structure plans, however, differed from subregional plans in two important respects: they were statutory, which often meant a complex legal and administrative process, and they were prepared “in-house” by planners who were sometimes unable, because of the pressures of other planning work, to give plan-making their undivided attention. Plan-making was therefore likely to take longer, a matter of great concern at the time since local government had recently been reorganized and the new local authorities were starting to make plans themselves. And whereas subregional studies had advanced the state of plan-making methods in areas of growth, they did little to help those working on plans for areas experiencing stagnation and decline.

There was still a lot to be done to develop the technical basis for these new plans. A review commissioned in the late 1970s by central government of 20 of the earliest structure plans found that the quality of analysis supporting those plans was very uneven. Central government was sensitive to this criticism: it held up the publication of this review for three years and even then inserted a cautionary note: “The Department [of the Environment] considers that the report may help in the choice of appropriate analytical techniques. However, these should not be allowed to extend the time of plan preparation or increase the staff and expenditure devoted to it” (Barras and Broadbent 1982: 59). It was particularly concerned that there had been “little attempt to relate the analysis of subjects together in terms of their underlying processes of development” (Barras and Broadbent 1982: 199). A typical structure plan would have separate reports of survey on plan topics (housing, economic

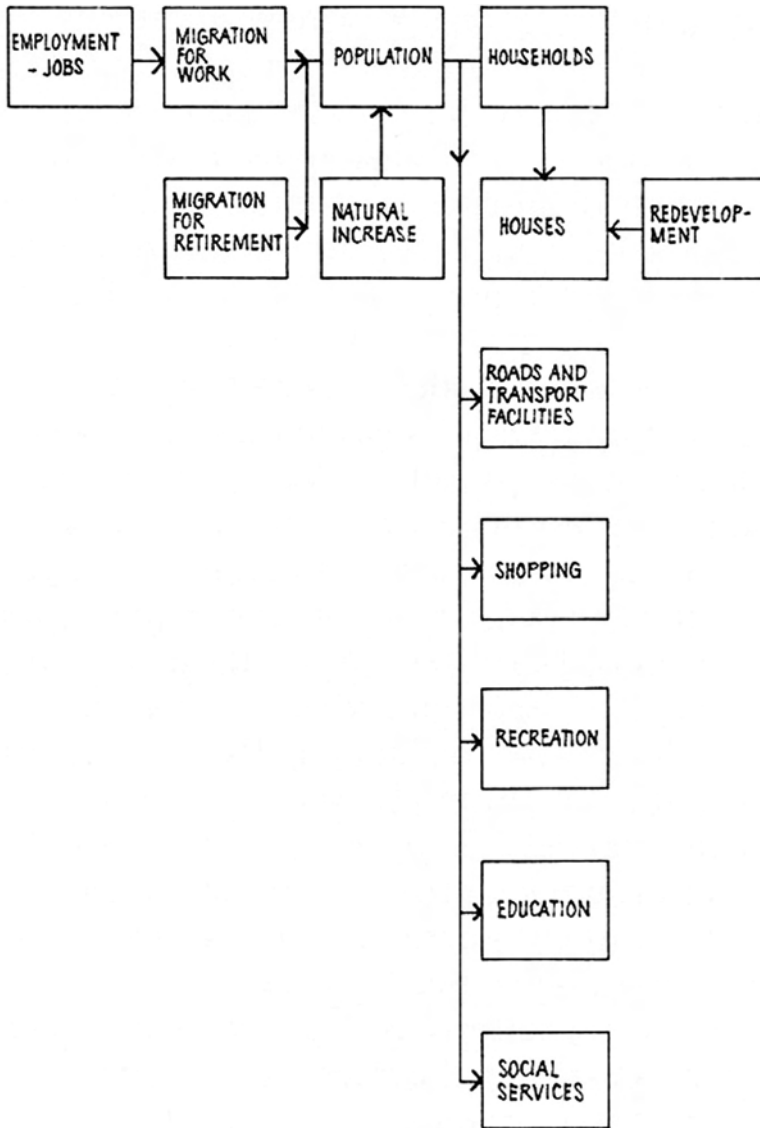


Figure 5.4 Forecasting in the South Hampshire Structure Plan, 1972, showing forecasts depending on an initial forecast of employment.

Source: Breheny and Roberts 1978.

activity, retailing, transport, open space, etc.), and individual chapters arranged in a similar manner. The task of pulling the various elements together—integration—was largely ignored. It required an overall understanding—a synoptic view—very few planners had, or were likely to acquire.

This criticism also extended to planners' forecasting process, which was often quite naive. For example, even plans that were otherwise well-supported technically, such as that for South Hampshire, assumed that the relationship between population and employment was one-way, with either population driving employment or vice versa (Breheny and Roberts 1978) (Figure 5.4). This failure to take into account the two-way relationship was a major shortcoming, particularly given the central role played by these forecasts in all plan-making exercises.

The lack of integration in forecasts was not a problem confined to structure plans. Among academics and practitioners, this problem attracted considerable attention in the 1980s, in the United States, Germany, and Australia, as well as in Britain (see, for example, Isserman [1986]; Breheny and Roberts [1978]; Batey and Madden [1983]; Sinz [1984]; Phibbs [1989]). But today, in Britain, the problem has been addressed, with most local authorities depending on integrated forecasts produced by a consulting firm, Nathaniel Lichfield and Partners, rather than maintaining in-house capability (see, for example, http://nlppanning.com/uploads/files/NLP_Planning_Summer_School_050911.pdf, accessed on September 24, 2015).

A quite different take on the study of interrelatedness can be found in the *strategic choice approach*. Its origins lie in the Institute for Operational Research (IOR), formed in 1963 by British operational researchers keen to apply their expertise to public policy. The most important of their earlier studies examined policy-making in local government, with Coventry as its main focus (Friend and Jessop 1969). The IoR team used so-called “soft” (i.e., qualitative) Operational Research (OR) techniques to help understand and potentially improve council decision-making. Two techniques from this work have since found widespread application among planners. The first is *AIDA*, the *Analysis of Interconnected Decision Areas*, which provided a flexible, intuitive, and systematic tool generating and comparing alternative strategies, a priority for planners at the time. *AIDA* offered a way of avoiding the creative leap, one of the weaknesses of earlier plan-making. The second was a method of analyzing, and subsequently managing, uncertainty in decision-making.

The strategic choice approach differed from most strategic planning exercises at the time in that it focused on the here and now, rather than attempting to anticipate a future world. It took a very practical approach to analyzing the decisions planners would need to make, what the planner Andreas Faludi (1987) has since referred to as a “decision-centered view of environmental planning.” Unlike the systems approach, which required a good deal of technical expertise, the strategic choice approach could be learned quickly by all those engaged in the plan-making process, including lay people. This was aided by the extensive use of easy-to-understand diagrams.

Like the systems approach, the strategic choice approach benefited from practical applications that could demonstrate its value as a planning tool. The LOGIMP experiment in the late 1960s used *AIDA* in local planning exercises in six local authorities; in 1974, IoR worked with six newly constituted local authorities about to embark on structure planning.¹ A textbook, *Planning Under Pressure*, was published in 1987, and by the time the third edition appeared in 2005 (Friend and Hickling 2005), it had been expanded to include 15 case studies, written by practitioners, showing how the strategic choice approach had been used in different, mainly public-sector, contexts. These were drawn from throughout the world, including Sweden, The Netherlands, Italy, Venezuela, and South Africa, as well as from the UK. Interestingly, this list does not include the United States, a point noted by Faludi (1987: 96).

Faludi also comments on the missing link with academia. Although planners collaborated with academics at various points over the last fifty years, the strategic choice approach is very much a creature of practice: the product of a series of applied research projects and, as the textbook confirms, a host of practitioner collaborations. It stands as one of the most influential methodological developments since the 1960s and, perhaps surprisingly, one of the best documented.²

Conclusion

History shows us that, for all its appeal, survey-before-plan has continued to pose a number of conceptual and practical problems: for much of the last century of plan-making activity, there has been a heavy reliance on the so-called “creative leap,” a mysterious jump from survey findings to plan proposals. In the past, a division of functions has sometimes contributed to this problem—for example, where social scientists carried out the survey and town planners prepared the plan itself,

leading to misunderstandings about what survey information was needed and why. Clearly defined plan objectives were seen as a way around this.

Today, the focus has shifted from survey to evidence base. Rather than a sequence of surveys and plans, evidence continues to be assembled at the same time as the plan is being prepared, and the evidence base is used to justify the policies included in the plan. This helps reduce dependence on the creative leap. Nevertheless, the widespread use of consultants to compile part of the evidence base opens up the possibility of a new functional division between consultant and local authority planner, and a potential mismatch between what evidence is produced and what is actually needed.

Meanwhile, history also shows us that the study of *interrelationships in plan-making* requires hard (quantitative) and soft (qualitative) methods. In considering the systems approach, we saw that quantitative techniques can yield valuable insights about the present pattern of relationships, as well as a way of measuring impacts and making projections of key variables. In contrast, the strategic choice approach offers a clearly structured way of thinking qualitatively about plan-making from the perspective of the decision-making practitioner.

Related Topics

Freestone: Biographical Method

Birch: The Imprint of History in the Practice of City and Regional Planning

Notes

- 1 See The Operational Research Society, Document repository www.theorsociety.com/DocumentRepository/, accessed on 24 September 2015.
- 2 See Warwick, The library, modern records centre www.warwick.ac.uk/services/library/mrc/ead/335ior.htm, accessed on 24 September 2015.

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6

BIOGRAPHICAL METHOD

Robert Freestone

The interrelations between planning, history, and methodology can be disentangled along at least two major dimensions: histories of planning methodology and methodologies in planning history. The former tracks the introduction and efficacy of techniques as the scope, complexity, and wickedness of planning problems have grown over time. Wegener (et al. 2007: xix) link the emergence and popularity of techniques to “the dominant paradigm of planning at a particular time,” predicting that “innovation and productivity in the creation and application of new planning methods [is] . . . likely to be greatest in times when planning is in high esteem.” The rise of and responses to rationalism as a scientific method are major threads in this evolving story. Breheny and Batey (1981) outline the main developments and issues in evolving British and American planning methodology beginning with Patrick Geddes. Muller (1992: 125) takes the same starting point to conclude that “the prerequisite for planning has been access to tenable methods which are responsive to the needs of society.” The research potential liberated by these general surveys has lately been pursued by various scholars, including Guttenberg (2002) on land use planning, MacDonald (2008) on census research, Steinitz (2014) on GIS, and Boyce and Williams (2015) on transportation planning. But the planning history literature is full of more selective commentaries on planning technique in diverse contexts and times.

The second issue—research techniques for planning history—has been a less robust and stable focus. Indeed, more energy has been expended on making the fundamental case for historical methods of various kinds as practical techniques of problem-solving (Abbott and Adler 1989). Nevertheless, the relevance of particular techniques in historical analysis has been highlighted (e.g., Hillier 2010). There remains something of a divide between the discourse of research as applied to planning versus planning history. Wegener’s (et al. 2007) documentation of the evolution of planning through classic texts curiously partitions planning history from methodology while Silva’s (et al. 2015) recent handbook of planning research methods effectively ignores historical method. One explanation for this may well be that planning history has virtually no unique methods but imports its techniques from the broader spectrum of planning studies research. In turn, most of these relate to the established and evolving techniques in the social sciences and humanities generally. In short, methodologies in planning history research are usually uncritically adapted from broader historical and planning traditions.

Biography in historical studies is often categorized as a more popular rather than a serious scholarly medium. Nevertheless, it has become established in planning history. In the late 1970s

Sutcliffe (1977: 13) identified “the study of the individual” as an “important mode” of research flourishing “almost everywhere.” But far from taking this as an indicator of the health of the field, he read it as an indication of the “immaturity of planning historiography” (Sutcliffe 1977: 13). His catalogue, expanded and commercially published four years later (Sutcliffe 1981a), highlighted uncritical contributions placing individuals on pedestals, many channeling a Victorian masculinist syndrome (Oakley 2010). This chapter examines the present state of the art, more than three decades on, through concentrating on post-1980 texts, English-language works, and books. The monographs at the center of this review speak for an iceberg of voluminous journal articles, book chapters, and conference papers too many to cite individually. Since Sutcliffe’s assessment, evidence of a more critical and inclusive approach emerges. Caveats regarding the drift toward a kind of great man view of history remain well heeded, and an emphasis on exploring wider theoretical and policy issues is apparent.

Biography in History and Planning History

Biographical study provides a way “of accessing subjective understanding and experience” (Caine 2010: 1). Some historians have sworn by this method: “minute researches concentrated on the action of individuals day by day, are the solid rock on which historical scholarship is built” (Butterfield 1955: 4). Risks lie in the simplification and individualizing of history. Nevertheless, biography remains a popular and dynamic medium driven by a renewed 21st-century preoccupation with individual lives and stories (Bornat 2008). Biography survived the Marxist critique and structuralist turn through a broadening of focus and methodological innovation. Nevertheless, as an enterprise falling within the remit of social science, it is surprising that there are relatively few discussions in the literature about the methodological and ethical issues arising (Caine 2010; Oakley 2010). Certainly, planning historians have been largely innocent of broader debates since the early 1980s and 1990s, when the case for biographical studies was first formally made (Birch 1981; Cherry 1981). Cherry saw biography as complementing established perspectives (art history, professional involvement, social and institutional settings) to “provide a more rounded understanding and explanation of events” (Cherry 1981a: 2).

Scholars have followed different biographical pathways. Comprehensive biographies on major figures in the field have appeared, but, with a limited roster of deserving candidates, this is rather a restricted subgenre—although expanded by embracing figures who were not planners as such, but whose work indirectly but profoundly affected theory and practice. A biographical orientation threads through numerous books and papers, often not revealed in their titles, reflecting a tacit acceptance of “belief in the importance of human agency in affecting ideas, policy, and practice” (Birch 2011: 176). The dominant contemporary genre is what might be termed thematic biography, where context is all important. Here, wide-ranging studies of the personalities and minutiae of individual subjects are less important than connecting their thoughts and actions to larger stories and issues that can be explored in more intensive and nuanced ways.

Krueckeberg (1993: 219) has reflected deeply on the biographical genre in planning history. He concluded that biography “reveals through the lives of individual planners their toil between freedom and fate,” revelatory of a kind of struggle “between self and culture.” There are more immediate drivers. Biographical content can enliven an often rote form of teaching planning history which too often defaults to a tired linear narrative and clichéd understandings. A finer people-centric grain reveals less predictability than presumed and opens up cracks to better understand choices, constraints, and complexity. There is more nuance, more critical assessment of received wisdoms, and more appreciation of the work of those that came before. A biographical lens can also be more accommodating of illuminating figures who might not fit easily into established narratives.

The dominant discourse today links an individual name with a specific topic (or vice-versa) such as plan-making, community development, planning education, legislation, urban reform, urban design, open space, and so on. This rationale is expressed differently but recurrent phrases help expose the motivations. Central to many studies is the knowledge gap: “where ideas came from;” “assess the legacy;” “undo stereotypes;” “complete unwritten chapters.”

Some biographical writing is accidental: it is not the author’s original intent but emerges as the right method for investigating certain questions. Serendipitous discoveries of private papers, official releases of caches of material, deaths, and centenaries have also encouraged biographically tinged approaches.

“In the hands of gifted observers,” writes Birch (2011: 176) of planning history, “biographers’ vivid accounts of the people and their work of bygone eras deepen understanding and knowledge in ways not possible to capture in other types of research.” At its best, the biographical perspective breaks free of individual lives to inform understanding of broader influences and impacts, complexities, and contradictions. Less successfully, there are still accounts often written by acquaintances, colleagues, and family members which reify the individual or else suffer a superficial blandness. Poor biography, in planning history or any discipline, fails to do justice to the larger historical context in which individuals operated. Karl Marx argued convincingly that while men (and women too) “make their own history” they do so “not . . . as they please” nor “under circumstances chosen by themselves” (quoted in Simon 1994: xviii). Planning operates in institutional environments where many forces from the local to the global are at work; the risk in biography is “privileging a simple story over the complex ones that generate our perceptions of cities” so as to actually diminish “our understandings of power and place” (Mennell 2011: 630).

Beginnings: Anglo –American Evolution 1920s–1970s

Early instances of biography pressed into the service of planning history inevitably steer towards the simplistic and hagiographic (Table 6.1). Moore’s (1922) monument to the memory of Daniel Burnham heads that way, and so too MacFadyen’s (1933) treatment of Ebenezer Howard, in which he declares, “If there were any order or distinction for men who had given their lives to making the world a little better than they found it, Ebenezer Howard would have been included” (MacFadyen 1933: 182). Thomas Mawson, president of the British Town Planning Institute in 1923, could not wait for posterity, and penned his own handsome autobiography, one of the first of its kind in the field (Mawson 1927). Between 1927 and 1930 the *Town Planning Review* published four major essays on “famous town planners” by American city planner Elbert Peets.

Table 6.1 Timeline of key English-language biographical studies on planning figures.

Pre-World War Two

- Moore, C. (1922) *Daniel M. Burnham: Architect, Planner of Cities*, Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin and Company.
 Mawson, T. H. (1927) *The Life and Work of an English Landscape Architect (an autobiography)*, London: Batsford.
 Peets, E. *Town Planning Review* (1927–30), “Famous Town Planners” series.
 MacFadyen, D. (1933) *Ebenezer Howard and the Town Planning Movement*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, facsimile edition 1970.
 Osborn, F. J. (1950) “Sir Ebenezer Howard: The evolution of his ideas,” *Town Planning Review*, 21(3): 221–235.

1960s–1970s

- Hancock, J. L. (1960) “John Nolen: The background of a pioneer planner,” *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 26(4): 302–312.

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- Lubove, R. (1963) *Community Planning in the 1920s: The Contribution of the Regional Planning Association of America*, Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Creese, W. L. (ed.) (1967) *The Legacy of Raymond Unwin: A Human Pattern for Planning*, Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.
- Hughes, M. (1971) *The Letters of Lewis Mumford and Frederic J. Osborn: A Transatlantic Dialogue 1938–70*, Bath, UK: Adams and Dart.
- Fein, A. (1972) *Frederick Law Olmsted and the American Environmental Tradition*, New York: George Braziller.
- Hancock, J. L. (1972) “History and the American planning profession: Introduction to a new biographical series,” *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 38(5): 274–275.
- Moss-Eccardt, J. (1973) *Ebenezer Howard: An Illustrated Life of Sir Ebenezer Howard, 1850–1928*, Aylesbury UK: Shire Publications.
- Sussman, C. (ed.) (1976) *Planning the Fourth Migration: The Neglected Vision of the Regional Planning Association of America*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Fishman, R. (1977) *Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century: Ebenezer Howard, Frank Lloyd Wright, and Le Corbusier*, New York: Basic Books.

1980s

- Cherry, G. E. (ed.) (1981) *Pioneers of British Planning*, London: Architectural Press.
- Krueckeberg, D. A. (ed.) (1983) *The American Urban Planner: Biographies and Recollections*. New York: Methuen. Revised edition in 1994, Centre for Urban Policy Research, Rutgers University.

1990s

- Freestone, R. (ed.) (1993) *The Australian Planner, Proceedings of the Planning History Conference*. Sydney: School of Town Planning, University of New South Wales.
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2000s

- Gordon, D. and Gournay, I. (2001) “Jacques Gréber, urbaniste et architecte,” *Urban History Review*, 29 (2): 3–5.
- JAPR, *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research* (2004) Theme issue: “Artur Glikson and the making of place: A look at his lasting impact on planning and architecture,” 21 (2).
- Access (2007) “Mel Webber: 1920–2006”, University of California Transportation Center, Special Issue, Winter 2006–2007.
- Pendlebury, J. (2009) “Thomas Sharp and the modern townscape,” *Planning Perspectives*, 24 (1): 1–2.

2010s

- Birch, E.L. (2011) “Reviving the Art of Biography: The Emblematic Life of Martin Meyerson”, *Journal of Planning History*, 10(3): 175–179.
- Gregory, J. and Gordon, D. L. A. (2012) “Introduction: Gordon Stephenson, planner and civic designer,” *Town Planning Review*, 83 (3): 269–278.
- Tewdwr-Jones, M., Phelps, N., and Freestone, R. (eds.) (2014) *The Planning Imagination: Peter Hall and the Study of Urban and Regional Planning*, London: Routledge.
- Hebbert, M. (ed.) (2015) “Professor Sir Peter Hall: role model,” *Built Environment*, 41 (1).
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Note: See also Tables 6.2–6.5.

Source: Robert Freestone.

Through the 1940s and 1950s, with the planning gaze firmly on the present and the future, little in the genre was published in English save for obituaries of the pioneers. On the occasion of the centenary of Howard’s birth, Osborn (1950) as his principal disciple contributed a warm account. In the 1960s, bellwethers of a more sustained interest are evident in the pages of the *Journal of the American Planning Association*, with perhaps the first substantive biographical paper in what we would

now recognize as the modern planning history paradigm, penned by Hancock (1960) on John Nolen. American historians laying the foundations for collective later scholarship included Lubove and his work on the Regional Planning Association of America (Lubove 1963; Mohl 2001) and Creese (1967) on Raymond Unwin. The late 1960s and early 1970s saw several books examining the life, ideas, and legacy of Frederick Law Olmsted, an honorary founding father of American planning (e.g., Fein 1972).

In the September 1972 issue of the *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, Hancock announced a new biographical series on the history of the American planning profession. This made a case for the relevance of planning history generally, and specifically asked how studies of past innovators could provide guidance and clarity given the “confusion” of latter day planning (Hancock 1972). Nine articles on pioneer planners appeared between 1972 and 1975. A pivotal text from the late 1970s was Fishman (1977) comprising studies of the ideal large-scale city schemes by Ebenezer Howard, Frank Lloyd Wright, and Le Corbusier. It draws on primary sources, and in summation weaves in the alternate perspective of small-scale planning of Jane Jacobs. In linking plans and planners, situating them in their historical context, and connecting to implications for the contemporary urban condition, Fishman’s work captures much of the taste of biographically-flavored planning history since the 1980s.

Surveys and Collections

Sutcliffe’s (1977) pioneering inventory of biographical studies assembled 120 entries on 44 different planning figures, while his revised and expanded version recorded 148 studies on 52 individuals (Sutcliffe 1981a). As noted, Sutcliffe still remained somewhat unconvinced by this body of work, with its skew toward heroic founding fathers as Nietzschean figures rather than “full-time, working planners” and the penchant for uncritical if not eulogistic celebration of “larger-than-life figures.” A review of biographical writings 30 years later was more respectful (Ward et al. 2011) and identified several publishing patterns post-1990: continuing fascination with major global figures; rising interest in architects, activists, and administrators on the fringe of planning; the contributions of women; recognition of non-English-language, autobiographical and multi-authored studies.

Two foundational post-1980 reference collections compiled studies of British (Cherry 1981) and American (Krueckeberg 1983) planners respectively. The decisive suggestion for a book reassessing eminent British town planners has been credited to Manchester academic Roy Kantorowich (Stansfield 2008), looking to ultimately reveal how “the lives of the pioneers show[ed] that the professional road was ever stony and steep but eminently worth the travelling” (Kantorowich 1982: 215). The specific approach to Cherry came “out of the blue” from Architectural Press in 1979 via Jenny Towndrow; he was “already thinking on the lines of a collection” (Cherry 1981a: vi). She proposed that he include eight subjects, all familiar names, and one living. Cherry acknowledged that this was a timely “roll call of honor.” But writing at a time of growing Marxist influence in urban studies that threatened to entrench a model of planning as state power predetermined by an “over-arching set of external relationships,” he was most interested in revealing the unexpected, the unforeseen, and the unpredictable, that is, critical “turning points” from “the interplay of personalities” (Cherry 1981a: 1, 8). Krueckeberg’s complementary American collection was comparable, its purpose being “to restore our memories, to review our commitments, and to extend our sense of company” (Krueckeberg 1983: 2). This was planning biography by and for planners, geared to building a better disciplinary understanding of the mission of planning, past, present, and especially future. All but three of the essays had been previously published. Other collections in this genre have followed, including a study of seven major Italian planners commencing in the 1930s (Biagi and Gabellini 1992), and an initial roundup of Australian planners (e.g., Freestone 1993, Freestone 1995a).

Multi-authored publications dedicated to one individual have proven a more popular model for collective enterprise in English-language publications by enabling complex and often controversial public lives to be deconstructed topically and thematically. Special issues of journals have been attractive vehicles for this kind of work, and some noteworthy examples can be cited, starting with a special 1985 issue of *Ekistics* dedicated to Jacqueline Tyrwhitt that assembled a selection of her own writings, reminiscences, and reflections from a remarkable lineup of peers (Ladas and Nagashima 1985). Other subjects who have been given the multi-author treatment have included the advocacy planner and educator Paul Davidoff (Checkoway 1994), French architect and designer Jacques Gréber (Gordon and Gournay 2001), British planner and writer Thomas Sharp (Pendlebury 2009), Israeli-based environmental and social planner Artur Glikson (JAPR 2004), American planner, administrator, and educator Martin Meyerson (Birch 2011), academic Melvin Webber (Access 2007), and tri-continental professor and practitioner Gordon Stephenson (Gregory and Gordon 2012). Sir Peter Hall, who died in 2014 and contributed much to our knowledge of planning studies within a historical vein, has been similarly remembered with a special issue of the journal *Built Environment* which he co-edited (Hebbert 2015), and not one but two festschrifts, a rare accolade for a planner (Knowles and Rozenblat 2016; Tewdwr-Jones et al. 2014).

Major Figures

Some of the leading names in the planning movement back to the 19th century, figures who had impact beyond their local domains and variously took on propaganda, policy, philosophical, and practitioner roles, have been well served biographically. Most of these figures stand out in helping shape the aims, values, and methods of the planning movement at a time when it was more a coalition of reform than an institutionalized industry. Names included into this category are Daniel Burnham, Tony Garnier, Patrick Geddes, Walter Burley Griffin, Georges-Eugène Haussmann, Eugène Hénard, Ebenezer Howard, Jane Jacobs, Edwin Lutyens, Robert Moses, Frederick Law Olmsted Sr., Antonio Sant’Elia, Raymond Unwin, and Otto Wagner—and plenty of big names are still missing from even this long list. Scott (1969: xix) observed how striking it was how “persons outside the profession” had influenced the development of planning thought, and this list includes urbanists who were critical of mainstream planning.

Two compelling figures in planning history who have attracted considerable attention are Patrick Geddes and Jane Jacobs (Table 6.2). In a long and varied career intertwined with a lively personal life, Scottish polymath Geddes has long been a subject of interest with his distinctive, complex, and inspirational view of the world well documented by a rich archive open to different perspectives (Table 6.2: A). There are at least nine major books on him alone. The first adulatory biography appeared in his lifetime (Defries 1927); the second came in 1944 from another acolyte with imaginative reconstructions of events (Boardman 1944), reworked for a second edition (Boardman 1978). In between came another disciple’s more factual account of his time on the Indian subcontinent (Tyrwhitt 1947). The first serious scholarly study was by Mairet (1957). Kitchen’s (1975) book was more personal biography than assessment of his contributions. The definitive academic text by Meller (1990) provides the first critical perspective of his work within a planning history paradigm. Cherry (1990: 339) described it as “as stimulating and as moving a biography in the field of planning history as you can find.” Welter’s (2002) subsequent account condemns Geddes to history with no acknowledgment of the imagination and foresight others—such as the new urbanists and humanistic conservationists—still see in his work today. Hysler-Rubin (2011) is more forgiving, but situates Geddes not always flatteringly within the mission of postcolonial British imperialism.

Jane Jacobs has proven more latterly fascinating (Table 6.2: B). *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961) was a devastating critique of late modern city planning as inherited from the “big

Table 6.2 Key book-length treatments of two major planning figures: Geddes and Jacobs.

A: Patrick Geddes (1854–1932)

- Defries, A. (1927) *The Interpreter Geddes: The Man and his Gospel*, London: George Routledge.
 Boardman, P. (1944) *Patrick Geddes: Maker of the Future*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
 Tyrwhitt, J. (1947) *Patrick Geddes in India*, London: Lund Humphries.
 Mairet, P. (1957) *Pioneer of Sociology: The Life and Letters of Patrick Geddes*, London: Lund Humphries.
 Kitchen, P. (1975) *A Most Unsettling Person: The life and ideas of Patrick Geddes, Founding Father of City Planning And Environmentalism*, New York: Saturday Review Press.
 Boardman, P. (1978) *The Worlds of Patrick Geddes: Biologist, Town Planner, Re-Educator, Peace-Warrior*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
 Meller, H. (1990) *Patrick Geddes: Social Evolutionist and City Planner*, London: Routledge.
 Welter, V. M. (2002) *Biopolis: Patrick Geddes and the City of Life*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
 Hysler-Rubin, N. (2011) *Patrick Geddes and Town Planning: A Critical View*. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.
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B: Jane Jacobs (1916–2006)

- Allen, M. (ed.) (1997) *Ideas That Matter: The Worlds of Jane Jacobs*, Sound, Ontario: Ginger Press.
 Sparberg Alexiou, A. (2006) *Jane Jacobs: Urban Visionary*, New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
 Mennel, T., Steffens, J., and Klemek, C. (2007) *Block by Block: Jane Jacobs and the Future of New York*, New York: Municipal Art Society of New York/Princeton Architectural Press.
 Lang, G. and Wunsch, M. (2009) *Genius of Common Sense: Jane Jacobs and the Story of the Death and Life of Great American Cities*, Boston, MA: David R. Godine.
 Goldsmith, S. A. and Elizabeth, L. (eds.) (2010) *What We See: Advancing the Observations of Jane Jacobs*, Oakland, CA: New Village Press.
 Page, M. and Mennel, T. (eds.) (2011) *Reconsidering Jane Jacobs*, Chicago, IL: American Planning Association.
 Hirt, S. with Zahm, D. (eds.) (2012) *The Urban Wisdom of Jane Jacobs*, New York: Routledge.
 Schubert, D. (ed.) (2014) *Contemporary Perspectives on Jane Jacobs: Reassessing the Impacts of an Urban Visionary*, Farnham, UK: Ashgate.
 Laurence, P. L. (2015) *Becoming Jane Jacobs*, Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
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Source: Robert Freestone.

plan” making of Burnham and others. Her philosophy instead celebrated alternative principles of density, culture, liveliness, walkability, and liveability. Her writings also extended into economics, philosophy, and political science (Allen 1997). Anniversaries of both her death and publication of her best-known book have triggered retrospective evaluations of her work. Sparberg Alexiou (2006) offers the most traditional biography of her urban activism in New York and Toronto: a new critical interpretation has been keenly awaited (Laurence 2015). Mennel (et al. 2007) brings together a lively set of contributions in a collection which accompanied an exhibition at the Municipal Art Society of New York. Lang and Wunch (2009) offer an accessible treatment for young readers. Other collections provide forensic examinations of her ideas, legacy, and international impact (Goldsmith and Elizabeth 2010; Page and Mennel 2011; Hirt with Zahm 2011; Schubert 2014). These books and many articles like them record a growing revisionism, retreating from simplistic adulation and application of her ideas to more considered and contextual evaluations. For example, Campanella (2011) identifies her negative legacy on the identity, authority, and imagination of American planning.

Reviewing the Geddes literature, revelations of how Geddes has been appreciated over the years (in shifting contemporary understandings of planning in general) illuminate historical treatments as themselves products of their time (Hysler-Rubin 2009). With Jacobs too it becomes apparent that “the definitive book on Jane Jacobs and her impact on urbanism remains to be written” (Schubert 2011: 137). Both bodies of work point to the opportunity for a mature planning history to extend into “meta-biography” in examining sequences of biographies of the same subject (Snowman 2014).

Biographical Method

Many studies on other leading major figures have been published since Sutcliffe's (1981a) stocktaking; even confining this survey to monographs still denotes a significant literature. Some substantive studies of national figures have derived from doctoral dissertations. There has been a trend to use primary sources, whereas earlier work often drew on secondary accounts and personal memories. Ideas and achievements of most of these key figures resonated across national boundaries. Rather than divide them arbitrarily between global and national figures, they are best identified primarily by their region of birth (Table 6.3).

Table 6.3 Some book-length biographies of major 20th century planners since 1980.

A: American

- Draper, J. E. (1982) *Edward H. Bennett: Architect and City Planner, 1874–1954*, Chicago, IL: Art Institute of Chicago.
- Miller, D. L. (1989) *Lewis Mumford: A Life*, Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Lovelace, E. (1993) *Harland Bartholomew: His Contributions to American Urban Planning*, Urbana, IL: Department of Urban and Regional Planning, University of Illinois.
- Worley, W. S. (1993) *J. C. Nichols and the Shaping of Kansas City: Innovation in Planned Residential Communities*, Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press.
- Beveridge, C. E. and Rocheleau, P. (1995) *Frederick Law Olmsted: Designing the American Landscape*, New York: Rizzoli International.
- Hall, L. (1995) *Olmsted's America: An "Unpractical Man" and His Vision of Civilisation*, Boston, MA: Bulfinch Press.
- Harrison, P. (1995) *Walter Burley Griffin: Landscape Architect*, Edited by R. Freestone, Canberra: National Library of Australia.
- Luccarelli, M. (1995) *Mumford and the Ecological Region: The Politics of Planning*, New York: Guilford Publication.
- Watson, A. (ed.) (1998) *Beyond Architecture: Marion Mahony and Walter Burley Griffin: America—Australia—India*, Sydney: Powerhouse Publishing.
- Rybczynski, W. (1999) *A Clearing in the Distance: Frederick Law Olmsted and America in the Nineteenth Century*, New York: Scribner.
- Rogers, M. F. Jr. (2001) *John Nolen and Mariemont: Building a New Town in Ohio*, Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Anderson, L. (2002) *Benton MacKaye: Conservationist, Planner, and Creator of the Appalachian Trail*, Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Olsen, J. (2003) *Better Places, Better Lives: A Biography of James Rouse*, Washington: Urban Land Institute.
- Bloom, N. D. (2004) *Merchant of Illusion: James Rouse, American Salesman of the Businessman's Utopia*, Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press.
- Griffin, D. (ed.) (2008) *The Writings of Walter Burley Griffin*, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press.
- McGregor, A. (2009) *Grand Obsessions: The Life and Work of Walter Burley Griffin and Marion Mahony Griffin*. Melbourne: Lantern.
- Feiss, C. (2011) *Remaking American Places: The Vision of Carl Feiss, Architect, Planner, Preservationist*. North Charleston, CA: CreateSpace.
- Martin, J. (2011) *Genius of Place: The Life of Frederick Law Olmsted*, Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press.
- Beck, J. (2013) *John Nolen and the Metropolitan Landscape*, New York: Routledge.
- Heller, G. L. (2013) *Ed Bacon: Planning, Politics, and the Building of Modern Philadelphia*, Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Stephenson, R. B. (2015) *John Nolen, Landscape Architect and City Planner*, Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press/Library of American Landscape History.
- Larsen, K. B. (2016) *Community Architect: The Life and Vision of Clarence S. Stein*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

B: British

- Cherry, G. E. and Penny, L. (1985) *Holford. A Study in Architecture, Planning and Civic Design*, London: Mansell.
- Jackson, F. (1985) *Sir Raymond Unwin: Architect Planner and Visionary*, London: A. Zwemmer Ltd.
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(continued)

Table 6.3 (continued)

B: British

Ladas, D. and Nagashima, C. W. (eds.) (1985) “Special Volume in Memoriam to Mary Jacqueline Tyrwhitt,” *Ekistics*, 52 (314–315).

Beevers, R. (1988) *The Garden City Utopia: A Critical Biography of Ebenezer Howard*, Houndmills, UK: Macmillan.

Miller, M. (1992) *Raymond Unwin: Garden Cities and Town Planning*, Leicester, UK: Leicester University Press.

C: European

Van der Valk, A. (1990) *Het levenswerk van Th. K. van Lohuizen 1890–1956: De eenheid van het stedebouwkundige werk*, Delft: Delftse Universitaire Pers.

Hierl, R. (1992) *Erwin Gutkind, 1886–1968: Architektur als Stadtraumkunst*, Basel: Birkhäuser.

Jordan, D. P. (1996) *Transforming Paris: The Life and Labors of Baron Haussmann*, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press

Karnau, O. (1996) *Hermann Josef Stübben—Städtebau 1876–1930*, Braunschweig–Wiesbaden: Vieweg.

Wentz, M. (2000) *Hans Kampffmeyer: Planungsdezernent in Frankfurt am Main, 1956–1972*, Frankfurt: Campus.

Carmona, M. (2002) *Haussmann: His life and Times, and the Making of Modern Paris*, translated from the French by Patrick Camiller, Chicago, IL: I. R. Dee.

Salmela, U. (2004) *Urban Space and Social Welfare: Otto-Iivari Meurman as a Planner of Finnish Towns 1914–1937*, Helsinki: Taidehistorian Seura/Foreningen For Kunsthistoria.

Lemas, N. (2008) *Eugène Hénard et le futur urbain : quelle politique pour l'utopie?* Paris: Harmattan.

Günter, R. (2010) *Karl Ganser: [ein Mann setzt Zeichen]: eine Planer-Biografie mit der IBA in der Metropole Ruhr*, Essen: Klartext.

Kress, C. (2011) *Adolf Sommerfeld/Andrew Sommerfeld: Bauen für Berlin 1910–1970*, Berlin: Lukas Verlag.

Schiefer, J.-M. (2013) *Architekt, Generalbauinspektor und Rüstungsminister: Gespräche mit Albert Speer 1971–1975*, Göttingen: MatrixMedia.

Matan, A. and Newman, P. (2013) *People Cities: The Life and Legacy of Jan Gehl*, Washington, DC: Island Press.

Source: Robert Freestone.

American figures (Table 6.3: A) have dominated major studies: pioneer planner John Nolen, Clarence Stein, Benton Mackaye, Lewis Mumford, Harland Bartholomew, Carl Feiss, Ed Bacon, and Edward H. Bennett (British-born and Beaux Arts-trained but spending all his working life in America). Frederick Law Olmsted is still attracting major interest. Expatriate Walter Burley Griffin has a canon resembling the publishing industry now attached to Frank Lloyd Wright, his one-time architectural mentor, but with acknowledgment accorded his creative and life partner (and also Wright alumna), Marion Mahony. Other makers of planned landscapes, such as developers, have also been recognized. Cherry followed up his edited collection on British planners (Table 6.3: B) with a dedicated study of a figure then on his radar but omitted because “research could not be undertaken in time” (Cherry 1981a: 15), namely William Holford. Ebenezer Howard has been the subject of several biographies, while Raymond Unwin’s role in promoting garden city standards of housing and neighborhood design has been studied intensively. In commemoration of the centenary of Unwin’s birth, a series of essays was assembled for the November 1963 issue of *Town and Country Planning*; his 150th anniversary was another opportunity to review his contributions (Miller 2015). On the Continent (Table 6.3: C), Josef Stübben was one of the most important and widely known city planners from the late 19th century. His classic early text *Der Städtebau* (City Building), released in several editions from 1890, has recently been made available in an English edition, using Adalbert Albrecht’s 1911 translation of the 1907 edition (www.design4planning.org). Other German planning figures have attracted German language studies, including Erwin Gutkind, the younger of Hamburg’s two Hans Kampffmeyers, Berlin developer Adolf/Andrew Sommerfeld, Emscher Park

Director Karl Ganser, and Hitler's architect-designer Albert Speer. Other influential European figures have also been tackled: Georges-Eugène Haussmann, through a broader social history lens; the later Paris urbanist Eugène Hénard; Finnish planner Otto-Iivari Meurman.

Historiographical Typologies

This section discusses four main types of planning history biography studies, dealing in turn with the global tracks of cosmopolitan planners, the contribution of female planners, intellectual and practitioner groupings, and an even more bespoke category that can be identified: the pairing of two planning figures (Table 6.4). Some of the figures mentioned above worked outside their countries of birth and helped shaped planning thought transnationally. The most robust form of internationalism came in the form of Sutcliffe's so-called "cosmopolitan planner," denoting a cohort of early figures in the planning movement with high international consciousness, profile, and impact. They were critical agents in the diffusion of planning ideas, practices, and processes (Sutcliffe 1981b). The world was their stage. Institutional networks, colonial/imperial connections, and displacement by war and prejudice framed many individual interventions. Leading figures who have been the subject of substantive studies include Thomas Adams, Werner Hegemann, Karl Brunner, Jean Claude Nicolas Forestier, and Juan Parrochia Beguin (Table 6.4: A).

Table 6.4 A selection of major thematic biographical studies since 1980.

A: *Cosmopolitans*

- Simpson, M. (1985) *Thomas Adams and the Modern Planning Movement: Britain, Canada, and the United States, 1900-1940*, London: Mansell.
- Leclerc, B. (1994) *Jean Claude Nicolas Forestier, 1861-1930: du Jardin au Paysage Urbaine: actes du Colloque International sur J.C.N. Forestier, Paris 1990*, Paris, Picard.
- Hofer, A. (2003) *Karl Brunner y el Urbanismo Europeo en America Latina*, Bogota, Colombia: El Ancora Editorus/Corporacion La Candelaria.
- Crasemann-Collins, C. (2005) *Werner Hegemann and the Search for Universal Urbanism*, New York: Norton.
- Somer, K. (2007) *The Functional City: The CIAM and Cornelis van Eesteren, 1928-1960*, Rotterdam: NAI Publishers.
- Vossoughian, N. (2011) *Otto Neurath: The Language of the Global Polis*, Rotterdam: NAI Publishers.
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B: *Women*

- Lindsay, J. (1993) *Elizabeth B. Mitchell: The Happy Town Planner*, Edinburgh, UK: Pentland Press.
- Oberlander, P. and Neubrun, E. (1999) *Houser: The Life and Work of Catherine Bauer, 1905-1964*, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
- Freestone, R. and Hanna, B. (2008) *Florence Taylor's Hats: Designing, Building and Editing Sydney*, Sydney: Halstead Press.
- Shoshkes, E. (2012) *Jaqueline Tyrwhitt: A Transnational Life in Urban Planning and Design*, Farnham, UK: Ashgate.
- Korporaal, G. (2015) *Making Magic: The Marion Mahony Griffin Story*, Sydney: privately published.
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C: *Planning groups*

- Wright, M. (1982) *Lord Leverhulme's Unknown Venture: the Lever Chair and the Beginnings of Town Planning 1908-48*, London: Hutchison Benham.
- Weiss, M. A. (1987) *The Rise of the Community Builders: The American Real Estate Industry and Urban Land Planning*, New York: Columbia University Press.
- Buder, S. (1990) *Visionaries and Planners: The Garden City Movement and the Modern Community*, New York, Oxford University Press.
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(continued)

Table 6.4 (continued)

C: Planning groups

- Biagi, P. and Gabellini, P. (1992) *Urbanisti Italiani. Piccinato, Marconi, Samona, Quaroni, De Carlo, Astengo, Campos Venuti*, Roma-bari: Editori Laterza.
- Spann, E. K. (1996) *Designing Modern America: The Regional Planning Association of America and its Members*, Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press.
- Birnbbaum, C. A. and Karson, R. (2000) *Pioneers of American Landscape Design*, New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Dalbey, M. (2002) *Regional Visionaries and Metropolitan Boosters: Decentralization, Regional Planning, and Parkways During the Interwar Years*, Boston, MA: Kluwer Academic.

D: Planning 'pairs'

- Novak, F. G. Jr. (1995) *Lewis Mumford and Patrick Geddes: The Correspondence*, New York, Routledge.
- Parsons, K. C. (1998) *The Writings of Clarence S. Stein: Architect of the Planned Community*, Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Pavez Reyes, M. I. (2003) *En la Ruta de Juan Parrochia Beguin. Premio Nacional de Urbanismo, Chile 1996*, Santiago, Chile: Facultad De Arquitectura Y Urbanismo, Universidad de Chile.
- Flint, A. (2009) *Wrestling with Moses: How Jane Jacobs Took on New York's Master Builder and Transformed the American City*, New York, Random House.
- Brandes-Gratz, R. (2010) *New York in the Shadow of Robert Moses and Jane Jacobs*, New York, Nation Books.
- Salzano, E. (2010) *Memorie di un urbanista. L'Italia che ho vissuto*, Venice: Corte del Fontego.
- McCullough, R. L. (2012) *Path for Kindred Spirits: The Friendship of Clarence Stein and Benton MacKaye*, Chicago, IL: University Presses Marketing.

Source: Robert Freestone.

From the late 1920s onward, CIAM was an important conduit for design innovation and debate internationally, and helped contextualize the contributions of people like Dutch planner Cornelis van Eesteren, and the Viennese social scientist-philosopher Otto Neurath. As in other categories surveyed in this review, the coverage expands considerably if we were to include journal articles and conference papers, picking up figures like Hermann Jansen, Otto Koenigsberger, John Mawson, Hannes Meyer, Charles Reade, and Secundino Zuazo. One representative study in this form is the substantive two-part analysis of French planner Maurice Rotival, who practiced and taught in Europe, Africa, and the Americas (Hein 2002a,b). All these investigations demonstrate the growing international exchange of planning ideas through the 20th century.

Women planners have been neglected until comparatively recently (Table 6.4: B). While explicitly eschewing the "Great Men" of history thesis, the classic *Pioneers in British Planners* nonetheless presents "the work of the giants" from an all-male lineup (Cherry 1981a: 8, 17). Cherry concedes that the chosen figures provide "an incomplete picture" and then provides an inventory of nearly forty names, not one of which is female. Peter Hall's list of "seers" in *Urban and Regional Planning* (first published in 1974) was similarly gender-blind, and this rolled into the first edition of *Cities of Tomorrow* (1988). Hall went as far as to claim that "There were, alas, almost no founding mothers" in the planning movement (1988: 7). Little wonder that at the very time when the social sciences and humanities were becoming alive to gender issues, planning history's silences were exposed. Easily refuting Hall's claim with reference to a growing body of feminist scholarship, Sandercocock (1998: 37) dismissed this stance as "simply wrong." Later editions of Hall's book had to concede that there were at least "exceptions" such as Jane Addams and Catherine Bauer.

This blindness reflects the broader conservatism of biography, with male subjects dominating over female (Caine 2010). The force of feminism in the contemporary planning profession in the 1970s was destined to make significant impacts. Birch (1983) linked this paradigm shift explicitly

with planning history in a catalytic revisionist account of women in the American planning movement. She discerned two major narratives, with involvement in promotion of planning through philanthropic, educational, editorial, and executive secretarial roles predominating over professional leadership through the first half of the 20th century, in line with the conventional social norms of the day. Other synoptic accounts followed, reinserting women back into the historical record (Freestone 1995b). The Jacobs oeuvre, in highlighting the influence of non-professionals, captures a now influential third perspective of bottom-up contributions to shaping planning's destiny (Table 6.2: B).

Detailed investigations of particular women's careers reveal more about challenges, prejudices, and roadblocks in both institutional and personal senses. Book-length treatments include studies of American planning and social housing advocate Catherine Bauer Wurster, new town promoter Elizabeth Mitchell, Australian right-wing planning advocate Florence Taylor, and well-networked British figure Jacqueline Tyrwhitt. Tyrwhitt was an archetypal collaborative catalyst whose own significant mid-century contributions to planning theory and practice have been overshadowed by the men with whom she was associated, like Geddes, Sigfried Giedion, and Constantinos Doxiadis.

A major trend in biographical studies has been "group biography" encompassing families, kinships, blood ties, friendships, and also "intellectual networks" (Caine 2010: 61). A representative selection is captured in Table 6.4: C. Notable are studies targeting the Regional Planning Association of America, an interwar roundtable of formidable American intellectuals whose ideas and interactions helped shape approaches to regional urbanism and resource conservation. Its members have themselves been the subject of biographies, including Lewis Mumford, Clarence Stein, Benton MacKaye, Charles Whitaker, Frederick Ackerman, Robert Kohn, Stuart Chase, Henry Wright, Edith Elmer Wood, and Catherine Bauer. Joining two earlier texts (Sussman 1976; Lubove 1963) are the mini-biographies in Spann (1996: xiv), who "tried when possible to introduce the living, personal element into the discussion of regional planning ideas, ideals and strategies," and Dalbey (2002), who positions this regionalist vision against the "metropolitanists." Another study of an educational cohort is Wright's (1982) history of the development of British planning told through the stories of the first five holders of the Lever Chair of Civic Design at the University of Liverpool.

The related genre of "collective biography" assembles individual studies to make up "some representation of . . . a professional group or of a kind of activism" (Caine 2010: 48). This work in planning history veers toward biographical dictionaries, biographically tinged accounts of development of institutions, wider social movements, and studies of planning milieux.

In surveying the literature a distinctive subgenre is evident in dualistic studies of leading planning figures (Table 6.4: D), or studies of intriguing connections between leading figures. Examples include the pairings of Martin Meyerson and Jacqueline Tyrwhitt, John Nolen and Carlos Contreras, and Clarence Stein and Liang Secheng. There have been several substantive book-length studies of two kinds. One type records enduring interactions between like-minded individuals, usually through correspondence that, when reproduced, provides an accessible archive for other scholars. Following the early lead of Hughes (1971) chronicling exchanges between Mumford and F. J. Osborn came later studies of Mumford and Geddes (Novak 1995), Stein and MacKaye (McCullough 2012), and Stein with a variety of correspondents (Parsons 1998). The other type comprises parallel and comparative studies of duos who likely never even met but were linked through common causes, conflict, or complementary intellectual positions. Exemplifying this latter genre are studies pairing New York's Robert Moses and Jane Jacobs. Both have respectively become biographical favorites attracting differing interpretations; together they seem to make an even more magnetic subject. Ideological sparring partners who were neither professional planners nor came face to face, they are usually cast as representing antithetical models of urbanism: top-down "power broking" versus bottom-up insurgency. Although a compelling trope, such treatments risk compounding simplistic generalizations (Mennell 2011).

Autobiography

The turn to biography in popular nonfiction and professional historical studies has been matched by a rising interest in “life writing” embracing personal memoirs, diaries, and interviews alongside traditional autobiography (Caine 2010). The planning history literature captures these trends with more planners publishing and telling their stories in different media since the 1990s (Table 6.5). They include London planning lawyer Desmond Heap, various British planners with extensive international experience, Canadian-based Ira Robinson, Italian urbanists, and American academic-practitioner Ed Blakely in a self-published “historic fable” format springing from childhood aspirations. One of the most remarkable accounts is Blumenfeld (1987) published only a year before his death. A genuine autobiography, covering his life from his childhood years in Germany to retirement in Canada, it describes along the way encounters with some of the major figures of 20th-century planning—and names in this chapter—like Unwin, Feiss, Mumford, Stein, Tyrwhitt, Jacobs, Meyerson, and many others. The memories are recounted frankly and clearly from an unflinching Marxist commitment to social reform. “Planning is a frustrating activity,” Blumenfeld (1987: 308) concludes; “the saving grace is that it leads one to the discovery of new problems.”

The challenge which Sutcliffe and others identified in the early 1980s—advancing biographical endeavor against the constraining strictures of planners occupying central and local government positions—could well be addressed through autobiography. Retiring academic planners of the present generation are also turning to reflection, saying less about their own lives *per se* and more about the issues that concerned them and the principles and policies which should endure: a new series along these lines commenced in the *Journal of the American Planning Association* in 2014 (e.g., Fainstein 2014; Godschalk 2014). An important symposium in this vein in Vienna in May 2014 brought together an ensemble of leading planning theorists recounting their own intellectual journeys (Haselsberger 2015, 2017).

Conclusion

As a planning history methodology, biography has enjoyed enduring prominence. Biography in planning history has proven particularly appealing in part because it “personalizes” the historical experience (Krueckeberg 1983: 2). This has been especially powerful in studies of the early planning movement, which was, after all, “never more than a collection of individuals” (Sutcliffe 1981b: 173). There have been notable advances in the quantity and quality of biographical scholarship in planning history since Sutcliffe’s critical reviews in 1977 and 1981. A raft of important books has been published since then, and biographically infused studies have become established as a staple of planning history conferences. Such studies also highlight the wider value of oral history in planning as a research method.

Table 6.5 A selection of book-length autobiographical studies since 1980.

Blumenfeld, H. (1987) <i>Life Begins at 65: The Not Entirely Candid Autobiography of a Drifter</i> , Montreal: Harvest House.
Heap, D. (1992) <i>The Marvellous Years: Pages from a Scrapbook</i> , Chichester, UK: Barry Rose.
Stephenson, G. (1992) <i>On a Human Scale: a Life in City Design</i> , Fremantle: Fremantle Arts Centre Press.
Watts, K. (1997) <i>Outwards from Home: A Planner’s Odyssey</i> , Sussex, UK: The Book Guild.
De Lucia, V. (2010) <i>Le mie città. Mezzo secolo di urbanistica in Italia</i> , Reggio Emilia: Diabasis.
Robinson, I. M. (2011) <i>An Urban Life Journey from the Bronx, NYC to Victoria, BC</i> . Toronto: Gemma B. Publishing.
Blakeley, E. (2013) <i>A Dream Run: A Hero of our Times</i> , self-published (Amazon).

Source: Robert Freestone.

The larger field of historical biography has turned to an interdisciplinary discourse of multifarious narrative forms (Posing 2001), and so too has planning history's particular brand. Methodologically, there are still advances to come, including engagement with more mainstream debates of the historical sciences. Topically, there are still major gaps. Writing about American planners but with a global message, Birch (2011: 175) captures the moment: "Now, in the initial years of the twenty-first century, it is time to tell the stories of the people who have made a difference in city planning and of the times in which they lived before their teachings and their meanings are lost to time."

Biography can work at several levels: as the life history of an interesting individual, as the evaluation of a creative contribution, and as commentary on the evolution of professional, organizational, and design milieu (Cherry and Penny, 1986). In planning history, it is a genre that cannot be confined to holistic studies of the life and work of individual professional planners. Indeed, such cradle-to-grave studies are slim pickings. Moreover, take out the architects, landscape architects, developers, public officials, and sundry urban reformers, and the body of work shrinks still further. The planning history approach is oriented to an appreciation of professional and community contributions as much in the realm of ideas as outcomes on the ground. At its best, this approach not only opens up personal revelations but integrates with and illuminates broader contextual and institutional circumstances. The interplay of micro and macro, done well, is a mark of good biography (Snowman 2014).

But even at its best, biography remains a circumscribed analytical method. Even the greatest figures in world history, let alone planning history, are usually not the primary cause of historical shifts. Such individuals, even the most powerful, at best "serve as transient accelerants or brakes on the underlying processes of transformation" (Kershaw 2004: 19). Nevertheless, as Laxton (1999: 122) notes, "historical explanations that neglect the personalities of the main actors are likely to be unconvincing."

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Related Topics

Ward: The Pioneers, Institutions and Vehicles of Planning History

Kwak: Interdisciplinarity in Planning History

Batey: The History of Planning Methodology

Freestone: Writing Planning History in the English-Speaking World

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7

PLANNING DIFFUSION

Agents, Mechanisms, Networks, and Theories

Stephen V. Ward

An important theme of planning history as a research field is how and why planning knowledge has circulated within and between countries, a process which planning historians have usually termed “diffusion” (Sutcliffe 1981: 163–201; Ward 2000). The work of the post-1970 generation of planning historians featured these information flows and their effects. References to how planning in one country or one city was informed and perhaps to some extent shaped by the experiences of other countries and cities had long appeared in many ostensibly local planning history studies. In this they were reflecting the reality that, from at least around 1900, there was wide and remarkably rapid dispersion of knowledge of models such as Parisian-style Haussmannization and the Garden City, and practices such as zoning and town extension. A few historians identified a new and larger aspect of this: the existence by the early 20th century of an international urban planning movement, part of a wider “urban internationale” concerned with all aspects of city governance and cultural life (Piccinato 1974; Sutcliffe 1981).

As this chapter will show, planning historians initially focused on the earlier and most intense flows of planning and related urban knowledge within Western Europe and, increasingly, the United States. They soon extended their interest to countries more distant from these knowledge hubs, such as Japan or those of Latin America, and to the complex flows of knowledge and tangible planning activity within colonial empires. Recently there has been increased interest in international flows of planning knowledge and practice within the former Soviet world, and between it and both the West and the former colonial world. More generally, greater attention is being given to the wider connections of this postcolonial world, not only with the traditional European and North American knowledge hubs, but with other world regions and between postcolonial countries themselves. The multilateral circulation of planning ideas and practices, particularly involving international agencies, is also being subjected to closer examination.

Not surprisingly, given planning history’s essentially empirical orientation, the label *diffusion* arose rather unconsciously, essentially for descriptive convenience. The term is used in the physical sciences to conceptualize the natural dispersal of, for example, gases or species from a zone of origin. Planning historians borrowed it from the innovation–diffusion theories developed around the mid-20th century within the social sciences, particularly economics and anthropology/cultural geography (Sauer 1952; Rogers 2003). Yet, as more work has been undertaken, the limitations of the term diffusion are being recognized, and other labels are being increasingly favored, including *knowledge flows* or *knowledge circulation*, *knowledge exchange*, or *transnational* or *cross-cultural urbanism* (Hein 2016).

Planning historical work on *diffusion* also parallels more contemporary concerns, albeit differently conceptualized within different disciplines. From political science come terms such as *cross-national learning*, *cross-national lesson-drawing*, and *policy transfer* (Rose 1993; 2005). From urban geographers come *policy tourism* or *policy mobilities and urban relational geographies* (Ward 2011). Others, examining international movements of ideas and practices, especially those involving the colonial or postcolonial worlds, have referred to culturally constructed *imaginative geographies* of the places originating and receiving *traveling theories* which mutate in form and meaning on their journeys (Said 1978; 1983). Acknowledging these “culturalist” approaches, some architectural historians have also probed the material basis of movements of architectural ideas and forms, locating them within larger economic, technological, and geo-political connections, and “interferences” (Cohen and Frank 2013). This diverse parallel work within other disciplines has spawned much of potential value to empirical planning historians in their own work on *diffusion*, opening up potential synergies, a theme addressed later in this chapter. First however, this chapter considers how this movement of ideas and practice actually occurred, examining its specific individual, network and governmental dimensions, as well as possible structural relationships to the contours of global power.

Agents and Mechanisms of Mobility: the Role of Individuals

Historical writing on flows of planning knowledge and practice has given much attention to the agents and mechanisms of knowledge mobility. A common approach has explored this through the lens of the careers of individual planners. Such figures are portrayed as both carriers of ideas and approaches to new locations and bringers of new knowledge from elsewhere which they then disseminate. In this view, key individuals become *intermediaries*, *missionaries* or *cosmopolitans* (Sutcliffe 1981; Tregenza 1986). Thus the British planner Thomas Adams, working in Canada and the United States during the years 1914–1938, carried British planning ideas and practice westward across the Atlantic, and North American planning knowledge eastward (Simpson 1985). The French *urbaniste*, Jacques Gréber, worked on several occasions in the United States and Canada from 1910 to 1950, performing a similar role in relation to France and North America (UHR 2001); the American planner George Ford, closely involved in French post-1918 reconstruction planning, was another early transatlantic intermediary (Bédarida 1991). Interest in such Atlantic-crossing figures has grown since Rodgers’ wider study of the American social progressives who drew on European reformism (Rodgers 1998). A recent special issue of *Planning Perspectives* on transatlantic urban dialogues post-World War II (Hein 2014) has taken this further.

Most countries with an urban planning tradition have comparable figures. Throughout the former Soviet bloc, individual architect-planners became the principal carriers of Stalinist socialist realist principles from the Soviet Union to their own countries in the late 1940s/1950s (Åman 1992), including Kurt Liebknecht (German Democratic Republic), Edmund Goldzamt (Poland), Imre Perényi and Tibor Weiner (Hungary), and Petur Tashev (Bulgaria). In a quite different context, the Japanese planners Uzō Nishiyama and Hideaki Ishikawa from the early 1940s brought relevant Western planning ideas to Japan from German and Anglo-American planning (Hein 2008, Hein 2017).

There has been particular interest in planners who worked in countries other than their own (Ward 2005). Multiskilled professional consultancies in construction, planning, and design are now familiar features of the global scene, but global planners have existed on a smaller scale since the early 20th century. The first generation of French *urbanistes* were well known as the most wide-ranging, including Henri Prost, Alfred Donat Agache, Ernest Hébrard, and others who worked in many different countries, both within the Francophone world and beyond (Wright 1991). Soon, however, such figures were coming from a growing number of principally European countries. Notable German global planners included Werner Hegemann, well known for his work in the Americas (Collins 2005), and Hermann Jansen, whose interwar work in Ankara (Önge 2011) is best known;

he also worked in several other countries, including Spain, Norway, Bulgaria, Latvia, and Uruguay (Wynn 1984; Hass-Klau 1990).

Many worked in the major empires, particularly in the British and French imperial worlds (Home 2013; Peyceré and Volait 2003). However, there were lesser-known figures such as Thomas Karsten in the Dutch East Indies (the present Indonesia) (van der Heiden, 1990; van Roosmalen 2004), and Yoshikazu Uchida in Manchukuo (Manchuria, within the present China) during the late 1930s (Tucker 2003; Hein 2003). Foreign planners also worked between the wars in post-imperial territories such as Latin America, Turkey, and the Soviet Union (Almandoz 2002; Flierl 2011; Bosma 2014).

Some planners, such as Jews or those with left-wing views from Nazi Germany or other Fascist states, became political émigrés during the 1930s. Best known were those who moved to the United States (often via other countries), including Walter Gropius, Martin Wagner, Josep Lluís Sert, Victor Gruen, Hans Blumenfeld, and many others (Ward 2002: 124–125). Lesser-known figures also played important roles elsewhere. The Hungarian communist Jewish planner Alfred Förbat, for example,

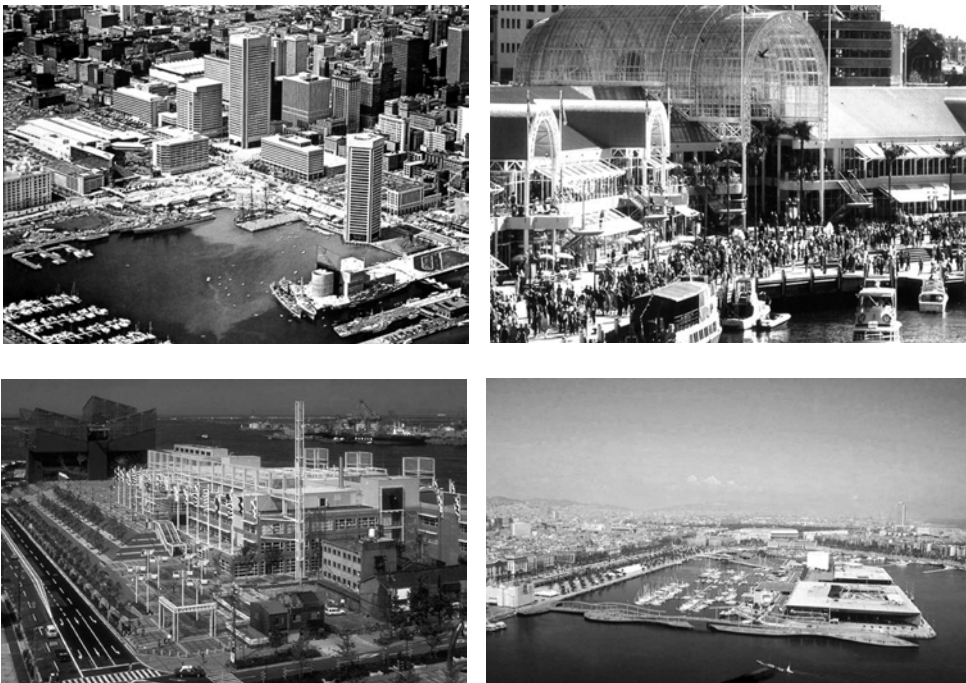


Figure 7.1 The waterfront development model, focused on leisure, tourism, and culture, was associated particularly with Baltimore during early 1980s and was rapidly emulated around the world. The other examples shown all have direct links, associated variously with developer, architectural, and planner involvement, to Baltimore. Top left to bottom right: Inner Harbor, Baltimore, USA. Earlier schemes had elements of the same approach but this was the first with the full range of attractions, used explicitly to regenerate a declining city. Darling Harbour, Sydney, Australia. Opened in 1988, this followed the Baltimore model closely to reuse a redundant part of the city in time for the nation’s bicentenary. Tempozan Harbor Village, Osaka, Japan. Although it looks rather different from Baltimore, this waterfront scheme, opened in 1991, was closely related to the Baltimore development concept and used some of the same architects. Port Vell, Barcelona, Spain. The creation of this “fun city” in the old port area was another borrowing of the Baltimore development and planning concept. It opened in time for the 1992 Summer Olympics in the city.

Source: Stephen Ward.

had worked in Germany but then went to the Soviet Union with Ernst May's group in the early 1930s. He finally migrated to Sweden in 1938, where he became a respected and influential planner (Folkesdotter 2000). Another Hungarian, Eugenio Faludi, who had worked extensively in Italy, exerted comparable influence in Canadian planning (Sewell 1993: 53–76). The Swiss architect-planner Hannes Meyer, former head of the Bauhaus-Dessau, worked for several years in the Soviet Union from 1930 before moving to Mexico in 1939 (Schnaidt 1965: 35–37). Others went to the emergent Jewish homeland in the British Palestine, strengthening the technical capacity of the future Israeli state (Troen 2003: 142–143). Britain, Turkey, India, China, and Kenya were other destinations for these uprooted figures.

The number of global planners grew dramatically after 1945, operating especially within the late-colonial and postcolonial world (Ward 2010a). More recently, globalization has seen more transnational figures from countries other than the original European or American heartlands. By the 1950s and 1960s, more planners from other continents were working internationally, including Oliver Weerasinghe from Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), and Joseph Crooks from Trinidad (Watts 1997). The knowledge flows associated with international figures also became more subtle over time. Whereas the first global planners usually put their own national stamp on places they planned, later planners offered a more consciously international planning repertoire. Today, major international development and design consultancies, often headed by globally known architects, are signifiers of the desired global perspective being sought in the world's major cities (Olds 2001).

Alongside actual planners and designers, investors and developers have also become major agents of the international planning flows. Although developers are often faceless organizations, such as those investing in Chinese real estate development during the early 20th century (Cody 2003), a few individuals have major public profiles. The best-documented example was the American, James Rouse, who was prominent in developing and circulating the Baltimore model of waterfront development to other American cities and beyond, including Sydney, Rotterdam, Osaka, and Barcelona (Olsen 2003) (Figure 7.1).

Agents and Mechanisms of Mobility: The Role of Reformist, Technical, and Philanthropic Bodies

Planning historians have also emphasized reformist and technical milieus—essentially network organizations for particular professional, pressure, or interest groups—as agents circulating planning knowledge. Many individuals discussed in the previous section were important actors within these networks of interest: it seems unlikely that they could have been influential without them. The specific activities that these bodies organized, and the outputs they produced and distributed, were themselves mechanisms of circulating knowledge: lectures, field visits, conferences, exhibitions and journals, websites, and other publications. Such dissemination mechanisms directly contributed to international planning knowledge flows, identifying which exogenous knowledge was most important, and also adapting, hybridizing, or synthesizing imported ideas and practice into something more locally relevant and usable. These network organizations were contact points for potential foreign visitors who imported ideas and practices, among other things welcoming them and organizing visits to key sites.

The most significant of these groups helped create national planning movements: in Britain, these included the Garden City Association (created 1899), the National Housing Reform Council (1900), and the Town Planning Institute (1914) (Cherry 1974). The first particularly adopted an expansive, outward-looking stance in its early years, spurring the creation of cognate organizations elsewhere in the world (Hardy 1991) (Figure 7.2). In the United States, influential bodies of this type included the Committee on the Congestion of Population (1907), the American City Planning Institute (1917), or the Regional Planning Association of America (1923) (Kantor 1994; Scott 1969; Spann, 1996; Dalbey 2002).

Some local reformist organizations were also important, especially in the United States. Progressive groupings of local businesses, philanthropists, and prominent citizens, notably in Chicago and New

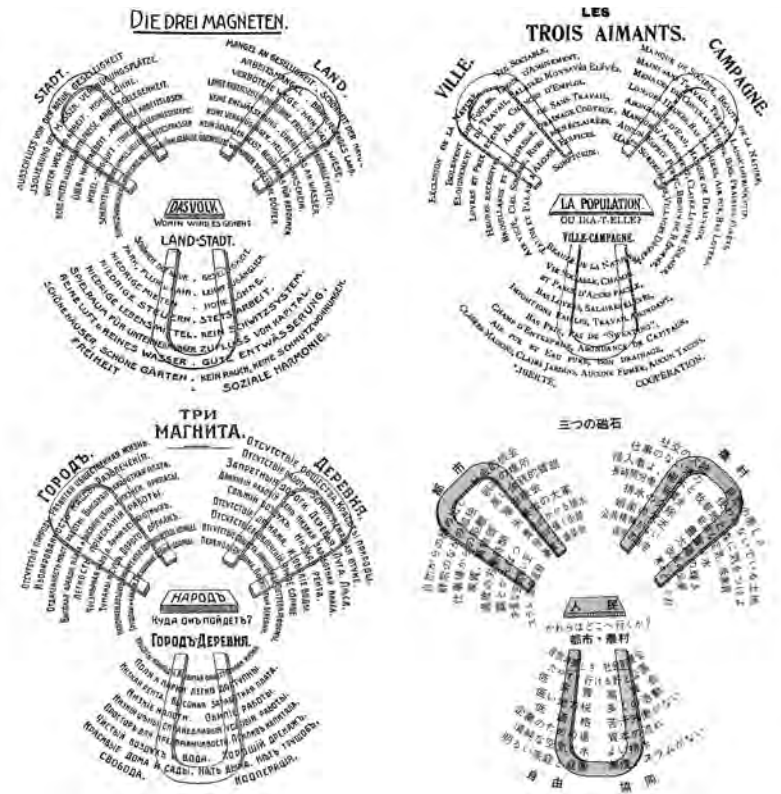


Figure 7.2 Ebenezer Howard’s famous “Three Magnets” diagram proposed a new “town-country” form that would combine the benefits of both town and country. The wide dispersal of Garden City ideas is suggested by these translated versions. Top left to bottom right: This German version from 1907 is indicative of the close and very strong early Anglo-German connections, with many actual examples of fine garden settlements. The French version also indicates early links, though this particular version of the diagram dates from 1917. There was significant pre-revolutionary and early post-revolutionary interest in Russia. Howard’s book, including this diagram, was translated into Russian in 1911. There was strong pre-1914 interest in Japan with numerous examples of rail commuter garden suburbs, though this 1968 translation of the actual diagram is later.

Sources: *Gartenstädte in Sicht* translated into German by Maria Wallroth-Unterlip, Jena: E Diederichs, 1907; *Ville-Jardins de Demain* translated by L. E. Creplet, published as a limited edition in China, Tientsin Press in 1917; *Goroda Budushavo* translated by Alexander Block, St. Petersburg, 1911; *Naimushō Chihōkyoku, Denentoshi*, Tokyo: Hakubunkan.

York, became significant wider disseminators and receivers of planning knowledge. Thus the Regional Plan Association in New York, funded by the Russell Sage Foundation and responsible for the Regional Plan of New York and its Environs during the interwar years, had a remarkable global impact, its work distributed to major cities in all continents (Johnson 1996). Other American philanthropic bodies circulated planning knowledge globally, especially after 1945 (Saunier 2001; Clapson 2013); in particular, the Ford Foundation funded major planning and research exercises in India, and it operated elsewhere, especially in the developing world (Emmett 1977).

Some reformist and technical organizations have been explicitly international in their structure, membership, and scale. Though most have not been wholly planning-focused (Saunier and

Ewen 2008), they started to appear as modern urban planning was emerging. The earliest included the Permanent International Association of Road Congresses (formed 1909), and two bodies founded in 1913: the International Union of Local Authorities and the International Garden Cities and Town Planning Association (now the International Federation for Housing and Planning) (Geertse 2016; Wagner 2016). Many others have followed, including the CIAM (Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne) in 1928 and Metropolis in 1985 (Mumford 2000; Ward 2013). All have regarded international knowledge dissemination, mutual learning, and the promotion of international discourse as key tasks.

These cross-national network organizations have focused on the original European and North American heartlands, but other network organizations now operate in closely cognate fields in the postcolonial developing and emergent world (Sharp and Briggs 2006). The Slum/Shack Dwellers International formed in 1996 has active members in 33 countries, including Brazil, India, and South Africa (SDI; McFarlane 2006). At best, these bodies give voice to genuinely marginalized groups within nascent civil societies, offering them the possibility of transcending lingering postcolonial deference to foreign professional knowledge, and of using it but selectively, critically, and synthetically with local knowledge and experience.

Agents and Mechanisms of Mobility: The Role of Governments

Much active circulation of planning knowledge, particularly that applied to actual planning policies in a new setting, can be attributed to national or various subnational governments and agencies. Many instances were apparent even in the early history of modern urban planning. Thus the Birmingham City Housing Committee dispatched a delegation to Germany in 1905 to study town extension planning, and subsequently synthesized such planning in city and national policies (Nettlefold 1914; Sutcliffe 1988). In Lyon, civic leaders and officials sought and contributed to “urban international information” during 1900–1940 (Saunier 1999).

The search for such knowledge has often involved specific official inquiries, policy uncertainties, or shifts in policy. From the mid-1950s, for example, policy changes under Soviet leader Khrushchev pushed many Soviet architects, planners, and engineers to study Western experience (Ward 2012b; Cook, Ward, and Ward 2014), particularly interested in industrialized housing construction (especially in France), and satellite town planning and development (especially in Britain and the Nordic countries). In the 1960s, the team preparing the Paris Regional Plan of 1965 and planning for Paris's new towns investigated new town planning in Britain, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands, Poland, Hungary, and the United States (Merlin 1971).

Recently, planning historians have explored contacts orchestrated by governments within the former Soviet world and between its various constituent nations and the wider postcolonial world, particularly Soviet-bloc international technical aid and professional training (Stanek and Avermaete 2012). City-based groups of planners like Miastoprojekt Krakow worked extensively in Iraq and elsewhere (Stanek 2012). A planning team from Leningrad (St. Petersburg) worked in Hanoi in (North) Vietnam (Logan 2000), and one from the German Democratic Republic in Zanzibar City (Myers 1994). There are other examples of Soviet-related planners working in other African countries (Ward 2010a).

Some governments, particularly the mother countries of foreign empires, also directly intervened in other countries (Wright 1991; Home 2013). Both general governmental assumptions and specific decisions framed in London could affect the planning of New Delhi or Nairobi: imperial authorities could determine local planning agendas, legal bases for planning action in its imperial possessions, who might undertake key planning tasks, and what kind of planning outcomes would be acceptable. Since the colonial era, development aid policies have reproduced some of this relationship, but decolonization also meant that newly independent countries might receive technical assistance from several sources, not solely from a former imperial power (Ward 2010a). Tanzania, for example,

turned to a variety of donors from both the Western and Communist worlds, deliberately favoring those without a recent colonial tradition (Armstrong 1987).

International governmental organizations also transmitted planning knowledge in the postcolonial era. The most important was the United Nations Center for Housing, Building and Planning, formed (under a slightly different name) in 1951 and rebadged as UN-Habitat in 1978 (Ciborowski 1980), which encouraged “good practice” in development-related planning in the former colonial world (Watts 1997). It has directly undertaken planning advisory work, but also coordinates technical aid from donor countries and matches planners with appropriate skills to developing countries. Over time, its role has shifted, as thinking changed about planning forms appropriate to the Global South, and more experienced professionals emerged from within these regions.

Other agencies of international governance, such as the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, have promoted “good practice” in urban planning. Their work compiling comparative statistical indicators is also important to highlight countries which perform “best” and to pressure “worse” performers to follow suit (Theodore and Peck 2012). The European Union has, since around 1990, encouraged a common understanding and discourse of urban planning among its 28 member states, again fostering common ideas of “good practice” (<http://urbact.eu/key-facts-figures>). In 2003, for example, its URBACT program was established with the aim of building multinational networks of cities to work on common urban problems—for example, urban regeneration, public space, waterfront development, citizen participation—and promote mutual learning.

Change and Adaptation in Knowledge Circulation and Transfer

A major concern in planning history diffusion research has been how and why ideas and practices change in their movement. Initially those documenting this phenomenon took purist positions, seeing mutations during the journey of a planning concept (such as the Garden City) as misunderstandings or misinterpretations (Ward 2015). Now diffusion is usually accepted as, in effect, a process of partial reinvention (Figure 7.3). Thus foreign variants of the Garden City, such as *gartenstadt*, *cité-jardin*, *tuinstad*, *den-en-toshi*, or *cidade jardim*, are viewed as perfectly valid, simply different expressions of the Garden City idea in new settings.

One result is that such re-interpretation looks in part like a consciously selective process, reflecting explicit decisions in different circumstances. For example, British planners in the early 20th century borrowed the Germanic concept of town extension planning (Sutcliffe 1988). Yet they rejected the original emphasis on apartment living, favoring a hybrid of town extension with the “home-grown” low densities of the Garden City. French reformers and *urbanistes* initially adopted this British variant but soon used apartments instead of cottages (Gaudin 1992); they borrowed the Garden City’s cohesive social model to enrich local services and community life rather than copying the British physical formula.

In some cases, foreign examples might simply have been a smokescreen that planners introduced to legitimate courses of action with essentially indigenous roots. Land readjustment policies that became embedded in Japanese practice from 1919, though ostensibly introduced from Germany, were arguably also rooted in traditional local agrarian practice (Sorensen 2002). Other changes to received ideas and practices result less from conscious evaluation than preexisting differences in legal or governmental systems. These can limit what can be adopted in an unmediated form from other countries. In Britain, for example, it was impossible to fully emulate the local business policies of many cities in the United States or elsewhere in Europe because of legal restrictions on raising and spending local revenue (Ward 1998).

Deeper economic, social, and cultural differences can also shape this process even less consciously, as when expensive planning approaches from the West or the Soviet bloc were exported



Figure 7.3 From the formation and early efforts in Britain, the ideas and practices of the Garden City movement quickly spread, with many local adaptations, around the world during the early 20th century, as these examples suggest. Top left to bottom right: Letchworth Garden City, Hertfordshire, UK, developed from 1903, showing early working-class cottages built for Howard Cottage Society, 1911–12. Margarethenhöhe, Essen, Germany, developed from 1909 by a trust controlled by the Krupp industrialist family, showing some of the earliest housing (c1912). Enskede, Stockholm, Sweden, developed from 1908 by the city council, showing some of the earliest row housing though later privately built development was detached or semi-detached. Chemin Vert, Reims, France, developed 1920–24 by a philanthropic society founded by local industrialists to improve working-class housing and help rebuild the war-devastated city. Ofechovka, Prague, Czechoslovakia (now Czech Republic), a middle class garden suburb, developed 1919–25 by the Building Co-operative of Public Servants. Käpylä, Helsinki, Finland, a garden suburb with low-cost wooden housing, built 1920–25 with municipal support to relieve a chronic housing shortage. Colonel Light Gardens, Adelaide, Australia, proposed as a “model garden suburb” for the South Australia state government in 1917 and developed by a state commission, 1921–27. Radburn, New Jersey, USA, developed from 1929 as a garden community for the motor age by the limited dividend City Housing Corporation, but soon aborted by the Wall Street crash. Jardim América, São Paulo, Brazil, designed in 1915 by the planners of Letchworth and developed by a private land company as an expensive high-class garden suburb, 1915–29.

Source: Stephen Ward.

to poorer, postcolonial countries which lacked the technical and financial resources to accomplish or maintain them. Familiar concepts such as *development planning* or *housing policy* assumed quite different meanings in the affluent and developing worlds.

Contextual and structural factors have shaped the flows of knowledge within and between specific linguistic realms. Some planning historians have given such factors and the uneven distribution of global power an important role in shaping flows of planning ideas and practice. King (1980) has described the developed affluent world “exporting” planning to the less-developed poorer world.

Table 7.1 Typology of Planning Diffusion.

<i>TYPE</i>	<i>INDIGENOUS ROLE</i>	<i>EXTERNAL ROLE</i>	<i>TYPICAL MECHANISMS</i>	<i>LEVEL OF DIFFUSION</i>	<i>KEY ACTORS</i>	<i>POTENTIAL FOR DISTINCTIVENESS</i>	<i>CHARACTERISTIC EXAMPLES</i>
Synthetic borrowing	Very high	Very low	Indigenous planning/movements plus wide external contacts	Theory and practice	Indigenous	Very high	Major countries of Western Europe & USA
Selective Borrowing	High	Low	External contact with innovative planning traditions	Practice and some theory	Indigenous	High	Smaller countries of Western Europe
Undiluted borrowing	Medium	Medium	Indigenous deference to innovative external planning traditions	Practice with little or no theory	External with some indigenous	Fairly low	Dominions of British Empire, Japan Some European examples
Negotiated Imposition	Low	High	Dependence on external planning tradition(s)	Practice	External with some indigenous	Low	Aid-dependent countries (e.g., Africa)
Contested Imposition	Very low	Very high	High dependence on one external planning tradition	Practice	External	Low	“Enlightened” colonial planning
Authoritarian Imposition	None	Total	Total dependence on one external planning tradition	Practice	External	None	Newly subjugated territories

Source: Stephen Ward.

Reflecting similar thinking, Ward (2012a) has proposed a more elaborate typology of diffusion episodes, shaped in larger measure by the “power relationship” between the countries involved (Table 7.1). Three types of planning diffusion are perceived as forms of imposition (*authoritarian*, *contested*, and *negotiated*), with varying degrees of local mediation. He distinguished these from diffusion through three types of borrowing (*undiluted*, *selective*, and *synthetic*), where decision makers in receiving countries can exert progressively more control over what is adopted.

Although a typology rather than a full-blown theory of international planning flows, this approach implies a structure–agency binary, one decreasing as the other increases. Thus human agency in the receiving country has the greatest importance in types of borrowing, especially the most critical and deconstructive form of synthetic borrowing. In contrast, structure makes its biggest impact where exogenous planning arrives by imposition, ostensibly suppressing all indigenous agency in its most authoritarian variant. The typology has some value in formulating analytical expectations, attracting some interest amongst planning historians and theorists. Yet it has many limitations as a rather static conception tending to underestimate how far those in receiving countries can affect the realization of plans (Nasr and Volait 2003). And it is by no means the only move towards theorizing this subject.

Theorizing the Circulation of Planning Knowledge

A few planning historians, especially those working on developing and emergent world regions, have drawn explicitly on Edward Said’s work in cultural theory to explore this phenomenon of change and adaptation. Often they refer to Said’s discussions of postcolonialism itself (Healey and Upton 2010). However, Said also introduced the notion of *traveling theories* that originate in one setting, but then, as they are received into new settings, are re-contextualized, acquiring new meanings and different usages (Said 1983). This idea gives a point of departure for Lu (2006), in her work on post-1949 Chinese urban form in relation to the neighborhood unit as a *traveling urban form*. Others show some similarity of terminology, suggesting that they may perhaps have been more indirectly touched by Said’s work (Tait and Jensen 2007). Lu notes how, from American origins, the neighborhood concept was circulated in Europe via CIAM and Garden City movements, extensively used in postwar planning in Europe and in Australia, Israel, Brazil, and India (see also Schubert 2000). Japanese planners, having only recently received it from the United States (see also Tucker 2003), introduced the concept into Manchuria under the post-1931 colonial administration (or pre-1949 China). Thereafter Chinese planners began to interpret the concept themselves, though it was sidelined under Soviet influence in the late-Stalin era. However, the Soviets brought it back in the later 1950s in the guise of the *mikroraiion* (micro-district); thereafter it was reworked within China to reflect various turns in national policy, through Maoist cultural revolution and increased marketization. Lu concludes that the neighborhood unit has been “far more than a sign of globalized repetition,” but instead something “constantly tamed into different programmes of modernization in new times and places” (Lu 2006: 46).

A more obvious theoretical connection with the issues of adopting and adapting planning knowledge, partly because it mirrors the implicit explanatory frameworks which many planning historians follow, is with Actor-Network Theory (ANT). As its name suggests, ANT emphasizes the role of actors (usually human actors but also inanimate things, such as plans or texts) and networks (the linked groups of actors forming around particular ideas or practices). How long such ideas and practices persist, and how they change over time and space, are seen as a direct function of the actor-networks which form and re-form around them. In relation to their spatial movement, ANT emphasizes *translation*, whereby a planning idea or practice is displaced, altered, and reconfigured, with related change to actor-networks. *Intermediaries*, such as documents, plans, books, and professional practices, are ways of moving planning models into new policy settings and diverse locations. Tait and Jensen (2007) are unusual among planning historians in making

explicit use of ANT to examine how the concepts of urban villages and business improvement districts shifted from the United States to Britain and within Britain. Planning and geography researchers are also adopting the approach to investigate current transnational flows of urban policy ideas and practices (Clarke 2012; Healey 2012, 2013; Harris and Moore 2013). Although planning historians are, on the whole, more coy about showing the theoretical roots of their work (or simply less conscious of them), signs at least of ANT terminology do appear in some studies (Hebbert and MacKillop 2013; Orillard 2014).

Rationality or Imagination?

Nor are these the only theoretical possibilities. There has been much work on cross-national flows of policy knowledge from the so-called policy transfer school within political science (Dolowitz and Marsh 1996, 2000; Rose 2005). Their earliest work did actually focus on policies supposedly being transferred but soon shifted to *cross-national learning* and *lesson drawing*. These terms acknowledged a more complex process of first gaining exogenous knowledge, then deriving policy significance from it to adapt it for its new setting. The approach has been employed in some geography and planning work on international flows of urban policy knowledge. It has also occasionally been adopted in historical studies of international planning diffusion. Ward (2007), for example, used it to examine three important official British investigations, the Barlow, the Buchanan, and the Rogers reports, between 1940 and 1999.

A key aspect of the approach has been the quest for a rational process of cross-national policy learning for those actively engaged in policy-making. Its priority is to derive useful knowledge from other countries that can be reliably distilled into “good practice” within a new setting. Not alone amongst many policy researchers, planning historians are likely to be wary of the concept of “good practice.” A sobering lesson of planning history is how easily one generation’s “good practice” can become the next generation’s “bad practice.” Nevertheless, this whole approach permits very useful insights into transnational policy knowledge flows, unpicking planners’ processes of sifting and evaluating, filtering and naturalizing received ideas and practices into new settings.

Not least of these insights is where policymakers seek ideas and practices. Rose (2005) has identified four types of places from which governments learn: *neighbors*, *distant friends*, *useful strangers*, and those *too big or too good to ignore*. The first names simple proximity while the second refers to more distant places with which there is some linguistic, cultural, legal, or other affinity that has created a habit of contact. *Useful strangers* are places lacking these or proximity, but whose very difference itself brings something fresh and important to thinking. Finally, there are the examples where scale and reputation mean that they really cannot be overlooked.

Against this way of thinking another can, however, be counterposed, where cultural imagination rather than positivist rationality dominates. It involves how an external observer perceives otherness, less a literal perception than a culturally constructed imaginative geography. This thinking also derives from Said, specifically his work on Orientalism, that is, Western perceptions of “the Orient” and specifically the Arab world (Said 1978). The French architectural historian Jean-Louis Cohen (1995) has applied this thinking to European architectural perceptions of the United States, referring to *Americanism* as a powerful 20th-century imaginary signifying a dynamic, technologically progressive, and seemingly inevitable future. As such, it became an inspirational vision, capable of mobilizing European decision makers to reshape their own cities.

It is a way of thinking which could usefully be applied more widely. Ward (2010b), for example, has used it in an account of British perceptions of Germany as a possible source of planning ideas and practices. *Germanism* in planning history has signified positive qualities of order, efficiency,

and thoroughness, but these are negatively tinged with authoritarianism, relentlessness, and even ruthlessness. The approach ultimately becomes a somewhat different theorization of planning's diffusion, as less an import/export trade of tangible ideas and practices and more an international interchange of symbolic knowledge. In this vein, Lieto (2015) advances the challenging view that traveling planning ideas are actually a cross-border circulation of *myths*, notions that are little more than fanciful aspirations, even in their original setting, which become so decontextualized in their mobility as to be empty of rational meaning.

Conclusion

Whether planning historians approve or not, these various theorizations within other disciplines that seek understanding of a contemporary phenomenon are being drawn into historical studies. Thus far, the pace in this is definitely being set by the theorists rather than the historians. But the depth of historical knowledge and understanding about how planning has circulated internationally is such that planning historians have more to contribute to this debate. Their methods—identifying and mining archival sources, seeking out and interviewing those involved in the recent past in circulating and receiving planning knowledge—afford rich possibilities. Planning historians can play a central part in addressing this wider problem, bringing the vital aspect of time into consideration. This allows them to examine the longer-term persistence of introduced ideas and practices and of the subsequent connections as they flow around the world.

As this chapter has shown, international knowledge circulation has been a key part of the modern urban planning movement since its inception. It is a subject with intrinsic interest that offers rich possibilities for planning historians around the world to work together, pooling skills and knowledge. As this chapter has suggested, it also has the potential to put planning history at the very heart of urban and planning studies.

Related Topics

Monclús, Díez: *Urbanisme, Urbanismo, Urbanistica*, Latin European Urbanism

Orillard: *Urbanisme* and the Francophone Sphere

Kress: The German Traditions of *Städtebau* and *Stadtlandschaft* and Their Diffusion Through Global Exchange

Taylor, Kukina: Planning History in and of Russia and the Soviet Union

Schubert: Ports and Urban Waterfronts

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8

GLOBAL SYSTEMS FOUNDATIONS OF THE DISCIPLINE

Colonial, Postcolonial, and Other Power Structures

Robert Home

In recent years, planning history has broadened its range from Europe, North America, and Australia/New Zealand to include the *Global South*, where most population and urban growth is now occurring (Parnell and Oldfield 2014). The term has evolved from previous formulations as the *Third World* and *developing countries*. While the metropolitan impact of colonialism has been researched (Driver and Gilbert 1999; Rabinow 1989; Ross 1995), many great cities of the Global South have their origins in European colonial expansion, and they have grown far beyond their colonial past, while the former colonial masters have now largely departed. For two centuries, it was the British colonial empire that had the most global reach, with an interconnected colonial urban system: some 60 cities of the Global South originated or expanded under British political and cultural control. Among them (traversing the oceans southwards and then eastwards from Britain) one can mention Lagos, Cape Town, Durban, Mombasa, Colombo, Madras, Calcutta, Bombay, Singapore, and Hong Kong; one can also add the smaller ports of the Caribbean islands. As European colonialism expanded from the ports and penetrated the interiors of India and Africa, other colonial city forms emerged, often as appendages to indigenous cities.

Scholarship on the colonial city in recent decades has combined with planning history, exploring it as a domain of intention for the display of status and power, and for changing society and repatterning daily life. Grand but often unrealized designs sought to showcase the imperial project and the controlling ambition of empire. A built environment of public buildings, monuments, parks, streets, and avenues exhibited colonial control and manipulation of urban space through architecture, urban planning, and regulatory frameworks, making the colonial city into a continuing arena of contestation between society and state, where the colonialists' gaze of power was disputed and negotiated with the colonized (Bremner 2016).

To attempt a periodization based upon critical junctures one can identify three historical periods for the British tropical colonies of Asia, Africa, and the Caribbean. In the first period, before the 20th century, the colonial powers planned settlements, camps, towns, and cities largely according to military technical codes and the needs of transport infrastructure (especially railways); forts and military cantonments maintained the ultimate sanction of force. Such codes and practices continued as foundations for the second period, which began in the early 20th century, with the development of modern professionalized town planning.

The term *town planning* seems to have originated in a colonial context (Australia in 1890), and was soon applied in situations where the British encountered large, preexisting indigenous populations. To its advocates (such as Patrick Geddes and Charles Compton Reade), it seemed to offer a modern approach to colonial management with tools such as master plans, garden cities, land-use zoning, and separate development through racial segregation. After the establishment of the Town Planning Institute, the approach had briefly a champion in Colonial Secretary Lord Passfield (the Fabian Socialist Sidney Webb), who was in office from 1929 to 1931, and commended it as:

‘An orderly and scientific method of controlling work already in progress or inevitable in the future, in a manner which secures the best and most far-reaching economical results from current expenditure as it takes place (quoted in Home 2013)’.

Individual colonies passed planning acts based upon English legislation such as the 1932 Town and Country Planning Act. These appeared to hold out the hope of comprehensive physical planning that could improve living conditions under the auspices of “colonial development and welfare,” but the resources, and indeed the political will, were always inadequate, and achievements on the ground were few (Bissell 2011; Nasr and Volait 2003).

A third (postcolonial or neocolonial) period covers the last half of the 20th century and beyond. Global communications improvements facilitated the continued transplantation of ideologies, values, and planning models. In the global reconstruction effort following World War II, newly created international development agencies such as the United Nations Development Programme and UN-Habitat organized physical planning interventions, often planning for populations displaced by conflict or natural disasters, including the post-1948 Israel/Palestine conflict and the Skopje earthquake of 1963 (Home 2006a). Cold War geopolitics and competing political systems influenced planning approaches, as has been explored by various researchers (Kusno 2000; Lu 2006a; Perera 1998). Town planning remained, however, an often-inadequate technical response to massive social and political change, reflecting in part resource and implementation constraints but also the legacy of discriminatory colonial policies and neglect of representative local government, infrastructure, and housing. Public opposition to the rule of experts increasingly challenged planning ideologies, and the planning profession came to be seen as deeply complicit in colonial power structures, imposing policies and physical standards that distorted urban forms and reinforced inequalities (Jacobs 1996; Porter 2011). New visions of the future city spread globally, and specific building forms were replicated, such as the bungalow (King 1984), tenement housing, (Huchzermeyer 2011), and gated communities (Bagaen and Uduku 2015).

A Developing Literature for the Global South

The complex phenomenon of the colonial city remains important, as scholarship continues to develop on the planning history of the Global South. The basic terminologies of empire, imperialism, and colonialism are being recast; postcolonial theory has been exposing how a dominant culture and language could submerge indigenous perspectives and experiences, and argues for the *provincialization* of Europe and its history in a properly global discourse (Chakrabarty 2000). Recent scholarship has challenged traditional Eurocentric views of the colonial city by exploring issues of cultural, racial, and gender difference, and applied a more nuanced understanding of the development of the indigenous city. Studies of geographical regions are a growing source (for example Africa in Njoh 2007, Silva 2015, East Asia in Victoir and Zatsopine 2013). Studies of individual cities, especially in India, have shown how the new colonial urban space provided opportunities for a “joint enterprise,” whereby an emerging local bourgeoisie developed new life styles and forms of urban modernity. They have exposed as restrictive and simplistic such binary categories as *traditional/modern*, *colonized/colonizer*, and *European/Indian*; these studies include Calcutta (Chattopadhyay 2006), Delhi (Hosagrahar 2005), Bombay (Chopra 2011), and Lahore

(Glover 2008). Earlier studies critiqued “modern” architectural and planning developments in Sri Lanka (Perera 1998), and showed how Singapore’s anti-colonial Chinese community sought to keep control over its own urban spaces (Yeoh 2003).

Planning histories of cities of the Global South have moved beyond planning and history into different social science disciplines—geography, sociology and architecture, as well as area studies. The New Imperial History now concerns itself more with cultural than political and economic factors, linked with scholarship in anthropology, literary studies, philosophy, and gender studies (Howe 2011). Postmodernist geographers have investigated the complex physical and cultural boundaries between colonizer and colonized, and the often contradictory political processes behind the production of space (Edensor and Jayne 2012; Legg 2007; Myers 2011; Sandercock 1998; Yeoh 2003). Urban morphology (associated with ISUF, the International Study of Urban Form network) investigates the spatial structure, component parts, and processes of urban development down to the level of individual blocks, plots, and buildings, and draws from such disciplines as architecture, geography, history, sociology, and town planning (Batty 1990; Relph 1987; Whitehand 2001). The material character and symbolic meaning of physical urban forms in the Global South have been explored by Byerley (2013), Kalabamu (1993), and Sengupta (2012).

Another rich field of enquiry, explored by architectural and landscape historians, investigates the built environment of colonialism through the work of individual architects and planners, architectural styles, cultures of planning, and particular building forms. Individual architects and their networks who have been the subject of recent scholarship include Maxwell Fry (Liscombe 2006), Otto Koenigsberger (Lee 2014), and Hassan Fathy (El Wakil 2013). Architectural styles have been explored by Crinson (2003) and Demissie (2012), tropical modernist architecture by Jackson (2013), and an Israeli perspective of successive influences upon the urban landscape of Haifa by Kolodney and Kallus (2008). Studies of specific building forms offer various perspectives on housing, including mine-worker housing in South Africa (Demissie 1998), housing policy in Kenya (Harris 2008), tenement housing (Huchzermeyer 2011), and domestic arrangements and design advice for the African home (Schilling 2014). Among the public building types that have been researched are: town halls (Chattopadhyay and White 2014) and hotels (Craggs 2012,



Figure 8.1 Public buildings in port of Colombo, c.1900.

Source: postcard, personal archives, Robert Home.

Peleggi 2012), and the many products of the Indian Public Works departments, ranging across customs houses, secretariats, courts, railway stations, post offices, educational establishments, and hospitals (Scriver and Prakash 2007) (Figure 8.1).

The interrelated disciplines of sociology, anthropology and ethnography have also contributed to planning history. The sociologist King's pioneering work (1976, 1984 and 1990) on colonial urban systems has been particularly influential. Ethnographers have explored colonial interventions (Bissell 2011, Harvey 2005), and cities as sites for experimentation and social reconfiguration (Diouf and Fredericks 2014; Larkin 2008). The subdisciplines of legal history and legal geography also offer new perspectives on how the physical form of towns has been shaped by laws and regulations imported from elsewhere, especially governing land tenure and land use (Blomley 2001; Chitonge and Mfune 2015), and how violent conflict over access to urban land has historical roots in the colonial experience (Home 2016).

Theories and Themes

Planning history literature has attracted criticism for having an overly empirical bias and eclectic approach to theory, for subjectivizing planning by focusing too much on contributions of individual planners, and for emphasizing dominant Western praxis deriving from the Global North (Ward, Freestone and Silver 2011). Planning history for the Global South is beginning to generate new theory (Watson 2014), particularly concerning the colonial legacy of unequal or asymmetric power relationships and cultural hegemony, applying such concepts as governmentality and genealogical method deriving from Foucault, and the social production of urban space deriving from Lefebvre.

A theoretical and philosophical justification for colonial rule itself was asserted in the writings of Burke in the 18th century and Maine in the 19th century, which viewed colonies as a sacred trust placed upon the imperial powers rather than mere possessions to be exploited (Mantena 2010). At the time of the scramble for Africa in the 1880s, European colonial expansion claimed for itself a civilizing mission under international law, and after World War I the League of Nations translated this into a general trusteeship duty upon colonial administrations towards the indigenous peoples they governed, construing those peoples as peculiarly vulnerable to the disruptive influences of modernization. Indirect rule (Europeans overseeing government by traditional rulers) was elevated into a general principle of colonialism; in tropical Africa, Lugard advocated it as the *dual mandate*, which sought to achieve the conflicting objectives of preserving traditional societies while encouraging Western investment, settlement, and development. The consequent separation of urban areas, created by and for European colonialists, from their surrounding hinterland and indigenous societies had profound implications for later urban development.

Planning history provides an opportunity to explore Foucauldian ideas of governmentality, how techniques of power and the security apparatus reshape the rules whereby individuals and populations conduct their lives, with the aim of producing self-regulating, self-improving subjects (Figure 8.2). Examples of recent research on governmentality include Northern Rhodesia (Frederiksen 2013) and Delhi (Legg 2007). Foucault also promoted a genealogical method, approaching the rules and policies of colonial urban management by excavating their "mundane and inglorious origins." Applying such a method can uncover various evolutions of law and practice: how the rules devised over three centuries to control workers in the Caribbean slave plantation system translated into the pass laws of South Africa; the role of Benthamite Utilitarianism in translating local government laws and institutions from England to the colonies; and the military and health imperatives behind the cantonment regulations of British India that were subsequently applied in Africa (Kolsky 2010). Among recurrent themes in the planning history literature on the Global



Figure 8.2 Army barracks in Meerut, India, c.1890.

Source: postcard, personal archives, Robert Home.

South one can briefly summarize five: networks of knowledge, public health interventions and segregation, agencies of intervention, master planning and the planning tool-kit, and the legal regulatory framework of land tenure.

First, colonial urban systems depended upon networks of knowledge: flows of ideas, policies, and people between the metropole and the colonies, and across colonies and indeed continents (Lambert and Lester 2006). Traditional biographical studies of individuals have recently been expanded through scholarship on the diffusion of planning (Ward 2012), “travelling ideas” (Lu 2006b), and applications of Actor-Network Theory (Latour 2005, Lee 2014, Rydin 2012). The Colonial Office in London from the mid-19th century supplied some measure of central supervision over Britain’s colonies, and British colonial administrators of the Indian Civil Service and the later colonial service provided an elite cadre of governors, lawyers, and senior officials to carry out those policies. The new and expanding professions were also embedded within the bureaucratic structures of the colonial project, their authority reinforced by professional institutions in the metropole: engineers both civil and military, land surveyors, and (relatively late in the colonial period) architects and town planners. Engineers (both civil and military) trained in “practical architecture” provided standard designs for common military and civil buildings, laid out towns and their defences, and supervised infrastructure projects such as ports and railways.

Second, one well-researched knowledge network of specialists in “tropical” medicine, sanitation, and public health made a particular contribution around the turn of the 19th/20th centuries to policy for the *segregation* of races. This in its planning sense (rather than in its Mendelian origins) emerged at about the same time as *town planning*, its first use having been traced to the year 1908 (Dubow 1989), when public health rules and practices devised for British municipal government (sometimes called the Chadwick approach) were transplanted and adapted for colonial ports and cities; doctors advocated racial residential segregation for the prevention of plague, malaria, and other diseases. The leading proponent, Simpson, undertook numerous consultancies in British colonies, and his approach to racial segregation was explicitly embodied in such official documents as the Kenyan Townships (Public Health, Segregation of Races) Rules (Home 2013). Persistently high levels of epidemic mortality could be criticized as exhibiting poor colonial management

in a time of competition between the European imperial powers (Peckham and Pomfret 2013). Lugardian indirect rule and his dual mandate took Simpson's approach to segregation further, by not just distinguishing between the "native" population and the "Europeans," but identifying other intermediate racial groups for whom a "Non-European" or "Native" Reservation was required (Bigon 2009, Nightingale 2012). The Lugard/Simpson approach did not survive long after Simpson's death (in 1928), as administrators came to see its political and economic costs, and doctors were no longer convinced of the medical justification. Apartheid-era South Africa remained a last bastion of such policies and practices, where the 1948 Group Areas Act created a distinctive urban morphology of the so-called apartheid city (Maharaj 1997; Robinson 1996; Swilling 1991; Van Tonder 1993).

Third, the colonial state intervened in urban areas through a variety of institutions, on which scholarship is becoming influenced by theories of path dependency and historical institutionalism (Sorenson 2015). Among such institutions, port trusts and improvement boards introduced British approaches to slum clearance and redevelopment into colonial cities (Legg 2007; Glover 2008). The military cantonment after the 1857 Indian Mutiny (or Great Revolt) came to house not only the military but European civilians relocated from the insecure cities to "civil lines;" its generous space allocations, maintained by a regulatory code, were transplanted to East and West Africa in the form of township rules. Lugard's conception of the dual mandate, influenced by his personal experience of cantonments as a young officer in India, required a dual structure of local government—native authorities for the indigenous population, and separate townships for the colonizers (Home 2013). Local authorities similar to those in Britain were created, but offered little representation to the indigenous people. Mining and steel-making corporations in south-central Africa and India built American-style company towns in which they owned all property and provided most public services; the Copperbelt of Zambia offers an example, negotiated between the mining corporation and the colonial protectorate of Northern Rhodesia in the 1930s (Mutale 2004). In Africa, where the colonialists regarded towns as essentially for Europeans and prohibited Africans from owning landed property, legislation originating with the South African Natives (Urban Areas) Act 1923 empowered local authorities to provide African housing in the so-called "locations," and the "Durban system" (funding African services from the proceeds of a municipal monopoly on beer sales) became a general model for labor control (Robinson 1996) (Figure 8.3).

Fourth, the town planner's tool-kit—master plans, Garden-City layouts, decentralization policies, and a legal regulatory framework—was transferred from emerging practice in the metropole through a small network of self-confident and even evangelical experts into colonial contexts, where they might be tested before finding their way back to the metropole. While the master plan was a particular tool in the tool-kit, few such grand designs were actually implemented during the colonial period. One was the hugely ambitious and expensive plan for New Delhi, less ambitious ones were Lugard's Northern Nigerian capital at Kaduna and the Northern Rhodesian capital at Lusaka (Myers 2005). Unimplemented master plans included that for Calcutta (Richards 1914), Lanchester's Madras plan of 1923, and successive plans for Zanzibar (Bissell 2011). The master plan nevertheless remained attractive as a symbolic modernist urban form for postcolonial nation states such as Chandigarh in India, Abuja in Nigeria, and Dodoma in Tanzania (Vale 1992). The Garden City offered the colonies a particularly alluring master plan model of self-contained and segregated communities, particularly in the form of racially segregated residential areas enclosed by building-free zones (Byerly 2013).

Fifth and finally, another profound influence upon colonial urban development, but one that remained largely hidden from view, was the imported land tenure system. The concept of exclusive private property rights (exclusive, that is, to the colonizers, whether settlers or

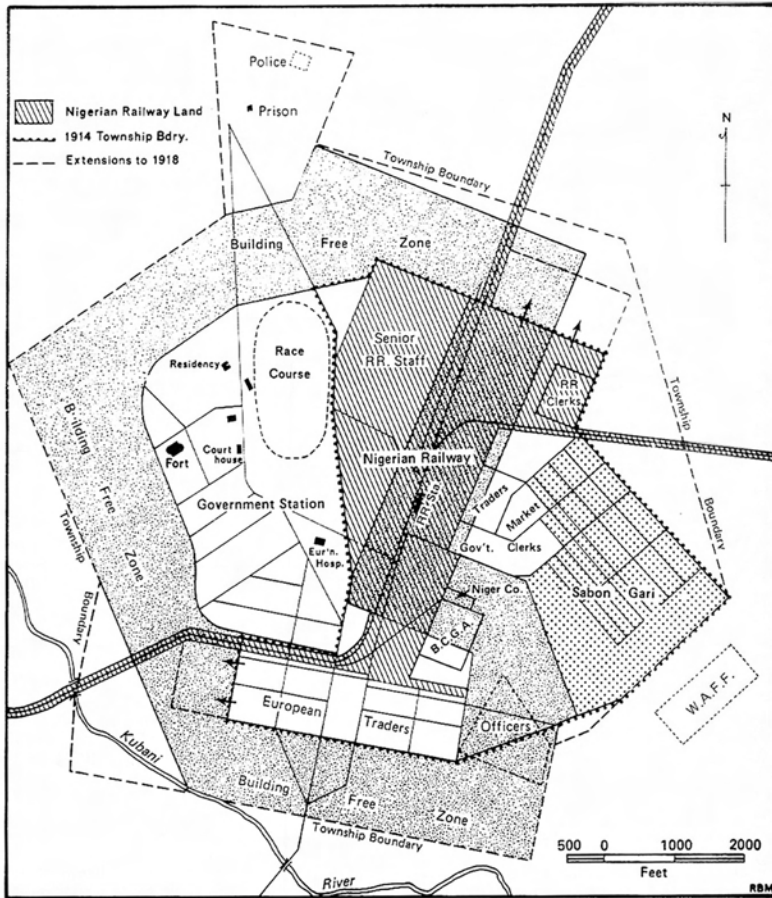


Figure 8.3 Township layout, Zaria, Nigeria, 1914.

Source: Plan A 175 (17-2-14) with revisions to 1918, Survey Dep't., Kaduna.

corporations) had provided a philosophical basis for chartered companies to claim land on behalf of the crown, and professional land surveyors applying their systematic survey methods became the makers and custodians of a government register of land titles, in the so-called Torrens system (Home 2006b). Indigenous or customary land rights might be preserved in native reserves or trust lands, with the 1913 South African Natives Land Act leading to a systematic reserves policy across the British Empire. A series of Privy Council cases in the 1920s held that customary land tenure did not confer ownership upon the “native” occupiers, only use rights, and denied them the opportunity to create private property rights; meanwhile the colonial administrations conferred upon themselves the right to set aside or alienate reserve lands for their own purposes (such as government stations, townships, or mining). Where not required for government purposes, land claimed by the crown could be subdivided into plots and auctioned for residential or business use by individuals and companies, subject to government leasehold control; Africans, however, were excluded from legally owning land in the townships (Home and Lim 2004) (Figure 8.4).

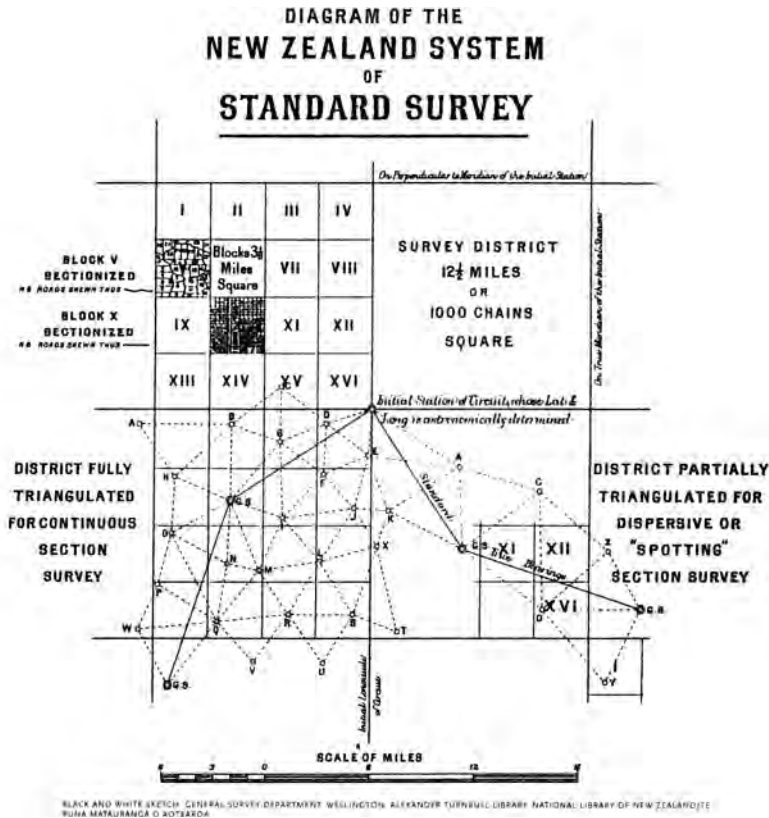


Figure 8.4 Colonial methods of scientific survey, New Zealand, 1880.

Source: Home 2006b.

A Planning History for Unplanned Cities? The Challenge of Informality and the Peri-urban

The Global South has been experiencing rapid urban growth and change over the past century, yet state capacities are limited. Urban planning based upon norms and methods from the Global North may have limited practical impact in this radically different context. This poses a particular challenge to planning history scholarship: how to research the history of urban areas that originated as largely unplanned and informal, and where locals often contested state interventions in urban space (the traditional preserve of planners). Concepts of *urban space inequalities*, *social justice*, and *the right to the city*, deriving from such theoreticians as Lefebvre and Bourdieu, illuminate the ever-expanding social production of urban space, and, while originally concerned mainly with the Western capitalist world, have become seen as particularly relevant to the Global South.

Cities there often display a dual, indeed schizophrenic form, a legacy of the colonial past: low-density planned central areas once occupied by elite colonial groups, surrounded by an apparently unplanned and neglected sprawl, absorbing rural-urban migrants in search of work. These peri-urban informal areas, some of them now a hundred years old, typically lie just outside the urban jurisdiction, relatively free from tax and controls, intermediate between urban and rural (and interacting with both); they are “a new conceptual landscape” (Adell 1999). Rural land becomes peri-urban, swallowing villages, so that agricultural and nonagricultural uses

compete for land. As a city expands, the peri-urban zone shifts and grows, arising opportunistically, even anticipating government schemes for planned urban expansion, in a constant state of change, a place of risk and opportunity (McFarlane and Waibel 2012) (Figure 8.5 and Figure 8.6).

Informal peri-urban areas may seem the antithesis of planned development, lacking apparent form and structure, yet they are not unorganized. They may retain some form of the traditional village, with the irregular web of existing footpaths becoming new roads. In Indonesia a specific term, *desakota* (*desa* = village, *kota* = town), was invented to describe the mix of agricultural and non-agricultural activities; in peri-urban areas water management and agriculture may have an important role in food systems and waste recycling, while competing for land with more urban activities (Brook and Davila 2000). Such areas, containing as they do much of the urban populations of the Global South, offer rich opportunities for planning history research, and require rather different approaches, involving oral history, field-work, and ethnographic methods as much as archival study of official and other paper sources.

A Global South perspective in planning theory and planning history needs to concern itself with state-society relations and conflict in informal settlements (Watson 2014). Among the areas for research one can include official reactions to informality and organized land invasion, social adaptation to forced eviction and displacement (COHRE 2010), attempts at regularization and provision of housing and infrastructure. To give one celebrated resettlement example that has been reassessed after fifty years, the Shek Kip Mei refugee camp in Hong Kong was destroyed by fire in 1953, making over 50,000 people homeless, and the colonial government, wishing to show the benefits of British rule over that of Communist China, instituted a large-scale resettlement program of new housing (Smart 2006). Official planning policies may exclude the poor, either by denying their existence or setting physical standards that are unrealistically high (Figure 8.7).

Local field research can trace the physical development and progressive densification of informal self-help housing (Turner 1976). In Trinidad the squatters “averaged” (the local expression) their residential plots of 50 feet by 100 feet, which was approximately the official standard; in Botswana



Figure 8.5 Formal and informal development in Gaborone, Botswana.

Source: personal archives, Robert Home.



Figure 8.6 Naledi informal settlement, Gaborone, Botswana.

Source: Botswana Survey and Mapping Service.

customary land grants allocated residential plots of 30 metres by 30 metres, a size illegal squatter developers also used for their self-allocated plots, even if irregularly formed without formal survey (Home and Lim 2004). The structures erected on such plots might start as simple and temporary, reflecting limited funds, availability of second-hand building materials, and the risk of official enforcement and even demolition; later temporary structures might be supplemented by more permanent buildings, often intended for renting to generate income. Plots might vary in size and shape, unplanned and poorly related to the road network, while the uses to which they were put were typically mixed in a mosaic of natural and urban processes and subsystems. Farmers, villagers, and local community leaders might accept (willingly or not) the in-migrants and the poor excluded from or out-priced by the adjoining urban jurisdiction. The expansion of municipal boundaries into the surrounding areas was often not accompanied by improvements in infrastructure or planning, and

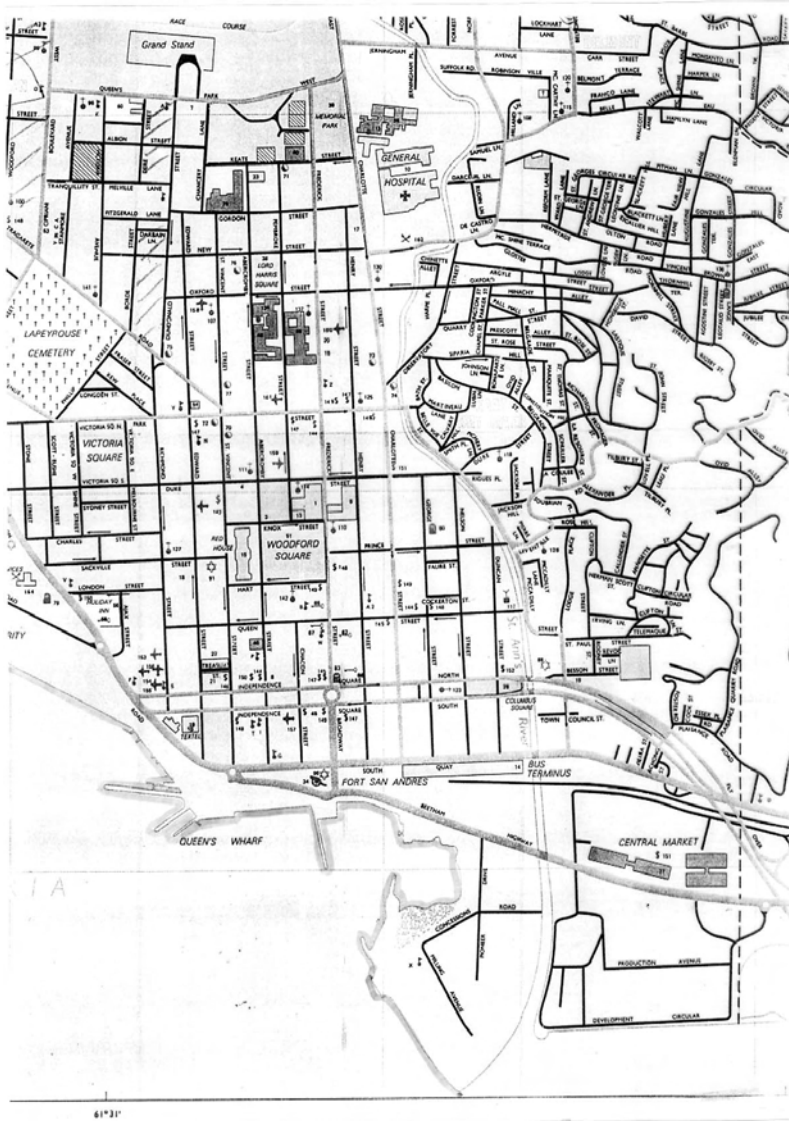


Figure 8.7 Planned and unplanned settlements in Port-of-Spain, Trinidad.

Source: Trinidad Maps and Surveys Department.

these areas remained vulnerable to compulsory acquisition for new development, displacing their former occupiers. The successes and failures of infrastructure provision, upgrading programs, and incremental tenure regularization offer many opportunities for worthwhile research.

The institutional and literal fragmentation of peri-urban informal areas often expresses the uncertain legal position of the land itself. Ownership may be disputed, with squatters occupying state, communal, or private land, and regulatory control may be ineffective when confronted with the consequences of large-scale social exclusion and homelessness. Land grabbing and speculation thrive, spurred by the combination of cheap land with the hope of future development value. Tribal or communal land close to urban areas becomes unregulated, unserved settlements, accommodating those people and activities which urban territories, jurisdictions, and regulations exclude. In Africa

under Lugardian dual mandate policy, an African presence in towns was restricted to those whose labor was needed, and beyond the township boundaries lay the reserves or trust lands where most of the African urban population could live (and indeed usually preferred to). A particular situation of displacement and exclusion, which still threatens stability in the Middle East, is that of Palestinians displaced by the new Israeli state in 1948, usually over relatively short distances into Arab-controlled territory; they were termed absentees and their former lands forfeited, and after 1967 powers over absentee property were extended into the newly Occupied Territories, the forfeited land opened and developed for Jewish settlement (Kedar 2001).

The concept of a common right to the city, first articulated by Lefebvre and expressed in Brazilian urban laws, provides a perspective on postcolonial urban social movements opposed to large-scale social exclusion and displacement; planning historiography can contribute to exploring these urban changes and popular resistance to evictions, and to interpreting the social value that citizens claim for urban land and space. Large-scale informal settlement (often called slums by disapproving public authorities) requires renegotiated relationships between the state, the citizenry, and private enterprise (Mitlin and Satterthwaite 2013; Roy and AlSayyad 2003). Social movements and non-governmental organizations among urban dwellers might establish new forms of physical ordering and land-use practices in areas that were officially unplanned. Neighbor dispute resolution generally is kept within the local community, which might also marshal its resources to improve roads and transport, build community buildings, and help to transact day-to-day life (Santos 1977). Those in informal settlements increasingly protest and exercise political leverage to improve service delivery and living conditions, and the state may have to loosen political and spatial controls. In South Africa, for example, local authority boundaries after apartheid have been expanded to bring in many informal settlements (Harrison and Todes 2015).

Community-based histories are now emerging of places that urban planners may have ignored or actively tried to suppress, notably again in post-apartheid South Africa; examples include Ekuruleni (Bonner and Nieftagodien 2012), Cape Town (Field, Meyer, and Swanson 2007), and Botshabelo (Tomlinson and Krige 1997). Such local histories of places and communities can amplify the voices of the poor experiencing urban planning from below, and especially women, who had to deal with the practical realities of home life and family survival struggles. Such community histories are also being supported by a relatively new area of scholarship, toponymy (the process of naming places); this sees place-names as reflecting complementary or competing narratives and memories, and explores the power relations and interactions that are revealed in name changes and different names for places (Bigon 2016).

Conclusion

A planning history of the urban Global South requires sensitivity to the local rejection of colonialism and its power structures and planning norms. Half a century after most former colonies achieved independence, the transition period from colonialism to postcolonialism is now a legitimate area for historical research. Colonial structures of government might have continued with little change, planning and implementation might not have kept pace with the pressures of population growth, and professional planning attitudes might not have developed more responsive and participatory styles. The cultural limitations of planning might be exposed by the experience of the Global South, which is producing new approaches, critical theories, and counter-histories. Whether planning operates as a progressive or regressive (even repressive) system, and the issue of its relationship to global power structures and inequalities, are questions increasingly being asked from the perspective of the Global South.

The built heritage and cultural legacy of former colonial empires thus remains relevant to the negotiation of postcolonial identities, as well as continuing to influence contemporary urban form

and practice in the Global South. Colonialism (and postcolonialism) can be seen as continuing and contradictory forces—modernizing and globalizing, yet conservative and traditional. The former colonial town or city has as its preferred form spacious detached housing on securely fenced compounds for higher income groups, successors to the former colonial masters. Imported or inherited rules of urban management set a legal cordon around the colonial town, while outside lies a neglected sprawl of largely self-built peri-urban areas. The resulting divided form of postcolonial cities in the Global South offers a new lens through which the colonial legacy and ongoing power relationships can be examined in its continuing social and physical manifestations. With history entwined with the social production of space, and colonial planning still embedded in the landscapes of postcolonial cities, future research from various disciplinary and interdisciplinary perspectives can expect to focus more upon the shaping of urban forms, societies, and communities rather than the planners' often unrealized grand designs.

Related Topics

Ward: Planning Diffusion: Agents, Mechanisms, Networks, and Theories

Sorensen: Planning History and Theory: Institutions, Comparison, and Temporal Processes

Batey: The History of Planning Methodology

Orillard: *Urbanisme* and the Francophone Sphere

Kusno: Southeast Asia: Colonial Discourses

Kusno: Postcolonial Southeast Asia

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PART II

Time, Place, and Culture

From Euro-American to Global Planning History



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9

THE ANCIENT PAST IN THE URBAN PRESENT

The Use of Early Models in Urban Design

Michael E. Smith and Carola Hein

Cities are a palimpsest of tangible forms and intangible practices that can be built upon, and that can serve to develop new practices. Political leaders, historians, theoreticians, and practitioners explored, reused, and reinterpreted earlier urban forms even before the advent of the discipline of planning in the mid-19th century, creating design traditions and enacting a sort of planning history before the term. Ever since, the same groups of people, plus professional planners, have gone on to reference historical urban form explicitly to change ongoing practice or at least to inspire current discussion, occasionally picking up geographically and temporally distant examples. How planning professionals interpreted or understood past cities, and their inclusion or exclusion of specific references, usually derived more from their intellectual context and their political or social interests than from a scholarly concern for analyzing historical cities in their own terms.

The distinct processes of design and historical exploration reinforce each other, leading to advanced knowledge on some places and traditions, and less on others. This has created cycles of repetition and reconfirmation, a feedback loop that has influenced both planning and planning history. Sites where planning history has been traditionally written, such as Europe and the US, have more power over planning traditions, and their references to the ancient past of Greece and Rome has both taken these traditions out of their historical networks, and given those cultures a strong presence in the collective conscience.

For most of history, the use of past models to create or interpret the present—whether by rulers, architects, historians, or design practitioners—was a highly ideological practice. The past was not seen as something to understand on its own terms, but rather a source of ideas to reinforce contemporary ideas and practices. These references to the past have had a profound impact on the built environment, and in the past century they have often furthered the construction of nationalist goals and identities. This chapter explores the various motives for turning to planning history: to build new cities and buildings; for military, communal, religious, ideological or other reasons; and for aesthetic, cultural, nationalistic, and global inspiration. We identify two broad historical categories that we label *ancient planning ideologies* and *modern planning ideologies*. Our identification of these two types of ideological influence on planning is not intended to reify or essentialize a static “ancient-modern” dichotomy, but rather to talk about broad patterns in the use of the past by politicians, historians, and planners.

Ancient planning ideologies focused on rulership, politics, and cosmic glory. They were present in most ancient and early urban traditions, from Mesopotamia to the Aztecs. Cities in these

traditions were designed and built in order to further the religious or political agendas of rulers and elites. Modern planning ideologies, on the other hand, have focused on nations and peoples, and on concepts of modernity and its representation. These ideologies were prominent in European practices from the 19th century forward; representatives of the emerging discipline of planning used the ancient past to justify a variety of ideological messages. In place of the premodern glorification of a state religion, and legitimation of kings and dynasties, historians and theorist-practitioners have used the past to further agendas of nationalism, aesthetics, cultural legitimacy, and modernism, creating narratives to support new structures. Their references often came from places geographically and temporally beyond the reach of their specific nation. After discussing these two types of ideological planning practice, we briefly explore how academics have built upon earlier cycles of reconstruction to write histories as a foundation for design in accordance with the practices of the past.

Ancient Planning Ideologies

One of the earliest explicit statements about using the urban past to guide actions in the present is found in the words of the Emperor Nabonidus of Babylon, who ruled from 556 to 539 BC. He proclaimed, proudly and publically, “I sought to rebuild this temple. I opened up the ground inside Agade and looked for the foundation” (Winter 2000: 1787). Nabonidus wanted to use the remains of the earlier temple to guide his construction of a newer version, inscribing it in an ancient tradition. The practice of basing urban design and architecture on even more ancient models was quite common in the ancient past, not just in Mesopotamia, but also in other early urban traditions around the world. Typically, the practice has to be inferred today from the mute evidence of plan maps of buildings and cities. The Neo-Babylonian period (ca. 630–530 BC) was unusual in two respects: kings like Nabonidus recorded explicit statements about their use of the past, and they deliberately excavated ancient temples and other buildings to gain knowledge of the past and to build the future.

The American art historian Irene Winter (2000) asks whether Nabonidus and the other Neo-Babylonian kings made use of the urban past because they were antiquarians, religious reformers, or politically motivated actors. We have no way of knowing whether they valued the past for its own sake (as antiquarians). But scholarly knowledge of Babylonian thought suggests there was a strong religious motivation for their interest in the past. As with most ancient societies, however, it is difficult or impossible to disentangle religion from politics at the royal level. Religious piety and actions were a major component of kingly politics, and religious beliefs and practices (such as searching for ancient temples) served to legitimize rulers throughout history (Kertzer 1988).

The Neo-Babylonian kings were not the only ancient rulers to excavate in past cities in order to improve their own capitals and strengthen their rule. The Mexica-Aztec emperors of Tenochtitlan in Mexico (AD 1325–1519) revered two ancient ruined cities, known today as Teotihuacan (AD 100–600) and Tula (AD 950–1150). The emperor sent priests to excavate these ruins in order to recover sacred ancient objects, some of which were then re-buried in offerings at the Great Temple of Tenochtitlan. Next to the Great Temple stood a small shrine built in the style and decoration of temples at the ancient city of Teotihuacan (López Luján 1989, 2005). But the Aztec appropriation of urban concepts from Tula went far beyond this. All of the Aztec peoples—not just those in the imperial capital Tenochtitlan—looked back on the Toltecs of Tula as revered ancestors. Aztec myths claimed that much of their science, art, and technology originated with the Toltecs (in fact we now know that those concepts originated centuries and even millennia before Tula).

One component of “Toltec mania” among the Aztecs was the belief that the petty kings of Aztec city-states throughout central Mexico owed their legitimacy to their (claimed) direct descent from the Toltec kings. To honor this ideological claim, local kings in one part of central Mexico laid out the central districts of their cities in imitation of the central district of Tula (Figure 9.1). These were

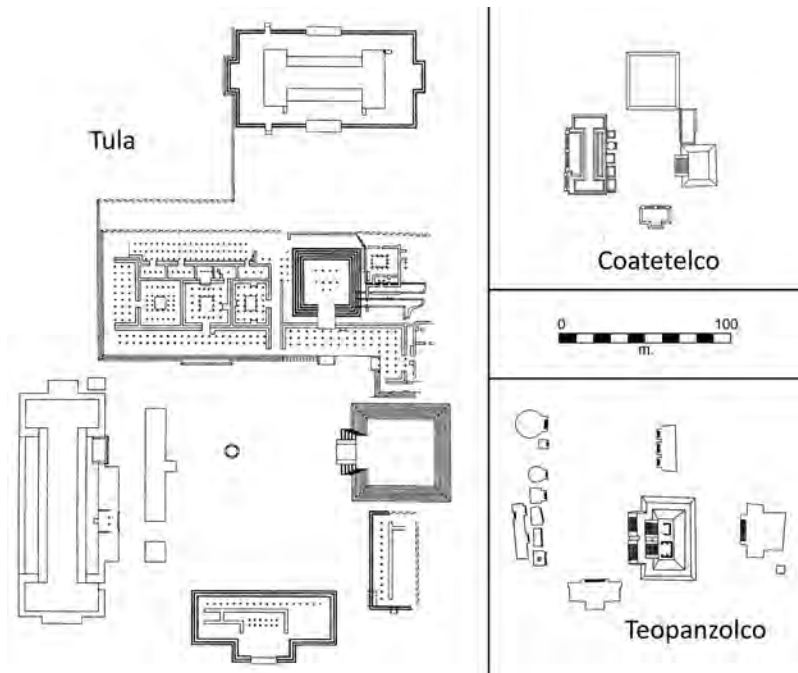


Figure 9.1 The design of the central districts of some Aztec city-state capitals (right) was copied from the ancient Toltec city of Tula (left).

Source: modified from Smith (2008).

smaller cities, but each has the main temple-pyramid on the east side of a formal plaza, a T-shape platform on the south, and either a ball court or a row of shrines on the west edge of the plaza.

Many examples like this can be found in ancient urban traditions around the world. The builders of Eastern Zhou imperial capitals in ancient China, for example, drew on past models, based upon “a strong trust in the supremacy of the institutions of former times, one of which was the imperial city, and with such faith in the power of these institutions to produce models of legitimate rulership” (Steinhardt 1990). The Roman elites in Athens, Greece, were careful to preserve key buildings of the ancient city, even as they filled in the agora with new Roman structures (Alcock 2001). And as late as the medieval period in Europe, Keith Lilley argues, cities were designed and depicted with explicit early Christian symbolism, including references to the ancient city of Jerusalem (Lilley 2009).

Examples like this could be multiplied, but unfortunately, no one has yet synthesized the available evidence. The information tends to be hidden in the detailed historical and archaeological scholarship of numerous regions. Nevertheless, the cases described above permit some conclusions on the context of this practice. For example, references to the urban past in ancient times were universally focused on the perceived historical or political antecedents of the kings or elites responsible for urban design and construction. All such references were to past cities within the same cultural tradition; Aztec kings did not draw on Maya principles, and Babylonian kings did not reference the Egyptian past.

Modern Planning Ideologies: Nations, Peoples, and Modernism

Most of the ancient cities discussed above were political capitals, or cities that were part of an imperial or colonial project. It is not surprising that their design and construction were done in accordance with religious and political principles. When we turn to more recent cases of citing the

urban past, we see that that ideology continues to be a major reason for this practice. But the modern ideologies are quite different from those of Nabonidus and the other ancient kings and elites.

During the Renaissance, European rulers similarly referenced earlier principles in their city layouts. People in the European Renaissance and even the Baroque notably perceived a better past and ideal cities as described by Plato and Aristotle. Enlightened leaders carefully referenced and documented Greek and Roman ideal cities and urban forms. The ideals of the past served as an inspiration for new ideal cities focused on military, communal, or spiritual powers, as in Filarete's Sforzinda. In their capital cities they would set up monuments and forms imported from distant places. As their geographical reach grew, many of them aimed to spread the forms they had adopted and tested in their homeland to their colonies or places with associated cultures.

One of the earliest and perhaps clearest cases of this process is the design of Spanish colonial grid-plan towns in Latin America: colonial authorities drew on idealized concepts of ancient Roman urbanism and architecture. Although the Roman past can be seen as ancestral in some ways to 16th century Spanish culture, these planners departed from their ancient predecessors in looking back to a very different past for their model. Although Setha Low (1995) has argued that the Aztec practice of planning cities around a central rectangular plaza may have influenced the design of these early Spanish colonial cities, there is no direct evidence that this was a deliberate policy or practice.

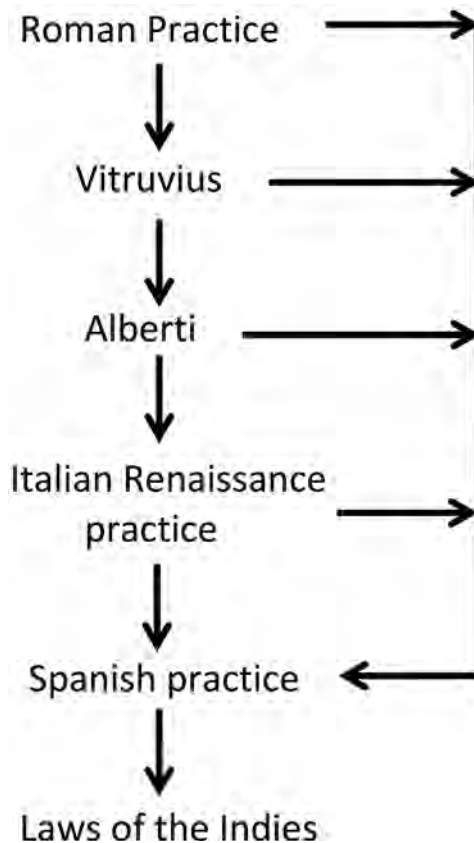


Figure 9.2 Historical lines of influence from ancient Roman urban design to the Laws of the Indies that specified the layouts of Spanish colonial cities in the New World.

Source: redrawn from Crouch 1991: 23.

Dora Crouch (1982, 1991) and many other scholars (MacCormack 2007; Lupher 2003) have traced the specific lines of historical influence from Roman practice, through the writings of Vitruvius and Alberti, to the Spanish imperial “Laws of the Indies” (Figure 9.2). These laws contained detailed urban design principles formulated to guide city building in the New World.

Designers and builders spread the forms of their empires through imperial territory, occasionally positioning their new structures next to existing neighborhoods with ancient local traditions, as in the French territories (Cohen 2002; Wright 1991; Hein 2016). The desire to cite a select past to aggrandize the present rulers was particularly evident in the growing European colonial empires. The transformation of colonized places followed the principles of the motherland, creating many mini-Romes and mini-Parises.

The construction of the classical past in Britain provides a fascinating case where past and present were jumbled together in service of ideological goals. The British first looked to planned Roman cities as the foundation for modern town planning in Britain in the early 20th century. Addressing the problems of the industrial city, a session at the 1910 Town Planning Conference in London on “cities in the past” set the stage for a new phase in British town planning. According to Ray Laurence (1994), historian and archaeologist Francis Haverfield (1911, 1913) created a dichotomy between planned and unplanned cities in Britain, and then projected this dichotomy back into the Roman past. Planned cities, built by the Romans, were good, whereas settlements of the barbarians (in Britain) or of other early Mediterranean societies were unplanned and therefore inferior. Haverfield then projected this dichotomy from the past back to the present. “Therefore, Haverfield’s adaptation of the modern notion of town planning to archaeological evidence provided a justification for 20th-century planning. Also, in many ways, his work gave the ancient city builder the rationality of the 20th-century planner” (Laurence 1994: 15). Haverfield published his talk in 1913 as *Ancient Town Planning*, “written as a scholar’s contribution to a modern movement” and a tool for social reform rather than as historical research. Nonetheless, he “set the agenda for the study of ancient towns” and influenced the historiography of ancient towns in Great Britain for decades after.

Haverfield’s book starts with a photograph of the ruined Roman “Streets in Timgad” (1913) (Figure 9.3). Other dynamics remained unheard: forgotten were former border crossing networks

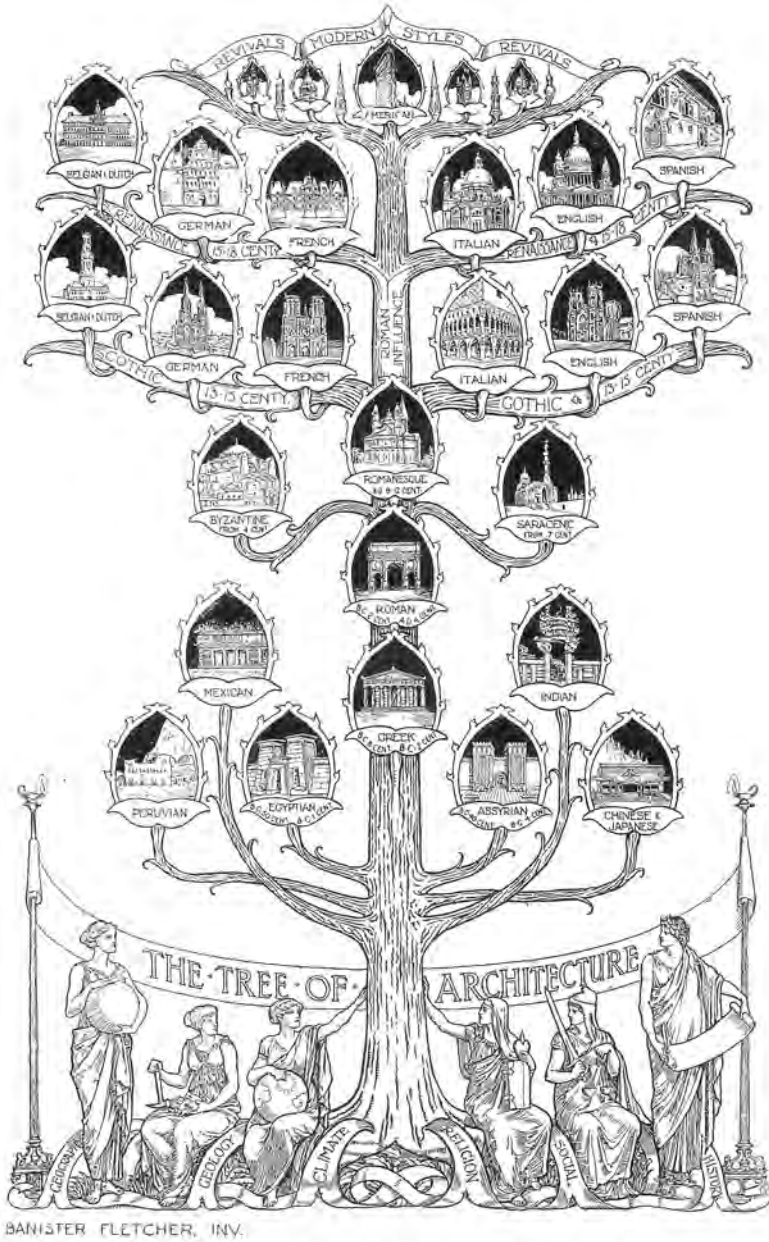


STREETS IN TIMGAD.
From a photograph.

FRONTISPIECE.

Figure 9.3 Title page of Francis Haverfield’s *Ancient Town Planning*, depicting a street in Timgad, 1913.

Source: Haverfield 1913.



This Tree of Architecture shows the main growth or evolution of the various styles, but must be taken as suggestive only, for minor influences cannot be indicated on a diagram of this kind.

Figure 9.4 Sir Bannister Fletcher’s “tree of architecture,” which cumulates in European styles.
Source: Fletcher 1896.

that were at the emergence of urban form at the same time as the Roman towns. This focus on a specific urban form, only part of its original political, economic, and social setting, was ideological.

Privileging the Greek and Roman conquerors, it neglected the designs of the Carthaginians and the Phoenicians, classified by Haverfield and his contemporaries as proto-urban. For these authors, the design of Roman cities was more worthy of study and recognition than the various traditions of the Middle East that were equally present. Architectural historian Banister Fletcher (1896) captured this approach as he drew an emblematic Tree of Architecture that featured Greek architecture as the core of the history of architecture (Figure 9.4).

Modern planners in Germany, Austria, and Belgium were also highly selective in their use of ancient examples, but in a different way. These countries were home to several supporters of aesthetically pleasing approaches to urban art, praising the irregularity of the medieval city and highlighting the importance of the third dimension in design, part of an attempt to overcome classicism. The Austrian architect and city planner Camillo Sitte (1909) documented medieval forms, and Charles Buls (1894) (mayor of Brussels from 1881 to 1899) promoted an artistic way of urban design based on traditional forms.

The promotion of ancient urban form was not limited to individual observers. Handbooks and textbooks, written by practitioners, archaeologists, or historians, offered interpretations of the past. European planning textbooks referenced the classical canon, from Greek to Roman to the late 18th century. Only occasionally did they look beyond the traditional European sphere, to Middle Eastern, Chinese, and ancient American settlements.

Plans of ancient cities of the Middle East became available after the first well-documented excavations in the late 19th century. British scholar Sir William Matthew Flinders Petrie (1853–1942) pioneered these expeditions, starting his research in Egypt in 1880 and publishing the plan of the workers' town (Kahun) that he excavated in 1890 (Flinders 1890). Again, historians and planners cherry-picked these and other historical discoveries, disregarding religious, cultural, and other specific meanings. Such publications provided the founders of the newly emergent field of urbanism in the early 20th century with compelling images with the context already removed.

A well-known example of the use of historic examples and their imagery without context is Le Corbusier, an architect and planner who had great influence on the development of modernist urban ideas. The book *Urbanisme*, published in 1925 (reprint 1966), was a compilation of his articles on urban planning; to Le Corbusier, rectangular planning shows advanced ideas, a sign of a superior civilization. In contrast to Haverfield and others before him, he uses this approach not to promote a return to past architectural forms, but to introduce modern design.

In *Urbanisme*, Le Corbusier included the rectangular plans of an Egyptian house, an Egyptian temple complex, Beijing, and ancient Babylon and Khorsabad to support his argument for strict rectangular planning today (Figure 9.5). These plans serve as a foundation for the third part of the book, which argues that the old city of Paris ought to be razed to the ground and replaced by high-rise buildings in a rectangular grid. He also included an aerial photograph of Timgad, the same Roman town that Haverfield had invoked, and Kairouan, in North Africa, both partially gridded cities. Finally, he included Monpazier, a French city dating from the 12th century, with rectangular outline and grid. The captions are very brief: *La maison Egyptienne*, or *Egypte*, or *l'ancienne Babylonne*. Commenting on the Beijing plan he writes: "Compare this to the plan of Paris, four pages down. And it is us, Westerners, who felt the need to invade China to colonise it!" (Le Corbusier 1994, p. 81) No date or source for the image is given, nor is any additional information given on the different cultures depicted. The ancient plans are used merely because their age lends his argument authority. This impression is supported by the inclusion of a photograph of a tennis court, implying that no reference to old societies is necessary, because even contemporary society will be left behind, made new by Le Corbusier's utopian plan.

Surprisingly, opponents of Le Corbusier's vision used some of the same ancient examples—Egypt, Mesopotamia, the Aegean area, Western Asia, Greece, and the Roman Empire. Frederick Hiorns was an architectural practitioner but also a historian (and member of Hellenic and Roman scholarly societies); his book took a stance against the mono-functional and orthogonal urbanism inspired by CIAM (Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne) and Le Corbusier (Hiorns 1956).

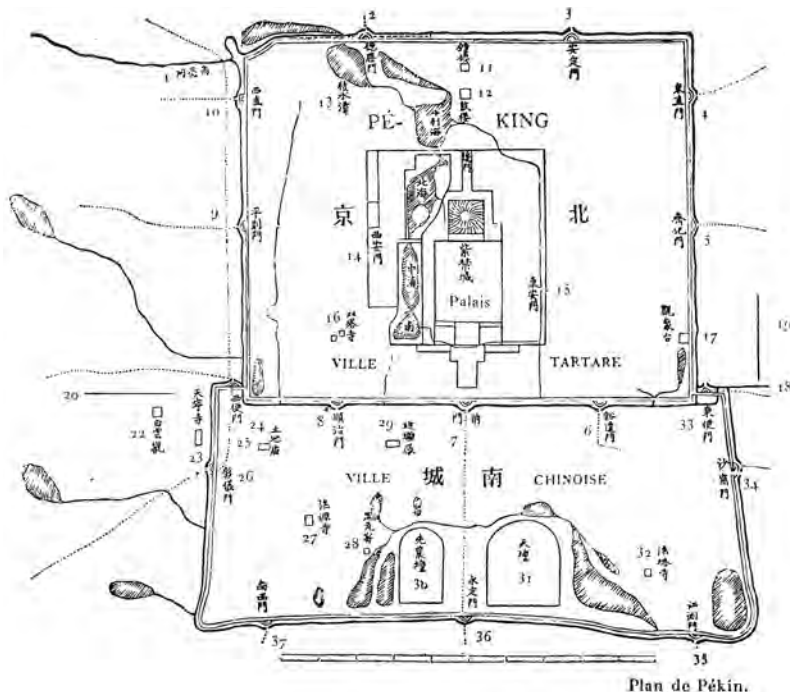


Figure 9.5 Le Corbusier’s ahistorical approach to symmetric planning.

Source: Le Corbusier 1994 (original 1925).

Town-Building in History is dedicated “to those architects and others who through the ages assisted the cause of ‘good’ towns.” In the preface he states: “The author believes that the vast number of long-sustained ‘good’ towns, that developed through more than two millenniums of time precedent to our era, reveal the false interpretations of urbanism that now afflict us.” That is, like Le Corbusier, Hiorns praises the fine sense of geometric planning in Egypt. But unlike Le Corbusier, Hiorns does not leap from the ancient town plan to suggestions for the reconstruction of contemporary cities. In fact, Hiorns does not explain just how these very early examples are important or whether they might serve as models for contemporary planning. He does give some additional information on social conditions and the cultures of these early cities, but nothing that shows us what they actually looked like beyond excavation plans. Yet Hiorns claims they were beautiful, “the beauty of towns being an accepted condition until the 19th century” (Hiorns 1956). For Hiorns, nostalgia and a desire to be thorough seem to be behind his selection of examples.

A more interesting opponent of CIAM planning is Colin Rowe, architect and architectural historian (1920–1999). Rowe rejected international-style modernism, with its large-scale plans and utopian claims (Rowe 1979). He used the plan of the ruined villa of the Roman Emperor Hadrian at Tivoli as his ideal urban map. Rowe pointed out that the villa had grown over time, by a process of accretion and overlay; it did not result from a single grand design. Rowe proposed that urban design be done in smaller projects by different designers, adding up to a new city, rather than in one great scheme (Rowe and Koetter 1978). His work influenced many architects in the late 20th century, from James Stirling to Aldo Rossi, Robert Venturi, Oswald Matthias Ungers, Peter Eisenman, and Michael Graves, who all looked at the past to find answers for contemporary design challenges.

In the United States, textbooks of urban history illustrate how planners and architects deliberately invoked a European past as a foundation for planning. The Swiss-born art historian Siegfried Giedion,

trained in Vienna, was intimately connected to some of the leading modernists. His publication *Space, Time and Architecture* (1941) published by Harvard University Press aimed, as the subtitle suggested, to catalyze the “Growth of a New Tradition.” His exploration of history started in the ancient period and continued up through modernist history (Giedion 1941). They linked their references to ideological goals. Lewis Mumford, the American historian (and planning activist), wrote *The City in History* (1961), presenting ancient Egyptian, Roman, and medieval cities as precursors to modern cities. In his books on Western US cities, John Reps (1965, 1979) described the European background and inspiration for these new cities. Christopher Tunnard, the Canadian-born architect and planner, explicitly linked American cities to Athens and the European capitals, with little regard for historical development (Tunnard and Pushkarev 1962). He brought in earlier traditions from the Americas—invoking New Mexico for its courthouse square, for example—but ignored traditional Native American architecture, even though a scholarly tradition had long existed (Mindeleff 1891).

Perhaps the most blatant attempt to connect a modern design project to ancient history is the book *Design of Cities* by the Philadelphia-born and raised planner Edmund Bacon (1965), the head of the Philadelphia City Planning Commission. In his plans for Philadelphia (between 1947 and 1970), Bacon cited European designs and the great names of European urban planning, describing a range of projects as preface to the presentation of his own planning principles. Bacon admired Pope Sixtus V (1585–1590) for his reshaping of Rome (itself a Renaissance reference to ancient plans); he also liked William Penn and Thomas Holme’s plan of Philadelphia (1682), a response to projects for London after the 1666 fire that in turn referenced earlier baroque ideas. He particularly emphasized each project’s use of an “organizing concept” or a “design idea” to inspire consensus and provide a focal point for development (instead of waiting for and responding to private piecemeal initiatives) and seemingly wished to have a position of power like the Pope or Penn to apply his own ideas to Philadelphia.

American and European writers mostly limited themselves to European examples or elements from other cultures that fit with European debates. The way that Japanese traditions and textbooks entered the Western realm is exemplary. The country had been isolated from the West for more than two centuries, and only limited information came out. Over time, professionals and scholars brought different aspects of traditional/ancient Japanese design—garden, architectural, and urban—into the Western debate, each time to support a Western argument rather than to gain an understanding of Japan. The concept of the Japanese garden may have traveled as early as the 17th century via the Netherlands to England, where Sir William Temple used the term *sharawadgi*, which he claimed to be Chinese—but which might very well have been Japanese—to propose new forms of garden design with irregular elements, bends, and curves. These were quite unlike the formal geometric garden landscapes of the time, but very much like the emerging English landscape garden (Kuitert 2014).

By the 1920s, it was the turn of Japanese architecture to serve as the model for modernist planning; modernist leaders, including Bruno Taut and Walter Gropius, carefully studied traditional Japanese building practices (Taut, 1937/1958; Gropius, Tange, 1960). They clearly did not want to understand the underlying conditions of Japanese urbanism and architecture. Their aversion was part of a longstanding disinterest in Japanese urban practices. Western planners simply did not care about interpretations by Japanese practitioners and scholars of the West, or Japanese integration into Russian, Chinese, or Korean cultures.

Then, in the 1980s, foreign urbanists rediscovered Japan, using what they perceived as chaotic cities to critique their own culture’s cities. Books such as urbanist Barrie Shelton’s *Learning from the Japanese City* (1999), circulated as references for Western practice. For many foreign practitioners and scholars, the cities and architecture of Japan formed an imagined geography, a treasure trove to be cited when needed for discussions in other parts of the world, largely disconnected from actual developments and examples. Indeed, it was practitioners’ need to innovate or to solve particular problems in the built and urban environment at home that drove their exploration of Japanese form.

Theorist-practitioners continued to operationalize the past. Kevin Lynch's *Good City Form* (1981) explored spatial forms, without their traditional content or context, as independent typologies and as a basis for new design strategies. Architects and planners, dissatisfied with internationalist global concepts, reappropriated the ideas of Buls and Sitte, as part of the postmodernist movement in the 1990s/2000s. For them the revival of ancient European practices was at the heart of regionalist urbanism. Again, references to the ancient part became a building block for new work. Key writings by Buls and Sitte, among many others, were translated and reprinted in multiple editions as an attempt to once again promote urban art and gain better understanding in the complexity of planning history (for example: Buls 1894, 1981; Sitte 1889, 1909, 1996, 2003, 2013a, 2013b).

Conclusion

Perhaps not surprisingly, references to the past in the design and planning of cities owe more to the ideological concerns of the present than to an objective appreciation of urban history. We have shown that such use of the past extends far back into deep history. Many of the earliest cities in Mesopotamia, Mesoamerica, and other regions were laid out by borrowing plans, principles, and concepts from earlier cities and earlier cultures. Early kings and their architects used ancient themes to bolster rulership by emphasizing the continuity and legitimacy of cities and political rule on the one hand, and by adhering to religious precepts that respected the (proclaimed) wishes of the gods on the other.

These religious and political uses of the past continued through the medieval period in Europe. As society changed, moving into the early modern period, the nature of the ideological messages from the past changed. City designers and planners became more interested in fostering nationalism and ethnic solidarity than in proclaiming their religious affiliation with past cities. Although scholarly knowledge of ancient and non-Western urban traditions have grown tremendously during the past century, references to the past continued to emphasize ideological concerns. In urban design and planning, historical scholarship was trumped by ideology, a trend that still continues today.

In the globalized world of the 21st century, knowledge of cities and traditions from diverse cultures and time periods is more readily available than ever. Planning history will have to position itself with respect to that knowledge, and move beyond the established canons. Exclusionary labels in the field of art history, like the use of term *primitive art* for non-Western art, are being replaced in textbooks and museums by more accurate labels, such as "arts of Africa, Oceania, and the Americas." And recent years have seen new global approaches to architectural and urban history that provide explicit scholarly links between ancient and modern cities (e.g., Ching, Jarzombek, Prakash 2006; Briggs 2004; Grant 2001; Smith 2007; Stanley et al. 2012). This trend—moving from Westerners' largely decontextualized use of examples from the past and other countries to the use of a more global and scholarly sense of past and present—is encouraging.

The past—both ancient and recent—is present in both planning today and the writing of planning history. How we look at ancient examples is part of how we write planning history. We have tried to show here the various patterns in which planning history has been written, through practice and practitioners, and how those patterns are changing today. New historical boundaries have been drawn.

Related Topics

Freestone: Writing Planning History in the English-Speaking World

Hein: Idioms of Japanese Planning Historiography

Abramson: The Uses of Planning History in China

Acknowledgments

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10

WRITING PLANNING HISTORY IN THE ENGLISH- SPEAKING WORLD

Robert Freestone

For a bespoke interdisciplinary field, planning history literature is rich and varied with its own heritage. The depth and scope of this historiography relate to the emergence and development of planning as a profession, a complex process unfolding at different scales, in different legal jurisdictions, and across variegated cultural settings. The emergence of modern planning in the English-speaking world is usually dated to the early 1900s as an integration of diverse reform agendas catalyzed by the many urban challenges posed by the impacts of industrialization. But although professional planning is essentially a 20th century activity, its roots are ancient. This partly explains the phenomenon of historical approaches and sensibility evident right from the beginning.

A historical interest in evaluating decisions and policy outcomes is an inevitable and distinctive reflection of planning as an action-oriented practice. But intellectual interest in planning's past has been stimulated for any number of reasons, and a mark of modern endeavor is its interdisciplinarity. Major contributions have been made by writers with no professional connection to planning; indeed such interventions have provided catalysts for critical advance. A distinct niche has been carved out from the cognate callings of architectural and urban history; both bid unsuccessfully through the 1960s to capture the field, but nonetheless left their marks. In some cultures, planning history is less an identifiable paradigm and more intertwined with other approaches to the history of cities and urbanism.

The disciplinary, scholarly, and institutional settings of modern planning history practices have inexorably evolved over more than a century. My brief to explore the development of written discourse is accordingly challenging, and the response is decidedly bibliographical. My focus is largely restricted to books as the mark of major scholarship, contributions striving to be expansively multifaceted if not international in coverage, and written in English, the latter skewing the survey inevitably and apologetically towards Anglo-American contributions, but a bias happily corrected by other chapters in this *Handbook*. It draws from but builds on a previous attempt to make sense of written planning history (Freestone 2000a). The framework is essentially chronological, attempting to identify key texts through the decades which capture not only the *zeitgeist(s)* of their era, but others which signposted the emergence of new perspectives (Table 10.1).¹ This narrative is prefaced by discussing previously published guides to the literature and is followed by an extraction of some major themes.

Table 10.1 A selection of key planning history books in English.

The First Half of the 20th Century: 1900s–1940s

- Triggs, H. I. (1909) *Town Planning: Past, Present, and Possible*, London: Methuen.
- Unwin, R. (1909) *Town Planning in Practice: An Introduction to the Art of Designing Cities and Suburbs*, London: T. Fisher Unwin.
- Haverfield, F. J. (1913) *Ancient Town-Planning*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Hegemann, W. and Peets, E. (1922) *The American Vitruvius: An Architect's Handbook of Civic Art*, New York: The Architectural Book Publishing Co.
- Hughes, T. H. and Lamborn, E. A. G. (1923) *Towns and Town Planning Ancient and Modern*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Dutt, B. B. (1925) *Town Planning in Ancient India*, Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co.
- Mumford, L. (1938) *The Culture of Cities*, New York: Harcourt, Brace & Jovanovich.
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Postwar Continuities and Departures: 1950s–1960s

- Gallion, A. B. and Eisner, S. (1950) *The Urban Pattern: City Planning and Design*, New York: D. Van Nostrand Co.
- Stewart, C. (1952) *A Prospect of Cities: Being Studies Towards a History of Town Planning*, London: Longmans.
- Orlans, H. (1952) *Stevenage: A Sociological Study of a New Town*, London: Routledge.
- Ashworth, W. S. (1954) *The Genesis of Modern British Town Planning: A Study in Economic and Social History of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, London: Routledge and Paul.
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- Rosenau, H. (1959) *The Ideal City: In its Architectural Evolution*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Mumford, L. (1961) *The City in History: Its Origins, its Transformations, and its Prospects*, New York: Harcourt, Brace & World.
- Reiner, T. (1963) *The Place of the Ideal Community in Urban Planning*, Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Creese, W. L. (1966) *The Search for Environment: The Garden City, Before and After*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Gutkind, E. A. (1964–68) *International History of City Development*, six volumes, New York: The Free Press.
- Reps, J. W. (1965) *The Making of Urban America: A History of City Planning in the United States*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Bacon, E. (1967) *The Design of Cities*, New York: Viking Press.
- Benevolo, L. (1967) *The Origins of Modern Town Planning*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Buder, S. (1967) *Pullman: An Experiment in Industrial Order and Community Planning, 1880–1930*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Choay, F. (1969) *The Modern City: Planning in the 19th Century*, New York: George Braziller.
- Bell, C. and R. (1969) *City Fathers: The Early History of Town Planning in Britain*, London: Barrie & Rockliff, The Cresset Press.
- Scott, M. (1969) *American City Planning Since 1890: A History Commemorating the Fiftieth Anniversary the American Institute of Planners*, Berkeley, UK: University of California Press.
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Coming of Age in the Late 20th Century: 1970s–1990s

- Burke, G. (1971) *Towns in the Making*, London: Edward Arnold.
- Cherry, G. E. (1972) *Urban Change and Planning: A History of Urban Development in Britain Since 1750*, Henley on Thames, UK: GT Foulis.
- Hugo-Brunt, M. (1972) *The History of City Planning: A Survey*, Montreal: Harvest House.
- Hall, P., Thomas, R., Gracey, H., and Drewett, R. (1973) *The Containment of Urban England*, two volumes, London: Allen and Unwin.
- Cherry, G. E. (1974) *The Evolution of British Town Planning: A History of Town Planning in the United Kingdom During the 20th Century and of the Royal Town Planning Institute, 1914–74*, London: Leonard Hill.
- Hall, P. (1974) *Urban and Regional Planning*, Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin.
- Cullingworth, J. B. (1975) *Reconstruction and Land Use Planning 1939–1947*, Volume 1, London: HMSO.
- Houghton-Evans, W. (1975) *Planning Cities: Legacy and Portent*, London: Lawrence and Wishart.

- Cherry, G. E. (1976) *National Parks and Recreation in the Countryside*, Volume 2, London: HMSO.
- Artibise, A. F. J. and Stelter, G. (1979) *The Usable Urban Past: Planning and Politics in the Modern Canadian City*, Toronto: Macmillan, The Carleton Library No. 119.
- Cherry, G. E. (ed.) (1980) *Shaping an Urban World: Planning in the Twentieth Century*, London: Mansell.
- Cullingworth, J. B. (1980) *New Towns Policy*, Volume 3, London: HMSO.
- Hall, P. (1980) *Great Planning Disasters*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
- Sutcliffe, A. (ed.) (1980) *The Rise of Modern Urban Planning 1800–1914*, London: Mansell.
- Ravetz, A. (1980) *Remaking Cities: Contradictions of the Recent Urban Environment*, London: Croom Helm.
- Esher, L. (1981) *A Broken Wave: The Rebuilding of England, 1940–1980*, London: Allen Lane.
- Kain, R. (1981) *Planning for Conservation: An International Perspective*, London: Mansell.
- Sutcliffe, A. (1981b) *Towards the Planned City, Germany, Britain, the United States and France, 1780–1914*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Cullingworth, J. B. (1981) *Land Values, Compensation and Betterment*, Volume 4, London: HMSO.
- Cherry, G. E. (ed.) (1981) *Pioneers in British Planning*, London: Architectural Press.
- Sutcliffe, A. (ed.) (1981d) *British Town Planning: The Formative Years*, Leicester: Leicester University Press.
- Olsen, D. J. (1982) *Town Planning in London: The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Boyer, M. C. (1983) *Dreaming the Rational City: The Myth of American City Planning*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Krueckeberg, D. A. (ed.) (1983a) *Introduction to Planning History in the United States*, New Brunswick, NJ: Center for Urban Policy Research, Rutgers University.
- Krueckeberg, D. A. (ed.) (1983b) *The American Planner: Biographies and Recollections*, New York: Methuen.
- Hague, C. (1984) *The Development of Planning Thought: A Critical Perspective*, London: Hutchinson.
- Sutcliffe, A. (ed.) (1984) *Metropolis 1890–1940*, London: Mansell.
- Barnett, J. (1986) *The Elusive City: Five Centuries of Design, Ambition and Miscalculation*, New York: Harper and Row.
- Foglesong, R. E. (1986) *Planning the Capitalist City: The Colonial Era to the 1920s*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Hall, P. (1988) *Cities of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design in the Twentieth Century*, first edition; fourth edition: 2014, Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Schaffer, D. (ed.) (1988) *Two Centuries of American Planning*, Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Meller, H. (1990) *Patrick Geddes: Social Evolutionist and City Planner*, London: Routledge.
- Kostof, S. (1991) *The City Shaped: Urban Patterns and Meanings Through History*, Boston, MA: Bullfinch Press.
- Kostof, S. (1992) *The City Assembled: Elements of Urban Form through History*, Boston, MA: Little Brown.
- Ward, S. (1992) *The Garden City: Past, Present, and Future*, London: E & FN Spon.
- Cherry, G. E. (1996) *Town Planning in Britain Since 1900: The Rise and Fall of the Planning Ideal*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Sies, M. C. and Silver (eds.) (1996) *Planning the Twentieth Century American City*, Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Taylor, N. (1998) *Urban Planning Theory Since 1945*, London: Sage.
- Sandercock, L. (ed.) (1998a) *Making the Invisible Visible: A Multicultural Planning History*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press
- Sandercock, L. (1998b) *Towards Cosmopolis: Planning for Multicultural Cities*, London: Wiley.

21st-Century Planning Histories: From 2000

- Fishman, R. (ed.) (2000) *The American Planning Tradition: Culture and Policy*, Washington DC: Woodrow Wilson Press.
- Freestone, R. (ed.) (2000b) *Urban Planning in a Changing World: The Twentieth Century Experience*, London: E & FN Spon.
- Garvin, A. (2013) *The Planning Game: Lessons from Great Cities*, New York: W.W. Norton.
- King, A. D. (2004) *Spaces of Global Cultures: Architecture, Urbanism, Identity*, London: Routledge.
- Nasr, J. and Volait, M. (eds.) (2003) *Urbanism: Imported or Exported? Native Aspirations and Foreign Plans*, Chichester, UK: Wiley-Academy.
- Ward, S. V. (2002) *Planning the Twentieth-Century City: The Advanced Capitalist World*, Chichester, UK: Wiley.

Source: Robert Freestone.

Bibliographies and Reviews

A kernel of a planning history tradition in modern planning was ready to be announced at birth on both sides of the Atlantic in the 1910s. Theodora Kimball's (1915) pioneering bibliography identified about 20 studies embracing ancient, medieval, and modern cities dominated by German writers, including A. E. Brinckmann, Josef Brix, and Joseph Stübben. Patrick Abercrombie's (1913) first overview of the field identified different national paradigms already in evidence at the momentous Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) planning conference held three years earlier. A second review identified a foundation of "topographic" studies of town growth, civic surveys, and popular historical accounts (Abercrombie 1915).

Planning textbooks and general treatises capture a growing literature into the interwar years, but specialist historical bibliographies took some decades to emerge, although broader surveys of the planning literature could insert historical coverage (White 1974). The first coverage in the Council of Planning Librarians series was by Thomas Mackesey (1961). David Hulchanski's (1977) survey was organized to cover the major movements in town planning from the industrial revolution to World War II. Mary Vance's (1988) update a decade later covered nearly 60 individual countries and regional groupings from Afghanistan to Yugoslavia.

The major bibliographic endeavor was by Anthony Sutcliffe in the 1970s, first published as an annotated guide with over 600 entries. The great majority of contributions were "the product of scholars who have not been trained in one of the principal branches of the historical sciences" (Sutcliffe 1977: 5). "Renewed progress" is observed from the early post-World War II period primarily via national studies. A revised and expanded version remains the most ambitious bibliographic product yet published with some 1,400 titles. While quantitatively impressive, Sutcliffe (1981c: 8) highlighted the high representation of non-historians and the "widespread inability to relate planning to broader historical developments."

Bibliographic review articles have continued to provide accessible portals into the literature of particular periods and themes. Genie Birch's (1981) landmark review for a mainly American readership contrasts the predominant fabric-focus of architectural historians with the process-oriented methods of social historians. In *Planning Perspectives*, a new journal dedicated to planning history commenced in 1986, Gordon Cherry (1991) provided a review of British contributions to planning history that triggered a series of national evaluations (Monclús 1992; Freestone and Hutchings 1993; Hall 1994; Burgess 1996; Miller 1998). Other regionally oriented surveys include Mary Sies and Christopher Silver (1996) on the United States, Arturo Almandoz (2006) on Latin America, Sutcliffe (2003) on Britain, and Freestone (2014a) on Australia. Stephen Ward's (et al. 2011) post-1990 international survey identified three limitations: dominance of non-theoretical narrative and case study approaches, conservative framing around planner-driven conceptions of planning, and the bias toward Western modernist perspectives. Here were epistemological issues scarcely imagined in the first trickle of modern planning history writing at the start of the last century.

The First Half of the 20th Century

Historical content in early planning discourse had different drivers. One was to legitimize planning as "not a completely raw and untried activity" (Sutcliffe 1977: 9). Early treatments were fresh and informative but descended into "peremptory nods towards the past" (Sutcliffe 1977: 8). A second was to engender a respect for historical town development in forward planning. Historical surveys were conspicuous in the first journals such as *Der Städtebau* (1904) and *Town Planning Review* (1910). A third driver was to document a back catalogue of best practice ideas. This was applied history, heavily skewed to site planning and urban design. The work of Werner Hegemann and Elbert Peets

(1922) was the zenith of this gazeteerial approach to trawling through past plans for lessons and precedents.

The first two major books in the English language have all three characteristics. Raymond Unwin (1909) devoted an early chapter to “The Individuality of Towns, with a Slight Sketch of the Ancient Art of Town Planning,” retrieving examples of informal and formal beauty back to Roman times. Acknowledging continuities, Andrés Duany (1994: v) welcomed the book’s reprinting nearly nine decades later “not as a memorial to its historical significance, but as a modern manual on technique.” Inigo Triggs (1909) also provided a historical review on “Types of Ancient and Modern Towns” dealing with town formation, siting, and layout, and including what was then the recent past, such as the Senate Park Commission’s report on Washington DC (1902). Historical treatments in later works through to the interwar years, such as Harold Hughes and E.A.G. Lamborn (1923), settled into a standardized treatment summarizing ancient morphological and architectural projects as a seemingly seamless prelude to the present day.

Francis Haverfield’s (1913) was a more scholarly treatment, intended as a “contribution to a modern movement” in uncovering “parallels from antiquity, and especially from the Hellenistic and Roman ages, which somewhat resemble the present day in their care for the well-being of the individual” (Preface). Thomas Tout’s (1919) investigation of medieval planning had similar intent, concluding that “methodical organization of town construction can only be attained when the impulses of the individual are adequately controlled by the corporate will of the community” (p. 9). Binode Dutt’s (1925) history of planning in the Hindu tradition was in the same genre.

Historical treatments by British authors were felt by continental critics to slight European heritage. The major Francophone corrective was the work of Pierre Lavedan (1926). This was history as *catalogue raisonné*, focusing on urban form, both organic and planned. Marcel Poëte’s similar emphasis on town expansion was evident in his Paris histories written between 1924 and 1931 (Calabi 1996). Gaston Bardet remained a “defender” of what was seen by some as an increasingly anachronistic *urbanisme* tradition into the 1950s (Bullock 2010: 347). A series in the *Town Planning Review* between 1949 and 1955 by leading archaeologists on the history of planning in antiquity ran against the same tide (Massey 2012). The *Journal of the American Society of Architectural Historians* published two special issues on the history of city planning in 1943–1944. Carl Feiss’s introduction stated that it was “practically axiomatic that historic precedent forms the basis of general texts on planning” but that planners must use historical knowledge as the basis for design thinking (Feiss 1943: 8). This argument was revisited nearly half a century later by Abbott and Adler (1989).

Postwar Continuities and Departures

Greater acceptance of planning after World War II resonated historically. Accessible accounts of town building through the ages from architectural and art history perspectives thrived. For Christopher Tunnard the topographical-archaeological approach defined city planning history (Tunnard 1963). Arthur Gallion and Simon Eisner’s (1950) text was one of the first in this genre, identifying phases of city planning and development over time. Frederick Hiorns (1958) proffered an “outline review of conditions, influences, ideas and methods affecting ‘planned’ towns through five thousand years.” Helen Rosenau (1959) brought together the utopian imaginaries of a large cast of designers, philosophers, theorists, and reformers. The series *Planning and Cities*, published by George Brazillier, spawned a series of titles on historic urbanism, including Choay (1969). The most ambitious survey was E. A. Gutkind’s (1964–1968) worldwide survey of the origin and growth of urban civilization.

Contributions from professional planners cannot be forgotten. In the United States, Thomas Reiner (1963) systematically described the spatial planning attributes of a “prospect” of 20 ideal communities. John Reps (1965) documented a typological-chronological narrative of city plans from the colonial era to the World’s Columbian Exposition of 1893. Edmund Bacon (1967) searched for

historical precepts to validate a modern theory of urban form. In Britain a more populist turn was evident. Cecil Stewart's (1952: xiii) linked historical essays were "written for people who know even less about town planning than I do," extending from the ancient world to contemporary new towns. The latter also began to attract serious study from academics (Orlans 1952). *City Fathers* by Colin and Rose Bell (1969) is representative of enduring populist accounts.

In the years from the end of the war to the late 1960s at least five key texts stand out as significant markers of a maturing and diverse planning history, and flag the approaches and debates lying ahead. The first by William Ashworth (1954) depicted British planning as the outcome of slow and steady cumulative public intervention in cities, commencing with the public health crisis of the early 19th century. This broke from the morphological-design paradigm to provide an influential social science interpretation.

Lewis Mumford (1961) updated his earlier book (1938), significantly expanding its historical coverage back to ancient cities. The vision of humanistic decentralization is retained but the tone is negative and pre-catastrophic (Wojtowicz 1996). Mumford, a specialist in generalization, was one of the first commentators to write critically on the emergence of American city planning (Riesman 1962). Friedmann (1962: 73) declared the 1961 prize-winning text as a *tour de force*: "one of the highest achievements . . . of American social thought."

Walter Creese's (1966) book was the first serious study of the Garden City tradition, fusing historical and architectural depth with a strong design orientation (Sutcliffe 1981d). Other American scholars in a new vanguard focused on planners and planned communities closer to home: John Hancock on John Nolen (Hancock 2009), Roy Lubove on housing, progressivism, and the Regional Planning Association of America (Mohl 2001), and Stanley Buder (1967) on Pullman.

All this paved the way for Mel Scott's (1969) text commemorating the 50th anniversary of the American Institute of Planners. Critical reception at the time was of a major work, but balanced uncomfortably between a somewhat inward-looking and inconclusive narration of events pertaining to the profession distant from the social and racial issues then confronting urban America.

Leonardo Benevolo's *The Origins of Modern Town Planning* (1967) was a revelation of other non-Anglo traditions usually denied a wider English-speaking readership (see also Piccinato 1974). Its Marxist-inspired interpretation of the mid-19th-century divergence of utopian and meliorist aspirations portrayed planning at its genesis captured by the status quo of the emerging modern state. The restructuring of cities by Haussmann and others demonstrated this outcome, along with new planned communities more the product of industrialists than idealists. Benevolo's book, originally published in Italian in 1963, was a notable example of a translated foreign language text; Francoise Choay's *The Modern City* (1969) is another.

Coming of Age in the Late 20th Century

The 1970s were marked by a slowdown in economic growth rates, and restructuring of the global economy allied to a new environmentalism, critiques of modernism, and new agendas for planning around gender, culture, diversity, and urban design. It was a watershed decade which stimulated historical inquiry, promoted professional soul-searching, and catalyzed moves to consolidate and open up the field of planning history with a spirited sense of internationalism. Growing sophistication of interest was evident in academic journals, old and new (Hancock 1972; Sutcliffe 1999).

Gordon Cherry (1972, 1974) attracted attention with two substantive British planning histories, the second a trans-Atlantic companion to Scott as a commemorative volume on the history of the profession and Royal Town Planning Institute specifically. This work helped make planning a distinctive lens, even allowing for the expansive concerns of British urban history (Sutcliffe 2003). Also breaking new ground was the multivolume history commissioned by the British Government to tell the official story of environmental planning since 1939 (Cullingworth 1975; 1980, 1981;

Cherry 1976). Broader surveys came from Gerald Burke (1971), William Houghton-Evans (1975), and Michael Hugo-Brunt (1972) with a focus on town evolution. Two major works by Peter Hall (et al. 1973, 1974) respectively assessed the entire postwar legacy of British town and country planning, and spun off a more popular introduction to planning structured as a historical analysis.

Reflecting institutional developments reviewed elsewhere in this book, the modern history of planning seemed to “come of age” in the 1980s (Albers 1982: 93). There was a rush of books with notable contributions by urban historians “documenting the critical role that planning decisions played in metropolitan development” (Sies and Silver 1996: 11). Some texts sustained older traditions such as historical urban design prototypes (Barnett 1986) and scholarly case studies of land development (Olsen 1982). Sutcliffe (1981a: 65) identified three British texts as standout contributions to a new intellectual culture surveying the period of “frenetic change” since World War II by Lionel Esher (1981), Peter Hall (1980), and Alison Ravetz (1980).

More international titles could no doubt be added, but the two major English-language works through this productive decade were Sutcliffe (1981d) and Hall (1988). Sutcliffe hybridized the social history of Ashworth and the more physicalist content of Creese. His acknowledgment of how the major nations of Britain, France, Germany, and the United States each injected a distinctive cultural approach into an international narrative also harks back to the Abercrombie tradition. This was critical comparative history with no sense of triumphalism, acknowledging that while ideas might soar in theory the practice on the ground invariably fell short. Hall’s book is the most cited in planning history (Freestone 2014b). Its basic structure resides in thematic chapters told chronologically over different time spans but edging steadily toward the late 20th century. It offers a town-and-country planning approach oriented to human-scaled living, democratic traditions of collective decision-making, social mix, balanced development, planned and preserved open space, and new communities.

Setting the mold for scholarly edited collections were three books which gathered together a selection of papers presented at the first international planning history conference in 1977. These covered rapid industrial-driven urbanization to the eve of World War I (Sutcliffe 1980), debates in 20th-century planning (Cherry 1980), and environmental conservation (Kain 1981). They represented “a benchmark of the state of the art” (Laconte 1983: 231). These three titles were the first in a new book series at the distinctive interface of history, planning and the environment, and continuing today. Conceived as illuminating an interplay of contemporary and historical issues, other authoritative readers were spawned during the 1980s geared to tertiary teaching (Krueckeberg 1983a; Krueckeberg 1983b; Schaffer 1988; Sutcliffe 1981d). Other books have spun off the international planning history conference series on the themes of metropolitan development (Sutcliffe 1984), the Garden City tradition (Ward 1992), and the 20th-century planning experience (Freestone 2000b).

Notable works appearing in the 1990s that further consolidated a genuinely scholarly foundation to the field included Helen Meller (1990) on Patrick Geddes, and Nigel Taylor (1998) on planning theory. Assembled collections more obviously showcased the innate richness of the historical record of planning and its implications, the diversity of potential analytical approaches, and insights emanating from interdisciplinary perspectives (Sies and Silver 1996). While much activity revolved around the scholarly communities of bodies like the International Planning History Society, there were contributions outside this realm. Spiro Kostof’s (1991, 1992) two companion volumes extended architectural history into a global urbanism highlighting the role of planning in physical and social contexts.

By 1999, Paul Laxton (1999: 125) saw planning history as an established medium:

“Scholars, especially from the left (or left of center at least) have embraced the history of urban design, housing, transportation planning, suburbanization, and the rise of the planning profession itself in a vigorous and exciting way. What had been the concern of a few specialist ‘planning historians’ is now in the mainstream of urban studies, past and present.”

He identified a central preoccupation with the tension between idealism and pragmatism, but at the same time a paradoxical lack of studies grounded in political challenges, constraints, and complexities. Other critics would emerge. Cherry (1996) offered a well-worn revisionism based around narratives of reform ideas, policy, legislation, and personalities, but this approach was less compelling at a time when the ideology of consensus politics was under challenge, when greater interest was becoming evident in bottom-up rather than top-down accounts, and when alternative paradigms such as feminist historiography were becoming evident (Clapson 1997). A definitive work which influentially encapsulated this sort of critique was by Leonie Sandercock (1998a) with roots in a graduate course at UCLA contesting the lingering exclusivity of profession-oriented history. This was a planning history based on “insurgent citizenship,” embracing the realities of an increasingly multicultural and globalized world and thus issues of race, ethnicity, gender, sexual preference, marginalization, and physical ability.

Planning Histories of the 21st Century

At the start of the current century we can see a marked and growing diversity by topic, scale, locality, approach, language, and sources. The written production of planning history has grown apace facilitated by new journals (*Journal of Planning History* from 2002), international, regional and thematic conferences, and more scholarly books and book series. From the mid-2000s planning history has matured further into a distinctive yet increasingly diverse intellectual milieu. The practice of reviewing non-English monographs by *Planning Perspectives* is a great breakthrough in facilitating and promoting a true globality of scholarship to which this Anglo-centric overview cannot do justice.

Singling out iconic titles becomes harder to do as this coverage approaches the present. A major focus has been on generalist transnational accounts, but book-length treatments in this grand genre so favored in the annals of planning history have been scarce. Hall (1988) has moved through several editions, the fourth published just months before the author’s death in 2014. Jean-Luc Pinol’s treatise (2003) is in the same tradition as Hall and Mumford (Lees 2007). The last great English-language attempt to construct a global planning history was by Stephen Ward (2002). This represents a high point in capitalizing on modern planning history scholarship to survey the development of urban planning and its spatial impacts. Its focus is the advanced capitalist world covered in a quasi-encyclopaedic mode in four big time blocks: from the “emergence” of planning in the early 20th century to the late 1930s; the war and postwar years; the 1960s–1970s; and the 1980s–1990s to the turn of the 21st century. Germany, France, Britain, and the United States are the “major traditions” surveyed alongside expressions of planning in smaller nations outside Western Europe and the United States. The idea of complementary volumes on the socialist world and the Global South has understandably proven too daunting. As Hall (2014: 6) also conceded, that more truly global history is still left “for other books by other hands.”

Debates and Themes

Ward et al. (2011) not too long ago identified strengths and weaknesses in the literature that need not be elaborated again. Their projection forward is essentially incremental, albeit with innovation and creativity around the interdisciplinary edges and a likely growth of knowledge creation in countries of “the emerging world.” Supplementing their treatment, four historiographical themes likely if not needing to flavor future work are discussed briefly in turn.

Challenging empirical history. A predominantly atheoretical predisposition has endured into a welter of topical case studies. Nevertheless, three main conceptual approaches were already evident by the late 1970s: liberal-progressivist, functionalist, and Marxist (Sutcliffe 1980). The Marxist

tradition secured the strongest traction in the continental sphere (Benevolo 1967) with British variants (Hague 1984; Houghton-Evans 1975). Even Hall (2014: 4) disarmingly declared that “the Marxian basis of historical events is taken almost as a given.” By that he meant his main actors were playing out on a larger stage choreographed by broader social, economic, political, and intellectual circumstances. His main interest remained in how this “general stimulus” interacted in specific contexts in “multifarious ways.” He remained resistant to simplistic and didactic interpretations of planning as the utterly compliant handmaiden of the capitalist state. Most Western planning historians have shared this opinion, and doctrinaire Marxist analysis—when it does not extend much past the position that planning is sanctioned only by dominant class interests—has tended to be resisted as “ideologically bound” and “superficial” (Birch 1981: 86).

The radical interpretations of American city planning history by Christine Boyer (1983) and Robert Fogelson (1986) remain important in challenging mainstream accounts but have been critiqued in turn as over-emphasizing the surface rhetoric of planners to “simplify reality in order to reveal an underlying structural order” (Silver 1989: 349). Both texts date from the heyday of structuralism in urban social science, but the rising influence of postmodernism is evident in Boyer’s (1983) analysis, which is equally significant as a bellwether in drawing upon the insights of Michel Foucault to unpack the “structures of planning thought.” Mark Long (1981) was one of the first to observe the potential of Foucauldian (re)thinking. He provocatively argued that too much planning history from its earliest incarnations has molded and manipulated the past to fit predetermined conclusions: “the establishment of planning’s past [at] the time of its own becoming was a crucial achievement.” Seeking to develop an overarching theory for planning history seems quixotic (Watanabe 2003), but searching for intersections of planning history and theory connecting more strongly with the intellectual mainstream of the humanities and social science is a *sine qua non*.

Planning is more than the planners. Still sobering are the criticisms of Robert Fishman (1980) that traditional planning history risks overemphasizing the prominence of professional planners, uncritically linking their work to a heroic narrative of progress and environmental determinism, and neglecting the many and different informal and individual interventions shaping the urban environment. This unflattering view—multiple retellings of “the official story”—was made more forcefully by Sandercock (1998b). Her solution was to not just encourage fresh and alternative histories which might sit alongside but not completely unsettle received wisdoms, but to retheorize planning itself as an inclusive process of place making, not an imposed process of state-driven regulation.

Margo Huxley (2010: 138) supports this stance, arguing that conventional planning history uncritically accepts planning as “a good thing” leading to a myopic “underlying teleological view of the necessity of planning for bringing about progressive improvement.” Alongside Marxian, Foucauldian, and feminist approaches she proposes a new form of “genealogical” inquiry to continually challenge an uncritical acceptance that planning is just what planners do (and have done). This articulates a position that is more and more evident in planning history, which increasingly breaks away from seeking to represent a narrowly conceived insider’s professional history.

The international circulation of ideas. One of the major contributions of modern planning history has been its focus on planning as an international movement. This means not simply highlighting its various global manifestations but coming to grips with the forces and processes promoting the sharing, adaptation, and rejection of planning ideas across space, time, and cultures. Sutcliffe (1981b) sought an explanatory framework in art history, cosmopolitan individuals, and the persuasive force of foreign example. Ward (2002) developed this into an elaborate historic typology of innovation diffusion spanning context-driven processes of borrowing and imposition. This has proven a seminal model which has constituted a useful yardstick for many studies. Anthony King’s many publications on transregional flows of capital have also decisively influenced understandings of how the forces of globalization have transformed the built environment through time (King 2004). Despite the power of globalization, all transported ideas must be adapted to suit local conditions, often

with unexpected consequences (Fischler 2012). Nasr and Volait (2003) explore the richly nuanced understandings which come from these “local mediations.” Just as Peter Hall’s notion of “planning disasters” reverberated through planning studies from the 1980s, planning history’s rich lode of “diffusion studies” has crossed over into growing cross-disciplinary contemporary interest in the transfer of urban policy and planning models (Healey and Upton 2010; Harris and Moore 2013), and into cross-cultural exchanges (Smith 2001). Here is a confluence where planning history might contribute more directly to planning theory.

Uncovering the usable urban past. A not uncommon call in planning history is to better relate studies to support practicing planners (Hutchings 2011). Sies and Silver (1996: 450) identify several ways in which planning history can assist in the more effective planning of cities through more sophisticated understandings of complexity, uncovering and analysing policy assumptions, researching the impact of planning decisions, and better documenting the “costs, benefits and logic of decisions.” Put even more directly, “We need to know what worked and for whom, what did not work and why” (Silver 1984: 130).

While the theme of a “usable urban past” (Artibise and Stelter 1979) surfaces frequently in planning history discourse, there are surprisingly few studies rigorously framed to demonstrate how detailed historical analysis can inform policy evaluation and framing, although the work of Peter Hall (1973) and Alexander Garvin (2013) can be noted. Nonetheless, more broadly there are contributions filtering into practice especially in urban design, heritage conservation, and community planning. But the hopes expressed in the 1970s for planning history to contribute significantly to planning practice have not been widely realized (Sutcliffe 1999). It seems paradoxical that, for so applied a discipline as planning, the contributions and agenda of planning historians remain driven primarily by traditional canons of scholarly inquiry, while at the same time practitioner-driven historical inquiries can often seem so superficial.

Conclusion

The chapter has identified some key texts that mark advances in the writing of planning history over more than a century and predominantly for an English-speaking readership. But the history of planning history now seems so vast and variegated as to defy succinct summation even when largely restricted to the output of the Anglophone world. It was arguably easier to take on the overview task when the field was small and developing than in its current sprawling state. It would be a Herculean task to try and emulate Sutcliffe’s (1977, 1981c) bibliographic enterprise in traditional print form. The expansion of planning history is partly linked to the widening scope of planning itself. Peter Marcuse’s (2011) typology of the main “historic currents” of planning valuably injects some cohesion into historical approaches which can be organized around three major foci: a “technicist” tradition of scientific, contractual, and design-led planning; a “social reform” tradition of meliorist planning spanning across various movements like health, aesthetics, participation, and sustainability; and a “social justice” stream with roots in utopianism and extending to a latter-day tradition of radical, critical, and community-driven planning.

Two concluding observations are made. One is that the strong nexus with the industrial revolution as the ultimate genesis for planning history, very much rooted in the seminal British discourse of the 20th century, and one of the early touchstones of the international planning history movement from the 1970s, has weakened. There is depth and richness in a historiographical approach that does not always seek or need to connect to the 19th-century origins highlighted in big-picture histories like Hall (1988) and Ward (2002). A second and irreversible process, crucial to the very advancement of the field, is the revisitation of past historiography: the highlighting of new contexts, the discovery of forgotten or overlooked events and actors, and the search for new interpretations. The major texts of planning history are historic documents in their own right,

constrained by the contemporary and critical fashions of their day, even those from the recent past (Hardy 1998). The future is harder to predict, although there have been attempts (Ward et al 2011). Perhaps the mark of major writings in the future might continue to be the deceptively simple urging of Sutcliffe (1977: 14), namely the need “to consider what difference planning has really made to the world since the early 20th century.”

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Related Topics

Kwak: Interdisciplinary Questions in Planning History

Batey: The History of Planning Methodology

Smith, Hein: The Ancient Past in the Urban Present

Massey: Key Planning Histories of the Developing Western Tradition

Monclús, Díez: *Urbanisme, Urbanismo, Urbanística*: Latin European Urbanism

Orillard: *Urbanisme* and the Francophone Sphere

Birch: The Imprint of History in the Practice of City and Regional Planning

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11

KEY PLANNING HISTORIES OF THE DEVELOPING WESTERN TRADITION FROM THE MID-19TH CENTURY TO THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY

David Massey

This chapter explores three thematic histories of the planning of cities in the developing Western tradition from the mid-19th to the early-20th century. Focusing on the developing Western tradition of town planning in the larger cities of the northern hemisphere, including a number of European capitals and emerging metropolitan cities in the United States and some examples reached by emerging Western practice beyond, it roughly maps what might be termed a middle range of planning histories that are neither wholly generalized nor individually limited (Birch 2011; Ward 2002: 1–2). The three themes are structured around Bosma and Hellinga’s 1997 identification of three broadly based, thematic planning histories of the mid-to-late 19th and early 20th centuries in northern Europe, each describing a distinctive function of planning: regularization, extension, and modernism. The histories reviewed here have emerged as part of the post-1970 “new planning history” movement, and have been written principally in English. This rather experimental approach, and, for the most part, the reliance on the Anglo-Saxon and English-language traditions, means that the study is limited and constrained: a first attempt at reviewing the historiography of this interdisciplinary field, not at all the last word, nor a summary history of urban planning, but an exploration of diversity and richness.

Regularization renewed the inherited central city, as exemplified by Haussmann’s work in imperial Paris (1851–1870), which was widely admired and adapted elsewhere, including in the United States as the City Beautiful movement, as circumstances and political and economic preferences permitted. City extension planning developed from mid-19th-century efforts as the state and public agencies sought to regulate the operations of private market processes in building outwards from the existing edge, with differences emerging in planning historians’ findings between those considering the industrial cities of northern Europe and parts of the United States, and those of southern Europe. With growing experience, regularization and extension became complemented by comprehensive city planning, with “the regional city and sometimes the region itself” emerging in the interwar period as extended scales of planning (Bosma and Hellinga, 1997: 9). Modernism and planning as considered here encompasses a selection of the “new models” for planning derived from self-declared, 20th century, international movements, such as the Garden City movement and the “Functional City” of CIAM together with the growth of more advanced scientific and analytical approaches to towns and regions, and their conflicted relationships with new political ideologies and their planning requirements.

City regularization: re-planning the central city

Planning from the mid-19th century to the early 20th century was connected to a range of often interconnected interests and actors from utopian proposals to social reform concerns, from public health issues to economic development concerns. Planners also responded to politicians who called for a transformation of the outworn physical fabric of cities so as to better reflect the imperial, national, and civic values of the time. The city of reference, the paradigm of such regularization planning efforts (Benevolo 1993: 169–188) was Paris from 1851 to 1870 under Emperor Napoléon and Georges-Eugène Haussmann, Prefect of the Department of the Seine (Figure 11.1). Despite earlier fragmentary efforts and presumed imperial sketches, in the event they intervened with a form of coordinated incremental public works and private speculative re-building without a comprehensive or master plan: the idea of planning as a separate practice would come later.

While earlier scholars had mostly taken a biographical approach to the central roles of the Emperor and his Prefect, Anthony Sutcliffe (1970) and Norma Evenson (1979) related the changes of the 1850s and 1860s within the context of planning for the French capital for a longer period up towards the late-20th century. The centenary of Haussmann's death was commemorated with an exhibition at the Pavillon de l'Arsenal, accompanied by more recent scholarship (des Cars and Pinon 1991). Originally published between 1890 and 1893, Haussmann's own memoirs have been a source for historians, including an edited edition by Françoise Choay (2000), and a facsimile of the section dealing with his period as Prefect of the Seine (Haussmann 2001). More negatively, Van Zanten (2010: 179) sees such approaches as self-serving, reinforcing mythology, rather than providing the basis for a critical history.

The Haussmann project has continued considerable attention and controversy with scholars and planners alike evaluating the political dynamics behind the process, the administrative and technical

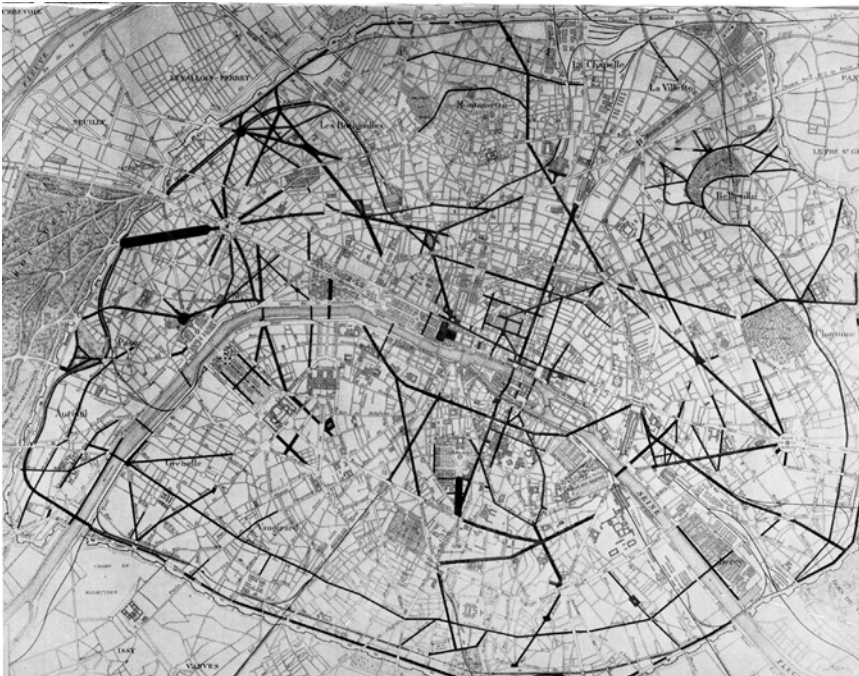


Figure 11.1 New streets built in Paris during the Haussmann era and continued during the early Third Republic (1850–1913).

Source: Commission d'extension de Paris, *considérations techniques préliminaires* (1913).

methods used, and, the contrast between the imperial formality of the new and the more human identity and character of the historic city. In particular, scholars have debated the questions of public order in the design of the network of boulevards, the dispossession of many poorer central area residents, and, the relocation of factories to the suburbs. The elite's general disinterest in and inability to deal with the city's central slums and peripheral shantytown conditions would continue for decades after the end of the Second Empire (Shapiro 1985). More recently, Haussmann's method of operation has received detailed attention (Carmona 2002; Chaudun 2009; Jordan 1995, 2004), including Haussmann's extensive use of expropriation powers to create larger building lots adjacent to the new streets, encouraging financial speculation (Faure 2004) and the growth of a capitalist land market (Harvey 2003).

Haussmann gave his name not only to imperial policy in Paris, but also to its compelling image and lasting status as a demonstration model of "régularisation." André Lortie's (1995) edited set of essays on the export of Parisian planning precedents addressed this legacy. In his chapter, Pinon (1995) cautioned against an overly simple view of the diffusion of this model, encouraging a qualified, more nuanced approach. London's experience, for instance, expressed neither such imperial building ambitions nor the capacity to realize them (Schubert and Sutcliffe 1996). Although the Metropolitan Board of Works did build a new sewer system, widen some streets and clear a few of the worst slums (Owen 1982), London's contributions to planning history lay in other directions. Work by John Tarn (1973) and Anthony Wohl (1977) focused on poverty, over-crowding, and the decayed built fabric; the solutions offered by planning and social policy were slum clearance, redevelopment to new standards, and reasonable rents.

Among the alternatives proposed to wholesale clearance and state action in London were Octavia Hill's advocacy of undertaking housing repairs and working with women on their household budgets. Hill's efforts were not alone. Together with her many female supporters and practitioners, they were rather part of a diverse, emerging contribution to urban policy by women (Darling and Whitworth 2007). Although criticized for their self-help and limited, voluntaristic character (Wohl 1997: 179–199), Hill's ideas nonetheless spread to provincial cities in Britain and to the Netherlands, Germany and the United States (Tindall 1990: 170–194), becoming institutionalized as housing rehabilitation and social housing management.

The wider diffusion of Haussmannian planning has been both geographic and adaptive. Other essays in Lortie (1995) explore its spread outwards to the French colonial empire and to other cities in Europe and South America (particularly Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires). The reception was quite muted in Japan (Watanabe 1984; Sorensen 2007). Early visitors to Europe admired London, but the Haussmannian approach of foreign (in fact German) consultants to planning a government district in Tokyo on the late 1880s was "slowly rejected . . . for more locally 'appropriate' ways" (Hein 2010: 454). However, Crémel (1995) saw the well-established qualities of the images of Paris as having been among the many influences on the architect Edwin Lutyens, commissioned to build a new Indian imperial administrative center next to the old city of Delhi between 1911 and 1931. After 1949 controversy arose in Beijing, with ultimately successful proposals by Soviet advisors for the Haussmannian regularizing redevelopment of the existing city (Wang 2011) being countered by the alternative "Liang-Chen" plan for the cultural protection of the historic core and building a new administrative center to the east.

Elsewhere, the image of the Second Empire transformation of central Paris inspired moves away from the traditional grid layout of urban development towards new planning efforts in the United States (Hall 2002: 188–197). Frederick Law Olmsted, the pioneer landscape planner of the later 19th century, traveled to Paris in 1859 (Newton 1971: 242–245) and drew inspiration from the work of Adolphe Alphand, Haussmann's associate for parks and gardens. His knowledge of European parks went well beyond Paris, but the development of his thinking and that of his associates, and the practice of his firm, contributed to new components in comprehensive planning (Eisenman 2013), particularly the essential scaffolding of the systematic provision of parks and green spaces connecting "parkway" roads, and ecological reservations. The work of his associate, Charles

Eliot, to establish Boston's metropolitan parks system (Newton 1971: 318–336; Zaitzevsky 1982) was a model for city planners elsewhere. Sonja Duempelmann's (2009) national and cross-national comparative review provides new insights about planning and urban parks in the wider arenas of 20th-century Washington DC, Chicago, Berlin, and Paris.

Hausmann's work also contributed to the City Beautiful Movement in the United States and beyond, with an agenda of providing broad axial streets cutting through the city to civic centers with buildings of monumental grandeur, combined with the coordinated development of parks and transportation networks. William Wilson (1989) provided a foundational overview of the movement, being complemented by Jon Peterson (2003) situating it in the founding years of American city planning, and Emily Talen (2005), relating it to the City Efficient approach in her Urban Plan Making category of urbanist cultures. The growth of numerous local societies expressed the attraction of elites and middle America to the City Beautiful idea, but the principal engagement came from the largest cities with coalitions able to hire leading consultants, including Philadelphia (Brownlee 1989) and Pittsburgh (Bauman and Muller 2006).

Daniel H. Burnham (Hines 1974) had a key role in two of the major City Beautiful accomplishments of the early 20th century. First, he took on membership of the US Senate's McMillan Commission (1901–1902), which produced a plan comprising the double-axis development of the National Mall, a series of great neoclassical institutional buildings and the extensive provision of parks, recreation facilities, and parkways. Later, together with his partner Edward Bennett, he brought a Haussmannian Beaux Arts vision to the Midwest lakeside city and its surrounds in their commission to prepare the 1909 Plan for Chicago (Smith 2006). Sponsored by the Commercial Club of Chicago, essentially representing private economic development interests, but open to social reform concerns, it became the most celebrated City Beautiful initiative. City Beautiful planning, however, has been judged to be a limited achievement, failing to link with the housing reform movement and the growing practice of zoning, or by ideas of a more comprehensive general planning for cities as a whole.

Planning Urban Extensions

Directed towards the prevention of future problems and the achievement of a better quality of life in new locations beyond the existing urban edge, urban extensions have been identified as a connected, but functionally distinctive arena for planning from the mid-19th century. The main instruments developed for this task included preplanning highway systems and their associated infrastructure networks in advance of building development, gradually reaching beyond traditional building and street codes and public health concerns for new powers to protect or provide green spaces, and to specify land uses, densities, and even designs of development. In the 20th century the growth of local extension plans devised and implemented by different agencies for wider but adjacent areas, and the need to connect regularization with extension led to moves towards comprehensive city planning and to planning for a wider city region scale.

Linking the historic center with the immediate built-up area beyond was a particularly challenging problem for mid-19th-century expansion planners, particularly where fortifications were dismantled, and their sites and those of largely vacant former "fields of fire" or unconnected suburbs had to be planned. The classic solution was Vienna's great, formally designed boulevard complex—the Ring—containing highways, green spaces, palatial residences, and imperial and civic buildings constructed from the 1860s to the 1890s (Olsen 1986). In Spain, under the guiding influence of civil engineer Ildefonso Cerdá, Barcelona's profound experience of planning and developing the area beyond its fortifications had been reevaluated after a period of relative neglect (Choay 1992: 325; Neumann 2011). His 1859 plan for the *eixample* (extension) was based on extensive research and proposed the replication of chamfered-edge city blocks (*manzana*); however, many of the blocks became heavily built up without the interior green space Cerdá had proposed. Martin-Ramos

(2012) describes how the Cerdá effect also provided inspiration and precedents for city planning in many other Spanish cities in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

The Prussian State's 1859 decision to place James Hobrecht at the head of a small team to prepare a construction plan for Berlin and its region marked a significant change towards a more integrative approach for the city (Mazerath 1984). Approved in 1862, Hobrecht's plan was controversial at the time, and, through its presumed encouragement of the notorious *Mietskassen* (rent barracks), continued to be so. More recently, Claus Bernet's (2004) reevaluation has drawn a more positive balance sheet of the plan's contribution. The idea of such connective town extension planning came to receive wider support and adaptation elsewhere, and by the turn of the 20th century extension planning in Germany (Ladd 1990: 77–110) was widely regarded as exemplary, particularly in the administration of statutory powers and in new planning instruments such as zoning. However,

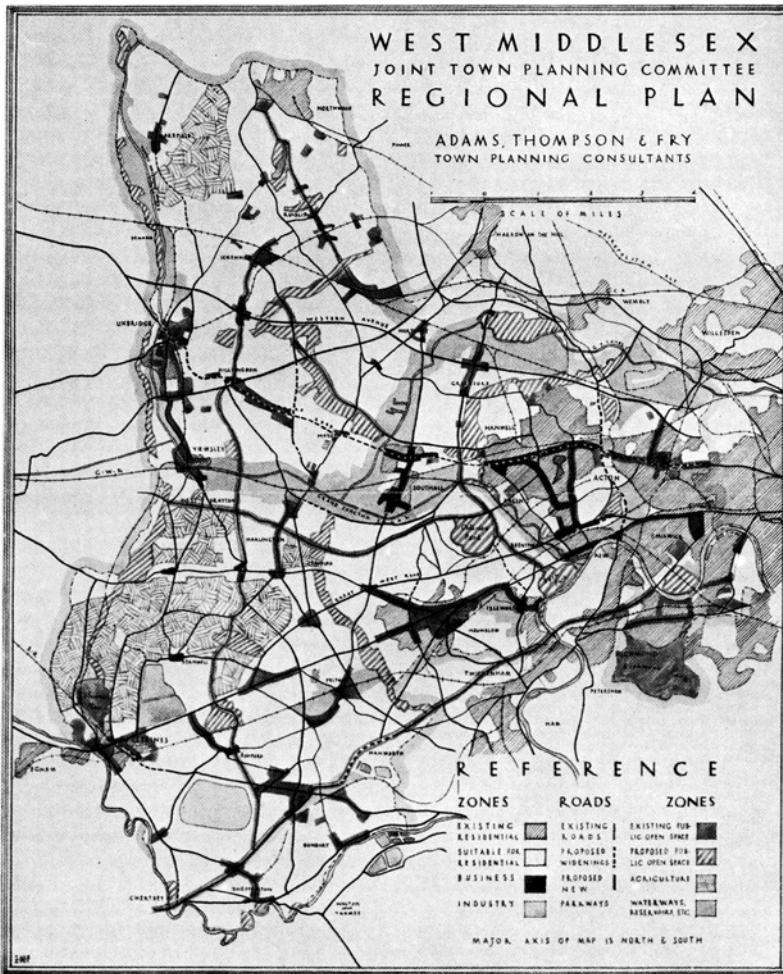


Figure 11.2 Thomas Adams's consulting office prepared the 1924 West Middlesex Regional Plan, which combined details from existing approved local planning schemes (e.g. Ruislip–Northwood) with indicative proposals for new highways and use zones (most land being designated as “suitable for residential”), for the important western sector of London’s suburban development.

Source: Cherry, G. E., 1974. *The Evolution of British Town Planning*. Leighton Buzzard: Leonard Hill. p.89.

when taken up elsewhere, the results, as in Sweden, were often plans that were criticized for being standardized and regimented, and not having local character. Camillo Sitte's *City Planning According to Artistic Principles* (1889) reevaluated more informal, mediaeval precedents (Frisby 2003); his advocacy of a certain "studied informality" was subsequently widely taken up in extension planning in Austria, Germany, and Scandinavia before 1914, and his influence as an urban design precursor continues to resonate in the early 21st century (Birch 2011).

Paris and London both experienced considerable outward growth from the urban edge during the late 19th century (Hall 2002: 49–86), with first steam and, from the early 1900s, electric railways providing extended suburban accessibility to new parts of the city region. In both cities, owners sold rural estates for subdivision with few building controls, leading to a scattered mix of plots, shacks, and dwellings. Many had no infrastructure, giving rise to public health concerns (Fourcaut 2000; Hardy and Ward 1984). In Britain, national legislation in 1909 had provided local governments with the opportunity to prepare voluntary "planning schemes" for areas where development was expected. Booth and Huxley (2012) have recently challenged well-established presentist views from planning historians that the act was principally a weak first step in establishing planning, drawing attention rather to its essential housing focus. From 1919, a number of regional groups were created through local agreements to prepare advisory plans for coordinated suburban growth (Figure 11.2). Jackson (1973: 323), however, concluded that the private builder was "little affected by the pitifully inadequate planning measures" they provided.

Planning historians have identified several different experiences of extension planning in southern Europe. In contrast to the industrialization/urbanization/birth of modern planning sequence proposed by planning historians for many north European cases, Donatella Calabi (1980) identified the distinctive characteristics of Italian planning 1880–1914, including particularly a strengthened public administration combined with developments in public health policy and expanded public expenditure, combined with a fragmented legislative base, and the exceptional use of urban plans for a few large cities such as Florence, Rome, Milan, and Naples. Solà-Morales (1992) has argued that planned extensions in such latecomer cities as Lyons, Turin, and Barcelona represented land market and building finance contributions, which served to facilitate rather than reflect local industrial growth.

Movements, Politics, Ideologies, Scientific Methods, and Planning

The third key planning history takes up the theme of modernism in 20th-century planning. Rather than being limited to the aesthetics of the international modern architectural style, urban planning modernists embraced a variety of approaches and proposals (Gold 2015). A characteristic device was their use of conceptual thinking, usually with social, rationalist purposes, to develop formulaic and rather mechanistic models of ideal towns. Some of these stayed paper utopias; others provided precedents for further city regularization and expansion, and indeed complete new settlements. Robert Fishman's (1982) review of the wholesale rejection of inherited traditions of urban development by Ebenezer Howard, Frank Lloyd Wright, and Le Corbusier, and their search for an understanding of the logic of the 20th-century city, provides a critical comparative assessment of some very different contributions.

Going beyond plans to connect the center with new development at its edge or nearby was the early 20th-century idea of the freestanding Garden City/*cité-jardin* (Hall 2002: 88–141) (Figure 11.3). The practical utopian, Ebenezer Howard, proposed not only the original Garden City idea, but suggested the need for them to be grouped together into "social cities" as counter-magnets to large cities (Beevers 1988). Standing back from state or municipal involvement, he and his supporters established pioneering ventures to the north of London at Letchworth (from 1904) and Welwyn (from 1920). Although Howard's Garden City schematic of concentric rings provided little practical guidance to Raymond Unwin and Barry Parker (Letchworth) and Louis de Soussons (Welwyn), the

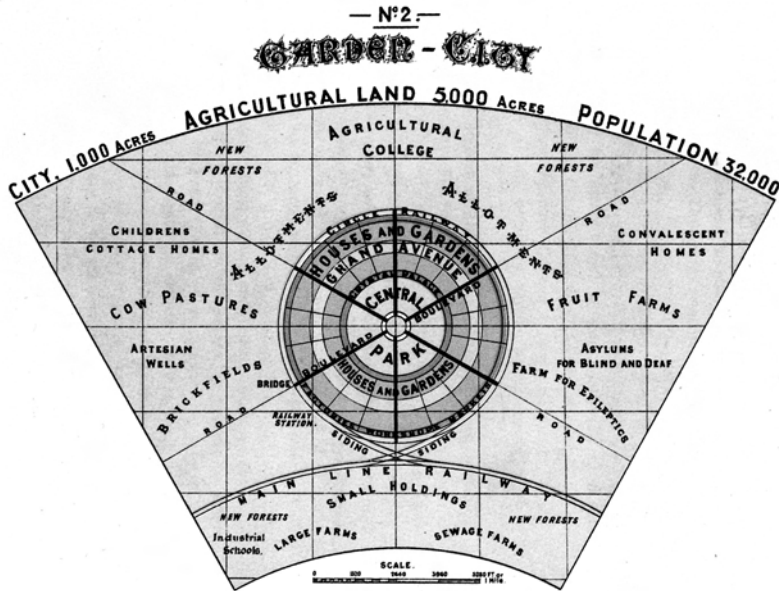


Figure 11.3 Ebenezer Howard's conceptual diagram for a free-standing Garden City.

Source: Howard, E. 1898. *Garden Cities of To-morrow: being the second edition of "To-morrow: a peaceful path to real reform."* London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.

contrasts between more informal layouts of the former and the arts-and-crafts house designs, and the more formal and neo-Georgian designs at the latter, demonstrated the flexibility available to Garden City planners in the realization of a common purpose. Ironically, although raising an international interest and following (Ward, ed. 1992), his ideas were generally modified towards garden suburbs in Britain and reinterpreted elsewhere, until in many cases any social reform objective was quite lost. In Paris, the pragmatic socialist and early urban manager, Henri Sellier (Guerrand and Moissinac 2005), was an enthusiast for and adapter of Howard's ideas. With technical expertise and political leadership, Sellier developed 15 *cités-jardins* with both social housing and community facilities in the interwar period (Burlen, ed. 1987) in an extended Paris.

Le Corbusier, with an eye to self-promotion, advanced his early 1920s ideal Contemporary City of three million people and his (1925) Plan Voisin for the renewal of nearly six square miles of central Paris, through exhibitions, publications, and lectures. Failing to find any practical support from the state or private enterprise, in 1935 he dedicated his revised proposal for a Radiant City (Hall 2002: 218–261) to "Authority." Corbusier also worked through professional networks, taking a leading role in the establishment of the CIAM (Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne) in 1928 (Mumford 2000). Initially based in Europe, this small but highly influential group of avant-garde, technocratic, socially concerned architects identified key themes which national groups then carried out as case studies and general projects. In all, a series of 11 deliberative conferences were held into the mid-1950s (Gold 1997). CIAM's president from 1930 to 1947, the Amsterdam town planner Cornelis van Eesteren, played a significant part in developing the defining Functional City theme of the fourth congress in 1933 (Sommer 2007), which encouraged the planned four-fold separation of land uses: work, housing, transport, and leisure.

Drawing on Functional City thinking, a British group, the Modern Architecture Research Society (MARS), contributed ideas for the postwar reconstruction of London (Gold 2000). In France, meanwhile, Le Corbusier selectively appropriated and produced his own interpretation of

the comparative urban studies and preliminary findings of CIAM IV (Es et al. 2014), writing them up as the “Charter of Athens” and arranging for their publication (1942). Reinforcing the growing Corbusian cult and demonstrating how writings can themselves create history, the charter took on a life of its own around the world after 1945, proving seminal in different ways for a generation or more of urbanist educators, professionals, and politicians.

Christopher Klemek (2011) has compared the record of modernist urban renewal on a cross-national basis, bringing together the experiences of Berlin, Boston, London, New York, Philadelphia, and Toronto, among other cities, and charting the rise of diverse critiques, including that of Jane Jacobs in New York in her campaigns against the updated Haussmannism of Robert Moses (Caro 1974). All in all, he concludes, Germany and Canada were more successful in meeting this challenge than Britain or the United States. For Peter Hall (2002: 218–261), the general results of the spread of modernist, postwar functional-city thinking backed by government resources was a disaster for residents of the urban renewal projects it produced in central cities and beyond. In a definitional observation on the nature of planning, he cited Jon Lang’s view that planning of the type found in the charter, was rather a “genre of urban design . . . a rationalist paradigm, built on abstract ideas” (2000: 84–85).

Modernism also played a significant part in early 20th-century moves to bring together social reform objectives with new housing designs, construction technology, and layouts. In Germany, “rational examination of the most adequate design for dwellings—orientation, interior organization, ventilation—led to new patterns for the arrangement of buildings and streets” (Albers 1986: 20). The satellite *Siedlungen* of the later Weimar period, promoted by Martin Wagner in Berlin and by Ernst May in Frankfurt (Lane 1986; Kafkoulas 2013: 180–185) provided striking contrasts to traditional urban housing areas (Figure 11.4). John Mullin’s (1977) study of May’s city planning work in Frankfurt links his housing program at CIAM (which met in the city in 1929) and his work at Magnitogorsk in the Soviet Union (Flierl 2015). More recently, Leif Jerram (2007) has argued that Munich’s development between 1895 and 1930 was led by self-confident and optimistic planners following strategies for “Germany’s Other Modernity” along similar lines to those of professionals in Manchester and Chicago in the Western tradition.



Figure 11.4 The Römerstadt suburban satellite in Frankfurt am Main by Ernst May.

Source: Ernst May Gesellschaft.

Vienna's social democratic city council in 1919 wanted to reshape the city along socialist lines, and over the next generation they built some 400 new housing blocks (Blau 1999). Social and community facilities were integrated into these communal estates, and attracted international attention, even from Conservative local governments, such as Liverpool in England, concerned with rebuilding after slum clearance. Amsterdam's experience in the interwar years (Hellinga 1997: 216–233) reflected the debate between traditional continuous urban expansion and freestanding Garden City approaches.

The Nazi regime in Germany from 1933 to 1945 had little use for International Style modernism or Weimar Republic experiments in planned urban development (Mullin 1982; Lane 2007; Tilman 2015). Jeffrey Diefendorf (1993: 158–169) has distinguished between the regime's general urban planning and its nationwide Representative City program to redesign Munich, Nuremberg, Linz, and Hamburg, and, less sweepingly, a range of smaller towns, into emblems of Nazi power and ideology. After 1937, Albert Speer was Hitler's architect-planner for Berlin, which was to be embellished in dramatic Beaux Arts/City Beautiful style as the center of a universal empire (Mazerath 1984: 309; Duewel 1997).

Few of these planned proposals were achieved, however, due to the onset of World War II and increasing shortages of resources, particularly after the start of the war against the Soviet Union in mid-1941. Overall, reflected Gerd Albers (1986: 22), “[o]ne might say that town planning, as a whole, was less affected by national socialist influence than many other fields of public policy—possibly because it was still seen mainly as a technical problem.” And although it did not find support in Germany, ideas of self-sufficient Garden Cities of 20,000 population devised in the late 1930s by the economist Gottfried Feder had an interested response in Japan (Hein 2003: 337–338).

The Third Reich's enforced incorporation of large swathes of Poland after 1939 nonetheless appropriated planning concepts in their search for new settlement patterns. Reflecting an earlier reinterpretation of ideas derived from Howard's social city diagram to support concepts of re-agriculturalization and an organic territorial order (Fehl 1992), and using new methodologies from geography, notably Walter Christaller's central place theory (Rössler 1994), offices of planning technocrats worked to establish the ideal spatial order of a newly settled, racially pure German territory. Other location analysts, such as August Lösch, opposed to the Nazi Party and its ideology, maintained their distance and a subdued critique (Barnes 2016).

The Nazi Party was not the only dictatorial regime that came to power in interwar Europe and expressed its “destructive modernism” in urban planning and projects: consider regimes in Italy, the Soviet Union, Spain, and Portugal. As part of a major European research program, Harald Bodenschatz (2014) and his colleagues (2015), in their edited volume *Urbanism and Dictatorship*, have focused on the complex and sometimes contradictory approaches followed in these countries. Other planning historians exploring the Mussolini era in Italy have connected national with colonial experiences. Mia Fuller (1996), for instance, brought together plans for the colonial city of Addis Ababa with the proposed EUR '42 exhibition site (a “colonizing suburb”); Federico Caprotti (2007a, b) has written of the “internal colonialism” of the Mussolini regime's cities, and the destructive creation of its urban planning and new town ventures. Moving to the international scale, Diane Ghirardo (1992) has compared the New Deal era in the United States and Italy, considering how both fought the economic crisis of the 1930s with massive state intervention and public works programs.

Conclusion

Among the principal limitations of the chapter are the missing non-English-language contributions from Europe and the mostly city-based rather than nationally based coverage. The deep richness and differences of approach, content, and interpretation to be provided by contributions from other cultures provides one of the major challenges in taking international comparative planning

histories further. And while “great cities” as limited-period case studies, and their particular plans or planning episodes, have often provided planning historians with a useful scale of settlement and key documents to consider, these exemplars usually contain exceptional qualities, and represent only a fragment of a wider, unappreciated whole. The iconic status of many national capitals, for instance, has given them an extended literature and seems likely to do so in the future, leaving other cities with less attention and a need to reach a broader understanding of cases and experiences.

City-based studies have often focused around a few leading personalities, whether professionals, politicians or businessmen, and their interrelationships with local political systems. However, the criticism of the “great men” characteristic of many planning histories found during the period reviewed may relate to the small number of leading engineers and architects and their patrons in the 19th and early 20th centuries. In contrast, the widespread growth from the early 20th century of extensive, technically-qualified, professional planning bureaucracies suggest the scope for further consideration, including the roles of wider networks in local professional offices and interest groups (DeHaan 2013).

The longer period explored here also reveals an interesting move from highly site-specific types of map-based plans towards more strategic, conceptual documents full of policies, and with a key diagram for visual imagery. It also reveals the need for planning historians to bring together an equivalent coverage for the wider scale of city regions, which were increasingly used for strategic planning from the interwar years. The creation of particular plans and policies and their varying degrees of success or failure for reasons of over-ambition and resource shortages, and/or lack of commitment, and political opposition have also been a common theme of many cases. This conclusion opens up the general issue of how to define successful planning, and whether it needed a plan as such, or whether a wide vision and a program of public works were satisfactory substitutes.

Related Topics

Ward: Planning Diffusion: Agents, Mechanisms, Networks, and Theories

Freestone: Writing Planning History in the English-Speaking World

Orillard: *Urbanisme* and the Francophone Sphere

Kress: The German Traditions of *Städtebau* and *Stadtlandschaft* and Their Diffusion Through Global Exchange

Hu: Planning for Economic Development

Vitiello: Planning for Infrastructure

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12

URBANISME, URBANISMO, URBANISTICA

Latin European Urbanism

Javier Monclús and Carmen Díez Medina

“There’s no doubt that there are different academic traditions in various countries,” wrote historian Donatella Calabi, “in which, for example, the relationships between planning history, urban history and architectural history are different” (2015). In this spirit, one of the godfathers of planning history, Anthony Sutcliffe, identified “a specifically Latin culture of *urbanisme*, which is used to contextualize both planning and architecture” (2002). The lack of translations makes it difficult for the English-speaking world to appreciate the specificities of *urbanismo* and *urbanistica*, and prevents the inclusion of this body of work in the wider debate about planning history.

The terminology that appeared with the birth of modern urbanism is a key issue to understand the meaning of the discipline in its origins. The Spanish word *urbanización* first appeared in 1867 in Ildefonso Cerdá’s *Teoría de la Urbanización (Theory of Urbanization)* (Cerdá, pp. 1968–1971). Architect and historian Vittorio M. Lampugnani wrote, “So, for Cerdá, urbanization covered both *urbanism* with its urban implications and *urban planning* in its financial, social, political, ideological and philosophical aspects. This made him the founder of a new discipline which was to be thoroughly developed in the late 19th century and, above all, in the 20th century.” (1996) The French term *urbanisme* came later, at the beginning of the 20th century. According to Oskar Jürgens, “From the word *urbanización*, coined by Cerdá, the French formed *urbanisme* to replace the terms used until then, a term which Spaniards later adopted as *urbanismo* to designate their urbanism (*Städtebau*)” (Jürgens, 1926, 1992). This is a fascinating, contested history that goes beyond the paternity of the word. According to many authors, the term *urbanisme* was coined about 1910. But Henri Prost, one of the leading architects of the École Française d’Urbanisme (EFU), wrote that “the word was created by four architects and one engineer,” among them himself and Leon Jaussely, the winner of the Barcelona competition for a new plan, in 1905 (Choay, 1983). Of course, Jaussely knew Cerdá’s work and his neologism *urbanización*. No wonder then that some years later *urbanisme* became the official term, both for the field of urban studies and, at the same time, for the modern discipline of urban planning (Choay, 1983; García Bellido, 1999). Several authors have analyzed this complex issue, emphasizing the weight of social and evolutionary thought in the elaboration of the discipline and its relationship to the history of urbanism (Calabi, 1988, 2004). Despite those complex dimensions of *urbanisme*, as a field of study and as a modern discipline, urbanists—let’s say “Latin urbanists”—appropriated those terms, emphasizing their physical dimensions (Frey, 1999).

Table 12.1 Paradigms, conceptions, plans, projects, research topics. Spain and Italy.

<i>Time period</i>	<i>Urban planning and design paradigms and topics in Europe and USA</i>	<i>Plans, projects, research topics in Spain</i>	<i>Plans, projects, research topics in Italy</i>
1850-1900 Geometrical urbanism and extension plans	<p>“Progressive and Cultural Pre-Urbanisme”</p> <p>Garden City</p> <p>Extension Plans</p> <p>Paris Reforms 1852–1870 (Haussmann)</p> <p>Berlin: <i>Hobrecht Plan</i> (1862)</p>	<p>Barcelona: <i>Plan Ensanche</i> (1859)</p> <p>Cerdá: <i>Teoría General de la Urbanización</i> (1867)</p>	<p>Florence (1865-95): <i>Piano Poggi</i></p> <p>Milano: <i>Piano regolatore</i> (1884)</p> <p>Naples (1884): <i>Piano di Risanamento (sventramenti)</i></p>
1900-1940 Modern Urban Planning	<p>Town Planning Urbanisme</p> <p><i>Städtebau</i></p> <p><i>City Beautiful</i></p> <p><i>Civic Art</i></p> <p>Plan Chicago (1909)</p> <p><i>Town Planning Act</i> (1909)</p>	<p>Urbanismo</p> <p>Madrid, Barcelona, Granada, Bilbao, Zaragoza: <i>Grandes Vías</i> 1890/40</p> <p>Madrid: <i>Plan Zuazo-Jansen</i> (1929)</p>	<p>Urbanistica</p> <p>Rome: <i>Piano di diradamento</i> (Giovannoni, 1913)</p> <p>Rome, Turin, <i>Sventramenti</i> (till 1940s)</p>
1945-1975 Planning and accelerated urban growth	<p><i>County of London Plan</i> (1943)</p> <p><i>Town & C Planning Act</i> (1947)</p> <p>Greenbelts</p> <p>New Towns</p> <p><i>Townscape/Urban Design</i></p> <p><i>Housing estates, Grands Ensembles</i></p> <p><i>Scientific Planning</i></p>	<p><i>Land Act/Ley Suelo</i> (1956)</p> <p>INV (1939): <i>Poblados</i></p> <p><i>Barcelona plan (1953)</i></p> <p><i>Planes parciales</i></p> <p><i>Local plans</i></p> <p><i>Polígonos</i></p> <p>Old city centers: <i>Reforma urbana</i></p>	<p><i>Legge urbanistica</i> (1942)</p> <p><i>Pianni particularizzati</i></p> <p>INA Casa (1949): <i>Quartieri</i></p> <p>Old city centers: <i>Recostruzione</i></p> <p>Bologna: <i>Piano di salvaguardia del centro storico</i> (1965)</p>
1975-2008 From comprehensive planning to urban projects	<p><i>Deregulation</i></p> <p><i>Urban Projects</i></p> <p><i>New Urbanism</i></p> <p><i>City Branding</i></p> <p><i>Urban Regeneration</i></p> <p>Paris Grand Projects</p> <p>Berlin IBA 1987</p>	<p><i>Proyectos urbanos</i></p> <p><i>Planes & proyectos de recuperación</i></p> <p><i>Nuevos ensanches</i></p> <p>Madrid Plan 1985</p> <p>Barcelona JJ.OO. 92</p> <p>District 22@</p> <p><i>Regeneración urbana</i></p>	<p><i>Progetti urbani</i></p> <p><i>Riquilificazione urbana</i></p> <p>Milan: urban regeneration (Bicocca)</p> <p>Roma plan: cura di ferro (public transportation infrastructures)</p>

Source: Javier Monclús and Carmen Díez Medina.

The approach to modern *urbanism* in Southern European countries has differed from Anglo-Saxon planning since the beginning of the field. The Latin European approach was not necessarily related to the problems of industrialization or the innovations of town planning; it was rather a parallel strategy to deal with urban growth and focused on urban improvement. It is therefore not surprising that some Spanish and Italian authors and planning historians established the starting point of their urban planning and design histories in both countries as early as the middle of the 18th century or the beginning of the 19th century, referring to projects that are considered to be the origin of the discipline (Gravagnuolo 1991; Sica, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1980; Bassols, 1996; Gutkind, 1967). Let us compare two reference works, one from Anglo and the other one from Latin historiography: the systematic and encyclopedic *Planning the Twentieth-Century City* by Stephen Ward (Ward, 2002) and the *Storia dell'urbanistica* by Paolo Sica (Sica, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1980). Ward stresses social, economic and political issues and the impact of planning, whereas Sica pays more attention to urban strategies, plans, and projects, and urban forms. Further Italian and Spanish historiography includes more technical perspectives, which are not so relevant in Ward's overview. Table 12.1 offers a synthetic overview of the approaches to the field of planning history in Spain and Italy, focusing on research topics and specific urban plans and projects. The goal is to review the role of urban plans and projects in these two countries, updating previous contributions to the field (Calabi in Wynn, 1984; Wynn, 1984). A chronological structure divided into four large time periods is overlapped with a thematic one. The table also suggests a potential relationship between planning and long-term economic cycles. As Sutcliffe has said, in times of upswing "planning is ambitious, innovative, exciting to execute," while during the downturns "planning disappoints in the execution, but breeds a new generation of ideologies and creative artists who prepare for the next growth phase" (Sutcliffe, 1981). Of course this pattern should not be read as a literal economic determinism, but rather as a means of relating cultural moments to economic shifts. This table highlights some research topics in Spain and Italy in the context of an international planning culture, represented by a selection of urban planning and design paradigms, plans, and projects in "advanced Western countries."

"Geometrical Urbanism" and Extension Plans 1850–1900

The history of urban planning and design of the second half of the 19th century is an important field of research in both Spain and Italy, with an extensive literature. Historiography shows that standard episodes such as Garden Cities or garden suburbs are less present in these countries than in other European countries; Sica finds such experiences "strange to the Italian cultural atmosphere" (Sica, 1978). Fernando Terán considers Spanish Garden Cities to be just one type of city extension, not a separate form (Terán, 1996). Instead, an academic "geometrical urbanism," based on the definition of the streets and squares system, was the main way of planning urban growth and improving existing cities in both countries. Such beautification strategies were influenced by the French *plans d'embellissement urbain*, *plans geometrals*, and the Haussmann model, with the additional influence of colonial urbanism in Spain. The French urban *embellissement* tradition, which goes back to the second half of the 18th century with the aim of *beautifying* the city and of creating a dignified and monumental urban image, was linked to functional objectives, such as the improvement of traffic, sewage, and water supply networks; it soon became an international model (Monclús, 1989). Consequently, extension plans and interior urban reforms of this period have become principle research topics in Spanish and Italian historiography.

One plan, Cerdà's *Ensanche (Extension of Barcelona)* of 1859 has turned into a landmark in planning historiography. Underestimated for many years, it has become a focus of many studies, particularly

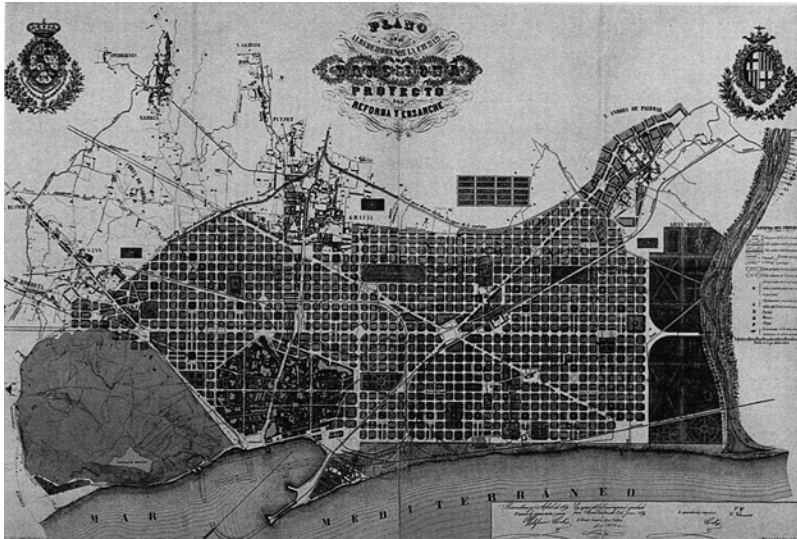


Figure 12.1 Cerdá Plan for the extension of Barcelona, 1859.

Source: Museu d'Historia de la Ciutat, Barcelona.

with the discovery of some of Cerdá's writings, including the *Teoría general de Urbanización* (*General Theory of Urbanization*) (Cerdá, 1867, pp. 1968–1971), which can be considered the first theory of planning. He introduced the term *urbanización*, meaning both “urban processes” and “urban developments,” taking a positivist and scientific approach. Today some authors see Cerdá as “a strong candidate for the title of the first urban planner” or the “founding father of modern urbanism” (Marshall, 2004; Lampugnani, 1996). Barcelona's *Ensanche* was an exceptional achievement in this period of economic upswing in European cities, with the huge scale of its homogeneous grid; it introduced innovative elements into Spanish modern urban planning, such as a rational urban structure with a roads system and blocks fit for new functional conditions (traffic network and housing) (Figure 12.1).

The Cerdá model also influenced other Spanish cities (including Madrid, Bilbao, San Sebastian, and Pamplona) (Terán 1978/1999). Those plans have been the subjects of monographs and global studies that themselves constitute a field of research (Coudroy de Lille, 1999). Some authors note that the reforms and extensions of some Spanish cities, such as Saragossa or Seville, followed other urban principles and sought to reestablish an urban image, even if they often were piecemeal additions to the established area and never completely implemented (Guardia et al., 1994).

As in almost all European and American cities, the Paris model and French urban culture were also a reference for most Italian cities, which sought to follow principles of both progress and *abellimento* (beautification) in their transformations. The extensive body of literature by Italian architects, geographers, historians, and other scholars focuses on those cities which grew either with extension plans (Milan, Rome, Florence) or underwent *sventramenti*, or internal reforms (Naples) (De Seta, 1985). Italian urban historiography also pays particular attention to Turin, Florence, and Rome, which became capitals in the middle of the 19th century as Italy changed capital three times in five years (Caracciolo, 1974; De Seta, 1985). Turin is particularly significant because of the unusual continuity of its extensions with the 18th-century neoclassical pattern and because it became an industrial city after losing its capital status (Olmo, 1983).

Emergence of Modern Urban Planning: *Urbanismo* and *Urbanistica* 1900–1945

In Spain and Italy, modern urban planning emerged and was institutionalized later than in the UK or Germany, due to a slower process of industrialization (Carozzi, Mioni, 1970; Terán 1978/1999; Sambricio, 1996). The incorporation of this new discipline into the curricula of schools of architecture in both countries has also become a research focus. In Spain, the subject *Trazado, Urbanización y Saneamiento de Poblaciones* (*Layout, Housing Development, Urban Sanitization*), echoing Cerdá, was first taught at the School of Madrid in 1914; the architect César Cort, the first town planning chair, changed the name to *Urbanología* in the 1920s. A similar process took place at the School of Barcelona (Sambricio, 1996; García González, 2013). In Italy, the first programs on urbanism were launched by Marcelo Piacentini in Rome and (a bit later) by Cesare Chiodi in Milan. The School of Rome, created in 1919, included a course on urbanism, *Arte di costruire la città* (The art of city building), from the very beginning; it changed its name to *Urbanistica* in 1932. (Di Biagi, Gabellini, 1992). Pioneer urbanists—César Cort and Secundino Zuazo in Spain and Luigi Picinato and Plinio Marconi in Italy—have become another research topic (Di Biagi, Gabellini, 1992; Malusardi, 1993; García González, 2013).

The delay in the emergence of a modern discipline of urban planning did not keep scholars from exchanging ideas across national and disciplinary borders, through courses, seminars, conferences, articles, exhibitions, and specialized journals. The important Italian journal *Urbanistica* was founded in 1933 as *Rivista ufficiale dell'Istituto Nazionale di Urbanistica* (*Official Review of the National Institute of Urbanism*). In Spain, however, there was no specialized journal until after World War II, and consequently urban planning methodologies were mainly diffused through architectural journals, especially the review of the Order of Architects, *Arquitectura*, which offered international content. The impact of the French School of Urbanisme (EFU) was more significant in Italy and Spain than that of British town planning, even though some contributions to international planning conferences by Raymond Unwin, Patrick Abercrombie, and other planners were translated in the 1920s (Terán, 1978/1999). Following the French tradition, some Beaux Arts plans were developed in both countries in conjunction with the opening of *grandes vías, corsi* or *sventramenti* (opening of new streets in the historic urban tissue), which echoed the Paris model and the City Beautiful movement (Lortie 1995; Lampreave et al., 2010). Jaussely's Plan for Barcelona (1905), was an exceptional example of a complex approach: despite its large scale, it showed an artistic urbanism, not only reacting to the monotony of Cerdá's Extension, but also introducing some formalist concepts, with functionalist components, such as zoning and new housing typologies associated with the EFU. Actually, this school, which had deep roots in social studies and the Musée Social, with Marcel Poëte as pioneer of the "Science des villes" ("Science of cities," as a new discipline), combined Beaux Arts layouts with functionalist interventions related to modern circulation issues (road system fit for tramways and new circulation conditions) which cited Eugène Hénard and other urban planners (Choay, 1983).

In Spain and Italy, the German notion of *Städtebau* (literally "city building") emerged at the turn of the 20th century in Josef Stübben's self-titled handbook, but later took on an advanced meaning (town planning) almost at the same time as the emergence of the term *Stadtplan* (literally "town planning") (Collins and Collins, 1965). Camillo Sitte's theories about *Städtebaukunst* (artistic urban planning) appeared in this framework, between 1880 and 1930, as did other similar approaches. Stübben's and Sitte's theories were disseminated in both countries. An extensive historiography tracks the reaction to Stübben's "pragmatic engineering urbanism" and the increasing influence of Sitte's *Städtebaukunst* (Collins, 1965; Zucconi, 1992; Torres Capell, 1992; Solá, 1993; Ventura, 1995; Sambricio, 1996; Hall, 2014). This literature shows how German

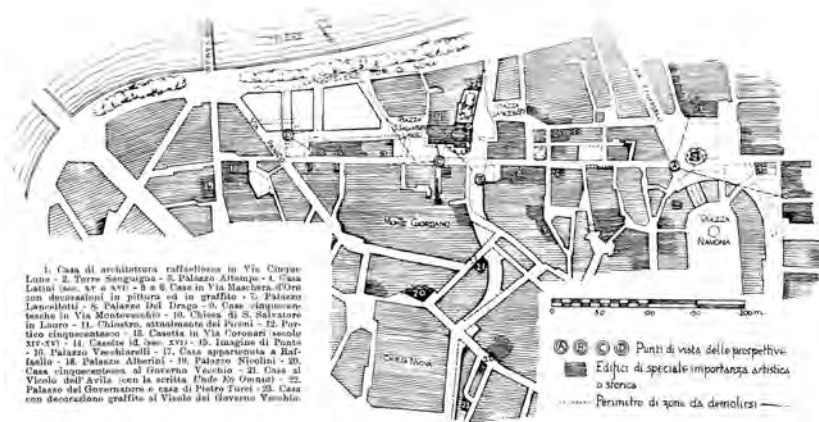


Figure 12.2 Roma, *diradamento*. Project by Gustavo Giovannoni for the via dei Coronari and surroundings, 1911.

Source: *Vecchie città ed edilizia nuova*, in *Nuova Antologia*, XLVIII, June 1, 1913.

Städtebau progressively replaced the French tradition, increasingly dominating planning thought. The recent republication of works by Stübben, Sitte, and Werner Hegemann has been accompanied by preliminary or monographic studies giving an idea of their relevance in planning history (Solá, 1993).

Analyses of plans and projects of the 1920s and 1930s show that planners also synthesized formal visions and functional principles in Spanish and Italian cities. The remarkable collaboration between Secundino Zuazo and the German planner Hermann Jansen in the important international competition for the Madrid Extension Plan of 1929 is an example of how *Städtebau* influence was important in the advent of modernist urban planning (Sambricio, 1996). Some historians have remarked on the originality of the Italian architect and historian Gustavo Giovannoni (Choay, 1995). His notion of *diradamento edilizio* (clearing up) was an alternative to the prevalent strategy of *sventramento*, a critique of the radical Haussmannian reforms. Giovannoni's 1931 book *Vecchie città ed edilizia nuova* (*Old cities and new buildings*) theorized that the coexistence of old and new elements in the city and could be seen as a key text in modern *urbanistica* (Giovannoni, 1931) (Figure 12.2).

There is fervent debate on the relationship between political contexts and urbanism in the interwar period, with important contributions on Spanish and Italian dictatorships. Despite their contrasting political situations, Spain and Italy developed similar urban interventions. In Spain, avant-garde Republican urbanism (1931–1936) almost coincided with the first years of the Italian Fascist regime (1922–1945); both assumed rationalist urban models until the turn to more rhetorical positions in the mid-1930s (Díez Medina, 1995, 2017). Some studies of modernist Latin European urbanism during the interwar period have argued that it “absorbed modernity” during the first decades of the 20th century (Spiegel and Sambricio in Bondenschatz et al., 2015; Díez Medina, 2003). They show, for instance, how the way of dealing with new urban concepts varied between cities (Barcelona vs. Madrid or Milan vs. Rome). However, a comparative view on how different cities adopted these new approaches, ideas, and policies, and of the magnitude of their impact, is still lacking. And perhaps a “regime urbanism” linked to the rhetoric of dictatorial governments should be examined with a larger time perspective and new arguments, with consideration of continuities after World War II. Again, recent republishing of plans, journals, and monographs on urbanists and buildings from the “first

Modernism” (for instance by the organization DOCOMOMO, devoted to the documentation and conservation of the Modern Movement’s legacy) show the relevance of this period to Spanish and Italian planning history.

Planning and Accelerated Urban Growth 1945–1975

According to international historiography, the golden age of planning matches the great economic boom of the 1950s and 1960s, lasting until the oil crisis of 1973. It was in this period of spectacular urban growth that planning in advanced countries consolidated as a profession. Postwar legislation was the basic framework for regulating urban development for several decades. This was clear in the case of the UK and something similar can be said for Spain and Italy, even if the system was less effective in practice than in theory. Despite differences in their historical contexts, we find in both countries similarities in the so-called foundational legislation: Italy’s *Legge urbanistica* (Planning Law) of 1942 and Spain’s *Ley del suelo* (Land and Urban Planning Act) of 1956. Even with differences between both countries—diverse historical political contexts and also the existence of a more advanced urban planning culture in Italy—they experienced a similarly difficult process of implementing plans. Historiography has focused on their respective national planning systems (Campos Venuti and Oliva, 1993; Terán, 1978/1999), but a few comparative surveys of planning concepts, projects, and regulations help to explain the dominant ways of understanding planning and urbanism in Europe during this period (Mamoli and Trebbi, 1988; Ward, 2002).

Some relevant planning histories in Spain and Italy have been written by planners with professional responsibilities in public administration, providing a perspective very close to real urbanism, in contrast to more theoretical work by historians. They give an interesting overview of these decades of consolidated *urbanismo* and *urbanistica*, which culminated with the *plan general* and *piano regolatore*. For example, Giuseppe Campos Venuti, a renowned planner who worked for central and local Italian administrations and consulted on many plans from the 1960s onward, wrote several books on planning history and theory (Campos Venuti, 1978, 1987; Campos Venuti and Oliva, 1993); his studies contribute to a better understanding of the methodology and role of urban planning, especially regarding what he called *urbanistica riformista* (reformist urbanism), that is, an urban planning which emphasizes social and economic dimensions in parallel with social democratic or “reformist policies,” fostered by socialist and communist parties. His Bologna Plan (1965) for the protection and rehabilitation of the *centro storico* (old historic center) was exceptional in the period and later became a referent for other Italian and Spanish cities (Piccinato, 2006). The biographies of other key Italian urban planners give interesting clues to their roles in academic and professional environments (Di Biagi and Gabellini, 1992). But we need more research in English that sees the biographical study of planning professionals as a key methodology of planning history.

In Spain, *Planeamiento urbano, historia de un proceso imposible* (*Urban Planning, history of an impossible process*) by Fernando Terán, also a planner with important responsibility in the administration, is a basic book: its title is a testimony to the limitations of a generic law without enough specific tools and regulations. As with Italian planners, recent studies look backward to Spanish planners with institutional responsibilities and their published approaches. However, these are partial views that should be complemented with more research on the role of planners and the contrast between “nice theories” or “beautiful master plans” against the complex reality of urban processes.

The story of explosive urban growth in Spanish and Italian cities from the 1950s to the 1970s has been the subject of studies by historical geographers and urban historians rather than architects

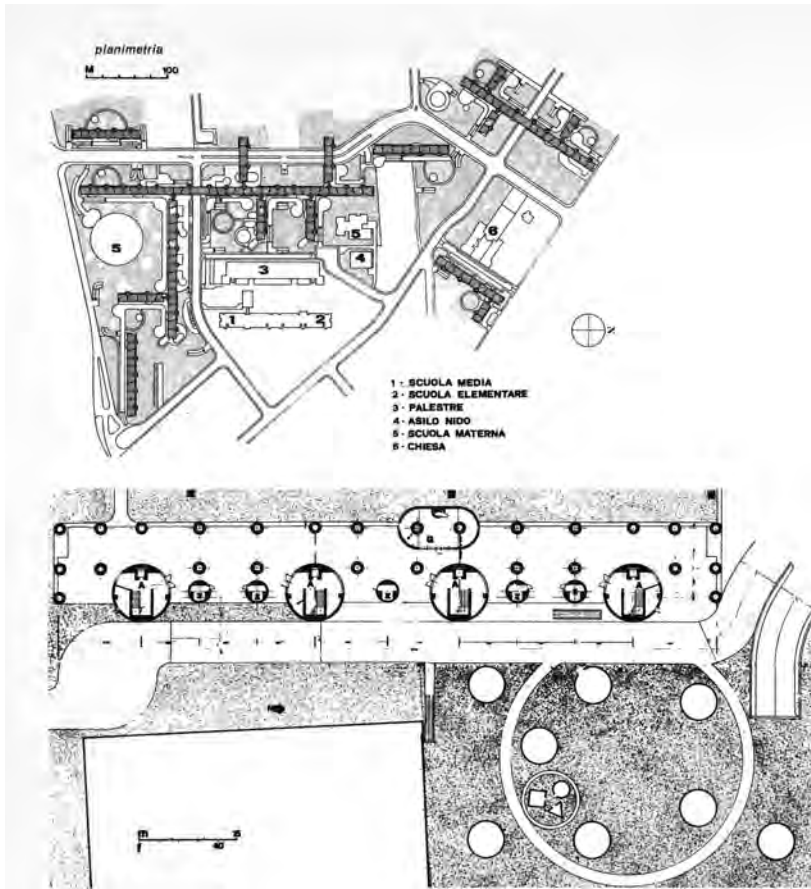


Figure 12.3 Quartiere Quarto Cagnino, Milan, 1964–1973.

Source: personal archive, Matilde Baffa.

and planners. These studies focus on the nature of urban processes, not the impact of urban planning. They show that parallels between these two countries are strong, starting with their respective economic miracles, first in Italy in the 1950s and 1960s and then in Spain a decade later. The active participation of developers and the autonomy of infrastructure and housing policies resulted in complex urban and suburban growth, with densified centers and generally low-quality and fast-growing residential and industrial peripheries (Figure 12.3).

Housing for an increasing population (mostly migrants from the countryside) became a critical issue, especially in large cities such as Barcelona and Madrid in Spain, and Milan and Rome in Italy. In general, the earlier well-planned *quartieri* or *poblados* (housing estates) of the 1950s contrast with “an avalanche of low-quality architectural projects” (Ferrer 1996), the *polígonos de viviendas* (mass housing estates) and other forms of mass housing, which characterized 1960s and 1970s Italian and Spanish peripheries (Coudroy de Lille et al., 2013, Monclús and Díez Medina, 2016). Peripheral locations and isolation made it difficult for planning to integrate mass housing estates. As in other European countries, state institutions were created to face the housing shortage. In Spain, the INV (Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda/ National Housing Institute), created in 1939, launched plans

for constructing millions of houses (Sambricio, 2003). In Italy, an ambitious, successful program for constructing social housing estates was launched through the INA-Casa (Istituto Nazionale delle Assicurazioni/National Insurance Institute), active from 1949 to 1953 (Tafari, 1986). The 1950s saw the first cycle of modernization of cities, and a less controlled second cycle took place in the 1960s (Mamoli and Trebbi, 1988). Although several studies explore housing policy and local planning in different cities of Spain and Italy, the specific responsibility of urban planning and urban design in both countries is still a main subject of research (Mamoli and Trebbi, 1988; López de Lucio, 2004; Monclús and Díez Medina, 2016).

The idea of the city as a cultural creation sensitive to the value of history began to gain ground from the 1960s onward, particularly in Italy. New concepts of urban morphology and building typologies were developed at the IUAV (Istituto Universitario di Architettura di Venezia/Higher Institute of Architecture of Venice), with the important contribution of Saverio Muratori's *Studi per un'operante storia urbana di Venezia (Studies for an operative urban history of Venice)* (Muratori, 1960). Essential was the publication of *L'architettura della città (The architecture of the city)* by Aldo Rossi, a book that intended to give a scientific vision of the city (Rossi, 1966). Concepts such as *place*, *type*, *monument*, and *urban form* were important at the end of the 1960s due to the influence of Rossi's book (Moneo, 2004). In Spain, some urban projects from the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s showed a particular care for the existing city, as can be seen in the visions of some architects interested in urban forms and the historic dimension of the city. Some of the projects of Rafael Moneo and Manuel Solá Morales, for example, anticipated the emergence of the so-called *proyecto urbano* (literally urban project), a concept that became a benchmark in the 1980s.

From Comprehensive Planning to Urban Projects 1975–2015

From the 1950s to 1970s, accelerated urban growth was principally demographic (Italian and Spanish cities were increasing at annual population rates of 3% and more), but after the 1980s urban growth was mainly the result of the dynamism of the urban economy of cities, including land occupation and urbanization of the new peripheries. Paradoxically, cities grew in this way even during the economic downturn from 1973 up until the mid-1980s. Then, growth accelerated in the following upswing, the building boom from the mid-1990s to the 2008 financial crisis. This was particularly significant in Spain, where between 1996 and 2007 new patterns of development and the so-called *burbuja inmobiliaria* (housing bubble) were partially responsible for a spectacular increase of urbanized land. It is so recent that the main studies available are those made by geographers, economists, and sociologists, not historians (Coudroy de Lille, 1999).

During the 1980s, neither Spain nor Italy deregulated planning laws, nor did the traditional comprehensive plan fall into crisis, in contrast to the UK (Ward, 2002; Terán, 1996). Instead, a reformist urbanism, a specific approach of *urbanismo* and *urbanistica* first theorized in Italy by left-wing urban planners, began to gain strength. It started to be applied first in cities in Italy and, from the end of the 1970s, in Spain, especially in old urban centers and working-class peripheries. Urban social movements, with the strong involvement of citizens in many cities around the world who mobilized at the end of the 1960s (especially after 1968) in response to urban environmental problems, took on special characteristics in Spain, formed by the fight against Franco's dictatorship and the attempt to recover democracy (Borja, 1977; Castells, 1983). As a part of the general reaction to traditional urban planning, the old concept of master plan was reviewed and small or medium-size urban projects, *proyectos urbanos* or *progetti urbani* (Portas, 2003), assumed a leading role. They were implemented in a context of decelerated urban growth and should be understood also as a strategy of addressing the

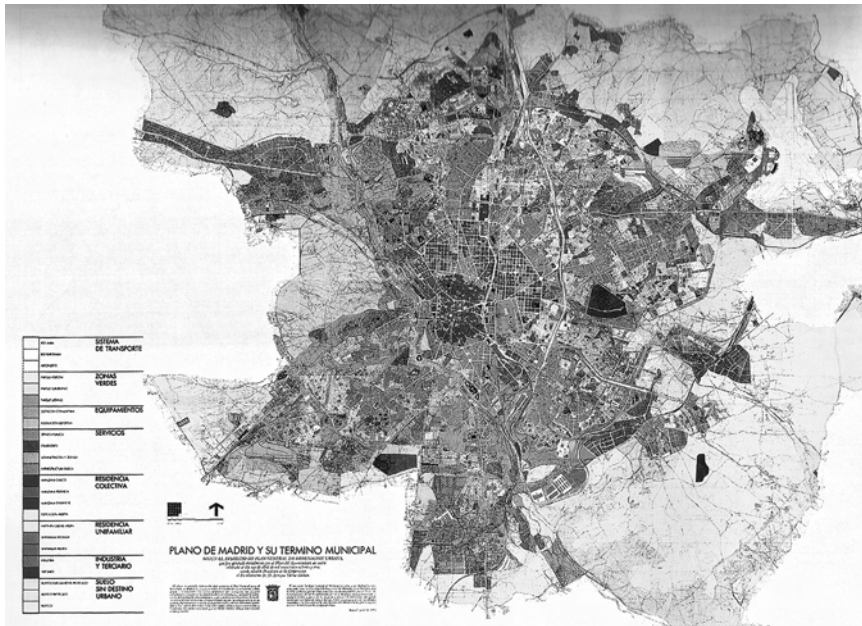


Figure 12.4 Madrid's General Urban Plan, 1985.

Sources: R. López Lucio (ed.), *Madrid 1979/1999*, Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 1999; personal archive, Ramón López Lucio.

urgent need for new public facilities, especially new public spaces and infrastructure. The Barcelona model is a paradigmatic example, changing from small piecemeal interventions in the 1980s to large-scale urban projects for the 1992 Olympic Games (Marshall, 2004; Monclús, 2003). This design-oriented and strategic approach to urban planning, associated with social and economic goals, can be seen as an innovation of Latin European urbanism. The role of urban projects in Italy and Spain has been the subject of some research (Ferrari, 2005; Sáinz, 2006), but it would be a mistake to believe that planning was weak—or not relevant—from the 1980s up to the crisis of 2008 because of the emergence of urban projects. Such projects can't be considered to be a substitute for planning, but a more careful approach to it, which pays attention to the small scale and to public spaces and facilities. The intense reshaping of Spanish and Italian cities has been the result of these numerous planned interventions; they were responsible for the general improvement of cities, especially of the inner peripheries. Maybe the best example of this reformist urbanism was the Madrid plan of 1985, which improved and regenerated extensive peripheries (López de Lucio, 2004). Even if using quite conventional planning tools, it was implemented with detailed local scale developments consistent with the concept of urban project. The models of Madrid, Barcelona, and Milan spread to other Spanish and Italian cities in the 1980s and 1990s (Monclús, 2009). The impact of these projects on Spanish and Italian cities deserves more in-depth analysis (Figure 12.4).

According to recent planning history research, the role of urban planning in Spanish and Italian cities since the 1980s has been ambiguous, as it has been in other periods. On the one hand, low-quality standardized pieces and urban sprawl have led to a huge increase in land consumption and the destruction of urban and natural landscapes, especially in seafronts and cities popular with tourists. On the other, the recovery of old historical centers and the modernization of cities through the

creation of high-quality public spaces, new facilities, and large events—the 1992 Olympic games (Barcelona) and international exhibitions (1992 Seville, 2008 Zaragoza, 2015 Milan)—are all connected to urban restructuring (Monclús, 2014). As a consequence of the great changes experienced by many cities in recent times, a new wave of research has emerged. However, much more investigation is needed in order to understand the spectacular mutation of Spanish and Italian cities as well as metropolitan landscapes in recent decades. Planning historians should consider the studies of geographers, sociologists, and urban planners of these substantial transformations, which are continuing to change the features of future Southern European cities (De Miguel, 2014; Coudroy de Lille, 1999).

Conclusion

As has already been mentioned, despite Cerdá's prophetic call for scientific urbanism in 1867, the consolidation of modern urban planning at the beginning of the 20th century was slow in Latin European countries in contrast to the early institutionalization of the discipline in the Anglo-Saxon world. A foreign observer such as the German architect and historian Oscar Jürgens noticed this paradox in his 1926 study of Spanish cities: "Whereas from that moment [end of the 19th century] an active intellectual movement in all fields of urbanism emerged in other countries, Spain, that at the beginning had been in the forefront, stayed curiously backwards." (Jürgens, 1926/1992). Peter Hall reflected almost one hundred years after Jürgens, in his last book *Good Cities, Better Lives*, on the supposed backwardness of town planning in the UK: "After having been in the forefront during the 1950s and 1960s, in the so-called golden age of urbanism, it has lost the 'art of urbanism'" (Hall, 2013). Leadership in this art—as Michael Hebbert argued in his Gordon Cherry lecture of 2006—belonged with the Mediterranean countries whose *proyecto urbano* or *progetto urbano* offered a way out of the crisis in international planning culture (Hebbert, 2006). Paradoxically, the initial disadvantageous delay in the consolidation of urban planning in both countries, Italy and Spain, turned into a recognized strength. Ours was a kind of "latecomer success."

In contrast to its Anglo counterpart, Latin European planning history has focused more on urban forms and technical aspects of planning than on other social and economic issues. The advantage of this approach is clear: planning history benefits from links between familiar and interconnected fields of study, such as architectural and urban history. Indeed, the close relationship between the histories of architecture and urbanism (*historia del urbanismo* or *storia dell'urbanistica*) is clear in the Latin European historiographical tradition. However, limitations are obvious: if we want to understand the complexity of urban processes and the role and impact of modern planning we must look at other socio-economic, cultural, and technical factors that go beyond the discipline of urbanism.

Let us conclude with a last remark, a look into the future that completes what has been set out in this chapter, mainly faced from a historiographic point of view. Despite the differences between Anglo and Latin planning history traditions outlined above, in recent times Anglo planning history seems to be paying more attention to urban design and urban forms, whereas Latin European planning history offers more integral approaches and pays more attention to social, economic, and cultural issues. At the end of the day, these two strong planning history traditions seems to be converging, in what could be a symptom of a new paradigm shift in urban planning. A wide and self-conscious new generation of studies has been emerging in Latin European planning historiography in the last two decades; it will certainly help us to reflect on and understand these complex transformations in the discipline.

Related Topics

Freestone: Biographical Method

Ward: Planning Diffusion: Agents, Mechanisms, Networks, and Theories

Orillard: *Urbanisme* and the Francophone Sphere

Kress: The German Traditions of *Städtebau* and *Stadtlandschaft* and Their Diffusion Through Global Exchange

Schubert: Opposition, Participation, and Community Driven Planning Histories

Gold, Gold: Urban Segments and Event Spaces

Silver: Educating Planners in History: A Global Perspective

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13

URBANISME AND THE FRANCOPHONE SPHERE

Clément Orillard

In 1934, the International Federation for Housing and Town Planning's first international glossary defined the French word *urbanisme* not only as “town planning” but also the “study of towns” (IFHTP 1934). This French word still means more than planning, now signifying the vast field of “all sciences, techniques, and arts related to the organization and development of urban spaces in order to ensure human well-being and social relationships while preserving the environment” (*Trésor de la langue française* 1994). Some direct translations of the English term planning—*planification urbaine* or, in Belgium, *planologie*—have existed since the 1930s, but they never corresponded to a professional field as *urbanisme* does.

The term *urbanisme* was born at the turn of the 20th century (Walter 2011) but a small and militant Parisian professional milieu probably gave it its current meaning in the 1910s (Frey 1999); it was quickly adopted in France, then in Belgium, Québec, Francophone Switzerland, and Luxembourg. It expanded through the French and Belgian colonial empires in Africa and the Middle East. At the same time, its use moved beyond referencing professional groups to designate curriculums and public policies. However, its meaning varied in time and place, in part because of different national policies, sometimes competing with other expressions such as *aménagement* in France.

As might be expected from this broad definition of *urbanisme*, planning history cannot be delineated as a clear scientific field in the Francophone sphere, even within any country. Those who did write planning history belonged to different fields of history or the histories of the disciplines involved in the transformation of the built environment, in particular urban history and architectural history. The importance of each field differs among countries. Most of these historians in the Francophone sphere commonly identify *urbanisme* as a new attempt to build a “science of the city,” which appeared at the turn of the 20th century, connected with the emergence of town planning in the Anglophone sphere or *Städtebau* in the German-speaking sphere (Choay 1965). They have followed some French professionals who early on distinguished it from previous urban practices, including those that had been systemized, as with Haussmann, later naming these *art urbain* (Bardet 1945). Their works reveal a complex portrait of *urbanisme* at the Francophone scale. Some highlight transnational exchanges that strongly nourished the emergence of the field in the different European countries. Other works insist, often through national narratives, on the development of different national public policies in planning and housing after World War I. Last, the few works written on professional and educational history reveal some common characteristics that partly gave a sense to the Francophone sphere in global planning history.

The Emergence of *Urbanisme*: the Hygienist, Art Public, and Municipal Movements

Discussing the emergence of *urbanisme* before the invention of the term, the historiography has highlighted three key movements from the reformist galaxy (Topalov 1999).

A *hygiéniste* movement emerged in response to health issues in many Francophone countries by the end of the 19th century. In Belgium, it fueled interest in social housing, resulting in the first national housing law, in 1889 (Smets 1977). In Switzerland, the *Société pour l'amélioration du logement* (SAL), founded in Geneva in 1893 and devoted to popular education through the promotion of health and mental hygiene, became one of the main voices promoting urban reform (Léveillé 2003). In Quebec, the hygiene movement started in 1909 with the foundation of the *Ligue du progrès civique* in Montreal, which played a key role in urban reform (Rioux 2013). In France, this movement became pivotal. In 1894, some of its members helped create a foundation, the *Musée social*; in the nascent French Third Republic, this quickly became a central institution for exchanges between politicians, professionals, and academics, playing a key role in their building of the modern welfare state. In 1908, the *Musée* created a specialized department, the *Section d'hygiène urbaine et rurale* (Horne 2002; Chambellan 1998), which included several politicians and civil servants linked to the Paris City Council as well as the French Parliament (Gaudin 1985).

Another precursor of *urbanisme* was established in the Francophone countries next to Germany: the movement for the beautification of urban space, or *art public*. That term was coined by the Belgian association founded in 1893 and named the *Comité national de l'art public* in 1897, formed in a movement led by Charles Buls, the former mayor of Brussels (1881–1899) (Smets 1995). Buls helped open the Francophone world to British and German planning innovations; his own theories proposed careful transformation of the urban fabric driven by the city's aesthetics and identity, and he supported adding planning education to the curriculum of the *Société Centrale d'Architecture de Belgique*. The *art public* movement also developed in Francophone Switzerland in connection with the German-speaking *Heimatschutz* movement. In Geneva, a *Commission d'Art Public*, connected with the hygienist SAL, was founded in 1901 and grouped together many of the local promoters of the "science of the cities." It funded the partial translation of Camillo Sitte's *Der Städtebau nach seine künstlerische Grundsätzen* into French by Camille Martin, a Geneva-born architect trained in German–Switzerland and Germany (Cogato–Lanza 2005). This new 1902 version, with new material, entitled *L'Art de bâtir les villes*, became a reference throughout both the Francophone and Anglophone spheres. But the *art public* movement never took off in France, and in Quebec, the topic of civic art was clearly related to the importation of the American City Beautiful movement (Rioux 2013).

A third precursor of urbanism was municipal governance modernization or *municipalisme*, the fruit of municipal authority associations lobbying and exchanging ideas between Belgium and France. The *Union des villes et communes belges* (UVCB), founded in 1913 by the lawyer and socialist politician Emile Vinck, built upon the exchanges between socialist municipalities and undertook a broader reflection, focusing on urban reform and assessing the internationalization of this movement. It organized a first international congress during the 1913 World Fair in Ghent and supported the creation of an international association of municipal and local authorities, the *Union Internationale des Villes* (UIV). The French chapter of the UIV, the *Union des villes et communes de France*, founded in 1919 by the socialist politician Henri Sellier, became a strong advocate for modernizing municipal governance in France (Payre 2007).

Building *Urbanisme* as a Field of Public Policy

Historians focused their histories of *urbanisme* mainly on the development of two public policies: *planning and its tools* and *housing and its actors*. The first planning policies were town extension plans.

By World War II, planners developed comprehensive plans at the national scale in most Francophone territories under the name *aménagement du territoire*. In all the territories, public authorities also directly involved themselves in real estate development through housing programs. In France, this resulted in public control of most urban development after World War II. The histories of these public policies are mostly national or local narratives rather than stories of exchanges between Francophone territories, partly because these policies were themselves part of the building of national welfare states.

The emergence of planning tools. The first planning policies in Francophone territories were *town extension plans* and *expropriation*, tools for providing public space for future urbanization. As these practices were mostly imported from Germany, they were developed in Switzerland and Belgium before other Francophone countries, including France.

French and German-speaking Luxembourg was one of the first to import the German practice of town extension planning. The architect and founder of German planning Josef Stübben designed several extension plans between 1880 and 1926, but they did not attract much attention from the public authorities (Uyttenhove 2013). Francophone Switzerland developed these tools, just a few years after the German-speaking part of the country, with more success. In 1897, Lausanne voted an extension plan into law that also included expropriation; the city adopted the plan itself in 1905 with amendments by the *Commission d'Art Public* (Neuenschwander Feihl 1990). The Canton of Geneva developed an extension plan from 1900 under pressure from the SAL. Camille Martin, who worked on it as the representative of the *art public* movement, became the first director of the *Bureau du plan d'extension* when that was created in 1919 (Cogato-Lanza 2007).

In Belgium, the national government played a key role in importing town extension planning. It published the first extension plan, for Brussels, in 1840, following a pre-independence Dutch policy, and wrote a first expropriation law in 1858 (Zitouni 2010). In the late 19th century, King Leopold II began to develop planning by introducing Stübben to various municipalities (Uyttenhove 2013). Finally, the government tried to systematize extension plans during World War I, launching a policy for the future reconstruction of bombed cities. This latter policy was nourished by several informal exchanges with the British Garden Cities and Town Planning Association and through the *Comité néerland-belge d'art civique* (CNBAC), both thanks to the UIV, and also with French professionals at the *Musée* following the collaboration of the French and Belgian governments (Uyttenhove 1985). At the CNBAC, the landscape architect Louis Van der Swaelmen coordinated the first Francophone survey of the new planning techniques. Finally, in 1915, the engineer Raphaël Verwilghen, involved in these exchanges, prepared a law that imposed a *plan général d'aménagement* for each city to be rebuilt, but this was only partly implemented.

In France, national governance played an even more important role in importing town extension planning. Despite having already developed the tool of expropriation, no city had yet developed an extension plan by the turn of the 20th century. Members of the *Section* of the *Musée* discussed examples of planning from, for instance, Germany and Lausanne. They also supported a pioneering planning law, which was eventually voted under the name *loi Cornudet* in 1919; it imposed a *plan d'aménagement, d'embellissement et d'extension* for most French cities (Gaudin 1985). In 1913, two members of the *Section*, also civil servants of the City of Paris, municipal architect Louis Bonnier and library curator Marcel Poëte, published the first planning scheme for the suburbs of Paris (Cohen and Lortie 1992).

The French colonial empire was intimately connected with the French practice of extension plans. The colonial administration of Morocco, close to the *Musée*, experimented with such planning tools, even before the *loi Cornudet* (Baudoui 2001). Then the French government applied this law in Algeria and Indochina; it also inspired local colonial administrations and French professionals in Tunisia, Syria, and Lebanon (Hakimi 2011; Abdelkafi 1989; Fries 2000; Ghorayeb 2014).

Quebec was the last in the Francophone sphere and also the last in all of Canada to pass laws for extension planning; as in Switzerland, such extensions were local initiatives. The *Ligue* supported several plans for Montreal after the end of World War I (never realized) and drafted a planning law (never passed) for the province in 1929, and it supported that city's several attempts to form commissions in charge of *urbanisme* (Rioux, 2013). The city created a *Service d'urbanisme* only in 1941, and Jacques Gréber, a French architect who worked as a planner in France and North America, helped produce an extension plan by 1950 (M'Bala 2001).

Towards global planning systems. Following the economic crisis of the 1930s and World War II, governments in the European Francophone countries began to organize spatial and economic planning policies at the national scale. This eventually ended in two-tier or three-tier hierarchical planning systems covering the entire country, each plan corresponding to a geographic scale. Most countries named these global planning strategies *aménagement du territoire*.

In Belgium, the government tried out a hierarchical planning system during World War I. Verwilghen experimented with it in the Belgian Congo (De Meulder 2000), then developed it in Belgium within the *Commissariat général à la restauration du pays* during World War II (Uyttenhove 1989). He used the Dutch word *planologie* to describe the whole system. This led to the 1946 law partially fixing this planning framework, and later the 1962 *Loi d'urbanisme et d'aménagement du territoire* modernized and systematized it. But these plans were rarely implemented (Ryckewaert 2011). With Belgian federalization in the 1980s, Francophone Belgium created a new regional system, still named *planologie*.

Switzerland developed a federal system from the beginning. First, in the 1930s, some cantons, such as Geneva, produced new *plans directeurs* that covered their entire territory. Then, in 1943, following the earlier ideas of the Swiss German architect and politician Armin Meili (Marchand and Salomon Cavin 2007) about national *Landesplanung*, an organization associating the federal administration, cantons, and municipalities named the *Association pour la planification nationale* (ASPAN) grounded a national planning system. But only in 1979 did a federal law organize a three-tier system: a national strategy, a cantonal domain of involvement, and a municipal one, called respectively *aménagement du territoire*, *plan directeur*, and *urbanisme* (Bridel 2011).

The French government had directly involved itself more and more in planning from the 1920s onwards, in particular to overcome municipal fragmentation and address the scale of conurbations, as with the law for the planning of the Paris Region in 1932. During World War II, the Vichy Regime made the State responsible for planning, laying the foundation for a postwar national policy of *aménagement du territoire* grounded on earlier academic works (Couzon 2003); the Vichy Regime also modernized and systematized the planning system. In the late 1950s and in the 1960s, the planning system, still in the hands of the State administration, evolved in two directions: planning at the scale of municipalities or grouping of municipalities now focused on land-use regulation, while regional planning was introduced through a new tool, more programmatic, the *schéma directeur* or *schéma d'aménagement*. This two-tier system became official in the 1967 *Loi d'orientation foncière* (Goze 1999). This law also introduced collaboration between the state administration and municipalities, a step towards the complete decentralization of 1983.

The French colonial empire again followed the typology developed in France; then, after decolonization, new states used the postwar system for quite a long time, in particular because of their later urban growth (Souami and Verdeil 2006). Systems close to France's 1967 one were implemented in 1983 in Lebanon, in 1990 in Algeria, and in 1992 in Morocco. In Sub-Saharan Francophone Africa, a centralized planning system built upon the French postwar model has remained common, despite local specificities and various decentralization policies pursued in the 1990s. Quebec developed a two-tier planning system that was very close to the French one with the 1979 *Loi sur l'Aménagement et l'Urbanisme*, the first general law of this type for the province (Trépanier 2004).

The emergence of housing actors. The Francophone European countries started to build social housing during the first two decades of the 20th century with the development of national frameworks that included new actors, from a national coordinator in Belgium to local corporations in France. The Garden City concept imported from Britain had an important role in the design of social housing settlements in all these countries.

In Belgium, the first social housing law (1889) secured funding; a second law (1919) created a national coordinator, the *Société Nationale des Habitations et Logements à Bon Marché* (SNHLBM). Initially presided over by Vinck, it helped local cooperatives to build social housing (Smets 1977). In 1906, Luxemburg voted on its first social housing law and in 1919 the government created the *Société Nationale des Habitations à Bon Marché* that was directly in charge of building social housing. In France, the lobbying group the *Société Française des Habitations à Bon Marché*, founded in 1889 by future founders of the *Musée* (Siegfried and Cheysson), mobilized private investors to build social housing: in 1894, a national law presented by Siegfried secured public funds for such work. In 1912, the parliament voted a law allowing local authorities (municipalities and *départements*) to create public corporations for social housing: the *Offices publics d'habitations à bons marché* (OPHBM) (Guerrand 1987). In Switzerland, the Federal Council earmarked funds for housing in 1919 that fueled, directly or indirectly, the local cooperative movement to develop workers' welfare: these funds were controlled by public authorities like the Canton of Geneva (Nemec 1998).

Immediately after World War I, these public corporations or cooperatives quickly built new settlements inspired by the British Garden City concept in the different countries. The French Georges Benoit-Lévy visited English model villages and garden suburbs, his trip funded by the *Musée*, then published *La Cité-Jardin* in 1904, an interpretation of Ebenezer Howard's concept (Guelton 2013). *Town Planning in Practice*, published by the first Garden City designer Raymond Unwin in 1909, was also introduced early on in France. The importance of this British model depended on local involvement. The most prominent example was the policy of the OPHBM of the *Département de la Seine*, founded by councilor Sellier in 1915 for Paris's suburbs (Voldman 2013). In Belgium, the garden city concept was promoted at a national level at first by Verwilghen, who was close to the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association, and then by the SNHLBM. Efforts were strong around the national capital (Smets 1977). The Garden City was introduced early in Switzerland by Hans Bernoulli, the Basel-born architect who had trained in Germany and was a friend of Martin. In Geneva, the Canton was directly involved in structuring the urban area through *cités-jardins* (Nemec 1998). In all these countries, the new settlements progressively lost the word *jardin*, while keeping *cité* because of densification and industrialized architecture; in this they followed models such as the modern German *Siedlungen*.

Quebec was an exception: the Garden City concept remained a model for elite suburbs built by private developers despite a National Housing Act passed in 1938, implemented by the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation in 1944 (van Nus 1998). The local *Union économique d'habitations*, founded in 1940, attempted to develop a provincial Garden Cities policy without success (Choko, Collin, and Germain 1986–1987).

Towards satellite town developments. After World War II, in several countries, housing policy evolved into a new towns or satellite towns policy, which involved the public more deeply in the control of urban development through the building of mixed use settlements.

The continuing housing crisis impelled the French government to launch a strong national housing policy in 1953. Social housing developments quickly grew larger, with industrialized concrete apartment blocks designated as *grands ensembles* (Dufaux, Fourcaut, and Skoutelsky 2003; Landauer 2010). In 1958, to coordinate their implementation, the national government created the first legal framework specifically for public developments (Nakayama 2008). Two types of organizations—local and state—known as *aménageurs*, coordinated development without themselves being involved

in building housing or offices. The state organism was first experimented from 1958 onwards to develop the La Défense quarter in the suburbs of Paris (Orillard 2012). Later, the government used this type, influenced by urban development corporations in charge of building British new towns, to develop its own New Towns policy. This was an important part of a larger regional planning policy, in particular for the Paris region (Vadelorge 2014).

In Geneva, uniquely in Francophone Switzerland, social housing estates grew enough in scale and density to be planned in 1956 like satellite towns in the *Plan Marais*. But they remained a combined effort of local private developers, cooperatives, and cantonal foundations (Nemec 1998). Three were built in the 1960s and early 1970s.

In Belgium, despite plans for satellite settlements in some urban areas (Ryckewaert 2011), only a few large social housing complexes were built, often piloted by pre-World War II cooperatives. The only truly new town, Louvain-la-Neuve, was directly built by the *Université Catholique de Louvain* as its new urban campus with the help of the national government (Lechat 2006).

In Luxemburg, the district of Kirchberg was first designed as housing during World War II, but was later designated a satellite city (Hein 2004). In Quebec, a plan for the Montreal area proposed satellite settlements in 1967, but went nowhere.

The Heterogeneous *Urbanistes* Milieu

Beyond the different public policies of planning and housing, some scholars have analyzed the development of the professional milieu involved in *urbanisme*. But, with the exception of France and Quebec, these histories remain very limited. In most Francophone territories, a weak organization of the profession by itself contrasted with stronger administrations. This distinguishes the Francophone sphere from the Anglophone one, where planning was historically structured by the certification and accreditation policies of strong professional organizations.

The professional organizations. In France, the *Section* of the *Musée* was from its beginning a kind of school of planning for a group of elite designers who progressively won commissions for prestigious extension plans, including the architects Henri Prost, Marcel Auburtin, Donat-Alfred Agache, Léon Jaussely, and the landscape architect Jean-Claude-Nicolas Forestier. They founded, in 1911, the *Société Française des Architectes Urbanistes*, renamed the *Société Française des Urbanistes* (SFU) in 1919, and in 1932 some of them founded the journal *Urbanisme*. However, it never became a real professional society certifying professionals, and remained a lobby. Numerous early members extended their practice internationally, competing in Belgium for the extension plan of Antwerp in 1910, and then producing plans for municipalities and governments beyond the Francophone sphere, notably in Argentina (Novick 2003), Brazil (Underwood 1991), and Venezuela (Hein 2002a). In France, apart from SFU members, elite engineers from the *Ecole Nationale des Ponts et Chaussées* (ENPC) and civil servants and consultants closer to the local level also produced town extension plans. Some of these local professionals founded the *Association générale des hygiénistes et techniciens municipaux* (AGHTM) in 1905, which initially attempted, but eventually failed, to group together members at the scale of the European Francophone sphere (Claude 1989).

In Belgium, Verwilghen founded in 1919 both the *Société des Urbanistes Belges* (SUB) and its journal *La Cité* in alliance with the UVCB. In 1923, it was renamed the *Société belge des urbanistes et architectes modernes* (SBUAM) when it became the Belgian chapter of the *Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne* (CIAM) before disappearing in 1973 after the architectural modern movement disbanded (Mihail, 2003). In Francophone Switzerland, a first *des Urbanistes Suisses* was held in Neuchâtel in 1942 (Walter, 1994) but older strong national professional organizations, such as the *Société des ingénieurs et architectes Suisses* (SIA), were involved early on in planning, and the *Fédération des Urbanistes Suisses* was not founded until 1964. In postcolonial Lebanon, the growing milieu became also dominated by the *Ordre des ingénieurs* founded in 1951 which included architects (Verdeil 2010).

One of the later Francophone territories to develop policies in *urbanisme*, Quebec, followed a reverse tradition more closely related to the Anglophone sphere. The foundation, by Thomas Adams, of the Town Planning Institute of Canada (TPIC) in 1919 was quickly followed by the creation of a Montreal chapter (Rioux 2013). In 1963, the *Corporation*, later *Ordre des urbanistes du Québec* became the new local chapter of a renewed TPIC, and it began to certify professionals (Boisvert 2014). For a long time Quebec was the exception in the Francophone world, but more recently in some Sub-Saharan countries, such as the Ivory Coast and Cameroun, associations of *urbanistes* also gave way to national *ordres* certifying professionals.

The national urbanisme administrations. In the 1930s and during World War II, Belgium put different successive organizations in charge of planning; in 1945, it eventually founded an *Administration de l'urbanisme* within the *Ministère des travaux publics*. Soon that office became responsible for controlling the national planning framework and for planning the Brussels region, but, confronted with municipal autonomy, its power remained limited (Ryckewaert 2011). Luxemburg followed the same path, with its *Service d'urbanisme de l'Etat* founded inside the *Ministère des Travaux Publics* (Philippart 2006). In Switzerland, administration remained local for a long time; a year after the 1979 law, an *Office fédéral de l'aménagement du territoire* was created, but strictly limited to the federal level (Bridel 2011).

The case of France is well documented. Again it was the technocratic Vichy Regime that invented the first national planning administration, which became the new *Ministère de la Reconstruction et de l'Urbanisme* in 1944 (Voldman 1997). This national office was organized around a new group of civil servants, the *Urbanistes en chef*, who were mainly elite architects (Claude 2006); it paralleled the old *Ministère des Travaux Publics* and its civil servant group of *Ponts et Chaussées* engineers (Desportes and Picon 1997). In 1966, these two ministries merged, becoming the larger *Ministère de l'Équipement* (Billon 2006–2007). In the 1960s, this administration extended and became more complex with the addition of the national *Délégation à l'aménagement du territoire et à l'action régionale* (DATAR), as well as several state agencies in charge of regional planning and other development corporations. The growing complexity of the planning system now called for in-depth data, so state agencies and corporations produced urban studies, as did numerous new private *bureaux d'études* started by a range of institutional actors (from banks to activist groups) (Pelletier 1996; Prévot 2015). The decentralization policy of the 1980s aimed to foster municipal administrations in *urbanisme*.

The French planning administration was the main provider of expertise in *urbanisme* to African Francophone countries (Christin and Filliat 1992; Vénard 1986) and one of the main providers to Lebanon (Verdeil, 2010), both before and after decolonization through a *coopération* policy. Through this policy, the expertise of this administration also expanded to other cultural spheres: those traditionally linked to French expertise, like Latin America, or new ones, like China.

Between Local and Transnational Models in Education

A few scholars have studied the *urbanisme* profession from another point of view: history of education. Most focus on one school, but when these histories are combined, they highlight a more structured development in which the Parisian *Institut d'urbanisme* became a reference for schools in different countries, giving a sense to a Francophone sphere in *urbanisme*.

Education in *urbanisme* in France started during World War I. The *Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux Arts* (ENSA) of Paris, which taught architecture, viewed *urbanisme* merely as large-scale architecture. To answer the emerging public demand for trained professionals, new institutions, independent from the ENSA, were created under the direct tutelage of public authorities: in 1916, Poëte with Bonnier and Siegfried opened a new *Institut d'histoire, de géographie et d'économie urbaine* in the *Bibliothèque Historique* of the City of Paris; in 1917, the French and Belgian governments opened a parallel *Ecole Supérieure d'Art Public* linked to the *Musée* in order to prepare the reconstruction of bombed cities during World War I, hosted by the *Musée* and by the new *Institut*, with

French and Belgian professors, including Verwilghen (Bruant 2008). In 1919, the *Institut des Hautes Etudes Urbaines* replaced the *Institut* under the tutelage of Sellier and the *Département de la Seine*. This curriculum was institutionalized as the *Institut d'Urbanisme de l'Université de Paris* (IUUP) in 1924 and became internationally well known. At this *Institut*, elite architects from the SFU along with social science scholars taught students from many disciplines (Baudouin 1988; Busquet, Carriou, and Coudroy de Lille 2005).

The development of public policies of *urbanisme* after World War II in France greatly increased the public demand for trained professionals. Civil service schools integrated *urbanisme* into their offerings in the 1960s. The ENPC, which educated the civil engineering elite, introduced an *urbanisme* studio in 1964, but it never grew into a separate curriculum. Sciences Po, which educated the public administration elite, established a *Cycle d'urbanisme* in 1969 (Micheau 2009). After the upheavals of May 1968, French universities also created many new curriculums to meet this demand. Some were developed into specialized departments, like in the leftist *Centre Universitaire Expérimental de Vincennes* near Paris, a department later renamed the *Institut Français d'Urbanisme* (IFU) (Merlin and Paquot 2004; Ascher 2009), or in Aix en Provence and Grenoble. All were born in Departments of Geography.

Along with this blossoming of education in *urbanisme*, the higher educational institutions also created research centers in response to the public administrations' post-World War II demand for urban studies (Lassave 1997), with international figures such as Paul Henry Chombart de Lauwe, Henri Lefebvre, and Manuel Castells. The network of schools and curriculums in *urbanisme* was formalized in 1984 with the *Association pour la Promotion de l'Enseignement et de la Recherche en Aménagement et Urbanisme* (APERAU).

French *instituts d'urbanisme* trained many young professionals from the former French colonies. Some local curriculums modeled on the *institut* model were also founded with the help of French institutions like the small *Institut d'Urbanisme de l'Université d'Alger*, refounded in 1945 by Gaston Bardet from the IUUP (Frey 2010), and the *Ecole Africaine et Mauricienne d'Architecture et d'Urbanisme* at Lomé, Togo, founded in 1976 with the help of the co-founder of the Vincennes University *Département d'Urbanisme* (Aholou and Coralli 2010).

The *institut* model arrived in Belgium in the 1930s and competed with other models. First Van der Swaelmen and then Verwilghen developed the first Belgian courses in *urbanisme*, at the *Institut Supérieur des Arts Décoratifs*, founded in 1927 in the former Abbey of *La Cambre* near Brussels on the Bauhaus model, integrating all artistic disciplines. That curriculum disappeared from *La Cambre* in 1979 (Aron 1982). In contrast, the *Institut d'Urbanisme* of the *Université Libre de Bruxelles* was, from its foundation in 1936, a department with no direct link to architecture. Capitalizing on local expertise—Vinck was one professor—it explicitly took the IUUP as a model (Martiny 1986). In 1947, Bardet also founded the *Institut Supérieur d'Urbanisme Appliqué* in the Brussels metropolitan area (Sterken 2012).

Francophone Switzerland was a paradox: education in *urbanisme* clearly had French roots but it barely mobilized the *institut* model. The *Ecole d'Architecture de l'Université de Genève*, founded in 1942, asked the French architect and former *urbaniste en chef* Eugène Beaudouin to create its curriculum (Raffaele 2010). But Beaudouin didn't graduate from the IUUP and was seconded at the school by a Swiss architect trained in Germany, Arnold Hoechel. Meanwhile, the *Ecole d'Architecture et d'Urbanisme de l'Université de Lausanne*, founded in 1947, turned to Jean Tschumi to design its curriculum (Cosandey 1999). Tschumi had taken classes at the IUUP, although his *urbanisme* studio developed a Beaux Arts approach that disappeared in the 1960s. Ten years later a new curriculum based on the social sciences was reintroduced before being integrated in what is now the *Ecole Polytechnique Fédérale de Lausanne*.

The *institut* model also competed with the Anglophone school of planning model in two places. First, in Quebec, the first planning curriculum was offered by the Anglophone McGill University in

1947 and the first Francophone courses were introduced in the 1950s at the *Université Laval*. These classes were taught by Jean Cimon, a sociologist partly educated at the IUUP, and Jean-Claude La Haye, an architect with a planning degree from Harvard (Boisvert 2014). In 1961, La Haye founded the first Francophone department, the *Institut d'Urbanisme* of the *Université de Montréal*; paradoxically, he looked to French professionals for a director and the first directors were alternatively graduates from a US school and the IUUP (Beaudet 2004). Second, though Lebanon had close links to French expertise, it was the University of Sheffield that helped open the first planning curriculum in 1974 at the American University of Beirut. Only in 1994 was the Francophone *Institut d'Urbanisme* of the *Académie Libanaise des Beaux Arts* founded, with the help of the IFU (Souami and Verdeil 2006).

This network, built from the diffusion of the *institut* model, then founded the international membership of the French planning education association APERAU in 1997. Several *instituts* or schools in social sciences from North Africa, Lebanon, and Quebec joined it, then more from Belgium and Switzerland, making it the only organization in *urbanisme* at the scale of the Francophone sphere.

Conclusion

History reveals an evolving and heterogeneous Francophone sphere of *urbanisme*. Its origins centered on Belgium and France, linked through early exchanges. Belgium played a central role in importing Dutch, German, and English techniques and notions. In contrast, France exported early national techniques outside the Francophone sphere. Both colonial empires also became places for early experimentation. After World War II, France developed and systematized a whole range of tools and actors and continued to export them outside the Francophone sphere, while Belgium capitalized on an older framework. In contrast, Francophone Switzerland and Quebec—which were each only a part of a larger country, related both to the Francophone sphere and to their national contexts, influenced by the German-speaking and Anglophone spheres, respectively—continuously created local hybridizations.

These characteristics are why the notion of a Francophone sphere is only somewhat pertinent in global planning history. Even in education, if the *institut* model was diffused in this sphere, it was also greatly influential beyond it, in Latin America. Thus, the cultural arena of *urbanisme* greatly expanded beyond the linguistic boundaries in the Francophile sphere, opening onto another history.

Related Topics

Ward: The Pioneers, Institutions and Vehicles of Planning History

Freestone: Writing Planning History in the English-Speaking World

Monclus, Diez: *Urbanística, Urbanismo*: Latin European Traditions

Kress: The German Traditions of *Städtebau* and *Stadtlandschaft* and Their Diffusion Through Global Exchange

Silver: Educating Planners in History: A Global Perspective

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14

THE GERMAN TRADITIONS OF *STÄDTEBAU* AND *STADTLANDSCHAFT* AND THEIR DIFFUSION THROUGH GLOBAL EXCHANGE

Celina Kress

In the first edition of the journal *Der Städtebau* (Town Planning), published in 1904, the German-Austrian architects Theodor Goecke and Camillo Sitte described the fundamental aims and methods of the young discipline. Their definition reads like an agenda of today's goals:

Städtebau is the unification of all technical and creative arts into a great enclosed entity. . . . *Städtebau* is a science. *Städtebau* is a kind of art with specific aims of research, and specific big tasks for practical execution . . . in which numerous technicians, artists, national economists, hygienicists, social-politicians, civil servants and lawyers are working together . . . with all inhabitants of our cities participating. (Goecke and Sitte 1904)

But since the beginning of the 20th century, the concept of *Städtebau* and its protagonists have actually played a changing role in town planning practice in the German-speaking world, as planning historians have discussed (Düwel and Gutschow 2005; Albers 1997; Sonne 2015, 2014; Lampugnani 1980, 2010; Bodenschatz 2013; Fehl 1995; Koch 1992; Blau and Platzer 1999). We argue here that the growing or shrinking acquaintance with the term and the concept of *Städtebau* in planning and planning history in the German-speaking world throughout the last century was in many ways related to and entangled with the presence of a second important tradition, the *Stadtlandschaft* (urban landscape) and organic city models (Albers and Papageorgiou-Venetas 1984: 14–24; Düwel and Gutschow 2005: 122–131). While *Städtebau* is widely connected with ideas of historic patterns, morphologies, and compact city blocks, *Stadtlandschaft* is associated with antiurban images of dissolution, urban renewal through motorways, and functionalistic principles. Both perspectives were co-produced by planning historians in the German-speaking context as well as through international exchanges. In German-speaking countries planning history has not developed as a scholarly discipline of its own comparable to the British-American case. However, urban planners (often with responsibilities in public administration), architects, and art historians presented historic overviews as a basic part of their handbooks and theories of town planning, and contributed to town planning history in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland. For this reason this chapter will describe both a history of town planning and a historiography of planning history writing. It traces the influential

strands of *Städtebau* and *Stadtlandschaft* in the German language town planning tradition across three time periods: an unfolding phase (1850–1918), the modern period (1919–1959), and a postmodern phase (1960 to date).

From 1850 to 1918, the unfolding phase of the discipline of *Städtebau* was marked by lively discussions in different disciplinary circles and the production of a stunningly broad theoretical body. At the turn of the century, this period reached its climax with the presence of German planning experts at European and US American conferences. Its controversial but fundamentally open discussions ended after World War I.

From 1919 to 1959, following a modernist perspective, the model concept of *Stadtlandschaft* (urban landscape) became the prevailing and normative aim of town planning. It was associated with specialization and rationalization as well as a growing political radicalization and the polarization of planning discourse. After World War II, radical urban reconstruction spurred planning euphoria and the “golden age of planning.” The exceptional postwar situation opened up the possibility for realizing the “new city.” During this phase, the history of planning played a less important role.

The critique of the outcomes of postwar urban planning and the *tabula rasa* principle on which that planning was widely based mark the third phase of town planning, the postmodern era that began in the 1960s and peaked in 1975, during the European year of cultural heritage preservation. Since the end of the 1960s, West German universities have discussed founding new independent faculties for city and regional planning; the 1968 student uprisings paved the way for the realization of those programs. The faculties’ divorce precipitated a division between aesthetic urban design, the architects’ domain, and social-political analysis as the conceptual and operational basis of city and regional planning.

In the 1980s, interest in planning history began to flourish, catalyzing professional networks in the field. These dynamics paved the way for a fresh reception of both important traditions in German, Austrian, and Swiss town planning: *Städtebau* and *Stadtlandschaft* have been feeding the demand for a revitalized and new cooperation in the field of urbanism.

The Unfolding of Städtebau as a Planning Profession in the German-Speaking World, 1850–1918

The unfolding of modern urbanism in the German-speaking world began in the late 19th century, around two decades later than in England and France. Cities were already remarkably self-confident, based on their historical importance and position within Germany. As of 1871, military success and national unification drove the extremely fast and effective urbanization of the complex historical German city systems. Local authorities gained broader competences and responsibilities. Between 1870 and 1900, cities founded well-functioning building administrations headed by active planning directors (*Stadtbaurat*). They took a leading role in this field, with legal and planning-policy efficiency and scientific and practical expertise (Hartog 1962: 29–30).

Many experts, associations, and institutions of various scientific disciplines focused on questions of traffic and transport, waste disposal, sewerage, water supply systems, questions of land use and value (*Bodenfrage*), and housing (*Wohnungsfrage*). They drew up guidelines and laws, restructuring the whole city and reducing its density, culminating in the first zoning rule (*Zonenbauordnung*) in Frankfurt/Main in 1891. This new planning instrument was accompanied by guidelines for expropriation and reallocation of property rights (Baumeister, Classen, and Stübgen 1897, *Les Adickes* 1902). Living and housing conditions in the city extensions as well as the entire city were thoroughly analyzed.

Urban historians describing this period have been primarily interested in the mechanisms of communal public services (Hartog 1962; Matzerath 1996; Piccinato 1983) and in urbanization more

generally, especially demographic and economic shifts (Teuteberg 1983; Reulecke 1985). Planning historians such as Gerhard Fehl and researchers in Aachen and Kassel focused on the interplay between actors and the economic and political conditions in the process of the “production of the city” (Fehl 1992a), and scrutinized how these found expression in built space (Fehl and Rodriguez 1983, 1985; Alrock and Bertram 2012). Johann Geist and Klaus Kürvers studied the premises and results of the Hobrecht Plan in Berlin (Geist and Kürvers 1984) at a time when, during the 1980s, the Berlin *Mietskasernen* (“rental barracks,” or multi-family apartment buildings) gained public interest anew as an attractive contemporary living concept. Ironically, it was this building type and the deficits of the town extension plans of the 19th century that had been the main target of critique and the driving force of the unfolding of town planning, with Werner Hegemann as a prominent protagonist at the end of the 19th century.

Three comprehensive publications outlined German *Städtebau* from the beginning as an interdisciplinary and communication-oriented discipline. Reinhard Baumeister, engineer (1876); Camillo Sitte, art historian (1889); and Josef Stübben, architect (1890), offered two complementary perspectives that still influence town planning. Baumeister and Stübben stressed organizational and technical-structural aspects of planning, while Sitte considered the city as a work of art to be built upon historical patterns. Accordingly the more technically oriented German planning historians studied the work of Baumeister and Stübben (e.g. Fehl 1995; Albers 1997) while architectural and art historians in the German-speaking realm tended to appreciate Sitte’s work.

The conversations were not separate, however. Planning historians drew on the rational modernist principles in Baumeister’s book *Town Extensions* and identified early forms of urban landscape and cybernetic city planning in them (Fehl 1995: 34). While Baumeister linked his pragmatic planning ideas explicitly to striving for happiness of the people (through “good plans” and “correct principles” [Baumeister 1876: V]), his approach did not include aesthetic values or urban design principles. Sitte, an art historian, sharply criticized this attitude and bemoaned its effect on the built reality of cities’ extensions in his influential text *City Building According to Artistic Principles* (Sitte 1889). His book provided a collection of historic, “naturally” evolved squares and buildings (Mönninger 2005), analyzing typological patterns of built spaces and their perception—in ground and vertical projection drawings—and comparing them with more recent examples in an aesthetic-artistic urban design in practice. Sitte did not work as a scientist; assemblage and comparison were his means. The book was warmly welcomed by his audience and it was republished four times before 1908. Werner Hegemann drew extensively on Sitte’s work in his 1922 publication “The American Vitruvius,” but in German-language scholarship Sitte was misinterpreted and misused after World War I and nearly forgotten after World War II. However, he gained a significant revival in the 1980s in planning history and planning practice.

The fourth edition of his book was reprinted in 1983, becoming a bestseller and pattern book for postmodern urban design (Sitte 1983). Though no explanation was added, the cover of the new edition explicitly addressed architects and planners with a site plan of Verona and a text passage on vibrant public squares in history. Among planning historians it still caused controversy: Gerhard Fehl stressed the typological genealogy from Sitte to German settlement design of the *Heimatschutz* during the 1930s (Fehl 1995). In contrast, a 1965 biography and fresh translation of Sitte’s text by George Collins and Christiane Crasemann Collins and its 1986 reprint revealed the importance of Sitte’s approach to modern city planning (Collins and Collins 1965, 1986). Since then art historians have addressed various aesthetic aspects of Sitte’s work (e.g. Semsroth, Jormakka, and Langer 2005; Wilhelm and Jessen-Klingenberg 2006), and planning historians have analyzed the diffusion of his approach in American planning literature (Wurzer 1996). Recently Donatella Calabi discussed the relevance of handbooks of civic art (from Sitte, Cornelius Gurlitt, and Albert E. Brinckmann via Werner Hegemann) to postmodern morphological urban analyses of Paris and Rome (Calabi 2009).



Figure 14.1 Karl Henrici's entry in the Munich Masterplan Competition, 1891, which was awarded first prize, following Camillo Sitte's urban design principles.

Source: Henrici, K. (1993) *Preisgekrönter Konkurrenz-Entwurf zu der Stadterweiterung Münchens*, München: Werner.

The third comprehensive book on town planning appeared only a year after Sitte's book first appeared. In his encyclopedic work—*Der Städtebau*—the architect and practitioner Josef Stübben narrated his experiences as head of the municipal planning department in Aachen and in Cologne; he described areas and elements of town planning in five sections and included relevant regulations,

manifests, and guidelines (Stübben 1890). Although Stübben's book did not offer urban design methods, it became a key publication and a handbook in city planning faculties; like Sitte's book it saw a 1980s revival, being likewise reprinted (Stübben 1980).

The professional networks of *Städtebau* around 1900 were close. Stübben, for example, successfully participated in urban design competitions, cooperating with the architect Karl Henrici, who applied Sitte's methods in his planning layouts. And Henrici won the first prize for Munich's town expansion 1882, perhaps because the jury consisted of three prominent urban planners: Sitte, Reinhard Baumeister, and Stübben (Figure 14.1).



Figure 14.2 The Greater Berlin Competition 1910. (a) Entry from team Eberstadt, Möhring, Petersen: New Exposition Park at the River Spree. (b) Entry from Jansen: Green Belt.

Source: *Wettbewerb Groß-Berlin 1910. Die preisgekrönten Entwürfe mit Erläuterungsberichten*, Berlin: Wasmuth 1911.

Broad transdisciplinary cooperation, new professional methods and instruments, a growing interest in and vision of the city and its region, and lively debates about the “city as a work of art” (e.g. Genzmer 1908) led the young discipline of *Städtebau* to a first peak around 1910. It became most obvious in grand comprehensive plans resulting from prominent urban design competitions such as the Greater Berlin competition or the competition for the general plan of Düsseldorf. These plans were presented to the public through international exhibitions and conferences, including the Universal Planning Exhibitions in Berlin and in Düsseldorf, and the publications of their outcomes (Hegemann 1911, 1913) (Figure 14.2).

German-language planning history has explored this lively period of town planning incrementally since the 1980s: the growing number and importance of planning competitions (Becker 1997), the work and influence of architects in leading positions in the city’s planning departments like Theodor Fischer in Munich (Nerdinger 1988) and Fritz Schumacher in Hamburg (Frank 1994, Schubert 2014c), as well as teaching methods at the leading German faculties. Historians have shown that German-language universities catalyzed interdisciplinary communication and cooperation in the field, offering lectures on *Städtebau* in three different departments: construction, engineering, and architecture (Guther 1982; Bodenschatz 2009). More recently, growing interest in planning actors’ networks and the global exchange of planning ideas has resulted in research on the comprehensive planning tradition in the early 20th century and finally the grand comprehensive plans as that tradition’s most significant outcome (Posener 1979; Sonne 2003; Bernhardt and Bodenschatz 2010; Rodgers 1998; Ward 2000; Bohl and Lejeune 2009; Bodenschatz et al. 2010; Freestone and Amati 2014; Bodenschatz and Kress 2017).

International relations starting gaining attention from urban history in Europe and in the United States in the 1980s (Sutcliffe 1981; Engeli 1989; Albers 1997; Reif 2006; Saunier and Ewen 2008). Global exchanges in urban and regional planning have become even more important with the recent upswing in transnational historiography (Hein 2014; Bodenschatz, Sassi, and Welch Guerra 2015). This work shows that, around the turn of the 20th century, the growing international exchange and discussion among planners resulted from traveling, personal contacts, and networks. A range of countries invited German planners to visit as consultants or designers, planners translated foreign books and essays in professional journals, experts attended international conferences and expositions, and, not least, planners and colonial authorities imposed and tested planning concepts in colonial expansion. Planning historians have identified many elements and protagonists of these relations and exchanges, though results are still fragmented and dispersed.

We know that Stübben traveled repeatedly from Germany to Chicago and Brussels and that his conference contributions were translated into French (Albers 1997: 130, 131), and that English philanthropist Thomas Horsfall and Raymond Unwin promoted *The Example of Germany* (Horsfall 1904) to propel improvements in England (Harrison 1991); Unwin also recommended best-practice examples from Germany (Unwin 1909) in his own book, which conversely was quickly translated into German (Unwin 1910). Three professional journals established an ongoing international conversation on city planning: Sitte and Theodor Goecke’s *Der Städtebau* (published in Berlin since 1904), *The Garden City* (published in London 1904–1908), and the *Town Planning Review* (published in Liverpool since 1910) (Krau 2012: 719). American journals discussed the German *Städtebau* as a comprehensive model too (Baxter 1909: 72). But we still lack a comprehensive historiographic analysis and overview of international exchange through communication media and the backlash to it in national contexts.

Nonetheless the diffusion of *Städtebau* as “Civic Art” in Europe and the United States has been well researched recently (Bohl and Lejeune 2009; Sonne 2015). This research has mostly focused on two key figures who conceptually and physically disseminated *Städtebau*: Sitte and Werner Hegemann (Collins 2005; Flick 2005). Hegemann connected projects and methods of planning between Europe and the United States. As secretary general of the 1910 Berlin town planning

exhibition, he negotiated the presentation of American city and regional plans as parts of the Commercial Club's Burnham Plan of Chicago, civic park plans of the Southpark Commission, John Nolen's plan for Madison, and a plan of the landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted to Germany (Hegemann 1913). With *The American Vitruvius: An Architects' Handbook of Civic Art*, published 1922, Hegemann introduced the essence of German *Städtebau* (describing Sitte's and Gurlitt's historic urban design patterns) to North America. The book was well received there, but did not win any attention in the German-speaking world (Jessen-Klingenberg 2006: 115). However, the 1988 reprint, with an introduction by Leon Krier, the figurehead of postmodernism, became a bestseller. Hegemann has become a central object of historic investigation for planning historians globally, a marker of the acceptance of *Städtebau* and its international messenger.

At the 1910 London Town Planning Conference, the broad spectrum of German town planning experience gained a truly international stage. Three prominent representatives of German *Städtebau* discussed their working fields in detail. The art historian Albert Erich (A. E.) Brinckmann presented his book *Square and Monument* (Brinckmann 1908); Stübben displayed recent town extension plans and urban restructuring projects; and the national economist and city planner Rudolph Eberstadt presented the award-winning contributions of the Greater-Berlin competition (RIBA 1911). The Conference was the first apex of professional exchange. Though the notion of this conference is a firm component of urbanism history, only recently have scholars discerned its special importance to international understanding of German *Städtebau*, and more specifically to the relationship between German, British, and international planning colleagues (Whyte 2010, Kress 2017).

Voluntary and colonial forms of exchange introduced German town planning concepts to even more distant countries at the beginning of the 20th century, but the interest of planning historians in these far-reaching relations in town planning is relatively young. In the late 1990s, Carola Hein

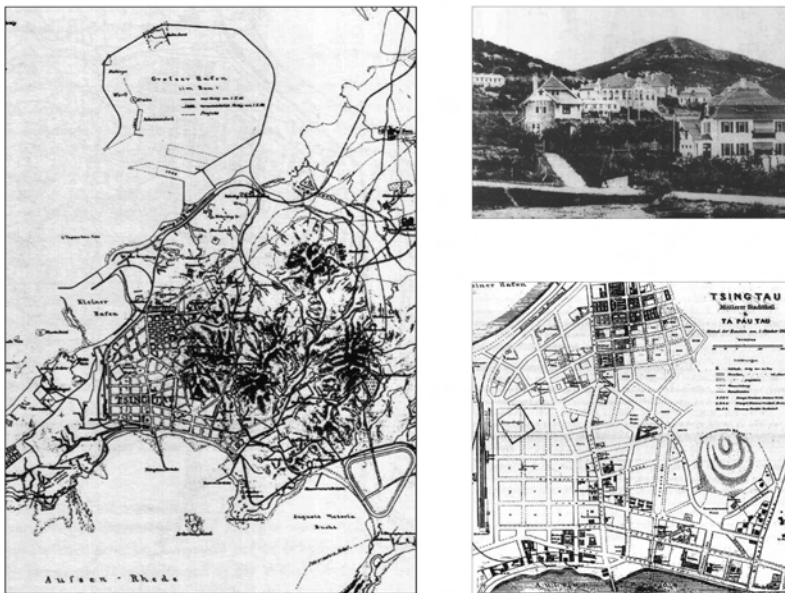


Figure 14.3 (a) City-Region Plan of Qingdao, 1901. (b) The Qingdao villa colony at Auguste-Victoria Bay, 1906. (c) Plan of the European quarter, 1901.

Sources: (a) Reichsmarineamt, Denkschrift 1900–1901, Annex 2, (b) Reichsmarineamt, Denkschrift 1905–1906, (c) Reichsmarineamt, Denkschrift 1900–1901, Annex 4.

showed that during the formation phase of town planning Japanese authorities and planners, some of whom had studied in Germany in late 19th century, tested elements of German and other European planning practices while creating a distinctively Japanese planning tradition (Hein and Ishida 1998). They drew on legal, technical, and systematic experiences of German town planning, importing particular elements like building lines, expropriation, and relocation rules, and adapting them to existing building traditions and property rights (Hein 2003).

The Chinese colony of Qingdao was the result of the ambition of German and Japanese occupants to build an example of particular planning efficiency during their respective administrations (1897–1914 and 1914–1922). Qingdao, founded in 1897, rapidly developed because of a radical building rule that secured the immediate construction of houses and so inhibited land speculation (Warner 1996: 109). In Berlin, Adolf Damaschke and the Association of German Land Reform, founded in 1898 in Berlin, rejoiced in this new instrument of city development, realized so far away, calling it a “gift of heaven” (Damaschke 1900, cit. Warner 1996: 109). The general plan of Qingdao followed the colonial dual-city model of British and French prototypes, segregating quarters for the indigenous population from the European inner city with a “*cordon sanitaire*” (Warner 1996: 113). In the German colonies of Dar-Es-Salaam (Tanzania) and Lomé (Togo) such quarters were not realized (Hege 2015). In Qingdao, Germans and Chinese began living more closely together during the political upheaval in 1911, when wealthy Chinese businessmen fled to the German leasehold and built their houses there. Built forms began to merge, reflecting the cultural hybridity of the colonial world (Mühlhahn 2013: 119–121) (Figure 14.3).

***Stadtlandschaft* and Organic City Models in the Modern Phase, 1919 to 1959**

Shortly after World War I, leading experts in the field of urbanism synthesized prewar knowledge and programatically introduced themes that would guide the following decades. Experienced and renowned planners, such as Fritz Schumacher in Hamburg and Theodor Fischer in Munich, tried to further develop the cooperative practice and the universal approaches of *Städtebau*, while younger actors in the field, like Paul Wolf and Otto Blum in Hannover—on the basis of Ebenezer Howard’s Garden City—aimed at organic city models, or the *Stadtlandschaft* (urban landscape). All of them published comprehensive town planning handbooks in the early 1920s, covering a multitude of aspects: relations between economy, politics, and urban design (Schumacher 1920, Fischer 1920, Heiligenthal 1921, Brunner 1925); the linkage of technical, economic, and creative challenges (Gurlitt 1920, Ehlgötz 1921); the city as organism with functional and spatial relations between center and periphery (Hoepfner 1921, Blum 1921, Wolf 1919); and the production and spatial formation of social housing (Eberstadt 1919).

The distortions of the war had cut the connection to the past, so the younger generation searched for new systems of order and new values. The extreme lack of housing stimulated their search for fundamentally new forms of settlement and housing provision. During the 1980s and 1990s, planning history research focused on the social housing and settlements of this era (e.g. Herlyn and von Saldern 1987; Schildt and Sywottek 1988; Kähler 1996).

The periphery became the site of new decentralized, functionally and socially structured cities and neighborhoods. Historical investigation in this field—in both local and transnational perspective—started with North American research on suburbanism after World War II (e.g. Harlander 2001, Schubert 2014a, Kress 2011, Hamel and Keil 2015). Meanwhile the “historic town” was a hospice case in the 1920s: while historic centers were to be partially conserved and exhibited, the rest was to be reconstructed or replaced according to rational, hygienic, and modern aesthetic principles. Only recently have planning historians started to better understand the urban renewal practices of this period (Vinken 2010).

Over the course of the 1920s, social tensions and economic problems simultaneously escalated and triggered political polarization in Germany. The urban environment and built space became the visual expression of political tension and controversies between the extreme left and right (Miller Lane 1968). Visible forms of streets, squares, and buildings were politically coopted by either side. Curved streets, sloped roofs, and historic-artisanal forms became an expression of medieval, romantic or “Germanic” values, in line with political right positions. Straight streets, flat roofs, and cubic abstractions expressed rationality, modernity, and international openness, and were connected to politically left positions. However, neither party questioned the prevailing town planning objectives of the decentralized organic city or the general aims of sanitary urban renewal. The term *Stadtlandschaft*—the smooth transition or a merging of urban and landscape forms and elements—was coined in 1929, and planners have addressed this concept since 1934 (Düwel and Gutschow 2005: 122–123). So the political turn in 1933 signified less a fundamental change in the general aims of town planning in Germany than a significant rupture of actors’ networks, moral convictions, legal rights, and methods of town planning and building.

During the Nazi period, urban planners worked in two complementary fields. “Formal staging” opened an arena for scenic architectural and urban design projects, with representative monumental buildings, technical infrastructure, office blocks, and settlements with a mix of romanic, Germanic, medieval, and classical style elements. “Scientific-rational planning” was efficient planning for the industrial sector, housing, or broader regions. With the beginning of World War II and the capture of neighboring countries, the organic city model embedded in the *Stadtlandschaft* widened its scope to the regional scale (Feder 1939; Christaller 1933).

In planning history, more comprehensive and transnational research into the subject area of “urbanism and dictatorship” is starting (Bodenschatz, Sassi, and Welch Guerra 2015), building on important work on specific topics, actors, and local studies at the end of the last century (e.g. Durth 1992; Schäche 1991; Frank 1985; Petsch 1976). There are few historic analyses of Christaller’s “central-locations-system” (*Zentrale-Orte-System*) and little is still known about the dynamics of its global dissemination (Kegler 2015, Trezib 2014). During the 1990s, Gerhard Fehl and Tilman Harlander led comprehensive studies of housing and town planning during the 1930s and 1940s (Harlander 1995; 2001: 250–283). They showed that city and regional planning only seemingly offered ideological rescue to the planners during that period. As *Raumordnung* (spatial order) was based on *Volksordnung* (“tribal order”) in National Socialist ideology, all spatial planning was closely tied to expropriation, enforced relocation of huge populations, and the murder of hundreds of thousands of Polish and Jewish inhabitants (Fehl 1992b). Yet, as Jörn Düwel and Nils Gutschow point out, after the war none of the city planners were held responsible for their work (Düwel and Gutschow 2005: 131).

The main drivers of global exchange and the diffusion of *Städtebau* and *Stadtlandschaft* between 1919 and 1959 were the economic crises of the 1920s, Nazi persecution during the 1930s and 1940s, and international experts’ networks confronting the rebuilding of European cities after the war.

In the parts of the world where the political elite was modernizing political, economic, and social structures during the 1920s, actors showed less interest in the visionary ideas of the European modernist avant-garde under the influence of the CIAM. Instead they turned to the demonstrably pragmatic expertise of German and Austrian architects and planners, protagonists of the older generation of *Städtebau*. When the economic crisis made life difficult at home, these architects and their students and assistants accepted governmental invitations to Turkey (Hermann, Jansen, Ernst Egli, Clemens Holzmeister) and Chile (Karl Brunner). The Soviet Union was a special case, facing a radical shift from modernist-experimental approaches of the 1920s towards socialist historicism in 1931, forcing radical modernist German planners like Ernst May and Hannes Meyer to remigrate; the more traditionalist planner Kurt Meyer stayed in the country to continue working on the general plan for Moscow (Bodenschatz and Flierl 2016).

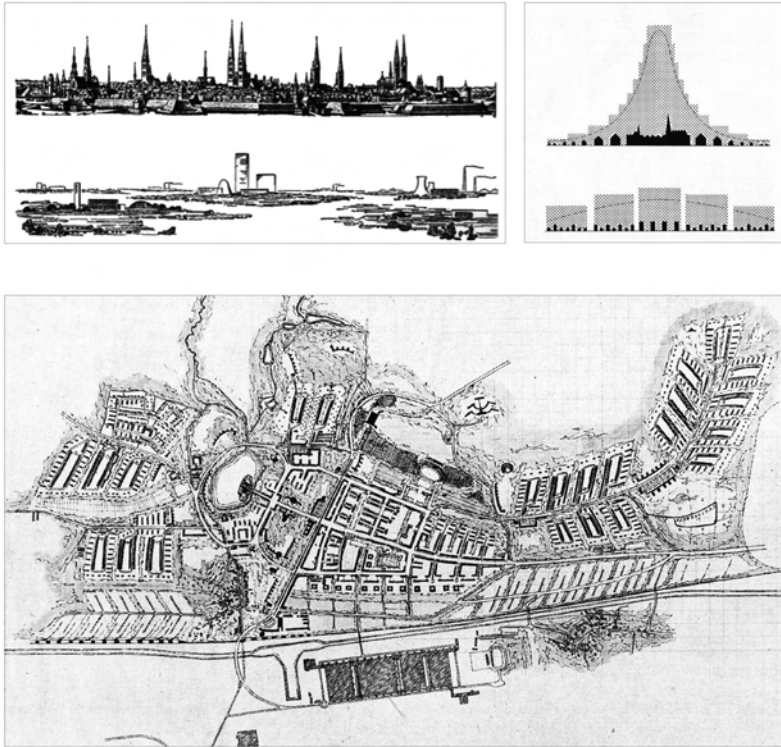


Figure 14.4 *Stadtlandschaft* and the organic city model. (a) City silhouettes, structural analogies between medieval and modern towns. (b) Use of the urban territory past and present (1957). (c) Development plan for the “Volkswagenstadt Wolfsburg.” Urban design: Reichow and Eggeling (1948).

Sources: (a) Göderitz, Rainer, Hoffmann 1957, p. 87. (b) Göderitz, Rainer, Hoffmann 1957, p. 20. (c) Reichow 1948, p. 124.

A number of biographical works track these global consultants of *Städtebau* through the decades of dictatorships in Europe (Nicolai 1998; Hofer 2000; Bodenschatz and Post 2003; GHI). During the 1930s the enforced exodus from fascist Germany and Austria also diffused the functionalist principles of town planning, developed at the Bauhaus and influenced by Le Corbusier and the CIAM group.

A recent large exhibition in Hamburg underlined the continuities of city planning between the interwar period and the rebuilding of European cities after the war (Düwel and Gutschow 2013). It showed that the war could cynically be seen as a driving force for the realization of the “new city.” Until the 1970s, a majority of cities in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland were rebuilt or renewed following the planning concept of the *Stadtlandschaft* or “organic design” principles (Reichow 1948; Göderitz, Rainer, and Hoffmann 1957). (Figure 14.4)

Only recently have planning historians revealed the continuities of the older and more comprehensive approaches of the German tradition of *Städtebau* throughout this period (Sonne 2014; Pendlebury, Erten, and Larkham 2015).

During the 1950s, the functionalist city—following the CIAM principles and aligning with the German tradition of the *Stadtlandschaft*—was realized globally. However, this practice was also accompanied by growing critique. A remarkable project of postwar trinational cooperation in the fields of town planning and regional planning was the Israel Economic and Sociological

Research Project (IESRP), carried out between 1958 and 1967 by the List Society in cooperation with the Swiss National Fund, and headed by Edgar Salin (Wilhelm and Gust 2013). Under the Sharon administration, this project pursued scientific-functionalistic city planning oriented to car traffic and based on the idea of the city as a closed-circuit system. In her final project report, however, Erika Spiegel (1966) frankly discussed the deficits of this project and more largely the defects of German *Stadtlandschaften* of the postwar era (Wilhelm and Gust 2013: 17).

New Urban Values and Planning in a State of Flux during the Postmodern Phase (1960 to Date)

The Israel project of the List Society exemplified the substantial ambivalence of German town planners at this moment, who oscillated between far-reaching planning euphoria and an increasing disappointment in “missed chances” and the rejection of postwar reconstruction and urban renewal practices. Two different dynamics shaped the German town planning sector during this phase:

(1) Hans Paul Bahrdt, sociologist (*The Modern Metropolis*, 1961), Edgar Salin, Swiss-German economist (*Urbanism*, 1960), and Alexander Mitscherlich, psychoanalyst (*The Inhospitability of Our Cities, A Deliberate Provocation*, 1965) initiated a critical debate on the role of city planners/architects and on the results of urban planning within the German-speaking realm.

(2) Postwar urban reconstruction and the following phase of economic prosperity boosted urban and spatial planning, and caused an increasing demand for experts in the field. In the mid-1960s, this dynamic sparked a discussion at West German universities about creating independent faculties for urban and regional planning, resulting in the establishing of such faculties between 1968 and 1978. The new planning faculties were based in social science and geography and had a strong left political bias. They were permanently agitated by sharp political debates and also by quickly changing academic programs and curricula (Frick 1997; Schubert 2013). Spatial and aesthetic aspects of urban planning remained as core competences at the architecture faculties.

The divided academic formation of urban planners in Germany has created two irreconcilable perspectives: while city and regional planners mounted a critique of the “traditional” profession of architecture, associating it with arrogance, top-down planning methods, and thinking in closed



Figure 14.5 (a) The rebuilding of urban space. Proposal for Österreichischer Platz, Stuttgart, 1979. Urban design: Rob Krier. (b) *The American Vitruvius*, republished in 1988: Perspective showing the plaza in front of the “sport palace,” taken from point B in the plan. Urban design: Brodfuehrer and Bardenheuer.

Sources: (a) Krier 1979, pp. 106, 110. (b) Hegemann 1913, p. 52 cit. in: Hegemann and Peets 1988, p. 184.

circuits, ironically, West German architects themselves leveled a similar critique at the planners; they were seen as successors of the functionalist automotive-oriented authoritarian planning structures based in administration institutions and lacking any skills in creative urban design.

However, during the 1960s fierce debates among academics and professionals also altered the prevailing role of the architect and led to new academic programs, topics, and methods of urban design, relaunching *Städtebau* at architectural faculties. Lucius Burkhardt (sociologist and activist, and guest lecturer at the Zurich ETH 1961–1973), O. M. Ungers (architect and professor at TU Berlin 1963–69), and his colleague Rob Krier (architect and assistant professor at TU Stuttgart 1973–75) pointed the way forward. Burkhardt introduced critical theory and political action to architecture and urban design classes. Ungers and Krier promoted the concept of the historically “grown city” based on Sitte’s approach. Their typological-morphological methods of analysis and design followed the ideas of Aldo Rossi (1966), Robert Venturi (1966), and Kevin Lynch (1968) (Figure 14.5). City planners referred to the same key figures of a paradigm shift in urban planning during the 1960s, although they tended more towards the participatory approach of the American female urban political activist Jane Jacobs (1961) (Schubert 2014b).

After the mid 1970s, the two professional camps of the planning sector in West Germany reduced their contact to a minimum—in planning practice and even more in the academic world, with significant consequences for urbanism in Germany, its professional reflection, and its historiography. (In the eastern part of the country, the former German Democratic Republic, the unity of *Städtebau* and architecture in theory and practice of town planning was never questioned (Bernhardt, Flierl, and Welch Guerra 2011; Kegler 1987). Accordingly, 1975—the European year of cultural heritage preservation—marks the rediscovery and reevaluation of the old city as conceptual basis of *Städtebau* as well as a deep professional divide. In the 1990s, planners and planning historians frequently discussed the transformation of the planning discipline, which now alternated between the poles of incrementalism and strategic planning (e.g. Keller, Koch, and Selle 2006; Harlander 1998; Becker, Jessen, and Sander 1998). The reconsideration of inner city cores was complemented by a growing interest in the urban region (Sieverts 1997; Borsdorf and Zembri 2004; Kress 2017b), and a new notion of cultural landscapes (*Kulturlandschaften*) and the tradition of *Stadtlandschaft* (Hauser and Kamleithner 2006; Eisinger and Schneider 2003). The Emscher Park International Building Exhibition or IBA tested larger city-regional concepts and raised topics during the 1990s that would gain importance at the start of the new century and in a broader global scope—such as ecology, energy, identity, and participation (Sieverts and Ganser 1993; Sieverts 1997). The International Building Exhibition (IBA) became a renowned format of urbanism and an interesting testing field of new ideas, instruments, and methods in town planning—an “exceptional state for a time” (Durth 2009). The IBA format has triggered increasing international interest in planning theories and practices of the German-speaking countries, and it has been modified and adopted to other cities in Europe and Japan as Kumamoto, Venlo, Milan, and Lyon (BMVBS 2011). The recent smart cities model again directs international attention to cooperation between technical expertise and socio-cultural and spatial qualities—a core dynamic of *Städtebau*, as revealed in its history (Table 14.1).

Conclusion

Recently, planners and historians have revisited the history and potential of the planning tool of the comprehensive plan (Bodenschatz et al. 2010; Altrock and Bertram 2012; Kress 2017a; Bodenschatz and Kress 2017; Keller et al. 2006). Such broad visual plans allow planners to conceive the topography of a whole city region, to recontextualize historic and functional relations, and to visibly communicate common aims. This way the grand plans combine qualities of the *Stadtlandschaft* and *Städtebau*. They can provide an effective tool of inner-disciplinary and interdisciplinary understanding, and therewith support participatory processes of urban and regional planning (Figure 14.6).

Table 14.1 Paradigms, plans and projects, key publications of Städtebau and Stadtplanung

Time period	Urban planning and design paradigms and topics in Europe and the USA	Plans and projects in Europe and the USA	Key publications of the German-Language Tradition (Germany, Austria, Switzerland)
1850-1918	“Progressive and Cultural Pre-Urbanism”	Paris Reforms 1852-1870 (Hausmann) Barcelona: Plan Ensanche (1859)	Reinhard Baumeister (1876): <i>Stadterweiterungen in technischer, baupolizeilicher und wirtschaftlicher Beziehung</i>
Unfolding of Städtebau as a profession	Extension Plans Städtebau Town Planning Urbanisme City Beautiful Civic Art Garden City	Vienna: Ring (1860) Berlin: “Hohrecht Plan” (1862) Masterplan Vienna and Munich (1892) Plan Chicago (1909) Town Planning Act (1909) Allg. Städtebau Exhibition Berlin (1910) RIBA Town (1910) Planning Conference London Welwyn and Hampstead Garden Cities	(Town Extensions: <i>Their Links with Technical and Economic Concerns and with Building Regulations</i>) Camillo Sitte (1889): <i>Der Städte-Bau nach seinen künstlerischen Grundsätzen</i> (Town Planning According to Artistic Principles) Joseph Stübben (1890): <i>Der Städtebau</i> (Town Planning) Werner Hegemann (1911, 1913): <i>Der Städtebau nach den Ergebnissen der Allgemeinen Städtebau-Ausstellung in Berlin</i> (. . .), 1. and 2. vol. (Town Planning according to the Results of the Town-Planning-Exhibition in Berlin . . .)
1919-1959	Stadtplanung Zoning	Garden suburbs Großsiedlungen	Theodor Fischer (1920): <i>6 Vorträge über Stadtbaukunst</i> (6 Lectures on the Art of Town Planning)
Modern phase	CIAM 4th: Athens Charter Stadtlandschaft Organic City Landesplanung/ Raumplanung ‘Scientific Planning’ Nationale Tradition	Plan Frankfurt and Siedlungen (1925-30) Plan AUP Amsterdam (1934) County of London Plan (1943) Town & C Planning Act (1947) Copenhagen “Finger Plan” Greenbelts New Towns Housing estates, Grands Ensembles	Cornelius Gurlitt (1920): <i>Handbuch des Städtebaues</i> (Handbook on Town Planning) Karl Brunner (1925): <i>Baupolitik als Wissenschaft</i> (Building Policy as Science) Karl August Hoepfner (1921, 1928): <i>Grundbegriffe des Städtebaues, 1./2. vol.</i> (Basic Concepts of Town Planning) Gottfried Feder (1939): <i>Die neue Stadt</i> (The New City) Hans Bernhard Reichow (1948): <i>Organische Stadtbaukunst. Von der Großstadt zur Stadtlandschaft</i> (Organic Art of Town Planning) Lothar Bolz (1951): <i>16 Grundsätze des Städtebaus in: Von deutschem Bauen</i> (16 Principles of Städtebau, in: On German Building) Johannes Göderitz, Roland Rainer, Hubert Hoffmann (1957): <i>Die gegliederte und aufgebokerte Stadt</i> (The Structured and Dispersed City)

(continued)

Table 14.1 (continued)

Time period	Urban planning and design paradigms and topics in Europe and the USA	Plans and projects in Europe and the USA	Key publications of the German-Language Tradition (Germany, Austria, Switzerland)
1960- to date	Townscape/ Urban Design Comprehensive Planning Deregulation	London Docklands ca. 1970s-1980s Berlin IBA 1987 Paris "Grand Projects" Euralille	Hans Paul Bahrdt (1961): <i>Die moderne Großstadt. Soziologische Überlegungen zum Städtebau</i> (<i>The Modern Metropolis. Sociological Reflections on Town Planning</i>)
Postmodern phase	Muddling through/ Perspektivischer Inkrementalismus Urban Renaissance New Urbanism Strategic Project Leitbilder City Branding Urban Regeneration	IBA Emscher Park 1989/1999 Dutch housing projects	Edgar Salin (1960): <i>Urbanität (Urbanism)</i> Lucius Burkhardt / Walter M. Förderer (1968): <i>Bauen – ein Prozeß (Building – A Process)</i> Rob Krier (1975): <i>Stadtraum in Theorie und Praxis (Urban Space in Theory and Practice)</i> Thomas Steverts (1997): <i>Zwischenstadt (Urban Intermediate Zone)</i>
			Arnold Klotz, Otto Frey and Ludwig Boltzmann Institut für interdisziplinäre Stadtforschung (eds.) (2005): <i>Verständigungsversuche zum Wandel der Stadtplanung (Attempts at Achieving Consensus on Paradigm Shifts in Urban Planning)</i>

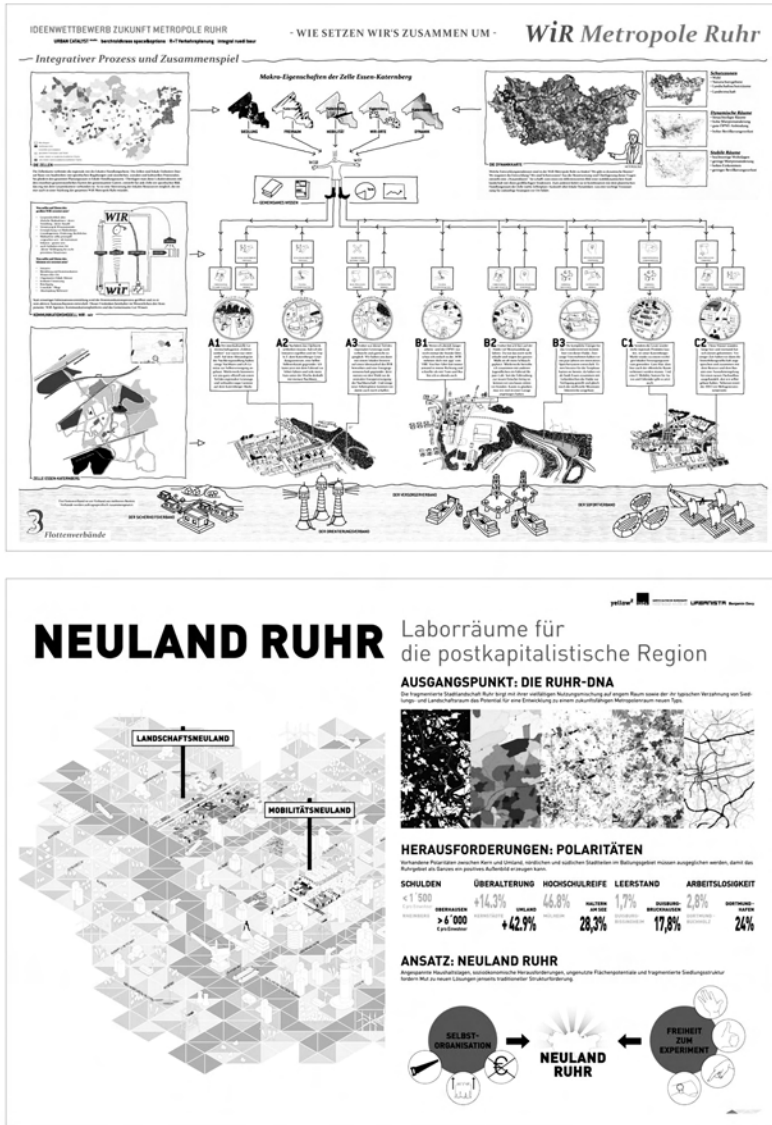


Figure 14.6 Entries in the competition for a new regional plan for Metropolis Ruhr 2013/14.

Sources: (a) From the team URBAN CATALYSTstudio / berchtoldkrass space&options / R+T Verkehrsplanung / integral ruedi baur. (b) From the team yellow z / lad+ / Gertz Gutsche Rümenapp / URBANISTA / Benjamin Davy.

Thus we return to the comprehensive plans of the period around 1910: as marker of a first prominent peak in town planning, they showcased the new profession as a pragmatic, team-oriented, communicative, and cooperative discipline. Such comprehensive plans can provide a rich instrumentarium of multidimensional quantitative, qualitative, and visual methods that enable the sustainable reconstruction and continued improvement of the inherited city as well as the city region also for the future. Transnational planning history reveals a rich stock of information that can be adopted into present and future planning practice, crossing national and linguistic borderlines.

Related Topics

Ward: Planning Diffusion: Agents, Mechanisms, Networks, and Theories

Massey: Key Planning Histories in the Developing Western Tradition from the Mid-19th Century to the Early 20th Century

Monclús, Díez: *Urbanisme, Urbanismo, Urbanistica*: Latin American Urbanism

Wagenaar: Urbanism, Housing and the City

Schubert: Opposition, Participation, and Community Driven Planning Histories

Schott: Livability and Environmental Sustainability: From Smoky to Livable Cities

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15

PLANNING HISTORY IN AND OF RUSSIA AND THE SOVIET UNION

Maria Taylor and Irina Kukina

A commitment to urban and regional planning was a core characteristic of the USSR, consistent with the Soviet emphasis on a planned national economy. The Soviet planning model also influenced urban and regional development internationally, particularly in the Third World, via the as-yet poorly documented circulation of expertise and individuals. Moreover, Russian and Soviet planning history reflects complicated moments of intersection, convergence, and divergence with planning trends in the First World. Mainstream general histories of planning, however, rarely integrate Second World examples, preventing full understanding of modern planning as phenomenon with diverse regional instantiations and global interrelations. Acutely needed are synthetic studies that integrate socialist examples into global planning historiography, thereby recovering for general historiography what were, historically, related sets of professional planning practices. This chapter responds to that need. One potential model for work in this new direction is historian Kate Brown's study of Soviet and American atomic cities and settlements (2013), in which she convincingly argues that such Cold War histories should be framed as tandem rather than comparative (see also Brown 2001).

We first discuss some factors contributing to the present disjuncture. We then outline some useful resources in English and Russian for scholars interested in incorporating the region into their work. The second, longer part of the chapter surveys major initiatives and traits shaping urban and regional planning of the region, beginning with the early 18th century. We focus in particular on post-World War II developments in the areas of residential and landscape planning, which demonstrate the potential rewards of transnational analysis of modern planning history.

Readers should note that there are two types of planning in Russian: *planirovka* (spatial or physical planning) and its close kin, *gradostroitel'stvo* (citybuilding), versus *planirovanye* (central national-economic planning). This chapter concerns the former. Left out of this account, as a result, are the notorious consequences of national-economic planning, including Stalin-era collectivization, political purges, and population resettlement policies; these and other topics of Soviet political and social history are well represented in those literatures. (Similarly absent due to space considerations is scholarship in languages other than Russian or English. Readers interested in older German-language perspectives on Russian and Soviet planning might start with works cited by B. Michael Frolic in his 1963 annotated bibliography (Table 15.1). Current scholars of Soviet physical/spatial planning who write in German include Barbara Engel, Karl Gestwa, Monica Rütters, and Karl Schlögel. A gateway to French-language work on the socialist city is the 2009/2 [No. 25] issue of *Histoire Urbaine*, themed "Relire la ville socialiste."

The weak integration of Russian and Soviet planning examples into current mainstream narratives of planning history—despite a relatively rich array of primary and secondary literature, discussed below—is likely due to a combination of professional, disciplinary, and political factors. First, professional and institutional responsibility for the built environment was distributed differently in imperial and Soviet Russia than in the United States, for instance. The relatively sharp lines between “architect-artists” and “architect-engineers” did not necessarily follow those drawn between the American professional categories of architecture, planning, and landscape design (Willen 1963; Shvidkovsky and Chorban 2003). Historians of Soviet spatial planning are therefore encouraged to read deeply from architectural histories of the region, where recent Anglophone works (which include much material of interdisciplinary interest) have begun to complicate long-standing totalitarianist narratives regarding the subordination of Stalin-era and post-Stalinist urban planning to political and ideological ends (compare, for instance Hudson 1994 and Anderson 2015).

These professional-disciplinary discontinuities between Anglo-American and Soviet models were compounded, secondly, by historical and political factors. The consolidation of planning history as such in the late 1980s coincided, to the detriment of Soviet planning history, with a period of immense instability and disruption in the Soviet Union: Mikhail Gorbachev’s policies of *glasnost* (transparency), *perestroika* (restructuring), and then, in 1991, the dissolution of the USSR. Even after 1991, Cold War frameworks of interpretation persisted, often emphasizing ideology and difference. Sociologist Zsuzsa Gille, in a 2009 literature review essay on the intersection between regional studies and environmental scholarship of the former USSR and Eastern Europe, criticized the tendency to treat the natural as solely a representational lens by which to understand the political, thereby precluding engagement with natural agency.

The same might be said of the many post-1991 Anglophone studies of Russian and Soviet planning that treat planning as a proxy object for political and cultural history, generating conclusions that point back to the region, rather than to the profession. This tendency contributed to a third factor discouraging historiographic integration: Soviet planning’s reputed identification with the failures and crimes of state socialism under Stalin, or, more generally, with the technocratic hubris of high modernist planners (Scott 1998). The best-known example of this position in urban planning history is Sir Peter Hall’s critique of Moscow’s monumentalism (2002: 174–202), but he is not alone

Table 15.1 Some Anglophone bibliographies and historiographical works.

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- Parkins, M. (1953) *City Planning in Soviet Russia, with an Interpretative Bibliography*, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Frolic, B. (1963) *Soviet Urban and Regional Planning and Administration: An Annotated Bibliography from Western Language Sources*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University.
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- French, R. (1995) *Plans, Pragmatism and People: The Legacy of Soviet Planning for Today’s Cities*, Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.
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Source: Maria Taylor and Irina Kukina.

in using Soviet urban and regional planning to make claims regarding the political system. Especially when grouped with international examples, Soviet planning and its legacies are often treated as exceptionally or pathologically shaped by political considerations (Hill and Gaddy 2003; Kopec and Lord 2010). From the Russian planners' perspective, these works focus overly much on political and economic externalities. Be that as it may, studies of planning as a proxy for politics leave issues of core importance to planning history as such unexplored. They are also a somewhat surprising diversion from previous acknowledgment within urban planning of the importance of the Soviet model.

English- and Russian-language Histories of Russian and Soviet Planning

Evidence of the importance of the USSR as a region of interest for planning scholars on the other side of the Cold War can be seen in the multiple Anglophone bibliographic and reference works published in the late 20th century (Table 15.1). For example, Anthony Sutcliffe's 1981 bibliography of planning history lists sixty-some texts, in multiple languages. A decade and a half later, geographer Richard French noted "the very substantial volume of work which exists on the Soviet city both within and outside the USSR" (1995: ix). Many scholars at this time gravitated toward the question of what, if anything, distinguished the Russian or Soviet city and its planning from First World cities and urban planning (Hamm 1976; Bater 1980; Pallot and Shaw 1981; Morton and Stuart 1984).

In the post-Soviet period, a clutch of edited volumes by Russian- and Soviet-specialist historians took up cultural themes relevant to planning history, such as the links between architecture and national identity (Cracraft and Rowland 2003), cultural and policy aspects of housing (Brumfield and Ruble 1993), modernization and international exchange (Brumfield 1990), and the material and cultural production of place/space (Crowley and Reid 2002; Bassin, Ely, and Stockdale 2010). Another consistent genre of scholarship has been city histories. A first wave focused on the USSR's capital cities: Leningrad (Ruble 1990), Moscow (Colton 1995; Schlögel 2005), and Tashkent (Stroński 2010). These have been joined by increasingly wide-ranging works on regional cities (discussed by period, below). These anthologies and the monographs mentioned earlier contribute to a new literature in English on Russian and Soviet urbanism, one that would benefit from planning historians' disciplinary perspective and contextual awareness.

The domestic production of planning histories (i.e., in Russian) has a long history. In keeping with centuries of state involvement in urban development and design, Soviet publications on city planning were often sumptuously illustrated, highly detailed studies (e.g., Table 15.2: Shkvarikov 1945; Table 15.3: Baranov 1966). Political and ideological considerations intervened at times in the library shelves as well as on the drawing boards, for instance in postwar denunciation of earlier histories as overly internationalist in their focus (Vladimirskii 1949: in Table 15.2). Still, Soviet planners and historians continued to pay attention to international developments, even if only to criticize them in print. Much later, in the decades on either side of the 1991 collapse of the USSR, the economic and political crises that disrupted mass-scale city planning activities also provoked a reorientation of the academic community from applied research to historical and theoretical topics (Table 15.4). Works now considered fundamental to Russian city planning history were produced in this period (Kirichenko 2001; Kosenkova 2000, 2010; Tsarev et al. 2011), replacing formerly authoritative texts that now appear dated in their Marxist-Leninist framing (e.g., in Table 15.3: Bunin and Savarenskaia 1979). Few recent Russian-language histories of planning have been translated into English, however, and the details of Soviet urban and regional planning history remain little known outside regional specialist circles.

Primary Source Texts and Periodicals Increasingly Available

In terms of primary sources, publications translated from Russian into English during the Cold War period provide research fodder today for non-Russian speaking scholars abroad (for instance, the

articles excerpted weekly since 1949 in the *Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, now the *Current Digest of the Russian Press*). Many such sources can be searched online thanks to EastView Information Services.¹ The three editions of the *Great Soviet Encyclopedia* give a window onto changing official positions regarding cities and their planning (the 1979 third edition is available online in English). Historical maps and photographs are increasingly available online,² while published glossaries and online engines with a technical bent can ease translation difficulties (Boyce 1997).³

For those who read Russian, recent facsimile reprints of many landmark publications offer tactile connection to early 20th-century core texts of Russian and Soviet planning, such as the periodical *Sovremenniaia Arkhitektura*. Some other core book-length treatments are listed in Figures 15.2, 15.3, and 15.4. Finally, the online presence of various professional journals provides scholars access to current professional and scholarly views.⁴ With the passage of time and myriad online networks of communication, the formerly static passage via translation of planning texts and histories is now a more diverse conversation.

Tsarist-Era Town Planning as State Activity (18th–19th Centuries)

Russian-language histories of domestic modern planning typically begin with Peter the Great's reign and the 1703 founding of St. Petersburg, if not earlier (Table 15.4: Gulianitskii 1993; Bondarenko 2002). In this period, the development of a powerful absolutist state entailed military and industrial development, natural resource extraction, expanded trade, and increased scientific expertise (Etkind 2011). Cartographic and geometric literacy—a key skill for spatial planning—was especially needed in the construction of new frontier towns and fortifications (Shaw 2005). Thus in 1757, the Academy of the Three Noble Arts in St. Petersburg began the systematic training of Russia's architects, including those who produced general and survey town plans for the expanding state. The best students received a stipend to continue their studies in Europe, often Italy. European architects meanwhile came to Russia. Traditional building methods were transformed by new connections to mathematics, printing, surveying, and the fine arts. In 1832, Tsar Nicholas I opened a school of civil engineering. These schools remained centers of architectural and engineering education until the 1917 revolution, when the traditional venues were joined by a crop of new schools, new programs of study—and new ideas of appropriate tasks for planners and architects (Cooke 1991).

Historian N. F. Gulianitskii divides imperial town planning crisply into two typological lines and two stages. First, St. Petersburg and other new cities where regular planning principles were initially introduced. Second, there were Moscow and other preexisting cities, which were re-planned starting in the 1760s and especially after the territorial-administrative reforms decreed in 1775 by Catherine the Great (Gulianitskii 1995, 1998: in Table 15.4). In the first stage, the co-existence of new and traditional urban structures corresponded with architectural diversity. In the second, Classicism became the widely applied, dominant style. The difference in spatial layout between new and traditional cities faded towards the beginning of the 19th century (Kirichenko 2001: in Table 15.4).

The main structuring element of urban form at this time was the architectural ensemble, in keeping with the Classical inheritance gained via Byzantium and European cultural transmission. Individual buildings and complexes were built for broad perspectives in accordance with the traditional principle of free interconnection of architectural landmarks. Some of these developed into major ensembles, strictly geometric in their plan and volume, but located picturesquely in key sites. Examples of this approach abound in St. Petersburg, such as the Smolny Monastery ensemble in by architect V. Rastrelli (Egorov 1969; Cracraft 1988).

The streets and squares that connected buildings linearly demanded a different approach. There, model building designs (*po obraztsu*) were repeated block by block. This mode of planning continued from the 18th to early 19th century (Beletskaiia 1961: in Table 15.3; Shvidkovsky 2007). Innovations were first applied in St. Petersburg and Moscow and elsewhere thereafter. This regularization increased the similarity of towns and cities across Imperial Russia, prefiguring the

standardization of Soviet planning and architecture. Dispatches from provincial governors include much material on the visual-spatial appearance of new towns and settlements, implying that their urban design affected their status as cities and their ultimate fate. The urban fabric formed thus in the mid-19th century represents the most significant surviving stratum of architectural heritage in Russian cities, defining the appearance of its historic city centers.

Western historians of the imperial period foreground the status of urban design and architecture as an expression of statecraft and national identity (Hamm 1976; Cracraft and Rowland 2003); the circulation of architects, styles, and urban models between Russia and Western Europe (Shvidkovsky 2007); and—later in the 19th century—the entangled modernization of infrastructure, industry and urban form (Busch 2008; Nevzgodine 2003; Martin 2008). Cities of the imperial period represented in English-language monographs include St. Petersburg (Egorov 1969; Cracraft 1988), Moscow (Schmidt 1989), Odessa (Herlihy 1986), Kiev (Hamm 1993) and Harbin (Wolff 1999). Geographers Judith Pallot and Denis J. B. Shaw examined the planning and development of exurban and rural regions (1990).

The city-landscape interface was a significant area of development and state expression during this period: the emergence of dacha districts has been studied by Stephen Lovell (2003), while the

Table 15.2 Core Russian-language planning texts before 1950.

Howard 1911	Э. Говард; Пер. с англ. А.Ю. Блох <u>Города будущего</u> СПб. Репринт М.: Сакура 1992. [<i>Cities of the Future</i> , translated from English by A.Blokh. Facsimile reprint by Sakura Press, 1992]
Semenov 1912	В. Семёнов. <u>Благоустройство городов</u> М.: Типография П.П. Рябушинского. [<i>Beautification of Cities</i> . Reprint 1993, 2003 URSS]
Lunin 1930	Б. Лунин, сост. <u>Города социализма и социалистическая реконструкция быта. Сборник статей</u> М.: Работник просвещения. [<i>Cities of Socialism and the Socialist Reconstruction of Everyday Life: Collection of Articles</i>]
Miliutin 1930	Н. Милютин. <u>Проблема строительства социалистических городов : основные вопросы рациональной планировки и строительства населенных мест СССР / М.: Госиздат.</u> [Reprinted 1974, trans. A. Sprague, <i>Sotsgorod; the Problem of Building Socialist Cities</i> . Cambridge, MA: MIT Press]
Sabsovich 1930	Л. Сабсович. <u>Социалистические города</u> . М.: Московский рабочий [<i>Socialistic Cities</i>]
Kaganovich 1934	Л. Каганович. О строительстве метрополитена и плане города Москвы. М.: газета “Ударник Метростроя” [in English as L. M. Kaganovich, <i>The Construction of the Subway and the Plan of the City of Moscow</i> . Co-operative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in the U.S.S.R., 1934]
Shkvarikov 1945	В. Шквариков и др. <u>Градостроительство</u> . М.: Издательство Академии Архитектуры СССР [<i>Citybuilding</i>]
Iokheles 1947	Е. Иохелес. «Некоторые вопросы проектирования застройки жилых районов советских городов» Кандидатская диссертация в области архитектуры, Москва [Unpublished <i>kandidatskaia</i> dissertation: “Some Issues in the Designed Building of Residential Districts of Soviet Cities”]
Osterman 1948	Н. Остерман. «Жилой микрорайон по англо-американским материалам. Критический анализ»: Кандидатская диссертация в области, Москва. [Unpublished <i>kandidatskaia</i> dissertation: “Residential microdistrict according to Anglo-American Materials: Critical Analysis”]
Vladimirskii 1949	А. Владимирский, сост. <u>Архитектурная Книга за XV лет: аннотированный каталог-справочник</u> . М.: Издательство Академии Архитектуры СССР. [<i>The Architectural Book After 15 Years: Annotated Catalog-Handbook</i>]

Source: Maria Taylor and Irina Kukina.

use of landscape design as an expression of state identity and power by Peter the Great, Ekaterina II (aka Catherine the Great), and other tsars is widely recognized (Shvidkovsky 1996; Schönle 2007; Hayden, 2005; see also Clark 2006). Many of these themes, particularly international exchange, urban diversity, and the role of science, technology and standardization, continued into the Soviet period.

From 1917 Bolshevik Revolution to Post-World War II

The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 has long fascinated political and social historians inside and outside the country, including its architectural and planning aspects. A robust literature on Revolutionary-period planning and design began to appear in the 1960s, when interest in the Revolution's cultural context and increased focus on the history of architectural Modernism (Bittner 2001) led to a steady flow of detailed studies of Soviet avant-garde developments (in English, see Kopp 1970; Khan-Magomedov 1987; Stites 1989; Senkevitch 1974 [Table 15.1]; in Russian, see works by Baranov, Khazanova, Shkvarikov, and Barkhin in Table 15.3). New Anglophone historical studies were bolstered by the translation and republication of significant texts by early theorist-practitioners of Soviet urban planning and architecture (e.g. Miliutin 1930 [1974]: in Table 15.2) and by a series of exhibitions focused on the Russian avant-garde (Cooke 1995). The fervent planning debates of the early interwar period were highly public and publicized (Table 15.2: Sabsovich 1930; Goltsman and Lunin 1930). Perhaps more than any other period, they continue to draw the attention of historians of domestic and foreign historians alike (Kosenkova 2009 in Table 15.4; Anderson 2015).

Topics explored by Western historians for this period range widely. The late-1920s debates between so-called urbanist and disurbanist approaches to urban distribution and density are likely familiar to those otherwise unspecialized in the region (Starr 1978; Cooke 1995; French 1995; Gentile 2000); like Frank Lloyd Wright's Broadacre City, the latter drew from the 19th century utopian tradition of small communes surrounded by nature. Additional planning schools of thought influential in the 1920s and 1930s include those related to Ebenezer Howard's Garden City model (Parkins 1953; Ruzhze 1961a, b in Table 15.3; Cooke 1978), N.A. Miliutin's lineal city model for a *sotsgorod* (Miliutin 1974 [1930]: in Table 15.2; see also Meerovich 2011: in Table 15.4), and the classical or baroque mode of urban composition that dominated after 1932 (Hoisington 2003; Udovički-Selb 2009). Note that the abbreviation *sots-gorod* in Russian denotes a specific form of industrial communally-oriented new town; whereas *sotsialisticheskii gorod* is a more general term, meaning a normal city (in a socialist country). This distinction is occasionally lost in English.

The best-known planning project of the prewar Stalinist period is probably the 1935 General Plan for the Reconstruction of Moscow (Richardson 1991). Related studies by cultural and social historians, geographers, and others cover Moscow's parks (Brodsky 1987; Shaw 2011), streets (Castillo 1994; Bittner 1998), and workers' clubs (Siegelbaum 1999). Others examine regional planning and infrastructure (DeHaan 2013; Siegelbaum 2008) and the (re)construction of towns for industry during the first Five Year Plans (Kotkin 1997; Nordlander 1998; Richardson 2000; Samuelson 2011). The planning of regions and rural settlements generally is covered by Judith Pallot (1979), with more recent works examining events in the Soviet periphery far from Moscow or Leningrad (see works cited in Smith-Peter 2011). The spatial planning, construction, and management of the Gulag labor camp system is another thriving area of research germane to urban and regional planning history (Viola 2007; Bell 2013; Barenberg 2014).

Despite rhetorical perceptions of the Soviet sphere as curtained off by impenetrable iron, recent research traces the influential movement of planners and ideas for multiple periods, both before and after World War II (Brumfield 1990; Chmel'nickij 2005; Ward 2005; Shvidkovsky 2007; Anderson 2009; Mumford 2009; Mëhilli 2012; Bosma 2014). The circulation of more abstract ideas and commodities, from Fordism to tractors, may also be of interest to planning historians, given the importance of firms such as the Austin Company and Albert Kahn Associates to urban and regional development

Table 15.3 Core Russian-language planning texts and histories, 1950–1991.

Baburov 1956	В.В. Бабуров, П. И. Гольденберг, Л.С. Залеская и др. <u>Планировка и застройка городов</u> М.: Госстройиздат [<i>The Physical Planning and Building of Cities</i>]
Abrosimov 1958	П.В. Абросимов и др. <u>Строительство и реконструкция городов. 1945-1957</u> М.: Госстройиздат. 3 т. [<i>The Construction and Reconstruction of Cities, 1945–1957. Three volumes</i>]
Shkvarikov 1959	В.А. Шквариков (отв. ред.) <u>Застройка жилых микрорайонов</u> М.: Госстройиздат [<i>The Building of Residential Microdistricts</i>]
Vitman & Muravev 1959	В.А. Витман, Б.В. Муравьев. <u>Планировка, застройка и благоустройство жилых районов: Сборник статей</u> . Л.: Госстройиздат. [<i>The Physical Planning, Building and Beautification of Residential Districts: Collected Articles</i>]
Beletskaiia 1961	Е.А. Белецкая. “ <u>Образцовые</u> ” проекты в жилой застройке русских городов XVIII–XIX вв. Институт теории и истории архитектуры и строительной техники (Академия строительства и архитектуры СССР) М.: Гос. изд-во по строительству, архитектуре и строительным материалам. [“Model’ Design-Projects in Residential Construction of Russian Cities 18th–19th Centuries”]
Lavrov 1966	В.А. Лавров. Города меняют свою структуру. <i>Архитектура СССР</i> , No.11, с. 15–24. [“The City Changes Its Structure”]
Ruzhzhе 1961a	В.Л. Ружже. Архитектурно-планировочные идеи “городов-садов” в России в конце XIX-начале XX вв.// <u>Известия ВУЗов. Строительство и архитектура</u> . Новосибирск: №5. 180-188. [“The Architecture-Planning Idea of “Garden Cities” in Russia at the End of the 19th – Early 20th Century”]
Ruzhzhе 1961b	В.Л. Ружже. Города-сады. Малоизвестные проекты русских зодчих // <u>Строительство и архитектура Ленинграда</u> . 1961.-№2: 26-33. [“Garden-Cities: Little-Known Designs by Russian Builders”]
Khazanova 1963	В.Э. Хазанова, ред. <u>Из истории советской архитектуры: Документы и материалы 1917-1925 гг.</u> М.: Наука [<i>From the History of Soviet Architecture 1917–1925: Documents and Materials</i>]
Baburov et al 1966	Гутнов А., Лежава И., Бабуров А., Г. Дюментон, С. Садовский, З. Харитонова. <u>Новый элемент расселения: На пути к новому городу</u> . М. : Стройиздат. [<i>New Settlement Unit: On the Path to a New City</i>]
Baranov et al 1966-1969	Н.В. Баранов, В. Шквариков, Н. Абрамов и др. <u>Основы советского градостроительства</u> М.: Стройиздат. 4 т. [<i>Fundamentals of Soviet Citybuilding</i> . Four volumes]
Shkvarikov 1967	Шквариков, В.А., Н.Я. Колли, В.А. Лавров и др. <u>Градостроительство СССР 1917-1967</u> М.: Стройиздат [<i>Citybuilding USSR 1917–1967</i>]
Khazanova 1970a	В.Э. Хазанова. <u>Из истории советской архитектуры: Документы и материалы 1926-1932 гг.</u> М.: Наука [<i>From the History of Soviet Architecture 1926–1932: Documents and Materials</i>]
Khazanova 1970b	В.Э. Хазанова. <u>Советская архитектура первых лет Октября: 1917-1925</u> М.: Наука [<i>Soviet Architecture of the First Years of October: 1917–25</i>]
Bocharov & Kudriavtsev 1972	Ю. Бочаров, О. Кудрявцев, <u>Планировочная структура современного города</u> М.: Стройиздат [<i>The Physical Planning Structure of Contemporary Cities</i>]
Barkhin 1975	М.Г. Бархин, ред. <u>Мастера советской архитектуры об архитектуре: Избранные отрывки из писем, статей, выступлений и трактатов</u> . М.: Искусство. в 2 т. [<i>Masters of Soviet Architecture on Architecture: Selected Excerpts from Letters, Articles, Presentations and Tracts</i> , in two volumes]
Gutnov & Lezhava 1977	А.Э. Гутнов, И.Г. Лежава. <u>Будущее города</u> . М.: Стройиздат, 1977. [<i>Future Cities</i>]

- Ikonnikov et al 1978** А.В. Иконников, Н.Ф. Гуляницкий, Е.В. Михайловский и др. Памятники архитектуры в структуре городов СССР М.: Стройиздат [*Architectural Monuments in the Structure of Cities of the USSR*]
- Bunin & Savarenskaia 1979** А.В. Бунин, Т.Ф. Саваренская. История градостроительного искусства Градостроительство двадцатого века в странах капиталистического мира. М.: Стройиздат. В 2 т. [*History of Citybuilding Arts: 20th Century Citybuilding in Countries of the Capitalist World*, in two volumes]
- Khazanova 1980** В.Э. Хазанова Советская архитектура первой пятилетки: проблемы города будущего. М.: Наука [*Soviet Architecture of the First Five-Year Plan: Issues of the City of the Future*]
- Krogius 1983** В.Р. Крогиус. Разработать рекомендации по реконструкции сложившейся застройки центрального района г. Пензы / В. Р. Крогиус, Г. А. Малоян, Н. Н. Бочарова, В. И. Гуцаленко, Н. П. Крайняя. М.: ЦНИИП градостроительства. [*To Develop Recommendations for the Reconstruction of Existing Built Fabric of the Central District of Penza*]
- Gulianitskii 1988** Н. Гуляницкий, общ. ред. Архитектурное наследие Москвы: Сб. науч. тр. М.: ЦНИИП-Градостроительства [*Architectural Heritage of Moscow: Collection of Scholarly Works*]
- Bocharov 1989** Ю.П. Бочаров, М. К. Савельев, В. И. Гуцаленко. Оценка ландшафта исторической части г. Львова для ее развития и реконструкции. М.: ЦНИИП-Градостроительства [*Landshaft Evaluation of Lvov's Historic Sections for the City's Development and Reconstruction*]
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Source: Maria Taylor and Irina Kukina.

during the industrialization campaign of the 1930s and early 1940s (Dodge and Dalrymple 1966; Bailes 1981; Schultz 1990; Cohen 2010). The international circulation of ideas and specialists in the postwar period deserves greater attention (Siddiqi 2009; Ward 2012; Cook, Ward and Ward 2014), particularly between the USSR and countries of the Third World (Engerman 2011).

In the immediate aftermath of World War II, Soviet planners focused on the reconstruction of war-damaged cities such as Stalingrad and Kaliningrad, demonstrating continued commitment to principles of ensemble-based urban composition and neo-Classical monumental aesthetics (Baburov et al. 1956; Baranov 1966 in Table 15.3; Qualls 2009). The parallel construction of new towns, primarily in eastern regions, provided high-quality environments for scientists and workers in priority industries as in Akademgorodok near Novosibirsk (Josephson 1997). The classical model was used in the design of closed cities such as Krasnoyarsk-26 and -45 by Leningrad design institute Giprogor, representing a less known facet of Soviet city building (Yamaletdinov 2012). The designation of a city as closed or, more officially, as a ZATO (closed administrative territorial organization; see Vytuleva 2012) indicated its limited access status. Generally organized around an industry or industries of particular state military and technological importance, a closed city was often a place with higher living standards (and architectural quality) for residents. Access was forbidden or difficult for nonresidents. During the Soviet period, such cities were often referred to only by their postal address (hence, Krasnoyarsk-26, now known as Zheleznogorsk) and did not appear on public maps.

De-Stalinization and the Advent of the Micro-District

The era of monumental Classicism officially ended on November 4, 1955, when the Central Committee and the Council of Ministers adopted Decree No. 1871, “On the Elimination of Excesses in Design and Construction.” This followed a speech by Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev to the Soviet Builders’ Conference in December 1954—a year prior to Khrushchev’s more famous “secret speech” of 1956, denouncing the “excesses” of Stalinist political purges. According to the new line,

the formerly preferred neo-Classical or empire style was replaced by functionalist, typological architecture, and many principles of Modernist urban planning last seen in the 1920s were rehabilitated.

The Khrushchev period is best known in architecture-planning circles for its emphasis on mass housing production through standardization and industrial production methods. Several recent monographs refine the formerly broad-brush conceptions of these policies, their origins, and their consequences (see Smith 2010, Harris 2013 on housing; on infrastructure, see Humphrey 2005, Collier 2011, Gestwa 2014). Other significant developments of the period included the activities of the Urban Amenities Provision (*blagoustroistvo*) studio within the Academy of Architecture; the applied research of planning institutes in crafting national regulations, incorporating the ideas of functional Modernism; and the application to *gradostroitel'stvo* of scientific foundational knowledge regarding geography, climatology, acoustics, and other natural science conditions. These aspects await further research by historians but are well documented in contemporaneous publications.

Rational city planning of the mid-1950s to early 1960s sought first to determine the ideal relationship between industrial works and residential districts. Second, recreation and leisure were declared to be a guiding function, for which it was necessary to design a system of recreational facilities and urban public spaces (see Shaw 1980; Engel 2006). Third, planners moved to establish and enforce rules and regulations, including requirements for the quality of the urban environment (Table 15.4: Vaitens and Kosenkova 2006). The main challenge was to determine the optimal physical parameters for city area, population size, density and building heights, and to establish typologies for buildings, facilities, and systems for other services such as education. Soviet planners continued to search for a large-scale planning element that might be used to overcome the chaos associated with unplanned, i.e., capitalist, urbanism, and create more orderly morphological structure, settling eventually on the *mikroraion*.

The *mikroraion* or micro-district (sometimes transliterated as *mikrorayon*) had been theorized as the minimal self-sufficient planning element of cities in the late 1940s, in connection with discussions regarding a 1945–1946 experimental design competition (Table 15.4: Kosenkova 1996). A. A. Galaktionov, who formulated the theoretical foundation of microdistricts and residential districts, held that the *mikroraion* solved problems associated with the existing city, where “intense, disordered transportation, excessive building density, and disorganized life were important causes of distress for the urban population” (in Shkvarikov 1959, Table 15.3). This model was developed after the study of Anglo-American residential patterns (Table 15.2: Iokheles 1947; Osterman 1948), but it differs from the American concept of a neighborhood unit or a British planned community in its provision of centralized communal facilities and infrastructure (on this point see Collier 2011). Like the Garden City model, variations on the *mikroraion* can be identified in the urban planning of many nations in this period (in Eastern Europe, but also in Southeast Asia and Latin America, following the lines of Soviet international influence). The details of adoption and evolution await further research.

In 1958, Moscow hosted the 5th Congress of the International Union of Architects (IAU) on the “Construction and Reconstruction of Cities, 1945–1957” (discussed in Glendinning 2009; Mēhilli 2012). Two volumes of conference proceedings were published (Table 15.3: Abrosimov 1958): the first volume, in Russian and English, included realized spatial planning projects from West and East European countries. Microdistrict designs were widely presented, along with a few new towns built on the micro-district model. Shortly thereafter the Institute of City-building and Regional Planning and the Academy of Architecture and Construction published two collections. One focused on the development of residential planning. The other focused on the spatial planning, development, and improvement of residential microdistricts, containing experimental designs for new superbloc–microdistricts (*ukrupnēnyi kvartal-mikroraion*) and for the reconstruction of historical blocks (Table 15.3: Shkvarikov 1959; Vitman and Muraveva 1959). Notably, the consistent usage of the hybrid term “superbloc–microdistrict” indicates that the professional community had not yet reached consensus regarding the status of this new elementary unit for residential planning.

Soviet planning foregrounded microdistricts where industry was a main component. On June 24, 1961, GosStroi—the State Committee of Construction Affairs—issued decree No. 218, regarding the development of model plans for settlements associated with newly built manufacturing works. Design bureaus of institutes from across the USSR, including those of various Soviet Socialist Republics, submitted schematic plans for consideration. The expert commission of the Administration of City Planning and Development, the State Committee on Civil Construction and Architecture, and the Scientific Research Institute of City Building concluded that settlements with 4–5-story houses of large-block construction would be most advantageous, and published all the submitted microdistrict plans. The microdistrict model was conclusively adopted during the design competition period for Moscow’s Southwest district. Plans for the district abandoned orthogonal relationships; proposed instead was a free planning layout according to the landscape (*po landshaftu*).

District Self-Sufficiency and Urban Structures

Soviet planners in the mid-1960s adopted a hierarchy of nested urban structures: micro-districts, residential districts, and planning districts (*mikroraiion, zhiloi raion, planirovochnyi raion*). This led to plan typification—in which elements of standard or model projects were adopted to the degree possible given unique landscape conditions—and the adoption of a four-level system of service provision. The self-sufficient mikroraiion, divided into residential groups, was the minimum planning unit. Each would contain schools, kindergartens, and primary services connected by green pedestrian pathways, thereby forming a complete habitat of social guarantees. Included in the residential and planning districts were a medical polyclinic and a palace or house of culture. The latter would organize leisure activities for residents, typically employees of one large enterprise. Urban centers contained other typological functions like the *Dom Sovietov* (House of Soviets or Councils), theaters, and libraries. Design concepts were similarly developed for nature zones, industrial-agricultural districts, and other city-scale structural-functional units. (On the evolving status of the mikroraiion and other planning concepts, see *Project Russia 2002*; Smith 2010. For more on daily environments, see Brine, Perrie, and Sutton 1980; Crowley and Reid 2002).

Around the same time, the city came to be seen as a complex, growing organism not subject to total planning control. V.A. Lavrov advocated urban de-structuring, given the spontaneous formation of most social centers and the growing discrepancy between planned urban environs and actual content (Table 15.3: 1961). Researchers and planners began to grapple with cultural heritage reconstruction and the preservation of architectural monuments, and historic settlements and their fragments. This was an urgent question in the context of the regional planning and large-scale growth of cities in Siberia and the Russian Far East—cities with a rich historical and architectural heritage. Architect-planners sought simultaneously to preserve the cultural fabric and reconstruct declining city territories (Table 15.3: Ikonnikov and Gulianitskii 1978).

Not all proposals focused on heritage preservation. In 1960, students at the Moscow Architectural Institute (MARkhI) supervised by Alexei Gutnov and Ilya Lezhava defended diploma projects for “A City in Siberia,” relocating the city of Crete to the river Chulym. This was the first experimental project—not based in typological or standardized plans—since the 1932 shift to the Stalinist *Ampir* (neo-Classical) style. The students proposed a New Unit of Settlement or NER, capable of flexible growth (Table 15.3: Baburov 1966).

The NER would be the zone of peaceful life, study, and an individuals’ maturation and relaxation. Such settlements were capable of expansion up to a set limit. Particularly significant was the idea that the NER must provide appropriate public facilities as residents’ needs changed throughout their lives. To this end, the authors proposed that cities with populations of a million or more should transform their vegetated areas (greenspace, green massifs) into a system of large autonomous districts, each with its own center. Their concept was refined and published as a monograph in 1966, which was translated into Italian in 1968 and then into English in 1971 as *The Ideal Communist City* (Gutnov 1971). This concept

received considerable attention at the time; a later version called *The City of the Future* (Table 15.3: Gutnov and Lezhava 1977) was exhibited in Milan at the 1968 Triennale and at the Osaka Expo in 1970.

The group also identified a second urban development format: settlement corridors (*ruslo rasseleniia*). These corridors, dominated by “active persons,” would comprise industry, colleges, research centers, hotels, entertainment zones, and nature preserves. A triangular network of settlement corridors would totally cover the USSR, with old cities and the New Settlement Units located along them. Such a network, they declared, was the most rational choice given the Soviet Union’s expanse. Moscow’s 1971 General Plan attempted to apply the concept of the NER, developing public transport and dividing the city into autonomous planning zones with a community complex in the center of each zone, but the approach remained primarily a theoretical intervention.

New Interdisciplinary Theories: Urban Landscape Planning and Cultural Heritage

In the 1970s, two methods—ecological analysis and landscape/physical geography science—were combined by a research group at the Central Town Planning Research Institute, or TsNIIP-*Gradostroitel'stvo*. This institute, unique in the context of Soviet planning, developed non-standardized research design projects. Researchers in the department of urban historical heritage reconstruction sought to understand the processes by which urban form evolves in order to identify the optimum planning structure for contemporary cities. The new *landshaft goroda* (city-landscape) method of reconstruction planning treated the existing urban environment as a physical-geographical landscape (*landshaft*) in which natural and anthropogenic elements contribute equally to the morphological development of a city and its landscape units. (This approach might be linked to long-established theories in Russian landscape science, as evaluated by Shaw and Oldfield 2007.) The historical urban fabric was considered an adaptive response, in the same way that a living organism occupies and exploits the ecological niche of its habitat.

The *landshaft goroda* or urban landscape method of planning relied on two concepts. First, that the differentiation of physical landscapes was a structural element that reflected the meso-scale impact of both natural and anthropogenic components, from the terrain to street space and building groupings. Second, that the present appearance of landscape units provided a foundation for their further differentiation in the future. Scientific mapping of the development process of the urban landscape, giving equal attention to its ecological aspects, therefore offered a rational basis for urban reconstruction. While previous planners had studied environmental factors such as air and soil pollution, intermittent flooding, erosion, and vegetation mortality, they looked at these elements in isolation. The new approach considered such factors in relation to each other as parts of an ecosystem and in relation to the evolving built environment in the area.

This interdisciplinary concept, with its emphasis on processes of city-landscape change, was applied by the researcher-practitioners of TsNIIP-*Gradostroitel'stvo* in pilot projects focused on Sverdlovsk (now Ekaterinburg), Penza (discussed later), Yelabuga, Kaluga, and Barnaul, and in research-design reports such as “An Evaluation of the Landscape of Historical L’viv for its Development and Reconstruction” (Table 15.3: Bocharov 1989). These projects continued the Russian planning tradition of developing experimental designs for buildings and urban spatial plans, which after limited application could be used more widely, enabling planners to incorporate innovation with experience.

In recommendations developed in 1983 for the reconstruction of Penza, the TsNIIP-*Gradostroitel'stvo* group analyzed the ecological parameters in which the city’s central district developed, the properties of the landscape and subsequent settlement patterns, the building types and characteristics of the urban fabric, and the degree of interdependence between natural systems and foundational compositional or planning elements of the city. Aspects studied included river-channel movement, forest plantings, topographic modeling, and the degree of agreement between natural complexes and city planning elements. On the basis of this morphological research, conclusions were drawn regarding the borders and characteristics of the landscape units that made up the city, incorporating as much as possible

Table 15.4 Significant post-Soviet Russian-language planning texts and histories.

Kirillov et al 1994	В. В. Кириллов, И. Л. Бусева-Давыдова, Н. Н. Годлевский и др. <u>Русское градостроительное искусство. Градостроительство Московского государства XVI-XVII веков</u> М.: Стройиздат [<i>Russian Citybuilding Arts: Citybuilding of the Muscovite State 16th–17th Centuries</i>]
Kosenkova 1996	Ю.Л. Косенкова “Конкурс на составление экспериментальных проектов жилого микрорайона города 1945–46. <u>Архитектурное наследие</u> , Выпуск 40: 177–184. [“Competition in Creating Experimental Design Projects for Urban Residential Microdistricts 1945–46”]
Gulianitskii 1993–1998	Н. Гуляницкий <u>Русское градостроительное искусство</u> . М.: Стройиздат. В 4 т. [<i>Russian Citybuilding Art in four volumes: 1. Ancient Russian Citybuilding 5th–15th Centuries (1993); 2. Citybuilding of the Muscovite State 16th to 17th Centuries (1994); 3. Petersburg and Other New Cities of Russia, 18th to first half of 19th Centuries (1995); 4. Moscow and Existing Russian Cities of the 18th to first half of the 19th Century (1998)</i>]
Kirichenko 2001–2010	Кириченко Е.И. и др. <u>Градостроительство России середины XIX - начала XX века: Общ. характеристика и теорет. проблемы</u> М.: Прогресс-Традиция. В 3 т. [<i>Russian Citybuilding of Mid-19th to early 20th Century Russia. In three volumes: 1. General Characteristics and Theoretical Issues (2001); 2. The City and New Types of Settlements (2003); 3. Capitals and the Provinces (2010)</i>]
Bondarenko 2002	И.А. Бондаренко. <u>Древнерусское градостроительство: традиции и идеалы</u> М.: УРСС [<i>Old Russian Citybuilding: Traditions and Ideals</i>]
Vaitens & Kosenkova 2006	А.Г. Вайтенс, Ю.Л. Косенкова. <u>Развитие правовых основ градостроительства в России XVIII - начала XXI веков</u> . Обнинск :Ин-т муниципального упр. [<i>The Development of Regulatory Foundations for Citybuilding in Russia: 18th to early 21st Centuries</i>]
Kosenkova 2009	Ю.Л. Косенкова <u>Советское градостроительство 1920-1930-х годов новые исследования и материалы</u> М.: URSS [<i>Soviet Citybuilding 1920–1930s: New Research and Materials</i>]
Meerovich et al, 2011	М. Меерович, Е. В. Коньшева, Д. С. Хмельницкий. <u>Кладбище соцгородов: градостроительная политика в СССР (1928—1932 гг.)</u> М.: Российская политическая энциклопедия (РОССПЭН) ; Фонд «Президентский центр Б. Н. Ельцина». [<i>Cemetery of SotsGorods: Citybuilding Policy in the USSR 1928–32</i>]
Nashchokina 2011	М.В. Нащокина. <u>Античное наследие в русской архитектуре Николаевского времени его изучение и творческая интерпретация</u> М.: Прогресс-Традиция [<i>The Legacy of Antiquity in Russian Architecture of Nikolaevskii period: Its Study and Creative Interpretation</i>]
Tsarev 2011	В.И. Царёв, общ. ред. <u>Градостроительство Сибири</u> СПб: Коло 2011 [<i>Citybuilding of Siberia</i>]

Source: Maria Taylor and Irina Kukina.

the historical-cultural legacy which contributed to those units’ formation (Gutsalenko and Krainiaia 1983). This method remains influential within present-day Russian city planning. Interestingly, similar conclusions regarding the plot as a elemental unit were reached independently by the Anglo-German school of urban morphology founded by M.R.G. Conzen, a convergence deserving further study.

(Post)Soviet and Russian History in Planning and Planning in History

Soviet *gradostroitel'stvo* actively incorporated historiographic research differently in its two peak periods. The first stage occurred in association with postwar reconstruction, and involved the identification of cultural monuments, protective zones, and historic fabric within historic cities (Table 15.3: Ikonnikov 1978). The second occurred at the end of the century. Then, the planners’ goal was urban

economic survival and the reconstruction of city structures as part of the post-Soviet transition from industrial to high-tech production, among other shifts. The challenge there has been to maintain contact points between the legacy of the old logic of the city plan and the reconstructed or newly formed districts (Kukina 2013). Where earlier political shifts had invalidated previously dominant modes of urban planning (such as the shift from perimeter block to free planning after Stalin's death in 1953), all aspects of historical practice were newly available for recuperation.

Russian historians currently emphasize the continuity of Russian city-building culture from ancient times to the present day, identifying persisting principles such as the compositional embedding of cities in the landscape, the integrity and dynamism of the urban environment, the hierarchical subordination of spatial planning levels, and the idea that even in the planned reconstruction of an existing town, the old town should continue to be sensed and seen, rather than fully subordinated to the new regularity (Table 15.4: Bondarenko 2002).

Historians of planning's global evolution have come to emphasize similar themes of persistence and circulation, but the enduring legacy of Russian and Soviet models on the international history of planning are too often left out of the loop. Recent cultural, environmental and spatial histories of Russia and the USSR, meanwhile, embrace topics relevant to planning history but lack deep engagement with transnational professional developments.

Conclusion

In conclusion, we reiterate that the current state of the field creates an opportunity and a need for planning historians. Greater incorporation of Russian and Soviet experiences into international discussion will push the field to question some otherwise habitual notions: when and how modern planning developed; its relationship to political and scientific sources of authority; issues of disciplinary/professional identity; the evolution of planning models including the linear city, garden cities, and factory towns; the changing relationships to nature and ecological systems, and the circulation of planning concepts and individuals within and between global regions. Doing so will help revive the ignored but crucial long history of conversation across national borders.

Related Topics

Ward: Planning Diffusion: Agents, Mechanisms, Networks, and Theories

Freestone: Writing Planning History in the English-Speaking World

Hu: Planning for Economic Development

Schott: Livability and Environmental Sustainability: From Smoky to Livable Cities

Notes

- 1 Eastview Press www.eastviewpress.com (accessed 27.4.2017).
- 2 Retro View of Mankind's Habitat <http://pastvu.com>; Retromap <http://retromap.ru>; the Perry-Castañeda Library Map Collection at the University of Texas–Austin www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/ (accessed 27.4.2017).
- 3 Multiran; www.multiran.ru (accessed 27.4.2017).
- 4 The bi-lingual Proekt Rossiia/Project Russia <http://www.prorus.net>; Tatlin www.tatlin.ru; Arkhitekturnoe Nasledstvo www.archiheritage.org; Academia Arkhitektura i Stroitel'stvo <http://elibrary.ru/issues.asp?id=25208>; and Gradostroitel'stvo (accessed 27.4.2017) <http://gosstroy-vniintpi.ru/grado.htm>

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16

FROM URBANISM TO PLANNING PROCESS

Convergences of Latin American Countries

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The expression “Latin America” has been used since the 19th century to identify particular countries in the American continent and the common aspects between them, such as colonization and languages (Spanish and Portuguese). The concept of Latin American cities that names common identities and issues is more recent. Since the 1930s, accelerated urbanization in the capital cities has been a common feature of Latin American cities: urban areas have expanded and precarious peripheral areas have formed, resulting in social disaggregation. In response, cities changed their planning between the 1950s and the 1970s, from urbanism to urban and regional/metropolitan planning. In most large cities, the speed of urbanization defied the ability of local experts to devise new strategies or to consider a multi-country context. Planning was linked to economic development, sparking discussions about the future of countries, worsening poverty, and income inequality. According to Gorelik (2005a), intellectuals and professionals of that period sought to offer a political answer to the problems of growth and poverty faced by the cities. The creation of a common identity was a strategy used in the construction of a critical line of thought and in the design of public policies.

This chapter does not intend to assemble a comprehensive history of urbanism and planning in Latin America, due to the risk of merging distinctive processes in cities and countries that have social and political specificities to be considered. Thus we emphasize processes, general tendencies, and movements.

Urban planning in many Latin American cities from the late 19th century to the beginning of the 21st century is similar in ways that we highlight in this chapter. In particular, we note the increasing outline of a strong professional field, resulting in the creation of commissions and local departments, as well as in the establishment of instruction on urban planning in undergraduate and graduate courses and the gradual change of scale from urban to regional and metropolitan planning. Moreover, we identify in the gradual evolution of urbanism and planning in Latin America some common aspects: a primary recognition of city planning as a basic requirement and a demand for plans and studies to reflect upon the expansion of cities and to integrate random urban works, which gave result to the establishment of rules and regulations. The involvement of foreign experts as consultants to prepare plans and projects changed during the period. Until World War II there was a prevalence of European urban planners; they were gradually succeeded by American experts and later by foreign agencies. The speed of urbanization of large cities challenged the local experts to experiment and propose new strategies to urban planning and to consider a larger multi-country context.

Latin American cities were an object of research by Americanists Francis Violich (1944, 1987) and Richard Morse (1988, 1992) as of the end of the 1940s. Starting in the 1960s, work on Latin American cities included studies of urbanization by Argentinean architect Jorge Enrique Hardoy (1972, 1992), and more recently of urban planning by Venezuelan architect Arturo Almandoz (2002, 2015), as well as a history of culture written by Argentinean architect Adrian Gorelik (2005a, 2005b). From this period there are also regional studies of urbanism and urbanization: on Brazil, by architect Nestor Goulart Reis Filho (1968); on Argentina, by Ramón Gutiérrez (2002); on Chile, by Fernando Perez Oyarzun and José Rosas Vera (2002); and on Cuba, by the Italian architectural historian Roberto Segre (2002). In Brazil, there has been an increase since the 1990s in the historiography of cities and urbanism supported by research networks (Leme, 1999) and disseminated by the *Seminários de História da Cidade, da Arquitetura e do Urbanismo* (workshops on the history of cities, architecture, and urbanism).

The Beginning of Urbanism in Latin American Capital Cities

By the end of the 19th century, engineers, the first urban planning professionals, were dramatically changing the structure of Latin American cities. The triggering factor was the epidemics that first hit port cities and then spread throughout the interior via the railway lines, killing thousands of inhabitants. This had happened in France at the port of Marseille, then was repeated in Argentina through the port of Buenos Aires and in Brazil through the Rio de Janeiro and Santos ports. Sanitation had to become a priority. Governments hired engineers to draw up water and sewerage projects and to lead committees to build this infrastructure.

At the same time, new export relationships with Europe and the United States expanded cities economically, triggering them to revamp and expand their ports. These works extended to other urban areas, with engineers embellishing and remodeling squares and constructing wide avenues. In the Brazilian cities of Rio de Janeiro, Recife, Salvador, and Niterói, these works flattened entire blocks and pulled down historic buildings and landmarks. In Rio de Janeiro, these avenues connected the center to neighborhoods in the northern and southern areas, enabling the city to expand even further. In Buenos Aires at the end of the 19th century, works on the port (financed by British investment in infrastructure) led to the construction of Puerto Madero at a more central location, replacing the old port facilities and reinforcing the transformation of the commercial center. Here and elsewhere, as in Porto Alegre (a city in the South of Brazil), ports reclaimed land from the sea and rivers.

The administrations of these cities also mobilized to solve congestion in central areas. They had to adapt urban structures inherited from the colonial economy, in which circulation was predominantly between cities and production centers. The streets were widened to adapt to new means of transportation, from animal traction to electric vehicles. These changes were based on the broad reforms made by Haussmann in Paris and Otto Wagner in the Ringstrasse in Vienna; Latin American cities carried them out selectively and adapted them to local conditions. Similarly, the principles of the Garden City movement, founded by Ebenezer Howard, materialized in projects for new cities and garden suburbs devised by Raymond Unwin and Barry Parker.

The projects to improve Latin American cities had high regard for new areas near the traditional commercial centers, and launched a gradual decentralization process through the displacement of commercial activities and of residential areas for higher-income classes. These interventions were implemented differently in grid-shaped cities such as Buenos Aires than on top of the irregular layout that had been adapted to the local topography of cities such as Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo.

In fact, the issue of circulation was present from the outset in the definition of guidelines for aligning buildings and for constructing, widening, and extending streets. These rules applied to more than traffic fluidity. In the early 1900s, a new city model was being designed, with broader streets, aligned houses, squares, and parks. The central areas in the cities were no longer defined by repeated use but by the projects of engineers and architects.

The 1920s were marked by plans dealing with the urban area as a whole. Based on an overall view of the city, these plans connected neighborhoods, the city center, and the city's outskirts through road and transport systems. This period also saw the appearance of the first zoning proposals. *Plano de Avenidas* (Avenue Plan), designed by engineer Francisco Prestes Maia, proposed an articulated system of radial and perimeter roads that would radically change communication between the city center and its neighborhoods, and new buses that would replace trams, enabling the city to dramatically expand. Planners in other Brazilian cities used this plan as a reference. Though the planning of circulation and transport in this new phase indicates the modernization of the city, the images that illustrated São Paulo, Caracas, and Rio de Janeiro plans evoked a Beaux Arts aesthetic. In 1930, the plan *Cidade do Rio de Janeiro: Extensão, Remodelação e Embelezamento* was concluded by D. Alfred Agache, a French urban planner linked to the Musée Social and to the Institut Français d'Urbanisme in Paris. The plan, influenced by the École de Beaux Arts in its monumentality and beauty, also had the characteristic elements of an efficient city, emphasizing transport and road systems, the connection with the neighboring municipality through a metro system, and basic sanitation.

Urbanism was starting to establish itself and become consolidated as an area of knowledge through planners' creation of courses in architecture and engineering schools in the main Latin American cities. Furthermore, it became an institutionalized professional activity as they established urban planning bodies inside their municipal administrations.

In Mexico City, the first overall plan was drawn up in 1930 with measures to improve the city's sanitation and health conditions. It foresaw the construction of parks and gardens in non-built-up areas, and of municipal markets as a means to remove street vendors from the streets. In 1933, the government legislated separate codes for the road system, which became the responsibility of Dirección de Obras Públicas, and for construction (specifically land use, occupation, and buildings' height and size), which was under the Consejo de Salubridad.

In Caracas, the 1937 creation of the Comisión Municipal de Urbanismo made urban planning official, followed next year by the creation of the Dirección de Urbanismo. The goal was to design a master plan for the city, with the help of a group of foreign consultants—an initiative with precedents only in the colonial period. French architect Maurice Rotival, from the Prost Lambert Rotival and Wegenstein firm, drew up the Plan Monumental in 1939.

Moreover, many foreign experts visited as lecturers and hired consultants to municipalities and professional associations. For example, French landscape architect Jean C. N. Forrestier acted as a consultant for the municipality of Buenos Aires (1925) and soon after drew up a general plan for the city of Havana (1925–1930) commissioned by the Public Works Ministry, with special focus on the park and square system and on new avenues (Hardoy 1992: 35). Such opportunities became a new professional field for these experts. In 1929, Austrian urban planner Karl Heinrich Brunner was invited by the Chilean government to act as a consultant for a plan for Santiago city, based on a sociological and economic approach, but without neglecting the morphological aspect. He combined a scientific and pragmatic viewpoint of urban problems with urban interventions that bore the traditional aesthetics of 19th-century design, such as using diagonal avenues to solve technical (circulation) and aesthetic issues. He also inaugurated a new period of professional urban planning by organizing Latin America's first workshop on urban planning and creating a Dirección de Urbanismo.

Modern Architecture and Urban Planning in Latin America

The principles of CIAM (*Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne* [International Congress of Modern Architecture]) were disseminated throughout Latin America by visiting architects who acted as consultants in local or national planning institutions. In fact, Le Corbusier first brought modernist principles to South America. In 1929, the Swiss architect visited Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Buenos Aires, and Montevideo, giving lectures and drawing up plans to tackle urban problems in each of those cities. For Rio de Janeiro, he proposed a flyover with residential buildings underneath a highway. For São Paulo, he drew sketches for a highway in the shape of a cross that was also designed over residential buildings. For Buenos Aires, he proposed an airport and commercial area on land reclaimed from the river. In 1936, he returned to Rio de Janeiro after being invited by Brazilian architects as a consultant on the projects for the Education and Health Ministry building and for the university campus.

His influence can be partly explained by the fact that some architects had previously worked in his office in Paris around the period of World War II. Among them were Spanish architects José Luis Sert and Antônio Bonet; the Argentineans Jorge Ferrari Hardoy and Juan Kurchan; and the Colombians Germán Samper and Rogelio Salmona (Hardoy 1992: 39).

Others brought modernist principles as well. The partners of New York-based office Town Planning Associates, the architects José Luis Sert and Paul L. Wiener, designed plans for various Latin American cities: Havana (Cuba), Bogota (Colombia), and Chimbote (Peru). In Brazil, they planned an industrial city: Cidade dos Motores (Motor City). Sert became an advisor at Comisión Nacional de Urbanismo in Venezuela, created in 1946 as a platform for modern principles in housing and public works projects, and led by Venezuelan architect Carlos Raúl Villanueva. In Cuba, Sert was an advisor at the National Planning Board, created in 1955 by the Fulgencio Batista dictatorship (Almandoz 2002).

Latin American architects adapted the new modernist ideas to their own contexts. The Ukrainian architect Gregori Warchavchik—who lived in Brazil, was a South American representative to CIAM, and wrote the modernist manifesto “*Acerca da Arquitetura Moderna*” (about modernist architecture) (1925)—was one of the first architects to employ the new paradigms. Other architects of note were Affonso Eduardo Reidy, Lucio Costa, Oscar Niemeyer, and Jorge Moreira, in Brazil; Luis Barragán in Mexico; Eduardo Sacriste and Antônio Vilar, who designed a multi-use project for the Argentinean Automobile Club (between 1937 and 1942), in Argentina; and Júlio Vilamajó in Uruguay. In 1947, Jorge Ferrari Hardoy and Juan Kurchan designed a basic plan for Buenos Aires, dividing the city into superblocks; this was a continuation of the work they had started during their internship in Le Corbusier’s office in Paris between 1938 and 1939 (Hardoy 1992: 39).

The Spanish edition of the Charter of Athens, published in 1954 in Argentina and adapted by Martínez Inclán in the Cuban Urban Planning Code, reinforced the principles approved at the CIAM Congresses in Latin America (Almandoz 2002). A great contribution, also, happened through academia, as many of CIAM’s disciples taught at universities in North and South America (Chile, Argentina, Colombia, and Uruguay) (Hardoy 1992). However, the diffusion of modernist ideas in Latin American cities was riddled with tension, including disputes between academics and modernists.

Additionally, the state was, in the 1930s, the only player that could execute large-scale architecture and urbanism projects. In the countries that had the biggest exponents in architecture (Mexico, Argentina, and above all Brazil), a large portion of the most important works was state-sponsored (Gorelik 2005b). In fact, the interests of the modernist movement and of the state converged: architecture acted as a symbolic representation of national modernity. During the Vargas Dictatorship (1930–1945), some projects in Rio de Janeiro incorporated the new principles, such as the Presidente Vargas Avenue (1944) and the Health and Education Ministry building (1936), a landmark of the

modernist movement. This alliance began in the 1930s and stretched into the 1960s. In this context were the university campuses both in Mexico and in Brazil; the schools designed by Juan O’Gorman; and the hospitals planned by José Villagrán García in Mexico (Gorelik 2005b). Moreover, Lucio Costa’s pilot plan for Brasília, the new capital of Brazil (1960), was promoted by president Juscelino Kubitschek. This project integrated Oscar Niemeyer’s architecture, and became a reference for the Modern movement in Latin America.

Urbanization and a Latin American Development Program

After 1930, large Latin American cities grew quickly: first Buenos Aires, Montevideo, Rio de Janeiro, and São Paulo, and then Lima, Caracas, Bogota, and Mexico City. With intense migration from the country, urban populations grew twice as much as rural populations, reaching 93 million in the 1960s (Union Panamericana 1967: 181). Estimates pointed to 40 million people migrating from the country to the cities in the 1960s, while the creation of jobs was expected to reach 5 million (Scheman 1988: 5).

Population growth sparked two processes in tandem: the expansion of urban areas and the clogging of central areas. The increase in potentially urbanized areas was initially attributed to the expansion of the railway lines and of the tram system, followed by the speedy construction of bus lines reaching new and increasingly further routes. But this city expansion was much more precarious than in previous periods.

The speed of urbanization defied governments’ ability to provide labor, housing, and infrastructure. A large portion of the population in these cities earned low wages, and their only options were to live in distant outskirts, on illegal land devoid of basic infrastructure; to find collective dwellings (slums) in the cities’ central areas; or to settle illegally in more consolidated neighborhoods, which led to the creation of favelas. According to estimates from 1960, 400,000 people in Lima, Peru (or 25% of the population) lived in 123 such precarious settlements (Union Panamericana 1967: 183). In 1965 in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, the favela population accounted for 11% of the city’s overall population and was increasing at twice the city’s general growth rate (Doxiadis Associates 1965: iii).

The inability of institutional and legal structures to adjust to this social and economic reality worsened regional imbalances, which were further aggravated by a weakening of local powers due to their financial dependency on central governments. Military coups and long periods of authoritarian government made the situation even worse.

The Organization of American States (OEA—Organización de Estados Americanos) and the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, created in 1948, gathered together theorists of Latin-American developmentalism and of the dependency theory, such as economists Raul Prebisch (Argentina) and Celso Furtado (Brazil). They pointed to underdevelopment as a key problem and to industrialization as the way to defeat it. Overcoming underdevelopment conditions should occur through ending dependency from central countries, rather than just through the modernization of the economy. In this evaluation, city growth disconnected from increasing industrialization levels resulted in over-urbanization, as was characteristic of Latin America.

The president of Brazil, with the support of the president of Colombia, proposed the creation of Operation Pan-America for Latin America in 1958. It combined external financial support and technical assistance, the basis for the Alliance for Progress Program detailed in the Carta Punta del Este (1961) (Union Panamericana 1967). The possibility of an alignment between Latin American countries and the Soviet Union was a real concern for the United States, especially after the Cuban Revolution in 1959. In November 1961, US President John F. Kennedy created the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the operating branch for the program. During the 1960s the objectives of the program in the continent were replaced by foreign aid to the aligned

dictatorships—thus evidencing that the issue of political security in Latin America had become the final goal of the international development program.

The housing deficit at the beginning of the 1960s in urban areas of Latin America was increasing by 1 million each year (Union Panamericana 1967: 184). The Inter-American Development Bank loaned \$200 million to the housing sector in Latin America between 1961 and 1964 (of \$450 million total loans in that period) (Union Panamericana 1967: 87). The resources funded the construction of houses for low-income families, but mostly in the periphery of the cities, in areas without basic infrastructure.

From Urban to Regional and Metropolitan Planning

Although experiences varied from country to country, the 1950s and 1960s marked the beginning of political awareness in different cities about the need to turn urban planning into an institutional process. Local governments gradually transferred power from public works institutions to urban planning teams linked to the executive power and to new independent planning departments. The circulation of professionals among Latin American cities helped to activate this process. With support from the OEA, two institutions were responsible for promoting the organization of inter-American networks. The Centro Interamericano de Vivienda y Planeamiento (CINVA), created in 1952 in Bogota, sponsored teaching, research, and an exchange of professionals to develop planning; the institution addressed the issue of social housing in Latin America and offered a postgraduate course on the subject (Restrepo 2003). The Sociedad Interamericana de Planificación (SIAP), created in 1956, focused on planning and development, holding biennial congresses in different Latin American cities. These became an important arena for debate, especially about urban and regional issues.

The exchange of Latin American planning experiences in another professional context was fostered by the Seminario de Técnicos y Funcionarios en Planeamiento Urbano, held in Bogota in 1958, with technicians and municipal servants from Latin and Central America. The themes discussed in the event dealt with important issues faced by the cities, such as the increasingly precarious housing conditions and the absence of public services. The conclusions reached at the Seminario were compiled in a document signed by representatives from Latin and Central American countries called “Carta de Los Andes” (Andes Letter). The letter reaffirmed the belief that planning should be employed by governments in the most democratic manner as a tool to overcome the great difficulties caused by low levels of economic, political, social, and cultural development (OEA 1958 in Feldman 2014). The document also introduced the metropolitan planning scale as a way to tackle problems in Latin America’s large urban centers. It stated that government needed to control land speculation, to create a public land reserve for social housing programs, and to levy taxes on unjustifiably idle lots. Regarding favela dwellers, the document proposed the creation of self- or mutual-aid systems with technical, economic, and social assistance from municipalities or social housing institutions, as well as the possibility of adopting different urban standards to solve problems (OEA 1958: 18–20 in Feldman 2014).

In this period, most Latin American countries started to define local planning as national policy, but it took them time to create an institutional planning system that integrated the local, metropolitan, and national levels. At first, new national planning institutions acted on an economic level, without results at the physical and social levels. In Chile, the new Santiago Intercommunal Planning Office in 1955 drew up one of Latin America’s first metropolitan plans. That country was also the first in the continent to implement urban development on a national scale, establishing the Housing and Urbanism Ministry (Ministerio de Vivienda Y Urbanismo) in 1965. In Mexico, the Federal District’s 1953 planning law strengthened regional planning guidelines (Almandoz 2015: 326). In Brazil, after the military coup, the Serviço Federal de Habitação e Urbanismo (SERFHAU) (Federal Service for Housing and Urban

Planning) was set up in 1965 to design a national urban planning policy and to centralize instruments and funds for its implementation. During its eight years of operation, SERFHAU offered technical assistance and granted financing for municipal plans. It also developed a cross-border methodology that did not take regional and local singularities into account, thus attracting a lot of criticism.

Transitioning from one planning scale to another (from local to metropolitan) became the object of new plans, prompting countries to found more complex institutions. In Brazil, by the end of the 1960s, urban structuring changed. In contrast to the earlier peripheral expansion of Brazilian cities, the government constructed big housing complexes and invested in large infrastructure, reshaping cities and reaffirming the new metropolitan regional character. However, institutionalization on a metropolitan level only occurred in 1973, through the creation of nine regions acknowledged as necessary for territorial integration.

In Caracas, the transition from local to metropolitan planning took place through the *Oficina Municipal de Planeamiento Urbano (OMPU)* (Municipal Office for Urban Planning). Created in 1960, it was an information bank responsible for studies and proposals within the Federal District, including the urban area contiguous to the Caracas Valley and other neighboring zones, but its actual acting scope was restricted to the Venezuelan capital. In 1973, a new federal jurisdiction unified the Federal and the Sucre Districts, extending OMPU's scope to the metropolitan area; accordingly, the agency was expanded into the *Oficina Metropolitana de Planeamiento Urbano* (Metropolitan Office for Urban Planning). This expansion was also supported with new funding and a new level of political coordination, specifically a committee of representatives from national and regional agencies and from professional and community associations.

The expansion of urban planning in Bogota included the participation of foreign experts, including Karl Brunner (1936), Le Corbusier (1951), and five years later, Jose Luis Sert, an associate of the Swiss architect, and his US associate Paul Lester Wiener. The longest-lasting result of this foreign consultancy was the creation of the *Oficina del Plan Regulador* in 1950, which organized local teams to work on the social and economic aspects of urban problems. Successive plans were drawn up for the expanding urban area (1958, 1960, 1964, and 1967). In 1969, with support from the World Bank, a study of the metropolitan area included all the municipalities for the first time. The two-phase study proposed alternative transport and infrastructure policies for metropolitan development through financing and legislation (Violich 1987: 240–243). Indeed, through financing, the Inter-American Development Bank and the World Bank encouraged the majority of Latin American countries to formulate development plans for national, urban, and regional planning. Additionally, interdisciplinary urban planning policies including social, economic, and political aspects increasingly became part of the World Bank and Inter-American Development Bank's own aid programs (Violich 1987). This led to a diversification of functions across the different levels, beyond physical aspects.

Conclusion

In the 1970s, the oil crisis and a reduction in exports had a marked effect on the Latin American economy. From an economic viewpoint, the 1980s were considered a lost decade due to an increase in poverty and in substandard housing. Yet it was also a period of important achievements in terms of social and political rights. Citizens organized urban social movements to demand housing, and transport and sanitation and trade unions; intellectuals and other segments of civil society played an important role in revising urban policies and urban planning principles.

After long periods of military dictatorship and the redemocratization of several countries in South America (Argentina in 1982, Brazil and Uruguay in 1985, and Chile in 1990), urban planning resumed, this time with popular participation within the constitutional scope. That is, after becoming more centralized under dictatorships, planning decentralized during the political

Timeline

- 1890-1910**
- **The establishment of urban planning in Latin American capital cities.**
 - Expansion, remodeling and construction of new ports.
 - **Puerto Madero** in Buenos Aires (Argentina), Rio de Janeiro, Santos, Recife and Porto Alegre (Brazil), to face epidemics. Engineers hired by local governments to draw up and to build sewage and water infrastructure.
 - New avenues, expanded streets adapted to the new transportation system from animal to electric traction. The references are the reforms made by Haussmann in Paris and Vienna by Otto Wagner.
 - The principles of the garden city model by Ebenezer Howard were adopted in **Providence** (Brazil) (1917-1919).
 - **Civil Engineers and Architects Engineers** were the first generation of urban planners.
- 1920-1950**
- **Comprehensive plans for the urban and suburban areas, with road and transport systems, and zoning proposals.**
 - Plan for Buenos Aires (Argentina) by French Landscape architect Jean Forrester, (1925).
 - Plan for Havana (Cuba) by French Landscape architect Jean Forrester (1926-1930).
 - Plan for Santiago (Chile) by Austrian urban planner Karl Brunner (1929).
 - Plan for Rio de Janeiro (Brazil) by French architect Donat Alfred Agache (1926-1930).
 - Plan for São Paulo (Brazil) by Brazilian engineer Francisco Prestes Maia (1930).
 - Plan for Bogotá (Colombia) by French architect Maurice Rotival.
 - **Monumental Plan for Caracas (Venezuela)** by French architect Maurice Rotival (1939).
- The creation of planning institutions in Latin American municipalities.**
- Dirección de Urbanismo in Santiago (Chile) (1930).
 - Dirección de Obras Públicas e Consejo de Salubridad in Mexico City (Mexico) 1933.
 - **Instituto Municipal de Urbanismo, Dirección de Urbanismo** in Caracas (Venezuela) (1937-1938).
- 1920**
- **Modernist Architecture and Urban planning in Latin American cities.**
 - Le Corbusier visited the Brazilian cities Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, Montevideo in Uruguay and Buenos Aires in Argentina. (1929)
 - Project of the Building for Health and Education Ministry, in Rio de Janeiro by Le Corbusier, Lucio Costa and Oscar Niemeyer, sponsored by the Brazilian State (1930).
 - Architects Jose Luis Sert and Paul Wiener partners in Town Planning Associates developed studies and plans for Havana (Cuba), Bogotá (Colombia), Cimbote (Peru) and Cidade dos Motores (Brazil).
 - Argentinean architect Eduardo Sacriste and Antonio Villar designed the multiuse Project for the Argentinean Automobile Club (1937-1942).
 - Architects Jorge Ferrari Hardoy and Juan Kurchan proposed Basic Plan for Buenos Aires (1947).
 - Project of the housing state Pedregulho in Rio de Janeiro by Brazilian architect Afonso Eduardo Reidy (1947).
 - University campuses were built in Mexican and Brazilian cities.
 - **Modernist urban proposals in Bogotá (Colombia) (1951).**
 - Spanish urbanist Andrés Chazarín is published in Argentina (1952) and adopted in the Cuban Urban Code (1954).
 - **Lucio Costa's pilot plan of Brasília, the new capital of Brazil, became a reference for modernist architecture in Latin America (1957-1960).**
- 1940**

- 1940-1950**
- **The new Latin American agenda: development, industrialization, and planning.**
 - Accelerated urbanization of most of the Capital cities in Latin America: expansion of urban areas and precarious periphery.
 - **Plan for Montevideo** (Uruguay), Montevideo, Montevideo.
 - Creation of OEA Organización Estados Americanos (Organization of American States) and CEPAL Organización Económica para América Latina e Caribe (Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean) (1948).
 - The circulation of professionals between Latin American cities with the help of two institutions: the Centro Interamericano de Vivienda y Planeamiento (CINVA) created in 1952, and the Sociedad Interamericana de Planificación (SIAP) created in 1956.
 - **Seminário de Técnicos y Funcionários en Planeamiento Urbano, Carta de los Andes** (1958).
 - Pan-American Operation for Latin America (1958).
- 1960-1970**
- **Transition from urban to metropolitan planning.**
 - Oficina Municipal de Planeamiento Urbano (OMPU) developed studies and proposals for Caracas and neighboring zones (1960). Inter-American Development Bank and World Bank encouraged and financed the majority of Latin American Cities to formulate development plans for national, regional, local and Metropolitan dictatorsships in Brazil (1964), Argentina (1968), Uruguay (1973) and Chile (1973).
 - 1961 Carta de Punta del Este, Alliance for Progress Program. Creation of the Ministerio de Vivienda y Urbanismo, Chile. (1965)
 - **Servicio Federal de Habitación e Urbanismo, SERHAU** in Brazil offered technical assistance and granted funds for municipal plans 1965-1973. Creation of nine Metropolitan Regions, in Brazil (1973)
- 1980-2000**
- Economic crises in Latin American countries with increase in poverty and in sub-standard housing. Organization of social movements to demand housing, transport and sanitation.
 - After long periods of dictatorship, democratization in Argentina (1982), Brazil, Uruguay, (1985) and Chile (1980). Urban planning resumed with popular participation, within Constitutional scope.
 - After becoming more centralized under dictatorship planning decentralized during the political reopening. New themes emerged on rules, policies and institutions: sustainability and environmental protection, the preservation of historic centers, and the recovery in land value.
 - The Urban Reform Chapter of Brazil's Constitution linked the responsibility of Urban Plan of the municipal level with the social function of property (1988).
 - Colombia's Law 388 established that everyone were entitled to the values from appreciation generated by public actions or rules by the conversion of rural land into urban land (1997).
 - Estatuto da Cidade, Lei no. 10257 (City Bylaws) Brazil (2001). Enacted regulation for instruments and added others that assured a recovery in land value.
- 1960**
- 2000**

Figure 16.1 Timeline from urbanism to planning process: convergence of Latin American countries.

Source: Leme, Maria Cristina da Silva and Rezende, Vera Lucia Motta, 2017.

reopening. In Brazil and Chile, for example, urban policies went back to being the responsibility of local authorities.

Housing policy made significant advances, improving favelas and constructing houses, although supply has never managed to meet demand. Old concerns translated into new themes that became the focus of rules, policies, and institutions: sustainability and environmental protection; the preservation of historic centers; and recovery in land value (surplus value) from new infrastructure.

Several countries have tried to formulate policies recognizing everyone's rights to the values that are generated by increased land prices resulting from the construction of infrastructure and the enactment of city planning codes. Colombia's Law 388, from 1997, establishes that everyone is entitled to values resulting from the appreciation generated by public actions or rules, or by the conversion of rural land into urban land. This is an exemplary case in Latin America, as it coordinates several planning levels and instruments, such as the obligatory auctioning of idle lots; giving priority to public authorities in the acquisition of land; and a readjustment of lots for partial plans. In Brazil, the Urban Reform chapter of the 1988 constitution linked the responsibility of the Urban Plan of the municipal level with the social function of property. This resulted in the introduction of instruments to facilitate the access of poorer populations to land, such as urban acquisitive prescription and land regulation enactment in occupied areas. In 2001, Estatuto da Cidade Lei no. 10257 (City Bylaws) enacted regulations that assure a recovery in land value, such as the granting of construction rights on a non-gratuitous basis; the transfer of the right to build; and granting priority to public authorities in the acquisition of urban land. However, the enforcement of these instruments has yet to be consolidated in several cities.

Related Topics

Ward: Planning Diffusion: Agents, Mechanisms, Networks, and Theories

Monclús, Díez: *Urbanisme, Urbanismo, Urbanística*: Latin American Urbanism

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17

SOUTHEAST ASIA

Colonial Discourses

Abidin Kusno

Southeast Asia is a challenging site for students of planning, a region of 10 countries known for its diversity no matter how hard one wishes to emphasize commonality. Almost all the Western powers (and Japan) colonized the region: the British Empire in the territories of Myanmar and Malaya (today's Singapore and Malaysia); the French in Indochina (today's Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos); the Spanish and the Americans in the Philippines; the Dutch in today's Indonesia; the Portuguese in East Timor. And adding to this crowd is Thailand, never colonized but heavily influenced by the multiple colonialisms surrounding its territory.

Any planning history of the region must address the question of periodization while bearing in mind earlier planning traditions before European hegemony (Blusse 1981; O'Connor 1983; Kathirithamby-Wells 1986; Murphey 1957; Reid 1980; Reed 1972a; Santoso 2008; Wheatley 1967; McGee 1967; Widodo 2004). Earlier global influences include the great Asian traditions of Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islam, as well as a variety of Chinese cultures and many local cultures, all of which continue to shape the region today (Lieberman 2003; Lombard 1996; Reid 1988, 1993). The urban forms and urban cultures of Southeast Asia thus consist of many layers of histories that seem to co-exist in the past and the present.

Nonetheless, the early 20th-century colonial era was significant in the region's history of urban planning. Though planning, as it is conceptualized in the West, carried a moral responsibility to achieve social efficiency and social justice, a colony was, however, still a colony, the site of "false fraternite, the denial of egalite, and the absence of liberte" (Rabinow 1989: 278). This chapter locates planning in the context of Southeast Asia's colonial condition, which planning literature has both confronted and helped to constitute. It first teases out concepts and issues that are important to the planning history (and historiography) of the region. It then indicates strategies of colonial rule and their influences on the architecture, urban design, and planning in the region. It discusses how assumptions about race, place, and culture defined planning and set up the boundary of modernization in the colony. It then problematizes the diffusionist approach of planning history for its assumption of power and its neglect of issues of reception and agency of the colonized. The chapter ends with a discussion of some of the works (from different disciplines) that have contributed to the revision of planning historiography. By way of conclusion it addresses the relatively important, but often neglected, presence of Japanese occupation in the region.

Capital Accumulation, Pacification, and Civilizing Mission

Urban historians of Southeast Asia have observed that (with the exception of Bangkok) capital cities of Southeast Asia were formed under Western colonialism (Home 1997; King 1980). Their notion

of “primate cities,” for instance, refers to colonial ports that acted as “political and economic headlinks between the metropolitan powers of Europe and many dispersed dependencies” (Reed 1972: 293; see also Ginsburg 1955; McGee 1967). Some scholars, in support of this thesis, argue that the region underwent a process of “primitive political accumulation,” defined by John Sidel (2015) as the application of both coercion and violence by the colonial (and postcolonial) state to incorporate the region into the world capitalist economy. Sidel describes the period of primitive accumulation in Southeast Asia as starting with the end of the Java war and continuing through the imposition of the Cultivation System in 1830, the liberalization of Philippine trade in the 1840s, the Second Anglo-Burmese War in 1852, the signing of the Bowring Treaty of 1855 in Siam, the consolidation of French rule in Cochinchina in the 1860s, and the extension of British and French rule to Upper Burma, the Malay States, Annam, and Tonkin in the 1870s and the 1880s (Sidel 2015: 9).

The latter part of this period was also the era of the emergence and diffusion of planning in the West. Planning in Southeast Asia could thus be seen as a means by which colonial powers sought to ensure order and stability in the process of incorporating colonies into the capitalist world economy. Such a process entails an attempt by the colonial state to make an “active intervention and innovation through modern state structures and forms of what Foucault called discipline” (Sidel 2015: 8). The 1904 city plans of Daniel Burnham for Baguio and Manila in the Philippines, for instance, have been understood as a product of the Philippine and American war (1899–1902), intended to discipline the public as part of the colonial civilizing mission (Torres 2010). Similarly, scholars have shown that the ordering of streets, the construction of new towns, and the design of civic centers and central markets in major cities in the late colonial Indonesia were aimed at pacifying popular radicalism that started in the early 20th century and culminated in the 1926 communist revolt (Kusno 2010; Shiraishi 1990). The sense of threat to colonial order included the fear of contamination: the colonial state perceived the part of the city populated by the colonized to be unsanitary. The preoccupation with sanitation thus also shaped colonial town planning improvements in different parts of Southeast Asian cities (Chang 2013; Yeoh 1996).

Capitalist accumulation, the civilizing mission, pacification, and sanitation were keywords for urban planning in colonial Southeast Asia (Cangi 1993; Chang 2013; Cote 2002; Home 1997; King 1976, 1990; Yeoh 1996), which complexly combined the social paternalism of modern planning with (orientalist) assumptions about “traditional” cities in the colonies (Rabinow 1989; Wright 1991). Town planning in Southeast Asia emerged in the early 20th century when cities’ newly established municipal governments sought to manage populations at a more local level with rapid urbanization, deteriorating indigenous quarters, threats of social unrest, and conflicts over land use (Cobban 1993; Colombijn 2010; Frederick 1989; Nas 1990). In Indonesia, for example, the 1903 Law on Decentralization gave the cities of Java power to govern themselves as municipalities (Nas 1990; Malo and Nas 1996), and administrators, architects, and planners as well as those interested in urban development began to exchange views in journals such as *Locale Belangen* and *Locale Techniek*.

Colonial Origins Revisited: Indirect Rules and the Limit of Planning

If colonial government played a key role in the pacification and modernization of the colony, studies of Southeast Asian urban planning were first carried out (publicly and privately) by colonial administrators, researchers, sanitary experts, social reformers, and town planners. Figures such as John Furnivall, Thomas Karsten, William Simpson, and Henrik Tillema, among others, made the challenges of the colonial city intelligible to the colonial state through their documentations, reports, and proposals (Englehart 2011; Cobban 1992; Chang 2013; Cote 2002). They actually lived in the colonies (some were even born there), married locals, and had families, and therefore had plenty of time to observe, fantasize, and write. While colonial governments commissioned most of their works, they might well have written others to overcome their relatively boring lives, or quite independently

as concerned citizens. Their perspectives were clearly those of their time, expressing the structure of colonial society of which they were a part. They served power, but they were also often times critical of colonial state and private capital shaping urban space. Their work did not comprise a single view, and their proposals for planning the city were diverse. Only some were taken seriously by the government, and some were distorted in the process, but their works nevertheless constitute a scholarship on colonial town planning. Historians of colonial and postcolonial Indonesian cities, for instance, continue to cite the works of Karsten and Tillema, sometimes as an inspiration, sometimes critically (Cote 2002; Mrazek 2002; Roosmalen 2008, 2014; Silver 2008). And their voluminous works are still relevant to policy makers and planners today.

What remains significant about their works is not so much their planning ideas, many of which were derived from Western town planning conventions, but their strong sense of difficulty in applying planning ideas in the colony. For example, seminal and perhaps a pioneering planning text, *Explanatory Memorandum of a Proposed Town Planning Ordinance of Cities on Java* (*Toelichting op de "Stadsvormingsordonnantie Stadsgemeenten Java"*), written by architect and town planner Thomas Karsten and agrarian law expert J. H. A. Logemann on behalf of a commission, analyzed problems of urban development as a result of conflicts over urban space that had resulted in "disorderliness" (Toelichting 1938; see also Roosmalen 2014). It stated that even after the establishment of local/city government, gaps and blind spots were everywhere.

The memorandum also suggested that Java's urban problems were tied to how power was held: that because power in the colony was fluid and diverse, the colonial state had only limited power to make a central plan. Many actors, interests, and processes worked on their own, often with no connection to each other. The colonial government had given autonomy to local leaders who presided over their different ethnic communities based on their customs and rules. Private enterprises constituted another group with autonomy, this time over their estates. The colony was made up of what John Furnivall (in his comparative study of colonial Indonesia and Burma) called "plural societies": different social groups (European, Eurasian, Chinese, and natives) who would "live, work and build in completely different ways, and in those respects have dissimilar needs, potentialities, and ideals: to some extent they even have dissimilar legal institutions" (as cited in Nas 1986: 94). From the memorandum, we get a strong sense that the colony was populated by a large number of people in areas unevenly touched by colonial governance, and they pursued a wide range of customary practices. In short, colonial cities were divided cities, with layers of indirect rule over which both the central and local administrations had very little control. The memorandum therefore did not propose that an overall planning be applied to all geographies of cities, a task it considered impossible to carry out, but it called for an application of selective and strategic state-led zoning to overcome disorderliness and potential conflicts.

The memorandum indicated that the issue of disorderliness itself was due to the larger system of poor governance, which had neglected the living condition of the colonized. It also blamed the colonial government for the messiness of the colonial city. Karsten pointed out that the colonial government had created spatial policies that invited conflict, such as the racial division of space. He sought to overcome this colonial segregation and to bring order by planning some zones of class hierarchy instead. The report is perhaps the best account of the condition of colonial cities in Indonesia to date. It offered few solutions but provided contextual information for problems of urban development to help policy makers or planners formulate strategies (Roosmalen 2014). It was written of course for the colonial administration, not for the colonized, for the challenge then was how colonizers might apply the "science" of town planning to prevent the threat of urban disorder and to maintain colonial power. Yet it also presented planning as a critique of the politics of colonial state.

For its part, the colonial state was more interested in maximizing economic extraction. It therefore sought to avoid unnecessary costs and risks in administering large populations and territories.

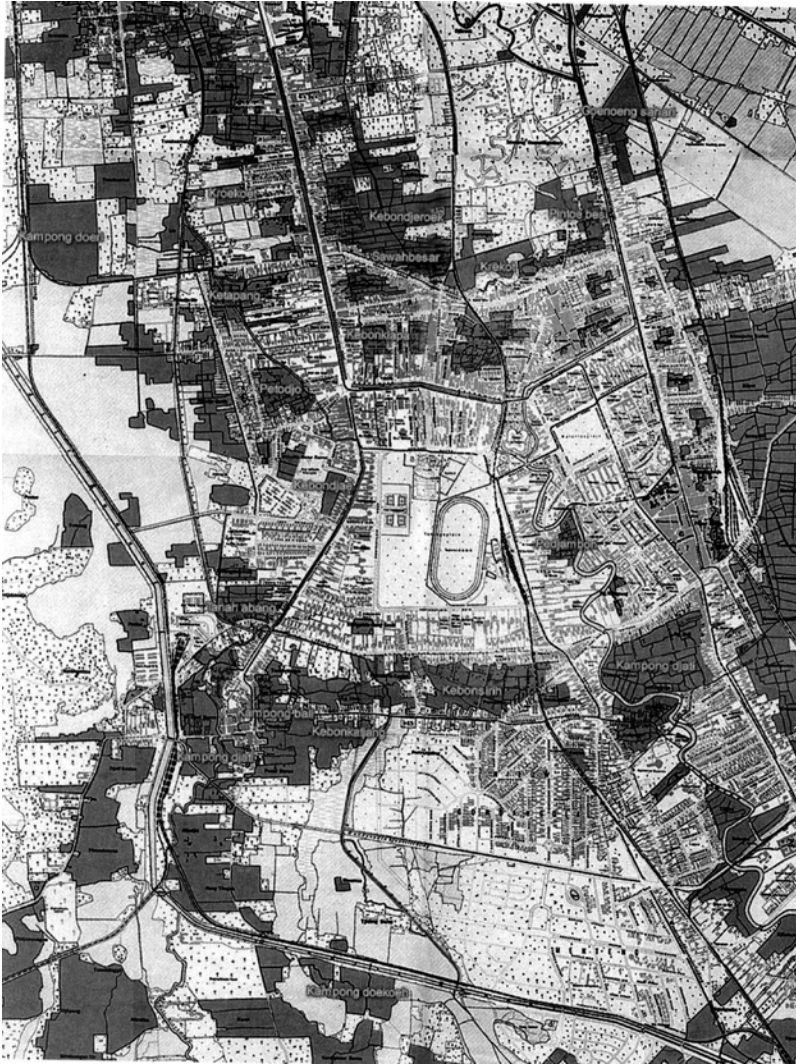


Figure 17.1 Map of colonial Batavia, 1930s; shaded area indicates location of *kampungs*.

Source: Jo Santoso.

It pursued a less costly divide-and-conquer strategy, ruling indirectly via local power and the fostering of difference. Planning thus encountered its limit in the colony. The limited power of colonial state planning was recognized by John Furnivall (1948) in his comparative study of Burma and the Netherlands East Indies (Indonesia). Furnivall noted that only the areas under direct colonial rule were subjected to market forces and property ownership, including new towns built on the principle of class status, all with modern infrastructure: Darmo housing in Surabaya (1926), Bandoeng Utara in Bandung (1917), Niew Tjandi in Semarang (1917) and Menteng (1918), and later Kebajoran Baru (1948) in Batavia/Jakarta. The rest of the colony, which was largely ruled indirectly, operated outside the formal land market, under parallel informal land markets. Thomas Karsten identified this area as *niet bebouwde-kom* (the unbuilt or yet to be built areas) containing most of the indigenous *kampungs* (lower-middle-class enclaves of social relations often based on ethnic origins), under complex indigenous laws (Santoso 2006) (Figure 17.1).

The art of governing the colony indirectly, by “minimizing political challenges” (Slater and Kim 2015: 27), shaped the planning culture of Southeast Asia generally. Planning only covered areas directly controlled by market and property ownership, and extended to the indigenous areas only at instances of outbreaks of plague or potential political threats, and when it did, as will be discussed below, it came with a double vision of modernism and traditionalism.

Technocratic Planning and Cultural Association with the Colony

The colonial state’s approach to indigenous quarters was, some scholars argued, an “associationist” strategy that prevailed in some colonial cities (Rabinow 1989; Wright 1991; Del Testa 1999; Cote 2002), combining traditional and modern approaches. Here indirect rule employed a strategy of architecture and urban design, accompanied by a rhetoric of cooperation and mutual accommodation between the colonizer and the colonized. The colonial state pursued detailed knowledge in order to incorporate existing local cultures, and paternalistically to bring them up to the level where they could appreciate modern planning. The works of Paul Rabinow and Gwendolyn Wright on architecture, urban planning, and design in French colonies of Indochina show that colonial administrations there were characterized by a convergence or coexistence of two contradictory visions: the modernist impulse to order space on the one hand and the Orientalist desire to preserve indigenous cultures, seen as embedded in native quarters. Planning became an experiment, and the colony, as a French urban designer put it, became “a laboratory of Western life and a conservatory of Oriental life” (as cited in Wright 1991: 322). Out of this double vision, a hybrid technique of modernization was produced, aiming for a planned community by incorporating existing cultures seen as embodying elements of modernity that needed reorganization.

Ernest Hébrard, an architect and a member of *Société Française des Urbanistes*, was an associationist technician. In 1921, he was chosen to advise the French colonial government on how to appropriate (what the French considered) local Indochinese material cultures into urban design. Hébrard believed that if Vietnamese architectural expressions were presented in urban design, Vietnamese people could be more involved in supporting the development of the colony, the colonizer and the colonized collaborating in a more efficient form of governance. Hébrard started by photographing and sketching indigenous architecture and urban form, from the high art of Angkor Wat and Buddhist pagodas to simple rural habitations, seeking “to find local antecedents for his official structures” (Wright 1991: 333). The result was often “a pastiche of exotic details on a Beaux-Arts plan,” as Gwendolyn Wright writes (334), but she further points out that “traditional forms were utilized in an effort to downplay resistance (from the colonized) while mitigating the more disruptive aspects of modernization” (339). Traditionalism and modernism not only formed a unified framework for urban planning, but their “association” also served to pacify the colonized.

Meanwhile, in colonial Indonesia, the associationist strategy overlapped with the state’s Ethical Policy. Initiated in the early 20th century, that policy prompted the state to “protect” indigenous colonial subjects from the excesses of urbanization. Concerned with their safety and health, the state began a project of upgrading the appearances and infrastructure of the deteriorating condition of their quarters in the *Kampung Improvement Program*—the work of the benevolent colonial state seeking to rule ethically for the well-being of the native population. What started as a sanitary upgrade soon turned into a mission to educate the *kampung* dwellers on the importance of a healthy physical environment as a basis for maintaining well-being and thus colonial order. Town planners played a major role in this venture. They debated among themselves about what constituted culturally appropriate *kampung* improvement (see Karsten 1935 [1958]; Cote 2002; Cobban 1992). Some of them saw the program as an excuse to ignore the shortage of housing for the working-class population living in *kampung*. Furthermore, the *Kampung Improvement Program* was limited to particular quarters, and its focus was largely confined to basic infrastructure such as pathways and



Figure 17.2 Central market, Semarang, Java, 1930s.

Source: Thomas Karsten. *Het Indische stadsbeeld, voorheen en thans*. Bandoeng: Stichting Technisch Tijdschrift, 1939.

drainage, as well as more permanent building materials. The upgrading of *kampung* nevertheless represented the benevolent colonial state seeking to rule ethically for the well-being of the native population (Kusno 2000, 2010). Yet it was the only “planning” effort ever applied to the space where indigenous population lived. Other planning initiatives to reduce disorderliness in the colony included the removal of vendors from the street by relocating them to central markets and regulating their operations (Figure 17.2).

Limited planning thus characterized the colonial city. It also reproduced the dualism of colonial rule in the land market (Colombjin 2010; Leaf 1993). It left intact the variety of customary laws that characterized indigenous land while leaving the colonized population clustered along ethnic lines in the *kampung* neighborhoods. Towards the end of colonial rule in 1942, Dutch town planners were able to organize colonial space only partially. The fragmented or divided landscape, often described in terms of modernity and tradition, continued to be the feature of the colonial city, with the streetless *kampung* behind governmental buildings, business districts with office buildings, and European residential neighborhoods supported by modern infrastructure.

Colonial space was not only a space of differentiation, fostering inequality with uneven urban development; it was also the space that showed the limit of planning. The colonial strategy of rule, based on minimum intervention, left a large part of the colonial city outside planning. Planning thus was incomplete. In some cases it was forced to compromise. Mapping partial planning illuminates only gaps, incompleteness, tensions, and ambiguity. In this sense, the colonial state could not perform as John Sidel (2015) later suggested it should: a Weberian disciplinary state through the standardized form of governance on which modern planning was founded.

Research Directions in Colonial Urban Planning

The historiography of planning tends to overestimate the power of European planning ideas, as in the suggestion that they were “imported” to the colony. What we have learned from the history of urban planning in Southeast Asia (as well as in other European colonies) is the profound connection between politics and planning. The purpose of rule in the colony was not to regulate the market against monopolies by the powerful or to protect public space on behalf of colonial subjects, but

to further the specific interests of the colonial state. A high modernist planning ideal did not find a place in the colony. It would be too costly to implement such an ideal in a space populated largely by colonial subjects, not citizens of the state. Planning therefore was limited in the colony, and it was only aimed at minimizing political challenges. While influenced by planning ideas in the metropole, planning in the colony was half-hearted, ambiguous, local, and experimental.

Furthermore, very little attention has been given to colonial encounters and their influences on the history of planning in the West (King 1991). The work of Anthony D. King, especially his intertwined histories of the metropole and the colony, upends the diffusionist narrative of historiography in which planning theories and practices were disseminated from the metropole to the colony (King 1991, 1984). While showing the influence of western urban planning on colonial cities, King also demonstrates how aspects of planning in the colony were eventually reproduced in the metropole (King 1984, 2004; see also Jacobs 1996; Driver and Gilbert [eds] 2003). Moreover, his *Colonial Urban Development* (1976) offered a framework for studying often unplanned “third cultures” in colonial space, a product of neither town planning alone nor only the spatial conception of the locals, but of elements from both sides. King’s work (from the 1970s) is critical of the diffusionism that assumes the undifferentiated influence of planning. Europe nevertheless remains the primary concern of King’s works, but his critical writings (1976, 1984, 1990) have encouraged a generation of scholars to examine the impacts of and responses to colonial urbanism (Nasr and Volait [eds] 2003; AlSayyad 1992).

Meanwhile, another set of scholarship, influenced by postcolonial studies, has emphasized the ambiguity, tension, and limit of colonial power. For instance, Gyan Prakash (1999) examines science in colonial India in terms of the contradiction between its emancipating promises and its role as an instrument of empire. Indian elites used this contradiction to produce their own legitimacy of rule, showing that science could acknowledge the validity of indigenous tradition for the modernization of society. Meanwhile, Ann Stoler’s (1995) work on colonial Indonesia focuses on the ambiguity of colonial subjects under census classification, and on governing desire as part of forming those colonial subjects. This kind of scholarship explores the difficulty of colonial attempts to improve the condition of natives in the colony, examining the contradictory roles of colonial technologies of power, including planning (see Chang 2016; Pieris 2009; Yeoh 1996).

Recent scholarship has also begun to change the Eurocentric view of planning history, focusing on the agency of the people and writing the region not merely as the object, but also as the subject of planning history (see Hosagrahar 2005; Perera 1998; Yeoh 1996, 1999; Vidyarthi 2010, among others). These scholars draw on concepts from postcolonial studies such as adaptation, translation, and appropriation to track not only subjectivity but new hybrid forms combining western ideas with local social cultural practices. Some illustrative examples are in order.

History and Agency

The directional shift in the study of colonial Southeast Asian urbanism, central to the (re)writing of the planning history of the region, began in the late 1990s. Among the earliest of these works related to planning is Brenda Yeoh’s seminal *Contesting Space* (1996). The title itself captures the agency of the colonized in contesting the colonial urban planning paradigm. Yeoh shows how ethnic Chinese people in colonial Singapore contested colonial domination by utilizing their own spatial conception in their everyday uses of space in various urban locales, ranging from homes and shophouses to verandahs and burial grounds. She shows that the production of space was never one-sided: planning was rife with Western cultural assumptions, which subalterns reworked to deal with power in everyday life. The power as well as the limit of planning can thus be seen through reception and adaptation at the local level.

Yeoh is part of a postcolonial generation that grew up in the state developmentalist era of Asia and was educated in the West in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Postcolonial studies were then transforming many disciplines in the humanities and social sciences, and the spatial turn of the 1990s (which drew from the works of Lefévre) put virtually everything about space (including urban planning) on the table for scrutiny. Yeoh's own field, geography, was already undergoing a major paradigm shift, with Neil Smith and Derek Gregory among others linking geography and empire (Smith 1994; Gregory 1994). Yeoh is among the first generation of scholars from Southeast Asia who developed critical perspectives and positions on knowledge production and ways of deconstructing the Eurocentric perspective of their disciplines from within.

Subsequently, students of architecture and urbanism in Southeast Asia have started to interrogate urban spaces during the era of Western colonialism as the site for the formation of power and identity of the local ruling elites. A recent study on politics of architecture and urban design in Thailand indicates the continuity of such scholarship: Nattika Navapan (2013) shows that King Rama V (1868–1910) toured colonial Singapore, Batavia, and Indian cities, to observe how colonizers of his neighboring territories planned their colonial cities. The king also sought inspiration in Europe on how to use urban design to beautify Bangkok and represent the power of his monarchy. On his return, the king redesigned the royal ground of Bangkok so the public could watch (newly invented) royal celebrations and popular western sports such as football, golf, and horse racing; his goal was to glorify the monarchy. In a few years, he added a grand avenue, Ratchadamnoen, inspired by the Queen's Walk in Green Park, London, and embellished it with street nameplates ordered from England. While following the image he had found in European urban design, the Thai king also incorporated local elements, ranging from traditional measurements and local construction materials to decorations, which used Siamese mythical symbols. In Navapan's account, the king exemplified a practice of appropriating foreign cultural representation to serve his own ends and those of his realm.

The Thai king practiced what historian of Southeast Asia Oliver Wolters (1982) called *localization*. This is a concept, widely shared by Southeast Asian scholars, which claims that “materials, be they words, sounds of words, books, or artifacts, had to be localized in different ways before they could fit into various local complexes of religious, social, and political systems and belong to new cultural ‘wholes’” (Wolters 1982: 52). In the case of the Thai king, threats from surrounding empires and conflicts within his own realm pushed him to develop a new form of spatial and architectural representation. Foreign planning intertwined with the local political culture of representation, and he used both to maintain power. What we have here is less a story of Western hegemony than an instance of a ruler appropriating the West and its urban design techniques to counter the threat of external powers, maintain autonomy for his country, and consolidate his power internally. Thailand is exceptional in the history of Southeast Asia, for it was never colonized; nonetheless, it exemplifies a shift in focus from the influence of Euro-American planning to the agency of different locales and actors in appropriating planning, part of planning history gaining a less Eurocentric perspective.

The revisionist study of colonial cities in Southeast Asia has benefitted from a range of studies on modernity from a variety of disciplines outside planning. Thongchai Winichakul (1994) showed that maps were a new tool of the Siamese court visualizing its territory so that the kingdom could gain recognition as a sovereign nation; Penny Edward (2007) demonstrated that interactions between the colonizer and the colonized, in both representations and urban experiences, produced Cambodian nationalism; and Rudolf Mrazek's (2002) analysis of technology and urban infrastructure analyzed how power worked rather incoherently in the colonial city. The works of Peter Zinoman (2001) and Anoma Pieris (2009) on colonial prisons in Vietnam and Singapore, respectively, have also enriched our understanding of how power operated in colonial cities (often above or below planning). In Malaysia, Khoo Salma Nasution and Abdur-Razzaq

Lubis (2005), and Lim Huck Chin and Fernando Jorge (2005) have also contributed to the study of colonial urban development from views and voices very different from those of the planners. Urban histories of the colonial era have been rewritten from local perspectives and changed the historiography of colonial cities. In the 2000s, the Netherlands Institute of War Documentation (NIOD) brought together Dutch, Japanese, and Indonesian scholars to examine Indonesian cities in the late colonial and early decolonization eras. Their works are based on local materials and often from the perspectives of the subalterns (Basundoro 2013; Colombijn et al. 2005; Abdullah and Abdurrachman 2010). The shift of focus from European perspectives to those of the local offers a more nuanced understanding of the colonial era to which planning belonged. Scholarship that takes contemporary urban planning as the primary focus of analysis is shaped by this recent innovative historiography of the colonial period.

The Absent Presence of Japanese Occupation

Planning literatures on colonial Southeast Asia have largely been focused on East–West relations, and to a great extent ignored the impacts of Japanese occupation of various parts of the region in the early 1940s (Hein 2003). Japanese occupation of Southeast Asia is different from Japanese colonialism in East Asia; I use the term “occupation” to indicate the different context of Japanese colonial presence in the region. Japan’s expansion to the region was part of a war against Western colonial states, so it carried an ideological narrative of “liberating” the region (Anderson 1966). One could therefore consider whether the colonial city began to break down during Japanese occupation of the region. In Java, for instance, Japan orchestrated the removal of Dutch statues from the public view as part of an effort to redirect cultural memory of Dutch imperialism to remembering Japan as liberator. This was registered in Japanese media: “Since the Dai Nippon army arrived, monuments or memorials that humiliated Indonesians have been all removed. The environment in the city and the *kampung* has thus been cleaned and refreshed” (Djawa Baroe 1944).

Throughout its occupation of Southeast Asia, which began in 1940, Japan had to mobilize its resources in the region for the war effort. It had virtually no resources for planning and no time to do so during the short period of occupation; instead it sought to unify people in the occupied territories, by force if necessary. Nonetheless, such efforts did sometimes involve reorganizing and reconceptualizing space. For instance, the Japanese imposed a system of *tonarigumi* (neighborhood associations) in both urban and rural areas, organizing households in clusters to share responsibilities for the order and security of their areas. This technique of community “mobilization and control” was adopted from Japan as well as from its colonies in East Asia, but in Indonesia, administrators promoted it as an Indonesian tradition: “a big family with mutual love and help, just like in one’s own family” with fathers as the head(s) of the group, even though “it was mostly taken care of by women” (Ozu 1943: 3). Bringing together politics and everyday life, *tonarigumi* and its spatial governance incorporated Indonesian people of various backgrounds into a unified citizenry to run the occupied region (in resistance to the “European colonizer”) (Yoshihara and Dwianto 2003). It survived wartime and became a postcolonial institution in major cities in Indonesia under authoritarian regimes.

Colonialism and imperialism magnified the diversity of the region by dividing different territories for the control of different empires and such strategy of domination contributed to the production of Eurocentric and top-down scholarship. Multiple colonial powers (which include Japan) mean multiple colonial histories and multiple archival locations, but scholars have approached these sites separately along the metropole and colony axis. And postcolonial national lenses have further compartmentalized the region. More comparative, relational work needs to be done on the inter-Asian colonial cities.

Related Topics

Ward: Planning Diffusion: Agents, Mechanisms, Networks, and Theories

Home: Global Systems Foundations of the Discipline

Hein: Idioms of Japanese Planning Historiography

Hosagrahar: A History of Heritage Conservation in City Planning

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18

POSTCOLONIAL SOUTHEAST ASIA

Abidin Kusno

Most cities in Southeast Asia face challenges that are a direct result of colonization: socio-spatial division, incomplete infrastructure, and fragmented planning. Colonial planning strategies were often absorbed into decolonized nation-states with few changes, in particular the strategy of differential planning, in which the upper-class areas were formally planned while lower-class and indigenous *kampung* areas were largely left alone to grow in the informal land market. In the colonial era, this dualism had stemmed from a belief that locals were of a different race and culture and should be kept separate, whereas in the postcolonial era the main factor that sustained dualism was, to a certain extent, the world economy's international division of labor. Nonetheless, with the end of Western colonialism, nationalist elites hoped to transform colonial space into egalitarian postcolonial space, supported by an ideal modern infrastructure applied to all parts of the city.

Postwar planning literature focuses on the legacy of Western colonial urban planning in postcolonial cities and how the new ruling elites sought to overcome, successfully or unsuccessfully, colonial legacy, planning their own future and writing their own histories. This chapter shows the different ways in which planning helped transform postcolonial Southeast Asian cities. It argues that while globalization and nationalism have become dominant forces of urbanization, the colonial legacy of divided cities and fragmented planning continues to haunt the postcolonial city.

The Colonial Legacy and the Nationalist Imagination

The end of World War II and the subsequent few years of struggle against the return of Western imperialism to Southeast Asia registered the political will of Third World nationalists for sovereignty and self-determination. These nationalist elites incorporated modernist planning and urban design in their anticolonial agenda: new urban spaces were supposed to represent the coming of a just, egalitarian, and prosperous future. They targeted the divided colonial city, which scholars often called the legacy of colonial dualism, attempting to unify land status (Leaf 1993, 1994; Kusno 2013). Indonesia's first vice president, Mohammad Hatta, decried the colonial state for largely ignoring the idea of providing housing for all Indonesians (Figure 18.1). Nationalist leaders in various Southeast Asian capital cities tried to overcome the colonial legacy by covering or marginalizing colonial structures with a new layer of modern buildings and nationalist monuments, and even by abandoning the established colonial capital altogether in favor of a new urban site (Bunnell 2004; King 2008; Kusno 2000; Lai 2007; Lico 2003; Reed 1972a; Ross and Collins 2006; Thompson 2007; Wong 2005). Such attempts however were hampered by the lack of the



Figure 18.1 President Sukarno reviewing the master plan of the new Jakarta, 1960s.

Source: Darmais, *Bung Karno dan Seni*, 1970.

technology or money to mass produce construction materials. Faced with complex problems of employment, education, housing, transportation, and other needs of the millions who moved to the cities, the new government had to resort to incremental planning and double standards—the policies of the colonial era. As a result, the postcolonial city is once again characterized by colonial dualism, the division between formal and informal land use.

Continuity between planning in colonial and postcolonial times can also be seen in the legacy of Japanese occupation of Indonesia. One clear example is a neighborhood association and community watch program that was central to societal control and war mobilization in the 1940s (Kusno, Chapter 17; Yoshihara and Dwianto 2003). The state and the civil society of postcolonial Indonesian cities still use this Japanese ordering of space to organize urban community. The relationship with Japan itself continued in the postcolonial period. Soon after the transfer of sovereignty in 1950, Japan set up funds for war compensation to help rebuild Indonesia. Sukarno, the first president, used considerable funds from a deal with Japanese construction companies to build the skyline of Jakarta along a major boulevard to symbolize decolonization. Buildings here included the 29-story Wisma Nusantara, then the tallest (office) building in Indonesia (to test earthquake resistance technology before it was applied to Japanese cities); the 14-story Sarinah, the first department store; and the 14-story Hotel Indonesia, the first high-rise hotel in the country. The Japanese government's close relationship with the construction industry, which started in the postwar era, had led to the internationalization of the Japanese construction industry with Indonesia and Southeast Asia as a locus for the industry's expansion.

The influence of Japan on Indonesian cities continued through the 1970s and the 1980s, as Japan became the largest foreign investor in Jakarta and Indonesia. Expecting Southeast Asian governments to pursue a “Looking East!” policy, taking Japanese cities as a model of urban development, Japanese consultants attempted to export planning and technology to Southeast Asia (Rimmer 1993). Urban transport planning occupied an important position in this regard (Rimmer 1986). And yet this infrastructure development was inseparable from Japan's profit-oriented interest in marketing its own automobiles. The import and distribution of Japanese cars, in the case of Indonesia, produced only more flyovers, ring roads, and toll roads instead of mass transit. A report by Japanese Transnational Enterprises Research Committee (1980: 4) indicated that Japanese “aid” had in fact “served the function of facilitating the operation of Japanese enterprises which made direct investments in Indonesia and which sold Japanese products there.” The massive traffic jams that plague the city today are inseparable from the political economic entanglement of Japanese automobile

industries and the Indonesian toll road business. In response to this calamity, Japan involved itself even more deeply in local planning. The government of Japan loaned Jakarta the money for a Mass Rapid Transit (MRT) system, Indonesia's first subway line; Jakarta hired Japanese construction companies to build it, and Sumitomo Corporation and Nippon Sharyo will supply its 96 subway cars (Sumitomo 2015).

Meanwhile Japan also exported new designer cities to the urban center of Jakarta. In the 1980s and especially the 1990s (during the downturn in domestic construction in Japan), Jakarta alone was already the construction site of almost all major Japanese construction companies. (See the list in Japanese Transnational Enterprises Research Committee 1980.) Working with Indonesian state and domestic private capital investors, they built banks, high-rise office buildings, shopping malls, and hotels, reshaping the skyline of Indonesia's capital city and remaking the city in the image of a "global city."

"Looking East" continues today, with Japan actively promoting its ideas, visions, and models of urban design and planning to Southeast Asia. Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), for instance, has been involved in developing "urban development visions" for some cities. Its projects range from proposing infrastructure planning for flood mitigation to sponsoring collaboration between cities, such as between the metro Cebu in the Philippines and the city of Yokohama (JICA 2013).

Japan's influence in the region is just one example of continuity between colonial and postcolonial conditions in the context of postwar geopolitics. It is important to note that in a region as diverse as Southeast Asia, the degree of continuity between colonial and postcolonial planning varies widely. Some places are making efforts to discontinue the colonial legacy, as in the case of Indonesia (in relation to Dutch history); others are building on the colonial past, as in Singapore (in law, education, language, and planning) that made the city-state one of the richest countries in the world. Much of the postwar planning literature evolved around this question of colonial and postcolonial continuity.

Postwar Scholarship: The Primate City, Modernization Theory, and Cultural Studies

A central theme in postwar planning history in Southeast Asia is national development as expressed in the capital city (Silver 2008). The great anti-colonial nationalist movement is indeed central to the history of Southeast Asia. After decolonization, that nationalism was soon incorporated into the nation-state. Yet that new state operated much like the colonial state, especially in the governing of its subjects, as Benedict Anderson ([1983] 1990) has argued that Southeast Asian nation-states are displaced byproducts of colonial states. They have produced categories, territories, and "cultural" positions for postcolonial subjects, including, in planning, urban hierarchy. Power, capital, and imagination are concentrated in the postcolonial capital city, much as they had been in colonial port cities, which served as "political and economic head-links between the metropolitan powers of Europe and many dispersed dependencies" (Reed 1972: 293). Postwar urban scholars use the notion of "primate cities" to indicate this colonial foundation of postcolonial cities in Southeast Asia, which some of them see as reproducing problems of unemployment, rural-urban migration, population growth, shanty towns and other bad housing, inadequate infrastructure, poverty, uncontrolled land use, ethnic conflict, environmental degradation, and social unrest (McGee 1967; Ginsburg 1955; Hauser [ed.] 1957; Laquian 1966; see also Laquian 1971 for bibliographical references concerning squatters, urban poverty, and city planning in Southeast Asia). In a comprehensive review of literatures on primate cities of Southeast Asia, Robert Reed (1972: 320) concludes that "the coming of independence in fact brought little opportunity for effective restructuring of the urban and infrastructural systems fashioned during the period of European dominion."

This condition of primate cities also serves as a background for modernization theory and dependency theory. Modernization theory has brought into attention the importance of economic growth and institutional management in developing a city; dependency theory points to the global structural inequalities that fracture cities in the Global South. Both identify cities in the region as of the Third World, and ask whether such urban development can be considered the same as “urbanization” in the First World. Some scholars have combined these two perspectives to respond to the urban challenges of postwar Southeast Asia, raising questions about the specificity of Southeast Asian cities while mindful that they depend on the geopolitical economy of the world (McGee 1967, 1991a and b; Dick and Rimmer 1998; Douglass 2000, 2010; Ginsburg 1971; Yeoh 2001).

Terry McGee’s work on Southeast Asian cities (1967, 1971) was perhaps the first to theorize the region’s postwar urbanization. He coined the term *urban involution* (after Clifford Geertz’s “agricultural involution”) to depict both the failure of Third World cities to urbanize and the exploitative capitalist relations that ride on the back of postcolonial regimes. McGee also studied hawkers (people selling various goods on the street) in the city (McGee and Yeung [eds] 1977), and argued that planning and urban policy should follow suit. His later work on megaurban regions (McGee 1991b) continued to explore the specificity of Southeast Asian urbanism without losing sight of comparable political economic processes in Latin American cities (McGee and Armstrong 1985).

McGee’s works (with strength in economic geography), while influenced by modernization theory, set up a research question for subsequent scholars interested in the urban transition of Southeast Asia: whether urbanization in that region could be seen as following a global trend (including a long period of development which involved the colonial era), or if there is something exceptional about it (see Dick and Rimmer 1998, 2003; Forbes 1996; Evers and Korff 2000; Jones and Douglass 2008). These later works (largely in the disciplines of social sciences, with a focus on planning and development studies) had a sometimes explicit comparative framework, considering Southeast Asian dynamics in light of urban developments in the Global North and South. Most of them employed statistical information, ranging from charts and tables to descriptive comparisons, to indicate trends and to account for similarities and differences. They are able to grasp underlying processes and connections through this data even though they pay little attention to urban form and the subjectivities of people living in the city.

In the 1990s, scholars from history and human geography began to study Southeast Asian cities, in what has been called the humanities turn. Their new concept, *postcolonial urbanism*, was an attempt to tease out the specificity of Southeast Asian urbanism, considering micro-political agencies and cultural contexts below the state level, including gender and racial or ethnic groupings, in the transformation of the city (see Askew and Logan [eds] 1994; Bishop et al. [eds] 2003; Yeoh 2001; Goh and Yeoh [eds] 2003; Kim et al. [eds] 1997; Goh 2002; Nalbantoglu and Wong [eds] 1997; Bunnell, Drummond, and Ho [eds] 2002; Evers and Korff 2000). It was part of a larger debate about the extent to which Southeast Asia imported or exported urbanism (see Nasr and Volait [eds] 2003), and the power of “Western cultural imperialism” and capitalist modernization. They proposed that more interpretative approaches, embedded in local knowledge and experiences, would make stories of modernization and dependency more ambiguous, as they would make more visible how various subjects invested meaning in the city. Postcolonial urbanism engaged with domains left out by numbers: the unplannable realms of cultural assumptions, urban imaginaries, dreams, and nightmares; of real and unreal natures; the experiential and the embodied; and the spiritual (see also Askew 2004; Goh 2005; Heryanto 2008; Kusno et al. 2011; Lim and Yamamoto [eds] 2012).

Despite different approaches, scholars working on the region consider issues of nationalism and development to be central to the study of Southeast Asian cities. They see nationalism as a powerful force of liberation against imperial power, and development as an ideology for engaging with

the progress of the world. They also see the liberalization of economy (in the mid-1980s) and the concomitant globalization discourse as the driving force behind the power of private developers, which have since then played an instrumental role in the transformation of urban space.

Planning Under State Modernism

One of the major concerns in the study of postcolonial Southeast Asian urban planning is the role of the state, especially of authoritarian regimes involved in development. Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore, Ferdinand Marcos of the Philippines, and Sukarno and Suharto of Indonesia—all of these leaders could be said to be pursuing what Paul Rabinow (1989: 343) has described as a practice of “middling modernism”: “a set of functionally oriented technologies . . . freed from the moorings of history, locale, and socially saturated environment.” The focus on the “socio-technical rather than historic-natural milieu” is popular among political elites as it offers the possibility of breaking away from the colonial past, and of creating a new urban world through city planning/design. It also is a way of controlling and disciplining society by way of spatial engineering (Scott 1988).

The city-state of Singapore was most committed to this middling modernism. Lee Kuan Yew and his planning team built it in part by transforming its housing (Latif 2009). In 1947, the Housing Committee issued a report about the Singapore left by the British Empire:

A chaotic and unwieldy megalopolis has been created, as in other countries, by haphazard and unplanned growth. . . . No provision is made for road improvements, open spaces or public buildings or amenities. . . . while in the meantime a generation has lived and grown under conditions which are detrimental to health and morals (as cited in Latif 2009: 56).

In 1960, the Housing Development Board (HDB) and the Planning Department were quickly established within the central government machinery. The aim was to house people in high-rise apartments. In just about five years, the HDB, led by Lim Kim San, built more than 17,000 housing units on the Queenstown housing estate. Lim knew that:

People just disliked to be pulled away from their place of residence and go to a new place and mix with new people. But as I said, we have no alternative. If we want to house that many people, if people of Singapore want satisfactory housing instead of *atap*—(thatched roof) huts and slums, you have got to go high . . . (and) having come from slums, many had to be educated to the use of garbage chutes and minimum standards of cleanliness. Most children had never seen an elevator and women were frightened to get in them. People had to be educated to their use, and instilled with a sense of civic responsibility to help keep them clean and free from litter (Lim as cited in Latif 2009: 85 and 87).

Social engineering—with emphasis on cleanliness, the disciplining of the public, and the planning of the built environment—was part of an anti-communist campaign. But the leader of Singapore understood communism so well that he took over its social political base, that is the working class, by providing them with health care, housing, and education (Chua 1997) (Figure 18.2).

Singapore planners thus developed an exceptional form of state modernism that planned the city-state and made it into a point of reference for mayors and governors in neighboring countries (Roy and Ong [eds] 2011). Singapore is also exceptional in its response to colonial remains: the statue of Sir Stamford Raffles, whom the government acknowledges as the founder of the modern Singapore, is still standing proudly at the center of the city, as is Raffles Hotel, preserved as one of the most expensive hotels in the region. Raffles landed in Singapore in 1819 as the lieutenant-governor of the British colony at Bencoolen. He planned Singapore according to different ethnic divisions for



Figure 18.2 Singapore, 2000s.

Source: Abidin Kusno.

the purpose of organizing trading areas. His intention was to challenge the Dutch by turning the island into the largest trading port in the region. Today his name is remembered in numerous places and institutions, including Raffles City, Raffles College, Raffles Hotel, Raffles Institute, and Raffles Place. In contrast, Raffles' counterparts in Jakarta (the founder and all the governor generals of the Dutch East Indies) received a different treatment: all statues of Dutch heroes were dismantled much earlier (thanks to Japanese occupation) and a tropical Hotel des Indies was demolished for a modernistic shopping mall. All the street names were changed and Batavia was renamed Jakarta. The old part of Jakarta, where the Dutch first established a colonial trading port, would have been completely abandoned if foreign experts had not pointed out its value as a touristic site.

Southeast Asian countries have relatively recently integrated the preservation of colonial buildings and old towns (which some scholars called the disappearing cities of Asia) into new planning, thanks to global tourism, heritage discourses, and city branding, all of which started in the 1980s (see Logan 2002; Yeoh 2005). Other forces have also been at work. In Singapore, the fear of internal division and ethnic conflict produced a hard nationalist state that adopted modernism. This state modernism included planning discourses, from preserving colonial buildings to developing high-tech "tropical architecture"—climatically responsive intelligent buildings that Singapore architects and planners see as a non-political signifier of Singapore identity (Chang 2016; Tay 1989). And preserving British monuments, British-style education, and continuing official use of the English language were part of integrating the multiethnic country. English simultaneously globalizes Singapore and transcends the ethnic politics that might fracture the nation should one local language be privileged.

Singapore's neighbor, Malaysia, shares a history of British colonialism but planned its capital city differently. Malaysia consists of different ethnic groups, including sizeable Chinese and Indian minorities, and state-building in the 1960s was intended to build a multiethnic nation represented by the term Malaysia. In the 1970s, the Malaysian government issued policies designed to favor ethnic Malay (see also Lai 2007; Goh 2002). Economic competition between ethnic Chinese and Malay in the 1980s prompted Prime Minister Mahatir Mohammad to issue the affirmative-action policy

of the New Malay to elevate the economic position of the ethnic Malay. Tim Bunnell (2004) and others have called this state's identity politics a *discourse of Malay-nization* (referring to ethnic Malay in association with Islam) betraying an earlier more inclusive *discourse of Malaysian-ization*. To express Malay-nization, the state planned a new city, building a series of modernist buildings, including the then-tallest skyscraper in the world, the Petronas Tower; a new governmental complex, Putra Jaya (the triumph of the "Malay" nation); and a new high-tech industrial complex, Cyber Jaya, on the outskirts of Kuala Lumpur. Bunnell (2004) has shown that the modernist complexes are architectural references to Islam, which has increasingly played a role in defining the public space of Malaysian cities. In both Singapore and Malaysia, leaders appropriated modernist discourse, including urban planning, but they invest it with different meanings for different kinds of nation building.

Private Developers, Neoliberal Global Integration, and the Informal Sector

If scholars have noticed the role the state has played in changing Southeast Asian cities, they have also noticed non-state agents taking advantage of the market-driven urbanization of the region. Private developers were especially active in the 1980s, known in the region as the era of economic liberalization. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank in the 1980s set free-market economic policy reforms for countries they financially assisted. Their Structural Adjustment Programs aided the state and planning agencies to create an enabling condition for the private sector to participate in urban development (McCarney and Stren [eds] 2003). Soon the World Bank identified the city as an engine for economic growth. Thus, as Michael Douglass points out, "Two interwoven processes—urbanization and globalization—circumscribe contemporary social, political, and economic transformations taking place in Pacific Asia" (2000: 2315).

For some critical urban scholars, the relation between globalization, economic growth, and urban policy points to a condition of neocolonialism. In this scenario, the developmental state continues to create favorable conditions for private developers, as the agents of global capitalism, to bring the world to the city with high-end property developments (see Marshall 2003). Planners seemed to have foreseen the potential urban conflicts in such market-dominated policy, and proposed planning as a solution. For instance, Giles Clarke wrote a report for the World Bank in 1986: "Jakarta, Indonesia: Planning to Solve Urban Conflicts" (Clarke 1986). Yet such proposals did not bring planning to the state. Instead, private developers in Indonesia, and behind them the state, became the directors of urban change (Nas [ed] 2005). They identified themselves as "planners," though they meant planning limited to their business. They acquired massive amounts of land through the state's oligarchic power relations (Cowherd 2002; Firman 2004; Leaf 1991).

In Manila, the government continued to subsidize private-sector development while planning agencies gave up the concept of public good. All of this constituted what Gavin Shatkin calls the "privatization of planning," or "the transfer of power over and responsibility for the visioning of urban futures and the exercise of social action for urban change from public to private sector actors" (Shatkin 2008: 388; see also Olds 2001; Rimmer and Dick 2009; Lee and Yeoh 2006; Shaktin 2011; Nas 2005) (Figure 18.3).

Private developers often promote their businesses as building the world city. This aspiration, along with the acquisition of massive land portfolios and investment of huge sums of capital, have prompted urban scholars to argue that urban forms in Southeast Asia are becoming similar to those of metropolitan countries in the First World. Dick and Rimmer (1998) in particular, argue that they resemble those in the United States, including high-rise offices, gated residential communities, shopping malls, freeways, and the decline of public space. At the level of urban life, they see the similarities between the middle classes of globalized cities: they desire comfort and fear public space, and so they seek to distance themselves from the inchoate urban mass. Ethnic antagonism



Figure 18.3 Private urban megaproject.

Source: Abidin Kusno.

is another dynamic that such cities share. Dick and Rimmer portray the cities in Southeast Asia as being among many other cities of the world undergoing a single urban discourse. The history of urban planning here is the history of flexible movements of capital producing the urban forms and space of a globalizing city.

Yet another group of scholars explores the “unique elements of Southeast Asian urbanization” (McGee 1967: 171; see also O’Connor 1983). As pointed out earlier, in 1967 Terry McGee identified a common identity for the cities in Southeast Asia beyond the category of Third World cities. McGee (1991a, 1991b) continued after several decades to defend the distinctiveness of Southeast Asian urbanization, explaining the emergence of new regions of extended urban activity with the *desakota* model (from the Indonesian words *desa* for village and *kota* for town). This term refers to a region between two large urban cores that develops a highly mixed rural and non-rural activity. This kind of space emerges only in the postcolonial era from the 1980s, and is “exceptional space” as it is planned by the state to be (ironically enough) outside planning so that it can follow the flexible interests of capital. New *desakota* development in these areas retains the mixed rural and urban activities; it is driven by private-property developers and multinational corporations, though it also includes ad hoc unplanned developments by local populations. But for McGee, *desakota* is a product not of planning per se but of a distinctive collaboration between the state and “peripheral capitalism” (McGee 1991b: 341; see also Harms 2011; Labbe 2011). The debate over the convergence and divergence of planning, urban form, and urban life continues today.

In any case, both sides agree that private developers, and behind them the state, have driven urban planning in many Southeast Asian urban regions, and one could argue that they contributed to the Asian financial crisis in the later 1990s. The crisis hit Thailand hard, and it even broke down the authority of the Indonesian government. Yet as Southeast Asian countries phased out authoritarian regimes in the 21st century, the subsequent decentralized governance and democratization in the socio-political domain have not dismantled the domination of property developers. Instead they only furthered the privatization and decentralization of planning.

Enabling People as Infrastructure

The great urban transformation of Southeast Asia in the 1980s and the 1990s had exacerbated unequal urban development, but it also brought urban planning into the consciousness of the public. An observer noted that there was “a dramatic rise of attention to urban issues” among scholars in Indonesia in the 1980s (as cited in Stren 1996: 109). Many urban issues related to planning were discussed in national media, including new urban management, private/public partnerships, and the possible roles of planning in reshaping urban space. Most visible were micro-level case studies of the urban poor from the informal sector. It is not entirely clear if scholarly and popular interest in the urban poor and the marginal small neighborhoods and communities at that time were related to the increasing presence of NGOs in urban poor assistance. But urban change has certainly marginalized the working class in the informal sectors, even though the growth of Indonesian economy has always depended on their provision of cheap labor and goods. In a city that offers them almost no support, and where infrastructure is unreliable and inadequate, the urban poor have turned themselves into a kind of infrastructure that reworks the city (Simone 2010, 2014; see also Roy 2005) (Figure 18.4).

There were, however, moments when elites invited the urban poor to become more formal agents of urban planning. This was due in large measure to the World Bank’s strategy of “enabling” non-state agencies to take part in urban economic development. The World Bank’s discourse of “enabling” has released the energy of the multitudes. Since the 1980s, local government, civic institutions, NGOs, and communities have participated in urban development as a basis for economic growth (see Beard et al. [eds] 2008; Porio 2003). This discourse of enabling people was based on 1968 urban radicalism challenging dominant positions in planning education and practice (see Beard et al. [eds] 2008). However, by the 1980s, the discourse had been incorporated into the dominant language of participatory planning, leaving open the question of who is enabled and who is benefitting from the discourses of enabling.

One of the most debated programs of “enabling” is “slum upgrading,” a policy that can be traced back to colonial policies. In Indonesia, the 1968 World Bank-funded “Kampung Improvement



Figure 18.4 Kampung Pulo, Jakarta, 2014.

Source: Abidin Kusno.

Program,” seen as embodying good development, ended in the 1990s; it was recently revived under the discourse of enabling, with multi-sector partnerships between local government, NGOs, and communities focused on physical upgrading (Steinberg 1992). Some scholars see this shift as empowering citizens even though their participation is usually minimal (Tunas and Peresthu 2010; Winayanti and Lang 2004). Others see such improvement of the physical environment as primarily benefiting the modern capitalist sector, which counts on the cheap labor of the poor.

Concomitant to the discourse of enabling is the program of land certification, an official response to the informal land market system which sustains the irregular settlements. Aggressively promoted by the World Bank in the 1990s, land certification was supposed to eliminate the informal land market by integrating it into the formal land market, thus dissolving the dualism in the urban land market inherited from colonialism. It follows Hernando de Soto’s idea of “enabling” the poor to become citizens and to plan for their lives, changing their supposedly “dead capital” into real capital to integrate them into the world economy. In this discourse, land certification of kampung is tied to urban citizenship. It provides the means for individuals to become homeowners, and thus eligible urban subjects. Critics argued that land certification would actually dissolve not dualism but the informal land market on which most of the kampung stood, making housing unaffordable for the urban poor (Kusno 2013; Leaf 1994). They considered land titling to be a form of silent eviction of those who rely on the informal land market.

Planning from Below

The discourse of enabling nevertheless has allowed people to claim their right to live in the city that previously denied them. For instance, in the past 10 years, NGOs have identified the environmental sustainability of irregular settlements and the practices of the urban poor in the city (King and Idawati 2010; Kusno 2013). They point to urban farming in kampung, as well as recycling and composting, showing that these practices have long been part of daily life of people living in the irregular settlements. Showing themselves to be “green citizens,” the kampung dwellers hope to persuade the city government to spare them from eviction and accept their neighborhoods. We have here an example of “planning from below,” in which poor people appropriate the discourse of “going green” in order to claim the right to the city.

Meanwhile, since the 2000s, the local government and the middle class have been greening the urban environment too. The local government seeks capital investment, and one of the strategies to attract it is to make the city “livable.” The middle classes are keen to live and work in the city, in part to avoid massive traffic jams, and they also want the city to be green. They form various citizenship movements on the urban environment: conserving and cleaning remaining natural environments and parks; cleaning up rivers; and demanding more and better sidewalks, bike lanes, and green spaces. Their campaigns do not always sit well with the urban poor, who (for example) use sidewalks and parks to ply their trades and therefore to survive. Observing citizens’ involvement in making their city more “livable,” Mike Douglass and others propose the idea of “civic space” (Douglass, Ho, and Ooi [eds] 2007; Douglass and Daniere [eds] 2008), asking whether such space can be planned, produced, and sustained outside the interests of the state and capital.

The green discourses we have discussed so far point to not only community participation in urban affairs and planning, but also to the reality of rapid environmental degradation in the city. In Jakarta, citizenship movements for a greener city came in response to the massive exploitation of ground water by industries and real-estate developers. Indeed, megaprojects such as luxurious mixed-use superblocks are mushrooming in the central part of the city, and it is obvious that they are as environmentally unsustainable as suburban sprawl. They have contributed to regular flooding, traffic jams, and air pollution. Yet issues such as flooding cannot be solved within the territory of the municipality. In Jakarta, 13 rivers flow across the city, with the upstream areas beyond the

control of the municipality. The uncontrolled construction of villas and resorts, and the disappearance of water catchment areas upstream have all contributed to the flooding in the city. But there is no megaurban governance structure to coordinate the rivers or manage the waters as a whole. The city government prefers to operate within its administrative domain, targeting the riverside settlements as illegal. Foreign engineering corporations have stepped in with megapanning solutions. For instance, a Dutch engineering company has proposed building a giant seawall on the waterfront (in the shape of Garuda, the mystical national bird) to save the city from sinking.

Conclusion

In *Splintering Urbanism*, Stephen Graham and Simon Marvin (2001) argue that since the 1980s the provision of urban infrastructure has largely shifted from the state to private companies. Enabled by global capitalism, this privatization has splintered infrastructural networks of cities all over the world. Yet, as this chapter has shown, cities in Southeast Asia do not follow this narrative of epochal change. They have imported a variety of planning ideas from the West, including privatization and “enabling,” but (except for Singapore) without the state also practicing urban planning. There was no shift, only a continuation of fragmented planning from colonial times. Despite the pursuit of modernization after decolonization, almost all cities in Southeast Asia have not been defined by the high-modern ideal of an integrated urbanism, a feature of cities in the industrialized world. This is due not only to neoliberal privatization of planning, but also to the fragmented and uneven planning legacy in place since colonialism. Together, present and the past discourses have eschewed the creation of order and coherence through planning across the geographies of the city.

The shift from colonialism to postcolonialism has not given rise to planning as a medium for integrating society, the ecology, and the city. The nationalist elites took over power, including colonial planning legacy, and they remained the victim of their past long after independence. Planning thus encountered its limit or excess in the region, reproducing colonial dynamics in the postcolonial era. Cities continue to grow into uncharted domains, which means that planning plays a catch-up role.

This chapter suggests that planning has taken a distinctive turn in Southeast Asia. The circulation and diffusion of urban planning ideas does not necessarily translate into the idea of global integration of the (urban) world.

Related Topics

Ward: Planning Diffusion: Agents, Mechanisms, Networks and Theories

Home: Global Systems Foundations of the Discipline

Kusno: Southeast Asia

Hein: Idioms of Japanese Planning Historiography

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19

IDIOMS OF JAPANESE PLANNING HISTORIOGRAPHY

Carola Hein

Foreign planners and historians have long considered Japanese urban planning to be a practice and a tradition almost entirely separate from their own. Yet planning and planning history in Japan emerged in the mid-19th and mid-20th centuries, thus respectively at almost the same time as planning and planning history in Europe and America. And Japanese practitioners and scholars carefully observed foreign practices, and integrated aspects of them into their own work while building on long-standing Japanese traditions of urban form, and while also exporting their experience and knowledge of the East Asian region to both colonial and postcolonial settings. But rather than engaging with this emerging parallel planning system, foreign practitioners commented on transforming Japanese cities and interpreted them for inspiration and interpretation; they often focused on visuals, examining them from their own point of view and ignoring the Japanese literature and local debates. They did not consider Japanese understanding to be a parallel interpretation of planning, based on a different earlier tradition and specific local practices. As a result, planning in Japan intersected with foreign practices in a somewhat haphazard way.

Whether Western or Japanese, the historiography of Japanese planning similarly shows parallel trajectories that diverged according to specific language and cultural backgrounds, and also according to disciplinary or methodological interests and interpretations. Scholars have studied the history of Japan's urban form over the last 2000 years in the light of select themes, periods, or places, but also in regard to their own respective disciplines, methodologies, and language skills. As a result, the literature that engages with Japanese planning is rather diverse. There is a large body of writing in multiple languages, spread out over a variety of disciplines reflecting different foci and presented in a broad range of conferences, from the American Association of Geographers (AAG) to the European Association of Japanese Historians (EAJHS), as well as the International Planning History Society (IPHS). Each discipline currently follows its own interests and methodologies. A comprehensive planning history would benefit from further integration. Studying the case of planning history in Japan allows us to question and challenge the established interpretations and their history, and to identify disciplinary specificities and diverse cultural backgrounds. It makes possible a richer planning history, one that acknowledges a broad range of different backgrounds.

Exploring planning history writing inside and outside Japan, we see different idioms that are related to specific interpretations, terminologies, and representations or perceptions of planning, but also to the use of planning primary materials, written and in imagery. These differences derive at least partly from the way in which planning gets established in a specific country. Foci and interests established in early years shape the development of planning as a discipline in the long term.

In France, for example, where urban transformations occurred at the behest of the king, we see a long tradition of urban design, representation, and competitions; here, historians have paid attention to urban visions and competitions, in addition to more technical questions of legal or technical regulations. Meanwhile, in Japan, the long history of urban form did not lead directly to modern practices. Pre-modern cities served as the foundation for modernization, but traditional forms of urban organization were pushed aside for almost a century as Western-inspired modern planning focused on providing the necessary spaces for national modernization and industrialization, and on engineering, with the goal of catching up and overtaking the West. The respective approaches to planning are thus in part a reflection of cultural differences.

The particular approach to planning versus urban design appears as an important distinction in the planning history of Japan. One part of planning intervention and historic literature—often by Japanese professionals and scholars—produces and studies planning as a top-down professional activity, concerned with laws, policies, and engineering for infrastructure (rapid railways, wide streets, and water supply), and as a set of tools, from land readjustment (*kukakuseiri*) to urban renewal (*saikaihatsu*). The other—often by foreign architects, planners, and scholars—produces and studies planning as a series of interventions by architect-urbanists, focusing on idealistic goals of changing societies, comprehensive planning, visionary design, and urban form. It considers planning a political activity with changing degrees of citizen participation.

The different perceptions of the role of planning are embedded in, and effectively partly result from, different idioms, both in words and visualizations. Several French scholars have provided an important foundation for a more inclusive planning history. A thorough investigation of idioms and City Words, as the sociologist Christian Topalov calls them (Topalov 2010), is a necessary first step. Such an investigation should go hand in hand with visual analysis. Given the difficulty of the Japanese language for outsiders, representations have become a major methodological tool, as captured by the philosopher Roland Barthes' (Barthes 1982) comparison of map drawing by Japanese citizens and foreigners. In addition, the geographer and philosopher Augustin Berque has explored the ecological and symbolical relationship between the Japanese and their urban spaces through the lens of space, time, nature, and history that also underlie planning practice (Berque 1993). All of these inquiries can add important aspects and approaches to planning history.

The historiography of traditional urban form and modern planning in Japan is vast and can't be reviewed here in full. Instead this chapter highlights three important strands of interpretation in Japanese planning history—one studying planning as a part of a general urban or architectural history, one focusing on planning as a discipline, and another emphasizing urban design. These strands of history writing speak to the difficulties of studying a country with a very different language, plus a long-standing and original culture. According to the interests and motivations of practitioners and scholars, these different types of studies vary in terms of consideration of physical structures, written documents, and drawings or plans, and in terms of the topics of research, sources, and methodologies. Japanese-speaking authors show greater interest in a broad range of sources, whereas non-Japanese-speaking commentators focus on visual sources, creating a body of literature that tells a story about Japanese urban form, often, but not solely geared towards practicing architects and planners, and their quest for inspiration.

The strands reflect approaches, or schools of thought, to the study of Japanese planning history that differ in their goals and tools. The historical literature is anchored in the academic tradition and methodologies of the disciplines of history, art history, and East Asian studies. It focuses on carefully chosen periods and specific cases with the goal of increasing academic knowledge, and carefully evaluates diverse sources notably on early urban form. In contrast, the comprehensive literature draws on the foreign and Japanese past to explain the development of the modern city. Publications in this group come from an interdisciplinary group of authors, often scholars with a background in geography, planning, or design—including practitioners—and an interest in past and present.

Among them are also Japanese practitioners who study foreign practice for inclusion in Japanese design. Third, the design literature, mostly by foreign practitioners without knowledge of Japanese language or culture, studies Japanese urban forms and visuals, with a marked tendency to deplore the disappearance of prior practices and the goal of learning for their own design practice without appreciation of original context.

Each of these approaches can be identified as dominant in the analysis of a specific period, but none is uniquely associated with one period. These approaches partially, but not always, overlap with the cultural background and language capacity of the authors and their use of textual or visual sources. The focus of historiography has changed over time, as demonstrated in the select historical periods—Edo area until 1868, Meiji period to 1945, and postwar period until today, with shifting attention paid to urban history, planning history, or urban design history. In doing so, the chapter positions the planning history writing on Japan in the context of global networks of planning historiography.

Historical Studies of Urban Form

Some excellent scholarship addresses early Japanese cities, their form and function, both by foreign and Japanese scholars. These investigations, often issued by well-known publishers with extensive illustrations and careful design, focus on the creation of urban form in the larger context of urban life and the formation of the built environment. Foreign scholars, notably with a background in East Asian studies, history, and art history, have explored the design of the grid-shaped long-time capital Kyoto, inspired by imperial Chinese plans (Steinhardt 1990, Stavros 2014, Fiévé 1996). Others have studied Japanese urban settlements that developed with the emergence of a feudal system after 1180, occasionally publishing entire books with the goal of understanding the past (Dore 1978, McClain 1980, McClain 1982, McClain and Wakita 1999).

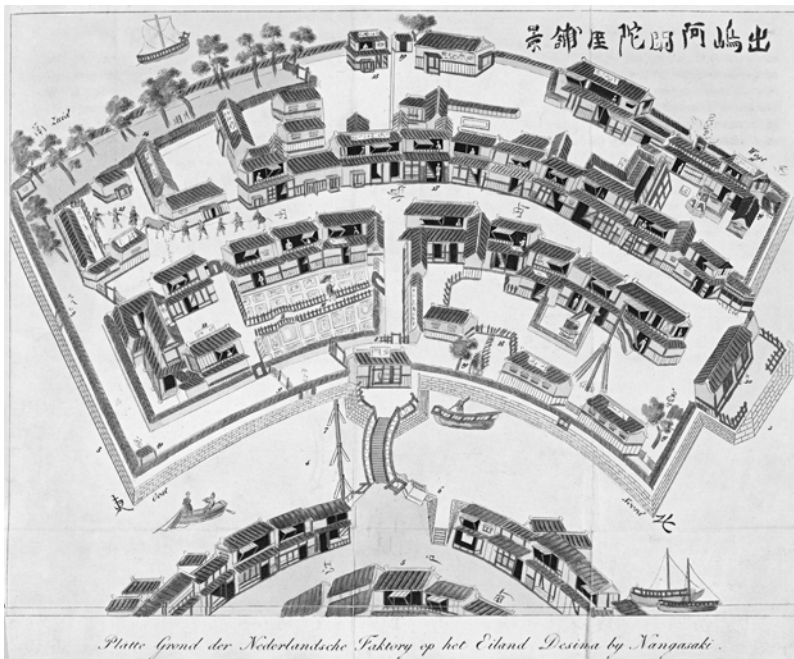


Figure 19.1 Isaac Titsingh, the Dutch Trading Post in Nagasaki, 1824–1825.

Source: Dutch National Library.

Life on Deshima, where the Dutch were present from 1641 until 1853, has been carefully documented. Imagery of the island displays the different impressions that the Dutch and the Japanese had of the form of the island (Figure 19.1). The treaty ports have also received close attention, in particular from foreign scholars, including the Dutch historian Leonard Blussé (Blussé 2008, Hoare 1971, Phipps 2015).

Japanese-speaking architectural and urban historians, writing mostly in their own language, their works occasionally available in translation, have closely read the development of the Japanese castle towns (*jōkamachi*), or settlements developed around fortresses, and other special function towns such as temple towns (*teramachi*) and towns next to ports (*minatomachi*) (Tamai 1986, Naitō 1966, Naitō 2003). The form and use of these developments is carefully mapped and documented (Takahashi et al. 1993/2008). Such reflections on the particularities of the traditional Japanese city and their impact on contemporary planning are important to understand the context in which planning emerged. As the American historian Henri D. Smith II has argued, studying traditional Japanese urban form is important as it is not squarely in line with European concepts of the city (as a visualization of political power, as a formal expression of utopian thought, or as an autonomous political entity like the medieval city) (Smith 1978). Other scholars have explained the concept of *machi*—a term relating both to neighborhoods and small towns—as a key to understanding traditional Japanese urban form with specific perspectives on urban living, density, transportation, and socio-economic structures (Hein 2008, Sorensen 2002, Sorensen 2005). The Japanese architect-historian Jinnai Hidenobu has notably demonstrated in his widely read and translated book the physical connection between Edo-time planning and contemporary Tokyo (Jinnai 1995). He noted, for example, that the highways were built over the old canal system, translating urban forms from the Tokugawa era, 1603–1868, into modern-day Tokyo.

The traditional Japanese city and its form have also attracted the attention of foreign practitioners, such as Frank Lloyd Wright and Bruno Taut, who took photographs and drew buildings as they traveled the country, and documented what by then had become a disappearing landscape of traditional buildings and practices that had also been depicted on traditional Japanese woodprints (Wright 1996; Taut 1937/1958). Both collected woodprints such as Ando Hiroshige's *One Hundred Views of Famous Places in Edo* and *Fifty-Three Stations of the Tokaido Road*. Taut's observation-based approach to the Japanese city would go on to characterize foreign practitioners' engagements with the country.

The History of Planning (*Toshikeikaku*) and the Modernization of Japan

Many Japanese scholars have written comprehensive studies (in Japanese) of the development of Japanese planning as a discipline since the Meiji Restoration. The Japanese planner and historian Ishida Yorifusa wrote the most comprehensive one: *Nihon Kindai Toshikeikaku no Hyakumen* (*100 Years of Modern City Planning in Japan*) and its expanded version, include a very detailed time line (Ishida 1987, Ishida 2004). Several other publications provide an overview. The writings of Japanese architect-planner Watanabe Shunichi, another key figure of Japanese planning history, have had more impact in the English-speaking world. Watanabe wrote a survey of Japanese planning history in 1980 calling for a relativized planning history that takes into account Japan's history of rapid modernization and urban transformation in light of foreign-language publications; he also called for planning history education in Japanese universities (Watanabe 1980a). Watanabe's American education (a MSc at Harvard) helped him bridge Euro-American and Japanese planning and planning history, and made him a key player in the attempt to discuss Japan's urban planning in an international context (Watanabe 1993, Watanabe 1980b, Watanabe 1984). Unfortunately, many of these works have yet to be translated.

In an attempt to place Japan's urban history into global context, the City Planning Institute of Japan published a bilingual and extensively edited volume on the centenary of Japanese city planning, using the year 1888 as the starting point (Fujimori 1988). Foreign scholars, most importantly André Sorensen, have added to that literature of the evolution of Japanese planning systems and urban form (Sorensen 2002). Hohn adds to this an even more detailed account of Japanese planning laws, theory, and praxis (Hohn 2000).

Within the larger theme of the development of Japanese modern planning, Tokyo takes a particular role. Scholars have demonstrated a marked interest in the exceptional developments in Tokyo, the capital, starting with the transformations provoked by the Meiji Restoration. Together with the historian Ishizuka Hiromichi, then director of the Tokyo Center for Urban Studies, Ishida published a careful analysis of Tokyo's Urban Growth and Planning between 1868 and 1988 (Ishizuka and Ishida 1988). Documenting the development of Tokyo from the Imperial Capital to World City from 1868, the text focuses on the emergence of planning as a discipline from its early steps to its establishment as a typical Japanese practice. The early years after Meiji Restoration have attracted extensive scholarly interest both by Japanese and foreign scholars as an important moment in the encounter of Western-inspired urban form and traditional Japanese practice, and thus as a prelude to the establishment of professional planning. The rebuilding of the former townsmen district of Ginza in Tokyo, where a fire destroyed a large area in 1872, allowed for a planned rebuilding with neoclassical architecture, pedestrian paths, and other Western style urban elements. The centrally located area that became the entrance gate to the new capital, linking the treaty port with the new national center, has been extensively explored in terms of specific planning techniques and urban design, and their foreign as well as local roots (Kōbunshokan 1955, Fujimori 1988, Okamoto 2000, Hein 2010) (Figure 19.2). The role of European practitioners, including the office of Wilhelm Böckmann and Hermann Ende, who projected a new center for Tokyo in 1887, has also found scholarly interest (Hein and Ishida 1998), whereas the work by James Hobrecht for Tokyo or by Franz Baltzer on Japanese railways still merits further research.

Other scholars have studied diverse aspects of Japan's modernization, ranging from questions of building lines, land ownership, and the development of property condemnation practices to the



Figure 19.2 The redevelopment of Ginza street in the early 20th century.

Source: postcard, personal archive Beate Löffler.

construction of a railway network (Ishida and Ikeda 1984, Ishida 1991, Akimoto 2016, Sorensen 2010, Yamamoto 1993). The Tokyo Urban Improvement Ordinance (Tōkyō Shiku Kaisei Jōrei) of 1888 put into place 16 articles to transform Tokyo into an imperial capital. Its 1889 First Plan for Urban Improvement of Tokyo recommended building or widening 317 streets, and proposed creating 49 parks, markets, a central station, and rivers and canals. Osaka and other cities received comparatively less interest at the time; publications include the American historian Jeffrey Hanes's discussion of the urban planner Seki Hajime, and a text on Osaka by the city planning department entitled *Osaka machizukuri*—that is, using a term from community planning for a history of planned intervention from Edo time to the present (Osaka Prefecture 1991, Hanes 1989).

Japanese scholars have pointed to the importance of terminology during this early period of professional engagement with the West that makes the emergence of the profession of planning particularly recognizable. Professional engagement with Western concepts of the city after 1868 led to the creation of the term *toshi* by Japanese scholars to capture the new Euro-American concept of city. To translate the Western word “city” the Japanese coined the term *toshi* from the Chinese characters of capital city (*miyako*) and marketplace (*ichi*) (Mochizuki et al. 1994). The introduction of the new term paralleled the introduction of a new concept. As Watanabe has explained, in 1913, Seki was the first to use the term *toshikeikaku* (city planning) that marks the beginning of modern Western style planning (characterized by interventions such as land reclamation, urban extension, and national infrastructure such as highways and rail networks (Watanabe 1993).

The choice of terminology is also particularly important in regard to the next major event in Japanese planning history. As Shunichi Watanabe has pointed out, the City Planning Act of 1919, often called the Old Act, gave Japanese planning its distinct flavor. In contrast to the comprehensive planning at the root of North American and European planning, it focused on urban infrastructure, particularly streets, as the foundation for urban development. This made planning the domain of the engineer rather than the politician. It also placed the responsibility for planning at the level of the central government (Watanabe 2016, Sorensen 2002). As many authors have emphasized, the Old Act established the main practice of Japanese planning: land readjustment (*kukakuseiri*)—a technique to create continuous land parcels for development while sharing the project costs among landowners. Over time, land readjustment developed as the main Japanese planning technique, and it was fully established by the time of the 1923 Great Kanto earthquake, which also demolished the Western-designed Ginza district and led to another rebuilding. Scholars have come to call land readjustment the mother of Japanese planning (Nishiyama 1988, Watanabe 1993).

Since the very beginning of establishing city planning as a discipline in Japan in the late 19th century, the country's leaders had seen innovation not primarily as an issue of aesthetics but one of economic dominance and particularly transportation (which is why streets were important). They would go on to use this idea of planning in their own colonial endeavors, as Japanese planners and their concepts set up systems in Taiwan and Korea during the Japanese occupations from 1895 to 1945, and from 1910 to 1945, respectively. These planning systems would continue beyond the occupation period (Watanabe 2016); Manchuria, under Japanese control for 12 years, later abandoned its Japanese planning system, but many such systems are still in place. In contrast, architectural structures were symbolically demolished, such as the Government General Building in Seoul. Historians and planning historians both Japanese and foreign have explored colonial planning in light of Japanese visions, planning laws, and policies, and have considered their long-term impact on former colonies. Some publications explore this multifaceted theme by tying Japan into multiple Western and Asian networks (Koshizawa 1978, Koshizawa 1988, Hein 2003a, Hein 2016, Tucker 1999, Peattie 1988, Kuroishi 2014). Further investigation of these colonial plans and their main actors is particularly important as these influenced both postwar developments in Japan and long-term practices in the colonies. Integrating Japanese colonial and

later postcolonial planning into the Japanese, Asian, and global developments will also provide insights in transnational planning history.

By the 1930s, Japanese planner-theorist-historians were studying and commenting on the foreign past to link it to Japanese practice. Ishikawa Hideaki, the head planner of Tokyo Metropolitan Government before, during, and after World War II, and Nishiyama Uzō, a key figure in Japanese urban planning as an architect-planner and theorist-historian, are in this group. Their interpretations, including their introduction of Gottfried Feder and Walter Christaller into the Japanese planning literature, would become the foundation for textbooks on planning history for decades to come (Hein 2008) (Figure 19.3). At the time, these planner-scholars had translated and combined Western practices with their own local traditions to address the needs of their modernizing country. They first drew on the history of urban form and planning as a tool for planning as an academic activity. Their work maps the place that Japanese planners constructed for themselves in a global setting that included different European, American, and Russian traditions—and also the built forms and systems of Japan’s imperial territories. Ishikawa, then an engineer in the Ministry of Home Affairs assigned to the town planning of Nagoya, had consulted Raymond Unwin during his trip to Europe in 1923 to seek advice on his city’s master plan. He went on to produce extensive writings that cited foreign thinkers (Shoji 1993, Ishikawa 1942).

Yet these and other key players of Japanese planning and planning history are still largely unknown outside Japan, and thus Western planners are missing an important link in the understanding of Japanese planning history in a global context. The few publications in English, or with English summaries or translations (City Planning Institute of Japan 1993, Nishiyama 1968, Urushima 2007, Nakajima et al. 2009), have not been sufficient to bring these major figures of Japanese planning into the realm of global writing of planning history, in contrast to major figures

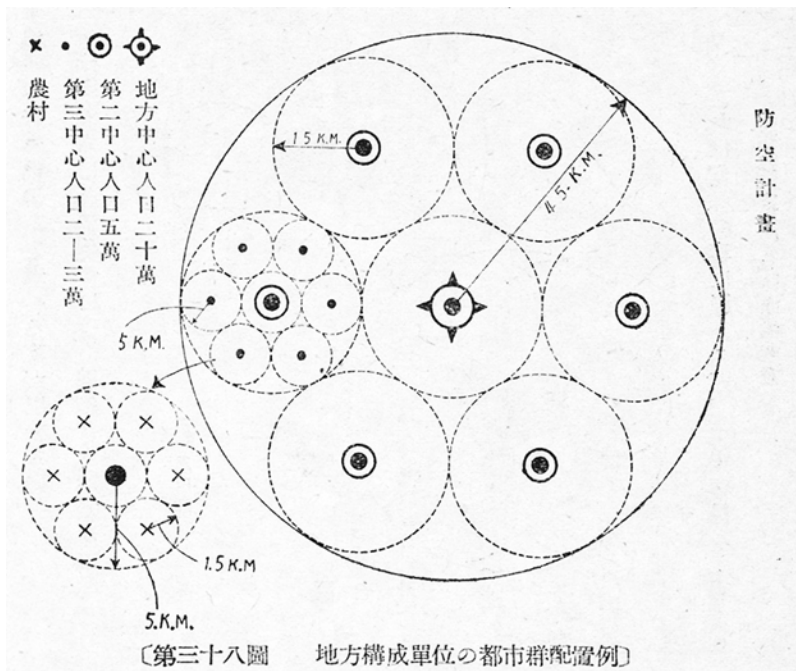


Figure 19.3 Ishikawa Hideaki, interpretation of Walter Christaller’s theory of central places.
 Source: Walter Christaller and Ezawa Joji, *Toshi no ritchi to hatten*, Tokyo: Taimeido, 1969, p. 79.

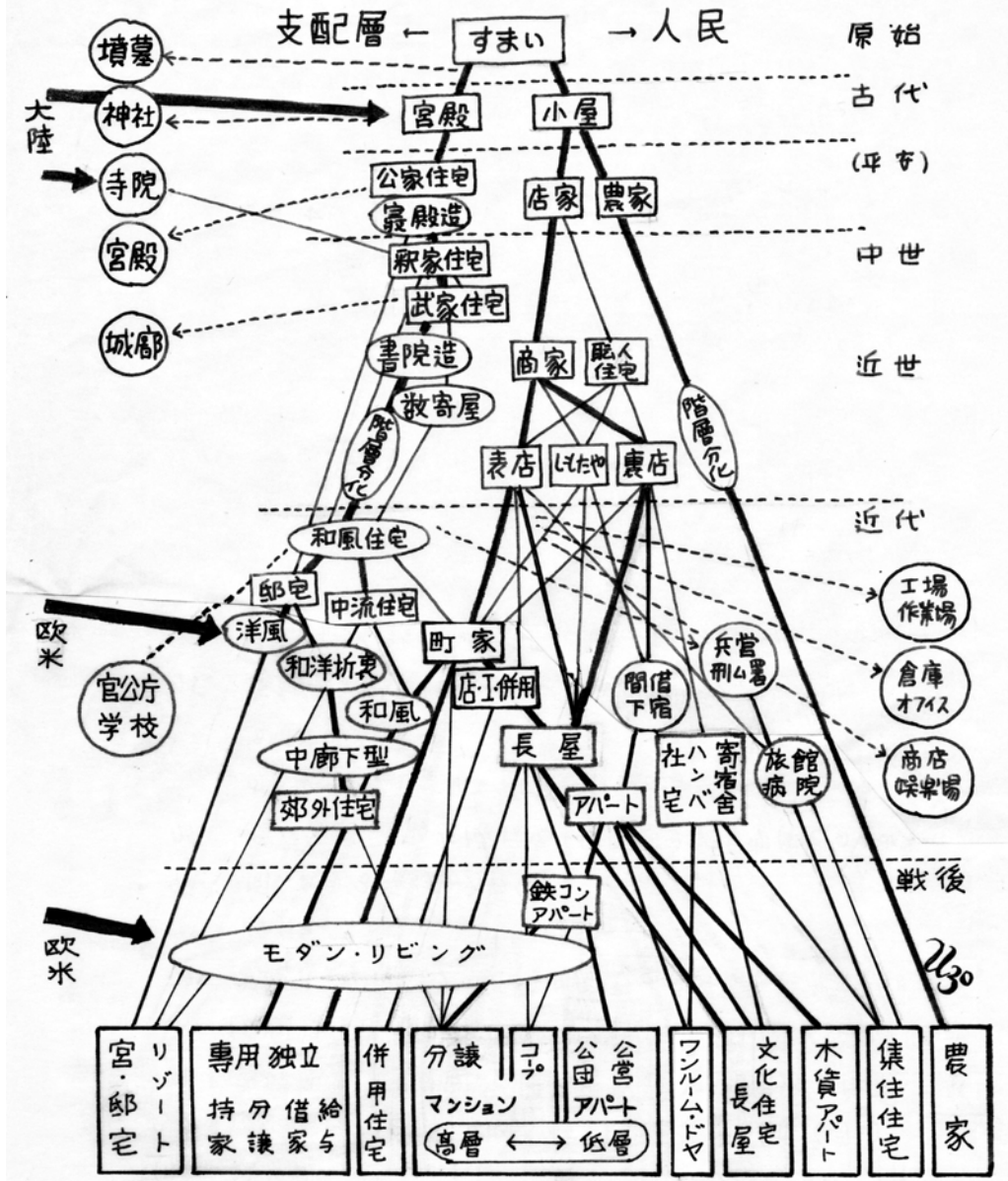


Figure 19.4 Nishiyama Uzō's analysis of the transformation of Japanese housing over time.

Source: Uzō Nishiyama Memorial Library.

of Western planning such as Robert Moses, Albert Speer, Patrick Geddes, and Ebenezer Howard. Nishiyama Uzō in particular has contributed outstanding and novel insights, indicated for example in his analysis of the development of Japanese housing in relation to building height, growth of population, and influences from Europe and the United States (Figure 19.4). The general absence of these major Japanese figures in the Western discourse is not surprising, but speaks to the disconnected lines in the Western writing of Japanese planning history. Other major planners who

were active from the 1920s to the 1940s and who also explored foreign and Japanese urban and planning history—Takayama Eika, Uchida Shozo, and Kon Wajiro—have only just started to get international coverage (Uchida 1969, Kuroishi 2016, Hein 2017).

Japan as Paradigm for Multifaceted Planning History

The rebuilding of Japan after World War II sees the predominance of another approach to Japanese planning historiography, one in which designers have long taken the lead, especially on the international floor. This new approach evolves, but does not fully integrate with historical and specifically planning–historical approaches, even though planning history is established as a discipline in Japanese academia at the same time.

In the postwar period, Japan entered the global stage of planning through the visionary projects of Tange Kenzo, an architect–urbanist: his projects for the rebuilding of Hiroshima (Hein 2002) and later for a megastructure on Tokyo Bay were published at the time by numerous professional journals in multiple languages and reprinted in book publications over several decades (Tange and Kultermann 1970, Riani 1970, Lin 2010). These publications provided Western scholars with non-Japanese-language source materials on Japan and a huge array of visuals. The publications on the young Japanese architect–planners inspired foreign scholars to ask questions about the Japanese postwar rebuilding and the emergence of this new approach to planning (Hein 2003b). These proposals and others by Tange’s colleagues (including Maki Fumihiko, Maekawa Kunio, and Kurokawa Kisho) resembled visionary projects for the rebuilding of European cities that inspired a broad range of publications in multiple languages and from diverse vantage points from scholars (including Hartmut Frank, Jean-Louis Cohen, Niels Gutschow, Werner Durth, and Koos Bosma). Only in recent years have scholars started to look beyond seemingly Western principles to engage with planning’s Japanese roots, their anchorage, and their connection to earlier Japanese planners. They have come to recognize the importance of Uchida Shozō (Yoshikazu) or Takayama Eika, who had taught at the architecture department of Tokyo University, and of the writings by Tange himself, notably his book *Nihon no Toshikukan*, that explores Japanese urban form over time, after a brief introduction that includes global urban design (Tange 1968) (Figure 19.5).

Much of this literature focused on urban form is separate from the literature on planning as a technical practice, discussions on the impact of the new constitution and land reform on cities, or the rebuilding of war–destroyed cities. The rebuilding itself, with its many planning challenges, has been studied by collaborative groups of Japanese and non-Japanese historians (Hein, Diefendorf, and Ishida 2003, Tiratsoo et al. 2002), tying together a range of disciplinary and cultural approaches to rebuilding, and opening up at least a glimpse into the additional Japanese-language works of some scholars. Western scholarly interest in the Japanese city and comparative studies grew in the 1960s with the translation into English of Japanese studies of the Japanese city and its formation, such as the works of the Japanese sociologist Yazaki Takeo (1963 and 1968), but not studies of planning. While intent on comparison and classification, Yazaki also pointed to patterns of change and continuity.

Planning history as an academic discipline emerged in Japan the 1960s (Nakajima 2016) and became established in the 1980s in conjunction with similar developments in Europe and America. Japanese planners with an interest in history were the main drivers of this development of planning history as a field. Their work included analyses of planning in the economic growth era. They have studied the 1968 New City Planning Act that channeled the rapid growth of the Japanese city, creating urban control areas and urban promotion areas. Such studies are important to explain the rise of the modern Japanese megacities. They grew under a non-Western (and comparatively weak) planning system. Important factors included the new Floor Area Ratio (FAR) regulation, urban renewal (*saikaihatsu*) projects, and new town developments in the 1960s and 1970s, as well as comprehensive national development plans (Hatsuda 2011). Japanese scholars wrote extensively

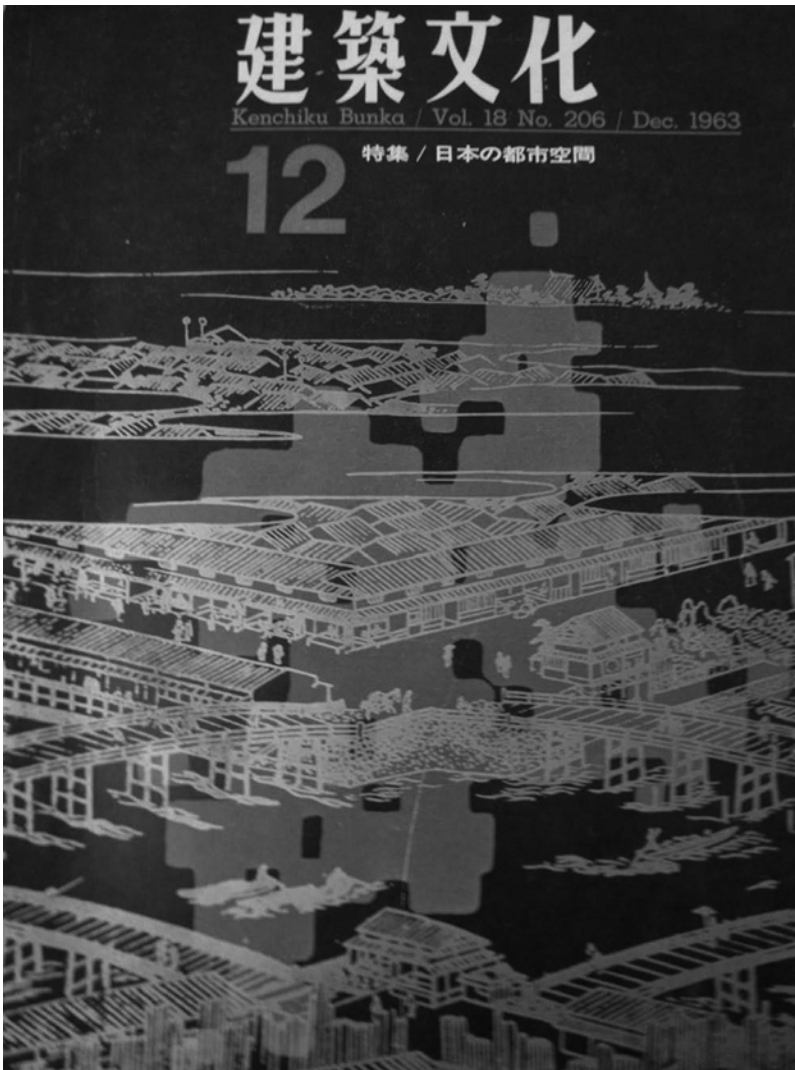


Figure 19.5 Tange Kenzo's reflection on Japanese space and megastructures.

Source: Tange, Kenzo. *Nihon No Toshikukan*. Tokyo: Shokokusha, 1968.

on these changes (as did a few foreign scholars), but these texts are either not readily available to non-Japanese-speaking authors, or those authors ignore them in favor of following megastructure debates through visual proposals without knowing much about Japanese language and culture, such as Koolhaas and Obrist (2009).

Planning historiography shifted in the 1980s, as Japanese design and art, including manga and anime, found recognition around the world, and as visuals of Japanese cities inspired planners globally (Waley 2006). From criticizing the city and its development, foreign scholars started to praise it. Architects and planners came to see the central districts of Tokyo and other large Japanese cities as lively urban cores. This reading of the city (known as *Tōkyōron* [Tokyo theory] and related to *Edogaku* [the study of Edo], as specifically Japanese) built upon literature from the 1930s, arguing for a specific Japanese identity due to a special link between nature, space, and Japanese society

(Befu 1993, Berque 1987, Berque 1999). By the 1980s, a number of publications celebrated a unique Japanese urban form—particularly visible in the capital, Tokyo—based on continuities between the traditional and the modern city: multi-functional neighborhoods, skyscrapers and low-rise neighborhoods, multi-story highways and tiny lanes, the intersection between public and private spaces. Instead of thinking of these dynamics as chaotic, many professionals now perceived them as inspirations for dense livable developments in the West, similar to the ideals advocated by movements such as New Urbanism. In fact, while Japanese planners had employed Western-inspired planning practices, tools, and policies for almost a century, creating new urban forms and large-scale connections, and implanting new functions (including government centers, industrial districts, schools, shopping malls), they had left other areas of the city untouched. Between the modernizing spaces, limited places remained for other forces, corporate or private, to intervene, promoting self-governing neighborhoods, small-scale land use, and new land ownership patterns.

At the same time, planners developed new planning tools and practices for small areas, to address local opposition or to deal with the lack of funding. Both Japanese and foreign scholars have engaged with these themes, starting to build bridges between different groups of observers. Several scholars have paid close attention to the histories of bottom-up planning in its various forms (community-based planning, the democratization of planning, community activism, and civic/civil society in the planning context), exploring community building and its limits, while acknowledging the complementary and competing influences of planning and community development (Watanabe 2007, Sorensen and Funck 2007, Sorensen 2001, Sorensen 2005, Brumann and Schulz 2007, Brumann 2012). Japanese scholars have written extensively on issues of *machizukuri* and community building, especially in regard to citizens' acceptance or rejection of city planning and the importance of urban tissues. Again, this was all happening at the same 20 years that urban history emerged as an academic field under the leadership of historians, social historians, and architectural historians (Tanaka 2006, Nakajima 2009, Nakajima et al. 2009, Hatsuda 2011, Matsuyama 2014, Ishigure 2016). The role of these community activities in the long-term rebuilding of communities after disaster remains to be fully explored, as several scholars have pointed out in regard to the reconstruction of Kobe in the wake of the 1995 earthquake and the assessment of the triple disaster in Fukushima in March 2011 (Hein 2001, Edgington 2011, Evans 2001, Evans 2002, Samuels 2013).

One part of engaging with local communities is engaging with questions of heritage. Going beyond issues of historic preservation and restoration, various planning historians have addressed controversies over the Kyoto townscape and questions of townscape preservation (Brumann and Cox 2009, Hohn 1997). Planners' use of urban heritage for tourism and cruise-shiping, tangible in Kyoto for several years now, and the views of local residents about this use, merits investigation from the perspective of planning history.

A number of other themes have emerged in Japanese planning history over the last decades that are also core themes for policy makers and planners in cities, including Japanese politicians. These are intimately connected to specific idioms and debates underway around the world, such as decentralization, sustainability, slow cities, urban branding, and heritage, and they are being debated by scholars both in and outside Japan. Many of these idioms captured the need to counterbalance the country's economic downturn, and to take the attention away from natural and man-made disasters, urban over-development, dramatic rural decline, and emerging social differences. Government policies officially promoted decentralization across the nation, as Japan's postwar-period economic growth led to urbanization, migration, and lifestyle changes. Yet centralization seems to have often been the result (Hein and Pelletier 2006). By the 1990s, urban branding ideas drove Tokyo's desire to be part of a network of global cities and found its expression in much-debated new projects such as a city hall, an international forum, and corporate towers. Mori Minoru and his Roppongi Hills development is an archetypal global/creative city project: a gleaming tower

with an elite contemporary art museum on top. Sustainable urban development is another of these idioms that captured the need to counterbalance the country's economic downturn. It also stands at the forefront of the 2014 long-term plan for Tokyo that includes the 2020 Olympics that are designated as Eco-Friendly Games (Tokyo Metropolitan Government n.d.).

Japan's cities are changing faster than most European or American ones. Its quickly shifting social patterns—such as aging population or more single-person households—produce spatial forms much more quickly. The ongoing socio-economic crisis, shrinkage of cities, demographic transitions, and population shrinkage are reflected in housing transformation (Ronald and Hirayama 2006, Sorensen 2007). New studies are particularly important, as trends observed in Tokyo are often examples for other East Asian urban centers with similar demographic trends, such as Taipei and Seoul.

Idioms and Positions: Towards a Comprehensive International Planning History

Historical relations within Asia continue to shape contemporary developments. Major Japanese architects and construction companies are planning urban cores, shopping centers, and residential complexes in China. This requires transnational perspectives on urban thought in Asia. Analyzing the role played by Japanese professionals and experts in shaping urban spaces outside Japan—such as pioneered in the prize-winning paper by Matsubara Kosuke on Gyoji Bانشoya, a Japanese planner active in the Middle East and North Africa (Matsubara 2015)—allows us to discuss the impact of Japanese urbanism on city life elsewhere.

Planning can mean very different things, and planning historians are therefore following diverse foci. Discussing planning history from the perspective of Japan allows scholars to place Japanese planning in the Asian and global context, and to connect planning history with diverse interdisciplinary conversations on Japanese urban form. The International Planning History Society conference in Yokohama (2018) has provided a good opportunity to celebrate the 1919 City Planning Act, and to rethink planning history. This can lead to reappraisal of the constellations of ideas and policies that link Japan to other countries in the East Asian region and beyond.

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Note

In keeping with Japanese custom, Japanese proper names appear in this chapter with surname followed by the given or first name. Long vowels are indicated by macrons, but well-known place names, such as Tokyo, are written without macrons as is conventional in English.

Related Topics

Ward: Planning Diffusion: Agents, Mechanisms, Networks, and Theories

Kusno: Southeast Asia

Kusno: Postcolonial Southeast Asia

Sorensen: Global Suburbanization in Planning History

Larkham: Disasters

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20

THE USES OF PLANNING HISTORY IN CHINA

Daniel B. Abramson

In contrast to the history of urban planning itself, the global historiography of planning is still quite young, and it is even younger in China, where only in recent decades has the political and academic environment allowed scholars to research the history of planning in specialized, rigorous, and critical ways. The Urban Planning Society of China established its first Academic Committee of Planning History and Theory in November 2012 (Dong 2013), nearly twenty years after the International Planning History Society was inaugurated in January 1993, succeeding the Planning History Group, founded in England in 1974. At the same time, the phenomenal changes wrought by China's urbanization on its environment, and its extensive engagement with the rest of the world after decades of relative isolation, have enhanced the professional and academic importance of planning within the country, and also raised deep questions about what the planning of China's city-regions might mean in global-historical terms.

The post-Mao period of Reform and Opening in the 1980s and 1990s included massive investments in the physical expansion and transformation of cities. During this time, planning officials, professionals, and scholars sought to understand what lessons China might take from the history of societies that had urbanized earlier. In some respects, they resumed or continued earlier efforts of reform-minded scholars from the late 19th century through the 1950s to adapt the planning experience first of Euro-American or Japanese imperial powers, and then of the Soviets. But by the 2000s, as the scale of urbanization in China became more obviously unprecedented in global terms, additional imperatives emerged for planning history: to understand what unique challenges China presents; how those challenges emerged from China's own historical conditions; and what they might mean for the development of a specifically Chinese practice (Friedmann 2005; G. C. S. Lin 2007).

Intersecting with these "endogenous" impulses in writing China's planning history there have been exogenous ones as well: to interpret China's planning history for global audiences concerned to know, for example, whether China's particular experience with Maoist anti-urban revolutionary policies presented a viable alternative developmental model—or, later, whether its export-oriented industry-driven urbanization is more an expression of global neoliberal political-economic hegemony, or of an essentially national sovereignty-driven geopolitical strategy—or to address anxieties about the future shape of urban life in general. The transnational diffusion of planning ideas is itself a subject for many studies of China's planning history. More broadly yet, stories, if not histories, of planning have also served to illustrate many aspects of China's culture, society, and development,

including ethnic relations, governmentality, environmental policy, the intersection of politics and artistic expression, and the meaning of modernization.

Given this broad perspective, I dare not attempt to summarize the historiography of urban and regional planning in China, even just within the English-language literature, not to mention all the Chinese-language scholarship, which has proliferated in the past two decades. Instead, this chapter proposes a broad framework for thinking about how planning history might capture some of China's salient developmental peculiarities, and how it might relate to a larger global history of planning practice. The interplay of three themes in particular distinguishes China as a context for planning that any historical overview must address. They are: (1) the *ancientness* of planning in China; (2) planning as importation or adaptation of an essentially *foreign modernity*; and (3) planning as an expression and instrument of *alternative development*.

The following narrative discusses selected planning-historical literature according to these themes. It is common for broad historical overviews to periodize their subject; thus, in the case of cities and planning in China, the period of “pre-modern” or “traditional” planning under the emperors is distinct from later periods, typically framed as either the “early modern” period (1842–1949) or the Republican era of 1911–1949, the Maoist era of 1949–1978, and the “current” period of Reform and Opening (Sit 2010; Whitehand and Gu 2006; F. Wu 2015; W. Wu and Gaubatz 2013). In contrast, this chapter presents the themes of *ancientness*, *imported modernity*, and *alternative development* as synchronous and interwoven. They vary in their relative salience during any one historical period, but they do not correspond exclusively to particular periods of history. In fact, each theme is present in the theory and practice of planning in China today.

A thematic view of planning history over the *longue durée* should help not only to distinguish endogenous from exogenous factors in the development of planning in China, but also to highlight what aspects of planning are more or less persistent and reinforce a sense of continuity, as opposed to aspects that are more transformative and progressive, and to help explain some of the contradictions that characterize planning practices and their justification in China. Planning is ultimately a normative activity—an effort to realize what *should be*. Planning history, therefore, is more than an objective effort to understand what has happened and why; it also serves to guide current practice and inform visions of a desirable future.

Ancientness

The age and continuity of *planned-ness* in China's pre-modern cities and landscapes is one of the dominant subjects of scholarship on planning in China; it is also a persistent factor in how planning policy-makers and practitioners value history and historical understanding. Because modern historiography itself emerged in China simultaneously with 20th-century nationalism, scholarship on premodern cities and planning directly or indirectly addresses struggles to resist colonial incursions and replace dynastic rule. Histories of Chinese planning, like all histories of China, tend to involve the idea of China as an ancient civilization that is exceptionally unified (if diverse), essentially continuous (if occasionally disrupted), and territorially expansive (if not expansionist). This idea originates not only with Chinese nationalism; Japanese scholars seeking to understand their own cultural roots have perpetuated these ideas (Tokiwa and Sekino 1926), as have Western observers impressed with China's size as a polity, the scale and resilience of its bureaucracy, and its religio-philosophical identity (Balazs 1964). Urban and regional planning, broadly defined, figures as an important element in this civilizational discourse, not least because the ancientness of specific planning traditions has been a bolster of political legitimacy for centuries. For all these reasons, an especially challenging and important historiographical task is to distinguish how people actually planned from how they have represented the acts and products of planning.

Victor Sit's *Chinese City and Urbanism: Evolution and Development* (2010), which is perhaps the most ambitiously sweeping English-language history of Chinese urban planning and development to date, explicitly expresses a Confucian-nationalist view of Chinese planning as ancient and continuous, if evolving (Sit 2010; see also Stapleton 2010). Sit seeks to identify the "Chineseness" of urban history in China, and does so by devoting more than two-thirds of the text to periods before 1840 (the Opium War, China's first armed conflict with a European power, is the most conventional starting point of modern Chinese history). To the extent that China is diverse as well as large, Sit, like most other historians preceding him, treats the diversity of China's cities typologically and spatio-morphologically, i.e., arguing that different spatial types of cities emerged in response to broadly categorizable local conditions and as the empire's various regions became functionally differentiated. The spatial-typological approach is useful in presenting history as a lineage of ideas and differentiating one period from another, but it emphasizes cultural and political unity; it glosses over tensions between larger and smaller scales of governance—between imperial administration and local developmental aspirations, for example—and thus obscures the dynamics of decision-making.

Since the ancientness of Chinese planning has been a hallmark of modern national pride, revolutionary regimes and their intellectual supporters have in fact fiercely debated the contemporary significance of historic planning legacies. The most famous instance concerned conflicting visions for the historic city of Beijing (J. Wang 2011). For a brief period in the late 1920s to early 1940s, historical and archaeological research on China's premodern architecture and city planning flourished (Steinhardt 2014). During the first years of the new communist regime in the early 1950s, Liang Sicheng, the most influential champion of the new field of Chinese architectural history from that "First Generation" of scholars, advocated in vain to locate major new development outside of the former imperial capital and to preserve Beijing's walls, gates, and overall integrity as a "planned entity (*you jihua xing de zheng ti*)" (Liang 1982). For Liang, the planning tradition embodied in historic Beijing represented both a specifically Chinese contribution to global human achievement, as well as "an unparalleled masterpiece of city planning" from a disciplinary perspective. Liang suffered politically for this view, which conflicted both with Soviet advice that promoted new forms of the ideal communist city, and with the dominant anti-historicist sentiment of the Chinese Communist Party at the time.

Liang's student, Wu Liangyong, became the first China-based planning scholar to publish an overview of China's ancient city planning in English, but not until 1986 (Steinhardt 1988). After three decades of disruptive political campaigns, the early 1980s saw a renaissance of planning historiography in China, focusing primarily on premodern planning. Whitehand and Gu (2006) provide a brief but useful overview of this literature. The new publications served primarily as textbooks for the professional education that reemerged after the Cultural Revolution, and also to inform both revived exchanges between Chinese and non-Chinese scholars and practitioners, and a new interest in historic preservation and historicist architecture. They included histories of planning both in China and abroad (He 1985, 1986; Shen 1991). Wu's synthetic monograph, *A Brief History of Ancient Chinese City Planning*, expands Liang's view of Beijing as the epitome, or "final crystallization," of a tradition of planning capital cities as integral wholes, and presents that tradition "as a continuous development resulting in a unique planning system" (Figure 20.1) that reflects vernacular craft and the labor of common workers as much as the genius of rulers and experts (L.-y. Wu 1986: 85–86, 127–130). There is a palpable sense in all this scholarship following the Cultural Revolution of a desire to rediscover value in the past after a period of chaotic and destructive iconoclasm.

A major theme that has persisted from early observations and scholarship is that China's premodern planning was, directly or indirectly, an expression and instrument of governance over a large territory and population. Two salient aspects of the literature are: (1) a focus on the symbolic/semiotic ways that physical planning and urban design expressed and reproduced political legitimacy; and (2) a focus on capital city planning, especially straddling the transition between dynasties, which tended to be marked by the construction-from-scratch or radical reconstruction

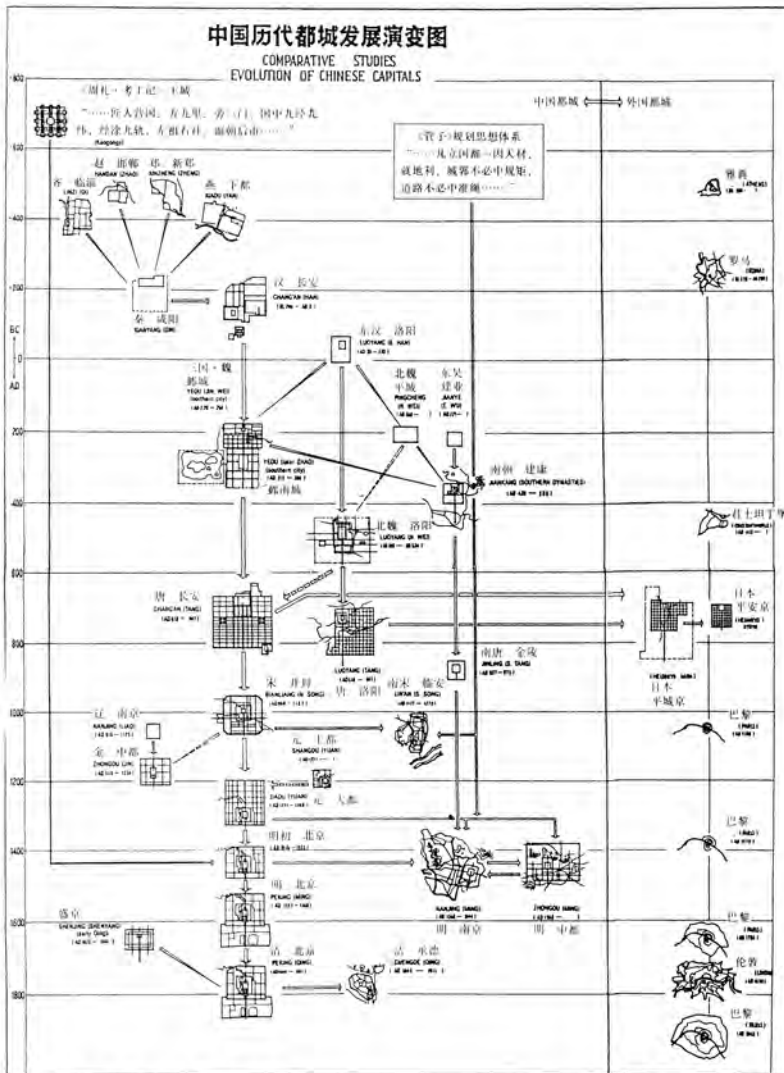


图1-1 中国历代都城发展演变图
选自吴良镛,《中国古代城市规划史纲》英文版,1986年。

Figure 20.1 Wu Liangyong’s diagram of the evolution of Chinese capital city planning, showing the capitals of different dynasties juxtaposed with non-Chinese capitals, all drawn at the same scale. Source: Wu, Liangyong, *Beijing Jiucheng yu Ju’er Hutong* [The Old City of Beijing and its Ju’er Hutong Neighborhood] (Beijing: Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe [China Architecture and Building Press], 1994), p. 6, redrawn from Wu (1986), pp. 89–90. The diagram also appears in Wu, Liangyong, *Rehabilitating the Old City of Beijing: A Project in the Ju’er Hutong Neighborhood* (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 1999), p. 5.

Source: Wu Liangyong.

of a new capital city. Empirical studies and essays that advanced the first of these foci in a globally comparative way include Arthur Wright’s 1965 essay “Symbolism and Function: Reflections on Changan and Other Great Cities,” and Paul Wheatley’s massive *Pivot of the Four Quarters: A Preliminary Enquiry into the Origins and Character of the Ancient Chinese City* (1971, 2008). These

studies resonate with Françoise Choay's contemporary characterization of all premodern cities as "semiotic system[s], whose elements were related synchronically within the context of rules and a code practiced by inhabitant and planner alike," and whose plans were the "direct projection" of power-holding classes (Choay 1970: 7). Urban planners and designers trying to make sense of what exactly is modern in the cities now emerging from China's current, fastest wave of urbanization may look to Choay's characterization of the 19th-century European transition, and wonder how transferable that characterization is to China today (Marshall 2003: 191–204). But there is obviously a danger in putting too much emphasis on a pre- and post-industrial/urban historical watershed, especially if that leads to a view of traditional or ancient planning as static. There is a fine line between seeing historical traditions as continuous, and seeing them as timeless.

The more nuanced empirical studies of premodern capital city planning that were possible after the 1970s have done a great deal to demonstrate the actual dynamism of pre-modern planning. Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt (1990) and Heng Chye Kiang (1999), for example, focused on the differences between capital city planning in different eras, regimes, and locations in order to highlight moments of innovation rather than continuity, and to reveal how spatial planning expressed different styles of governance and relations between the state and commercial society. Heng, as well as Kracke (1975), West (1984), and de Pee (2010), discuss the tension between the exercise of symbolic governmental power through formal (and often monumental) planning on one hand, and the practical need to limit state expenditures and accommodate new forms of commercial and civil society on the other. Jianfei Zhu's *Chinese Spatial Strategies: Imperial Beijing, 1420–1911* (2004) combines Foucauldian and space-syntax analytical frames to interpret political power acting through the planned spatial organization of the capital. Scholarship on city planning in less central cities has addressed similar themes, as well as more local cultural and political dynamics and the nuances of urban-rural relations (Fei 2009; Finnane 2004; Xu 2000).

If we expand our view of planning to include land-use decisions at a wider range of scales and contexts—including vernacular settlement and landscape design; forest and water management; regional systems of urban-rural economy, agriculture, infrastructure and governance; borderlands settlement and defense; and even international trade—we still encounter ancientness of planning as an important theme in historical scholarship (L.-y. Wu 1986: 5–7). The influence of premodern planning and spatial structure in more rural or culturally peripheral contexts, or at scales smaller or larger than cities, resonates through a wide range of scholarship that deals with socio-ecological dimensions of community spatial organization and its relation to regional development, local governance systems, and political legitimacy (Skinner and Baker 1977; Strand 1995). Among these contexts are: China's ancient anthropogenic landscapes, including systems for irrigation, flood control and forestry from small to very large scales (Dean and Zheng 2010; Elvin 2004; Willmott 1989; Schoppa 1989; Miller 2015). Finally, at the largest scale, consideration of China's position in a "world system" of trade and migration also accounts for a dimension of ancient planned urbanity, whether in China's inner-Asian borderlands (Gaubatz 1996) or along the coast (Abu-Lughod 1989; Clark 1995; Pearson, Li, and Li 2001; So 2000).

Given the very long history of planning in China, the desire to learn from ancient practices in order to understand and address contemporary problems continues to be a compelling motive for historical scholarship. Apart from its obvious relevance to historic preservation and built-environmental cultural policy, planning-historical scholarship also informs and inspires urban and architectural designers (Chen and Thwaites 2013; Zhang 2013). However, a sophisticated understanding of ancient forms' socio-ecological and political-economic adaptability requires much more study and new multidisciplinary perspectives. The tight coupling of human and natural systems that is the legacy of premodern settlement planning in China offers new reasons to research the historical origin, development, and adaptation of these systems, especially considering current

mandates to manage urbanization more resiliently and sustainably in the face of new environmental challenges such as climate change, food security, flooding, and geohazards.

Imported Modernity

A second theme that may be applied to historical scholarship is how planning has played a part in Chinese responses to developmental globalization and foreign hegemony. As mentioned in the introduction above, the most obvious instance is in China's colonial or semi-colonial relations with Euro-American and Japanese power, and its subsequent expressions of nationalism. But in fact the awareness of a native and foreign distinction characterizing aspects of planning has existed since premodern times, and is interrelated with the awareness of planning as an ancient practice in China. Thus even in the 13th century the planners of the Mongolian dynastic capital Dadu on the site of present-day Beijing consciously drew on ancient Chinese symbolic planning ideals. Ironically, the Mongol ruler Khubilai's desire for imperial legitimacy led him to model the city's plan more faithfully on these ideals than any native Han emperor ever did (Steinhardt 1986).

Late 19th-century encounters with Euro-American and then Japanese industrial power lent much greater consciousness and urgency to the reconciliation of ancient domestic tradition with foreign innovations—an urgency born from a new sense that China had fallen behind in a global process of development, and the subsequent need of the country and its multiple territories to catch up, primarily by importing technical expertise. Late Qing reformers expressed this tension most famously in the doctrine “Chinese learning for essential principles, Western learning for practical functions” (*Zhongxue weiti, xixue weiyong*) (B. Wang 2010: 109, 112–113). The parsing of “essence” (*ti*) from “function” or “form” (*yong*) subsequently became a clichéd but unavoidable aspect of all types of self-aware cultural activity, including urban design and planning, that has persisted to the present (Rowe and Kuan 2002).

Histories of planning most usefully engage the two dichotomies of Chinese-versus-Western and essence-versus-form/function when they reveal the complexity with which local or regional actors invoke them, either explicitly or implicitly. Histories of early modernist urban development and planning began to flourish especially in the 1980s and 1990s, when archives of Republican-era documents became more accessible. A great literature of urban and planning histories has since emerged, most of it focused on particular cities and regions (Courtney 2016; Esherick 2000; Shi 1993; for an overview, see Stapleton, Shi, and McIsaac 2000), but some of it thematic (Cody 2003; Victoir and Zatsepine 2013), or focused on influential individuals' careers (Wong 2013).

Histories that deal particularly with Chinese transnationalism—the diaspora, or border-crossing networks of “Overseas Chinese” (*huaqiao*) who sojourned or migrated abroad—provide an important counterpoint to the more dominant literature on direct colonial influences on urban planning by Japanese, European, or American actors. *Huaqiao* influences add nuance to received concepts of development, cultural/national identity, and the importation of modernity through architecture, planning, and urban and rural development in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and they complicate the exogenous/endogenous developmental dichotomy (Cook 1998; Tan 2013). Not only did their networks have roots in the centuries-old trade mentioned above, they were crucial to the development of urban society in Southeast Asia in the first place (Skinner 1996; Wheatley 1983), as well as the shape of cities even further abroad (Broudehoux 2001; Chen 2004; Li 1999; J. Lin 1998; Mitchell 2000). An important question for further research on Chinese transnational planning visions is how they varied from region to region, given China's political fragmentation at the time, and how they therefore ended up articulating highly local character and collective loyalties despite their transnational origins and nation-scaled inspiration and ambition.

During the decade after 1949, the Communist revolution brought the importation of more explicitly internationalist forms of modernism to planning that were forged or adapted in the USSR and Soviet bloc before “traveling” to China (Lu 2006). The debates around the planning of Beijing, including Liang Sicheng’s vision for a preservationist approach to the ancient capital city, mentioned above, are an important example of how Soviet-promoted anti-historicist modernism became official doctrine (Abramson 2007a; J. Wang 2011). Mao-era planners initially accepted Soviet models almost directly, but as relations with both the USSR and the USA became more strained in the late 1950s, and Maoist political campaigns turned more radical and nativist, a more distinctly Chinese approach to socialist planning emerged (Xie and Costa 1993). This approach included the organization of urban space into “work unit” (*danwei*) compounds (Bray 2005) and rural settlements into communes (Salter 1992), and the defensive industrialization of the interior with “third front” cities (Naughton 1988). Thus, what began as part of an effort to resist global capitalist hegemony in the name of international socialism ended up also as an effort to resist Soviet hegemony.

Only during the post-Mao period of re-tracking the economy to engage global marketplaces did planning resume an explicitly professional interest in adopting expertise from abroad, and particularly from advanced capitalist societies. Since this period coincided with a new awareness of globalization everywhere, the literature is too extensive to review comprehensively here. Certain subthemes are worth highlighting, however, for consideration from a historical perspective. One is the relation between globalized neoliberal political-economics and the development of planning professionalism, including the direct and indirect employment of unprecedented numbers of planners, designers, and engineers across borders (King 2004; Olds 2001; Rimmer 1991). Since professionalism of all kinds was under attack during much of Mao’s rule, this relation appears especially tight and complex in China, and has undergone distinct shifts since Mao’s death (Leaf and Hou 2006). The professional capacities of planners evolved from serving state-socialist command economics to deploying a more diverse set of tools appropriate to more complex central-local and state-market relations. Nevertheless, planning as a discipline in China continues to operate primarily through spatial analysis, regulation, and design, not through social, economic, or environmental policy-making, much less advocacy (Abramson 2007b). In this sense, “what planners do” in China remains somewhat distinct, though perhaps correlated with the country’s continuing status as a single-party-dominated socialist state with a strong developmentalist ideological bent.

After a generation of extreme isolation and relatively stagnant urbanization, China rather suddenly and fervently reengaged with the world. What historical lessons, if any, from prior development elsewhere might planners apply in China (Zhang and Fang 2004)? Are planning theories—norms about how to plan, and descriptive models of how city-regions develop—that emerged in different historical conditions applicable in China (Ng and Wu 1997)? On one level the answer is “of course not.” Each developmental context presents different cultural conditions that imply different norms and predictive concepts for planning (Sanyal 2005). However, what makes the question so nagging in the case of rapidly urbanizing and dynamic contexts like China’s is the uncertainty about what the cultural conditions actually are. Thus, a major task for historians is to identify and describe—without simplifying—those cultural practices and values that persist amidst all the self-conscious efforts at innovation and reform.

Alternative Development

The idea that no form of modernity can, or should, be imported wholesale, and that planning should strive to transcend concerns about what is native or foreign, per se, lies behind the third theme of this chapter: how planning in China has involved visions and experiments in *alternative development* that address human developmental problems from a global perspective,

and/or that focus deeply on unique, local solutions—in both cases without much regard for national geopolitical interest and competitiveness. While such visions and experiments are typically also responses to hegemony, I am distinguishing them here as those aspects of planning that question received definitions of modernity and development itself, and thus attempt to get out ahead of history—not so much by critiquing China’s “backward” position relative to other nations, but rather by critiquing the models of development that those other nations have put forward. While the socialist-revolutionary programs of the Mao era involve the most obvious examples of this theme—especially when they diverged from Soviet models and adopted alternative internationalist and Third World positions—there are alternativist movements in China that predate Maoism, or have emerged since.

The Maoist effort to rebalance urban-rural relations and pursue local self-reliance in the industrial age was perhaps the most radically alternativist spatial development approach to attract the attention of planners worldwide, sometimes under the name of Agropolitanism or Agrapolitanism (Friedmann 1985; Salter 1976; You 1981; see also Castells 1977, pp. 64–72). In 1977 *Progress in Planning* published a special issue on “Planning and Urbanism in China” that provides an especially noteworthy review by European scholars of Maoist alternativism, including its goal to ensure “ecological homeostasis” “at each level of production and welfare” (Caldwell 1977:109). But even this approach was part of a long lineage of thinking, and even under Mao it did not achieve nearly the ideal that many planners abroad imagined (Brown 2012). Rural Reconstructionism, for example, dates from Liang Shuming’s experimental projects in the 1930s, and since the 1990s has been experiencing a revival with embryonic but potentially enormous relevance to the planning profession. While Rural Reconstruction is a prominent example of alternativism in Chinese development, it also involves elements of premodern cultural revivalism, specifically the revival of Confucian or Buddhist values (S. Wu and Tong 2009). Liang Shuming attempted to implement his conception of a revitalized rural society primarily through governmental and educational reforms, not through spatial projects. Recent revivals and offshoots of Liang’s legacy vary widely in the extent to which they involve formal spatial planning, or instead take the form of grassroots social-organizational action that would not be considered planning in any official or professional sense in China (Hale 2013).

Since the professionalization of planning after Mao’s death coincided with the pro-urban and pro-metropolitan policies of export-oriented industrial policies of Reform and Opening, planning in the 1980s came to be seen entirely as a city-focused activity. Even at the regional scale, the task of planning was primarily to determine where to locate cities and to invest in urban infrastructure. By the early 2000s, the neglect of the countryside was evident, and dubbed by the central government a “rural crisis,” or *sannong wenti* (literally the “three rural problems” of farmers’ poverty and lack of social services; the backwardness and degradation of rural settlements and environments; and agricultural economic collapse). Two main strands of revived Rural Reconstructionist thinking emerged in response to this crisis: an essentially anti-urban, anti-market New Rural Reconstruction (NRR) movement, inspired primarily by the agronomist Wen Tiejun; and a more orthodox set of macroeconomic policies favoring the extension into the countryside of urban services, employment opportunities, and material standards of living. The latter has largely dominated the government’s actual program of Socialist New Countryside Construction (*Shehuizhuyi Xin Nongcun Jianshe*), especially after the global financial crisis of 2008, which revealed a severe overcapacity in China’s export-oriented manufacturing (Looney 2015). The stimulation of domestic consumer markets then became an additional reason to promote the physical reconstruction of rural settlements, and therefore also the application of physical planning to rural environments (Bray 2013; Wilczak 2017).

NRR, however, has revived a more agropolitan view of rural development that eschews global marketist macroeconomic strategies and promotes rural self-reliance, place-based cultural

production, community-supported agriculture, and urban-rural mutual assistance projects—many of them linked to transnational networks for fair trade, food sovereignty, and environmental and social entrepreneurship. The full implications of NRR and the growth of NRR-like projects for planning professionalism have become clearer only in the last couple of years as the limits of capital-intensive construction-driven economic growth are revealing themselves, and thus challenging the prevailing professional view of planning as primarily concerned with physical construction and design. The largest design and construction services firms in China have recently seen massive layoffs, and many of the former employees who are not leaving the profession altogether are focusing on smaller projects, often in the countryside. Municipal governments are also establishing rural planning sections and setting up planning offices in small towns for the first time. Although they initially intended to oversee New Countryside Construction projects, they find themselves needing instead to advise rural communities on matters of economic development, tourism, and cultural promotion (Abramson 2015). For their part, many of those rural communities which have escaped disruption by New Countryside Construction are able to exercise an increasing degree of collective developmental autonomy, which sometimes takes the form of hiring planners and designers to carry out projects regardless of higher-level policies and priorities. While these trends are quite recent, dynamic, and unpredictable, they highlight the new potential relevance for current practice of planning-historical scholarship that reveals how local identity, productive capacity, and social-ecological relations can be the basis for developmental visioning and decision-making.

Conclusion: China-Focused Planning History, from the Outside In and from the Inside Out

This chapter outlines a three-themed framework for thinking about how China's planning history might inform and integrate with global histories of planning and historical knowledge of urbanization processes in general. The chapter leaves much unsaid, and mentions only a few studies, issues and trends in planning that illustrate the presence and relevance of these themes. Still, the framework may be useful in relating specific cases and moments in planning history to a broader temporal and spatial context. Just as it is important to move beyond orientalist and Eurocentric perspectives on planning history, it is also important to move beyond "the world city hypothesis," which has encouraged a view of global urbanization that emphasizes a borderless hierarchy of capital accumulation without much regard for local or regional distinctions. The originator of this concept, John Friedmann, strove to correct its effects by promoting a more endogenous view of development in his own book on China's urban transition, among other recent works (Friedmann 1986, 2002, 2005). But it is also important to move beyond the endogenous/exogenous dichotomy in analyzing how planning history develops in distinct political and cultural contexts, to strive to identify principles of human development and environmental governance that operate globally but also account for variation at different scales.

Planning history, in any cultural or environmental context, is the story of how humans collectively envision the future and strive to shape it, then encounter new problems—often of their own making—and evolve new planning approaches to deal with those problems. In the context of global urbanization, the planning of China's large, old, and quickly developing city-regions is bound to make use of ideas that have been tested elsewhere first. It is also bound to adapt existing knowledge and produce new approaches to the problems it faces. Most of those problems and approaches will be unique to specific places even within China, but many are likely to resonate well beyond the country's borders.

Related Topics

Smith, Hein: The Ancient Past in the Urban Present

Hein: Idioms of Japanese Planning Historiography

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21

PLANNING HISTORIES IN THE ARAB WORLD

Éric Verdeil and Joe Nasr

Over the past century and a half, most accounts of cities of the Arab world have viewed them through the lens of an organically built urban fabric, understood as an Islamic heritage, an expression of a collective and religious ethos (Bianca 2000). Planning, as a professionally conceived endeavor aiming at structuring changes in cities, was perceived as almost nonexistent in this world region. When scholars have attempted to circumvent the narrative of chaos that imbued urban history here as in much of the developing world, they have usually highlighted external political and economic determinations, and pointed out the divergent pathways of Arab cities between (neo) colonialism, socialism, aid-dependency, or the oil economy rather than specific urban management styles (Abu-Lughod 1984).

However, recent scholarship (primarily in French and English, as relevant work in Arabic is relatively sparse), based on case-studies dealing mostly with the principal cities in the region, has shown that extensive planning over many decades has marked cities across the Arab world, from cutting arteries through existing built fabric to laying out infrastructure and neighborhoods at the urban edge. This scholarship has identified some unifying trends, including the model of spectacular urbanism that emerged from the Gulf region thanks to the circuits of oil money and the rise of a new political order, spreading to the rest of the region and beyond (Elsheshtawy 2008). Drawing on this historiography, this chapter proposes five threads that posit planning as a central, but contested, practice in the making of Arab cities, without oversimplifying the Arab world as a monolithic geographical entity.

- 1) *Planning, state building, and elite affirmation.* Planning has long been recognized as a tool of power, helping to build new states—from colonial entities to post-independence countries (Sanyal 2005). In the Arab world as elsewhere, ancient and new elites, both local and national, have used it as a way to secure or reinforce their grip on institutions and assets.
- 2) *Tension between modernization and preservation.* Planning has always struggled to maintain features of the existing urban environment. In the Arab region, it has long been challenged by how it can strengthen continuities in urban settlements and help these settlements to “move beyond the narrative of loss” (Elsheshtawy 2004: 1) towards becoming “modern.”
- 3) *A connected and networked history.* New scholarly accounts have recently challenged a global history often focused on north/south, east/west divides and the bounded circulations they created. A more networked approach is now providing a wider understanding of cities in the Arab region, where planning is not simply a predefined Western project imposed on or replicated in

foreign spaces, but rather a set of circulating ideas and practices, constantly negotiated by local agents. Such connections and networks reflect shifting financial and political power along with shifting paradigms and directions of circulations—thus also challenging assumptions of center/periphery (Nasr and Volait 2003).

- 4) *Planning cultures and roles of “planners.”* In the Arab world as in other regions, native professionals too often remain under-recognized as local actors engaging in planning. Although most of these practitioners are not trained as planners, they act as such on the ground in ways that deserve to be part of planning history.
- 5) *Planning and ordinary citizens.* At the same time, the Arab world can challenge or even deconstruct the traditional idea of planning as a state-controlled effort to organize space. This effort is caught between, on one side, the varying strengths of private actors influencing public affairs in order to advance their claims and interests, and, on the other side, inhabitants’ and communities’ initiatives resisting, bypassing, or otherwise negotiating planning regulations and policies, questioning how standardized approaches (most coming from the West or the Gulf) are adapted to their needs and specific circumstances.

These threads are interwoven across a history that can be divided into three periods, separated by two transitions, although these shifts defy any simple temporal boundaries, reflecting the diverse political settings and histories of the 22 countries currently recognized by the Arab League. The transition from colonization to independence is a first turning moment, beginning in 1922 in Egypt and finishing in 1971 in the United Arab Emirates. Second, the rise of neoliberal policies and practices, from the mid-1970s to the 1990s, opened an era that is continuing today.

The Colonial Legacy

From the beginning of the 19th century, the Arab region has been the site of major geopolitical struggles among colonial powers and local actors. France, the United Kingdom, and Italy seized control over most of the region from the Ottomans, not only through military conquest but also through infrastructure (ports, roads, railways) and planning projects (from creating new towns to restructuring the urban fabric). Nonetheless, recent research has shown Ottoman roots for such endeavors.

The Ottomans transformed most Arab provincial cities in the region (including Aleppo, Baghdad, Damascus, Beirut, and Jerusalem) (Arnaud 2008; Çelik 2008; Hanssen et al. 2002). Sultan Abdülmecid I launched the *Tanzimat* (reforms) through the Edict of Gülhane in 1839 in order to resist European military pressure; these reshaped the administration of the Ottoman Empire. Following the establishment of the municipality of Istanbul, the gradual creation and empowerment of municipalities between 1863 and 1900 played a major role in changing the form of cities experiencing strong population and economic growth (Lafi 2005). These municipalities took over management of new domains, like souks (market districts), water, and other services, and they dedicated special administrative departments to these tasks, often relying on foreign experts (engineers, land surveyors, and architects) linked to western interests.

While it soon receded from the Maghreb, Ottoman rule lasted longer and left deep imprints in the Mashreq. Egypt maintained political autonomy under the rule of the Khedives from the early 19th century. Foreign powers were represented in Egypt by their consuls and, after 1882, a British appointed governor. Major urban transformations took place in Alexandria and later in Cairo under the guidance of a new political and technical elite. Ali Mubarak, an engineer educated at the Cairo Engineering School, served as Minister of Public Works between 1868 and 1875, and again from 1879 to 1882, personally directing the planning of Cairo, which he documented in his influential book, the *Khittat*. The extension plans for Cairo under Khedive Ismail in 1870 owe much to his



Figure 21.1 Khedivial Cairo: Ataba al-Khadra Square, 1915.

Source: Fonds Max Karkégi. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département des Estampes et photographies.

visit to Haussmannian Paris, but they would not have been possible without Egypt's new elite (Volait 2005) (Figure 21.1).

Arab cities continued to change as Western powers gradually took control: France's colonial rule in the Maghreb (beginning in 1830 in Algeria, 1882 in Tunisia, 1912 in Morocco) and its Mandates over Syria and Lebanon in 1920; the United Kingdom's rule in Egypt (1882), its Mandates over Palestine, Transjordan, and Iraq, and other modes of domination in the Gulf; Italy's colonization of Libya. French interventions in their colonial settings (on Algiers see Çelik 1997) resulted not only in urban projects, but also in more in-depth systemic tools to manage urban sprawl (land surveying, land reforms, expropriation, and parceling). Morocco under Maréchal Lyautey was certainly the most famous example of Western powers newly taking control. Concentrating investments in Casablanca and its new port as well as in Rabat, the new capital of the Protectorate (Cohen and Eleb 2002), the authorities commissioned French architects and planners, the most famous being Henri Prost, to implement ideas that they could not realize in their home country, as the French Parliament avoided threatening the principles of private property (Rabinow 1995) (Figure 21.2). They created separate zoning regulations for the *medinas* (*city* in Arabic; commonly refers to the historic core of Arab cities), "new medinas" (neighborhoods designed according to "Arab" architectural principles) for Muslim populations, and new districts primarily for Europeans (with Neo-Moorish-style buildings). These were tools of segregation, creating what Janet Abu-Lughod later called "urban apartheid" (Abu-Lughod 1980). As a consequence of this segregative approach, one of the first moves of urban conservation in the colonies was to protect ancient walled medinas and monuments.

After planners experimented on the supposedly blank slate of colonized countries, they exported their findings back to the colonial metropolis (Rabinow 1995; Vacher 1997); that is, planning was also a circulating set of ideas and practices. The French school of planning circulated across countries under Mandate; the Danger Brothers and Michel Écochard in Beirut, Aleppo, and Damascus (Fries 1994; Ghorayeb 2014) shared concerns about hygiene, modern circulation, and administrative control over buildings. All of these led to new urban guidelines, though the social and political contexts differed in each site. The French also sought military control of cities, as illustrated in Damascus,



Figure 21.2 Master Plan for Rabat: area of Rabat-Salé [ca. 1916].

Source: Fonds Prost, Henri (1874-1959) 1916-1951. Objet PROST-C-16-02. Dossier 343 AA 21/4. Doc. HP-PHO-015-04-02, Cité de l'architecture & du patrimoine.

where some of the new arteries like Baghdad Street were military borders dividing the city from the countryside, where the insurgents of the Arab Revolt had hidden.

But in the Levant, unlike in the Maghreb, the French rulers did not use planning to order society according to race or even religion. Here, modernization plans followed the footsteps of Ottoman projects, as seen in Beirut at a time when it was becoming a commercial hub for the entire region in the 1920s. If the star-shaped Etoile quarter in the city's center was a new concept, it built on an Ottoman public works project that was already modernizing the city (Ghorayeb 2014). In many cities, new planned areas targeted a Westernized bourgeoisie, as in the leafy neighborhood of Abu Rummaneh in Damascus.

The areas under British rule followed yet another path. In Palestine, British planning initiatives—the Health and Beautification Law of 1922 and the Planning Law of 1936—fit with their general colonial framework while relying on the nascent Town Planning movement, based on the ideas of the Garden City and the tool of the survey (Home 1996). These brought British planning

ideals mostly to settlements of Jewish migrants, leaving inland Arab cities out of their scope. Scottish planner Patrick Geddes was invited to plan both the Hebrew University on Mount Scopus in 1919 (unrealized) and the whole city of Jerusalem (largely realized). Seeking to freeze the city's historic landscape, his plan reinstated "biblical Jerusalem," expressing Geddes's orientalist views and British imperial visions while serving the Zionist project (Rubin 2011).

Italians did not adopt a unified attitude to the cities they colonized in the first half of the 20th century. Fuller (2007) contrasts Addis Ababa and Tripoli as exemplifying the "colonial city" and the "imperial city" respectively. The plan for Addis Ababa called for wiping the city clean for a uniform image and total political control, though in the end this was not fully realized. In contrast, in Tripoli, Italian planning focused on cost-conscious solutions to pressing problems throughout the three decades after Libya's annexation in 1912, leaving the walled city almost untouched while shaping the rapidly growing new quarters, mirroring the dual cities created through French colonial planning.

In Egypt, local experts appropriated planning as an Egyptian project. After the 1922 agreement establishing the Protectorate allowed local experts to hold professional positions, the growth of Cairo prompted them to draft the first-ever town planning scheme for the city (1934–1935), authored chiefly by Mahmud Sabri Mahmud, the director of the Tanzim Department of the Ministry of Public Works. It focused on the northward extension on the west bank of the Nile (using Garden City principles), the Heliopolis district, and unplanned slums like Bulaq. In so doing, it affirmed strong public control over city redevelopment, in reaction to the *laissez-faire* attitude of the British government (Volait 2001).

Colonial powers thus used planning to assert their grip on Arab countries. However, this north-south imposition of policies took place in a world already marked by Ottoman interventions in Arab cities and a Mediterranean circulation of references and practices that predated colonization.

Independence and Modernist Planning

After World War II and the shift to independence, many colonial practices actually intensified. Newly independent states appropriated the ideology of planning, conflating modernism with nationalism; they created their own institutions staffed more and more by local experts, while largely relying on tools and practices of Western planners. The economic and political ascent of the Arab Gulf opened up a new market for planners, and urban models and practices now circulated at the scale of the whole region. A connected planning history can capture these dynamics.

New nationalist governments building new states used planning to control land and population as well as for development and social change, but they always applied it selectively and on scattered sites, so its effects were indirect and unpredictable. They primarily used it to build or remodel capital cities, relying on the architecture of modernity (Arbid 2014). The names of new scenic public spaces—Thawra (Revolution) Street in Damascus, or Tahrir (Liberation) Square in Cairo—created legitimacy, connecting the new state to Islamic heroes and heroic periods of the past. To a lesser extent, the state used modernist planning in provincial capitals, associating the rhetoric of modernity with state buildings, as in Baathist planning in Raqqa in Syria (Ababsa 2009).

In most countries of the region, independence did lead to a diversification of expertise and planning ideas. This was most obvious in countries following a socialist-collective path (Syria, Egypt, Algeria, Libya), which were visited regularly by experts from the Soviet bloc and sometimes also Western experts (Souami and Verdeil 2006). Libya's Gaddafi mixed regional and urban planning studies by Italconsult (1976), Doxiadis (1979), Polservice Consulting Office (1980), and Finnmap and Speerplan (West Germany) (1981) (Pliez 2003). Countries that adopted more liberal approaches remained under the influence of their former metropolis or of Western networks of expertise. For example, Greek planner Constantinos Doxiadis was invited to many USA-allied countries: Lebanon, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and Libya (Bromley 2003). Arab countries—whether liberal or socialist in orientation—were now a lucrative field for consulting firms from Western and communist

countries (Stanek 2012, 2015) as well as for newly established local consulting firms. Master plans for large districts became commonplace; for example, the Architects' Collaborative (led by Walter Gropius) created the 1957 master plan for the new University of Baghdad (Pieri 2015).

In building modern states, new governments created national and local administrations and public consultancies dedicated to planning, usually under the umbrella of the state rather than of municipalities. Governments hired new local professionals, usually engineers and architects, more and more of them trained locally. Very few of them were trained as planners, however; rather, these professionals gradually took over leading positions inside the newly created public bodies, learning by doing (Longuenesse 1991; Souami and Verdeil 2006).

In Algeria, significant public planning organizations, both national and local, were established around 1980, acting as relatively autonomous local consulting offices for national and local administrations, using largely Algerian personnel. These include the *Centre National d'Etudes et de Réalisations en Urbanisme*, with a staff of over 600 responsible for studies and plans for the development of all urban and rural agglomerations; and the *Agence Nationale de l'Aménagement du Territoire*, which has been undertaking studies related to territorial planning at the national and regional scales (Souami and Verdeil 2006).

The planning of more state-led countries is exemplified in the ambitious satellite towns, new towns, and new settlements planned for Cairo in 1956, 1970, and 1981 (El-Kadi 1990), as well as in the less ambitious projects under Hafez al Assad from 1976 for Damascus's satellite towns of Dummar and Dimas (Verdeil 2012a), and in Algeria, under the name of *Zones d'habitat urbain nouvelles* (ZHUN, close to the French ZUP—*zones d'urbanisation prioritaires*) from 1975 (Chaline 1996). In most cases, these new neighborhoods were intended for civil servants and the military rather than the urban poor. In contrast, almost no housing projects were recorded in the more liberal countries of Lebanon (Verdeil 2011) and Jordan. Everywhere, roads (and hence cars) were the priorities of planners, while existing tramway and railway lines were dismantled, leaving many suburbanites without means of transportation (Figure 21.3). Remote state-led housing projects failed to attract

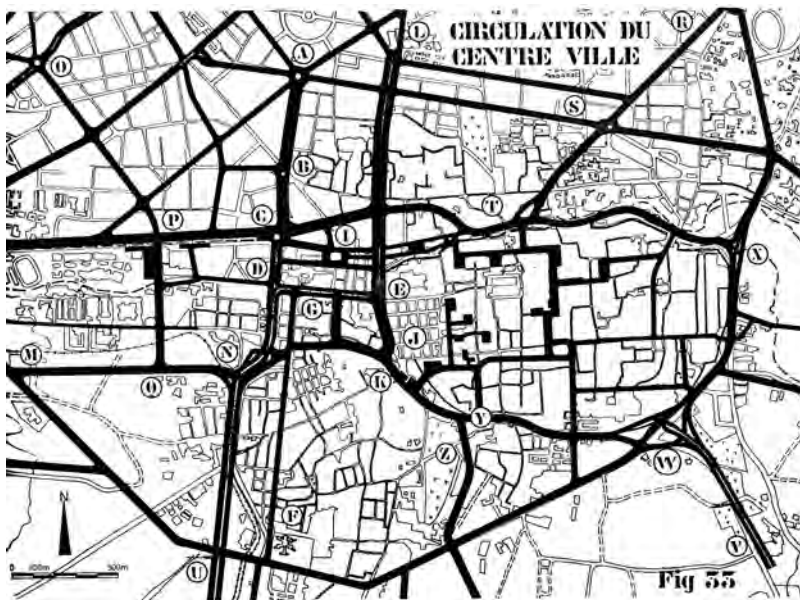


Figure 21.3 The road network proposed for the modern center and the old city of Damascus, Syria, Plan Écochard, 1968—partially implemented.

Source: personal archives, Éric Verdeil.

inhabitants due to the absence of mass transportation projects. Before the 2000s, the only two cities where public transit projects had been implemented were Cairo (first metro line opening 1988) and Tunis (1984) (Chabbi 2012; El-Kadi 1990).

Cross-Arab exchange became common in newly independent countries. For example, the Yemeni state undertook major public projects following the 1962 revolution, including building a modern center in Sanaa between the historic city and the Ottoman district around Maydan al-Tahrir, using an overall plan, well-defined street patterns, and strong regulations of built form. The mid-rise buildings, intended for institutional and residential purposes, were realized through cooperation with Nasser's Egypt, on the basis of architectural modes used in Egypt at the time (Arnaud 1995).

As much as they resulted from contrasting ideologies, planning patterns also expressed different methods within planning itself, from comprehensive master plans to more strategic approaches. Over time, as many state projects did not materialize, both planners and decision makers shifted from comprehensive visions to key sites and projects (Chaline 1996). Planners learned from failures and recognized their inability to carry out such ambitious projects with limited funds and speculative practices. Moreover, many places developed without state intervention, informally or illegally. People settled in spaces not covered by official plans or in the loopholes of plans and planning tools (for instance, lands without land registry). In Beirut's southern suburbs, a series of ambitious extension plans, proposed from the 1940s to the 1960s, never materialized, but informal settlements, partly born of an industrial boom and rural exodus, dramatically expanded during the civil war (1975–1990) (Clerc-Huybrechts 2008).

Recent planning histories now recognize the Gulf area as central to the Arab urban world and its connectivity. Assessments of urbanization in this region had often overlooked Gulf countries; at best, such assessments described them as nomadic areas with almost no cities developing oil-rich metropolises, ignoring their urban and planning history before oil (Fuccaro 2009, 2013; Ramos 2010) and neglecting what their cities share with other cities in the region (Menoret 2014a).

The first planning projects were initiated by British oil companies to house their work force. Ahmadi, a company town created by the Kuwait Oil Company in 1946, incorporated many features of the Garden City movement, but other characteristics of its built form pointed to a regional way of life. The proliferation of compounds for oil workers, segregated by nationality, social status, and rank in the work process, is probably the most striking feature of this urban Gulf style. Oil cities were at the same time a place where many people first experienced urban modernity, with individual, air-conditioned houses and access to consumer goods in supermarkets. In addition, these oil-worker cities were also the place of new political mobilizations, related to working conditions, but also, in these years of Arab nationalism, to claims of political independence (Alissa 2013; Al-Nakib 2013).

Saudi Arabia, with its booming population fueled by settlement policies directed at the much-feared Bedouins, saw its main cities sprawl. City planning became a major concern, at the nexus of political control and development. In Riyadh, a 1969 plan for the city by Doxiadis and his team set up a hierarchized scheme of road grids, delineating neighborhood units to be equipped with retail and services. With the surge in oil prices, the authorities soon managed to extend the urban grid into the desert, enabling developers (first of all princes from the Saud family) to reap profits, as they owned most of the land. This sprawling city also helps the regime control people's mobility and to exclude women from public space (since they are prohibited from driving) (Menoret 2014b).

This apparently place-specific "oil urbanism" can be re-placed in a more connected history. The migrant population connected Gulf cities to the rest of the Arab world. Specifically, highly skilled Arab professionals played a major role in planning and building cities, with (and sometimes in the shadow of) American, British, and French consulting firms. Palestinian-American Saba Shiber, sometimes referred to as "Mr. Arab Planner," worked for many years on the planning board in Kuwait, while becoming the Arab voice for planning across the region. The consulting

and contracting firm Dar al Handasah was founded by five engineers from the American University of Beirut; its planning department, established in 1971, won many contracts in Gulf countries, often serving as an entry point for far larger and more lucrative construction projects. The successful company worked in Egypt, Algeria, and beyond, including Nigeria and other oil-rich developing countries (Al-Nakib 2014; Nasr 2005; Shair 2006).

The independence period saw the new Arab states using Western planning tools to serve their national projects of development and modernization. Oil offered these countries, whose independence came late, unprecedented financial means for using planning as a political tool, as well as for physical and economic modernization. Nonetheless, wider circuits of expertise—not only from the former Western metropolis but also from the socialist world, and from inside the Arab world—transformed cities.

Patterns of Contemporary Planning

Since the 1990s, neoliberal policies have shifted planning away from state-led development. Four trends could be identified in this period. Global and regional capitalism affected urban planning through strategies of investment in real estate. A variety of parties sought to preserve the long-neglected historic fabric of the traditional Arab city while also modernizing it. Planning incorporated some unplanned neighborhoods into the city and excluded others. And geopolitical violence within or outside Arab cities and countries led to multiple responses, whether managing displaced populations or rebuilding the destroyed urban fabric.

Neoliberal globalization inaugurated new forms of circulation of capital and policies that deeply transformed planning. Megaprojects targeted Arab cities—their centers, waterfronts, and other previously abandoned or neglected areas—for modernization, strategically redeveloping them through tourism, high-end real estate, and other economic functions of global networks. Here the state, along with local private networks (particularly ruling elites, whether royal, military, or entrepreneurial) both competed for and relied increasingly on foreign private expertise and investments, commissioning iconic architecture from world-famous consultancies and “starchitects” (Barthel 2010). This new urbanism is often opaque, authoritarian, and increasingly contested, as the Arab Revolt movement has illustrated.

Though global, this urban trend is specifically linked with the Gulf area. Sovereign funds and developers from the Gulf have financially backed these projects. Yasser Elsheshtawy has theorized, if not coined, the word *dubaization* to highlight the place in public imagination and the claim to modernity of Dubai, with its malls and iconic megaprojects (among them Burj Khalifa and the Palm islands) (Elsheshtawy 2010). Ramos (2010) has highlighted “borrowing, replication, and amplification” as the working mode of such projects, at the city, national, and global scale. This reversed the polarity in the planning history of the Arab world: once a test site for planning ideas being exported elsewhere, the Gulf region is now a magnet for new ideas, including a panoply of “sustainable” projects to help the region survive possible oil depletion (Figure 21.4).

In contrast to elites’ quest for flashy, glitzy modernity mimicking the Gulf cities (though not entirely separate from it), Arab planners and architects have searched for a way to preserve a local identity anchored in the Arab/Islamic city, and in particular to rehabilitate the medinas—ironically at a time when the critiques of orientalism led some scholars of Islamic and Muslim cities based in the West to become more wary of such approaches (Alsayyad 1996). Modernist planning had done little to preserve medinas in the time of independence; some projects actively sought to crush part of the old fabric to adapt it to car traffic, as in 1962 in Tunisia (Abdelkafi 1989). By the mid-1970s, the wealthy classes had begun to leave the medinas and stopped maintaining their former residences, leading poor migrant families to move in, crowding the old premises (URBAMA 1982). In Aleppo and in Hama, the Syrian army heavily damaged the medinas in its fight against



Figure 21.4 A view of the central square of Masdar City (Abu Dhabi), with its wind cooling tower, planted and shaded public space, solar-protected architecture, and photovoltaic solar panels on the roof.

Source: Éric Verdeil, 2014.

the Muslim Brotherhood (David 1989). In reaction, local planners and the local bourgeoisie (influenced by emerging preservationist movements in Europe and elsewhere) formed medina defense associations. In Damascus and Aleppo, civic actions in the 1980s won UNESCO World Heritage Site designation for their medinas.

At the same time, other local and national authorities sought UNESCO support simply to gain visibility and boost tourism, as in Fes in 1975 (Boumaza 1999). In 1988, UNESCO and the General Organization for the Preservation of Historic Cities of Yemen (GOPHCY) collaborated to get Sanaa on the World Heritage List. Later, UNESCO warned that it might remove it from this list due to an increasing number of building modifications violating the old city's historic character, and GOPHCY helped identify and remedy the many violations (Al-Sallal 2004).

The results were varied, as is well illustrated in Tunis. Medina preservation efforts extended beyond the souks and tourist areas to include social housing in the Hafsia area. Yet this did not prevent further crumbling in abandoned parts of the medina (Abdelkafi 1989). In Morocco, notably in Marrakech and Fes, foreigners sparked gentrification (Coslado et al. 2012). The role of international cooperation was significant in some cases; in particular, German institutions invested for years in Aleppo (Spiekermann and Gangler 2003; Vincent 2004).

The widespread unplanned neighborhoods have also been a major site for planners and local authorities in the Arab world. Ideas of providing housing for Muslims in new medinas—developed under the French rule in Morocco, and later modernized and theorized in an 8-meter grid pattern by Écochard (Cohen and Eleb 2002)—proved financially too ambitious and ideologically too orientalist,



Figure 21.5 Urban rehabilitation of an informal settlement of northwestern Tunis, with paved roads, water and sanitation networks, electricity grid, and public lighting, starting in the 1980s.

Source: Éric Verdeil 2005.

and did not take into account the needs, aspirations, or building capacity of local inhabitants. Faced with sprawling informal settlements, some governments either tolerated slums or evicted their dwellers, relocating some of them in new settlements, usually far outside the city and beyond their financial means, as in Egypt (Ghannam 2002) and Morocco.

But other countries soon recognized the financial and political cost of such policies and, starting in the mid-1970s, moved to rehabilitate informal settlements. After union-led riots in Tunisia in 1978, the government restructured several *gourbis* (or slums). This policy was formalized in 1981, as the national Agency for Urban Rehabilitation and Renovation was created with the support of the World Bank. In order to cut costs, and in the face of rising Islamist movements, it concentrated on infrastructure (for water, electricity, and wastewater) (Figure 21.5). This policy helped significant numbers of households across the Tunisian territory, but critics denounced it as fostering sprawl (Chabbi 2012). In the last decade, neoliberal-inspired measures have increased; Jordan, for instance, reversed its more tolerant policies and insisted on formal land titles as a requirement for recognition of ownership by the state, which increased evictions (Ababsa et al. 2012).

War and violence, still frequent in this region in recent decades, have had wide-ranging urban consequences. Multiple waves of migrants and refugees (from both urban and rural areas) have settled in cities, prompting new policies. International bodies have long been involved, creating agencies to address specific crises, many of them lasting for decades. The United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) was created in 1951 to manage the Palestinian refugee camps in Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon, and in the West Bank and Gaza. The camps—and their population—have consolidated without being fully incorporated into the rest of the city, with strong national differences. In Lebanon, the camps, heavily damaged during the civil war, have gotten far denser; much of the local population sees them—and their inhabitants—as foreign bodies; they are ruled, politically as well as physically, as spaces of exception (Hanafi 2013). Palestinian camps are best integrated in Jordan, as most of their inhabitants have received Jordanian nationality, although no formal planning policies address their officially temporary nature (Oesch 2015). The presence of refugees has increased dramatically recently, with millions displaced from Iraq and Syria. Established in 2012 in Jordan, the Zaatari camp alone accommodated up to 125,000 refugees from Syria, under the management of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, assisted by many foreign and local NGOs (Figure 21.6).



Figure 21.6 A close-up view of the Zaatari camp in Jordan for Syrian refugees, from a helicopter carrying US Secretary of State John Kerry and Jordanian Foreign Minister Nasser Judeh, July 18, 2013.

Source: U.S. Department of State.



Figure 21.7 Foch Street in the Central Business District of Beirut, 2006. Built in the 1920s under the French, and rehabilitated by Solidere in the 1990s, this district is home to many high-end retail shops and entertainment outlets.

Source: Franck Scherrer.

Another facet of this war-led urbanism is the reconstruction of war-torn cities. Basra, almost fully destroyed during the Iran–Iraq war (Barakat 1993) is just one example. More recently, violent conflicts have struck Gaza repeatedly (2008, 2012, 2014), many Iraqi cities including Baghdad, Fallujah, and Ramadi, and now numerous Syrian cities (Aleppo, Homs, Damascus, Kobani). Each reconstruction is of course unique, responding to particular destruction and carrying out the choices of governments and other political actors.

Beirut, heavily damaged by 15 years of war, is by far the most documented reconstruction, with successive attempts at rebuilding parts of the city with different physical and social forms, under varying political conditions (Nasr and Verdeil 2008). The reconstruction concentrated on a main area, the historic city center, overshadowing other areas damaged or illegally built during the war, such as the Palestinian camps and the front line between East and West Beirut (Figure 21.7). That reconstruction has had several stages, following the rounds of the war, along with the progressive demise of the state and its takeover by private interests. The reconstruction strongly modernized and densified the urban fabric, even as some historical clusters have been rehabilitated. This reconstruction contrasts strongly with the rebuilding of the southern suburb of Beirut after 2006, when the dominant Shia party Hizbullah imposed its vision, seeking to reassert its grip on its population, and rebuilt the Israeli-bombed area without changing street, land, and building patterns. As these Lebanese episodes suggest, choices made by rebuilders express deep political struggle over the control of land and population (Fawaz 2009) that cannot be reduced to interpretations in terms of expansion of neoliberal ideas.

Conclusion

This chapter has delineated the entanglement of planning in the Arab world with state building, economic and political violence, the unfolding of capitalism, the tense relation between historic and

modern urban fabric, the rise of local experts, and the ways non-experts navigate planning systems or operate outside them. Looking at shared histories within typologies beyond the Arab world, such as ties between hubs in the oil sector like Kuwait and Abadan (Crimson 1997; Hein and Sedighi 2017), highlights the porosity of the definition of the region. Ultimately, looking back over the past century and a half at the variety of attempts to plan cities in the Arab world (and failures to do so), we can identify multiple connections between individuals, ideas, and sources of influence and power—both within this region and beyond it. So across the many divisions that make this region a highly fragmented one, planning history here is embedded in regional particularities as much as it is connected to global flows.

Further research will help us better understand past and present transformations in Arab cities and the modalities of planning behind them. The knowledge of national policies and achievements needs to be deepened, not only in the principal cities but also in secondary ones, specifically after independence. Ordinary planning operations, and hence ordinary stakeholders from inhabitants to street-level state officers, need to come to light. And international circulation still offers many research opportunities. While famous planners like Michel Écochard or Constantinos Doxiadis have begun to receive attention, many other Western ones, along with planners from socialist countries and a number of local firms, like the Jordanian-Lebanese Dar al-Handasah, are also worth consideration. Finally, while this chapter has provided a synthetic review of planning histories in cities of the Arab world, a historiography of planning history in this region has yet to be written.

Related Topics

Sorensen: Global Suburbanization in Planning History

Larkham: Disasters

Hosagrahar: A History of Heritage Conservation in City Planning

Silver: Educating Planners in History: A Global Perspective

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AFRICA'S URBAN PLANNING PALIMPSEST

Susan Parnell

A task of the planning historian is to identify the ideas that mattered and that became sedimented in institution building, especially at times of population and construction growth. The changing conception of what cities are, or even why cities are seen to be important in a particular time or place is related to, but not the same thing as, the evolution of the ideas and institutional instruments used to shape or manage those spaces over an extended period in what we now think of as planning. The question of “what is the urban?” is, however, so intertwined with the evolution of ideas and practices of urban planning that the two are often conflated. This chapter deals with Africa, a context where poverty is pervasive, urban boundaries are fluid, the rights of urban citizenship are not universally claimed or bestowed, and there is no clear conception of what constitutes an African city or an African urbanite. Moreover, planning and planners have absolutely failed to control urban space anywhere on the continent, largely leaving the majority of people to create spaces and structures themselves. There is a huge range in the conditions across the vast African continent, but one thing is clear: there is a pretty universal disconnect between the city and the plan. Bad and absent planning has exposed African cities to unacceptable risk, and has left unacceptable living conditions unchallenged. What planning history has to explain, therefore, is not just the impact of planning ideas, but also their widespread lack of traction as self-built and unplanned urban areas have emerged across Africa.

The chapter is structured in three parts. The first section asks why planning history matters, and raises the question of colonialism. The second section briefly outlines the state of the field of planning history today, noting the obvious dominance (and continental relevance) of South African material, but also reflecting on the reasons behind the general paucity of academic output on Africa and on the distorted focus of the material on colonial legacies. The final section makes a case for a revisionist African planning history agenda based on wider temporal and thematic mandates.

Why Planning History Matters for Africa

As African cities grow, the legacies of bad and or absent planning are evident in the inability of African governments to manage rising risk or fulfill the developmental aspirations of urban residents (Rakodi 1997; Wisner 1995; Pelling et al. 2015). The physical expansion of cities, the shift in the proportion of the population living in towns, and the increased hazards that urban areas experience under climate change, war, and economic insecurity all make it imperative that we understand why

planning in Africa has failed to establish even basic urban risk reduction and mitigation capacities, and has allowed the proliferation of slums or informal and unregulated settlements. The precise dynamics of how, why, or when past African planners instigated practices, or missed the opportunity to put in place the appropriate mechanisms that could make urban governance work, is not yet well documented. Lack of basic clarity about the evolution of the planning system also makes it difficult to locate the African story in the international account of the rise of planning, and challenges efforts to reform planning practice to make it more locally effective and sustainable.

The overt disregard for the public good and sustainable urban practice, the leitmotif of African planning today (Murray and Myers 2007; Parnell and Pieterse 2014), undoubtedly dates to colonial rule, which served elites and disregarded the wellbeing of the majority of the residents (Konadu-Agyemang 2001; Kipfer 2007; King 1995; Meyers 2003; Western 1985). But not all the blame for Africa's urban problems can be attributed to empire (Mabogunje 1990; Njoh 2003). In assessing how history might inform an African urban reform agenda, and establishing what it is about the past that perpetuates institutional injustice, it is vital to address the whole urban palimpsest, the varied legacies of power and institutional stasis layered across urban Africa from precolonial, colonial, and postcolonial times.

In Africa, the colonial urban inscription was powerful and brutal (King 1995; Njoh 2004). Segregation, informality, ineffective service provision, poor infrastructure, the absence of a sustainable fiscal base, and inappropriate standards are but some of the named legacies of Europe's half-hearted efforts at urban planning across the African continent (Simon 1989; Home 1983; Larbi 1996). There is no doubt that urban Africa suffers from what is described as "the colonial wound" (De Boeck and Plissart 2014), an enduring imprint of oppression that has entered the DNA of the city. But I suggest that planning historians' focus on colonialism's scars have, in the absence of equally critical readings of planning in precolonial and postcolonial city development, left a distorted sense of the urban past. Not only is too much ascribed to a relatively short moment in the evolution of the African city, but there is a tendency to conflate colonial power with the totality of the ideas and practices of (modern) urban planning (Ross and Telkamp 2012; Parnell and Crankshaw 2015; Fourchard 2011a). Blurring the distinction between modernism and colonial planning establishes a false link between the profession, the often racialized management of space, and the normative base of empire that is absolute and unchanging. Coming to terms with why planning is so dysfunctional across Africa demands much more detailed and nuanced scholarship than the simplistic rejection of modernism and discrediting of colonialism (Parnell and Mabin 1995; Mamdani 1996; Thomas and Thorer 2015).

Before instigating any reform agenda, planners must engage with specific, often technical, institutional details of the entire planning regime to ensure that planning values, instruments, and capabilities do not perpetuate past injustices and are made fit for current purposes. There is also a political imperative to expose vested interests that, over time, precluded the radical reform to planning that was necessary to confront risks of urbanization, globalization, and environmental change. Making systematic changes to planning history will do more to set African cities on a sustainable and inclusive path of development than upholding a narrow and often bitter reading of the past planning system as fixed or irredeemable.

Incomplete, Patchy, and Misleading: Accounts of African Planning History

African planning history is not so much wrong as incomplete. The published history of urban planning for Africa is relatively thin, although there is a consistent, if geographically and temporally uneven, output on the subject from cities across the continent (see the archives of AUPRN 2017).

The field is dominated by South Africa, where planning and settlement policy played an influential role in achieving state objectives before, during, and after apartheid (Mabin 1991; Mabin and Smit 1997). The South African literature, understandably, focuses on the distinctively racialized character of its bifurcated planning system. Where it does provide a comparative perspective, it is typically not with respect to other African cases but rather with Western inspiration and reflection (Parnell 1993; Rakodi 1986). South African experiences of city building were, however, influential elsewhere in Africa: the pioneering refinement of differential planning codes and the logic of interurban differentiation (how each city or town worked) and intra-urban differentiation (the national spatial or territorial system) became the leitmotif of many, especially Anglo, colonial planning regimes (McAuslan 2003; Harris and Parnell 2012; Home 2013; Njoh 2007). Although by international standards the scale of published output from the South African planning history community is limited, it is rich in comparison to that available for cities north of the Limpopo River. There is, happily, a revival of interest in African planning history from an active group of scholars of Lusophone and Francophone cities (though the focus in this chapter is largely on English material).

The seminal continental-scale texts are by King (1976), Home (2013), and McAuslan (2003), whose volumes focus on the comparative impacts of planning norms, codes, and professional practice. Monographs in English that have influenced global thinking tend to be on North African rather than on Sub-Saharan cities (Wright 1991). In thinking about the history of planning across Africa, what is most striking is that so little has been published on the evolution and practice (or absence) of town planning in innumerable small and medium towns. Hampered by the tininess of the academic community that has any expertise on Africa, the overall secondary literature is limited. So specialist African planning historians lean heavily on the works of architectural history (Bissel 2011; Demissie 2012), historical geography (Christopher 1988; Myers 1995, 2006), or the social, political, or economic histories of cities (Freund 2007; Anderson and Rathbone 2000). What is difficult for non-African specialists to grasp is how profoundly anti-urban almost all of the historical work on Africa has been; the planning history lacuna signals a broader emphasis on rural areas and striking lack of concern about the evolution of the continent's towns.

The patchy nature of the subdiscipline of African planning history is first and foremost a problem of insufficient primary research, but it is also a problem of the inability of global scholars to engage African specificity, and of regional specialists' unwillingness to generate an intra-African analysis, beyond that of comparing colonial traditions (Njoh 2008; Njoh and Bigon 2015; O'Conner 1983; Fuller 1996; Goerg 1998). There are several other reasons for the dearth of dedicated planning history material, the most important of which is that Africa is the least urbanized part of the world. Notwithstanding the endemic anti-urban bias, the African past has received less attention simply because urban growth is a relatively recent phenomena and the most important era of city building is yet to come. What is more sinister than the absence of an established canon of work on planning history is that the archival records, on which the writing of authoritative planning history texts will depend, have not been effectively preserved in African cities.

Another reason for Africans' lack of attention to planning history is that outside of South Africa the imprint of urban and regional planning has not actually been all that powerful, and there were, and still are, fewer planning professionals than in cities elsewhere (Watson and Odendaal 2013). Without strong states or adequate investment in social or physical infrastructure, much of the Sub-Saharan African city is self-built, beyond regulation, or informal—the product of incremental design and the outcome of contested development controls that are as likely to have been exerted through the power of tribal leaders, land barons, or foreign corporations as by officials of the municipal planning department (Simon et al. 2004). African cities have nevertheless grown rapidly, meaning that the proportion of any town that is conventionally planned and regulated under theegis of a local plan has typically declined over time, prompting a distinctive and pervasive African urban informality (Simone 2001).

Informality is not just an attribute of the poorest sections of large cities like Kinshasa or Lagos but a loose term meaning everything from *unplanned* and *serviced* to *illegal*. It highlights the absence of coherent planning along with the functional (but not administrative or fiscal) consolidation of a rural settlement on the urban outskirts (Kombe 2005; Simon et al. 2004). Informality is likewise used to describe the rise of *slum areas*, such as Kibera in Nairobi, that typically lack formal bulk services, have self-built housing, and may have been started through a process of squatting. Any modern professional planner, committed to creating predictable developmental parameters and safe spaces, to mitigating risk, or to ensuring the public good would recognize these expressions of informality as primarily unregulated or half-planned spaces (Andersen et al. 2015).

Although it is not always considered informal in the way that low-income squatter or slum settlements are, the practice of ad hoc settlement building by private interests is also fairly widespread in Africa: company towns and, more recently, middle-class investments by expatriate migrants (Mercer et al. 2008). In Angola, among other places, the private sector rather than the state builds entire cities (Viegas 2012). State-led planning, in other words, has never covered the whole territory of the African city. Planners were not the only pivotal city makers; for numerous settlements there never was a comprehensive urban plan, and so-called master plans not only were ineffective, but reflect an incomplete vision of the African urban condition (Fourchard 2011b; Pieterse 2008).

Nonetheless, after decades of neglect and hostility, planning has reasserted its influence as a useful profession in Africa (Harrison 2006; Silva 2012). Led by global policy makers, African cities have cautiously embraced the act of planning the city as a desirable intervention that could improve lives, mitigate environmental risk, and foster economic growth (UN Habitat 2009). Most recently, the African Union has formally endorsed not only the idea of the centrality of the city in generating sustainable growth, but the idea that stronger national and local planning processes could protect city residents from risk and hazards; in this way planning is now seen as a means for putting the continent on an upward developmental trajectory and addressing unregulated human settlement (African Union 2017). African members of the United Nations gave clear support for an urban Sustainable Development Goal. All of these endorsements raise the expectations of planners, and with higher expectations comes an increased interest in planning's past.

But unlike other aspects of the discipline, such as planning education or planning theory (Winkler 2009), planning history has yet to systematically engage the pervasive informality and poverty that are the hallmarks of urban Africa. Because of this, and the dissonance between planning and more general questions of state capacity, there is an inability to address the history of core urban dynamics. Planning history is thus easily perceived as an unnecessary luxury or irrelevant preoccupation, especially in resource-stretched African universities. The contents of planning histories can also discredit the field or make the field illegitimate. Traditional historical accounts of planning, especially when executed in the tradition of the ideas and plans of "the great man" or "grand imperial project," tend to feature the poor only as subjects to be controlled and regulated. Ironically, the critical or post-colonial turn in planning history did very little to disrupt this narrative of oppression and exclusion, generally failing to identify or assess the overall function of planning as a positive as well as negative driver of city change and development (Fourchard 2011b; Njoh 2009).

I argue that what is needed is not just more of the same. Rather, it is time for a revisionist account of planning built from significant new empirical research across multiple counties, cities, and towns. Such an alternative African history would include expanding the idea of which institutions fostered planning, diversifying our understanding of the main planning players, and amplifying themes that best illuminate local planning dynamics. Finally, I propose a temporal recasting of the historical record that gives greater attention to the differential legacies of the past and weighs more carefully those eras of significant urban expansion.

African Planning History—A Revisionist Call

Planning histories that focus on the first half of the 20th century and that traverse only the familiar northern analytical paths of exegesis can present a distorted picture of the African urban malaise. Planning in Africa did not unfold at the same pace, or in the same way, as it did in the rest of the world; while there are common patterns and processes, a more sensitive periodization and conceptual framing alert to context is essential (Demissie 2012; Fouchard 2011a; Parnell and Pieterse 2014). While there may be scope for a more overarching call to build southern planning history along the lines of that proposed for urban planning more generally (Watson 2009), here I make the more limited case for widening the scope of the planning history agenda to amplify its relevance to Africa. A realistic understanding of shifts in the local institutional context of urban management and what city authorities at different times were able to support by way of planning action is a good place to start.

Across Africa, planning was typically so limited in resources, scope, and mandate that it may not be accurate or useful to compare the impact of the profession to that in other places. In most Western countries, 20th-century planning was made up of development control, spatial planning, and urban design—a suite of activities that found institutional homes in national law and the planning departments of municipalities. In Africa, however, where professionally staffed local government was almost nonexistent, this was rarely the case (Home 2013). It was only in bigger and better resourced places (and then only where there was a lone and passionate individual, like Porter in Johannesburg, who advocated for and drove a local planning mandate) that professional planning became properly institutionalized in both law and formal administrative capacity (Parnell 2003). Elsewhere in Africa, the institutional practice of planning was far more eclectic and haphazard; dedicated professional appointments were all but absent from local government in a significant proportion of towns. Unsurprisingly then, formal city, national, and colonial records reveal little of the place-by-place implementation of planning beyond high-profile slum clearances (Anderson and Rathbone 2000). The historian must understand the absences or silences of African planners in promoting public good intervention. Indeed, in setting an alternative planning history agenda, it may be more important to explain why risk-reducing planning failed to emerge than to document the damage done by the plans that were put forward and enforced.

One example of planners' sins of omission is in Haley's *African Survey* (1957). The report reveals that it was simply the costs of low-income and segregated housing that shaped the colonial office's attitude to city development, rather than more complex and dynamic attributes of urban design, affordable public service provision, or integrated infrastructure construction. Guided by experts, colonial (and postcolonial) officials emphasized public intervention into shelter at the expense of any other planning. They just did not debate wider issues of investment in public places, long-term fiscal viability of redistribution, or attention to the viability of the local economy. Arguably, this kind of sectoral distortion of the planning agenda and the inability of the ruling powers to address the urban system as a whole undermined efforts to build institutional capacity, especially at the local government scale. As a consequence, generations of urban African residents have been unnecessarily exposed to hazardous, dysfunctional urban environments.

To do justice to the African planning story requires probing the roles of the full cast of planning actors: certified planners; health, building, and other inspectors; and lawyers who enforced (or ignored) formal planning structures and processes. Given the general incapacity of municipalities to provide forward planning (spatial or strategic) or to enforce regulations (often contextually inappropriate copies of anti-slum or health regulations devised in a "home" country), the fact that there is any evidence of conscious state intervention for the public good is remarkable. African local government, if it existed at all, was an institutional shell. Devoid of adequate staff and budget, the local authorities of big cities, and especially the smaller towns, lacked the capacity to either devise or execute a meaningful urban plan that protected the poorest citizens, leaving them to fend for themselves and to build their cities

without much external support (Njoh 2008; Home 2013; Mabogunje 1990). Born of necessity, this bottom-up city-building focused on immediate needs, and was not especially concerned with longer-term imperatives of risk reduction, such as building safety, pollution control, or flood mitigation.

In the absence of a capable African state, populist acts of “planning” flourished and multiple traditions of informal power emerged in the city. These largely micro-level improvisations and assertions in the acts of urban construction and management are, however, not well understood (Pieterse 2008). The contemporary literature almost uniformly identifies the agency of “barefoot planners,” a term that echoes the idea of the self-trained plumbers or electricians who make *ad hoc* local interventions to ensure uninterrupted service provision or expand coverage in impoverished neighborhoods (Zinn et al. 1993), but ignores other more organized and well-resourced forms of non-state power in cities. Construction in the African city was not the sole preserve of the most vulnerable. The narrative of the self-built city masks the role of many other actors, including professionals, traditional authorities, company officials, and missionaries, who were active city builders alongside residents (Mabin and Pirie 1985; Wright 1987). Today large property developers and banks, rather than the state, take charge of producing the urban fabric in which the rich of Africa reside. As further African planning history is written it will thus need to track a more diverse cohort of actors than those qualified and certified professionals who currently feature so prominently in the literatures of other traditions and regions. Importantly, in accounting for the evolution of the African city form, planning historians will need to understand not just the coexistence of different “planning” traditions, but how the multiplicity of actors segmented responsibility, producing a quartered and polarized city.

To gain legitimacy on the continent, African planning history thus needs to scrutinize fresh themes alongside nontraditional institutions and a broader range of actors. In restructuring the intellectual agenda to expose the way the evolution of planning compounded rather than negated risk, planning history must confront awkward issues such as the rise of corruption, illegality, and informality (Anderson 2001). Such investigations may require exploration of less familiar sources than those that traditionally inform planning history accounts. The problem of overcoming incomplete



Figure 22.1 Colonial layout of Entebbe.

Source: M. Light (1941) plate photographs, In R. Light, *Focus on Africa*. Special Publication 25. New York: American Geographical Society.

or biased sources is serious—and relates not only to hidden aspects of the past, but to even the documents dealing with formal systems of government, which are limited and incomplete. Led by colonial records, planning history has tended to focus on master planning, health, and housing, with a focus on urban morphology (cf. Curtain 1985; Njoh 2007; Armstrong 1986), and has (largely) ignored other critical aspects of urban planning such as urban finance, land ownership, or large-scale infrastructure provision.

Moreover, it emphasizes imperial relationships with national bodies rather than local implementers. The archival material on topics of concern today often cannot be easily located. Yet, as Myers (2005) demonstrates in his cross-city treatment of African urban waste, a retrospective investigation into issues that the colonial planners ignored, but which address present current planning conundrums, is immensely useful. Shifting the historical lens from its preoccupation with documenting discourses of colonial privilege and indigenous control through housing and health to illuminate broader dynamics of inequality—land value capture, the regulation of food for the poor, or the (mis) management of natural resource flows—would provide a productive frontier for planning historians concerned with improving the resilience of African cities.

Picking up on new themes and sources, in response to the real politics of both formal and informal city building and “regulation,” entails a temporal recalibration of African planning history away from its current colonial preoccupation. The current undiluted emphasis of African planning history on the colonial era remains significant: that era was formative, and its legacy is deeply problematic. Interestingly, some innovative modern planning practices in Africa were exported back to Europe (Wright 1991; Parnell 1993), but the interwar period is remembered most as the era that saw a distorted form of modernist planning exported from Europe to Africa. The reputation of European planners as progressive social engineers, albeit a contested record, was founded on a vision of modern planning that included major health reform and the rise of welfare. In the African colonies, the benefits of urban reforms were less obvious, not least because of the many atrocities committed in the name of planning (Fourchard 2011b; Anderson and Rathbone 2000). Although they were not alone in advancing the interests of empire, planners were leaders among the professionals whose actions shaped the design, regulation, and management of urban space across Africa (Home 2013). These were formative decades in the establishment of urban administration on a continent that, until colonial settlement, had only a limited indigenous tradition of city living (Freund 2007; O’Conner 1983). But while scholars of African and European planning might share a fascination with the early and mid 20th century—not only the heyday of European colonial expansion, but also of the birth of town planning in Europe and North America—there is not enough in this vein of enquiry to fully illuminate Africa’s urban past.

Important though the colonial imprint is in understanding urban Africa, it cannot be seen as the sole or even the major force shaping the African city. It was not in the colonial years but in the post-World War II decades that the populations of the African city grew exponentially. During this period and into the 21st century, locked into an incomplete and inadequate planning frame, the continent’s iconic cities, Lagos, Nairobi, Dar es Salam, Durban, Kampala, Kinshasa, and Johannesburg, came of age (Mabogunje 1990; Fourchard 2011b). In the decades of the mid-century, population growth and city-ward migration saw smaller postcolonial settlements push aside their rural functions and character to become peri-urban nodes (Simon et al. 2004) and temporary homes of circular migrants (Potts 2005). The scale of demographic and political change means that colonial planning sits alongside, and is layered into, other influences on the African city.

A rebalancing of African planning history must also give greater weight to the enduring influence of precolonial traditions on urban management, including the logic of traditional authority land-use control that persists today in varied forms for at least some part of cities across Africa (Andreasen et al. 2011). Possibly the most critical aspect of this direction of planning history enquiry is how and

why precolonial land-use management relates to modern cadastral private-property-based planning regimes, and to tax collection systems. And gender-based discrimination in land access, dating from the precolonial era, is the single most important barrier that people today face in achieving their aspirations, such as those set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights or the Sustainable Development Goals. A focus on postcolonial, post-independence development raises similarly fundamental concerns: its widespread failure to generate new local government and planning capacity at exactly the moment of large urban growth. In the independence years, governments allowed the colonial atrocities of race discrimination to fester, with almost no substantive planning reform outside of the extension of property rights to wealthy local elites, thus incorporating them into the urban core of old settlers. The brief pro-urban flurry of modernization did not take root in Africa, and cities generally were not the focus of post-independence nation-building projects (Simon 1989). Strong rural vote bases compounded anti-urban sentiment, and planning reform was not seen as a priority either locally or internationally (Pieterse 2008). As a result, the second half of the 20th century was characterized not only by weak (or nonexistent) local government but by the ossification of the planning instruments inherited from the colonial era (Home 2013).

Informality, dysfunctionality, and the stark inequalities between old settler towns and townships are typically attributed, in both popular and academic commentaries, to the colonial legacy, just as there is little collective doubt that neo-liberalism played a critical role in making African cities dangerous places to live and especially dangerous places to be poor. What neo-liberalism did was hollow out the state through enforced and severe structural adjustments (SAP). From the perspective of planners, this ushered in unfunded devolution and affirmed the horrors of technocratic, legalistic central planning (Simon 1982). Most importantly, it severely trimmed the size of government, further impairing the basic ability of local government to provide services.

By the late 20th century, urban population growth and the inability of the state to extend urban controls over the majority of the population finally drew the attention of multilateral bodies to the urban planning crisis (Pieterse 2008; UN Habitat 2009). The absence of government in African cities bolstered the calls of scholars and practitioners for strategic, communicative, and participatory planning by international civil society bodies such as Slum Dwellers International, often leaving the most meaningful livelihood-enhancing planning interventions to take place beyond the realm of government or the formal sector. With planning depleted, corporations alone were left to plan the cities of the rich, constructing gated communities and private commercial developments across African cities.

Conclusion

Rethinking the historical interface between “the city,” “the plan,” and the institutional planning apparatus in the African context challenges the hegemonic understanding of planning and its legacy simply as a colonial construct. Situating colonialism as one critical phase of Africa’s urban development in a wider historical context in no way detracts from the dominant narrative of the racist legacies on the continent. But it does make way for alternative entry points. As in cities elsewhere, the urban form and the modes of governance of earlier periods persist, at least in part, but looking at different issues and actors over a longer frame reveals a planning palimpsest in which parts of older ideas, plans, and even built forms remain, but are overwritten and never fully erased.

Reframing Africa’s planning legacies requires a reprioritization, or provincializing, of the colonial era in planning historiography—repositioning the period relative to that of the precolonial and postcolonial eras as sources of the ideas, practices, and power relations that shape the city today. Changing the temporal lens of Africa’s planning will shift what is seen as important in the evolution of the logic and systems of planning. A new frame would of necessity include the post-independence

planning regime and also the absent planners, both the planners who failed to fashion the African city and the global planning community who stood by while the city grew. Such topical and temporal recasting of African urban planning history would greatly enhance its credibility in Africa itself, a terrain of constrained resources for academic enquiry, feeding the huge hunger there for practical applications of scholarly knowledge.

Related Topics

Kwak: Interdisciplinarity in Planning History

Ward: Planning Diffusion: Agents, Mechanisms, Networks, and Theories

Home: Global Systems Foundations of the Discipline

Sorensen: Global Suburbanization in Planning History

Silver: Educating Planners in History: A Global Perspective

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PART III

Sites and Dynamics

Issues, Movements, Themes, and Debates



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23

POLITICS, POWER, AND URBAN FORM

David Gordon

Many of the earliest planned cities in preindustrial-era settlements were also capital cities and the home of ruling elites. The simple act of planning a city with a geometric order was a demonstration of the power of the sponsors of the early settlements. The concentration of political and financial power in empires kept the number of capital cities small through long stretches of urban history. However, the fragmentation of these global empires in the late 19th and early 20th centuries increased the number of nation states and therefore the number of capitals. The urban planning movement emerged during this period, and many new nation-states sponsored plans for their new seats of government.

These capital cities require unusual plans, quite different from the planning for an ordinary commercial metropolis; they incorporate the seat of government, official residences, embassy districts, cultural facilities, finance and administration offices, and symbolic content such as monuments and memorials. All this requires planners with specialized expertise in urban design and spatial planning; in practice, governments have often turned to international consultants to get this combination of skills. In addition, capital cities typically exhibit constant conflict between local needs and national objectives—between “Town and Crown” (Gordon 2015) or, as Spiro Kostof quipped, between “Traffic and Glory” (1973). So planners see capital cities as a special class of problems (Gordon 2006; Vale 2008) and capital city planning as an important field.

Planning historians have also given capital cities special attention, and have written many individual urban biographies that address capital city issues (Evenson 1973; Gordon 2015; Gutheim and Lee 2006; Hein 2006; Irving 1981; Kalia 1999; Prakash 2002; Reid 2002), with Peter Hall’s “political capitals” receiving much attention because those are often the purest form of the genre. Hall suggested a typology of capital cities, distinguishing between:

- 1 Multi-Function Capitals: London, Paris, Madrid, Stockholm, Moscow, Tokyo.
- 2 Global Capitals: London, Tokyo.
- 3 Political Capitals: The Hague, Bonn, Washington, Ottawa, Canberra, Brasilia.
- 4 Former Capitals: Bonn, St Petersburg, Philadelphia, Rio de Janeiro.
- 5 Ex-Imperial Capitals: London, Madrid, Lisbon, Vienna.
- 6 Provincial Capitals: Milan, Turin, Stuttgart, Munich, Toronto, Sydney, Melbourne.
- 7 Super-Capitals: Brussels, Strasbourg, Geneva, Rome, New York.

(Taylor et al. 1993)

Important comparative collections include Almandoz 2002; Gordon 2006; Hall 1997; Makas and Conley 2010; Minkenberg 2014; Sonne 2003; Taylor et al. 1993; and Vale 2008. Such projects often require international research teams, and some form of comparative framework or specialization, such as political and financial powers (Slack and Chattopadhyay 2009), or the representation of power (Vale 2008). Planning historians taking a comparative approach have paid attention to the international diffusion of capital city planning ideas; Ward's model (2000) of the diffusion of planning differentiates between types of "borrowing" (synthetic; selective; undiluted) and plans that were forms of "imposition" (negotiated; contested; authoritarian). This model will be used to evaluate the diffusion of capital city planning ideas traced below.

Modern Imperial Capitals

When the urban planning movement began in the late 19th century, the relatively recent redevelopment of Paris was the most important example of European city planning (Hall 1997). The British might have built the most powerful empire in 1900, but London had evolved "more by fortune than design," according to Michael Hebbert (1998); King Charles II famously ignored the opportunity to rebuild in the grand Baroque style after the Great Fire of 1666. During the 19th century, small steps were taken to display British power, with the construction of the ceremonial Pall Mall to Buckingham Palace, but the Parliament Buildings still held the more prominent site, on the Westminster banks of the Thames. This situation accidentally illustrates the supremacy of Parliament within British democracy, but in 1900, few countries looked to London for guidance on how to display national power in a capital city. In contrast, the French built the most beautiful and functional capital city. Paris received a major infrastructure upgrade planned by the City Prefect, Baron Haussmann, under the sponsorship of Emperor Napoleon III. Broad avenues and great sewers were cut through the medieval fabric of the city; the water supply was upgraded; a huge new central market was erected at Les Halles; and the city's parks were vastly expanded. The enormous disruption and great cost of the reconstruction of Paris led to Haussmann's dismissal in 1870, but the work continued for the rest of the 19th century (Hall 1997; Sutcliffe 1996).

Most countries have borrowed a limited range of archetypes when planning their capital cities: Beaux Arts Paris, Garden Cities, and Modernist Brasilia (Taylor et al. 1993; Vale 2008). The unusual requirements of symbolic content and representation in capital city planning pushed early planners to the urban design innovations from the Beaux Arts tradition in general. But Paris's position as the epitome of urban sophistication in 1900 sealed the dominance of *urbanisme* as a model for early 20th-century capital planning (Hall 1997). Almandoz (2002) notes that Parisian influence was particularly strong in Latin America, with Buenos Aires (Bouvard's 1907 plan), Rio (Agache's 1926 plan), Havana (Forestier's 1926 plan), and Caracas (Rotival's 1930 plan). Many planners of other national capitals followed its traditions, including graduates of the Ecole de Beaux Arts itself, or their North American companions in the City Beautiful movement (Figure 23.1).

The Beaux Arts influenced Washington's 1902 McMillan Commission plan both directly and indirectly. Of course, L'Enfant's original 1792 plan was influenced by the pre-Haussmann capital of his homeland, but his Washington plan had almost been abandoned a century later (Gutheim and Lee 2006). In the late 19th century, a significant group of American-born designers rediscovered European urbanism, first coming to prominence as the designers of Chicago's 1893 World's Columbian Exhibition (WCE). Although the fair's chief planner, Daniel Burnham, was not a graduate of the Ecole de Beaux Arts, he associated with several graduates of the famous Parisian school for most of his urban design projects (Hines 2008; Gournay 1999).

In turn, Beaux Arts-shaped cities influenced other city plans. The 1902 Washington plan and Burnham and Bennett's 1909 *Plan of Chicago* were heavily promoted within the US, and well-known

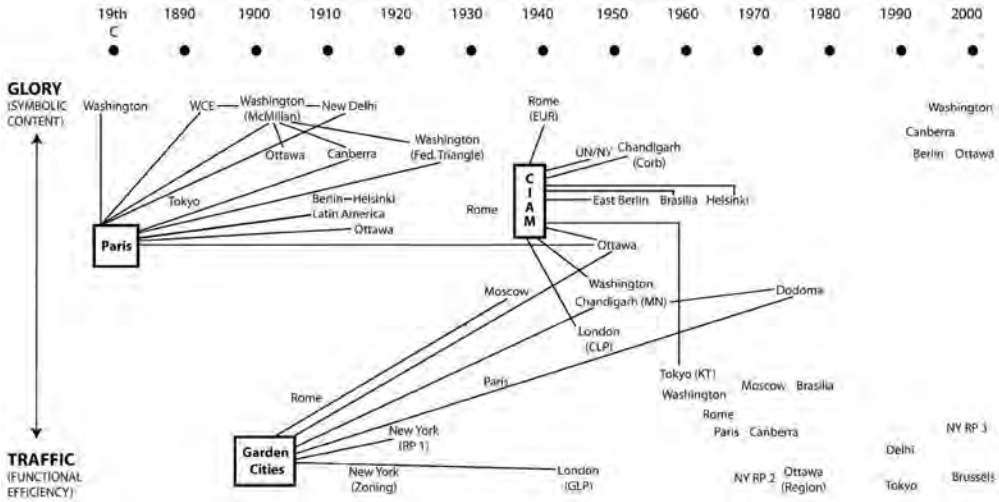


Figure 23.1 Schematic chart showing the influence of some capital city planning models.

Source: David Gordon.

abroad (RIBA 1911). Paris and Washington certainly influenced the pre-World War I capital city plans for Canberra, New Delhi, and Ottawa; Washington and Chicago influenced the Griffins' 1912 Canberra plan (Reid 2002), while Edwin Lutyens brought plans of Paris and Washington to Delhi to assist in the 1913 designs of the imperial capital (Irving 1981). And the first two plans for Canada's capital were prepared by Frederick Todd, who was trained in Olmsted's office and by Burnham's associate, Edward H. Bennett (Canada 1916; Gordon 2015). Both used Paris and Washington precedents in their reports. Bennett later chaired the design committee for Washington's Federal Triangle (Tompkins 1992).

The young German empire also took Paris as an example to create a capital with flair. The 1908–1910 Berlin planning competition and exhibition attracted leading European urban designers, like France's Jausseley, and further publicized the work of German urbanists (Almandoz 2002: 37–38; Sonne 2000). The competition winner combined monumental elements for the center with expansive regional plans. These led to the transformation of Berlin through greenery and spread of cityscape design (*Stadtlandschaft*) in Germany.

Other capital cities were influenced by different varieties of European urban design. Ende and Böckmann's 1886 plan for Tokyo's Government Quarter appears to combine elements of German *Städtebau* and French *urbanisme*. Similarly, Helsinki's 1915 (Jung) and 1918 (Saarinen) plans extended the city's 19th-century traditions with a sophisticated awareness of other European precedents.

Perhaps the last of the capital city plans to be directly influenced by the *urbaniste* tradition was the 1950 *Plan for Canada's Capital* prepared by Ecole des Beaux Arts graduate Jacques Gréber and Canadian associates (Figure 23.2). The urban design proposals in the plan were classically composed, but this was a transitional plan, promiscuously borrowing from American parks system planning, CIAM and City Efficient functional planning, and the 1944 *Greater London Plan* for its greenbelt (Gordon 2015; Gréber 1950).

The Beaux Arts/City Beautiful tradition influenced capital city planning throughout the first half of the 20th century because it was a proven model for representing identity and power using elements such as a capitol complex, monuments, and public spaces (Vale 2008). But the model was a bit tired by mid-century and severely tainted by its association with totalitarian regimes in Germany, Italy, and Russia. It was largely replaced by plans based upon ideas from the Garden City movement and Modern architecture.



Figure 23.2 The 1950 plan for Canada’s capital, rendered in watercolor by French planner Jacques Gréber in the best Beaux-Arts tradition. Although the plan used Beaux-Arts representations, it also contained aspects of Garden City and Modernist planning in its greenbelt, parkways, and neighborhood units.

Source: Gréber 1950, Plate 9.

The Garden City Model

The British Garden City/garden-suburb tradition played a different role in the metropolitan regional planning of some capital cities: rather than the grand public spaces of the Beaux Arts city, the Garden City/new-town model addressed the regular lives of its citizens with residential areas, greenbelts and open space, transportation, and service centers. The most influential version of the Garden City model was Patrick Abercrombie’s (1945) *Greater London Plan*—a full realization of Ebenezer Howard’s “Social Cities” regional scheme with a greenbelt and satellite new towns (Hall and Ward 1998; Howard 1898). The new town designed with Clarence Perry’s neighborhood units (1929) became a common theme for greenfield political capitals like Chandigarh (1950), Brasilia (1956), Canberra (1970 “Y” plan), and Dodoma (1976) (Figure 23.1).

The Garden City model was appealing as the major planning approach when the sponsoring political regime wished to showcase planning for working-class communities like communist Moscow (1935) and socialist Dodoma (1976) (Tanzania 1976). But the Garden City model gave planners little guidance on the planning of the symbolic elements that are required for most capital cities, and even these cities added more attention to symbolic content to the plans. Stalin commissioned many monumental structures for Moscow; new urban designers were commissioned for Dodoma’s National Capital Center and hilltop parliament. Other monumental housing projects were added to Berlin (Stalinallee), Warsaw, and Riga within the Soviet planning system. Setting a good example in planning the vernacular city is a laudable objective, but it appears that even socialist governments also want more visible and inspirational results, drawing significant funds from across the country to invest in the national capital.

The Modernist Model

In mid-century, the ideas of the Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM) appeared to be fresh and democratic, especially compared to the decorative excesses of the Beaux Arts tradition. Although the avant-garde Modern architects had built few major projects between the wars, they elaborated an urban planning model (the Charter of Athens) that was intended to be widely applicable for commercial cities. They did not initially address monumentality as thoroughly as the City Beautiful (Mumford 2002; Sert 1942).

The CIAM's leader, Le Corbusier, had traveled widely and proposed visionary schemes for capital cities in Paris (1925), Buenos Aires (1929), Rio (1929), Algiers (1933), and Barcelona (1934). But all that came out of these efforts were some drawings admired in intellectual circles, and collaboration with Lucio Costa and Oscar Niemeyer on the design of the 1936 Ministry of Education building in Rio, which was Brazil's capital before 1960 (Evenson 1973). Le Corbusier got his big break in capital city planning in 1947 when he was appointed to the Board of Design for New York's UN Headquarters, chaired by Wallace Harrison. Le Corbusier influenced the design process and developed a super-block plan with Brazil's Oscar Niemeyer (Dudley 1994). With the UN complex complemented by other transnational agencies and global financial corporations, New York became an early example of an international capital. In comparison, Brussels is an interesting and complex example of a national capital combined with international functions to become one of the polycentric capitals of the European Union (Hein 2004, 2006). And Modernism's unadorned aesthetic (the International Style) has been a useful format for international institutions, which cannot favor the architectural style of any one country.

Construction of the high-profile UN project was complete by 1952, by which time Le Corbusier had already been appointed to replace Albert Mayer and the late Mathew Nowicki at Chandigarh. Le Corbusier quickly seized control of the Chandigarh planning process, changing the scale of Mayer's plan and keeping the design of the capitol complex ("la tête") for himself (Perera 2004; Prakash 2002). The dramatic design of the monumental complex attracted praise at first, but eventually the cultural and technical failings of the other elements of the plan drew strong criticism. But while Chandigarh's star was still bright, the Modern approach influenced other capitals in the sub-continent, including Bhubaneswar and Gandhinagar in India (Kalia 1999: 156–157), and Doxiadis's Islamabad and Kahn's Dhaka plans in Pakistan (Ahmed 1986; Goldhagen 2001).

Le Corbusier's Brazilian collaborators from Rio and the UN outshined their mentor. Niemeyer and Costa's Brasilia is the most influential Modern capital, and the only 20th-century plan on UNESCO's list of World Heritage sites. The monumental axis of the Pilot plan draws upon Beaux Arts planning principles, but the building and public spaces are thoroughly Modern (Bacon 1967; Evenson 1973). Brazil's new capital is a fine example of "synthetic" borrowing within Ward's typology, with a dominant indigenous role in planning and implementation, based upon the country's well-developed traditions in Modern architecture. Lawrence Vale describes several other Modern capital-capitol complexes in *Architecture, Power and National Identity* (2008). The Modernist approach was the dominant design model for the monumental core of capital cities after 1950, but later examples began to attract criticism for their bombastic style, especially Wallace Harrison's Nelson Rockefeller Plaza for the New York state capital in Albany.

Chandigarh and Albany are examples of provincial/state capital cities. Some are new towns like Chandigarh, but most simply have capitol complexes fitted within a regular city plan. The design of these state capitals was often influenced by the architectural and planning movements of the era when they became seats of government. City Beautiful capitol complexes abounded within American state capitals in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and many Modern capitals following postwar decolonization. These state capitals were often diffusion of planning ideas within countries, as opposed to diffusion of ideas among nations.

Traffic and Glory?

Another pattern in the evolution of plans for capital cities is the change in focus from symbolic content in the early phases to functional concerns, or from “glory” to “traffic” in Spiro Kostof’s (1973) terms. Early plans for capital cities often emphasized elements with symbolic connections to the nation-state, such as parliament houses, official residences, memorials, monuments, and cultural institutions. These concerns were often particularly evident in political capitals, where the city was founded to be the seat of government, such as Canberra or Brasilia. As the new capital cities matured, their plans became less focused on “glory” and more centered on solving the functional problems of a growing metropolis (Figure 23.1).

In comparison, global capitals such as London, Tokyo, New York, and Paris appear to have vacated the “glory” business during the 20th century, placing more emphasis on maintaining their dominance of advanced services handling information and finance. Planning in these cities often focused on regional infrastructure and specialized finance districts. Paris may have been a partial exception to this trend, as it also continued to emphasize its global role in culture, as symbolized by *Grand Projets* such as the Bastille Opera (Woolf 1987).

After metropolitan planning in capital cities devolved to regional and local governments, some political capitals once again focused upon symbolic content, especially for the districts near the capitol complexes. As the 20th century closed, the ghost of Hitler’s Germania seemed more faint in Washington, Ottawa, and Canberra, which are re-planning the monumental cores of their capitals with selective borrowing from their Beaux Arts and City Beautiful past. Washington’s *Extending the Legacy* plan (US NCPC 1997) specifically recalls the 1902 McMillan Commission; Canberra’s National Capital Authority is focusing attention on Griffin’s Parliamentary Triangle; and the *Plan for Canada’s Capital* (Canada 1999) contains several major projects near Parliament Hill. Berlin, of course, must tread more carefully. It developed a practice of “critical reconstruction”—Modern buildings within a traditional framework of streets, blocks, and public spaces. But for the government precinct, great care was taken not to invoke the ghosts of the past: the new buildings are Modern and the main axis runs east–west, in explicit contrast to Speer’s 1940 over-scaled north–south plan.

Municipal Power: The City Beautiful

Even as governments used planning to construct national and regional capital cities, local governments, religious and educational organizations, and cultural agencies were expressing power in plans for civic centers, religious institutions, university campuses, and monuments. At the city level, commercial and municipal elites sometimes aspired to improve their communities as their industrial cities grew in population and wealth. The commercial cities that followed the industrial revolution were often grim places, with few of the parks, grand buildings, avenues, or public institutions found in the capital cities. Civic improvement societies asked: Could Chicago or Birmingham become as beautiful as Paris?

North American civic improvement societies became the foundations of the City Beautiful movement (Robinson 1909; Wilson 1989) and Chicago was its leading example. The city’s commercial elite had previously mobilized talented designers led by Daniel Burnham to plan the World’s Columbian Exposition (1893). Burnham later developed the idea of a municipal civic center in plans for Cleveland (1902), San Francisco (1906), and Chicago (1909). The civic center became a standard American planning element, but similar plans emerged in other countries, where municipal power might be expressed by magnificent city halls (Scandinavia) or a complex of institutional and cultural buildings, such as Adelaide’s Victoria Square (Freestone 2007).

A civic center would typically include a city hall, municipal cultural institutions, and a formal plaza, creating a new representation of municipal and cultural power in these industrial cities. Their planning design drew heavily on classical European architectural traditions, as taught at Paris's Ecole des Beaux Arts. Early City Beautiful schemes, such as that of Cleveland, might concentrate only on this civic center, but the benchmark for later efforts was Burnham and Bennett's 1909 *Plan of Chicago*, which addressed transportation, open space, and institutional uses on a comprehensive basis at both the regional and local scale. The Chicago plan was extensively implemented by its commercial sponsors over the next decades except, ironically, its grand City Hall plaza and diagonal boulevards (Hines 2008). The heroic drawings of the Chicago civic center, adorning the cover of Peter Hall's influential book *Cities of Tomorrow*, became symbols of the limits to municipal power.

Nonetheless, the concept of a municipal civic center remained a standard component for urban plans long after the City Beautiful style fell out of fashion in the 1920s (Adams 1935: 239). The local governments of even small suburbs will often plan a civic center with a city hall, public library, arts center, and plaza, or a contemporary representation of municipal identity and power. San Francisco built one of the most complete examples to signal its return to prominence after the 1906 earthquake (Ritter 2007).

Most modern cities also accommodate a variety of religious institutions, whose places of worship compete for attention and prominence within the civic fabric. In countries with a dominant or state religion, a national place of worship may be located in a central position in the capital city (as in Moscow, Helsinki, and Paris). But there are counter-examples where the religious capitol is located outside the city (the Vatican) or even in a separate town (Mecca, Canterbury). These religious capitols are often the focus of pilgrimages, which require special planning and design measures to accommodate the seasonal crowds. Pope Sixtus V's redesign of Rome is an early example (Bacon 1967), but the remarkable re-planning of Mecca to accommodate the millions of hajj pilgrims deserves more attention from planning history scholars.

Many early colleges and universities were associated with religious institutions and were located within their precincts, either inside cities or in college towns (Oxford, Cambridge, Leuven, Charlottesville). The ancient institutions grew in an organic manner, but some of the modern institutions in the new world pioneered the idea of a planned university campus—Thomas Jefferson's "academical village" (Turner 1987). The mass expansion of universities in the late 20th century happened in the same period as mass suburbanization of North American and Australian cities, so many of the new institutions built for the Baby Boom were built as suburban campuses or even as new towns. More recently, colleges have been identified as catalysts for regenerating declining central cities (Rodin 2007; Wiewel 2015). Most universities are interested in creating an identity and projecting institutional power, and campus planning has emerged as a specialist subdiscipline of urban design (Stern 2010). This new field is just starting to attract attention from planning history scholars (Garnaut 2012).

Cultural institutions may also contribute to civic identity and a cosmopolitan image. The City Beautiful clustered arts facilities in civic centers. Sports and cultural facilities were used to regenerate urban areas in the second half of the 20th century. New precincts were sometimes created as part of a major event such as the Olympics or World's Fair, or they might be special urban renewal areas such as New York's Lincoln Center or Montréal's Place des Arts. Cities may encourage iconic architecture for the facilities to place a strong image into the global imagination, but the Bilbao/Guggenheim or Sydney Opera House effect has proved difficult to replicate (González 2011). Similarly, the European Union has had difficulty projecting a cultural identity through its polycentric capital city (Hein 2014; Minkenberg 2014).

Paris deliberately planned to differentiate itself from other global cities by becoming a world leader in culture, rather than finance. This strategy gained infrastructure from major expositions

(1925; 1937); the UNESCO headquarters; and, especially, François Mitterrand's *Grand Projets*, including two new museums (Musée d'Orsay and Musée de la Villette), the Bastille opera house, and expansions of the Louvre to maintain its status as the world's leading art museum (Woolf 1987). Haussmann's boulevards provided the armature for this ambitious plan to become the capital of culture. Other cities followed suit, and the European Union encouraged this trend by designating new "cultural capitals" every year (Monclús and Guardia i Bassols 2006). In recent years, Arab cities and American cities also have been designated as capitals of culture.

Commercial Power: Central Business Districts and Waterfronts

Along with municipal, religious, and cultural power, city plans signal commercial power. Steel frame construction and the Otis safety elevator allowed commercial office buildings to surpass the spires and domes of religious, cultural, and political institutions for prominence in a city's image. Manhattan's skyline in the early 20th century was a clear signal that New York was passing London and Paris as the global center of business. It electrified many European visitors, sending messages about the city's new financial power and commercial energy.

Chicago's commercial elite were determined not to be left behind, and rapidly implemented Burnham and Bennett's proposals for their central business district, building new avenues, transit, museums, railways, and canals—but abandoning the Paris-style mid-size height restrictions to allow skyscrapers (Hines 2008; Smith 2009). The civic center was forgotten, but the 1909 *Plan of Chicago* certainly facilitated the growth of the city's commercial core. In contrast, New York had no statutory master plan, but the infrastructure to serve Manhattan's growth was (and is) guided by ideas from the 1929 Regional Plan (Adams 1927; Johnson 2015) and, especially, Robert Moses's public agencies. In the postwar era, most cities that proposed comprehensive plans followed New York and Chicago's lead, and prepared specialized plans to serve their central business districts. Huge areas were cleared by urban renewal, and expressways were forced into the downtowns of many cities. Tall office buildings in the Modern style sprang up in cities around the world to signal that they were also vibrant business centers.

Within the "capital of capital," New York's business elite took a direct hand in the central business district (CBD) reconstruction throughout the 20th century. John Rockefeller reinforced the expansion of midtown Manhattan through the Great Depression by continuing construction of the Rockefeller Center. Midtown thrived to the extent that downtown properties were threatened, so David Rockefeller formed the Downtown-Lower Manhattan Association (DLMA). This private agency assisted in the early planning for the World Trade Center and Battery Park City, keeping Wall Street as a global financial leader (Fainstein 2001; Gordon 1997). Other North American cities started similar business improvement districts to keep their central areas clean, green, and vital (Garvin 2013).

Paris took a different approach. It experimented with the Tour Montparnasse (1973), and decided that this high-rise building type was bad for the global image of its historic center. The French government created La Défense, a new business district 10 kilometers west of the Louvre. London and Tokyo stumbled along and slowly realized the importance of global financial institutions in the 1970s. The London Docklands Development Corporation accidentally began a second CBD at Canary Wharf, and the City of London initiated a vast expansion of the office space within its historic square mile (Fainstein 2001). The Japanese government upgraded Tokyo's infrastructure and was sufficiently concerned about the function of its commercial core that it briefly considered relocating the national capital to a new town.

However, expanding the downtown business district by destroying adjacent neighborhoods through urban renewal eventually became so unpopular that business elites were forced to look elsewhere to grow (Klemek 2011). Technological change in transportation facilities provided many alternative redevelopment opportunities. Containerization caused general cargo ports and related

facilities to relocate to newer, larger sites remote from downtown (Hoyle, Pinder, and Husain 1988). Downtown waterfront land was created by port relocation (London) and also by landfill (New York, Boston, Tokyo). The adjacent port industrial districts and railway yards also became available in many cities, as manufacturing and storage switched to large single-story buildings in suburban locations served by trucks on freeways. The sites that were left behind were often heavily polluted, with inadequate infrastructure for the modern mixed-use redevelopment needed to expand the CBD. These “brownfield” sites require massive capital investment to be cleaned up and prepared for redevelopment. If the demand for CBD expansion is weak, these brownfields might stay vacant for decades, while other, less expensive areas are redeveloped.

However, there is often tremendous pressure from the business and commercial elites to redevelop the waterfront and brownfield sites because of the “abandoned front doorstep” problem: these areas once advertised their cities’ maritime and industrial power, and their rapid deterioration projected messages of decline right next to the CBD, the most visited (and visible) part of the city. Such messages were unacceptable to the civic elites, and their growth machines were often mobilized to encourage redevelopment (Fainstein 2001). In the late 20th century, these commercial elites expanded their activities from the CBD to wider economic development objectives.

International Diffusion of Planning Ideas

Many of the themes discussed here showed clear international patterns of diffusion of planning ideas, and they have also been tracked by planning history scholars. In plans with “synthetic borrowing,” in Ward’s model (Table 7.1), the role of indigenous planners is very high and the external role is minimal. The 1944 *Greater London Plan*, the 1956 Brasilia plan, and the 1965 Paris SDAURP regional plan are examples in which indigenous planners played dominant roles in creating and implementing innovative capital city plans. New Delhi’s 1913 plan would be at the other extreme, as an example of authoritarian imposition of an external planning tradition by an imperial power (Irving 1981).

Most 20th-century capital city planning could be classified as some form of “undiluted” or “selective” borrowing, using Ward’s framework. Since most new capitals were created on the occasion of the formation of a new nation-state, these cities had somewhat more choice among planning models than previous colonial settlements. Yet even relatively developed countries like Australia and Canada often lacked the specialized urban design and planning expertise to create a memorable capital city during the early 20th century, so some borrowing was common. But there was wide variation in the implementation of the plans, and this is where the foreign models often ran into trouble, especially if they were far from their cultural homes. Although the smaller European countries and the British dominions engaged in selective or undiluted borrowing for their preparation of their plans, they retained control over implementation, smoothing the fit of the foreign models into the local context. In contrast, Le Corbusier and his cousin Pierre Jeanneret were intimately involved in the implementation of Chandigarh’s government and residential development, and permitted little deviation from their Modernist vision (Perera 2004; Prakash 2002).

Most of the Garden City plans appear to be undiluted or selective borrowing, according to Ward’s classification, but the 1965 Paris SDAURP plan was a distinctive synthesis of international regional planning theory and practice. It is a bit early to tell, but Berlin’s careful reconstruction may also be an example of a distinctive plan produced by synthetic borrowing from a wide range of sources.

Conclusion: Avenues for Diffusion of Planning Ideas

Diffusion of capital city planning ideas accelerated during the 20th century, especially when compared to the sedate pace of change for European capitals in the 1800s noted by Thomas Hall (1997). International competitions continued to be a useful method for importing new planning ideas and

foreign planners at the turn of the century, as seen in Berlin (1908), Copenhagen (1909), Canberra (1912), Helsinki (1915, 1918), and other capital cities (Sonne 2004; Vacher 2004).

The early planners of Canberra, New Delhi, and Ottawa were influenced by other precedents that were less than a decade old because new diffusion mechanisms—specialized international conferences and journals for planning—emerged early in the new century. For example, the new journal *Town Planning Review* published many interesting designs from the 1910 RIBA international planning conference within the year, and the instructions for the 1912 Canberra competition referred designers to the proceedings of that conference. And the new practice of presenting comprehensive plans as monographs, rather than exhibitions, meant that detailed information could be quickly disseminated to a global audience. Finally, the rise of international planning consultants (Agache, Le Corbusier, Doxiadis, Gréber, Holford, Mayer, Prost) accelerated the pace of diffusion by mid-century. Abercrombie's 1945 *Greater London Plan* was influencing new capital city plans in Scandinavia and Canada even before its British implementation began in earnest.

By the end of the century, jet travel and advanced communications technology made international collaboration easier than ever before. Capital city planners could monitor the latest plan proposals in London, Lower Manhattan, and Canberra in real time. Reports, precedents, images, and critiques that would have taken Walter Burley Griffin years to assemble tumble off a high-speed Internet connection. And yet, although we are now buried in information, it seems like the pace of real innovation projecting identity and power in capital city planning remains remarkably slow and somewhat hindered by cultural borders. For example, the new Berlin is emerging from two decades of national debate, local agitation, international competitions, and adjustments. Its potential to make a distinctive contribution to capital city planning rests on decades of postwar experiments, some distinguished competitions, and contributions from an engaged citizenry and a strong planning academy. Nonetheless, Berlin also exemplifies how planning history contributes to planning practice through networks of ideas that circulate beyond national and language borders.

Related Topics

Home: Global Systems Foundations of the Discipline

Smith, Hein: The Ancient Past in the Urban Present

Orillard: *Urbanisme* and the Francophone Sphere

Kress: The German Traditions of *Städtebau* and *Stadtlandschaft* and Their Diffusion Through Global Exchange

Hu: Planning for Economic Development

Schubert: Ports and Urban Waterfronts

Gold, Gold: Urban Segments and Event Spaces

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24

PLANNING FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Richard Hu

The planning profession has been slow to embrace economic development, that is, to include an economic dimension in planning policies, programs, and projects to achieve specific economic goals. It was not until the 1970s and 1980s that municipal authorities started hiring economic development officers, and planning programs started teaching it in the United States. But within its comparatively short history, economic development planning has rapidly risen in importance. Since the 1980s, many cities have prioritized economic competitiveness in their development strategies under the influence of neoliberalism. Meanwhile, the planning goals and approaches of economic development have also experienced paradigmatic changes, responding to macroeconomic restructuring, globalization, new technology, and environmental and social challenges.

Economic development has been a submerged theme in the writing of planning history. There are a few reasons. First, it has a relatively short history in the formal planning profession. Its emerging importance and prominence in the neoliberal turn of planning is still contemporary rather than historical. Second, economic development planning is often embedded in the writing for other planning areas that have economic components: urban renewal, housing, transport infrastructure, and port development. Third, the relationship between planning and economic development has been ambivalent. As a result, planning programs and scholars have only partially embraced economic development as an area of research and study (Feser 2014). Allied disciplines—economics, public policy, public administration, and geography—have competed for scholarly attention and opportunities to address economic development issues. Planning history with an explicit concern about economic development, notably the two classics by Peter Hall—*Cities of Tomorrow* (2002) and *Urban and Regional Planning* (2011)—has focused on the post-1970s period. Hall described the growing importance of economic development planning as “planning turned upside down” in the sense that planning was turned from its origin in regulating urban growth to encouraging and promoting it.

This chapter explores the history of economic development planning by examining its shifting goals and approaches in association with driving forces, resulting policy and practice, and the writing of them. It pays special attention to three forces—the new economy, globalization, and sustainable development—to illustrate how they have impacted economic development planning from the 1980s to today, and to explain how they have led to a departure from the traditional goals and approaches of economic development planning. This chapter focuses on economic development for cities at the local/regional level. This spatiality is different from macroeconomics at the national level

and microeconomics for individual firms and consumers. However, this chapter also considers the influences of macroeconomics and microeconomics on a city's economic development to highlight the importance of coordinated planning at multiple scales and between different stakeholders.

Shifting Goals of Economic Development

Economic development is a unique area of urban planning. A crucial way it differs from other planning areas is competition (Levy 2013). In competing for economic activities, one city's gain means another city's loss. But cities do not compete in the same way as business does. Business competes for profit maximization. Cities compete in more complex ways for more complex goals: investment, population, talent, funding for public infrastructure, and events like the Olympic Games (Porter 1996). Recent conceptualization of urban competitiveness has shifted from an economic focus to incorporate social equity, livability, and sustainability (Hu et al. 2013).

Incorporating such noneconomic factors into urban competitiveness challenges the traditional definition of economic development. It is no longer valid to equate economic development with economic growth. The two definitions offered by Edward J. Blakely, a key theorist of economic development planning, in a time span of 24 years (1989–2013) vividly show this shift. In 1989, in the first edition of his classic *Planning Local Economic Development: Theory and Practice*, he defined local economic development as:

Essentially a process by which local government and/or community-based groups manage their existing resources and enter into new partnership arrangements with the private sector, or with each other, to create new jobs and stimulate economic activity in a well-defined economic zone (59).

He stressed that “no matter what form it takes, local economic development has one primary goal, which is to increase the number and variety of job opportunities available to local people” (59). In contrast, in the fifth edition in 2013, he wrote:

Local economic development is achieved when a community's standard of living can be preserved and increased through a process of human and physical development that is based on principles of equity and sustainability (Leigh and Blakely 2013: 72).

A few essential elements in this new definition capture the shifts in the thinking of economic development. First, it frames economic development as both product (desired end state) and process (efforts and resources to achieve the end state). Second, it moves beyond economic growth to include social equity and quality of life as desired end state. Finally, it emphasizes sustainable development. However, the new definition does not suggest an irrelevance of the neoclassical economic theories that explain economic development as economic growth. Rather, it suggests a need to incorporate social equity and sustainability into the goals of economic development. The next section elaborates on how the planning approaches have evolved in accordance with these shifting goals of economic development.

Evolving Approaches to Economic Development Planning

Though a newcomer in the planning profession, planning for economic development has a longer history in practice than most areas of modern planning. Preindustrial and industrial cities strove for economic growth and prosperity through coordinated planning action and intervention. Much of

the push came from merchants who would profit the most from local economic success, and planning efforts by municipal governments were mostly directed toward transportation infrastructure (Levy 2013). The cost of transportation was a much more important factor in economic activities than it is today, so a significant reduction of that cost would put a city in an advantageous position over other cities.

The decades between 1800 and 1830 were the great age of canal building in the United States. In the early 1820s, in the pre-rail age, merchants in New York envisioned a canal that would connect the Hudson River to Lake Erie to access the Midwest. Funded through raising private capital, it was quickly built, putting New York ahead of its rivals of the time, Boston and Philadelphia, in moving commercial freight. As soon as the technology was available, however, municipalities switched to railway infrastructure for local economic growth. They either purchased railway bonds or guaranteed bonds to make them marketable to fund new projects (Levy 2013). The planning tools for economic development simply shifted from canals to railways, but each city's goal remained the same: to win the commercial competition with other cities and towns.

Another form of economic development planning in preindustrial and industrial cities was the planning of trade estates and industrial development sites, mostly along railway lines. In the early 19th century, Sheffield grew to be one of Britain's preeminent industrial centers; by the middle of the century, it had completed railway systems. When planning for industrial development along the transportation lines, the land agents planned the supply of land for manufacturers, and used leases to control and manipulate the character of their estates (Simmons 1997). This approach to land use and site development predated any statutory framework and most forms of state intervention.

Modern economic development went far beyond this historical infrastructure and land-use planning. It was underwritten by several partial theories, including neoclassical economic theory, economic base theory, product cycle theory, location theory, and central place theory. Economic development was then theorized as a function of a city's resources (natural resource, location, labor, capital, entrepreneurial climate, transport, communication, industrial composition, technology, size, export market, international economic situation, and national and state government spending) and its capacity (economic, social, technological, and political capacity) (Leigh and Blakely 2013). These factors work together to determine a city's economic development; their importance and connotations keep evolving. Economic development theories used to focus more on a city's "resources," but have turned to emphasize "capacity," with the late-20th-century macroeconomic restructuring from an industrial economy to a service economy. A development perspective holds that the more varied types of capacity a local community has, the greater its ability to turn resources into development opportunities. This shift of importance between "resources" and "capacity" constituted a move from an old concept to a new concept of major components of economic development (Table 24.1).

Alongside the shifting conceptualization of major components of economic development, the focus of economic development planning has experienced three stages of evolution from World War II: comparative advantage, competitive advantage, and collaborative advantage (Table 24.2). Broadly speaking, the old concept applied more to the stage of comparative advantage; the new concept applied more to the stages of competitive advantage and collaborative advantage. The evolving stages have been influenced by macroeconomic policy changes, including Keynesianism from post-World War II to the mid-1970s, Monetarism from the mid-1970s to the 1990s, Rationalism from the late 1980s across the 1990s, and an emphasis on sustainability from the mid-1990s (Stimson et al. 2006).

From the 1950s to the 1970s, when economic development focused on comparative advantage defined by factor cost differentials, planning was directed to achieve lower production costs (land, labor, materials, energy, infrastructure, and tax incentives) than competitors. Economic development

Table 24.1 A conceptual reformulation of the components of economic development.

<i>Component</i>	<i>Old concept</i>	<i>New concept</i>
Locality	Physical location (near natural resources, transportation, markets) enhances economic growth.	A quality environment and strong community capacity multiply natural advantages for local development.
Economic base	Export base industries and firms create jobs, and stimulate local business growth.	Clusters of competitive industries linked in a regional network of all types of firms create new growth and opportunities.
Employment	More firms create more jobs, even if many are minimum wage.	Comprehensive skill development leads to quality jobs and higher wages.
Community	Single-purpose organizations can enhance economic opportunities in the community.	Collaborative partnerships of many community groups are needed to establish a broad foundation for competitive industries.
Technology	New technology reduces cost and improves efficiency.	Technological innovations generate new business opportunities and create new markets.
Knowledge	Available workforce.	Knowledge-based development.
Globalization	Challenge and competition to local economy.	Active local actions to capitalize on the integrated world economy that embeds competition and collaboration.
Sustainability	Environmental sustainability.	A balanced economic, social, and environmental sustainability.

Source: Partially adapted from Leigh and Blakely (2013).

strategy was guided by master planning, targeting industry production, infrastructure, and market development. Seeking comparative advantage played an important role in the economic strategies of cities in the Asian Tigers—Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan—in the 1960s and 1970s; they sought to attract manufacturing-based and export-oriented economic activities. In the 1980s, the Chinese government selected some coastal cities and planned special Economic Development Zones with favorable land prices, tax incentives, and infrastructure provisions to attract foreign direct investment. But these countries gradually abandoned the focus on comparative advantage as their economies developed.

In the 1980s, the focus of economic development moved to competitive advantage, emphasizing the value factors of efficiency, performance, quality of life, and human and social capital. Structure planning, concerned with the geography of economic activities, provided a more flexible framework for decision-making on economic development. In addition, strategic planning, which was borrowed from business, was a valuable tool for preparing economic development goals, objectives, and strategies. Harvard business professor Michael Porter (1996) played a key role in promoting competitive advantage and argued for its applicability in cities. Competitive advantage has been a primary focus of the “global city” strategy that many cities have deployed in the face of increasing competition from globalization. For example, Singapore, an investment-driven city, has provided businesses with a secure and efficient environment for four decades, in order to establish and strengthen its competitiveness as a global city.

In the 1990s, heightened competition from globalization, coupled with environmental and social equity challenges, made collaborative advantage a focus of economic development. Through alliances, partnerships, and other forms of collaboration, cities would fare better—a win/win situation for economic development. Rivals are now collaborating to better compete: multiple jurisdictions work together in regional cooperation, and there is greater cooperation among business, government, and the community. The emergence of integrated strategic planning has renewed an interest

Table 24.2 Evolutionary focus and tools of economic development strategies.

Focus	Tools	Periods
Comparative advantage	Master planning Goals and objectives planning	Until the mid-1970s
Competitive advantage	Structure planning Strategic planning	From the 1980s
Collaborative advantage	Collaborative strategic planning Integrated strategic planning	From the 1990s

Source: Adapted from Stimson et al. (2006).

in industry clusters and the role of smart infrastructure in economic development. Multiple sectors and stakeholders in the pursuit for collaborative advantage are the best coordinated in an integrated planning system. One criticism of Singapore’s “global city” strategy to seek competitive advantage is that it lacks a more nimble and fluid relationship between institutions and businesses (Sim et al. 2003). In contrast, regions such as Silicon Valley have maintained competitive advantage despite challenges from new and lower-cost competitors, thanks not only to advantageous physical assets or resources but also to socially and institutionally mediated cooperation between actors—an institutional turn in local economic development (Raco 1999). Called new industrial districts, these regions succeed in both competitive advantage and collaborative advantage, that is, they maintain advantage in competition through a collaborative approach to economic development.

The following sections elaborate on the forces that have driven this shift to competitive and collaborative advantages in economic development planning from the 1980s and 1990s.

The New Economy

Definitions of “the new economy” vary, but they consistently name three distinct attributes: it is knowledge-based, it is facilitated by the advancement of information technology, and it has a higher degree of agglomeration. As a knowledge economy, the new economy is directly based on the production, distribution, and use of knowledge and information. Its development has been critically dependent on the emergence of new technologies, based on the rapid dissemination of information and communications. It embeds an enhanced association between agglomeration and productivity. Tacit knowledge—the skills, ideas, and experiences that people have in their minds—is more likely to be generated and shared through the proximity of firms, institutions, and individuals at the regional and local level. Structures within agglomerations encourage learning and innovation, and make up a set of interrelationships that stimulate and channel individual expressions of creativity (Scott 2006). Knowledge workers tend to congregate in cities to benefit from agglomeration—a higher diversity of specializations, cultures, and expertise—that fosters a high degree of knowledge production and diffusion, and tolerance to new ideas (Florida 2002).

A new set of economic development models have emerged as cities seek to capitalize on these attributes of the new economy. Broadly, they fall into three groups: knowledge city, creative city, and smart city (Table 24.3). While the three models overlap, they focus on different aspects of the new economy to benefit local economic development, and each has its limitations.

The *knowledge city model* builds upon the knowledge-intensive nature of the new economy. It captures the correlation between a city’s economic growth and its knowledge base. The theoretical underpinning is that the competitive advantage of cities is no longer solely based on natural resources or cheap labor, but is increasingly based on knowledge assets and exploitation of these knowledge assets in the form of new products or process of innovations (Johnston 2011). Yigitcanlar

and Lönnqvist (2013) proposed a knowledge-based urban development (KBUD) model from four perspectives—economic, socio-cultural, environmental and urban, and institutional—to transform knowledge resources into local development. The KBUD structure places endogenous knowledge assets at the heart of economic activities: knowledge is considered a locally embedded resource, rather than exogenous, imported, and supplementary. This thinking emphasizes that a city should grow its knowledge base to sustain local economic development instead of trading or importing it like products and services. However, the four pillars of economy, society, environment, and governance in the KBUD structure are too broad; how they interact to form an innovative system to grow a local knowledge economy is hard to crystallize empirically. In practice, a few key elements of the structure (technology, spatial agglomeration, quality space) have been instrumental in developing a knowledge city. From the 1990s, the city administration in Melbourne has sought to develop a knowledge city through concerted planning and development in technology and communication, creativity and cultural infrastructure, human capital and knowledge workers, and urban clusters. These efforts received support from research and development institutions, three tiers of government, and the community.

The *creative city model* focuses on the most creative industries in the new economy, art and culture in particular, to promote a city's economic development. The theoretical underpinning is that creative industries contribute to the local economy not only through their own creative production and outputs, but also through forming a production system that enhances the design, production, and marketing of products and services in other sectors in the form of artistic dividend (Currid 2007). Based on a correlation between the presence of talented people and local economic growth, this model particularly stresses the role of the creative class and the urban environment that appeals to it, such as cultural amenities and diversities (Florida 2002). The focus on an inviting environment for people does not exclude recognition of the importance of technology: the "Three Ts" identified by Florida (2002) for creative cities include "technology" in parallel with "talent" and "tolerance." There is a necessity of marriage between art and technology in creative cities. The creative city model has been criticized as being one-sided: that it pushes to achieve urban creativity without concern for striking social, cultural, and economic inequalities, and that it imports creativity without a sufficient attention to the organic, complex interweaving of production, work, and social life in specific urban contexts (Scott 2006). In practice, the creative city model has widely informed planning of local cultural facilities and amenity spaces, especially to revitalize traditional downtown industrial areas. In Singapore, the government led an intervention in the planning of "one north"—previously known as the Science Hub—by reworking the residential area as "little bohemia" to foster new economy cultures.

The *smart city model* culminates in using information technology to achieve prosperity, effectiveness, and competitiveness in cities. The "smart city" has dual conceptual connotations: it is composed of and monitored by pervasive and ubiquitous computing and digital technology, and its economy and governance are driven by innovation, creativity, and entrepreneurship, enacted by smart people (Kitchin 2014). A city then grows its economy by enabling smart work by smart people through smart technology. The ability to work anywhere and anytime will significantly reduce commuting time and cost, and presumably enhance flexibility and productivity. The smart city model suggests a need to invest in digital infrastructure, develop human capital and education, and promote innovation and entrepreneurship, to drive local economic development. It also suggests a need for spatial configurations to accommodate new ways of working and living in both public and private spaces; for example, smart work centers offer a "third space" outside office and home. In 2014, the New South Wales government in Australia announced the building of five such smart work hubs in the metropolitan Sydney region to grow knowledge-based industries, support flexible work practices, and offer commuters an alternative work location closer to home. In early 2016, the Commonwealth Government of Australia released the *Smart Cities Plan*, which outlines an approach

Table 24.3 New development models for cities in the new economy.

<i>Models</i>	<i>Basic categories</i>	<i>Drivers of development</i>	<i>Essential dynamics</i>	<i>Strengths and weaknesses</i>	<i>Applications</i>
Knowledge city	Knowledge economy	Knowledge as a main source of economic growth	Knowledge assets	Emphasis on endogenous knowledge; Broad framework	Knowledge-based urban development; New industrial districts
Creative city	Creative industries	Urban creativity enhances local economic development	Creative class and milieu	A focus on creative capabilities in cities One-sided view with an absence of inequalities, organic process of economic production, work and social life	Support cultural facilities, activities and workers; Create high-quality urban environment with rich cultural amenities and diversities in local social life; Spatial proximity for creative agglomeration;
Smart city	Smart urban technologies	ICT is of central importance in achieving prosperity, effectiveness, and competitiveness	Ubiquitous information technology	Technology-centric; Short-term thinking in strategic planning	Revitalization of old industrial areas Digital infrastructure investment; Smart work; Innovation and education

Source: Richard Hu.

to smart cities through smart investment, smart policy, and smart technology. This was probably the first national plan for smart cities.

While smart cities research relates directly to the urban environment, most research does not originate from an urban planning context, but rather from technological disciplines. The growth of big data in smart cities is shifting the emphasis from longer-time strategic planning to short-term thinking about how cities function and can be managed (Batty 2013). The evolution of a smart city highly depends on its local contextual factors, in particular, economic development and structural urban variables, including geographical location, density of people, and associated congestion problems. A technology-centric conceptualization might mislead a smart city strategy if the local contexts are not well considered and incorporated into planning for economic development.

Globalization

Globalization has been radically affecting urban economic development in two broad ways: cities are becoming nodes of an integrated global economy, interlinked into a network, and global cities are becoming the command and control centers of the global economy, occupying higher and more important nodal positions (Taylor 2004). These two processes are interwoven, increasing inter-city competition in particular. Planning for economic development then goes beyond a regional or national context to tackle global competition.

The roles of cities and nations are shifting in globalization. Globalization is a “denationalizing” force, argues Sassen, in that a “good part of globalization consists of an enormous variety of micro-processes that begin to denationalize what had been constructed as national—whether policies, capital, political subjectivities, urban spaces, temporal frames, or any other of a variety of dynamics and domains” (Sassen 2008: 8). The single global economic system is overtaking the traditional economic roles and powers of nation-states. Cities are emerging as dominant spatial scales and replacing nation-states as central nodes in the global economy. The networks of cities tend more and more to override purely political boundaries so that they are increasingly free from the regulatory supervision of nation-states. The integrated global economic system is then a city-centered world of flows, in contrast to the more familiar state-centered world of boundaries (Taylor 2004).

Some cities grow to be global cities out of the above processes (Figure 24.1). The term “global city” is coined to name a recent phenomenon structured in contemporary globalization. It captures both the dispersion and the centralization of global economic activities: the dispersion of production and retailing activities across the world, and the concentration of specialized services and command within a few cities (Sassen 2001). The increasing importance of transnational corporations as actors in the global economy, accelerated global competition, and the macro-transition to a post-Fordist economy have led to greater complexity of managing, controlling, and coordinating global activities and organizations, which in turn has required greater use of specialist services. These special services are advanced producer services (financial and insurance, business and professional services) as opposed to consumer services. Advanced producer services benefit from geographical proximity: their complex nature requires immediate communications and simultaneous inputs and feedbacks. These activities are usually concentrated in the central business districts (CBDs) of global cities (Figure 24.1).

Globalization is a more competitive context for economic development planning. From the 1990s, urban development strategies have been subordinate to economic development, being exposed to neoliberalist ideologies, techniques, and aspirations. Seeking global competitiveness has involved major changes in two urban dynamics: governance and place making.

Globalization has led to a competitive urban governance paradigm, which has two distinct characteristics. One is a governance shift from managerialism to entrepreneurialism—a changing role

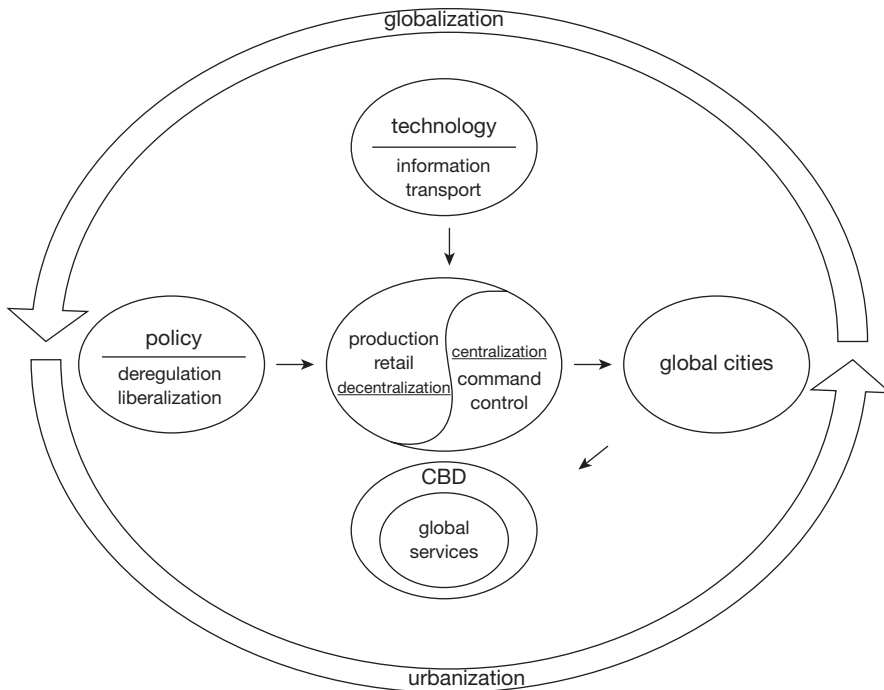


Figure 24.1 Formation of global cities in an integrated global economy.

Source: Richard Hu.

of government from regulator to promoter of economic activities; the other is the formation of an urban growth coalition (including government, private sector, non-government organizations, and community groups) mixed with multiscalar politics (federal, state, and local). This cultural change in governance grew out of a consensus between the public, the private, and the general community to produce the capacity of governing in an environment of competitive globalization. The change is happening globally. In Toronto (1998) and London (2000), smaller local government areas were amalgamated into larger metropolitan authorities. The central purpose was to streamline planning and coordinate services to better position the cities for global competitiveness. In Sydney, to become a global city has been a primary goal of strategic planning in the 21st century. In Shanghai, it was a national strategy to build the Pudong New Area and to promote Shanghai as a global city and the “dragon head” of the Chinese economy.

There are multiple forms of place making for economic development in globalization: land-use and infrastructure planning to attract and accommodate global economic activities (free-trade zones, business parks, convention and exhibition centers, casinos, and shopping malls); competition for global events (Olympics, World Expo) which would in turn market cities for global capital and tourism; and urban consolidation and intensification in inner-city neighborhoods. In making such global urban forms and spaces, urban design is a ready tool under the paradigmatic New Urbanism. Urban design is now largely elitist, deployed to promote economic competitiveness, to aspire to capital interests and values, and to attract the creative classes by responding to their desire for gentrification and central city living (Gunder 2011). In Sydney, the government, working with private developers, redeveloped inner-city neighborhoods Pyrmont and Ultimo—traditionally industrial and warehouse zones—into an area of luxury high-rise apartment, entertainment, and amenity spaces. They created these new spaces to cater to the professional elites in the CBD, a symbol of Sydney’s emergence as a global city.

Sustainable Development

In the 1990s, the sustainable development discourse started to affect cities' understanding of and approach to economic development planning. The ground-laying *Brundtland Report* (1987) has disseminated and promoted the aspiration to three E's—economic development, environmental protection, and social equity—simultaneously. It injected environmental protection and social equity into economic growth, and treated them as of equal importance. The challenges of global warming and growing inequality have heightened the importance of a sustainable approach to economic development planning.

The three E's embed conflicts and integrations; sustainable development, then, is essentially about fixing their conflicts to achieve their integrations (Figure 24.2). The three E's represent three perspectives to the city: the city as a location of production, consumption, distribution, and innovation from an economic perspective; the city as a consumer of resources and a producer of wastes from an environmental perspective; and the city as a location of conflict over the distribution of resources, services, and opportunities from a social equity perspective (Campbell 1996). Economic development has a “resource conflict” with environmental protection, and has a “property conflict” with social equity. The economic–social conflict defines the boundary between private interest and the public good. A “development conflict” between social equity and environmental protection stems from the difficulty of increasing social equity through economic growth on the one hand, and from protecting the environment through growth management on the other hand. It is the most challenging conundrum of sustainable development (Figure 24.2).

It has not been an easy task to translate sustainable aspirations into effective planning, policies, and decisions. There are two limiting factors: limited understanding of the sustainability science, and lack of commitment and apprehension by governments in advancing sustainability (Vojnovic 2014). In the United States, cities adopt sustainability in a piecemeal, ad-hoc manner: while much is known about environmental initiatives, comparatively little is known about social equity and sustainable economic development (Opp and Saunders 2012). However, experiences in Switzerland indicate some promising signs of integrating the three E's. Ecological innovation can generate social and economic benefits and

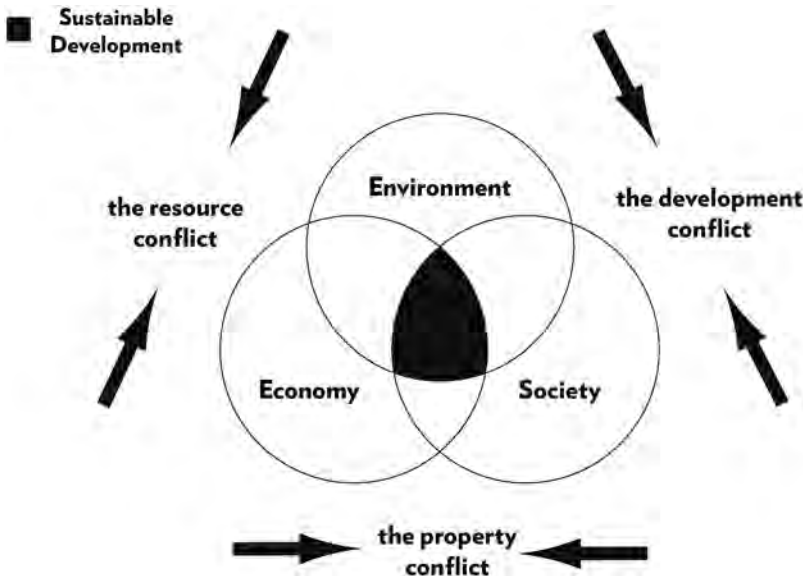


Figure 24.2 Sustainable development: conflict and integration.

Source: Richard Hu.

reduce the use of natural resources; educational and sociocultural initiatives can simultaneously promote income and employment, social and human capital, and personal development; and natural spaces and biodiversity have synergetic benefits for the health and safety of people (Hansmann et al. 2012).

The most profound impact of the sustainable development discourse on economic development is the reconceptualization of urban competitiveness as urban sustainability. The central argument is that interrelated economic, social, and environmental dimensions contribute to a city's comprehensive competitiveness (Jiang and Shen 2010). As stated earlier, a sustainable development perspective has changed our understanding of goals of economic development. It has also fundamentally transformed the traditionally economic-centric conceptualization of and policy approach to urban competitiveness.

The move from a competitive perspective to a sustainable perspective has called for planners to pay attention to a city's endogenous development. For this purpose, Friedmann (2007) identifies seven clusters of tangible assets of cities and regions: basic human needs; organized civil society; the heritage of the built environment and popular culture; intellectual and creative assets; the region's resource endowment; the quality of its environment; and urban infrastructure. An emphasis on endogenous development requires a "whole of government" collaborative approach to planning. This is how the sustainability turn became a focus on collaborative advantage in economic development planning, which started in the 1990s.

Conclusion

Economic development hinges on the function of local capacity and resources. Historically, planning for economic development has been shaped largely by macroeconomic restructuring, dominant economic thoughts, and policies. Since World War II, the focus of economic development planning has experienced three stages of evolution: seeking comparative advantage, competitive advantage, and collaborative advantage. The shift from comparative advantage to competitive and collaborative advantages has been under direct influence of three forces from the 1980s and 1990s: the new economy, globalization, and sustainable development. These three forces are injecting new elements into the understanding and planning of economic development. A neoliberalist planning culture has prioritized economic competitiveness in urban development. At the same time, there has been a shift from urban competitiveness to urban sustainability in conceptualizing economic development, seeking not only economic growth, but also social equity and environmental protection. These changes are reshaping the goals and approaches of economic development planning.

Related Topics

Sorensen: Planning History and Theory

Schubert: Ports and Urban Waterfronts

Gold, Gold: Urban Segments and Event Spaces

Schott: Livability and Environmental Sustainability: From Smoky to Livable Cities

Ramos: Future Narratives for Planning History

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PLANNING FOR INFRASTRUCTURE

Lifelines, Mobility, and Urban Development

Domenic Vitiello

Infrastructure for transportation, communication, energy, and water and waste occupies a central place in the history of planning for cities and regions. These systems largely determine how cities and regions evolve, how people experience urban places, and how neighborhoods and cities are linked to one another. Infrastructure planning has typically been a large-scale enterprise, and one that involves more than just planners. The development of infrastructure has commonly served empire and nation building, regional and transnational economic development, and the basic imperatives of urbanization and public health. This chapter surveys the diverse eras and practices of transportation, communication, energy, and water and waste infrastructure planning around the world since the 19th century, illuminating how planning has shaped the social and environmental dimensions of cities and regions. It ends by considering key contributions and challenges that studying infrastructure presents for interpreting the broader history of city and regional planning.

The term *infrastructure* has a comparatively short history. It first appeared in the *Oxford English Dictionary* in 1927, referencing a quotation about “the tunnels, bridges, culverts, and ‘infrastructure work’ of the French railroads,” whose engineers borrowed this late-19th-century term from their colleagues in the army. After World War II, NATO administrators reconstructing the military bases of Europe adopted the word. It soon became familiar jargon among economists, engineers, and planners rebuilding Europe, developing the economies of its former colonies, and reshaping cities and regions in North America (Lewis 2008b; Neuman and Smith 2010).

Infrastructure has a variety of meanings. In the most basic sense, the term refers to the shared facilities and systems that support society—especially urban societies: most commonly transportation, power, communication, and water and waste. More broadly, infrastructure can refer to public and private systems of parks and recreation, military operations, food distribution, libraries, prisons, or health services; more recently, we extended the term to the *digital infrastructure* of computer systems and the Internet (Neuman and Smith 2010: 24). Infrastructure can be *hard* (physical installations like roads, canals, or networks of cables and servers) or *soft* (institutions, services, and capacities like health care, law enforcement, computer software systems, or a region’s pool of human capital). Infrastructure operates at multiple scales, from dispersed and relatively independent household wells, septic tanks, and solar systems, to highly coordinated transnational and global networks of shipping, logistics, and gas and oil extraction, refining, and distribution (Figure 25.1). This chapter focuses on planners’ involvement in shaping what many term *critical infrastructure* or *lifelines*: the hard and soft infrastructure of transportation, communication, energy, and water and waste, especially in and between cities.



Figure 25.1 Shipping, rail, and highway infrastructure meet at the port of Seattle, USA.

Source: Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.

The history of infrastructure illuminates how large-scale planning has profoundly influenced many of the great transformations in urban form and urban life, and also in the practice of planning. In ancient and early modern cities, infrastructure—roads and city streets, walls, water supply, and public spaces like markets and plazas—was the predominant focus of planning, from the empires of Egypt, China, India, Rome, and the Ottomans, to the Maya, the Incas, and European colonies around the world. In the 19th century, railroads, telegraphs, coal, gas, and new water and sewer systems constituted a distinctly industrial infrastructure that remade urban geography and society. The 19th-century and early 20th-century social movements grappling with new forms of poverty, pollution, and urban growth produced by industrialization gave rise to planning and allied professions like social work and public health. The technologies and systems of the second industrial revolution—steel, electricity, oil, telephones, automobiles, highways, and airplanes—structured the metropolitan environments that most city and suburb dwellers still inhabit.

Planners' views of infrastructure and relationships with it have shifted over time. Early and mid-20th-century planners around the world focused much of their attention on transportation, communication, energy, and water and waste—in master planning for metropolitan growth, urban reconstruction and renewal, and national and international development. Since the 1960s, however, many planners and historians have condemned highways, sewer systems, and other big infrastructure for producing ecological destruction and social inequities, part of a broader backlash against Modernist and neoliberal development (Jacobs 1961; Mohl 2004; Spirn 2005; Leitner et al. 2007; Klemek 2011). More recently, though, many planners and allied professionals have also embraced infrastructure as vital to addressing the environmental and economic challenges of the 21st century. Concerns about aging infrastructure; urban revitalization; and the resilience of metropolitan transportation, power systems, and other lifelines have renewed their interest in and embrace of large-scale infrastructure planning. They are seeking new ways to reengineer urban form and function with digital communication, big data, renewable energy, green infrastructure, high-speed rail, and plans for “aerotropolises” (cities built around airports).

What is the significance of infrastructure for the writing of planning history? And what aspects and issues in planning history does infrastructure most effectively illuminate? As large-scale systems that by design seek to integrate cities, regions, and global networks of mobility and exchange, the infrastructures of transportation, communication, energy, and water and waste are especially good at capturing a systematic view of broad patterns and trends at the scales of the entire city or region, and internationally. This history also highlights the relationships between the histories of planning, finance, and technology. As expensive and often controversial endeavors, infrastructure projects offer valuable windows into the exercise of planning powers, as well as community contests over displacement and destruction. As shared systems of varying necessity to support human life and livelihood, critical infrastructure has been the subject of lively debates over what should be public and what should be private in the urban environment and societies. Indeed, much is at stake in infrastructure planning, as these systems shape cities and regions in big ways, over long periods of time.

Industrial Infrastructure and the Rise of the Planning Profession

Industrial infrastructure—mechanized, powered by mineral energy, and built and operated by large-scale factory systems of production—marked a watershed in the history of cities and regions and their planning. Adaptation of coal, natural gas, and electricity made possible new patterns of transportation within and between cities, new systems of heating and lighting and communication, and new geographies of home and work (Tarr 1985; Tarr and Dupuy 1988). But rapid industrialization and urbanization in the 19th and early 20th century also produced new forms of poverty and crises of environmental health. The planning profession formed in direct response to these problems, and infrastructure was vital to the work of early professional planners. While planners' attempts to reform cities and guide their growth met with varying levels of success, the water and sewer, transportation, communication, and energy systems they helped build enabled cities to grow as they did.

Railroads reconfigured the economic geography of cities around the world, transforming people's relationships to space, time, and resources (Figure 25.2). The speed at which railroads ran,

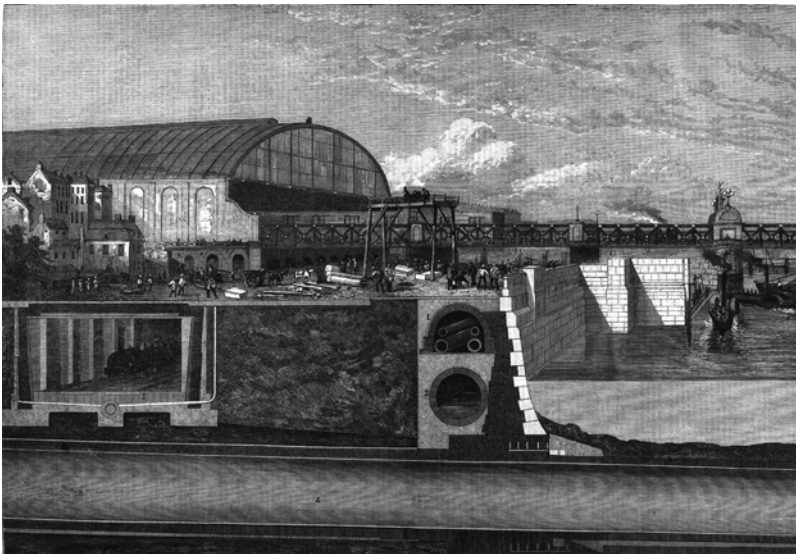


Figure 25.2 Infrastructure in central London, including gas, water, and sewer pipes, and underground passenger railways, with the new pneumatic passenger railway at the bottom, 1867.

Source: *The Illustrated London News*, June 22, 1867, p.632.

their introduction of time zones, and the introduction of refrigerated freight cars conserving meat and other perishables altered the relationships among cities around the world and between cities and their hinterlands (Schivelbusch 1987; Cronon 1992). Railroads eclipsed canals for inland travel, though the Suez and Panama Canals redrew the geography of international shipping. Moreover, railroads signaled the persistence of imperial planning alongside the ascendancy of global corporate and financial capital in the late 19th century and in the 20th century. Western political and commercial empires developed railroads to serve their economic interests in Africa, South America, India, Indonesia, Australia, and China. In Russia, Czar Peter the Great collaborated with British and American engineers and businessmen in building railroads in the mid-19th century (Haywood 1998); but it was under Stalin's First Five-Year Plan in the late 1920s and early 30s that dramatic expansion of railroads enabled the rapid industrialization of the Soviet Union (Payne 2001).

The electrical telegraph lines that followed the railroads revolutionized communication, spreading across the Americas, Europe, Asia, and Africa in the 19th and early 20th century. Optical telegraphs had existed since the 1790s in Europe and the United States, and long-distance signaling with pyres had been used since ancient times. But these systems were rare and used by few people, whereas the electrical telegraph connected virtually every place the railroads went, and sometimes beyond, as in the telegraph cables that spanned the Atlantic and linked Asia to Australia in the late 19th century (John 2010). Like the railroads, telegraph systems helped spread empires and capital across the globe.

Inside cities of the industrializing world, a new geography emerged: neighborhoods of workers' housing concentrated around factories that themselves clustered along rail lines, sometimes in planned manufacturing districts (Lewis 2008a). Beyond these neighborhoods, the railroads and streetcar lines formed the new skeleton of suburban development, especially in late-19th- and early-20th-century Europe and the Americas. Industrialists and their landscape architects planned elite railroad suburbs, satellite industrial suburbs, and later mass transit suburbs for the middle class (Hall 2002; Lewis 2004; Vitiello 2013a).

New water and waste infrastructure permitted industrial cities to grow as big as they did, addressing major public health problems and inspiring key innovations in planning. Massive investments in systems such as the sewers of Paris (1830s) and New York's Croton water system (opened 1842) catalyzed urban population growth, as they helped alleviate pollution, reduce mortality, and raise life expectancy (Neuman and Smith 2010: 22–23). Also in 1842, Edwin Chadwick published the first major social and sanitary survey, of industrial cities in England, pioneering research techniques that would become integral to the planning profession and to the scientific case for new water and waste systems (Peterson 1979).

While private companies, militaries, national transportation authorities, and their engineers planned and operated most canals and intercity railroads, inside cities a new cadre of municipal and consulting engineers designed the infrastructure of streets, water, sewers, and gas works. Innovations in infrastructure technology often spread between cities thanks to these professionals, who also helped professionalize city bureaucracies (Claude 1989). One prominent example, American George Waring Jr., pioneered separated sewer and water systems in Memphis in the late 1870s, applied them to cities in the Caribbean, and as sanitation commissioner of New York City in the 1890s finally rid the streets of manure (Peterson 1979; Melosi 2000). Road engineers and officials representing national governments, metropolitan authorities, and corporations held the first International Road Congress in Paris in 1908, forming the Permanent International Association of Road Congresses the following year, the same time as early planning conferences (Blanchard 1920). In subsequent decades, regional planning and national transportation authorities in North America and Europe institutionalized the subfield of transportation planning.

The social and environmental reform movements that gave rise to the Anglo-American planning profession focused on much more than infrastructure, yet they all supported its development, and they all needed infrastructure to help solve the urban problems that they fought. The sanitary movement helped innovate and proliferate new water, toilet, sewer, and garbage collection systems, phasing out the privies and pigs that received human and household waste in earlier eras. Tenement reformers and settlement house leaders advocated for sanitary reform, too. City Beautiful and Garden City planners designed regional transportation infrastructure that would enable city dwellers to escape the industries of inner cities. These visions were shared, and partly realized, by their allies in the parks movement, including landscape designers and commissioners who planned urban park and parkway systems. Progressive government reform advocates railed against wasteful spending and corrupt contracting in public works, yet they sought greater efficiency in infrastructure development rather than to stop or slow it.

Although early professional planners rarely held complete sway over the development of infrastructure, they enjoyed considerable influence over its design, and it remained essential to their visions for cities and regions. Even if they did not use the term, infrastructure held a prominent position in the work of late-19th-century and early-20th-century planners, from Ildefonso Cerdá and Eugene Haussmann to Frederick Law Olmsted, George Waring, Daniel Burnham, Ebenezer Howard, and Le Corbusier. George B. Ford and Harland Bartholomew based their plans for scores of American and Canadian cities in large part on traffic counts (Heathcott 2005; Brown 2006). Big infrastructure investments also remained integral to plans for new imperial capitals (as they had been since ancient times), from Burnham's plan for Manila (1899) to Edwin Lutyens and Herbert Baker's designs for New Delhi (1910s) and Stanley Adshead's plan for Lusaka (1931) (Njoh 2007).

Early-20th-century regional planners and designers promoted grand visions of infrastructure, but to divergent ends. Chambers of commerce, local and national governments, and corporations commissioned plans for transportation, energy, and regional food distribution in Europe and the Americas in the 1920s and 30s (Hughes 1983; Donofrio 2007; Vitiello and Brinkley 2014). In his numerous plans for cities in India and Palestine, Patrick Geddes promoted composting, a dispersed system of waste management that reflected his more ecological approach to planning for regional infrastructure. The communitarians of the Regional Planning Association of America such as Benton MacKaye embraced infrastructure, including the Tennessee Valley Authority, for its potential to liberate industrial workers (Figure 25.3). Their rivals in the Regional Plan Association of New York, led by Thomas Adams, saw bridges, highways, and power grids as necessary to realizing their metropolitan economic development agenda (Hall 2002). Le Corbusier and Norman Geddes's designs for Paris and New York carved up these cities with expressways they imagined would revolutionize urban mobility.

In the late 19th century and the 20th century, the technologies and infrastructure of the second industrial revolution came to define the landscapes of cities and suburbs in most of the world. Steel-framed skyscrapers marked new downtown office districts. Electric trolleys, commuter trains, and subways connected them to residential neighborhoods, as did parkways and limited-access highways for automobiles. Electrical and telephone lines served households increasingly full of appliances and communication devices, including radios and televisions by the second quarter of the 20th century. Gas, oil, and electric heating and lighting gradually banished the cold and dark from urban, suburban, and, more slowly, rural living, again fundamentally altering people's home and work environments and their relationships to space, time, and seasons (Schivelbusch 1995) (Figure 25.4). To make metropolitan decentralization and mass consumer society possible, governments and financiers underwrote the development of regional and transnational infrastructure: hydroelectric dams, coal- and gas-fired power plants, and power transmission lines and stations, as well as facilities to support the extraction, transportation, refining, and retailing of oil



Figure 25.3 “Cherokee Dam, Tennessee, Tennessee Valley Authority. Working on the cover of a 30,000 kilowatt generator under a 250 ton gantry crane,” photographed by Arthur Rothstein, June 1942. Like other photographs sponsored by the Farm Security Administration, this image celebrates the people who built infrastructure.

Source: Library of Congress (USA).

(Hughes 1983; Platt 1991; Hein 2010). Local and national governments also established airfields on the edges of cities in the early 20th century, often with the encouragement and collaboration of the military (Bednarek 2001).

The state and private capital played fluctuating yet central roles in infrastructure planning and management. In Europe and its former colonies, municipal and national authorities commonly built and owned their own infrastructure, whether they billed citizens directly for services, such as gas and water, or subsidized those services with taxes, such as most roads. In the United States, by contrast, a group of “utility monopolists” based in New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago controlled the gas, electric, and public transit infrastructure of close to 100 cities around the turn of the 20th century. In some of these cities, they formed powerful growth machines—alliances of diverse capitalists and institutions—that closely coordinated infrastructure and real estate investments while also influencing public sector development of parks, roads, and water and sewer lines, guiding metropolitan growth (Vitiello 2013b). Large corporations like Standard Oil and later the state-owned oil and gas companies of Russia, Saudi Arabia, and China also monopolized much of the national and transnational infrastructure of energy, shaping larger geographies of settlement and production, including towns and cities built around sites of extraction and trans-shipment (Hein 2010).

Nations made different choices about infrastructure systems and technologies. The United States copied the highway system built by the Germans in the 1930s, making large federal investments from the 1950s that helped underwrite slum clearance (for siting the roads) and mass suburbanization (connected to cities by the roads). In Japan, by contrast, the Shinkansen high-speed rail system reinforced urban density (Smith 2003). Countries have also pursued divergent energy policies.



Because electricity may be the driver! One day your car may speed along an electric superhighway, its speed and steering automatically controlled by electronic devices embedded in the road. Highways will be made safe—by electricity! No traffic jams, no collisions, no driver fatigue.

Figure 25.4 “Why are the electric companies increasing the supply of electricity?” Advertisement by America’s Independent Electric Light and Power Companies in *Boys’ Life* (USA), June 1956. The answers offered in the ad included “because tv ‘screens’ may hang on your walls!” along with these visions of moving sidewalks and self-driving cars on “electric superhighways.” Autonomous vehicles are popular again among planners in the 21st century, while conveyors move pedestrians in megacities such as Hong Kong.

Source: Everett Collection.

While France and India embraced nuclear power, Austrians voted in the 1970s to prevent their first plant from ever opening. Sweden, Italy, and other nations have closed their nuclear plants in reaction to major meltdowns in the United States, USSR, and most recently Japan.

Modernist planners gained a large role in shaping infrastructure through urban redevelopment after World War II. Urban renewal czars in the United States such as Robert Moses and Edmund Bacon planned highways and transit hubs that reconfigured regional mobility and land use patterns. Moses also consulted on plans for energy, water, and transportation infrastructure to industrialize São Paulo, Brazil, for Nelson Rockefeller’s International Basic Economic Corporation (da Silva Leme 2010). Maurice Rotival produced redevelopment plans for New Haven in the United States, Paris and Reims in France, and cities in Yugoslavia, Lebanon, Algeria, and South Africa (Hein 2002a and b).

The postwar rebuilding of European nations and investments in their former colonies in Latin America, Africa, and Asia gave rise to enduring institutions of international development, a field dominated by economists but also including planners. Through the 1960s, the World Bank’s investments followed development economists’ theory of Modernization. This view held that prosperity derives from industrialization, which in turn demands reliable systems of transportation and electricity.

Investment by development agencies became a key instrument of the Cold War, as the West held out the wealth promised by highways and electricity as an alternative to communism and poverty (Goldman 2005; Lewis 2008b). These investments, and infrastructure generally, supported the nation-building aspirations of recently independent countries around the world.

In the 1970s, international development institutions shifted focus from rural to urban settings, as urbanization exploded in Latin America and then Asia and Africa, though they still promoted infrastructure. The World Bank's Slum Upgrading and Sites and Services programs have underwritten water, sewer, transportation, electrical, and telecommunication systems. International and local development planners continue to push infrastructure as a remedy for poverty and slums, as in the cable cars serving informal settlements in Medellín, Caracas, and Rio de Janeiro, and in household stove, toilet, water collection, and composting programs in slums around the world.

In the post-World War II era, infrastructure thus remained integral to many areas of the planning profession. In addition to planning for transportation, new towns, urban redevelopment, and slum upgrading, in both wealthy and poor nations infrastructure planning became tied to the new profession of urban economic development. Transportation (including ports), energy, and water and sewer infrastructure persist as key parts of incentive strategies that economic development planners employ to attract and retain firms (S. Lewis 2008). Yet prominent planners and advocates also critiqued and organized against big infrastructure projects.

From Backlash to Smart Cities and Green Infrastructure

The place of infrastructure in planning, both practically and normatively, has shifted dramatically over the past half century. Since the 1960s, many planners have joined with other city, suburban, and rural residents to oppose transportation, energy, water and waste, and sometimes communication infrastructure. Planners have been deeply involved in environmental justice, and indigenous rights movements around the world, fighting infrastructure projects that endanger habitats, communities, and cultures.

Such protests gave rise to critiques of planning and development around the world. The backlash against urban renewal in North America and Europe reconfigured planners' views and roles in urban development. Practitioners, academics, and journalists like Denise Scott-Brown and Jane Jacobs helped organize multi-racial and multi-class alliances for "highway revolts" against plans that threatened to rip through city neighborhoods. Some government officials like Hans Blumenfeld subverted urban renewal plans from within government (Mohl 2004; Klemek 2011). In the sprawling suburbs of Southern California and other regions of North America, planners, writers, photographers, and residents condemned the destruction of ecosystems by bulldozers clearing land for new subdivisions (Ammon 2016).

Protests against infrastructure also gave rise to important social movements. Six weeks of marches and sit-ins opposing a toxic waste dump in an African American community in North Carolina in 1982 sparked the environmental justice movement in the United States. Peasants and their allies from Sicily to Brazil initiated peaceful—and successful—uprisings in the 1970s and 1980s against corrupt politicians' and organized crime syndicates' control of dams and agricultural estates. From the Niger Delta to the hydraulic fracturing regions of North America, local communities have launched movements (some peaceful, some violent) opposing oil and gas corporations' destruction of ecosystems and the livelihoods and cultures that depend on them.

Social scientists and urban and international development planners have increasingly rejected Modernism and Modernization, especially since the 1970s (Perlman 1976; Klemek 2011). From the political right, they argued that the World Bank's infrastructure investments were inefficient due to corruption in the Third World. From the left, critics averred that urban and international development agencies' infrastructure projects and loans reinforced the inequality between affluent and poor

urban residents and between developed and developing nations. By the early 21st century, planners and allied professionals of all political stripes embraced *sustainable development* as the paradigm to correct for the automobile-oriented, fossil-fuel-dependent cities that 20th-century infrastructure had helped produce around the globe (Figure 25.5) (Goldman 2005; National Academy of Science 2009; Wells 2012). Still, poor communities in the Global South have had to provide most of their own infrastructure while state and international investors underwrite infrastructure for the wealthy (Parnell and Pieterse 2014).

Since the late 20th century, planners in Europe and North America have sought to erase or obscure large transportation infrastructure in central cities. From Torino to Delft, European cities have buried their parking lots and train stations. An expressway teardown movement emerged in North America, touting grand schemes to demolish the highways that tore through inner cities, or to bury them underground, and some such projects have been realized, famously Boston’s “Big Dig” (Mohl 2012).

But while infrastructure may have fallen out of favor, it remained necessary, and it required upkeep and replacement. The aging of bridge and road infrastructure is a global challenge. Some city, provincial, and national governments have privatized the management and maintenance of highways, port facilities, and public spaces; others have yet to truly account for how they will renew crumbling roads, bridges, and water and sewer pipes.

Infrastructure has also remained essential to regional economic development and empire building of various sorts—capitalist, communist, military. In Hong Kong, Singapore, Seoul, Taipei, and then most spectacularly in the cities of Mainland China, the late 20th and early 21st century witnessed vast investments in vital infrastructure to support rapid growth (Campanella 2008). Around the world, transportation and economic development boosters have argued for planning *aerotropolises*, new cities around airports, to better link urban residents and firms to the global economy (Kasarda and Lindsay 2012). More than 15 nations in Europe and Asia, from Austria to Uzbekistan, have developed high-speed rail. New pipeline projects in North America, Europe, and Asia support the early-21st-century boom in natural gas and shale oil extraction. And as they have since ancient times, militaries have played major roles in engineering new hard and soft infrastructure technologies, from the Internet to drones.

In much of the world, China has largely surpassed Western development agencies as the chief foreign investor in infrastructure, achieving a new scale of development but repeating old patterns.



Figure 25.5 Car, bus, and moped traffic, with a bus-rapid-transit line in the center, Jakarta, Indonesia, 2015.

Perhaps China's most ambitious plan is the New Silk Road Economic Belt and 21st Century Maritime Silk Road, which includes rail, road, pipeline, and port investments in 65 nations in Africa, Asia, and Europe (Schiavenza 2015). Chinese companies are behind three projects across Latin America linking the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans: a railroad and a highway across Brazil and Peru, and a canal across Nicaragua. Local communities have helped shape the plans for these routes, seeking to prosper from newfound connectivity, even as they face threats of displacement (Chen 2015; Harvey and Knox 2015). The Three Gorges Dam in South China, whose builder is involved in South American projects, set the record for numbers of people displaced (over 1.2 million), and cities (13) and towns (140) flooded. Its problems with corruption, cost overruns, resettlement, environmental destruction, and labor rights violations reflect enduring challenges in large infrastructure planning and development around the world (International Rivers 2015).

Even as transportation and energy infrastructure garner renewed interest from planners, governments, and corporations, the infrastructure of information technology and digital communication have emerged as fundamental to metropolitan economies and urban life. Global cities owe their position as command and control centers of the world economy partly to the cables and servers that give them superior bandwidth to support faster and larger flows of data and thus greater concentrations of capital (Castells 2000; Sassen 2002). Planners today are seeking to shape "smart cities," with "big data" informing infrastructure systems' management, and smartphone applications remaking how residents navigate the metropolis (Townsend 2013).

The greatest impetus for planners' embrace of infrastructure in the 21st century, however, comes from global environmental crises of climate change and resource depletion. Rising sea levels and extreme weather events like droughts and floods have turned planners' attention to the resilience of big systems, including the ability of transit, electrical, and food-supply networks to absorb shocks and recover their capacity to sustain urban life (Pearson et al. 2014). Once considered a thing of the past, protective city walls have reentered planners' visions of urban futures, to keep out water rather than invading armies. Planners from London to New Orleans and New York have sought to import Dutch systems of water management as they recover from storms and contemplate futures of increased unpredictability and risk. At a smaller scale, environmental planners have promoted "green infrastructure" of open spaces and vegetated roofs to manage stormwater; such systems limit threats to the built environment and public health. Concerns about peak oil and global warming have also revived planners' interest in renewable energy, from large-scale solar and wind farms to dispersed solar panels, wind turbines, and geothermal wells for individual households. Infrastructure planning today thus addresses what are arguably the greatest challenges to the survival of cities and humanity.

Conclusion: Infrastructure and the Writing of Planning History

Planning historians have likewise expressed a strong interest in infrastructure in recent years, producing a robust literature on different modes of transportation, water and waste, and energy, though less on communication systems. This interest is not entirely new, however. Transportation in particular has long dominated historians' accounts of planning before the rise of the profession (Mumford 1961; Reps 1992). For scholars of the New Urban History in the 1960s and 70s, which helped give rise to planning history, transportation modes offered what Sam Bass Warner called "a scaffolding" to conceptualize change across different eras, from "the walking city" to railroad, streetcar, and automobile suburbs (Warner 1962 and 1968). While historians prior to the 1980s often built their explanations of infrastructure's history on technology (Mumford 1961; Warner 1968), more recent literature has focused on institutions, growth machines, conflict, culture, and environment (Hughes 1983; Bocquet 2006; R. Lewis 2008; Avila 2014; Ammon 2016).

Examining infrastructure focuses historians on important questions about planning. As suggested above, infrastructure is an especially valuable window into the evolution of planning functions

and powers; the place of technology in planning, politics and contests over development; and the ways planning has shaped the broad course of urbanization. Infrastructure planning is a rich area in which to explore the interplay of public and private interests, including the question of what aspects of cities should be run by government or privatized. Studying infrastructure illuminates planners' relationships with other shapers of urban development, including financiers, engineers, economists, public authorities, private corporations, and various publics. The history of infrastructure planning also reveals how local, regional, national, and international interests intersect, inspiring competition and collaboration among networks of people, institutions, and systems themselves.

The history of infrastructure illuminates major continuities, changes, and core issues in planning history. The literature on infrastructure planning helps recapture things that planners in many settings lost in the late 20th century and are regaining in the 21st, especially their links to engineering and interest in technology. The destructive legacy of many infrastructure projects offers occasions for further reflection on planners' roles and relationships with communities and ecosystems; yet the history of infrastructure also presents important opportunities for historians, planners, and other urbanists to understand some of the great successes of planning, from sanitary reform's impacts on public health to transit and economic development achievements around the world.

Still, it is important to recognize that infrastructure presents a limited view of planning history, one fraught with interpretive pitfalls. As an area dominated by white men, often engineers, and by large-scale projects that disproportionately displaced minority and indigenous populations, it is highly gendered and raced territory. The large scale, huge costs, and fixed geography of most urban infrastructure tempt many students of history to presume path dependency, that is, to argue that these systems determined the location of particular land uses and social classes, and veer toward technological determinism. Certainly, hard infrastructure systems represent one of the clearest areas of path dependency in planning history: once established—after critical junctures in which planners and others decide upon routes, technologies, and financing—big and costly systems often appear irreversible. Yet this ignores the significant influence of those systems' users and managers, who shape infrastructure in ways often unintended by its planners (Rose 1995; Harvey and Knox 2015). Institutions established to develop and manage infrastructure have also sometimes evolved dramatically; for example, railroad companies turned into real estate holding companies in the mid- and late 20th century. Moreover, planning historians have stressed that the forms and routes of highways, water and sewer systems, and power and telecommunication lines have conformed to land-use patterns (actual and planned) at least as much as defining them (Peterson 1979; Wells 2012).

Ultimately, though, infrastructure shapes cities and regions in big ways, and it matters fundamentally for the future of cities and the world. The history of infrastructure planning and development is a story of power, regional and national development, empire, and industrial capitalism. It is also a story owned and influenced by the people who have used roads, canals, railroads, subways, parkways, highways, airports, gas and electric lighting, running water, sewers, telecommunications, and other urban infrastructure for the mobility, visibility, livelihoods, and health and comfort they provide. These systems are indeed the lifelines of cities and urban life, and of nations and the global economy.

Related Topics

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26

PORTS AND URBAN WATERFRONTS

Dirk Schubert

All seaport cities have structural similarities and peculiarities. At the interface between sea and land, they are constantly adapting to the challenges of international and ultimately global traffic. Topographic preconditions, technical capabilities, network links with the hinterland, particular actors and stakeholders, and regulatory regimes all shape port city expansion, restructuring, and redevelopment. The interface between the requirements of sea transport and land transport, the docks, and the port, had to be planned and organized in a way that enabled adaptation to the ever-changing transportation. Port and city were a functional and spatial unit until the beginning of the 19th century; later, in several phases, they spatially separated and assumed different institutional responsibilities, mirrored by disciplinary distinctions between planners and engineers. In the 1960s, deindustrialization and containerization drove ports away from cities, leaving areas along the old waterfront as a challenge to planners.

Seaports and Port–City Relationships

There is no general theory for explaining the port–city relationship and the transforming waterfronts. Hoyle’s well-known model (1988) was based predominantly on British dock ports. It followed five historical cycles ending with the 1980s. At that time it could not have included or foreseen the speed of change, new large-scale restructuring, and redevelopments like those in Asia (Graf and Huat, eds. 2009). Accordingly, updating Hoyle, we can see that urban land-uses and port functions are connected across a contact zone in which the port–city system is subject to the influence and control of primary factors like technological changes, economics, legislation, politics, and governance. On the updated Hoyle’s concept we can superimpose the Kondratieff theory of “long waves,” which forms the context of justification between economic development and its spatial consequences. Kondratieff identified super cycles, or long waves, based on changing technologies, innovations, and power sources like coal, steam, oil, etc. (Kondratieff 1926). These long waves are useful for economic history’s explanations of Hoyle’s model of the changing port–city relations (Schubert 2008: 28). Both approaches can be linked with the path dependency concept, which aims to explain long-term developments in terms of existing local actors, development, and decision-making trends; it argues that decisions to move in a specific direction rest on earlier decisions to go in the same direction (Mahoney 2000: 508). These paths follow an immanent, reproductive logic (“lock in”): paths that have been chosen tend to persist and changes in direction are difficult and costly (Page 2006: 90). Emphasizing important stakeholders and movers in this field, these attempts can be complemented by the Actor–Network–Theory (ANT).

The core thought of this perspective is that networks of human and nonhuman actors can be integrated into a changing framework with many dimensions, also reflecting future uncertainties (Latour 2007). This method also explains characteristics, distributions, circulations, and transformations of port-city relations. These theoretical approaches combined are helpful to explain gradual changes as well as continuities in city and port interdependencies, and disruptions of the urban waterfront.

The “Primitive Harbor”

Since the fifth millennium BC, waterborne traffic has carried cargo that needed to be loaded and unloaded in ports. Although the sea was generally considered dangerous and remained unexplored, moving cargo across it was often quicker and more reliable than using unsafe and inadequate roads. City and port formed a unit providing flexible but simple practicability. Protection of this unit, and the ships and goods they housed, became increasingly important to back up a continuous supply of food and water, so their residents surrounded them with walls. In Athens, for example, a 5-kilometer wall was built by the aristocracy in about 460 BC to secure the connection of the city with the port of Piraeus, to guarantee safe access to the port, and to ensure that food imports would reach the urban population.

Later, in the 15th and 16th centuries, Europe’s maritime horizons were widened. With extensions of trade and new discoveries, the Mediterranean experience of port construction was selectively transferred to Europe and later to other continents. A close spatial interdependency of the city, handling of goods, storage, trade, and port-related services prevailed from around



Figure 26.1 Map of Hamburg, 1790s.

Source: mapped 1789–1796 under Gustav Adolf von Varendorf.

AD 1000, when the magnetic needle and then the compass made longer sea journeys possible, into the 19th century (Miller 2012). During this period, more seas were mapped, ships got larger, and imperial and colonial networks sent more and more trade and people (including enslaved people) across the ocean. For sea-borne empires, including colonial ones, the large seaports became staple markets and trading centers for international high-grade goods (Hein 2016b). Broeze (1989) called them “brides of the sea.” Lighthouses, breakwaters, and a market at the waterfront surrounded by fortifications were integral parts of the ideal port city; sometimes the cities built out onto reclaimed land. Buildings housing citizens, companies, offices, and goods proliferated; in the 18th century, special warehouses protected perishable food. These buildings were sited at the water’s edge to facilitate direct unloading of goods from ships, and some barges sailed directly from ships into warehouses (Konvitz 1978: 32). Sometimes cities and emperors engaged in formal planning, often for military reasons such as shipbuilding or construction of arsenals, but usually merchants independently established their warehouses and quays (Figure 26.1).

These ports were busy public places, but also were what Hoyle called “primitive ports” (1989). The city and port remained a combined entity. Numerous paintings, town plans, literature, and other narratives confirm that moorings, harbors, and warehouses were an integral part of the city. It was a confusing urban landscape, with a mix of people including foreigners and locals, different races, and wealthy and poor people (Heimerdinger 2005; Hugill 1967).

Industrialization, Steam, and the Growth of Trade

With the onset of industrialization and expansion of world trade in the 19th century, disruptions, separations, and specializations and a change in scale transformed port–city relations. The steam engine, the railway, and steam ships revolutionized the transport and handling of goods. With the expansion of steam shipping, the timing of departures and arrivals could be calculated. Industrialization provided new connections between production, transportation, and distribution. By the turn of the 19th century, sailing ships had mostly disappeared from the ports, replaced by iron ships. The sizes of ships increased by several orders of magnitude. To cope with these structural changes, new and larger docks had to be planned and built by municipalities or private companies, modern technology had to be installed to transfer goods from ship to land (*transshipment*), and the shipping lanes had to be deepened. The handling of goods was mechanized with cranes.

Two different types of ports were developed in the 19th century: the dock port and open tidal seaport. Open tidal seaports, where unloading occurred with changing (low) tides (Helsinki 0.30 meter) seemed more effective in North America, the Mediterranean area, and in Asia. Dock ports, where docks kept the water levels at a stable height, were mostly used in ports with high tides (London 4.50–7.00 meter) and were often constructed by private companies; they were built for example in London, Liverpool, Antwerp, Mumbai, and Buenos Aires. Each port thus adapted to local geographic needs and fit into the urban structure.

The construction of new docks triggered the expansion and reorganization of urban areas; in particular, preindustrial port facilities no longer met the requirements of modern transshipment. The close connection of port, work, and everyday life gradually dissolved with industrialization, varying from countries and seaports. Creative milieus of merchants, entrepreneurs, shipowners, and financing and insurance institutions had driven exchange and relations internationally and globally (Osterhammel and Petersson 2003: 14). Maritime networks had been local and also operated internationally. Now the economic activities of the port changed and implied further adjustments of the allocation of land–uses by private and/or public actors, transforming the previous waterfront.

Technical innovations improved transportation over short and long distances. Private and (semi-) public institutions tried to optimize local infrastructure by constructing new, longer quays and

mechanizing cargo handling. In many seaport cities, local publications proudly described the size and growth of “their” port in popular scientific terms (Bell 1934; Bird 1957).

Against the backdrop of industrialization and the rapid increase and internationalization of trade, stakeholders had to make far-reaching decisions under considerable time pressure. Using the terminology of path dependency, these diverse decision-making processes and development paths taken in seaport cities at the beginning of the 19th century—choices about how to organize harbor operations, what type of harbor development to pursue, how to redevelop port areas, and what kind of housing to build near the docks—had a great impact (“lock in”), and later were often found to be irreversible. Many are still effective today in city and port development.

Unplanned areas arising next to the port constituted internationally oriented conglomerates with a multitude of functions and services (Rudolph 1979: 31): shops for clothing, beverages, tobacco, and souvenirs; sailors’ churches and lodgings; pubs; tattoo studios; dance halls; and brothels (Miller 1969: 308). One literary genre pleasurably narrated the moral history of the harbor (Fischer 1927: 13) from the bourgeois voyeur’s perspective. Others in the city considered these harbor districts dangerous, exotic, and amoral (Phillips and Whiteside 1985: 235). At the same time, these communities were the first steppingstone for newcomers, places which opened informal opportunities and ethnic economies for incomings (Amenda 2006). These quarters, often red-light districts in many seaport cities (Christiansen 2003), later became popular with tourists. Correspondingly, in the 19th century a dockworkers’ (sub)culture spontaneously emerged, remnants of which have continued into the present. In this context, harbor areas can be understood as diasporic sites (Kokot 2008: 15) in which catch-up modernization processes meet (ethnic) minorities in “backward” milieus.

In the interwar period, new specialized, monostructural seaport spaces such as rubber factories and refineries mirrored Fordist industrial production and its key themes of precision, efficiency, economy, reliability, and speed. The rhythm of work and life in ports dramatically accelerated (Osterhammel 2009: 408). The growth of the economy and trade went hand in hand with plans for new planned port extensions and industrial development. The enhancement of crane

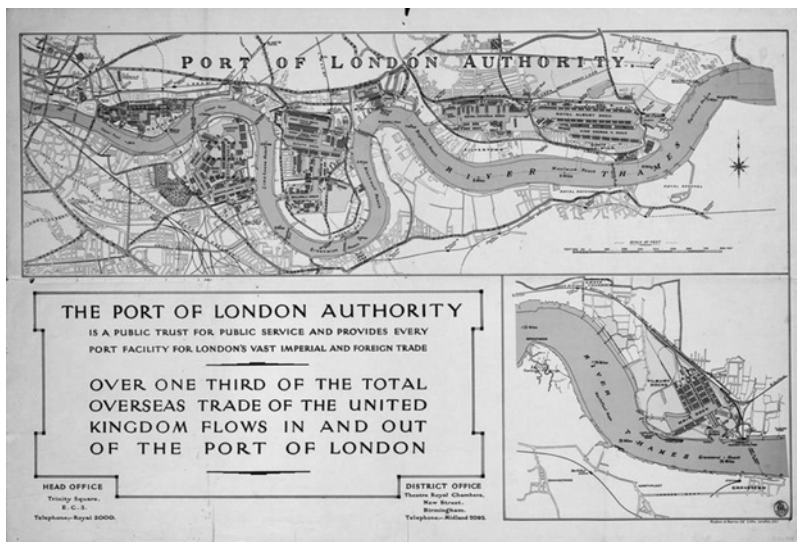


Figure 26.2 Port of London, 1950.

Source: Royal Museum Greenwich.

technology, from steam crane to electric full gantry crane, made possible the mechanization of increasingly large sectors of transshipment. Shipbuilding changed from rivet-method construction to welding technology, which sped up work considerably. Seaport industries such as metalworks, oil mills, and shipyards were established alongside existing commercial activities, transforming the harbor landscape with silos, cold storage houses, and tank farms. Emerging conflicting claims between extension of the port and claims of the city for housing and other uses had to be solved by negotiations and planning, which became more important (Figure 26.2).

In this interwar period, port authorities were established, often as public bodies, to manage the growing demand for space in ports, as well as their construction, infrastructure, organization, and customs. In some ports, the land was owned by the municipality, in others by the state or by private owners. When port and city spatially and functionally separated after World War II, and with the beginning of de-industrialization, local political bodies developed new specialized disciplines to address urban growth and port planning. Civil engineers were responsible for water engineering, and urban (extension) planning was a domain of the emerging discipline of urban planning (in the beginning a subdiscipline of architecture). But the port's planning history became a subfield of civil engineering while urban planning history was often integrated in urban history. Each discipline had its distinct territories, journals, networks, and international connections.

Globalization and Containerization

The trend for ever larger vessels after World War II necessitated further dredging of shipping lanes and construction of special cargo handling facilities ("ships design the port"). Mass motorization and the switch from coal to oil increased oil consumption, which triggered more shipping of oil, which in turn required additional land for refineries and transshipment facilities. The dependency of many Western countries on imports of raw materials and fuels from overseas led to a jump in the amount of bulk transport by sea. Seaport regions thus became privileged locations for industrialization. Behind this dynamic, port authorities pushed municipalities to exploit this development by planning and constructing outer ports, including Maasvlakte II for Rotterdam, Bremerhaven for Bremen, Le Havre for Rouen, and Warnemünde for Rostock, to accommodate bigger vessels.

At the same time, the traditional harbor areas near the city center emptied. The decline in importance of many old ports was concurrent with the de-industrialization of areas around the harbor (Davis 2003). Many ports lost their significance not only as places of transshipment and trade but also as locations for seaport industries. Along with the building of new ports, the economy of shipbuilding changed: companies relocated the work to Southeast Asia, simultaneously increasing international competition and decreasing shipbuilding in Europe. Massive unemployment and the dereliction of shipyards in Europe and North America ensued. In the 1970s, the oil crisis led to a decline in oil-tanker building and an increase in the use of nuclear power, both of which led to structural changes in the economies of seaport cities. The trend of extensive energy-consuming industries towards the coast had only won a short-term advantage in attracting industry, but soon enough primary industries like refineries and aluminum huts started to relocate instead to countries rich in raw materials, such as Brazil, Morocco, and Saudi Arabia, and a new round of separation from port and city began.

Since the 1970s, seaport cities have been chiefly characterized by changes in transport technologies (Witthöft 2000). The invention of the container by Malcolm McLean heralded a new era of maritime traffic and for its ports (Levinson 2006). Containerization revolutionized dock labor and brought on the need for new transshipment sites and port facilities. The rationalization of dock labor became possible with homogenized and standardized loading units; the container turned into a symbol of global trade. Initially dismissed by some actors as "containeritis" and rated as a fad,

it ended up fundamentally transforming seaport cities. The period of time a ship is berthed is no longer measured in days or weeks but in hours. Entire occupational fields are no longer needed in ports, including stevedores, porters, packers, and tallymen (Karstedt and Worm 1999: 61). The container revolution increased productivity manifold and brought with it dramatic job losses in the core operative sector of the port economy, and also a challenge or an opportunity to reuse and transform the industrial waterfront.

Since the 1980s, port areas have been characterized by the spatiotemporal concurrence of highly modern terminals away from the city, and derelict and/or sub-optimally used inner city harbors and waterfront sites. The post-Fordist city disintegrated into a polycentric fragmented structure with aggravated social conflicts between older residential areas of dockers and newer desires for modern expensive waterfront condominiums. Cities often further degraded the waterfronts with highways. The cranes of the shipbuilders' yards, once a characteristic feature of the city silhouette and a symbol of dynamic port economies, have been dismantled, the land left derelict and contaminated. The formerly close functional and spatial relationship of port and city was distant from the end of the 1960s onwards.

From the 1960s on, seaport cities saw the increase of differentiation. Large container ships only call at a few main ports, while smaller harbors are supplied by feeder services. Hinterland, location advantage, sufficient depths for seafaring ships, and accelerated transshipment ("only a sailing vessel makes money") have gained even greater importance than location factors.

Seen in this context, the areas where port and city meet have undergone severe changes in land-use, economic activity, and the built environment. The port infrastructure—with its narrow finger-piers, multi-purpose terminals, and quayside warehouses, often based on decisions and development paths from the 19th century—could not work with the new technologies. Quayside storage and warehouses, and sheds used for temporary storage and protection from the weather, were no longer necessary. With the departure of shipping, they did offer options for innovative plans and new uses.

The transshipment of containers to other means of transportation requires very large areas of land, and the rapid delivery to overland transport required good railway and road connections with motorway junctions (Hershman 1988). Older port areas next to the city center could provide none of this. The water side of container transshipment requires fewer quays because of reduced berthing periods (Jacobs, Ducruet, and de Langen 2009: 1), but they have to be always available and of sufficient depth for seafaring ships.

Globalization entered a more intensive phase in the last decade of the 20th century and dominated the world economy at the beginning of the 21st century. "Through the radical decrease of distance, globalization produces . . . inconcurrence within a small area" (Schlögel 2003: 77). The seas no longer separate but connect countries and continents. Shipping still provides the fastest, simplest, and often most ecological means of transport. Just-in-time production, vertical disintegration, and slim-line organizations are characteristics of flexible but optimized manufacturing corresponding to global structural changes. These new forms of post-Fordist spatialization often make obsolete the traditional understanding of the term *city*. Once seaports often served as command centers from which exchange and interdependency were advanced internationally and globally by creative milieus of traders, business people, finance, and international companies. But these functions and spaces of port and city are being transformed and planned by fragmented stakeholders and imply increasingly diverse temporalities.

The local economy in seaport cities is no longer just focused on transshipment, but has now diversified, and has a much broader base. Nonetheless, port functions resulted in a path dependency on routes and special development options compared to other (river)port cities, which persist today. It is always in a local context that globalization processes take effect (Short, Kim, Kuus, and



Figure 26.3 Baltimore's Inner Harbor, 2012.

Source: Dirk Schubert.

Wells 1996: 698), and are adopted, mixed, and refracted—call it “glocalization” to describe the combined process of globalization and local-territorial reconfiguration (Brenner 1997: 12). Seaports are paradigms of globalization: their economic fate is intimately tied to global trade, their elites are key players of globalization, and their workers and citizens register changes in ways of life and commerce early on (Figure 26.3).

Planning History Related to Ports and Waterfronts

Waterfronts—a newly popular term in the 1970s (Porfyriou and Sepe 2017)—became an attractive proving ground for ideas of architects and planners. Generally, redevelopment began in the oldest parts of the port and the city, slowly moving to more peripheral areas. Often planners proceeded in a step-by-step approach, beginning with the most attractive sites without integrating these projects into a sustainable urban or regional development strategy. With increasing competition between seaports and with the challenges of globalization, waterfront (re)developments are now being integrated into city-wide and regional perspective. Municipalities, architects, and planners (Landry 2008) emphasized the transformation of the central waterfront, while port authorities, logistic companies, and engineers focused on the container port at the periphery.

Planners, engineers, architects, land owners, and developers searching for suitable and sustainable strategies to deal with the potential of former port areas have fallen into controversial debates over both practical planning and theoretical issues of aims and priorities. Generalizations are difficult to make and easy recipes do not exist. Planners must take differences in causes, procedures, results, and planning traditions into account. Redevelopment is not just a matter of architectural design but of a complex set of institutional, political, client-related, economic, ecological, legal, and financial questions (Breen and Rigby 1966; Bruttomesso 1983) that planners must consider.

The disuse of port areas and waterfronts, often dramatized in Europe, can be considered a normal process that will, at best, lead to rapid reutilization. Delays between dilapidation, renewal,

and revitalization were common (Meyer 1999) as many actors were involved. In Asia, the continuous and rapid rebuilding of the waterfront seems to be the norm, often linked to land reclamation (Schubert 2009).

The reasons for and problems of revitalizing land formerly occupied by port and port-related industries are similar in many seaports, but goals, planning cultures, financing, and scale differ among them. The projects are also influenced by differences in national planning cultures, which mirror different national legal systems, political and cultural contexts, and traditions, and vary a great deal throughout the world. Planning history is an important key for a differentiated understanding of urban redevelopment projects on the waterfront, which are overlaid by a diffusion of planning ideas (Ward 2000: 44).

Internally, seaports also have different zones for specialized uses. Ferry ports, fishery, shipbuilding, ship repairs, transshipment of goods, seaport industries, the army and navy—all have specific infrastructure requirements and different relations to the urban context (Figure 26.4).

The history of waterfront planning and projects after World War II can be described as a sequence of deindustrialization and the global containerization of goods handling, starting in North America and then moving on to western Europe and eventually Japan and Asia. The shift of major shipbuilding centers from Europe and North America to Asia resulted in wastelands close to city centers. Cargo containerization and the introduction of ever-larger ships required ever-greater water depths to allow these ships to navigate. On land, larger areas were needed to store the containers than were available in the older port areas. This created areas for new uses as well as previously unfamiliar planning tasks in the port districts close to city centers that entailed conversion and transformation of these areas by means of reintegration into the (inner) city structure.

Initial redevelopment projects were largely unplanned and based on private investment decisions, but starting in the 1960s in North America and the 1970s in northern Europe, new uses for the waterside land became subject to planning (Ward, no date). Accounts of this work in architectural magazines tended to present individual projects, often with “before-and-after” comparisons, and



Figure 26.4 Downtown waterfront, Boston, 2014.

Source: Dirk Schubert.

regularly included plans that were never realized. They often cited London, one of the biggest ports of the world until the 1960s, as a key example (Foster 1999); here, over two decades, a dramatic transformation took place, in which the working port was relocated, and offices and apartments soon dominated the area now branded as the London Docklands (Brownill 1990).

Hence, waterfront projects, which had by then acquired a high level of importance, now faced a research desideratum. Special authorities, including development agencies (quasi-non-governmental organizations, or *quangos*), became concerned with redevelopments, often having the ownership of land transferred to them and holding extraordinary powers (Brownill and O'Hara 2015: 540). Later, architects became involved, looking for new jobs and publicizing their projects in the former ports. The focus was on isolated districts within the port areas, which could be transformed by new uses that replaced the working port. Often waterfront revitalization served as a catalyst for downtown reevaluation. Not just individual projects but larger areas were drawn into redevelopment, with city-wide and regional contexts, urban hinterland relationships, and coastal management incorporated in the analyses (Gordon 1997; Hein 2011; Brown 2009; Desfor, Laidley, Stevens, and Schubert 2011).

Although the numerous sponsors of development produced many colorful advertising brochures for potential investors, the issue did not become a scientific subject until geographers in the late 1980s turned their attention to it (Hoyle, Pinder, and Husain 1988). Since the end of the 1990s, the waterfront issue has been a standard topic at scientific conferences (IPHS, SACRPH, AAG), new institutions have been created specifically to address the subject (Waterfront Center, RETE, AIVP), and we now have dedicated publications and journals specializing in it (Hein 2016a: 315) (Figure 26.5). As the projects leapt in scale (London: Docklands, Tokyo: Odaiba, Yokohama Minato Mirai, Shanghai: Pundong), the scientific literature grew exponentially (Marshall 2001). Questions of governance, sustainability, resilience, and future viability have been included and researched by authors with transdisciplinary and often comparative perspectives.



Figure 26.5 Port Veil and the World Trade Center, Barcelona.

Source: Dirk Schubert.

Although port-themed events (harbor anniversaries, cruise and sailing ship festivals) have become a mainstay in the branding of many port cities (festivalization), often cities have overlooked the important role of culture (artwork and media, paintings, movies, literature, narratives, music, and advertisement) in port city revitalization (Mah 2014). The working port is currently fading in the perception of contemporary urban dwellers, due to its declining importance as employer and its relocation away from the city. Local governments have reclaimed former port areas for various urban functions—offices, housing, leisure—while integrating tangible (cranes, warehouses) and intangible (narratives) memories of the sea, migrants, voyages, and dockworkers (RETE 2011). As a consequence, the meaning attached to this kind of heritage (“heritagefication”) changes and potentially often shrinks to mere decoration.

Conclusion

Redundant and derelict port areas and waterfronts are one of the greatest challenges for town planners, and offer great opportunities on a medium- to long-term scale for new uses such as tourism, housing, and offices, and for the reintegration of these areas into the urban fabric. Seaports were, and still are, a fascinating culmination point of the economy, society, and culture, even though the port economy is diversifying and their significance tends to be decreasing. This has been reflected in the significant change in public attitude towards waterfront zones since the 1960s (AIVP 2015).

In the past, differences between port cities across civilization boundaries were often fewer than the similarities. Today, cities are growing more alike while ports and shipping have become more specialized (van Hooydonk 2007). Seaport cities and local port authorities will be less and less able to determine the course of “their” ports as internationally operating logistics firms—with no formal local power—set the agenda. More (and more specialized) actors, stakeholders, and disciplines are involved in both port and city, each with independent plans: real estate developers specializing in urban waterfronts, logistics experts managing transport chains of containers, marketing professionals promoting the waterfront, specialists in urban and regional economics, and experts on environmentally sustainable redevelopment.

Meanwhile, the frequently criticized boom in cruise shipping (Hein and Hillmann 2013) has bolstered the tourist economy on the old waterfront. While at the beginning of the 20th century, oceangoing vessels were synonymous with modernity and celebrated as the fastest means of transport, they are now synonymous with leisure and superfluity, transport for old-age pensioners who are not pressed for time (Borscheid 2004: 353). Modern megaships are presented in front of old port buildings, and also vice versa—old ships are used to enhance modern buildings.

Even though people in seaports are proud of their maritime heritage, management of the historic port environment is challenged by the requirements of profitable redevelopment. In theory, and sometimes in practice, the interests of developers and others in the real estate business coincide with the preservation (even the fostering) of citizens’ place identity and authentic culture. This overlap can generate the best examples of waterfront transformation. But often, instead, developers capitalize on nostalgic images and fake versions of the past, theme parks of history, even Disneyfication.

While the local economy in port cities becomes more diversified (“demaritimization”), the maritime character and culture becomes emphasized for “placemaking,” image formation, and marketing (“remaritimization”). Historiography and planning history can help us learn from the past to analyze new issues of urban development, including resilience, climate change, and smart cities, and also help us apply new methods and approaches such as the Actor-Network Theory and path dependency, developing a comparative and transdisciplinary perspective for analyzing the incessantly changing port-city relationship and urban waterfronts.

Related Topics

Sorensen: Planning History and Theory

Hu: Planning for Economic Development

Vitiello: Planning for Infrastructure

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URBAN SEGMENTS AND EVENT SPACES

World's Fairs and Olympic Sites

John R. Gold and Margaret M. Gold

The World's Fairs and the Olympic Games occupy a significant place in historical scholarship. The fairs, extending from London's 1851 Great Exhibition to Expo Milano 2015, have drawn a rich literature that covers their origins, staging, contents, spectacle, symbolism, and urban impact (Greenhalgh 1988, 2011; Rydell et al. 2000; Della Coletta 2006; Findling and Pelle 2008; Jackson 2008; Monclús 2009; Geppert 2010; Caramellino et al. 2011; Harvey 2014; Hollengreen et al. 2014). They have been viewed as showcases for art, architecture, and design—as exemplified by Paris's 1889 Exposition Universelle (Egyptian Revival), Chicago's 1893 World's Columbian Exposition (City Beautiful



Figure 27.1 The continuing tradition. Part of the Expo Milano 2015 showground, viewed from the central axis, September, 2015.

Source: John R. Gold and Margaret M. Gold.

movement), and Paris's 1925 Exposition Internationale des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels Modernes (Art Deco)—and as media for urban regeneration, as illustrated by New York's 1939–1940 World's Fair and Shanghai's Expo 2010 (Smith 2012; Winter 2013) (Figure 27.1).

The Olympics have also attracted considerable interest (MacAloon 1981; Findling and Pelle 1996; Müller 2000; Roche 2002; Waite 2003; Gold and Gold 2007, 2012, 2015; Horne and Whannel 2012; Lenskyj and Wagg 2012; Veal 2012; Hanstad et al. 2013; Library IOC 2013; Boykoff 2014), a corpus of research considerably enhanced by recent multidisciplinary initiatives linked to the staging of the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games (Tomlinson 2014: 152). The literature addresses the nature and meaning of, among other things, the Olympics' classical antecedents, the emergence of the modern Games (founded in 1896), and their contents, spectacle, and lasting consequences for the host city. These consequences, of course, can be negative as well as positive, a darker side often concealed by the rhetoric of bidding procedures and place promotion (Smith 2012: 33; see also Olds 1988; Raco 2012a, 2012b; Nichols and Ralston 2015).

World's Fairs and the Olympics share the underlying principle of being ambulant events, awarded to host cities by international bodies—the International Olympic Committee (IOC) for the Olympics and, since 1928, the Bureau of International Expositions (BIE) for the World's Fairs (Quanz 1993; Linden and Creighton 2014). Initially, European and North American cities dominated such events, but city authorities elsewhere soon started to compete to stage them. Several colonial metropolises hosted World's Fairs in the late 19th century (for example, Calcutta, India, in 1883–1884 and Kingston, Jamaica, in 1891). For the Summer Olympics, comparable developments occurred after World War II, with Games held in Melbourne in 1956, Tokyo in 1964, and Mexico City in 1968.

More recently, both the IOC and BIE have added requirements for sustainability and legacy planning into their respective bid processes (Loscertales 2009; Gold and Gold 2013), with bidding cities now needing to formulate plans for post-event uses of spaces. Some cities retain Olympic parks or Exposition showgrounds in the hope of repeat business, but most comprise “temporary spatial hubs” (Roche 2002, 234) that subsequently require conversion for post-event use. Sometimes the task essentially means reverting to the status quo before the Games, particularly when parklands have been commandeered on condition of restoration to their former condition. More recently, however, city managers have increasingly seen post-event site conversion as a historic opportunity to redevelop the event spaces and leverage further funding to benefit the immediate neighborhood and the city beyond.

When considering the “urban impacts” of the Olympics historically, Chalkley and Essex (1999: 374) offered a four-phase classification: a steady evolution from minimal urban impact (1896–1904); development that primarily involved purpose-built sports facilities (1908–1932); a more focused and ambitious approach ushering in a period of symbolic flagship projects (1936–1956); and finally use of the Games to trigger urban development (1960 onwards). Since the Millennium, the infusion of notions of sustainable urban development and legacy into the process has effectively created a new and distinctive phase to add to the four earlier identified (Essex 2011). Other categorizations reveal similar phases in using World's Fairs as instruments for planning and executing major urban interventions (Mullin 1972: 2; Essex and Chalkley 2007). In terms of policy, both types are variously conceived as part of the entrepreneurial city agenda (Evans 2014), as catalysts for creating eventful cities (Richards and Palmer 2010), as vehicles for urban regeneration (Gold and Gold 2005; Essex and Chalkley 2007; Monclús 2009), and as means for leveraging resources to rebrand the city or reinforce its credentials as a center of creativity (Landry and Bianchini 1995; Neuts et al. 2014).

Legacy opportunities are not unique to the Summer Olympics and the World's Fairs, since elements of the same package of benefits are also offered by festivals such as the Commonwealth Games (founded as the British Empire Games in 1930), the Pan-American Games (1951–), and the European Capitals of Culture (or European Cities of Culture when first established in 1985).

Yet while recognizing similarities (Gold and Gold 2005; Smith and Fox 2007; Curi et al. 2011; Hanstad et al. 2013; Gray and Porter 2015), it is important not to shoehorn gatherings like these into a single undifferentiated category of “mega-events.” By any reckoning, the Summer Olympics and World’s Fairs are qualitatively different from smaller and often derivative rivals in terms of their cost, prestige, scope, and potential impact (Gold and Gold 2005, 4; Horne and Manzenreiter 2006; Theodoraki 2007; Muller 2015; Preuss 2015; Gruneau and Horne 2016).

There are also major differences in the stakeholders involved (Table 27.1). As top-down public works projects that require huge expenditure, the Olympics and the World’s Fairs necessarily entail the collaborative involvement of agencies at all levels (from central government and global sponsors down to city planners and local growth coalitions) when bidding for, designing, preparing, and staging the event, as well as in managing their legacy (French and Disher 1997; Andranovich et al. 2001; Kearins and Pavlovich 2002; Parent 2008; Grady et al. 2010). The levels of expenditure and the potential scale of disruption also mean that event organizers may well encounter significant resistance (Lenskyj and Wagg 2012; Pavoni 2015). For example, Denver was chosen to host the 1976 Winter Games, but a referendum of Denver’s residents rejected any use of federal and state funds to finance them, leading to their transfer to Innsbruck (Ritchie and Lyons 1987). Public skepticism over the perceived benefits can also mean that putative bids never crystallize. For example, the sustained “Bread not Circuses” campaign helped to torpedo Toronto’s bid for the 2008 Olympics (Graham 2016), and, likewise, referenda in 2014–2015 derailed potential bids for the 2022 Winter Games by several European cities (Beech 2015; Gold and Gold 2016: 2–4) (Table 27.1). Public support is now crucial at the bidding stage, and contestation is common (Lenskyj 2000, 2008).

Against that background, the first part of this chapter builds on the authors’ research on urban festivals (including Gold and Gold 2005, 2007, 2011c, 2017a) to offer a five-fold classification of event

Table 27.1 Stakeholders for Summer Olympics and World’s Fairs.

<i>Actor</i>	<i>Role</i>	<i>Examples</i>
International awarding bodies	Organize bidding, set agendas, set timescales, select host cities	International Olympic Committee (IOC); Bureau of International Expositions (BIE)
International sports agencies	Define standards for buildings and facilities	International Association of Athletics Federations; Union Cycliste Internationale
International press and broadcasting media	Media broadcasting rights to gain coverage; opportunity for advertising income; providing income for events	Discovery Communications television rights for Olympic Games 2018–2024 Europe; NBC television rights USA to 2032
International sponsors	Funding and promotion of large international events in exchange for PR, advertising, and use of the event brand	The Olympic (TOP) sponsorship deals, e.g., Coca Cola, Visa, McDonalds; Milan Expo 2015 included Samsung, Enel, Accenture, TIM
National bodies, non-governmental organizations	National Olympic Committees present bids to IOC and may initiate bidding; bodies influencing the nature of bids	British Olympic Committee (1908, 1948 and 2012); Bio-Regional, WWF (Sydney bid)
National government	Funding, underwriting, facilitating, initiating bidding, enabling legislation, presenting the bid for World Expos	China (Beijing 2008 and 2022), Turkey (Istanbul bids)

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Regional and provincial government	Funding, strategic planning (including transport), initiating bidding	Kansai region (Osaka Expo 1970)
Metropolitan and municipal government; mayors	Initiate bids, funding, strategic urban planning, legacy goals	Greater London Authority, Tokyo Metropolitan Government (Tokyo 2020), Montréal Mayor Drapeau (World's Fair and Olympics)
Public planning bodies; organizing committees	Masterplanning, clearing, and construction; event planning and delivery; legacy planning	Olympic Delivery Authority, London; Sydney Olympic Park Authority
Growth coalitions	Supporting bids and plans	Los Angeles 1984; Atlanta 1996
Landowners	Control of land, property market, sequestrations	e.g., 2,200 separate landowners for London 2012 Olympic Park
Local sponsors	Marketing opportunities of large events; funding; local corporate responsibility	Olympic domestic sponsorships, e.g., 2012 ArcelorMital, Cadbury, Thomas Cook
Public	Taxpayers, potential volunteers and visitors/spectators, public opinion, pro-and anti-event coalitions	Denver 1976; Toronto Anti-Olympic coalition: Bread not Circuses (against 2008 bid)

Source: John R. Gold and Margaret M. Gold.

spaces and their transformation into new urban sectors. The second part then considers the meaning of narratives that scholars and others employ to interpret the underlying process. In particular, after commenting on the tendency to associate social transformation with design transformation, it examines two discourses that are central to contemporary understanding of the creation and disposal of event spaces: the Barcelona model and the concept of legacy.

Event Spaces

The preferred solution to the problem of finding spaces for large-scale ambulant events has long been to select sites with sufficient land for the assembly of festival venues, but close enough to the heart of the city to fit into the mainstream of urban life. When demands for space were relatively small, central city locations were possible, although this was always easier for the Olympics, which could spread out over several interlinked sites, than for World's Fairs, which normally had a single showground.

Good connection to transport systems (actual or potential) was also paramount. Event organizers quickly recognized that the upgrades necessary for the temporary movement of large numbers of expected visitors would be easier to justify if integrated into the general development of transport systems. The 1900 Exposition Universelle, for example, is credited with accelerating the development of the Paris Metro (Mattie 1998: 103), and the Franco-British Exhibition and Olympic Games in 1908 is credited with encouraging the Central London Railway to build an extension to serve the White City stadium (Jenkins 2008).

Other factors that have come into play in site selection have included: the extent of sequestrations and compensations required at different locations (the costs of which invariably fall on the public purse); the social geography of the city (who gains and who loses from the investment of considerable resources); environmental damage; the tangible legacy (residential, commercial, tourist, recreational structures); and the idea that development might be fast-tracked by the deadlines inherent in a mega-event. In addition, the decision to seek to stage the Games is often pursued in order to convey a positive image of the city to the outside world, so a more challenging site that makes a statement about the host city, perhaps by showcasing

leading-edge construction techniques or affording striking landscaping and views, might well be chosen over more straightforward alternatives. That consideration, for example, helped to persuade the vigilantly booster regime of Mayor Jean Drapeau to reclaim islands in the St. Lawrence as the showground for Expo '67 over cheaper sites in and around Montreal (Gold and Gold 2005: 115–116).

Given the complexity of the factors that impinge on decision-making, it is not surprising that event organizers have responded to the problems of obtaining, developing, and converting event spaces in diverse and contrasting ways. Nevertheless, it is still possible to identify five broad categories of locations chosen for event spaces (Table 27.2). The first category, employing *temporary* sites, was pioneered by London's 1851 Great Exhibition. The organizers obtained permission to use a 26-acre plot of flat land in Hyde Park on condition that they remove the exhibition pavilion (later nicknamed the Crystal Palace) and carry out remedial landscaping once the event was over (Davis 1999: 73). Yet despite the restoration of the site afterwards, the event discernibly affected the city. Forming a private company, organizers took the movable pavilion to Sydenham in suburban south London, where it proved a popular visitor attraction until gutted by fire in November 1936 (Gurney 2001: 122). More significantly, the Commissioners for the Great Exhibition, acting as legacy trustees, decided to use the substantial residual funds from the event to buy an estate in South Kensington directly south of the exhibition site. This, in due course, became home to a cluster of internationally renowned cultural and educational institutions (Gold and Gold 2017b). In the modern era, the master plan for the 1996 Olympics by the Atlanta Committee for the Olympic Games used existing facilities such as the Georgia Dome, Omni Arena, and stadiums at local universities. The Olympic stadium was a temporary structure but part of a longer-term plan to develop baseball in the city: after the event, it was partly demolished and reconfigured as Turner Field baseball stadium. Only Centennial Park, built as an area where visitors and spectators could congregate during the Games, was left as a tangible reminder of the Games (French and Disher 1997; Andranovich et al. 2001) (Table 27.2).

Even in the 20th century, World's Fairs organizers could procure vacant land close to the *city center*, the second category of locations chosen for event spaces. Seattle's Century 21 Exposition (1962) was crammed into a 30-hectare site surrounding the Civic Auditorium rather than more spacious but distant options, with the structures mostly intended for permanent retention (Warren 2014: 474). More often, however, spaces were created through large-scale demolition of the existing urban fabric. The showground for the Exposition Universelle d'Anvers in Antwerp (1885), for example, was partly accommodated by removing the historic Sint Walburgsplein district. Ironically, another exposition on the same site in 1894 would fabricate "an ersatz Old Antwerp in wood and plaster" (Mattie 1998: 69; Van Oostveldt and Bussels 2012). The strategy of clearance perhaps reached its early apogee in the staging of Parisian Expositions Internationales, hosted in central sites on six occasions between 1867 and 1937 (Mattie 1998). Acting in the spirit of Baron Haussmann, festival organizers were quick to seek extra space for showgrounds beyond the original Champs de Mars, over the years adding sites in the Trocadéro, on the banks of the Seine, and on the Esplanade des Invalides (Gaillard 2003). They essentially made use of prominent locations to underline the significance of events seen as important national projects.

Clearance would remain a staple strategy for creating Olympic Parks until the last quarter of the 20th century. The majority of Summer Games from Rome 1960 to Atlanta 1996 saw exercises in urban development in which provision of event spaces took its place alongside infrastructure renewal, area regeneration, and city beautification. Latterly, however, only authoritarian states still resort to extensive clearance to provide the compact central city locations favored by the IOC. Although figures specifically for event spaces are difficult to unravel from more general clearance policies, the Geneva-based Center on Housing Rights and Evictions estimated that Seoul (South Korea) evicted 720,000 people for works connected with the 1988

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Table 27.2 Event space categories with representative examples.

<i>Event Space</i>	<i>City and Year</i>	<i>Event details</i>	<i>Post-event use</i>
Temporary	London 1851	Crystal Palace, Hyde Park	Returned to parkland, indirect developments at Sydenham and South Kensington
	Atlanta 1996	Olympic Stadium, temporary use of university facilities	Centennial Park, partial stadium demolition—creation of Turner Field
City center	Paris 1867 <i>et seq.</i>	Champs de Mars, later Trocadéro, banks of Seine, Esplanade des Invalides	Permanent use, major attractions, e.g. Eiffel Tower
	Antwerp 1885	Demolition of Sint Walburgsplein district	Redevelopment for further Exposition in 1894
	Seattle 1962	Small site surrounding Civic Auditorium	Buildings mostly permanent structures
	Seoul 1988	Seoul Sports complex and Olympic Park	Retention as sporting venues Sports, events, museums and cultural industries quarter
	Beijing 2008	Clearance to allow creation of Olympic Green, north of city center	Urban tourism center; leisure facilities Sports, events, leisure, tourism, cultural industries
Urban fringe	London 1908	White City stadium	Stadium in use until 1984
	Berlin 1936	Reichssportfeld, Maifeld	Sports complex
	Osaka 1970	Bamboo groves, rice paddies	National culture park
	Hannover 2000	Fairgrounds, formerly aircraft factory, hangers	Continuation as exhibition and congress site
Reclamations	Montreal 1967, 1976	Reclaimed islands from St. Lawrence	Reused for 1976 Olympics, parks, motor racing circuit
	Seville 1992	Reclaimed island	Science park, adventure theme park
Brownfield conversions	St. Louis 1904	Forest Park and flood plain	University campus
	New York 1939–40	Corona Dumps	Flushing Meadow, parkland, tennis, museums
	Lisbon 1998	Industrial zone along River Tagus	Housing, parklands, gardens, casino, marina
	Sydney 2000	Homebush Bay	Newington, new suburb
	London 2012	Lower Lee Valley	Create E20: sports facilities, housing, business, creative industries, cultural quarter

Source: John R. Gold and Margaret M. Gold.

Games, bringing mass destruction to the traditional high-density *hanoks* with their narrow streets and passageways (Kim and Choe 1997; Gold and Gold 2011a: 44). For Beijing 2008, estimates suggest that roughly 300,000 people were evicted by works related to the Olympics (Acharya 2005). Both cities have retained event spaces for sports and cultural purposes, within broader plans for remodeling the urban fabric.

The third category covers sites at the *urban fringe*. Here availability of sufficient parcels of land, ease of construction, and lack of restrictive ordinances make up for the distance from the urban core, with new transport links often the basis for subsequent suburban development. The Reichssportfeld sports complex (Figure 27.2), built for the 1936 Olympics, occupied forested land to the west of

the city that had good connections to Berlin's S-Bahn and U-Bahn rail networks. Originally owned by the military, by stages it was converted to sporting and leisure purposes, returned to military and National Socialist ceremonial purposes after the Games, sequestered by the Occupying Powers during the Cold War, and finally transferred to the civil administration in 1989 (Meyer 2011). Expo '70, the first South-East Asian Universal Exhibition, took place on an 865-acre (350-hectare) show-ground in former bamboo groves and rice paddies in the Senri Hills outside Osaka, Japan (Urushima 2007, 2011). The event space became a national culture park, but the legacy of Expo '70 was also felt in terms of infrastructural improvement, with eight billion dollars being invested in improving road and rail systems in the city itself (Mattie 1998: 237). Expo 2000, held at the Fairgrounds (a converted aircraft factory and hangers) south of Hanover, is associated with "an overall city regeneration plan [including] 2,000 housing units built to respond to environmental and social sustainability concerns" (Hein 2015: 887). The location of the urban fringe, of course, changes over time. Shepherd's Bush in West London, for instance, has long been engulfed by the spread of the conurbation, but at the time when the White City stadium was built for the 1908 Olympics the district principally comprised agricultural land and brickfields (Mangan 2008) (Figure 27.2).

The fourth category comprises *reclamations*, spaces produced by dredging and infill. When Montreal, as mentioned previously, created an exhibition space for Expo '67 in the St. Lawrence River, it was by adding reclaimed portions to each end of the existing Île Ste-Hélène and adding an artificial adjacent island, the Île Notre-Dame (the latter subsequently reconfigured into venues for rowing events at the 1976 Olympics). Around 60% of the necessary soil came from tunnel borings and other works associated with creating the extension to the city's Metro system (der Maur 1976; Gold and Gold 2005). Seville's Expo '92 enlarged La Cartuja, an island in the Guadalquivir River, through flood-defense-related reclamation, into a showground. Poor site planning and lack of connection with Seville left behind a ghost town of rotting pavilions with few visitors. More recently, the island has become home to a science park and a struggling adventure theme park (Monclús 2006: 232–234; see also Maddox 2004).

The final category, *brownfield conversions*, is where the sense of change is perhaps greatest. These were lands that were previously shunned due to the costs of rehabilitation, primarily because of heavy industrial pollution, but where the prospect of large-scale mega-event investment essentially changed



Figure 27.2 Aerial view of the Reichssportfeld, Berlin, 1936.

Source: postcard, personal archive, John and Margaret Gold.

cost considerations. The 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis, for instance, cleared the heavily wooded Forest Park, draining its wetlands, rechanneling and treating the sewage-laden and flood-prone Des Peres River, and investing in a new water supply system. The showground for New York's World's Fair (1939–1940) was originally the Corona Dumps, consisting of huge mounds of ash waste and pestilential pools of water that were famously described by F. Scott Fitzgerald in *The Great Gatsby* (1925: 16) as a “desolate area of land . . . a valley of ashes—a fantastic farm where ashes grow like wheat into ridges and hills and grotesque gardens.” Expo '98 in Lisbon used a linear strip of what had been degraded and polluted land along the River Tagus. Entirely owned by the state, it included a former gasworks, a refinery, a slaughterhouse, fuel storage tanks, storage containers from the Harbor of Lisbon, a military depot, and waste and sewage treatment facilities (Monclús 2006: 234; Aelbrecht 2014: 488–489). The 2000 Olympics saw the development of Homebush Bay on the Parramatta River, 14 kilometres west of central Sydney, as the site for the Olympic Park. Although some rehabilitation had already occurred (Cashman 2008: 28), much of the area was characterized as being “one of Australia's worst toxic waste dumps” (Beder 1993: 12), with contamination from abattoirs, brickworks, and the Navy's armaments depot, as well as noxious household and industrial waste. In a similar vein, the site of the main Olympic Park for London 2012 was the Lower Lea Valley, long a site of noxious industries and a dumping ground for toxic waste products (Figure 27.3).

In each instance, the resulting site clearance and conversion led or is leading to profound transformation. In brief outline, Forest Park became a public park, a major tourist, recreational, and educational center for St. Louis. The New York World's Fair site, used again for the 1964 World's Fair, became Flushing Meadows–Corona, a public park that partly realized Robert Moses's cherished vision of founding a rival in the Borough of Queens to Manhattan's Central Park (Sabat 2014). Lisbon's Expo '98 provided the basis for a mixed development of housing,



Figure 27.3 Part of the event space for London 2012. The view shows the overgrown watercourse of the Pudding Mill River, tributary of the River Lea, replete with dumps of waste tires, May 2007.

Source: John R. Gold and Margaret M. Gold.

offices, parklands, gardens (the Parque das Nações), a casino, and a marina, as well as justifying expansion of the international airport, extensive road building, and the construction of the Vasco da Gama bridge to link the center with the southern riverbank (Aelbrecht 2014). Australia's Homebush Bay has retained a cluster of venues from the 2000 Games (with varying commercial success), and is witnessing development of the new suburb of Newington, an emerging economy based on sports, the staging of major cultural and business events, and a nascent creative industries hub. In the case of London 2012, legacy proposals were embedded into the bid, with a development corporation (the London Legacy Development Corporation) subsequently established to oversee the post-Games transformation. To date, the LLDC has overseen the removal of the temporary venues, the reopening of the permanent sports venues, and the first steps towards the creation of the new London district of E20 with five residential neighborhoods, business areas, and an educational and cultural quarter dubbed *Olympicopolis*.

Narratives

This categorization of event spaces goes some way towards identifying trends that transcend the idiosyncrasies of local experience, and also hints at broader narratives. In particular, attention to historiography—the study of the way that “history has been and is written” (Furay and Salevouris 2010: 223)—raises questions about the plurality of histories constructed around the development and final disposition of event spaces and about the interests embodied in those histories (Burrow 2009: xvi). Returning to the example of London 2012, the official literature from the outset was replete with instant historicizing that stressed the reclamation of past “badlands” and the subsequent creation of a future vibrant new urban district that would become “a living breathing part of the city” (Evans 2011). As almost an afterthought it noted that: “The catalyst for this transformation is the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games” (OPLC 2012: 3).

Although written during the course of the historic transformation being described, this style of theorizing has two wider resonances. First, the underlying ideas are a product of their time, especially the emergence of what is described below as the legacy discourse, whereby the staging of the Games could be presented as being of coequal importance with the future of its event space. Secondly, it also owes a debt to the Whig interpretation of history (Butterfield 1931) that has long dominated writings about both the Olympics and World's Fairs: an interpretative approach that selectively views the past as a march towards ever greater achievement and enlightenment (Gold and Gold 2011c: 123). The Lower Lea Valley is here rendered as “a polluted industrial site and a barrier to urban renewal” (OPLC 2012: 3), a *tabula rasa* on which progress will be etched. Any traces of the complex preexisting economic structure of the area, its established recreational use, or its sizeable preexisting population (Powell and Marrero-Guillamon 2012; Cohen 2013)—elements that interfered with the progressive trajectory of the narrative—were omitted from the analysis. Physical transformation would also be matched by an implicit social transformation. Development would create “places to live that are rooted in the ethos and fabric of east London's diverse and vital communities,” places for “Londoners who want to live and work without a long commute and raise a family in a stable urban community” and enjoy “a healthy and sustainable lifestyle, anchored by sports and active living” (LLDC 2014: 6, 12). Urban transformation, then, is not just about improving the built environment, but is also a vehicle for delivering the Good Life (Gold 2008).

The idea of event spaces serving as a means to an end is also intrinsic to two other discourses that have historiographic significance, respectively concerning the Barcelona model and the legacy discourse. The 1992 Barcelona Olympics were so successful in terms of urban transformation that they came to professional notice, offering a powerful narrative that linked positive outcomes back to decisive actions (Marshall 2000; Balibrea 2001; Monclús 2003; Smith 2005). But the

narrative dates back to the end of the Franco Regime in 1975, the reintroduction of democratic elections, and a new era of urban planning led by the strategic *Plan General Metropolitano* (Blanco 2009: 356; Degen and Garcia 2012: 1026). The plan included a series of projects to upgrade public spaces and provide community facilities, renovate historic areas, and connect peripheral communities to existing neighborhoods. This was combined with a commitment to high-quality urban design and architecture, a pioneering approach to public-private partnerships for the financing of projects, and, above all, robust civic leadership—which became synonymous in many minds with a powerful city mayor (Casellas and Pallares-Barbera 2009: 1138; Degen and Garcia 2012: 1025; Garcia-Ramon and Albet 2000: 1332; Monclús 2003: 403). In 1982, the city drafted the first plans for an Olympic bid (Serra 2012: 339) and the nomination was secured in 1986. Barcelona would emerge from the 1992 Olympics with four major event spaces, new and renovated sports venues, transport infrastructure, and telecommunications, plus investment in museums, hotels, and public open spaces—notably, the creation of a coastal promenade and public beaches. The event put Barcelona on the map and created a new image for the city, as well as a new model for event hosting.

Henceforth, the Barcelona model was indelibly associated with mega-events. Through after-the-fact rationalization, the narrative could be extended back in time to explain the historic experience of hosting the *Exposiciones Internacionales* of 1888 and 1929. Equally, looking forward, it was possible to embrace another planned mega-event—the 2004 Forum of Cultures, a cultural Exposition under the auspices of UNESCO intended to regenerate the Diagonal del Mar area beyond the Olympic village.

The influence of the Barcelona model in international planning was considerable, with particular enthusiasm from Europe and Latin America (e.g. Carné and Ivancic 2008; Illas 2012; de Lima 2015). Cities contemplating hosting mega-events or simply faced with significant urban regeneration challenges saw it as a blueprint for action (Monclús 2003: 413). González (2011: 1413–1414) noted the additional interest of Far Eastern cities, and charts the mechanisms of diffusion of the Barcelona model through “policy tourism,” consultancy contracts, and postgraduate courses. The narratives that developed in this process became part of legitimization or reassurance (1412). Yet the Barcelona model has not been without its critics and detractors (Blanco et al. 2011; Arbaci and Tapada-Berteli 2012; Charnock et al. 2014). When speaking to the International Planning History Society in 2004, the Catalan architect-planner and politician Oriol Bohigas argued that the staging of the Games was a consequence of the Barcelona model, not its instigator. Nevertheless, it is true that the Games caused “a change of rhythm, of scale and of context” in planning practice (Montaner 1992). From this viewpoint, the city downgraded activities central to planning before the successful bid (for example carefully negotiated community projects, or urban parks projects) in favor of large-scale and speedily constructed projects for the Games. These, in turn, unleashed the very forces, such as rising property prices and gentrification, which the old approach had constrained.

Some commentators have challenged the nature and even the existence of the Barcelona model, with epithets such as “so-called” or “alleged” (Blanco 2009: 355). Indeed, Garcia-Ramon and Albet (2000: 1333) preferred to use the term “Barcelona Experience.” They objected to simplifications that have crept into analyses, especially the reductionist narrative of mega-event-led regeneration, which obscures the role of other types of regeneration used by Barcelona (Blanco 2009: 362). Moreover, the universality of the model has been questioned by those who feel that the Barcelona experience was singular—a product of a specific time, place, and politics (Garcia-Ramon and Albet 2000: 1333), and “determined by a context of economic crisis and the transition from dictatorship to democracy” (Blanco 2009: 359). Quite apart from the fact that these conditions no longer apply in Barcelona, extending this model to cities with very different power relations is “inherently problematic” (Marshall 2000: 317).

The second discourse that has come to dominate discussion of event-led regeneration centers on the issue of legacy. Thinking about legacy was shaped by discussion within Olympic circles, although the concept has now been applied to various other forms of event (for example see Smith and Cox 2007; Veitch 2013; Grix 2014). As noted elsewhere (Gold and Gold 2011b: 4–5), the word had longstanding but patchy and non-specific usage in Olympic parlance, largely lacking the conceptual weight now attached to it. The first significant mention of the word *per se* occurred in the city of Melbourne’s bid document for the 1956 Games (McIntosh 2003: 450), but, judged by the Official Reports produced after each Olympics, there was no concerted use of the term until Los Angeles 1984. Thereafter, it became increasingly entrenched in thinking about the consequences of Olympic-related interventions (Gold and Gold 2011b: 4). Taking stock of discourse between 1984 and 2000, an IOC-sponsored symposium at Lausanne concluded that *legacy* was an umbrella term with:

many aspects and dimensions, ranging from the more commonly recognized aspects—architecture, urban planning, city marketing, sports infrastructures, economic and tourist development—to others . . . that are less well recognized . . . the so called intangible legacies. (IOC 2003)

Like other all-embracing but nebulous concepts, legacy was useful by virtue of its permissiveness. The symposium recorded a disparate set of ideas and visions deemed to have emerged from recent practice that could be brought together beneath the same banner while allowing the details to be left for local resolution. This reading of history also fits with the IOC’s ideological predilections (Gold and Gold 2014), and action quickly followed. In 2003, the IOC incorporated legacy, conceived almost entirely in positive terms, into the Olympic Charter. Henceforth, cities bidding for the right to stage the Olympics needed to address the legacy of their Games, with schemes for event spaces required to provide lasting benefits for the host communities. Given the lengthy seven-year preparatory cycle for the Olympics, the Winter Games in Vancouver 2010 and the Summer Games of London 2012 were the first formally required to meet this stipulation.

Conclusion

Debate about the nature, origins, practice, and implications of the principle of legacy has embraced subjects ranging from “city impacts to volunteers and workers, spatial politics and communities to gender discourse, and protest and publics” (Tomlinson 2014: 137). Today, legacy has become the standard frame of reference for evaluating the significance and efficacy of mega-events and, in particular, for planning the spaces that are their most tangible outcome. Yet legacy, like the Barcelona model, is based on a narrative, and narratives change. The lengthy time frame in which legacy is embedded—a period that, in the case of London 2012, could be anything up to 20 years after the event—means that evaluation also requires a longitudinal view. As with thinking about the festivals themselves, there is no guarantee that ideas about the planned outcomes of mega-events will not by then have moved on.

Related Topics

Gordon: Politics, Power, and Urban Form

Hu: Planning for Economic Development

Vitiello: Planning for Infrastructure

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28

PUBLIC HEALTH AND URBAN PLANNING

Intertwined Histories

Russ Lopez

Urban planning and public health share a belief that humanity can be improved through public policy and preventative action. Both professions emerged at a time of increasing prosperity and wrenching social and economic change, and each evolved in response to successes and failures in shaping the built environment. The relationship between the two disciplines can be characterized as an elaborate dance, where first one partner and then the other has taken the lead in deciding how the two should collaborate. Sometimes public health has influenced planning and provided the framework for how planners should shape housing, neighborhoods, and cities. At other times, it was planning that directed the attention of public health and suggested new programs and ways of doing research.

Both disciplines have been influenced by other dynamics, and they have multiple constituencies and divergent responsibilities, but the two have interacted for almost 200 years in what can be broken down into a series of overlapping collaborations that have helped shape their modern forms. As will be seen, sometimes these relationships were based on the highest quality research; at other times, one discipline would unquestioningly borrow the unsubstantiated premises and prejudices of the other, not letting go until decades after they had been abandoned by the originator. Together, the two have contributed to some of the greatest successes of Western urban development, and have allowed some of the worst abuses to proceed under the guise of scientific rationality.

Nineteenth-Century Urbanization

The first collaboration between planning and health occurred during the 19th century as both disciplines developed in response to the tremendous health and environmental conditions caused by the industrial revolution and the large-scale growth of cities in Europe and the United States. Industrialization needed large numbers of workers, which prompted unprecedented migration into cities (Mumford, L., 1961) (Figure 28.1). These new workers and their families (often seeking employment themselves) poured into cities, overwhelming primitive municipal infrastructure and creating horrendous sanitary and health conditions, particularly in the working-class and tenement districts that surrounded older urban cores (Tarr, 1984). Along with poor diets and grueling working conditions, this resulted in high rates of infant mortality, near continuous problems with infectious diseases, and widespread epidemics, particularly cholera and tuberculosis (Rosen, 1993).

In response to these problems, a generation of urban reformers used empirical evidence derived from new research methods that were a product of new technologies and scientific philosophies.



Figure 28.1 New York City tenement house.

Source: Library of Congress.

In addition to facilitating infrastructure and design innovations, these eventually created the science of epidemiology, a core discipline of public health. The growth of this new science was built on the work of John Snow, who demonstrated the connection between contaminated water and epidemic cholera, though his findings were slow to convince the public (Johnson, 2006). More popular ideas on disease causation were derived from deductive reasoning, often using the very influential work of Thomas Southwood Smith, whose writings connected miasmas (“bad air”) with disease, providing scientific certitude to longstanding beliefs connecting fresh air and sunshine with health (Southwood Smith, 1830). Southwood Smith then used his ideas regarding miasmas to associate disease with housing conditions. His solution to the problem of miasma-caused disease was to advocate for increasing residents’ access to sunlight and ventilation, a preventative and curative strategy

that would influence architecture and planning for the next century (Southwood Smith, 1866). As a result, reformers would seek to reduce allowable lot coverage by buildings, lower building densities, eliminate rooms without windows, and establish minimum ventilation standards.

Another major response to the pressing health and environmental problems of the era was the sanitary survey, first conducted by Edwin Chadwick in England, and eventually used by pioneering United States public health advocates, including Lemuel Shattuck, John Griscom, and Frederick Law Olmsted, to promote and protect health (Peterson, 1979). Relying on Southwood Smith's miasma theories, these surveys connected inadequate water supplies, overcrowded housing, and industrial pollution with infant mortality, the poor health of workers, and high rates of infectious diseases (Kochitzky et al., 2006). The result was the first public health laws in England, the United States, and elsewhere.

These efforts helped establish the government's right to regulate land use in the name of health, even if this might compromise the rights of property owners. Eventually, the legal framework for planning and building codes was established across the Western world (Cassedy, 1975; Winslow, 1949). When anti-diphtheria efforts and other actions were found to protect health, based on the new science that demonstrated that bacteria and viruses, not odors, caused disease, these reforms would also help inspire cities to build clean water infrastructure and create urban parks (Rybczynski, 2000; Schultz & McShane, 1976). Providing clean water vastly changed cities, enabling them to grow larger in both area and population size, reducing the burden of disease, lowering overall mortality, and drastically reducing the destructiveness of fire (Tarr, 1996). Advocates such as Frederick Law Olmsted strongly argued that new urban parks provided access to nature, helped immigrants adopt native social values and personal habits, and improved both mental and physical health (Fisher, 1986) (Figure 28.2).

Earlier ideas about the built environment and health had influenced colonial architecture and planning throughout Latin America (via early decrees and the Laws of the Indies from 1512 onwards) and elsewhere (Mundigo & Crouch, 1977). But now reformers sought to remake cities



Figure 28.2 Central Park, New York.

Source: Library of Congress.

inside colonial powers' home countries. These efforts cumulated in the early 20th century with tenement laws and zoning ordinances (Lubove, 1962). Sanitary surveys and public fears of epidemics helped politicians pass the New York tenement law in 1901. This legislation, which became the model for similar laws across the United States, was a collaborative effort between housing advocates and health promoters (Lubove, 1961). It established maximum lot coverage and minimum sanitation standards, outlawed windowless rooms, and would over time dramatically improve housing conditions (Veiller, 1910, 1914). One of its primary proponents, Lawrence Veiller, was also an early contributor to the *American Journal of Public Health*; his model housing ordinance proposed transferring the responsibility for code enforcement to local public health agencies (Veiller, 1911, 1913).

Zoning also had a strong public health component, and among the problems it was meant to address was the issue of how to control industrial pollution. In the absence of laws that allowed municipalities to control dumping and emissions, factories could negatively affect their neighbors. Existing nuisance laws were ineffective, so communities seeking to ward off intrusions of industry into residential districts turned to zoning (Wolf, 2008). Though there were other reasons for zoning (preservation of property values and racial animus, for example), health concerns were a strong driver of zoning regulations, and it was the right to protect the public's health that was used by the United States Supreme Court in *Euclid v. Ambler* to uphold local land-use regulations in 1926 (Schilling & Linton, 2005).

These victories, along with changes within the urban planning and public health professions, ended this period of cooperation between the two (Corburn, 2004). Planners went on to professionalize, and began to concentrate on implementing analytic zoning and categorizing ever more detailed zoning codes. Public health began to focus on building laboratories to diagnose disease and working with individuals to promote hygiene. Despite the change in understanding of the etiology of infectious disease, however, planning and architecture continued to focus on sunlight and ventilation as vehicles for promoting health (Lopez, 2012).

Healthy Suburbs

Though the movement to urban peripheries has been occurring for centuries, the effort to develop suburban alternatives to cities based on the principles of health took shape in the final years of the 19th century and gained momentum in the 20th century. Visionaries, including Ebenezer Howard, Raymond Unwin, Clarence Perry, and others, sought to create new forms of development that emphasized low densities, separation of land uses, prioritization of single-family homes, and access to sunlight and ventilation. Though these new suburbs were justified in part because they were healthier than traditional city forms, none of the health concepts that underlay this rational suburban planning movement had any scientific evidence to support them (Howard, 1965; Unwin, 1920). Nonetheless, proponents almost sanctified theories of Southwood Smith and others supporting the access to fresh air and sunlight. Access to sunlight and ventilation were guiding principles passed down generation by generation and taken as truth (Fishman, 1982), persisting in part because they were seconded by the remaining public health advocates working on housing and urban planning issues. The American Public Health Association (APHA), the main umbrella organization for public health, for example, had a committee on housing that produced recommendations that were as pro-suburban as the notorious Federal Housing Administration guidelines of the mid-20th century. These were promulgated by the federal government to determine eligibility for receiving government-backed mortgages; given the economic constraints of much of this time period, to be denied access to these mortgages made housing inaccessible to anyone but the wealthiest. These rules prohibited multiple-family dwellings, banned developments that included retail or other non-residential uses, set forth minimum 6,000-square-foot lots, and prohibited loans to housing without ample parking (Winslow, 1937, 1947). But again, though the APHA supported these requirements,

they were not rooted in epidemiological evidence, and it is not known to what extent they were based on expertise flowing from health practitioners to planners or the other way around. In any case, the result was that conventional suburban development idioms were embraced by both planners and health advocates well into the later decades of the 20th century.

Mid-20th-century architects and planners continued to highlight the health benefits of the suburbs. Lewis Mumford championed the rationality of planned communities over the mental health impacts of chaotic urbanization (Mumford, L., 1963). Mumford attacked Jane Jacobs in his review of her *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, for example, saying that the rational suburb and rebuilt urban neighborhood would be better at preventing delinquency than her idealized urban village (Mumford, L., 1962). Another influential visionary, Frank Lloyd Wright, was also ferociously anti-urban in almost all his works and writing (Huxtable, 2004; Twombly, 1972; Wright, 1938). Both Wright and Mumford argued that their ideal built environments would be healthier than contemporary urban living. Many housing advocates, including Catherine Bauer, were able to tap into the conventional connection between housing and health to push their agendas for public housing, but even Bauer did not directly challenge the thinking that inner city neighborhoods and tenement housing were unhealthy and needed to be replaced (Oberlander & Newbrun, 1999). They continued to rely on 19th-century ideas regarding housing and health (Bauer, 1934, 1945). Furthermore, the suburban construct of health also spread across the globe at the end of the 20th century as many developing countries adopted idioms reminiscent of 1950s United States suburbia. Burgeoning urban areas in China, Chile, and elsewhere continue to reflect these ideas first used in the Global North.

Modernism

Perhaps the apotheosis of the prioritization of access to light and ventilation was achieved by the Modernists in the years after World War I. Advocates, including Le Corbusier, strongly believed that the way to make housing “machines for living” was to orient buildings to maximize exposure to sunlight and ventilation (to protect against infectious diseases), to separate pedestrian from automobile circulation (to minimize traffic accidents), and to create rational, high-quality housing with shared common spaces (to promote mental health and moral purity) (Le Corbusier, 1929). Planners would tolerate little or no deviation from the resulting “skyscraper in the park” form of development because of the perceived need to promote health; Modernist congresses would reject design entries that did not sufficiently orient themselves to the sun (Mumford, E., 2000). Planners implemented Modernism outside its European/North American center, imposing its values on new capitals and administrative centers in Brasilia, Chandigarh, and elsewhere. In many developing cities, the older combination of Modernist office parks and suburban car-oriented development for the well-to-do predominate.

As they sought to maximize their preferred attributes of the built environment, the Modernists did not realize that those attributes were for the most part based on ideas that were nearing a century old, never tested by epidemiological methods despite the fact they were reported to represent scientific rationality. On the contrary, for most of the middle decades of the 20th century, public health was in almost complete isolation from issues of concern to planners. The attention of public health experts at this point was aimed at expanding access to medical care, developing new vaccines and antibiotics, and exploiting new technologies for diagnostics and treatment. Even the one major epidemic that struck the developed world at this time that was thought to be environmentally related, polio, did not prompt either public health experts or planners to reconnect the two disciplines. For their part, planners mostly did not attempt to modify their work to address the disease, and the problem was ultimately solved through vaccination. Neither did



Figure 28.3 Poster promoting health via slum clearance.

Source: Library of Congress.

planners react to the major scourge of the developing world, malaria, which seemed to be preventable using insecticides or mosquito nets rather than modifying the built environment.

Public health did briefly reunite with planning to participate in urban renewal in this era. The APHA developed a system for evaluating housing that was used by about a third of redevelopment agencies during this era; the main reason it was not more popular was that it was expensive and cumbersome to use despite training sessions held by the APHA and FHA on its methods (Figure 28.3). By going building-to-building, the analytic framework gave the highest ratings to single-family suburban homes and the lowest to mixed-use urban tenement districts and lodging houses. Though it suggested that schools, employment, parks, and stores should be accessible to all people, these guidelines ignored the social value of housing itself, particularly the benefits of close connections with others that are often essential to low-income households, the elderly, and immigrants. Again, the guidelines were based on a conventional suburban aesthetic that did not utilize any scientifically valid methodology. The motives of the APHA for encouraging suburban development are not

known. But overall the APHA in this era was unsympathetic to the needs of tenement dwellers in general and the concerns of African American residents in particular. Heavily invested in the status quo that was promoting suburbanization of white middle-class families, for example, the APHA did not even adopt a resolution condemning racial segregation until 1968 (Lopez, 2009).

Access to Nature

The theory that physical and mental health is protected and improved by access to nature can be traced back to Roman times and the writings of Vitruvius, whose list of criteria for siting a new city included access to fresh water and the direction of prevailing winds. He cautioned against building near marshes, for example, as a way of avoiding epidemics (Vitruvius, 1999). In the 19th century, the influential philosopher John Ruskin strongly believed that connecting humanity with nature should be one of the major priorities of architecture; planners used these ideas to create garden squares and other urban parks (Wheeler, 1995). Frederick Law Olmsted and others designed extensive city park systems to promote the health of residents, as well as to socialize the growing numbers of seemingly unassimilable immigrants. Note that these 19th-century park advocates did not create open spaces to approximate wilderness areas devoid of human impact. Rather, they were highly modified landscapes meant to carefully manage the relationship of humanity and nature (Martin, 2012). In addition, these connections between mental health and the natural environment were based on deductive reasoning and untested fundamentals, not empirical research.

This began to change in the 1960s when a set of papers that looked at overcrowding and behavior using rats as subjects seemed to indicate that urban living was itself bad for mental health. These studies suggested that at high densities, pathological behaviors emerge. In the context of the 1960s urban crisis, they provided a biological explanation for crime and antisocial behavior that many in the era thought were overrunning central cities (Calhoun, 1962a, 1962b). These studies were eventually discredited by other researchers, who found that not overcrowding but withholding of food had created the behavioral problems in rats. On the contrary, simply overcrowding rats while providing ample feeding outlets and sufficient food produced no observable pathological behaviors. In addition, other countries have much higher urban densities than the United States without the supposed negative outcomes, negating the biological plausibility of the studies. Later research has found that unit overcrowding is associated with adverse behaviors, but neighborhood density is not (Adams, 2009).

Despite its repudiation by health researchers, the idea that density causes social pathology was popularized by Edward Hall in his influential book, *The Hidden Dimension*, and the concept continues to influence many urban designers and to fuel public opposition to increased density.

More substantiated has been the work by Oscar Newman on defensible space, suggesting that how people perceive space affects their behavior: spaces that are thought to be insecure or poorly managed tend to attract crime while those that appear to be under someone's control or care tend to reduce antisocial behavior (Brunson et al., 2001; Newman, 1972). These findings provided some of the first epidemiological support for the ideas promoted by Jacobs and others that orienting entryways to the street and having as few units per entry as possible help reduce crime.

In the 1970s, health researchers began to explore the links between access to nature and health using scientifically valid methods. A pioneering work was a study of health outcomes and views of nature by Roger Ulrich, which found that patients with a view of a park had faster recoveries and reduced need for pain medications after surgery than patients whose rooms faced a brick wall (Ulrich, 1984). This study has influenced a large body of research that suggests that access to nature is a fundamental human need, and that many people suffer significant health and behavioral problems—including increased risk for depression and attention deficit and hyperactivity disorder—if they do not regularly have it. Other research suggests that students perform better when they have

access to parks, playgrounds, and improved schoolyards, or that children with autism are calmer and have other improved behaviors after a walk in the park (Lopez, Jennings, & Campbell, 2008; McCurdy, Winterbottom, Mehta, & Roberts, 2010; Taylor, Kuo, & Sullivan, 2002). Some have suggested that there is a set of issues that are collectively called nature deficit disorder, and though this is not recognized as a disease by most medical practitioners, many physicians will issue prescriptions to help get their patients to parks and playgrounds (Louv, 2008). The connections between access to nature and mental health represent the first instance in which modern epidemiological research methods have been applied to the study of the built environment.

Conclusion: The Return to Urbanism

In the 1960s, just as the initial studies on crime and overcrowding in inner cities were appearing, many urban planners were becoming increasingly discouraged by conventional suburban development that they found dull, ugly, and resource intensive. By the early 1980s these concerns had led to a number of alternatives, including New Urbanism and smart growth, which aimed to recreate the older rowhouse districts and urban neighborhoods that an earlier generation of planners and health advocates had rejected as unsafe, unsanitary, and bad for health (Katz, 1994; Talen, 2005). But these alternatives were developed in isolation from any health information or theory. The principles of New Urbanism, for example, do not mention health at all (CNU, 1996).

In contrast to work in earlier decades, planning theory in the 1990s began to influence health research and practice. Prompted by a now decade-old epidemic of obesity that defied alternative explanations, health researchers looked at the urban planning literature and began to assess the impacts of the built environment on diet, physical activity, and obesity risk (Dannenberg et al., 2003). Though the relationships are yet to be entirely confirmed (they lack the depth and strength of association of tobacco and lung cancer, for example), substantial evidence has been found to suggest that urban sprawl increases obesity risk, that access to public transportation and recreational spaces increases physical activity, and that living near supermarkets decreases obesity risk while exposure to fast-food outlets increases it (Frumkin, 2002). Rebuilding streets to promote pedestrian and bicycle use can increase health and well-being, while abandoned buildings, graffiti, and other signs of disorder can increase behavioral and disease risks. One famous study, for example, found an association between neighborhood disorder and gonorrhea rates (Cohen et al., 2000). In almost all of the research that contributed to these new understandings, health professionals consulted planning literature to identify potential risk and protective factors in the built environment. Public health professionals then used epidemiological and statistical methods to test the nature and parameters of the links between the built environment and health.

This latest round of cooperation between public health and urban planning has also sparked further collaborative work between the two disciplines (Sallis et al., 2009), including joint conferences, interdisciplinary research, and courses and curricula integrating the two fields. Several universities have established joint degree programs as well (Botchwey et al., 2009). Though the historical content of European planning education has been reduced in recent decades, the reintroduction of the roots of planning and health into both disciplines has enlivened courses in the United States and elsewhere. Today, experts from the two professions regularly work together, and the relationship between the fields is firmly reestablished. The continuing challenge is to connect these new ideas to development. As obesity rates rise across the globe, fossil fuel reliance grows, and income inequality increases, the need to reshape urban environments becomes greater even as older ideas continue to hold sway. The future, as of the beginning of the 21st century, remains clouded.

There has also been a growing literature on the history of planning and health. Howard Frumkin and associates wrote extensively on the links between the two in their influential 2004 book, *Urban Sprawl and Public Health* (Frumkin, Frank, & Jackson, 2004). Another book on the intersection

of the two disciplines is *Building American Public Health: Urban Planning, Architecture, and the Quest for Better Public Health in the United States* (Lopez, 2012). Other important sources on the history of public health and planning, more focused on the United States, include articles by Kochtitzky (Kochtitzky et al., 2006) and Schilling and Linton (Schilling & Linton, 2005). As of the date of this book, there is a need for a comprehensive book on the history of planning and public health in the developing world. There are two important lessons from these 200 years of interaction between planning and public health. One is cautionary: both must be skeptical of the other's cherished theories, particularly if they represent opinion rather than tested outcomes. But the other is hopeful: the two disciplines can work together to improve urban form and help people have better lives. Through collaboration, public health and urban planning have helped provide clean water, build parks, and create walkable communities. These partnerships provide encouragement that these two disciplines can make a positive impact on humanity.

Related Topics

Gordon: Politics, Power, and Urban Form

Wagenaar: Urbanism, Housing, and the City

Sorensen: Global Suburbanization in Planning History

Schott: Livability and Environmental Sustainability: From Smoky to Livable Cities

Silver: Educating Planners in History

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29

URBANISM, HOUSING, AND THE CITY

Cor Wagenaar

Housing shapes, or at least envelops, people's private lives. Urbanism, in contrast, intervenes in the public domain. Why, then, include a chapter about housing in book on urban planning? Because even though housing embodies the private realm, it also thoroughly affects the public domain. If the housing conditions of the poor lead to epidemic diseases, for instance, these will affect the entire urban population. Moreover, poor health decreases people's production capacities and weakens a nation's military strength, as governments found out in the 17th century. Since the poor normally are the vast majority of the urban population, their housing situation has a major effect on the structure of cities. Mass housing is a financial challenge: providing decent homes for the millions requires monumental investments. Yet these investments may stimulate the entire economy. Whereas the poor usually have little choice where to live, the wealthy can monopolize the most attractive sites in or near cities; the distinction between villa parks and poor neighborhoods obviously leaves a mark on the layout of cities. But how does urban planning affect housing? And on what grounds do urban planners justify these interventions in the private realm? What explains why urbanists managed to tamper with something as sacrosanct as the ownership titles of land?

The answer is that urbanism developed as an instrument to address very serious crises. These threatened public life, and coping with them was a public task. Using examples primarily from the Netherlands, this chapter explores how housing became one of urbanism's major issues. Since the essence of urbanism is the spatial distribution of human activities, it focuses on the development of spatial models, their application, and some of their consequences. Concentrating on these aspects, it obviously covers only a fragment of a topic that is so vast it could easily fill this entire handbook—many aspects, however important, had to be discarded. Comparative research of the type carried out by Maartje Martens and Anne Power, who studied the way housing markets function, could not be dealt with here (Martens 1991; Wassenberg 2013). Likewise, the impact of housing on racial segregation—and the other way around—could not be included (Vale 2013). We only briefly touch upon the evolution of housing typologies, a topic dealt with by Florian Urban and Wolfgang Sonne (Urban 2012; Sonne 2016). We could not go into the difficulties that inevitably manifest themselves when urbanism confronts “bottom-up” development. Even so, we are confident that the models presented here, from a country that occasionally contributed original solutions and often successfully copied strategies from abroad, gives a fairly complete overview of the issues at stake. The chapter concludes by pointing out the virtual abolition of planning and discontent with its major legacy: the immense numbers of dwellings in suburban housing estates built after World War II. It discusses

how these changes shaped new realities, with fundamental consequences for the relation between urbanism and housing.

Apart from hygienic disasters, dangers were inherent in unplanned, chaotic urban growth. These crises have given public authorities, national and municipal governments, the power, unheard of since the mid-19th century, to intervene in people's private property and life. In most countries, until the late 1930s, counteracting the "natural" forces of the free market was a monopoly that urbanism shared with the military (the major exception, obviously, was the Soviet Union, which embraced economic planning almost from the day it came into being). Here we find the origin of an immense expansion of power hardly conceivable today: in the mid-20th century, urbanists planned the forced resettlement of entire regions, pointed out complete neighborhoods for demolition, cut highways (with the assistance of traffic engineers) through densely built up inner cities, and decided to invade the rural countryside with new housing estates. Few other disciplines can claim to have gone this far.

"Natural" Tendencies: Dispersal of the Well-To-Do, Concentration of the Urban Poor

In the late 19th century, urbanists singled out two housing-related phenomena they needed to come to terms with: the trend for the rich and wealthy to leave the cities and move to the countryside, and the catastrophic living conditions of the urban proletariat. Often credited for being the first handbook on urban planning, Reinhard Baumeister's *Stadt-Erweiterungen in technischer, baupolizeilicher und wirtschaftlicher Beziehung* also addresses these issues (Baumeister 1876, 12–32).

In preindustrial times, the elite had already shown a marked preference for living in the countryside, the principal reason being the wish to escape the unhealthy climate and lifestyles in most cities. The stench of Amsterdam, for instance, was obnoxious: people could smell it several kilometers outside the city's borders. Those who could afford it, the upper classes and the well-to-do bourgeoisie, built country estates surrounded by impressive gardens in an Arcadian, rural landscape (Wagenaar 2015). What was well-known from firsthand experience was scientifically proved in the late 18th century: people living in the countryside had a life expectancy almost twice as long as people living in cities. Apart from being healthy and idyllic, life in the countryside was also acclaimed for its moral virtue. Not only did it provide direct contact with a natural order deemed divine, it also allowed the owners to escape from the temptations of the city. Even in a Calvinist country like the Netherlands, cities were the scene of endless drinking parties and copious meals that struck foreigners as extravagant. It took the rationalization and regimentation that came with the modernization of economic life in the middle of the 19th century to wipe out this side of life. Even in countries where industrialization was notoriously slow, like the Netherlands, this marked a profound change that provided Johan Huizinga, the renowned Dutch historian, with the topic for his much acclaimed *Homo Ludens* (Huizinga 1938).

Over the course of the 18th century, the trend to found country estates for individual families and their personnel broke off. Gradually a new type of outplaced urban settlements in the countryside developed: colonies for the upper middle classes. These had precursors—the royal crescent in Bath can be seen as an example—and there are even 18th-century experiments with rural colonies for the working classes (well-known are utopian models like Fourier's Phalanstères) (Pérusson 1843). Now their number rapidly increased, especially in the United States, where garden suburbs became immensely popular (Stern 2013) (Figure 29.1). A more modest variant was the villa colonies that appeared in the outskirts of cities, and the park-like expansions on former fortifications that can be found in many Dutch and German cities, can be seen as a linear variation on this theme. Inspired by his stay in the United States, Ebenezer Howard introduced yet another model: his Garden Cities were meant to accommodate all social classes, and to include industries, offices, and cultural

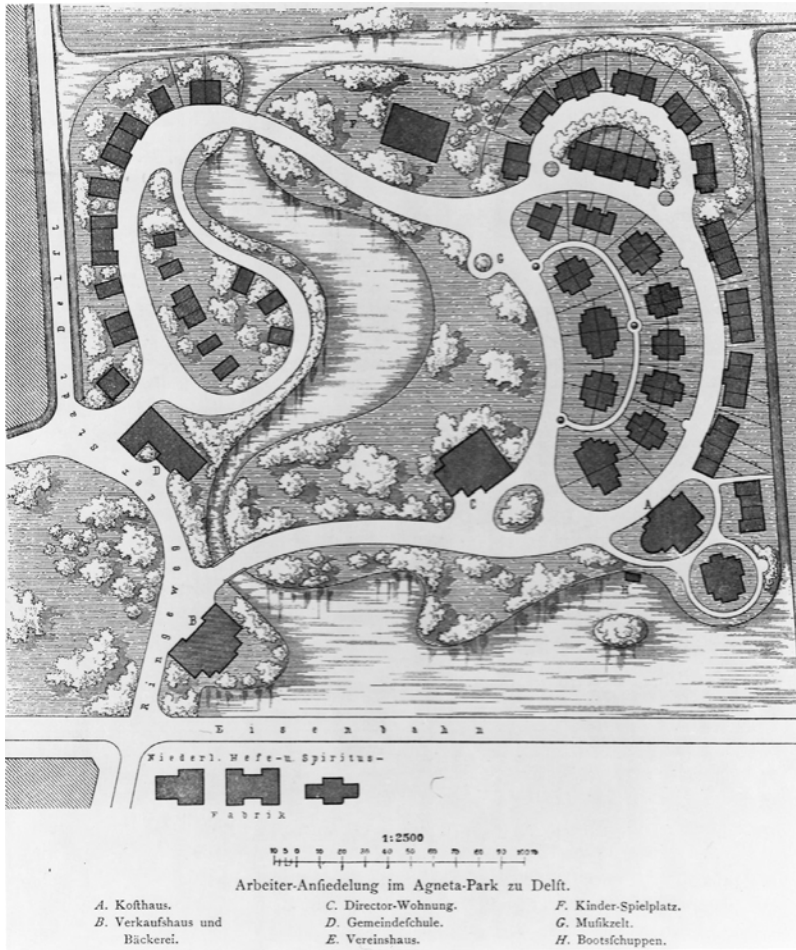


Figure 29.1 Agneta Park, Delft. Completed in 1884 to the design of E.H. Gugel and F.M.O. Kerkhoff, who were responsible for the houses, and L.P. Zocher who was responsible for the park, this garden suburb was an initiative of Jacques van Marken who wanted to provide the working people of his factories with decent living conditions.

Source: personal archive, Cor Wagenaar.

facilities as well as housing. Private land ownership was to be abolished; the excessive profits developers squeezed out of their properties would be a thing of the past. Convinced that the Garden Cities were bound to be a huge success, Howard firmly believed that they would usher in the end of traditional cities with their hygiene problems and social tensions—a view that explains the subtitle of his bestselling handbook *To-Morrow. A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*.

Real reform was desperately needed for the urban poor. In his *Stadt-Erweiterungen in technischer baupolizeilicher und wirtschaftlicher Beziehung*, Reinhard Baumeister (1876, 16–17) commented on the tremendous loss of life—and, therefore, working power—caused by the disastrous living conditions of urban paupers. As medical cartographers had pointed out in the 18th century, the urban poor usually inhabited the least salubrious parts of cities. Stinking, dirty air was generally seen as the origin of epidemic diseases. Scientists argued about the exact substance that produced so much misery, but few doubted that the quality of the soil, its humidity (partly a consequence of the level of the groundwater), and polluted ponds, ditches, and canals caused most of the problems. In the

Netherlands, scrubbing the streets and cleaning the houses (in the Dutch frenzy for immaculate environments that never ceased to amaze foreign visitors) didn't help (Knoop 1763). A major contribution to solving the problem was the construction of sewage systems. Bazalgette's monumental sanitation project for London in the 1860s alleviated the infamous "big stink," inspiring many cities to follow suit (Ackroyd 2000). This first strategy to improve the housing conditions of the urban poor targeted the urban areas they occupied. But since epidemics rarely stopped at the borders of the poor neighborhoods, the entire urban population also benefited from these immensely expensive operations, which required the most advanced solutions engineers could come up with.

The next battleground for improving the living conditions of the poor was the housing stock itself. Building regulations proved a particularly powerful tool. Enforced by the so-called building police, they prevented the construction of houses that were shoddy, that easily caught fire, that had ceilings so low that the rooms were believed to lack sufficient air, that did not provide enough daylight, that were leaking, or that were difficult if not impossible to heat in winter. Although these regulations implied limitations on the private investors who built most of the housing stock, similar building codes were introduced in most European and American cities. Probably the best known and surely one of the most effective was the one of Berlin; first published in 1853 and modified in 1872, it was copied by most cities in the region and several elsewhere in Germany (Eberstadt and Möhring 1910). It prescribed a minimum size for the courtyards of the Berlin tenement buildings that were soon dubbed "Mietskaserne" (the courtyards should be big enough for a horse-drawn fire car to make a turn), and the distance between floor and ceiling (resulting in spacious rooms that people living elsewhere still envy today). Formulating building codes was a prerogative of the municipalities, which resulted in striking differences between housing typologies in different cities (Geist and Kürvers 1984).

To complement the building codes, urban planners tried to ensure the design of sufficiently wide streets, urban blocks that could be parceled out without necessarily resulting in shallow plots, and, ideally, enough open spaces and parks to prevent the development of endless seas of tenement buildings. As the intensity of urban expansion increased, larger metropolitan cities introduced general expansion plans. Well-known is the plan James Hobrecht presented in 1862 for Berlin. It provided a street pattern that accommodated hygienic infrastructure, and envisioned open spaces and a number of small parks. Combined with the building regulations, it defined what can be seen as the city's genetic code; similar combinations of building regulations and urban plans determined the character of rapidly expanding metropolitan cities such as Barcelona, Budapest, Hamburg, Vienna, and many others. They also determined the living conditions of the vast majority of the inhabitants of these cities.

Following the example of Great Britain, many countries started adopting forms of subsidized social housing in the 1890s; the Dutch Public Housing Law of 1901 attracted international attention. The main body of the law provided the organizational and financial arrangements for public housing; it also included a paragraph that required the larger Dutch cities to introduce general expansion plans, forging very close ties between public housing and urbanism that were only severed in the last decades of the 20th century.

Housing and the City as a Work of Art

Combating concrete problems that threatened the well-being of the community gave a strong impetus to urbanism. There was, however, another motive, quite strong until it was radically abolished in the course of the 1940s: the ambition to make cities into works of art at a grand scale. Originally, urbanism developed as an extension of the architect's work, approaching cities as buildings of a very large scale. Dividing the city into functional zones and defining a traffic structure to connect them, urbanists created the city as a three-dimensional construct. A designer's vocabulary evolved

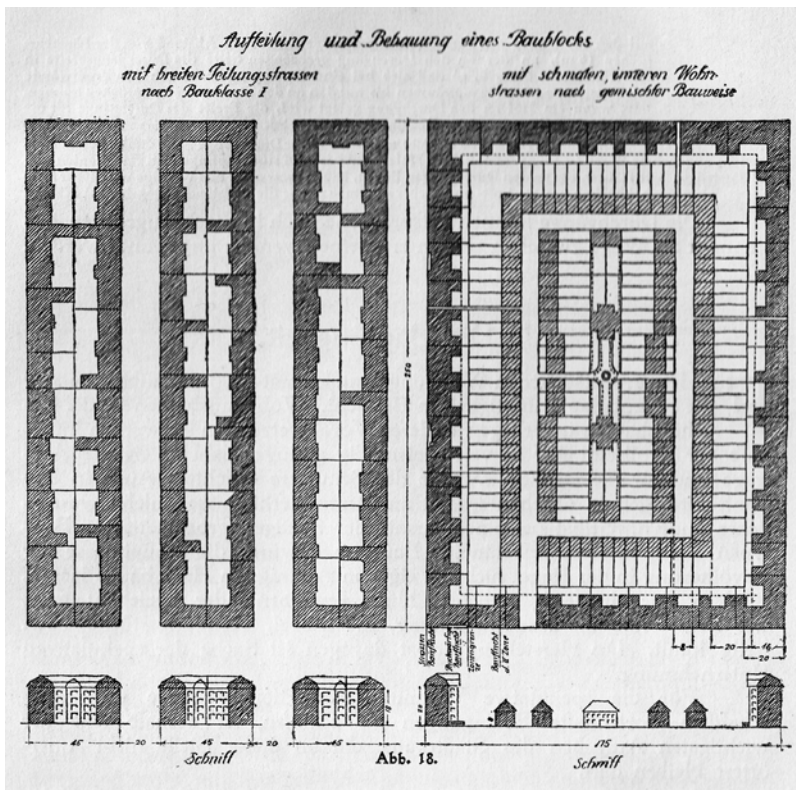


Figure 29.2 Superblock. R. Eberstadt, B. Möhring, R. Petersen, Offener Wettbewerb für Gross-Berlin, Berlin 1910. One of the principles of the competition for the Greater Berlin was the introduction of a parceling structure that anticipates the superblock and broke away from the “cult of the street.”

Source: Eberstadt 1910.

that conceptualized the design of the public domain, its streets, squares, parks, and alleys, and the open spaces between buildings. Urban beauty should foster feelings of civic pride and express the basic values of the urban community. The seminal town planning exhibitions of Berlin (1910) and Düsseldorf (1912) underline this aspect (Hegemann 1911) (Figure 29.2). Promoting strategies to control the aesthetic quality of cities, and calling for the conservation of the urban beauty from earlier epochs, the organizers wanted to regain what allegedly had been lost—looking backward was as much part of their aspirations as paving the way for the future.

What was needed to actually realize the spatial qualities of streets and squares was to frame them with buildings. Designing these, however, is rarely the urbanist’s task. Since urbanism is essentially a public activity, the closest link is with public buildings: schools, bathing houses, police stations, theaters, concert halls, opera buildings, town halls, sometimes churches. The earliest handbooks (Baumeister 1876; Sitte 1889; Stübgen 1890) deal extensively with the best ways to position them in the urban landscape. Most authors preferred to endow major streets and squares with only one representative building, believing that distributing them over a larger area maximized their aesthetic effect. Supplemented with luxurious villas for the urban elite, these assignments made up most of an architect’s portfolio. This did not mean that urbanists discarded mass housing. Quite the contrary: they saw it as the main substance of the city. In the words of A. E. Brinckmann: “Building cities means using housing to shape space” (“*Städte bauen heißt: mit dem Hausmaterial Raum gestalten*”)

(Brinckmann 1908). Instead of trying to enhance housing through design, they did so with what had already proven to be a powerful tool: building codes. Justified by the need to improve the city's hygienic conditions, these codes defined the typologies of housing blocks and their "envelope," allowing urbanists to use them to define streets and squares. Around 1900, German cities began to experiment with what became known as "Bauberatung": they prescribed the design of facades, limiting the role of private builders to the general layout and floor plans, and to the sides of a building that could not be seen from the street.

Urbanism, Housing, and Politics

World War I and its aftermath gave governments a strong new incentive to pour money into social housing. When the working classes in Russia overthrew the traditional ruling classes and embarked upon the road to socialism, fear of a similar outcome drove governments to appease the masses of the urban poor to prevent them from following the Soviet example. Although the wave of revolutions that swept across Europe soon subsided, many countries kept investing in public housing. Austria and the Netherlands were particularly active in this field (Figure 29.3).

In the Netherlands, two competing visions evolved. The exuberant expressionism of the Amsterdam School resulted in fairly traditional urban blocks. What made them unique was heavily decorated, sculptural brickwork, pierced with the elaborate woodwork of window frames and doors at the facades facing the streets (Bock 1983). Its plainer counterpart was particularly popular in Rotterdam. Here, the municipal housing department favored a sober, repetitive style first epitomized by the factory-like brick blocks by J. J. P. Oud built in Spangen, then by the abstract, white settlements of the Hoek van Holland and the Kiefhoek projects (Taverne, Wagenaar, and de Vletter 2001).

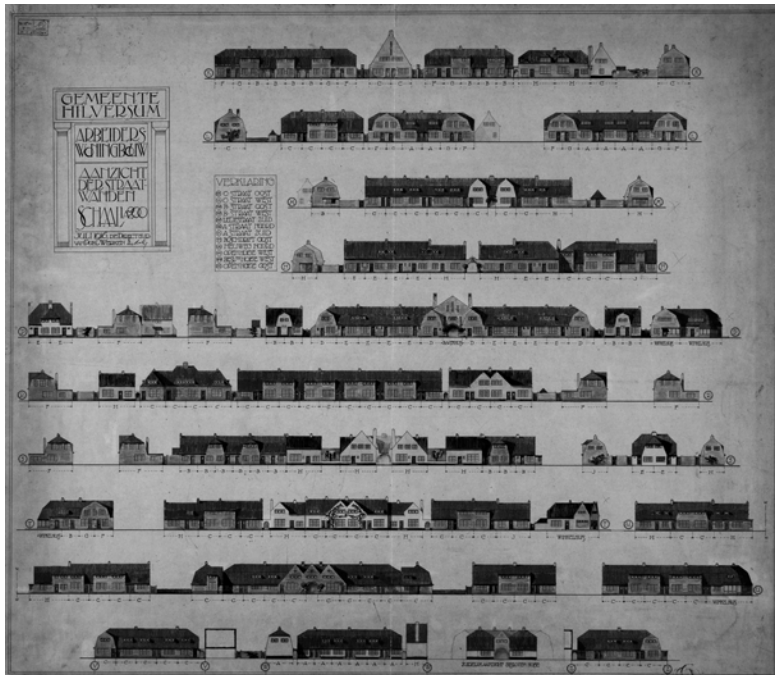


Figure 29.3 Project for working-class housing in Hilversum, 1916. W. M. Dudok used housing as a tool for urban aesthetics, a strategy made possible by the Public Housing Law of 1901.

Source: personal archive, Cor Wagenaar.

The latter represented the design ideology of Modernism, the style allegedly driven by the ambition to mark a sharp break with the past. By far the largest housing estates of this type were built in Germany: Ernst May's "Neue Frankfurt," and in Berlin Siemenstadt; Bruno Taut's colorful Onkel Tom's Hütte; and the much acclaimed Hufeisensiedlung (Huse and Jaeggi 1987).

Around 1925, the Dutch government reduced its investment in public housing, and in the early 1930s it stopped almost completely. In Austria, on the other hand, the famous settlements that won its capital the name of "das rote Wien" (red Vienna) were part of a policy that lasted until the eve of World War II (Jahn 2014). Unlike their Dutch and German counterparts, Austrian architects developed a new typology that combined the spacious green spaces of the garden cities with the amenities that only large-scale urban blocks could offer. In them, the architectural and urban scales perfectly merge.

In the totalitarian empires that emerged after World War I—first the Soviet Union, then fascist Italy, and in 1933 Nazi Germany—housing was subordinated to the ideological goals of the state. Urban plans had barely exceeded the city's borders in the 19th and early 20th centuries; now they reorganized and reconstructed entire regions, nations, and eventually even the European continent, with new networks of roads, highways, railways, and waterways. Planners essentially proposed new economic systems, for example connecting places rich in natural resources with faraway places where they were processed, thus creating mutually dependent, mono-functional regions. States transferred people from overpopulated, usually industrialized areas to distant farms or mines that needed workers. The process of settling people in these lands was often referred to as "colonization"; sometimes, the term was also used for the new IJsselmeerpolders that were created in the Netherlands in the 1930s to fill in parts of a wide branch of the North Sea in the very center of the country. Defining actual settlement patterns was a task for urban planners. In rural areas, they often applied Walter Christaller's model, which proposed a hierarchy of central places surrounded by villages at a fixed distance; the same system was used in the Noord-Oostpolder in the Netherlands.

Housing as a Battlefield in the Cold War

With the exception of the Soviet Union and its expanded empire, the outcome of World War II frustrated the realization of these far-fetched visions. Urgent problems had to be tackled. Cities needed to be rebuilt, their destruction a consequence of one of the war's most devastating characteristics: the decision by all parties involved (except the occupied nations) to target the civilian population, an easy goal thanks to the increasing efficiency of air raids (Düwel and Gutschow 2013). Far more urgent, however, was the resettlement of millions of refugees, partly a consequence of another novelty of the war: the forced expulsion of all original inhabitants of all regions that were transferred from one state to another, the outcome of the redrawing of the political map of Europe. One of the new borders became especially consequential during the Cold War: the so-called "iron curtain" between the Baltic Sea and the Mediterranean that divided the continent in 1948. The Soviet Union forcibly integrated the countries to the east of it—East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and for a short time Yugoslavia—into its economic and political system.

One consequence was the disappearance of public housing as a separate category. Since, in principle, everything was state-owned or at least state-controlled, the entire housing stock became public. Underlining their official status as the new political elite, the Soviets for a time provided workers and farmers with palatial buildings that combined the repetitive qualities of mass housing with the luxury of housing for the ruling classes. After Stalin's death this style was quickly abandoned and replaced by industrially produced buildings (Wagenaar and Dings 2004).

If the Cold War was a battle of lifestyles and if the main issue was which of the two systems was most effective in improving the living conditions of the lower classes, housing obviously played a fundamental role (Wagenaar 2015). Socialist realism for a short time favored traditional architectural

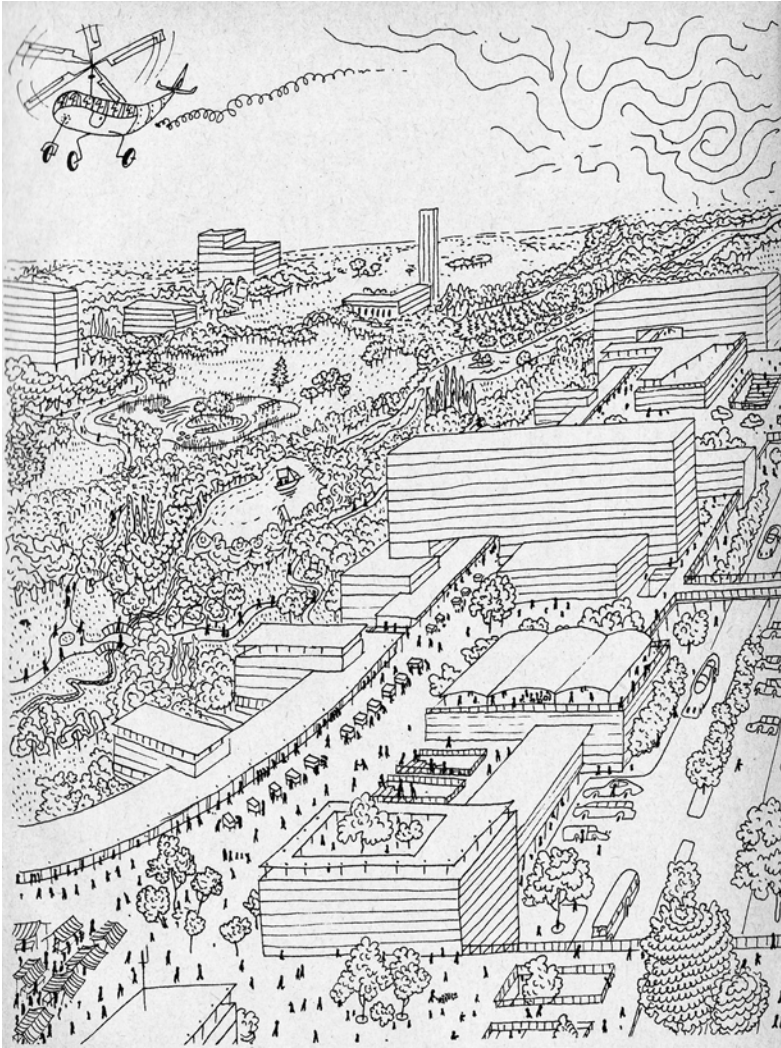


Figure 29.4 The Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin, 1957. Located in West Berlin, a capitalist island in the middle of socialist East Berlin, this exhibition was intended to be a demonstration of the “Western” way of life, as opposed to the socialist–realist Stalinallee (now Frankfurter Allee and Karl Marx Allee) in East Berlin. Four years before the erection of the Berlin Wall, the exhibition attracted many visitors from East Berlin.

Source: Interbau GmbH, *Die Stadt von Morgen*. Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin, Berlin 1957.

and urban strategies for their representative potential, preferring compact cities with monumental squares lined with lavishly decorated palaces for the working classes; the Western countries almost immediately adopted low-density, cellular models that ushered in suburban sprawl (Figure 29.4). Dutch urbanists organized new housing estates according to hierarchical principles that would ideally result in a sequence of scale levels, claiming that the resulting spatial structures would promote parallel social structures that enhanced a sense of community—a way of thinking that can also be found in other countries. Located in the green, rural countryside (echoing the principles of the Garden City), these neighborhoods were believed to be healthy. Public housing dominated them; in the Netherlands overall the percentage of private housing could be as low as 20%. Since mass housing

implies repetition and the development of standard typologies, these principles appeared to be ideally suited for modern approaches to architecture, though it took some 10 years before Modernism became the norm. Repetition and standardization became the norm straight away, but contrary to what “official” historiography has to say, most architects stuck to “traditional” idioms. (See, for instance, *Stad voor het leven*: this is even true for Rotterdam.) Apart from the principle dilemmas—some critics refused to see housing as a distinct problem and argued that the only proper way to improve people’s living conditions was to fight for higher wages—social housing systems also tended to isolate housing for the poor from housing for the other social classes. This resulted in class separation by urban area instead of segregation in smaller-scale districts, as had been normal in most cities. Starting as a financial support mechanism to accommodate the working classes, public housing began to have an impact on the social geography of cities; the consequences, sometimes dramatic, only began to manifest themselves in the 1960s.

During the Cold War, a new form of Modernism evolved as a response to socialist realism. Recent studies show that it was specifically created to represent a type of society that cultivated the virtues of leisure and consumption rather than those of hard work to fulfill the promises of communism. Perhaps unsurprisingly, it originated in the United States. Sports facilities, shops, offices, private villas, cultural institutions, and everything related to the car adopted this so-called International Style. Although it heralded private consumerism, it had a political mission no less collectivist than its socialist counterpart: rapidly expanding social security networks to guarantee that the miracles of the unfolding consumer society were within reach of all social classes. Representing the Welfare State, the International Style underlined the alleged moral and technological superiority of Western countries. Very few authors dared to question the ideology of the International Style; in all likelihood, they were reluctant to denounce the political principles it professed to represent.

Inner City Decline, Suburban Sprawl

Probably the most dramatic spatial revolution was a consequence of the growth of private car ownership. The car opened up the countryside and promoted suburban expansion; living in suburbia, in turn, made it almost imperative to buy a car. Although most Western countries saw their populations grow at an astonishing pace, the larger cities lost inhabitants to smaller suburban settlements. Amsterdam, for instance, shrunk by almost 300,000 people to about 700,000. As the car became the main vehicle communicating between practically all functions of modern life, shopkeepers in the inner cities felt the need to compete with the facilities in the new, car-friendly neighborhoods in the countryside. Representing the interests of the shopkeepers and usually supported by the chambers of commerce, municipal politicians pushed large-scale inner city reconstruction projects that cut traffic arteries through densely built-up historical urban tissue. This process soon triggered protest from conservationists and citizens alike, but nevertheless caused monumental damage in many European cities.

The consequences of this policy were almost negligible, however, compared to what was going on in the United States. There, it had started much earlier, alarming European urbanists who toured the country in the 1930s. In the 1950s, it confronted American cities with an unprecedented urban crisis. Whereas in the first years after the war American urbanists had been convinced of the benefits of their ways of doing things, which they helped to spread to Europe, now they became interested in European alternatives to their rigorous zoning schemes. In the late 1950s, some of them imported multi-use policies and a preference for pedestrian streets—still relatively scarce in Europe—to the United States (Wakeman 2014). The book that summarized and expanded these new ways of thinking, however, was American: Jane Jacobs’s *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961).

Over the course of the 1960s, the architectural and urban manifestations of the welfare state were increasingly criticized in Europe as well. By then, new large-scale housing estates concentrated a specific layer of the population and, apart from the amenities of everyday life (schools, shops, sports facilities), had nothing to offer; urbanists criticized them as inhuman. Now, new approaches to housing were tested. Accommodating the car was no longer the urbanists' only concern in designing the public domain: near home, *cul de sac* patterns replaced the usual racetrack plans, subordinating the car to the needs of playing children, cyclists, and pedestrians. Often, their layout showed a preference for irregular geometrical patterns that sometimes appeared to emulate organic growth. And the repetitious aspects of mass housing were mitigated by a marked increase of low-rise typologies.

At the same time, housing gained a new meaning. Once it had been part of a social project geared to the needs of fast (and therefore industrial) production, and the regimentation of modern life became even more pronounced with the introduction of modern management techniques in the late 1940s. Now it had to pay tribute to people's psychological needs as well. Allegedly, the days of the homo economicus were numbered, as the home ludens resurfaced. Although these new approaches broke away from earlier expansion models, their protagonists still presented them as modern, actually claiming that they wanted to reenact the ideas of prewar Modernism in its pioneering phase. Whereas in the 1950s, modern planners preferred to position themselves as managers, flatly denying that their job was in any way related to the arts, in the 1970s, art, sociology, and psychology on the one hand, and excursions exploring ways of doing things that were not tainted by the problems of modern life on the other hand, began to dominate many professional journals. Architects and urban planners showed a renewed interest in history (until then a thing to break away from) and a fascination with Africa (not yet corrupted by modern life).

Conclusion: The End of Suburbia?

The two competing political systems showed signs of decay in the 1980s, and faded away after the collapse of socialism in 1989. In the Netherlands, public housing lost its dominant role. However, the preference for planning large-scale housing estates remained, resulting in a remarkable number of huge projects in which private, owner-occupied housing became the rule. Beginning in the 1980s, so-called yuppies (young urban professionals) rediscovered inner cities as ideal places to live, ushering in the first wave of gentrification. Urban life became popular again, a trend that would ultimately reverse the housing preferences of most people, which were increasingly molded by the forces of the free market. Marketeers soon recognized a strong preference for historical architectural and urban models. New Urbanism revitalized the historical repertory of alleys, streets, and squares, practically banned from the urbanist's toolkit since the 1950s, when the distribution of freestanding volumes in a seemingly endless green field was the thing to do. Research in such diverse fields as urban sustainability and health questioned the viability of car-dependent lifestyles, apparently underlining this new model's positive aspects. Today, concentrated, high-density forms of housing, once associated with the social problems and health hazards of the metropolis, have become a hyped attraction. Suburbia, until a decade ago epitomizing the dream of the middle classes, now figures as one of urbanism's most deplorable mistakes.

Related Topics

Massey: Key Planning Histories of the Developing Western Tradition

Kress: The German Traditions of *Städtebau* and *Stadtlandschaft* and Their Diffusion Through Global Exchange

Lopez: Public Health and Urban Planning

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GLOBAL SUBURBANIZATION IN PLANNING HISTORY

André Sorensen

Suburbs and suburbanization have long been a major concern of planning history. Planning emerged during a period of explosive urban-industrial growth during the second half of the 19th century, and the management of that growth through town extension plans and the regulation of greenfield land development was from the start a core goal of planning advocates (e.g. Unwin 1918; Sutcliffe 1981). A major theme of planning history has therefore been the study of the emergence of planning approaches to the creation of better suburbs, their successes and failures, the regulatory and governance machinery established, and its sometimes sabotage by political processes and vested interests. In this story, the planning histories of the UK and particularly the US played leading roles. Suburbs came to be seen as a characteristically American phenomenon, and the American suburb became the standard against which others were judged. Suggesting that this US-centric approach to the planning history of suburbanization has major shortcomings, this chapter sets out a conceptual framework for a more inclusive and comparative suburban planning history.

In part, the narrow focus of suburban planning histories is a consequence of early choices in defining the term *suburb*. Prominently, in his seminal book *Crabgrass Frontier*, Kenneth Jackson explicitly defined suburbs as low-density middle- and upper-class residential areas at the edge of a city to which (male) suburban commuters traveled to work (Jackson 1985: 11). Jackson's project was to understand and explain America's divergence in residential patterns from those of the rest of the world, and he does this brilliantly, but his definition also greatly oversimplifies the story, even of American suburbs.

Defining suburbs as planned, middle-class residential areas on the urban fringe owned by men who commute to jobs in a central city problematically excludes the majority of suburban experience. Lewis (2004) shows that suburbs were also places of manufacturing and industry, and of their associated working-class residential areas. Similarly, Hayden (1981) argues that the conventional wisdom systematically excluded women from the narrative, while Weir and Hayward show that the politics of race was also central to US suburbanization (Weir 1995; Hayward 2009). And crucially, defining suburbs as low-density residential areas of single-family homes excludes the experience of most of the rest of the world. Continental Europe, postcolonial planning, developmental state planning in East Asia, and both planned and informal development in the Global South are all excluded by this focus on affluent American planned suburbs. As Keil (2013) has

argued, somehow the history of suburbs and of suburban planning must include the Global South. The question here is: how can we meaningfully compare and learn from planning histories of suburbs in their full diversity?

A Global Approach

In this chapter, therefore, the term *suburb* is used in its broadest sense, to describe areas of new development at the edge of the existing built-up area of cities. Such growth areas include planned and unplanned residential areas, employment areas, informal development, and the extended areas of incremental and scattered development labeled *desakota* by McGee and *periurban* by others (see, e.g., McGee 1991; Harris 1996; Lewis 2004; Webster 2011). Modern planning is defined, following Sutcliffe (1981), as the creation of governance systems to regulate private land development, and to plan and coordinate the investments of multiple public and private actors in the public interest.

The obvious challenge of including the Global South is that a much wider set of cases and of fundamental conditions adds complexity, as suburbanization processes and planning responses are extremely varied. The advantage is that it helps to focus attention on the fundamental challenges presented by attempts to plan and regulate land development at the urban edge that planning advocates everywhere confront: How to achieve a better quality of urban environment for the longer term? How to ensure social equity in access to urban space, housing, and livelihoods through processes of urbanization? And how to balance public and private goals and initiatives?

This chapter attempts neither a global history of suburban planning, nor a review of existing research on suburban planning histories. It suggests a comparative approach to the study of suburban planning histories that focuses on fundamental issues that are shared across many cases, and that is able to include the Global South. In order to make sense of this much more diverse set of planning histories, I draw on the historical institutionalist (HI) theory and concepts set out more fully in Chapter 4 of this volume, and propose a focus on the critical junctures when new institutions for suburban planning and development control were created. This puts attention squarely on the contingent moments of creating new planning systems, many of which occurred in response to crises sparked by explosive (sub)urban growth.

Institutionalism is an approach that puts institutions—understood as the shared norms, formal rules, and standard operating practices that shape action in social, political, and economic processes—at the center of social and political analysis. A basic insight of HI is that new institutions are often created during moments of crisis. Such periods of major institutional innovation are referred to as critical junctures, when existing political and institutional structures fail to provide adequate solutions to pressing problems, and opportunities to develop new institutions open up (Sorensen 2015).

The period of rapid urban-industrial growth that led to the emergence of planning at the end of the 19th century fits well with this conception of institutional change as occurring during periods of crisis that create demands for new approaches. In country after country, rapid urbanization created an urban crisis precisely because existing institutions for managing land development, infrastructure provision, and municipal government failed, and were widely understood to have failed. In many countries this created political conjunctures in which new approaches to planning and the regulation of private land development became possible.

The institutions of interest here are those designed to regulate the production of new urban space and property in suburbs. A comparative institutional approach to suburban planning history should therefore focus on initial attempts to create rules and procedures to manage the development of land at the urban edge. The hypothesis is that the circumstances under which initial approaches to planning for suburban growth emerged, the particular actors involved and the institutional

choices made, have produced enduringly different planning systems in different places. I suggest that these moments of creating new institutions to regulate suburban development are important critical junctures in the planning history of many jurisdictions, which in many cases have had long-term impacts on patterns of institutional and physical development. The idea is not that planning institutions are then frozen or locked in to a particular approach, but rather that early choices tend to establish different evolutionary trajectories of institutional development.

The value of this conceptual framework for planning history is twofold: first, historical institutionalism provides a rich conceptual and methodological toolbox for comparative analysis, focused on the importance of the timing and sequencing of moments of institutional change (Pierson 2004; Capoccia and Kelemen 2007), processes and typologies of incremental institutional change (Mahoney and Thelen 2010), and the role of ideas, institutional design, and policy entrepreneurs in creating new institutions (Campbell 2002; Schmidt 2008). Second, and possibly more important, the focus on institutions and patterns of institutional change enables a robust comparative analysis, even between different cases, as the focus is on the development and evolution of particular planning institutions, rather than on attempts to characterize a planning system or urban areas as a whole. Differences in levels of urbanization or development, between core and periphery, and between governance systems become variables that help us explain our cases, rather than insuperable obstacles to comparison (Tilly 1984; Robinson 2011; Sorensen 2015).

An HI approach suggests particular kinds of research questions, such as: In any given jurisdiction, who were the main actors involved in the establishment of the first modern approaches to planning and regulating land development on the edge of cities? What obstacles did they face, and how did their proposals change between initial concepts and the suburban planning systems that became established? What were the major characteristics of the political conjuncture that allowed these changes? Which actors gain or lose from the institutional choices that were made? How did the timing and sequencing of major institutional change affect the choices of institutions? To what extent have early institutional choices had enduring effects on later planning for suburban growth, and why?

The next sections briefly sketch an analysis of the first successful attempts to create suburban planning regulations in four cases: the UK and US, because they were each leaders in building—and later in planning—suburbs, and also have rich scholarship on those processes; Japan, because it was never colonized by the western colonial powers, and developed its own planning system and land laws with careful borrowing from other countries; and finally India, which was long a British colony, and received planning institutions as a colonial imposition that has continued to shape planning approaches since independence.

The United Kingdom

The establishment of modern planning in Britain is extremely well documented, and achieving systems to regulate suburban growth is central to the story (Ashworth 1954; Cherry 1974; Sutcliffe 1981). As is well known, the key concern of early planning advocates was the desperate housing conditions of the poor in the industrial cities. This provoked a range of responses, from the early sanitary reforms, to poor law reform, to a wide range of charitable projects to build low-cost housing for the poor (Ashworth 1954; Hall 1988). These philanthropic efforts to build affordable housing had lasting impacts on British planning thought, and careful analysis of the costs of building decent houses at a price that working-class families can afford to rent is an enduring feature of British planning (Gaskell 1981; Cherry 1996).

Financial viability was also the focus of Howard's ([1902] 1985) proposal for Garden Cities, which was devoted primarily to an analysis of the economics of building new towns with high-quality affordable housing. Howard's concept relied on private philanthropic activity

in the form of limited-dividend companies rather than state-led planning and building (Hardy 1991; Hall and Ward 1998). A major impact of Howard's ideas was to focus the attention of planning advocates on the importance of low-cost land outside the city. As Cherry put it, to solve the urban crisis:

The exploitation of the suburban periphery was held to be the key. It had two major benefits: it offered the possibility of providing land on which cheaper houses could be built, and it had the attributes of healthiness where houses could be built in conditions of space, fresh air and sunlight. The British model for 20th-century urban development took shape: low-density housing built in the form of garden suburbs, with an extreme variant being that of the garden city (Cherry 1996: 28).

Before the First World War, the main activity was by private nonprofit developers, such as the cooperative tenants' societies that built small estates of cottages to house the working classes on a rent-to-own basis detailed by Gaskell (1981).

The focus of Britain's first planning law was the creation of effective ways to assert public control over private building activities on the edge of towns. The 1909 Housing, Town Planning, etc., Act permitted local authorities to undertake planning schemes to regulate suburban growth (Sutcliffe 1981; Rydin 1993). Cherry (1996: 36) suggests that this law was significant because it was the first law that authorized local authorities to prepare plans for suburban extensions that were binding on private landowners. He argues that this laid the foundations of British planning in the 20th century by establishing local authority powers to regulate private land development, including the arrangement of houses, densities, land uses, and layouts of new roads. It did not establish powers for local authorities to expropriate land on the urban fringe.

The first law to require the planning and regulation of land development on the urban fringe was the 1919 Housing and Town Planning Act, designed to increase housing supply, especially for demobilized soldiers at the end of the First World War (Smith and Whysall 1990; Cherry 1996). Although remembered primarily as the bill that enabled a huge expansion of local authority housing, it was also groundbreaking in *requiring* local councils to prepare plans for growth in the suburbs, whereas the 1909 law was merely permissive. Although Hall (1988) is dismissive of the monotonous layouts and eclectic architecture of the interwar suburbs, the combination of massive local authority-led public housing provision, and even greater speculative housing building in new suburban areas opened up by electric tramlines, dramatically democratized access to good housing. A huge amount of housing was built at prices affordable to the better-off among the working classes, as well as the growing middle class.

The 1909 and 1919 laws established several enduring characteristics of British planning: the central role of civil society associations in pressing for better planning laws and practices; national government action in establishing planning powers, but in the form of legislation granting local governments the authority and then mandate to plan; a concern for larger-scale suburban planning schemes designed to ensure sanitary conditions, amenity, and convenience in new suburbs; provisions to ensure that adequate roads, public space, and infrastructure were provided comprehensively when suburban land is developed; and a requirement that local authority schemes be approved by a national government board before they became binding on private land owners. Gaskell argues that the 1909 act drew on the 19th-century experience of self-help, estate development, and the incremental extension of local authority powers, and "determined the character of much ensuing 20th-century housing and planning legislation" (Gaskell 1981: 41).

Central to British planning—at least until the major turning point of the late 1970s and Thatcherism—was its focus on achieving affordable housing for the working classes, and on the costs and benefits of different approaches. This reflects the influence of 19th-century philanthropic

efforts to provide housing for the poor, and the focus of early planning advocates on housing for the working class. A second enduring (and contradictory) concern has been with controlling the spread of urban development: preventing urban sprawl and “conurbation” by creating defined, legible, separate urban areas, and maintaining the separation between towns through relatively restrictive rules for land development and the creation of extensive greenbelts (Hall 1973; Amati 2008). Many argue that this has contributed to increased land costs, and on average smaller and more expensive housing than might otherwise have been the case (Clawson and Hall 1973; Evans 1991).

The United States

Despite close ties, similar legal systems, and much borrowing of planning ideas, the US experience and early planning legislation is utterly different from that of the UK. In the US the focus of planning history is on municipal boosterism, private land developers, and the design of park systems, sanitary infrastructure, and upper-class suburban estates. This stems largely from fundamentally different urban and governance conditions. Cherry (1996: 33) argues that 19th-century US towns faced far fewer environmental and housing problems than those in the UK. The availability of inexpensive land and simple and ample gridded street layouts that enabled circulation reduced the need for public planning powers over suburban development. Urban plots were inexpensive and building materials were cheap, while labor was in short supply and much better paid than in Europe. Higher earnings meant that in most cities housing was affordable even for the lower middle classes to buy.

American cities also enjoyed a wide range of powers in the 19th century, even before the development of modern planning laws. Municipal corporations could issue bonds, buy land, and set up enterprises to supply water and drains, and made major investments in parks and park systems that extended far beyond the existing built up area (Wilson 1988). Many cities had powers to appoint surveyors to extend the street grid into undeveloped areas, as in Manhattan (Spann 1988). They did all of this on a huge scale, though they had few formal powers over private land development. So even before modern planning laws, municipal governments had major impacts on development patterns. The focus of planning histories of this period is less on attempts to gain municipal planning powers, as in the UK, and more on what municipalities did with existing powers, and on private land development initiatives (Warner 1962; Scott 1969; Jackson 1985; Hayden 2003).

For example, Warner (1962: 117) showed that Boston’s unplanned and unregulated suburban growth of the 19th century was built by thousands of small-scale builders, but in highly uniform patterns, shaped by what he describes as “regulation without laws.” Major constraints were the shortage of capital, which meant that developments were often covered by multiple mortgages, and by the housing preferences of middle-class buyers, who sought standardized housing products that maintained resale value. To sell, houses had to be near streetcar lines, with street frontage, sewers, and water supply.

Many accounts of suburban planning in the US begin with the sanitary reform movements following the cholera and typhus epidemics of the first half of the 19th century. Municipal governments across the US made enormous investments to ensure clean water supplies and sewers, inspired at least in part by a desire of municipal boosters to attract investors and new population (Tarr and Konvitz 1987; Melosi 2000). A further major planning history focus is on suburban housing ideals: their origins; their manifestation in the early planned suburbs for the wealthy in places like Riverside, Illinois, and Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia; and their influences on broader housing preferences (Fishman 1987; Hayden 2003).

US planning histories highlight the tremendous diversity of initiatives in major cities, and focus on local projects and conflicts in which city boosters, including large land owners and business elites, almost always played a major role (Scott 1969; Sies and Silver 1996). Land development was allowed and even encouraged almost everywhere, with few restrictions or requirements for contributions

to infrastructure. Instead the focus was on City Beautiful plans (Scott 1969) that borrowed the European neoclassical Beaux Arts style and wedded it to large-scale civic improvement projects in the central city, and park systems in the suburbs (Sutcliffe 1981). The most important example was Daniel Burnham's 1909 Plan of Chicago, privately sponsored by Chicago big-business clubs.

But none of this activity falls within our definition of modern planning as consisting of public legal frameworks and plans to regulate private land development activity. In the US the first legislation that effectively regulated private urban development in a comprehensive, city-wide manner was the New York zoning ordinance of 1916 (Sutcliffe 1981). Sutcliffe emphasizes the key role played by business elites in creating New York's zoning system as a way to protect property values in desirable central city areas, and suggests that the involvement of big business is a fundamental characteristic of planning in the US. Indeed, this central role of business as advocates for planning is emphasized in planning histories of cities across the US (e.g. Abbott 1983; Silver 1984; Hancock 1996).

Planning acts spread rapidly across the states during the 1920s, after the federal government drafted a Standard Zoning Enabling Act in 1924 that provided a template that states could use to draft their own laws. Zoning was the first widely adopted legal system that allowed municipalities to regulate development on private land, often accompanied by the creation of planning commissions and community plans that included plans for street networks, parks, transit, etc. But although many zoning ordinances covered entire municipal areas and specified allowable land-uses, densities, and plot sizes, they tended to put few other conditions on development, and failed to link capital investment in roads, schools, and sewer and water infrastructure to development (Porter 1986; Cullingworth 1997). Municipal fragmentation meant that few US city regions were able to create larger regional planning systems that could plan for growth that spilled across municipal boundaries, so suburban development continued to sprawl outward relatively unchecked (Figure 30.1).



Figure 30.1 Suburban housing in the US is mostly produced as very large-scale master-planned gated communities such as Rhodes Ranch on the edge of Las Vegas, built just before the crash of 2008. Weak planning powers mean that many municipal governments rely on large-scale master-planned developments to provide infrastructure and amenities.

Source: André Sorensen.

Attempts to regulate development became controversial during the postwar boom of suburban development. Rapid growth exponentially increased the scale and intensity of conflicts, and helped launch an enduring debate over “urban sprawl” that is really a debate about the nature of good suburban living environments, and the role of public planning in achieving them. And planning debates in the US continue to be dominated by controversy over the continued spread of unplanned suburban sprawl (Gillham 2002; Bruegmann 2005). The important point here is that in the US—partly because early urban conditions were not as bad as in the UK, partly because of strong property rights, fragmented municipal and state governments, and the central role played by land developers and big business in advocating for planning—effective systems to regulate suburban development were not a priority of early planning advocates. The capacity to regulate and manage suburban and exurban development remains elusive, even though the negative consequences of sprawl are widely understood.

Japan

Japan was developing a modern planning system at about the same time as the UK and US, but in different circumstances, involving different actors, a different government structure, different land ownership patterns, and different outcomes. Japan already had some of the largest cities in the world in the 18th century: Tokyo had over a million people, while Osaka and Kyoto had about half a million each. Although there was nothing resembling modern city planning, city magistrates did designate land for different segments of the population—samurai, artisan, or merchant—and street grids were widely used in merchant areas (Jinnai 1995; Sorensen 2002). Perhaps the most important urban legacy of the feudal period, however, was the almost universal availability of clean water in urban areas, and effective systems for removal of human waste for use as fertilizer (Hatano 1994). The desperately unsanitary conditions of UK cities were unknown.

In 1867, the country overthrew the feudal system, opened itself to the world, and began a process of modern industrialization. A further condition that shaped early planning efforts was the fact that the population of Tokyo shrank by about half in the 1870s with the collapse of the feudal system, and did not regain its former population and physical extent until just before World War I. Managing growth at the fringe was therefore not a concern of initial planning efforts, which focused almost entirely on redeveloping central areas of the capital Tokyo (Hein 2010).

The first modern planning law was passed by the central government in 1919, and applied to all of the larger cities. As with other aspects of Japanese developmental state governance, this was a top-down exercise: the main actors were Home Ministry bureaucrats (Pyle 1974), as municipal governments were essentially branch offices of the central ministries at this time, with most of their leadership seconded from central ministries. For its time, the 1919 City Planning Law was quite advanced, with provisions for land-use zoning, a building code, a building line system to regulate new land development on the fringe, urban infrastructure designation, and a Land Readjustment (LR) system. LR is essentially a legal framework to allow the pooling and replotting of land to form new suburban areas on the urban fringe with landowner contributions of land for roads and other infrastructure (Doebele 1982). Although the zoning system was simpler than today, this law clearly established the legal power to regulate land use, and was the basis for a comprehensive planning system that enabled public planning initiatives and regulated private building and land development to ensure conformity with public plans (see Sorensen 2002: 114).

In terms of suburban development, the most important provisions were zoning, the building line system borrowed from the German *Fluchtlinienplan* system, and the LR system borrowed from the German *Lex Adickes*. In the 1919 law, LR could be carried out only by voluntary associations of landowners, and only where over 66% of landowners representing over 66% of the



Figure 30.2 Japanese suburbs expanded rapidly and in relatively unplanned forms in the postwar period, producing vast and chaotic landscapes now dominated by automobile-oriented retail land uses along major roads. Here a suburban arterial road in Sanda-shi, Hyogo prefecture, north of Kobe.

Source: André Sorensen.

land agreed to participate. Such projects were not a case of public control of private activity, as these projects were voluntary. After the Kanto earthquake of 1923, the law was revised and made compulsory for reconstruction projects in central Tokyo, however, and this compulsory version was widely used by municipal governments in the 1950s and 60s to develop new suburban areas (Sorensen 1999; 2007) (Figure 30.2).

The building line system was borrowed from the German *Fluchtlinienplan* system, but it was not as effective in regulating suburban growth as its German model. In Germany municipal authorities could use building line regulations to regulate the extension of streets into new districts on the fringe, and could prohibit building where no lines were designated. But in Japan all roads over 2.7 meters in width were automatically designated as building lines, so unregulated sprawl could and did continue to spread out along existing farm lanes (Sorensen 2001; 2002).

Although the 1919 system was not as effective as many planners had hoped, it was advanced and relatively comprehensive, and its basic structures, not revised at all until 1968, continue in place. A fundamental characteristic of Japanese planning is the central government-led planning system. All planning law and policy continues to be made in Tokyo, allowing local planners little discretion to modify or strengthen approaches to regulating suburban land development. Many planners have complained that this system was designed in Tokyo with Tokyo problems in mind, and crippled the planning efforts of other cities, producing a dull uniformity among Japanese cities. Reforms to allow more local autonomy only just started to have an impact at the beginning of the 21st century (Hein and Pelletier 2006). Meanwhile, even though LR projects were extensively used, the weak building line system meant that unplanned sprawl continued to be a major problem for Japanese cities throughout the 20th century (Hebbert 1994; Sorensen 2001).

Thus, early choices in setting up the new planning system in 1919 were decisive in establishing key planning institutions and approaches.

India

Unlike Japan, which was never colonized, the essential fact of planning in India is the colonial legacy of British planning law. That law is still central to the planning system even six decades after independence, and it is a focus of much writing on planning in India. During the colonial period, the British created a relatively strong planning system and powers to regulate suburban land development, but this system has not been effective in managing suburban growth.

Indian planning laws were imperial impositions designed to respond primarily to the colonizer's needs and priorities, not indigenous needs (King 1980; Hosagrahar 2005). Watson (2009) describes the result as reflecting the "conflicting rationalities" of colonial planning and indigenous urbanisms. The British used planning powers to build military cantonments, some hill stations, and, famously, the monumental new capital of New Delhi as a demonstration of imperial power (Sen 2010). In response to pressure from independence movements, British colonial authorities agreed to create representative municipal governments; but before these were established, key city planning powers, including the responsibility for developing town planning schemes for suburbs, were transferred to newly established "improvement trusts," with boards appointed by colonial authorities. This removed the responsibility for capital investments in infrastructure from self-governing municipalities, to ensure continued control by colonial elites (Ansari 2009: 52). The multiple competing government bodies with overlapping jurisdictions generated serious problems after independence.

British colonial planning was dualistic, with areas for the British enjoying much better infrastructure, lower densities, and better amenities than the rest of the urban area, which it virtually ignored (Ansari 2009: 51). Home shows that British colonial authorities systematically used planning to segregate cities in their African and Asian colonies, with separate settlement areas for different races and classes of people, and in Africa urban areas were generally off-limits to "native" populations except for those who had employment within the town (Home 1997). Throughout Africa and Asia, the British drew rigid distinctions between the "white town" of the British, and the "black town" of native populations (Sen 2010).

The Indian planning system was from the start a foreign institution, designed in and for another quite different context. British colonial authorities transferred planning legislation to several colonies immediately after the British Housing, etc. Act of 1919, and to many more after the English Town and Country Planning Act of 1932. In some ways, the planning system was legally stronger in India than it was in the UK in the 1930s, because there was less democratic pushback to provisions that restricted the rights of landowners to develop their land. The problem is that the social, legal, and policy-making infrastructure and civil society movements that created these laws existed only in the UK, so not only did the new system lack legitimacy in the colonies, it was extremely difficult to adapt and revise as circumstances changed (Berrisford 2011).

While the formal planning system in India is known for its strong land laws and powers, these are widely understood to be ineffective. For example, Routray et al. (1996) show that planning has been unable to keep pace with development in Odisha state capital Bhubaneswar, although the municipal government has a sophisticated planning system and a comprehensive plan, and owns almost half the urban area. There is weak coordination between government departments and agencies concerned with urban and regional development planning, and none of the four town planning schemes designed to facilitate suburban growth were successfully brought to legal status (Figure 30.3).

Similarly, Pethe et al. explain that static and detailed Master Plans are unable to accommodate or be adapted to the dynamic and rapid development on Mumbai's urban edges (Pethe, Nallathiga, Gandhi, and Tandel 2014). Master plans are quickly out of date because of long delays

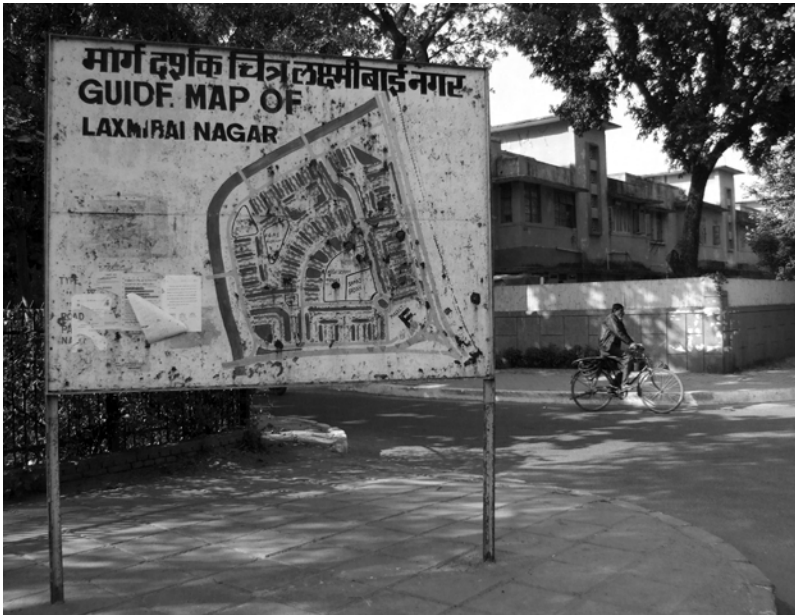


Figure 30.3 Laxmibai Nagar is a suburb of New Delhi built in the 1950s to house government workers in a typical neighborhood unit layout with a park in the center, and market area at one corner.

Source: André Sorensen.

in plan making; meanwhile corporate land developers can get governmental officials to grant them “exceptions” or permission to develop counter to the plan through payment of bribes. Roy (2009) describes such exceptions as “unmapping” in favor of corporate actors, emphasizing that they are central to the failure of Indian city planning.

Informal settlements routinely grow in areas designated for residential use, and slum dwellers then intensively negotiate with politicians and planners to achieve incremental security of tenure. Benjamin (2006) detailed the ways in which poor communities strengthen their *de facto* tenure, pressuring municipal politicians through organized social movements, political contacts, and “vote bank politics.” As he shows, “Master Plans designate large territories for development in higher-level policy documents, but in reality these territories remain ‘occupied’ by pre-existing settlements and see newer ones developing” (Benjamin 2006: 723).

The case of India shows clearly the staying power of an initial planning system that is imposed from elsewhere, even if it is not particularly well suited to the local context. Many of these systems have been transformed in practice, as made clear by extensive informal development, and the fact that exceptions to planning laws are available for purchase. But contingent choices made by the colonial authorities prior to independence continue to structure Indian planning approaches today.

Conclusion

This chapter suggests that a systematic comparison of the circumstances, timing, and outcomes of the creation of modern planning approaches to managing suburban land development should be a fundamental comparative planning history project, and that historical institutionalist theory, including the concepts of critical junctures of institution formation and of developmental pathways, will be valuable.

These four planning systems demonstrate fundamentally different approaches to—and outcomes of—suburban planning and land development regulation. The suggestion is neither that planning systems remain static over time, nor that there is a deterministic relationship between early critical junctures of institutional development and later outcomes. And insufficient evidence of later developments has been presented here to be able to make claims about long-run outcomes. But it is clear that these cases demonstrate continuing fundamental differences in their planning approaches, and that important and enduring characteristics were established in each case in the first planning legislation that regulated private suburban land development.

This supports a number of key HI claims: First, contingent decisions made early in a process can have long-term path-shaping consequences, including the focus on some approaches and capacities, and the neglect of others, with whole sets of possible approaches ignored. Especially in the case of new governance institutions, the selection of one approach can create developmental pathways that are enduring.

Second, institutions—and perhaps especially planning institutions—help structure and shape policy opportunity and political mobilization because they have powerful distributional consequences, allocating resources unevenly among actors. The beneficiaries of a particular institution are likely to be motivated and have the resources to fight to defend it, making fundamental reform more difficult over time. Although institutions do continue to evolve, it can become increasingly difficult to adopt any of the significantly different approaches that might have been possible before the current system became established. Convergence of planning systems on a particular “best practice” approach therefore seems unlikely.

Third, complex systems such as urban planning co-evolve with multiple other institutions, such as property ownership systems, land ownership patterns, infrastructure provision arrangements, and local government administrative capacity and finance arrangements. Sets of institutions that evolve together are often mutually reinforcing, and this can have profound impacts on patterns of institutional development. Such interlocking sets of complementary institutions can produce particularly path-dependent and enduring institutional regimes, as their effectiveness is mutually interdependent.

The implication for suburban planning histories is that research should focus on the critical junctures when planning regulations for suburban land development were first established, as these shape later trajectories of planning law and suburban development. Investigations that focus on the intersection of planning and property law, the compromises made to reconcile one with the other, and the actors involved in those negotiations, seem particularly promising. For countries in the Global South in particular, the timing of the creation of new planning systems, the role of colonial authorities, and the relationship of modern planning ideas and legal frameworks to indigenous and colonial land and property systems seem key for comparative suburban planning histories. More detailed examinations of varied approaches to, and outcomes of, regulating suburban land development promise important insights about basic characteristics of different planning systems, and will be one key to developing robust comparative research in planning history.

Related Topics

Sorensen: Planning History and Theory

Home: Global Systems Foundations of the Discipline

Hein: Idioms of Japanese Planning Historiography

Parnell: Africa’s Urban Planning Palimpsest

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OPPOSITION, PARTICIPATION, AND COMMUNITY-DRIVEN PLANNING HISTORIES

Dirk Schubert

Participation and community-driven planning were topics of debate after World War II, in light of increasing problems with housing and other issues in cities all over the world. Planning, and the participation of stakeholders in preparing plans, is linked in various ways to the history, culture, and politics of cities, regions, and countries and their regulatory regimes. This chapter focuses on developments in democratic, pluralistic societies. In many of these countries, formal (and therefore guaranteed) opportunities for participation are enshrined in different ways in planning law (Selle 1996). Democratic rule is based on political equality and participation rights—although these are not about participation at the housing and building level, but at district and city level, and about having a say in the planning and design of the built environment. As a rule, it is mostly homeowners, landowners, and businesses that are informed of their rights in the course of planning procedures; the rights of tenants are less sharply delineated (Arnstein 1969). Given the variety of parameters by which participation opportunities may be extended or obstructed, the examples that can be referred to here are cursory. Historically, regional scenarios, governance, problematic structures and neighborhoods, funding programmes, the constellations of stakeholders, and the self-understanding of planners as a professional group have been subject to many changes and diverse ways of participation (Healy 2006).

Planning, Participation, and Democracy

In representative democracies with legislative, executive, and judicial authorities, governments formed at various levels by elected politicians are responsible for political decisions, which include planning, land, and building laws. Politicians are democratically elected, (should) work towards fulfilling their election promises, and are then either reelected or not. Administrative authorities execute the politicians' input by turning it into strategies, plans, and projects, and it is assumed that planners work in the "public interest." In addition to the means of participation, which are regulated by planning and construction law, other project-related, individual, and often alternative methods of participation have been fought for, facilitated, and tested. In addition to the participation options provided by formal planning law, other possibilities for involvement have emerged against the backdrop of different national and regional planning cultures, as well as varying power relations and constellations of political alliances (Barlow 1995: x).

In many cases, it is important for projects and implementation of plans to involve additional stakeholders to integrate a more realistic picture of relevant groups and stakeholders in civil society

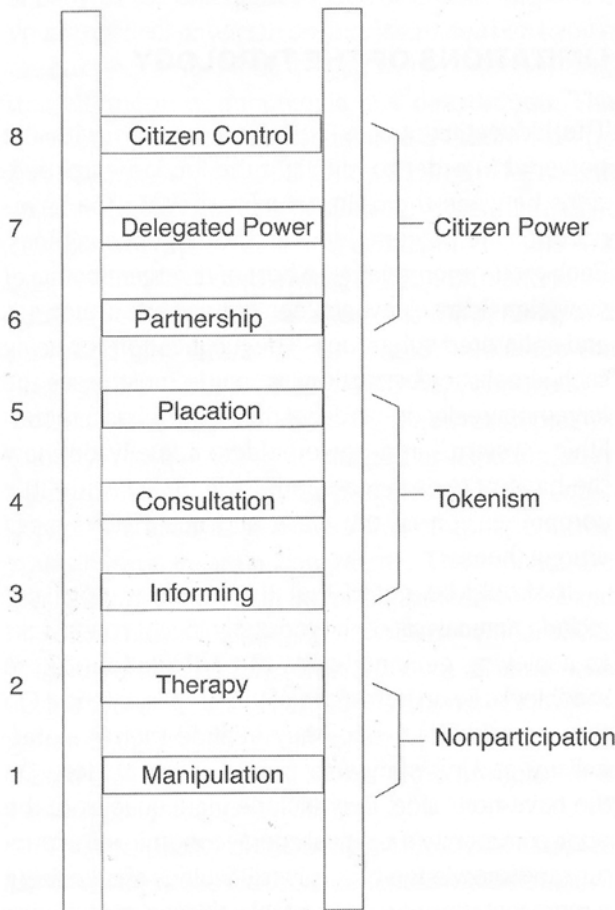


Figure 31.1 Ladder of Citizen Participation.

Source: Arnstein 1969.

into planning, and to facilitate the implementation of plans and projects. The government’s formal political structure, which is made up of state institutions (“command and control”), is often extended by other social stakeholders from the private sector, citizens organizations, interest groups, and NGOs (Brodie, Cowling, and Nissen 2009). This inclusion of other groups and recourse to autonomous elements in decision-making processes constitutes a collaborative approach to governance. It also produces a more realistic portrayal of the power relations within a governance and regulation system, including procedural elements, by means of a kind of counter-flow principle of top-down decisions with bottom-up proposals. Often this can secure the implementation of planning projects on a broader base—for instance by means of facilitation (Figure 31.1).

The model according to which legislative authorities formulate laws on behalf of the entire citizenship, which should be then merely implemented by the executive authority, does not, however, correspond with complex reality. Plans and projects are often long-term, vague, and general, and hidden conflicts do not become apparent until practical constraints have already arisen. In the process, the administrative authority’s margin of discretion expands, while public and private interests merge increasingly and complicate democratic scrutiny. In this context, the demand for planning democratization and participation aims to defend the available possibilities for democratic supervision of the state and its actions (Davidoff 1965). This touches upon the question of power and

creates a structural problem of legitimacy: can planners act in the public interest as it is defined, and how can poorer, disadvantaged groups be included? Many levels of participation in planning at different spatial scales can be distinguished, ranging from information and consultation to cooperation (Arnstein 1969), as well as many gradations, including non-participation, manipulation, tokenism, information, consultation, partnership, delegation of power, and citizen control. Castells's (1983: 280) introduction of the term "urban social movement" distinguishes between "participation" (lowest), "protest" (intermediate), and "urban social movement" (highest).

Looking Back

Until World War I, a liberal understanding of the state prevailed in major capitalist countries. The objective of urban planning, which often secured only the minimum standards of hygiene, construction, and clearance, was to provide a municipal framework for the free development of business and adequate spatial conditions for the local economy. Building owners, landowners, and businesses dominated urban development, while many poorer population groups had to live and work in unhealthy overcrowded conditions, without the right to vote, and consequently without the opportunity to influence and participate in local decision making (Gauldie 1974).

Philanthropic entrepreneurs sought to improve working and living conditions by establishing model settlements. Other initiatives such as the *University Settlements* (in London's East End) and Octavia Hill's *Lady Collectors*, which sought to improve the living conditions of the lower classes, were the result of the social commitment to redeem the poorest (Spain 2001: 10). Bottom-up educational social work aimed to create partnership-based relationships between tenants and landlords (Webb 1938). The intention and social gospel of voluntary associations and philanthropic women, typically from the middle or upper class, was not active involvement of the lower classes through reforms and measures such as slum upgrading, but paternalistic provision to help them help themselves.

The settlement movement later mutated into the neighborhood planning movement, using the strengths of local civic society to plan and preserve cohesive community life (Silver 1985: 162). Other approaches were aimed at improving cities and making them more beautiful. It was often women who voluntarily campaigned for the installation of baths or for playground projects (Talen 2015). This was about small-scale, incremental measures, about a civic and social commitment that used "urban acupuncture" to promote gradual social reform projects that lay beyond the scope of municipal provision. Social conflicts were generally focused on labor and wage issues as well as on matters of organization and voting rights, with the exception of the 1915 rent strike in Glasgow (also mostly initiated by women).

Municipalities and state institutions adopted many of these approaches to reform after World War I (Pooley 1992). The first urban planning and housing laws, for example, emerged in the Netherlands, the UK, and Japan. Planners considered the public estates built in Western Europe in the 1920s to be models for low-income housing. Nobody asked tenants and residents what their real needs were; these were assumed to be "known" by the architects and planners. State interventions that formed part of the New Deal in the United States after 1933 included ambitious government resettlement programs, such as the greenbelt cities. These state interventions improved the housing and living conditions of parts of the population, but did not involve the tenants and poorer people in decision making. In fascist countries, new towns also implicated racist notions and served internal colonization as well as the establishment and development of industries (especially armaments industries). Many social reform ideas were exploited and perverted in the 1930s by the fascist regimes of Italy, Germany, and Spain.

After World War II, reconstruction became the focus of planning in countries that had suffered war damage. The opportunity to implant large-scale, Modernist urban developments promoted the demolition of older buildings. But soon the planned New Towns and neighborhoods in

Britain, which for decades had been a worldwide model for humane housing policy, came under criticism. Against this backdrop, urban planning history was primarily focused on “big plans” and “great planners” (Mumford 1961; Egli 1967). Residents and other stakeholders appeared only as beneficiaries and objects in relation to these plans, and not as partners or subjects whose interests and ideas required consideration.

Winds of Change

After the turbulent decades that saw the Depression, World War II, and the Korean War, the late 1950s represented a period of conformity and peace in many Western countries (*the silent fifties*) during which deferred material desires were satisfied as societies became more affluent. A new young squad of movers, shakers, and technocrats sought to modernize the economy and society along the lines of the dynamic model of the USA. Urban planning was considered a sign of progress, of an orderly beginning of better times ahead, and had the worldwide task of providing adequate spatial contexts for the economy and a growing population (Lowe 1967).

This was followed by growing opposition to the ideology of growth and faith in technocracy, especially from the younger generation. The breadth and diversity of youth movements in the 1960s can barely be reduced to a single common denominator. Latin American students became urban guerrillas; students at Berkeley held sit-ins and teach-ins against the Vietnam War; the Black Panthers clashed with police in the ghettos of the United States; Japanese students, armed like Samurai warriors, fought open battles against the police; Amsterdam’s Provos held happenings; the May revolutionaries in Paris threw up barricades worthy of Hollywood; and German students held theoretical debates (Koenen 2007: 67). The “Third World” was “rediscovered” and guerrilla romanticism developed around the personalities of Che Guevara and Fidel Castro. Hippies and flower children “made love not war” under the gaze of a global television audience and advocated flower power.

Behind this generational community there lay a wide variety of commonalities, mostly anti-authoritarian, leftist, and tied to issues of culture and lifestyle. The younger generation had become the main carrier of upheaval and change during the inertia of the Cold War. Countercultures and subcultures became established in towns and cities where individualism and a focus on leisure and consumption were set against traditional values of subordination and discipline (Dickstein 1997; Frei 2008). Martin Luther King encapsulated the hopes of the time in his famous “I Have a Dream” speech. Urban problems escalated after King’s assassination in the spring of 1968, when riots broke out in more than 100 cities as minorities, the marginalized, and the victims of discrimination rose up in revolt (Figure 31.2).

Residents, tenants, and businesses began to show an interest in their surroundings and living environments, and became active campaigners. Top-down urban redevelopment projects implemented by means of divide-and-conquer strategies were challenged. Resistance grew and began to organize. The political climate saw a phase in which ordinary people were demanding co-determination and participation in civil society, seeking new and relevant formats in order to assert common interests.

The planners who had previously referred only to the facts provided by engineers, traffic experts, statisticians, and architects now had to deal with economists, sociologists, lawyers, and political scientists. Furthermore, these disciplines did not simply accept the planners’ arguments but increasingly subjected them to critical scrutiny. The planners were held responsible for urban problems as well as many of the excesses of city redevelopment, and their core competency in the structural and spatial design of the environment began to be undermined (Campanella 2011). The casualties of redevelopment projects turned into experts, while the planners had the basis of their activities on behalf of the community withdrawn from them, and the legality of projects was questioned. Demands were made for the disempowerment of planners.

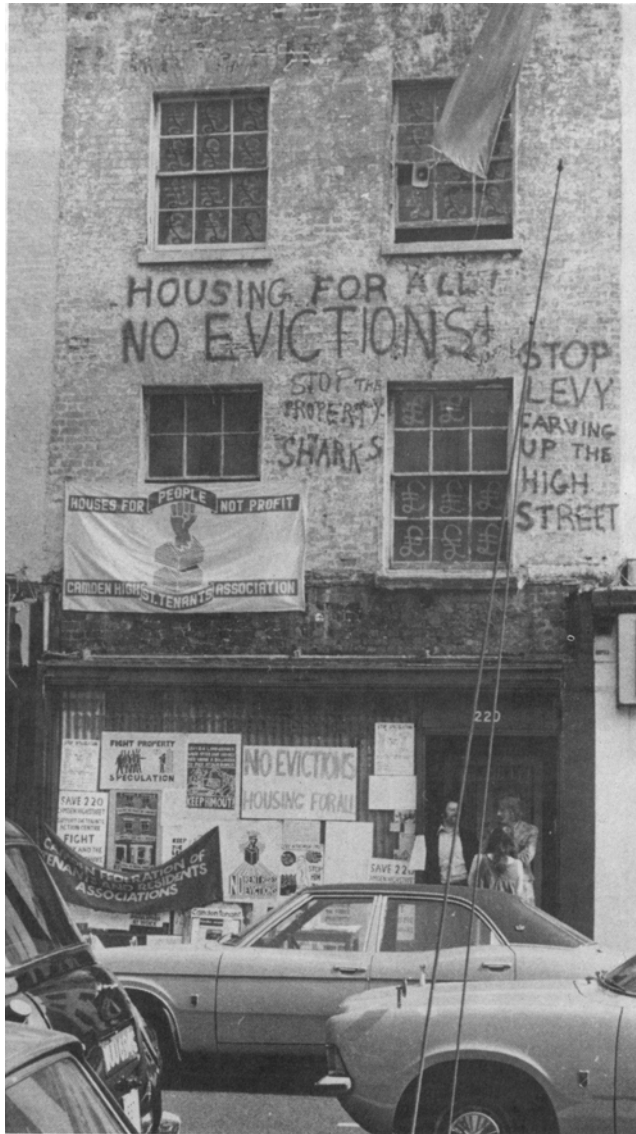


Figure 31.2 Housing for all—No Evictions, Camden, London, 1974.

Source: Wates and Wolmar 1980.

Urban Conflicts

Conferences on topics such as “Crisis in the City,” “Cities in Crisis,” “Urban Crisis,” or “Urban Challenge” became more frequent in the 1970s as urban conflicts became the focus of the media, and scientific reports and the need of urban planning were questioned. Urban disputes and the demand for involvement and participation revolved around the fight against wholesale redevelopment; the preservation of older building stock; the rejection of vast and monostructural housing estates; conflicts over planned urban motorways and the consequent division of neighborhoods; and social (urban) inequality, poverty, social disparity, and inclusion (Figure 31.3).



Figure 31.3 Demand on a poster: No office buildings, no high rise buildings in Hohenfelde, Hamburg 1975. Source: Hamburger Architekturarchiv der Hamburgischen Architektenkammer, Fotoarchiv.

The new expressways increasingly tied the city and its citizens to the car, while public transport was neglected. Whereas the highway planners—supported by the booming automobile industry—initially had free rein, opposition to the “concrete monster” and “apolitical” transport planners soon grew. By the late 1950s, resistance was brewing in San Francisco, soon to be followed by Miami and Baltimore (Mohl 2004: 678). In Washington, DC, the debate was interspersed with racist arguments: “No more white highways through black bedrooms” (Rose and Mohl 2012: 116).

Following on from demands for greater citizen participation made by Jane Jacobs and urban campaigners in many cities, a few measures, including advocacy planning for stakeholders, began to be tested. The era of top-down planning and narrow implementation time frames was over. The tradition of *community planning*—planning created by stakeholders and affected groups (bottom-up) with the help of consultant experts—was established back in the early 1960s. The year in which Jacobs published *Death and Life* (1961) saw the first *community plan* for a neighborhood in Manhattan.

In many cities, the adverse consequences of urban planning and its orgies of demolition could no longer be ignored. The demands for participation, cooperation, and co-decision opportunities for

Paradigm Shifts—International Diffusion of Planning Ideas

In many cases, disputes surrounding urban planning and participation were sparked by specific local projects. These problems cannot be elaborated here in detail, but they caused in general a great variety of movements and perspectives expanding the traditional top-down planning with bottom-up perspectives. Diverse understandings of participation and involvement, for example, clashed over the redevelopment of Covent Garden in London and destabilized the planners at the Greater London Council (GLC). Following massive public protests in 1973, dozens of buildings around the market were listed, and the area was declared a protected zone. Later artists and the *creative classes* were to promote gentrification (Florida 2005). Houses reclaimed for redevelopment were squatted (Wates and Wolmar 1980). It was no coincidence that the Committee on Public Participation was appointed in Britain in 1968 (People and Planning 2014).

In Paris on the other hand, the Les Halles complex, the “Belly of Paris,” was demolished and replaced by a modern project built largely underground, which is currently being redeveloped again (Schneider 2014: 90). The 1968 student revolts in Paris were in part inspired by plans for the urban motorway on the Left Bank as well as high-rise giants such as those on Place d’Italie and in Montparnasse (Miller 2003).

In Spain, a law passed in 1956 (*Ley de régimen del suelo y ordenación urbana*) during the Franco regime introduced principles of modern town planning and formal options that allowed building and property owners to exert some influence, although the bureaucratic authorities generally played this down. After the Franco regime, the pent-up urge for modernization led to the emergence of many movements and campaigns demanding participation and co-determination at a local level. Worried, the authorities then asked residents and stakeholders for their ideas and sought ways to integrate illegal settlements. The government institutions were considered to be a brickwall, repressive towards protest and incapable of differentiated “soft” responses (Pickvance 2003: 106). As the democratic system and the formation of democratic parties expanded, many initiatives were “integrated” and only a few radical organizations continued to exploit “urban warfare” for the “class struggle” (Castells 1983: 215; Castells 1977). As Spain’s economy continued to develop, and the country joined the European Union, these initiatives also disappeared from the scene.

In contrast to the USA, the European wave of wholesale redevelopment began relatively late. (Re)organising the traditional city, clearing “eyesores,” and creating transport corridors for cars were the new tasks. Large-scale social housing projects and new towns had become the hallmark of European catch-up modernization. Tenants in mass housing projects also demanded greater participation and decision-making rights. Paternalistic attitudes were challenged; the tenant-landlord relationship changed from managed object to enabled subject, i.e., one in which tenants desired to be involved in the planning and design of their living environment.

In Europe, the rediscovery and reevaluation of the past began to move further to the center of town planning. The European Architectural Heritage Year 1975, with the catchy slogan “A Future for Our Past,” sparked much resonance and a flurry of activity. What in the 1950s had been described as critical of modernization and preserving Western city structures was now being interpreted as a concern for the preservation and restoration of traditional buildings. Often pushed by tenants, demanding for more participation, there were intensified efforts to preserve and conserve historic buildings as well as to secure the distinctiveness of the cityscape; these efforts reflected changes in values.

In Japan, environmental crises, challenges to the primacy of economic growth (“tear down and redevelop”), and the loss of historic buildings led to a change in thinking. *Machizukuri* (literally, urban design) was now regarded as the antithesis of the term *Toshikeikaku* (urban planning), or centrally enforced planning from above. It reflected new priorities with respect to projects, stakeholders, objectives, and scales of planning. The focus was on the residents’ self-financed and gradual

improvement of the residential environment, which would take into account local particularities, individuality, and the specific charm of distinct neighborhoods.

In the 1970s, resident action groups (Freestone 2009) were founded in Sydney, Australia, and the Woolloomooloo district (west of Sydney Cove), as well as the adjacent residential areas, became the subject of *tabula rasa* remodeling plans. “Homes for people not office blocks for foreign investors” was protesters’ defiant slogan. The “Save the Loo” campaign emerged to articulate the interests of residents and defend them against demolition (Fitzgerald 1992: 278). For the first time ever, residents became involved in urban planning. Class struggle seemed to be unavoidable as the “Battle of Woolloomooloo” made headlines beyond Sydney and Australia. The campaign created a new political alliance of bottom-up trade union and political interests with a green agenda (Jakubowitz 1984: 149), and challenged the methods of wholesale redevelopment. Woolloomooloo’s residents received support from the educated middle classes whose interest lay in conserving historic buildings and, eventually, from the unions who joined up with Jack Munday’s “Green Bans” to present a united political front against redevelopment (“stop knocking down other workers’ housing”). Woolloomooloo became synonymous with successful resistance to gentrification and sweeping building demolition as well as a model for resident-centered planning (Munday 1978: 250).

In the democratic countries and cities of the “Third World” or “Global South,” the conditions for town planning and participation were often quite different (Turner 1972). Some countries do have codified participation procedures enshrined in their planning law, but they often lack the will and powers to implement them. For many newcomers, survival in the cities—often by means of land occupation and settlement—was a precondition for climbing the ladder of the urban labor market from informal to the formal sector. Semi-legal occupation of often peripheral areas formed the basis of long struggles for infrastructure and legalization, and NGOs frequently contended successfully for infrastructural improvements such as sewerage, water, and electricity in informal settlements (favelas, shanty towns, and bidonvilles) and for secure tenure (Rudowsky 1984). It is now accepted that without self-help and the participation of all stakeholders it is not possible to have sustainable and resilient planning.

In advanced capitalist countries the debates on urban planning, urban redevelopment, and the conservation or demolition of buildings were embedded in various protest movements that emerged during this period and gained in importance after 1968. The status quo was questioned and traditional values renegotiated by a diversity of formats like *Sit-Ins* and the *Free Speech Movement*. The wave of protests with varying themes, priorities, and leaders erupted and overran almost all Western countries.

Soon there was a U-turn and people were singing the praises of mixed-use development: building conservation and civic participation became central tenets of cautious urban renewal. Protests, rent strikes, and squats brought about new procedural ideas and a more participative planning culture. The squatter movements in the UK, the Netherlands, and Germany were laboratories of protest about public policy, and strongholds of the subculture emerged in places like Copenhagen’s Christania or San Francisco’s Haight-Ashbury (“Hashbury”). The squatter scene was one of the most important social movements of the 1970s and 1980s. It provided well-interlinked counter-cultural centers that created new political alliances and mobilized a broad public. In terms of urban space, this frequently triggered unplanned multi-stage transformation of areas close to the city centers which included occupancy, restructuring, and upgrading, and was initially supported by artists, students, young academics, and subcultural groups.

Cautious urban renewal was immediately seen as the best and most progressive urban planning concept to slow down the structural decay of older housing areas, to restore these without destroying them, to democratize planning processes, to make procedures less bureaucratic, and to create space for experiments. As well as being interdisciplinary, cautious urban renewal was also international. Similar programs were set up in Vienna, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Bologna, and other cities. Locally based



Figure 31.5 “No Penny more as before!” Large-scale housing estate Darmstadt Kranichstein, 1970.

Source: Hamburger Architekturarchiv der Hamburgischen Architektenkammer, Fotoarchiv.

and focused on the specific features of a place and its inhabitants, customized development concepts for existing housing were developed with the residents (Bodenschatz 2009: 6).

Thus, “benefits” were increasingly reframed within a negative balance, and from the late 1970s the concepts of Fordist urban renewal and modernistic planning were challenged by radical forms of resistance within the context of economic and social upheaval. After a period of uncertainty, a reassessment process was also generated within the discipline of urban planning (Figure 31.5).

Of course, the paradigm shift in the field of urban planning and urban renewal, and the watershed after 1970, were due to a variety of causes (Schubert 2014). Referring to 1973, Peter Hall spoke of the “great shift in zeitgeist” (Hall 2000: 21). The baby-boomer generation, the student movement, and anti-authoritarian currents that spread from Paris to Berkeley articulated demands for participation and self-determination (Kaiser 1988). The cultural significance of the student

uprising (“It is forbidden to forbid”) would prove to be more lasting than its political consequences (Kosc, Juncker, Montreith, and Waldschmidt-Nelson, eds. 2013).

The looming loss of hegemony by the USA was accompanied by “Americanization from below” in other countries by means of popular culture and rebellion against authoritarian paternalism. The dominance of technocrats and the military-industrial complex was rendered increasingly problematic in many industrialized countries, while worldwide civil-rights, anti-war, women’s, and ecology movements forced political changes. The structural change of the economy together with the dramatic decline in industrial jobs in Europe and North America would turn the dream of perpetual prosperity into mere illusion.

Formats of Participation and Community-Driven Planning

Analysis of the great variety of participation and community-driven planning examples shows a great richness of diverse types and formats. From design proposals (Sanoff 2000) to regional planning, from peripheral housing neighborhoods to downtown mix-used developments, win-win solutions could become possible. Evaluating “success” is complicated because it depends on the definition of the term. Often the actual effect was limited, while eventual externalities were larger. It also raises questions about for whom planning and participation is: is prevention of a motorway a success or is it bad for suburban commuters? Positive examples of community-driven planning cannot be generalized but must be contextualized ahead of local problems and conditions, powers and conflicts, stakeholders, actors, and windows of opportunity. There are many ways of planning in a multicultural community-based way, but the best intentions fail because disadvantaged, poorer, and powerless groups are more difficult to organize and often cannot be involved (Wilson 1963: 245).

Generally there are two types of participation: direct by citizens and indirect by agents or advisory bodies (Senatsverwaltung 2011). In many democracies, formal, obligatory forms of participation are provided by special forms. Several forms can be differentiated: planning cells, advocacy planning, counter planning, civic assessment, round table, mediation, open-space-online, petition, referendum, and charette. Additional informal forms can be introduced either before or after formal participation proceedings. Extended types of participation can utilize local knowledge and social capital, can recognize conflicts earlier, and—last but not least—can create wider acceptance of planning and legitimize plans. They can extend social capital and democratic competence, notwithstanding barriers of language, knowledge, and education. However, extended participation is not necessarily positive. Often it is costly and slows down decisions; sometimes it is inefficient; and it may be symbolic politics.

The Future of the Past

The change in planning and planning models from the late 1960s onwards was not only the result of pressure from the outside and from below; it also came from the inside, i.e., from within the urban planning discipline itself. Across the world, experts were also raising issues of the democratization of planning, and procedures were politicized and made more scientific. After World War II, the international diffusion of planning ideas greatly accelerated and intensified thanks to journals, field trips, the media, conferences, and cheaper and faster travel. Statements regarding planners’ self-perception fluctuated between the poles of “movers and shakers” and “facilitators.” The change of roles from confident visionary to dialogue-centered puppet master repeatedly highlights a lack of understanding of self-identity, insufficient demarcation from other disciplines, and inadequately resolved communicability of the profession (Albers 1993; Ward 2002).

The social (urban) movements are the product and producers of modernization, and urban planning history is, when viewed from above, a victorious history of “successful” modernization processes.



Figure 31.6 Poster criticizing lack of participation.

Source: Arnstein 1969.

Viewed from below, however, it looks more like a story of losers and losses. The “defects” and “backwardness” that were “eliminated” in the course of structural, spatial, and social modernization were offset by a sense of mourning for a familiar residential environment that was lost forever. Assimilating different social surroundings and leveling remaining neighborhoods always implies a loss of urban diversity. For urban planning history, it is important to contextualize stakeholders, projects, and plans before a socio-political background, and to integrate transdisciplinary and comparative approaches (Figure 31.6).

Paradigm shifts cannot be dated with equal precision for all the various national and local contexts discussed here. Dating must reflect the political parameters, complex ideological changes, different planning laws, diverse planning cultures, and local configurations of stakeholder and problems.

The (planning) problems that drove citizens onto the streets were local. Citizens demanded that the structures of their built and social environment be drawn on to strengthen local endogenous potential. As well as challenging many tried and tested methods of urban planning, their demands sometimes transformed them into their opposite. The aim was to replace large-scale demolition with small-scale conservation; rapid proceedings with slow change; forceful action and heteronomy with self-determination; displacement and gentrification with the preservation of “evolved” social structures; social modernization and discipline with secure niches, involvement, and participation. The leveling effect of across-the-board modernization, which included urban spatial structures, was

increasingly felt as a deficit (Harvey 1973) and was thus replaced by an acceptance of asynchrony, coexistence, and a range of different architectural and social spatial structures.

The current “right to the city” movement offers another perspective on participation (Harvey 2008: 30; Lefebvre 2016). It is not only demanding more democratic ways of planning and participation but a right for all people to live in the city (“We will not be moved”). This implies affordable housing (Bradley 2014: 40) and a variety of more radical legal and semi-legal strategies such as squatting, occupying, and temporary uses of spaces and buildings. For example, “We are the 99%” and the Occupy movement focused on (urban) inequalities. Many of these diverse movements are not connected among themselves, not interrelated with other superior movements, and focus on short-term perspectives on current local problems. Often they only offer a defensive outlook of hindrance (NIMBY—Not in my backyard; BANANA—Build absolutely nothing anywhere near anyone), but no proactive expedient perspective for mediation between controversial interests or solutions for planning problems.

Planning processes rather than plans are increasingly becoming the focus of theoretical considerations and being demanded from below. The era of grand designs and important planners seems to be over. The complexity of development projects requires the involvement of stakeholders and interested parties—and in this *a right* solution and *the* plan are rarely found, but rather a variety of alternatives that require careful consideration. Whereas “more science” is called for from the planning theory perspective, practice, and policy require “more democracy.” This creates new problems for urban planning, in part because several different possible interpretations of urbanity are in play. The term cannot be translated into urban benchmarks, related to built and spatial structures or to people, nor generated on the drawing board. “Wicked problems” (Rittel and Webber 1973: 161) are brought to planning from outside and cannot be resolved with the canon of prescriptions. Many examples of difficult implementation, failed projects (that might or might not have complied with the ideas of some of the population), and the immense balancing act between representative democracy and active citizenship can be found in all Western democracies.

It is also important to include in this discussion of participation new experiences with interactive, Internet communication methods such as *open government*, *blogs*, *social media*, and *citizen science*. So far, problems of manipulation and misuse of data, and the exclusion of minorities, have not been subject to much research. New protest cultures emerged, new formats were developed, and conflicts were handled in a more professional way by all stakeholders involved. Crowdsourcing, e-government, e-participation, and other IT applications offer countless new options for cities to involve people, but these new (and future) online perspectives can also be used for diverse tasks of organization, planning, inclusion, and empowerment.

Against this convergent background, there were and are many nationally, regionally, and locally divergent planning cultures with the power to promote or impede a “participatory turnaround” in planning (Brodie, Cowling, and Nissen 2009). “Hard” instruments have become less important than “soft” ones, and diverse new forms of negotiation planning, dialogue, cooperation, and partnerships are being tested. The era of certainties (Latour 2005), classifications, and absence from ambiguities in planning cultures is long past. Within the context of beliefs, values, and alignments, it is important that the juxtaposition of diversity with the “synchronicity of the nonsynchronous,” and changes in cultures of planning and participation, are all reflected by organizations, legal and administrative structures, and planning functions and projects (Othengrafen and Sondermann 2015). This presents new challenges for urban planning history to demythologize the official history of planners and plans (Sandercock 1998: 6) and to include the often invisible influence and importance of bottom-up initiatives. As research in planning history was often embedded in national theory traditions and planning cultures, comparative perspectives open attractive opportunities for the future.

Related Topics

Ward: Planning Diffusion: Agents, Mechanisms, Networks, and Theories

Freestone: Writing Planning History in the English-Speaking World

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LIVABILITY AND ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY

From Smoky to Livable Cities

Dieter Schott

Since the 1980s, livability has become an increasingly important goal of urban development, particularly, though not exclusively, in the United States. But the term *livability* is not easily defined. Partner for Livable Communities, a national nonprofit which supports US towns and cities in their quest for livability, defines it as “the sum of the factors that add up to a community’s quality of life—including the built and natural environments, economic prosperity, social stability and equity, educational opportunity, and cultural, entertainment and recreation possibilities” (<http://livable.org/about-us/what-is-livability>, accessed 8/19/2015). Livability is clearly not a historical concept or a term that would crop up in historical sources. This chapter will relate it, however, to an ancestry of similar concepts, such as the “healthy city,” which guided and inspired planned urban development by the end of the 19th century. Using smoke and omnipresent air pollution as a case study, this chapter will show how air pollution made cities unlivable in the late 19th century, and indeed for large parts of the 20th century. It will furthermore demonstrate how air pollution and its abatement were constructed in changing ways along with the emergence of the general principles of town planning.

Historical Roots of Livability: Sanitary Reform

“Sanitary reform,” conceived by pioneer planners such as Edwin Chadwick, Max Pettenkofer, and William Lindley in the middle decades of the 19th century (Hamlin 1998; Hardy 2005), had by the end of the century completely transformed the outward appearance as well as the infrastructure of most European and North American cities. Introducing sewage systems, mechanically providing drinking water to all households of cities, removing sources of stench and filth from streets and squares through street cleaning and paving, and concentrating problematic activities such as slaughtering at the city margins, it had thoroughly modernized and sanitized urban life. No longer population “sinks,” cities had become “sanitary cities” (Melosi 2000). Cholera and endemic intestinal diseases such as typhus receded as major urban killers. Mortality figures fell below those of the countryside, where sanitary technologies had not yet been installed (Voegele 2001).

But not all was well: whereas some urban diseases receded as major urban killers, other environmental-cum-health problems came to the fore. First and foremost was the “smoke question” in all cities that switched from wood to coal as their primary fuel. The United Kingdom had made this switch well before 1800 (Sieferle 2001); most major continental

European cities did so in the second half of the 19th century. The universal fuel of industrial civilization, coal, released unheard-of quantities of cheap energy for industrial development and general prosperity, powering industrial steam engines and domestic open fireplaces alike. But it also emitted massive quantities of dark grey and black smoke, which sooted facades, blackened laundry, deposited layers of coal dust on any surface in the open, and withered flowers and trees. Cities were usually overhung by a pall of dark smoke that could be seen from afar (Cronon 1991). The normal visual appearance of urban facades was now a dark brownish-grey hue that hid the original colors of paint or stone. “Aus grauer Städte Mauern,” a well-known song of the German youth movement from about 1900, calls its listeners up to leave the grey walls of cities behind them and hike into the open—and less soiled—countryside. When Chicago wanted to impress visitors to its Columbian Exposition of 1893, it designed the exhibition buildings as a “White City” of fairy-tale beauty and fanciful decoration in stark contrast to the “black” and also morally vicious real city of Chicago just next to the exhibition grounds (Cronon 1991).

The massive pollution of urban air was not just an aesthetic nuisance; it caused respiratory diseases, such as bronchitis and pneumonia, and increased mortality from tuberculosis, the number one killer by the late 19th century (Condrau 2000). People did not accept this without protest, as Stephen Mosley has shown for Manchester, “the chimney of the world” (Mosley 2001). Reform-minded progressive activists, frequently from a professional background, criticized the waste and inefficiency of the incomplete combustion shown by black smoke. But the majority of Mancunians followed the lead of industrialists who claimed that smoking chimneys symbolized “wealth and well-being,” and smokeless chimneys would—on the contrary—mean crisis and poverty (Mosley 2001: 70–74). And in a city full of smoke, with few sunshine hours, a blazing coal-fed hearth fire created an atmosphere of cosy domesticity, even if the aggregate effects of these domestic fires heavily contributed to the darkness and unlivability of the urban environment (Mosley 2001: 75–78). The general consensus seems to have been a fatalistic acceptance of a high degree of air pollution. At the nadir, the notorious London “smogs” of the late 19th century repeatedly suspended all normal street-life, reaping thousands of excess deaths; these became the mystifying setting of the Sherlock Holmes detective novels and also of many novels by Dickens (Thorsheim 2006: 128; Luckin 2002). Although technological fixes (better firing gear or fuels producing less smoke, such as coke) had been available, there seemed no alternative to burning coal to cater to society’s growing energy needs. The ensuing smoke thus seemed to be the inevitable price of modern progress and prosperity.

The Hygiene Question c. 1900

Nevertheless, by the late 19th century significant reform movements were striving for comprehensive improvement of the urban environment in many European countries and in the US. In Britain, a “dense network of interconnected worlds of middle-class reform” had evolved by 1900: smoke abatement, historic preservation, and the protection of nature and urban green space were the goals of mutually supporting reform agendas (Thorsheim 2006: 89). In Wilhelmine Germany, reformers sought to improve hygiene. Here *hygiene*, like livability, comprised the comprehensive ambition to improve living conditions in cities. But beyond physical improvements to the built environment, it also intended to mitigate social conflicts, and to make workers and lower classes more content with their situation. With contributors from a wide range of disciplines (not just medicine, but also civil engineering, chemistry, and economics), the ten volumes of *Handbuch der Hygiene*, published under the editorship of Theodor Weyl, a physician and chemist, from 1893 to 1901, underscore the centrality of hygiene to almost all aspects of contemporary life (Schott 2012).

Abandoning the big smoky city altogether was one solution proposed in this very productive, reform-minded, and progress-oriented period. Ebenezer Howard suggested that people relocate to healthier environments in his Garden Cities, new social formations based on the collective

ownership of land; he claimed that these combined the advantages of both town and country while avoiding their disadvantages. The famous Diagram no. 1 “Three Magnets” lists as disadvantages of town life “closing out of nature” and “foul air, murky sky,” whereas the “town-country,” which will attract people, offers “beauty of nature” and “pure air and water” (Howard 1985: 9) (Figure 7.2 in Chapter 7). With this diagram, Howard illustrated the forces of attraction and repulsion, demonstrating how the new “town-country” form would bring together the attractions of both the town and the country.

Garden Cities would preserve “pure air” due to their population limit of 32,000 inhabitants embedded in a vast green expanse of 5,000 acres. And in the first edition of his book *Tomorrow. A Peaceful Path to Real Reform* (1898), Howard mapped a system of interconnected Garden Cities, or the Social City; Diagram no. 6 is titled “Group of Slumless Smokeless Cities” (Howard 1985: frontispiece). Reflecting on the contemporary social reform debate about the slum, Howard’s view was that places such as Garden Cities would by their very nature not generate slums.

A more pragmatic approach was pursued by several German municipal administrations after 1880, which sought to spatially separate industrial establishments from residential districts. Special factory districts were designated, allowing only new factories that used steam engines above a certain size. This early type of zoning policy was developed not in the most smoke-afflicted industrial areas such as the Ruhr district, but rather in cities with a limited industrial base plus a powerful middle-class electorate keen to defend their residential districts against intrusion from industrial activities (Brueggemeier 2001; Schott 2002). That is, smoke and industrial hazards were to be kept out of the living environments of middle-class burghers as much as possible. One might sense an appreciation of livability in these late 19th-century municipal policies. At the same time, a marked social segregation was under way in many cities, where tramways, particularly when electrified, offered new opportunities to the middle classes to flee from the smoke and congestion of the inner cities (McKay 1976; Capuzzo 2003).

Increasingly, cities found alternatives to coal. In his proposed industrial belt, Howard highlighted the potential of electricity, which had been introduced as lighting and motive technology in the late 1880s: “The smoke fiend is kept well within bounds in Garden City; for all machinery is driven by electric energy, with the result that the cost of electricity for lighting and other purposes is greatly reduced” (Howard 1985: 18). New energy technology empowered cities to reduce the hazardous effects of smoke pollution, at least for their more prosperous residents (Schott 2008). The “Age of Electricity” was hailed as the panacea to all problems of the age of steam (Binder 1999). Gas and electricity helped make homes and factories cleaner, reducing smoke, dust, and other refuse linked with coal fires; gas-fired appliances in bathrooms and indoor WCs helped improve bodily hygiene (Schott 2015).

Electric tramways and electric light rail systems above and below street level exploded the area in which urbanites could now live in relatively smoke-free environments, and still commute daily to their offices, or shop in the smoky city centers (McKay 1976). Suburbanization, a flight from dirty, smoky, and overcrowded cities, had been observed in early 19th-century London and Manchester as an upper-class phenomenon (Platt 2005: 67–70; Dennis 2000); by the late 19th century it became a mass movement of large sections of the middle classes and better-paid workers or employees in stable positions (Divall and Bond 2003).

Towards Planning: Degeneration and Spatial Organization

By the early 20th century, then, fatalistic acceptance of smoke as an unavoidable companion of industrial prosperity slowly yielded to increased questioning, challenging, and scientific monitoring in many industrial societies. In Britain, this questioning also expressed a fundamental sense of threat regarding the future of the British Empire, and as Britain saw herself threatened by imperial

and industrial competition from Germany and the United States, the attention of reformers turned to regulating public life. During the Boer War of 1899–1902, the recruiting exams for British volunteers to fight in South Africa had discovered the appallingly poor physique of many young men, raising concerns with public health; in 1903, a government-appointed Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration held hearings to scrutinize the physical conditions affecting the health of the British people. Many of the witnesses before this committee blamed smoky city air and the lack of sunlight for ill health. The report of the committee eventually recommended “that greater attention be given ‘to the preservation of open spaces with an abundance of light and air,’ and it urged stricter legislation and better enforcement to reduce ‘pollution of the air by smoke and noxious vapors’” (Thorsheim 2006: 73, quoting from report). The hearings of this committee and the general debate in these years over “national efficiency”—a then widespread fear about Britain’s declining capacity for maintaining its economic superiority in world markets, also due to the poor physique of her workforce—eventually helped erode long-standing reservations among the wider public about regulation. After years of persistent lobbying, a coalition of housing reformers, Garden City activists, and representatives of reform-minded municipalities succeeded in pushing through the Housing and Town Planning Act of 1909, which enabled cities to engage in town planning (Sutcliffe 1981; Hall 2002).

Indeed, the period between 1900 and World War I was characterized by a remarkably intensive and pervasive international exchange of ideas, concepts, and people in the realm of social reform, particularly planning (Sutcliffe 1981: 163–201; Rodgers 1998; Schott 2009). The influential Manchester housing reformer Thomas C. Horsfall focused the attention of the British audience on “The Example of Germany” in town planning; he attributed German economic performance and military efficiency to such planning (Harrison 1991). Horsfall admired planning methods such as land-use zoning and density control, but “it was the light and air, the wide streets and the green open spaces of German cities that most impressed [him]” (Hebbert and MacKillop 2013: 1544). Through group visits and also individual experts’ work stays, an international community of urbanists formed who saw themselves at the forefront of social progress and physical improvement of cities (Saunier 2001; Schott 2009; Hebbert 2010). One catalyst for growth was the planning competition for “Greater Berlin,” which challenged architects and planners to devise long-term plans for a whole urban region. This complexity was mirrored by plans from other large cities such as London, Paris, and Chicago, exhibited at town planning exhibitions organized by Werner Hegemann in Berlin and Düsseldorf in 1910 and 1911. The famous 1910 town planning conference organized by the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) in London, a key event putting planning on the map in the Anglo-Saxon countries, was also accompanied by an exhibition of international town planning, organized by Patrick Geddes (Bodenschatz 2010). Thus planning advanced beyond the phase of extension planning and addressed the organization of a large complex organism such as an urban agglomeration of several million inhabitants.

Although air pollution was not directly addressed in most of these plans, it nevertheless played a major role insofar as plans sought to minimize its effects on urban residents and to introduce and safeguard urban elements compensating for its effects, such as green spaces and sites for sports and exercise. The issue of introducing green spaces deep into the heart of the city played an important role in the Berlin competition; only a few years later the city of Berlin acquired large tracts of forest to be permanently protected (Bodenschatz 2010: 196–215).

Meanwhile, smoke had shed its former symbolic meaning of “wealth and well-being” to become a sign of the technological inefficiency of incomplete combustion (Winiwarter and Bork 2014: 107). In spring 1914, a committee was appointed by the British government to consider stricter legislative measures, but its work was cut short by the outbreak of war. War influenced the debate on smoke abatement in contradictory ways: On one hand a smoky atmosphere was now considered as an asset, deterring aerial attacks. On the other hand, the massively expanded role of state intervention in all

aspects of social life also promoted acceptance of public regulation of smoke production, even more so as war shortages fostered considerations of resource efficiency. The committee demonstrated its faith in technological solutions when it recommended in its 1920 report that future government-sponsored housing projects—Lloyd George had just won the first postwar election on his “Homes fit for Heroes” pledge—rely on smokeless heating systems. High prices for alternatives to coal, however, precluded for some time any efficient policy along these lines (Thorsheim 2006: 129–131).

Displacement and Spatial Separation: The Planning Paradigm

There are striking parallels between major solutions advocated within spatial planning and societal responses to air pollution between World War I and the 1960s. Town planning in general intended to spatially separate polluting uses from housing and other uses deserving special protection;

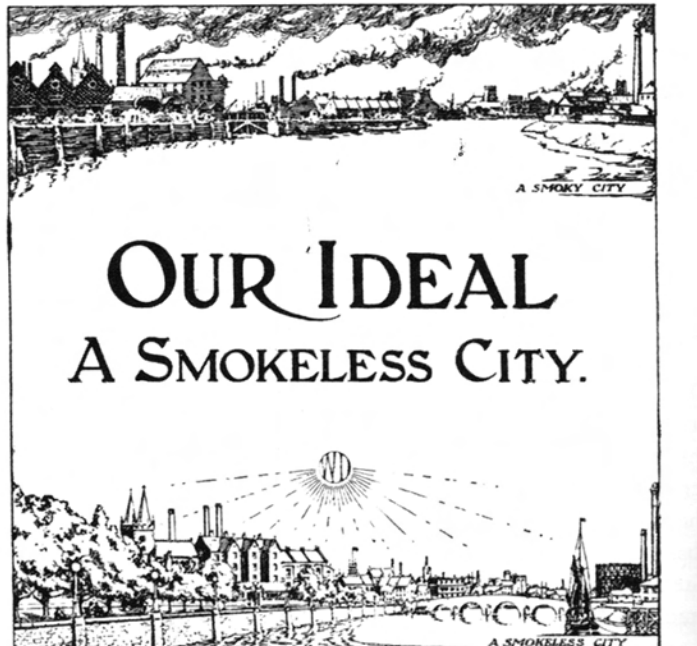


Figure 32.1 “Our Ideal: A Smokeless City.” An advertisement for the company Woodall-Duckham, which produced gas works technologies such as retorts, coke ovens, etc. In the lower picture, the sun of Woodall-Duckham shines over the smokeless city. Note on the bottom right the gasometer and gaswork, emitting no smoke!

Source: Smoke Abatement League of Great Britain. From Ebenezer Howard 1985.

separation was the preferred fix to pollution. Workers and their families should no longer have to live under the smoke clouds emitted by the factories they worked in. Industrial activities—always assuming that they would by default pollute the environment—should be prevented or removed from those parts of the city designated for residential use. Public transit, the bicycle, and, from the 1930s, the private motorcar would carry citizens between the separate, or rather, to-be-separated spheres of work, residence, and leisure. This was, in a nutshell, the basic concept of town and regional planning as it developed from the late 19th century, starting from zoning laws in cities such as Munich and Frankfurt and fully developed in the Charter of Athens in 1933 (Hilpert 1984; Ward 2004).

Similar principles applied to coping with air pollution. When the attempt to reduce pollution by getting citizens to voluntarily use smoke-reducing technology in their fireplaces had been unsuccessful, engineers had turned their efforts to replacing coal with electricity. But electricity only provided a cleaner energy at the point of consumption. Where it was produced, it still mostly relied on the burning of coal. And so-called smokeless fuels advocated as alternatives for domestic heating—coke and coal gas—relied on processes heavily polluting air and soil on the site of their production; gasworks became hotspots of local pollution and emitted abominable stenches (Thorsheim 2006: 140–147). So the engineers worked on transferring all of this polluting work into the urban periphery or out of the city altogether onto the sites of coal extraction. Thus it was displacement, not elimination, that addressed the problem of pollution. Pollution was de-localized from the place of energy consumption. The ideal “smokeless city,” hailed in the advertisement of a company offering gas-producing equipment, was to be achieved by substituting coal fires in the city by gas-fired appliances, consuming gas produced from coal at the periphery of cities or on coal fields (Figure 32.1).

Getting Rid of the Smoke Devil: The Clean Air Act of 1956

Although the air above London as well as many industrial cities became, on the whole, less smoky over the course of the 20th century, a catastrophic incident brought home to Londoners that the smoke question was far from solved. In December 1952, a rare coincidence of meteorological circumstances—cold temperatures, inversion, fog, no winds—produced heavy smog, causing the death of almost 8,000 people from severe attacks of respiratory diseases. The conservative government eventually set up an inquiry under the energetic Hugh Beaver. The problem, as Beaver put it, was bigger than the Killer Smog of December 1952; all of Britain basically was in terms of smoke “a single permanently polluted area” (Thorsheim 2006: 174). Air pollution, the Beaver Committee argued, “constituted a public health crisis that required a campaign as vigorous as the one that 19th century sanitary reformers had waged for safe water” (Thorsheim 2006: 175). The committee also calculated that air pollution actually involved huge expenses for the public: 250 mio British pounds a year in damages to material and health costs. In contrast to former approaches, the committee also targeted the remaining domestic fireplaces because these emitted particularly bad smoke. Making use of examples in Coventry and Manchester, the committee suggested the formation of smoke-free zones in the most polluted areas of Britain.

Accordingly, in 1956, Parliament passed the Clean Air Act, which created “smoke control areas,” prohibiting therein the burning of coal for domestic purposes. Householders would receive subsidies for adapting their fireplaces to the use of smokeless fuels, above all coke, which was also cheaper. The act was very successful in Greater London, where domestic coal consumption dropped by 75% by the mid-1960s, but the north of England, particularly the mining communities, proved less amenable to pollution control. Here, concessionary coal that miners received as part of their wages proved a major obstacle. Only with the collapse of the coal industry in the 1970s and 1980s could the Clean Air Policy practically be implemented for domestic coal consumption in these regions. The true character of the urban built environment then came as surprise: the town hall of Leeds

(completed 1858), had been covered by a thick crust of soot since the late 19th century; when it was cleaned in the early 1970s, many Leeds residents thought that it had been painted white, since they had never been able to see the true cream color of its masonry (Thorsheim 2006: 47).

From the late 1960s on, reformers succeeded in ridding Britain's cities of their "black smoke problem." They did not, however, solve air pollution problems altogether. Due to the long-standing fixation of public and experts on *visible* smoke, invisible gases such as sulphur dioxide had been largely ignored. If anything, their pollution was distributed by technological devices, such as very high smoke stacks, towards those downwind and towards the global ecosystem. Thus pollution was again not really eliminated but rather dispersed and displaced so as to reduce its visibility and its local impact (Thorsheim 2006: 180–192).

Blue Skies and Dying Forests: Air Pollution in the Age of Environmentalism

The apparent success of British Clean Air Policy impressed experts and politicians in continental Europe. In 1961, Willy Brandt, candidate for the Social Democratic Party of West Germany, promised in the federal election of autumn 1961 to create "blue skies above the Ruhr" if he were elected as chancellor. This promise was initially ridiculed in the national press but attracted considerable sympathy in the Ruhr region itself. For many years this area, the largest concentration of industrial activities and population within Europe, had been notorious for its environmental problems (Brueggemeier and Rommelspacher 1992: 8). Brandt's campaign for chancellor was unsuccessful at this point, but when he eventually won, in 1969, environmental regulation became one of the main policy fields for his new government. Due to environmental legislation that monitored air and water pollution and reduced admissible concentrations of pollutants in regular intervals, the sky above the Ruhr actually could be seen more frequently without smoke clouds. Many other German and European cities and industrial agglomerations also came to enjoy more blue skies after 1970 due to successful environmental policies, but due even more to economic and technological change (McNeill 2003: 73–85). The predominance of coal slowly gave way to a plurality of energy sources, particularly oil and nuclear energy, that were cleaner or more efficient, or that addressed specific requirements such as combustion engines in better ways.

The global redistribution of industry also reduced pollution in Western Europe and North America, and shifted its burden to the newly industrializing countries. In these countries with frequently weak regulatory regimes and a clear intention to pursue a strategy of rapid industrialization, air pollution became as bad as, or even worse than, in 19th century industrial cities in Europe (McNeill 2003: 76).

As the visible pollution of black or dark smoke diminished in the 1970s in Western Europe and North America, other elements of pollution came to the foreground of environmental agendas. In particular, people worried about automobile emissions containing nitrogen oxides, which combined with hydrocarbons under intense solar radiation to form smog harmful to lungs and eyes. In large metropolises of southern climes like Los Angeles, where massive car traffic had evolved early on, this type of air pollution became prevalent (McNeill 2003: 85–96).

Another damaging air pollutant was sulphur dioxide. It had always been present in coal smoke but ignored because of its invisibility; then, in the 1980s, it turned out to be the cause of acid rain. Foresters and natural scientists in Germany had noticed "dying forests" that were far away from major sources of pollution. Tracking the evidence, they found that the increasingly tall smoke stacks of power stations—part of the policy of dispersal of pollution—blew sulphur dioxide emissions into the higher layers of the atmosphere, in which they could travel for many hundreds of kilometers before precipitating to the ground. Thus smoke from British power stations soiled pristine Scandinavian lakes as well as German woods (Sheail 2002: 254–255); in North America the same

phenomenon could be observed as an atmospheric exchange between the industrial belt of the Midwest and the Canadian lakes and woods. This discovery—that air pollution was a long-distance traveler, that pollutants emitted into the “Infinite Sea of the Airs” (Brueggemeier 1996) crossed national boundaries and oceans—created a consciousness that legislative answers would have to be developed on an international level. Thus Germany implemented policies during the 1980s forcing (via the EU) the European car industry to introduce the catalytic converter and obliging all large power stations to fit their smokestacks with expensive filters.

The last step in this de-localization of pollution was the discovery of greenhouse gases. At the same time that some scientists were solving the riddle of acid rain, more and more scientists from different disciplines argued that the burning of fossil fuels had over the last two centuries increased the concentration of carbon dioxide in the global atmosphere, contributing to rising global temperatures. When this analysis became the consensus of the academic as well as political community, the whole debate over air pollution fundamentally changed. Classic air pollution abatement had focused on matter emitted together with hot air; it was seeking to avoid it, filter it out, or eliminate it in order to render the remaining smoke harmless. Now, since the production of carbon dioxide is a natural and unavoidable part of combustion, the burning of fossil fuels *in itself* was perceived as the problem.

Today, in contrast to rich countries, which can afford to install expensive environmental technologies or to shed heavily polluting production processes, large parts of the world beyond Europe and North America are facing a worsened environment (McNeil 2003: 77). During the August 2015 World Championships of Athletics in Beijing, China, the Chinese government drastically cut industrial production and car driving to ensure a minimum of decent air quality (The National 2015).

Towards Livability and Sustainability: New Paradigms in Planning After 1970

The period around 1970 marked a threshold and caesura: a more decisive and comprehensive environmental policy in the US and Europe and a profound sense of urban crisis together redefined “livability” in a clear shift away from the long-time hegemonic approach masterminded by the Charter of Athens. The motto of the conference of German Cities in 1971—“Save our Cities Now!”—marks the turning point. The crisis also came to be expressed by a new quality of urban social conflicts that often addressed issues related to livability, particularly environmental ills. Cities were increasingly perceived as unlivable, due to the combined effects of new planning principles on the one hand—deconcentrating inhabitants, dissolving urban block structures, and spatially segregating urban functions (working, living, recreation, and transport)—and on the other hand the strong and imperative pressures of mass motorization.

Protest against the general tendency of urban development had mounted in the 1960s; important representatives of this critical stance were Jane Jacobs, Wolf Jobst Siedler, Alexander Mitscherlich, and Henri Lefèbvre (Schubert 2014). They highlighted the social qualities of “life on the block” in terms of mutual support but also social control, both of which they contrasted to the social isolation that people experienced in large new housing estates out of town and in suburban single-family dwellings. Intellectual critique, a surge in new left protest movements, and the economic crisis following the first oil crisis joined forces to challenge hitherto dominant paradigms in planning, such as large-scale clearances and redevelopment of old housing stock. Within a very few years in the middle of the 1970s, a wave of nostalgia swept through Europe and the US, shattering the enthusiasm for modern architecture and the confidence in progress through modern technology; old buildings, old furniture, and old life styles acquired new popularity. This paradigm shift became very visible in a new style of urban renewal first advocated on a larger scale at IBA-Alt Berlin (more fully, Internationale Bau-Ausstellung Altbau, or the part of the International Building Exhibition that focused on older buildings) in Berlin from 1979 to 1987 (Wentz 2000).

Livability as a general goal stands in conjunction, as well as in tension, with *sustainability*, which became an overarching aim of social development after the 1992 Rio environmental summit. It too has been implemented on the municipal level. Indeed, Todd Littman sees livability as the “subset of sustainability impacts that directly affect people in a community, such as economic development, affordability, public health, social equity and pollution exposure” (Littman 2011: 1).

Urban planners have adopted *sustainable development* as a new comprehensive goal of urban planning, evaluating planning measures according to their effects on resources, particularly energy. In many aspects this completely reverses hitherto dominant general principles of urban planning. Rather than de-concentrating and dispersing population, the emphasis is now on re-concentrating, re-urbanizing, bringing people back into the cities in order to avoid long and unsustainable journeys to work. Planners and engineers have discovered that collective solutions for heating, communication, transport, and sewerage have considerably lower per-capita energy requirements; these solutions work much better in a higher-density urban environment than in peri-urban sprawl. The fact that deindustrialization and modern technology have fundamentally altered the environmental aspects of workplaces has made it possible for people to reintegrate work and living, at least partially. And shifts in cultural values have made urban living newly attractive, which contrasts markedly with the anti-urban trend towards suburban living dominant from the 1950s. Finally, the physical appearance of central cities has been thoroughly transformed due to comprehensive urban renewal—the town hall of Leeds is just one case in point. Cities have built spectacular new iconic buildings, frequently with cultural purposes (the Guggenheim-Museum in Bilbao or the Museum-Riverside in Frankfurt), attractive sites in formerly neglected urban areas. In car-free pedestrian zones and polished and gentrified old towns, a new stage has been created, particularly for higher-income young urban professionals to enjoy urban living in ways inconceivable in the smoky cities of the late 19th century.

This livability is consciously created and enhanced by urban administrations driven by considerations of competition with other cities internationally for corporations, tourists, and high-income residents. At the same time it also potentially stands in tension with policies of sustainable development. The same urban residents who declare themselves open to using green energies and economizing on water would nevertheless use cars frequently and would—in search of cheap shopping opportunities—prefer peri-urban shopping outlets and Internet shopping to small and accessible neighborhood shops.

We can see this tension in our case study on smoky cities, as well. For urbanites in European and North American cities, the urban air had vastly improved by the late 20th century and thus enhanced the livability of cities: the disappearance of black coal smoke considerably increased sun radiation in urban areas and made it possible and moreover enjoyable for people to spend time outdoors. An extensive outdoor culture developed in European cities, even in chilly northern cities. But this meant that outdoor cafes and restaurants in Stockholm, Oslo, or Helsinki had to create artificial heat islands, a clear example of livability being in tension with sustainability (particularly the goal of reduced energy consumption). Thus it is still an open issue if and how cities and urban planners will actually implement policies of sustainability that would necessitate far-reaching changes in urban lifestyles and consumption patterns.

Related Topics

Kress: The German Traditions of *Städtebau* and *Stadtlandschaft* and Their Diffusion Through Global Exchange

Lopez: Public Health and Urban Planning

Wagenaar: Urbanism, Housing, and the City

Schubert: Opposition, Participation, and Community-Driven Planning Histories

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33

DISASTERS

Recovery, Re-planning, Reconstruction, and Resilience

Peter J. Larkham

Disaster and its consequences have long been the focus of historical attention, particularly—but not solely—in urban settings. This chapter uses the term *disaster* to encompass emergency, disaster, and catastrophe. Although some see them as different phenomena, the planning history literature has not generally adopted this perspective.

Disasters range widely from the natural (such as flood and earthquake) to human-caused (fire, war, terrorism) and the latter group may even include the unintended effects of rapid, large-scale redevelopment. But the perspective should, perhaps, be widened still further to include, for example, the destructive effects of economic decline, whether of whole regions or of single-industry cities which lose their industry. Disasters can be rapid—indeed this is probably the most commonly conceptualized catastrophe—but others may be slow but inevitable. The scale of disaster is also a



Figure 33.1 Sudden and large-scale flooding and building destruction following Typhoon Haiyan, Tacloban, the Philippines.

Source: Russell Watkins/Department for International Development, 2013.

significant factor, with some disasters crossing national, cultural, and natural borders, while others, equally significant to those involved, may be much more localized. The cause and scale of disaster may affect the speed, scale, and nature of the response (Figure 33.1).

The complexity of disasters and responses has generated a rich academic literature. The post-disaster response is often characterized as either an opportunity for change or an impediment to transformation. While *response* is a useful term, *resilience* is increasingly used in this context (see Vale and Campanella 2005), reflecting the fact that the vast majority of places affected by disaster do recover. *Re-planning* is usually taken as the immediate task of planning after disaster. Although it appears that many of these terms are used uncritically and virtually interchangeably, *rebuilding* and *reconstruction* cover the physical response.

The literature includes contributions from multiple perspectives, professions, and academic disciplines. There is a voluminous literature on post-disaster recovery. Although this does contain some relevant historical material, usually focusing on “learning lessons” and resilience, it does not feature heavily here. This chapter is principally a planning history drawing from many disciplines. Yet most studies are written from a single disciplinary perspective; there is little genuine interdisciplinary work, although a growing number of edited collections reflect multiple perspectives. Interestingly Ritchie (2008) explicitly suggests a “post-disciplinary” approach to generate better understanding and to facilitate more effective planning for one very specific aspect of disaster planning, but this seems to have made little headway.

The post-1990 planning history literature on disaster and reconstruction has been dominated by work on World War II and its aftermath, which therefore forms a major component of this chapter. Other disasters, especially those relatively limited in time and space, seem to generate a short-term body of literature often associated with crisis response and immediate reconstruction, and hence containing little planning history per se (see Walters 1978 on Darwin’s recovery from the 1974 Cyclone Tracy; Chang et al. 2014 on urban disaster recovery after the 2011 Christchurch earthquake); sometimes there is follow-up work associated with significant anniversaries or a longer historical perspective (Mason and Haynes 2010 on Darwin).

The planning history of disaster needs to cover all aspects of planning, and the perspectives of multiple stakeholders, professions, and problems. The bulk of the literature focuses on the settlement scale, and much of it on changes to physical form. Clout (2005) has, however, explored a different spatial perspective, of post-World War I city-scale reconstruction at a national level. And there are many examples where post-disaster re-planning has considered the impact beyond the zone of destruction itself: for example where the willingness to rebuild, or new legal or financial mechanisms, facilitate this (for example Ichikawa 2003, on Tokyo).

Relatively little is written about planning systems and their contribution to, or performance in, disaster response; although Sengezer and Koç (2005) do suggest that land-use planning in developing countries may even exacerbate the level of vulnerability. Large-scale re-planning may produce large-scale and long-term adverse effects, if not actually disastrous ones, for populations involved. The relocation of communities, the severing of communities by large-scale infrastructure, or simply the scale and duration of rebuilding can all produce negative perceived effects (such as the rebuilding of Birmingham, UK, in the 1950s and 1960s: Adams 2011).

Explicitly comparative research is relatively thin on the ground, although there are some excellent collections of papers with useful overviews allowing international comparisons to be drawn (for example Diefendorf 1990; Tiratsoo et al. 2002; Hamnett 2006). Unusually, Diefendorf (2013) compares responses to a relatively limited natural disaster (New Orleans and Hurricane Katrina), and the international scale of post-World War II Europe. Even more unusually, Dynes et al. (1972) compared “community activities and processes,” both outside and during emergencies, as part of a study exploring “widely held misconceptions of how people and groups behave in disaster situations.”



Figure 33.2 A short-term response: emergency tented housing, Port au Prince, Hiati, following the 2010 earthquake.

Source: Logan Abassi/United Nations Development Programme.

Ideally, research should cover a substantial period, from the crisis to the achievement of a post-crisis steady state, where planning is shaped by factors other than the crisis. The time dimension is relatively neglected and many studies cover only a few years. The political dimension is often significant here, whether the period in office of an administration or of a key individual. An important point is to distinguish between “short-term emergency reconstruction and long-term planning,” a lesson seemingly quickly forgotten in practice (Mitchell 1996), and a distinction not always clear in the planning history literature (Figure 33.2).

Disasters can be seen as catalysts, crises that generate responses, whether seen in terms of process or product. Indeed virtually every disaster has produced such change, most commonly a speeding-up of potential new process implementation or delivery of physical change already contemplated if not formally planned.

Models and Stages, Simplicity and Complexity

Early studies tended to take a technocentric approach, viewing both disaster and reconstruction purely as “process” to be understood and improved. The process was linear, with definable stages and end products (Haas et al. 1977). Models of the process were created, most popularly the Disaster Life Cycle of:

- pre-disaster preparedness
- emergency responses
- recovery and reconstruction
- mitigation against further known hazards (Mileti 1999).

This model is still being refined for practical disaster mitigation because, it is argued, contemporary disasters are “structurally different” and previous “ruling theories and practices become out of date” (De Smet et al. 2011). The burgeoning literature suggests a more complex set of stages comprising:

- plans in force, and urban physical and social structure pre-disaster;
- understanding the implications of the nature, scale, and speed of disaster (if this is not done the responses are likely to be inadequate or inappropriate);
- emergency responses (including clearance, temporary structures especially for housing, provision of emergency infrastructure);
- re-planning (speedy initial plan and subsequent review);
- rebuilding (often extending over several decades);
- reappraising and re-rebuilding (dealing with the legacy of emergency provision and early “permanent” construction);
- building in resilience.

Most of the more recent literature on disaster recovery focuses on the complexity of decision-making, recognizing a complex, messy process. This works against the seductive simplicity of models and frameworks, although these remain popular in the practice-oriented literature.

Reconstruction Planning: Processes

Many, probably most, plans that take advantage of the “opportunity” of reconstruction propose some mechanism of adjusting land ownership patterns through compulsory or voluntary mechanisms. “Land swap” is a recent attempt to persuade affected residents to accept relocation and thus facilitate redevelopment used in post-Katrina New Orleans, and Nelson (2014) reports positively on its impact. “Land readjustment” in Japan is seen by Sorensen (2002) as deriving from German models, in the wider context of the country’s first urban planning system and then specifically with reference to the 1923 Tokyo/Yokohama earthquake.

Such approaches often require new legislation, and major disasters do sometimes result in specific new legislation and policy. This is as true for developed countries, with entrenched practices and ownership patterns and where existing legislation can even hinder reconstruction, as for developing countries, with less-structured approaches to planning and construction, often facing strict requirements of external funding organizations. In the case of the 1968 Sicilian earthquake, special legislation assisted a planning experiment in “socio-economic engineering” introducing—according to Parrinello (2013) not wholly successfully—the new concept of the “city-territory.”

The ideology of reconstruction planners may respond to much broader concerns. For example, Hanes (2000: 124) suggests that those re-planning Tokyo and Kobe after the earthquakes of 1923 and 1995 “shared assumptions about the nature of modernization and progress [and their] critics shared similar reservations about the application of these assumptions to the enterprise of reconstruction.” In Belgium after World War I, re-planning marked a changed professional mindset from civic art to a more “scientific” urban planning (Smets 1987).

Some plans are implemented more through the personal political and professional influence of a plan-maker than because of their actual content. Such plan-makers might not be professional planners; politicians and others have clear roles. The personal influence of the newly appointed Home Minister Shimpei following the 1923 Tokyo earthquake and fire is an example (Hanes 2000: 127). This leads to considerations of “plan authorship”: the high profile of such plans and (usually) the involvement of external agencies often leads to conflict. New staff may bring new ideas (the “young, dynamic and worldly wise” Lindley in Hamburg after the 1842 fire [Schubert 2012]). Multiple plans are common, leading to contestation as rival interests seek to influence decision-making processes. But some cases lack a plan despite prominent and active individuals. In Chicago, following the 1871 fire, disaster relief and rebuilding occurred quickly, but rebuilding was so haphazard that the city core required Burnham’s restructuring in 1909.

Cultural considerations can be significant in some contexts. Where traditionally structured populations are forced to relocate, cultures are likely to become weakened and communities become yet more vulnerable. In Indonesia, following the 1992 earthquake and tsunami, for example, “international experts” recommended relocation of many surviving communities, providing nontraditional barrack-like housing. Fishing and farming practices and locations had to change. The lack of cultural continuity and compatibility was significant in reconstruction efforts becoming potentially unsustainable (Boen and Jigyasu 2005).

Issues of heritage and culture become significant in many post-conflict situations. Heritage often represents identity and economic opportunity through tourism. But identity can represent challenge, and heritage is sometimes deliberately destroyed (as in the current conflict in Iraq and Syria), and sometimes can prompt difficult questions about a painful past that key groups may not wish to acknowledge or address (as in Ani, Turkey [Watenpaugh 2014]). The response to the destruction of the iconic Ottoman bridge in Mostar is a useful example; it was eventually (after considerable international debate) rebuilt in replica (Grodach 2002). And this case highlights problems of contestation in rebuilding, over issues such as meaning, priority, and even technique, especially when external funding and expertise are involved.

Reconstruction Planning: Products

A key product of planning is the reconstruction plan itself. While public consultation and engagement can be considered as a process, in many cases it is the plan itself, a tangible product, that is used in such processes, and which remains as an artifact.

Plans almost inevitably focus on new physical forms, especially infrastructure. Perhaps the most readily evident example of this is new road networks. In traditional cities suffering fires, new broad roads created fire breaks (Kirjakka 2005). The post-1923 Tokyo earthquake and fire plan was “road centered,” influenced by Western models of transport-efficient planning (Hanes 2000). But infrastructure improvement is not always easy, as is shown by the experiences of Chicago and Boston following the 1871 and 1872 fires (Rosen 1986).

The physical forms being produced may serve wider agendas, especially in the case of post-conflict conquest. A new national identity can be imposed or reinforced by the choice of planner, plan form, and architecture. In post-World War I Belgium, the reinstatement (or perhaps recreation) of a regional identity can be seen in both the replication of destroyed urban architecture and form, and in the choice of vernacular forms in rural farm building (Smets 1985).

Replacement housing is a key factor in most crisis responses. Here, the stages of some of the models are particularly useful, with temporary emergency housing followed by more carefully designed permanent layouts and buildings. The literature on this is huge, ranging from decision-making (Hayles 2010) and housing design and development (Wu and Lindell 2004) to its physical and/or cultural impact (Kamani-Fard et al. 2012).

Post-World War II Reconstruction

As this example dominates the post-1990 planning history literature, it is worth examination in some detail as it represents the issues explored above in a multi-national context. There are many detailed national studies (Hasegawa 1992; Hein et al. 2003) and some international comparisons, although much more could be made of this dimension (Karsten 1987; Diefendorf 1990; Düwel and Gutschow 2013). Some of the wider perspective, for Europe at least, includes political/economic actions, often looking at international aid and the Marshall Plan (Killick 1997) (Figure 33.3). But there are notable gaps (at least in English-language literature) on reconstruction in, for example, the Soviet bloc and China (exceptions include de Magistris 1993; Hewitt 2013). The overwhelming majority of the



Figure 33.3 The scale of damage in Warsaw's old town from aerial bombing and ground conflict.
Source: Dobrosław Kobielski (1971), *Warsaw from a Bird's Eye View*, Warsaw: Interpress Publishers.

literature comprises narrative history, but there are examples of other approaches, such as the use of Actor Network Theory (which assigns “agency” to both human and nonhuman actors) to explore the rebuilding of Plymouth (Essex and Brayshay 2007), and exploring the nature of changes to reconstruction-era road layouts using space syntax (investigating relationships between spatial layout and a broad range of social, environmental, and economic phenomena) (van Nes 2002).

The number and range of “reconstruction plans” produced during this brief but intensive period of plan production was large: so many places *had* to be reconstructed, and so many conflicting interests were involved. Yet it is clear that plan-making was not restricted to war-damaged cities: even unbombed cities created plans, as an act of civic boosterism, seeking to reposition themselves in the changing postwar economy and society (Larkham and Lilley 2003).

The history of postwar reconstruction has not only been drawn on traditional historical sources, especially official documentation, but it has also been able to draw on oral histories of planners (Voldman 1990) and those who lived through the conflict and the reconstruction (Lilley 2007). The documentation has allowed historians to chart the development of new administrative structures, policy, and legislation (Cullingworth 1975; Voldman 1983), in addition to revealing some surprising tensions between central and local authorities, and between individuals, sometimes resulting

in explicit conflict (Lewis 2013). In the UK, for example, the Ministry's civil servants were very critical of almost all of the plans sent by local authorities for approval, irrespective of the eminence of the plan authors or the comprehensiveness of the plan (Larkham 2011; Hasegawa 2013).

The significance and influence of plan authors has been well studied. In Britain, the majority of plans were produced by local authorities, although much traditional planning history has focused on the better-known plans of expensively hired consultants, and the Ministry also commissioned some regional-scale plans. Biographical work on some of these consultants reveals much about influences upon them and the influence of their activities, especially the prolific Professor Sir Patrick Abercrombie (Jones 1998; Lambert 2000), and Thomas Sharp, author of numerous plans for historic cities and a key mover in developing the concept of "townscape" (Pendlebury 2009). The politics of his plan for bombed Exeter have been explored by Flinn (2008), and the long-term legacy of what was built is discussed by While and Tait (2009). Elsewhere, Scrivano (2000) has explored personalities, theories, and practice in the plan for Turin. Considering the personal influence of individual planners, there has been some work on transnational transmission of ideas and experiences: this has tended to focus on the flow from the victorious Allies to the conquered Axis countries, or from Britain to the (former) Empire (Lai 1999; Amati and Freestone 2009), together with consideration of the influence in this period of communist ideas despite the Cold War (Ward 2012). Scholars have also examined the nature of the plans and their use of various means of communication (Perkins and Dodge 2012; Gutschow 2013). In part this informs their effectiveness in conveying their messages to various readerships, and the use of large-scale public exhibitions to do so was, perhaps surprisingly, broad (Larkham and Lilley 2012), although some exhibitions had limited impact (Amati 2014).

In Japan, numerous cities were forced to retreat from their initial idealistic planning for reconstruction owing to pressure from the central government, and local authorities were also unable to

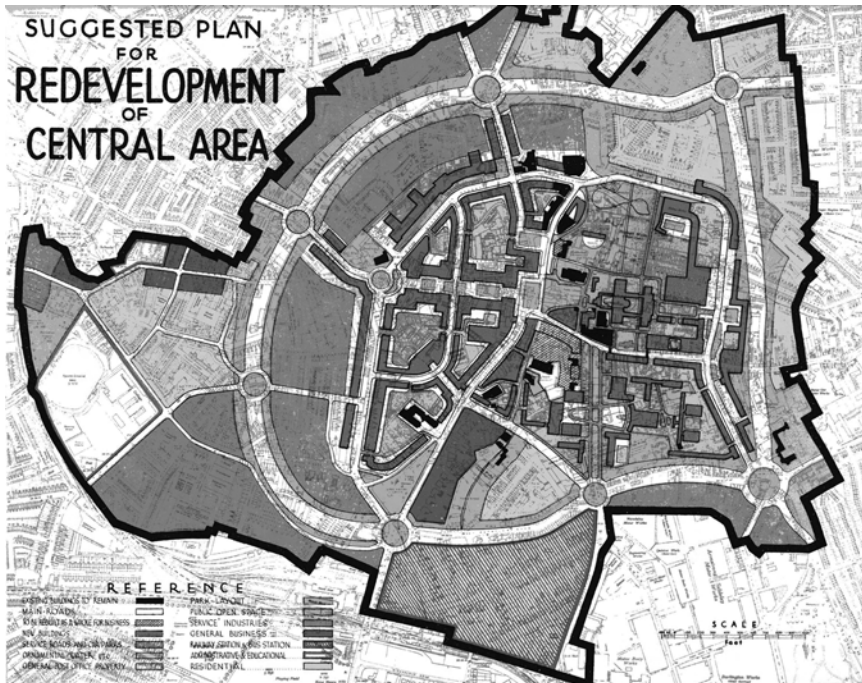


Figure 33.4 Coventry's radical new city-center plan within the outline of the area of severe bomb damage, 1945.

Source: personal archives, Peter Larkham.

incorporate the views of ordinary people under the then-current town planning system (Hasegawa 2008). In Britain, the idealism and radical nature of many plans and of the Government's overall strategy soon retreated in the face of the dire economic situation (Hasegawa 1999) (Figure 33.4). Even Abercrombie's iconic plan for Plymouth changed significantly between his vision and the implemented reality (Chalkley and Goodridge 1991). Several UK studies have unpacked the political, financial, and social realities affecting reconstruction both in broad terms (Flinn 2011) and with detailed city-scale studies (Hasegawa 1992).

Much reconstruction focused on new ideas of modernism, with new materials and techniques at the scale of urban fabric and built structure (Bullock 2002; Pendlebury et al. 2014). Infrastructure is a major consideration in reconstruction, with traffic a key consideration and major roads—especially ring roads—a particular feature (Diefendorf 1989). The very scale and speed of redevelopment did, by the mid-1960s in Britain at least, generate a counter: the conservation movement.

The place of heritage in postwar re-planning is clear in official concerns to understand and record the nature and amount of war damage to monuments (Lambourne 2001), and then to find ways to treat surviving, though damaged, monuments. This endeavor spurred changes in thinking about preservation and how plans treated historic cities (Pendlebury 2003). The role of heritage in building national identity is best seen in the facsimile reconstruction of Warsaw's historic center, now a World Heritage Site (Ciborowski 1970); Karsten set this site more widely, and in comparison with Czechoslovakia (1987). The lengthy timescale of reconstruction is shown, in Britain, by the continuing pace of rebuilding when halted by the mid-1970s war in the Middle East and the oil crisis (see Bullock 1997 for a periodizing of British reconstruction). And the innovative 1947 Town and Country Planning Act was still influential over half a century later (Cullingworth 1999). The products of reconstruction can now themselves be seen as heritage (While and Tait 2009).

Crisis and Response: Continuum Not Dichotomy

Crisis has often attracted scholarly attention, as the cause of a crisis, and the responses to it, often highlight developments in theory and practice. In planning terms, the crisis provides opportunity for implementation of novelty, whether of process (often legislation) or product (such as innovation in architectural or urban form), which might otherwise be difficult or delayed. Yet the response is often shaped, if not constrained, by pre-crisis experience, legislation, planning systems, and so on. Postwar British planning, despite its radical new legislation, owed a great deal to prewar experience—the “radical new” tempered by “more of the same.” Examples of postwar post-disaster responses show little difference to disaster-unrelated planning. Hence the concepts of change versus continuity (sometimes termed “stability”) are central to disaster re-planning. Yet this is not a dichotomy but a continuum, which has been explored in terms of post-disaster urban form (Nasr 1997). But much literature has unduly polarized the discussion, emphasizing the dichotomy, and hence marginalizing the reality of these complex processes: a readable rhetoric replaces reality.

“Opportunity” and “constraint,” for example, are also often depicted as a dichotomy. The period of re-planning and reconstruction can be an opportunity for planners to make general improvements in urban design, form, and function, and to address wider goals including social equity and environmental improvement. Physical planners (and historians) do sometimes explicitly refer to a post-disaster *tabula rasa* opportunity (Mullin 1992 on post-1755 earthquake Lisbon; Gotham and Greenberg 2014 for political and physical crises in New York and New Orleans). In reality, in terms of physical planning, disaster rarely obliterates urban structure entirely, and surviving pre-crisis forms, patterns of land ownership, and other physical realities form a “morphological frame” constraining re-planning and rebuilding. However, numerous studies show that communities actually want to restore the status quo, to rebuild the state as before the disaster (albeit, perhaps, with minor improvements) (Spangle & Associates 1991). The 1666 Great Fire of London provides a classic

example of such “inertia” (Reddaway 1940). If this pressure is heeded, opportunities for wider improvement are substantially reduced.

A third, and equally misleading, dichotomy is that often presented between “ideal” and “reality.” Disaster often generates “vision,” although the resulting plans are often unrealistic and unrealizable. Even pre-disaster plans may be discarded owing to the perceived pressure for immediate post-catastrophe rebuilding (as with Burnham’s plan in San Francisco following the 1906 earthquake and fire [Bowden 1970]).

A final unhelpful dichotomy concerns the nature of the re-planning, with authoritarian, “top down” diktat versus a community-led, “bottom-up” approach. The former is exemplified by accounts of the reconstruction of Lisbon following the 1755 earthquake, which was so severe that the city core “ceased to exist.” The response was “despotic” and “military” planning, demonstrating “standardization, utility, regimentation, order, simplicity, and efficiency” (Mullin 1992). But this has also been interpreted as “the first ‘modern’ disaster . . . a turning point in human history” reflecting both perception of disaster and a holistic, modernistic view of producing a more efficient city (Dynes 1997). More recent studies of contemporary disasters have focused on social processes, including the role of social capital in “enhancing collective actions and disaster recovery” (Nakagawa and Shaw 2004). Alternative models of planning have been explored, including participatory planning and stakeholder engagement, which are often articulated more clearly (Chandrasekhar et al. 2014). However, using such new models does not guarantee good results: Ganapati and Ganapati (2008) explore the World Bank’s approach to re-planning after the 1999 Turkish earthquake, and identify a too-narrow definition of the *public* in public participation, excluding even such relevant local stakeholders as the local government and community organizations.

Conclusion

Post-catastrophe reconstruction is, inevitably, a complex, contested, messy, and dynamic process. This is true particularly on the ground, where the ideal vision of planners and designers conflicts with the reality of funding and other resource availability, but also significant at larger scales of activity. The requirements and aspirations of publics and (usually governmental) “clients” may change rapidly.

Many reconstruction plans have been produced, but relatively few are implemented in anything like their original form. Most propose “paper cities” rather than regional or strategic-scale planning. This may be wasted effort, raising expectations that are then dashed through non-implementation, and even bringing planning into disrepute. Yet the same is true of many plans produced in other periods. Is reconstruction planning actually something different, meriting the attention lavished upon it? In many ways, it seems little different from planning outside a time of crisis.

Coyne (2005) identifies a series of institutional prerequisites for post-conflict reconstruction (albeit at a meta-scale of reconstruction) and these resonate closely with the issues discussed here. “A successful post-conflict reconstruction is characterized by a self-sustaining liberal political, economic and social order that does not rely on economic support . . . societies lacking adequate horizontal ties will require a high level of continual intervention and reconstruction efforts will have a lower probability of success.” Most reconstruction requires external intervention, some over lengthy periods; on the other hand disaster may occur in locations that are scarcely liberal. Coyne challenges some examples of reconstruction and emphasizes the social rather than the physical dimension, whereas much planning history focuses on the latter.

The concept of “resilience” is increasingly significant in contemporary post-disaster planning, and there are useful discussions of its nature (Zebrowski 2013) and applications (Weichselgartner and Kelman 2015). However, to date this lens has scarcely been used to interrogate the planning histories of disaster, although this could be productive.

Perhaps historians read too much into the complex and problematic process of “reconstruction.” Attempts are often made to derive “lessons” at varying scales (Machado 2007). We should instead reinterpret “reconstruction planning” as “crisis response,” an exemplar of contemporary planning delivered at high speed in a short period—though we should not omit consideration of longer-term effects. For this “crisis response planning” rarely delivers wholly new mechanisms or products. It simply uses an opportunity to address existing issues, perhaps on a wider scale and more speedily than would otherwise have been possible. And in the common focus on the great plans of great planners, the issues of messiness and contestation have been too often minimized.

Related Topics

Ward: Planning Diffusion

Hein: Idioms of Japanese Planning Historiography

Wagenaar: Urbanism, Housing, and the City

Schubert: Opposition, Participation, and Community-Driven Planning Histories

Schott: Livability and Environmental Sustainability: From Smoky to Livable Cities

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34

A HISTORY OF HERITAGE CONSERVATION IN CITY PLANNING

Jyoti Hosagrahar

Heritage conservation, an organized effort to protect cultural heritage, is deeply intertwined with modern city planning. They might seem to be almost contradictory, with the one looking to protect and preserve pasts, and the other imagining improved futures and deliberately effecting change. Indeed, modernity celebrates progress and rejects the historical and traditional while glorifying a distant past. But from the Haussmannization of Paris in the middle of the 19th century to current efforts to brand cultural identities, the historic city has been a subtext of many major city-planning endeavors.

Like city planning, heritage conservation has its roots in a post-Enlightenment era and the industrializing cities of Western Europe. But this chapter looks at the development of its concepts and practices globally, considering how values, theories, and discourses in urban planning and design have at various times intersected and influenced those in heritage conservation. Then it examines some evolving approaches to city planning and design from the middle of the 19th century to the present period, exploring their relationship to heritage conservation.

Cultural Heritage and Conservation: An Expanded Understanding

Heritage is that which is handed down from the past. Particular to a time and place, heritage expresses the cumulative knowledge and experience of generations, affirming and enriching cultural identities. The UNESCO Culture Conventions define *cultural heritage* as both tangible (historic monuments, museums, archaeological sites, and art and architecture) and intangible (literature, music, dance, theater, and crafts). More broadly, heritage includes the cultural relationships and practices with respect to the natural environment, including land management and water systems particular to a place and time. These too comprise both material things (such as inherited landmarks, hierarchy of open spaces, and street patterns) and cultural practices (such as processions, water management, and vernacular building practices) (UNESCO 2003). Cultural heritage also includes *conservation* of the material forms, safeguarding of intangible heritage, and promoting the creative practices that make the places meaningful to the residents.

From the middle of the 19th century until the present, the understanding of cultural heritage has expanded from identifying individual monuments to include historic districts and territories, and from the structures of the powerful and wealthy to an appreciation of their interconnectedness to the vernacular fabric in which they are situated. Gardens, open spaces, streets, festivals, folk music and dance, and religious and artistic practices are the connective tissue that binds the built world

into an organic whole; they constitute the unique historic identity of streets, townscapes, and urban landscapes (Bandarin and Van Oers 2012; Freestone 2010). Even the remains of mines and mining settlements have achieved heritage status in recent years in the UK and in Japan.

Not everything inherited from the past can or should be preserved as it may mean different things to different people. Interpretations too may vary or be at odds with each other based on ethnic, religious, or national position or identity. A society faced with the burden of caretaking has to decide what heritage to retain. The value of cultural heritage is in the significance that society attaches to it; it is socially constructed. The old city of Jerusalem is a striking example of a dispute over various meanings for differing groups. Cultural heritage can become an icon for a community, a city, or a nation, and as such can be a tool for political or ethnic assertion.

From Slum City to Beautiful City in the US and the UK

Modern city planning originated in the dense, congested, and increasingly unsanitary historic cores of 19th-century cities such as London and Paris (Choay 1969, 1992; Hall 2014). Growing rapidly and haphazardly, without municipal services or regulations, and inundated with poor migrant labor, these areas became slums. Later in the 19th century, cluttered spaces and streets with factories spewing smoke were typical. One response to these conditions and pressures was to imagine better cities. Rulers, elite reformers, and visionaries demolished and removed much of the “decayed” historic urban fabric in the core, and simultaneously undertook grand building projects there, creating spectacular public spaces and rows of expensive private dwellings with ornamental facades along tree-lined avenues. The late 19th-century rebuilding of Paris, London, and Vienna exemplified an approach to city design as a work of art (Choay 1969; Van Zanten 1994; Olsen 1986; Schorske 1981). Historic built form occupied a contradictory position in this paradigm of city planning, at once celebrated and denigrated. Grand monuments were celebrated by locating them on visual axes with wide straight avenues radiating from them while large swaths of medieval city fabric were simply torn up and removed, their residents either summarily displaced or hidden in crowded tenements behind new facades (Harvey 2003).

The idea of protecting cultural heritage came to the forefront during the 19th century with the rise of the nation-state, losses from frequent wars, and rapid industrialization. Proponents of heritage conservation included intellectuals such as Eugène Viollet-le-Duc, John Ruskin, and William Morris. They considered historic structures, forms, and elements to be vitally important to cities; they saw historic cities as themselves large monuments. Ruskin idealized hand-made historic structures as offering much-needed succor from the travails of industrialization. While Ruskin and Morris considered it a moral duty to retain historic structures in the condition in which they were found, even if they were ruins or partially demolished structures, Viollet-le-Duc deliberately went about repairing historic structures in a manner he called “stylistic restoration,” reconstructing them to appear as they should have been, thus presenting them in a “finished state that may never have actually existed at any given time” (Viollet-le-Duc 1895; Bressani 2014).

The influence of these intellectuals on city planning went far beyond the conservation of a few structures. Viollet-le-Duc, in his position as *Inspecteur General de Monuments Historiques*, influenced government decisions on most of the monuments and heritage structures in French cities. John Ruskin, philosopher, art critic, and social reformer of his time, challenged artists, architects, and town planners to collaborate to develop small beautiful communities set in green open spaces (Lang 1999). His ideas influenced Ebenezer Howard’s notion of Garden Cities, as well as William Morris’s work as art entrepreneur, social reformer, and founder of the Arts and Crafts movement who believed in the power of beauty to transform human lives (Reps 1992 [1965]; Jokilehto 2007 [1999]). The common thread I see in the work of all these important social reformers and

urban visionaries was nostalgia for the romantic beauty of urban past that was far removed from the inglorious urban realities of the period in North America and Europe.

The idealization of city as an artistic ensemble also influenced the City Beautiful movement, led by Frederick Law Olmsted and Daniel Burnham, which started with the World's Columbian Exposition of Chicago in 1893. The magical White City demonstrated for the first time that cities could be planned and designed to be beautiful (Hall 2014), and included Haussmannian historic monuments as landmarks at the end of visual vistas. Many cities took up building projects and launched art projects following these ideas: Washington, DC, built the tree-lined mall, the Washington Memorial, and the Jefferson Memorial (Hall 2014; Sies and Silver 1996; Freestone 2010).

As regulating and managing the urban environment became a deliberate endeavor, city beautification efforts also furthered heritage conservation. New York City, for instance, started the Municipal Art Society (1893) and the Landmarks Preservation Commission (1965), respectively, with the passage of the Bard Act and the New York Landmarks Act (Gilmartin 1995). Furthermore, the City Beautiful Movement promoted the idea that historic structures were a public good for public enjoyment; that is, heritage structures were not only for the benefit of the owners or a few wealthy patrons but for the local community at large. This democratic ideal greatly influenced the historic preservation movement in the United States where preservation became associated with civic improvement, with majestic, centrally located public buildings, and with orderly city plans in cities such as New York, Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, and San Francisco (Stipe 2003).

In North America, historic preservation began as a philanthropic effort by elite groups such as the Mt. Vernon Ladies Association (1859), which consisted of well-to-do Anglo-Saxon women (Lea 2003). Since then, conservation has grown into a broad movement with community support to preserve urban districts and streets as well as historic cities and towns. However, in the United States, the National Trust for Historic Preservation was only established in 1949 and the National Historic Preservation Act was only passed in 1966 (National Trust for Historic Preservation 2015a, 2015b).

The City as a Colonial Project

The late 19th and early 20th centuries were also the periods in which Western European countries colonized Asia and Africa. Europeans, encountering the dense built forms of historic Asian and African cities, condemned them as “primitive” and “traditional,” considering their narrow winding lanes unsanitary and decrepit. This discourse justified their exportation of urban planning principles, forms, and institutions from cities in Western Europe and North America, and imposition of them onto colonial cities (Hosagrahar 2005). During the middle of the 19th century, for example, British colonial officials demolished large swaths of densely inhabited historic cities such as Delhi, with the stated intention of removing so-called unsanitary and diseased urban fabric—and to defend themselves against insurgency and make these areas accessible to military control. In stark contrast, the British set up their own cantonment at some distance from the historic city, with wide streets and airy bungalows in gardens. The remaining part of the historic walled city was further walled off with a *cordon-sanitaire* or a no-build safe zone around it (Hosagrahar 2005). Urban fabric that was not deliberately demolished in the historic walled city was frozen in its footprint so that the streets and built forms remained largely unchanged: preservation was an unintended consequence of the approach to urban planning and management.

Paradoxically, the large-scale destruction of historic urban fabric was also accompanied by heritage conservation that celebrated its scientific and rational dimensions. Both came to many parts of Asia and North Africa through colonialism. In South Asia, European fascination with Indian antiquities, ancient texts, scripts, inscriptions, and cave paintings shaped the field of Indology (Inden 1990; Hosagrahar 2015). European interest in Indian antiquities, art, and architecture was institutionalized

with the establishment in 1871 of the Archaeological Survey of India. Alexander Cunningham and other archaeologists discovered Buddhist *stupa* and unearthed ancient cities (2000 [1862–1884], 2009 [1854]); they created lists and descriptions of the monuments they identified. They emphasized scientific study, documentation, and conservation of ancient sites and archaeological remains, including monuments, none of which had any direct connection to urban planning during that period. Colonial conservation specialists recognized particular monuments for their architectural style and artistic accomplishment, and celebrated them by setting them apart as artistic jewels to be visually admired, disconnected from their context. They often cleared the clutter around them, instead creating gardens and vistas to enhance a visitor's viewing pleasure.



Figure 34.1 Arkere, Karnataka, India. Today, many traditional towns like this are rushing to modernize with concrete block buildings.

Source: Jyoti Hosagrahar.

The Taj Mahal in Agra exemplified the foregoing approach for years. British colonial heritage officials did not regard either the settings of monuments or life within and around them as pertinent to the interpretation of sites, except for places of worship that remained active as such (Kavuri-Bauer 2011). In particular, the British preoccupation with constructing a narrative of glorious Indian antiquity and medieval decline (which justified British rule) could not accommodate valorizing or protecting architecture and urban forms they saw as medieval or Mughal (Hosagrahar 2005).

In contrast to the British, French and Italian colonial powers in North Africa made urban design and preservation of indigenous historic towns into explicit policies. A remarkable juxtaposition of heritage and modernity was evident from Algiers to Rabat, Fez, Marrakesh, and Tunis, where demolition and denigration of some historic structures and neighborhoods was accompanied by a deliberate “freezing” of the *medina*, the old walled city cores (Wright 1991). The stated intent of the French colonial policies was preserving the artistic value of the urban forms of the medina, but in reality contributed to the colonial domination of the native population, as the complete preservation of the walled city and the new planned settlement outside of it were both symbolic actions that served to segregate the colonizers from the local residents. Those streets in the walled city of Delhi that remained intact did so because the British colonial rulers chose to neglect them as they focused their attention on new developments outside the walls. However, the preservation of the walled medina in North African cities such as Rabat and Tunis by the French colonial officials reflected nostalgia for traditional urbanism (Figure 34.1).

Urban Heritage Conservation and Theocratic Institutions

During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, rationally organized municipalities replaced traditional urban management and institutions. Town halls, mayors, and municipal councils went about the task of visualizing and implementing civic improvement in cities across Western Europe and North America. Such urban institutions were also transplanted to colonial cities in Asia and Africa. But some traditional institutions and urban management systems have persisted, albeit in modified forms. Many of the traditional systems of urban management and conservation were theocratic and faith-based institutions, responsible for conserving historic structures of religious significance, such as churches, temples, and mosques, and for managing urban areas in their vicinity. In many instances, religious organizations owned or controlled land immediately around the main structure, including shops, schools, neighborhoods, and orchards, sometimes originating as donations and endowments. Vatican City is one of the most extraordinary traditional systems of urban governance and heritage management. Based as they were on pre-modern and customary laws, religious organizations had little motivation to reform and modernize either the institutions or the urban areas in their control, even as cities everywhere underwent rapid modernization and transformation. However, as long as the institutions had community support, those areas did not become completely decrepit or dilapidated, and key religious structures were carefully maintained as landmarks.

Sometimes national laws have formalized these arrangements. In Japan, the Ancient Temples and Shrines Preservation Law (*koshaji hozonhō*) of 1897 included a provision under which temples and shrines could apply for national funds for conservation and restoration (Enders and Gutschow 1998). When wars and rapid modernization in the 20th century threatened historic structures and neighborhoods of religious significance, new bodies were formed to protect and conserve them, such as the Historic Churches Preservation Trust in 1953 in the UK. Other legally approved religious bodies include Hindu temple boards; Waqf laws and management responsible for mosques all across the Middle East and South and Southeast Asia; and Buddhist monasteries and temples. Temple towns in southern India, the main mosques and their vicinity in cities such as Aleppo and Damascus (prior to their large scale destruction in recent years), even the Al Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem and the area



Figure 34.2 Historic city of Jerusalem. The intersections between religious, civic, and political are intricate, complex, and many-layered in a city like Jerusalem.

Source: Jyoti Hosagrahar.

around it, and temples and shrines in Japanese towns are other examples of such conservation and management systems where the lines between public and theocracy are blurred in the space of the city.

The significance of these alternative systems of heritage conservation and of city planning to our discussion is manifold. First, they are evidence of an alternative to the modernist logic of civic improvement and city planning that made heritage protection an increasingly important visual element in the early 20th century (Figure 34.2). Second, theocratic heads or community councils make the final decisions as opposed to experts on heritage conservation or city planning. This has meant that faith, traditions, or religious doctrines rather than rational and scientific planning or conservation have been the basis of the decisions. And finally, they provide an alternative rationale for heritage conservation that neither makes it a centerpiece of urban planning nor denigrates and destroys, but simply accepts and accommodates changing needs in the urban vicinity without necessarily altering

the form or meaning of the urban space in the area around it. Such efforts have often been guided more by the authenticity of the practices than of the forms alone, and have been disengaged from the theoretical discourse of modernity and the Modernist break from history.

The City as a Technology

Following the two world wars in the 20th century, advancements in engineering, technology, and rational organization gave rise to notions of cities as technologies that were efficient, elegant, and functional (Frampton 1980; Kostof 1999; Kostof and Castillo 1999). High Modernism in architecture and the Athens Charter established by the Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM (1933) had an enormous impact on cities globally (Frampton 1980, 1999; Mumford 2009). Specifically, the ideas of universal built forms, new materials and technologies, and scientific design rose above wartime parochialism. The two world wars had caused large-scale destruction in many historic cities in Europe, and postwar planners and citizens focused intently on the value of the built heritage that remained. On the one hand, heritage conservation was elevated to a moral obligation and a peace-building effort; on the other, the rise of the International Style as a universal form beyond the parochialism that led to the wars, sounded the death knell for vernacular and local urban forms and traditions globally.

Brasilia, Le Havre, and Chandigarh are monumental planned cities of the 20th century, designed by celebrated architects, that are today designated as valuable world heritage sites. All have been inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List. Oscar Niemeyer and Lucio Costa, Auguste Perret, and Le Corbusier, respectively, designed them as models of planning and monuments to modernity, rejecting traditional and historical urban forms (Prakash 2002). Perret aided in the reconstruction of Le Havre after World War II. In this he followed the rationalist approach of Viollet-le-Duc, adapting his concept of “stylistic reconstruction” to an urban scale and applying his historical typologies to concrete (Britton 2001). Yet their designs responded to their context: in the case of Le Corbusier in his extensive use of exposed concrete and orthogonal forms, and in the case of Brasilia representing a national Brazilian identity in curvilinear white forms (meant to convey the beauty of the beaches and Brazilian women).

At the same time, the very patriarchs of High Modernism, Lucio Costa and Le Corbusier, also promoted the conservation of historic towns and urban areas. In Brazil, Lucio Costa was instrumental in the establishment of organized conservation of heritage, including historic towns (Conti 2009; Otero-Pailos 2009; El-Dahdah 2005). For 35 years he was at the helm of SPHAN, the national body responsible for the protection of heritage in Brazil. He was both an expert on colonial architecture and an important proponent of the Modern Movement. Like other Latin American Modernists, Costa preferred earlier colonial heritage and devalued later colonial structures (Cavalcanti 2009; Pessoa and Caldiera 2009). In his various capacities, Costa helped to establish modern architecture itself as a legitimate type of national historic and artistic heritage, making modern architecture and urban form an integral part of the national narrative (Pessoa and Caldiera 2009). The first phase of heritage preservation in Latin America was led by the cultural elite, who undertook interventions as they saw fit (Rojas 2011; Conti 2009).

Most of the Latin American countries became independent nations in the early 19th century. The heritage of the 16th- and 17th-century conquistadors was layered with uniquely regional vernacular structures (Figure 34.3). Mining towns also developed in several regions in the 19th century. A few towns, such as La Plata in Argentina, were designed according to late 19th-century principles of Garden Cities; those principles also influenced the planning of Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro among other cities (Morosi 2003). By the early 20th century, several historic city centers had become decrepit and dangerous with the flight of wealthier residents to modern city centers, adjacent to the old, and replete with Modernist architecture. In recent years,



Figure 34.3 The 18th-century city of Olinda in northern Brazil with convents, churches, and vernacular houses. Source: Jyoti Hosagrahar.

numerous cities across the region have undertaken projects to revitalize the deteriorating historic city centers. But much remains to be done to protect and recognize the vernacular buildings and villages, and the intangible practices of indigenous people.

The CIAM charter influenced the way that many cities in Asia, Africa, and Latin America began to view their historic city centers. Le Corbusier's engagement with heritage was paradoxical and contributed to the colonial project of segregating and denigrated local populations without making explicit reference to it. For instance, in his Plan Obus for Algiers, he called for the preservation of the historic *casbah* as a sculptured jewel while planning highways that passed over the *casbah* to the new city center designed with seemingly lofty ideals of industry, technology, and progress in the International Style and in keeping with the CIAM Charter (Çelik 1992).

Influenced by the idealized new suburbs and planned neighborhoods from Western Europe and North America, as well as the denigration of their historic cities inherent in their discourse, wealthier urban residents, aspiring to modern living, left the historic centers of cities in Asia and Africa, as in Latin America, to live in newly planned districts and neighborhoods. The districts they left behind were inhabited by low-income residents, and increasingly deteriorated physically. The municipal agencies labeled the historic cities "slums" and concentrated their efforts to improve them (Faetanini 2010; Girard and Lambot 1993; Scarpaci 2005).

In the United States, through the 1950s and 1960s, middle-class suburbs proliferated at the expense of the historic city centers, which in many instances became dense, decrepit, and racially segregated ghettos. Federal and state policies that were racially discriminatory played a significant role in encouraging white flight to the suburbs. City authorities, policy makers, and planners alike were convinced by Modernist ideals of city design built around efficient systems of transportation and services and cookie-cutter apartment blocks. As a result, city development authorities undertook large-scale urban renewal projects in the rundown historic city centers through the 1950s and 1960s, erasing historic neighborhoods in favor of mushrooming skyscrapers. This also had a devastating impact on the low-income communities that inhabited the historic city cores. The idea of demolishing and rebuilding the city center to modernize was globally influential, although often

difficult to implement in densely inhabited cities and newly formed nations. For example, the 1961 Master Plan for Delhi declared the historic walled city a “slum,” but for the residents of Delhi, the old city was the cultural and symbolic city-core, and for the countless new migrants to the city, the labyrinthine fabric of the walled city offered refuge (Hosagrahar 2005). The idea of city as technology resulted in substantial destruction of historic urban areas globally and a denigration of them for their lack of modernity while romanticizing them for their picturesque uniqueness.

City as Community

The rampant destruction of urban renewal gave rise to much criticism from the citizens and gave impetus to the historic preservation movement. Throughout the second half of the 20th century, cities and communities in the United States have used heritage conservation as a way to improve deteriorated neighborhoods (Ryberg 2011). In response to the outcomes of urban renewal efforts, cities and neighborhoods adopted the idea of city planning as a more humane and complex endeavor with an emphasis on livability, historic environments, and participatory processes.

In the United States, community-led efforts for preservation in the 1960s and 1970s aimed to revitalize dilapidated neighborhoods to attract middle-income residents. For instance, in the early 1980s, the National Trust for Historic Preservation established a program for rejuvenating Main Streets that actively involved local communities. The program was intended to mobilize a preservation-based economic revitalization of downtowns rather than large-scale rebuilding by corporate commercial interests (National Trust for Historic Preservation, 2015b). While conservation and restoration were expensive, the newly improved historic neighborhoods revitalized businesses and real estate markets in declining towns. At the same time, this gentrification displaced low-income residents (Ryberg 2011).

In many cities in Asia and Africa, increasing globalization in the 1970s and 1980s brought disenchantment with formulaic grids, single-function zones, and concrete mega structures. Renewed interest in regionalism and identity in urbanism, as well as the pressing needs of rapidly urbanizing cities in these regions, gave impetus to the conservation and revival of traditional building forms and techniques, such as the housing and settlement designs of Hassan Fathy in Egypt and Charles Correa in India (Correa 1996; Fathy 1973; Steele 1997). Award programs such as the Aga Khan Awards for Architecture celebrated culturally responsive design and conservation of historic buildings and urban areas (Aga Khan Awards for Architecture 1983, 1985).

Conservation and the Global Community

In Western European countries and their colonies, heritage preservation has been the responsibility of the state. The Athens Charter of 1931 for the Restoration of Historic Monuments, adopted by the first International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments, institutionalized this notion. Placing the responsibility of cultural heritage on the government has led to the privileging of national narratives of culture and history that support the government’s legitimacy. As newly emergent nations gained independence from European colonial rule, the idea of preserving cultural heritage took on new significance and demanded new fiscal, legal, and administrative instruments and partnerships.

The United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), established in 1945, was uniquely charged with protecting culture. Initially the objective was to protect cultural property during conflict and war; later its mandate expanded to include setting up international charters and conventions to preserve cultural heritage that expressed the achievement of humankind. In the years from 1972 to 2011, the global community adopted several significant agreements related to culture and heritage through UNESCO including the Convention Concerning the

Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage (1972), the Convention on the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003), the Convention for the Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (2005), and the program UNESCO Creative Cities Network (2004).

Equally significant here are the efforts that have been made by the global community in the last few decades to recognize the importance of socio-economic development to communities in historic urban areas. These were paradigm shifts in heritage conservation as they acknowledged that conservation of monuments and archaeological sites was substantially different than conservation of cities and urban areas. The 1976 UNESCO Recommendation concerning the Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas; the 1987 ICOMOS Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas; and the 2005 UNESCO Vienna Memorandum on World Heritage and Contemporary Architecture: Managing the Historic Urban Landscape eventually led to the 2011 UNESCO Recommendation on Historic Urban Landscapes. Together these policies have contributed to recognizing, conserving, and promoting urban heritage (including tangible and intangible elements) and creativity as a resource enhancing the livability of urban areas. They integrate the goal of conserving urban heritage with the goal of sustainably developing urban areas in general (Hosagrahar et al. 2016).

The City as Cultural Uniqueness

In recent years, many cities have focused on capitalizing on the economic value of their cultural uniqueness with both tourism and cultural branding. This has corresponded with the growth in leisure and entertainment industries as well as the explosive growth of tourism worldwide. Global tourism to heritage sites and cities, at times excessive and insensitive, has exacerbated conflicts between global cultures and local beliefs and practices (Alsayyad 2001). Excessive and insensitively designed tourists and tourism facilities have destroyed the character and identity of historic areas, exacerbated the commodification of heritage, and marginalized the needs of local residents in many places. The flow of capital, the demands of tourists for familiar modern amenities, and the environmental externalities of tourism have distorted the value of heritage. For instance, Venice, one of the most popular destinations, attracts more than 20 million tourists a year from around the world, but has lost much of its local population and culture of everyday life (Bandarin and Van Oers 2012). In Siem Reap in Cambodia, seat of the Angkor Wat, excessive building of hotels depleted the ground water reserves while the dominance of a few large multinational companies, operating with imported staff or low-skilled labor of local women and youth, reduced economic benefits for residents.

Cultural branding to increase global visibility, tourism, and investment has become a major impetus for urban conservation efforts in recent years (Figure 34.4). The European Capital of Culture is a program of the European Union, launched in 1985, that designates a city for one calendar year to showcase its cultural life and facilities. Cities compete to win this brand identity as a way to bring in substantial investments into culture and heritage, promote tourism, and put the city on a global map for businesses and events (Biçakçı 2012). The Arab League has a similar program: the Arab Capital of Culture in cooperation with UNESCO, ongoing since 1996.

International banks and financial institutions, which previously focused only on economic strategies and large-scale development projects, in recent years have invested in cultural heritage to bring about development and growth. They have emphasized tourism to bring in revenues, employment, and income (Licciardi and Amirtahmasebi 2012; Rojas 2002, 2011). One potential danger of this has been that marketing the “product-design” of cultural heritage, tourism, and cultural branding has taken priority over planning, though some cities have retained a focus on heritage conservation and valorization, selecting the most entertainment-friendly heritage (Evans 2001, 2006; Mihalis 2005; Biçakçı 2012).

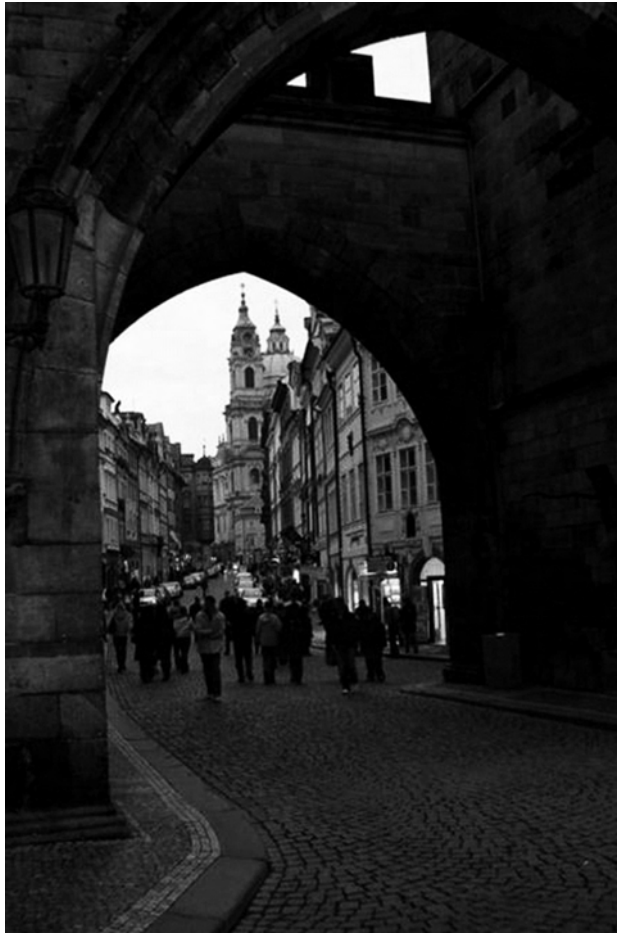


Figure 34.4 Historic Prague, Czech Republic. The romanticized and picturesque irregularity of the medieval city of Prague is a branding that many cities around the world aspire to.

Source: Jyoti Hosagrahar.

Conclusion: Heritage Conservation and Global Challenges Today

In recent decades, heritage conservation has broadened to include the management of change as well as material preservation and restoration. The UNESCO Nara document on authenticity in 1994 redefined the notion of cultural heritage to include multiple attributes that vary with cultural context (UNESCO 1994, 2014) extending beyond the authenticity of the material remains alone. This has been an important shift away from the universal application of conservation approaches and philosophies from Western Europe to other parts of the world, giving salience instead to local conditions, meanings, and practices (Glendinning 2013; Stipe 2003; Stubbs and Makaš 2011; Hosagrahar 2013).

The twin processes of globalization and urbanization continue to be persistent and ongoing threats to heritage. The last two decades have seen an unprecedented and incessant urbanization in much of Asia and Latin America, and to some extent also in Africa. In the current scenario of uneven economic development and depleting resources, built and natural heritage of urban areas are under severe threat: developers and governments have considered them irrelevant or inconvenient, and have at best cordoned them off for protection. In many places the pressing need for economic development

has resulted in the unwitting destruction of heritage and along with it the identity and knowledge of those communities. Planners in much of the Global South, already constrained by lack of resources, poor governance, and inadequate institutions, have focused on modernization, such as road and drain building. Faced with the pressures of rapid urban growth, inadequate infrastructure, and debilitating social inequities, those in favor of large-scale interventions pit development against conservation in the allocation of scarce funding. With the promise of greater economic returns from grand projects, businesses and many local communities, political representatives, and other stakeholders have been complicit in turning a blind eye to the neglect and destruction of cultural heritage (Hosagrahar 2014). Natural disasters such as earthquakes, as in Kathmandu Valley in Nepal or Port Au Prince in Haiti, and violent conflicts have added further challenges to already complicated situations.

Globalization and the sharing of knowledge and experiences have also given greater impetus to participatory processes in heritage conservation, with the engagement of multiple stakeholders from governmental agencies and local communities to private investors, local and international NGOs, and international banks and development agencies. The resulting approaches have emphasized diversity in culture, and inclusiveness in access and management of heritage, enabling a greater variety of actors to invest in heritage conservation. In many North American cities, for instance, private interests have invested in the revitalization and adaptive reuse of historic neighborhoods and buildings, such as the industrial neighborhoods and waterfront warehouses. In Australia, participatory approaches have enabled the voices of local and indigenous peoples to be heard.

The idea of heritage conservation as contributing to the contemporary challenges in urban planning has started to find convergence with the integration of cultural heritage in the Goal 11 of the UN Sustainable Development Goals and the UN Habitat's *New Urban Agenda*, elaborated in the policy papers leading up to them (UN Habitat III 2016; Hosagrahar et al. 2016; Duxbury, Hosagrahar, and Pascual 2016). *Culture: Urban Future*, UNESCO's Global Report on culture for sustainable urban development includes a global survey of the ways that culture and heritage are managed in cities in each region of the world. This report builds on the conclusions of the International Conference on Culture for Sustainable Cities, held in Hangzhou, People's Republic of China, in December 2015 (UNESCO 2015). These pressing global challenges include climate change mitigation and adaptation, and increased risk of natural disasters and financial disaster, as well as poverty reduction and local economic development. These propose directions for a future in which heritage conservation and city planning come together with integrated goals to help make better cities for all that are more inclusive, equitable, and sustainable.

Note

The article reflects the author's personal views, not those of UNESCO.

Related Topics

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PART IV

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EDUCATING PLANNERS IN HISTORY

A Global Perspective

Christopher Silver

Scholars and practitioners universally cite several rationales for including history within the education of planners: to give students a sense of the roots of the profession; to document planners' impacts on society; to exemplify the specifics of good planning; and to give students a sense of the dynamics of the urbanization process. But until recently, planning lacked its own discrete disciplinary traditions, its practitioners and education programs themselves aligned with architecture, landscape architecture, law, engineering, economics, and other social science fields. Though in some regions, planning remains a subdiscipline of architecture or engineering, thousands of planning programs are now operating globally, producing new generations of planners. In this context the matter of who teaches planning history and the role that it plays in the education of planners is important. What are the topics and texts that are used to impart a historical perspective on planning and development to future planners? Is planning history taught as a standalone course, or incorporated within a large frame of planning theory and practice, or covered in an introductory fashion in specific courses dealing with transportation, the environment, or community development? And how much of the vast outpouring of planning history scholarship over the past three decades has found its way into professional planning curricula? Or is that scholarship largely a pursuit of scholars practicing within their own disciplines (as distinguished from planning programs) to flesh out new themes that remain beyond the education of planning practice? And, finally, what are the expectations for planning educators to devote attention to history? These questions will be explored below, examining planning history scholarship and education, and drawing from a diverse array of global planning education examples.

Why Planning History in Planning Education?

Planning education in the United States and the United Kingdom traces its origins to the early 20th century when the modern city planning movement also emerged. It grew out of established disciplines (architecture, engineering, and landscape architecture) that already paid attention to historical matters, focusing largely on the contributions of prominent designers and engineers, and to some extent on the urbanization process. If there was something akin to a history specifically of planning, it amounted largely to recounting the progression in city building from the ancient period up through the renaissance era, and centered on prominent works by architects, engineers, and landscape designers. The few scholarly texts that discussed the broad outlines of the urbanization

processes over time provided the foundation for what would become more systematic treatments of the planning component of urban history, including those of Arthur M. Schlesinger, *The Rise of the City: 1878–1898* (1933); Lewis Mumford, *The City in History* (1961); Edmund Bacon, *Design of Cities* (1967); and A. E. J. Morris, *History of Urban Form: Before the Industrial Revolutions* (1974).

It is possible to pinpoint the beginning of planning history education in the United States to the appearance of two publications in the mid-1960s. One was John Reps, *The Making of Urban America* (1965), a planning history survey crafted from his base in Cornell University's planning program. The other was an article in the September 1967 edition of the *Journal of the American Institute of Planners (JAIP)*, entitled "Planners in the Changing American City, 1900–1940," by University of Washington historian John Hancock. Reps's survey remained in print for the next five decades, and inspired a vast array of planning history texts. But the Hancock article, which was widely cited by other scholars and widely used in urban and planning courses, had another significance. It inspired the editors of *JAIP* to recruit the University of Washington planner to solicit from other scholars a series of biographical sketches of leading figures in United States planning's historical evolution, including Frederick Law Olmsted, Benjamin Marsh, Charles Dyer Norton, Lewis Mumford, Rexford Tugwell, and Harland Bartholomew. These appeared between 1972 and 1974 and provided readings that would show up in planning history courses in the 1980s.

In general, however, planning history had a marginal role in the curricular structure of planning programs. An article that appeared in the September 1980 issue of *Planning*, the monthly magazine of the American Planning Association distributed to its thousands of urban planning professionals, made this point persuasively. The article, "Planners—Let's Not Bury Our History," was penned by Eugenie L. Birch, a newly minted PhD and junior faculty member at Hunter College in New York City. Birch had been motivated by a discussion concerning the value of ethics training for planners. Given that planners worked in diverse and dynamic urban environments, they needed to be able, as she put it, "to distinguish among the cultural and institutional issues embedded in American society." And to be equipped properly to do this, planners "needed exposure to planning history—to the experiences, accomplishments, and failures of the professional forefathers." But was this being done?

Birch found anecdotal evidence that there was some history being covered in some planning programs, such as Laurence Gerckens's "American Planning Since 1900 A.D.," taught in the Ohio State University program and on an adjunct basis at other planning programs in the United States that had no one to teach a similar course. Birch decided to survey all 99 planning schools in the US to assess more systematically how they treated history in their curricula. The results confirmed that "most planning programs have placed some history in their curricula, although for the most part their coverage is minimal" (Birch 1980: 15). More often than not, these were elective offerings, not part of the core planning curriculum; more commonly, general introductory classes or courses largely devoted to theory and practice included some historical materials.

Birch called for new literature to support planning history education and for added coverage of history within the basic planning education curriculum. In the next decade, a spate of new planning history texts appeared, including, in 1980, a book series entitled "Studies in History, Planning and the Environment," launched by British publisher Mansell; it eventually accounted for over 50 planning history titles. New planning history courses were added to the professional curricula—especially when there were planning history advocates and practitioners on the faculty—and an organization of planning historians, the Society for American City and Regional Planning History (instigated by indomitable Laurence Gerckens), sustained development of the field. In the United Kingdom, and with a reach that extended through Europe and as far away as Japan, the Planning History Group (PHG) got underway to advance planning history scholarship and education. It soon launched a serial publication, *Bulletin of the Planning History Group*, that in turn, in 1986, spawned

Planning Perspectives, the first journal dedicated exclusively to disseminating full-length refereed planning history scholarship.

In 1985, the *Journal of the American Planning Association (JAPA)* offered its readers a symposium, "Learning from the Past," guest edited by the team of David A. Johnson, professor of planning at the University of Tennessee, and the historian for the Tennessee Valley Authority, Daniel Schaffer, whose *Two Centuries of American Planning* was soon to be published and widely assigned in US programs (Schaffer 1988). As they noted in their introductory essay, the field of planning history had been growing steadily since the late 1970s. The movement was driven by trained historians examining planning topics, along with planners seeking to explore critically how past planning influenced important decisions. As Johnson and Schaffer noted, "like planning itself, planning history has become a multidisciplinary, international movement characterized by vibrant scholarly exchange" (Johnson and Schaffer 1985: 132). Their endorsement of history to assist in planning practice helped make history a standard component of planning curricula.

As the scholarship in planning history blossomed in the 1980s, scholars also sought to bring a more serious and focused approach to planning history into the professional planning education process. The 1985 *JAPA* symposium issue introduced readers to work largely done by historians. Four of the five contributors were PhDs in history, while the lone non-historian, architect-planner Carl Feiss, drew on personal history to explore the genesis and development of the federal 701 program; Feiss's contribution was documentary rather than offering a critical appraisal. Two of the historians taught in history departments in universities lacking a planning program, suggesting that their work was not directly tied to planning education; two were historians teaching in planning programs, aiming to bring the historical perspective and its mode of inquiry into the planning educational process. As Mandelbaum (1985) observed, planners and historians converge when the history is about the inner workings of the planning profession. Yet unlike architecture, for example, which draws heavily upon history to impart "principles and canonic exemplars," the "narrowly focused studies of professional planners and their traditions of work occupy a relatively peripheral niche within it and cannot be easily moved toward the center." At the same time, the domination of urban historians generated a more contentious, critical interpretation of planning interventions.

Four years later in the pages of *JAPA*, the team of Portland State University urban historian Carl Abbott and planner Sy Adler said that history should be integrated into planning education not just to impart traditions and canons, as some planning history proponents called for, but also to provide planners a mode of inquiry: "historical analysis can . . . be a universal problem-solving tool," enabling the practitioner to better understand the context of the contemporary issue, its organizational origins, who advanced the idea, past precedents, transformation of context over time—in essence, the complexities of the issue (Abbott and Adler 1989: 472). Historical analysis of this sort, however, is not something that professional planning programs at the bachelor or master levels are prepared to impart to their students. Rather it has proved most useful to planners pursuing doctoral study with the intent to focus on a historical topic. But some history offerings introduced an element of historical inquiry by exposing students to primary planning documents and encouraging them to critically assess them.

It is instructive to briefly scan the syllabus of Birch's own Fall 1989 class at Hunter College, entitled "History of Planned Urban Development," to appreciate the depth and scope of planning history taught in the US during this "history centric" period. Birch included as general references no fewer than six major works, including Leonardo Benevolo's *The History of the City* (1980) and Mumford's *The City in History* (1961) both of which afforded a global perspective. Anglo-American (largely American) materials were central to four other major works: Peter Hall's newly published *Cities of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design in the Twentieth Century* (1988); Donald Krueckeberg's *The American Planner: Biographies and Recollections* (1983); Mel

Scott's *American City Planning Since 1890* (1969); and a recently published and acclaimed assessment of Frederick Law Olmsted's legacy as the dominant 19th-century planner by David Schuyler, *The New Urban Landscape: The Redefinition of City Form in Nineteenth Century America* (1986). These were not the only works required of students. Two required texts were Krueckeberg's edited volume of essays, *Introduction to Planning History in the United States* (1983) and Birch's own *Dream, Draw, Plan, 1900–1975*, a selection of primary documents which enabled Hunter students to at least dabble in the historian's mode of inquiry. These were supplemented by most of the biographical sketches from *JAIIP* (including Hancock's article), selective readings from the history-focused editions of the *Journal of the American Planning Association* in the 1980s, and an assortment of readings from urban history serials and scholarly texts. Planning students who took that class and tackled even a portion of this monumental reading list surely came away with a deep and textured understanding of modern planning's development in the United States. A handful of similar dedicated courses were available in planning programs across the country at this time, but unfortunately, few survived changing curricular requirements beyond the 1990s.

History Through the Pursuit of Theory

Fast forward to the present, and it becomes clear that there is little evidence of any appreciable increase in individual courses dedicated to the history of planning as either a required or elective offering in planning curricula. Drawing upon examples from the US, and several European and Asia-Australia cases, it is much more typical that historical materials and perspectives have been embedded in courses devised to cover planning theory, planning practice, or urbanization and the built environment, and only tangentially to explore planning history. Take for example the graduate course, "Planning Theory and Processes," offered in the planning program at Virginia Commonwealth University. The primary thrust of the course was to introduce students to the nature and application of theories in planning, giving them a deep historical dive into neighborhood planning, first by reading Clarence Perry's original treatise on the neighborhood unit plan, and then a recent assessment of the vast reach of Perry's theory in William Rohe's "From Local to Global: One Hundred Years of Neighborhood Planning," an article commissioned for the centennial issue of *JAPA* (Rohe 2009: 209–230).

The Massachusetts Institute of Technology's new approach avoids a specific course that uses the term planning history, presenting its material through a unique blend of theory, practice, and history. "Gateway: Planning Action," is taught to first semester master students "to get them all on the same page." The first six weeks, led by planning historian James Buckley, introduces students "to the major ideas and debates that define what the field of planning considers 'planning theory' as well as a (necessarily) condensed global history of modern planning." It explores, among other topics: planning history and theory (classic and contemporary perspectives); planning as utopia; planning as profession; planning as modern, comprehensive, and universal; and power and populism in planning. What stands out is that the course reading list includes an extensive array of historical readings (much of it drawn from the new planning history), with some required and many more that if actually read by the students would form a deep grounding in some of the key literature.

At the University of Pennsylvania, Portland State University, New York University, and the University of California, Berkeley, trained and actively practicing planning historians are on the planning faculty, with the result that the topic receives its deepest engagement. The current Penn offering in planning history draws upon a rich tradition of treating planning history as an integral component of planning education, dating back to Seymour Mandelbaum's courses in the 1980s, then updated in the 1990s as "History, Planning and Policy." Dominec Vitiello and Francesca Ammon picked up the charge to integrate history and policy in "Introduction to City and Regional Planning: Past and Present," which decidedly favors the past over the present to explore the "evolution of planning ideas, strategies, institutions and powers, and of planning's influence on cities and

regions.” Besides drawing upon a blend of the scholarship from the robust 1980s and more recent works, this course is rare among the North American offerings in incorporating a global perspective, including treatments of colonialism, global urbanization and international development, and China’s planned urbanization. It is also tackles historically new trends such as public health, food systems, and smart cities. Somewhat like the MIT course, the present is framed around historical treatments of contemporary issues, thereby underscoring the bridging of past and present. The Portland State course, taught by Sy Adler, is roughly two-thirds historical, with three final sessions covering planning theory topics, but examined over time through selective readings from the Fainstein and Campbell reader. Berkeley’s course, “History of City Planning,” represents the closest approximation to the Birch model from the 1980s; and the New York University course, offered in a public service program, is taught by a planning historian.

In US liberal arts colleges and universities with urban studies or American studies programs, undergraduate courses often treat planning history with a depth not typical of professional planning programs. For example, “The Urban Experience,” a course taught by David Schuyler in the American studies program at Franklin and Marshall College in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, is a reading-intensive comprehensive synthesis of urban and planning history (exclusively US) that draws its themes and its required and recommended literature from the published work since the 1980s, and not from any single text. According to Schuyler, top students who engage with the material as part of their American studies major often transition into graduate professional programs that relate to its themes. This course, and another on “The American Landscape,” draw directly from the focus of his scholarship and reaffirms that planning history is treated holistically typically when taught by faculty with that scholarly bent.

The Growth and Structures of Cities Department, established at Bryn Mawr College in 1971, is a distinctive urban studies program. Unlike others that merely pieced together existing courses from available humanities and social science curricula, it hired a diverse set of faculty that added architecture and planning perspectives to explore urbanization from a global and historical perspective. Through a long-standing linkage with the city and regional planning program at nearby University of Pennsylvania, these liberally trained students can flow seamlessly into a professional planning program that, as noted above, has its own deep engagement with urban and planning history.

History in Planning Education in Europe and Beyond

The Royal Town Planning Institute covers not only the United Kingdom but other members of the Commonwealth; its decision to shift its regular two-year professional masters (the standard in the United States and many other nations) to a one-year full-time program shrank the number of courses offered, in several places excluding planning history altogether. At Oxford Brookes University, there is, however, a very clear and focused historical introduction in a topical course, “Building the City,” which examines changes in land use and the built environment in British cities from the preindustrial through the postindustrial eras. While not embracing the full scope of planning history, this offering is “concerned with introducing and analyzing particular examples of urban landscapes with development histories of varying complexity.”

In Germany, there is no definable planning history association nor evidence that within planning curricula planning history is a topic systematically covered. According to Dirk Schubert, at Hafencity University in Hamburg,

in classes, planning history is at best a side product of other topics. There are some overlapping with Building History, Architectural History, Urban History, and Preservation fields but (Urban) Planning History did not become a distinctive discipline integrated in the curriculum for planners or historians (Schubert email, 9/17/2015).

The British perspective on urban planning history as covered by Cherry (1974) and Sutcliffe (1980) has been quite influential, and several recent texts, such as G. Albers and J. Wékel, *Stadtplanung. Eine illustrierte Einführung* (*City Planning: An Illustrated Introduction*, 2007) and H. Schröteler-Brand, *Stadtbau- und Stadtplanungsgeschichte* (*History of City Development and Planning*, 2008) offer an introduction to urban planning history from German urbanists. Nearby, Cor Wagenaar's (2015) *Planning in the Netherlands Since 1800* affords a text useful to engage planning students in historical material; it covers the content of a course entitled "History and Theory of Urbanism," co-taught by Wagenaar and Han Meyer at TU Delft. History of urban form is also part of a course called *Grondslagen*, or Foundations, in the bachelor program, co-taught by the departments of Urbanism, and Architecture and the Chair History of Architecture and Urban Planning at TU Delft.

In Portugal, as noted by planning historian Madalena Matos of the University of Lisbon, "planning history is not taught in Portugal as such; not as a separate curricular unit. Rather, it coalesces with other topics in the syllabi of a number of courses, in the following degree-giving areas: Architecture, Urban Planning and Geography." According to colleagues she interviewed in each of these disciplines, historicity is built into the undergraduate curricula and continues into graduate studies. But it is at the PhD level where there has been the most growth in historical studies:

The capture of the past, the discovery of the past, the discussion, sharing and in some context turning it into freely available [work] have become one of the driving forces of the research being conducted in Portugal. This has led to home grown planning literature to supplement that which is drawn from the global marketplace of planning history scholarship. (Matos email, 11/24/2015)

Monclús Fraga and Díez Medina, in their examination of Latin European Urbanism in Italy and Spain, substantiate the strong linkage between the history of architecture and urbanism, noting that the emphasis is on urban form and the technical aspects of planning, with little attention to other social and economic issues of urbanization.

A University of New South Wales course, taught by Robert Freestone, "History, Heritage and the Built Environment," is required of second-year bachelor planning students. It "injects an explicitly historical dimension into planning studies," as the syllabus notes. The course has three main foci: "the development of modern planning theory and practice, methods of historical research, and assessment of heritage values in the built environment" as they relate to Sydney and Australia within an "international perspective."

At Tongji University in Shanghai, China, history finds its way into the planning curriculum. An undergraduate course entitled "History of Urban Construction" focuses mostly on the history of urban development; "History of Western Planning Thoughts" clearly blends history and theory. Both undergraduate and graduate students take a core course, "Principles and Theories of Urban Planning," which provides some historical coverage. Tongji planning historian Li Hou developed a seminar, taught for the first time in 2015, on the history of modern urban planning in China. There has been series of textbooks prepared in China on History of Urban Construction, but not in planning history specifically (Li Hou email, 11/20/2015). Hein offers evidence of the influence of western ideas in planning history texts in Japan, noting not only the attention given to Ebenezer Howard's Garden City model, as well as Clarence Perry's neighborhood unit, but also the German planner Gottfried Feder, whose 1939 book *Die neue Stadt* (*The New Town*) remained an enduring model guiding urban transformations.

In several South African Universities, planning history is covered in conjunction with planning theory. Several widely used readings include Harrison, Todes, and Watson, *Planning and Transformation: Learning from the Post-Apartheid Experience* (2008) as well as an earlier piece by Alan Mabin and Dan Smit, "Reconstructing South Africa's Cities? The Making of Urban Planning,

1900–2000” (Mabin and Smit 1997), which treats planning as a process of reconstruction following major episodes from the end of the South African War in 1901 through the late stages of apartheid after 1985. In courses on urban infrastructure and regional planning theory, students gain exposure to planning history, drawing from the global as well as the local literature.

Overall, the outpouring of planning history literature, which increasingly covers all global regions, especially over the past two centuries, has not been accompanied by a comparable increase in the place of historical understanding within planning education. Most prevalent in the United States and select programs in Europe and beyond is some treatment of historical material within the context of courses addressing theory, or as a way to understand evolving urban form and urban processes (such as in the case of South Africa and Australia). Is this because those who determine the shape and content of planning education regard history as superfluous? To shed some light on this, it is useful to briefly look at how planning accreditation systems treat history.

Accreditation and the Demand for History

Academic accreditation processes determine how planning education programs structure their curricula and, as a result, how history should be covered. In China, there are no accreditation criteria that require treatment of history within the planning curricula. But its national steering committee on planning education recommends that history be considered for inclusion in planning curricula (Li Hou email). In the US, the Planning Accreditation Board (PAB), which oversees accreditation of urban and regional planning programs, and the Royal Town Planning Institute, which performs a similar function in the United Kingdom (as well as select programs in South Africa, China, and Botswana), both suggest that history ought to be included in accredited programs.

The PAB criteria cover history under the “General Planning Knowledge” category: programs must include “the comprehensive representations and use of ideas and information in the planning field, including appropriate perspectives from history, social science, and the design professions.” The PAB does not prescribe any course specifically in urban and/or planning history but merely requires evidence of some level of historical treatment. Topics and courses suggested to address this criterion include human settlements and the history of planning, which treat the growth and development of places over time and space. The PAB process also addresses the global dimensions of planning to ensure an appreciation of the flows of people and material, culture, and differing approaches to planning across work regions, and with the possibility of some historical treatments.

The RTPI offers a different criterion for history. Within their *Policy Statement on Initial Planning Education* (revised 2012), their definition of planning for RTPI programs focuses specifically on spatial planning, that is, the “making of place and mediation of space.” The history component is addressed under the following directive: “Since planning is a process of deliberation that focuses on what could and should be done, it requires sensitivity to the time dimension of decisions—how time affects decision-making, how it affects differentially the interest of the parties involved, and how decisions inevitably trade off present and future.”

In general these new performance-based accreditation systems, which have been in formation over the past decade, leave it wide open on how to achieve compliance.

Conclusion

Why has the rich globally oriented planning and urban history literature had such a limited impact on planning education? Several answers come to mind.

The books and articles that make up the new planning history tend to be scholarly compilations rather than narratives that would be readily digestible by the non-historian master student. And a growing array of texts that explore planning history within a national context—the recent work

on German and Dutch planning noted above; the Almandoz (2002) volume on Latin American cities; Freestone and Hamnett (2000) on Australia; Elsheshtawny's volume on the Middle East, *The Evolving Arab City: Tradition, Modernity and Urban Development* (2008); and Hein, Diefendorf, and Ishida on Japan since World War II in *Rebuilding Urban Japan After 1945* (2003)—all of these works broaden the context of planning history but typically do not fill the need for texts that might inspire students and future practitioners in their work. And the overreliance on recent Anglo-American perspectives, even in some planning courses in developing nations, remains a problem to be overcome to inspire new connections between the past and present.

Another obvious answer is that newer works are not given the chance to influence students. History is afforded a peripheral place in the overall curricular content in virtually all planning programs, pushed out by competing demands for more “current” or “relevant” offerings. This appears to be the case even in traditionally history-rich professional design programs in Europe. Perhaps it is doomed by its very richness—there is no conceivable way that even a small bit of the breadth and depth of global scholarship in planning history of the past three decades can be packed into a course for the typical first-year master student in planning. In several American studies and history offerings, where the expectation is that there will be extensive reading required, it is possible to do a bit more justice to the breadth of planning history literature that is now available, but still typically within a national context. And some of these students do discover planning and the profession of planning through these courses. Nonetheless there is a relative dearth of interpretive texts (as distinguished from readers or edited volumes, and with the exception of the multi-editions of Hall's *Cities of Tomorrow*). So planning history is very narrowly covered in many planning curricula.

A new crop of texts, with differing emphases, taking a global perspective, and written in an accessible style, might make a difference. Faculty who teach planning history have shown remarkable ingenuity in piecing together both primary and secondary materials to cover the subject, but far too often this approach fragments the subject in a way that a carefully crafted text might not.

A problematic consequence of the absence of historical education from planning is the isolation of historical discussions from the general planning education and practice assemblies, as well as the sharp drop in contributions by historians to mainstream planning journals. This has been exacerbated, ironically, by what can be seen as the disciplinary success of planning history: the rise of planning history organizations, such as the International Planning History Society and the Society for American City and Regional Planning History, as well as the Australian/New Zealand, Japan, and China groups, while extremely valuable in advancing planning history scholarship, has shifted virtually all of the discussion of planning history, and participation by planning and urban historians, away from those venues where their work might be heard by the general planning audience. When American planning historians fought to get history sessions accepted into the programs of the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning and American Planning Association annual conferences, and when there was a push to publish history pieces in planning journals (prior to the emergence of the *Planning Perspectives* and the *Journal of Planning History*), they forged a closer engagement between historians and planners. This engagement has lapsed over the past two decades. Historians now largely engage other historians, and only rarely planning academics or practitioners. Undoubtedly, this lapsed engagement has contributed in turn to a notable reduction of pressure to afford history a greater place within planning education, once the promise of the emerging planning history movement.

All parties must consider new strategies of engagement to strengthen planning history's role in the planning education process. Perhaps we require a new planning history, one that unabashedly links past and present, and is centered on topics that resonate within contemporary practice—what might be termed “planning historicism.” A useful point of departure would be for historians to reestablish a presence within planning education fora, bringing a new message: that historical understanding can inform current practices and guide future needs.

Related Topics

Kwak: Interdisciplinarity in Planning History

Birch: The Imprint of History in the Practice of City and Regional Planning

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THE IMPRINT OF HISTORY IN THE PRACTICE OF CITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING

Lessons from the Cincinnati Case, 1925–2012

Eugenie L. Birch

Being future-oriented in an action-driven environment, few professional planners acknowledge in their day-to-day work the individual and collective inheritances from planning history that are the foundation of their expertise. Nor do they consciously take note of two core characteristics of a profession: possessing a body of knowledge (or expertise) vetted by current peers, and having a means of transferring that knowledge to the next generation of practitioners. (The third component of a profession, adhering to a code of ethics, will not be treated in this chapter.) Instead, they simply describe their practices as part art and part science.

In truth, planning historians help sort out the art (new knowledge derived inductively) from the science (new knowledge derived deductively), and serve as peer reviewers of practitioners' expertise in two ways. First, they trace and assess the accumulated knowledge that undergirds and nourishes the profession, thus serving as important agents for developing and transferring the profession's expertise (Abbott and Adler: 469; Birch and Silver: 118–119). Second, they serve as constructive critics by situating the professionals' work in the context of their times and places, thoughtfully querying the appropriateness of such approaches in other times and places. While planning historians fill these two functions, they do so as observers, not active participants in the professionals' practice.

This chapter focuses on the use and development of the planners' key tool, the comprehensive plan, to illustrate how a planning historian can support knowledge creation and evaluation after planning work is done. The choice of the comprehensive plan as the unit of analysis finds reinforcement worldwide in the field's professional associations' accreditation criteria that state that plan-making is a basic professional skill and the foundation of the profession's expertise. (Accreditation criteria for planners from the US, Great Britain, Australia, China, and India all cite the ability to develop a plan as a basic skill to be taught by accredited, planning-degree-granting institutions.) It traces the development and application of the comprehensive plan in one place, Cincinnati, Ohio, examining its first formulation (1925) and its three updates (1948, 1980, 2012). This choice is rooted in the fortunate circumstance of the city's having produced plans at key periods in US planning history (early planning, postwar planning, planning in the changing economy, and early 21st century planning), each with its own interpretation of the field's expertise. With a focus on practitioners' use and modification of a common methodology for creating plans, the chapter employs content analysis to illustrate changes over time, focusing on the differing emphases in actual page counts

and assessments of the substance of key components, of relationships between planners and citizens, of interpretations of geographic boundaries, and of methods or technology, explained along with changes in the city's socio-economic and physical conditions. In sum, this chapter illustrates the explicit lines of thinking in each plan at each point, and reveals the implicit interplay of the larger economic, social, and environmental conditions of each plan during the 80-year span of the study.

The chapter has two parts. The first part reviews the underlying theories that inform planners' expertise. The second part analyzes the four plans under study, measuring the continuities and discontinuities of the elements listed above. It concludes with an assessment of the planning historians' contributions to the field and a quick speculation about how they might be enhanced.

Part 1. Planning Theories that Inform Planners' Expertise

Theory offers normative guidance on the practice of a field and shapes its expertise. In city and regional planning, theorists have developed two parallel streams of thought. The first stream focuses on the planning process, which its proponents label "planning theory." The bulk of this work, dating from the post-1945 era, arose from critics' rejection of expert-driven approaches to planning and their calls for increasing citizen participation and empowerment in planning decisions (Taylor 1999; Fainstein and DeFillipis 2016). These planning theorists have had varied motivations, including promoting equity and justice in decision-making, enhancing buy-in, and effective implementation of the plan.

The second stream, the articulation of *physical* planning principles for the design of places, focuses on the product of the processes, which its advocates sometimes categorize as "urban design theory." In contrast to planning theory, traditions in physical planning are centuries old. Its proponents focus primarily on spatial arrangements of land use, the public realm, and infrastructure (Brown, Dixon, and Gillham 2014). Their motivations have included making places more livable, inclusive, safe, resilient, and sustainable. In practice, as will be seen in the plan analysis below, the two have become intertwined, a phenomenon discussed broadly including in *The City Reader* (LeGates and Stout 2011) and *Local Planning; Contemporary Principles and Practice* (Hack, Birch, Sedway, and Silver 2009).

The proponents of the first stream, planning theory, worked out successive schools of thought, commonly called "rational-comprehensive," "advocacy," "equity," and "communicative" planning (Whittemore 2015: 77). The first school, rational-comprehensive planning, dates to the 1920s, the time of the field's institutionalization as an organized profession dominated by architects, engineers, and lawyers; the other schools developed in the late 1940s as the profession widened its membership to include economists, sociologists, and political scientists.

Early practitioners promoted planning as a technical field, developing city and regional plans to guide orderly development. They initially explained their work in successive editions of the "Green Book," the authoritative, olive-colored covered handbooks published regularly from 1937 to 2009, each discussing the key theories of their times (Birch 2001). From the beginning, they advocated a specific methodology for crafting plans, the "rational comprehensive approach," that in its purest configuration encompassed eight steps: formulation of goals and objectives, inventorying current conditions, identifying problems, suggesting alternatives or solutions to the problem(s), selecting alternative(s), developing the plan to pursue those solutions, implementing the plan, and finally evaluating performance (and adjusting the plan) in light of the goals and objectives.

Planners likely derived this approach from two professional and intellectual developments of the Progressive Era: civil engineering, which provided urban infrastructure for water and sanitation, associated with objective decision-making, and social science, which produced evidence-based research on urban issues, often in an entire city (as exemplified by the *Pittsburgh Survey* [1909–1914]), associated with social service reform. Both employed systematic multi-step approaches in their work, whether crafting practical responses (engineering) or documenting pressing socio-economic conditions (social science).

As planners drew ideas and inspiration from Progressive Era engineering and social science, they added a concept of “comprehensiveness” to their growing knowledge base, arguing that cities and regions are composed of interconnected parts such that modification of one part will affect the others. A comprehensive plan tackles the city as a system of systems encompassing land use, infrastructure, law, governance, and finance. This idea provided the basis for inventing and promoting the comprehensive plan as a positive contribution to managing urbanization and city management. (Later planners would re-label the “comprehensive” approach as “systems analysis” [McLoughlin 1969].) In the post-World War II period, some planning theoreticians dismissed the comprehensive rational approach as unachievable and out of step with political realities; others accepted it with modifications, transforming it from its original expert-driven approach to a more participatory model expressed today as advocacy, communicative, and equity planning.

Part 2. Continuities and Discontinuities in Four Plans

A close look at comprehensive plans reveals that planners modified the rational-comprehensive approach over time by weighting its eight steps differently. As they gave different emphases to the steps, they also changed the names. For example, they substituted “Guiding Principles” for “Goals and Objectives,” or “Current Trajectory” for “Inventory,” or “Vision” for “Plan.” While seemingly semantic, the new terminology reflected the softening of the top-down, expert-driven practice of the early and mid 20th century to the more consultative and participatory exercise of the mid and late 20th century. Despite the different emphases, planners retained the comprehensive rational approach as the central piece of their methodology over the entire period, as seen in the following content analysis.

A comparison of two pairings of the four Cincinnati plans helps track the application of the rational comprehensive approach over time. They are grouped non-chronologically in order to underline the differences and similarities between and within the pairs. (Note that over 80 years, Cincinnati leaders [and those in other cities that later adopted comprehensive plans] responded to altered socio-economic conditions, advances in planning knowledge and methodologies, and changed federal, state, and local laws pertaining to planning, by authorizing revisions and/or complete rewrites of their comprehensive plans regardless of whether the expected duration of a previous plan had passed.) The common thread in the first pairing is the equal amount of attention paid to the actual plan, while in the second pairing, a dramatic divergence in this area occurs.

The first pairing, the *Official Plan* (1925) and the *Coordinated City Plan* (1980), pay similar attention to the actual plan (44% and 45% of the total page count, respectively), but differ dramatically in the time spent on other elements: the 1925 plan has only a few passages articulating goals and objectives (.4% of the page count) compared to the 1980s plan (26%); the 1925 plan dedicated much more space to the inventory (39%) as compared to the 1980 plan (4%).

Timing explains some of these differences. In contrast to the 1980s, in the 1920s, prominent citizens in many US cities, including Cincinnati, became enamored with planning as a means to oversee municipal capital investments and to reform corruption-riddled local government. As the majority of the US population became urban, cities shared economic prosperity but could not provide public services to support the growth. In Cincinnati, for example, the population rose 25% between 1900 and 1920, the automobile proliferated, the skyscraper replaced low-rise commercial buildings, and the demand for housing, streets, water, sewers, and even the number of sidewalks skyrocketed. In managing these changes, local government fell prey to cronyism, patronage, bribery, boss politics, and inefficiency; citizen leaders called for reform, often seeing city planning as an essential corrective measure.

Harvard introduced the first city planning degree program in 1923, followed by MIT in 1933; thus the few planning practitioners in the 1920s adapted their training in architecture, landscape

architecture, and engineering to deal with cities. Cincinnati lawyer Alfred Bettman (1873–1945), representing local efforts to initiate planning when only a handful of professionally trained planners existed in the United States, is emblematic of the citizen leadership of the times. After earning a law degree at Harvard, he returned to his hometown to serve as city solicitor. Shocked by the level of municipal corruption, he sprang into action. He persuaded the Ohio legislature to allow localities to adopt legally binding city plans to guide city expenditures. In the absence of capacity in his hometown, Bettman then formed the United City Planning Committee (UCPC), composed of local leaders who hired and funded the nation's first planning firm, the Technical Advisory Corporation (TAC), to produce such a plan for Cincinnati. UCPC later turned the plan over to the city council, which promptly adopted it, making it the nation's first officially approved comprehensive plan. Shortly thereafter, the reformers managed to elect one of their number as mayor who, with a new city planning commission, started implementing the plan (Gerckens 1994: 196–201). The city hired TAC's Ladisloe Segoe, who had worked on the plan, as its first professional city planner (Edelman and Allor 2003: 51–53).

For the UCPC, the goal of the plan was obvious: to determine how fast, how much, and in what direction growth would occur. They directed TAC to show how to realize the goal over 50 years. Their major concern was devising a legally defensible plan based on what today would be called “evidence-based research.” To this end, TAC produced 216 pages of material inventorying current and future population (with demographic projections) and land use (with a base map delineating every lot and street). Befitting the nation's first comprehensive plan, a set of specially invented technical studies comprised fully 40% of this document (TAC 1925: 17–19, 27): the carrying capacity of all downtown sidewalks adjacent to the city's burgeoning skyscrapers; the location and serviceability of public and open space in every neighborhood, plotting every household and the walking radius to parks; and flooding risks along the city's three rivers, a feature that predated FEMA maps by decades (TAC 1925: 29, 32, Chapter IX). Finally, TAC illustrated the document profusely, contrasting the city's current conditions with possible future arrangements largely drawn from European examples, thus using photographic images as well as quantitative data to highlight problems and visualize proposed solutions. Dominating the document, TAC's plan (44% of the total) offers ideas for improving the downtown and the waterfront, creating a civic center, enhancing transportation systems, and modeling subdivision layouts.

In 1925, the UCPC relied entirely on expert advice to diagnose and solve the city's ills. They did not engage any other citizens beyond themselves. For them, the plan would have a dual purpose. In addition to serving as a bulletproof case for guiding city government decision-making on land use, the use of the police power for zoning and building codes, and municipal capital budgeting, it would also serve as an educational tool to instruct the wider population on how to undertake honest, responsible urban development based on a rational assessment of the city's socio-economic and geographic conditions. The act of planning was fragile from a legal point of view. In 1926, local developers in Ohio (not Cincinnati) challenged the use of police power all the way to the US Supreme Court (*Euclid v Ambler*), which did uphold it. At the time, the planning supporters like lawyer Bettman believed the best defense of zoning was to have a strong city plan—in fact he wrote an *amicus curiae* brief in defense of zoning for that case.

In 1980, when the city adopted its *Coordinated City Plan Vol. II. Strategies for Comprehensive Land Use*, the climate of planning had shifted dramatically. The success of municipal reforms begun in the 1920s removed the focus from corruption, and the city was no longer in a growth mode but combatting decline. Cincinnati's municipal government had grown into a complex, multi-departmental entity, including, like all large US cities (except Houston), a well-staffed city planning department. In addition, at least three other city departments (Development, Public Works, and Buildings and Inspections) were involved in planning and design, each with its own independent plan (City Planning Commission [b] 1980: 2). In fact, Cincinnati's Director of Planning,

Herbert Stevens, called for bureaucratic alignment: “The problem today is not one of making a single ‘master plan’ by a single agency at a single point in time, but one of merging the many incremental plans made by various agencies for different reasons and at different times” (City Planning Commission [b] 1980: 2).

Changed socio-economic conditions were even stronger reasons for a new plan. In 1980, Cincinnati’s population and economy were in freefall. The absolute number of residents declined precipitously (down 24%) from a 1950 peak of more than 500,000 to 386,000. Its composition also changed: its predominantly white population dropped (84% of the total in 1950; 65% of total in 1980), as did the number of middle- and upper-income family households (City Planning Commission [b] 1980: 9). Between 1954 and 1972, manufacturing jobs fell by 23% (City Planning Commission [b] 1980: 7). Retail activity had declined markedly at the community level, so the city’s 23 neighborhoods had some 400,000 square feet of excess space (City Planning Commission [b] 1980: 7–8). Finally, concentrated poverty, identified in the 1925 plan as being in the downtown’s West End, had spread to a second neighborhood (City Planning Commission [b] 1980: 25).

In dedicating a quarter of the text to outlining three goals, the plan’s authors blended old and new concerns. They continued the original thinking of the 1925 plan in seeking to reinforce the city’s urban form, and reflected changed socio-economic conditions in giving priority to land uses promoting economic development, stabilizing communities, and enhancing livability. They also highlighted the evaluation step in the rational comprehensive approach, calling for the plan to be adjusted continually (City Planning Commission [b] 1980: 2).

Both the earlier and the later plans followed the rational comprehensive approach in their formulation, but each devoted varied proportions of the text to the components. For example, in 1980, the authors did not spend as much time on the inventory as they did in 1925. The science of planning was not well established in 1925, so the planners felt the necessity of demonstrating the techniques that underlay the plan; their 1980 counterparts did not publish extensive technical information because techniques such as population projections were within public understanding.

With the second pairing, *Metropolitan Master Plan* (1948) and *PLAN Cincinnati* (2012), the greatest divergence lies in the amount of attention paid to the content of the plans, and discussion of the methods of their creation. The 1948 *Metropolitan Master Plan* provided a detailed inventory (37%) as compared to the 2012 *PLAN Cincinnati* (20%); but the 1948 plan spent much less time on the actual plan (27%) than did the 2012 plan (64%).

Cincinnati leaders had authorized a new plan in the 1940s to take into account conditions (the Depression and World War II among them) not envisioned in the 1925 plan. For the 1948 plan, they pursued the expert-driven approach of the earlier era but employed their own city planners to develop a plan for 25 years, not the 50-year horizon of the 1925 plan, as consensus had emerged among professionals that the 50 years was too long. The authors monitored population growth, noting that in accordance with the perfect tracking of the 1925 predictions, 135,000 new dwelling units would be needed, as would some 7,000 acres of industrial land to create an anticipated 70,000 new jobs. They asserted a likely 80% increase in driving, heightening the need to invest in roads. Finally, the authors added an analysis of blighted areas, greatly expanding a small mention in the 1925 plan that had observed the presence of a single slum (City Planning Commission [a] 1948: 65, 81, 75). Within these parameters, the plan’s authors quickly fed the information into a relatively brief plan that systematically organized the city into seventeen residential communities, consolidated industry along transportation corridors, and identified major deteriorated areas (City Planning Commission [a] 1948: 10–11, 68–72).

The 2012 authors spent comparatively more effort on the plan than on the inventory. As discussed earlier, the 1980s plan had described the city’s socio-economic changes in detail, and by 2012, the situation had reached crisis conditions: its 297,000 population was down 41% from its peak and one in three residents lived under the poverty line. However, the plan’s authors did not

dwell on these points. Instead, they devoted nearly two-thirds of the text to a discussion of the plan. While its content continued ideas from the 1980s, they packaged it to be more appealing to the public. For example, they explained the plan as simply having four geographic organizing principles and five initiative areas. They captured the latter in powerful words: Compete, Connect, Live, Sustain, and Collaborate. These they mapped onto the familiar land-use categories of earlier plans: industrial/commercial (Compete), transportation (Connect), residential, parks, quality of life amenities (Live), and so forth (City Planning Commission [c] 2012: 74–221).

In addition to the lengthy discussion of the plan, another feature of the 2012 document distinguishes it from the others: its explicit detailing of the civic engagement involved in its development. While each of the preceding plans had preparatory periods of similar length, their authors did not say much about the process beyond brief mentions of various citizen groups they consulted. In contrast, the 2012 authors have an entire section itemizing the work done every month of the three-year planning process (City Planning Commission [c] 2012: 85, 99).

So what accounts for the differences in the use of the rational-comprehensive approach in these two plans, decades apart? The answer lies in institutionalization of the profession and the growth of the procedural stream of planning theory, namely the enhanced citizen engagement of the advocacy, communicative, and equity theories.

With regard to the institutionalization of the profession, by the 1930s most US cities had instituted city planning departments with full-time professional staff, many of whom had trained at the many masters' degree programs that had opened since 1925. In addition, most practitioners were members of the burgeoning professional organizations, the American Institute of Planners and the American Society of Planning Officials (combined in 1978 into the American Planning Association and its professional arm, the American Institute of Certified Planners), whose meetings and publications focused on exchanging ideas and practices, including building the field's expertise (Krueckeberg 1984; Birch 1980; Krueckeberg 1980). The growth of a community of practice in the academy and in the field expanded the field's body of knowledge and institutionalized its means of transfer to the next generation of practitioners and scholars.

Through these avenues, new lines of thinking would emerge. Perhaps the most revolutionary were the multiple reactions to perceived and actual damages created by urban renewal and highway building programs of the 1950s and 60s. Many observers had condemned professional planners for not consulting city residents or for not recognizing the power of local knowledge (Gans 1962; Jacobs 1961). Others conceived of ways to improve the planning process by including the views of citizens at all stages of the process and rejecting the idea that a few technical experts could plan a community or city or region without engaging and listening to the area's residents (Davidoff 1965; Healey 1997; Krumholz and Forester 1990). (Notably, city planning did not stand in isolation in receiving these kinds of critiques. At the time, negative reactions to top-down or expert-led leadership surfaced, often violently, in a variety of domestic arenas that would, for example, question the competence and judgment of national and local leaders around issues related to the war in Vietnam and the fight for civil rights.)

Within the field of planning, the emergence of a stronger role for social sciences in the education and practice of the field of planning in the post-World War II period brought a critical view of the rational comprehensive approach (Lindblom 1959; Altshuler 1966). Nonetheless, practitioners would continue to employ the approach in framing their plans but would adapt it to accommodate the above critiques by engaging in more public hearings and outreach of that nature. Planning theorists would move from calling for consultation to demanding decision-making power for citizens in the planning process as argued by political scientist Sherry Arnstein in her classic essay, "A Ladder of Citizen Participation" (1969). Others would build on this idea to develop equity planning (Krumholz and Forester 1990) and other offspring such as the Right to the City arguments, still being discussed (Harvey 1973; LeFebvre 1968). Finally, theorists from planning academics

(Healey 1997; Innes 1996) sought to blend many of these ideas into what is labeled the communicative planning format, which calls for interactive engagement among planners and citizens. The latter is evident in the descriptions of citizen engagement in the 2012 plan. In short, in the 1980s, participatory approaches were slowly developing but not noted in the official plan; by 2012, they would be integral parts of the planning process and command attention in the document itself.

As the procedural theory developed and made planning practice more participatory, did the content of the plans also change? The answer lies in understanding the parallel application of the second stream of theory, physical planning.

In physical planning, discussions focus on three broad areas: scale (neighborhood to city to region to nation), place-making (aesthetics and usage), and sustainability or resilience (Carmona 2010: 6–8). This rich range of physical planning theories that inform practitioners draws mainly (but not entirely) from architecture and landscape architecture.

The 1925 *Official Plan of Cincinnati* attended to these topics; later plans would reflect them in much more detail. As TAC analysts articulated the twin goals of orderly growth and wise management of the municipal budget to support city services, they recommended several physical planning measures. For example, in the 1925 plan, some concepts for residential land use in the periphery emanated from Ebenezer Howard (1898) while ideas for downtown place-making came from Camillo Sitte (1889). In today's terms, the suggestions, in effect, promoted compact city principles: containing sprawl by disallowing fragmented outlying development (the 1925 plan mandated street connectivity for subdivision approval); investing in downtown development (the 1925 plan called for enhancing amenities and transportation); and encouraging environmental resilience by protecting ecosystem services (the 1925 plan called for creating park systems).

Subsequent plans drew on the widely accepted theories of physical planning of their times, especially works that flourished in the 1960s. Strands, for example, of Kevin Lynch's *Image of the City* (1961) and Gordon Cullen's *Townscape* (1961) are seen in the 1980 plan. Likewise, a number of works inform open space and regional land conservation concepts in the 1980 plan: Ian McHarg's land suitability analyses in *Design with Nature* (1969), the neighborhood organization views that descended from Clarence Perry (1939), and the land-use/transportation connection first outlined by Robert Mitchell and Chester Rapkin (1954). In turn, the 2012 plan modernized and retooled these ideas in its focus on regional connections (Calthorpe and Fulton 2001), compact cities (Duany and Plater-Zyberk 2003), and land use and transportation (Cervero 1989).

The authors of the 1925 plan recognized that the plan would have to take into account the urbanized area surrounding the city (TAC 1925: Foreword). The 1948 plan also explicitly encompassed a broader portfolio (City Planning Commission [a] 1948: 4), but the 1980 plan focused on neighborhoods and transportation connections with little reference to the region. The 2012 plan authors focused on the city, but clearly recognized the necessity of collaborating with the regional agencies that had emerged since the 1980s (City Planning Commission [c] 2012: 207).

In sum, the 1925 plan and all of the plans that followed would incorporate physical planning ideas in an unchanging list of topics: land use (residential, industrial, commercial), transportation (public and private), parks and recreation, public facilities, and waterfront development. But the historian can discern that what a plan deemed desirable at a given time varied dramatically. In many cases, a specific issue had been resolved through the implementation of an earlier plan, and in others, new socio-economic conditions dictated the thinking. Planners wove these phenomena into their prescriptions, recommendations that would incorporate the design expertise that was, in turn, affected by larger socio-economic conditions and tempered in the later plans, especially the 2012 plan, by citizen input.

Studying the comprehensive plan over time illustrates the continuities of elements of planning, whether procedural or physical. The plans crafted over eight decades for Cincinnati reveal a pattern of general continuity in both the methods for arriving at each plan (goals, inventories, alternatives,

solutions, implementation) and in the subjects considered (housing and neighborhoods, economic development, protection of open space and ecosystem services, and quality of life issues). For example, the 1925 plan focused on moving through and around the city in general and looked to enhance motorized transport. The 1948 plan was still concerned with fostering auto-oriented connections among communities. These issues would be “solved” with the construction of the interstate system, as seen in the 1980 plan. By 2012, the plan would shift focus to providing access to transportation for those lacking access to private vehicles and on implementing ways to make neighborhoods walkable and less auto-dependent, which had become the values of the times.

Of particular note are two enduring methods recommended in the plans: the use of the police power (or land-use regulation), and the use of capital budget expenditures for key infrastructure assets to develop an encouraging environment for private investment. From 1925 to 2012, the city relied on land-use rules to govern the quality or density and direction of development. Beginning in 1925, TAC emphasized the importance of the zoning code (not yet upheld by the US Supreme Court) and subdivision regulations that would be firmly implanted by 1948 and continued in importance in 1980. By 2012, the city was in the process of devising a Land Development Code that incorporated various components (a Form Based Code, Complete Streets, Transit-Oriented Development, Inclusionary Zoning, Incentive Zoning, and Crime Prevention through Environmental Design) into a modernized and unified set of regulations aimed to make the city more attractive through physical design in order to help address the city’s most pressing issue, repopulation. Nonetheless, this code would still depend on police power for plan implementation just as had the 1925 recommendations for land use (City Planning Commission [c] 2012: 11).

Each plan had lists of short- and long-term public investments from capital budgets. In Cincinnati, two areas stand out as having been continuously being addressed by this tool: the waterfront and the downtown. And, in fact, as the waterfront example shows, continuous investment in these areas successfully transformed the area. The 1925 plan was filled with images of the Danube in Budapest and the Thames Embankment to show how to make the ugly Ohio Riverfront into a beautiful place for commerce and entertainment (TAC 1925: 150–151). The 1948 plan recommended that the downtown riverfront be developed as a mixed-use center for living and recreation, with apartments, parks, a stadium, convention center, heliport, and auto links back to the center and out to the suburbs (City Planning Commission [a] 1948: 141–149). By 2012, the city had largely implemented the vision with a riverfront containing a stadium, parks, retail, and apartments (but no heliport), and treated the waterfront as an established neighborhood (City Planning Commission [c] 2012: 117).

Conclusion: Contributions of Planning Historians

Planning historians can play key roles in documenting the interplay between practice and theory in planning, in unpacking the art and science of the field for practitioners, and in contributing to the knowledge base of the profession, as this examination of four plans over 80 years demonstrates. In Cincinnati, planners and, ultimately, the public had strong faith in the rational comprehensive approach for developing plans. By 2012, planners were able to adjust their methods to meld technical knowledge of substantive physical planning issues with procedures designed to uncover citizen aspirations and local knowledge about their neighborhoods and their city. In examining the plans’ changing emphases, the planning historian also illuminates the strength of the regulatory regime and the results of prolonged public investment for the city: new subdivisions are well laid out and serviced, remaining industry is located along key transportation corridors, the redeveloped downtown riverfront has region-wide amenities. These outcomes would lead the authors of the 2012 plan to assert: “we are a city with ‘good bones,’ we don’t need to create a new Cincinnati, we just need to reinvigorate it in order to become the modern city we want to be” (City Planning Commission [c] 2012: 15).

Perhaps the most important role of the planning historian is to put practice into context, explaining the limits of the field. As the four plans illustrated, all the planning in the world—whether informed by enhanced citizen participation or professional design expertise—could not arrest the effects of larger international and national socio-economic trends on Cincinnati. For example, no planner could divert the globalization of economic production that began in the post-World War II era and, ultimately, led to the loss of manufacturing all over the United States, though perhaps local planners could have provided more leadership in thinking about economic development alternatives in particular cities. No planner could have prevented the broad effects of the Dwight D. Eisenhower National System of Interstate and Defense Highways that increased automobile mobility to the suburban periphery in America, but local planners could possibly have mitigated their deleterious route locations within cities. No planner could have dealt with the embedded racism in the United States that would only partially be solved through the passage of federal civil rights legislation and Supreme Court decisions, especially *Brown v Board of Education*, but local planners could have put up stronger fights against land-use decisions that had discriminatory effects. All of these “could haves” are retrospective observations and subject to much more nuanced discussions that are beyond the scope of this chapter. Take, for example, the planners’ economic development tools that revolve around the capital budget, zoning, and eminent domain. Planners could use them to create an environment attractive to both ends of the economic scale, private investment or grassroots, informal enterprises, with either solution carrying its own complications such as displacement in the case of encouragement of private investment or protection of health and safety in the case of informal arrangements. Similar complications arise with each of the topics suggested above and from many more.

Finally, this study finds little evidence that the practitioners who devised succeeding plans spent much time in thinking explicitly about the legacies of the antecedent plans, why their predecessors recommended certain courses of action, or whether their recommendations were appropriate for the times. Perhaps including planning historians at the beginning of a planning exercise would add a new dimension to practice, one that would provide a deeper understanding of the task at hand.

Related Topics

Batey: The History of Planning Methodology

Silver: Educating Planners in History: A Global Perspective

Avermaete: Death of the Author, Center, and Meta-Theory

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DEATH OF THE AUTHOR, CENTER, AND META-THEORY

Emerging Planning Histories and Expanding Methods of the Early 21st Century

Tom Avermaete

In the past decade, numerous pleas have been made by scholars and critics (Robinson 2011; Roy 2011) for alternative perspectives in the field of planning history. These have included calls for more comparative, transcultural, and negotiated viewpoints on the discourse and practice of urban planning. This essay probes into three of the most intensive fields of historiographic renewal: questions of authorship, center-periphery relations, and definitions of theory. It argues that these alternative historiographical perspectives of the early 21st century not only have radically changed the character of planning history, but also pose a set of methodological challenges. They invite us to question our fundamental categories, tools, and procedures of history writing.

Death of the Author

A first set of pleas for alternative historiographies of planning can be synthesized under the label of “death of the author”: numerous scholars have problematized in the past decades the univocal and undifferentiated coining of authorship in urban planning histories. Historians like Hayden (2005) and Sandercock (1998), for example, have criticized urban planning history for being the “the story of the modernist planning project, the representation of planning as the voice of reason in modern society” (Sandercock 1998: 2). They have pointed out that canonical urban planning histories such as Peter Hall’s *Cities of Tomorrow*, and even self-critical works that have been published more recently, have favored the genius of individual planners and designers over the contributions of institutions, organizations, and communities. One of the biggest biases in urban planning history is, according to these scholars, that it has been written from within the profession, depicting an evolutionary development of the profession and its successes. In the process, it has understated the contributions of “invisible” other actors, such as local communities, politicians, and developers.

In reaction to these critical voices, scholars have subjected the discipline of urban planning history to intensive and self-critical scrutiny, and have attempted to redefine it as a more inclusive field that also addresses the role of “ordinary” actors, including communities, migrants, and women. The notion of “spaces of insurgent citizenship,” coined by James Holston (2009), offers

a strong point of reference, noticing agencies and sites that deserve to be fully included in the historical narratives of urban planning, such as: “the realm of the homeless, networks of migration, . . . ganglands, fortified condominiums, employee-owned factories, squatter settlements, suburban migrant labor camps, sweatshops . . . [that] introduce into the city new identities and practices that disturb established histories” (2009: 48). Holston invites us to include these sites of insurgent citizenship and their actors in our historical narratives, and more importantly to consider them not as mere side effects of planning ventures, but rather as essential elements that relentlessly challenge the categories and processes of planning practice.

DeFilippis (2008) and Friedmann (2011) have argued that the planning processes of cities are continually influenced by the everyday routines, strategies, and struggles of their inhabitants. They have made a plea to offer a more explicit place to the role of everyday life in our narratives of the conception, making, and remaking of urban landscapes. Jonas and Ward (2007) have noted that scholarship is often silent on how cities are planned on a macro-political level and subsequently reproduced through everyday micro-political acts and struggles. These authors seem to suggest that scholarship should take into account this terrain of political struggles and subject-making of “ordinary” citizens, and the various ways that they interfere with planning discourses and practices.

The strong focus on the planner perspective of the canonical historiographies has obscured the view not only on “ordinary” participants in urban planning, but also on the institutional and economic actors that are, as it were, on the other end of the spectrum. As Neil Brenner (2013) has recently convincingly argued, urban development—on all spatial scales—is shaped through national political institutions, including those associated with urban, regional, and territorial planning. However, various recent studies illustrate that the role of state institutions and regulatory strategies in transforming cities varies considerably across time and space. Developing a more refined understanding of the impact on planning of institutional regimes of states, markets, and civic societies, as well as their implicit or explicit regulatory logics, remains a challenge for future research.

In particular, Brenner (2004) has argued that there are few historical accounts of how such actors make decisions on the types and distribution of investments within and among cities, and on their consequences for the planning of the urban built environment and social fabric. The concept of “urban growth machines” by Logan and Molotch (1996) does helpfully define a political economy of investment in urban land-use systems, and illuminates some of the localized political alliances that have historically underpinned urban development. Logan and Molotch suggest that the institutional bias of planning towards “growth” has any number of destructive and dysfunctional consequences for the social life of cities. More recently, Erik Solevad Nielsen (2014) has argued for an understanding of the planning of contemporary cities as “smart growth machines.” He suggests that in recent decades the political economy of urban development has undergone a paradigm shift to include ecological and climatological concerns, paired with changes in entrepreneurial action, technical expertise, and regulation. For the most part, the histories of how this paradigm shift has affected the planning cultures of cities remain to be written.

The inclusion of other actors and agencies, both everyday and institutional, in the histories of urban planning poses a set of theoretical and methodological questions. First and foremost, it requires that the historical narratives that we are constructing no longer concentrate mainly on *planners* but more on *planning*, the latter standing for the broader arena and processes of publicly negotiated transformation of space. Indeed, one of the theoretical challenges that the history of urban planning is facing is to develop theoretical lenses and perspectives that can account for the contact between diverse actors in uneven power-relations of urban planning. One reconceptualization is Marie-Louise Pratt’s idea of “contactzones,” or “social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination” (Pratt 1992: 4).

In addition, it is crucial to conceive of theoretical perspectives to talk about the regimes under which these actors encounter one another. Oren Yiftachel (2006) has argued for a more complex and layered understanding of these regimes of encounter. Referring to the “South-East” of the world, he claims that urban planning is characterized by decision-making that is sometimes less transparent and less organized than those in the “North-West,” and defined by conditions in which citizens perceive public participation and deliberation to be the state’s lip service to or co-optation of popular opinion. Planning histories should take these “stubborn realities” into greater account, Yiftachel argues. An important remaining challenge is including and highlighting the complex relations that result from uneven power positions, such as affiliations, conspiracies, and even traitorous collaboration.

The inclusion of different and multiple actors also yields a set of new methodological challenges for history of urban planning. Some scholars have proposed relying on actor-network perspectives and assemblage theory, as introduced by Bruno Latour (2005). These approaches typically proceed by constructing networks, or assemblages, of urban actors, human and nonhuman (see, for example, Robinson 2011; McFarlane 2010); they build up images of the urban or territorial with complex descriptions of urban situations marked by strong substantive particularity (Wachsmuth et al. 2011). This work eschews a priori theoretical abstraction, though it does at times attempt to generalize via the construction of typologies based on associations between the phenomena it describes (see, for example, Roy and Ong 2011). This approach, especially the idea that assemblages are not a priori or perennially defined, invites historians of urban planning to compose more negotiated and dynamic narratives.

Engaging with different actors and acknowledging their different agencies and voices in urban planning also requires the development of historiographical methods that can articulate their interdependency and also counterbalance them. Helena Mattson (2015) has experimented with her “Action Archive”: she employed a “truth commission,” a practice originally developed in charged political contexts, to gather the historical actors who had planned and realized the Swedish new town of Tensta, in order to record their oral histories—not as parallel narratives, but rather as confrontational perspectives.

In engaging with what Donald McNeill terms “the plasticity and multidimensionality of the urban experience” (2005), histories of urban planning are also challenged to explore less familiar sources and methods, including film. Mark Tewdwr-Jones (2013) has pointed out that film can capture the personalities, motivations, reactions, and conflicts that are all so important in understanding the relation between different actors in urban planning. Digital media will in the near future undoubtedly also open new possibilities for the investigation of multiple, unequal, and transdisciplinary forms of authorship in the realm of planning.

Death of the Center: New Geographies of Planning

A second big challenge for planning historiography relates to the many critiques of the Euro-American bias of various historiographies of urban planning. Jennifer Robinson (2003), for example, has launched an unrelenting critique of the geographies of urban planning history, sharply noting the enduring divide between “First World” cities that are seen as models, generating theory and policy, and “Third World” cities that are seen as problems, requiring diagnosis and reform. Against the “regulating fiction” of the First World global city and this “asymmetrical ignorance,” Robinson (2003: 275) calls for a more geographically balanced history of urban planning. Similarly, Chen and Kanna (2012) have argued that scholars have dangerously privileged a limited sample of three leading global cities as archetypes (London, New York, Tokyo), a preestablished hierarchy from the Global North for investigating and historicizing the relation between cities and processes of globalization.

Robinson (2006) and Roy have claimed that these First-World biases still make an impact; much of 20th-century urban planning research, with its roots overwhelmingly in the global North West, suffers from intellectual parochialism, and hence its insights and perspectives must be called into question. In this regard, Robinson (2011) provides a spirited defense of what she calls “the comparative gesture” as a basis for constructing historical knowledge about cities and for avoiding the hazards of bias. Roy and Ong (2011) build on these points of departure in their plea for a “worlding” of cities, an effort to bring more cities into investigative view and an acknowledgment of the reflexive relations between the urban and the global.

A first way of bringing the planning histories of other cities into view is to literally broaden the scope of planning history to include different national and cultural geographies. Such a widening gesture has been made in the past decade by including colonial contexts. Following early assessments by, for example, Abu-Lughod (1980) and Rabinow (1989), colonial urban planning in the 19th and 20th century has been scrutinized as an efficient political tool to assert European power, and as a site of social and cultural experiments that were sometimes brought home after being tested overseas (Nasr and Volait 2003; Nunes Silva 2015).

This focus on the colonial Janus-face of European urban planning has also included bilateral inquiries that have progressively expanded planning history with studies on the Italian (Fuller 2007), Spanish (Almandoz 2002), Belgian (De Meulder 2000; Lagae 2004), and Dutch (Van Roosmalen 2008) planning experiences in colonial territories. They problematize the distinction between “periphery” and “center” as well as the agency of the urban planners, which they have related to other actors such as entrepreneurs, construction firms, and engineers in the urban planning of non-Western cities. These various studies also point to the importance of local and regional cosmopolitan diasporas and of autochthonous actors in the formation of urban modernity in non-Western settings.

Widening the geography of urban planning histories has also engendered a series of theoretical and methodological issues. An important methodological question is how to conceive the relation between urban planning in the metropole and in the colonial territories. Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann (2006) have suggested the method of “*histoire croisée*,” a way of history writing that focuses on the interactions between cultures, traditions, and disciplines to address this issue. This method focuses not only on how this interconnectedness generates meaning in different contexts, but also on how historians need to cross scales, categories, and viewpoints to account for it. Werner and Zimmerman hold that *histoire croisée* is a step forward from transfer studies, which emphasizes connections and relations between different regions but does not really address the back-and-forth negotiations in planning approaches. With the *histoire croisée* method, they strive to move beyond the notion of cultural influence and a simple reception of culture to more negotiated perspectives.

In the past decade, historians of urban planning working on colonial contexts have attempted to write such *histoires croisées*. They have proposed that urban planning is not a sheer imposition of imperial concepts but an innovative and subtler form of dominance and negotiation (Demissie 2012)—as in the adaptive strategies to local environments pioneered by British and French imperial urban planners. They emphasize the bilateral dissemination of planning knowledge in the geographies of colonial and semi-colonial regimes (Nasr and Volait 2003). Against this methodological background, new analytical frameworks have been proposed that shift the focus to specific locales (e.g., Casablanca, Beirut, New Delhi, Buenos Aires), and imagine the colonial built environment “not as a direct and passive application of principles of governance and power, but as a ‘common place,’ a material and spatial reality that has persisted in anti-colonial and postcolonial eras—in original, modified or altered forms” (Avermaete, Karakayali, and Von Osten 2010). These new frameworks highlight the active agency of “westernizing” or “modernizing” local subjects (AlSayyad 2011) as well as the adaptive use of “European” urban forms by “non-Western” powers for their own modernizing agendas (Hanssen, Philipp, and Weber 2002).

These studies are only initial attempts to explore the possibilities of a *histoire croisée* and deserve more attention in the histories of urban planning. In particular, histories of urban planning would gain a great deal by looking more intensively at the bilateral relations between what have been called “center” and “periphery.” A *histoire croisée* of concepts could contribute to this movement not only by studying the transfers of concepts from the cores to the peripheries, but also by taking seriously the larger influence of concepts developed in the peripheries on the center. The importance of the *histoire croisée* as a research method does not lie in an emancipatory manifestation of the peripheries, but rather in telling a different kind of story about modernity that emerges from the entanglement of periphery and center, from plural peripheries or even multiple centers. The perspectives of urban planning in postwar France, for example, cannot be understood without considering the multidisciplinary planning experiences—including the construction of new technical and social planning knowledge—in the French colonial territories. It is only out of such a perspective that planning history can become a narrative of “multiple modernities” (Eisenstadt 2000) and can contribute to “provincializing Europe” (Chakrabarty 2000). This plea for a *histoire croisée* can be applied to sites and regions related through colonial bonds, but should not be limited to them; it invites scholars to pursue similar studies of other dependencies that influence urban planning.

Migration of Planners, Plans, and Policies

The past decade has also witnessed an upsurge in academic interest in the travel, transfer, and flow of urban planners, planning policies, models, ideas, and techniques. As Johan Lagae and Kim de Raedt (2013) have pointed out, the names of Constantinos Doxiadis, Michel Écochard, and Otto Koenigsberger are by now rather familiar among historians of urban planning; these planners exemplify a transnational professional practice that became important in the late 1940s. In an article, “Transnational Planners in a Postcolonial World,” Stephen Ward (2010) sketched the regime of development aid in which such figures emerged and which resulted in global flows of planning knowledge and expertise from the late 1940s to the mid-1970s. He investigated the role and impact of both American and Soviet Bloc planners, emphasizing Cold War logics in the flows of expertise to and from the developing world. But Cold War geopolitical contours do not fully account for these flows, as British, French, Dutch, Polish, and Yugoslavian planners drew very personal and pragmatic links between planning choices and ideological positions (Ward 2010; Stanek and Avermaete 2012).

Why did some ideas and practices develop hegemonic power, in the sense that they were taken to be the apex of desirability and appropriateness in places far from their original invention? Vidyarthi (2010) explored how post-independence India took up American conceptions of a “good neighborhood” as an ideal building form. He described the political ideas and professional networks—the “circuits of knowledge” (Featherstone and Venn 2006; McCann 2008)—through which the concept was transferred from one place to the other, and the local contingencies that encouraged its enthusiastic adoption. Similarly, urban scholars employing postcolonial perspectives (for example, Robinson 2003, 2006, 2011; McFarlane 2010) challenge notions of singular origins and influential individuals. In addition, historical and comparative work on global cities has critically investigated planning and policy circulation, and the translation of planning policies and practices in different contexts (Sanyal 2005; Friedmann 2005; McCann 2011; Clarke 2012; Kenny and Madgin 2015; King 2016).

Challenge: The Contingencies of Migration

Focusing on the migration of planners, plans, and policies also introduces a set of methodological issues. Ulrich Beck and Nathan Sznajder (2006) argue that the analytical concepts, materials, and

methods used daily in scholarly work are bound to nation–state contexts, and that new ones are needed for the analysis of today’s increasingly globalized world. Patsy Healey (2013: 1510–1526) has suggested that historians of urban planning can draw on three overlapping methodological domains to explore transnational flows of planning ideas and practices: Actor–Network Theory (especially with respect to the way ideas and technologies “travel” and get “translated”), institutionalist versions of “discourse analysis” of policy (discourse structuration and institutionalization, in particular), and discussions about circuits of knowledge and hegemonic projects in the globalization and international development literatures. In urban planning history, Stephen Ward (2000) has proposed a typology of diffusion of planning ideas and concept with six ideal types of diffusion—synthetic borrowing, selective borrowing, and undiluted borrowing, along with negotiated imposition, contested imposition, and authoritarian imposition—based on the power relations between exporting and importing countries. Structures of diffusion, he argues, determine the degree of freedom with which agents, whether foreign or indigenous, apply external planning models to shape the local urban environment.

Nikolas Rose has argued for more critical historical studies of urban policies that might account for the “contingent lash-ups of thought and action, in which various problems of governing [drew] upon instruments and procedures that happened to be available” (Rose 1999: 27). Planning historians who have worked in and on the Global South have expanded on this perspective as they encountered the fractures between the assumptions of the Global North and their experiences on the ground (Roy 2011; Yiftachel 2006). Such work challenges Western ideas of Enlightenment rationality, and the somewhat anodyne way in which scholars have investigated globalization, knowledge transfers, learning, and policy circuits.

Death of the Meta-Theory: Procedural and Substantive Aspects of Planning

A third point to touch upon is the *death of meta-theory*, or the *degrees of removal* between histories of urban planning—informed by postcolonial theory, and theories of power and globalization—and the very materiality of planning. These histories have offered us a great deal of knowledge about planners’ identities, conceptions, methods of consensus building, value frames, and even their psychology; these historiographical perspectives provide an adequate framework for decoding ideological intentions and their general spatial consequences. But they often have gone no further than “macro-theorizing” planning (King in Nasr and Volait 2003), for instance by connecting urban forms directly to colonial power schemes (King 2016; Robinson 2006). And one consequence of this macro theorization is a reduced attention to the physical object. Richard Sennett has underlined that the focus on “the shaping of physical things as mirrors of social norms, economic interests, religious convictions” often implies that “the thing itself is discounted” (Sennett 2008). Indeed, many of the aforementioned histories of urban planning do not engage with what Pierre Bourdieu has called the “*oeuvres*”: the concrete spatial and material presence of neighborhoods and cities (Bourdieu 1994). In other words, they silence the physical objects of urbanism and urban planning, including buildings, places, and infrastructure.

The reasons for this macro-theorization and silencing of the built object can be found in the predominance of *discursive hypotheses* (or *discursive meanings*) in explaining urban planning, that is, meanings attributed to the built environment expressed in verbal form (eventually translated in figures or illustrated by graphics) by planners, politicians, and developers. Discursive hypotheses are the expressions of thought frames that have in explicit or implicit ways been generative for the specific articulation of a certain planning project or process. They can be analyzed through a discursive methodology in which textual, oral, and graphic sources are analyzed as illustrating “the site of struggles for meaning that reproduce the conflicts of interest between the producers and consumers of the cultural commodity” (Fiske 1987: 14). As Tim Ignold has observed, one problem with such

a discursive methodology is that “culture is conceived to hover over the material world but not to permeate it” (Ingold 2000: 340).

Next to discursive hypotheses one can distinguish *embedded hypotheses* (or *embedded meanings*) that emerge from the specific temporal and spatial ordering of the material artifact and its location in a particular space and time. As such, they are not necessarily part of larger cultural schemes or thought frames and are not necessarily in line with the discursive hypotheses. The urban environment, and the built artifacts that compose it, actively mediate and transform social relations. However, these agents operate implicitly, in an “embedded mode”; only fragments of their action are made explicit in a “discursive mode.” Through careful urban analysis, observation, and inquiry it is possible for scholars to make part of these embedded hypotheses explicit as well—but historical studies of urban planning by postcolonial theory rarely do so.

Of course, discursive and material dimensions—that is, process and substance—are intimately linked in urban planning, ceaselessly constituting one another. The point here is not to deride the need to study planning as a process, but to critique what appears to be a *distorted balance* between procedural and substantive aspects in histories of urban planning. This imbalance is troubling, not only because knowledge needs to be accumulated and theorized on all aspects of urban planning, but also because approaches to decision-making and planning practices may change or be forgotten, while the material legacy of these decisions remains for generations. To make the substance and its embedded hypotheses part of our historiography remains therefore one of our big challenges.

Conclusion

With the labels *the death of the author*, *death of the center*, and *death of meta-theory*, I have pointed to three fields of thought that have in the past decade destabilized and problematized our standard modes of history writing. At the beginning of the 21st century, these three domains appear as invitations not only to find new categories and theories to describe the discourse and practice of planning, but also to revise our procedures of history writing in order to engage more adequately with multiple agencies, the interdependency of planning experiences across cultural and political geographies, and the relation between substantive and procedural aspects of planning.

Related Topics

Parnell: Africa’s Urban Planning Palimpsest

Hosagrahar: A History of Heritage Conservation in City Planning

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FUTURE NARRATIVES FOR PLANNING HISTORY

Stephen J. Ramos

Planning history is in full swing. Christopher Silver notes that the sheer magnitude of global scholarship published in the field over the past three decades is impossible to summarize (Chapter 35), which is a strong indication of the field's dynamism and growth. Nevertheless, as Carola Hein observes in her introduction, the *Handbook* successfully “combines theoretical, methodological, historical, comparative, and global approaches to planning history—a synthetic approach for which there is no precedent” (Chapter 1). Indeed, this ambitious work offers a faithful, representative snapshot of the state of planning history by many of its key protagonists. Various rounds of discussion and editing helped to produce chapters that reflect contemporary debates and preoccupations, and speak with one another concerning where the field is and ought to be headed. But rather than forming those “imaginary connective lines” for planning history in order to falsely ascribe a “center of gravity” to it, as some of the CIAM history critiques reveal (Mumford 2000; van Rossem 1996), the *Handbook* embraces the work-in-progress nature of the project. If its foundations as a subgenre were only established in the early 1980s, planning history enjoys a particularly nimble position from which to address critiques from within and without, a testament to its latecomer status (Chapter 2).

Stephen Ward described the circumstances out of which the field emerges as characterized by economic deceleration, thus offering the opportunity for “critical reflection and taking stock” (Ward in Sutcliffe 1981). The *Handbook* engages in parallel reflection nearly 40 years later, when the contours of planning history are more precisely understood with relation to affiliate fields—a kind of thematic narrowing—with a very conscious, concurrent call to widen the breadth of geographic and cultural planning history to include narratives heretofore marginalized or silenced in the forging of the subgenre. The most recent International Planning History Society (IPHS) conference in Delft boasted nearly 500 papers from 55 countries, with Brazil and China joining the Netherlands for the most papers contributed (Hein 2016), and this, along with the *Handbook*, surely bodes well for the future of planning history and its community.

But Carola Hein goes further. She challenges the participants and institutions of the planning history community to view the *Handbook* as a “new phase,” where diversity moves beyond simply the inclusion of more stories in an established planning history master narrative. New “global standpoints and approaches” can transform the field by raising fundamental issues about that narrative itself, and opening possibilities of interrogation, de-centering, and rewriting, such that the very methodological tools and content broaden as the cultural diversity increases (Chapter 1). This new phase wisely includes foundational writing, institutional histories, and historiographies, which track an archeology of planning history as it transforms from a concentric model moving outward from

the United Kingdom, to a reticular, polynuclear model that is truly international, with far broader possibilities (Chapters 5, 6, 8). Hein clarifies that the *Handbook* begins this new process, which future scholarship and *Handbook* sequels will continue and improve upon. *Handbook* contributors have suggested clear challenges and possibilities to help guide the field's future, and in this chapter I will attempt to synthesize these to propose narratives for further investigation in this new phase.

Several contributors cite Ward, Freestone, and Silver's article "The 'New' Planning History: Reflections, Issues, and Directions" (2011) as a key reference that informs the overall spirit of the *Handbook*. Freestone (Chapter 10) summarizes:

The projection forward is essentially incremental, albeit with innovation and creativity around the interdisciplinary edges and a likely growth of knowledge creation in countries of the "emerging world."

Nancy Kwak's chapter focuses on these essential interdisciplinary edges and *intradisciplinary* debates in order to further invite the innovation and creativity that Ward et al. call for (Chapter 3). She posits that interdisciplinarity "loosened the boundaries of 'planning' itself to be about much more than the state," to include wider considerations of power and process. In so doing, Kwak believes planning history splintered over intellectual questions as to how far afield it wished to go into interdisciplinarity and associate "critical treatment of the category 'planning,'" without relinquishing its core identity around those tools and techniques heretofore associated with spatial planning. From this, she concludes, planning scholars face two polarized choices: engage critically with interdisciplinary discussions and include the very relationship of planning and the state within the analytical scope (echoing Avermaete's call [Chapter 37] to no longer concentrate on *planners* but more on wider interpretations of *planning*), or eschew critical perspectives, and remain within the analysis of the more traditional, accepted categories of planning. For her, the former choice is the clear one, but perhaps the binary itself will blossom into broader possibilities for planning history, as I will discuss below.

One hopes that by now, turning a blind eye to issues of power, privilege, and empire in planning history, rightly identified by Kwak and others here, is no longer merely myopic, but dangerous and irresponsible. At the same time, interdisciplinary engagement that would dismiss planning and planners out of hand, as mere tools of state power and coercion, shirks planning historians' responsibility to help create narratives that are more nuanced, and faithful to the complexities of curating and intervening in the spatial public sphere. Stephen Ward also refers to theory in other disciplines as "setting the pace" for planning history, but then notes that archival and institutional research concerned with how planning circulated internationally offers at least one area where planning historians can engage with theorists toward interdisciplinary exchange (Chapter 7). André Sorensen agrees, calling policy mobility a key area where planning history has contributed to urban theory (Chapter 4). Sorensen states, however, that theory aversion in planning history, as with many history subgenres, requires new comparative methodologies to help reflect across case studies and begin to engage in theory-building. This will produce more productive and authentic interdisciplinary dialogue, in the hopes of moving beyond the mere "reinterpretation of the historical record," important though that too may be. He boldly suggests comparative historical analysis and historical institutionalism as methodologies particularly suited to planning history for theory-building, with the recognition that an essential primary question will be whether or not planning institutions behave in the manner outlined in historic institutionalism. Sorensen's chapter brings to mind Patricia McCarney's work on governance—the overarching relationship between civil society and the state—as a helpful comparative tool for this kind of research and theory development (McCarney 1996; McCarney et al. 1995). David Massey's chapter, in structure, also demonstrates how comparative historical analysis can help draw out larger thematic issues, which are then also ripe for theory consideration (Chapter 11).

As do Sorensen's suburbanization chapter (Chapter 30), and Dirk Schubert's comparative exploration of historic social movements, in which he underscores the importance of unique, local factors within the larger comparative frame (Chapter 31). The call, then, is neither to retreat from vital interdisciplinary discussion nor critical thinking, but rather to also engage in theory-building within planning history to further contribute to theory discussion with other disciplines in a more balanced manner.

The second part of the Freestone quote above refers to increased knowledge creation in countries of the "emerging world," but surely this sphere can also offer the innovation and creativity of interdisciplinary collaboration suggested in the same quote, as Kwak's chapter also points out. The great contributions from Javier Monclús and Carmen Díez Medina (Chapter 12), Clément Orillard (Chapter 13), and Celina Kress (Chapter 14) demonstrate that within the English-dominated spheres, even Western European planning histories are still "emerging." For example, the Leonardo Benèvolo book *Le Origini Dell'Urbanistica Moderna* (1963) was translated as *The Origins of Modern Town Planning* (1967), and Chapter 12 helps to correct and clarify this semantic misrepresentation in translation. The chapters also push back the planning history time frame deeper into the 19th century, suggesting that even if industrialization is maintained as a metric for modernity and the city, an overemphasis on the planning legislation of the early 20th century need not relegate the planning history traditions of other cultures to mere preamble status. The chapter contributions make this abundantly clear, and this too will be a fertile theme for correction as the planning history field moves forward.

These issues are addressed further in Maria Taylor and Irina Kukina's chapter on Russia and the Soviet Union (Chapter 15), Maria Cristina da Silva Leme and Vera Lucia F. Motta Rezende's chapter on Latin America (Chapter 16), Daniel B. Abramson's chapter on China (Chapter 20), and Éric Verdeil and Joe Nasr's chapter on the Arab world (Chapter 21). With the possible exception of Latin American cities, where Spanish and Portuguese languages are more familiar to Western European and United States audiences, the chapters offer access to rich planning histories that have been somewhat marginalized culturally and linguistically by/for those audiences. In this sense, within the overall level of excellence maintained throughout the *Handbook*, these chapters are perhaps the most exciting in that they truly open great possibilities for engagement, comparison, and cross-cultural collaboration. Each of these articles point out challenges in historiography in the different regions for a number of general and specific reasons, and as access potential opens for more archival work, one hopes that these historiographies will be written and expanded upon moving forward. Hein's chapter on Japan (Chapter 19), much in the way Japanese planning history led non-Western traditions in the field, may also serve as a model for future historiography work in these other regions.

From the quote, however, when Ward et al. refer to the "emerging world," they are referring particularly to those regions that are addressed by Susan Parnell (Chapter 22) and Abidin Kusno (Chapters 17, 18). In her chapter on African cities, Parnell articulates one of the most explicit and pressing challenges for planning history as the field develops: that even within the vast range of urban conditions in African, there is a near "universal disconnect between the city and the plan." For her, planning history must then explore and try to explain "not just the impact of planning ideas, but also their widespread lack of traction as self-built and unplanned urban areas" continue to emerge and proliferate throughout the continent (Chapter 22). What she terms the uneven, institutional "sectoral distortion" that stunts the capacity of local government in terms of scope and scale, is echoed in Kusno's exploration of planning differentiation, "exception space," and modes of planning that are only deployed by private developers for properties that they want to develop. Each indicates that these forms of unevenness emerge from colonial pasts, which are subsequently carried forward by postcolonial states through fragmented socio-technical spatial engineering (see also Chapter 34). Each calls for a radical empiricism in their respective vast geographic regions to also strengthen theory-building. Parnell's brief discussion on informality alone, and the epistemological, social, political, and environmental issues that it raises (to name only a few), are clearly far richer

and more complex than reductive dualities of planned/unplanned, formal/informal, etc. Parnell and Kusno make clear that such important work is indeed still truly lacking and urgently needed (see also Smith 2007). Kusno describes the “profound connection between politics and planning” for the Southeast Asian region, and, like Kwak, recommends critical engagement with other disciplines, coupled with deep inductive research, as a path toward revising planning history and historiography to include and account for these regions. But also, as Parnell emphasizes, this revision is essential to help then make the planning history field more relevant for those same regions. For when silenced regions begin to see themselves as protagonists within a revised planning history, they will then be more likely to explore the broader field and draw deeper on historical lessons that planning history can offer to help planners address the urban challenges that they face.

Further to these points, Rahul Mehrotra (2010) describes contemporary global cities as “schizophrenic landscapes,” where many forms of urbanism are occurring simultaneously in the same spaces. This informal, or “kinetic” sphere, he claims, is increasingly becoming the established framework, within which the more traditional urban forms are exceptionally placed. Sanford Kwinter (1995) suggests that “a city both lives and may be found only in its transformations and ramifications, in the cultural patterns and subjectivities it nurtures.” Both Kwinter and Mehrotra, addressing different urban spheres, worry about the severe limitations of traditional two-dimensional representation to capture these essential qualities. Thus, the limits of planning history and its representational capability are challenged. Dolores Hayden raises similar concerns in her work *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History*. She asks, who and where are the new sources of information to help write planning history (1995)? The question can relate to content, methodology, and representation, and help to augment and inspire planning history inquiry. Here perhaps interdisciplinarity can also help the field, not only through engagement with the critical humanities and social sciences, but also with the arts. Tom Avermaete suggests that future planning history explore “less familiar sources and methods, including film” (Chapter 37), citing Mark Tewdwr-Jones’s work (2013) that describes film’s ability to portray the emotional multidimensionality of the different actors involved in planning history. Nezar Alsayyad’s work on cinematic urbanism (2006) is yet another reference that reinforces the point. Sculptor Louisa Powell, in her work “Trapped in Our Maps” (2016), at once identifies the challenges and opportunities of representation and technology, and explores the historic interplay of process and artifact, geography and infrastructure, all in one strong piece (Figure 38.1). In her artist statement, Powell describes her process of building structural systems to explore morphological change, relationships, and how the past becomes the future. These examples demonstrate new possibilities for interdisciplinary collaboration that can provide planning history with inspiration and new perspectives.

With regard to representation, information technologies may also serve as a tool for methodological inquiry for planning history. Eugenie L. Birch discusses this point through various modes of plan-making in time series analysis for Cincinnati (Chapter 36), which is a very useful methodology for analyzing technology and representation through comparative frames (see also Ryan 2011). Geographic Information Systems, of course, have been particularly important to planning history

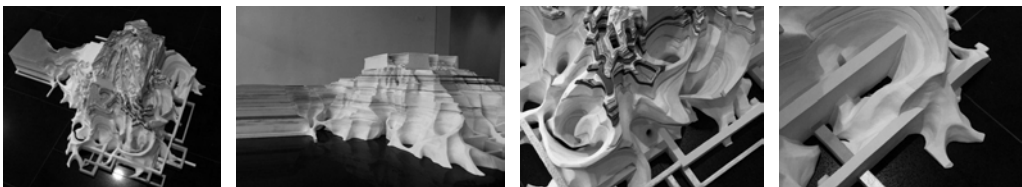


Figure 38.1 “Trapped in Our Maps.”

Source: Louisa Powell, 2015.

(Hillier 2010). But, for example, how will Big Data influence the field? Will there be analytical and evaluative processes that can match the scale of collected data, to then form meaningful feedback mechanisms? Will the field move conceptually and theoretically apace with the strides in technology? How will planning history process Big Data? What will the research look like? This brings to mind contemporary discussions in the field of digital humanities, where intense debates are asking what forms and media of academic production will look like in the future, and how they will be evaluated (Gold 2012). Are methodologies such as algorithmic approaches to significantly larger data sets academically acceptable? What is the evolution of authorship and collaboration when multiple sources, databases, and authors are linked in new and complex arrangements? A central issue for the digital humanities is whether, as a field, they must move from “reading and critiquing to building and making” (Ramsay 2011). At first glance, such media and methodologies would seem to offer more dynamic representational possibilities for planning history but, as in the digital humanities, the challenge will be how to incorporate them into contemporary collective academic scholarship in planning history.

Finally, a cross-sectional issue related to all of these chapters, to greater or lesser degree, are those natural systems that frame and feed the city. While cultures responded differently to the fundamental ecological relationship that bonds humans, cities, and nature, its context is ever-present. From geomancy of the canonical texts that prescribe the Chinese city, to London’s Georgian squares, to the Regional Planning Association of America, planning history—ancient and modern—sets the city within, against, or indifferent to natural contexts (see Chapter 9, 20). But there is always a relationship. Environmental historian Mart A. Stewart (2002) writes:

The value of a study of the relationships between humans and nature is that it reintroduces nature into its proper place in the story. . . . The study of how societies or communities changed in the past, then, is also the study of change in nature.

Similarly, in her work on nature, Jane Amidon (2010) poses that “the environment has become a social enterprise and society an environmental enterprise,” and that as we explore issues of systemic health, a broader understanding of regional materialism helps to inform new conceptualizations. Again, the most recent International Planning History Society (IPHS) conference chose “History-Urbanism-Resilience” as its theme (Hein 2016), and included Han Meyer and his work on Delta Urbanism as one of the featured keynote speakers (Meyer et al. 2010; Meyer 2009). In this handbook, the environment is addressed in various chapters, including Peter J. Larkham’s exploration of disaster recovery, re-planning, reconstruction, and resilience (Chapter 33; see also Vale and Campanella 2005); Russell Lopez’s chapter on public health (Chapter 28); Domenic Vitiello’s identification of green infrastructure and the new possibilities and promise that it holds (Chapter 25); and Dieter Schott’s chapter on livability, which includes environmental quality as a key metric (Chapter 32). These discussions all point to promising new lines of inquiry, where ecological considerations are no longer discrete, or contrasted with urban environments, toward all-encompassing considerations where ecology binds the essential relationships of planning history. Jyoti Hosagrahar makes a strong argument for heritage, broadly defined, as capable of exploring “cultural relationships and practices with the natural environment,” and thus positioning it as a dynamic frame to conjoin indigenous knowledge with contemporary planning practice (Chapter 34). As issues around water, environmental degradation, climate change, and sea-level rise continue to influence contemporary academic inquiry and planning practice, they will also influence a reconsideration of socio-ecological history as a truly important aspect of planning history.

The awarding of the IPHS Book Prize at that same conference to Matthew Gandy’s *The Fabric of Space: Water, Modernity, and the Urban Imagination* (2014) also suggests that this historo-ecological methodology is coming into its own. As the IPHS Book Prize Committee explains:

Water is a powerful theme in current urban research, but Gandy uses the historical perspective to tell us something new. Creating the infrastructure necessary to route water efficiently is one of the defining problematics of urban modernity. . . . Each chapter highlights a different aspect of planning and civil engineering: reconstructing infrastructure, connecting the city with nature, the politics of public health, social inequalities, rediscovering “natural” water landscapes, and dealing with future threats.

The book and its recognition demonstrate exciting ways in which contemporary scholarship can instruct historic planning research *and* contribute toward future planning concerns.

The metaphor of city as palimpsest is voiced throughout the *Handbook*, and it is quite right, as Stephen Ward suggests, that planning historians are particularly adept at reflecting on time, and the relationship humans have with their overlapping, multifarious environments. As a dynamic receptacle of built history, memory, and desire, the city contains multitudes (Lynch 1960). The oft-quoted William Faulkner (1951) passage affirms, “The past is not dead. It’s not even past.” Michael E. Smith and Carola Hein articulate this point in the cohabitation of the ancient and modern cities (Chapter 9). Planning history finds itself at an exciting moment. The new phase, announced by Hein and the chapters in this handbook, brings together the great efforts of many who came before with those contemporary concerns and interests that will guide the planning history community moving forward. It is clear that planning history will continue to inform wider academic debates on themes discussed here and throughout the *Handbook*—thankfully, also in surprising new ways that we cannot even predict.

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