

# European Planning History in the 20th Century

## A Continent of Urban Planning

Edited by MAX WELCH GUERRA, ABDELLAH ABARKAN, MARÍA A. CASTRILLO ROMÓN and MARTIN PEKÁR



# EUROPEAN PLANNING HISTORY IN THE 20TH CENTURY

The history of Europe in the 20th century is closely tied to the history of urban planning. Social and economic progress but also the brute treatment of people and nature throughout Europe were possible due to the use of urban planning and the other levels of spatial planning. Thereby, planning has constituted itself in Europe as an international subject. Since its emergence, through intense exchange but also competition, despite country differences, planning has developed as a European field of practice and scientific discipline. Planning is here much more than the addition of individual histories; however, historiography has treated this history very selective regarding geography and content.

This book searches for an understanding of the historiography of planning in a European dimension. Scholars from Eastern and Western, Southern and Northern Europe address the issues of the public led production of city and the social functions of urban planning in capitalist and state-socialist countries. The examined examples include Poland and USSR, Czech Republic and Slovakia, UK, Netherlands, Germany, France, Portugal and Spain, Italy, and Sweden. The book will be of interest to students and scholars for Urbanism, Urban/Town Planning, Spatial Planning, Spatial Politics, Urban Development, Urban Policies, Planning History and European History of the 20th Century.

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Abdellah Abarkan, María A. Castrillo Romón  
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# INTRODUCTION

## The Continent of Urban Planning and Its Changing Historiography

*Max Welch Guerra*

In no other continent did urban planning – together with the subsequent addition of the scales of spatial planning – make such an impact in the 20th century as in Europe. And vice versa: no other continent made such an impact on urban and regional planning as it spread throughout the world during the 20th century as did Europe. It was here that the growing policy field, together with its practitioners and relevant tools, evolved from the second half of the 19th century onward; it was here that urban planning was constituted as a scientific discipline at the beginning of the 20th century (Sutcliffe 1981; Kegler 1987; Magnago Lampugnani *et al.* 2017). A comparable worldwide effect came from only one country outside of Europe, namely the USA.<sup>1</sup>

The diversity of the countries in Europe, the second-smallest continent, and at the same time the relational proximity of their cultures, but also significant parallels – partially time-shifted – in their social development, promoted the emerging of a network of experts and institutions. For them, the exchange of ideas on questions of urbanization and urban planning as well as the collective development of the field literally was close at hand. In retrospect we can see that the emergence and establishment of urban planning was not simply the addition of individual national processes. Urban planning was from the very beginning the subject of a growing international knowledge base, a very intensive discourse that was characterized by competition, imitation and imposition.<sup>2</sup>

The European history of the 20th century can hardly be explained if the role of urban planning is ignored. Urban and regional planning played a key role in the development of the welfare state in many countries. Again, this is a phenomenon that has been particularly manifested in Europe. Urban planning was a means of introducing principles of hygiene into everyday life and healthy housing standards for broad layers of the population. The capillary networks of underground urban technology and the commercial supply networks, public transport systems, roads for motor vehicles, but also the provision of schools, hospitals, squares and parks even in the lower-class districts were established essentially by applying urban planning. Urban planning provided a major part of the material base for the fact that in Europe throughout a long period in the 20th century – with some major setbacks – not only the standard of living but also social justice could increase considerably. These welfare state institutions were not only a product of the economic growth that took place above all in the second half of the 20th century across Europe. The ensemble of welfare state institutions was, rather, a material precondition for, and



also an effective contribution to, the political legitimization of the different variations of capitalist and state-socialist societal formations.

However, by using spatial planning tools and discourses, the destruction of urban structures and natural goods, the disadvantaging and displacement of social groups and the destruction of the milieus of the working class and ethnic minorities were carried out again and again. Both aspects of urban planning took place on a large scale in Europe due to its political history and the relatively strong formation of public fields of activity. Urban planning was an instrument used diversely by both democratic and dictatorial rulers. The competition among nations, which was not only economic but also concerned military power and cultural appeal, formed a constant incentive to search for solutions that were successful in that regard. And as a general rule these came from the respective economic powers.

In addition to the spread and systematization of experiences with urban planning within the continent these experiences radiated far beyond the continent via very varying relationships of dependence. The planning of European state-socialism remained the most important model for some countries in Latin America, Africa and Asia until into the 1980s. Western European urban planning was the most important model for many countries in other continents until the 1960s (Sambricio 2012) and in the 21st century it remains a much respected reference and source of reform approaches.

## Asymmetries of Planning Historiography

Since the 1970s at the latest, Anglo-Saxon planning historiography has been the only one with an almost worldwide presence.<sup>3</sup> The academic community of the state-socialist countries could never present a counterpart. Primarily British and US-American experts, but also fellows from the countries of the Commonwealth, formed an admirably productive network, which was joined by some West Europeans, for example, from Germany and the Netherlands. This composition is not due to a conscious recruiting policy, and certainly not to the conscious exclusion of colleagues from other cultures or continents but reflects the unequal distribution of competent fellows and institutions that deal with planning history. These were the expression of the role of public planning and the relatively advantageous conditions for academic production in the richer capitalist countries of Europe. The common language of the United Kingdom and the countries of the Commonwealth, as well as the USA, formed a catalyst for the academic development and global assertion of Anglo-Saxon planning historiography. The existing historiographies of other world regions never achieved a remotely comparable dissemination.

However, the established, internationally leading planning historiography largely did not broach the subject of the general importance of urban planning for the development of the continent as a whole. The strongly Anglo-Saxon-influenced planning historiography also ignored large parts of the continent for a long time. “Europe” was not used in the geographical concept of the word, as the continent from the Iberian Peninsula to the Urals, as in the definition we learned in primary school.<sup>4</sup>

Publications that claimed to treat planning history as an international phenomenon concentrated in the course of the 20th century on certain countries, particularly the United Kingdom, Germany, France and Italy. This focus is problematical for a number of reasons, although it is not irrational. Planning historiography has largely concentrated on those chapters of the past that brought forth successful innovations and spectacular projects. This enabled the emphasizing of the importance of the policy field for society and at the same time the qualification of trainees; in preparation for their professional activities, the future generations should be familiarized with successful experiences.

This constitution of the international planning historiography community had considerable effects on the questions and subjects of the discipline far beyond the countries from which

the fellows came. Research, teaching and publications in the English language, but also in the languages of other wealthy capitalist countries, have concentrated on the innovations that they believed were of importance for their advanced capitalist world, sometimes even stating this explicitly (cf. Segre 1984; Ward 2002). The planning historiographies of the countries that did not belong to this hegemonial community usually remained within the boundaries of a national narrative, simply due to their limited resources. If the experts in these countries wished to understand the international relationships, they fell back on the impressive works of the Anglo-Saxon debate. The rich production of internationally oriented planning historiography in German or Italian, for instance, was seldom known for linguistic reasons. Publications in French at least managed to gain influence in the French-speaking world and in Latin America. The publications on international planning history until now, with few exceptions, have conveyed a great deal about the garden city or post-war planning in France and the Federal Republic of Germany, but hardly anything about the neighboring countries in the far west of Europe, in the south, in the center and in the east of Europe. In the latter case the used term was, and is, usually Eastern bloc. This political catchphrase from the Cold War implies a homogeneity among the state-socialist countries that only existed in the imagination of western fellows and journalists. The state-socialist countries, which attached a perhaps greater importance to urban planning but embedded it into a different social system, were for the established planning historiography community not worth paying closer attention to. In addition, the authors were mostly unfamiliar with the languages that were spoken and written there. Furthermore, the research on the history of European planning as a rule proceeded in an additive fashion.<sup>5</sup> They could not resort to any explanatory context that would have allowed them to correlate the individual national trajectories with one another.

The first objective of this publication is to strengthen the attention that is gradually beginning to be paid to the diversity of planning historiography throughout Europe, as well as to demonstrate the importance of planning for society and politics, and to illustrate the continent's – as a rule underestimated – common ground.

## Functions of Planning Historiography

An opinion often heard in the departments of our colleagues in various countries and continents, regards planning history as a scholarly discipline that contributes to general education and occasionally publishes enviably endowed volumes. However, it is supposed to remain simply contemplative, an occupation with the past without consequence as the past cannot be changed. This misunderstanding can even invoke the cogitation of Georg Friedrich Wilhelm Hegel, according to whom the Owl of Minerva only begins its flight in the evening since scientific knowledge is only possible when the day that has passed can still be understood but can no longer be changed (Hegel [1820]1986). For planning historiography, however, this point of view reveals a misunderstanding.

Let us briefly recall some of the functions that planning historiography assumes, or can assume, in societal reality. The occupation with the history of planning is above all else a step towards the establishment of the subject and the discipline. It is also an indirect but effective way of having an influence on the immediate future of the discipline. By explaining particularly productive chapters of the discipline's history we demonstrate its achievement potential and strengthen the confidence of urban planning scholars, preparing them to take on new tasks for society and to accept new assignments from society. Planning historiography can well be understood as the chronicle of a permanent extension of the discipline's area of responsibility and thus of its area of business.

In the education of planners – in this respect similar to the education of architects – the presentation of the subject's history is never a neutral rendition of the past. We transmit the canon of the field by choosing examples that we present as key plans, as milestones of the area of experience that we must take into account. When we, for example, deal with the plans for Paris or Barcelona in the second half of the 19th century, the car-friendly urban reconstruction of the postwar period or the turn towards urban regeneration c. 1970, we transmit a certain understanding of the subject simply when we list the intentions and results of these plans – or ignore them.

By teaching the history of planning we also transmit an interpretation of the relationship between society and the planning experts. The traditional planning historiography written by architects and art historians often functions as a model for presenting the history of the city as the history of brilliant planners, of gifted demiurges. This ignores the socio-political determinants of the planning, determinants that make the planning possible, that characterize its implementation, its morphology and its objectives, and promotes a professional self-image based on haughty arrogance. Recognizing the possibilities and the limitations of one's own profession is not only a question of ethics in urban planning but also a precondition for its autonomous practice – and for professional success.

Historiography is ultimately an excellent means of reflecting and adjusting the self-image of the subject to the requirements of the present. It is not a violation of the maxim that history can only be explained by its own history when we confront past chapters of planning with questions put to us by the present. Thus, we cannot condemn the Walter Gropius of 1919 to 1928 because he, as Bauhaus Director, handled natural resources wastefully and without conscience. But it does matter that in dealing with the so very much-admired historical Bauhaus we point to all the things to which its representatives paid no attention, and which mean that imitating them today when planning the residential areas of the present is neither professionally nor politically acceptable. It is not only the right but in fact the duty of future generations to reinterpret the past in the light of fresh insights. Stephen Ward explains the blossoming of planning historiography from 1970 onward – half a century later we still find ourselves in its wake – “with the rise of a more generally questioning attitude to planning and its results in many parts on the world”.<sup>6</sup>

This leads to the second objective of our publication: a new look at the history of the policy field and the scientific discipline in the 20th century in Europe is intended to provide an overall account of the changing functions of the subject for society and increase our sensitivity for our role as planning practitioners and academics.

### **Discomfort, Criticism and Reform**

The fact that planning historiography has become an established field of research that, thanks to its several international networks, publications and debates, stands out independently from general historiography and continues to develop, is the result of a very fruitful phase in the early 1970s. This planning historiography emerged largely as a product of Anglo-Saxon specialists, among whom the Englishmen Antony Sutcliffe and Gordon Cherry stand out (Ward 2018). Like every vibrant discipline, planning historiography also experienced the assertion of certain trends, and the methods and objects shifted over time. Critical debates arose here as well. A certain discomfort regarding the Anglo-Saxon bias in planning historiography developed – although at first still diffuse – in professional circles at the latest following the appearance of an important and much read anthology published by Robert Freestone in 2000. The title – *Urban Planning in a Changing World: The Twentieth Century Experience* – unduly purported to present a global outline of planning history. This volume consistently excludes Central Eastern Europe and Eastern Europe – as well as the experiences of the “Global South”. The well edited

anthology was not a “quick fix”. It arose from a conference of the International Planning History Society (IPHS), at that time already the worldwide leading association of planning historians, which took place in Australia in July 1998.<sup>7</sup>

Roughly a decade later a fundamental departure from this type of planning historiography began. It might appear surprising that a very carefully thought-out criticism of this historiographical approach should appear as a public self-criticism. But this could, on the other hand, be understood as the quality of the academic culture to which Anglo-Saxon planning historiography belongs. Either way, it was Robert Freestone himself, Stephen Ward, who had published a contribution in the volume from the year 2000, and Christopher Silver, who in 2011 in a fundamental article put three deficits of planning historiography up for discussion (Ward, Freestone and Silver 2011). A pronounced empiricism was dominant and theoretical reflection sparse, they argued. Secondly, they considered the portrayal of the planner’s protagonism to be exaggerated. Finally, the three authors criticized that the discourse of this planning historiography was still dominated by a “Western modernist perspective” (ibid., 244). Of course, this problem had already been discussed by Peter Hall, who also offered an explanation as to why “other important planning traditions, in France, in Spain and Latin America, in the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union, in China” were not dealt with adequately in his outstanding work, *Cities of tomorrow: “many of the key ideas of twentieth century western planning were conceived and nurtured in a remarkably small and cozy club based in London and New York.”* (Hall [1988] 2014, 6)

In 2018, the most important reorientation to date of the internationally dominant planning historiography appeared, containing not only further criticism but also a first implementation of the new requirements. It was again a publication from the circle of the IPHS, the ground-breaking Routledge handbook of planning history by Carola Hein (2018). This volume includes – not compactly formulated but spread throughout the book – a further-reaching, comprehensive criticism of the traditional planning historiography. This criticism finds its most intense expression in the contribution by Tom Avermaete, who summarizes a number of publications and concludes that planning historiography must accept the death of the author, the death of the center and the death of meta-theory (Avermaete 2018). Planning historiography must therefore overcome its fixation on certain actors, its distorted perception of geography and its self-referencing narrative.

The Handbook does not only criticize, however. It also contains an impressive first attempt to write planning historiography in a “reticular, polynuclear” way, as Stephen Ramos calls it (Ramos 2018: 488). The hegemonial perspective from only a few countries and with a dominant narrative (which in the final analysis is capitalism-immanent and for the most part implicitly guided by modernization theory) is replaced by contributions from 36 experts from all over the world and from very different academic cultures. In its core section the Routledge Handbook of Planning History brings together contributions on planning history in the African and Arab World, in China, Japan and Southeast Asia, in Latin America and Latin Europe (!), in the Soviet Union and in the German-speaking and Anglo-Saxon worlds. In most cases, experts here report from their own world region. The experiences in the leading capitalist countries no longer appear as the model by which the planning history of the rest of the world should be measured.

Here we encounter – albeit indirectly – a further objective of our publication. Parallel to, and in the first instance completely independently of the work done at that time by the team elaborating the Routledge Handbook of Planning History, our volume is motivated by the same idea: to contribute to a new effort to expand planning historiography, in which authors of different nationalities and from various disciplines write about the planning history and planning historiography of – in our case – Europe. We, too, are confident that knowledge can be gained from a polynuclear historiography consisting of studies that are reticulately related to one another.

## Structure of the Book

The articles in this book are divided into three sections which explicitly or implicitly contain proposals concerning three overarching issues in European planning historiography that are intended to further our discipline.

**Part 1** presents the emergence of contemporary urban planning in terms of the intellectual and practice-oriented formation of the discipline as well as the development of planning instruments. What was the function of historiography in the dawning of the discipline? What conception of mankind was behind the concern for the common good at the time when hygiene was made the guiding principle of early urban planning? How long did formal urban planning require in order to oust the areas of informal urban production in Western European towns and cities? Answers to these questions are provided by Helene Bihlmeier, Dirk Schubert and Noel Manzano. The complex relationship between the international impulses and the development of the teaching and practice of urban planning in Spain in the eventful first half of the 20th century is analyzed in the contributions by María Cristina García González, María Castrillo Romón and Miguel Fernández Maroto, as well as Alberto Sanz Hernando. The contribution by Laurent Coudroy de Lille demonstrates, using the example of the history of France, how stable planning norms remained throughout time in spite of socio-political upheavals. Marcelo Sagot Better demonstrates the extent to which the aesthetics of the communication of the particular modes of production of the built environment were constitutive for the urban modernism of the interwar period.

**Part 2** examines prominent examples of the diversity of the missions of planning and the mechanisms of urban production under the very different socio-political conditions that European history had to offer in the course of the 20th century. Ann Maudsley presents the intensive application of urban planning in the Swedish model of the welfare state. Martin Pekár examines the dependence of Slovakia's Fascist regime on Italian and German patterns in the urban design of Bratislava. Víctor Pérez Eguiluz demonstrates, using the example of the history of France, how stable planning norms remained throughout time in spite of socio-political upheavals. Peter J. Larkham analyses the relationship to heritage in the reconstruction of towns and cities that suffered particularly widespread damage from the bombings of the Second World War. The contributions by Azmah Arzmi, and by Elvira Khairulina and Luis Santos y Ganges, examine state-socialist planning in Czechoslovakia, the GDR and, in one case, the USSR more closely and in conjunction with each other by not taking Western models as a frame of reference. Federico Camerin sheds light on one potent functional and economic component of urban production in the capitalist Europe of the late 20th century. Juan Luis de las Rivas recognizes an interrelated core in various different program for sustainable planning.

**Part 3** is devoted to fundamental questions concerning the interpretation of, and research into, 20th century planning history. Stephen Ward asks where the commonality of European planning lies, while Harald Bodenschatz uses the German term *Städtebau* to advocate a broad understanding of our subject. José Luis Oyón and Jere Kuzmanić examine the significance of anarchist roots for the history and historiography of planning. Carola Hein uses the example of three port cities to demonstrate the fruitfulness of mapping as an instrument of contemporary planning historiography. Andrea Gimeno as well as Gaia Caramellino and Nicole De Togni call for the innovation of the methods of planning historiography and (for the reformation of) its casuistry in order to adequately capture ordinary urban development, something which has long been ignored.

Florian Urban reminds us that not only did the system of state socialism implode in 1989, but that at the same time the urban development policies of Western countries underwent a profound reorientation. The finishing article suggests drawing strategic research conclusions from the entire volume and explores starting points for an updated interpretation of over a century of European planning.

## Origins of This Publication

The original motive for this publication was the mutual wish of colleagues from various European universities to conduct research together into the planning history of our own continent. In the first place this was professional interest in gaining knowledge, but there were also further intentions. Very important was our curiosity to learn how other universities treat things whose manner of investigation at home has become all too familiar. Just as important was the insight that we wished to confront junior researchers early on with internationality as a part of everyday academic life.

The material core of the publication stems from a European Joint Doctorate. From 2016 to 2020 this EJD received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation program ITN in the Marie Skłodowska-Curie Actions. Under the title of *urbanHIST – History of European Urbanism in the 20th Century* 15 doctoral students from 13 countries were supervised on roughly specified themes. Four universities supported this program: the Bauhaus-Universität Weimar (Germany), Blekinge Tekniska Högskola (Sweden), Universidad de Valladolid (Spain) and Univerzita Pavla Jozefa Šafárika v Košiciach (Slovakia). Colleagues from other universities and research institutions also participated, however, for example as members of the advisory board or as partner organizations. From Spain these were colleagues from the Universidad Politécnica de Madrid and the Universidad Politécnica de Cataluna as well as from the Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Madrid. There were colleagues from the United Kingdom from the University of Leicester, Birmingham City University and Glasgow School of Art, from Slovakia from Slovenská Akadémia vied, from the Czech Republic from the Akademie věd ČR, from Sweden from Boverket and ArkDes Arkitektur- och Designcentrum, Stockholm, from Belgium from the CIVA Foundation Stichting, Brussels, from Italy from the Atrium Association, Politecnico di Milano, from Switzerland from the ETH, Zürich, and from France from the Université Paris-Est. From the Federal Republic of Germany there were colleagues from the Technische Universität Berlin, the Hafencity Universität Hamburg and the Stadtmuseum Dresden.

This book is not only the work of those whose names appear as authors or editors. We wish to express our gratitude to Lenia Barth, Almudena Bartolomé, Anna Graupner, Katarína Hajdukóva, Marina Jiménez, Christiane Kramer, Susanne Riese, Sandra Schindlauer, Annica Skytt and Britta Trostdorf, without whose assistance it would not have been possible to complete this project. We also owe our thanks to Irene Wilson for her dependability and professionalism in the translation of very disparate texts in a field in which the rendering of specialist terms is often treacherous.

We also suffered a painful loss. Corinna Morandi, who enriched the community of urban-HIST tremendously with her sovereign expertise, her inspiring enthusiasm and her empathy, died on 17 November 2020. This book certainly also bears her signature.

Our book and our project should be understood as a contribution to the formation of a post-national professional public in Europe, which is necessary in order to create a deliberative foundation for spatial politics in the European Union even after Brexit. At the same time this publication is aimed at fellows in other regions of the world and is an invitation to work on the perspective of a global planning history, a perspective that is only conceivable as a long-term, collective project.

## Notes

- 1 The particular characteristics of the US-American model, and its limits, in the dawn of contemporary planning are presented in detail by Sutcliffe (1981).
- 2 (Hall [1988] 2014; Ward 2002. On planning under British colonialism see Home 2018, under Portuguese and Spanish colonialism in Africa see Bodenschatz and Welch Guerra 2019 and Welch Guerra and Bodenschatz 2021).

- 3 A useful summary of Anglophone planning historiographical publications can be found in: Freestone (2018).
- 4 This deformation is not specific to planning history. Cf. Lewis and Wigen 1997.
- 5 Two important examples – in spite of all their differences – are Gerd Albers: *Zur Entwicklung der Stadtplanung in Europa. Begegnungen, Einflüsse, Verflechtungen*, and Paolo Sica: *Storia dell'urbanistica*. Vol. 3: Il Novecento.
- 6 Ward (2018), 13.
- 7 A number of scholars from other countries were in fact present at the conference (e.g., from China, Japan, South Korea, Indonesia and the Philippines, the Soviet Union, Spain, Turkey, Israel, Cameroon, Brazil, Argentina and Venezuela) <https://journals.open.tudelft.nl/iphs/issue/view/570/IPHS1998.22.1.2022>

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## **PART 1**

# The Emergence of Contemporary Urban Planning





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# 1.1

## HISTORIOGRAPHY AVANT LA LETTRE?

### On the Uses of History in Early Town Planning Manuals

*Helene Bihlmaier*

It is widely recognized among planning historians that “the history of planning has always been part of planning” (Freestone 2000: 1). As integral parts of planning concepts and ideas, references and historical accounts in diverse forms have been put in circulation since the close of the nineteenth century. With the establishment of an independent British town planning literature and, as a potential result of this, also the rise of English as *lingua franca* within the town planning discourse, exemplary models and historical narratives were increasingly discussed on an international level. The release of seminal books, the foundation of the first Anglophone professional town planning journal, and personal interactions at conferences and exhibitions in Berlin, Düsseldorf, and London led to the culmination of this process around 1909/1910. The remarkable knowledge exchange finally achieved a global impact and resulted in a canonization of historical narratives in town planning literature.

This tacit quasi-mandatory agreement to include a historical introductory chapter to comprehensive town planning literature has been raised in several papers over the last two decades (e.g. Freestone 2000; 2018; Hebbert and Sonne 2006; Ward, Freestone and Silver 2011). As these largely focus on Anglophone writings published since the eventful years of 1909/1910 and later, this study complementary aims at assessing the use of history in writings published in the prelude to this decisive juncture. As the largest group of precursor writings comprise of initial German town planning manuals, this study focuses on these, compares them with early British handbooks, and connects them with the starting point of the above-mentioned papers.

This chapter firstly discusses related methodological approaches of literature-based analysis in planning history in general and the value of handbooks as research subjects for such an inquiry in particular. It then traces the emergence and increase of historical accounts and references in early town planning manuals and examines, in which way German and British handbook authors implied a view on the past and for what purpose they made use of history. In comparison with further contemporary writings, this chapter evaluates the preconditions and the specific context, in which these historical narratives arose and how they were perceived in the contemporary town planning discourse. Resuming some observations of the abovementioned previous papers, this chapter finally discusses to what extent the debate on history mirrored or even informed the formation process of modern town planning as an academic subject and profession.

## Planning Theory as Means in Planning History

Besides the omnipresent maps and plans, written sources have also been a highly valuable communication channel in modern town planning. Planning theory in diverse formats such as journal articles, plan descriptions, reports, treatises, or manuals served as documented manifestations of a growing interdisciplinary town planning discourse and was received widely by contemporary practitioners, trainees, local authorities, as well as an interested public.

### *State of Research and Related Methodological Approaches*

In the early years of planning history, theoretical writings were often neglected as a sole source in planning history. An explicit focus on these only emerged in the mid-1970s, when Gerd Albers released his *Entwicklungslinien im Städtebau* (1975), in which he traced the development of town planning on the basis of international planning theory. The collected volume *Stadt und Text* by Magnago Lampugnani, Frey, and Perotti (2011), which further examined the history of town planning ideas in the mirror of theoretical writings, resumed the use of written sources as research subject and, together with their comprehensive multi-volume town planning anthology (Magnago Lampugnani, Frey and Perotti 2005; 2008; 2014), consolidated this literature-based research approach in German-language planning history publications. A comprehensive study focusing specifically on town planning manuals was published more recently in the same research group (Magnago Lampugnani *et al.* 2017).

In a cognate yet distinct manner, several Anglophone papers applied a bibliographic approach. Anthony Sutcliffe paved the way with his comprehensive annotated bibliography (1977; 1981), presenting the state of the art of planning history within an international scope, whereas a decade later various bibliographic essays (e.g. Cherry 1991; Monclús 1992; Freestone and Hutchings 1993) displayed its progression relying on literature at a national level. Since the turn of the millennium, specific long-range histories of planning ideas drew upon achievements of key town planning literature (e.g. Freestone 2000; 2018; Hebbert and Sonne 2006). However, the retrospective and simultaneously prospective paper on “the ‘new’ planning history” (Ward, Freestone and Silver 2011) did not include the analysis of town planning literature in their list of key planning history genres. Given this fact, it may be concluded that so far theoretical writings played a relatively minor role as main research subject in the Anglophone planning history discourse. A revision of these circumstances constitutes a desideratum to which the current author aims to contribute.

### *Town Planning Manuals and Their Specific Characteristics*

Theoretical writings on town planning may not only be regarded as an effective medium to disseminate new ideas, but also as a mirror of the professional debate. In this sense, journal articles largely address thematically restricted but up-to-date topics and therefore allow quite appropriate insights to the current contextual setting, whereas more extensive writings represent a rather approved, supra-individual technical knowledge. Soberly formulated and structured with a didactic intention, town planning manuals in particular represent an authoritative and far-reaching type among the latter and depict a comprehensive perspective on the (emerging) discipline. According to Robert Freestone’s argumentation in his examination of town planning exhibitions, manuals may, along the same lines, be regarded as more than individual entities and, beyond their originality and inherent divergence, collectively serve well as “variegated expressions of broader cultural and professional development” (Freestone 2015: 434). As these specifics fit well for an investigation on the emergence and consolidation of references and historical

narratives, this study decidedly concentrates on handbook literature, yet verifying identified tendencies by consulting other written source formats.

## Assessing the Use of History in Early Town Planning Manuals

Before 1910, town planning manuals have been published in Spain, France, Germany, the USA, Italy, and Great Britain (Magnago Lampugnani *et al.* 2017: 375–385). Among them, German and British publications by far form the largest group, wherefore they are selected as representative objects of investigation for this study. In either of the following sections that are sorted by linguistic context, the initial handbooks – which are the ones published by Reinhard Baumeister (1876) and by Alfred Richard Sennett (1905) respectively – will lead into the discussions on the uses of history. They will be followed by the manuals by Josef Stübben (1890; 1907) and Rudolf Eberstadt (1909), as well as by Raymond Unwin (1909) and Inigo Triggs (1909). These authors played a significant role in the emerging town planning discourse at that time and displayed – corresponding to their professional background and specific overarching ambitions – an instructive range of individual approaches for the use of exemplary references and historic narratives. The end of the envisaged time frame is marked by the year 1909, in which the last three of the selected handbooks were released. At the same time, the publications by Triggs and Unwin form the connecting point to the abovementioned previous studies.

### **Current References and Historic Narratives in Early German Town Planning Manuals**

In the aftermath of first critical disputes on precarious housing conditions in Berlin and Vienna in the early 1870s (Bruch 1870; Arminius 1874; Orth 1875), engineer Reinhard Baumeister (1833–1917) compiled his considerable experience with railway and urban development into the comprehensive writing *Stadt-Erweiterungen in technischer, baupolizeilicher und wirtschaftlicher Beziehung* (1876). In this initial handbook specifically devoted to modern town planning, he condensed technical, legislative, and economic issues into a general groundwork to regulate the extension of towns. In Baumeister's opinion, aesthetic criteria should not be included in town planning legislation as they could not be traced scientifically. He moreover claimed that the picturesque appearance of medieval cities could not be repeated in modern town extensions and therefore argued to avoid direct adoptions of historic models. Consequently, he assessed practical and artistic questions of squares by analyzing geometrically configured street intersections, and refrained from illustrating the few built examples he mentioned in his text (Baumeister 1876: 182).

However, in 1890 – only a year after Camillo Sitte had argued against Baumeister's previous neglect of artistic requirements in town planning in his far-reaching treatise *Städte-Bau* (1889) – Baumeister published *Städtisches Strassenwesen und Städtereinigung*, a second manual on street systems and the cleaning of cities. In the first three chapters, Baumeister discussed general town planning issues and further developed earlier ideas. In his visual argumentation, he assigned city names to square layouts that appear strikingly similar to those shown in the previous manual. The comparison between these two publications (Figure 1.1.1) reveals that he – in contrast to his declared convictions – has in fact already in 1876 analyzed and depicted slightly modified built examples, such as the displayed squares of Berlin, Dresden, and Brussels. He furthermore added and discussed finer elaborated plans of considerable historic model squares, such as the Piazza del Popolo in Rome or the forecourt of St. Trinité in Hausmann's Paris. Noteworthy, most of these vignette plans and their brief descriptions appear in the book, when Baumeister – after explaining open spaces and traffic junctions in a rather technical manner – discussed architectonic

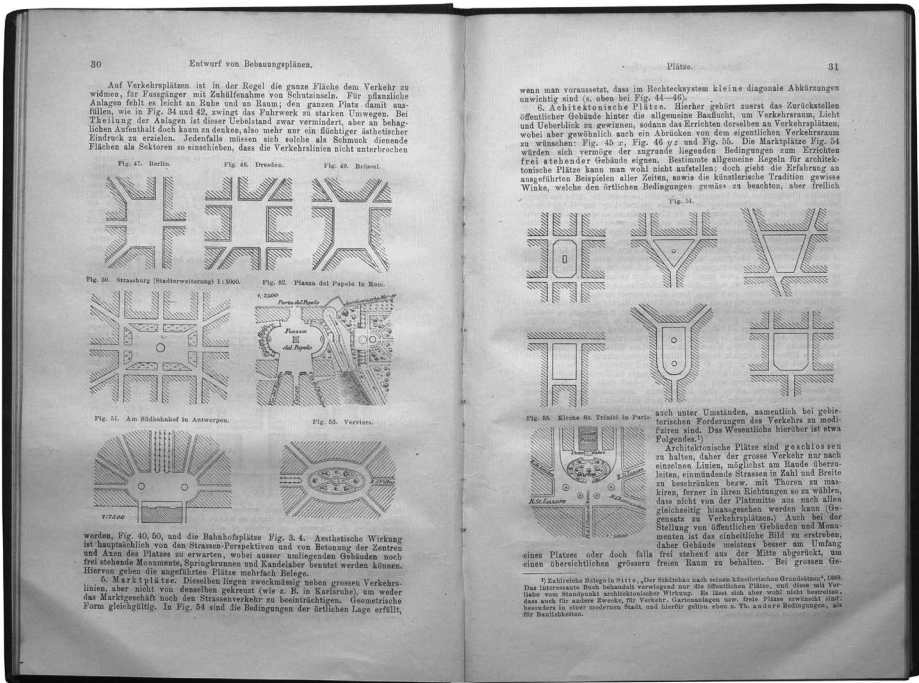
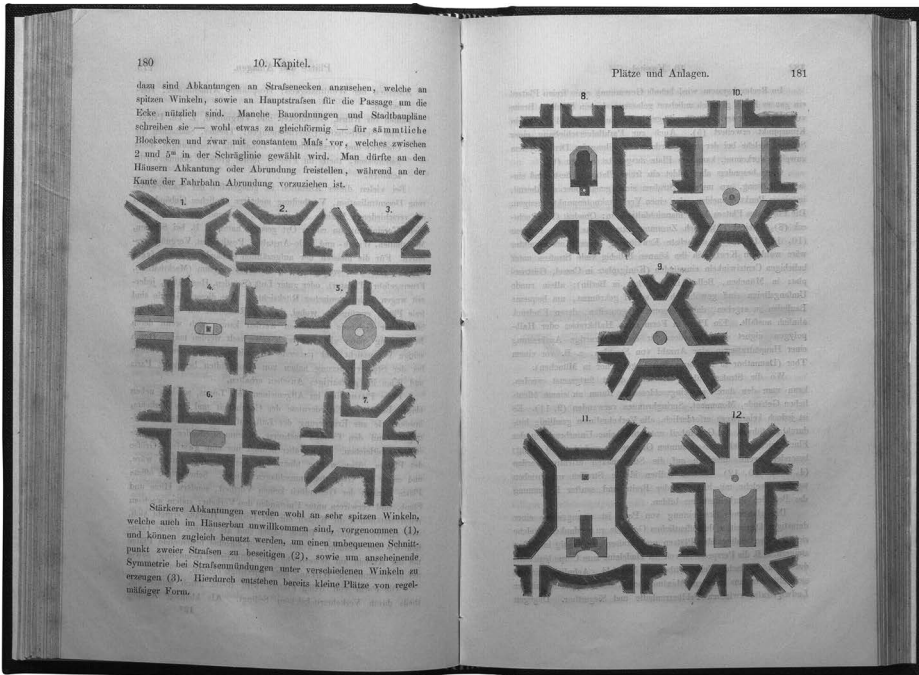


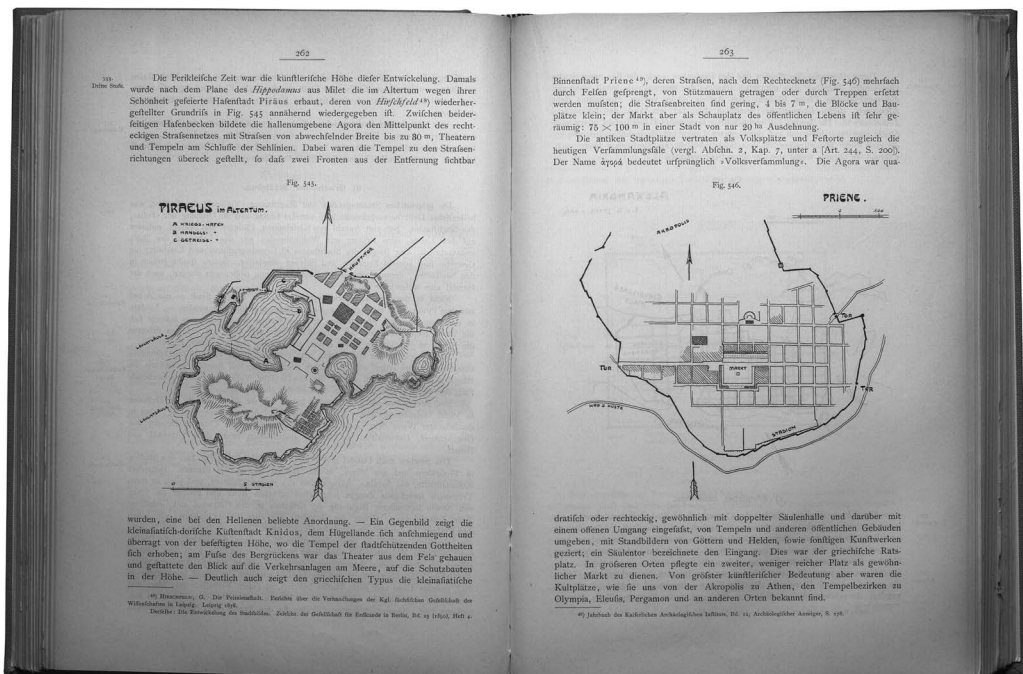
FIGURE 1.1.1 Reinhard Baumeister (1833–1917) discussed street intersection layouts in his manual *Stadt-Erweiterungen* (1876) only regarding their geometrical constellation (on the upper double page). Yet, he disclosed the locations of strikingly similar drawings in his second manual *Städtisches Strassenwesen und Städtereinigung* (1890) and depicted even more historic models by showing a set of graphically more detailed best practice examples on the lower double page.

Sources: Ba

squares. At this point, he furthermore confessed that, even if “no general rules could be defined for such squares, experience and examples from all epochs as well as an artistic tradition may still give certain references” (Baumeister 1890: 31).

Cooperating with Baumeister and building upon his and Sitte’s achievements, Cologne master builder Josef Stübben (1845–1936) also relied on textual and illustrative descriptions of references in his manual *Der Städtebau* (1890). In his contribution to the encyclopedic and lavishly illustrated *Handbook of Architecture* series, he analyzed and compared hundreds of mostly nineteenth-century square layouts and street sections in order to decode and classify them for further practice. Extending and, regarding the use of references, by far surpassing Baumeister’s writings, Stübben deduced appropriate dimensions that are further developed and more differentiated than the rather rough guidelines provided by the Prussian Law on Building Lines of 1875, which defined the authoritative principles of their time. Noteworthy, he included a short, three-page subchapter rendering a “historical review” of public squares in artistic respects spanning from ancient Greece to contemporary times. In this context, Stübben reaffirmed his attitude to consider the design and implementation of public squares as the main artistic challenge of modern town planning. To successfully realize these, he collected aesthetic requirements of public squares and systematically examined criteria for their planning (Stübben 1890: 189).

Stübben extended and rearranged the content of his manual for the second edition (1907), especially by splitting the section “design of town development plans” and creating a separate one on “comprehensive town plans”. On almost 40 pages, he presented a further “historical review” as introductory chapter for the new section, neatly structured by epochs from pre-Greek antiquity to the recent times. Supported by a great wealth of plans of historic towns (Figure 1.1.2),

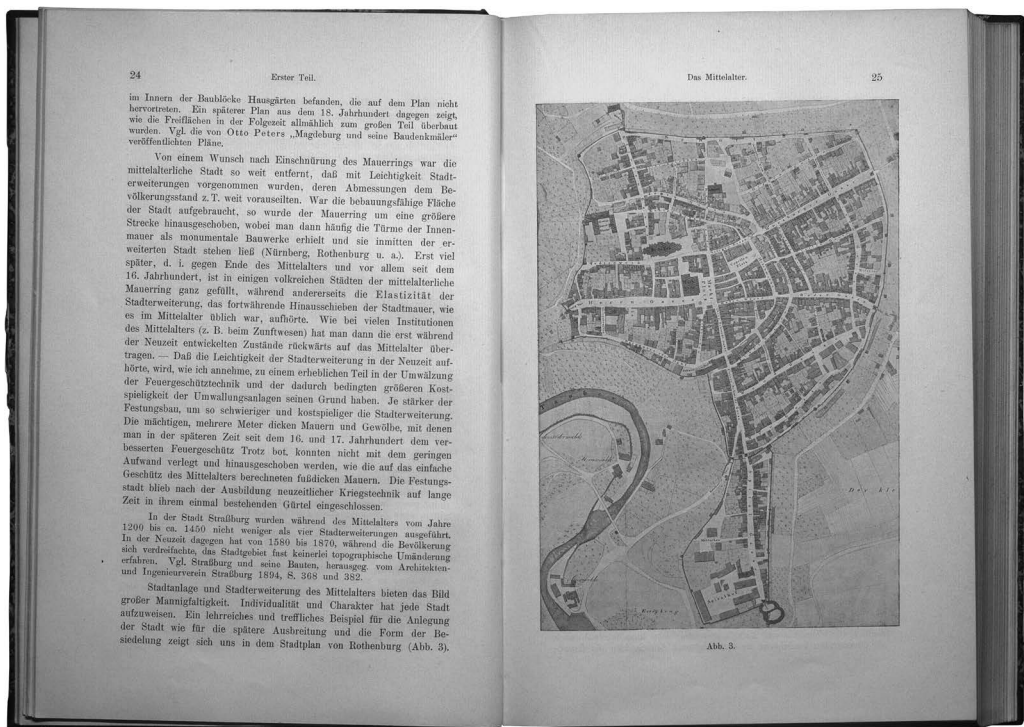


**FIGURE 1.1.2** “A history of town planning has not yet been written” states Josef Stübben (1845–1936) in the second edition of his widely-recognized handbook *Der Städtebau* (1907, 260). With his historic outline he did not intend to accomplish this task and, instead, regarded his retrospect as support for practitioners dealing with current planning issues.

Source: Stübben 1907, 262–263.

he particularly evaluated their structural layout and distinguished between straight and curved street patterns, the most controversially discussed topic in the German town planning discourse of the 1890s. Stübßen regretted that the history of town planning has not yet been written, but refrained from filling this gap himself. Instead, he underlined that he “only intended to present an idea of the development of town planning in historical times” and at the same time disclosed his aim to “provide a certain framework to approach current town planning duties on the basis of earlier achievements” (Stübßen 1907: 260).

Two years later, national economist Rudolf Eberstadt (1856–1922) published his manual *Handbuch des Wohnungswesens und der Wohnungsfrage* (1909), which embedded his central topic – the housing question – in a larger town planning context. Starting with the chapter “Entwicklung der städtischen Bauweise” that examines the development of housing and urban construction, he concentrated on the interplay of legislative frameworks, technical measures, and economic conditions in a historic perspective and hence demonstrated his scientific approach to town planning. His historic elaborations distinguished between founded and grown towns and at first discussed towns in ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia, Greece, and Rome. Starting from the middle ages (Figure 1.1.3), over the early modern times up to the present, Eberstadt changed his scope of observation and focused decidedly on German towns. This confined historical analysis led him to the conclusion that the current town planning problems are either the result of a natural



**FIGURE 1.1.3** This plan of Rothenburg is one of the few characteristic illustrations accompanying the historic analysis in the manual of Rudolf Eberstadt (1856–1922). He discussed its street network, the layout of building blocks, and the plot division as essential factors regarding the housing conditions.

Source: Eberstadt 1909, 24–25.

development and are therefore unchangeable, or are based on an arbitrary administrative system and thus may – and need to – be changed. This observation served him as a starting point for later discussions in his manual (Eberstadt 1909: 58, 62).

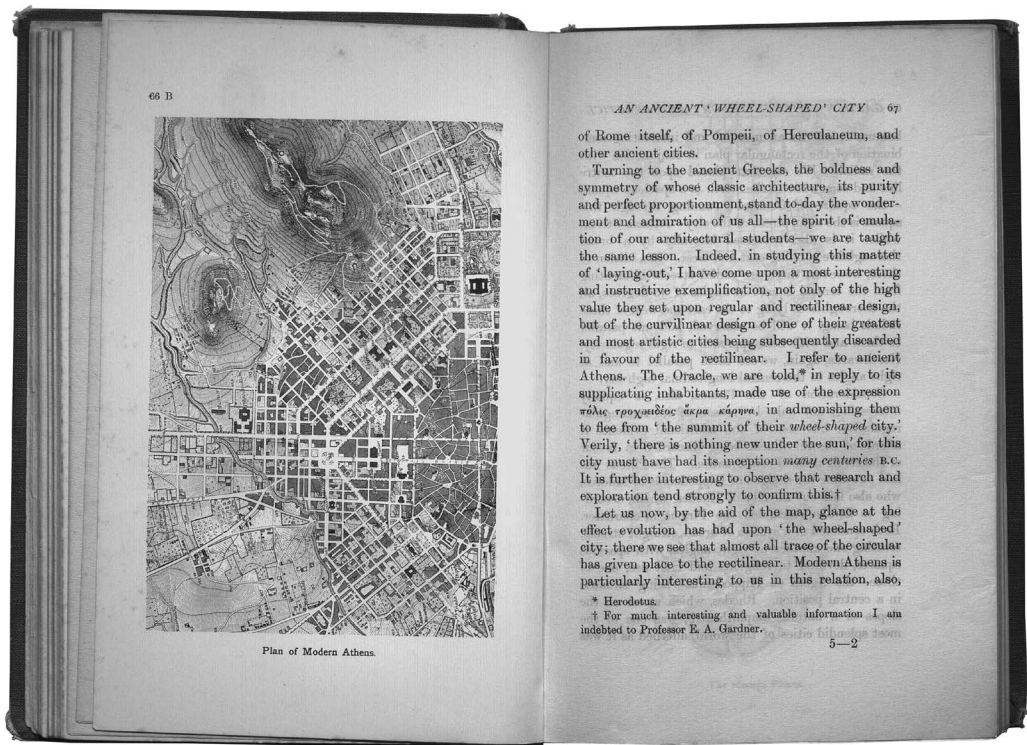
In his fourth chapter “the practice of the town planner”, Eberstadt focused his argumentation on the promotion of his preferred town planning element: the residential street. In this context, he particularly referred to specific previous examples. Recapitulating his observations conducted in the introductory historic analysis, he subsumed that such references certainly provided an “inspiration for the present” (ibid.: 183, 191). It is remarkable that in the context of the residential street, Eberstadt untypically argued on a rather emotive level: additionally to his descriptions of the historic value, he emphasized the sublime aesthetics of such street sceneries and furthermore justified it by the safety of playing children – instead of exemplifying his scientific claim with legislative, technical, or economic facts.

### ***Engaging with History in Early British Town Planning Manuals***

Although most British cities were already suffering from overcrowding and congestion during the entire nineteenth century, the British town planning discourse emerged only in the context of Ebenezer Howard’s seminal writing *To-Morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform* (1898) and the establishment of the Garden City Association a year later. In 1905, electrical and civil engineer Alfred Richard Sennett (1858–1926) published the extensive two-volume study *Garden Cities in Theory and Practice* as the first comprehensive writing on town planning matters in Great Britain. After an impassionate plea for Garden Cities in his introductory chapter, he introduced Howard’s idea and its – as he explicitly emphasized – “circular” model. Questioning its proposed form that he took literally, Sennett rendered examples of “ancient” cities such as Athens, Piraeus, and Rome as well as cities shaped in “modern times”, namely Athens’ modern transformation (Figure 1.1.4), Washington, New York, Turin, Vienna, and Munich. Finally, he completed his historical elaborations with local proposals as the reconstruction plans for London after the Great Fire of 1666 by Sir Christopher Wren and John Evelyn, as well as John Nash’s Regent Street. This instructive digression of carefully selected historic examples – all largely based on a rectilinear street pattern – taught him that “the trend, during the last couple of centuries, [has] been towards a more and more rigidly rectangular plan” (Sennett 1905: 66), which he concluded to be more impressive, more practicable, and in general superior to the “circular” Garden City model (ibid.: 94–95, 98–99).

In the third chapter, Sennett thoroughly described the “rectangular” ideal city of James Silk Buckingham (1849) as second and complementary example before he presented his own plan for the laying-out of the First Garden City, which he considered as a practicable compromise between Howard’s and Buckingham’s ideal conceptions (Sennett 1905: 135). Underlining the potential for its implementation, Sennett adapted his proposed plan directly to the actual site purchased by the Garden City Association (ibid.: 124), but did not mention the latest developments as the competition for Letchworth in 1904 and the subsequent planning by its winners Barry Parker and Raymond Unwin. For his Garden City model, Sennett presented a rigid street structure around the municipal center with parallel promenades and an innovative hexagonal plot distribution. Inviting the reader to a virtual “walk through the city” (ibid.: 201), he illustrated his vision with historic examples of different building types, building methods, and materials that are meant to fit into this framework. In each case, he strongly built upon textual and visual explanations of built examples. These detailed architectural observations, together with his further chapters on sociological, economic, infrastructural, and agricultural aspects of urban coexistence, display “the potentials of applied science in a Garden City” – the title of a



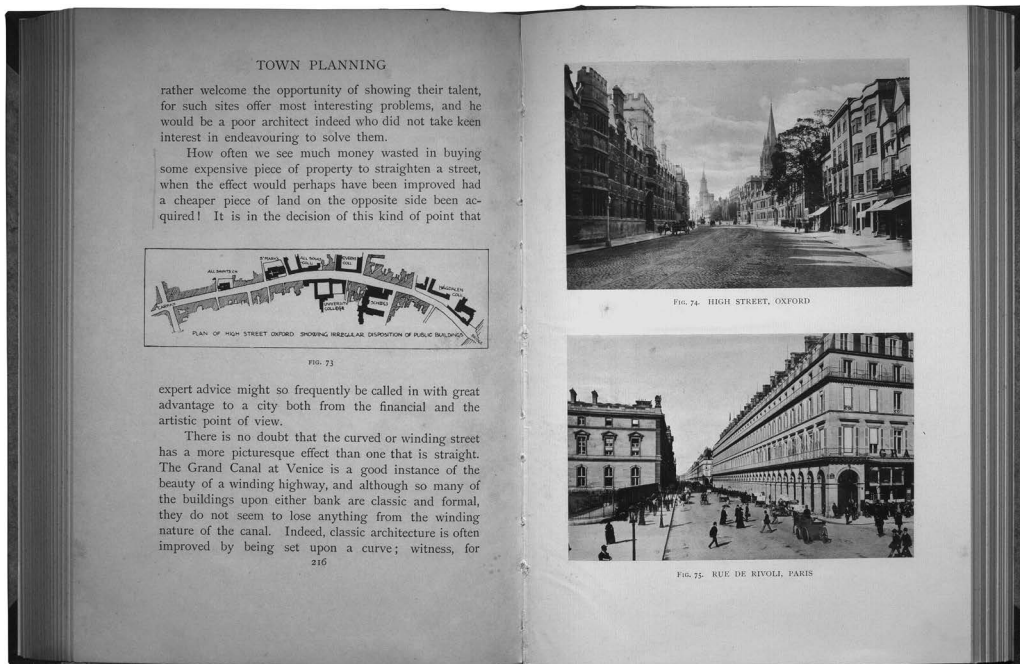


**FIGURE 1.1.4** Alfred Richard Sennett (1858–1926) chose only cities for his historic argumentation that are based on a rectilinear layout or such examples as Athens, which has been reshaped with a rectangular structure in the early nineteenth century.

Source: Sennett 1905, 66B–67.

paper Sennett read before the British Science Association in 1903, which he amplified into his comprehensive volumes on Garden Cities.

In 1906, architect and garden designer Harry Inigo Triggs (1876–1923) won the Godwin Bursary, a respectable travel grant awarded by the Royal Institute of British Architects, which allowed him to explore modern continental town planning *in situ*. Basing upon this study tour to Paris, Berlin, Vienna, and Munich, as well as previous sojourns on the Continent, Triggs compiled his experiences into the manual *Town Planning, Past, Present, and Possible* (1909). Referring widely to existing planning theory, Triggs introduced key town planning matters of French, German, and Austrian pioneers such as Eugène Hénard, Josef Stübben, and Camillo Sitte. After his introduction, Triggs provided a historical chapter, which largely draws upon Stübben’s comprehensive 1907 “historical review”. Its title “Types of Ancient and Modern Towns” already indicates his interest in a classification of historic towns. This becomes even more evident considering that Triggs merged Stübben’s review chapter with the following one on “General Principles of Building Cities”, especially its part describing three different categories of street systems. He thus blended Stübben’s historical survey with a structural analysis. Triggs in general adopted Stübben’s text structure fairly accurate and only omitted several examples or in few cases added some further information in order to adjust it for his intended readership. But he dropped a complete chapter, noteworthy the one on Garden Cities – an interesting detail underlining his apparent preference for a continental grand manner metropolitan development.

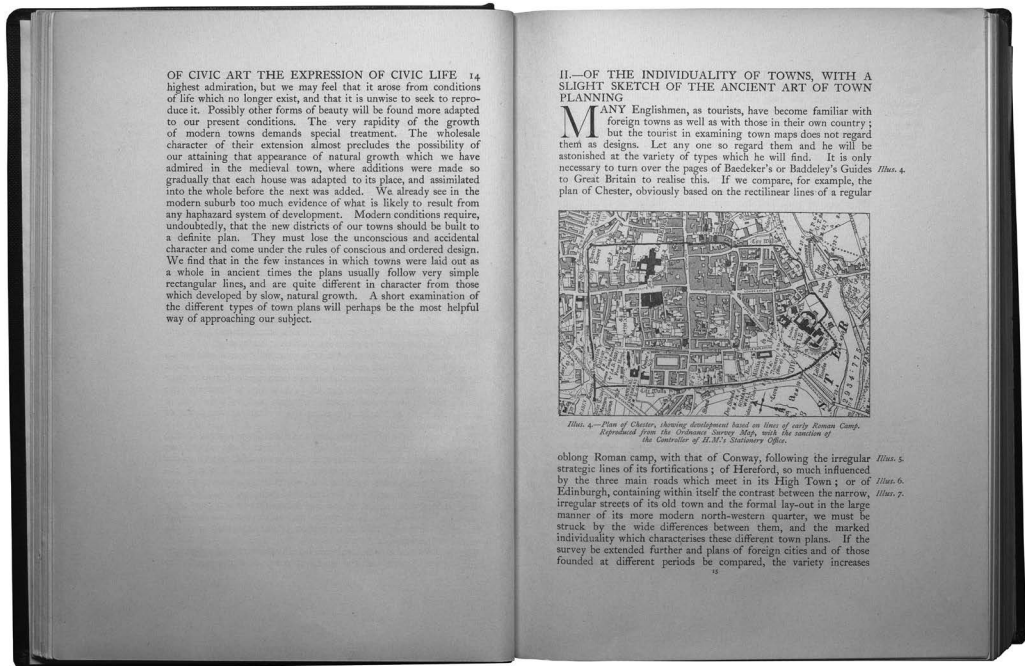


**FIGURE 1.1.5** Harry Inigo Triggs (1876–1923) devoted a whole chapter on the historical development of towns. He furthermore introduced both chapters in his book that address his concept of town planning and visualized his mental picture of streets and open spaces with detailed descriptions and photographs of historic examples.

Source: Triggs 1909, 216–216A.

The tripartite conception of his book – divided in past, present, and possible – is not explicitly articulated in the table of content, but becomes clear at second glance. The retrospective review is followed by two chapters discussing the current issues of traffic and town extensions, in which he largely referred to recent French and German examples. The last two chapters finally form the prospective part and deal with the planning of streets and open spaces, delineating Triggs’ town planning conception. Most interestingly, each of these chapters again begins with a brief excursus into history, connecting his suggested thoughts with examples of different ages. Triggs furthermore contrasted the effect of different streetscapes, such as the curved High Street in Oxford with the perfectly straight Rue de Rivoli in Paris (Figure 1.1.5), exemplifying their respective appeal with perspective photographs, which support his argumentation.

The apprenticed engineer Raymond Unwin (1863–1940) was one of the first Britons to gain practical experience in town planning. Preparing the plans for the model village New Earswick, the First Garden City at Letchworth, and Hampstead Garden Suburb together with his Partner Barry Parker in the 1900s, he has already been a widely known and well-respected town planner when he published his manual *Town Planning in Practice* in 1909. Unwin sought to promote “civic art as the expression of civic life of the community” (Unwin 1909: 10) and searched for guidelines to achieve results that are also aesthetically relevant. In this respect, he considered that “the study of old towns and their buildings is most useful, [...] almost essential” (ibid.: 12) and aimed to “derive useful lessons from the beautiful towns of other lands and other days, not seeking to copy their features, but finding the reasons which gave rise to them” (ibid.: 154).



**FIGURE 1.1.6** Raymond Unwin (1863–1940) regarded the individuality of a town as an important quality to work with during the process of preparing a town planning scheme. He drew on specific built examples, so when explaining, for instance, the rectangular and diagonal street systems, he argued along the plans of Turin and Washington. His historical chapter, which provides a classification system to understand particular town characteristics, is in consequence called “Of the Individuality of Towns, with a Slight Sketch of the Ancient Art of Town Planning”.

Source: Unwin 1909, 20–21.

Reviewing different planning approaches through the ages, Unwin provided a “Slight Sketch of the Ancient Art of Town Planning” by analyzing historic examples and systematically classifying them for comparison and study. He structured his analysis by epochs, but did not regard them as decisive for his systematic structure. In order to understand its particular characteristics, he instead favored the categorization, whether a town is designed comprehensively or grown successively, and examined the peculiar forms of its borders and street structure – such as the rectangular grid of Turin or the checkerboard system with diagonal thoroughfares of Washington (Figure 1.1.6). Interestingly, he equated individuality with beauty or picturesqueness, which in his opinion were created by the instinct and tradition of premodern builders (ibid.: 12). It is therefore a revealing detail that he entitled his historical chapter “The Individuality of Towns”. Unwin was aware that he was only able to invest a limited capacity for the historical analysis and therefore can “only give sufficient examples [...] and a sufficient sketch of the historical development of town planning”, to explain his findings in a comprehensible way. Nevertheless, he hoped, that “some competent authority will take in hand the complete history of town development and town planning, with a classification of the different types of plan” (ibid.: 16) which will provide an important working basis for the practical town planner.

## Context, Correlation, and Plausible Progression of Identified Uses of History

The examination of the selected early town planning manuals traced the emergence and increase of references and historical accounts within the German and British publication contexts and displayed various aims and purposes for the use of history. But where did these historical accounts originate? To what extent did the handbook authors and their positions relate on each other? And can a certain trend be observed? The following chronological consideration will approach these questions.

While Reinhard Baumeister avoided to refer to actually built examples in general and only discussed them tacitly in his 1876 manual, he reevaluated his strategy in the town planning part of his second manual (1890) and exemplified his principles with descriptions and specifications concerning the dimensions of actually built references. It is not clear, if this decision was due to publication requirements of the *Handbook of Building Lore* series, in which Baumeister was invited to contribute and whose argumentative strategy in general appears to rely upon a rich set of examples, or if it was encouraged by the ongoing corporation with Josef Stübben. However, in 1890, Baumeister openly acknowledged the potentials of experience and tradition in town planning by means of references from all epochs, but neither provided historic narratives in his manuals nor – for the time being – seemed to strive for any historical embedding of his town planning principles. Since his second manual remained disregarded unjustly, his reconsidered approach to historic examples did not receive particular recognition.

As Stübben's first edition (1890) only showed initial attempts of a historic review when suggesting artistic principles of public squares, it is Alfred Richard Sennett's comprehensive manual (1905), which presented the first lengthy historical chapter among the examined manuals. However, due to an early partial translation into Japanese, the double volume seemed to be wider recognized in the Far-Eastern town planning context than within the British Garden City movement (Miller 2016: xxxii). This circumstance enhances the impression that Sennett's book has been rather disconnected from the emerging local Garden City or town planning discourse, even though Sennett became one of the association's first members in 1906 ('Garden City Association. List of Subscriptions' 1906). But it could also be the result of the idiosyncratic approach particularly of his review chapter. Whereas later manual authors applied a look on the past to promote their own town planning ideas, Sennett used his historic flashback to support his arguments against other proposals. By compiling only rectilinear town schemes, he directly affronted Ebenezer Howard's Garden City scheme, which he misinterpreted as a "circular" premise. Sennett's manual was considered in notable book reviews (*Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects* 1906; Geddes 1906) and therefore must have been noticed within the town planning movement – especially with regard to the modest number of extensive works devoted to Garden Cities at that time. But scarcely any later author referred to his writing. However, the only feature he introduced, and which – whether or not by his influence – found distribution soon after, was the position of the historic chapter right after the introduction.

Stübben, who ambitiously listed any available writing on town planning and Garden Cities in his chapter-wise arranged bibliographies, did not take notice of Sennett's publication in his second edition (1907). In general, he largely referred to German-language and some Francophone writings, with only very few references to Italian and British publications, among them Howard's *Garden Cities of To-morrow* (1902), an article by Thomas Horsfall, and specific papers on sanitary engineering and public parks.

Regarding Stübben's approaches to use history, it is worthwhile to reconsider his first edition (1890), in which he exceeded Baumeister's tentative use of built examples as basis for his analysis

of proper streets and square dimensions – a strategy he has already applied in journal articles since the late 1870s. It is therefore not surprising that Stübben also based the comprehensive historical chapter of his second edition (1907) on a growing engagement with the subject, which in this case comprise of several papers published around the turn of the century. The first of this series is “Alte Stadtanlagen” (1894), his review of a publication by Johann Fritz on the legal history of several German towns. Stübben emphasized Fritz’ discovery of distinctive layout patterns of gradually grown and comprehensively designed towns and expanded the discussion to include the dichotomy of straight and curved streets. A year later he developed these ideas further in the ceremonial address “Der Bau der Städte in Geschichte und Gegenwart” (1895), which he gave at the festivities in honor of Karl Friedrich Schinkel. Stübben connected his historical examination of the construction of towns with observations on recent town extensions and an introduction to general town planning principles. Noteworthy, this celebratory lecture today reads like a founding speech for modern town planning. The last of Stübben’s identified templates is *Stadtbaupläne in alter und neuer Zeit*, an extensive essay published by Baumeister in 1902, in which he thoroughly narrated the evolution of towns and their layout plans through the ages, linking the development of towns with the emergence of modern town planning. On the basis of these three related papers, Stübben finally compiled his sound historical chapter, which – as his second edition has been broadly distributed even beyond language borders – also attracted international recognition.

The last three examined handbooks by Rudolf Eberstadt, Inigo Triggs, and Raymond Unwin were all published in 1909 and have several common features regarding their historical accounts. Openly referring to Stübben’s second edition (1907), they all arranged their comprehensive and consistently chronological historical review chapter after the introduction, they combined it with a morphological analysis, and – most interestingly – they all built their own town planning idea upon it. With his interest mainly in housing in a national economist perspective, Eberstadt analyzed the development of housing conditions and their legal and administrative preconditions in Germany, in order to guide the reader to his structural town planning proposals. Both Triggs and Unwin, who particularly addressed architectural aspects of town planning, firstly presented a fairly similar narration of town development during the Mediterranean antiquity. Yet striving for an undogmatic attitude, they took a slightly different path starting from the Middle Ages, selecting particular references that led to their individually preferred town planning concepts: the ‘formal’ Continental metropolis or the ‘informal’ Garden City, respectively.

Beyond that, basically all authors of the selected early town planning manuals have in common that they referred specifically to historic references in situations, in which they could apparently not convince with purely analytical reasoning. These situations include arguments for elusive topics such as artistic principles – often proffered by the architects among the authors as Stübben, Triggs, or Unwin, but noteworthy also by the engineer Baumeister (1890) – or individual preferences, as significantly pronounced by Eberstadt proposing the residential street or Sennett favoring rectilinear street patterns. Since 1890, there have been independent yet converging opinions among the selected authors that the study of old towns served well as reference or inspiration, not in order to copy these, but to deduce general principles that need to be adopted according to current requirements.

### **Historiography *avant la lettre* in Early Town Planning Manuals?**

Since the close of the nineteenth century, the interest in historic reviews on town planning grew continuously. As mentioned above, Stübben (1894; 1895) and Baumeister (1902) published an individual essay or journal articles on the historic development of towns and town planning in

anticipation of Stübben's second edition of his handbook, whereas Eberstadt resumed this issue in a paper (1916) several years after the release of his manual. Conversely, it is not recorded that their three British colleagues examined in this study devoted any other writing specifically to that topic. But were these approaches – within or beyond their manuals – meant as early contributions to a town planning historiography? And how were they perceived by their contemporaries?

Two handbook authors, namely Stübben and Unwin, precisely commented their strategic use of historical accounts, underlining the aim to provide instructions for practitioners. Stübben expressed that his retrospect was only intended to give an approximate picture of the development of town planning and was rather meant as a framework for current practice. Unwin admitted that he had only aimed to find enough historic examples to support his argumentation, preferring to leave the task of a complete history to a competent authority. In the following years, both of them concentrated on practical issues and largely refused further historic examinations. Stübben appreciated Albert Erich Brinckmann's *Platz und Monument* (1908) and discussed this study on the history and aesthetics of civic art in a detailed book review (1909). But as a guest lecturer in the Berlin Polytechnic town planning seminar Stübben himself only introduced rather practical issues or recent French and English examples, whereas seminar founders Felix Genzmer and Joseph Brix both read papers in 1910 on historical reviews of town plans and town planning respectively (both 1912). After the 1910 Town Planning Conference in London it was planned to preserve the exhibited plan collection. Even though Unwin was originally in charge of its compilation, Patrick Geddes finally rearranged the topic-wise sorted material (Royal Institute of British Architects 1911) into a chronological order and provided a comprehensive and didactic historical overview on the development of town building for the travelling "Cities and Town Planning Exhibition" (Geddes and Mears 1911). Even though Unwin also covered "The History of Town Planning and its Relation to Architecture" during his lectureship at the University of Birmingham (University of Birmingham 1911–1914), the responsibilities at the Summer School of Town Planning, which started in Hampstead in 1912, were divided: while he himself taught "The Practice of Town Planning", the course "Town Planning in the Past and in Foreign Countries" was entrusted to Stanley D. Adshead and Patrick Abercrombie, the newly appointed main exponents of the Liverpool Department of Civic Design (Syllabus 1914).

Regarding the contemporary external perception of historical accounts in manuals (and other sources), a few remarks can be found in the *Town Planning Review*. When Abercrombie, as the first editor of this journal, summarized the current extent of town planning literature in 1915, he urged to establish a "historical series" in the journal and critically remarked that "the admirable summaries that have appeared in certain general works are by no means the last word, nor have their authors been able to undertake sufficient research over so varied a field" (Abercrombie 1915: 97). In the context of the emotionally charged controversy around the adoption of examples from the mediaeval times that were "treated with characteristic abrupt condemnation by Henry Aldridge and as a grindstone for his romantic axe by Camillo Sitte", Abercrombie furthermore claimed that "we should like to see mediaeval Town planning studies for its own sake, and not made the cat's-paw of some designing enthusiasts" (ibid.: 97–98).

## **On the Uses of History in Early Town Planning Manuals**

Coming to a conclusion, this study traced the emergence of an interest for the building of towns in history in the late nineteenth century, stimulated by an input from outside the town planning discourse. Right from the start these narratives were connected with a morphological analysis and found their way into manuals in the mid-1900s. The historical accounts in Stübben's far-reaching second edition (1907) proved to constitute a crucial junction, incorporating his and

Baumeister's earlier approaches and resonating in later manuals as those by Eberstadt, Triggs, and Unwin. All released in 1909 and unfolding remarkable similarities regarding their historical anchoring, these three handbooks marked a turning point, initiating a tacit tradition of quasi-obligatory historical preambles.

By supplementing the prelude before the starting point of the above-mentioned papers, this study thus resumes some of their previous observations. Current conclusions call into question whether historical interest in town planning was present from the very beginning, and if these historical accounts can be regarded as an "early history of planning history" (Ward, Freestone and Silver 2011: 232). At least none of the examined authors articulated this objective, nor did the contemporary external readers and reviewers in one of the most important professional journals of that time suggest this. The carefully selected narratives of town building in history might therefore need to be distinguished between parts, which largely correspond with each other, and those that differ. The more or less parallel narrations in those manuals on the town development in the Mediterranean antiquity – and therein especially the idea of the Greek *polis* as desirable form of civic coexistence – build the foundation of a common interest of the authors in the first designed plans of settlements. What follows after is an intently selected sequence of narratives, which represent a legitimizing genealogy of significant examples constructed to lead to the specific planning conceptions of the particular author.

In a nutshell, the growing use of history in early town planning manuals had two main implications on the town planning discourse: In the form of an encyclopedic source of references, history was largely applied to deduce formal design patterns, provide role models for current planning challenges, or underpin arguments for elusive topics. In its second manifestation as historical accounts, the use of history drew wider circles. Historically evaluated derivations served not only to justify the universal claim of individual town planning principals but also to legitimize town planning as academic subject and profession. Beyond that, the intertwining of the evolution of towns and the recent development of town planning finally drew a historical perspective around the rather young practice of 'modern' town planning, informed it significantly, and thus fostered the self-consciousness and identity of the emerging discipline. The common thematic grounds of early handbook authors – among them also the interest in the cradle of town planning in the Mediterranean antiquity – soon defined a set of generally accepted references and historic accounts, and resulted in the creation of a canon of town planning knowledge.

Apparently, such a knowledge canon was adopted rather quickly. As consequence of the wide international diffusion of town planning concepts and ideas, Patrick Abercrombie assumed in a survey on international contributions to town planning literature that it might seem far-fetched for European readers to see historical accounts on American cities referring to ancient Babylon (Abercrombie 1913: 114). But in contrary, the Australian planner George A. Taylor seemingly did not consider it relevant to restrict the geographical context of his historical accounts, and in a natural way began the historic elaborations in his town planning pamphlet with ancient Egypt and Babylon. Obviously regarding even far-flung antique examples as part of a town planning tradition, on which also modern cities built, he generally proposed for the ongoing planning of the new Australian capital Canberra to "pick the plums of history and plant them in Australia" (Taylor 1914: 10).

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# 1.2

## URBAN HYGIENE AND SLUM CLEARANCE AS CATALYSTS

### The Emergence of the Sanitary City and Town Planning

*Dirk Schubert*

In coping with the problems of urbanization processes of the 19th century, the scientific discipline of town planning evolved in third part of the 19th century (Cherry 1974; Albers 1975; Ashworth 1981; Schubert 1997; Lampugnani *et al.* 2017). The following is an analysis of how, when and by whom the questions of urban hygiene and slum clearance and urban redevelopment have been discussed in this context before the discipline town planning had been established. I will concentrate on Great Britain and Germany, using some examples from London and Hamburg, and on the time phase beginning in the mid-19th century and ending with the First World War. Focusing on “only” two countries is certainly problematic because the context of discussion in other countries and at the international level can hardly be disregarded (Albers 1997; Ward 2000: 44). However, the fact that England and Germany played the leading roles in the formation of the discipline of town planning can perhaps legitimize the limited scope (Calabi 1979). In England, the phase of most intense urban development took place between 1820 and 1830. Germany only reached this stage about 50 years later, between 1871 and 1900 (Pfeil 1972: 116; Sutcliffe 1983). But for both urbanization implied completely changing spatial patterns, leading to complex new problems in the cities.

Urban hygiene should become a Janus-headed companion of urbanization (Vögele 2001). As early as the 1840s, studies on housing, living conditions and the state of health in cities had been carried out under Edwin Chadwick (Finer 1952: 35). His utilitarian approach was based on cleanliness and morality to be striven for as a norm of behavior. He ‘was concerned to strengthen social discipline, to cut the redistribution of wealth to the non-working population and to enlarge the national economy by forcing the poor to work in it’ (Smith 1990: 350). With a mixture of fear, hope and pride medical professionals tried to analyze the dangers and develop solutions. The biggest problem turned out to be the uncontrolled discharge of feces into rivers from which drinking water was also obtained. The construction of the sewer system in London under Joseph Bazalgette (Figure 1.2.1; Halliday 2001) and in Hamburg based on the English model by William Lindley since the 1840s was unprecedented engineering achievements (Schubert 2008: 95). All urban problems seemed to be solved through engineering innovations.

High residential density, dirt, unclear water, poor nutrition and drinking addiction were spatially clustered, but indebted individually, consequently dirt is immoral while cleanliness is moral. The quantitative process of increased population density in urban areas was in the

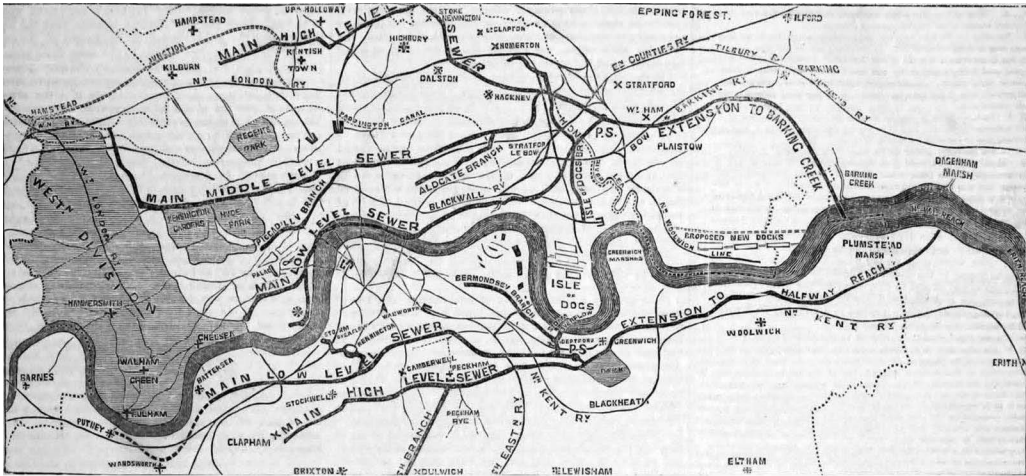


FIGURE 1.2.1 Main sewer system for London planned by Sir Joseph Bazalgette 1858.

Source: <https://www.google.com/search?q=bazalgette+main+Drainage+London&tbm=isch&ved=2ahUKewjlltrbp7PpAhVJiqQKHfrcC5YQ2->

following decades coupled with qualitative change in urban lifestyle, connected to modernization processes such as the formation of the class system, increasing bureaucratization and participation, the growing significance of law and the expansion of mass-communication (Reulecke 1985: 13). A study by the American Adna Ferrin Weber (1899) provided an impressive piece of evidence of the advanced international state of city studies at the turn of the century. The empirical study of cities, urban hygiene, housing conditions and slums, especially in Great Britain, marked by a systematic description of social realities with its manifestations of poverty, slum misery and lack of affordable housing, as for example by Charles Booth (1902) and B. Seeborn Rowntree (1901), quantified the problem. At its roots lay not the attempt to universally and theoretically penetrate the problem, which was the case in continental city studies, but instead to offer analyses of reality to master reality that is the pragmatic concept of English city studies (Pfeil 1972: 96).

Philanthropists such as Rowntree and the Lever Dynasty, who sponsored the first Chair in Town Planning in Liverpool later in 1909, were members of the *Eugenic Society* and other institutions that were ultimately concerned with interdependencies of health, economic effectiveness and productivity (Jones 1986: 51). Similar institutions and associations started with different focuses on the various problems and tried to implement improvements in both countries (Kieß 1991). The *Home Colonisation Society* was founded in England in 1887 and in Germany the *Society for Promotion of Inner-colonisation* was founded in 1912. The *Federation of German Land Reformers* (BDB – Bund Deutscher Bodenreformer) constituted itself in 1898. In the beginning, the theories of Henry George formed the leading principles of policy, later, Adolf Damaschke gained increasing influence. In England the *Land Nationalisation Society* (LNS) constituted itself in 1890, under the formative influence of Henry George and John Stewart Mill. The *National Housing Reform Council* (NHRC) was founded in 1900. Its German counterpart was the *German Society for Housing Reform* (formerly *Society for a National Housing Act*), founded in 1898.

With a spatial decentralization concept, other reformers were looking to solve the problems in an indirectly way by spatial relocating. In 1899, the *Garden City Association* was founded in England and three years later, in 1902, the *German Garden City Society* (Deutsche Gartenstadtgesellschaft) formed. The garden city idea must be recognized as one of the most important

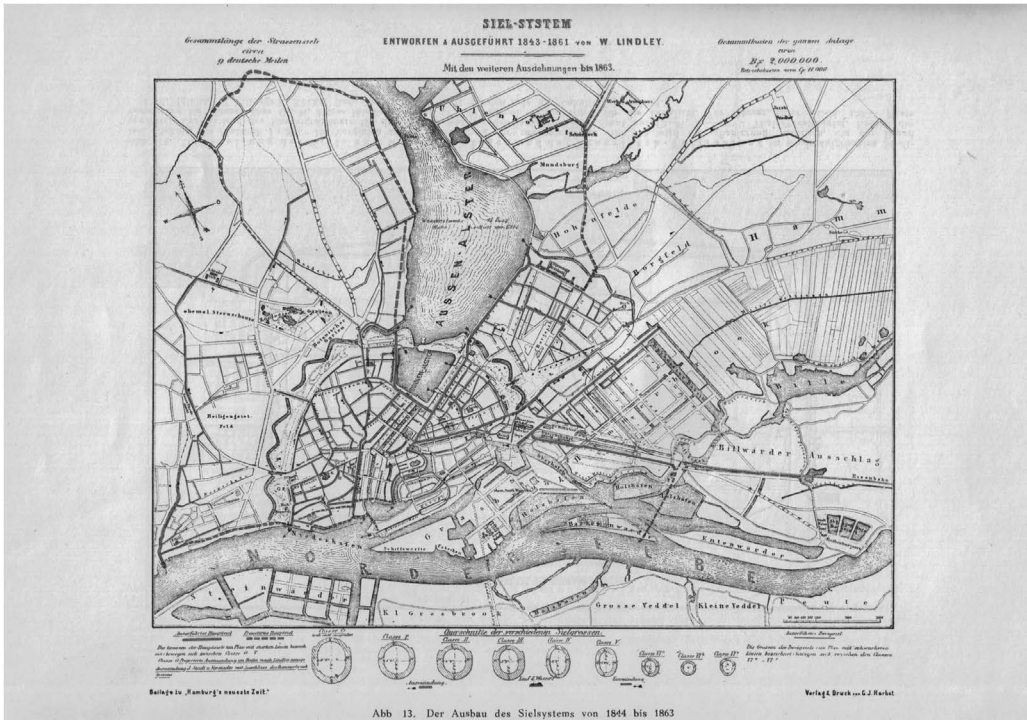
reform concepts of the late 19th century (Ward 1992). It emerged against the background of housing problems in London and was to be promoted from the onset as an international model for decentralisation and healthy living and housing conditions. This established an interpretative sovereignty and definatory power that is reproduced until now with positive and life reformatory connotations. The fact that a German by the name of Theodor Fritsch (1896) had already developed the same concept a year earlier – albeit one that was saturated with reactionary folk ideology – is ignored in the praise of Howard’s idea, which is repeated like a mantra to this day (Schubert 2004: 9). But there was no dissent between conservatives and reformers, medical professionals, engineers and architects that the big city was unnatural, inherently unhealthy and unmoral.

### Urban Hygiene as a Catalyst for Control and Reforms

This assessment suggested setting up institutions with a special focus on hygienic questions in both countries. In Germany the *Verein für öffentliche Gesundheitspflege* (Association for Public Health Care) (founded in 1869) and the “German Quarterly Journal for Public Health Care”, as well as the *Royal Sanitary Institute* and the “Journal of the Royal Sanitary Institute” in Britain must be mentioned. Technical excursions and reports promoted immediately international exchange. Well-known town planners such as Joseph Stübben, Reinhard Baumeister and James Hobrecht were represented in these institutions and tried to bring in experiences and technical concepts of action.

Urban hygiene, infrastructure problems and accelerated growth of large cities as well as unregulated building and expansion were given more attention. Means of directing, controlling and regulating development were sought. One could smell the places of poverty and the locations of misery. The stench caused the impression of miasma, dangers and centers of infection. With the slums, the bourgeois public associated and registered dirt, moral damnation, drunkenness as well as an aimless, uncontrolled life and feared dangers. They saw their own lives in contrast to this image as clean, pure and orderly. Above all the increasing concentration of poverty in so called “slums” was seen as a side effect of urbanization processes and considered a new challenge (Wohl 1983). The first to seek out and describe the living conditions in these areas of poverty in the cities were engineers, architects, judges, journalists and medical professionals, but also philanthropically oriented entrepreneurs. The housing conditions received less attention than the behavior of the residents. Thus it follows that the first reformers concentrated on lowering mortality rates instead of improving poor housing conditions. According to this theory, public health conditions were the inducement for improvement measures. “Clear away the filth, clear away disease, clear away the paupers” (Gauldie 1974: 132) was the logical sequence of argumentation.

Also in the circles of cultural critics John Ruskin and William Morris’ in England there were many aversions to the big cities and the “masses” who lived there. Anti-urban solutions by relocation were offered as a means of escape from the housing problems and slum misery of big cities. Fears of “degeneration” and “physical inefficiency” of some of the inhabitants of the city formed the background of anti-urban movements. The discussions in England were supported also by social Darwinist and racist ideologies. The finding that a healthy population would not automatically come to being through natural selection and the struggle for existence could not be denied. This prompted arguments that increased state intervention must be organized to renew slum areas and improve living conditions there. All in all, though, the realistic and pragmatic opinions of the city prevailed in England (Lees 1985: 178). The problems of the city were seen as “unpleasant side-effects”; temporary phenomena that would “go away of their own accord” or be cured with appropriate treatment.



**FIGURE 1.2.2** Sewer system built in Hamburg proposed after the big fire in 1842 by English engineer William Lindley.

Source: Spörhase, R., *Der Bauverein Zu Hamburg*, Hamburg 1940.

Through improvements in the sewer systems, the invention of the water closet and the installation of all facilities necessary for a household in one self-contained housing unit, less and less space was required for domestic functions (Gleichmann 1985: 8). These new sanitary facilities were first used by the upper and middle classes and were only later introduced to working class households (Figure 1.2.2). To “heed nature’s call” in the privacy of one’s own home meant increased sensitivity, civilization or refinement of urban life. The required technology was available from the mid-19th century on, but mass distribution failed for one main reason: the lower class could not pay the rent for flats with water closets.

Two contradictory theories circulated in public health care until the end of the 19th century: the miasma and the contagion theories. According to the first, diseases were caused by dirt and miasma, and according to the second by pathogenic organisms and infection (Labisch 1992: 114). The modernized miasma theory became the main basis of the reform of public sanitary conditions particularly because, in contrast to the contagion theory, which enabled an action-oriented realization. The initiatives to improve public sanitary conditions were accompanied by a thrust of modernization and rationalization (Rodenstein 1988: 13), especially because health and environment were believed to be influenceable, planable and controllable. From repressive force to stimulating measures, discipline was carried out in the area of health behavior (Labisch 1992: 110). In England and Germany public health care, slightly different in each country, consisted of two contradictory elements. On the one hand was the positive, innovative element which had its roots in the area of scientific methodology and knowledge. On the other hand were those who saw public health as an instrument of power with social Darwinistic categories of inequality and degeneration (Rodriguez-Lores 1985: 27).

The results of urban hygiene could be directly drawn upon to deduce quantifiable urban development measures. If the “miasma” and “air that makes ill” could be avoided by improved ventilation than the logical deduction was a call for a loosening of the dense urban fabric. The physician Max von Pettenkofer, the German “hygiene pope” (Schott 2014: 240), had made the observation that a healthy person consumes five to six cubic meters of air in his sleep. If the person did not receive this amount of air his organism would be weakened and his susceptibility to diseases would increase. From these conclusions, minimal sizes for bedrooms and other such norms could be deduced. But as was later discovered, it was not the “miasma” that transmitted diseases such as Cholera, but rather the drinking water (Evans 1990). In the 19th century, over 10,000 were to die in London and over 8,000 in Hamburg. Since the theory of contagion through physical contacts, like the plague, was not resilient, dirt and the miasma (foul smells) were held responsible for the contagion and spread. Many scientists assumed that port cities were particularly vulnerable due to the wide range of migration movements (Schubert, Wagenaar and Hein 2021).

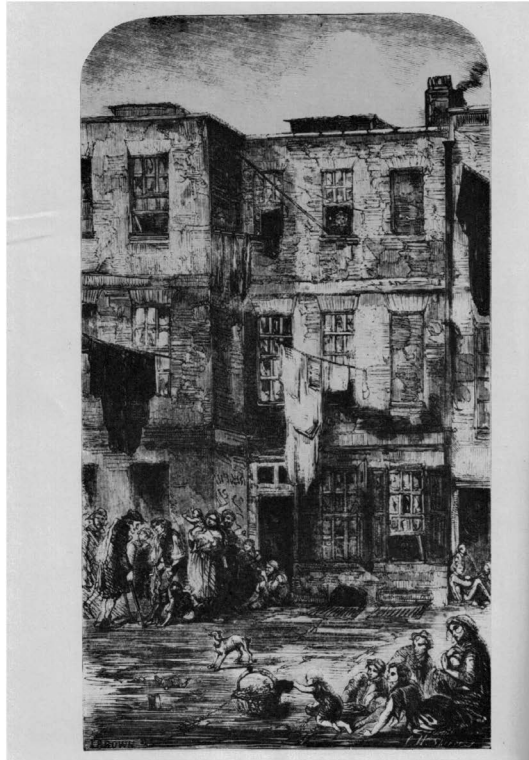
Uncertainty spread and unrest was feared. But the sanitary and housing standards in English and German cities improved absolutely and relatively for broad strata through improvements to drinking water supply and the construction of sewage systems starting in the 1850s. The mortality rate decreased and at the turn of the century urban areas had a lower mortality rate than rural areas. The new phenomenon of the metropolis had held its own and proven to be permanent. New approaches had been tested, rejected and in the end advanced to meet the challenge.

But the clenched housing problem of low-income groups still remained unsolved. The slowly developing field of town planning was based on unverified theories of scientific hygiene, and the call for better air supply to flats and legitimized controls of the “dangerous classes”. The ethical background was often pragmatic and reformist, aiming to improve urban conditions and to enhance the housing conditions of poor people.

In England and Germany the manifestation of a housing problem in the form of slums at the end of the 19th century was no novelty. What was new, though, was the extent and concentration of poverty that had resulted from industrialization processes, and how the problem was seen and approached. However, the physical characteristics of the slums and redevelopment areas are diverse in Germany and England. The dominant form of housing in Great Britain, even for lower income groups was the small, two storey terraced house (sometimes “back-to-back”), rented or rare owned, often in bad structural condition and overcrowded, whereas in Germany there were normally older buildings from the preindustrial area and later small, overcrowded rented flats (Tenements – “Mietskasernen”) showing a significantly higher density per flat as well as at the urban scale.

But the tenants of these new buildings, coming from the country, found it difficult to adjust to the standardized urban mode of behavior: “In their roughness they often smashed [...] everything that was not nailed down to get firewood; their dirty habits, their misuse of water-pipes, toilets etc. were only part of their mischief that made the life of the landlord hell”. There were often complaints that the rent was paid late (Figure 1.2.3). “The need for a decent, roomy, clean flat was overshadowed by the needs of the stomach” (Ruprecht 1884: 58).

Households with low incomes levels, often based on casual labor, were not able to raise the money to pay rent for even a small flat. The goal of the middle class offering “self-contained family housing” collided with the fact that the families could not afford it. Especially highly mobile workers, such as seasonal workers and workers with shifting schedules, were dependent on renting beds, parts of rooms or rooms and could not afford to rent self-contained flats. In general the moral appeals of the bourgeois reformers were not directed at the “lowest classes” but instead aimed at preventing the lower middle-class from sinking into poverty.



**FIGURE 1.2.3** Unhealthy housing conditions of London's poor classes.

*Source:* Gauldie, Enid, *Cruel Habitations: A History of Working Class Housing 1780–1918*, London 1974.

### Poverty, Housing, Slums and Town Planning

Poverty was considered as an individual failure in the 19th century. In slum clearance projects, hygiene was the grounds for a basic strategy of urban health carried out in the direct form of demolition. Besides representative redesign of city centers and the construction of a sewer system it was, above all, the clearance for new wider streets which determined planning and urban transformation. In general, the new streets were forged through the oldest, overpopulated quarters where mainly low-income groups lived. The goal of improving traffic collided with the shortage of cheap centrally located housing and was counterproductive to housing policy. Various types of activities were undertaken by the municipality, but fear and high costs of expropriation usually limited extensive acquisition of land so that improvements were in turn limited to the new street corridors. Beyond these newly built streets the poorer residential population had to move in closer together.

The causes leading to the phenomena of slums were seen in the behavior and bad character of the residents. The opponents of reform in England and in Germany propagated the “pigsty theory” which stated, “Give a pig a clean sty and he will soon turn it into a muddy, smelly den” (Gauldie 1974: 27). It was generally considered a fact that “the pig makes the sty and not the sty the pig”. But still the areas of concentrated poverty in the prospering metropolitan cities remained a problem that was difficult to understand (Sutcliffe 1985: 64). Until well into the mid-19th century the belief that poverty was a result of failing morality of the poor, and thus their own fault, was widely held. The residents of slums, the poor and the ill were no longer

considered the will of God, but rather the morally reprehensible dregs of a society that gave everyone equal opportunity.

Town planners' focus on urban expansion projects at the end of the century and their neglect of urban restructuring was understandable. After all, slum clearance came loaded with complicated questions of ownership and lengthy procedures which did not arise to such an extent in urban expansion. In England, there was a great amount of legislation dealing with the common lodging houses (Acts in 1851 and 1853), then with public health (1858, 1860, 1866, 1872, 1875) and finally with housing and, in parts slums (1868, 1875, 1879). With the establishing of the Royal Commission for Housing of the Working Classes and the Housing of the Working Classes Act in the mid-80s on there was a more effective national instrument in England which made it possible to work on larger neighborhoods with unhealthy living conditions. But possible uses of this national law were outweighed by local idleness. Nettlefold stated (1908: 1) that there had been 28 housing laws in England in the past half century, with the result: 'We have to-day comparatively few good houses and a mass of slums.'

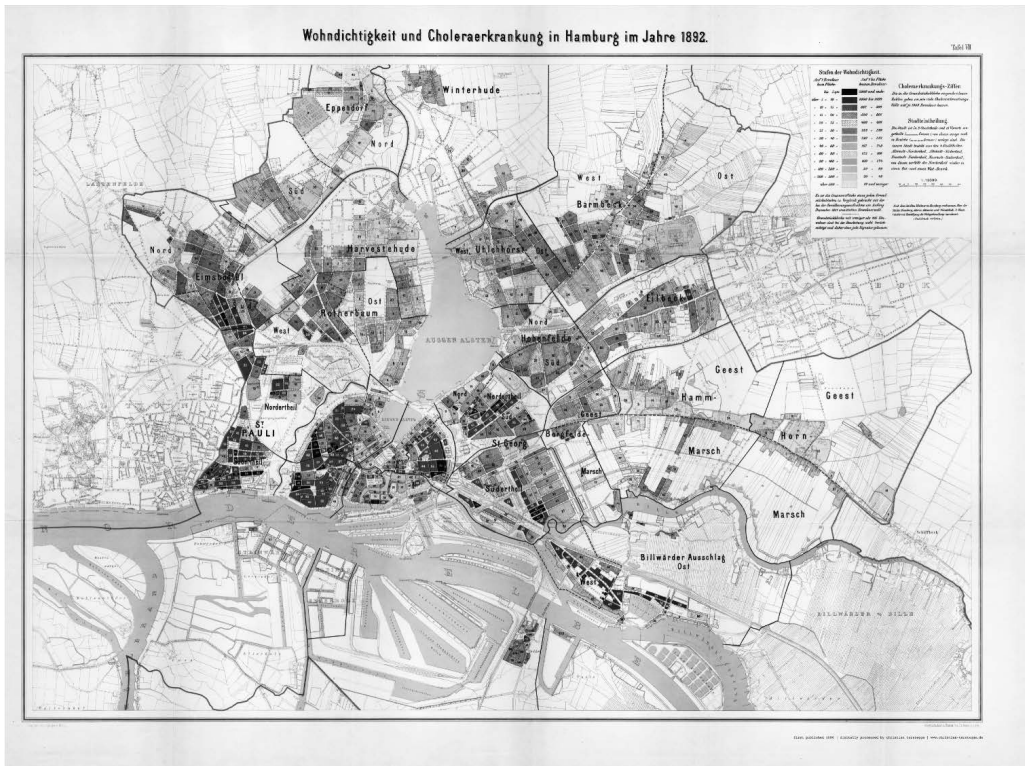
In Germany, the block of interests of house and land owners, land speculators and banks and the electoral law prevented a housing law until 1918. The Reichstag referred to the diversity of circumstances and denied responsibility (Niethammer 1979: 375). Also there was no legislation on the national level for dealing with slums, but on the local level some cities (like Hamburg) carried out clearances and improvements. It became increasingly apparent that a shift in the status of inhabitants of the area was inherent to slum clearance that aimed at improving living conditions and part-state interventions, that did not question a privately organized housing market, became more accepted.

In England and Germany, two different urban redevelopment tasks had clearly evolved before the First World War and London and Hamburg became the leading cities.

- The first was aimed at "improving living conditions" through clearance of large areas and rebuilding, while retaining the function of housing. In London, it was the *Boundary Street* project, executed by the London County Council since 1896, where 1,044 new dwellings for about 5,700 people were built after demolishing all old structures. In Hamburg, it was the area of *Südliche Neustadt*, often flooded with insanitary housing conditions, where all old buildings were demolished and replaced by 4,500 new (more expensive) flats for about 21,000 people.
- The second aimed at changing the use of inner-city areas and achieved this by clearing away old buildings (mainly housing) and building anew, mainly for tertiary uses. In London in 1905, the *Kingsway* redevelopment project was started to create a better north south connection in the center and about 7,700 people had to be relocated from an area designated as a slum (Figure 1.2.5). In Hamburg, it was the clearing of an area called *Nördliche Altstadt*, which was combined with the construction of a subway and creating a better connection between the new railway station and the Town Hall including creating a modern CBD (Schubert 1997). With the clearing of all old buildings – where prostitution, crime and dissenting behavior have been complained ("Gängeviertel") – about 17,000 persons were forced to look for new accommodation.

The German Otto Schilling was one of the first to summarize the new phenomenon of the emergence of city centers in his work on the theme "inner urban expansion". "The old town remains the site of trade and becomes more of a commercial centre as the growing outer neighbourhoods expand. [...] This restructuring process is generally called the emergence of a city centre, after the typical example of the city centre of London. In London's city centre all roads





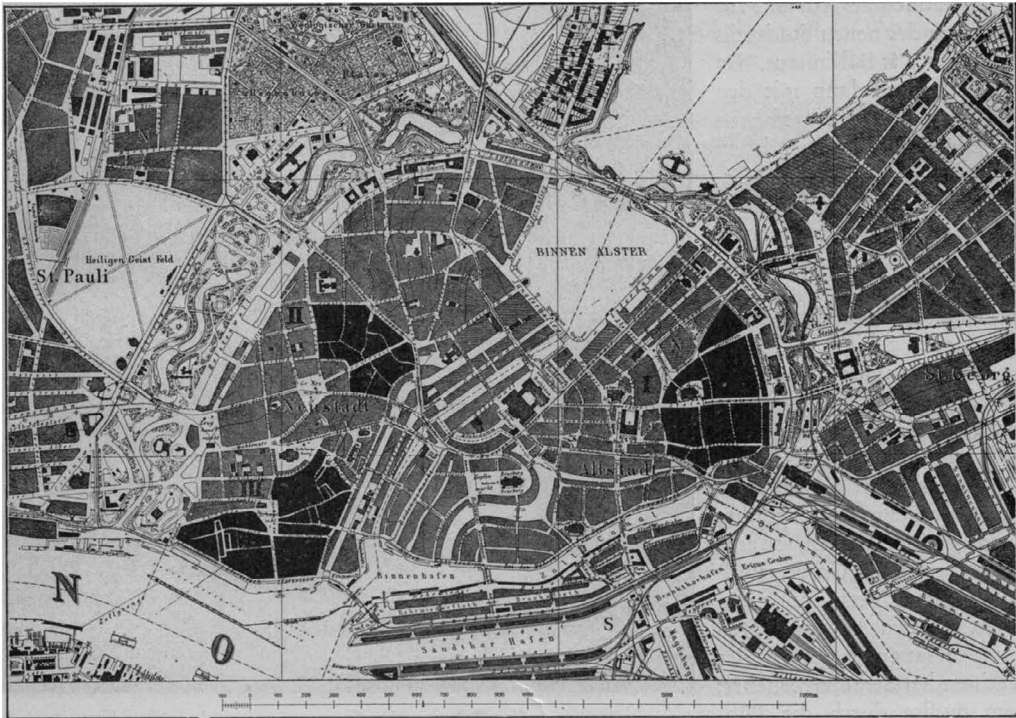
**FIGURE 1.2.4** Cholera mortality in Hamburg after the epidemic in 1892, showing high percentages along the River Elbe.

Source: HafenCity University Hamburg, <http://gdi-hcu.local.hcuhh.de/>

cross, and not just those of the city of London or of all of England, but of much of the world' (Schilling 1915:1). Immense costs and implementation problems caused the failure of many ambitious clearance projects in large areas (Figure 1.2.4). In England and Germany only few projects were carried out. "The activity of German cities will generally be limited to clearance of small areas for new streets for transportation and canalisation purposes as well as to level areas" wrote Josef Stübben (1890: 299). The phenomenon of emerging city centers was thus already identified and studied before the First World War. 'City centre emergence means the conversion of the inner city from a housing area to a business area. [...]. 'Agglomeration,' and 'accumulation,' is not only apparent, but rather a distinct differentiation of the evolution of the metropolis within the city can be observed' (Brix *et al.* 1918–1927, 514f). In "inner-urban expansion" displacement of inhabitants was, as a rule, not considered a problem (Schott 1912: 69). On the contrary, it was often even a declared goal. 'The emergence of a city centre seems to be a necessary, or at least useful effect of urban agglomeration' (Brix *et al.* 1918–1927: 520). Alternate housing, when it was even considered, was usually in another part of town and provided by the market.

### Sanitation of Cities, Conditioning and Town Planning

Specialized new groups of speakers were formed who succeeded in becoming protagonists and leading experts for the new urban problems and their solutions. New administrative practice was established, technical and medical innovations became possible, and in the process of town



**FIGURE 1.2.5** Slum clearance areas in Hamburg, identified after the Cholera epidemic in 1892.

*Source:* Schubert (1997), *Stadterneuerung in Hamburg und London. Eine Stadtbaugeschichte zwischen Modernisierung und Disziplinierung*, Braunschweig Wiesbaden (Vieweg & Sohn).

planning becoming a profession, scientific and engineering experts became separated from laymen. Besides addressing the aspect of hygiene the first textbooks on town planning mainly concentrated on the technical, economic and legal aspects of town planning. The specialist hygienists provided the statistical data, while the town planners “only” could argue with creative options for action. With regard to the belief in science in society, town planning – referred to work to implement the medically proven findings. Medical narratives of order and disorder, planned and unplanned, healthy and sick, found their way into urban development. It is no coincidence that the concept of renovation (“Sanierung”) comes from medicine and the German concept of urban health (“Stadtgesundheit”) is also borrowed from medicine.

At the beginning of the 20th century, new paradigms belonged to the urban hygiene debate. Military suitability and performance of the race became criteria that were measurable. The urban way of life with its outgrowths, the slums, was classified as the cause of degeneration. Inferiority would question the efficiency of the race and the nation.

It is often overlooked that racial hygiene ideas have also been developed in England in connection with the housing question and slum restoration. As long as it was assumed that the slum dwellers were a ‘low race’ who passed on their ‘inferior genome’, eugenic measures had to be a perspective of ‘population improvement’. (Davis 1906: 255) Francis Galton in particular had coined the term eugenics and the ‘Eugenics Society’ had requested racial hygiene measures. Galton dealt with the question: ‘How can you breed a human race that best corresponds to our ideals?’ (1910: VI).

Social contexts were interpreted by a biological school of sociology, which also partly adopted the conceptual apparatus of biology, as organisms (society) with different cells (people) and cell

structures. The theories of English thinkers, Malthus' population law and Darwin's struggle for existence were especially transferred to social phenomena by Herbert Spencer and were very well received in Germany. 'In further pursuit of the suggestions made by Darwin, Spencer, Wallace and others, the view is taken here that the selection which takes place in the struggle for existence maintains the physical fitness of the "race", but on the other hand, degeneracy would inevitably occur if our culture was caused by a year-to-year care for inferior individuals would get these weaklings of society without correcting this malaise through a conscious and scheduled selection' the German hygiene specialist Alfred Grotjahn wrote (1904: 734). Here they underwent a reinterpretation from the aspect of inheritance and natural selection, which examined urbanization processes primarily from the aspect of racial selection. Social hygiene measures would counteract the degeneration of people (Weyhl 1904: VI). Since the 'inferior' population grew above all in the slums, this line of argument also implied a reversal of the previous slum remediation policy.

The hygienically based reasoning should not remain insignificant for the recovery of the cities, it should serve as scientific evidence for the need to demolish or renovate backward slums. In the absence of reliable data on building and apartment stocks, "exact" data from the hygienists was gladly used to enforce the quantified requirements of light and air by means of "apartment maintenance" and controls. In Germany Alfred Ploetz lectured in 1911 on the goals of racial hygiene and 'optimal maintenance and perfection of the human race'. It must be about "favoring the multi-child families of proficient individuals" and "creating obstacles to the reproduction of inferior people" (Ploetz 1911: 167). The ideas of racial hygiene and eugenics were to be put into practice by the National Socialists after 1933. Ploetz, to name just one of the pioneers of eugenics, justified Hitler's seizure of power and now saw options for transferring racial hygiene to the broad field of practice. These 'dark' side of the consequences of planning with 'final solutions' should not be ignored.

The discipline of town planning – emerging in the last third of the 19th century – had to dock with other disciplines and selectively transfer knowledge and integrate it into projects of spatial planning and order. In addition to architectural and design concepts and engineering developments, it made sense to fall back on the already established science of medicine and hygiene. The uncritical transfer of "facts" from urban hygiene was seamlessly translated into normative concepts of town planning. The boundaries between housing reform approaches and ideas of 'healthy living' and urban hygiene were blurred. Conceptions of urban hygiene "from above" implied conditioning and discipline and transformed external into internal constraints.

Planning history should contribute to the questioning of "secured" knowledge from other disciplines (Hein 2018). Knowledge stocks from other disciplines are to be contextualized in the social and political context before they are taken over without reflection. The history of urban planning offers sufficient examples on the basis of which this – as in the example of urban hygiene – can be documented.

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# 1.3

## THE REVERSE OF URBAN PLANNING

### First Steps for a Genealogy of Informal Urbanization in Europe

*Noel Manzano*

This text is an attempt to set out some little-known part of the European urban history: the “uncontrolled” expansion of poor neighborhoods through the main capitals of the continent, and its relation to the birth and evolution of urban planning.

The rise of poor, unauthorized housing areas happened in a big part of the European capital cities through the 20th century (Manzano Gómez 2018). Since this phenomenon, currently known as “informal urbanization”, has been widely attributed to “Global South” cities, the structural development of very similar urban processes in the very core of the capitalist world-system would contest their characterization as a-temporal expressions of southern “spontaneity” (Leontidou 1990). Therefore, a frequently unexpressed exceptionalism that would consider such kind of major urban transgressions in the “civilized” core of Europe impossible must be demythologized.

The European 20th century urban regulations could not avoid the existence of “gray spaces” (Yiftachel 2009), where the “normal” legal frames did not seem to be fully applied. The spatial agency of the poor and working classes and the existence of legal loopholes was a contributing factor in the development of such spaces, being confronted by subsequent legal and institutional changes. Our hypothesis is that despite the “official” planning history, “informal urbanization” was one of the main reasons of the birth urban planning in Europe, provoking a co-evolution between the survival housing production processes and the urban planning control frames.

This research was conducted through the analysis of two case studies, Madrid and Paris, and through an extensive literature review, crossing historical sources and current historiographical works in English, French, Spanish, Portuguese, and Catalan. In addition, texts in German, Italian, Swedish, Czech, and Russian were reviewed using online translation tools. This double methodology has made it possible to restore this subaltern (Roy 2011), European history, from the silence of the archives (Spivak 2005).

#### **The Origins of Informal Urbanization: “Spontaneous” Development and “Laissez-Faire”**

Although informal urbanization probably existed since ancient times, this type of urban growth multiplied and was increasingly problematized during the 19th century throughout Europe. In our cases of study, the control systems of city-growth, focusing mainly on the beautification of the façades and the respect of the streets width, didn’t attempt to control them. Only at the end of the

century the public powers, concerned by the link between housing conditions and the risk of epidemic diseases (Engels 1873) started to make mandatory the supply of water, the implementation of sewer systems or pavement in the capital cities. At that time, there was a blurred line between areas that today we would identify as “informal urbanization” and the common urban development.

Despite the general absence of hygienic conditions, some peripheral spaces started to be considered problematic by the press and public powers in different European capitals. The increasing connectivity of the international economy, which suffered transnational financial crisis in 1873 and 1882, and the increasing hygienist control of poor populations could partially explain the synchronic rise of accounts and images about poor, precarious areas in different countries as France, Germany, Sweden or Finland (Fig. 1.3.1).



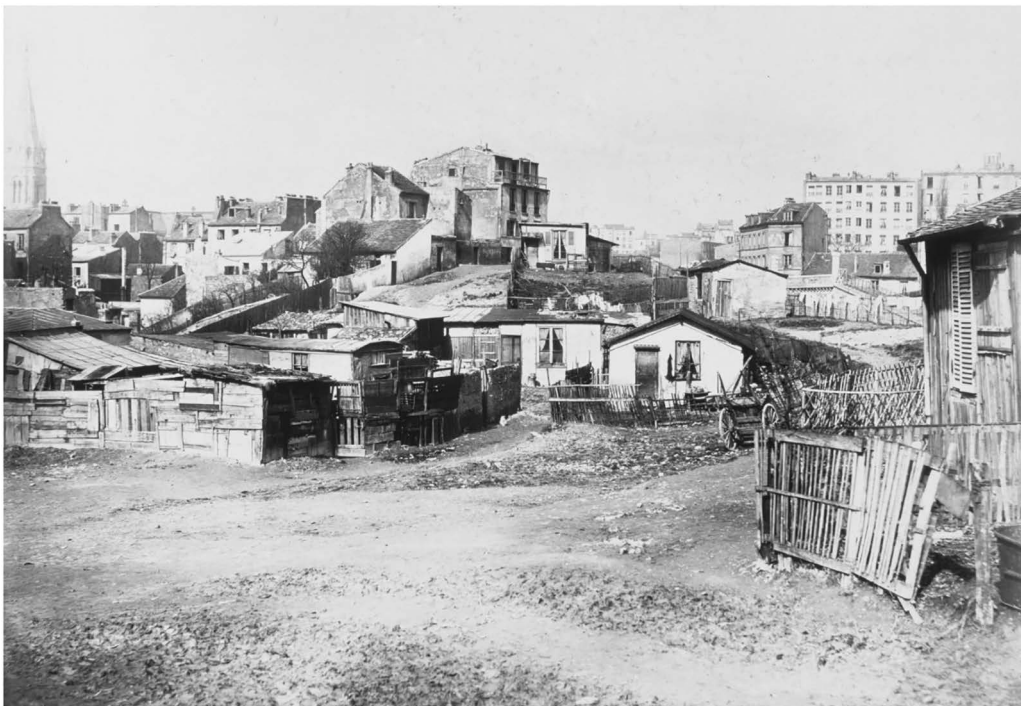
**FIGURE 1.3.1** Shacks around Helsinki cathedral, Finland, 1868.

Source: Hoffers Eugen, Helsinki City Museum.

The historical sources describe neighborhoods formed by groups of barracks, generally erected in hired plots around private streets without any kind of sanitary infrastructure. While the modes of commercialization were probably very diverse, there seemed to be a prevalent formula. The landowners delegated the management of peripheral lands to a main tenant, using legal long lease contracts, such as *emphyteusis*. Such main tenant sub-rented the land on different ways; for instance hiring the right to build a shack of some square meters on the area, or subdividing the land into small plots and renting them for a period. The key of such rental market seemed to be to avoid any property right for the inhabitants; the shacks could be demolished in any moment depending on the real estate interest of the landowners and, once the lease finished or the inhabitant leaved the area, the barracks would be destroyed. Accordingly, the inhabitants of such kind of areas economized enormously in the price of the lands, but were impelled to maintain their shacks in the most insalubrious situations.

Very similar systems seemed to give rise to similar patterns of urban growth as the peripheral “*slums*” in London (Gaskell 1990), the “*cités*” (Fig. 1.3.2) in Paris (Du Mesnil 1890), and the “*Laubenkolonien*” in Berlin (Hobbs 2012). Although we do not have data from the whole Europe, such substandard areas were legal in our cases of study, Paris and Madrid. In an economically liberal context, the public authorities only ensured the compliance of a few regulations, such as the alignment of the new built areas to the existing public streets, and the condition of the *façades*, without conditioning the houses developed inside the plots. Despite the abuses of the landowners, such rental system seemed to respond to the needs of the lowest strata of the working classes, frequently excluded from the housing rental market and with no possibility to own and build a private plot.

On the other hand, the lack of planning seemed to feed that kind of speculation by the landowners. The 19th-century urban regulations did not allow to plan the future uses or density



**FIGURE 1.3.2** “Cité” in the periphery of Paris. Rue Champlain, XX arrondissement, 1876-1878.

Source: Charles Marville, Musée Carnavalet, Histoire Paris.



of the periphery, making private investors carry out complicate arrangements with the public powers to anticipate the evolution of the public infrastructures and to ensure their properties value (Chavent 2003). The absence of limits to the building activity encouraged the landowners to build as densely as possible, “waiting” to materialize definitive constructions when the area was suitable for high-rise developments. The speculative, “frozen” areas of the periphery were occasionally used to obtain rents from such precarious tenancies, guaranteeing their destruction when needed for the capitalist’s interests (Hobbs 2012).

However, not all kinds of substandard areas rose as mechanisms of rent extraction. Although apparently scarce, episodes of 19th-century squats on public lands have been described in the United Kingdom (Ward 2002) and in Germany (Steinberg 1993; Hobbs 2012; Poling 2014), the latter known as *Barackenstädte*. It is also highly probable that excluded ethnical minorities, for example, Romanies used land squatting as a way to obtain a shelter through the whole continent.

Along the 19th century, under an hygienist perspective the poor, substandard rising areas became a “public problem” (Cefaï 1996) of public health (Bourillon 2000) but also of moral deviation (Shapiro 1985; Lévy-Vroelant 1999), where the “dangerous classes” (Chevalier 1958), spatially concentrated, threatened the dominant society. Last but not least, these areas could become spaces of insurrection (Jacquemet 2008) in a context of strong polarization of the emergent working class and revolutions as the “commune of Paris”. In such context, different kinds of devices were developed all around Europe for the purpose of controlling them.

On the one hand, the development of rudimentary legal frames tried to set up housing and urbanization minimum standards (Gaskell 1983; Kalff 2016). On the other hand, surveillance devices, such as insalubrious housing committees that visited poor areas (Shapiro 1985; Lévy-Vroelant 1999), major inquiries that mixed urban, housing, and social parameters like the carried out by Charles Booth in the UK (Topalov 2015) or “cassiers sanitaires”, identifying areas with high rates of infectious diseases (Fijalkow 2004), were developed in countries such as France, Belgium, Spain, Russia ... (Médicos Inspectores municipales de Salubridad é Higiene 1906).

However, most of these territorial control devices were mainly dedicated to demolishing “insalubrious” areas in the city centers, considered more dangerous from a sanitary perspective than the barrack areas where shacks were surrounded with “fresh air” and, of course, economically less profitable to renew. Additionally, the 19th-century liberalist “laissez-faire” sacralization of private property rights covered the “free will” to build miserable houses if inhabited by their owners in some countries, as France (Shapiro 1985). The sub-rent schemes apparently contributed to shirking the responsibility derived from transgressions against the Hygiene Acts in the case of tenancies (Gaskell 1990)

While such “temporal”, substandard urbanization was progressively swallowed by the city expansion, at the turn of the century new spaces of self-constructed poor houses, pushed by an increasing rural-urban migration, started to grow up beyond the limits of many capital cities in Europe. At the same time, the increasing hygiene regulations forced to install the polluting industries outside the inner cities, such neighborhoods grew up around the urban and industrial poles, reproducing similar kinds of housing morphologies and substandard areas beyond the city’s regulatory boundaries.

The rise of new substandard poor housing suburbs was known as “*Kakstäder*” in Stockholm (Deland 2001), “*Zone*” in Paris (Granier 2017) and “*Extrarradio*” in Madrid (Vorms 2012). In our cases of study, the new cheap areas were also developed through “private streets”, being legal due to the low requirements of the municipalities in which they were developed: the lack of urbanization, gas, water, and sewer systems in a moment in which such facilities started to become compulsory in the inner cities, triggering local debates about the extent of the periphery, their control, and the need of new frames to regulate the increasing suburbanization processes.

## Informal Urbanization in the First Decades of the 20th Century

At the beginning of the 20th century, a new phase of “informal urbanization” began, characterized by the emergence of substandard areas scattered throughout the distant metropolitan peripheries of the European cities, where the urban infrastructures and few regulatory systems could contain such migratory wave. The process was triggered by the improvement of mass transport and the introduction of the 8-hour workday. The possibility of commuting brought about a process of metropolization, of disaggregation of the consolidated city, and of dissemination of housing areas throughout the periphery. The working classes left overcrowded apartments in the city center to inhabit self-developed houses built on cheap suburban areas. Such new problematic spaces were not only barrack areas – that in some places, as in the Paris region, grew enormously – but also solid houses developed on hire-to-rent agricultural lands without sanitation.

The modernization of the inner cities increasingly contrasted with the survival architecture of the working classes. The previously explained fears toward the deprived populations, and the increase of the sanitary concerns provoked, in our cases of study, different public initiatives towards their clearance and redevelopment. However, the concerns about new redevelopments of the substandard peripheries gave rise in our cases of study, as in other European countries (Sutcliffe 1981), to discussions about new institutional and legal frames to increase the control of the city growth and enlarge it to a regional and national extent. This movement, sparking transnational discussions and forums, would signify the “birth” of contemporary urban planning.

After the First World War, in the 1920s, the phenomenon accelerated in the whole continent. The migrations to the main industrial poles during the war and the demobilization of the soldiers after the armistice suddenly increased the housing demand in a time in which the construction activity was totally frozen. The abandon of the building activity during the war continued after it due to the scarcity of materials and the rent regulation, which made the real estate market not profitable enough for capitalist investors. Facing this, the working classes and urban poor started to self-construct very humble houses in non-urbanized agricultural lands, increasingly accessible by trains, tramways or buses.

Although both historical sources and contemporary local historiography related this movement to cultural reasons, such as the “barracks” life of the soldiers during the war or a desire of a greater contact with the nature (Ward and Hardy 1985; Fourcaut 2000), it is likely that this movement toward the semi-rural periphery had mainly economic reasons, for instance the already mentioned scarcity of housing in the inner areas or the necessity to obtain an autonomous source of food supply.

At that time, different terms were used in various local contexts to refer to “anarchic” processes of poor suburban growth; “*Lotissements défectueux*” (Fig. 1.3.3) in Paris (Bastie 1964; Fourcaut 2000), “*Wilde Siedlung*” in Berlin and in Wien (Steinberg 1993; Urban 2013; Hauer and Krammer 2019), “*Borgate*” in Rome (Clementi and Perego 1983a; Villani 2012), “*Barriadas del Extrarradio*” in Madrid (Vorms 2012), and “*Nouzová Kolonie*” in Prague (Viktorínová 2010) ...

In addition to these already known cases, the conference proceedings of transnational forums as the Association générale des Hygiénistes et des Techniciens Municipaux (1927), the International Federation of Housing and Town Planning (1931), or the International Housing Association (1935), showed the existence of “uncontrolled”, poor suburbanization processes in the Low Countries (The Hague), Belgium (Bruxels), Budapest (Hungary), Bucarest (Romania), Denmark (Copenhagen), Luxembourg, and in various Polish cities.

In most of them, the mechanisms of urban growth seemed to be quite similar. Owners of very cheap agricultural lands, frequently flooding areas or unstable soils, decided to subdivide and commercialize them as plots for housing construction, hiring or selling them with installment



**FIGURE 1.3.3** “Lotissement” in Ivry-Sur-Seine, Paris periphery (Vajda, 1935).

Source: Bibliothèque Poète et Sellier, fonds historique de l’École d’Urbanisme de Paris.

contracts at very low prices. Over them, poor and working-class populations built very precarious shacks without any kind of public infrastructure, improving them through the years. Even though such constructions did not accomplish the building standards, the municipalities did not control the self-construction process due to the weakness of the urban regulations and police surveillance.

Such problems were answered by normative productions about the peripheral “defective” urban growth, giving rise to a specific literature that compared different local and national regulations of peripheral growth control in Europe (Lavan 1930; Cazenavette 1936). Although new Acts were approved, they were often bypassed. This happened in Germany and France with the development of shacks in “garden” areas without declaring their housing purposes; the “*lotissements jardins*” (Fourcaut 2000) and the “*Grüne slums*” (Urban 2013).

Such agricultural-land subdivision processes were not the only way of “uncontrolled” city growth of that time. Current historiography has shown the development at that time of land squats with barracks construction in public lands, forests, beaches, landfills, and flooding areas, in very different contexts such as London (Hardy and Ward 1984), Barcelona (Tatjer and Larrea 2011), Athens (Platon 2014), Rome (Clementi and Perego 1983a), Wien (Hauer and Krammer 2019), Belgrade (Vuksanović-Macura and Macura 2018), and Lisbon (Lavandeira Castela 2011). In addition, our archival inquiry revealed the existence of settlements on illegally occupied lands around Madrid – “*chozas*” areas – and Paris – “*campements de nomades*”.

Diverse reasons led the development of “spontaneous” substandard areas to be a problem for the public powers. For the municipal technicians, the uncontrolled expansion of private streets economically threatened public operations because of the cost of expropriating the already built



**FIGURE 1.3.4** Shacks in Limburg, the Netherlands, known as “krotten”, 1945.

*Source:* Taconis, Kryn. National Archives of the Netherlands.

areas. Additionally, such spaces were the antithesis of the urban design aesthetics carried out at that moment. They were condemned as “ugly”, and criticized due to the negative impression created for foreign visitors. Furthermore, in broader societal terms, these areas were perceived as a global threat for the social order (Beauchez and Zeneidi 2019). The representations of the upper classes of the time, strongly permeated by the concepts of race, considered them, especially the squatter areas, a problem of “social” and “moral” hygiene. They were regarded not only the origin of contagion of epidemic diseases, but also environments that could provoke the corruption of the body and mind of the poor, causing a general nation decay since they were transmissible from one generation to the next.

The necessity of controlling the urban growth of the new peripheries led the capital cities to try to annex them using administrative projects such as the “Gross Berlin”, “Grand Paris”, and “Gran Madrid”. These projects were linked to regional plans in a good part of the European capitals. Although some cities had already set up zoning areas, as the German ones, the new regional plans generalized such building regulation, establishing the areas in which housing development was allowed, or forbidden, and the conditions in which they would happen regarding their location, illegalizing the “spontaneous” transformation of rural land into housing areas.

Although “informal urbanization” clearly transgressed the plan’s purposes, and despite the general sanitary and urbanistic consensus about the necessity of their demolition – as effectively

happened, for instance, in Rome (Villani 2012) – the general answer of the first European spatial planning was the regularization and urbanization of these areas, greatly due to the collective action of their inhabitants and the general fears of a working-class revolution. That seemed to be the case in the periphery of Paris (Fourcaut 2000), Madrid and Vienna (Hauer and Krammer 2019). However, it wasn't rare that some areas remained in substandard conditions until the last decades of the 20th century (Hardy and Ward 1984; Lillo 2005; Viktorínová 2010).

Contrastingly, the poorest areas, frequently squatted and inhabited by rural immigrants and racialized populations, were destroyed, as “la Zone” of Paris (Granier 2017), “Bairro das Minhocas” in Lisbon (Lavandeira Castela 2011), las “Chozas de la Alhóndiga” in Madrid and the “barracas de Montjuic” in Barcelona (Tatjer and Larrea 2011), generally without re-housing solutions. In some cases, both built areas and their inhabitants came to “disappear” during the Second World War.

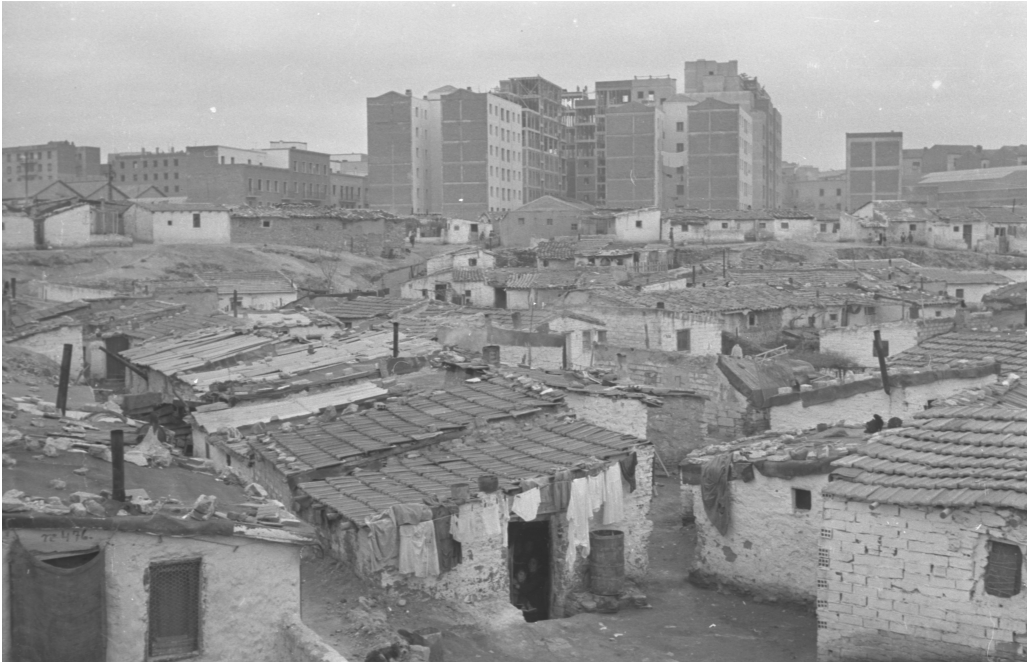
### Informal Urbanization after the Second World War

With different chronologies, the substandard city growth through barrack areas without public services re-emerged in a third moment, after the Second World War, touching particularly the Mediterranean Europe and the Eastern Block.

Although this new period was characterized by the existence of mature urban planning, which prohibited any kind of insalubrious construction, the phenomenon spread in different countries after the 1950s, being arbitrarily tolerated or eliminated by public administrations, which acted according to very different local political contexts. Thus, the phenomenon cannot be attributed to any economic crisis; on the contrary, the rise of industrial development in post-war Europe provoked a mass migration to the cities, in which the quantity of legal housing produced was not enough to satisfy the increasing demand. In the capitalist countries, the private sector did not respond to the demand for cheap houses causing a huge shortage, only mitigated by social housing. In the socialist countries, the State, in charge of the building sector, did not manage to produce enough houses for the new urban workers, occasionally tolerating self-developed areas until the execution of the projects legally planned (Göler *et al.* 2012).

The historiography and historical sources consulted showed, as in previous periods, the commercialization of plots produced by agricultural land subdivisions. Their illegal housing development, due to their not compliance with the zoning norms and the absence of sanitary infrastructures, was known as “*suburbios marginales*” (Vorms 2017) in Spain, “*borgata*” in Italy (Clementi and Perego 1983b), “*loteamentos clandestinos*” in Portugal (Salgueiro 1972), “*afthēreto*” in Greece (Romanos 1970), and *vremianka* in the USSR (Bohn 2014). In many of these countries, the urban regulations did not greatly impede the reproduction of this phenomenon until the late decades of the 20th century. On the other hand, land squatting areas were also developed in different European countries at that moment, being known as “*bidonvilles*” in France (Blanc-Chaléard 2016), “*chabolas*” (Fig. 1.3.5) and “*barracas*” in Spain (Tatjer and Larrea 2011; Vorms 2013), “*baraccopoli*” in Italy (Clementi and Perego 1983b), “*divlja izgradnja*” in Yugoslavia (Le Normand 2014), and “*samostroy*” in the USSR (Stas 2017).

In this period, agricultural land commercialization and land appropriation seemed to coexist yet, within more blurred frontiers, due to their common illegal status. Processes of unrecognized commercialization of the lands gave rise to informal tenancy situations, through unwritten legal agreements with the landowners (Volovitch-Tavares 1995). Although there seemed to exist a broad range of situations, the new spaces of informal urbanization were frequently situated in areas where housing was prohibited by urban planning. The “informality” allowed



**FIGURE 1.3.5** “Chabolos” close to Praga bridge, Madrid, 1955.

*Source:* Archivo Regional de la Comunidad de Madrid. Fondo Martín Santos Yubero. Comunidad de Madrid has granted the rights to use the image free of charge.

landowners to obtain rents from lands in which otherwise it would be impossible due to the legal use assigned by zoning. The substandard urbanization at this moment became “informal”.

In our cases of study, the houses on that time was generally more precarious because their construction happened in clandestine conditions, frequently during the night. The general lack of property titles frequently made the housing improvement not a reliable investment for their inhabitants.

Although a generalization of vaccines and eradication of epidemic infections reduced the sanitary risk linked to informal urbanization spaces, their consideration as places of shame for the public administration, their economic threat to urban planning and real estate investments, and the highly political risk of that spaces in a cold-war context made new steps in the public control of the phenomenon necessary.

During that period, in our cases of study new slum-clearance regulations were approved in order to expropriate and demolish “informal urbanization” areas with smaller costs. At the same time, the State’s gain of big quantities of cheap land facilitated the construction of massive re-housing solutions, allowing a closer control of their populations and producing a sustained reduction of informal urbanization. A process that seemed to happen in other parts of the continent as Italy, Portugal, Germany, or the USSR.

### **A Transnational History with Common Patterns**

As we have seen, informal urbanization was a common process in Europe during the 20th century. The increasing territorial control of the modern and contemporary State (Foucault 2006) had a specific expression in the historical development of urban planning and in the outlawing of “undesirable” kinds of urban growth.

In spite of different legal contexts, the precarious housing development re-emerged on various occasions since the 19th century. Although there were different expressions and local names of such phenomenon, it seemed to present a quite similar materiality through the continent, and equivalent mechanisms of cost reduction: investing the minimum capital in the shacks and lands gave place to diverse kinds of agreements of housing construction without full ownership of the land.

However, we can observe two broad, transnational changes in the history of informal urbanization in Europe. Firstly, its legal situation gradually deteriorated, due to a long illegalization process. Even though urban planning was intended to avoid such kind of spaces, the control provided by the urbanistic legal frames seemed, at large extent, powerless to avoid it. Producing, as a side effect, adaptations in the popular and speculative practices that conducted to the abandon of legal contracts with abusive conditions and the use of “informal” agreements with no rights for the inhabitants. Secondly, this phenomenon evolved geographically, since their prevalence was displaced from the economically central countries of the continent – France, Germany – to the periphery – Mediterranean and East European countries.

Informal urbanization rise didn't seem to be related to single events, but to entire economic cycles in the continent. It occurred before, after and between the World Wars, among countries in conflict and within neutral ones, apparently constituting a component of the long-term processes of European capitalist accumulation. The economic growth of the continent, instead of urban planning territorial control, could be the key to explaining the decline of “informal urbanization” in Europe. The rise of a post-industrial economy and the configuration of a “geography of privilege” (Wallerstein 1988), a consequence of the enforcement of the center-periphery economic global dynamics, could have contributed to both their drastic reduction after the 1960s in Europe and their expansion in global south cities.<sup>1</sup>

Although the traces of the historical expressions of “informal urbanization” in Europe seem to have been largely erased, the heritage of such processes remain today as the origins of a part of the European social housing areas. Although the spaces themselves disappeared, their past existence polarized the city growth, qualifying parts of the city as working-class spaces, and frequently corresponding with today's most vulnerable European urban areas.

## Note

- 1 This text was written in late 2019 and send to publication in February 2020. Meanwhile, the works of the sociologist B. Kovats have established parallel hypothesis through a quantitative analysis of informal housing in Hungary and Greece (Kováts, 2020, 2022). Further research should serve to establish a dialog between this literature and the ongoing work of other academics, specially as those gathered in the research network “La Ville Informelle au XXe Siècle”, in order to assess the links between the history of informal urbanization in Europe and that of other world regions.

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# 1.4

## THE BEGINNING OF THE URBANISM TEACHING IN THE SCHOOLS OF ARCHITECTURE OF MADRID AND BARCELONA

### From Trazado, Urbanización y Saneamiento de Poblaciones to Urbanología

*María Cristina García-González*

In 1926, the book *Spanische Städte* by the engineer and architect Oskar Jürgens was published in Germany focusing on the description of the Spanish towns. In this book, whose preparation began in 1913, the author contributed a vision on the teaching of urbanism in Spain in which it is worth stopping. The text insisted on the embryonic state in which urbanism was found in the two Spanish Schools of Architecture, those of Madrid and Barcelona. For Jürgens, the poor professional quality of urbanism was the consequence of the lack of basic scientific training, “the somewhat superficial orientation that we could almost call dilettante, to the detriment of a strictly scientific work” (Jürgens 1992: 272–273). In addition, the aforementioned text presented the linkage of urbanism to architecture, and not to that of other technical disciplines. Jürger’s reflection ended by highlighting the pole of attraction that Germany was assuming in the training of future planners.

The institutionalization of urban planning, and therefore of its teaching, was consolidated in Europe in the interwar period. A short time had passed since the first planning courses were taught at the university level: a seminar as the Berlin-Charlottenburg Seminar in 1908 and a subject in 1909; the first course of American City Planning was taught at the College’s Landscape Architecture of Harvard University (Kimball and Pray 1913); and on the European continent, the Civic Design Department of the University of Liverpool hosted the first English Town Planning course. It was not a coincidence the approval of the English Town Planning Act and the publication of *Town Planning in Practice* the same year.

In the case of Spain, as in Italy, the solidly organized professional groups, such as the architects and the civil engineers, assumed most of the aspects related to territorial and urban planning as their own; among these issues was the regulated teaching of urban planning within the university level.

The problem of urban population growth, along with the industrialization process, had occurred in Spain, later than in England, Germany or France. Madrid and Barcelona made up the two-headed urban structure. Both cities began to develop their own regular extensions in 1859, the *Eixample* of Barcelona by the Spanish engineer Ildefonso Cerdá and Castro Plan in Madrid. Fourteen Spanish towns had regular extensions at the end of the 19th century based on a square block pattern design built around the existing city. Cities were arranged in a purely geometric order, and the city was conceived of as a space for regimented and ordered middle

class intervention. Inner reforms projects were based on alignments and gradients of the streets for the improvement of public health and the creation of great commercial axes operations in cities with a powerful bourgeoisie.

Madrid Plan by Nuñez Granés (1910) and Barcelona Plan by Jaussely (1905) were the effort to overcome the geometrical extensions. The creation of new neighborhoods was restricted to the Linear City of Madrid by Arturo Soria. Social housing was just about small housing cooperatives promoted in Madrid, Barcelona, and other urban areas as Bilbo under the Casas Baratas (Cheap Housing) Law (1911). From the beginning of the 20th century, the Spanish economy improved due to its neutrality in the First World War under the monarchy of King Alfonso XIII. This situation favored exports and enriched the country, although as a counterpart, it meant a price escalation that was not accompanied by an increase in workers' wages.

About fifty years after the engineer Ildefonso Cerdá formulated his reflection on the city and theorized about urbanism in *La Teoría General de la Urbanización* (1867), in the official teaching, the construction of the city was reflected on, and the subject Trazado, Urbanización y Saneamiento de Poblaciones (Schemes, Urbanization, and Sanitary Infrastructures of Towns) was included in the last course of the new Architecture Study Plan (1914) from the desire to gather in a single body of doctrine the referring teachings regarding urbanism that should be taught in the Architecture degree.

### **Trazado, Urbanización y Saneamiento de Poblaciones**

The 1914 Architecture Study Plan established that the professors of the Madrid and Barcelona Schools of Architecture, made up of architects: 16 full-time teachers and 8 assistant teachers. Thus, the recently graduated architect and industrial engineer César Cort (1893–1978) (García-González 2018) joined teaching at the School of Architecture of Madrid in early 1918 after having obtained the vacant Chair of Materiales de Construcción (Knowledge of Construction Materials) and Saneamiento e Higiene de Edificios (Health and Hygiene of the Buildings), in competition, among others, with the Catalan architect Amadeo Llopart (1888–1970). Cort soon accumulated the Chairs of Topografía (Topography) and Trazado, Urbanización y Saneamiento de Poblaciones.

We know that the situation at Madrid School of Architecture (Chueca *et al.* 1996), which partially occupied a building in the Calle de los Estudios in the historic center of the city, was difficult and precarious at the same time, and not only in terms of availability and adequacy of teaching spaces. In the first issue of the journal *Arquitectura*, edited by the Sociedad Central de Arquitectos (Central Society of Architects) in 1918, Cort explained the needs demanded by modern pedagogy, incorporating new technical instruments and conducting field trips, activities that required junior staff and a budget to make their continuity feasible for its development. This claim was shared with other professors such as Teodoro Anasagasti, whose paper “Educación profesional: laboratorios, viajes y pensiones de estudios” (Professional education: laboratories, trips and visiting scholars) was presented at the IX Congreso Nacional de Arquitectos of Barcelona (1922), and constitutes a sample of the eagerness to modernize the archaic academic structures.

In 1919, Cort attended the Paris Inter-Allied Conference sent by the Sociedad Central de Arquitectos, and it will be from then on that his interest in urban planning aroused and his presence in international forums began (García-González and Guerrero 2018). He proposed renaming the subject while adapting it to what he understood to be its content, as he explained some years later:

And the proposal to name it “urbanología”, which I made at an international Congress, shortly after taking charge of creating this discipline at the Madrid School of Architecture,

had no other purpose than to revalidate that initiative by Cerdá, necessary for a good understanding between those who deal with matters related to cities, although until now I —must confess it with pain, but without fainting— it has had no more consequences than serving as a title to a subject of official studies for the teaching of architects. Venerable masters like Stübben, Unwin, and Nolen accepted neologism as good. The English name, Town Planning (that is, only project, layout, planning), and the German one, Städtebau (sharply, construction), complement each other, but remain incomplete, to exclude the functions of the city as an indispensable and fundamental technique that cannot be separated from the layout and urbanization.

(Cort 1956: 10)

This particular meaning of Urbanología would end up being assumed in Spain. Spanish urbanism had overcome the duality between planner and designer (Solà-Morales 1969). On the other hand, César Cort was also one of the first to contribute to the vindication of the urban planner Ildefonso Cerdá. In fact, on the occasion of the commemoration of the first centenary of the Barcelona Plan of 1859, this was pointed out by the Barcelona architect Adolfo Florensa: “I remember the strangeness that my classmates from that school [Madrid] produced when they asked me with great interest to find them the *Teoría General de Urbanización* by Cerdá” (Florensa 1957: 5).

The large and nourished Library of the Madrid School of Architecture served as a reception area to the various architectural trends that were developing in Europe and in the USA. Many of the 7,000 volumes in 1900 were inherited from the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando (Royal Academy of Fine Arts of San Fernando), the first teaching center for Architecture, and from 1903, the contribution of the engineer and architect Juan Cebrián (1848–1935) migrated to the USA, stood out. This philanthropist donated to the Library 4,000 works and 800 magazine issues, which is considered the starting point for the dissemination in Spain of the international construction typologies of the first third of the 20th century. In the “Architecture of Towns” section of the catalog—Unfortunately, the Madrid School of Architecture was in front of the Spanish Civil War and part of this legacy was lost— there were issues of the *Town Planning Review*, *Der Städtebau*, *Le Case popolari e Le Città Giardino*, *Civitas*, directed by Cebrià de Montoliu in Barcelon, and most of Cort’s syllabus.

Among the first elements that exerted a permanent influence on the teaching of urbanism, it is worth mentioning the presence in Spain of German manuals whose graphic information was of decisive importance in the dissemination of ideas, given the limited command of languages among Spanish architects, with exceptions such as Cort. It is worth noting the presence of *Construcción de ciudades según principios artísticos* by Camillo Sitte, translated into Spanish in 1927 by the architect and professor Emilio Canosa. The other undisputed German language reference was that of Josef Stübben’s *Der Städtebau*, in which the profusion of illustrations almost like a catalog allowed their wide dissemination, even though it was never translated into Spanish.

From the 1924 to 1925 course, some notes are preserved. The syllabus devoted to urbanism—there was a second part devoted to Sanitation—literally followed the structure of the book *Civic Art: Studies in Town Planning, Parks, Boulevards and Open Spaces* (1911) by the English landscape architect Thomas H. Mawson. This book was complemented by the Anglo-Saxon manual par excellence *Town planning in Practice: An Introduction of the Art of Designing Cities and Suburbs* (1909) by Raymond Unwin. Cort translated into Spanish all of this literature. However, the literalness observed in his transcription did not transfer to the content of the chapters, where he contributed his particular vision of the questions. The work of the English sociologist Henry Aldridge *The case for Town Planning* and the approach to the scientific city of George B. Ford, with which

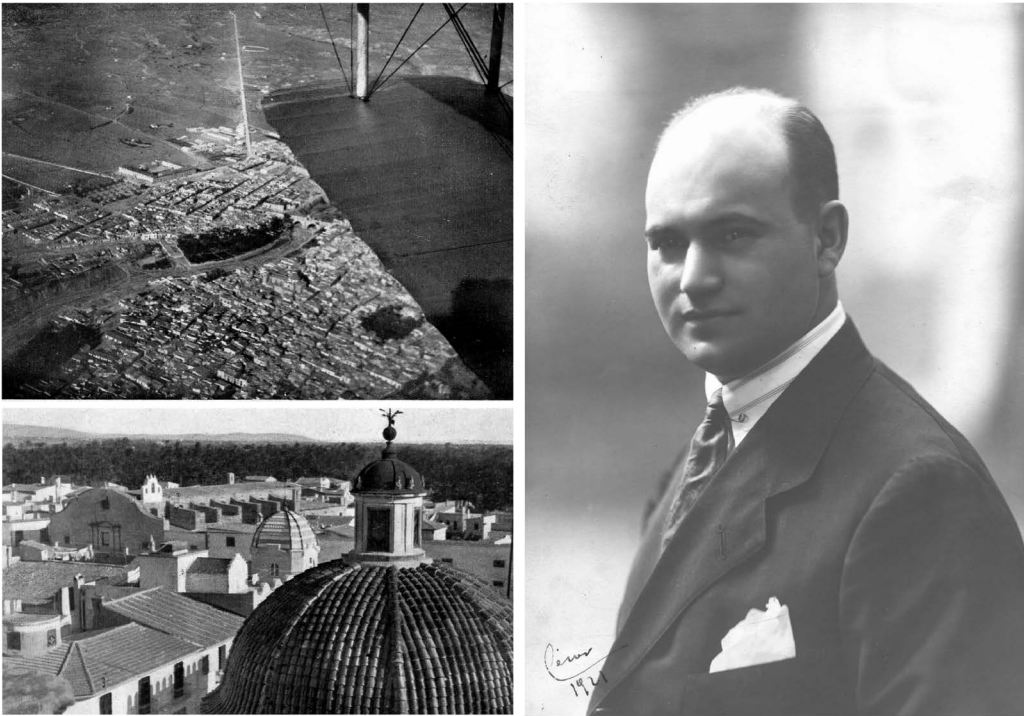
he had met in the Inter-Allied Congresses, constitute other Cortian references. In addition to Ildefonso Cerdà, Stübben, and Sitte, were included in the program: *Vers une Architecture* by Le Corbusier, *Town Planning. Past, Present and Possible* by Inigo Triggs and *Les promenades de Paris* by Adolphe Alphand, together with the works of the French hygienist Agustin-Rey, Eugène Hénard, and the technical approach of Nelson P. Lewis. Patrick Geddes' articles on the civic survey published in the *Sociological Review* were also recommended. An example of the professor's interest in Anglo-Saxon urbanism was his application in 1920 for a scholarship to study urbanism in England and the USA (Guerrero 2006), although the Junta para Ampliación de Estudios e Investigaciones Científicas (Board for the Extension of Scientific Studies and Research) rejected it.

The subject's aim was to provide students with the necessary knowledge for the development of projects and plans. First, the urban history of the urban forms, the structures, and the society that gave rise to it, became the foundation of the theory of civic art "looking in the most known populations of different times for the relationship between effects and causes", in a linear interpretation of the history. The structure of the project was based on the mutual influences of the location of civic centers, traffic system, and green space system, called aerator systems. The second level of urban design was based on the definition of the streets, the composition of the blocks, the location of public buildings, monuments, and ornamentation of open spaces in general. The financial study of the plans considering the agents involved in the process, and, finally, a compilation of the legislative corpus even in the different countries completed the section about the project. The last part, technical training for the execution and maintenance of urbanization works, responded to satisfy the needs of the students interested in the concerns about municipal technicians: the opening of streets, construction of pavement of the roads, sidewalks, plantations, underground services, lighting, public services, trams, the ornamentation of the public roads, etc. (Cort 1926: 7).

The Urbanología Chair was not exclusively devoted to theory. A good example was the workshop carried out in two middle historical towns. Elche (1921–1922), from the Arab tradition of the East (Figure 1.4.1), and the one in Ciudad Rodrigo (1924–1925), from the inner Spanish tradition (Figure 1.4.2), which became widely known because of different reasons. The graphic documents gathered in two articles published by *Arquitectura* (V. Z. 1922; Cort 1925) became a valuable testimony of both teaching experiences, since the original documents were lost.

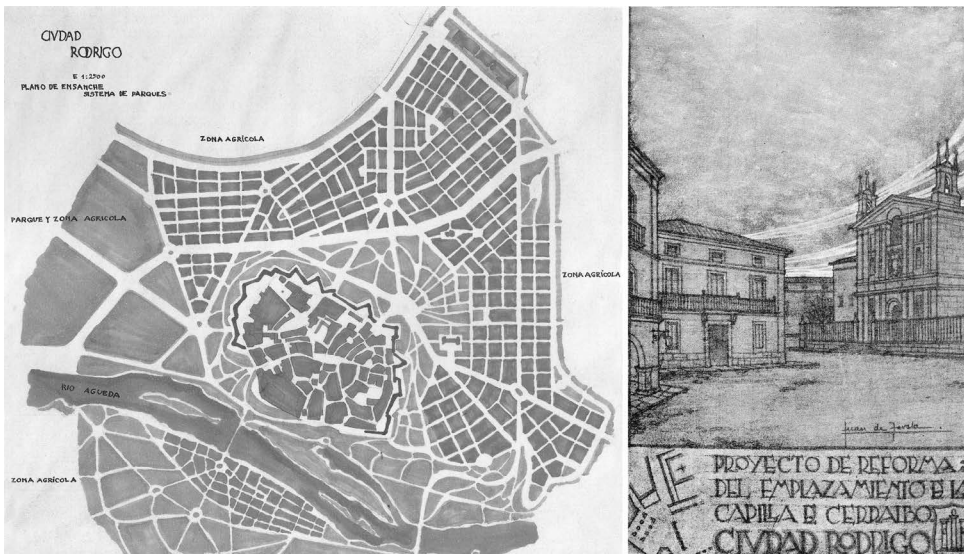
The graphic material consisted of an analysis of historical cartography, a study of the urban fabric and the layout of public spaces such as squares and streets, detailing different housing schemes, and, finally, the inner reform and extension plan scheme. Both articles showed the admiration for the possibilities of the photography technique, such as the use of aerial photography, which had its own section at the Paris Inter-Allied Conference, and photographic data on the identity of the different urban spaces and also on the people. The structure was based on ordering the open spaces that constituted the town's ventilation system and elaborating schemes for the conservation and the connection of the old accesses. The desire to understand what the popular culture of the place means was expressed in the inner reform proposals. A map on the traffic system of the towns in the municipal area of Ciudad Rodrigo was a first approximation to the regional scope.

Elche workshop's materials were exposed in the Exhibition that took place in the International Federation for Housing and Town Planning (IFHTP) Congress in Gothenburg in 1923 (Instituto de Reformas Sociales 1923: 17). This Congress was the beginning of the professor's relationship with IFHTP (García-González 2018: 135–303). Ciudad Rodrigo's article anticipated the issues that would form part of Cort's book *Murcia, un ejemplo sencillo de trazado urbano* (Cort 1932), used



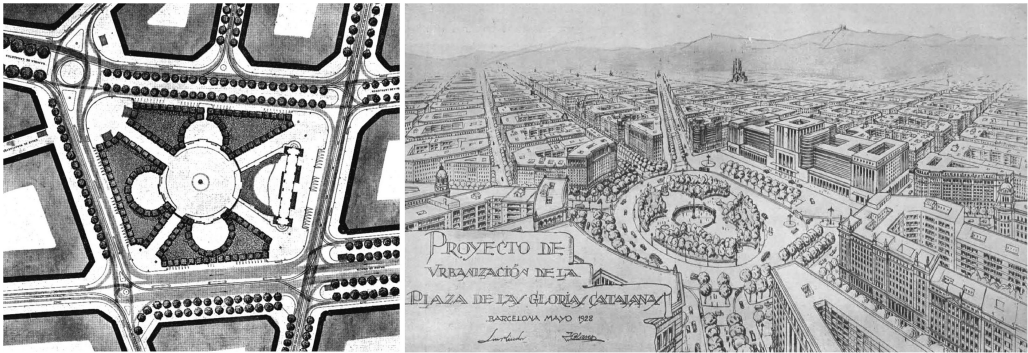
**FIGURE 1.4.1** The Elche’s urban workshop included pioneering photographic data, such as aerial views taken by the students, and drawings of public space proposals, 1921–1922; portrait of César Cort, 1921.

Source: V. Z. (1922) Los trabajos realizados en Elche por los alumnos de urbanización. *Arquitectura*, 38, 256–264.



**FIGURE 1.4.2** In the urban workshop in Ciudad Rodrigo, the new concepts of open space coexisted with the old technique of regular extension and the Spanish traditional public spaces, 1924–1925.

Source: Cort (1925) Trazado, Urbanización y Saneamiento de Poblaciones en la Escuela Superior de Arquitectura de Madrid: reforma y ensanche de Ciudad Rodrigo. *Arquitectura*, 77, 205–215.



**FIGURE 1.4.3** The students' proposals in the 1927–1928 course demonstrate the interests of the professor Amadeo Llopart at the Barcelona School of Architecture.

Source: Llopart (1930) Trabajos urbanísticos de los alumnos de la Escuela de Barcelona. *Arquitectura*, 130, 51–54.

in his teaching since its publication in 1932, inspired by Aldridge's *The case for Town Planning*. In his foreword Josef Stübben defined Cort's book as an initiatory work in Spain.

In the Barcelona School of Architecture (Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura 1977), the subject was under the responsibility of Amadeo Llopart, active until his retirement in 1959. In 1914 he was assistant professor of Physics, in 1916 he was dedicated to Materiales de Construcción, and was appointed professor of Topografía and Trazado, Urbanización y Saneamiento de Poblaciones in 1921. That year, Llopart had obtained a scholarship from the Junta de Ampliación de Estudios e Investigaciones Científicas to study in the Charlottenburg Seminar. Although the aim of the grant was to study advanced construction systems, this was an opportunity that allowed him to meet the great Germans masters from the *Städtebau*: Reinhard Baumeister, Josef Stübben and Rudolph Eberstadt, and the Austrian Camillo Sitte. The approach given to Urbanología by the Catalanian professor over forty years of teaching was practically reduced to three basic aspects: topographic technique, circulation problems, and urban aesthetics. The intervention in the city was approached from the fragmentation; it is intended to find the ordered and scenographical city attending to the circulatory needs. A good example of this was the issue of *Arquitectura* (Llopart 1925,1930) dedicated to urbanism teaching in Barcelona (Figure 1.4.3). Therefore, the German nature of the references and teaching programs of both schools could be highlighted, with the addition of Anglo-Saxon approaches, as well as Cerdá's theories, at the Madrid School of Architecture.

### **The Criticism of the Professionals: XI Congreso Nacional de Arquitectos y I de Urbanismo (1926)**

At the beginning of the second decade of the 20th century, the 1914 Architecture Study Plan began to be questioned from different fronts. The general criticism focused on the lack of adequacy between the technical preparation that the plan proposed and the professional skills that society demanded from architects. It was argued that the deficiencies in teaching were largely due to the time it was wasted taking subjects without any practical application and to the clamorous absences of the new concepts and tools, which mortgaged the future solvency of the graduates.

This question specifically affected urbanism. The economic crisis after the moment of brilliance due to the Spanish neutrality in the First World War was one of the triggers for the coup

by General Primo de Rivera (1923–1930). The bourgeoisie needed to continue making safe investments from the capital obtained between 1915 and 1920. This would explain that urban land became an element of short-term profit (Sambricio 1982).

The dictatorship sought an economic motor in construction. Although the dictatorship had eliminated the Instituto de Reformas Sociales, the public institution with an active international presence in the IFHTP through Salvador Crespo and Federico López Valencia and which gave rise to the Casas Baratas Law of 1921, in 1925, the decree-law regarding the construction of economic houses also for the middle classes based on the premise of being built in cities with more than 30,000 inhabitants was passed. The problem of housing was considered from the perspective of the cities. The public works were based on national scale with the creation of the Confederaciones Hidrográficas (Hydraulic drainage Zones of the larger Rivers) related to hydraulic energy source, the first step for the Plan Nacional de Obras Hidráulicas (National Plan for Hydraulic Infrastructures) (1933) assumed by the Second Republic, and developed by Francoism looking for energy source and new irrigation areas, with the Mussolinean policies as a reference. In 1926, Primo de Rivera implemented the Circuito Nacional de Firmes Especiales (the National Circuit of Special Pavements) institution who assumed the responsibility of the Spanish road network.

The dictatorship passed the municipalist Estatuto Municipal, and architects had then become aware of the urgency for the possibilities and needs imposed by the law. Every population of more than 10,000 inhabitants and a growth rate of more than 20% in the previous decade were required to have an extension plan, a fact that affected about sixty Spanish towns. This issue was addressed at the XI Congreso Nacional de Arquitectos y I de Urbanismo (first dedicated to urbanism) in 1926, organized in Madrid by the Sociedad Central de Arquitectos (Central Society of Architects), which imitated the initiatory character of the RIBA Congress of 1910, and tried to consolidate the procedural foundations of urbanism for architects.

The person in charge of the section of the Congress dedicated to teaching was Cort, who exposed Ciudad Rodrigo's workshop to technically qualified assistance. The practice carried out in Ciudad Rodrigo became the paradigm of the intervention project in a town, both in relation to the historic center and its extension. Cort explained the principles that according to him should be followed in the establishment of towns: first, the site; second, establishment of the arterial network; third, the park system; fourth, the construction of houses in suitable places; fifth, the location of public buildings; and sixth, the sanitation service.

The conclusions of the teaching section of the Congress, signed by César Cort, Amadeo Llopart, and Teodoro Anasagasti, were based on the need to introduce modifications in the study plans to adapt them to the new situations, the necessary coordination and intensification of actions of all educational centers whose subjects were related to urban issues, and the vindication that Urbanología teaching resided in the Architecture Schools. In this last point, it is important to highlight the discomfort of the group of civil engineers, who claimed their responsibility for the towns' plans and urban hygiene, without the prejudice to the role that other professions may have, as the case of the architects, who were assigned the problem of housing.

Besides the academia, the concern for the training of municipal technicians presented in Spain a relevant pioneering moment through the Escola de Funcionaris d'Administració Local (School of Public Services) (1914), later on Escola d'Administració Pública de Catalunya in the context of the Mancomunitat catalana (Catalonian Commonwealth), created in 1914, in which, the architect and planner Guillem Busquets was professor of the subject called Servicios Municipales (Municipal Services). The influence on Guillem Busquets of his 1913 stay at the Charlottenburg Seminar cannot be ignored. An evidence of this German proximity is the reference made by Josef Stübgen in *Der Städtebau* to Guillem Busquets, César Cort and Cebrià de



Montoliu as the main exponents of urbanism in Spain, in addition to mention the Cerdà Plan for Barcelona (Stübben 1924: 580). The Spanish Civil War (1936–1939) ended this Catalanian experience.

In the 1930s, new nonconformist visions about urban planning were being introduced, as the architect and planner Gabriel Alomar himself was going to represent it:

When in 1929 I entered the Barcelona School of Architecture, the word “urbanism” was an unusual word [...]. But what they taught us in it was totally absurd and meaningless [...]. Remained totally on the sidelines of this renewal movement [CIAM]; and the students were still amazed, from the halls of the School, the bold publications of GATEPAC and the revolutionary slogan of Le Corbusier.

(Alomar 1980: 25–26)

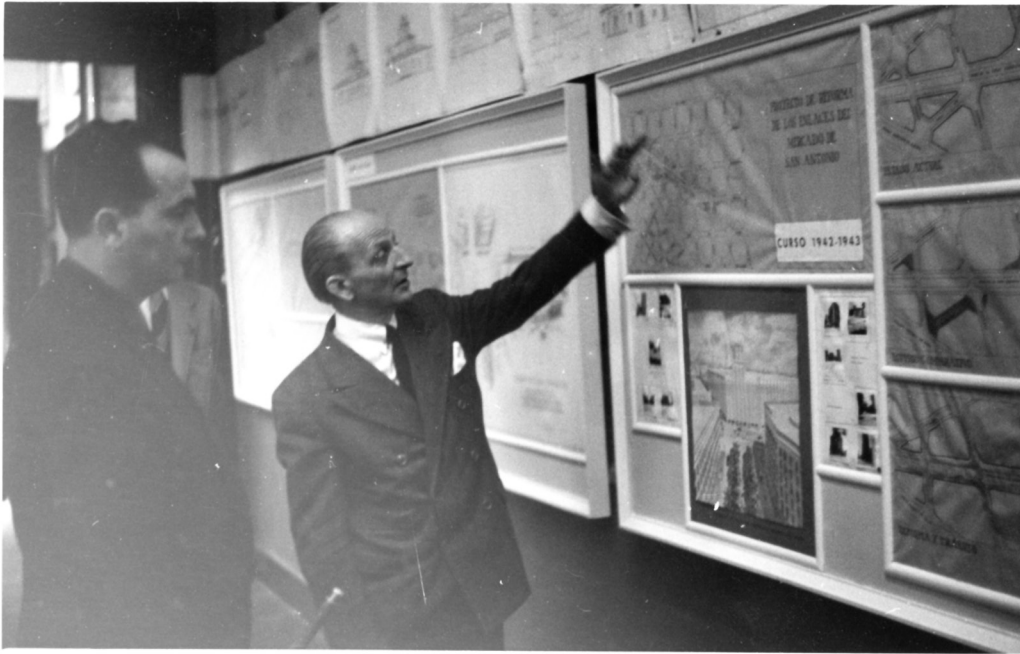
It is not surprising that the journal *AC. Documentos de Actividad Contemporánea*, the Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM) dissemination body in Spain, promoted a fierce criticism of the academic positions in its relationship with professional life: “In the Schools of Architecture an urbanism is taught that tries to solve the serious problems that arise in big cities, running curbs and widening the existing streets. Hénard and Sitte are still cited and theories discarded by other schools are discussed as useless, to solve the chaos of today’s cities” (*AC* 1934: 12–13).

## A New Study Plan for Architecture and a Civil War

The new Architecture Study Plan, definitively approved in 1933, was drawn up within the Government of the Second Republic and presented the contradiction of preserving, on the one hand, the elitism of university education and, on the other, the attempt to open up higher education to broader layers of society. New students were required to pass the drawing preparatory courses available in the School, to complete two years in the Faculty of Sciences, and the requirement of mastery of two languages: one Latin and one Saxon. The lack of knowledge of modern languages was one of the limitations that the architects argued when updating technical content in the international context.

The new Architecture Study Plan continued to structure the studies around the subjects of Projects and Construction, maintaining its affiliation with the Ministerio de Instrucción Pública y Bellas Artes (Ministry of Education and Fine Arts). The special studies on urbanism at the Madrid and Barcelona Schools of Architecture focused on a subject, renamed Urbanología, that included the technique, art, and science of the composition, the urbanization, and the functioning of cities. As a most significant novelty, the Cortian program was updated with the inclusion of an epigraph dedicated to regional planning, interpreted from the point of view of roads. This new Plan was especially exciting for the Madrid School of Architecture, since it was released coinciding with the transfer to the building of the architect Pascual Bravo Sanfeliú, located in the new university campus, Ciudad Universitaria. This first transfer was planned for occupation in June 1936 but was frustrated because of the beginning of the Civil War (1936–1939).

After the parenthesis of the Civil War, Cort remained in charge of the Chair of Urbanología until his de facto withdrawal from teaching in 1945. His immediate successor was the architect Pedro Muguruza, at the time, General Franco’s man of confidence immersed in the construction of the monument Valle de los Caídos (Madrid), and first General Director of Architecture. But Muguruza was unable to make any contribution because of his early illness. A bureaucratic entanglement left a Chair vacancy until the incorporation of the architect and planner Emilio



**FIGURE 1.4.4** Professor Amadeo Llopert shows to the Civil Governor the students' proposals in the School of Architecture of Barcelona exhibition, 1943.

Source: ArxiuGràfic ETSAB UPC.

Larrodera in 1965. By his part, Llopert continued with his teaching in Barcelona (Figure 1.4.4), and in the words of the professor Manuel Ribas i Piera (1992), “in the middle of the 20th century, he made his way along the routes of the 19th century German urban planning with Stübben and Sitte as lead authors”. It included the *Städtebau* by Gurlitt, Sitte, Stübben, Wolf, Hegemann and the journal same name, adding the references of Eugène Hénard and Inigo Triggs (Llopert 1945). In 1953, Llopert was appointed Director of the Barcelona School of Architecture.

In 1957, a new Architecture Study Plan divided the subject into three subjects plus an introductory course of topography and survey. At the same time, there was a new Land Act, the Ley de Régimen de Suelo y Ordenación Urbana (1956) that developed the figures of the technocrat planners, as Pedro Bidagor, author of the Madrid Plan (1946) (Terán 2005). The strong impulse in researching and teaching urbanism at the Barcelona School of Architecture would come from the Laboratorio de Urbanismo de Barcelona (Laboratory of Urbanism of Barcelona) that Manuel de Solà-Morales Rubió founded in 1968.

## In Conclusion

The institutionalization of Spanish urbanism, in the case of higher education, was implemented through the creation of the Chairs of Trazado de Poblaciones and later Urbanología (1932) in the Schools of Architecture as its own training spaces. The architects tried to formalize the assumption of the professional responsibilities in a founding congress, the XI Congreso Nacional de Arquitectos y I de Urbanismo (1926). They had the legislative support marked by the political situation that evolved from the regulation of the extensions at the end of the 19th century as State responsibility, to the municipalism that the Estatuto Municipal introduced.

All these facts can be understood from the perspective of the personal efforts of the professionals in the dissemination of the external and the internal trends of urbanism. The participation in the international forums, as congresses, or indirect contacts, such as proceedings, journals, pamphlets or books, and exhibitions, put them in contact with the principles of urbanism that circulated in the transnational networks. The congresses and exhibitions of the IFHTP, among others, close to the officialdom, and later on the CIAM, more linked to the claiming architectural elite minority, and the study trips and the fellowships such as those hosted by the Charlottenburg Seminar in Germany were interchange knots, not only because of the presence of Spaniards in Germany, but also because of the presence of German architects in Spain such as Oskar Jurgers, Josef Stübben, and Hermann Jansen. The first references were the German manuals, followed by the Anglo-Saxon visions that opened urban planning to the regional or territorial scale, and the journals whose images circulated among students and professionals. These professionals, not only architects, tried to assimilate and reinterpret the acquired knowledge, adapting it, with greater or lesser fortune, to their geographical, political, economic, and social reality.

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# 1.5

## RETHINKING URBAN EXTENSION AND INTERNATIONAL INFLUENCES

### Spain and the International Housing and Town Planning Congresses during the 1920s

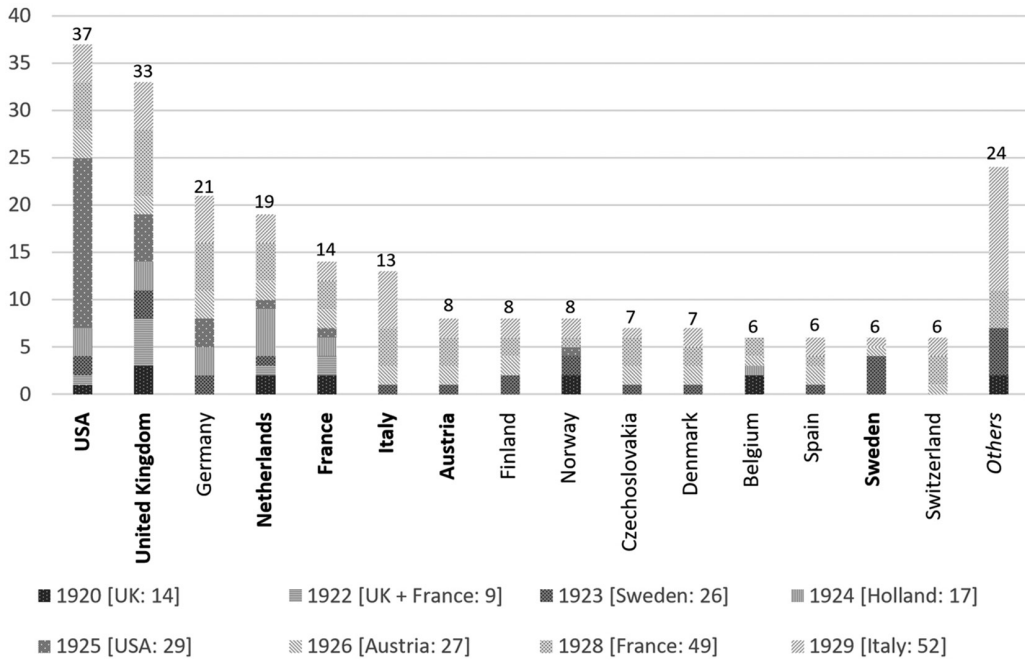
*María Castrillo Romón and Miguel Fernández-Maroto*

International networks played a key role in the evolution of urban planning in the 20th century. In the first half of the century, competitions and exhibitions were important forums for the circulation of ideas (Bodenschatz *et al.* 2010; Freestone and Amati 2016), while congresses articulated an entire international movement around housing and urban planning.

Within this “Urban Internationale” (1910–1950), the “International Federation for Housing and Town Planning”—henceforth IFHTP<sup>1</sup>—played an important role (Saunier 1999). The life of this institution, the importance of its congresses and the important performance of certain countries—United Kingdom, but also the United States, France, Germany and others—is well known (Riboldazzi 2010; Geertse 2012; Allan 2013). However, much less attention has been paid to the role of other secondary members and their relationships with the IFHTP.

Among them, Spain maintained a close link with this organization throughout the 1920s. Although its participation in the international congresses organized by the IFHTP was very discreet—it only presented six papers, like Belgium or Switzerland and similar to Denmark or Czechoslovakia—(Figure 1.5.1), the important influence that they had on Spanish housing legislation has been pointed out (Bassols Coma 1973), as well as their relevance in the penetration in Spain of the most innovative concepts of modern urban planning (Sambricio 1982; Terán 1999).

Recent research focusing on the Spanish participation in the international networks of the period has detailed the links established with the IFHTP (Castrillo Romón 2016; García González 2018; García González and Guerrero López 2018). All of them repeatedly mention a fact that, however, has never been specifically analyzed and is totally unknown in international research on planning communication (Wagner 2016): the translation into Spanish of the reports of the eight IFHTP congresses held between 1922 and 1929 by the “Sección de Casas baratas”—Section of Cheap Houses, hereinafter SCB<sup>2</sup>—a government body responsible for representing Spain at the IFHTP and also for preparing Spanish housing legislation (Instituto de Reformas Sociales 1922, 1923a, 1923b; López Valencia 1925, 1926, 1927, 1930; Crespo and López Valencia 1929). The SCB was part of the Spanish “Instituto de Reformas Sociales”—Institute for Social Reforms, hereinafter IRS—a government body that was created in 1903 to promote legislation on labor matters and social and government action for the benefit of the working classes, including the first Spanish Act on social housing—Act of June 12, 1911, on Cheap Houses—(Castrillo Romón 2003).



**FIGURE 1.5.1** Lectures in the IFHTP congresses (1920–1929) according to the nationality of their authors. “Others” includes lectures from 14 countries with less than 5 contributions (Hungary, Romania, Australia, Estonia, Poland, Bulgaria, Canada, India, Ireland, Japan, Latvia, Lithuania, New Zealand and Yugoslavia). In bold, countries that hosted a conference.

Source: The authors, following IFHTP congresses reports.

The analysis of these eight publications in the context in which they were produced provides a new perspective on Spain’s insertion in the transnational history of urban planning and allows for a discussion of causality between the international congresses of the IFHTP and normative and institutional changes at the national level (Figure 1.5.2).

### Spain and the IFHTP: Federico López Valencia and the Spanish Translations of the Reports of the Congresses

When the services within the IRS were reorganized in 1919, the abovementioned SCB was commissioned to disseminate and procure the implementation of the First Act on Cheap Houses and foster cooperatives for the construction of housing and garden-cities, in order to “grant these matters of cheap houses all the transcendence that they have regarding the physical and moral life of the worker” and put them in “the preeminent place that is currently granted to it in all countries”<sup>3</sup>. Shortly after, in 1920, the IRS was attached to the Ministry of Labour, Trade and Industry—hereinafter the Ministry of Labour—which commissioned a delegation of the SCB in the IFHTP congresses since 1922<sup>4</sup>.

Although it did not participate in 1920 at the conference in London—it coincided with the restructuring of the IRS—the SCB had two representatives at the conferences in London and Paris in 1922: Luis Pontes y de la Granja—head of the Construction Section—and Federico López Valencia—head of the Advertising and Statistics Section. The latter also attended the

IFHTP Congresses & Spanish participation	Year	Law, Planning Practice, Conferences and Publications on Housing and Town Planning in Spain
<b>London (February 1920)</b> [Report translated to Spanish: No] <b>Main issues &amp; lecturers:</b> New problems in Town Planning (R. Unwin); The governmental problems in the creation of garden cities (C. B. Purdom)	1920	Royal Decree of May 8, 1920, creating the Ministry of Labour [The IRS was attached to it]
<b>London (March 1922)</b> [Report translated to Spanish: Yes, totally] <b>Main issues &amp; lecturers:</b> How to get garden cities established throughout the world (T. Chambers; C. B. Purdom); Building costs (T. Chambers) <b>Spanish attendees:</b> F. López Valencia and L. Pontes y de la Granja (Ministry of Labour-IRS)	1921	Draft to reform the Act of June 12, 1911, on the construction of Cheap Houses (First Act on Cheap Houses) (The draft included a report on the Inter-allied Housing and Town Planning Congress of 1920) <b>Act of December 10, 1921, on the construction of Cheap Houses [Second Act on Cheap Houses]</b>
<b>Paris (October 1922)</b> [Report translated to Spanish: Yes, totally] <b>Main issues &amp; lecturers:</b> Influence of the garden city movement on town planning (T. Chambers; C. B. Purdom; H. Chapman; H. Sellier) <b>Spanish attendees:</b> F. López Valencia and L. Pontes y de la Granja (Ministry of Labour-IRS)	1922	National Congress of Hygiene and Sanitation of dwellings (Barcelona, June 1922) <b>Royal Decree of July 8, 1922, approving the provisional regulations for the application of the Cheap Houses Act of December 10, 1921</b> General Plan for the Extension of Madrid [Prepared by a municipal board, it was never passed but was presented in the exhibition that took place just before the IGCTPA Conference in Goteborg]
<b>Gothenburg (August 1923)</b> [Report translated to Spanish: Yes, totally] <b>Main issues &amp; lecturers:</b> The movement of garden cities and town planning in relation to current economic conditions; The garden city and the city too large (R. Unwin) <b>Spanish lecturers:</b> F. López Valencia (Ministry of Labour-IRS) <b>Spanish attendees:</b> César Corti (Ministry of Public Education); Juan García Cascales (Madrid City Council); José Cabestany (Barcelona City Council)	1923	<b>National Building Conference (Madrid, May-June 1923)</b> Royal Order of August 9, 1923, approving the motion presented by Mr. Eduardo Gallego Ramos on hygienic conditions of the houses and technical-sanitary prescriptions for the widening and internal reform of the towns <b>The housing problem in England, by F. López Valencia [With prologue by E. Howard]</b>
<b>Amsterdam (July 1924)</b> [Report translated to Spanish: Yes, totally] <b>Main issues &amp; lecturers:</b> Regional planning (R. Unwin; C. B. Purdom); Open spaces <b>Spanish attendees:</b> F. López Valencia (Ministry of Labour); Amós Salvador Carreras (Madrid City Council); José Cabestany (Barcelona City Council)	1924	General Extension Plan for Madrid and its distribution in zones [Neither passed] <b>Royal Decree-Law of March 8, 1924, approving the Municipal Statute</b> Royal Order of April 21, 1924, giving rules for the resolution of the housing problem Royal Decree of June 2, 1924, merging the IRS into the Ministry of Labour <b>Royal Decree-Law of October 10, 1924, on Cheap Houses</b>
<b>New York (April 1925)</b> [Report translated to Spanish: Yes, comprehensive summary] <b>Main issues &amp; lecturers:</b> The Traffic Problem; Decentralization within Regions (R. Unwin); The New York Regional Plan (T. Adams); Planning Unbuilt Areas (J. Stubbins); Zoning in Practice	1925	<b>Royal Decree-Law of July 28, 1925, on the construction of low-cost housing for the middle class</b> Project of urbanization of lands and construction of Cheap Houses for Zaragoza
<b>Vienna (September 1926)</b> [Report translated to Spanish: Yes, comprehensive summary] <b>Main issues &amp; lecturers:</b> Land Tenure in relation to Town and Regional Planning (T. Chambers; C. Chiodi; J. Nolen); Rational Distribution of Cottages and Tenements (H. Sellier; G. Benoit-Lévy; C. Albertini; H. Wright); Housing Situation with Special Reference to Public Utility Housing <b>Spanish lecturers:</b> F. López Valencia (Ministry of Labour); Arturo Soría Hernández (SC La Ciudad Jardín)	1926	<b>First National Town Planning Congress (Madrid, November 1926)</b> Competition for preliminary projects for the Reform and Extension Plan of Bilbao <i>The modern science of urbanism, by A. L. Peralta</i> <i>The future Madrid, by Compañía Madrileña de Urbanización</i>
<b>Paris (July 1928)</b> [Report translated to Spanish: Yes, partial summary] <b>Main issues &amp; lecturers:</b> Housing of the very poor (H. Sellier); Rural housing; Building costs of houses <b>Spanish lecturers:</b> F. López Valencia (Ministry of Labour) <b>Spanish attendees:</b> S. Crespo (Ministry of Labour); César Corti	1927 1928	<i>The municipal corporations and the problem of Cheap Houses, by M. Saborido Soler</i>
<b>Rome (September 1929)</b> [Report translated to Spanish: Yes, partial summary] <b>Main issues &amp; lecturers:</b> Financing Working Class and Middle Class Housing; Planning Apartment Housing Schemes in Large Towns; Replanning Old and Historic Towns to Meet Modern Conditions; Methods for Planning for the Expansion of Towns with Special Reference to Old and Historic Towns <b>Spanish lecturers:</b> S. Crespo and F. López Valencia (Ministry of Labour) <b>Spanish attendees:</b> Andrés Artaga Hernáiz (Madrid City Council); César Corti; Bernardo Giner de los Ríos (Madrid City Council); Ricardo Giralt Casadesu (Barcelona City Council); Federico Mestre-Peón; Manuel Saborido Soler (Madrid City Council); José María Torroja; Secundino Zuazo Ugalde	1929	International competition for the Reform and Extension Plan for Madrid [No declared winners] <b>The housing problem in Spain, by F. López Valencia</b> <i>Urbanism in its historical and doctrinal aspects, by E. de la Vara Ortiz</i> <i>A theme of urbanism: the expansion of cities. The garden cities of the past and the crystallization of social forms. The garden city. The need for a collective spirit for today's city, by S. Rey Pedreira</i>

FIGURE 1.5.2 Timeline describing the main aspects of the IFHTP congresses in the 1920s and the Spanish participation in them, as well as the parallel evolution of Spanish law and debates on housing and town planning.

Source: The authors.

congress in Gothenburg in 1923, where he presented a paper and organized Spain’s participation in the parallel exhibition. At this congress, the incorporation of Salvador Crespo—head of the SCB—as one of the vice-presidents of the IFHTP, representing Spain, was also approved.

In June 1924, shortly before the congress in Amsterdam—which Federico López Valencia attended again—the IRS was merged within the Ministry of Labour and the garden cities disappeared from the SCB’s jurisdiction<sup>5</sup>, which did not prevent it from continuing to send a delegation to the IFHTP congresses in Vienna, Paris and Rome. In all three cases, this delegation was composed of Salvador Crespo—who presented a paper in Rome—and Federico López Valencia—who presented a paper in each case.

Salvador Crespo (1876–1961), a law graduate, was the head of the SCB between 1908 and 1930. He shared the position of vice-president of the IFHTP with such well-known figures as Eliel Saarinen, Louis Bonnier, H. P. Berlage and Clarence S. Stein, but only his presence at the congresses of Vienna, Paris and Rome is recorded. Therefore, it can be assumed that the person who really managed Spanish participation in the IFHTP congresses was his subordinate: Federico López Valencia, who participated in all the congresses—except the one in New York in 1925—and was responsible for the translation of all the reports into Spanish.

Federico López Valencia (1890–1974), also a law graduate, joined the SCB in 1920 and worked with Salvador Crespo until 1930, when he briefly replaced him. Further the attendance of the two IFHTP conferences in 1922, López Valencia had an active participation in Gothenburg in 1923—both in the congress and the exhibition—and he also joined the Executive Committee of the IFHTP, where he met with figures such as Marcel Poëte, John Nolen, C. B. Purdom, Henri

Sellier, Clarence S. Stein and Raymon Unwin, among others. That year he published *El problema de la vivienda en Inglaterra* (López Valencia 1923), with a prologue by Ebenezer Howard—president of the IFHTP—, and following he attended the congresses of Amsterdam, Vienna, Paris and Rome. Finally, he summarized his experience in this period, with a proactive approach, in the book *El problema de la vivienda en España* (López Valencia 1929).

In parallel to his participation in these congresses, López Valencia also translated the official reports into Spanish, which is undoubtedly the most important task among those he undertook within the IFHTP<sup>6</sup>. Until the congress of Gothenburg in 1923, that is, while he represented the IRS, his translations were integral. Subsequently, he translated the reports of the congresses of Amsterdam, New York—which he did not attend—and Vienna in summary format but including all the sessions.

However, in the translation of the congress of Paris, 1928 and Rome, 1929, López Valencia did not include the specific contents of planning, excepting the general conclusions of the corresponding Rome sessions. In all volumes, he did include the full version of the papers presented by the Spanish delegates.

The partiality of the summaries of these last two congresses shows that the Spanish delegation of the Ministry of Labour focused on housing issues and withdrew regarding urban issues, which could be explained by the national context in the years 1924–1926, more specifically by the dissolution of the IRS and, above all, by the approval of the so-called Municipal Statute (1924). This Act assigned the management of town planning to City Councils, which promoted the mobilization regarding this issue of the Central Society of Architects, a professional board. Two of its members attended the congresses in Gothenburg and Amsterdam in 1923 and 1924: Juan García Cascales and Amós Salvador Carreras, while the Society had a delegate on the IFHTP Council since 1924 onwards: Gustavo Fernández Balbuena. This double Spanish presence within the IFHTP could have resulted in a sort of distribution of functions between the public body in charge of housing legislation and the professional board interested in the practice of urbanism, which eventually emerged in the translations carried out by the SCB.

Moreover, the lack of new translations from 1930 onwards could be related to the changes in the Ministry of Labour after the proclamation of the Second Republic in 1931. Salvador Crespo and Federico López Valencia temporarily took a back seat within the Ministry, which seem to have cooled down the relationship with the IFHTP. Although both maintained—at least formally—their positions on the Council and the Executive Committee, there is not any record of their presence at the two congresses of the 1930s—Berlin, 1931 and London, 1935—nor of the translation of their reports into Spanish. Shortly afterwards, the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War completely cut Spain's institutional relationship with the IFHTP.

The publication of the Spanish summaries of the IFHTP congresses was relevant from a national perspective. On the one hand, specialized publications on modern urban planning techniques were relatively scarce in Spain at that time, and this series provided access to the most innovative debates worldwide<sup>7</sup>. On the other hand, these translations made visible the work of the Ministry of Labour regarding this issue, as well as its contribution in an important international forum—expressed in the full contributions of its delegates included in the reports—which might have also played a propagandistic role.

Moreover, as Wagner (2016) has pointed out, the international congresses at that time raised not a few linguistic issues. The possibility of adding a Spanish version to the official editions which, at the beginning, were only issued in English gave an extraordinary boost to their dissemination. When presenting the 1922 report in the annual meeting in Gothenburg, C. B. Purdom stated that the movement has been greatly helped by the publications of the reports and papers read at recent conferences and especially by the complete translations published by the Spanish



and French sections of the federation (Instituto de Reformas Sociales 1923b: 76). Furthermore, it is quite probable that the IRS disseminated these translations within the Spanish-speaking countries, as it kept regular corresponding with different Latin American nations<sup>8</sup>.

### **Satellite Cities and Other Measures to Promote the Construction of Cheap Houses: Influence of IFHTP Congresses on Housing Legislation in Spain?**

In February 1920, the IRS did not commission a delegation to the IFHTP congress in London, but a few weeks later, from June 3 to 11, Salvador Crespo attended the “Inter-Allied Housing and Town Planning Congress” held in the same city. The conclusions drawn from this congress were one of the bases used by Crespo himself to prepare a preliminary project to reform the First Act on Cheap Houses<sup>9</sup>. The council of the IRS approved it unanimously in 1921 and send to the Deputy Secretary of Ministry of Labour together with the preliminary studies and the report of the inter-allied congress to serve as “background and illustration”<sup>10</sup>.

A few weeks later, the rise in building prices and the worsening of the housing problem led the Ministry of Labour to reform the regulation of the abovementioned act, referring again to the “agreements signed unanimously at the London congress of 1920”<sup>11</sup>, while the Second Act on Cheap Houses was passed at the end of that year<sup>12</sup>. Even though the garden cities were at that time explicitly within the jurisdiction of the IRS, they were not mentioned in this new act, but this did not prevent the IRS to send its first delegation to an IFHTP congress three months later, in March 1922.

On the one hand, the debate in this congress focused on promoting the construction of garden cities, but the decentralization of the growth of large cities does not appear expressly in the Spanish translation; it only included a review of the visit to Welwyn, the second garden city of England and the first based on a “plan of satellite cities” around London (Instituto de Reformas Sociales 1922: 23). A few weeks later, provisional regulations for the Second Act on Cheap Houses were passed and its most decisive contribution regarding urban planning was precisely the creation of “satellite cities of cheap houses”, which shows that “a much more complete idea of urban planning than that of the ‘ensanche’ was gaining ground” (Bassols Coma 1973: 455). However, this little time lapse shows that it is highly unlikely that, as traditionally assumed, the IFHTP congresses had a direct influence on the introduction of this interesting concept into Spanish legislation.

On the other hand, this congress held in London in 1922 discussed on building costs, which was also a big problem in Spain. In fact, the IRS worked on this issue between May and October of that year and eventually proposed the organization of a “National Building Congress” in which the various actors in this sector would discuss the possibility of innovative approaches such as the municipalization of housing, the construction of garden cities, the municipal planning, the planning of satellite cities, etc. (Instituto de Reformas Sociales 1924: 56–60). This proposal coincided with the IFHTP congress held in Paris in October 1922, but the issues related to construction costs were there no longer a matter of debate, even though building prices and housing costs were still a burning issue in many countries.

In contrast, in Spain, the proposal was accepted by the Ministry of Labour, and the so-called National Building Conference was held in Madrid from May 28 to June 4, 1923, organized by the IRS. The debate was organized through eight topics within four sections: legislative, financial, technical and social. Salvador Crespo was one of the speakers in the first section, referring to possible modifications to be introduced in the housing legislation, while Federico López Valencia and Luis Pontes served as secretaries of the sessions within the financial and technical sections, respectively. The results of the debates, and all the preparatory documentation,

were compiled in an extensive report (Instituto de Reformas Sociales 1924) and the conference reached a certain transcendence, although its actual effects were not so clear.

López Valencia's participation in this national conference was almost simultaneous with the preparation of the important presence of the IRS at the exhibition and congress of the IFHTP held in Gothenburg just a few weeks later, in July and August 1923. This event provided López Valencia with the opportunity for his first oral intervention to gloss over the Spanish legislation on cheap houses. After commenting on the first act of 1911, he detailed the advances of the second act of 1921, which "includes the latest and most scientific principles and gives important support to the construction of cheap houses [which] has continued to move forward despite the difficulties" (Instituto de Reformas Sociales 1923b: 45 and 47)<sup>13</sup>.

Barely a month later, a coup d'état accepted by the king took place in Spain. Taking the conclusions of the National Building Conference as a reference, the new dictatorial government approved in the following months several Royal Orders and Decrees aimed at "solving the housing problem" which reflect heterogeneous and fragmented approaches, without any ambition for doctrinal innovation and which even encourage the densification of the existing urban tissues—something opposed to the principles of the IFHTP<sup>14</sup>.

Later, after the merging of the IRS into the Ministry of Labour, the government enacted two Royal Decree-Acts that remained in force until 1939: on the one hand, the Royal Decree-Act of October 10, 1924, on cheap houses, which modified the Second Act—again according to the conclusions of the National Building Conference—and was drafted by Eduardo Aunós—Minister of Labour—with the direct advice of Salvador Crespo and Federico López Valencia (Arias González 2011: 263), who made a request for support to the IFHTP (Allan 2013: 70)<sup>15</sup>; on the other hand, the Royal Decree-Act of July 28, 1925, on the construction of low-cost housing for the middle class, which thus expanded the potential beneficiaries and led to the proliferation in many Spanish cities of projects of cottage estates, sometimes presented as "garden cities".

Returning to the IFHTP congresses, after the parenthesis of Amsterdam, 1924 and New York, 1925, where the debates on housing were absent, the participation of the Spanish delegates—now representing the Ministry of Labour—reactivated in 1926 at the congress in Vienna, where Federico López Valencia presented the paper "Cottage and Tenement in Spain". Overlooking these recent legal changes, López Valencia alluded to historical reasons to explain the prevalence of tenements and the high population densities in the large Spanish cities, and justified the demands made by Spanish law for the construction of cottages.

López Valencia again participated in the Paris congress in 1928, where he presented the paper "Housing of the Very Poor in Spain". Leaving aside his usual official position, he drew a very gloomy picture in Spain and showed, for the first time at an IFHTP meeting, a critical attitude towards the results of government action. Finally, at the 1929 congress in Rome, both Salvador Crespo and López Valencia spoke. Crespo presented the paper "Financing Working Class and Middle Class Housing in Spain" and publicize a recently created savings bank for housing, while López Valencia presented the paper "Planning Apartment Housing Schemes in Large Towns in Spain", showing a rather implausible vision of the future of new collective housing in Spain, although he did not hide the fact that the government had recently authorized "the increase in the number of flats while preserving the advantages of the acts" (López Valencia 1930: 26).

In short, despite the continuous presence of Spanish delegates at the IFHTP congresses in a period when housing legislation in Spain underwent numerous changes, and despite the certain coincidence on the topics, the direct influence that the proposals emanating from those congresses could have had in Spain, if it really existed, was very limited and faced with not a few contradictions.

## The Inertia of the Existing Legal Framework for Urban Extension in Spain: The Central Society of Architects, the Municipal Statute and Planning Issues at IFHTP Congresses

In the exhibition parallel to the Gothenburg congress in 1923, the Spanish delegation—coordinated by López Valencia—presented the legal framework of town planning in Spain, identified with the acts on urban extension—“ensanches”—and the act on improvement, sanitation and inner expansion (Instituto de Reformas Sociales 1923b: 13–16)<sup>16</sup>. These tools, which had been in force for several decades were showing clear signs of insufficiency to deal with the urbanization tensions that were manifesting themselves in the largest Spanish cities.

In fact, during the 1920s, there were many attempts in Spain to transform or alleviate the deficits of this institutional framework which, however, showed an enormous inertia in the face of change. In this sense, the most ambitious initiatives ended up failing, while the progress made came through the partial modification of the existing legislation and also, as seen before, through the introduction of the satellite cities of cheap houses in the housing law.

These issues, along with public hygiene, articulated the debate in Spain and both converged in the influential, abovementioned National Building Conference. Following the same path as the IFHTP congresses between 1922 and 1923, this conference showed a shift in the focus of interest from housing problems to issues referring to the planning of urban growth beyond municipal boundaries, “including purely planning issues, such as the layout of the city and the construction of garden and satellite cities” (Terán 1999: 168). It should be noted that two architects from Madrid City Council—already mentioned for their links with the IFHTP—took an active part in this conference: Juan García Cascales, who attended the exhibition and congress in Gothenburg just a few days later, and Gustavo Fernández Balbuena, representative of the Central Society of Architects of Madrid in the IFHTP Council<sup>17</sup>. Although the conference raised the need for a new Urbanization Act that would provide a comprehensive response to the problems detected, such an initiative did not succeed<sup>18</sup>.

The following year, the IFHTP congress in Amsterdam focused mainly on the issues of regional planning and open spaces, while the 10th National Congress of Architects held in Santander decided that its 11th Congress should be considered as the First National Congress of Urban Planning. The Central Society of Architects—its organizer—appointed that same year a commission formed by César Cort, Juan García Cascales and Gustavo Fernández Balbuena to prepare the paper that would represent the Society at the congress, and later also appointed an Executive Committee in charge of the organization of the event, whose secretary was Gustavo Fernández Balbuena (Sánchez González 1999: 403–419).

A few weeks earlier, in March 1924, the so-called Municipal Statute had been approved, which turned the planning practices of urban expansion, sanitation and inner reform into ordinary municipal tasks. Although supra-municipal planning problems were left out of the provisions of this new legal framework—weakly innovative—the tools available for the City Councils made town planning for the entire municipality possible, which opened up great political and technical expectations (Bassols Coma 1973: 494–501).

The preparation of the First National Congress of Urban Planning advanced with difficulty and successive postponements, but it ended up getting governmental support, so it was finally held in Madrid from November 24 to 30, 1926<sup>19</sup>. Terán (1999: 171) points out that this congress took “the step from the vision of ‘extension’ to the ‘regional’ vision [...] in trying to understand and organise the future of the large city, introducing the notion of Regional Planning” and linked this to the debates held at the IFHTP congresses in Amsterdam in 1924—where a member of the Central Society of Architects was present: Amós Salvador Carreras—and in New York in 1925.

It should also be noted that the year 1926—when both this congress and the IFHTP one in Vienna were held—was a turning point, but in opposite directions: the IFHTP brought together again the issues of town planning and housing in its following congresses, while urban planning emerged in Spain as a renovated practice—separated from housing—that found its first field of experimentation in the plans that began to be drawn up after the approval of the Municipal Statute. In this context, the Spanish bibliographic production on urban planning became larger, just as these issues were left aside in the Spanish translations of the IFHTP congresses carried out by the SCB of the Ministry of Labour.

### **Conclusions—Influences from the IFHTP Congresses in Spanish Housing and Town Planning during the 1920s: Complex Causality and Institutions' Weight**

The relationship that was established in the 1920s between the IFHTP and the Spanish delegations that participated in its bodies and above all in its congresses—mainly from the SCB of the IRS and the Ministry of Labour, which played an active role in their organization and diffusion—reflects a complexity that cannot be reduced to the simple scheme of international issuer and national receiver. Although the influences of the movement represented by the IFHTP in the debates that took place in Spain in this particularly dynamic period are evident, the analysis carried out shows that a direct, one-way link cannot be established between the IFHTP congresses and the legal changes in Spain. Thus, this case study invites to review the simple causality stated between the IFHTP congresses and the institutional or normative changes at national level in countries, such as Spain, not being able to play a clear dominant role in the “Urban Internationale”.

The main focus of the IFHTP congresses during the 1920s, housing and town planning, corresponded then in Spain to two very different areas of public competence. While the institutional framework of housing was very recent and, as we have seen, more malleable—open to multiple influences and interests, sometimes contradictory to each other—that corresponding to urban planning was much more established and, despite its situation of crisis, only incorporated modifications in a fragmentary and slow manner. In this sense, debates promoted by the IFHTP during the 1920s got a reflect on Spanish housing legal framework—such as the “satellite cities of cheap houses” creation—but, regarding town planning, concepts such as “decentralization” entered into Spain through planning practice. Within the same country, these divergent paths regarding ideas that were discussed in the same international forum suggest the great importance of national or, even, local institutional frameworks when assimilating ideas spreading at international level.

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### **Notes**

- 1 The IFHTP did not adopted that name until 1926, but it has been used all along the text because there is institutional continuity and to make reading easier.
- 2 It was also called “Servicio especial de Casas baratas” and “Sección de Casas baratas y económicas” in different periods.

- 3 Royal Decree of October 14, 1919: explanatory memorandum and Article 42.
- 4 There is evidence that the first contacts of the IRS with the British Garden Cities Association date back to 1907 (Castrillo Romón 2002).
- 5 Royal Decree of June 9, 1924.
- 6 Even though they had different printers, the eight publications were serialized and published in the same format, without colour nor illustrations. Only the volume corresponding to the Gothenburg congress had a higher quality edition.
- 7 This connotation of foreign innovation may have been particularly important. In this series, “town planning” is systematically translated as “trazado de poblaciones” until 1928, when it was replaced by “urbanismo” for the first time, while “urbanización”—the term that Cerdá coined in 1867—was not used.
- 8 A review of the monthly issues of the IRS Bulletin between 1920 and 1924 shows the attention that it paid to national housing reform movements in several Latin American countries, especially Argentina, but also Chile, Uruguay, Mexico and Peru.
- 9 Bulletin of the IRS, 200 (February 1921): 334–352.
- 10 Bulletin of the IRS, 200 (February 1921): 175.
- 11 Royal Decree of May 14, 1921.
- 12 Act of December 10, 1921.
- 13 López Valencia made no mention of the recent National Building Conference, nor of the accumulation of problems that had led to it.
- 14 Royal Order of October 31, 1923; Royal Order of November 3, 1923; Royal Decree of February 19, 1924; Royal Decree of February 23, 1924; and Royal Order of April 21, 1924. In the latter, the IRS was entrusted with the drafting of acts concerning “affordable housing”; “garden suburbs” and “city planning and extension”.
- 15 This modification eliminated the contents related to neighbourhood and housing sanitation, whose supervision was transferred to the City Councils shortly before.
- 16 Acts of December 22, 1876, and July 26, 1892; and Act of March 18, 1895.
- 17 Despite holding this position, there is no evidence that Fernández Balbuena ever attended any IFHTP congress.
- 18 The Minister of Labour Joaquín Chapaprieta presented this draft of an Urbanization Act of which Terán (1999: 168) underlines its “theoretical evolution”, but it was not approved.
- 19 The congress dealt with five topics: “The teaching of town planning”—presented by César Cort, “Laws regulating town planning and their exact application”—presented by Juan García Cascales, “Town planning in rural groups”, “Town planning in modern towns” and “Town planning in industrial towns”. Some visits were also organised, and some lectures were given, one of them by Salvador Crespo.

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# 1.6

## INFLUENCES OF EUROPEAN URBAN PLANNING IN POST-WAR SPAIN

Pedro Bidagor Collection of the  
Historical Service Archive of the Official  
College of Architects of Madrid

*Alberto Sanz Hernando*

### **Pedro Bidagor, Protagonist of Urban Planning during the Franco Regime**

The urbanism of the Spanish post-war period (1939–1970) has a clear protagonist, the architect Pedro Bidagor Lasarte (San Sebastián, Guipúzcoa, 1906 – Madrid, 1996), a true driving force of contemporary Spanish urban planning. Outstanding achievements were generated by the Spanish planning tradition of the late 19th and the early 20th century, such as the major 19th century expansions in the most populated cities – especially the Castro Plan in Madrid and the Cerdá Plan in Barcelona – and, also in Madrid, the Ciudad Lineal (Linear City) by Arturo Soria, the quality and modernity of which are astonishing.

The Spanish planning system of the early 20th century was regulated by the 1864 and 1876 laws on urban expansion, the 1895 law on internal reform and the 1924 and 1935 legal regulations on local administration. The national government was responsible for approving plans for expansion and internal reform until 1924. From then on, municipal urban planning had exclusive competence to draw up plans for expansion, urbanization and sanitation, but the Sanitary Commissions (national or provincial depending on whether municipalities had more than 30,000 inhabitants or were province capitals) played an important role in the supervision of the projects. Against this background, the reconstruction of a nation destroyed by the Civil War (1936–1939) was faced with a minimal administrative infrastructure regarding urban planning, but with a will to generate a new urban concept according to the high aspirations that were expected of Spain. It was understood that the state should actively participate in the work of national reconstruction, in which architects were to play an essential role in the public sphere and assumed very different tasks compared to their previous work of a more liberal nature. The circumstances placed architects from different political tendencies in the Madrid of the war, which, according to Pedro Bidagor, “produced a spontaneous movement of cohesion around the person of Pedro Muguruza Otaño, with the dream of achieving a new professional situation” (Bidagor 1964: 3).

Despite this singular fact, Spanish historiography in the second half of the 20th century always assumed a conceptual break between the new urbanism of General Franco’s regime and that of the Spanish Republic, both in architecture and in other related disciplines (Terán 1999: 41). Bidagor himself enunciated this rupture in his 1939 text entitled “Plan de ciudades” (Bidagor 1939: 62). But at the end of the 20th century, several theorists of Spanish urbanism, such as

Fernando de Terán and Carlos Sambricio, began to reconsider the idea of a Spanish urbanism isolated from external currents and exclusively promoting a new grandiloquent and scenographic image of the Hispanic city in accordance with the imperialist political will. According to these authors, the reality was different. Current Spanish urban planning did not come out of nowhere but responded to a continuity of the recent achievements in urban terms of the defeated Spanish Republic. In this period, the splendid results of the competition for the growth of Madrid, the Regional Plan of Besteiro (Minister in the Spanish Republic) and the Beaches of Jarama River, both in the Madrid area, or the *Ciutat del Repos*, in Barcelona, among others, stood out (Terán 1978; Sambricio 1987 and 2003). As we shall see later, Pedro Bidagor became the key figure in Spanish urban planning in the post-war period due to his continuity to republican experiences and the integration of Spanish urban planning into European trends.

### **German and Other European Influences in Spanish Urban Planning and in the Work of Pedro Bidagor**

Some modern Spanish architects from the first third of the century came close to the urban concepts of the rest of Europe, especially the German ones, and many of them studied in Germany or were trained there after finishing their studies. Thus, the architects Secundino de Zuazo (1887–1971) and Fernando García Mercadal (1883–1975) were the main promoters of the idea of the modern German city in Spain, although at the same time Luis Pérez-Mínguez Villota (1905–2007) is considered to be one of the first connoisseurs of German urbanism (Sambricio 1987: 94).

In 1929 Zuazo, together with the German urban planner Hermann Jansen (1869–1945) – designer of a satellite city south of Berlin and professor of urban planning to Hitler’s architect, Albert Speer – won the competition to extend Madrid along the axis of the Castellana, the most important avenue in Madrid. The urban planning hypotheses made in this work were maintained in the work of Bidagor, who recognized its influence, as he worked with Zuazo and was in contact with the German urban planners who took part in it. In the Urban Planning Department, created in 1946, the expansion of the city along the recently named Avenida del Generalísimo, formerly Paseo de la Castellana, was addressed from the very beginning in Zuazo and Jansen’s project. Likewise, García Mercadal, who had studied in Germany under the urban planner Otto Bünz, participated in the aforementioned competition together with his German professor. In 1930, together with the Romanian urban planner Otto Czsekelius (1895–1974), he translated into Spanish the book by Bünz *Städtebau und Landesplanung*, translated as “Urbanisation. Regional Plan”, whose text Bidagor always considered to be the theoretical background to his work. In addition, Otto Czsekelius worked with other architects, including Bidagor, who always considered Czsekelius a great professional and his reference in the historical analysis of cities (Terán 1983: 132). Luis Pérez-Mínguez, a collaborator of Bidagor, studied in Germany with Jansen and had a strong theoretical education in urbanism. He worked in Madrid with Zuazo and Jansen, and he was familiar with the London experience of Patrick Abercrombie (1879–1957). Sambricio considered him the key figure in the Bidagor team (Sambricio 1999: 86).

The first urban planning project proposed for Madrid after the war, designed in 1939 by the engineer José Paz Maroto (1900–1973), already proposed taking advantage of the previous achievements. It included the understanding of the need for a supra-municipal, regional planning, as was the case in the republican Besteiro Plan. Paz Maroto was interested in applying the German and English urban planning regulations, the history of which he was familiar with. With this background, in which Spanish urban planning is embedded in contemporary urban theories, Pedro Bidagor has recently been understood as a continuationist architect and, above all, as the father of the normalization of the urban planning profession, as the creator of



the urban planning administration in Spain and as the promoter of legislation that would serve as a tool for the development and execution of urban planning in our country (Terán 1983; Sambricio 1987). He is also the author of the plans for many cities, including Madrid, Bilbao, Valencia, Barcelona and Sevilla. In addition, he promoted the creation of the Institute of Local Administration Studies to train urban planning technicians, as well as promoting grants for architects to be trained in the discipline within the public administration.

Pedro Bidagor was at the forefront of Spanish urban planning from 1939 onward as head of the Urban Planning Section (1939–1949) of the newly created General Directorate of Architecture within the Ministry of the Interior. Later, he became the director of the National Urban Planning Department (1949–1956) and then the head of the corresponding General Directorate (1957–1969). Interestingly, Pedro Bidagor two opposing political tendencies came together in a fiery anti-capitalism, as he worked during the Civil War under the auspices of the CNT, an anarchist workers' union, and later in his political position as the head of Franco's urbanism. His theories were anchored in the concepts coming from the Spanish Falange and the Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional Sindicalista (JONS – a fascist political group of Italian descent that dominated the Franco regime as the sole party of the State until 1959). At that time, Bidagor rejected liberal urbanism and the economic consequences it produces, refuting the contemporary city as the fruit of destructive capitalism, based on the lack of functional concreteness and the urban randomness that produces chaos and confusion, as had happened in London and Paris, the two great European capitals (Bidagor 1939: 62). In contrast, when he travelled to Berlin in 1941 he was impressed by the capital of the Third Reich, the characteristics of which coincided with those of the fascist Falangist city that he had devised and that the German engineer Gottfried Feder (1883–1941) defined in his 1939 book *Die Neue Stadt*. In addition, German urban planning subordinated municipal plans to regional ones, and these in turn to national ones, a characteristic that interested Pedro Bidagor, although he recognized that the German law of 1937 that regulated urban planning was “authoritarian and draconian: all means are used to achieve the end” (ASH.FUCOAM Fondo Bidagor PBL\_D0197).

Even so, Pedro Bidagor never disdained Le Corbusier's functionalism in the sense of discovering the functional organization of the city as the origin of organic planning. The architect also acknowledged the theories of the English urbanist Patrick Abercrombie and the French Gaston Bardet (1907–1989).

Bidagor's planning adopts an organic conception of the city (Figure 1.6.1) originating in the European urbanism of the post-war period (Terán 1983: 133). The consistent use of parts of the human body to identify the different zones of the city and the systems which are the base of the functioning of urban space, essentially: the circulatory system (road network), nervous system (community centers) and respiratory system (network of open spaces), that is to say, a parallelism between organs and functions, which Bidagor used in most of his texts, was not completely reflected in the final reality because of the European rationalism that is present in his plans, for example, in the expansion of Castellana or social districts (Luque Valdivia 1998: 270). The fact that Spanish urban planning was theoretically ascribed to this organicism allowed Bidagor to distance himself from the prevailing rationalism in the rest of Europe and to avoid creating suspicion among his political superiors. After the Second World War (1939–1945), the countries participating in the conflict rediscovered organicist theories. Thus Spain, in the process of modernization following the 1953 agreements, aligned its urban planning to that of the rest of its neighbors. Pedro Bidagor looked to Europe in his urban planning work, and not only to the German city, but also to English and French organicism, which had a clear influence on his general plans. Thus, the history of Spanish urban planning in the second third of the 20th century, led by Pedro Bidagor, has been critically determined in the latest studies based on the analysis of urban plans drawn up by the architect and their evaluation in relation to pre-war urban planning and contemporary European legislation.

Regarding foreign urban planning, Pedro Bidagor made an exhaustive compilation of texts, which he analyzed and commented on, particularly the urban plans of Great Britain – England

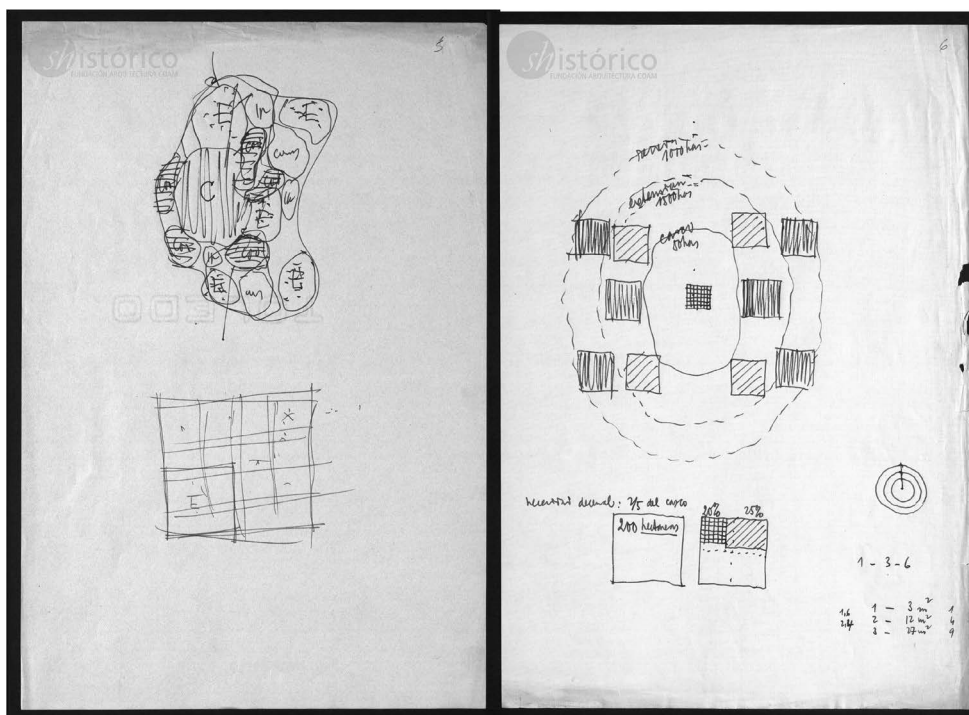


FIGURE 1.6.1 Some urban planning sketches. PBL-ASHFUOAM.

(1947) and Scotland (1947), Italy (1942), France (1943), Belgium (1946), Poland (1949), Sweden (1947), Germany, the USA, Morocco, Switzerland, Portugal, Argentina, Turkey, Czechoslovakia, Romania and other Eastern European countries. This documentation confirms that Pedro Bidagor had a deep knowledge of the development of the discipline in the rest of the world, especially in the European countries which constitute his close geographical environment. In the face of the isolation of the Franco regime in practically all cultural and technical areas, Bidagor, at that time the leading manager in charge of Spanish urban planning, was able to build a theoretical and cognitive bridge not only to the years before the war, but also to the rest of the urban planning policies of our neighbors [Figure 1.6.2](#).

At the beginning of the 1950s Bidagor studied a set of foreign urban planning laws from the previous decade, the fundamental themes of which were

1. management and executive bodies
2. planning
3. land policy
4. state, provinces, municipal and private capital involvement in the implementation of planning
5. compensation criteria, evaluation and payment
6. taxes and sanctions

The results of this comparative analysis are included in a specific document (ASH.FUCOAM Fondo Bidagor PBL\_D0198):

1. the idea of a national plan that is developed through regional and municipal plans
2. the provision of the appropriate bodies for the practice of urban management
3. penal sanctions for non-compliance with the plans

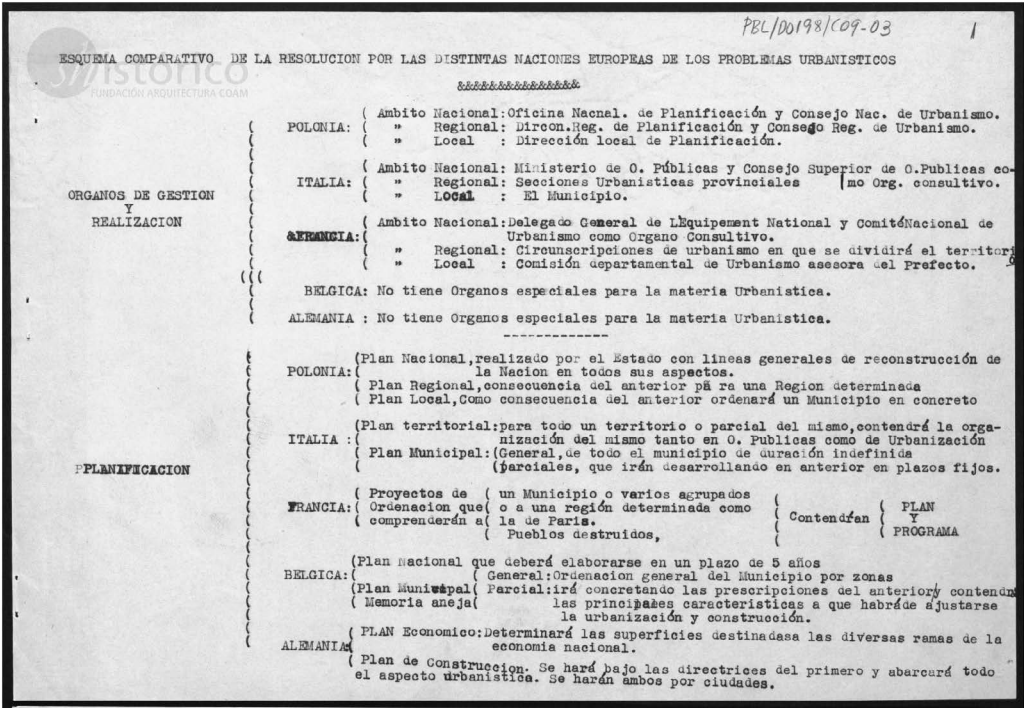


FIGURE 1.6.2 Comparative diagram of the European urban planning. Pedro Bidagor Lasarte Fond. Historical Service Archive of the COAM Architecture Foundation (PBL-ASHFUCOAM).

In addition to making a brief summary of this legislation, Pedro Bidagor points out in his writings the paradox that the Italian and French urban planning laws have survived the change of regime, while the Belgian law replaced the one imposed by the Nazis (ASH.FUCOAM Fondo Bidagor PBL\_D0197).

The relationship that Bidagor established with the French administration, the Ministry of Construction, was consolidated by meetings in France and Spain and consequent visits to the contemporary urban development projects which interested both Spanish and French colleagues. The visit by French Minister Pierre Sudreau (1919–2012) in 1959, a year after the approval of the new French Urban Planning Law, was particularly important (ASH.FUCOAM Fondo Bidagor PBL\_D0005). The French Urban Planning Law of 1958 specified the existence of master and detailed urban plans, as well as priority urbanization zones and urban renewal operations. For his part, Pedro Bidagor used the concepts of general plan, partial plan and urbanization projects two years earlier in the Spanish Land Law in such a way that he broke down the planning into three phases. Bidagor considered the Italian law, which decentralizes legislative competence in urban matters, to be outdated, as opposed to the French law, the essential characteristic of which is centralism, developing inclusive national plans, although these promoted the distribution of economic and social resources throughout the country through specific regional plans spearheaded by Paris. On the other hand, he valued the pragmatic quality of the laws of England, Scotland and Sweden, the main objective of which was the control of land use, with special emphasis on the implementation of the plans (ASH.FUCOAM Fondo Bidagor PBL\_D0197). He also commented on Hitler’s land legislation, in which the freedom that the building industry had usually

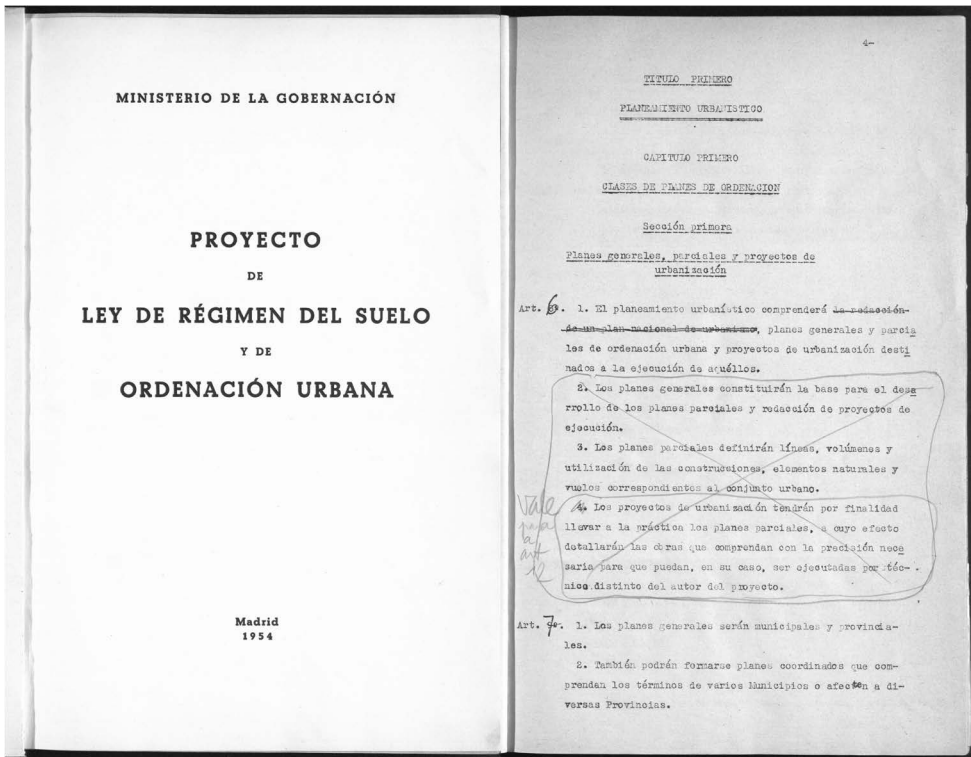


FIGURE 1.6.3 Project for the Land Law. PBL-ASHFUCOAM.

had was lost and “the state became a slave to public welfare”, one of the Nazi’s favorite slogans (ASH.FUCOAM Fondo Bidagor PBL\_D0196).

All this work of analyzing European legislation and planning is reflected in the previously unpublished outlines of the Land Law and the National Urban Planning Plan, which present new perspectives for the analysis of Spanish post-war urban planning (Figure 1.6.3).

Likewise, the important and unknown documentation preceding the Madrid General Plan, the so-called “Bidagor Plan”, will shed light on the management and preparation of this crucial document for subsequent planning. He also undertook to write a Spanish urban history, which he published successively in several journals of the time and in which he introduced a chart on the state of planning in Spain in 1958 (ASH.FUCOAM Fondo Bidagor PBL\_D0010). Regarding city planning, Pedro Bidagor realized the plans for Ávila, Barcelona, Hernani (Guipúzcoa), Madrid, Manzanares el Real (Madrid), Pamplona, Seville, Valencia and Vergara (Guipúzcoa), among others. In addition to these projects, he also carried out urban planning on a larger scale, such as the plans for the Costa del Sol, the Bilbao district, the provinces of Zaragoza and Guipúzcoa and the decongestion of Madrid. In these writings, Pedro Bidagor considered urbanism to be one of the few means of achieving social regeneration, and this constitutes the central theme of his work. Thus, in 1959 he wrote in the draft of a speech: “At present, urban planning projected towards territorial planning constitutes one of the most encouraging hopes for the channeling and resolution of the greatest problem of our time: social justice” (Bidagor 1959). It is remarkable the important number of issues of social interest that later could not be completely reflected in planning and legislation, such as the municipalization of urban and developable land,

land ownership, speculation and capital gains, the problems of the suburbs with their corresponding law, protection of green areas and landscape, etc. The demographic analyses provided and the financial studies for the implementation of urban plans are therefore very important, as developed in France by Minister Sudreau. Bidagor used these two tools, which for him are fundamental to urban planning.

The Landscape Protection Law is crucial, as it prolongs an early Spanish interest in this subject, which emerged in 1916, and our first national park, Covadonga, in 1918, was a pioneer in Europe. Bidagor drafted this law after analyzing similar European legislation, with interesting contributions that can be studied in several unpublished documents, such as the modern understanding of the concept of landscape from an aesthetic and cultural viewpoint or the rejection of maintaining the landscape of a specific historical time without considering its natural development, which is closer to the current idea of *dynamic conservation* of the landscape (ASH.FUCOAM Fondo Bidagor PBL\_D0168). It is worth mentioning an editorial from, possibly, December 1950 from the German magazine *Baumeister*, translated as 'Architects! Men of construction! Protect the German landscape and the good looks of its cities', in which several premises are presented that, curiously, follow Hitler's regulations for the protection of the landscape, which were very advanced in certain respects (ASH.FUCOAM Fondo Bidagor PBL\_D0198). Bidagor also studied the legislation related to the landscape of Great Britain, from the 11th century with the *Domesday Book* of William the Conqueror to the *Town and Country Planning Acts* of 1947, the *National Parks and Countryside Access Act* of 1949, the *National Trust Act* of 1937, the *Agriculture and Forestry Defence Act* of 1947 and the *New Towns Act* of 1946, all of which are currently still in force (ASH.FUCOAM Fondos Bidagor PBL\_D0223) (Figure 1.6.4).

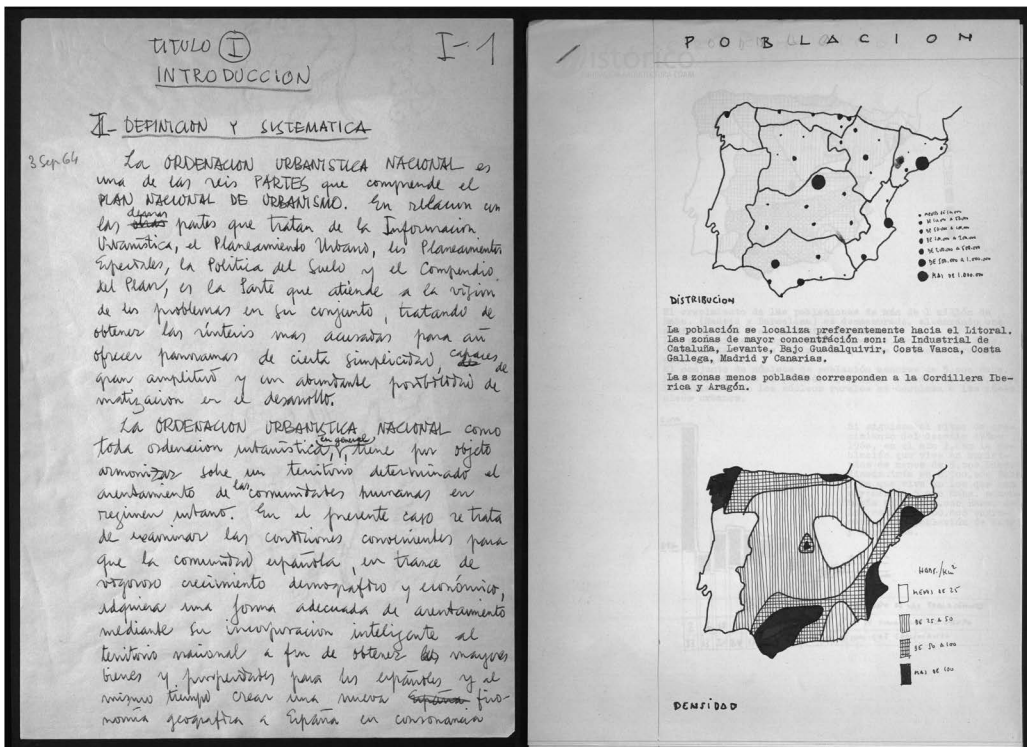


FIGURE 1.6.4 National urban planning. PBL-ASHFUCOAM.

## Epilogue

The research into Bidagor's work has been focused on the approved urban documents and the published bibliography, but the impossibility of studying his own analysis and previous writings prevented a deeper knowledge of his work. This huge documentary corpus is now available to the user, digitalized and soon to be accessible online. Pedro Bidagor's professional archive, with the work prepared and compiled by him, was donated by his daughter Pilar to the Historical Service of the Official Association of Madrid Architects in 2002. This archive contains 425 documentary units with more than 8,000 digitized documents, many of them handwritten and most of them unpublished. The collection contains practically all the plans drawn up by Pedro Bidagor, with drafts, outlines and comments, including documents essential to the history of Spanish urban planning such as the Land Law, the Madrid General Plan, the National Urban Planning Plan, etc. Although Pedro Bidagor's work has been widely published and disseminated, this documentation in the COAM allows an in-depth analysis of the heritage of the urban planning of the moment in Spanish urban development headed by Bidagor. Therefore, the study of the architect's personal archive, which is practically unknown, will surely lead to a rewriting of the history of Spanish urban planning.

A brief analysis of this documentation seems to indicate a corroboration of the current thesis, which considers Pedro Bidagor as an urbanist involved in the problems of the moment and a modernizer of urbanism in Spain, although with nuances in his sources and his aborted projects.

Urbanism as an exponent of creation is beautiful in itself, since cities contain the essence of civilisations and show their personality with irreplaceable precision.

(Bidagor 1959)

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# 1.7

## **AMÉNAGEMENT, EMBELLISSEMENT ET EXTENSION DES VILLES**

### The French Law of 1919/24 on Urban Plans

*Laurent Coudroy de Lille*

In 1919, France adopted an urban planning law that would have a major impact on much of the twentieth century and provide the foundation for the country's contemporary town planning legislation. Bearing the name of the Deputy of the Third Republic who sponsored the bill before Parliament, the "Cornudet Law" laid down the rules for "planning, beautification and extension cities". It was rounded out by a second bill passed in 1924, setting out certain application guidelines. The adoption of this legislation has been the focus of several studies and publications, both in the context of renewed interest in pre-Second World War French town planning (Claude 1990; Demouveau and Lebreton 2007) and the centenary of the legislation itself in 2019.

This chapter proposes to present first the content and scope of this law, followed by three plans adopted in different towns and cities that were significant in terms of urban planning challenges in France during this period. We will conclude by discussing the relatively gradual disappearance of this regulatory framework – an important process in understanding its significance in the long-term history of French twentieth-century town planning. Like a lot of planning frameworks, the law of 1919 is linked to many other aspects of public life and part of the longer-term transformation of cities. Based on what we now know about the "Cornudet Law", we can analyze it as part of a broader European context.

#### **A Law that Emerged from the French "Urbanism Movement"**

The law was adopted on 14 March 1919 and was strongly influenced by the context of the aftermath of the First World War in more ways than one. First off, it proposed a framework for rebuilding cities in the North of France in regions that had witnessed four years of fierce combat. Even though the main battlefields of the Great War were not in urban areas, many small and medium-sized towns and villages had been destroyed (Arras, Soissons, Lens, Verdun, Reims, etc.). In the wake of the "victory" of 1919, the reconstruction of towns and their monuments (cathedrals, historical old towns, etc.) whose destruction had greatly affected both French and international public opinion was deemed of primary importance.

But in reality this imperative was part of a more general town planning objective, meaning that the law – which had been debated in Parliament over the previous ten years – was not just a function of the post-war situation *stricto sensu*.

In fact, other types of cities needed to be covered by a plan:

- First, cities of more than 10,000 people, which meant the bulk of the French urban network, giving the law of 1919 a very broad scope of application.
- Next, cities that were experiencing strong growth. This criterion was indicative of the challenge of managing the urban development of a country resuming its process of urbanization after interruption by the War. The towns concerned would be identified using the general population censuses at *commune* (or municipality) level.
- The list also included municipalities that were home to “*lotissements*”, i.e. housing estates comprising standalone private housing that the public authorities wished to control (Fourcaut 2000). These included in particular small suburban municipalities that were relatively powerless in the face of land speculators and other players with a stake in urban development.
- Other *communes* of significant historical cultural and aesthetic interest were also concerned. In 1919, legislation previously adopted in 1913 was enacted for monuments and historical sites (Bady *et al.* 2013) as well as for spa towns which were booming on the back of the hygienist movement that had been a powerful force in France since the previous century.

Before discussing a few emblematic examples of plans, we should stress that this law was more important in terms of the quasi-general regime it sought to establish than because of its conceptual design. The “planning”, “beautification” and “extension” trilogy that underpinned the plans was of major interest although it risked dispersing the plan’s basic objectives. Nonetheless, let us now examine these terms.

The notion of “beautification” (*embellissement*) harks back to traditional seventeenth and eighteenth centuries urban development models underpinned by an architectural tradition dominated by the fine arts, i.e. a longstanding French tradition going back to the *Ancien Régime* that was now being taken up by the Republic. “Extension” (*extension*) followed on from the urban growth planning of the Industrial Revolution and from the wish to pursue lower density growth in the interests of hygiene. “Planning” (*aménagement*) was even broader still and may be seen as the innovation of the time, thanks to the link it helped to forge between a territorial and an urban dimension. It would be understood more as an objective of urban “renewal” or “renovation” (the internal transformation of cities). While we can witness in these three notions a wish to consolidate the historical national planning experience, this accumulation could have weakened the efforts of the urban planning movement at the time to consolidate the ideas of “urban reform” or “public intervention”. Above all, it provided a non-directive programming framework, leaving much to the initiative of municipalities which could prepare plans in their own way, in liaison with Central Government and the Ministry of the Interior, based on a fairly natural process in a country that had opted both for liberalism and a Republican system, with a strong emphasis on municipal government while remaining faithful to a relatively egalitarian centralist form of government. Preparation of the plan was entrusted to “an expert” (*homme de l’art*) – i.e. architect-engineer, town planner, public servant – without providing any further details.

One weakness in the legislation that quickly became apparent was that it restricted the scope of the plans to the municipal level. If we bear in mind the small size of French municipalities (restricted during the French Revolution), these were increasingly out of synch with the development of modern cities. We will therefore use this municipal scale to examine three quite different cases.



### The Angers Plan or the Measured Projects for a Medium-Sized Town (1936)

Located in western France between Nantes and Tours, Angers is fairly representative of French intermediate or “medium-sized” towns. It is located along a tributary of the Loire River and, as the Prefecture of an agricultural department, it has a significant number of historical buildings and extensive tertiary functions (military, education, etc.) Following the replacement of the medieval walls by a ring of boulevards at the beginning of the nineteenth century, a district was created around the railway station and the bulk of the town’s industry located on the outskirts, particularly to the east (Bernard 2009). All of these features place Angers in the model of French ‘provincial’ cities in close contact with the rural environment, with a fairly conservative socio-political profile. It was growing very slowly when it adopted its plan in 1936, in accordance with the legislation of 1919/24: the population had grown from 82,000 in 1900 to 88,000 in 1936 (Figure 1.7.1).

The plan adopted proposed two key types of improvement:

- An extensive but dispersed program to create and upgrade roads throughout the municipal area. It contains street extensions, enlargements and openings to small new neighborhoods intended to complete the sparse urban fabric, but no major urban extension, which is hardly surprising in a town that was growing very slowly. The new boulevards (a ring-road to the north and west on the right bank of the river, two rings to the south and east) did not really create new neighborhoods and merely by-passed a sprawling town center.
- Cultural, administrative and educational facilities and green spaces. These were typical of the period, and reflected the educational, social and hygienist concerns of the previous several decades. These amenities provide a good general overview of the program of the Third Republic and were rounded out by incineration and waste treatment plants, reflecting the change of scale and shift in urban metabolism that took place in the early twentieth century (Barles 2005).

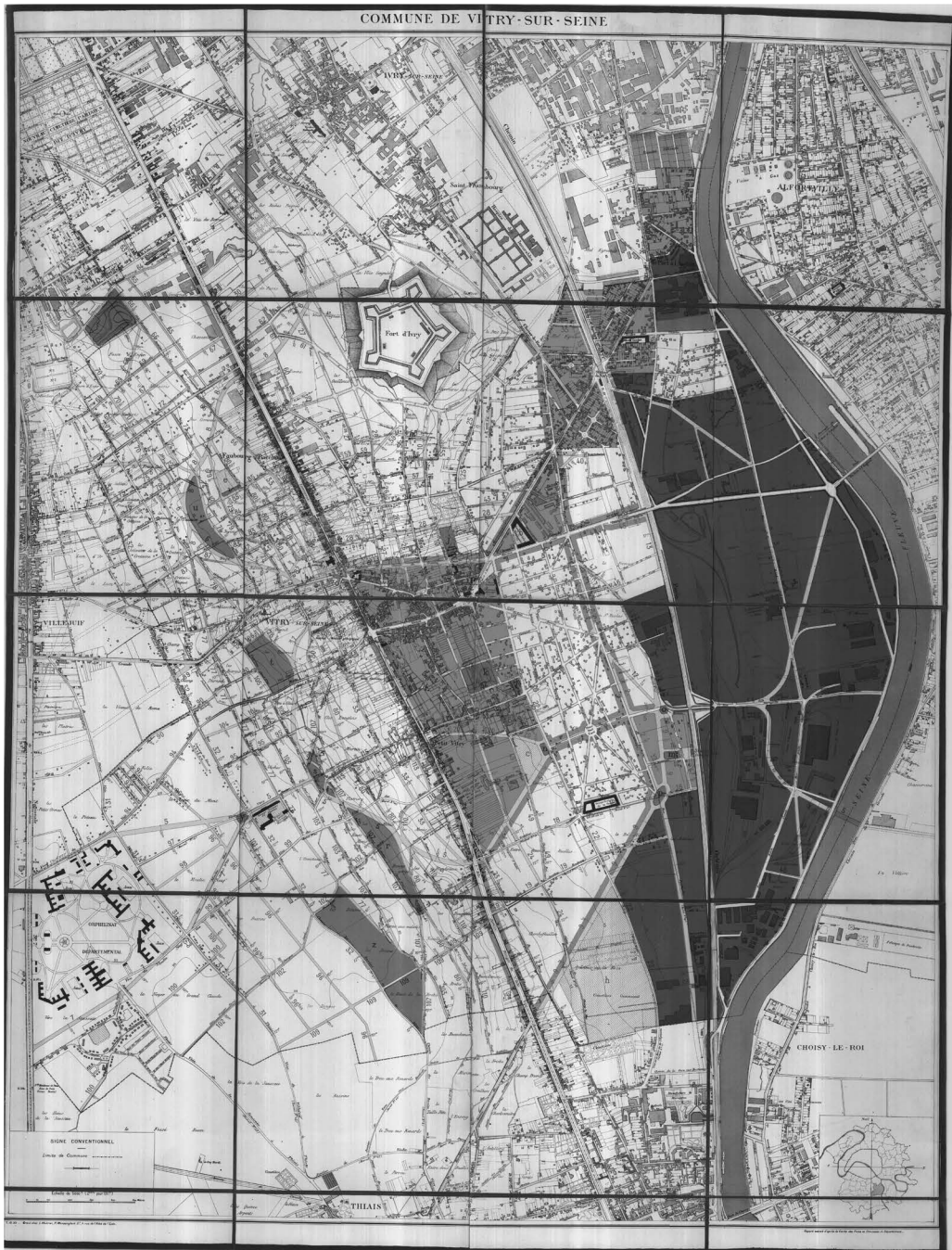
Certain appendices propose a zoning system. These are not as well preserved as the summary plan but we can find traces of them two years previously in a dissertation prepared by a town planning student (Dixmier 1934). The division of the urban territory appears to have played only a minor role: the distinction between “collective housing areas”, “residential areas” and three peripheral “industrial areas” primarily reflects the contemporary use of space. However, we should note the existence of a “historical area” around the cathedral and huge medieval castle, reflecting a process of heritage conservation in an old town center that had hitherto been targeted for renovation due to insalubrious conditions. Although the castle perimeter was indeed cleared, the widening of the picturesque alleyway leading up to the cathedral – also planned for 1936 – was never carried out.

While the plan approved for Angers was suitable enough for a city undergoing slow transformation, we encounter other very different situations in the same period.

### The Plan for Vitry-Sur-Seine, a Rapidly Growing Parisian Suburb (1927–1930)

Vitry-sur-Seine, located south-east of Paris along the banks of the river Seine, had been growing rapidly since the late nineteenth century. This traditional village was swallowed up by the Paris suburbs – the creation of the Fort d’Ivry in 1830 was part of this process – and its industrial expansion was accelerated by the Great War. Located on the main road into Paris, the old town





**FIGURE 1.7.2** Plan of planning, beautification and extension of Vitry-sur-Seine (1927). Pink: collective zone; purple: industrial zone; white: residential zone; green: open spaces; red shading: spaces set aside for public services; yellow with red outline: widening of currently existing roads or new roads.

Source: Archives-Documentation de Vitry-sur-Seine (côte 6Fi4841).

zones, especially heavy industry as Vitry was one of the major sites in the Paris region, dominated by small- and medium-sized industrial plants. Zoning here was no more voluntary than it was elsewhere in France: the “Ardoines” district between the railway and the Seine River strengthened its productive and technical activity. An electricity generating plant was under construction and would become one of the world’s largest when it opened in 1928.

The purpose of the 1927–1930 plan was to separate activities that cause pollution from residential neighborhoods, although a mixed zone (“*zone collective*”) was specifically designated in these areas. Two points are worth making here:

- The dense zone, located around the old village center, extended along the main roads. These thoroughfares (rather than “zones”) were fairly reminiscent of nineteenth century dimensions and alignments.
- Both in the interstices and off to the west where standalone housing existed, there were plans to build new roads and improve existing ones. The “*Plateau*” (to the west), which had been home to a few bourgeois properties and vegetable and flower plots for supplying the Paris market, rapidly succumbed to urbanization.

The plan had two main purposes. The first was to contain the environmental impacts of industrial development, as regulated by law since the beginning of the nineteenth century (Guillerme, Jigaudon and Lefort 2005). A law adopted in 1917 adapted this key piece of legislation to new technical and military requirements as the War had generated large-scale industry that had to be located close to the urban labor force. The 1919 law took this into account by allowing for the “zoning” that French urbanism had resisted up until then, so this provision is part of the long history of the relationship between industry and the city.

The second was to kick-start a process to improve worker’s shacks and dwellings that were qualified as “defective” by town planners. Vitry was part of a belt of insalubrious housing around Paris whose growth had begun to worry the public authorities.

While the plan adopted contained certain features quite similar to those of Angers, the objective was quite distinct: road building and upgrading were intended to remedy a process of uncontrolled urbanization. These proposals were to be deemed insufficiently ambitious by commentators of the plan, in a municipality that was to focus its policy firmly on social and hygienist initiatives and on social housing. While a garden city (the Moulin Vert) that complied fairly closely with contemporary town planning theories existed on the *Plateau*, most standalone housing continued to be built without any planning. For example, a town planning student employed by the Municipality regretted the lack of a hierarchy in the 1927–1930 list of proposed works, which were unlikely to be all financed by the municipality, and in fact lacked a proper ‘program’ (Proquitté 1930). Moreover, the proposals of this municipality, which at the time was home to numerous metropolitan-scale industrial facilities, were soon to be integrated into the regional project (1934).

### **Blueprint for a Powerful City: Marseille (1933)**

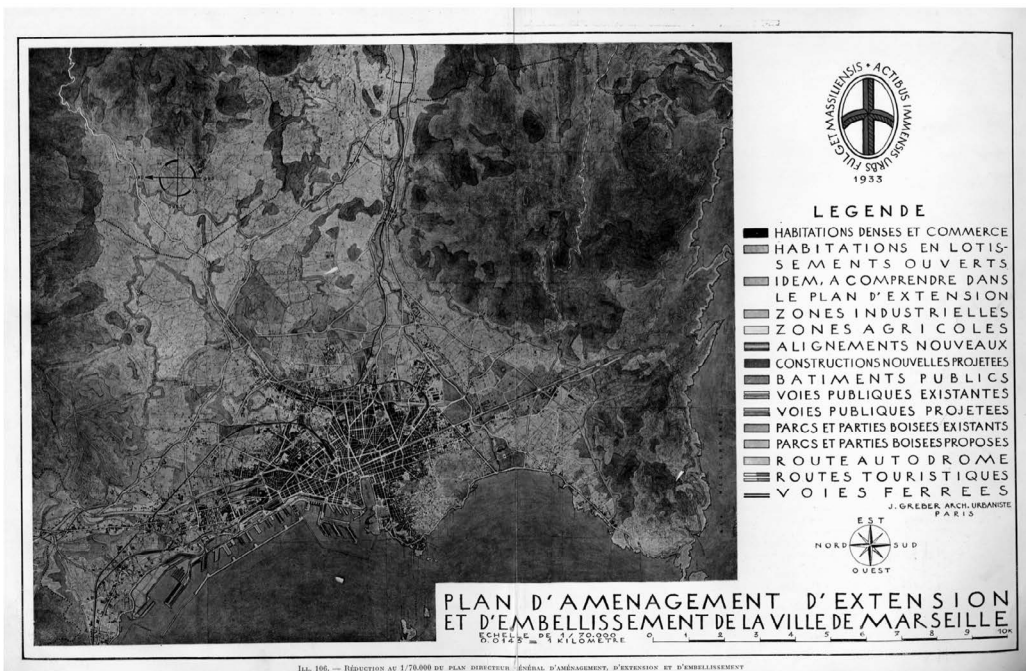
This plan focused on the development of one France’s most dynamic and powerful cities. Since the colonization of North Africa (1830), the construction of the Joliette Harbour (1853) and the opening of the Suez Canal (1869), Marseille’s population was increasing by almost 100,000 people every decade and had climbed from 500,000 in 1900 to 800,000 in 1931. While the old port city – an essential stopover and outlet for Mediterranean trade – was busy industrializing, unlike purely industrial agglomerations Marseille was home to a powerful bourgeoisie whose interests

were vigorously defended by the Chamber of Commerce, as well as a solid town planning tradition, dating back to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Roncayolo 1990).

It was undoubtedly because of this tradition that the City of Marseille did not begin drawing up its town plan at too early a stage. Several comparable large French cities (Bordeaux, Nantes, Lyon, etc.) would also proceed in this way, sometimes giving the impression that the Cornudet Law applied primarily to small and medium-sized towns, or even to rural conurbations. The architect and town planner Henri Prost, who wrote the preface to the Marseille plan, stressed the political angle: “Marseille had long been one of the many indifferent cities, before suddenly – under the pressure of public opinion (...) the municipality recognised the urgent need to put an end to urban disorder” (p. VII). However, it did this in a very original way, by entrusting the task to an eminent outside expert, Jacques Gréber (1882–1962). Gréber had submitted successful town planning projects for Lille (1920), Paris and the Fairmount Parkway in Philadelphia (1917), as well as missions within the brief of the Franco-American War Commission (*commissariat des affaires de guerre franco-américaines*). He was one of France’s leading landscape architects and a French pioneer of automobile and American-style town planning (Lortie 1997).

The plan reproduced here is the summary published by the City of Marseille in 1933 along with the *Institut d’urbanisme*, one of the mainstays of the town planning training institute (Busquet, Carriou and Coudroy de Lille 2005). However, let us focus not on the beautiful and very didactic accompanying memorandum, but on the proposed zoning scheme (City of Marseille 1933; Figure 1.7.3).

This covered the entire municipal territory, which was quite vast as it encompassed both the coastal plain and its mountain boundary. The extension of the city was to take place throughout



**FIGURE 1.7.3** Plan of planning, beautification and extension of Marseille (1933).

Source: Ville de Marseille (1933) *Plan d’aménagement et d’extension. Mémoire descriptif*, Jacques Gréber, Paris. Institut d’urbanisme de l’Université de Paris-Vincent Fréal (illustration 106), Ecole d’urbanisme de Paris-Bibliothèque Poète et Sellier (côte FSIU0126).

this space, giving an idea of the extent of the growth and the ambition of this unprecedented project. Zoning was to take place on a metropolitan scale: here we find a distinction between “dense housing” and “open standalone housing”, separated from “industrial zones”, all located behind the port area, providing the framework for the future city.

The specific topographical features of Marseille also enabled this plan – and Gréber the landscape architect – to lay out a vast natural area and the Mediterranean amphitheater that dominates the harbor: the “parks and wooded areas” were rounded out by a network of connecting green spaces. “Tourist routes” were part of this enhancement program tailored to the automobile. The proposed landscape framework reflects a metropolis that was previously non-existent at institutional level but present in official discourse, as the document was dedicated to Dr Ribot, “Mayor of Greater Marseille”. The natural surroundings were rounded out at city level by the focus on the *Vieux Port* area, which was of great heritage and symbolic value. The beautification advocated by the law of 1919, present through land occupancy regulations and construction dimensions, was therefore also present in this rather modern version of a cityscape.

“Planning”? If we go back to the trilogy of 1919, the best example is the work carried out in the town center – notably in the *Bourse* area – with a view to cleaning up the center of Marseille. We can also find it in the scale of the project: the creation of a major system of roads and boulevards linking the city with the docks and linking up different areas (Leheis 2012); settlement of all the land around Marseille (Roncayolo 1990). With this in mind, the project proposed by Gréber represented a break with nineteenth-century policies that focused mainly on restructuring the city center, either by laying out new avenues or demolishing supposedly insalubrious urban pockets. The Gréber Plan – whose zoning scheme we are discussing here – was more strategic than it appeared and in particular, more strategic than the law of 1919 actually required. In this particular case, the regulation was interpreted in a grandiose manner.

The three cases we have presented here are by no means exhaustive in terms of the huge variety of French cities. Towns and cities rebuilt after the War and tourist spa towns – sometimes quite small ones – also deserve specific research. The plans drawn up by Léon Jaussely (1875–1932, a man renowned for participating in architecture competitions organized in Barcelona and Berlin) in France (for Paris, Grenoble, Toulouse and Pau, as well as for Le Mont-Dore and La Bourboule, two spa towns in Auvergne) led to other ways of applying the legislation of 1919/24 (Delacourt 2007; 2017).

We should also mention that this law was being applied at a time when France possessed a vast colonial empire. While pioneering experiments that took place even before the adoption of this law (in Morocco during the First World War in Casablanca, Marrakech, Fes, etc.) are relatively well known, the role played by certain eminent figures (Maréchal Lyautey, Henri Prost, Jean-Claude Nicolas Forestier, etc.) meant that the entire Empire was concerned. These plans were adopted by the cities of Algeria, Tunisia, Madagascar, Sub-Saharan Africa, Lebanon and Syria, as well as Viet-Nam, Cambodia and Laos (French Indochina). The case of Algier of course or Beyrouth, for example, is well known (Ghorayeb 2014).

### **Future of the Plans: Legacy of a Law**

Up until the 1990s, historiographical analyses stressed the relatively small number of plans that were ultimately implemented under the Cornudet Law (Claude 1990). There are a number of explanations for this:

- Lengthy approval procedures. It could sometimes take ten years for a plan to be adopted, i.e. declared in the public interest. Indeed, municipalities appeared ill-equipped and often

lacking in enthusiasm. They were controlled by Central Government services and commissions, which asked them to rectify submitted projects on several occasions (Claude 1990).

- Changes in circumstances rendered them obsolete or interfered with the approval process. For example, the crisis of 1929/30 altered the socio-economic outlook, drained local finances dry and meant that other priorities such as social housing took center stage.

Two decades after the adoption of the law, the process was interrupted by the Second World War, meaning that the French interwar period was ultimately a two-decade interval. In subsequent State records, 1940 immediately became a major turning point in the official historiography of French town planning (Centre de recherche d'urbanisme 1964 Confédération française pour l'habitation et l'urbanisme 1981). Official discourse attributed the 1940 defeat by Nazi Germany to the last years of the Third Republic and pointed out weaknesses in the Law of 1919/24. Beyond the context of the political crisis of the 1930s, the stakeholders in the "second reconstruction" reiterated the failure of a half-hearted "first reconstruction" in the 1920s which was devoid of any strategic aim. The ideology of the *Trente glorieuses* (i.e., the 30-year Post War boom period from 1945–1975) tended to make 1944–1945 a key moment ... and lead to the Cornudet Law being forgotten about.

We do not wish to get into this debate here, which challenges the whole idea of voluntarism and, particularly in France, centralism in the history of town planning. We simply wish to stress that since the 1990s, more thorough archival research, sometimes focusing on urban continuity, has challenged these timelines by questioning, for example, the Second World War as a turning point, "the" reconstructions (Voldman 1997) or the "parenthesis" of the Occupation. Long-term approaches as part of an inter-disciplinary and not just a historical perspective have also helped decompartmentalize periods, facilitating broader interpretations (Roncayolo 1985). Numerous factors have facilitated a more qualified approach for analyzing the effects of 1919/24 legislation over a longer historical period, i.e. the twentieth century. This focus is a necessary one if we wish to place the history of French town planning within a European context.

The legislation of the early 1920s did not result in a more stable system but merely triggered an evolving – or rather cumulative – process in French town planning regulations. For each municipality involved in deploying its own plan, but for national legislation as well, frameworks and proposals gradually became increasingly complex. In reality, this happened at a very early stage because, from the 1920s on, legislation to finance housing – whether social or non-social, collective or standalone – rounded out the planning law. City planning legislation such as that of the Paris region (1932) subsequently led municipalities to bring their municipal plan into line with a national plan (for the Greater Paris region, the first version was adopted in 1934). For all large conurbations, the affirmation of supra-municipal level planning gradually added its perspective to municipal planning. The 1930s witnessed increasingly sophisticated methods of public intervention, culminating, for example, in the very first town planning code (Monsarrat 1933). The plans adopted for Angers, Vitry and Marseille may appear like fairly lightweight initiatives to us but they were developed in a century that witnessed a considerable strengthening of town planning arrangements.

Certain pre-1940 trends would also be confirmed by the Vichy regime (1940–1944) which was subject to the influence of German (city management) models. But this regime would be especially noted for adopting new regulations for stricter government control over town planning: building permits, stricter zoning guidelines and the idea of "planning boundaries" set out in the decrees of 1942. But the processes that had been set up clarified and guided certain aspects of the 1919/24 general framework: while Departmental Commissions (*Commissions*

départementales) were being strengthened, the National Committee for Reconstruction (*Comité national de la Reconstruction*) was a fairly direct product of the decrees of 1935–1937 (Voldman 1997), an administrative entity that would soon be sidelined by the National Town Planning Committee (*Comité national d'urbanisme*). It was also by creating new organization, coordination and consolidation structures that the administrative activism of the Vichy regime shifted the decision-making cursor towards Central Government, masking a territorial planning process. Although it was not very inventive from a conceptual standpoint, it created a “standing committee for planning, enhancing and extending cities” (*comité permanent de l'aménagement, de l'extension et de l'embellissement des villes*). The ambiguity that underpinned the second post-war period between “urbanism” and “reconstruction” had likewise been prepared by the situation in 1919.

At the local level, planning and reconstruction plans were adopted that frequently borrowed elements from earlier plans, even in cities with the most arduous reconstruction tasks. Those affected often wished to rebuild towns as they had been before and the old plans were frequently able to provide the outline required to do this (Voldman 1997; Le Goïc 2001). For towns in which few districts had been destroyed – the case of most places in France – major transformations would have to wait another few years, in other words, for the major wave of growth and town planning of the 1960s, as the case of Angers presented here clearly shows.

Once again, from an overall perspective, we should stress that the renewal of town planning practices post 1940/45 took place on an administrative and technical rather than on a regulatory level. This was reflected by the fact that no new law would be enacted by parliament until 1967 (Coudroy de Lille 2019), and Central Government would mainly resort to decrees throughout the 1950s, and especially to direct administrative action (land, housing, renovation, infrastructure, etc.) Although the general town planning framework was rendered meaningless, and the 1919 law was no longer effective, its major objectives were not abandoned until 1967. At local level, new neighborhoods and amenities often sprung up within the urban and land use frameworks that were the legacy of France's first town planning law.

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# 1.8

## BENDING INTERESTS AND BLENDING MEDIA IN THE INTER-WAR MODERNISM OF CENTRAL EUROPE

### Wohnung und Werkraum Exhibition

*Marcelo Sagot Better*

The opening of the *Wohnung und Werkraum Ausstellung* (Apartment and Workroom Exhibition) or WuWA in the summer of 1929 probably differed from previous exhibitions organized by the Deutscher Werkbund. The event was featured live on the radio and it counted with its own cinema and train for visitors. The presence of dozens of photographers in the *Jahrhunderthalle* was however the aspect that characterized the ceremony the most, as these tried to capture every single fleeting moment of the exhibition. According to Stephen V. Ward, this was the same type of context that characterized all reformist Germany where new innovations dictated not only pace of urban development but more also its equally rapid dissemination between cities and nations (2002: 26). Accordingly, the discourse of the WuWA exhibition relied on more than just architectural tools or urban planning instrument to spread. While exhibitions and competitions played an important role in the dissemination of planning and architecture across Germany; automobiles, radio and film were arguably having a much deeper impact on the ways people lived and worked across Europe. Accordingly, the official catalogue of the exhibition denoted that the overall aim of the WuWA was to embody this same spirit of the 20th century: a conviction of the times that gave building arts new tasks only recognized within a broader context and as part of greater cultural problems (Krüger 1929: 350).

### **Stadtplanung in Breslau: Landscape and Identity as Motives for an Exhibition**

In the years after the new Weimar Constitution of 1919, numerous housing estates started to be created in cities like Frankfurt and Berlin. Many of these settlements followed a German interpretation of the Howardian garden-city (Kafkoulas 2013: 180). This overall movement was a consequence of the relevance of housing in the new constitution and a turn in policy that allowed municipalities all over Germany to be more independent and invest in housing projects. Nevertheless, this new local authority also marked a departure from the historical garden-city framework as the autonomy of building societies, defined by the free will of their members, was replaced by the conventions of policies and local planning offices. As municipalities gained broader competence, many urban matters became entrusted to professional associations that operated in close relation with them toward answering specific urban demands such as transport, water, land and housing (Kress 2017: 173). In the case of Lower Silesia, the density of the capital

became one of the primary dealings of the *Siedlungsgesellschaft Breslau A.G.* This settlement society worked with the city's Municipal Planning Office to develop new housing settlements in Breslau.

By 1926, the *Siedlungsgesellschaft* published *Siedlung und Stadtplanung in Schlesien* (Settlement and City Planning in Silesia), a study addressing the ongoing housing crisis in Breslau. At the time, the city was building about 2,400 houses per year, a figure that the settlement society claimed to be far behind the approximately 11,500 housing units that were actually needed (*Siedlungsgesellschaft* 1926: 24). The solution outlined in the document was rather clear: in order to reduce density, geographical conditions and regional culture should become the guidelines or main features for new housing development around the city center and the overall new direction of urban planning in Breslau; an action that the acting city mayor of Breslau, Georg Bender, put forward through an extensive purchase of large green plots around the exhibition grounds of the *Jahrhunderthalle* (1926: 8–9).

Among the designated sites for housing development, the area of Zimpel (Sępolno) in the north-east edge of the city stands out (Figure 1.8.1). It was planned right next to what would later become the grounds of the WuWA exhibition in an area known as the 'Tiergarten' of Breslau (Münter 1929: 451). Zimpel was officially integrated into the metropolitan area in 1924. Paul Heim and Hermann Wahlich combined a German planning layout with Garden City principles (Kononowicz 1996: 171–172; Barnstone 2016: 48) to achieve a plan with the “ideal, of the



**FIGURE 1.8.1** Plan of the Zimpel settlement in Breslau commissioned by the *Siedlungsgesellschaft Breslau A.G.* to architects Paul Heim and Hermann Wahlich in 1919: The south-west-northeast middle axis comprised a number of communal buildings aligned along a central garden.

Source: *Siedlung und Stadtplanung in Schlesien*, Magistrat der Hauptstadt Breslau, 1926. p.32.

possible [architectural] connection with nature”, (Landsberg 1927: 407). Zimpel followed the principles comprised in the *Siedlung und Stadtplanung in Schlesien* mentioned above namely, ranks of low-rise houses within individual gardens, spacious open spaces dominated by greenery and, more importantly, the connection to nature as a means to separate the settlement from the rest of the city in terms of living conditions (1926: 32). Accordingly, a kindergarten, a nursery and local church were located along a central green axis running southwest to northeast to make them accessible to the community at the heart of the settlement.

Nevertheless, Wanda Kononowicz argues that while the living conditions of Zimpel were seemingly different from the rest of Breslau, the settlement was highly dependent on the city center where all sources of work and trade were located (1996: 171–172, 2011: 93–94). This was also the reality found in any other outskirt suburb in Breslau as German garden cities did not have the autarchy or self-sufficient character of the English models as these were sought to be working-class suburbs built near main cities (Posener 1995: 241–275). This contrasting principle in the conceptualization of the *Gartenstadt* made it quite different from its English counterpart, as the former articulated a strong reliance and historical continuity with the center.

While the functional connection to the center remained as one of the definitive planning characters of Zimpel, the integration of settlement into Breslau turned into a fair source of urban growth, at least until the economic crisis at the end of 1920s. The commercial success of Zimpel motivated the *Siedlungsgesellschaft Breslau A.G.*, that owned the land, to present a new housing estate to be included in the city’s building budget for 1929 (Darge 1929: 303). This new housing estate was set to be located between the Zimpel estate and the fairgrounds of the *Jahrhunderthalle*.

It is likely that the municipal interest to further expand the city in the lands surrounding Zimpel met a renewed interest in housing as a means to blend the geographical conditions and regional culture of Breslau with modern dwelling solutions. The president of the Lower Silesian Province, Hermann Lüdemann, confirmed the centrality of this objective arguing that not only more apartments were needed in the city but that opening qualitative housing research was of the utmost importance to Breslau’s population (Lüdemann 1929: 285). Nevertheless, the city presented a mixture of northern and south-east German culture while having its own intellectual, political and economic traces that were only specific to the borderland city (1926: 5). Consequentially, the planning vision of creating buildings to harmoniously blend with both the cultural and national landscape – similar to the principles of *Heimatschutzstil* that characterized some of the early reconstruction efforts of East Prussia after the First World War – was at odds with the demand for new housing and reform dwelling culture in Breslau. This phenomenon coincidentally led to the new housing project of the *Siedlungsgesellschaft Breslau A.G.* to be revised as an opportunity to further research and experiment with housing in an exhibitionary setting and provide Breslau with its very own exhibition (Figure 1.8.2). Accordingly, housing became the appropriate platform to situate regional identity, historical landscape, architectural practices and urban planning within the ‘building culture’ of the *Weimarer Republik* that at the time was mostly focused on *Neues Bauen* (Kähler 1996: 303–304).

Despite the well-known financial challenges of promoting local housing projects and regional architectural discourses, Christine Nielsen maintains that the exhibition idea was put forward in Breslau precisely because the centers of the *Neues Bauen* movement in Germany were far away, and there was an intention to create local forum for modern housing and domestic culture at the East (mentioned in Urbanik 2010). It is possible to assert that the WuWA was not sought only as a feasible stage to develop a new type of housing estate in the city but it was also the precise medium to convey these regional ideals and the cultural uniqueness of Breslau through material culture operating as a more complex means to display housing while communicating a discourse. This phenomenon becomes even more evident when considering that other events

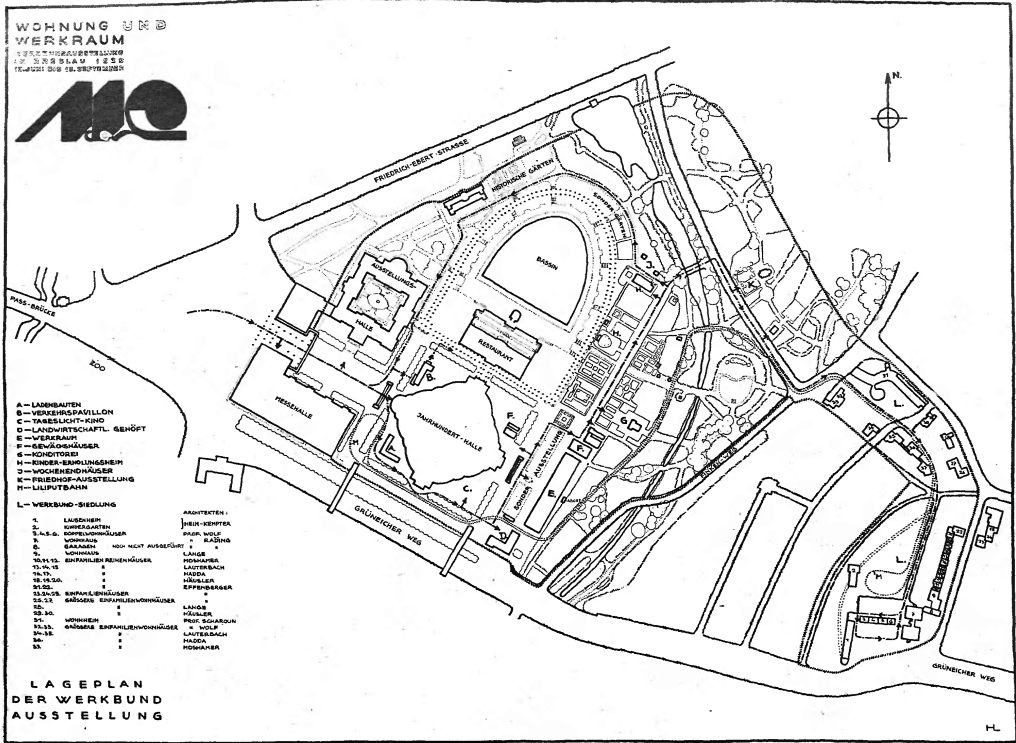


FIGURE 1.8.2 Plan of the WuWA exhibition by Heinrich Lauterbach with his initials at the bottom right corner: Breslau’s fairgrounds (A–H) on the east and the WuWA housing estate (L) on the west.

Source: Breslauer Messe- und Ausstellungsgesellschaft, Heinrich Lauterbach, 1929.

with similar scopes and objectives were taken place across central Europe. For instance, in 1928, on the tenth anniversary of Czechoslovakia, the state organized the *Výstava Soudobé Kultury* (Exhibition of contemporary culture) in Brno with the sole purpose of celebrating the formation of the country. Similarly, Poland organized the *Powszechna Wystawa Krajowa* or PeWuKa (General Polish National Exhibition) in Posen (Poznań) for the occasion of the tenth anniversary of state regaining independence as a republic in 1929.

Consequently, the WuWA model settlement became part of a larger Eastern exhibition, a two-fold effort to present German culture to the south-eastern neighbors of the empire and Breslau’s own cultural, technical and economic achievements as the capital of Silesia. Accordingly, the analysis of the WuWA exhibition vis-à-vis its material culture enables to delve deeper into this proposed reinterpretation as the relation between urban planning and Breslau’s historical and cultural setting were the actual two elements on display.

**The WuWA in Images as a Ploy for Regional Design and Culture in Breslau**

Breslau’s contested geographical and cultural position in Germany was naturally translated into the framework of its own exhibition. The press featured articles about the east and its unique cultural identity and how much it differed from other cities; while other national contributions boasted how the city was the last bastion of German tradition defending the values of the



**FIGURE 1.8.3** Exhibition guide designed by Johannes Molzahn between 1928 and 1929 offering general information of the WuWA and Breslau's unique identity. On this cover specifically, contrasting images of traditional manual work and modern construction techniques challenged conventional schemes of printed culture together with its striking shapes, colors and logo.

Source: Breslauer Messe- und Ausstellungsgesellschaft, 1929. Front and rear covers.

*Reich* – the official denomination for the country even during the interwar Republic – in the vicinity of the Polish threat (Barnstone 2016: 8).

The guide, posters and catalogues of the WuWA that circulated during exhibition, designed by Johannes Molzahn between 1928 and 1929 (Figure 1.8.3), congruently included general information about the exhibition as well as Breslau's unique identity. These printed materials described Breslau as the historical Hanseatic town of the German east but also with significant modern works taking place, industrial facilities and new residential districts reaching far into the Silesian plains. The city was both described as a monument of the past and a power center of the present; while the WuWA was argued to be committed to work toward the future and the people of the new era. This vision gave the exhibition a name, a form and a program.

The printed culture of the exhibition challenged conventional schemes of graphic design as curves, colors and logos were equally curated with images of new kitchens, urban plans and model houses all exhibited at the WuWA. The design featured contrasting images of traditional handwork and modern construction techniques by provocatively juxtaposing images of hands drawing with pencil and rulers or clay work against modern elements of construction like light steel-frame systems and new folding beds for the house.

Beyond the highlighted dual undertaking that was inherent in curating and designing the exhibition – showcasing a regional culture of design and architectural innovation while

promoting the outcomes of local urban policies and housing development – it is more important to notice that the conceptualization of the WuWA was not solely focused on reconciling both aspects. The catalogue of the WuWA stresses that the exhibition was not historically, not academic and not museological but instead was ‘presently’ dealing with the topic: “*lively in the method, practical in objective that meets the requirements of the new type of exhibition*” (Stadt Breslau 1929).

This description coincides with the thesis that the exhibition was actually operating as a more complex means, experimenting not only with new housing models but also with the limits of an exhibitionary complex, integrating spectacle and spectators on a stage of representation. Accordingly, designers and architects became also part of this interplay of representation, not only promoting innovation in living standards in Breslau but challenging the cultural establishment in printed means like professional journals that became instruments to reinstitute Breslau’s artistic notoriety. Occasionally criticizing the sense of cultural marginality that haunted the city, critics like Franz Landsberger argued that Breslau was altogether an art city of the highest rank but it was known by very few people outside of Silesia: “‘Colony’ is what one says in the West and understands by that a region whose art is the product of the old Germany of decades past and that quality also lags far behind” (Landsberger 1925: 319). This additional cultural pressure is argued to have complemented the housing provision goals of the WuWA opting to also manifest the potential of the Lower Silesian Province in its own right and justify the occasion of an exhibition. Consequently, delving into Breslau’s cultural strains or the dealings of its artistic milieu became the focus point of local and regional publications, especially after the implementation of the exhibition toward the promotion and consolidation of Breslau as an artistic city.

Among these regional publications, the *Schlesische Monatshefte: Blätter für Kultur und Schrifttum der Heimat*; published by *Wilhelm Gottlieb Korn Zeitschriften-Abteilung* and co-edited by Franz Landsberger and *Kulturbund Schlesien*; dedicated two issues to the WuWA exhibition in July and August in 1929. These included a number of essays focusing on different critical analysis of the exhibition from perspectives such as architecture, art history, engineering, business and the role of the woman in WuWA. The publication was titled “*Die fertige Wuwa in Bildern*” (The finished WuWA in pictures) because the texts were not only complemented with a large number of photographic materials – that at the time was still difficult to develop – but also because the journal launched a photography competition with the sole purpose of showing what the editorial board considered to be a process of “recent reorientation that has taken place in photographic art (Figure 1.8.4). Not a time of the ‘beautiful picture’, but of competition with painting, truth and authenticity in conception and disposition, that is what we also demand from the photographer” (1929: 399).

The magazine also featured the following question in one of its headlines: “*What is the press today if not Illustrated? - to the eyes of all people?*” (1929: 399). For this regional publication, photography did not only represent another instrument to communicate the contents of the exhibition but was part of the discussion in itself. The image as housing culture was equally important in conveying the guiding principles of the WuWA and the design of the housing estate. The image was total, and its importance was not solely symbolic, Landsberger argued that the old maxim that ‘an Englishman’s home is his castle’, that was often used in the British right-wing press, was well applied in the model houses of the WuWA. His article speculated that this castle was now ‘perforated’ as not only the exterior is visible but the people, colors and even furniture become elements of the landscape of the housing estate (1929: 287). The window and its openness as a formal element were also associated with the enhanced information provided by images in the different printed materials.



**Ledigenheim, Aufgang zum Dachgarten**  
 Phot. Herbert Bartsch (100 RM)

14 3/4 h, Bl. c. 30, 4 Sek., Agfa Andresa, Görz Tenaxlar 1:6,8 f=13,5 cm

Folgende Preise waren ausgesetzt :

- 1. Preis . . . . . 150.— RM.
- 2. Preis . . . . . 100.— RM.
- 3. Preis . . . . . 50.— RM.
- 4. Preis . . . . . 30.— RM.
- 5. Preis . . . . . 20.— RM.

Trostpreise : 6. bis 15. Preis je eine Dauerkarte für den Besuch der Wuwa.

Das Preisgericht war der Ansicht, daß keins der eingesandten Bilder den Ansprüchen für einen 1. Preis genüge, und beschloß, bei gleichwertigen Leistungen dafür drei Preise zu je 100 RM. zu verteilen.

Es erhielten demnach je 100 RM. in bar:

Herbert Bartsch, Breslau, Kl.Groschengasse 32,  
 Kennwort: Gabeljürge, „Aufgang zum Ledigenheim“,

Werner Grundmann, Breslau, Oswitzer Str. 7,  
 Kennwort: Strux, „Blick vom Scharounhaus“,

Fritz Diesener, Breslau, Sternstraße 100,  
 Kennwort: Bianka, „Messehof Abtlg. Nickel“,

30 RM. in bar:

Johanna Pistorius, Breslau, Kais.-Wilh.-Str. 23,  
 Kennwort: Namenlos, „Pergola“,

20 RM. in bar:

Hans Biczysko, Breslau, Mauritiusplatz 3a,  
 Kennwort: Lynkeus, „Am Ledigenheim“,



**Messehof (Abtlg. Nickel)**  
 Phot. Fritz Diesener (100 RM)

13 h (Regen) F 6,3, 1 Sek.  
 Agfa-Andresa. Meyer-Görlitz

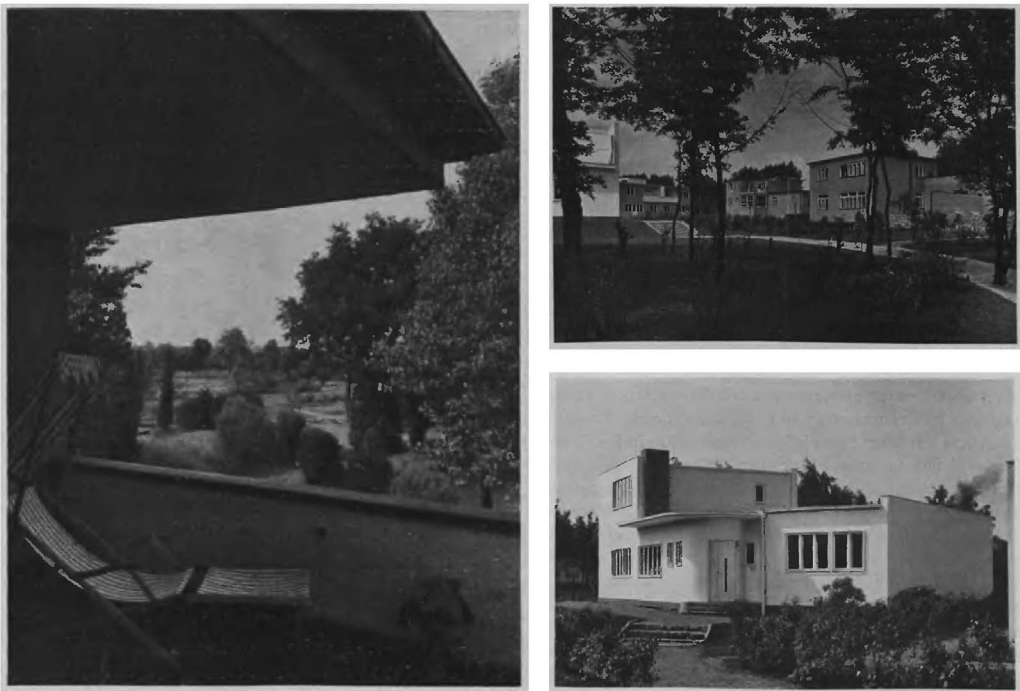
**FIGURE 1.8.4** The relevance of the image at the WuWA: winners of a photographic competition with two of the selected photographs taken by Herbert Bartsch (top) and Fritz Diesener (bottom), who interestingly captured himself on one of the reflective materials of the construction section of the WuWA.

Source: Kulturbund Schlesien, Franz Landsberger (Ed.), No. 9, 1929. p.400.



Along with the objective of highlighting local design and the landscape features of the region, the treatment of the image that distinguished the WuWA in several examples of printed culture was also related to how the emotion or the “*Pathos*” of the WuWA was transmitted without enclosure meaning that word, sound and picture were equally integrated with the exhibition. Therefore, the material culture of the WuWA operated actively involving each individual, without distinction as these were intended to participate and connect with a larger community (Landsberger 1929: 287).

Furthermore, the image that the printed culture of the WuWA aimed to promote focused as well on the landscape and historical context of Breslau (Barnstone 2016: 6). This discourse was mostly focused on the greenery. Once sought as the backbone of the Zimpel estate back in 1926, green spaces found their way into totalizing message of the WuWA through its material culture (Figure 1.8.5). Specifically, the printed regional press placed a high value on the connection of gardens and landscape to modes of community life. For instance, a contribution made by the progressive author Ilse Molzahn claimed that the landscape was integrally complementing not only the housing settlement but it was also an element expressed in the interior of the houses, a total vision or art that should become the image in the “desert of our everyday life?” (Molzahn 1929: 312). To this extent, the integration of landscape and the history of the site – similar to the notions of the *Heimat* movement – became equally important to be presented to visitors of the exhibition and to be reproduced and conveyed to readers, in this case of



**FIGURE 1.8.5** Photographs by Heinrich Klette of the surrounding greenery of the housing estate of the WuWA. Left: View of the greenery from the house designed by Theo Effenberg. Top right: View of the housing settlement from the central garden with houses designed by Paul Häusler, Emil Lange and Theo Effenberger. Bottom right: Front garden of the single-family house designed by Ludwig Moshamer.

Source: Left, Kulturbund Schlesien, Franz Landsberger (Ed.), No. 7, 1929. pp. 287, 289, 291.

the *Schlesische Monatshefte Blätter*, to illustrate “the possibility for a free living in connection to nature” (Molzahn 1929: 313).

The housing settlement in *Grüneiche* was not solely a design decision replicating aspects of the German interpretation of the garden city but it was also sought as a fundamental element of the model estate to allow building a communal relation among new residents. Molzahn argued that this character was absent in the Stuttgart exhibition of 1927 but occupied a more dominant space in the new settlement in Breslau (1929: 313). For instance, the northeast–southwest axis of the WuWA estate comprises a central pedestrian green area while kindergarten, nursery and hotel for single people were isolated from the individual residences by surrounding smaller gardens, just like the one found in the Zimpel settlement. Moreover, attempts to integrate community and greenery were various for instance, Landsberger argued that Adolf Rading’s design for the *Laubenhäuser* connected the individual apartments with one another through a communal corridor on the outer front: “If these open corridors, these ‘arbours’, are to be used for balcony purposes, they will require compatibility from neighbour to neighbour, which is not yet common today” (1929: 292).

The greenery went into determining not only formal elements of the buildings but also the settlement itself (Rischowski 1929). The disposition of the urban plan of the WuWA confirm that the long row of houses were not necessary in a healthy city. Instead, groups of individual buildings, following forms of modern functionality, were placed isolated within the greenery of the surrounding forest. A clear illustration of these planning principles was provided by Paul Heim, who also contributed in the *Schlesische Monatshefte*. The planner argued that the integration between the house (building) and the garden was not only a task of the exhibition, but a fate for the German people as well as “the new apartment and its insertion into the large city as a whole should help, as a healthy cell in a healthy body (...) Apartment in a family house with a garden: the most natural form of living, the best cell for the family, home in itself” (1929: 295). For Heim, the housing question in Breslau was answered with the WuWA as it move construction back to its ‘natural basis’ and became once again a matter of the citizenry to continue developing housing following the guidelines set by the exhibition.

## City Building Through Material Culture at the WuWA

City building also became a matter of debate in regional publications featuring the WuWA. The catalogue stated that the exhibition covered everything: “From the very basic design of the house to the exemplary city map, from the first brick to the last daily utility device, the entire area of building and living, arranged in a tour, is presented for exhibition” (Stadt Breslau 1929). While the *Schlesische Monatshefte* claimed that the permanent settlement was just the initial stage of a broader process “to transform the ‘man-eating’ city into a ‘human-friendly’ city” (Heim 1929: 295). The fair’s grounds were surrounded by traditional villas designed according to *Jugendstil* with spacious green gardens and on the vicinity of the *Grüneiche* park. This made the housing estate an obvious site to experiment with the ideas of the Garden City Movement and other environmental elements such as terraces, balconies and roof gardens in an attempt to make the division between interior and exterior invisible.

As part of the WuWA, the organizers invited planners from all over the world to be part of an exhibition on urban planning aiming to open up the discussion mentioned above. The exhibition took place in the *Ausstellungsgebäude* and counted with 47 projects, 20 under the banner of ‘*Grün und Freiflächen*’ (Green and Open Spaces). Hans Bernoulli, who visited the opening of WuWA, mentioned that the number of German cities was larger and mostly focused on stadiums, allotment gardens and parks that at the time corresponded to a completely new concept of

the future city and the “attempt to show the transformation of the idea of living as part of human development” (1929: 240).

Here, it is possible to draw a correlation between facilities and services permanently built in the model housing settlement, like the kindergarten, the nursery and the hotel, with the broader debate that was been displayed in the urban plans of cities in Germany and the articles featured in regional publications as “vital and internally related parts of the overall organism of the cities that are supposed to refresh and renew it” (Wenzel 1929: 322). The official Exhibition Guide aimed to providing an insight into the principles of the new green space that were been applied in larger cities in Germany, including the development of sport facilities, allotment gardens, playgrounds and public parks and to what extent these went into shaping design of the housing settlement of the WuWA (Stadt Breslau 1929). Community-based living and healthy modern design were also actively planned into the settlement of the WuWA where the planners sought a similar correlation between designing the private in accordance to the landscape and building a community through the integration of the neighbors and the use of green spaces.

Therefore, the housing estate of the exhibition was not solely set to offer new definitions to the housing question in the city but also to impart a cultural lesson that a divergent form of dwelling could take place in modern Germany allowing variations of Howardian ideas to persist in other modes of housing as well. Unfortunately, while it is possible to assert that the WuWA exhibition was actively aiming to convey a public lesson to more people through a complex combination of materials sought to mold culture, it is hard to evaluate the effectivity of this effort due to the collapse of liberal democracy during the onset of the Second World War.

## Housing Lessons and Fleeting Images

While the first housing estate of the *Deutscher Werkbund* was conveniently formulated as an apartment exhibition: *Die Wohnung*, it became just natural that the exhibition in Breslau addressed new functions of dwelling to move debate forward. The workroom was ultimately included as a deeper study into modern dwelling. However, the rationale behind the exhibition in Breslau was even more complex due to the pressures of the local government, influential businesses and professional associations that all saw different opportunities to improve Breslau’s national and commercial profile in light of the city’s post-war circumstances. Nevertheless, it is equally important to understand how these objective lessons to promote local culture and a diverging interpretation of dwelling were disclosed and conveyed as part of the exhibitionary setting of the WuWA. Rather than opening a debate on the challenges of the housing question or the polemics of modern design culture, the exhibitionary setting of WuWA can be also understood as a broader didactic space providing public lessons through the deciphering of materiality. It is possible to conclude that this aim was achieved through three applied methods that were distinguished from analysis of the collected data.

Firstly, the concoctive ‘word-image’ was a twofold means to convey a message. Regional publications became the most important means in asserting how the image and its ‘openness’ to integrate landscape and house, exterior and interior, were not only associated to basic notions of community-building but that they represented, in fact, a fundamental aspect of Silesia. By providing not only images but also suggesting a mode to consume them, publications like *Schlesische Monatshefte* managed to distance the WuWA model settlement from the housing estate developed in Stuttgart, where only visual aspects of the forms offered a degree of unity among the buildings. The treatment of the image was metaphorically used to provide openness in the material culture of the WuWA in both buildings and printed outlets.

Secondly, the fleeting image is another fundamental concept to understand full extent of the exhibition's operation. For what it is worth noticing, the importance placed in documenting the event as it happened challenges the assumption that this was just another settlement with the sole purpose of providing affordable housing to people or bring profit to the *Siedlungsgesellschaft Breslau A.G.* This can be better appreciated in the photographic competition that took place during the summer of the event. The selected winners did not only provide the specific time and location of the photographs but also the duration in seconds of the exposure. It is argued that capturing a moving person attending the event or the happenings of the opening ceremony became more efficient way to contextualize the WuWA and involved readers in a direct and personal level.

The third and final element is the exchange of ideas between brokers as the lessons of the exhibition went not only to the city but beyond the country itself. Once again, the catalogue of the exhibition stressed the importance of not only providing necessary materials but also inviting interested parties to take part in this exchange, including visitors from abroad (Stadt Breslau 1929). For instance, the Academy of Arts in Breslau organized a trip of Polish representatives who reported from the event and documented the whole journey. This was a certain way to not only secure more diffusion of the discourses of the WuWA but also a broader international exchange beyond the discrepancies of current politics and the tension between cities.

These three conditions caused an expanded space for operation that gave the exhibition and its contents a particular character that no other exhibition of buildings had at that point in central Europe. By disregarding the division between the private and the public (housing and city-building), the WuWA aimed for solutions that originate in the private realm to eventually become evident in the public domain. Consequently, this methodological approach formed at the WuWA cannot be comprehensively understood by focusing exclusively on the exhibition as the outcome of new planning methods and architectural movements. As the exhibition aimed to create a new social context in Breslau, lessons on dwelling needed to be transmitted to the masses requiring also a new understanding of the entanglement of the exhibitionary complex to the fields of planning, media and design. From a present perspective, the WuWA contributed to the broader process of modernization of post-war Western city-building practices, producing a machinery through which the built environment was brought to the masses in the form of a display is operating to this day.

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## **PART 2**

# Functions and Practices of Urban Planning under Changing Social Orders



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# 2.1

## SWEDISH PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT IN THE 20TH AND 21ST CENTURIES

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In the 1920s and 1930s, political leaders, business elites and bureaucrats in Sweden began creating a different kind of society. The Swedish Model (den svenska modellen) or the “Middle Way” (Childs 1936) was to be a combination of socialist programs, democratic politics and capitalist enterprise (Mack 2017: 23). This movement began with the founding of a philosophy within the Social Democratic Party (Socialdemokraterna) – who rose to national power in 1932 – and was executed in practice from the 1940s. It became in effect a national program that lasted for at least 30 years (Hall 1998: 842) with the Social Democrats remaining in national power until 1976.

This model was supported by the idea of an equal and socially integrated society that was closely associated with modernization in the 1920s. Industrialization and the development of electricity, mechanization and transport influenced and led to the transformation of society and labor relations, and the development of a model of negotiation between companies and workers, an increase in salaries for a large portion of the population, and expectations for higher living standards (Movilla Vega 2017: 29). This also led to innovations, social reforms and impacted architecture and urban planning. Construction could take place on a larger scale and development of new building techniques (such as industrial construction in modules) meant that construction could take place on a larger scale. Concrete and steel became important building elements.

Tied to the idea that there should be “liberation from the economic and social immaturity of the proletariat condition” (Gustaf Steffen 1920 in Tilton 1991) was the concept of ‘the people’s home’, folkhemmet. This notion – which gained attention after it was lifted in a parliamentary (Riksdag) debate speech by Per Albin Hansson on the 18th of January 1928 – was that society must become a good home for all of Sweden (Powell, Janfalk and Rörby 2007: 77). Like a family taking care of its own members in times of trouble, folkhemmet would look after the unemployed, sick, and elderly (Andersson and Weibull 1988: 58). Socio-economic equality and economic efficiency would be made to reinforce not contradict each other (Hall 1998: 847). As Peter Hall (1998: 842) writes of Sweden “[i]t was to be a complete welfare state, combining political democracy with a remarkable degree of economic equality; it was based on the remarkable conviction that an entire society, an entire nation, could make a huge and binding social compact that would bring them all equality, solidarity, and finally prosperity, all without abandoning the capitalist system”.

Some of the aspects of this system are not unique to Sweden. They have also been shared by other nations in Scandinavia as well as Northern and Western Europe, such as the Federal



Republic of Germany, Switzerland and the Netherlands. All followed the Rhine-Alpine model of capitalism that “is broadly the world of the social market” (Hutton 2000: 242–243). However, Sweden implemented it “more consistently...than any other country” (Hall 1998: 842). The system was forged in national institutions and society. The Swedish variety of the welfare state was “long a crown jewel to be proud over”. Including “all citizens not just socially marginalised groups” (Strömberg 2001: 43). Hall (1998: 843) noted that Sweden, “[t]hrough it had competitors, in the late 1950s and early 1960s it became known worldwide as the quintessence of a social philosophy and reali[s]ed on the ground”.

### **Housing Shortages, Rapid Urbanization, and the Swedish Response**

Prior to the Second World War, Sweden had some of the worst housing conditions in Europe (see Footnote 17, Arnstberg 2000: 32). Like other countries Sweden had been badly impacted by the financial crash of 1929 and suffered mass unemployment (Ekbrant 1986: 11). This was coupled with rapid urbanization, a shortage of housing and overcrowdedness. In 1933, one year after the Social Democrats – led by Per Albin Hansson – came to power, a new proposition was drafted with a new house building program (Proposition 1933: 211).

The Social Democratic urban planning and housing policy began to take on its material form from the 1940s and 1950s. Improving housing quality was a core goal (Holm 1954). Everyone would have equal access to one good home despite social and economic status; and housing accessibility would be linked to needs, not income (Arnstberg 2000: 45). This Social Democratic *folkhemmet* program cumulating through policy, urban planning, architecture, and construction continued to be practiced in Sweden, from the 1940s to the 1960s. It is characterized by careful and small-scale simplicity in design and neighborhoods. During this period the neighborhood unit, together with *folkhemmet* urbanism, became the dominant planning principle for new suburbs that could be located outside historic city centers.

### **New Planning and Legal Instruments**

New legislation also continued to be developed during this period. In 1947, the Building Act (Byggnadslag, SFS 1947: 385 (Justitiedepartementet (Zetterberg) 1947a)) was passed by the parliament. This saw the introduction of the general plan, with social goals, as a guiding instrument for municipalities (Guinchard 1997: 7). In the same year a new housing provisions law (Byggnadsstadga 30 juni 1947. SFS 1947: 390 (Justitiedepartementet (Zetterberg) 1947b)) was introduced, establishing joint responsibility of the state and municipalities to provide all citizens with sufficient housing (Guinchard 1997: 7). A framework of regulations and a finance system was developed guiding the quantity and quality of all new housing production (Guinchard 1997: 7). Private development (except in the case of individual houses) was essentially stopped and municipalities were given a right of first refusal on all land sales. Housing would primarily be built by local government, public housing authorities and supplemented by housing cooperatives, which came to dominate the housing market (Lindvall 1987: 5).

### **Growth in Towns and Cities: The Case of Stockholm**

Stockholm, Sweden’s capital, became a “living embodiment, the showcase, of a society” the Social Democrats sought to proudly create as a model for the world (Hall 1998: 843). “Stockholm shall get a modern general plan”, wrote Carl-Fredrik Ahlberg<sup>1</sup> (n.d.: 1), after the proposal for a new masterplan for the greater city area was approved in 1945. Two documents were created around this period to lead Stockholm’s development. The first of these was *Stockholm of the Future* (Det

framtida Stockholm) (Markelius 1945). The other was a general plan for Stockholm (General plan för Stockholm) (Stockholms stad Stadsplanekontoret 1952, created by architects Sven Markelius<sup>2</sup> and Göran Sidenbladh<sup>3</sup>), which became the blueprint for development in the greater metropolitan region. Drawing upon Ebenezer Howard's (1946, 1898) earlier Garden City concepts, this plan outlined clusters of satellite towns, around underground rail extensions and lines (Tunnelbana) – with stops at approximately 1 km intervals – radiating from a central Stockholm city interchange station. The Copenhagen Finger Plan from 1948, also included satellite towns along railway lines extending from the city center (Hall and Ward 1998: 91). This was based around a model of decentralized jobs where people could find work near home, but with the possibility of still accessing jobs in the city center, connected by railway lines (Hall and Ward 1998: 91).

The Stockholm model was too, based around decentralized employment. Society was to be made up of ABC communities consisting of arbete (work), bostad (housing), and centrum (center). Therefore, the satellites would be commuter, community, and employment centers (Hall 2002: 338). By building these types of communities, rather than extending the existing city center, it would be easier to balance the need for housing and workplace (Ahlberg 1954: 10). These were somewhat inspired by London's New Towns (Hall 2002: 338), were planned around the same time, and had some ideas in common. However, these were not the same, with Markelius (in Pass 1973: 116) noting that although he “studied the New Towns, of course, and with great interest...the solution in Stockholm had to satisfy the special conditions of Stockholm”. They were not to be self-contained as in Sir Patrick Abercrombie's (1945) plan for London's growth. Rather, they would be “used as a ‘dormitory’” and have as “independent a life as possible” (Markelius 1955: 2).

Markelius (1955: 2–3) described that these new suburbs were to be:

planned to provide not only working-places for the population, but as good facilities as possible for trading, recreation and entertainment in centres of their own ... [and] possibilities for building a townscape, or a milieu, with all its components, that satisfy the demands we have on urban life to-day. This would include technical and economic demands, as well as architectural and townscape considerations. The residential quarters should, as far as possible, meet the required dwelling standard of to-day from the sociological point of view, taking into account not only building technique and the layout of the different dwelling groups, but the layout of the residential quarters as a whole and the provision of shops, communal premises, public buildings, playgrounds and sport fields and other open spaces.

During recent years, the planning of new town sections followed certain principles and an effort has been made to compose each section so that different types of dwellings are represented in suitable balance. The central areas, which lie around the suburban railway station and the centre connected with it, are largely made up of flat blocks. An urban character is thought desirable and the buildings consist of either tree-storey “lamella” (thin, long) buildings, or six to ten storey: flat blocks with lifts, or both. (The tall units with only one staircase are usually called “point houses”). This nucleus of flat blocks – and the shopping and other services grouped around it – generally extend no further than 500 metres from the station and its centre. Beyond it are situated the terrace-houses and detached one-family houses, villas and cottages. For these buildings, a walking distance of 900 metres from the centre and station is accepted and this radial distance roughly governs the maximum size of a suburban section.

Vällingby (1950–1954) (Figures 2.1.1 and 2.1.2) was the first of the Stockholm satellites to be completed. Markelius (1955: 3) outlined himself that “[i]n accordance with the principles as



**FIGURE 2.1.1** Vällingby center (Vällingby centrum), photograph by Lennart Olson, unknown date (circa 1953–1955).

Source: ArkDes Collections, ARKM.1994-103-096-01.



**FIGURE 2.1.2** Row houses in the outer Vällingby row house area, Atlantis, with tall pine (Radhus i Vällingby Exteriör, radhusområdet Atlantis med hög tall), photograph by Sune Sundahl, 1955.

Source: ArkDes Collections, ARKM.1988-111-X14-10.

mentioned above, this new district of Vällingby has been planned”. Vällingby was “the first and most celebrated of the Stockholm satellites” (Hall and Ward 1998: 95). “It was an immediate success”, praised for its modernity, planning, shops, and architecture (Andersson 1998: 173–174). It was to become “a prime example of...the ABC-society” and “[a]t the time...represented the ideal expression of folkhemmet, where aspirations for equality and welfare in the new Sweden converged” (Movilla Vega 2017: 48, 50). Other early examples of Markelius’ satellite towns applying the ABC principles include Farsta (1953–1961) (Figure 2.1.3), and Högdalen (1950s). Markelius (n.d.) noted these three places “fill the claim” of having a mix of housing, work, commercial services and community functions. Though these places, specifically Vällingby, also faced criticism for a lack of facilities and housing variety (Fogelström n.d.). Furthermore, any small town spirit and solidarity between small shopkeepers that existed when centers such as Vällingby were young, disappeared with the arrival of chain stores (Nyström and Lundström 2006: 40).



**FIGURE 2.1.3** Farsta center, Stockholm. People sit in an outdoor seating area in front of the city library (Farsta centrum, Stockholm. Människor sitter på uteservering framför Stadsbiblioteksbyggnade), photograph by André och Irene Reisz, 1960–1965.

Source: Nordiska museet, NMA.0033304.

The public sector played a large role in the ownership and construction of housing. In Vällingby and Farsta, “one-third of the dwellings were built by public-housing corporations, almost one-third by cooperatives and similar non-profit-makers, a little less than one-third by private builders and the remaining one-tenth consisted of one-family homes” (Hall 2002: 339).

### Housing Shortages and the Million Program

Despite on-going housing production, at the beginning of the 1960s there was still a housing shortage. From the 1930s to the 1940s and 1950s there had been a shift from small scale housing production to planning of whole urban areas linking to the industrial boom of

the construction sector (Movilla Vega 2017: 51). The 1960s saw the development of new large scale and long-term urban initiatives, fostered by a strong public sector, and aimed at building a high number of dwellings in record time (Movilla Vega 2017: 51). This was supported by a growing economy, favorable government loans, and various subsidy schemes, and housing research. The industrialization and rationalization of the construction industry was supported by different state initiatives, investigations, research as well as lending regulations and standards, and investment in construction continued into the 1970s, driven by standardization and prefabrication (Pech 2011: 37). The period between 1960 and 1975, known as the record years (*rekordåren*), saw Sweden's housing stock increase by one third (Movilla Vega 2017: 52).

The largest and most ambitious program of this period was the Million Program (*miljonprogrammet*). In the mid-1960s, the Parliament resolved to intensify development with the aim of building 1,00,000 new homes every year for a ten-year period between 1965 and 1974 equating to one million dwellings during this time (SOU 1965: 32 *Höjd bostadsstandard*). The core of the system was to make public housing available to all, with means testing specifically rejected as could lead to stigmatization 'category' housing and segregation. Instead, the goal of the housing policy was to provide good quality modern housing for all at a reasonable cost (Hall 1998: 856). Housing was to be of high technical, functional and architectural quality, with efficient and generous floor plans and good lighting (Lindvall 1987: 5; Powell, Janfalk and Rörby 2007: 103). The Million Program was also a comprehensive program for community building with significant social goals and expansion of community services such as schools, healthcare centers and libraries. According to Hall (1998: 843) in terms of urban planning and development, Sweden with "[i]ts apartment towers, grouped around its new subway stations and shopping centres, impeccably designed and landscaped, became an object of pilgrimage from informed visitors all over the world".

Later satellites took on a different form to their predecessors, with a lesser focus on the ABC model. Satellites such as Tensta and Rinkeby in Spånga (1960s–1970s), Kista (1975–1980) and Skarpnäck (1980s) were designed or evolved into specialized centers and communities, as a residential community, technology hub and "Sweden's response to the New Urbanism", with fine grained active land uses, respectively (Cervero 1998: 118–120). Furthermore, building and planning became more industrialized and rationalized. Andersson (1998: 157) notes that "[b]y the mid-1950s the craftsman-like way of building ... had definitely been replaced by industrialised buildings using prefabricated units". By the Million Program period it was said that "the span of the building cranes steered the planning, and the single-family house areas were standardi[s]ed the same way" (Andersson 1998: 183). In some areas such as Bredäng (1962–1975), Skärholmen (1960s–1970s) and Västra Orminge (1961–1971) prefabricated systems reflected the terrain and landscape. Västra Orminge, where the buildings with "[a] prefabricated system of portable exterior panels and central pillars" "successfully blended into the landscape" which "together with the careful treatment of public spaces and details, made Västra Orminge one of the best examples of the Million Programme" (Movilla Vega 2017: 52). Whereas in Södra Järva (1970s), there was a "complete domination of the landscape" (Andersson 1998: 184). Tensta and Rinkeby (Figure 2.1.4) were accused as having "[s]tereotypical architecture and very plain environments" (Andersson 1998: 184). Criticism came from architects and sociologists for "too institutional and sterile" environments, with a "lack of human scale" failing "to impart a sense of community" in response to the monumental Le Corbusier 'tower in the park' scale with high-rise buildings set in superblocks (Cervero 1998: 116–117). In the Greater Stockholm municipality of Täby, Näsbydal, consisting of residential tower blocks, and the neighboring Grindtorp



**FIGURE 2.1.4** View over a housing area in Rinkeby, Stockholm (Utsikt över bostadsområde i Rinkeby, Stockholm), photograph by Klyvare Berndt, unknown date.

Source: Nordiska museet, NMA.0032689.

(Figure 2.1.5), with two high-rise and low-rise half-moon buildings surrounding a courtyard, constructed between 1958 and 1966, it has been argued come “closer to Le Corbusier’s vision than anything else in Sweden” (Hall 1991: 222).

By the late 1960s and early 1970s the Social Democratic Welfare State, and the structure of the planning and housing programs, namely the Million Program, began to face criticism. The rationalized planning system, a lack of focus on the human scale, shift away from the ABC model (including a lack of transport, and social and commercial uses), as well as industrialization of housing materials and construction led to criticism that neighborhoods were repetitive, monotonous and dormitory, lacking variation and complexity (Hall 1991: 225, 2002: 340; Movilla Vega 2017: 54;). Though as Stenberg (2014: 179) highlights, even before the Million Program areas were completed, the buildings were critiqued as being monotonous, because of their repetitive form, large scale and concrete materiality.

There was also an overproduction in quantity and underproduction of quality of housing (Hall 2002: 340–341). This coincided with a decrease in urban population resulting in a market saturation and unlet housing (Hall 2002: 340–341; Hårsman and Wijkmäk 2013: 33). Bengtsson (2013: 173) notes that “[n]eighbourhoods that had been erected in the 1960s and early 1970s... became targets of criticism for being physically and socially poor environments to live in, allegedly promoting alienation and segregation”. Neighborhoods gained a bad reputation (Stenberg in Sand and Stenberg 2014: 183). While contemporary politics and media rhetoric, have connected areas such as those from the Million Program, with social and economic problems, they



**FIGURE 2.1.5** Flyover image of Grindtorp housing area, in Täby, Greater Stockholm (Flygbild över bostadsområdet Grindtorp i stockholmsförorten Täby), photograph by Studio Gullers, 1970.

Source: Nordiska museet, NMA.0080141.

are also seen as interesting for investment because of their architectural and public space potential (Sand 2019: 12).

The ending of the Million Program in the mid-1970s saw migration to dense areas stagnate and there was an increase in production of private houses (Strömberg 2001: 40). People wanted to live in individual single-family homes, on the urban periphery, rather than cooperative apartments (Hall and Ward 1998: 93; Hallemar and Movilla Vega 2017: 75). Though, it is highlighted, that of all Million Program housing, one third was located in blocks more than four stories high, while the remaining two-thirds consisted of single or multifamily dwellings in buildings of less than four storeys (Movilla Vega 2017: 54). Even in 1950, Sidenbladh (1950: 2)



had remarked that Stockholm would “continue to be planned for all different house forms, high-rise buildings, small houses and row houses, and small cottages”.

The Social Democratic Welfare State, and housing and planning programs, despite their problems and criticisms did see an improvement of housing conditions in Sweden. Speaking of Stockholm in the decades after the creation of the 1952 plan, Hårsmann and Wijkmark (2013: 32) state, the city “built as never before – or since!” Housing policy in Sweden saw a shift from overcrowded partial slum conditions to a generally high level of housing standard (Dagens Nyheter, 22 December 1998 in Arnstberg 2000: 25). “Housing standards were” even “the highest ever achieved in the country” (Movilla Vega 2017: 54). There were improvements to habitability – standards of living – and all citizens including families gained access to housing, aided by controlled rental agreements (the founding of which was the Rental Regulation Act of 1942 (Hyresregleringslagen SFS 1942: 429)), ensuring fair prices (Hallemar and Movilla Vega 2017: 69; Movilla Vega 2017: 54). There was a focus on improving standards for the regular Swedish family (Sand in Sand and Stenberg 2014: 180). Sweden “built for the future, quickly and with new technical systems, visionary, modern and to a high quality, as a solution to the lack of housing” (Stenberg in Sand and Stenberg 2014: 180). Hall (1998: 852 quoting Castles 1978: 71–72) notes “[t]he welfare state...produced striking results: Francis Castles’ study showed that Sweden and its two neighbours, Norway and Denmark, joined the Netherlands ‘in a league of their own in respect to the level of welfare provision’”. The Swedish Welfare model has also, as Mattsson and Wallenstein (2010: 8) argue, “[s]ince the mid-1980s begun to lose the hegemony it once had over the intellectual debate, and has become the object of considerable dispute”.

### **Urban Planning in Sweden from the Welfare State Period until the Present**

By the 1980s, Sweden having also faced the impact of the oil crisis of the early 1970s, a slowing of the economy and increase in unemployment, saw a shift in urban planning and housing policy and development. In 1985, the Social Democrats (having been re-elected in 1982) proposed a new Planning and Building Act (Plan- och bygglag 1987: 10 (Socialdepartementet 1987)), which was ratified in 1987. Although a new act, it was based on the Building Act of 1947 with its later additions (Blücher 2013: 54). However, the new act differed, removing compulsory state level assessment as well as formal approval of municipal planning decisions by the state (Blücher 2013: 54). In essence, municipalities became more autonomous and were given the responsibility for planning land and water use within their municipalities. The year after the Act was ratified, in 1988, the national Planning (Planverket) and Housing Boards (Bostadsstyrelsen) were consolidated into one authority, the National Board of Housing, Building and Planning (Boverket). Movilla Vega (2017: 56) notes “this body gradually lost jurisdiction over planning activities”.

Since the 1990s there has been a significant shift in planning, housing and building policy in Sweden. An economic crisis resulting from a recession created “a new environment for Swedish planning” (Blücher 2013: 55). There has been a decrease in municipal planning activity, land holdings and resources allocated for community planning; a loss of planning and building expertise in municipalities; as well as the withdrawal of the state from housing provision and community building processes. Amendments to policy have essentially removed the government from the planning process (Blücher 2013: 56). In practice, the markets – landowners and developers – have been given an increased responsibility in managing construction and development, and control much of what is being built in Sweden today. This has seen a breakdown of the connections between housing and planning policy created during the 1960s and

1970s, with the only possibility for municipalities to formulate and affect housing policy being through planning monopolies with the foundations of planning being weaker (Blücher 2013: 56). As Harvey (2012: 23) remarks “[i]ncreasingly, we see the right to the city falling into the hands of private or quasi-private interests”. Arnstberg (2000: 19) has called this period “Market Sweden” (Marknadsverige), out of the neoliberal view that the market economy and democracy are connected.

While political goals around community building were an important part of the development of the Welfare State, urban planning in Sweden has increasingly been focused on fast housing development at the expense of a dynamic mix of uses including education, social and cultural functions, and local economic activities. There has also been an increasing lack of available housing, overcrowdedness as well as unprecedented social and ethical segregation (Movilla Vega 2017: 57). By 2017, there was a housing shortage in all Swedish municipalities (Olsson 2017: 11). The quality of the built environment and public life has been compromised and is under threat (ArkDes 2017). Studies of apartment layouts “show how residential living space is fundamentally shifting: it is intensifying, shrinking, swelling, and coagulating” (Secretary 2019: 26, see also Svensk Standard 2015). In 2017, in response to these challenges, the Swedish Parliament introduced a new strategy (Strategy for Living Cities (Strategi för Levande städer, Skr. 2017/18:230:3)) and policy (Policy for Designed Living Environment (Politik för Gestaltad livsmiljö, Prop. 2017/18:110)) in an attempt to return to more holistic urban planning, focused on developing and designing more sustainable and equitable, and less segregated cities and societies. The impact of these documents shall begin to show in the coming years.

## Notes

- 1 Carl-Fredrik Ahlberg (1911–1996) was an architect who worked at the City of Stockholm’s City Planning Office (Stockholms stads stadsplanekontor) (1945–1952) and was later Regional Planning Director of the Stockholm Area Regional Planning Association, later Stockholm County Council (1952–1976).
- 2 Sven Markelius (1889–1972) was City Planning Director in Stockholm (1944–1954).
- 3 Göran Sidenbladh (1912–1997) was employed at the City of Stockholm Planning Office (1944) and worked on preparing the new masterplan for Stockholm. He also headed the general plan inquiry (1948) and worked on the detailed plan inquiry (1952). He was also acting City Planning Director (1954) and City of Stockholm Planning Director (1955–1973).

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# 2.2

## BRATISLAVA UNDER FASCIST DICTATORSHIP

*Martin Pekár*

According to the renowned French philosopher and sociologist Henri Lefebvre, space is an instrument of power. It is a space of conflict between creators and users. The state, or the ruling regime as the dominant actor, actively uses space for social control through centrally adopted and hierarchically applied power measures (Gottdiener, Hohle and King 2019: 74–76). This, one of Lefebvre’s many characterizations of space, implicitly incorporates the idea that the more power-centralized and hierarchized a state regime is, the more profoundly it can influence society through its interventions in various aspects of space.

Lefebvre’s theory of space is too complex. Therefore, this chapter will work with the mezzo level analytical tool. It will examine, using the example of the capital city of Bratislava, precisely what kind of interventions into the urban public space and what origin the para-fascist regime of the independent Slovak state (1939–1945) intended to use in order to gain the consent of the citizens for the new state project through the materialization of its own ideological assumptions and the use of adopted models. Since the chapter is limited in scope, it has opted for a case study, which does not aspire to analyze the selected problem in a general and systematic way, but through selected individual examples – two spectacular urban and architectural projects.

The main intention is transcending the fixation on a national interpretation and placing urban design in the context of the socio-political project of the regime; it means overcoming the hurdles of understanding the importance of urban design for dictatorships (authoritarian or totalitarian regimes) which were identified by Harald Bodenschatz (2015). In the Slovak case manifested in the example of Bratislava, overcoming both of these obstacles involves, among other things, revealing the character of the regime and its ambition to strengthen the national character of the state. Therefore, the research has been inspired by Roger Griffin’s hypothesis that authoritarian para-fascist regimes have attempted

syntheses of national tradition with international architectural modernity. They would then have been intent on creating their own national variants of stripped classicism, their own simultaneities of past and present, their own forms of rooted modernism.

*(Griffin 2018: 43)*

This case study is based on the model of cultural transfers and as such offers a transnational perspective on the relationship between urban design and dictatorship, respectively on discussions

about the nature of the Slovak state regime. In line with this approach (Ther 2009), it will point out how the regime planned to adapt foreign examples and to transform them for its own purposes or, from another point of view, how fascist ideas spread across Europe also through cultural transfers in the field of urban design.

## Historical Context

In this frame of reference, the chapter perceives the plans for the reconstruction of Bratislava by adopting external models as, among other things, interventions in the individual dimensions (the legal, the functional, the social, and the material and symbolic), of public space, one of the goals of which was nationalization, i.e. the misuse of public space towards building a new national identity in the spirit of its ideologized primordial interpretation. The moderate wing of the representatives of the People's Party understood the nation in line with the ideas of Italian fascism primarily as belonging to a God-given cultural community defined by Christian religion, language, and history. The radical wing also used Nazi motifs of blood and soil. For both wings, the natural culmination of the emancipatory efforts of the Slovak nation was the declaration of independence, to which the Slovak nation was led by God's providence. The active role of Nazi Germany in the process of the declaration of the Slovak state and in the formation of its internal structure along with an affection towards Italian fascism were verbally less accentuated, but symbolically omnipresent. Concrete interventions in the urban public space took the form, for instance, of changes in legislation, in the function of public space, in architectural and urban design elements, appearance, and materials used, and in the use of symbols emphasizing the dominance of the regime in the public space (Fogelová and Pekár 2021).

The Slovak state was established on 14 March 1939 as a by-product of the German foreign policy aimed at breaking up Czechoslovakia. At that time, political power in Slovakia was already in the hands of Hlinka's Slovak People's Party. It was a political party which, during the interwar period, had stood on the positions of political Catholicism and nationalism combined with anti-Semitism, having had approximately 30% support among voters in Catholic rural Slovakia during the interwar period. This autonomist party was in opposition and led the struggle against the centralist policies of the ruling parties. It took over political power in Slovakia in October 1938, immediately after the weakening of the Czechoslovak government as a result of the Munich crisis, when it replaced Czechoslovak parliamentary democracy with an authoritarian regime, retaining it until the end of the Second World War (Lorman 2019).

The regime established by the People's Party embodied many of the typical characteristics of authoritarianism, as characterized in terms of political science by Juan J. Linz (2000), whether it concerned limited political pluralism, a guiding ideology, or the degree of political mobilization of society (Tokárová 2016). It was not totalitarian, although during its short existence it also embraced such features. This regime was designed by protagonists whose thought-world was marked from the early 1930s onwards by an affection towards fascism, manifested first rhetorically and, after seizing power, in action. This knowledge is, on the one hand, essential in terms of a comprehensive interpretation of the regime and its classification not only within the typology of non-democratic regimes, but also within the analysis of the relationship to fascism. In this context, it is possible to view the People's Party regime in Slovakia as a hybrid, more precisely a para-fascist model, which should be the subject of research within fascist studies. The People's Party regime was linked to fascism through ideological and worldview assumptions based on strong nationalism, and through the Christian and social doctrine.

After the establishment of the Slovak state, Bratislava became the capital of Slovakia. It was the largest agglomeration in Slovakia, an important economic center, a transport hub, and the

seat of state administration. However, at the time of the city's becoming a part of Czechoslovakia in 1919, Slovaks had represented only the third largest nationality. In the interwar period, the city was gaining its Slovak character only gradually. Bratislava was not much associated with the Slovak national story and nationally oriented politics either. The new regime and the establishment of statehood in 1939 brought about the need to strengthen the Slovak character of the capital city of Bratislava in the context of ideological grounds. As pointed out by the sociologist Göran Therborn, this was quite a natural phenomenon, as any "modern nation-state power needs representation in order to give direction to the self-identity, thoughts, beliefs, memories, hopes and aspirations of its citizens" (Therborn 2017: 12). In Slovakia, this was happening in various ways: in relation to the demographic structure of the population, for example, by the emigration of Czechs or the racial persecution of Jews and Roma. In relation to the shape of the city, this involved interventions in the form of renaming streets, the demolition of monuments, and, of course, construction activity reflecting ideological and propagandistic factors as well as practical ones. The initiators were the local and central authorities of the regime. The direct influence of Nazi Germany was not negligible.

## Two Examples

Recently, two extraordinarily extensive books have been published analyzing the architectural and urban interventions in Bratislava during the years of the Slovak state's existence. The first, a publication by a team of authors led by Henrieta Moravčíková, examines the period 1939–1945 within the continuity of the development of Bratislava's planning from the mid-eighteenth century onwards (Moravčíková *et al.* 2020). The second, by Richard Němec, explores the planning and construction of Bratislava between 1939 and 1945 from a comparative perspective with other (Czech and Polish) cities under the Nazi sphere of influence (Němec 2020). In relation to this chapter, both publications confirmed the key thesis formulated earlier by the Slovak architectural historian Matúš Dulla, that political indoctrination did not reach a scale comparable to that of Italy or Germany in specific architectural works or in urban design, but this trend was well legible in the case of Slovakia and, more importantly, Bratislava (Dulla 2013: 60). The books also revealed that in the case of Slovakia, the motivation for indoctrination in architecture and urban design was very similar to the fascist patterns identified by Barbara Miller Lane – manifested on ideological, propagandistic, and construction levels (Miller Lane 1986: 142).

The above mentioned works clearly reveal that due to the established authoritarian regime, the period of the Slovak state's existence was rich in large state investment plans and spectacular urban and architectural projects which, however, did not reach the construction phase as a result of the ongoing war and the early collapse of the regime in 1945. Today their analysis is possible using documentation for Urban Planning competitions (Moravčíková *et al.* 2020: 108–109). Two of them – the project for the conversion of Bratislava Castle Hill into a university city and the project for a governmental district – will be paid attention as well as the question at what patterns the regime reached for in the construction of the new statehood and what public space interventions were associated with it.

Bratislava Castle Hill, the symbol and dominant feature not only of the city but also of the state, had been present in urban plans as a desirable space since the end of the nineteenth century. As early as the interwar period, the idea of assigning it a new function and of building a university city on the site of the castle ruins was born. An international competition was launched in December 1940 with the participation of 24 projects, with only domestic experts and experts from ideologically allied foreign countries being approached. The competition and the participants were analyzed in detail in the publication by R. Němec (2020). The first prize

was not awarded by the jury. The second place was shared by the designs of Italian (the acknowledged follower of Razionalismo Italiano Ernesto La Padula and his younger brother Attilio) and German (Hans Wolfgang Draesel and Willi Kreuer) architects. The third prize was awarded to the prominent Slovak architect Emil Belluš, who was a pioneer of modernism, but during the war years he also inclined towards traditionalism in his work. As mentioned above, none of the designs were realized nor had any influence on post-war construction (Moravčíková 2010: 185).

When analyzing the interventions in the public space in connection with the construction of the university city, it is not desirable to limit oneself to the competition itself and to state that none of the proposals reached the implementation phase. There is no doubt that this was a more broadly conceived and activated social process concerning not only unrealized construction activities, i.e. interventions in the material and symbolic dimension of public space. The announcement of the competition was preceded by the adoption of the so-called Clearance Act (No 177/1940) in July 1940, which allowed for the expropriation of real estate for works of public interest, and the adoption of a number of anti-Jewish measures that also restricted the civil rights of Jews (residential segregation, Aryanization of property, etc.) inhabiting the Bratislava suburbs, which were undoubtedly encroachments on the legal dimension of public space. The older idea of a university city, publicly discussed under democratic conditions, was supported after the establishment of the Slovak state by the Prime Minister Vojtech Tuka, who also held the position of Rector of the Slovak University in the period 1939–1942. Through this, as a politician from a position of power usurped by the authoritarian regime, he actively interfered in the change of the function of the space formed by the ruins of the castle, owned by the army. When interpreting the described interventions, one should bear in mind that they were directed at supporting the Slovak majority and gaining its consent for the regime. Evidently, the public interest declared in the Clearance Act or in the anti-Jewish measures was in fact in support of the struggle for power and in the political interest of the regime's representatives, propagandistically identified with the interest of the Slovak nation. The concept of the idea of the university city was also modified under the conditions of the Slovak state, as access to higher education was restricted by law for certain groups, for example Jews and women.

From the architectural and urbanistic point of view, the award-winning Italian design introduced a radical solution in the form of a complete cleansing of the castle hill. The ruins of the castle were to be replaced by a new central building of the Slovak University, which was to be a tall structure with a flat roof. The motifs of the modern-classical *Stile Littorio*, the official style of Italian fascism, as well as rationalist solutions appeared in it. This building was designed to be connected directly to the city center with a monumental staircase (Fig. 2.2.1). The Italian project was a modernist rejection of the imitation of historic architecture (Griffin 2007; Moravčíková *et al.* 2020: 269).

The German project, rather surprisingly, also did not envisage the preservation of the entire castle. It did not, however, abandon history completely. Reference to it was to be seen in one preserved tower and in a layout for the mass of the complex reminiscent of the Gothic phase of the castle's development. The competition did not escape the attention of leading German experts. For example, the architect Hans Stephan, a close associate of Albert Speer, then working as an adviser in occupied Norway, commented on the competition and, in line with the principles of Nazi architecture, rejected the demolition of the castle as a historical symbol, which can be seen as a criticism of both the Italian and the German design (Moravčíková *et al.* 2020: 269; Němec 2020: 320).

The idea of building a clerical, later governmental district for Bratislava came in waves, always in connection with changes in the city's position in the administrative system. In the twentieth century this was evident especially immediately after the establishment of Czechoslovakia



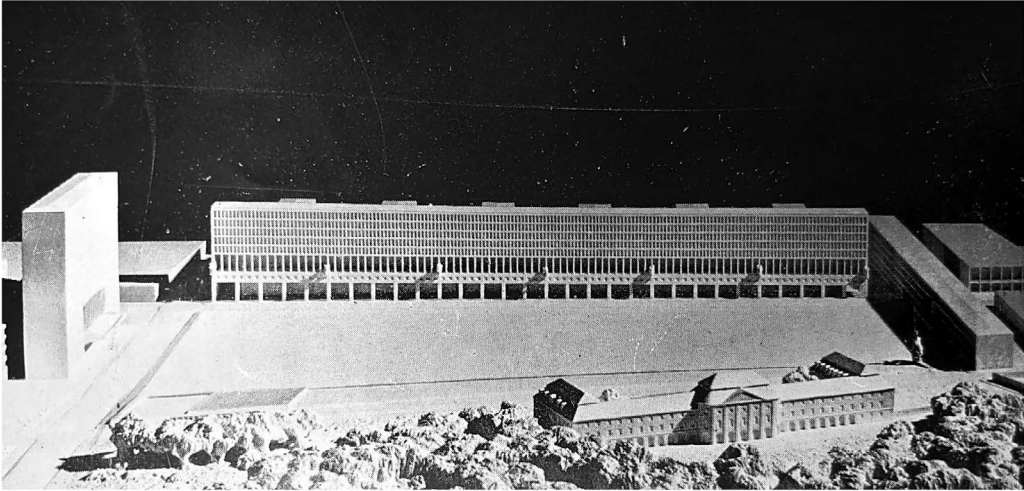


**FIGURE 2.2.1** Ernesto La Padula, Attilio La Padula: Competition proposal for the University City in Bratislava 1940–1941 – 2nd prize ex aequo.

*Source:* Ministry of Interior of the Slovak Republic, Slovak National Archives Bratislava, fund Ministry of Transport and Public Works 1939–1945.

(1918), then after the reform of public administration connected with the necessity of building central institutions for the territory of Slovakia (1928), and of course after the declaration of the autonomy of Slovakia in connection with the creation of an autonomous government and the parliament (1938). A qualitatively new situation arose after the declaration of independence, when the need arose to locate and strengthen the highest state institutions and the ruling Hlinka's Slovak People's Party center.

The government district was planned to be located in the area of a former military training ground in the northern suburbs of Bratislava. An international competition was announced in 1942, and the result was expected to be a representative monumental architectural work. In the case of the government district project, the transformation took place or was supposed to take place primarily through interventions in the material and symbolic dimension of public space. Material elements and symbols were expected to serve the regime as a communication tool that was to clearly convey information to the public about the change in socio-political conditions and the emergence of a new ideological grounding. They were expected to shape the collective memory and thus create a new national identity and, last but not least, to satiate propaganda needs. Apart from the Slovak architects Eugen Kramár and Štefan Lukačovič, the prominent Czech architect and the leading figure of Prague modern architecture Josef Gočár took part in the competition thanks to his partly Slovak origin. He had been working independently on the design of the government district since 1939. Italian architects (Ernesto La Padula, Adalberto Libera – one of the founders of M.I.A.R.) and German–Viennese architects (Siegfried Theiss, Werner Theiss, Hans Jaksch) were again invited. The competition was won by Gočár, but his design was not realized. Interestingly, the post-war construction in this area was inspired by the design of the Italian architects La Padula and Libera, which was adopted under the new



**FIGURE 2.2.2** Ernesto La Padula, Adalberto Libera: Model of the competition proposal the Governmental District with a front view of the central building of the ministries, on the left the seat of Hlinka's Slovak People's Party. The jury emphasized the artistic value of the project, but considered it unsuitable, mainly due to the impossibility of gradual implementation.

Source: *Technický obzor slovenský*, Vol. 7, 1943, No. 10.

conditions by the Slovak architects Kramár and Lukačovič, albeit that they were unsuccessful in the competition (Moravčíková 2010: 185; Moravčíková *et al.* 2020: 114).

Gočár's winning design was generally received with hesitance, and a more positive public response was received by the design of a pair of Italian architects, who placed third in the competition. While Gočár's design was based on functionalist principles and favored the efficient use of space in combination with smaller blocks over monumentality, the Italian architects fulfilled the expectation of monumentality in their architectural and urbanistic rendering of the power and party center of an authoritarian regime looking up to its fascist models. As Moravčíková *et al.* (2020: 360) state, "the force of their work emerged from the conception of the government buildings as expansive rectangular volumes composed around the edge of the empty interior of the square". The square was to be dominated by the 14-storey headquarters of Hlinka' Slovak People's Party and the 300-meter-long building of the four ministries (Fig. 2.2.2). Their design was not based on an imitation of classicism following the Nazi model, but on a modern abstract transformation analogous to the *Esposizione Universale Roma* project, in which the authors of the design had participated themselves (Dulla 2013: 63–64).

The second place was won by an undistinctive but ideologically relevant design inspired by the Reich-German National Socialist norms of the "county forums" (Gauforum) with a monumental neoclassical colonnade, the grave of an unknown soldier, and a dominant feature in the form of a monument of the most prominent figure of Slovak nationally oriented politics of the interwar period, Andrej Hlinka (Němec 2020: 335).

## Conclusion

The two briefly described competitions, although only representing a limited sample, clearly indicate that the immature peripheral Slovak environment without its own architectural school followed European developments with a time lag. As M. Dulla (2013: 64) stated, an original

mixture of politics, ideology, modernity, and tradition emerged. The competitions confirm that the regime and public reactions favored the Italian rather than the German model, which is also indicated by the examples of other smaller Slovak towns (Pekár 2015). Despite its Christian and conservative background, the regime did not abandon the idea of becoming a part of the new Europe built on the specific construct of modernism, which was represented in architecture by Italian authors. This occurred at the time when Nazi Germany maintained a major influence on the internal political development of Slovakia.

The illustrations of the competition projects for Bratislava Castle Hill and the governmental district show that the regime's representatives supported the modernization however, did not approach architectural and urban planning issues in such a directive manner as can be observed in the case of Hitler's direct interest and influence in Nazi Germany (Fig. 2.2.3).



**FIGURE 2.2.3** President Jozef Tiso (priest in the foreground on the left) and Minister of Transport and Public Works Július Stano (in the middle with glasses) at the exhibition of projects for Bratislava Castle Hill.

*Source:* Ministry of Interior of the Slovak Republic, Slovak National Archives Bratislava, fund Slovak Press Office, No. 17108.

Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that they perceived the massive interventions in public space of the city both as an integral part of the new state project and a tool for implementing its ideological assumptions within society, and as an instrument for adopting totalitarian elements into the authoritarian para-fascist regime of the Slovak state. In doing so, they followed the Italian and German models, which presented large-scale construction activity to the public as a manifestation of the regime's building power. The symbols used, both the material ones and also the patterns of social interactions, fulfilled the role of a means of communication directed towards the general public, conveying the above-mentioned content (Bouissac 1998: 624–625).

Using the selected examples, it has been shown that the People's Party regime planned to invade, dominate, and transform the urban public space into a form that was supposed to reflect the ideological and world-view principles of the regime, or, alternatively, the power interests of Hlinka's Slovak People's Party – especially the negation of democracy, the existence of one privileged state party, repressive measures against selected groups of citizens, the physical elimination of Jews, the support of the Christian and Slovak character of the state, and the interest in creating a socially and economically stable group of the population loyal to the regime. Increasingly, it was becoming similar in nature to fascist models and inspirations, which sought to change the social order through all means available across that particular part of Europe over which they built their influence.

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# 2.3

## FRENCH TOOLS FOR URBAN HERITAGE PROTECTION IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

### From Groundbreaking Systematization to a General Trend toward Integration of Planning Instruments

*Víctor Pérez-Eguíluz*

#### **French Urban Heritage Protection Tools: Following an International Tendency**

During the second half of the twentieth century, after the commencement of the earliest urban heritage preservation plans, changes were observed in many European countries in which two trends can be recognized. On the one hand, there is integration and co-ordination of policies by sector, these becoming increasingly specialized, but sometimes inefficient, owing to a juxtaposition of contradictory regulations. On the other hand, there is an acceptance of the concept of change management. Initially, policies tried to freeze a given urban heritage, taking an artistic point of view and attempting to avoid any modifications or threats. Decades later, planning systems have evolved toward a better understanding of the potentialities of this heritage, analyzing the needs that it can cover in cities in a way that is compatible with the preservation of the values that led it to be appreciated. Historical and artistic values are respected, but also social values. Hence, the urban heritage is seen as a collective utility that responds to demands like housing, in parallel with a view of it as a collectively created product distributing burdens and benefits equitably.

In England, the germ of the change management concept is detectable at an early stage. In the conservation studies commissioned by the Ministry of Housing and Local Government from Colin Buchanan and Partners in the 1960s, there was an evident interest in delimiting the degree of transformation and in the possible solutions to specific local problems of historical centers. Both architecturally and functionally, there was an attempt to define which values should be preserved and which not, and concern for the effects of a possible conservation policy, which later was echoed in the *Town and Country Planning Act* of 1990.

In Italy, planning has been distinguished by its integration of plans at various scales and the importance conceded to regional territory, initially shown in a range of experiments. The Assisi and Bologna plans, by Giovanni Astengo and Giuseppe Campos Venuti, respectively, laid down a pattern in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, pointing the way to the path subsequently taken. Both demonstrated that what happens in the surrounding territory, including the areas into which cities are growing, influences the “historical city”, and vice versa. They included studies of the potential for urban heritage change that went beyond morpho-typological analyses, also incorporating the potential for controlling real-estate markets and the application of social measures

for inhabitants. In succeeding years, they became consolidated as a common urban policy, through the *Piani di Recupero* [Restoration Plans], provided for in Italian Law 457 of 1978, from the *Piani Regolatore Generali* [General Urban Development Plans] and the *Piani Particolareggiati* [Detailed Development Plans], as noted by Morandi, Pessina and Scavuzzo (2010), and they were reflected in other experiences such as the planning system for Rome at the turn of the century.

The evolution of the Spanish planning system has stressed a strong theoretical hierarchy between regional and supra-municipal plans, general plans and special protection plans. Such a hierarchy has been in existence since the now long-superseded *Ley del Suelo y Ordenación Urbana* [Law on Land and Urban Planning] of 1956, although in practice it has never been fully applied. The first special preservation plans and listed building registers of the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s were focused on protecting a built heritage that years of urban growth had brought under threat through the abandonment or replacement of edifices. In recent decades the objectives of improving liveability through increasing co-ordination of rehabilitation areas and strategic actions for urban services and productive uses have been brought in more effectively. Nevertheless, the influence of artistic and architectural criteria remains strong (Pérez-Eguíluz 2021).

From the very start, France, like Spain, put forward a clear and hierarchical policy for plans, even more centralized than Spain because of the administrative configuration of the country. The French model is a well-respected benchmark in the field of conservation and restoration. Nevertheless, it is sometimes criticized for giving greater priority to monuments than to the urban and functional balance of the city as a whole. *Secteurs Sauvegardés* (SS) or Safeguarded Areas have existed since 1962, involving a *Plan de Sauvegarde et Mise en Valeur* (PSMV), or Plan for Preservation and Enhancement. So-called *Zones de Protection du Patrimoine Architectural, Urbain et Paysager* (ZPPAUP), or Zones for Protection of the Architectural, Urban and Landscape Heritage, along with SS, have been the two fundamental instruments of heritage preservation policy with particularly formal decision-making and social repercussions as will be seen below.

Thus, France was a pioneer and to some extent a point of reference in the establishment of a national systematization of urban heritage conservation. Nonetheless, the evolution of French policies and the debates that have surrounded them have demonstrated that the country has followed a trend shared with other European states aimed at a better integration of different levels and sector-by-sector planning instruments.

Two particular cases support this view, two examples that involved a fairly recent campaign of urban renewal. A revision of the PSMV for the Marais district in Paris was approved in 2013. Simultaneously, work was being done on drafting and approval for a new status as an *Aire de Mise en Valeur de l'Architecture et du Patrimoine*, or AVAP, relating to the ZPPAUP of Villeneuve-Saint-Georges. This new standing as an Area for Reclamation of Architecture and the Heritage replaced that of ZPPAUP in the same year of 2013. With a shared urban area, a complementary vision of two very different realities can be obtained at the physical, social, functional and norm levels. However, these also exemplify some of the influences affecting a metropolitan space such as Paris, split between center and periphery. The upshot is a reinforcement of the idea of integrated urban intervention instruments that not only regulate the protection of the built heritage, but also affect areas that are socially sensitive and highly representative.

### ***Secteurs Sauvegardés* as a Preferred Urban Planning Instrument**

Debate about the conservation of historical neighborhoods began to gain profile in France during the interwar period, after decades of interventions, reforms and urban modernization. There was consensus on the need to act to re-use buildings and improve living conditions in downgraded or over-densely populated neighborhoods, but not on how to achieve this. There

were still supporters of processes of renewal, whilst others defended preservation of the heritage, even if the conservation of certain buildings could be accomplished only by the elimination of others, as will be noted later.

On 4 August 1962, French Law 62-903 came into force. It is often called the *Loi Malraux* (Malraux Act), referring to its promoter, the writer André Malraux, the Minister for Culture at that time. This law established the *Secteur Sauvegardé* or Safeguarded Area concept, which fundamentally envisages urban modernization of a historical area of the city, with the protection of certain types of the built heritage. Fifty years later, 103 such areas had been established in France, being of a range of types: historical city centers, old towns, old neighborhoods and the like. These shielded areas are defined as having:

*... un caractère historique, esthétique ou de nature à justifier la conservation, la restauration et la mise en valeur de tout ou partie d'un ensemble d'immeubles ... [historical, aesthetic or other characteristics of such a nature as to justify preservation, restoration and reclamation or enhancement of all or part of a set of buildings].*

*(Article 1 of Law 62-903, enacted on 4 August 1962)*

This article also requires the adoption of a PSMV or *Plan de Sauvegarde et Mise en Valeur*, a Plan for Preservation and Enhancement, which is an urban planning document that prevails over every other regulation and has two clear objectives within this modernization process: preserving heritage and ensuring urban functions (Direction de l'Architecture 1997: 11). On the one hand, the conditions for any architectural interventions are laid down in that document. On the other, planning, building regulations, and a number of economic tools were intended to be used to provide for the needs of the population in terms of housing, employment, services, transport and so forth.

Protection of the monumental heritage was regulated in France by the *Loi sur les Monuments Historiques* [Historical Monuments Act] of 31 December 1913. In contrast to this, and in line with European trends (as noted by Giovannoni), an approach to urban heritage gradually emerged that saw the historical, cultural and aesthetic interest of many urban assets as lying in the harmony and quality of the buildings and spaces that composed them, and was not simply reduced to the existence of isolated free-standing monuments. This change of concept took shape in the 1962 law.

Deterioration in the historical districts of many French cities was a fact in the mid-twentieth century. Their limited spaces seemed unable to respond to the strong demand for housing that would comply with criteria for liveability. Sanitary measures involving renovation became the justification for extensive interventions in historical areas. The *Malraux Act*, covering both town planning and heritage, put forward a set of economic tools and regulatory instruments to be applied to existing cities, achieving conservation through improvements.

### **The *Plan de Sauvegarde et Mise en Valeur***

The PSMV is the urban planning document that combines the apparent double aims for which the SAs were created. As explained by François Barré (Direction de l'Architecture 1997: 5), such a plan would have the objective of avoiding alterations that would break links with historical roots and preventing ad hoc measures or influence from vested interests, while simultaneously avoiding conversion into a museum-city that is a beautiful spectacle intended solely for tourism. It is a complete urban planning document, but is limited exclusively by the boundaries of the area involved.



This is a type of policy established at a national level but applied at a local level (Ibid.: 20). The role of the state has been strengthened by ministries responsible for urban planning and architecture, even though this has taken place in a context of decentralization. A PSMV is now the sole planning document for which the drawing up and management are a matter for the State, since all others were transferred to municipalities from 1983 onwards. One major group of players in the application of this policy is the *Architectes des Bâtiments de France* (ABF), or Architects for the Buildings of France. These are civil servants charged with overseeing the country's heritage, having counterparts in similar officials in other States as well. They supervise interventions in protected areas, from SS and ZPPAUP to State Historical Monuments and their surroundings, and have a high-profile role in this respect (Juen 2011).

Preliminary studies for a PSMV address several questions. What functions are compatible with the morphology and scale of the area? What is the relationship between the area and its periphery in functional terms? What activities should be given a place so as to maintain true economic dynamism? What social changes may be anticipated, especially if residential diversity is to be maintained? It is clear that many of these objectives do not depend solely on the PSMV, because of its limitations in spatial scope and its relationships with the rest of municipal planning.

However, criteria have tended to become predominantly formal. The regulation, as a document setting standards, defines the particular conditions for each plot and space in terms of use, volume or possible interventions (even compulsory demolitions). The PSMV gives a plot-by-plot account of provisions for conservation and enhancement established by the morphological study, and pays less attention to socio-economic features, not always even considering them at all.

Finally, it is worth noting that there are direct incentives for the rehabilitation of dwellings. Since 1997, those who have been homeowners or landlords for more than six years have been able to benefit from advantageous tax provisions allowing them to deduct expenses arising from real-estate restorations, whether within an SS or a ZPPAUP. This might be interpreted as an attempt to improve conditions for the existing population. However, certain obvious contradictions continue to exist. To determine whether better living conditions for inhabitants in an area, or at least those present prior to any scheme, are likely to be achieved, it is sufficient to recall that Article 6 of the 1962 Act makes it clear that users are obliged to abandon buildings if a plan schedules operations requiring such a move, without ensuring the provision of alternative accommodation to permit relocation of these residents.

### ***Zones de Protection du Patrimoine Architectural Urbain et Paysager* as an Overlapping Tool**

The *Zones de Protection du Patrimoine Architectural Urbain* were created in 1983. The objective of these Zones for the Protection of the Urban Architectural Heritage was to safeguard heritage, through a simplification and rationalization of existing protection systems. From 1993 onwards, their name was adjusted to bring in the concept of "landscape", mainly relating to environment and natural elements, so the acronym changed from ZPPAU to ZPPAUP. After 2005, the delimitation and declaration of these areas became the responsibility of the municipalities, although requiring agreement from the State.

ZPPAUPs are not a complete town-planning instrument, but are of the nature of a type of service for public utility attached to the *Plan Local d'Urbanisme* [Local Urban Development Plan], or PLU, which constitutes a Master Plan, and imposed on any applications for planning permission, or construction permits. They stand at an intermediate level between the SSs and

the 500 m radius of protection around historical monuments established in 1943. In this way, ZPPAUPs constitute a third instrument with the following goals:

- to adjust the environments of historical monuments
- to enhance urban spaces of intrinsic quality, whether or not any historical monument is present in them
- to harmonize and round out existing protections, so as to ensure consistent management with surrounding areas

Among these objectives, special mention is made of places where there is strong pressure to transform buildings. Nevertheless, the provisions in this instrument are purely formal and limited to the physical appearance and conservation of edifices. In fact, ZPPAUP preliminary studies are supposed to indicate if a revision of the PLU Master Plan should be considered. At the very least, since 2003 guidelines in such plans have to take into account the objectives of any ZPPAUP.

With regard to the composition of this tool, it may be noted that the dossier that is prepared for a ZPPAUP is made up of three documents: a presentation, a set of rules and a plan. Only the last two are binding, while the first part summarizes the objectives and basic concepts that justify application, and a delimitation of the zone covered. The set of rules establishes the legal framework, including items such as the system for construction permits and conditions governing actions on buildings (size, layout, materials or appearance). This is without prejudice to matters that are the remit of the Master Plan, such as land classification or use. One major feature to note is that a ZPPAUP document cannot force the demolition of any building, unlike a PSMV. However, a negative listing in itself points to the likely fate of a building, as soon as replacing it can be shown to be more beneficial than maintaining it.

Rehabilitation and restoration measures have already been mentioned in relation to the concept of SS. In many cases, complementary rehabilitation measures not related to heritage goals have been applied somewhat casually, for instance what are termed *Opérations Programmées d'Amélioration de l'Habitat* (OPAHs), or Scheduled Environmental Improvement Operations.

## Balance of Applications

Despite the flexibility of the instrument and the desire to bring heritage protection and urban planning closer together that it expresses, the ZPPAUP zoning format had a slow start. It required the drawing up of an inventory and historical studies, something not previously undertaken. In addition to its formalistic nature, there were frequent problems arising from the distinction between binding prescriptions and recommendations (Marinos 2011: 2). Nevertheless, an initial significant result was a heightened awareness of heritage among residents, with greater value being set upon it. It increased inhabitants' involvement in conservation and enhanced their financial and representative weight. In fact, the association representing French *villes et pays d'art et d'histoire* [artistic and historical towns and areas] includes not just places boasting an SS, but also those with a ZPPAUP.

A ZPPAUP document has generally been used as a complement to the PLU Master Plan, the latter sometimes even being replaced by delegation in that area. Many rural municipalities have proceeded to study a ZPPAUP before writing or revising their Master Plans. In addition, since 50% of French municipalities did not have PLUs (Marinos 2011), declaration of a ZPPAUP was useful in absence of any other regulation.

French Law 2010-788 was enacted on 12 July 2010. This Act, often termed the *Loi Grenelle II* [Second Grenelle Law] created the concept of *Aire de Mise en Valeur de l'Architecture et du Patrimoine*

[Area for Reclamation of Architecture and the Heritage], or AVAP, the intention being that such areas would replace existing ZPPAUPs by 2015. Apart from the alteration of the nomenclature, there were no major changes in the provisions of the legislature. It is still too early to judge the impact of the Law, since the two types of area are essentially analogous. Among its objectives, the updated legislation is supposed to incorporate into the related protection instruments a consideration of optimum land management, social mix and diversity of uses, tying the areas designated in with the rest of urban dynamics and even energy concerns (Planchet 2011). Further research will be required to analyze its outcomes.

## Heritage Protection and Its Relationship to Other Planning Instruments

Before looking at the two specific cases addressed in this chapter, it would be appropriate to make certain comments upon the relationship between heritage protection tools and the remaining fields of town planning, as shown in Table 2.3.1. When PSMVs were revised, as also when the AVAP concept replaced ZPPAUPs, the objectives concerning heritage were attained, especially from the point of view of awareness and appreciation. In contrast, the general town-planning side needed to be reconsidered, since the measures in themselves triggered urban imbalances. In reality, the debate concerned a reformulation of the heritage policy in its relationships with the remaining aspects of urban planning and even with sector regulations.

Some voices (Atelier parisien d'urbanisme [APUR] 2004; Lebreton 2011), called for such instruments to be abolished, with their content being integrated into Master Plans. This was seen as an opportunity to focus on integrated conservation in cities that did not lead to inequalities. At a legal level in France, heritage protection was already among the objectives of PLU Master Plans, as it was included in the *code de l'urbanisme* [town-planning code].

However, since the *Loi Grenelle II*, strategic land-use documents no longer comprise protection of the heritage. For this reason, although it may, in fact, be present in the same way as before, there is an absence that suggests a lack of determination to make it a core element in town planning, with a missed opportunity for involvement in territorial plans.

**TABLE 2.3.1** Urban Heritage Protection Instruments in France (1962–1983–2012)

<i>Heritage matters</i>	<i>Secteur Sauvedargé (1962- )</i>	<i>ZPPAUP (1983–2012)</i>	
Approval Regulation	National remit Plan de Sauvegarde et Mise en Valeur	Municipal remit, nationally supervised ZPPAUP building regulations	
Relationship to Masterplan Instances	PSMV replaces the Master Plan in the area 103 (up to 2012)	Servitude for public utility  620 (up to 2010)	
<b>Planning matters</b>	<b>PSMV</b>	<b>PLU</b>	<b>ZPPAUP</b>
Responsibility for Heritage	Full responsibility, exclusively within the area covered	Potential remit, but heritage is not among the primary objectives of the PADD*	Full responsibility, exclusively within the area covered
Integration with Other Measures	Measures for an area take on a secondary role, as the PSMV includes only some traffic issues.	Some area plans may not be included and end up with a lowered profile	Outside its remit

Source: Compiled by author.

\*PADD = Projet d'Aménagement et de Développement Durable [Project for Sustainable Development and Management].

Before any consideration is given to the suggestion of adjusting PLUs so that they incorporate the protection document itself (Lebreton 2011), it should be noted that current legislation does not contemplate this possibility. This is because to some extent it would transfer heritage powers into local hands. The advantages that the two formats have should not be ignored.

- SS and AVAP statuses contribute to affording greater specific relief for heritage, acting as a sort of seal of quality. More than this, the advice and competence of the State become available in these cases, which is especially useful for small municipalities lacking human resources.
- It should not be forgotten that tax advantages are provided by an SS or AVAP status for real-estate promoters. These could be a crucial factor in some instances.

On the other hand, the Master Plan option could lead to greater integration of urban policy, a simplification of regulations, heightened awareness among inhabitants and a certain independence from the State for municipal authorities.

### **The *Secteur Sauvegardé* and the PSMV for Le Marais in Paris**

The *Marais* district was declared a *Secteur Sauvegardé* in 1965. Its origins as an aristocratic quarter in the seventeenth century had been followed by a period as a district of craftsmen, including their workshops and enterprises, in the eighteenth century, and then a process of decline and dilapidation that led it to become one of the most squalid neighborhoods in Paris in the nineteenth century. By then it was an unhealthy area, densely populated, with blocks exceeding 2,000 inhabitants per hectare and a land occupation of 85% compared to the 55% that was the average for the capital (Ligen 1970: 47).

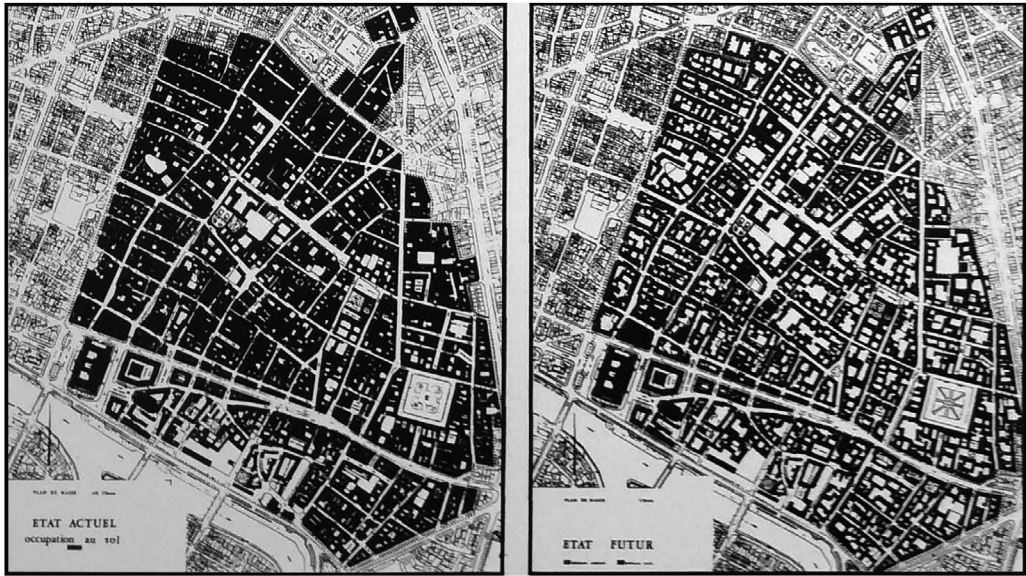
The initial PSMV was intended to act as a framework regulation to which public or private initiatives could be adapted. It was not aimed at scheduled operations involving expropriations, more in line with town-planning concepts of the day.

To invigorate revitalization, the re-use of large buildings as commercial establishments, tourist hotels, or cultural and service centers for residents was proposed. In respect of housing, the analysis distinguished between what should be protected, what restored and what demolished, in order to reduce density without any striking loss of heritage. The freeing up of spaces within blocks that had been over-occupied, in many instances because of minor manufacturing activities, was one of the main measures for improving living conditions, as shown in [Figure 2.3.1](#). However, it was also the main obstacle to approval of the plan, which was delayed until 1996.

Fifty years after SS status was approved, there has been a dramatic drop in population, much greater than justified by the plan in terms of reducing overcrowding. This is partly due to dynamics shared with other central districts of Paris. However, the risk of driving out residents arising from house price inflation in what is termed gentrification or “Chelseafication”, should have been given due consideration. This was stated in a resolution of the Paris Municipal Council in 1969, noting that rehousing of residents should be co-ordinated as a requirement for approval of the plan (Ligen 1970: 70).

### **Assessment of Application after the Marais PSMV**

In practice, two undoubted consequences have been an improvement in living conditions and an acceptance of heritage as a worthwhile value that has been able to escape the appetite of property developers (Gady 2003: 4). However, really all that has been avoided is the replacement of old



**FIGURE 2.3.1** Left, Land Occupation (1960) – Right, PSMV Proposal (1969).

Source: Ligen 1970: 59.

buildings with brand-new, since increased prices after renovation and more profitable new types of dwellings within existing structures have satisfied developers (APUR 2004).

Before the PSMV was approved, great changes had already taken place in the area (Jean-Marie and Starkman 1987: 269) and some of its protection measures were applied by the heritage commission as a preventive measure. Among these changes there was a decrease in the number of inhabitants, fragmentation of buildings into small dwellings, improvements in housing conditions, a progressively greater presence of more affluent social and professional categories, the existence of a dynamic economy despite a decrease in the number of individuals employed, and the retention of some traditional trades and activities. These were phenomena common to Paris as a whole, although they were more obvious and radical within this district: its population decreased by 50% between 1954 and 1982, in comparison with the 25% drop in the remainder of the central Paris zone. High prices and the prevalence of small one-bedroom apartments do not favor settlement by families.

An analysis of how some of the PSMV measures have been executed shows that demolitions have followed two different lines. The internal patios of private residences have mostly been cleared out and restored. In contrast, the traditional inner courtyards of other buildings have often remained more or less unchanged, as the need to preserve existing jobs and activities, based on shop annexes, offices, and the like, has prevailed over any moves toward clearance. Only a small number of mandatory demolitions have been carried out, virtually none of them conditional upon cessation of previous activities. Indeed, there have even been cases of changes in the activities from those originally present. Apart from this, renewal is very advanced, and health problems are no longer a problem, except for the north-western part of the area.

The image of the district has also changed, supported by the tourist industry and art and boutique businesses that have replaced traditional small local shops for day-to-day purchases. High rents are the main cause of this change, as only outright owners and those traders who can achieve high profit margins are able to face such costs. The PSMV is only partially responsible,

but highlighting a special heritage area in a city like Paris has considerable consequences. Prices per square meter have increased threefold on average in ten years, and as much as fivefold in some cases (APUR 2004). This is remarkable when compared to the unprotected areas of the *Troisième Arrondissement* where the value has “only” doubled. Certain town-planning decisions contributed to this increase in value, such as the removal of structures from the inner courtyards of buildings to free up space. In addition, housing speculation was allowed, with properties divided into small apartments so as to obtain a greater profit from sales. The Paris City Council was requested to exercise its purchase rights to ensure 20% of capacity was social housing as established by the *Loi relative à la solidarité et au renouvellement urbains* (SRU), or Law on Urban Solidarity and Renewal. However, the *Quatrième Arrondissement* was excluded from the Local Housing Plan because of its high prices.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the approval of new land-use guidelines and a revision of the PLU Master Plan highlighted a certain number of inconsistencies with the PSMV, as has been noted. Attempts were made to correct them when the *Plan de Sauvegarde et Mise en Valeur* was revised in 2013. These included requirements for a minimum of social housing, as provided for by the SRU Law, controls over medium-sized and larger areas to prevent some streets from being taken over completely by multinational enterprises, and undertaking only those demolitions strictly required to improve living conditions.

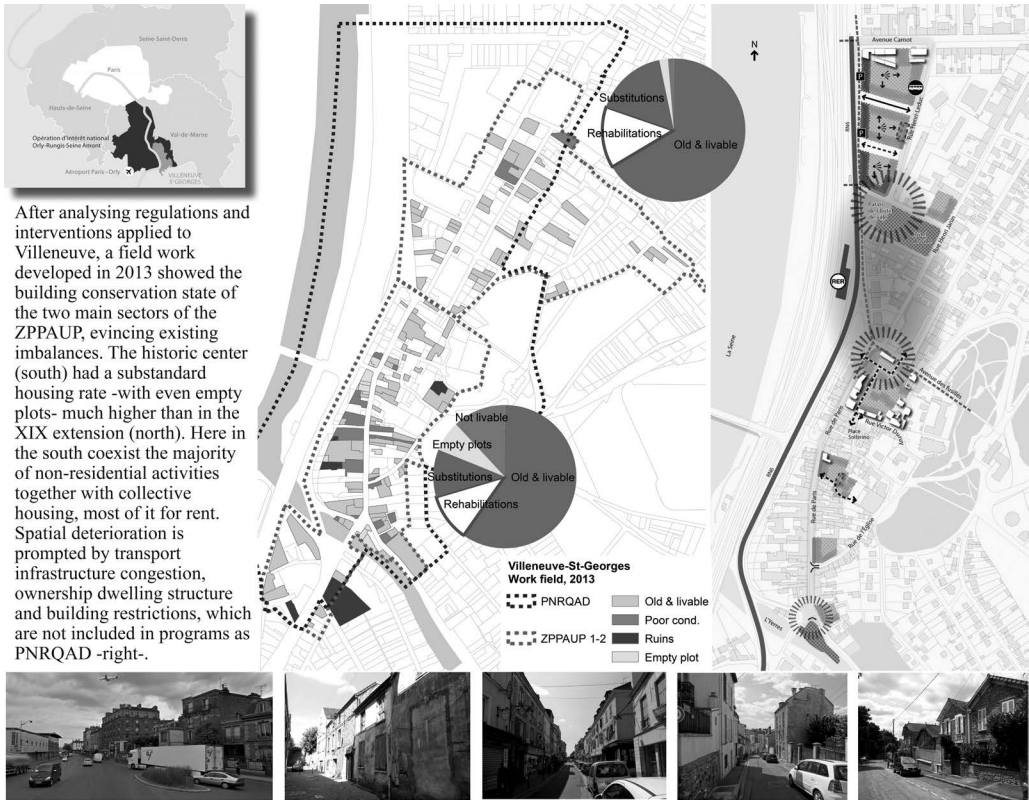
### **The ZPPAUP and Other Recovery Initiatives in Villeneuve-Saint-Georges**

Villeneuve-Saint-Georges is a small municipality in the greater Paris area (*métropole du grand Paris*) that exemplifies the socio-economic polarization characterizing such zones in the capital region. It is one of the most underprivileged districts, and its rehabilitation and revitalization already formed part of the town-planning and land-use objectives laid down in 2004.

Its historical center and several expansions dating from the end of the nineteenth century were classified as forming a ZPPAUP in 2004. The document itself comprises a catalogue listing heritage buildings, accompanying buildings and discordant buildings, together with various building bylaws. However, it does not take into consideration the repercussions that it might have on the population, in terms of reductions in the built-up area, price inflation, or the displacement of residents.

The center of Villeneuve is in a perilous state with regard to the condition of buildings and the socio-economic standing of the population, who are mostly renters. Its inhabitants are poorer than those in the rest of the municipality and there is a lack of social housing. Substandard dwellings are five times more prevalent than in the Val-de-Marne *Département* as a whole. Tenants are more numerous than home-owners, despite the fact that rents rose 169% between 2003 and 2008, without this reflecting any notable improvements being made to buildings. This rise attracted investors who sought maximum profitability, leasing spaces to occupants having no other real alternatives, and even dividing flats into smaller apartments so as to obtain the greatest possible rental income (Dunoyer 2013).

Furthermore, the town is directly affected by an agglomeration of transport infrastructures. The RN-6 main highway, railway lines, and metropolitan bus routes all converge there, and it lies within the sphere of influence of Orly airport, which limits residential developments because of noise considerations. In view of these problems, plans and development instruments have tried to undertake a physical restructuring that would nevertheless maintain and enhance the set of functions and uses present. Four successive building rehabilitation programs (OPAHs) proved unable to do any more than slow down deterioration. Consequently, a new experimental approach under the *Programme National de Requalification des Quartiers Anciens Dégradés*



**FIGURE 2.3.2** Left. Building State Analysis. Right, PNRQAD 2011–2017 Proposal for Villeneuve-Saint-Georges. The latter was a French pilot project that aimed at integrating rehabilitation and micro-restructuring actions, including renewal of infrastructures. Consideration was given to relocating population, but no location was defined for this.

Source: Pérez-Eguíluz (2021).

(PNRQAD) or National Programme for the Rehabilitation of Derelict Old Districts, as shown in Figure 2.3.2, was intended to promote housing rehabilitation and to create new homes of various types. This attempted to generate an attractive real estate market, with an appreciable proportion of social housing, with the intention of offering decent living conditions for the current population and attracting newcomers. However, it focused almost exclusively on the area designated a ZPPAUP, and it apparently did not take an overall view of the problem of transport infrastructures, either. This goes to show that solutions are not easy to find, since they depend on many factors, some of which are outside the scope of municipal competences.

### Conclusions from a European Perspective

In view of all the instruments available in France, three general comments should be made. The extensive proliferation of the formal content of regulations and the profusion of protective measures is characteristic of this country, the only real parallel being the Italian instances mentioned previously. In contrast, the need for greater co-ordination between the various instruments at the urban and regional level is no more than work in progress, a situation shared at least by

some neighboring European countries. This is also related to integrated regeneration such as the European Union would wish to see.

SSs, ZPPAUPs and the respective regulations that govern them, all share an exhaustive analysis of morphology and buildings. Without judging formal or historical criteria, it is necessary to recognize the degree of detail that they achieve both in the regulations, and in the management and supervision procedures for building interventions.

In reality, these policies have not constituted a truly integrated approach for urban heritage conservation that takes into account the current resident population. They have been based on restrictive criteria, town planning that merely defends physical assets, and focuses exclusively on the area directly involved. In addition, there are multiple overlapping zones with an influence on interventions and the possibility of building, but they lack co-ordination into a single integrated approach in the form of general planning. Thus, it is difficult to organize actions aimed at collaboration between different parts of a city when it comes to solving specific problems of historical areas.

The great plethora of regulations means that the general public lacks a full awareness of them and sees many of the measures as arbitrary impositions. To date, PSMVs have had a complicated complementary status with respect to PLU master plans, and the remaining instruments, such as ZPPAUPs, have not involved any deep review of planning. Revisions have tended to include no more than minor modifications to tone down some of the most restrictive criteria, rather than making the protection and conservation of historical areas one of the principal strands in planning.

Since 2011, ZPPAUPs have been replaced by a new tool, the *Aire de Mise en Valeur de l'Architecture et du Patrimoine* (AVAP) or Area for Reclamation of Architecture and the Heritage. This concept addresses anew the need for greater integration with other urban policies. Half a century after it first initiated such policies, France faced a turning point at which it might reformulate its heritage protection and planning tools. Since these are instruments with broader objectives than simply their areas of coverage, integration with higher-order planning and with certain sector-based measures would appear essential for them.

Social and functional balance, when seen as complementary, points to a need for a broader vision and a determined political and technical will. Maintaining complexity has proved more efficacious for the preservation of the urban and residential heritage than any specialization of activities or segregation. Common practices in urban rehabilitation, whether public or private, though, have tended to trigger revaluations that are a sign of processes of gentrification (Clerval 2010).

Finally, measures for the renovation or new building of housing have been only partially directed by general planning. Conservation of the urban heritage has not figured among land-use guidelines. Only the designation of zones for rehabilitation, with the related tax benefits, has provided any link between town planning and conservation grants. Recent experiences have aimed at integrating a program of interventions with a certain idea of joint planning. Nevertheless, there still seems to be a need for these measures to come under the umbrella of land-use and general town planning, in accordance with the European trend mentioned previously.

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# 2.4

## HISTORY AND HERITAGE

### The Reconstruction of Blitzed Cities

*Peter J. Larkham*

This chapter considers the long story of reconstruction following the destruction of the Second World War, from replanning through to rebuilding, the subsequent use and adaptation of what was built, and whether today, seven decades later, it should be considered as heritage. This relatively short period, between about 1940 and the middle 1970s, is one of great significance for European urbanism (Mamoli and Trebbi 1988: [Part 1](#)).

The context is the scale and severity of the wartime destruction ([Figure 2.4.1](#)), ranging from minor blast damage to the flattening of large expanses of cities. In studying, or even calculating the extent of, this damage, the wartime and post-war historical record is patchy. Different definitions of categories of damage, and levels of precision in recording it, cause problems for comparison; but in Warsaw, 90% of industry and 72% of housing were destroyed (Ciborowski 1970) and in Berlin, 16 km<sup>2</sup> of the city was rubble, and for every inhabitant there was nearly 30 m<sup>3</sup> of rubble (Rürup 1995: 13; Fest 2004: 8). But people, as well as places, suffered. Even in Helsinki, a relatively little-damaged city, residents “whose love for their homes built of brick and mortar can never be fully understood by anybody from the countryside, felt deep agony when they saw the smoking ruins ...” (Talvio 1950).

This raises the issue of the differing experiences of city and countryside; and yet much of the literature focuses on the urban experience. The effects of war are much broader and, in this conflict, reconstruction was also affected by geopolitical issues, the reshaping of national identities and population movement, as Clout (2011) shows for Alsace.

Damage was often made worse by the demolition of buildings that might, in other circumstances, have been repairable. This happened both as an immediate emergency measure and, sometimes, years after the end of the war. This was true in many countries (Lambourne 2001: 171–179) but particularly in France despite local advocacy for preservation, as for example in Saint-Malo (Blanchot 1994): there is a suggestion that there was an “overwhelming drive to forget the trauma of war by erasing its ruins” (Crane 2004: 303).

Recovery from damage of this scale is a complex and lengthy process. The burgeoning literature on post-disaster reconstruction suggests several stages including

1. Understanding the implications of the nature, scale and speed of disaster
2. Emergency responses
3. Re-planning



Quelle: Deutsche Fotothek

**FIGURE 2.4.1** Ruins of Dresden, 1950.

Source: Photograph by R & R Rössing, Bundesarchiv, Deutsche Fotothek CC-BY-SA-3.0-DE.

4. Rebuilding
5. Reappraising and re-rebuilding (Larkham 2018: 431)

This chapter focuses on stages 3–5. During and immediately after the conflict, stage 1 was often over-hasty or virtually absent; and stage 2 equally hasty, sometimes causing additional damage, creating personal or political problems (Berg 2006) or physical structures such as the German rubble mountains (*Trummerbergen*: de Maio 2013), a rubble beach near Liverpool (Schultz 2019) or the use of blitz rubble for infill and reclamation (e.g., New York, with British rubble: Jackson 1995: 393). The existence of pre-war plans was also often a consideration: for example Birmingham’s City Engineer asserted that the city’s redevelopment ideas predated the bombing (e.g., Manzoni 1955: 90); and Coventry and Rotterdam had exhibitions of radical Modernist urbanism immediately before their major air raids.

However, the majority of towns and cities – damaged or not – produced plans in the first post-war decades. There are other reasons for this level of activity, including the need for towns to reposition themselves in the changing post-war urban system and economy, and civic boosterism (Larkham and Lilley 2003). Yet the financial implications of this activity were substantial, especially for smaller towns. Planning was not a cheap activity, even when the plans were not implemented. Whether damaged or not, plan-making was influenced by the same professional, social and economic context.

Sources are still plentiful. Published plans demonstrate the range of contemporary planning ideas and archival sources, although incomplete and dispersed, give evidence of processes of plan production and consumption. Interviews of plan authors have been useful (Voldman 1990) although subject to problems of fading memory and potential bias; while interviews of those who lived through the reconstruction process have also been revealing (Adams and Larkham 2013) but, now, survivors are scarce. Finally, the urban landscape itself still reveals substantial evidence of damage and rebuilding although, 70 years later, reconstruction-era buildings are themselves being redeveloped (Larkham and Adams 2019).

## Replanning

This stage focuses on identifying how plans were produced and communicated. Most of this activity was planning afresh after the catastrophe (hence *re*planning) although, in some instances, the post-war planning was simply a continuation of pre-war efforts. In most cases, though, the replanning was – initially at least – radical, innovative and implying new physical structures and even ways of life. Within any one national planning system there could be a wide range of approaches and plans varied in their scale, nature, level of detail and the timescale suggested for their implementation. But many plans remained unimplemented, overtaken by events: was this stage largely a waste of effort and scarce resources?

The common view of these reconstruction plans is that they represented a consensus. For London at least, “historians are generally agreed that the metropolitan plans of the 1940s worked to produce a consensus about appropriate models for the future development of London” (Mort 2004: 150). Mort goes on to argue that conventional histories underplay the complexity of that consensus, and that conventional readings of planning as policy and implementation are inadequate. Yet it is clear that the majority of these plans were products of a top-down process, imposed on local populations by well-meaning municipalities, and sometimes even imposed on municipalities by governments. They were not necessarily a consensus arising from what would today be recognized as public consultation, although many plans were widely published and exhibited, and comments on even radical Modernist proposals were often initially positive

(e.g., of Coventry's 1940 exhibition: the visitor comments survive in the Johnston-Marshall collection, Edinburgh University, ABT SR 6). The contemporary view "seems to have been that of the planner as omniscient ruler, who should create new settlement form, and perhaps also destroy the old without interference or question" (Hall 1992: 61).

It should be noted that some alternative visions conflicted with the standard, top-down, sometimes authoritarian plan-making mechanisms. This can be seen in both Coventry and Rotterdam between 1940 and 1955 (Couperus 2015). Some informal proposals were produced by local groups or even through media competitions, as in Liverpool (Spencer 1944); although the 'non-state' planning activities were eventually overridden, replanning could nevertheless be a contested process.

Some of the plans were very simplistic, others over-complex. Some sought to replace what had been lost but most proposed improvements, especially to infrastructure and civic administration buildings, to replace war-damaged and slum housing, and to provide new business, retail and industrial quarters. Ring roads and civic centers were common components of plans. The most radical plans proposed entirely new settlements, in some cases simply abandoning and relocating away from areas of destruction, as Graubner proposed for Hannover (Gutschow 1990: note 6) and Tourry for Lorient (Richard 1994).

Plans ranged from small-format pamphlets, circulated free or very cheaply, to large-format and expensive books. Many were accompanied by extensive public and professional exhibitions, and again the surviving material demonstrates how planning ideas were communicated – although there is little evidence of genuine public consultation or contribution, or even that public comments led to changes in draft plans.

It is difficult, at this distance in time, to evaluate the reception of these plans. A review of Max Lock's Bedford plan, for example, stated that "The report is beautifully produced ... The maps, however, appear to be rather too complicated for lay-people to understand and perhaps a little insufficient for the use of technicians. Simpler and clearer maps are called for in a book of this kind" (Holliday 1953: 248). The wartime Wolverhampton plan generated little public interest if measured by letters in the local newspaper, which gave far more coverage to a parliamentary proposal to make rear lights on bicycles compulsory! (Larkham 2002).

### ***Complexity and Multiple Plans***

Many plans were extremely complex, wide-ranging and spanned decades, seeking to solve all possible problems in one document. Hence "Far too many of the small local authorities have been bitten with megalomania" (Ministry memo, mid 1944, TNA HLG 79/124). Many have seen the plans as naïve, unrealistic and Utopian; although Hollow (2012) suggests that planners' Utopian impulses were channeled to produce plans that were both idealistic and pragmatic, heavily aspirational and matter-of-fact. It has been suggested that early British reconstruction plans were radical in their proposals (Hasegawa 1999), and indeed this could be applied across much of Europe. These were, normally, sweeping proposals, "unfettered by the existing road and land use patterns" (Hasegawa 1999: 144) (Figure 2.4.2). This is the epitome of the *tabula rasa* approach. Yet there are four problems with this.

First is that few senior planners agreed with the *tabula rasa*, certainly in Britain where, even at its worst, damage was less than in much of the rest of Europe. The influence of an existing morphological frame and landownership patterns was significant despite new planning legislation to facilitate compulsory purchase and land redistribution. Some early German approaches were anti-urban and did seriously propose razing remains and starting afresh (see the example of Hamburg: Gutschow 1990, and note the papers of the planner Konstanty Gutschow, Staatsarchiv

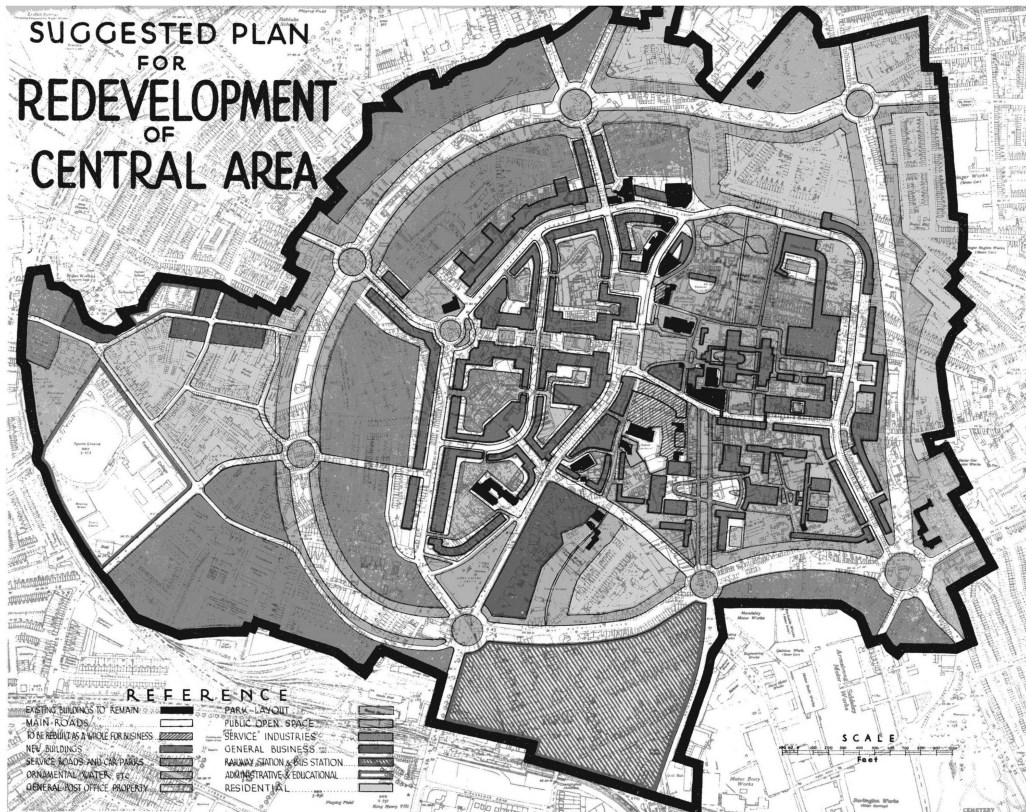


FIGURE 2.4.2 Coventry central area plan, 1945 (author's collection). "A reconstructed town center, encircled by ring roads".

Hamburg). Secondly, many of the plans explicitly considered the conservation of structures or areas, well before this became embedded in some national legislation. Germany was definitely in the forefront of this, with both early legislation and a history of detailed academic study of urban growth and development, such as that by Klemm (1962) of Görlitz, influencing plan production. Thirdly, many alternative plans existed. Different agents produced competing plans, and the extended duration of reconstruction inevitably led to plan modification. Few plans were wholly implemented in their original form. Finally, some plans discussed alternatives; for example the range of layout options produced by Pieper for Lübeck (Figure 2.4.3); and indeed the alternative Lübeck plans by Gruber, Mühlentfordt and Tamms (Gutschow 2013: 154–161). It is sometimes difficult to see a rationale for a final choice.

### ***Personal Conflicts***

Some of these multiple and conflicting plans resulted from personal conflicts. The conflict between the new, young, radical architect Donald Gibson and his communist-inspired team in Coventry, and the established older city engineer, is well known (e.g., Hasegawa 1992: Chapter 4), although sometimes perhaps over-emphasized. Their individual plans were combined following pressure from their employer and the Ministry (but it is Gibson who remains in local memory and with a memorial plaque).

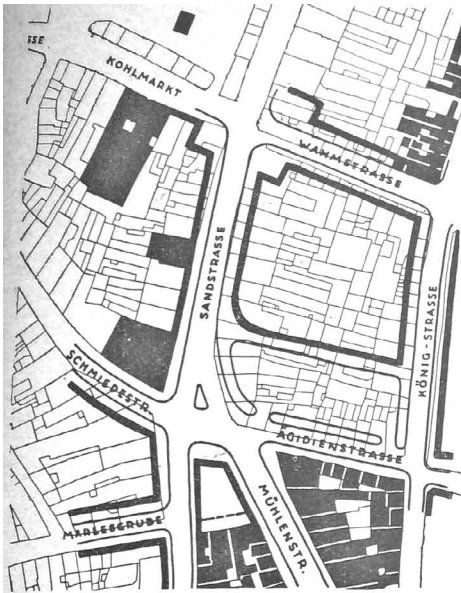


Abbildung 34

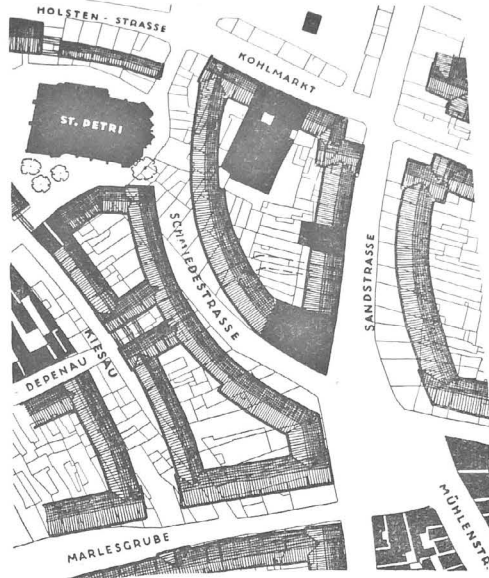


Abbildung 35

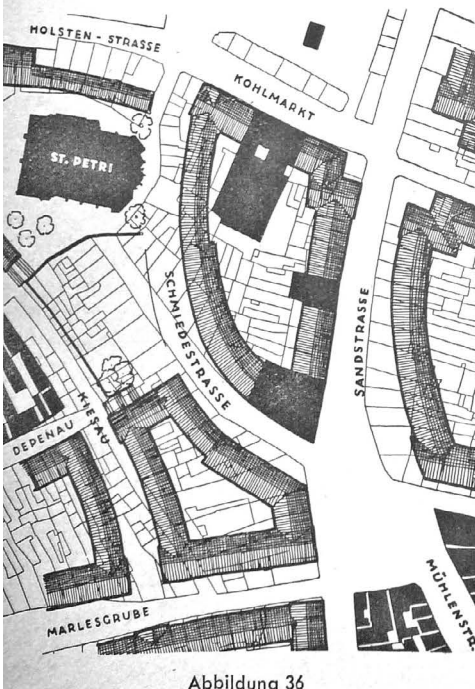


Abbildung 36

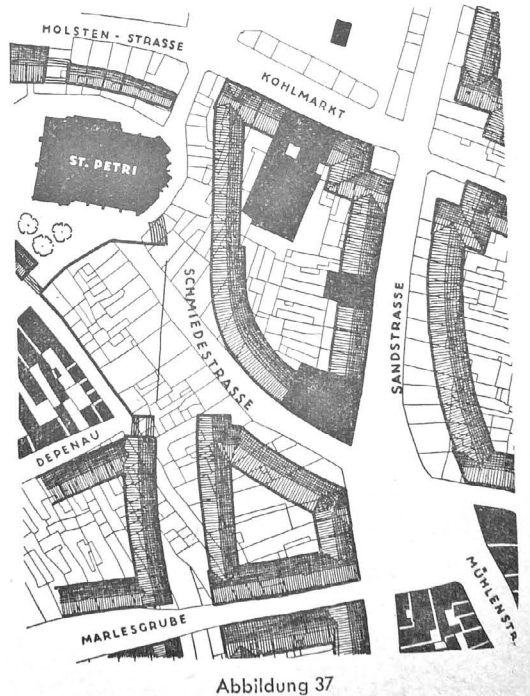


Abbildung 37

FIGURE 2.4.3 Alternative plans for part of Lübeck by Hans Pieper (1946).

Britain's new Ministry had problems in that most plans produced outside the Ministry itself were heavily criticized, and that extended to the individual authors themselves. Even Patrick Abercrombie, probably the country's best-known planner, was not immune: of his *Greater London Plan* the Ministry said "The text had to be very considerably re-cast by our officers who could ill be spared, and the maps to make the report intelligible have had to be prepared and

are still not finished. Whatever allowances are made for the Professor, we have, I think, strong grounds for complaint” (Ministry memo, early 1945, TNA HLG 104/3). Although the Ministry was often slow in providing advice, distrust of anything ‘not invented here’ is plain. As far as can be seen from the surviving UK archive material, these conflicts were purely individual: even if based on assessments of the qualities of an individual or their plan, the views were expressed in surprisingly personal ways.

Other examples of conflicts more clearly had ideological or political origins. An example in Germany was the persistence of some individuals, and certainly some concepts, from the Nazi period into the early replanning period at least, although the victorious Allies paid little attention to the war-time activities of the town planners (Dürth and Gutschow 1988; Diefendorf 1993). In Marseille, reconstruction has been characterized as a battle waged among the head architects, each of whom “was championed or reviled in turn by the then-current municipal administration”, but other actors were also significant in the “tumultuous history” of this project (Bonillo 1993; Crane 2004: 302).

## Rebuilding

Stage 4 is implementation: the rebuilding itself. Again there was much variation, from modernist/brutalist structures to facsimile replication of what had been destroyed. There were some continent-wide similarities, though: in the widespread development of large-scale infrastructure, especially for high-volume and high-speed vehicle movement, and especially with ring roads; and with high-volume, high-density and hence often high-rise housing developments. But sometimes the rebuilding was slow, with shortages of finance and even of construction materials in the early years. This extended duration of rebuilding, inevitable in severely-damaged locations and when funding and materials were scarce, caused problems. Plans often changed during this time both as circumstances and planning ideas changed and, especially, when an external consultants’ plan was implemented by others. In Valletta, for example, the plan by the UK consultants Harrison and Hubbard was sensitive to the local context and there were generally positive outcomes when they carried out their own proposals; although when other designers worked at implementation, their decisions often undermined the original design intentions (Chapman 2005).

This “reconstruction era” came to an abrupt end with the 1973 Middle East conflict and oil crisis. This simply halted many projects; few city reconstructions had been completed by then. Saint-Malo, where the final act of rebuilding was the installation of a new cathedral spire in 1971 (Pottier and Petout 1994), was an exception.

Early rebuilding was often of an ‘emergency’ character, with temporary structures on available sites. Britain’s ‘prefab’ bungalows are a well-known example; with a very short design life, few have survived in original or reclad form. More extensive destruction in France required a more piecemeal approach including Scandinavian and Swiss chalets, US bungalows and locally-made wooden huts; 900 of the latter were still in use in Lorient in 1968 (Clout 2000: 169–170).

Much of the implemented permanent reconstruction, at both architectural and urban scales, was of Modernist form (Figure 2.4.4). Irrespective of the catastrophe, the dominant ideas in these professions were changing: this was the move from tradition to modernity and it was well represented in the new construction (Baudouï 1993). The extensive involvement of architects in plan-making, as well as building design and design at the scale of city quarters, facilitated engagement with new ideas such as modernism (Gold 2007). Modernist approaches to urban space and the relationships between buildings and spaces can be seen in the example of the rebuilt Le Havre (Nasr 1997: Chapter 7). The need for speed, when circumstances permitted, led to new techniques including system building and, although some systems allowed local





**FIGURE 2.4.4** Proposal for traffic roundabout, public and commercial buildings, Birmingham (© Birmingham Museums Trust).

variation, the usual result was monotonous low-, medium- and high-rise estates (Alonso and Palmarola 2020). The face of cities and the ways in which much of the urban population lived was transformed in this period. Offices also used Modernist designs and materials, while retail developments introduced new building types such as pedestrian precincts (Taverne 1990).

In many historic cities, there was substantial debate about history, heritage and rebuilding, especially considering the potential conflict between historicity and modernity, and the uses of heritage in identity and image re-creation. In Nuremberg, for example, construction in the later part of the ‘reconstruction era’ tended to use historic building forms, particularly with pitched roofs, rather than the large-scale Modernism common elsewhere, which had a significant effect on the character and appearance of the rebuilt city (Soane 1992). In some cases, as in Elblag (Poland) this was done in “a rather frenetic post-modern style” termed ‘retroversion’ (Johnson 2000). Warsaw’s replica *Stare Miasto* reconstruction began immediately following the war’s end, driven by political imperatives. But it was not entirely accurate: “in order to accentuate the defensive walls and the city panorama as viewed from the Vistula, the reconstruction of some buildings was deliberately foregone. The urban layout was retained, along with the division of the street frontages into historic building plots; however, the properties within these quarters were not rebuilt, thus creating communal open areas for residents” although it was, controversially, awarded World Heritage status (UNESCO 2020).

### Reappraising and Re-Rebuilding

Stage 5, of use and adaptation from 1973 to the present, is even more varied. The reconstruction process and product have been widely evaluated – as While and Tait (2009) have done for the legacy of the UK planner Thomas Sharp – and often found wanting, and some structures have

been targeted for redevelopment within the space of a couple of decades. Both individual buildings, and even major infrastructure representing multi-million-pound investments, have been subject to rapid obsolescence (Larkham and Adams 2019).

As we move further from the difficulties and pressures of rebuilding, more balanced evaluations of the quality of reconstruction architecture and urbanism are being produced (including Blom, Vermaat and de Vries (2016) for the Netherlands and Harwood (2015) for the UK). Some authorities have been considering whether the surviving areas and structures from this period might merit retention and protection, becoming part of an “authorized heritage discourse”. The complex and contested urban planning and architectural history of their production is often considered secondary to the reactions of the public, which are often very strongly negative about the large-scale modernist/brutalist designs which characterized the reconstruction period. However, it is significant that ‘nostalgia’ seems to be of increasing importance as an issue in post-war planning, particularly in Germany (Hagen 2005; Arnold 2011).

Coventry faces challenges as its extensive reconstruction-era buildings age. Part of the retail Precinct has been given national protection as ‘listed buildings’, despite significant alterations, but much is not. Many of the 1950s–60s buildings seem ‘ordinary’ now, hence not ‘special’ and so not listed. Yet they, together with new street and plot patterns, produced a radical new, modernist, urban landscape. Both at the time, and still today, this produced international interest; and Historic England, the relevant Government agency, commissioned a detailed study of the reconstruction (Gould and Gould 2016). When a small number of post-war buildings were listed in 2018, the city’s Cabinet Member for Jobs and Regeneration reacted furiously in local media, suggesting that this would complicate and delay regeneration plans and that Historic England was “unaccountable and not fit for purpose” (Sandford 2018: 7). Both here and in Plymouth, equally badly bombed and radically replanned, that landscape is worth considering for protection of some form. Plymouth City Council was persuaded in 2019 to designate its rebuilt city center as a conservation area, but only after much local resistance, and its boundary is very tightly drawn (Figure 2.4.5). Dresden, in contrast, took radical steps in the new economic and cultural situation following reunification, and has not only reconstructed the pile of rubble that marked the site of the Frauenkirche, but a number of other nearby modernist buildings have been rebuilt in historicist form. A US student visitor’s comment on this approach is “What strikes me most about this reconstruction is the normality of it all. It burned down, so we rebuilt it. While it is never that simple, the sheer amount of reconstruction sure made it seem that way” (KCO 2014).

A related issue has been the heritage of the bombing itself. Although most bombed buildings were cleared very quickly, some remained – and a few remain even today. Numerous bombed churches have been deliberately retained in urban landscapes ranging from national capitals to small towns; others remain abandoned in depopulated rural landscapes. Some were deliberately kept as war memorials, others as landscaped gardens, while some seem merely to be landscape features, historic centerpieces of new developments (Larkham 2020). Some seem to be attracting new uses and users, for example with the community and art-related uses of St Luke’s (Liverpool) or the Katharinenkloster (Nürnberg). Others, though, seem scarcely used or visited; and this would include St Thomas (Birmingham) despite its re-invention in the late 1980s as a Peace Garden, or the towers of St Mary Magdalene (Budapest) and St Bartholomew (Norwich). Many of these were disposed of by the Church authorities soon after the war, and are now the responsibility of municipalities. Maintenance of such structures is expensive and funding, of course, is lacking.

Stakeholder research about these contested buildings suggests that individuals can be extraordinarily powerful in decision-making processes; and that the actual decisions made, perfectly



**FIGURE 2.4.5** The reconstruction landscape of Plymouth, now a conservation area. The civic center (left) was listed against the city council's wishes; the building on the right has already had an unsympathetic rooftop extension.

*Source:* Photograph by author.

legally, may not seem to be firmly evidence-based. For the debate surrounding replacing Birmingham's 1974 Central Library, the social media comments of some pro-redevelopment individuals appear emotive and less evidence-based, while the responsible Minister's comments to local radio give a feeling that personal taste may have influenced decisions. Protesters, often from far afield, are becoming very 'smart' in mobilizing support via new media (Larkham and Adams 2016). Decision-makers need to learn lessons about how the process of decision-making can be presented in this arena: how the careful, professional evaluation of evidence arrives at a clear decision in a transparent manner.

Seventy years after the catastrophe of wartime destruction, the reconstructed buildings and areas are ageing and facing redevelopment or substantial adaptation. Few are surviving: a seemingly widespread reaction against large structures and, in particular, 'brutalist' building has led to demolition in many cases. These structures, still quite fresh in the minds of many of the public, have found few friends in the discourse of heritage identification and management. Yet that discourse is now widening (Larkham 2019).

Balancing pressures for change and conservation is often difficult, particularly so when the urban landscapes are now familiar and modernist, and the buildings ordinary or brutalist. Yet we need to face up to the challenge of evaluating the new post-war urban landscapes, which have become familiar and ordinary, as they may nevertheless have some wider historic significance.

## Conclusions

The chapter concludes with reflections on the process of creating the built environment, shaping history, and how this relatively short period of large-scale redevelopment is likely to be reflected in heritage and future urban history. Although shaped by the catastrophe of war, the reconstruction was also driven in part by civic boosterism and pride, especially with the little- and un-damaged places that nevertheless were replanned and rebuilt.

It is clear that large-scale and rapid action was needed to reconstruct many settlements of all scales and types. In some cases, such as Britain which had industrialized early and quickly, slum clearance was an added imperative. Although there was both widespread acceptance that the wartime destruction provided an opportunity for needed reconstruction, and of the position of experts and professionals such as town planners leading to some form of consensus about planning (Stevenson 1986; Ritschel 1995) there was still some significant resistance. Planning was “a term now on everyone’s lips. It is at once popular, and discredited. It covers the most dictatorial regimentation and the most casual generalisations” (Oldacre 1948: 3). Schwartz (1944: 4), for example, complained that ‘planning’ had become “loaded with such ideological glamour and pseudo-scientific import that it has lost any rational leaning ... your planner is often a person of tidy, of excessively tidy, mind”, while satirical cartoons commented on the intrusiveness of the ‘men from the Ministry’. This non-professional, non-academic literature does contribute a useful picture of the range of views circulating at the time.

The very production of systematic plans to respond to the short-, medium- and long-term needs of reconstruction was seen as a positive and novel feature: “the preparation of development plans marks a signal achievement in the history of town and country planning” although “many of the plans may be found to be too narrowly conceived” (Coates 1952: 2). There was considerable debate on the scale and remit of planning, again both professional and non-professional (for the latter see Phillips 1941). But their main problem was implementation. In a period where finance, structural materials and even labor were in short supply, little from these visionary plans was delivered in original form; early, often radical, plans were scaled back; and later plans were significantly less radical in conception (Hasegawa 1999). These plans have, therefore, been discussed as failures, since their details were so rarely implemented. For example Barker and Hyde (1995: 181) note that “most of these impressive volumes are now only likely to interest somebody curious to study how far achievement fell short of intention. The way well-argued propositions came to nothing makes melancholy reading”.

This is too harsh a judgment. If one reads many of these texts closely, they are littered with caveats: these were proposals for between 20 and 50 years to come. In other generations and contexts it is also true that there have been more ‘paper cities’ and ‘paper buildings’ than have been built, so these plans were not unusually wasteful of resources or unusually over-promising. Their influence has persisted. The plans themselves should be seen as textbook examples of the contemporary approaches to urban form. The documentation underpinning these plans, retained in many local, regional and national archives, tells powerful stories of crisis response, of the reshaping of our built environments, and indeed of the problems and successes of the mechanisms and individuals involved in such processes.

The built environments, from individual buildings and urban quarters to new settlements, that emerged from these processes are also important pieces of evidence. The new is often threatening; the familiar may bring contentment, but age invariably brings reappraisal. The reappraisals of post-war developments have been associated more with demolition and replacement than with recognizing heritage value and preservation. While it is true that only a small proportion of any period’s construction has survived and been deliberately retained or preserved,

the post-war period seems particularly unlucky. In public-sector housing alone, for example, the UK's Twentieth Century Society (2020) "has felt very strongly for a number of years that a much larger collection of local authority housing schemes deserve recognition through listing, particularly as many have been published, studied and celebrated across the world". The listing and conservation area designations in central Coventry and Plymouth have been laborious processes in the face of local opposition. But understanding, and even experiencing, these structures is an essential part of understanding a complex and contested part of twentieth-century urbanism. They are, as Clout (1999: 183) terms them, "powerful *lieux de mémoire* in the history of World War II and in the recovery and modernization of Europe". The reconstruction was, in many cases, a significant element in reconstructing communities and identities, as Qualls (2003) shows for Sevastopol; an important point in the fast-changing political and social geography of post-war Europe.

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# 2.5

## PLANNING GDR AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### The Scale Question under State Socialism

*Azmah Arzmi*

In contemplating divergent paths of urban and regional developments of post-socialist countries in central and eastern Europe, scholars have attempted to categorize them according to the types of market economy that they embraced (Tosics 2005; Bohle and Greskovits 2012). From regulated market, welfare-state to laissez-faire capitalism, emergences of these developments covering different regions stretching from the Baltics, Central Europe to the Balkans require a critical reflection on the term 'post-socialist' as dependent on their past selves to determine future development after the critical juncture of 1989 (Hirt Ferenčuhová and Tuvikene 2017; Ferenčuhová 2018).

With standardization and industrialization projects in the face of modernity being a common factor for Europe regardless of different political, socio-economic factors (Hirt Ferenčuhová and Tuvikene 2017), the theories on territorial, infrastructural development charted by Western European and Anglo-American scholars and their impacts in the current neoliberal market urban development are still relevant in analyzing the post-socialist countries. This is because they still relate in general to contemporary European spatial and urban planning (Šlemr and Maier 2016). Urban development in post-socialist countries still bore the imprint of their past, and one aspect, i.e., rarely discussed or taken into much consideration is the impact of different scalar approaches in the planning of cities that determine their development today.

The state socialist concept of spatial planning, as defined by Polish architect Edmund Goldzamt in his studies on *Urban Planning in Socialist Countries: Social Problems* (1975) is analogous to that elaborated by the European Commission (1997). Both highlighted an overriding goal of long-term economic perspective, carried out by the national governments on a larger scale, ensuring even development between different regions. The difference is that state socialist countries often resorted to a more emphatic, technocratic mechanisms of organization and higher degree of social engineering, i.e., determining the types of employment, population growth and housing required within the localities. Considering that decentralized decision-making was almost non-existent during state socialism with regards to the municipalities' autonomy to develop their cities, these cities were often embedded within the development of the region as a whole that determined their exponential growth. Akin to their advanced capitalist counterparts, this begs the question of scale and the type of hierarchical, territorial scalar approaches used in city planning.



Renowned scholars have written extensively on planning theories related to the scale question. Neil Brenner in his recent publication *New Urban Spaces: Urban Theory and the Scale Question* (2019). His studies mainly focus on the cities and territories of North American and West European countries throughout the last four decades and how supranational trade blocks such as the European Union impact spatial planning in these regions. His analyses on Central and East Europe however, is noticeably absent. From an organized, centralized, modernizing project during the post-war period covering large territories to the fragmented neoliberal capitalist urban spaces, he commented that these ‘reterritorialized and rescaled’ spaces ‘no longer privilege a primary regulatory level or neatly converge around a single, encompassing territorial center, national or otherwise’ (2019: 83). Neo-Marxist urban geographer David Harvey (1982, 1985, 1989) argued that often production of urban spaces in cities are results of ‘spatial fixes’, rooted within larger, national or international territorial organization, consequently restructuring social and economic relations. In describing the spatial imprint of state upon the capitalist urban fabric, Henri Lefebvre (2009) introduced state mode of production (SMP) concept. SMP described the state as co-producer, manager of urbanization, supporting capital circulation with logistical infrastructures.

### Why Scales Matter in State Socialist Planning History

Patterns of interscalar trajectories of urban development studied by experts on post-socialist countries are not mutually exclusive to those theories above. Most notably, Kimberly Zarecor (2017) highlighted those patterns of post-socialist neoliberalism in cities build upon the spatial logic of state ‘socialist scaffold’ and ‘infrastructural thinking’. Within the centralized, hierarchical planning system, she acknowledged that large-scale master planning process positioned the cities as *nodes*, as or centers of industries and production of goods, serving the national economy and reproduced at different scales from urban to regional, while transportation networks serve as *connectors*. These also aided the distribution of services and goods between COMECON (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, a former alliance of state socialist countries) countries, encouraging trade and collaborative measures for military purposes. Her concepts do not contrast with Brenner (2019: 138–139)’s diagnosis of Fordist-Keynesian scaling of cities operating as *nodes* in global flows and *coordinates* of state territorial power. Hungarian scholar György Enyedi (1996) notes that, within the market economy, regulations administering territories were determined by values of urban land based on location whereas in the planned economy, lands were subject to resource allocations. He highlighted how the two systems tend to overlap. Similar to Harvey’s version, Bohdan Jałowicki (2010) documented that state enterprises aimed for accumulation by ‘means of production’. With priority given to expansion of industries in absence of commercial land values, industrial enterprises occupy urban spaces, producing the much-needed housing and social facilities, thus securing political influence and ensuring growth.

Above all, experts rarely acknowledge different scalar approaches in which former state socialist countries took in planning their cities. Therefore, the contribution of this chapter is to expose them via comparison of former GDR (German Democratic Republic) planning practice to that of Czechoslovakia. It challenges pre-existing notions that mechanisms of planned economies in Central and East European countries operated similarly during state socialist period, focusing on the years 1969–1989 as this period displays more refined methods of spatial planning. They restructured their spatial territories following the wake of de-industrialization and rise of tertiary sector. This timespan differs from the early two decades in terms of higher production of consumer goods and increasing welfare social services in return for political obedience such as

provision of housing and holiday facilities. Opportunities arising in this research could bridge a gap of knowledge of how irreversible past planning methods affect current issues. By juxtaposing GDR planning practice to that of Czechoslovakia, these differences may offer nuanced insights into how they resolved certain problems. More importantly, this chapter examines implications in urban landscapes when great planning decisions were made based on different scalar approaches, thereby also affecting spatial distribution of housing and transportation.

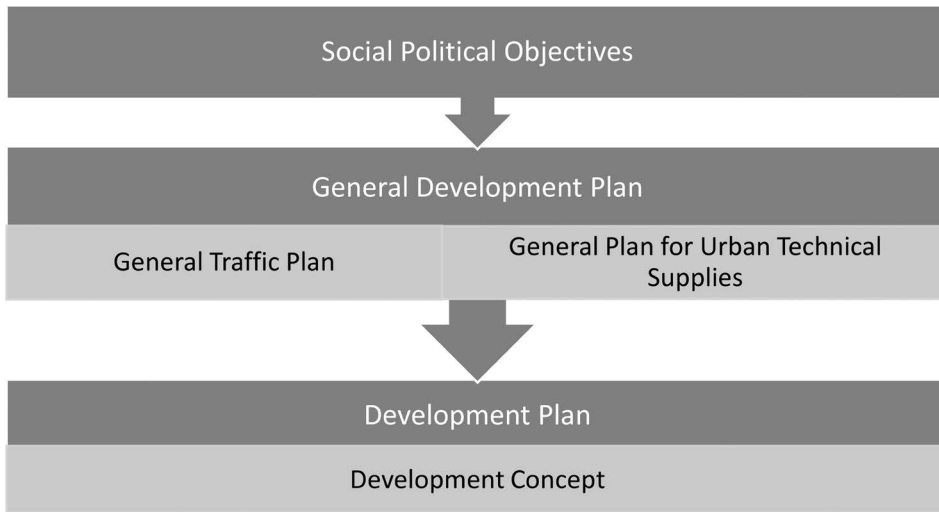
Through contextual analysis of planning textbooks, journals, and plans, this chapter is comprised of two main sections. Firstly, it elaborates spatial planning definitions in its historical, economic context and instruments used to steer planning. Then, it reviews examples of how these different scalar approaches consolidate urban development patterns in cities, paying particular attention to transportation networks and distribution of housing settlements. By unlocking these differences, it suggests that Czechoslovakia as a federalized country adapted a more layered, hierarchical organization of planning practice in a larger scale than GDR.

### **Instruments of Spatial Planning in GDR**

In spite of the Soviet model, much of the territorial planning experience in GDR harks back to its pre-war governments, hence the similarity of its hierarchical organizations with Federal Republic of Germany (FRG). As with the other state socialist countries, central organs determined location of new industries, and larger scale territorial planning was an important instrument in the first two decades to determine investments, short to long term economic planning and distribution of housing as auxiliary to heavy industry (Fege and Menge 1992). New cities cropped up in 1950s–60s to house employees in vicinity of industrial sites such as Eisenhüttenstadt and Halle Neustadt. Other than reconstructing new industrial sites and cities, territorial planning was important in standardizing technical infrastructures.

Critique of modern planning took hold in late 1960s, when, influenced by urban planning discourse in FRG and Italy among others, GDR paid attention to historical preservation and quality of urban cores in cities. Planning strategies revolved around the compact city idea, around the time that East Berlin was ordained to develop as the center of politics, culture and science, housing important buildings for ministries. There were clear urban boundaries and they worked at a sufficient, city-planning scale, the General Development Plan. In contrast to Czechoslovakia as discussed later in the next section, after deploying large-scale ‘urban-regionalist’ planning methods which led to the critiques of Fordist-Keynesian style of modern planning (Kress 2018: 156–157), GDR shifted its focus towards the qualitative regeneration of the cores of their conurbations. This was easier for the regime as they only had four large conurbations with more than a million residents each; East Berlin, Leipzig-Halle, Karl-Marx Stadt-Zwickau and Dresden (Goldzamt 1975: 102).

Re-introduced into the GDR planning system in 1965, the General Development Plan referred to not just construction of buildings, but also land divisions, public spaces and green areas for an entire city or agglomeration (Frick 2008: 167–168). For GDR, it was an instrument for long-term management and coordination of city planning, from determining suitable residential areas to qualitative transport planning (Sommer and Weise 1971; Kadatz 1997; Lindemann 2017). The General Transport Plan and General Plan for Urban Technical Supplies, produced by municipalities and approved by top organs, supplemented it. A prerequisite for approval was that they must comply with the Social Political Objectives, providing a comprehensive view of population growth, labor force, economic activities, investment, planned infrastructure and recreation and environmental protection (Kadatz 1997). For East Berlin, the 1969 Politbüro of the Socialist Unity Party and the leading central organs such as the district planning



**FIGURE 2.5.1** Simplified diagram of the hierarchy of the General Development Planning documentation in the GDR in 1972.

Source: Arzmi, 2019.

commissions were directly involved (Lindemann 2017). This General Development Plan usually range up to 1:25,000 in scale (Maaß 2006: 88–89). When focusing on core urban areas such as the city center or the housing settlement of Marzahn, they have their own Development Plans and Development Concept in smaller scales. An overview of these important planning instruments is shown in [Figure 2.5.1](#).

### Instruments of Spatial Planning in Czechoslovakia

Two parallel planning instruments dictated planning practice that emerged during the normalization period in Czechoslovakia. One was a set of territorial plans commonly used by architects and urban planners, which must be coordinated with oblast plans produced by centralized economic planners, an adaptation of the Soviet planned economy model. Oblast is a Russian word referring to regions, and they were very significant in the economic growth planning of Czechoslovakia as cities began to expand with high urban migration. They consisted of large city regions, called agglomerations with main city cores, the primary zones and edge zones (Buček 1983). Both territorial and oblast plans were blueprints for the long-term development of territories, encompassing issues of land-use, labor force, population growth, economic activities, transport planning and environment protection areas.

A territory, according to the Czechoslovak context, is an area with natural resources, therefore creating opportunities for exploitation and ‘rational utilization’ by the state (Hrůza 1977: 269). It could also refer to densely populated urban areas, as well as large rural settlements undergoing urbanization, controlled by state agencies (Ibid). Within the context of Czechoslovakia, territorial planning refers to the ‘development of environment in large territories into uniform settlement systems’ (Gál and Furdik, 1984: 6).

Created in 1949, territorial planning laws legalized state collectivization of lands for purposes of national economic development. Following federalization of Czechoslovakia with separate Czech and Slovak national governments in 1969, state agencies and local institutions



**FIGURE 2.5.2** System of Territorial Planning documentation in Czechoslovakia in 1976.

*Source:* Arzmi, 2019 based on information obtained from Michalec, 1976 and Gál and Furdik, 1984.

were reorganized, and so were territorial planning laws. In 1976, they were divided into three different stages; Large Territorial Units, Zones and Settlement Units (Figure 2.5.2). Each corresponding plan not only have to agree with each other within the multiscale system, but also comply with centrally ordained Territorial Prognosis, its long-term economic, social demographic forecast and the Territorial Project, akin to general development plan. These laws even go down to the scale regulating the types of buildings that would be built in the Settlement Units Plan, i.e., the Building Act No. 50/1976, embedding the urban environment very strictly within the larger-scaled Territorial Plan (Ibid: 26). Prague, Brno and Bratislava for example, were considered cores of their agglomerations with their own Territorial Development Plans. Before they go into the stratified territorial units, central planners mapped out nationwide territories, identifying important areas for development before focusing on the big city agglomerations in larger 1: 500,000 scale. This planning system allowed the state to acquire more lands, annexing smaller municipalities in creation of newer satellite housing settlements, which intensified in 1970s. Despite federalization, center of governance was still in Prague and the federal government controlled much of the territorial and economic planning, with cultural activities and education left to the jurisdiction of the national states.

As the largest scaled planning unit of the Territorial Planning System, Large Territorial Units were measured in the technocratic form of economic indices, in 1:200,000. However, when the regime needed to focus on specific areas in detail, such as important building projects in Prague, 1:2500 plans were produced. Meanwhile, normative scale for settlement units ranged from 1:5000 to 1:25,000 which was akin to the GDR General Development Plan, whereas the Zonal Plan ranged from 1:1000 to 1:10,000, depending on the size of developed areas (Ibid: 27).

The other aspect of spatial planning in Czechoslovakia is the existence of oblast plans. Chart 3 is a translated diagram of the organization of planning activities in Slovakia, demonstrating the importance of oblast plan, which must mutually agree on the same level as territorial plan. The amount of investments for each territory was determined through the criteria specified in oblast plans, which were then allocated to the investors and state construction and industrial enterprises responsible for construction. While their GDR neighbors were concerned with compact city ideas with the government actually focusing on problems at urban scale, the expansion of city agglomerations with the satellite settlement system was a greater discourse in Czechoslovakia in the late 1960s in accordance with more technocratic economic planning methods. Influential Czech architect Emmanuel Hruška who worked on city planning in Bratislava reflected these core values, believing that the ‘transformation of the economic structure would lead to transformations in the social structure’ (1966: 409). By this time, Czechoslovakia had acquired the capacity to expand urbanization at an unprecedented scale, thanks to advancement in communications technology, industrialized building methods and good connection networks.

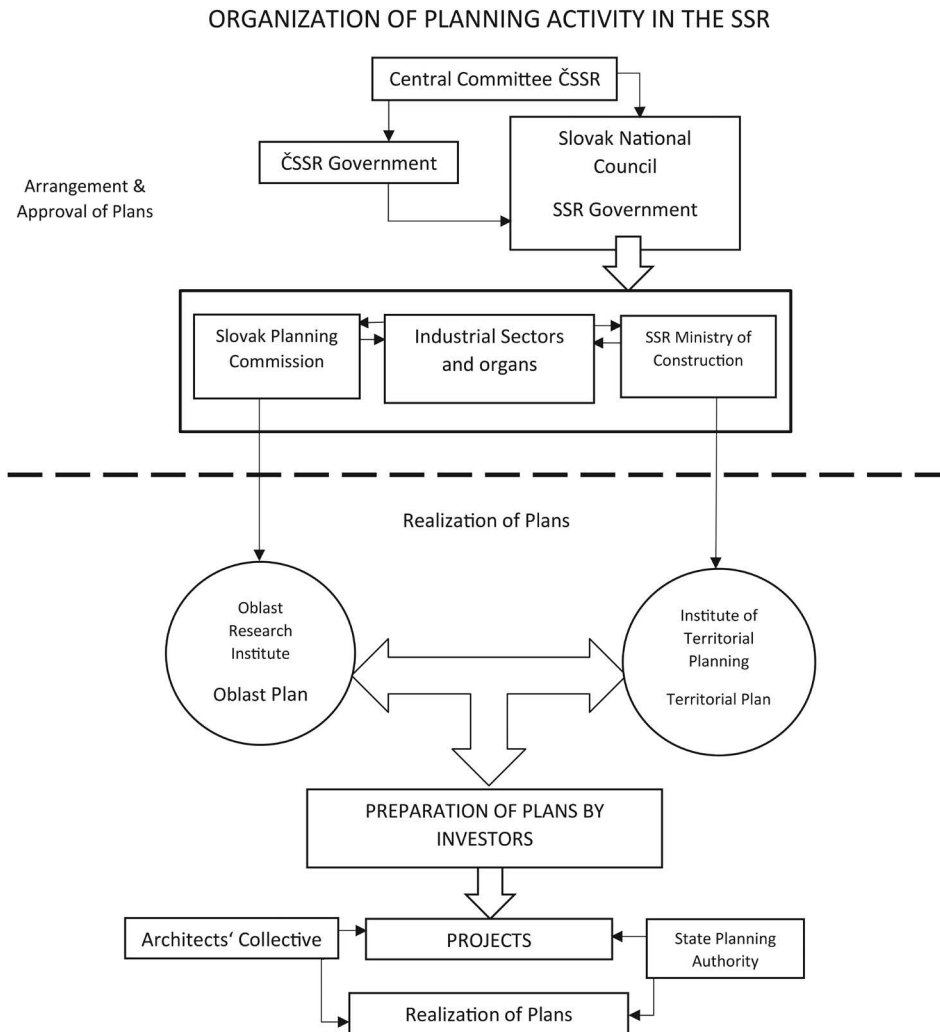
## Implications of Different Scalar Approaches in Planning Practice

As experienced urban planners would know, at the time of planning inception, working in larger scales such as 1: 25,000 allow them to cover wider territories, but in order to concentrate on more detailed issues specific to the geographical location or urban context, they must work in smaller scales, i.e., 1: 10,000. In the days before AutoCAD, use of effective media is important, for example, thick markers and big felt pens are suitable in drawing up schematic, larger-scaled plans but details require fine-tipped pens and different textures, colors to highlight various features of the land-use plans in smaller scales. There is more margin for error when using large markers in small-scale plans for example, allowing displacement and overlooked areas.

Urban development during planned economy is in no doubt conceived at a much larger scale given the strict vertical hierarchy and democratic centralist principle of planning actors. Czechoslovakia, had a strict stratification system, where important state-wide projects were conceived on a larger, two-dimensional scale and were given more priority (Figure 2.5.3). When it comes down to planning urban projects on smaller scales, these must be compromised for larger scale infrastructural projects. Given that local municipalities and apparatuses must comply with central organs, these decisions are not flexible and certain delicate urban fabric had to be compromised or in some cases demolished for important projects.

Such as the case with Prague, the largest scale of inception for important urban planning decisions was 1:50,000, as the core of *Středočeský kraj* (Central Bohemian Agglomeration). Based on the finalized 1975 master plan of Prague Agglomeration (Podobský 1982), the Czechoslovak government meticulously planned specific areas of new settlement, capturing smaller adjacent communities and important development corridors, transforming the traffic system into a radial circular system (Hrůza 1977). They managed to protect the area of heritage interest in the city center from Old Town to Prague Castle, while successfully installing an underground subway. They also built large prefabricated panel housing estates further in the outskirts. Examples are Hájek in the Southeast or Bohnice in Northwest. Bratislava was ranked hierarchically lower than Prague; therefore, any issues occurring on urban scale were not given attention in higher central organs, unless they pose as spatial barriers to important state infrastructural projects. Take for instance, the construction of the SNP (*Slovenského národného povstania* or Slovak National Uprising) Bridge in Bratislava, which was a part of the national highway network project in the late 1960s. The project tore down the Jewish quarter and parts of historic city walls, sacrificing a significant part of the city's cultural heritage in the face of modernity (Whiteaker 2014). Furthermore, clusters of new housing estates were built along highways as Bratislava expanded, while unresolved issues of adequate public transport networks led to restricted mobility, setting the stage for a more automobile-oriented urban planning.

The biggest advantage in Czechoslovakia's sectoral spatial planning vision was successful renewal and construction of highway networks connecting the main cities of Prague, Brno, Bratislava and Košice, which until now offer seamless connections between the Czech Lands and Slovakia, improving political-economic activities. However, it does not undermine technical issues, which were brought up frequently in 1980s architectural journals, as problems in communication between state apparatuses of City of Prague and *Středočeský kraj* tend to conflict with one another on waste disposal, complicated engineering infrastructural networks and effective land-use areas (Podobský, 1982: 31). Furthermore, they complained about incoherency and lack of coordination between oblast and territorial plans, admitting that there were little guidance in the translation of larger territorial plans into smaller scales when implementing the design and construction of urban spaces (Matoušková 1985; Zibrinová 1988: 23). Thereby, long-term goals and concepts eventually become lost in the process of land management and construction



**FIGURE 2.5.3** Organizational activity of planning practice in Slovakia under its official name, Slovak Socialist Republic (SSR) as part of Czechoslovak Socialist Republic (ČSSR), showing the equal weight of oblast plan with the territorial plan.

Source: Arzmi, 2019 based on the information obtained from Michalec, 1976 p.27 and Gál and Furdik, 1984: 10.

(Hrůza 1977: 272). As the need for more detailed land-use plans grew, a database was set up to allow local and regional state apparatuses to upload their technical data for the use of other planners in other levels of territorial planning hierarchy, allowing the state to regulate regional and urban planning activities (Václav Havlík 1984: 175). Additionally, this problem is further impaired by the fact that, after 1968, a number of officials in the local municipalities were purged from their positions due to alleged wrongdoings, thus replaced by newly recruited members more loyal to the central organs who had no clue about pending urban development issues. For Czechoslovakia, the State Planning Commission and the Ministry of Technology had a stronger role in city planning than localities (Michalec 1976: 265–268).

In comparison, GDR architects faced smaller scale urban planning problems. In late 1970s, they discussed the lack of clarity in General Development Plan, leading to confusion in the

Development Concept. These include where to locate social or retail centers, and tram stops at reasonable distance from dwellings, green corridors, and practicality of technical installation in the area to reduce noise pollution (Schattel 1977; Pretzsch 1979). The 1969 General Development Plan of Berlin was conceived on a 1:20,000 scale, much smaller than the Plan of Prague Agglomeration. The East Berlin Municipality had more autonomy and more horizontal line of communication with their central top organs, hence a better handling of issues with regards to interventions in the reterritorialization of lands. For instance, when villages of Biesdorf-Nord were planned for demolition for the construction of the largest housing estate Marzahn on the eastern periphery of East Berlin, half of the residents refused to leave, despite eviction orders. Hence, architects had to change the layout for their settlement (Rubin 2016: 54–55) to appease residents yet still conform to state directives. The director of construction agreed to preserve historic buildings in Angersdorf Marzahn placed under protection by the state, instigating more changes to planning layout in the 1980s (Peters, 1998: 14; Rubin, 2016). On the other hand, there was better articulation of transport planning, as new housing settlements had good links via public transport and arterial road networks towards the centre. The Tangential Link consisted of a system of radial roads with tangential connections, a grid that effectively distributes traffic, connecting different city areas. Attention was paid to providing adequate S-Bahn stops, with maps showing ‘catchment areas’, indicating suitable walkable distances between stops and housing, cultural institutions and schools. As local authorities in East Berlin had more autonomy, incisions made in urban landscapes tend to be more sensitive, despite limited bottom-up participation.

Nevertheless, both encountered similar problems with inadequate funding and limited resources, impeding urban development. What we can deduce from their different planning practices were the consequences in which decisions were consolidated at different scales. The larger the scale in which planning was conceived and bounded to smaller units, with more layers of hierarchies and bureaucracies, the more likely information gets lost in translation. Industrial enterprises used this to their advantage to overestimate or underestimate their resources in applying for investment. The issue also lies within the relationship of municipalities with central organs, as they relied on approval of national or federal governments for funding.

### **From State Socialism to the European Union: Rescaling of Cities and Regions**

Over the last thirty years, East Berlin reconciled with its Western part and re-established itself as the capital of reunited Germany whereas Czechoslovakia was divided into two countries. Prague and Bratislava benefitted from their geopolitical positions as cities in the centre of Europe. From being the most Western countries of COMECON to the center of EU, these urban regions have undergone massive reconfigurations and reterritorialization resulting in larger cohesive networks of cities, bolstered by improvements in highway and transportation networks between member countries.

While Berlin benefitted from being promoted as capital of reunified Germany and a more regulated market, the recalibration of Czech Republic and Slovakia to smaller regional and urban localities meant that they lose funding from state for certain urban projects. Thus, much of the spaces that were owned and managed by state, such as housing estates were now transferred to individual property owners or expropriated to large private companies. While they benefit from EU funding, these investments have not always been used fairly. These large-scale territorial planning efforts still have negative implications on smaller scale urban planning issues, thus revealing fragmenting effects, requiring a re-evaluation of current planning policies inherited

from former practice. The conditions in which former state socialist regimes operate deserve more than a vague mention if we want to comprehend the enormity of their implications on the current urban development in the neoliberal market economy. Undoubtedly, there is potential for a more in-depth research, as this cannot be said to be just a phenomenon confined to Central and East European countries, but a common heritage of the 20th century European planning history legacy.

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# 2.6

## TRANSPORTATION AND URBAN PLANNING UNDER STATE SOCIALISM

### The Tramway in Medium-Sized Cities of the USSR, GDR and CSSR in the 1960s and 1970s

*Elvira Khairullina and Luis Santos y Ganges*

It is well known that since the late 19th century electric trams were an effective tool for urban sprawl in many European cities. However, the strong deployment of the automobile mode and road infrastructure after World War II resulted in a prolonged interruption of tramway development throughout Europe (Topp 1998; Yago 2006; Boquet 2017; Petkov 2020). The trend towards this decline in tram was similar in Western European countries and under real socialism (Schmucki 2001). In Western countries, the consequences of Modernist Movement planning principals were disparate, ranging from the virtual disappearance of trams (United Kingdom, Spain, Denmark) and a sharp decline in their presence in cities (France, Italy, Sweden) to some exceptions to this general current (Federal Republic of Germany, Austria, Netherlands), (Robbins 1985: 66). In the European countries of real socialism, the principals of the automobile city were highly developed since the mid of the 1950s (Beyer 2011; Logan 2015; Bernhardt 2017). This was followed by gradual abandonment of tramways, and their selective replacement by trolleybuses and buses in the 1960s.

Despite this, the rapid industrialization and urbanization from the mid-1960s led to a positive reconsideration of the role of trams in socialist cities. The rapid tramway was considered (because of its capacity and speed advantages) to be economically more appropriate for medium-sized cities and for the extension of large cities (Hicenko 1976; ZFIV 1976). However, the practical application of urban planning (Musil 2005) and public transport planning policies varied widely.

This technical debate on rapid transit system in the city gradually led to the consideration of an “integrated planning” policy as an efficient economic and political tool. Urban planning and transport planning had been separate universes, but during the period of major urbanization in the 1960s and 1970s it was postulated throughout Europe for the appropriate linkage of them through integrated planning (McGarath Jr. 1973 Hall 1976; Fischer, Smith and Sykes 2013). Achieving it was an almost unattainable goal in Western European countries, while in the European countries of real socialism it was a politically important issue within the concept of the city as an “integrated organism” (Kosenkova 2000: 35) and seemed possible. However, both the theory and practice socialist urban planning were full of contradictions and difficulties, leading to weak or inconsistent results (Crouch 1979). Thus, integrated planning was also difficult to achieve in socialist urban planning, since it required theoretical advances, cooperation between urban planners and traffic engineers, and improvements in regulations and administrative coordination.

In the view of abovementioned, our aim is to make a small contribution to the history of European urban planning on a specific issue: the interrelationship of urban public transport

planning and urban planning in the European countries of the real socialism of the 1960s and 1970s. The objects of analysis are the trams and the medium sized cities, since they form a binomial that allows to undertake the urban and transport study in a more limited way, avoiding the complexity of big cities. Moreover, the optimal deployment of trams could be expected mostly in medium-sized cities (in GDR this type of city was called *großflächige Mittelstädte*, Ministerium für Verkehrswesen der DDR 1966: 127), with a size of approximately 100,000 to 750,000 inhabitants and with functional public transport needs that could exceed the capacity of buses and trolleybuses but that were not sufficient to have a metro. We suggest the hypothesis that there were different national dynamics in the theoretical advances and in the practical deployment of urban and transport planning solutions in the European countries of real socialism.

We use an analytical method, with three case studies, where we study not only urban transport planning but also its relationship and coordination with urban planning. For this, we find it relevant to contextualize the phenomena, in the understanding of what happened or could have happened in both East and West. We focus mainly on three European countries of real socialism: The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics – USSR, the German Democratic Republic – GDR and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic – CSSR, since 1960. The selection of these three countries is due to the fact that, on the one hand, the USSR had political hegemony, but we have to verify whether it had technical primacy. On the other hand, the GDR and the CSSR were the most industrialized countries with the greatest tradition of tramways, together with Hungary and Poland, among the European countries of real socialism.

Our research perspective is interdisciplinary, from urban history and transport history, with a precise knowledge of the methods and techniques of urban planning and transport engineering. Therefore, the criteria of analysis are not only of historical science, but also of these disciplines linked to planning, which are traditionally very different from each other.

We organized the text into three thematic sections, as processes that overlapped and inter-related throughout the 1960s and 1970s, with the necessary mentions of the background and general context in Europe. In the first section, we studied the development of the city for automobile and the doubts about the development of tramway. In the second section, we analyze the approaches to integrated planning and their implementation difficulties. And in the third section, we analyze the consideration of tramway development on the basis of rapid tramway and its interrelation with urban planning. We will conclude with the interrelation of these three issues and the verification of the significant differences between the three countries of real socialism.

## **The Modern Movement, the Automobile City and the Questioning of Tramways**

Discussions about the disadvantages of streetcars in relation to motor vehicles began in the 1920s and 1930s in advanced countries such as the United States, the United Kingdom and France. Criticism of the tramway was based on its incompatibility with the new pace of the modern city (Pooley and Turnbull 2005: 90). First, because it was considered to generate traffic congestion, because it was inflexible when changing routes and because its speed is low compared to buses and trolleybuses. Second, because it affected the urban image; the modern city could not be affected by tramway cables and old rolling stock. After the WWII, urban reconstruction was carried out with this idea of modernization and rationalization of cities. No doubt the modernization of tramway system was possible, but there was a widely shared idea that the tramway would be unnecessary in the future (Hall and Hass-Klau 1985: 21). Thus, in the post-war period, countries where criticism of the tramway was earlier or more severely voiced resulted in eliminating their tramway systems and replacing them with buses.

In the USSR, quite a few medium-sized towns with up to 250,000 inhabitants (Simferopol', Kišiněv) completely abandoned their tramway systems. In the GDR and the CSSR some tramway lines were closed down, but the complete abandonment took place only in small towns, up to 80,000 inhabitants (Stralsund and Staßfurt), (Ministerstvo Dopravy ČSSR 1966: 3; Walker 1967: 388).

The 1960s was a controversial period in urban transport. On the one hand, the ideas of the Modern Movement maintained or extended their importance, especially in practice, where methods of road infrastructure planning had already become established among transport planners. On the other hand, the threat of car to the quality of urban environment and the awareness of traffic as a complex social problem began to appear. We think that there were two main issues: the separation of traffic and the coordination of urban transport operation (UITP 1961; Buchanan 1964; UITP 1969). Since there were no strong conclusions, the need to enhance public transport had to be adapted to the need to preserve optimal conditions for car traffic. This contradiction led up to the decline of tramway in capitalist countries, though there were some new light meters in Federal Republic of Germany and the Scandinavian countries.

At the same time, the principles of the Modern Movement triumphed in the countries of real socialism as well, because it offered a possibility of order for cities. The apparently chaotic traffic caused by the interactions of trams and cars, as a threat to urban functioning, belied the idea of progress of the socialist city and its economic efficiency (Khairullina and Santos y Ganges 2018: 521). As a result, the need for trams in cities also began to be questioned in urban planning. In addition, the versatility and technical improvement of trolleybuses and buses allowed them to compete with the proven capacity of tramways.

The approaches of the Modern Movement did not take sufficient account of public transport in urban planning and were mainly based on the combination of road infrastructure (capacity, speed, hierarchy) with zoning. The urban plan had to include a road infrastructure project, with the consequent adaptation of tram lines. Even with the strong urban growth of the 1960s and the evident needs for public transport, the inertia of consolidated methods in the practice of urban planning remained consistent until the late 1970s.

It could be seen that the automobile city paradigm was quite strong in the European countries of real socialism, while maintaining a certain importance of the tram in their cities. This was due to the great need for public transport and the functional importance of trams.

### **Integrated Planning: The Growing Role of Collective Public Transport in Urban Planning**

In the 1950s and 1960s, urban planning and urban transport planning were going their separate way with their own logic and competences, but the claim of efficiency of urban growth required their optimal interrelationship. With the rapid urban growth in the countries of real socialism, the need to study the relationship between transport and the city was intensified, and the idea of separating transport plan from urban plan appeared. In the general transport plan, transport and its infrastructure should be studied intensively, which seemed impossible to realize before in urban plan. Since the mid-1950s in Germany, such plans were developed in order to improve collective public transport and justify investment in transport infrastructure (Künne 1996: 18). The idea was to strengthen rail systems and its coordination with automobile transport.

In the countries of real socialism, high urban growth led to a consequent decline in the level of public transport service and the problem of travel times became quite serious from the mid-1960s onwards. At the same time, large suburban residential areas were planned in many cities. Urban transport planning therefore began to gain importance and the idea of sectoral transport

plan was created. But urban sprawl made it urgent to select rapid means of public transport and to coordinate them with land use planning. On the other hand, in the capitalist European countries, the urban growth and the importance of the central areas aggravated the problem of congestion of the automobile traffic and of worsening of the urban space. In this context, the idea of “integrated planning” seemed appropriate in the technical area in the East and West.

Integrated planning was a multifunctional tool which aimed to improve (mainly from an economic perspective) several aspects of planning, mainly urban accessibility with public transport and long-term coordination of urban growth and transport. Urban Planning was to be based on long-term collective public transport solutions, which formed the structuring lines of urban development (Khairullina 2021). One of the cardinal ideas of integrated planning was the definition of the main and complementary means of public transport.

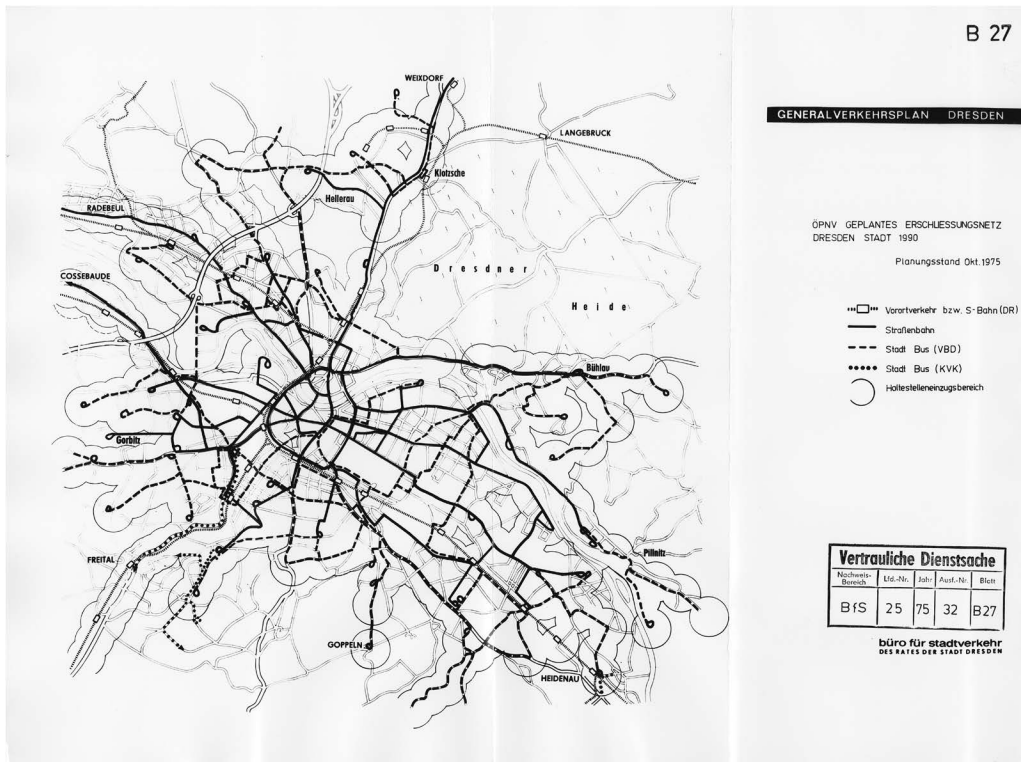
In European capitalist countries this type of planning was more an exception than a rule, although it is worth noting that in some cities in the FRG and the UK they were able to organize this process in some way. In the European countries of real socialism, on the other hand, there were more possibilities for its implementation, mainly because urban and transport solutions could be put together. Urban plans and transport plans responded to different areas of competence, so it was necessary to organize their integration (TSNIIP Gradostroitelstva 1968: 11).

In the USSR, the plans were carried out by the state institutes of urban and transport planning, while in the GDR and the CSSR, they were prepared by the local planning departments, but the comprehensive plan was not possible because of the dependence on different ministries and the lack of coordinating bodies. Instead, there were different approaches to achieving integrated planning in one way or another.

In order to define the new principles of urban planning, since the early 1970s the unavoidable theoretical studies related to the inflection of the paradigm of city planning were initiated (Hensher 1979; Schmucki 2003; Kosenkova 2018). The objectives of these studies were, on the one hand, to find the most economic solutions, and, on the other hand, to understand the interrelations between transport and the city. Depending on the weight of these objectives, the organization and results of the studies also varied. In the GDR, cooperation between research institutes could be organized, while there was a solid understanding of the structural importance of transport and city integration. With state support, the results of these studies were integrated into German planning practice. In the CSSR and the USSR it was different; the study topics were not consistent and the organization of work between the institutes was not defined (Šabarova 1981: 23; Žáčková 2014: 23). There was a willingness on the part of the professionals to cooperate, but state support was not clear and therefore the result was random, with neither a theoretical basis nor a standardized methodology being clarified (Khairullina 2021).

The parallel planning carried out in some GDR cities can be highlighted: Dresden, Cottbus, Magdeburg (Bolchynnek, Leyer and Krause 1977: 4). In Dresden, for example, the general transport plans were implemented independently from the general urban plans, but through an intimate interaction between the planners the integration of planning objectives and criteria could be achieved (Figure 2.6.1).

In the USSR and the CSSR, however, there was apparently a superior mode of integration, which was based on carrying out transport studies together with urban plan, with subsequent implementation of transport plan. Although, there were important problems, such as the excessive time lag between urban plans and transport plans, or sometimes insufficient quality of transport studies and their poor integration into urban plan. In Yaroslavl, Ryazan or Tula, for example, integration was implemented through a preliminary transport study and plan, which, nevertheless, needed subsequent corrections as detailed studies on the decisions were missing. In



**FIGURE 2.6.1** General transport plan, plan of collective public transport (October 1975) until the year 1990. Planning was confluent in terms of time and discussions between planners. As a result, integration of urban development solutions with transport planning was achieved.

Source: Büro für Stadtverkehr des Rates der Stadt Dresden (1975) *Generalverkehrsplan Dresden, ÖPNV Geplantes Erschliessungnetz Dresden Stadt 1990: Stadtbezirksversammlung und Rat des Stadtbezirkes Süd, 5.3.1, Nr. 16, B-27*. Stadtarchiv Dresden.

Brno, Kosiče and Ostrava, however, integration was solved by means of prospective transport studies that put forward strategies and alternatives for the proposals in urban plan.

Thus, the idea of integrated planning was more of an ambition than a reality also in the European countries of real socialism, although in some cases urban and transport plans were drawn up at the same time and in a coherent manner.

### The Development of the Idea of Rapid Tramway and Its Incorporation into Urban Planning

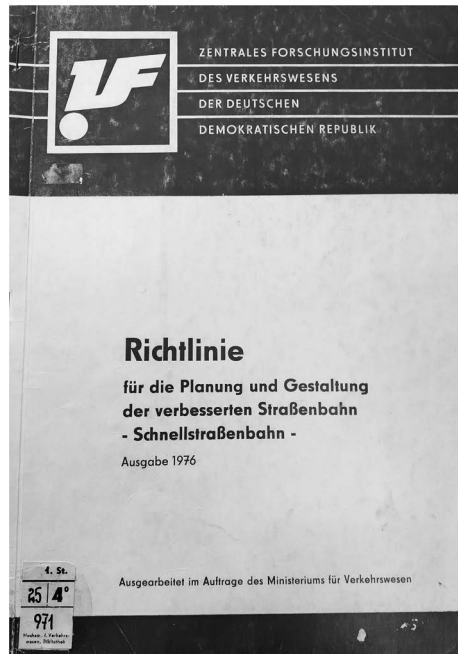
The rapid tram was an idea emerged in Germany and other countries, which was presented by Erich Giese 1917 in his book *Schnellstraßenbahnen*, with the aim of rationalizing urban public transport so that a rapid tram system would operate in suburban areas. The main features of rapid tramway system included separate platform, long distances between stops, as well as limited possibility of organizing intersections at different levels (Mikuškovíc 1933: 103; Zilbertal' 1937: 225). The debate on the possibility of application of rapid tramway continued in the 1950s and 1960s being a part of search for an economical and efficient solution (Müller and Fester 1957: 349; Quinby 1962: 250). In most of the European countries of real socialism rapid tramway was

also a real option. It should be noted that in the CSSR that idea was relevant from the beginning of the 1950s. Several factors contributed to this. Firstly, the manufacturer ČKD Tatra was able to offer the modernization of rolling stock in the middle of the decade. On the other hand, the separation of tramway platform was already at a fairly high level, between 30 and 50 % (Keul 1968: 28) and, in addition, the tramway system was recognized early as an efficient mode of collective public transport (ČSVTS 1964: 15; Ministerstvo Dopravy ČSSR 1966: 15). In practice, there stand out some examples as rapid tram line in Košice, or rapid tramway proposals in Ostrava urban plan in 1964. While, in the GDR and the USSR tramway modernization was not so evident until the early 1970s, in the GDR for attention to suburban rail development, and in the USSR for trolleybus development.

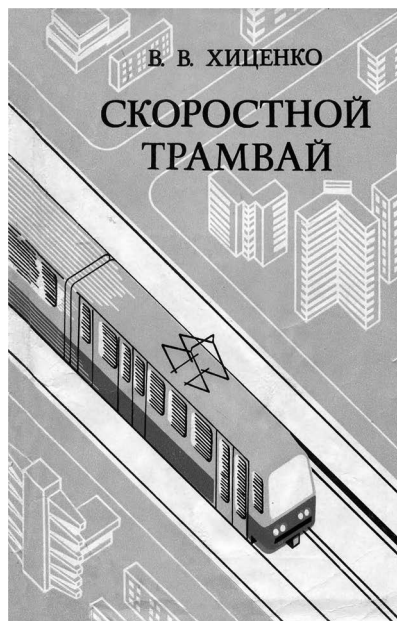
The problems of urban accessibility aggravated by considerable urban growth, as well as the need for integration of urban and transport development, led to choose rapid and capable means of public transport at all levels of planning. Among the possible solutions, rapid tramway stood out as the most accessible solution. Rapid tramway had clear advantages over the conventional tramway: a higher speed, as a result of the improvements in tramway track and the dynamic characteristics of the rolling stock, and a significant increase in capacity, as it was increased by 450–600 persons per unit, which had no competition from trolleybuses and buses. A major peculiarity was that rapid tramway was materialized without considering the future possibility of conversion into a metro (pre-metro or light rail), and has been differentiated ever since (Hicenko 1976: 8). This idea was also shared in the GDR and in the CSSR, where they differentiated between rapid tramway (*Schnellstraßenbahn* and *Rychlá tramvaj*) and light rail (*Stadtbahn* and *Rýchlodraha*). The scope of application of rapid tramway was limited to: communication of fragmented urban areas, connection between industrial, residential and central areas, and communication of large cities with satellite cities (Šeinůk 1971: 18; Hicenko 1976: 22). Normally, priority was given to the interconnection of work and living areas, explained by the concern for national production and its needs. In other words, it could be interpreted that, more than a desired option, it was a decision forced by economic difficulties and urban growth.

The theoretical recognition and generalization of rapid tramway in the practice of planning in the European countries of real socialism was a long process that became widespread from the mid-1970s (Figures 2.6.2–2.6.4). It was precisely from this period that discussions began on the possibility of applying the rapid tramway in France and the Federal Republic of Germany. There were also shared discussions, such as the International Conference “Perspectives of Modern Trams” (*Perspektivy moderních tramvají*) organized by the Scientific and Technical Committee of Czechoslovakia in Prague in 1977. Participants included the USSR, GDR, CSSR, Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Sweden, Italy, Austria, FRG and the United Kingdom (Walker 1978: 95). The possibility of using the rapid tram as a good tool for European cities began to become common. The difference was that, in the countries of real socialism, in the late 1970s, some of which already had a quite developed theoretical and practical basis on this issue, while in capitalist countries this process was in its beginning (Boquet 2017: 7).

Rapid tram lines served as support lines for urban structuring. The rapid tram solutions developed in the 1970s in the urban extensions were differential in terms of urban model. On the one hand, rapid tramway with its high speeds and capacities allowed more density and greater distances of location in planning of new residential areas. On the other hand, there were significant differences on the idea of how to expand urban area: with linear form, with proportional extension, with directional extension, with concentrated and fragmented development. In the Russian cases of Yaroslavl and Oryol, for example, the existing tramway system tended to transform a radio-centric model into a linear one. In the medium-sized cities of the CSSR, rapid tramway was a tool for the development of a fragmented city model. In the GDR the cities



**FIGURE 2.6.2** Covers of important publications about rapid tramway in the CSSR, GDR and USSR edited from the mid-1970s. The work *Richtlinie für die Planung und Gestaltung der verbesserten Straßenbahn – Schnellstraßenbahn* (Guide for the planning and design of improved tramways – rapid tramways), the Central Transport Institute of the GDR (Zentrale Forschungsinstitut für Verkehrswesen der DDR), Berlin: ZFIV, 1976.



**FIGURE 2.6.3** The book *Skorostnoj Tramvaj* (Rapid tramway), V. V. Hicenko, Leningrad: Strojizdat, 1976.





**FIGURE 2.6.4** The cover of the international conference on “Perspectives on Modern Tramways” (Perspektivy moderních tramvají). Source: Bankovič, R., *Der Platz der Straßenbahn im System des öffentlichen Personenstadtverkehr*, Praha: Československá vědeckotechnická společnost, 1977.

sought a certain compactness, filling urban gaps and managing to maintain appropriate travel times, though there were also cases of developing linear form supported by new tram lines, for example in Erfurt and Magdeburg.

The organization of tramway system in relation to residential space was also differential. The main difference was in the mode of location of tram stops and organization of pedestrian access. In the GDR preference was given to the arrangement of tram line in an exclusive corridor in the middle of residential area (Dresden, Rostock, Schwerin and Erfurt). This, despite their slight barrier character, gave the advantage of bringing the tramway closer to the population and increasing the accessibility of neighborhood centers. In the USSR, however, planners opted for a combination of car and tram traffic on large connecting road axes, which made pedestrian access difficult and created the need for organization of crossings and tunnels, Lviv, Tallin and Kursk. Among the advantages of such a solution was the ease and cheapness of its organization. CSSR planners shared this idea with the USSR, Ostrava, Kosiče and Bratislava (Figure 2.6.5), although there were some exceptions, such as the case of new residential areas Líšeň and Bohunice in Brno (Figure 2.6.6).

These differences in planning could be explained by differences in transport and urban planning opinions. The tramway in GDR had an intimate relationship with the city, and combining it with pedestrian traffic was not considered impossible. While CSR and the USSR opted for a functionalist perspective, related to the importance of isolating passing traffic from residential areas.



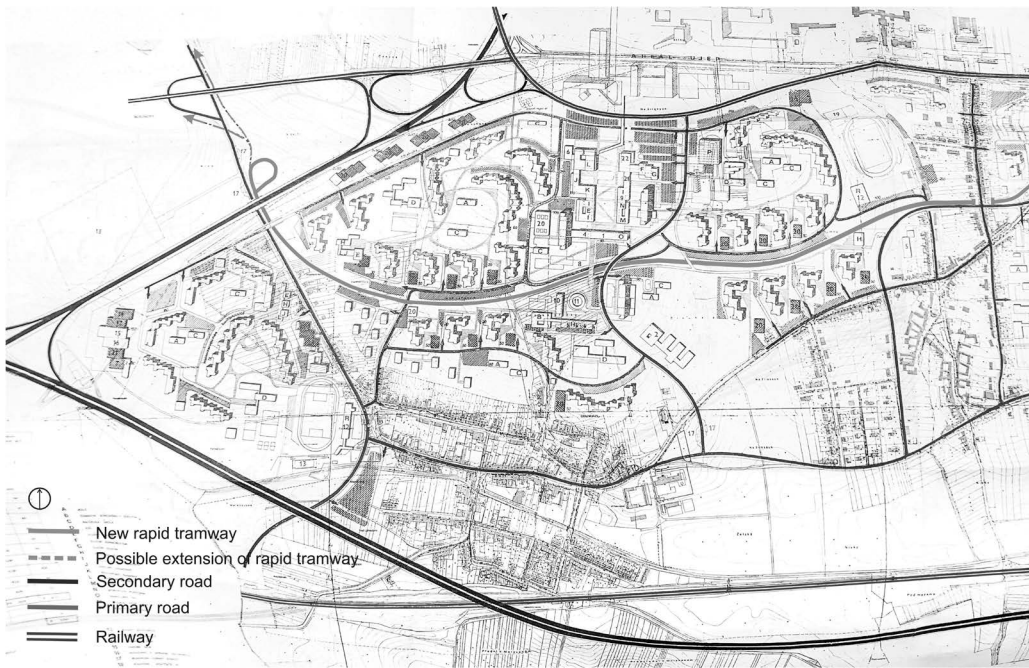
**FIGURE 2.6.5** Rapid tram in the new residential area Výškovice in Ostrava, planned in the 1970s. The tram line was located in the center of an urban road (Výškovická) where prevailed road traffic conditions and which impeded pedestrian access to tramway stops.

Source: Útvar dopravního inženýrství města Ostravy (1982) *Doprava a životní prostředí v Ostravě*. Olomouc: Moravské tiskařské závody, 16.

### **Conclusions. Complexity of Transport-City Relations and Diversity in Tramway Planning Solutions**

It should be noted that the complexities and diversity of the casuistry of transport planning in European countries in the 1960s and 1970s, in one sign or another allows generalizations to be disregarded. The process of abandoning tramways in Europe was evident, but not homogeneous, either in capitalist countries or in those of real socialism. In the former, recognition of the efficiency and functionality of the tramway in large and medium-sized cities delayed its closure until the 1960s, while in the latter the process was even less active. They all shared some dynamics in transport planning, linked to the success of the Modern Movement and the influence of functionalist traffic engineering. Therefore, the gradual closure of the trams was also a phenomenon relevant to socialist planning in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, although massive urban growth represented a new opportunity for tramway systems.

Concerning the relationship between urban planning and collective public transport, integrated planning was an approach from both East and West. However, it had quite a few obstacles to its implementation, such as the persistence of normative and competitive stagnation, lack of experience in working together, the strength of Modern Movement ideas, the robust orientation to technical-economic factors and the lack of authentic political will. Despite these great



**FIGURE 2.6.6** Rapid tram line in the middle of the new residential area Bohunice in Brno, planned in 1972. The urban design supported the isolation of tram line from residential space. Transversal permeability was arranged with few passes, and by varying levels in relation to the road.

Source: Stavoprojekt KPIO Brno (1972) *Generální řešení sídliště, přátelství, Brno - Bohunice: U 9 Šbírka map, plánů a technických výkresů 1645-2013, neinventarizováno*. Brno City Archive.

difficulties, the possibility of coordinating objectives and criteria parallel to transport and city plans facilitated the implementation of some integrated planning in socialist cities.

Rapid transit system was a public transport tool used both in Capitalist and Communist Europe. However, socialist urban planning made considerable use of it, even if it was not considered a definitive solution. Urban growth and the policy of building new residential areas in the European countries of real socialism meant that it was used more intensively. Rapid tramway gained importance as a means of urban public transport linked to medium- and long-term planning, especially as it was considered a structuring axis of urban development.

It should be noted that tram planning in the countries of real socialism was much more diverse and complex than it usually seems. Rapid tram lines had diverse solutions in relation to the planning process, the formation of the urban model, the structure of zoning and its urban layout and design. This variety is mainly explained by the lack of a more or less agreed theory and principles on urban transport planning in relation to urban planning. Therefore, the solutions responded to the weight of planning traditions, to the pre-existence of collective public transport infrastructure and to the differences in interpretation of rationalization and efficiency ideas in transport planning.

Finally, this diversity opens only a small part of the discussions on the history of transport planning in European cities. Indeed, urban planning was not homogeneous under the communist dictatorships (Welch Guerra 2015: 224), nor was transport engineering. In this respect, the ideas of capitalist European countries and of real socialism were sometimes consonant or tended to converge, sometimes they varied considerably. Therefore, it is important for further study of decision

making in urban transport planning to be undertaken, as doing so could be the key to understanding the specificities of each country, and, thus, to proposing more viable generalizations.

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# 2.7

## CONTEMPORARY EUROPEAN CITY-MAKING PROCESS

### Materialization-Emptying-Regeneration on Large Land Properties

*Federico Camerin*

#### Methodology

This chapter provides a particular methodology in the field of Urban Studies for understanding the European cities' making process from the late 19th century onward, its features are the following. Firstly, the proposed approach refers to the construction, emptying, and regeneration of specific high-consuming-land activities and functions (i.e., industrial, military, and railway settlements and, more generally, equipment and services such as markets and schools). Secondly, the particularity of these activities and functions is the need of large properties of land to conduct their activities. As a result, while performing, they are producing an 'urban land rent' (Campos Venuti 1971: 1–44) and subsequently they can undergo real estate and financial operations to foster urban renewal and regeneration processes (Álvarez Mora and Camerin 2019). For these reasons, Camerin (2020) states that these high-consuming-land activities can be called 'great properties'. Thirdly, this analysis highlights the phases of construction, emptying, and regeneration of great industrial, military, and railway properties intended as a series of different historical moments which have an "accumulating" effect on their surroundings. It means that these processes happen over the time by spatial juxtaposition, the consequence of which is the progressive creation of new (and higher) values of urban land rent in the place where the activities are located, influencing their surroundings too.

The reason of such approach relies on the relationship between land and urban development over time according to the logic of capital (Alonso, 1964; Vielle 1973). The definition of this methodological approach refers, consequently, to three moments (i.e., construction, emptying, and regeneration) manifesting themselves through different 'urban development models'. These urban development models, in turn, deal with so many other forms of city making, i.e., 'traditional', 'disaggregated', and 'urban sprawl' (Álvarez Mora 2004).

In a nutshell, paragraph two gives a general overview of the processes, while paragraph three reports the original construction process affecting specific urban areas, namely, it is the 'production of the built environment' (Harvey 1985). Paragraph four focuses on the phase of dismantling and abandonment of great properties that take place for reasons regarding their "low profitability" for the capitalist mode of production. Eventually, paragraph five addresses urban regeneration as this practice takes place for "rent" needs imposed by the capital demands to makes the upper-class appropriation of the city effective.



**FIGURE 2.7.1** An example of profit-driven spaces: the former Jiří of Poděbrady Army Barracks is nowadays reused as Palladium Shopping Center.

Source: Photograph by F. Camerin (December 2018).

The materialization-dismantling-regeneration analysis of great properties basically results in an original tool to understand the European city-making process from the late 19th century onward being strictly linked to the real estate market and driven by rents demands. By the application of this analysis, this chapter tackles some of the impacts of the capitalist city's mode of production that demonstrate the commitment to the 'city as a product' (aimed to create profit-driven spaces, see Álvarez Mora 2015: 11–13; [Figure 2.7.1](#)) – at the expense of the 'city as *oeuvre*' (aimed to realize social reproduction space for citizenship, see Álvarez Mora 2015: 15–18; [Figure 2.7.2](#)).

### **The Specificity of the Three Processes: Construction-Emptying-Regeneration**

The following paragraphs aim to interpret the meaning of each of the three processes – construction, emptying, and regeneration – affecting great industrial, military, and railway properties, as well as the close relationship that links these phases and makes them interdependent. The phases of construction, obsolescence-emptying, and urban regeneration are intended as real estate processes that carry out – but also explain and allow to understand – the historical city-making process. By conceiving them as distinct phases, yet inseparable from each other, they constitute a chained process outlining the real estate development processes operating in the city. In the light of these considerations, it is worth remarking the reliance of these three



**FIGURE 2.7.2** An example of social reproduction space for citizenship. The courtyard of the former barracks Kasárna Karlín (Prague) is partially reused as cultural space.

Source: Photograph by F. Camerin (December 2018).

processes one on each other as well as their strict link to the economic yield derived from the great industrial, military, and railway properties' outputs.

This analysis is also important to understand the metamorphosis of great industrial, military, and railway properties intended as 'capital in land'. Due to their characteristics, great properties are strictly related to the urban dynamics affecting the built environment, with special emphasis on its "central spaces". It is in central areas, in effect, where the capital in land is reproduced to the extent that the differential ground rent can strongly develop (Solà-Morales i Rubió *et al.* 1974: 3): great properties raise the interests of the real estate operators to "place" speculative values on them. For this reason, the construction-emptying-regeneration analysis is useful to understand the city making and the role great industrial, military, and railway properties play in these processes.

### **The Production-Construction of Great Industrial, Military, and Railway Properties**

The late-19th century- and early-20th-century making process of a specific urban area based on high-consuming-land industrial, military, and railway facilities is what can be called 'production of the built environment' (Edwards, Campkin and Arbaci 2009). In the phase of construction, numerous urban artefacts – equipment, facilities, services, or wealth-generating activities – were



placed in the city because they benefitted from the “economies of agglomeration” produced in the multifunctional areas where a diversity of productive processes came together.

This phase comprises a number of features. Firstly, industrial, military, and railway settlements can be intended as “rent seeking activities” which assume a huge responsibility in the production of the city. Secondly, being mostly public-owned assets, these settlements can be intended as game changers within the city-making process. In other words, they sought the existence of the city as a collective entity. Thirdly, all these activities required a large amount of land to develop their specific outputs, even in central areas or nearby them, thus being precise manifestations of the capital in land regardless of whether they were managed by private or public entities. Eventually, in this phase of the city-making process the urban space was being created and consolidated as a ‘social product’ (Knox 1982). This period coincided with the so-called “modern city” – i.e., the ‘capitalist city’ – whose foundations began to be laid between the mid-19th century and the early 20th century. In referring to capitalist city, the focus is on the European cities which work based on a remarkable role of finance and of land rent as generators of urban growth and socio-spatial transformation (Jäger 2003; Rossi 2010: 111).

The building of the high-consuming-land industrial, military, and railway settlements provides a first interpretation of the capitalist city. As stressed by Insolera (1989), it is important to emphasize that these urban plots played a fundamental role in the city’s socio-spatial configuration in strict relation to the city-making process. This relationship meant the occupation of a territory by a diversity of specific activities that remarkably influenced subsequent waves of urban development of the modern city. For instance, the presence of the railway offered an opportunity for industrial and military facilities, all of which boosted the real estate developments (Ministerio de Cultura 1980: 75).

The role of great properties in a specific urban area has substantially depended on the following issues (Camarin 2020: 79–104): the type of activity-function; the morphological configuration of the place in which great properties were located; the political-administrative decisions related to the functions; the relationships between the territorial bodies responsible for their presence in the territory (such as the Ministry of Defence and the Railway Companies); and the interaction of the agents-actors involved in their management and exploitation. As for such role, the construction of great properties has had a relevant part in the urban colonization of their surroundings, having even significantly contributed to the functional, social, and spatial segregation of the space they occupied. This is the case of industrial neighborhoods appearing across Europe in the second half of the 19th century (Arxiu Històric del Poblenou 2001).

In the construction phase, the city witnessed the territorial transformation of great properties neighboring areas. At the very local scale, such transformations took place as the relationship between property and capital in land encouraged the development of new activities, which could be seen as a sort of “manipulation” of the existing built environment (Lawrence and Low 1990). Great properties exercised a role of “spatial colonizers” and created new relations with the surrounding environment. At a wider level, i.e., the city as a whole, great properties appeared as specific settlements creating different use-values, thus influencing zoning processes derived from their presence in the city. Such properties acquired, therefore, a certain specificity at the level of the city so as to condition the functionality of the places they belong to. This role depended not only on the presence of industrial, military and railway artefacts, but also on their decisive influence on the shaping of new spatial developments.

Giving concrete examples, the construction of great industrial, military, and railway properties can be exemplified as follows. The railway and its stations acting as terminals for the exchange of people and goods has conditioned the settlement of industrial and military activities, as well as other equipment related to the production of the built environment. Industrial

and military activities, in turn, showed a specific behavior with regard to their implementation and the effects derived from their building.

On the one hand, industrial settlements required the presence of a nearby labor force for reasons of economy of means. Since its origins, the industrialization has developed in close coexistence with the working class. This coexistence depended on not only the absence of specific means of communication to help the social class to commute, but from the capitalist-fostered identification of the industrial social space with the most marginal sectors, i.e., the working-class. Following the late-19th-century urban development patterns, low-income classes linked to industrial activities were concentrated on the same place of the industries, thus creating “working-class peripheries” in the form of “red belts” (Álvarez Mora, Palomar Elvira and Sánchez Rodenas 1980: 147).

On the other hand, as military settlements gathered arsenals, barracks, and warehouses, these installations needed the railway for the tasks of transport of troops, combat vehicles, and weapons equipment. Military activities demanded the availability of certain type of materials and supplies, so they needed the availability of a local- and territorial-scaled network which configured one of the economic bases of the city (Más Hernández 2003). As well as industries, military settlements have contributed to the development of their surroundings through the “economies of agglomeration” effects (Remy 1966), thus generating new specialized jobs. For instance, military factories have always had an indirect influence on other metallurgical industries: both of them needed a reciprocal cooperation to maintain the military-metallurgical production.

### Emptying Strategies and Dispossession-Appropriation Process

Taking advantage of economic crises happening over time, the logic of capital seemingly opens the way to new forms of exploitation triggered by new technological developments and modernization of functionally outdated and obsolete production systems (Holloway and Picciotto 1977). These forms of exploitation encouraged the abandonment, emptying, reconversion or relocation of the activities located in the great properties, and subsequently contributed to the “transformation by regeneration” of the places they were located (Doron 2000). For this reason, high-consuming-land activities, such as industrial, military and railway, left their primordial location with which they were identified within the city. Their relocation, in the best of cases, took place in other peripheral sites, which Urban Planning had been in charge of “ordering” with appropriate business-oriented equipment. Another no less important reason of the displacement was the “low profitability” of industrial, military and railway activities in relation to those ones hypothetically provided by other functions. On this occasion, the new activities had to be related to the real estate development in order to produce profit-oriented spaces. In this way, a certain built element that did not offer an adequate profitability had to be dismantled, abandoned, and even ruined to force its reconversion-regeneration. However, this low profitability was not the driver of the change, but the new economic-financial perspectives. The latter allowed to recreate a new income-producing asset on the waste of the useless goods from the point of view of capital. The low profitability assigned to the built element consequently meant its dismantling and abandonment for undertaking new real estate developments. Building cities, in this sense, was not only manifested in their material construction, but also in those other situations developing a strategy of dismantling of the existing built environment. In order to implement such practice, specific real estate agents were mobilized, whose mission was to empty the contents of the “social space” out of the built elements. In particular, the social characteristics of these spaces were what set up the condition of “strategic places” propitious to undertake a process of socio-spatial ‘appropriation-reappropriation’ (Álvarez Mora and Camerin 2019: 18–19).

The appropriation was consistent with the need to create new profit-oriented spaces, whose impact was strengthening the segregated city.

Once the activities located in great properties started failing to produce the expected economic profit, its existence itself entered into “crisis”. The great property began to be the object of a real estate practice consisting in promoting the emptying of its functional contents. This process was about the “inadequacy” of the function the artefact exercises, which, it is said by logic of capital, did not correspond to the post-industrial society needs (Shaw 2001). The production of the “waste” was argued to be functional obsolescence, but it hid, as already pointed out, speculative reasons. The considerable expectations of the real estate developer-financial capital drove these processes of obsolescence-dismantling-emptying of specific urban sectors, and this aspect had been approached from various angles (see, among others, Oliva 1988). Great industrial, military and railway properties were located in places which ceased to be profitable if the “traditional customs” persisted there (Figure 2.7.3), so they needed to be replaced by the new productive requirements of capital. Once these sectors assumed a new role through an “appropriate” land use change, thus the “regenerative transformations” drove the high profitability required by the logic of capital.

In this socio-economic context, undertaking operations of obsolescence-dismantling-emptying meant to achieve a social appropriation of the places disaffected of the existing functions to submit the latter to “real estate-related future expectations”. In other words, great



**FIGURE 2.7.3** The former slaughterhouse in Rome, today partially reused as RomaTre university headquarters.

Source: Photograph by F. Camerin (October 2018).



**FIGURE 2.7.4** Urban void in place of the ancient 14.569 m<sup>2</sup>-sized “Precision Artillery Workshop” in Madrid’s city center to become a high-end residential block.

Source: Photograph by F. Camerin (February 2019).

properties stopped to perform their original activities for creating new profitable uses (i.e., high-end housing along with commercial, tertiary and – why not? – touristic activities, all of which off limits for lower classes) on the “ashes” of the past to be destroyed. This process of dismantling generated the so-called ‘urban void’ (Secchi *et al.* 1984), understood not exclusively as an “architectural-urban form” without content, but rather as the expression of a process of “possession-dispossession” of a certain space and of a property (Figure 2.7.4). Urban voids, which resembled a transitory form in the new way of shaping the late 20th-century city, were part of the history of the city.

An important feature of this phase is the role played by “urban narratives”, which seemed to provide not only ideological justifications for launching urban regenerations, but also for “convincing” militant groups that were trying to prevent or question such operations (van Hulst 2012). The ideological justifications aimed to appropriate the past, to steer and direct urban reconfiguration, and to lay the necessary foundations so that urban regeneration could be seen as indispensable in the eyes of the society. Urban narratives relied, as could not be otherwise, on the following triggering elements: “ordinary regulatory frameworks” (such as General Master Plans and zoning regulations); “exceptional instruments and actions” (for instance, large urban projects); and other measures based on “continuity” of the existing built environment (such as the “heritage protection-urban rehabilitation)” operations, or its “rupture” (as in the case of the “urban expansion-renewal” actions).

Urban narratives and storytelling were generally contained in the urban planning instruments to justify the genesis of an urban form solidly preserved, ruined, degraded, or converted into a plot. An example is the case of the former Guido Reni barracks regeneration into the new “City of Science”. As this barracks is characterized by the presence of unused buildings and artefacts unlikely to be reconverted into new uses, or with evident physical and functional degradation phenomena, its privileged localization and the consequently real-estate value due to its position, constitutes a relevant occasion of local and urban scale regeneration (Roma Capitale 2014).

In this context, shaping the empty can therefore be intended as one more expression of the historical city-making process. As argued by Álvarez Mora (2015: 47–60), the point made here is that the “void” should be understood as the result of a far-reaching process linked to the historical construction of the place in which it is contextualized: the void is not nothing. What is important to underline is the place’s value that had been created through the historical social actions to define the space and assign the (strategic) position of the great property surroundings. Great properties, in consequence, gradually acquired a remarkable value in the real estate market due to the historical social actions. The object of the appropriation was not only the great property, but the “place”: the “emptying” of its original contents is the necessary step to take in order to upgrade the social level of the place. Therefore, the emptying can be seen as a remarkable phase not so much as a process of appropriation of historical buildings, but rather as a usurpation of the “value” holding by a place.

In light of these considerations, urban voids can be intended as elements of conflict, arising from the intention to redevelop historical zones as profit-oriented spaces. In this respect, one can speak of a true “social expropriation” intended to “free” a great property from its contents because such features were in contradiction with the exchange-value assigned to it by the agents involved in the city government. In fact, urban voids were (and currently are) simply not “abandoned artefacts”, but the spatial expressions of the city-making process. The creation of urban voids can be claimed to be another way of conceiving the production of the built environment, being the expression of a city growing in leaps. In particular, the capitalist city created the “abandonment of what is built” as another way of producing value, i.e., the dismantling of great properties can be conceived as another real estate process (Doron 2000). No matter if such facilities remained useful for the most disadvantaged social groups, the logic of capital provoked their dismantling as it did not believe they were making the required profitability.

To sum up, this second process helps to understand the historical construction of the city as a real estate practice which built the “waste” to re-appropriate a social space. This mechanism constituted an unquestionable reference to comprehend the historical city-making process in the same way as the other processes contributed to its materialization as “built space”.

### **From Abandonment-Dismantling-Emptying to the Urban Regeneration of the Affected Artefacts-Properties**

The long path leading to the dismantling, abandonment, and ruin of those goods that originally “produced the city” eventually ended in the great properties – and their surroundings – regeneration, the objective of which has been the socio-spatial “appropriation” by the wealthy (Koven and Koven 2018). Urban renewal and regeneration have historically been linked to the extrapolation of the urban land rent: political and social agents supported such process to impose an “order” not being in contradiction with the logic of capital (Campos Venuti 1981). It is therefore a question of placing value on these capitals in land in order to obtain the maximum economic return from the urban areas which lacked value, but potentially possessed it. The implementation of urban regeneration processes made effective the upper-class appropriation of

the city, especially its central zones. From the post-WWII period, European cities center began to be manipulated by means of interventions seeking typological substitutions (Grebler 1962). These interventions caused the expulsion of its original population, arguing, for instance, that the volume of existing built environment was far below from what was permitted by the regulations of the Urban Planning instruments. The redevelopment of great properties via urban regeneration historically has been configured as a process of “social dispossession” of collectively created “urban values” (Álvarez Mora 1978). These values were historically created over time within specific communities which have used them and watched them over until today. This is the reason great properties can be conceived as heritage, so due to this status they should have been ineligible for individual-oriented appropriation by virtue of social justice.

From this perspective, urban regeneration processes can be understood as products generated in the heart of a consumer capitalist society. The capitalist-oriented action barely carried out projects for the community, choosing the creation of income-producing assets for the ‘city as product’ instead (Álvarez Mora and Camerin 2019: 22–24). The ‘city as product’ identified, in this case, the work and commitment of a society: it expressed its aspirations, strategies, and forms of domination. The manipulation of great properties and their surroundings into “areas of centrality” has been the result of urban regeneration processes through “urban large projects” (such as Barcelona’s Poblenou neighborhoods – Camerin 2019), the latter fostering new morphological-physical forms and socio-spatial configuration created in accordance with the political aspirations of the groups of power. Urban regenerations set up profit-driven spaces but, above all, contributed to the configuration of spaces that were increasingly distant from the rest of the city sociologically and economically speaking. These areas of centrality acted as “poles of attraction” making competitiveness between cities possible and eliminating the interaction with the citizenry. Urban regeneration should consequently be understood as a transforming mechanism to create a “city for others”, which means: being absent from conflicts showing its contradictions; pushing the “social and economic sanitation”; forcing functional obsolescence as a procedure leading to a socio-spatial possession; and creating high-end spaces as competitive elements but regardless of the interests and real needs of citizens. Urban regeneration processes have massively contributed to the consolidation of a segregated city, making it irreversible: in this framework, urban regeneration constituted a fundamental action for the “transformation-possession” of central-located land (Crouch, Fraser and Persey 2000). The contradictions of the ‘city as a product’, however, have been not so easy to eliminate, since the regenerated central areas have accumulated “business” and “prestige”, but also “inequality” and “marginalization”.

### **A Methodology for Understanding the Condition of the Capitalist City as “Historical Social Product”**

The construction-dismantling-regeneration analysis constitutes a way of approaching the capitalist city based on its production-reproduction processes. This chapter addresses three processes linked to the real estate development, i.e., to the building, abandonment, and regeneration of great properties, in order to show the spatial appropriation-reappropriation of the city. By investigating so, one can understand the condition of the city as “historical social product”. Due to this, the proposed analysis can be intended as a Marxist approach to the explanation of the European cities (Champagne 2018). This explanation, eventually, shows the dispossession to which the city has been submitted from the late 19th century onward and, consequently, the causes of socio-spatial segregation that European cities are facing today.

To sum up, two are the main contributions of this methodology. First, the proposed method constitutes an original analysis on the contemporary European cities based on the role of great

industrial, military and railway properties. Over time, the treatment of great properties has promoted the conversion of traditional urban spaces into exclusive areas. The analysis of the three processes leads to understand the insurmountable distances created over time by the profit-driven management of great industrial, military, and railway properties with respect to the rest of the city, improving the city image, and elevating both perishable and real estate products, and encouraging their exclusive use. In short, the path construction-abandonment-regeneration has promoted a classist, unsustainable society lacking social cohesion.

Second, the theoretical contribution of this chapter explains how, since the late 19th century, the capitalist city has been modelled by a system based on the interrelationship between urban development patterns, Urban Planning, and the management of the territorial government processes by public and private actors involved. This system has arguably changed the socio-economic and urban connotations of the European cities throughout decades (Dear and Scott 1981). A specific issue worth highlighting is the fact that urban development patterns mostly implied the construction of the city on the ground of real estate mechanisms responding to the interests of capital to create new profit-driven spaces. An essential step to understand the evolution of the capitalist city is therefore the dismantling, abandonment, and ruin intended as real estate processes ended in regeneration, all of which aim to strengthen the city as a space for the upper class. Specifically, the changes of the 19th-century traditional city on the ground of urban renewal and regeneration actions promoted the distortion of the collectively constructed built environment over time.

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# 2.8

## ELECTIVE AFFINITIES

### The Recovery of Historic Seminal Ideas of European Urbanism for a Sustainable Urban Design in the Late 20th Century

*Juan Luis de las Rivas*

#### **Sustainable Cities, Urban Sustainability and Sustainable Urban Design: A Selective Approach**

The concept of sustainable development has permeated our societies with extraordinary speed. After its publication in 1987 the Brundtland Report shook the fields of economy, science and culture, as well as urban planning, worldwide.

It is well known that the conceptual background of sustainability, connected with the idea of development, belongs to the fields of economy and natural sciences, with particular precedents in forestry (Michelsen *et al.* 2016) and in applied ecology (The Land Ethic, in: Leopold 1949). The “World Commission on Environment and Development” was born for a better understanding of the interactions between ecology and economy, in “a new context” of global change. Under the motto of “our common future” (common concerns, challenges and endeavors), the concept of sustainable development was introduced, defined as “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (Brundtland Report 1987: 41). With an emphasis on two “key concepts”, needs and limitations, the report establishes an inseparable liaison between environment and development: “the ‘environment’ is where we all live; and ‘development’ is what we all do in attempting to improve our lot within that abode” (Brundtland Report 1987: 7). There was continuity with “The Limits to Growth” report (Club of Rome) and the first UN Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm, both in 1972, but also innovation. Influenced by the ecological economy of steady-state (Daly 1977) and with optimism about the potential of scientific–technological adaptation, the report proposes an innovative connection between economy and energy. It promoted the advance in a more efficient, less entropic and less harmful use of energy (Georgescu-Roegen 1971; Nicolis and Prigogine 1977; Odum and Odum, 1980). Although the concept of “climate change” only appeared ten times in a document of 300 pages, the sources and uses of energy established the new way of thinking about relations between the economy and the environment. Very soon, the target of CO<sub>2</sub> emissions reduction hit the existing patterns of urbanity, demanding new responsibilities with regard to resources and consumption, with the idea that “enough is best”. Although cities were not at the center of the report, the challenge in terms of growth, size and inequality impacted the basis of planning.

When I was in charge of the Spanish translation of “Design With Nature”, I was distressed by the delay in which ecology becomes a habit in planning. Ian McHarg’s book was the first, in 1969, to establish a method for connecting ecology and urban planning. At a time when applied ecology was a quasi-American-only issue, thanks to A. Leopold, L. Mumford, R. Carson, B. Commoner and others, McHarg (1920–2001) wondered how man can be a negentropic agent. The idea of negentropy was proposed in “What is life?”, a little essay about the physics fundamentals of the biological world (Schrödinger 1944). The possibility of a negative entropy will remain in the science paradox: however, McHarg was wondering how humans could manage their environment as creators of order or equilibrium, and not as mere exploiters. While the questions with regard to sustainability are used to going to the What, Why, and Where, architecture and urban design are wondering about How: the search for negentropy by design.

McHarg was aware that economy and ecology share their etymological root, Oikos, which means the family house: Oikos-Logos, the science about home, and Oikos-Nomos, the rules governing the home. In “The House We Live In”, a CBS popular and pioneer TV program on ecology, hosted by him in the 1960s, McHarg demonstrated great confidence in the role of science in managing the human environment. With several of his relevant contemporaries, he shared the wish for change in both economy and mind, with an anticipation of the circular economy, “the closing circle” (Commoner 1971), or with the demand for a mental turn towards understanding the ecology of cities (Bateson 1972). Because our urban regions belong to that house, the Earth. We can find all these references in the bibliography of Christopher Alexander’s “A pattern language” (1977), another piece of the innovative script where urban planning set up a clear connection with ecology, anticipating the sustainable urban project.

However, we have to wait for the Aalborg Charter, in 1994, to find the first official statement on “sustainable urbanism” in Europe, proposed with a specific meaning: “We, cities & towns, recognise that sustainability is neither a vision nor an unchanging state, but a creative, local, balance-seeking process extending into all areas of local decision-making” (Aalborg Charter 1994: 1.4). Inspired by the Local Agenda 21 proposed in the Rio Earth Summit, 1992, the Aalborg Charter boosted urban sustainability as a local commitment by municipalities and cities. In 1991, the EU created the Expert Group on Urban Environment which published its first main report in 1996. Those initiatives and other documents about urban sustainability were related to visions and principles. Words were prevalent. In spite of the compilation of good practices and the generation of updated criteria, only green strategies seemed to define the common ground of sustainable design. In any case, sustainability goes to change, step by step, the vision about cities, but how does it change urban design?

In addition to the new tools and technological innovations, one of the answers to that question could rest in a quiet hypothesis: there is a shared tradition, rooted in town and regional planning, which has always been very close to the “new” objectives of urban sustainability. When in 1809, in Weimar, J.W. Goethe published his “*Elective Affinities*” (*Die Wahlverwandschaften*), he ventured into the idea, thanks to the new scientific thinking, that science can control human feelings, that it was a question of chemistry. In our case, the chemistry of elective affinities in urban planning is rooted not only in precedents like those already mentioned but in a selective narrative of contemporary planning history: planning history understood as a progressive sequence of planning discoveries, made by planners.

We can confirm this in three episodes related to urban morphology, to the regional scale in town planning and to the surgical intervention in historical cities. All of them can be viewed today in the mirror of sustainability. These old urban design resources, revised and adapted, are

still useful for sustainable targets. Perhaps their peculiar chemistry can also stimulate a deeper understanding of planning history.

### The Grid and the Rule of Proximity: Revisiting Cerdà's Urban Geometry

Ildefonso Cerdà (1815–1876) occupies a key space in the origins of contemporary urbanism, which has only recently been internationally recognized, however, it was François Choay who established, worldwide, the role of Cerdà in the invention of urban planning as a new autonomous discipline. The singularity of Cerdà is related to his pioneering interaction between theory and practice, to his “Teoría general de la urbanización” (1867) in addition to his plan for Barcelona (Figure 2.8.1). In them he combined the normative perspective, the rules, with the proposal for the city, the model, blending critical approach with the spatial anticipation (Estapé 1971; Choay 1980).

But there is also something extraordinary in the basic geometry with which Cerdà proposed a rational structure for Barcelona's *Eixample*, its grid of  $133 \times 133$  meters between street axes, and its blocks (*manzanas*) of  $111 \times 111$  meters (Figure 2.8.2). It is true that Cerdà was thinking of open blocks, and that their compaction is the result of a complex historical process, with successive urban codes that favored the increase in density. However, the layout itself demonstrated the adaptability of the block system in irregular situations, as occurred when incorporating the Paseo de Gracia, which existed previously to the *Eixample*. This adaptability rested on the dimensions chosen for the urban block and in the talent with which Cerdà deployed the grid

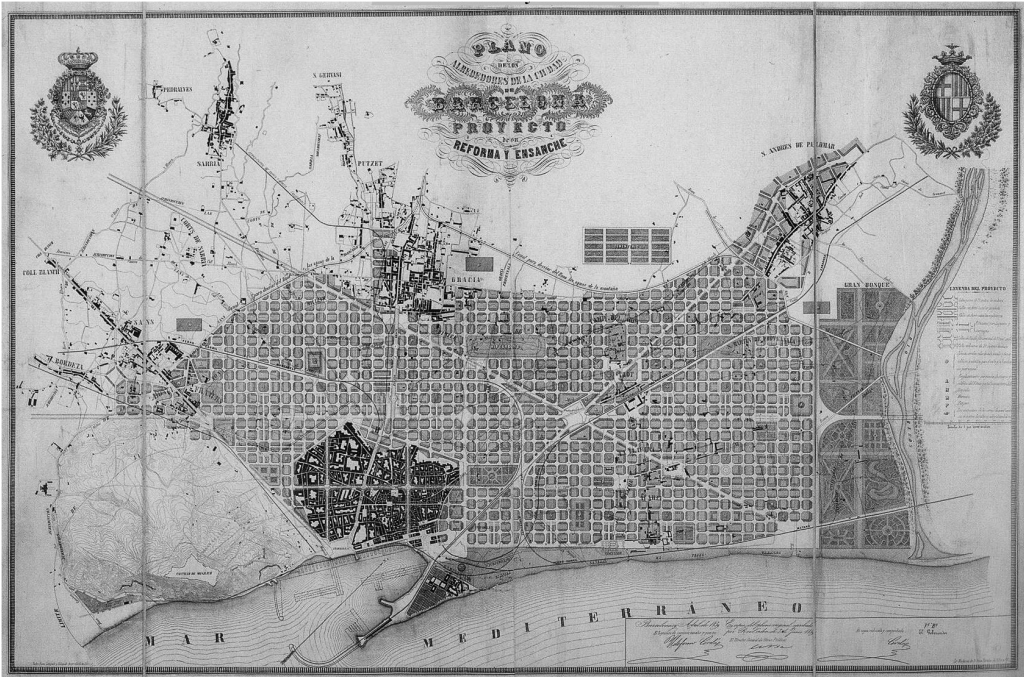
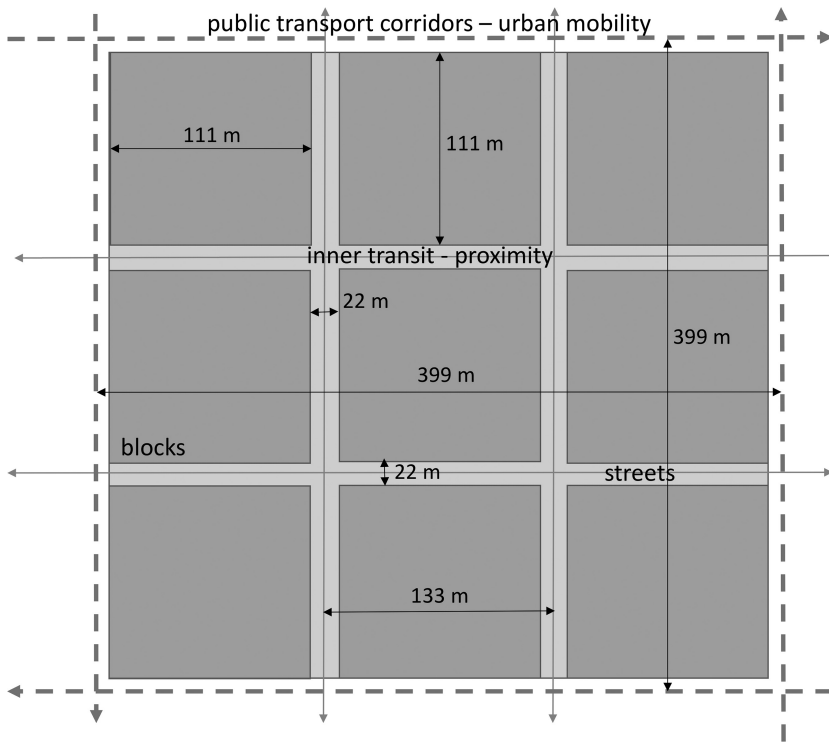


FIGURE 2.8.1 “Plano de los alrededores de la ciudad de Barcelona y Proyecto de Reforma y Ensanche”, Ildefonso Cerdà, 1859.

Source: City Museum of Barcelona.



**FIGURE 2.8.2** “Supermanzana” applied to nine Cerdà’s blocks (399 × 399 meters). Environmental area with inner pedestrian-coexistence traffic and proximity relationships.

Source: The author, from BCN-Ecologia concept.

on the existing site, the “campo” of Barcelona around the old city, included the diagonals and the Gran Vía.

I cannot discuss the question of density here, which was essential to Cerdà’s proposal and its later evolution. The new urbanity that appears at the end of the 19th century developed diverse perceptions about urban density but with a clear preference for urban continuity, also in peripheral suburbia (Sonne 2017).

Returning to the formal qualities of Cerdà’s layout, Salvador Rueda and his team at BCN Ecologia have analyzed the Eixample in terms of urban ecology, benefiting from the mixture and diversity that history has produced in it. His idea of the “super-block” (*supermanzana*), founded in the grid dimensions, the mix of uses, and the offer of local services, is nuclear in a regenerative project for managing urban metabolism from sustainable mobility and proximity relationships. The idea is an heir to the “environmental areas” proposed by Colin Buchanan for traffic regulation compatible with urban heritage preservation and the concern with the environmental qualities of historical areas (Buchanan 1963). However, Cerdà’s geometry and dimensions are the ones that ease the circulation scheme and permit the restriction of traffic within the area and the maintenance of diversity and urban life in it.

Actually, Rueda finds in the *Eixample* the dimension for his super-block, with the aggregation of nine Cerdà blocks, a square of 400 × 400 meters, suitable to establish the requirements of mobility, mixture of uses, and environmental quality (Rueda 2019). It is no surprise that this dimension coincides with the new urban grid proposed in the *Plan Macià* for Barcelona, presented in 1935 by Le Corbusier with the GATCPAC (Catalan group associated with the CIAM).

In fact, this rule of 400 meters has recently been developed by the experienced Salinargos research group in urban structure, proving the success of Cerdà's geometry:

Based on our observation of historic cities from different cultures, and the work carried out by the Italian morphologists... we propose that the maximum edge length for a sanctuary area (the area between major thoroughfares) is governed by a surprisingly small 400-metre rule. An extensive case-study research is presently being carried out by the authors that will provide empirical support to the '400-metre rule' idea ....

(Mehay et al. 2010: 23)

The search for the environmental unit dimensions in cities is relevant for the design of sustainable neighborhoods. Highlighting the comparative method in planning history, we can draw a conclusion: it is useful for urban design to re-interpret the geometry of Barcelona's Eixample (Solà-Morales, 1978). It is true that today Cerdà could criticize the existing density, ten times higher than he proposed. Not surprisingly, the neighborhood unit for Cerdà was made up of twenty-five blocks. The question as to ideal urban density remains open. A minimum density is necessary to guarantee urban life, but "nothing gained by overcrowding", as R. Unwin wrote (1912). We regard the 400-metre rule as a guideline for the human scale in the city; however, density management depends on each individual culture or specific situation.

### The Model and the Valley: Howard and Geddes' Echoes in the City-Region

"Today, it is sustainability which drives the new planning agenda", we read in *Towards an Urban Renaissance* (Urban Task Force 1999: 128). This report, led by Lord Richard Rogers, is recognized as a landmark for urban design at the beginning of this century. In its desire for a transition to sustainability, the report harshly rejected formless and deficient urban peripheries as a result of urban sprawl. However, for reshaping urban peripheries the report laid down as new the old polycentric model of the Garden City (Urban Task Force 1999: 25–26).

The regional perspective, in that report, is a scale reference for political action rather than the need to understand the city geography. The concept of "city-region" is practically absent: regional planning and urban planning seem to be two different activities. In fact, the meaning of Howard's Garden City model has a clear connection with the city's insertion in the territory. This is the reason why Osborn saw Unwin's replacement of the "Garden City" concept and its regional ambition with the easier idea of "Garden Suburb" as a betrayal (Osborn and Whittick 1963).

It is also possible to wonder why the most remarkable diagram among those proposed by Ebenezer Howard (1850–1928), his initially named "social city" (diagram 7, Howard 1898), does not appear in the second edition of his book. That extraordinary model, defined by a central city and six surrounding garden cities, with their middle spaces and connections, continues to fire the imagination of architects and planners. At least two factors must be taken into account: it is not a physical or spatial but a conceptual model; and it is not an urban scheme but a territorial concept. Howard was a social reformist with an outstanding concern for social justice and collaborative work. The city is the tool. With a tenuous geographical approach, he envisioned a healthier society with better working and living conditions in a singular intuition, his third magnet: the town–countryside symbiosis.

Close to that, with a pioneer ecological view, Patrick Geddes (1854–1932) also defended the regional perspective in spatial planning, today essential for city sustainability. Geddes considered

the city and its region, the human factors and the natural conditions and resources to be inseparable. The region embodied the organized knowledge of his “interdisciplinary perspective”, in which the city is a human organization rooted in history and environment. He introduced the “regional survey” (Geddes 1911), affirming the foundation of (today sustainable) urban planning in local geography.

The regional approach was even recognized by the CIAM Charter of Athens, but it barely progressed until ecology acquired relevance in spatial planning. The Geddesian idea of the “city in its region” evolved, with Lewis Mumford and the RPAA, to the “city-region” concept (Luccarelli 1995). When Mumford introduced the first edition of “Design with Nature” (McHarg, 1969), he placed the book in a family whose origin was in the Hippocratic tradition of “Airs, Waters and Places”. The Howard reformist perspective advanced in Geddes toward a “sense of place” determined by his relational thinking. The region is the sphere of human activities and relationships that create the city. Geddes and McHarg anticipated the current planning goals regarding the relationships between ecology, health and urban habitat.

The connection noted by Anne Whiston Spirn between the “valley sections” of these two Scottish planners (Spirn 2000) is apposite. It reflects a marvelous continuity of ideas. McHarg knew the work of Geddes, and he taught in Glasgow in 1952. However, Spirn remarks:

Though McHarg does not acknowledge him as an influence, Geddes’s “valley section” the model by which he organized his analysis of a city and its region... That Geddes’s work, its aims and methods, prefigured much of McHarg’s does not diminish McHarg’s contribution, but failure to appreciate the importance of Geddes’s work as a precedent is telling. (Spirn 2000: 102)

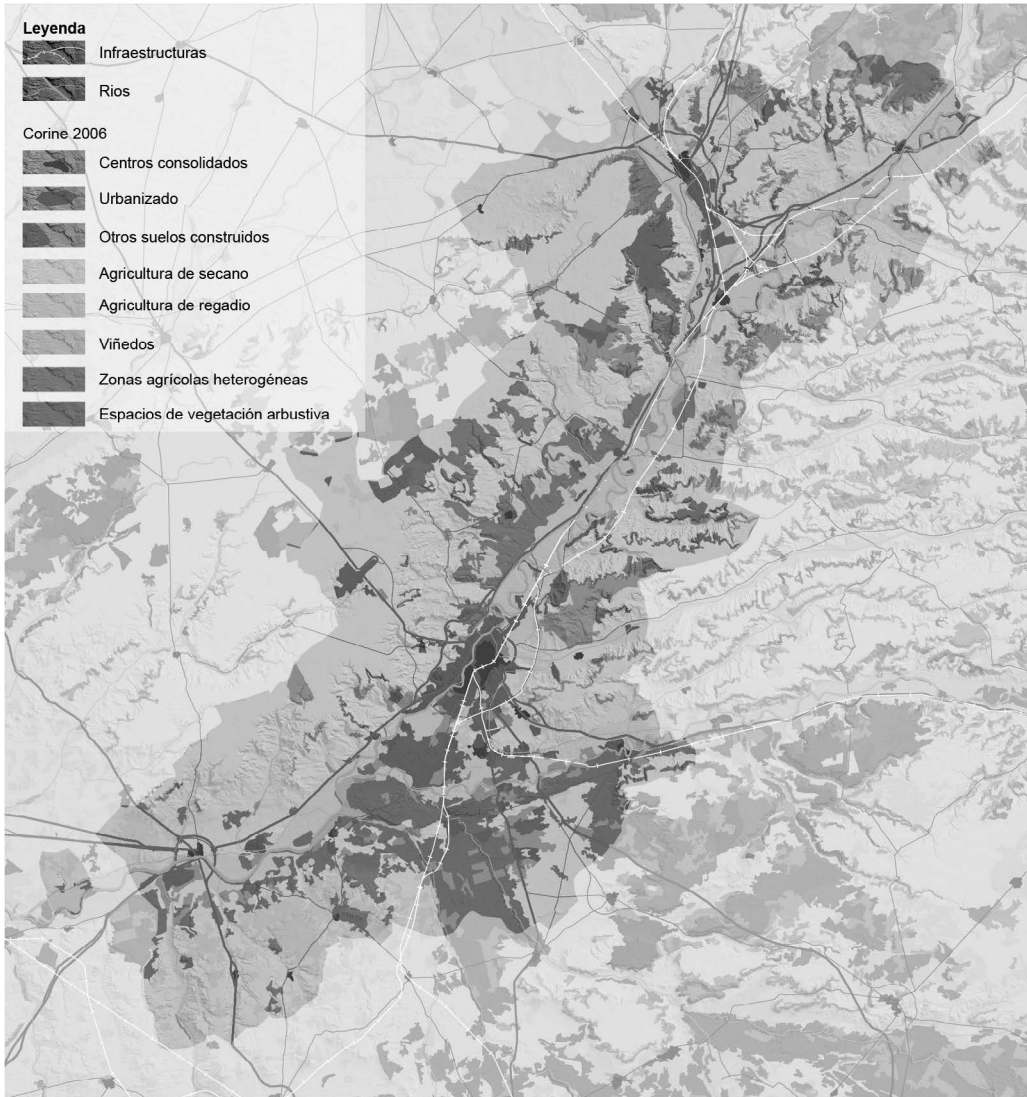
Indeed, this disconnection is revealing. They both advance in the same direction because they both share the need to go further in their common commitment to an integrated understanding of the city place. The river basin expresses the regional approach to read the city that unfolds in the valley. They did not have another alternative. Like a historian but also like a landscaper, Spirn perceives how intuition merges with knowledge in planning thanks to the ecological focus.

Howard, Geddes and McHarg anticipated, with others and in different ways, the approach to sustainability in cities from the regional dimension (Figure 2.8.3). Beyond historical continuity in planning ideas, the city’s connection with its regional geography is a way to create a suitable spatial framework for the imagining of the urban.

### **The New and the Old in Historical Cities: Giovannoni’s Legacy**

It was François Choay who established the relevance of Gustavo Giovannoni (1873–1947) in European urban culture. To Choay, Giovannoni would be decisive in the invention of “urban heritage” (Choay 1999). Hardly known outside of Italy, his recovery has had to overcome the oblivion to which he was subjected after the Second World War because of his closeness to Fascism. The contradictions of the post-war understanding of urban heritage, in a period of reconstruction dominated by functionalism, increased the distance to Giovannoni’s conservative approach to architecture and the city.

Highly cultivated, this architect, civil engineer and historian was also an important scholar of the University of Rome and a recognized heritage preservation and urbanism practitioner. Today he is mainly noted as a restoration theorist, with a remarkable role in the promotion of



**FIGURE 2.8.3** The Pisuerga Valley, in the Valladolid-Palencia industrial corridor (Spain). The “valley” as a field of territorial analysis remains from Patrick Geddes.

Source: Juan Luis de las Rivas and Mario Paris, 2013.

the first Charter of “*restauro*” (restoration), accorded in 1931 in Athens. But Giovannoni’s vision about heritage was extended to the entire urban realm, with an innovative understanding of the role of historical centers in the future of Italian cities.

Modern urbanism had slowly permeated Italy in the 1930s. Italian urbanism during this period was dominated by the Fascist regime just before the war, marked by two contradictory experiences: planned towns, like the Agro Pontino new villages and the EUR in Rome, and an intense urban renewal in historical centers. The new urbanism is posed vis-à-vis historical revival. In the two cases, the scenery prevailed over the theoretical reflection.

Sabaudia is perhaps the best known of the newly founded rural towns created by the sanitation strategy (*bonifica*) for swampy areas in the Lazio Region. Several of the most relevant Italian

urban planners of the post-war period, like Luigi Piccinato, participated in Sabaudia. It had an advanced urban design, capable of adapting both the garden city and the German working-class neighborhoods to the Italian rural environment. At the same time, it introduced a peculiar rationalist space marked by the Italian monumental tradition. Meanwhile, Giuseppe Pagano and Edoardo Persico had proposed the “Programma, 1933” (Casabella, 1932), a prominent effort to decipher the new codes of modern architecture. All the contradictions between tradition and innovation emerged in the imposed monumentality of the more representative projects, with a simplified neoclassical style. Not in vain, for as Giovannoni expressed, “*the conciliation between modernization and conservation*” can only be possible from “*the base of solid competences and a deep culture*” (Finotto 2001: 228)

Since the end of the 19th century, hygienic laws had guided transformative interventions in the historical centers of Italy. This argument was maintained in order to justify destructive actions in the principal historical centers. The panorama was dominated by Marcello Piacentini and his followers: demolitions of the historical cities’ cores, named “*sventramenti*” (destructions of the urban belly), for introducing the monumentality demanded by Fascism.

Far from this imposed urban renewal was the technique of “*diradamento*” (thinning out, the action of cleaning urban fabric) proposed by Giovannoni:

He acknowledged the need for public health and circulation; as such, he was not against demolitions per se, but rather against the indiscriminate destruction of buildings. He developed guidelines for a more sensitive approach to the old urban core, specifying not only what should not be done but also what should be done.

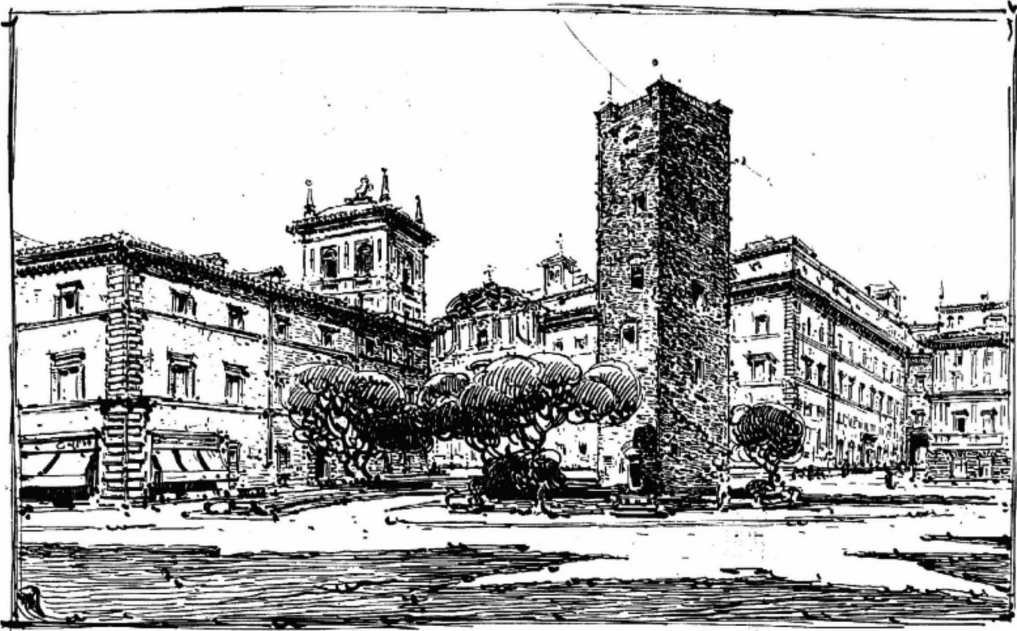
(Zucconi 2014: 79)

Very close to the idea of “conservative surgery” that Patrick Geddes had developed for Edinburgh’s old town, *diradamento* offered an intermediate path between rigid conservation and simplistic renewal. In commitment to historical continuity, it was an urban program in which the restoration of historical buildings becomes compatible with the clearance of old slums. Working in the *Quartiere del Rinascimento* in Rome, around 1910, Giovannoni discovered in this selective tactic the convergence between building restoration and urban planning, in a city where modern planning perspectives were uncommon.

The book “*Vecchie città ed edilizia nuova*” (Giovannoni 1931) was the first modern handbook of urban planning in Italy (Finotto 2001). Giovannoni was worried about the adaptability of the existing cities to the new demands of mobility and the improvement of living conditions. As a result of his experience, he understood the city as a whole and discovered the need to recognize the role of history in its planning. It was not only love or nostalgia for Italian history, but the recognition of the complexity and the potential of the historical urban fabric in the future of the city (Saviero Muratori was one of his students). Like Geddes, Giovannoni viewed the historical city as “the ideal place for commingling old (through preservation) and new (through creation), at the same time that he sought to minimize the discord between art and technique” (Zucconi 2014: 79). If we keep a certain distance from his picturesque taste, his concept of “*ambiente*” is today a useful reference for sustainable regeneration projects. The correct translation of Italian *ambiente* is not exactly environment. The Italian concept is more perceptive, closer to the notions of atmosphere or ambience, better related to contemporary urban design.

Current historiography has rescued the idea of an alternative modernity, to which Giovannoni could be enrolled. His open vision of the future did not neglect his preference for the tradition of Italian architecture; however, stylistic factors apart, he was not an anti-modernist. The tactical





**FIGURE 2.8.4** Isolation of a medieval tower named Sanguigna, intervention not performed. Drawing of Giovannoni for explaining the “*piano di diradamento*”.

Source: Zucconi (2014: 80), [Figure 2.8.2](#). Gustavo Giovannoni in “*Vecchie città ed edilizia nuova*”, in *Nuova Antologia*, June 1, 1911.

tool of *diradamento*, with a selective attitude for dealing with ancient quarters, but also the strategic revision of old centers like vital spaces of integrated functions, maintain their topicality ([Figure 2.8.4](#)).

The historical urban fabric is, in its complexity and *per se*, a distinctive component of quality in our urban life, regardless of the heritage value of certain monumental fragments of the past city. As Choay pointed out, the contradictory debate between creativity and fidelity in cultural production has a particular mirror in the course of urbanization. The question about how the new appears in our existing cities will always be open. In the presence of Giovannoni, the expectations of sustainable urban regeneration will also be burdened with the unavoidable nostalgia.

### Conclusive Hypothesis: Affinities Versus Long *Durée* in Urban Design

Today, issues such as sustainable mobility, energy efficiency, affordable housing, green infrastructure and smart governance dominate the debate on urban sustainability. However, the “Leipzig Charter on Sustainable European Cities” also contains a unique and non-innocent mention of “the necessity of a ‘*baukultur*’ for the city as a whole”:

Baukultur is to be understood in the broadest sense of the word, as the sum of all the cultural, economic, technological, social and ecological aspects influencing the quality and process of planning and construction.

(Leipzig Charter 2017: 3)

Planning history belongs to that *baukultur*. The main issue resides in discovering how the past can help us to think the future (Hein 2018). In episodes like the ones discussed here, there is a path of response: in the geometry and dimensions of proximity, with Cerdà, Buchanan, and Rueda; in the regional survey for supporting city planning, with Howard, Geddes, and McHarg; or in the selective interventions in the old urban fabric, understanding the city as a whole, with Giovannoni. These three urban concepts, here explained only in outline, belong to a specific design culture, a result of interaction between architecture, infrastructure planning and urban planning, and especially attentive with regard to public spaces and quality in the living environment. They represent the *long durée* of good ideas in planning and the potential connection between history, theory and practice in urban design.

For the Leipzig Charter, sustainable urban design must be integrated and inclusive. With emphasis, it ties “integrated urban development” to the priority of action in the “deprived urban areas”. These preferences are very close to Cerdà, Geddes or Giovannoni. Sustainability is not only a program, a field of desire; it also has to be the scenario to improve urban design practices. Alongside the better urban experiences and good practices, Western *baukultur* is also an open archive into which we can inquire permanently.

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## **PART 3**

# Interpretation of the Twentieth Century Planning History



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# 3.1

## IS THERE A *EUROPEAN* PLANNING TRADITION?

*Stephen V. Ward*

It is widely acknowledged that Europe was the main setting for the emergence of modern urban planning. From around the mid-nineteenth century, there were important initiatives across the continent to regulate and shape urban space. Fundamentally, these were a response to the unprecedented growth and concentration of economic activity and people within cities, raising multiple problems of health, efficiency and social order. Together the various palliative measures adopted became the main constituent parts of what by the early twentieth century had become a distinct activity that combined reformist impulses with technical expertise. The story was not entirely European because the USA certainly helped invent this new practice. Yet it did so leaning heavily on European precedents, much more so initially than European countries drew upon it. Some imperial territories of the European powers also had supporting roles. However, these roles were largely orchestrated from the hearts of those empires in Europe.

The relative importance of these different world regions in the further elaboration of planning practice, policy and theory has clearly shifted substantially over subsequent decades. Throughout, however, the countries of Europe have continued to be central in this history. Behind this continuing role, however, lies an important question: how meaningful is it to speak of a *European* planning tradition? Or has it actually been a concentration within the continent of different national traditions that have interacted and cross-fertilized but ultimately remained distinct and separate? Further, has the position changed over time, with the notion of a European as opposed to the different national traditions growing more (or less) salient over time?

The first problem when addressing these questions is that it is unclear what we mean by 'Europe' in either a physical or cultural sense (particularly the latter). Even the physical dividing line between Europe and Asia within the vast Eurasian landmass is a rather arbitrary one, cutting through several individual countries. The continent's limits are far less definite than those of Africa, Australia or the Americas. Much has been made of the richness of Europe's cultural heritage, rooted in the classical Greco-Roman and the Judæo-Christian traditions and the movements that subsequently flowed from them. Yet no one could claim that what has sprung up from these roots has been a homogeneous or monolithic strand of cultural expression. Nor do these traditions even cover the entirety of European cultural experience with, for example, Islamism having deep European roots and contributing much to its cultural and intellectual prowess. Paradoxically, it seems that diversity is itself a defining characteristic of Europe's cultural heritage. There is also a wider problem because the construction of Europe as a cultural

phenomenon has been a major part of Western culture. By definition, this Western-/European-ness has become global rather than continental in its spatial extent. In short, therefore, there is no simple, broad definition of 'Europe' that can be invoked.

## Transport and Communications Improvements and European Convergence

It is more useful to address our central problem from the other direction, by examining specific aspects of planning's modern history in Europe. Doing this, it becomes immediately clear that the extent of planning's commonality within Europe has reflected the contradictory effects of both powerful convergent *and* divergent forces. Chief amongst the convergent forces when modern planning emerged and was elaborated in Europe were the major improvements occurring in the continent's transport and communications. Like planning itself, such improvements were not uniquely European, but their initial appearance and network density came earlier, and was greater within Europe than in any other comparable multinational region in the world. Most notable among early improvements was the creation of extensive railway systems (Caruana-Galizia and Martí-Henneberg 2013) but, at much the same time, there were equivalent developments in regular and reliable international shipping services. Similarly, it was around the same date that the process of printing also became highly mechanized. Additionally, mass postal and electric telegraph systems were also appearing.

All these drew the countries of Europe together during the later nineteenth century as never before. Having easier means of contact facilitated full and rapid exchange of the new planning knowledge across the continent (Ward 2002). Early planning literature was produced, disseminated and, in many cases, translated into other languages. Personal contacts were made and consolidated; extensive knowledge and skill networks were developed. Visits by individuals and groups to inspect key sites of early planning interest occurred and conference delegates and exhibition visitors could exchange ideas and practices with others from elsewhere. The overall effect was that planning ideas and practices which had originated in one European country soon became known elsewhere in the continent (and elsewhere, though usually more slowly). This fairly rapid circulation of knowledge was helped hugely by a remarkable removal of barriers to the international movement of people, literature and capital (Torpey 2000). In 1861, the French government abandoned the need for passports to enter the country, starting a wider trend. By 1913, it was possible for a British citizen to travel to most parts of the world without needing a passport. (Yet the exceptions, the Ottoman and Russian Empires, were partially European ones.)

This freedom of movement went on the outbreak of war in 1914, never to return in quite such a free form. However, the effects of institutional constraints were partly counteracted because the physical possibilities for international travel and communication continued to expand. By the 1930s, a few planners were travelling by air within Europe, an experience that became more common after 1945. Air was also beginning to be used to carry international postal communications from the 1930s. International telephone use in Europe grew from the 1950s though was little used for international planning-related communication until much later. The most recent change to communications networks arose when the electronic computer which had developed gradually from the 1940s was combined with telecommunications. This enabled the emergence of electronic mail and the internet which became widely available in the more affluent countries during the 1990s.

No longer, however, were the linking effects of these new modes as disproportionately great in their effects on Europe compared to other parts of the world. Certainly, they linked European countries very efficiently with each other but, importantly, they also connected them even more

effectively than previously possible with others in other continents. Thus, European links with the USA improved hugely after reliable jet air travel appeared in the later 1950s, with palpable effects for the transatlantic circulation of planning information and expertise. The USA became the major alternative source of knowledge for European planners beyond their own continent, especially those with a sufficient understanding of the English language.

## Nationalism as a Divisive Force within Europe

If growing possibilities of intercontinental communication could bring a relative decline in the importance of some links within Europe, other forces were more directly divergent. Despite planning ideas and practices having many transnational features, they were realized and converted into actual policies and actions within the narrower institutional boxes that were individual nation states. Symptomatic of the manifold national ‘brands’ of planning was the proliferation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries of each European language’s neologism for the new activity. It was at this time that the terms *städtebau*, *stadtplanung*, town planning, *urbanisme*, *stedebouw*, *stadsplanering*, *urbanistica*, *urbanismo* and others first appeared. Linguistic familial affinities were clearly apparent which also suggested at least some underlying national relationships of planning thought and practice within Europe (Hein 2018).

It was no chance coincidence that planning emerged and largely developed during what is usually regarded as ‘the age of nationalism’. During the nineteenth and for much of the twentieth centuries, the nation state came to be widely regarded as the ideal institutional basis of effective, progressive and enlightened governance. It was a pattern that had emerged first in Western and parts of Central Europe, with nations such as Britain, France and Germany perceived as models of advanced governance based on national self-determination. By the later nineteenth century, becoming a forward-looking independent nation state was seen as an essential foundation to be properly ‘European’, especially so for subordinated peoples living in the Austro-Hungarian, Russian and Ottoman Empires.

The new ideas and practices of planning were a significant element of this idealization of the progressive nation state, testament to its capacity for wise and careful governance. Planning became part of national political, usually reformist, discourses, to be embedded in national laws and articulated in detailed urban policies. The mainstream of planning within most European countries in the early decades of the twentieth century largely reflected the ideals of liberal nationalism. Under such regimes, political legitimacy was secured via elective parliamentary democracies that were at least moving toward universal adult voting rights. Similar principles, often more advanced than those at the national level, were also to be applied in the governance of cities, with well-administered local governments and policies for their development. Like nationalism itself, however, planning soon proved capable of serving more conservative, authoritarian and altogether less-enlightened ends.

Nationalism in all its forms, even at its most liberal, was also capable of competitive rivalries and even lethal conflicts with competing nationalisms or transnational imperialisms. The signs were already evident in the continental wars of the later nineteenth century but became quite unmistakable in the two world wars of the twentieth. The emergence of new European nation states after 1919 marked the high point of belief in liberal nationalism as a progressive force. Significantly, planning was a way first to assert (before 1914) and then express (after 1918) these new national identities. During these years such tendencies were clearly apparent in planning for cities such as Helsinki, Krakow, Tallinn, Prague and Ankara (e.g., Purchla 1999; Kacar 2010; Hallas-Murula 2017) as they embraced these new discourses and principles of urban planning.



The hopes and aspirations of the new nation states can be glimpsed in the plans of this period for these cities.

## Overseas Imperialism and European Planning

Yet nationalism was not inherently an enemy of empires. While multiple new nation states appeared from the ashes of the former continental empires, extensive empires outside the continent remained a marked feature of the more outward-facing nation states of west central Europe. At various times, these nations had sought economic opportunities and strategic power in overseas imperial territories on other continents. By the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the possession of colonies had come to be seen as a desirable attribute of a successful nation state. It became a new area of rivalry (and occasionally, conflict) between Europe's nation states.

Partly because of this, overseas imperialism came to have an important place in the history of European planning. This occurred in several distinct ways. Most obviously the new ideas and practices of modern planning could be deployed in colonial contexts to facilitate economic exploitation and effective administration. Depending on how skillfully it was used, modern planning's image as a progressive and reformist policy could be deployed to lend these qualities to imperialism itself. It was a new way to appear to take 'civilization' to 'backward lands' (or, in less charitable words, to white the sepulcher of the exploitative and repressive project that imperialism actually was). How successfully the different European countries did this in their imperial possessions became an important symbol of advanced imperial practice, another source of status rivalry amongst European countries.

Major projects such as the British creating the new planned Indian imperial capital of New Delhi or France's pioneering of planning in its new protectorate of Morocco (both begun shortly before 1914) set new standards for this 'enlightened' version of imperialism (e.g., Wright 1991; Home 2013). More directly relevant to planning within Europe was that imperial planning was a valuable test-bed on which the possibilities of planning could be rehearsed in less politically contested settings where planners could have a freer hand than in the cities at the hearts of empires. Many leading planners in various European states up to at least the 1960s had 'cut their teeth' in their country's colonial possessions.

Imperialism thus played an important part in Europe's planning history, one common to many, though certainly not all, of its nations. It engendered links between nation states and their empires outside Europe, rather than with their European neighbors. On some occasions, imperial rivalries became a further source of tension and even conflict between them. And, by providing colonial canvases on which each imperial power could elaborate their planning approach more freely than was possible in their European homeland, it also helped foster larger differences between the planning approaches of different European countries. As such imperialism became another divergent force, differentiating rather than bringing together the planning approaches of the nations of Europe.

## Wars and Planning in Europe

The wars through which aspiring and ambitious national states sought recognition, identity and greater European power or territory while opposing nations or empires sought to frustrate them also damaged the sense of a common European approach to urban planning. Territories that were conquered became subject to the brand of planning favored by the victors rather than an approach determined collaboratively with the vanquished. Yet this is not to say that combatant

nations did not sometimes try to learn about, even emulate, the planning of their enemies. This was the case in the Second World War, when both German and British planners, for example, went to some lengths to find out what those on the other side were doing in order to inform and potentially improve their own approach. Neutral capitals, notably Stockholm, were places where plans and planning literature published by the other side could be acquired. Refugee planners from the Nazi regime became a useful source of planning intelligence on Germany for the British and Americans.

But these were not the major impacts of any war. Its circumstances overwhelmingly threw enemies apart and drew allies together. Knowledge about planning (and much else) circulated far more effectively between allies than with the enemy. Since these allies were not in the two world wars of the twentieth century exclusively European, then the impact of wars was doubly weakening of the sense of a European approach. Not only were they profoundly disruptive to any sense of the cohesiveness of Europe, but combatant nations strengthened their links to their allies outside the continent. At least some of these connections became more salient than some of those within it.

Although widespread active war in Europe ceased after 1945, a new hostility, the Cold War, soon followed, splitting the continent into two heavily armed camps. Lasting until the early 1990s, it never involved active conflict but allowed important differences to grow between urban planning on each side of the 'Iron Curtain' that separated them. A few countries, particularly Yugoslavia and Finland, stood (in different ways) partly between the two sides. Otherwise, this new West–East split was another major schism within the continent.

From the mid-1950s, however, after Stalin's death, there were genuine attempts to make connections between planners on each side. Before then, differences had been most striking, with the monumental, neo-classical approach of Soviet bloc socialist realist planning contrasting sharply with western approaches broadly derived from modernist principles and the garden city tradition (Åman 1992). Such differences did not disappear after Stalin but similar industrialized building technologies were used in the housing programs on both sides (Smith 2010). Western experience in planning new satellite towns was also admired and drawn on in the Soviet bloc (Cook, Ward and Ward 2014). The end of the Cold War in the early 1990s saw a greater shift of western approaches but some previous distinctions persisted, especially in the former Soviet Union itself. Nor has planning been immune to the consequences of the serious nationalist rivalries which have (re-)appeared in parts of former communist Europe.

### **Cohesive Aspects within European Planning**

Despite these many sources of divergence and national differences within European planning, they held some possibilities for continental cohesion. For all their divisive effects, wars and especially reconstruction were common European experiences, giving ample opportunities for planners and reformers in different countries to reach out to each other and share their experiences. From an early stage, there were also more conscious efforts to bring together planners of different nationalities. Thus a formal international planning network organization, the International Garden Cities and Town Planning Association, the precursor of the present International Federation of Housing and Planning (and undergoing several name changes over time) was formed in 1913 (Geertse 2012; Allan 2013). Other international organizations for roads (1909) and local government (1913), which were highly relevant to planning, were established at much the same time and an international body promoting modernist architecture and planning appeared in 1928. Despite their wider geographical aspirations, all were Europe-centered during their first decades.

As might be anticipated, the effectiveness of these organizations declined markedly in both world wars but they certainly brought planners and related professions together mainly across Europe during the interwar years and after 1945. Sometimes, certainly, their gatherings highlighted international differences. One was the prolonged British attachment to the garden city in contrast to the stronger continental interest in more varied forms of collective housing. A more serious division arose when the International Federation of Housing and Town Planning (as it was then called) came under German control after 1938 and was actively used to foster the wartime Nazi vision of a 'New Order' for Europe. An alternative free Federation was started in Britain as a rallying point for planners in the occupied countries. Yet, aside from such divergences, these organizations generally encouraged more cohesive approaches for the continent rather than being narrowly nationalistic or sectional.

Over time, the history of planning and related areas of public policy in Europe's nations also showed broad similarities. These were more intangible or, if tangible, less about the detail or specific form than more general characteristics. Even if planning ideas and practices were consciously borrowed, the results have almost never involved exact cloning. Thus, although the garden city concept (to take an apparently ubiquitous example) touched all parts of Europe, its national and local realizations varied greatly, even in neighboring countries. Rather than there being such specific forms or models of planning across Europe, there were similar conceptions of planning as an integral part of urban governance, supported to varying degrees by public investment in urban development. These conceptions became deeply embedded and widely implemented across the continent during the post-1945 years. Whether in the capitalist social democracies (and the capitalist dictatorships) of Western Europe or the communist people's democracies of the Soviet bloc or the 'in-between' states this broad approach took root, seemingly to a greater extent than in any other continent.

## The European Project and Planning

In Western Europe, this broad position became the point of departure for the supranational project of Europe which took shape after 1945. Initially having little relevance for urban planning, its concerns gradually acquired spatial and urban dimensions. From 1972, the European Economic Commission initiated its own environmental policies and from 1975, policies for regional development. Yet an overtly urban dimension did not appear until after 1989. This urban focus grew as the Commission expanded to include more countries and in 1993 showed its full ambition of supranational, Europe-wide governance, becoming the European Union. Considerable national diversity of planning approaches persisted, however. Important studies of the 1990s/early 2000s identified four ideal-type models of national approach in EU countries – the 'comprehensive integrated model', the 'land use management model', the 'regional economic planning model' and the 'urbanism model' (CEC 1997; Dühr, Colomb and Nadin 2010). Individual countries typically showed a unique mix of these ideal types, though usually favoring one (or sometimes two).

In 1994, the important URBAN program was launched. This saw the creation of mutual-learning networks in urban areas around the EU tackling common aspects of urban social and community development. From 2002, the URBACT programs subsequently continued and expanded this approach, focusing on facets of urban regeneration. Although these programs have remained primarily concerned with urban social and economic policies, they have certainly impinged on urban planning, broadly defined. Yet, despite their emphasis on Europe-wide cross-national learning, these programs have encouraged only limited policy convergence (Carpenter *et al.* 2020).

Additionally, there were several transnational cross-border regional initiatives to coordinate spatial development. In the 1990s, the EU came closest (to date) to direct involvement in actual urban and regional planning, hitherto a competency left at national and sub-national levels. The ambition was apparent in the European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP), prepared from 1993 to 1999 (Williams 1999). This promoted balanced and sustainable development across EU territory. Its broad aims were economic and social cohesion; conservation and management of natural resources and cultural heritage; and more spatially balanced competitiveness. Behind it lay hopes of a full EU spatial planning competency to harness and coordinate individual EU sectoral policies in their spatial expression. This never materialized, however, so the ESDP remained only a 'perspective'. It was implemented (or supposed to be) through sectoral policies and via national and subnational policies. In other words, it remained advisory and persuasive.

Ultimately then the EU has not so far challenged national responsibilities for urban and spatial planning in other than indirect ways. Even so, it has been a convergent force in harmonizing thinking and discourse about urban planning across the continent. In a relatively short period, it has affected the ways that urban and spatial problems are understood and policies framed and implemented in Europe, even beyond EU boundaries. As never before, it has also routinized the notion of mutuality and drawing on wider Europe-wide experience in urban policies and planning. In URBAN/URBACT programs, for example, urban policy professionals and decision makers have regularly engaged with their peers in other European countries.

Recently there have been serious challenges to the EU, reflecting issues such as immigration and refugees, a rise of nationalist political sentiments and the secession of the United Kingdom from the EU. Yet, despite these things and the continued absence of a formal Europe-level planning competency, the EU continues to be the main recent factor encouraging a distinctly *European* notion of planning.

## Conclusions

Since the second half of the nineteenth century, as modern urban planning was starting to take shape, to today, contradictory forces of convergence and divergence have been operating in the continent. For many years, Europe was a diverse collection of distinct nationalities – and, to a substantial extent, it still is. Immense improvements in the transport and communications infrastructures drew the continent together to a greater extent than any other multi-national world region. It was, however, individual nationalities and nation states that, especially after 1919, were the usual institutions for governance within the continent. Certainly, the nation states soon shared wider assumptions about the extent to which and the way they should be shaping their cities and regions. Yet they framed and implemented these intentions in distinctly national ways. They referred to and learned from each other and also showed certain cultural affinities and path dependencies in the kind of planning they adopted – the Latin, Germanic, Nordic, etc. Within the wider European movement promoting planning, there was also no shortage of individuals with internationalist outlooks and aspirations. But, at the same time, the continent has remained prone to nationalistic and other rivalries, frictions and conflicts, especially so in the first half of the twentieth century.

How then should we answer the questions posed at the outset? Doubtless other commentators could weigh the evidence differently. To this one, however, it seems that Europe still presents a diversity of primarily national planning traditions. Many efforts have been made to learn of and from the experience of others. But only in recent decades, inspired by the EU work concerning urban and spatial development policies, has there been anything approaching a common European planning tradition. Yet unless the EU assumes a full spatial planning competency

(which at present seems highly unlikely) then Europe will primarily remain a series of national planning traditions. As in so many other respects, the planning interest of Europe lies in the sheer variety it presents within a relatively concentrated world region.

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# 3.2

## EUROPEAN PLANNING HISTORY IN THE 20TH CENTURY AS A REFLEXIVE CONCEPT

*Harald Bodenschatz*

The professional concept of the history of *Städtebau* is of exceptional importance. It decides what we perceive and what we ignore, but also how we perceive something, which points we focus on, what we leave in the dark or in the shade. It thus not only decides on the type of understanding of the object examined but also on the quality of the scientific investigation itself. Our concept of the history of *Städtebau* must therefore not only be carefully conceived but also continually scrutinized.

My starting point is the simple question: what is *Städtebau*? A formal product, a social process, an object to be analyzed, an academic discipline, a practice-oriented profession, a material process? In contrast to *urban planning*, *urban design*, *urbanism*, *urbanisme*, *urbanistica*, *urbanismo*, *urbanização*, etc.<sup>1</sup> the German word *Städtebau* actually covers all of these meanings. *Städtebau* is a German term that is difficult to translate. In the following, it will therefore be left untranslated.

The broad spectrum of the term *Städtebau* is at the same time a challenge – it enforces an extraordinary complexity of the concept of *Städtebau*. In my contribution, I shall first discuss my own concept of *Städtebau* and then present some considerations concerning the concept of the history of European *Städtebau*.<sup>2</sup>

### **Product, Production, Relationships of Production, Propaganda**

Although *Städtebau* is a long-established term, there is no generally accepted understanding of its meaning. The meanings associated with this term vary according to author, region and point in time. Different disciplinary perspectives lead to different areas of focus and “built” *Städtebau* is not at all the same thing as “written” *Städtebau*. *Städtebau* is therefore a term that is highly controversial. It oscillates between a practical and academic orientation, between an economic and an artistic focus, between urban architecture and “scientific” urban planning, between urban expansion and urban renewal, between cities and rural areas, between abstract rules for a “good city” and concrete projects. The term *Städtebau* reflects controversies, for example, between architects and town planners, but also among architects and among town planners. Furthermore, the background situation of our understanding of this term has changed considerably since the beginning of the 20th century. Our understanding of the term *Städtebau* is itself a reflection of, and a witness to, the history of our profession and subprofessions. It is therefore also an

important part of the history of *Städtebau*. All this must be taken into consideration when we are struggling to find a suitable concept for the history of *Städtebau*.

I understand *Städtebau* first and foremost as built *Städtebau* form, that is, as a formal *product*, that develops its qualities and its deficiencies in use. Products are the realized *Städtebau* ensembles, buildings of *Städtebau* importance, groups of buildings, quarters and settlements, entire towns or cities and urban regions, villages and landscapes, and also traffic infrastructure and industrial plants, reservoirs and green areas, educational facilities, camps of all kinds, military installations and prison complexes. Every *Städtebau* product is utilized – not always in the way intended by the actors who created the product. Utilization has different dimensions. Sometimes it is clearly defined with regard to either the use or the user, for example in the case of motorways, airports and stadiums. As a rule, however, it is more or less flexible – less, for example, in pedestrian zones and tourism centers, and more in most urban spaces and streets. The size of the use-value of a product depends not only on its formal quality. Economic and social mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion raise or lower the use-value for particular social groups. In addition, the desired or proclaimed use-value is not at all the same as the realized use-value.

*Städtebau* also includes the processes that have led to these products, that is, their *production*. This comprises the organization of *Städtebau* projects, the small and large-scale plans, the contests, the composition of the juries, the design work, but above all the building process itself, the reconstruction and expansion of the cities – for example, the modernization of the centers, housing construction, the creation of parks and gardens, the construction of educational facilities, the building of streets and squares, the modernization of traffic infrastructure and the building of new rural settlements. In this understanding of the term *Städtebau* town planning is a part of the production of towns or cities. It is an – important – phase of the process of the preparation of a *Städtebau* project, at least in the period following the First World War. The *Städtebau* project is not always derived from a plan, however, and does not always have the appearance of public responsibility. The plan itself can also certainly be developed privately. *Städtebau* as an active process has many fathers and mothers: professional experts, builders, politicians, administrators, but also civil society initiatives that are active in favor of, or against, a particular project.

Finally, *Städtebau* includes the relationships that have made this process possible, the city's *relationships of production*. These comprise the organization and formation of the professional world – such as professional associations, specialist journals, the most important specialist books – as well as the structure of the building contractors and the participating institutions, the role of the state, of the local authorities or the private sector as builder and organizer, but also the legal framework, the possibility of the seizure of private residential property and real estate, the funding and mobilization of resources in general. They also include the dominant catalog of objectives in each case, whether this is a long-term social and economic development strategy or the construction of a glorious past. In other words, the individual power relationships and hegemonic interests define the framework for the *Städtebau*.

In this concept, the form taken by *Städtebau*, therefore, constitutes the nucleus of *Städtebau*, but it can only be understood if it is regarded not only as a form. It makes sense, and is necessary, to differentiate analytically between *Städtebau*'s products, production and relationships of production. These three aspects must not be isolated, however, but must be regarded in a common context. Only by examining the relationships between production and the production process can we understand why and how the products could be created in the first place, or why and how they failed, what functions they served, why they were designed in a particular way and what uses they make possible and for whom.

Specific *Städtebau* projects are not limited to their individual location. They are at the same time a promise for a better city elsewhere, a propagated example, a promise for the future,

and this, namely, not only in their realized form but also in their drawn and verbalized forms. One prominent example of this is the project of the Palace of the Soviets, which – although it was never realized – not only greatly influenced *Städtebau* in Moscow but was even exported. *Städtebau* projects are also a promise for the future even if they appear to emphasize the opposite by paying homage to a constructed glorious past. The archaeological *Städtebau* in Rome during the fascist dictatorship is the most prominent instance of this – for example, with regard to the importance of the colosseum. The cultural devaluation of undesirable products of *Städtebau* is the downside of the commitment to a better city – the implicit promise to overcome the bad city, and even to remove it by means of demolition. One of the most famous examples of this is the polemic against the so-called city of tenement buildings in Berlin that began before the First World War, was pursued for many decades and finally led to the widespread demolitions of the 1960s. In other words, *Städtebau*, both as the triumphal proclamation of the new and as the invocation of the old, serves the same objective: the orientation toward a desired new, future city. In this respect, *Städtebau* is also an instrument for the mobilization of approval. It can be used to demonstrate superiority, aggression and social exclusion, but also the imperial greatness of the nation concerned. Forms of propaganda are, for example, exhibitions, conferences and media campaigns, but also specialist books and journals. Propaganda always also touches upon interests – not least the interests of the profession itself. The embittered fights between the different camps over cultic examples of *Städtebau* increase or diminish the chances of success of entire groups of specialists. Nevertheless, propaganda and the associated cultural evaluations should not be condemned a priori. They are a part of every culture. The content, motives and form of the propaganda are decisive, and these have to be clarified. It must not be forgotten here that the effects of propaganda are not always those that are desired.

All the dimensions of *Städtebau* mentioned above – product, production, the relationships of production and propaganda – are subject to continual change, although at different speeds. The relationships of production change only in the long term, production is a short to medium-term process depending on the product and, in turn, the product itself can vary quite considerably depending on its type: the boundaries of landed property often remain unchanged for centuries, as do the position of streets and squares, houses are relatively long-lasting, whereas the specific design of streets and squares is short lived. All the products have in common that their use changes over time. Use, finally, includes the way in which the product itself is treated, its adaptation to changing requirements by means of modernization and alteration, but also its demolition or destruction in war. Despite the considerable dimensions of the destruction of all kinds this field of *Städtebau* usually plays only a marginal role in the discourse.

Even the importance of the different dimensions of *Städtebau* varies considerably when they are observed over time. Whereas in the course of time the relationships of production and the processes fade or are forgotten or appear unimportant, the structural elements of the products – property boundaries, buildings, streets and squares – are often preserved over long periods although their use and details of their design are under constant change. Both the qualities and the deficiencies of the product become clear in these changes even though they – no matter how clear they appear to be – are certainly not defined forever. This also includes the function of a *Städtebau* product as a testimonial to history. The career of historical constructions can be observed not only in on-site investigations but can also even be recognized in the scientific debate. Both aspects are the result, and a part, of memorial policy discourses. *Städtebau* is therefore always, and from the very beginning, conveyed in terms of time. In this respect, the history of *Städtebau* is an essential part of any research on *Städtebau*.

Observing the temporal dimension of *Städtebau* relates not only to the different speeds of the dimensions of *Städtebau*, but it also points out elementary research questions, which – if they are



solved convincingly – appear to be so self-evident that they do not stand out as an achievement. Among these is, for example, the periodization of *Städtebau*. A balanced periodization of dictatorial *Städtebau* – whether in the Soviet Union, Italy, Spain or Portugal – presents a complex insight that makes simplifications difficult. The determination of the phases of the production of a *Städtebau* project enables a much more precise knowledge of the product than an exclusively formal description. And the history of the use of *Städtebau* products relativizes many certainties in the evaluation of a product. In the following, however, I wish to examine only one point somewhat more closely, a point which, however, in my opinion, is of particular importance for a concept of the history of *Städtebau*. It is the economic typology of *Städtebau* in a broader sense.

### Private Sector, Municipal and State-Controlled *Städtebau*

European *Städtebau* has had a hard zigzag career in the last 150 years. The emergence of large cities before the First World War, the greatest innovation in *Städtebau*, was managed as a rule by the *private sector* – by large land companies, private transport companies and – as their financial backbone – the major banks. The public authorities only defined the basic rules, for example by building line plans or building regulations. The situation changed in many ways after the First World War: the local authorities became the decisive actor in *Städtebau* – above all in residential buildings and in the construction of infrastructure. For this *municipal Städtebau*, the local authorities depended on their own enterprises or enterprises under their control. During the European dictatorships in the interwar period, the leading role of the municipalities ceased and the national government took over the leadership in *Städtebau*. This *state-controlled Städtebau* was continued in part of Europe after the Second World War, especially in the socialist camp. Following the collapse of the Soviet Union private sector, *Städtebau* again gained ground throughout Europe.

Private sector *Städtebau* is characterized by the fact that public responsibilities for master plans and for the development of infrastructure are undertaken by private companies. The model for private sector *Städtebau* in the 19th century was the United Kingdom. There, the transformation of historic centers into business centers and the expansion of cities were the results of the activities of private actors. One of the most important proponents of private sector *Städtebau* in Germany before the First World War, Georg Haberland, the Director of the Berlinische Boden-Gesellschaft, summarized this form of *Städtebau* as follows: “The activity with regard to real estate is aimed at acquiring unworked building land, at transforming it into terrain ready for building by the preparation of building plans and by the construction of streets, and at making this available either in blocks or in lots to those who require a plot ready for building in order to construct a house”.<sup>3</sup> In the decades before the First World War entire city districts thus emerged, for example in Berlin, as if cast from one mold – investor garden suburbs such as Frohnau, but also densely populated, urban city expansions such as the Bavarian or Rhinegau Quarters.

After the First World War, the period of private-sector *Städtebau* was over. The construction of office buildings and, above all, housing no longer offered profit opportunities comparable to those of the period before the war, the transformation of the centers came to a halt, the pressure to secure social stability by means of limits to rents and protection against eviction made it necessary to establish alternative providers of *Städtebau*. This was – in spite of the hardships – the great era of the municipalities. Municipal *Städtebau* meant the control of major areas of the infrastructure and public welfare by the municipality. The most famous example was *Städtebau* in Vienna. The most important municipal enterprises in Berlin were the Berlin traffic corporation and the Berlin electricity works, gas works and waterworks. The municipal economy also included the education system, the health system and sport and recreation, and above all the

housing sector, which was controlled by new nonprofit enterprises with public funding and the associated regulations. Municipal *Städtebau* was not primarily a reform project, the result of the upheavals of 1918, but was, rather, an emergency program, the answer to the housing emergency following the First World War and the lack of private initiative. It was always controversial and represented an agglomeration of individual activities rather than the result of unified conduct. Experts hoped that such a constellation would be able to impose their – not at all unified – concepts of *Städtebau* more easily.

The emergence and the consolidation of Europe's dictatorships, particularly following the global economic crisis, meant the end of municipal *Städtebau*. The central government increasingly took command. State-controlled *Städtebau* in all the European dictatorships of this period meant the elimination of the municipalities as autonomous entities, the concentration of financial, legal, personnel and institutional resources at the central government level, and a focus on representative *Städtebau*, the modernization of the infrastructure and housing construction. The European dictatorships each developed their own varieties of this *Städtebau*, which was always characterized, however, by extensive "public works". State-controlled *Städtebau* – following the successful establishment of institutions and the general framework – was primarily controlled by means of laws and decrees. This form of *Städtebau* also marked the Soviet Union and its satellite states, including the GDR, although with different characteristics.

The fact that in democratically governed states the state-controlled form of *Städtebau* did not find any wide application certainly does not mean that in the Europe of the 20th century dictatorial *Städtebau* was a *side issue* or a brief *interruption* in the history of *Städtebau*. On the contrary, dictatorial *Städtebau* was a central component of European *Städtebau* in the 20th century. On the other hand, none of the types mentioned can be easily summed up in a nutshell, their manifestation varies from country to country, and there were numerous interpenetrations. One variation is, for example, the state-controlled implementation of private sector *Städtebau* in London with the founding of the London Docklands Development Corporation (LDDC) in 1981.

## Responsibility of the Profession

The concept presented here understands *Städtebau* not only as a planned, built and used form, but also as a backdrop, propaganda, showmanship and a demonstration of the exclusion or inclusion of certain social groups. *Städtebau* is a reflection of political, economic, demographic and cultural development, which in turn can only be understood in its interaction with developments in other countries. *Städtebau* is never autarkic, explainable from within itself, but is always a medium of complex national and international relationships. Finally, *Städtebau* – as a "science" – is a reflection on the planned, built and used form including its conditions. But all of these considerations are only a concept, a corridor of thought that must continually be controlled, a precondition for research, not its result. A concept does not offer answers, it only organizes the search for answers. It must be open-minded to a maximum degree and it must not be blind to unexpected or even undesired aspects. The concept presented here is far from complete or finished, but needs expansion and correction. In particular, it requires permanent reflection.

Since *Städtebau* is never only the subject of research but always also the medium of a practice-oriented profession and thus a decision on the practices of today and tomorrow, it requires not only an open concept but also a standpoint, or to be more precise: the determination and disclosure of the socio-political standpoint on which any research on *Städtebau* is implicitly based. Of course, this opens up another field of – necessary – dispute. What are the responsible professional standpoints – for example regarding democracy and dictatorship, inclusion and exclusion, the quality of public spaces, and so on and so forth – and where are these questionable?

Today the dispute over the interpretation of the “right” *Städtebau* is unabated – in Europe and worldwide: healthy or sick city, postcolonial or globalized city, shrinking or growing city, neoliberal or social city, inclusive or exclusive city, diverse or white city, ecological or economic city, dense or open city – behind all these buzzwords are concealed more or less serious lines of argument, prophets and disciples, bibles and catechisms, “good” and “bad” projects, friends and enemies. We do not intend here to question the fact that the dispute over the orientation in *Städtebau* is necessary and meaningful. On the contrary, the dispute is indispensable, but only a dispute that uses justified and justifiable arguments and that by its nature does not end the dialog but enriches it. This is not about the victory of one cultural combat group over another but the great common cause of a better city. And it is also about the public image of all the professions which are presently striving for the “right” *Städtebau*.

## Notes

- 1 In English, there are far more terms, such as *urbanism*, *urban design*, *town building*, *town planning*, *urban planning*, *urban development*, in Italian in addition to *urbanistica*, we also have *edilizia cittadina*, *urbanismo*, *urbanesimo*, *edilità*.
- 2 The concept of *Städtebau* proposed here is a further development of ideas and expressions that arose in the course of my research. It is the result of a wide range of reading, discussion and cooperative scientific and practical work – particularly within the framework of research on *Städtebau* in the European countries that were governed by dictatorships in the interwar period, but also of research on the history of *Städtebau* in Berlin in the last 150 years. It is, therefore, a cooperative concept, not simply “my” concept. Cf. Bodenschatz, Harald/Welch Guerra, Max (eds.): *The Power of Past Greatness. Urban Renewal of Historic Centres in European Dictatorships*. DOM publishers. Berlin 2021; Welch Guerra, Max/Bodenschatz, Harald (eds.): *Städtebau als Kreuzzug Francos. Wiederaufbau und Erneuerung unter der Diktatur in Spanien 1938–1959*. DOM publishers. Berlin 2021; Bodenschatz, Harald/Goebel, Benedikt/Gräwe, Christina/Architekten- und Ingenieurverein zu Berlin–Brandenburg e. V. (eds.): *Unfinished Metropolis. 100 Years of Urban Planning for Greater Berlin. Volume 1: Exhibition*. DOM publishers. Berlin 2020; Bodenschatz, Harald/Welch Guerra, Max (eds.): *Städtebau unter Salazar. Diktatorische Modernisierung des portugiesischen Imperiums 1926–1960*. DOM publishers. Berlin 2019; Bodenschatz, Harald/Kress, Celina (eds.): *Kult und Krise des großen Plans im Städtebau*. Michael Imhof Verlag, Petersberg 2017; Bodenschatz, Harald: *Weimar. Modellstadt der Moderne? Ambivalenzen des Städtebaus im 20. Jahrhundert*. Klassik Stiftung Weimar. Weimar 2016; Bodenschatz, Harald/Sassi, Piero/Welch Guerra, Max (eds.): *Urbanism and Dictatorship. A European Perspective*. Birkhäuser Verlag. Basel 2015; Bodenschatz, Harald (ed.): *Städtebau für Mussolini. Auf der Suche nach der neuen Stadt im faschistischen Italien*. DOM publishers. Berlin 2011; Bodenschatz, Harald/Gräwe, Christina/Kegler, Harald/Nägelke, Hans-Dieter/Sonne Wolfgang (eds.): *Stadtvisionen 1910|2010*. Berlin Paris London Chicago. 100 Jahre Allgemeine Städtebau-Ausstellung in Berlin. DOM publishers. Berlin 2010; Bodenschatz, Harald/Post, Christiane (eds.): *Städtebau im Schatten Stalins. Die internationale Suche nach der sozialistischen Stadt in der Sowjetunion 1929–1935*. Verlagshaus Braun. Berlin 2003; Bodenschatz, Harald: *Platz frei für das neue Berlin! Geschichte der Stadterneuerung in der “größten Mietkasernenstadt der Welt”*:TRANSIT Verlag. Berlin 1987. Cf. a similar concept: Fischer, Karl Friedhelm/Altrock, Uwe (eds.): *Windows Upon Planning History*. Routledge. London and New York 2018.
- 3 Haberland, Georg: *Der Einfluß des Privatkapitals auf die bauliche Entwicklung Groß-Berlins*. Berlin 1913, p. 5. Haberland’s most important work was at the same time a manifesto for private sector *Städtebau*.

# 3.3

## THE ANARCHIST STRAIN OF PLANNING HISTORY

### Pursuing Peter Hall's *Cities of Tomorrow* Thesis through the Geddes Connection, 1866–1976

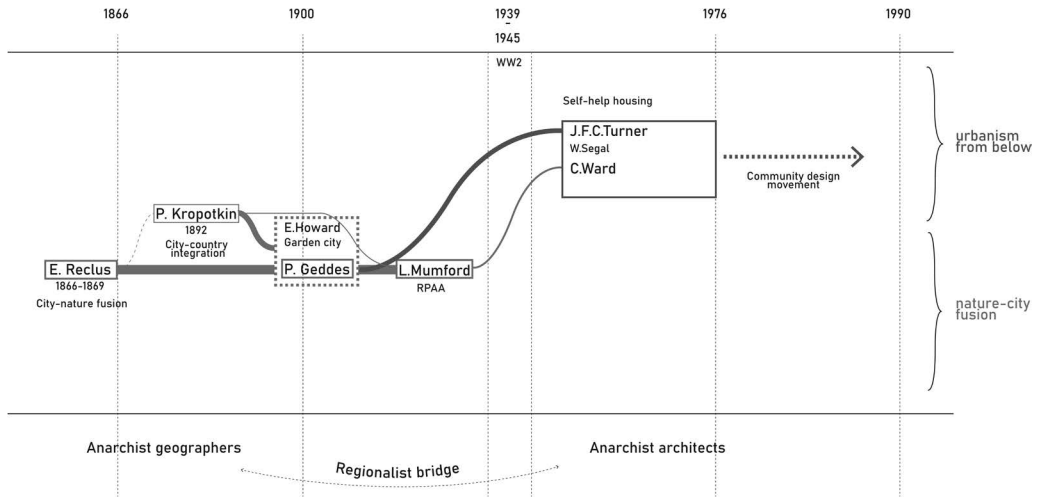
*José Luis Oyón and Jere Kuzmanić*

#### ***Cities of Tomorrow* and the Anarchist Roots of the Planning Movement**

No informed planning historian will be surprised to hear of “the anarchist roots of the planning movement”. The main reason is that the “anarchist roots” of planning is one of the key ideas in Peter Hall’s classic book *Cities of Tomorrow*, published by Basil Blackwell in 1988. Hall firmly stated that many of the first ideals of the twentieth-century urban planning movement “arose from the anarchist movement, which flourished in the last decades of the 19th century and the first years of the 20th century. That is true for Howard, for Geddes and for the Regional Planning Association of America, as well as for many derivatives in the European continent” (Hall 1988 (2014): 3).

Hall noted another key area of anarchism’s influence: the notion of bottom-up urbanism. Built forms of cities should, writes Hall, “come from the hands of their own citizens; that we should reject the tradition whereby large organizations, private or public, build for people, and instead embrace the notion that people should build for themselves. We can find this notion powerfully present in the anarchist thinking (...), and in particular in Geddesian notions of piecemeal urban rehabilitation between 1885 and 1920 (...) It resurfaces to provide a major, even a dominant, ideology of planning in third-world cities through the work of John Turner – himself drawing directly from anarchist thinking – in Latin America during the 1960s” (Hall 2014: 9). This idea would constitute “a crucial element” in the intellectual evolution of Christopher Alexander and culminate in the community design movement in the 1970s and 1980s in the United States and, above all, Britain. The idea of an “anarchist strain of planning history” was not altered at all in the 1996 and 2002 reissues of the book, and was confirmed with a few new references in the fourth and latest expanded edition, that published by Wiley just six years ago (Hall 1988, 2014).

Patrick Geddes and regional planning are relevant in the book as a key for bridging two distant historical moments when the anarchist strain of planning history was remarkable (Figure 3.3.1). Anarchist territorial thought had clear elements of continuity with the regionalists of the first third of the twentieth century, especially through the influence of Reclus on Patrick Geddes and Kropotkin on Lewis Mumford. The Scottish planner Geddes would also later form the *trait d’union* with Ward and Turner in the second postwar period. Colin Ward’s years as *Freedom* editor (1947–1960) would be seminal to the issue. In that period, for the first time, the reflections



**FIGURE 3.3.1** A timeline of anarchist thread of planning history as proposed by Peter Hall in *Cities of Tomorrow* (1988).

Source: Authors.

of bottom-up urbanism were an issue for anarchist architects and urban planners, rather than geographers. According to Hall, Geddes’s *Indore Report* of 1917 was an essential document for Ward and inspired Turner’s interest in self-help housing from the 1950s (Hall 2014: Ch. 8).

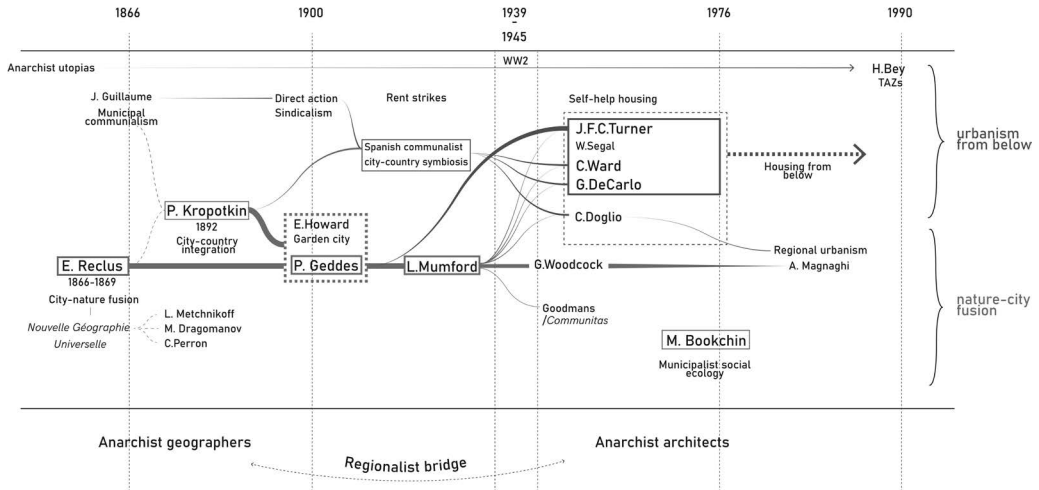
Hall’s book has had little impact within the thriving world of anarchist geography, where the connection of Reclus, Kropotkin and other nineteenth-century anarchist geographers with regionalism has not been overlooked. The revaluation of “the anarchist roots of geography” was discussed in some issues of the journal *Antipode* in the late 1970s (Breitbart 1988). But the real emergence of anarchist geography in the academic world is quite recent, mainly occurred in the last decade (Clark and Martin 2004; Ferretti 2011; Springer *et al.* 2012; Ferretti 2013; Pelletier 2013; Kinna 2016; Springer 2016; McLaughlin 2017). The few studies of anarchist geography dedicated to the city have so far been limited to nineteenth-century anarchist geographers. No traces of Peter Hall’s book can be found there (Pelletier 1999, 2007; Ferretti 2014). The only reference to the planning historian, by Lopes de Souza (Lopes de Sousa 2012), is critical of his work. Nevertheless, Homobono, from sociology and urban social anthropology, and Oyón from planning history clearly associate Reclus’s and Kropotkin’s urban thinking with Geddes and Mumford, following Hall’s thesis (Homobono 2009; Oyón 2011; Homobono 2013; Oyón 2018b).

The impact of Hall’s thesis was immediate within planning history, but surprisingly it was relatively low in the historiography of anarchism until recently. This is because much of Hall’s argument about the anarchist roots of planning was derived from his contact with Colin Ward from the late 1960s onward. In particular, *Cities of Tomorrow* clearly interprets Ward’s compilation of articles that appeared in the anarchist press from 1945 and were later collected in *Housing: An Anarchist Approach* (Ward 1976; Levy 2011). The proximity between the two works can be seen in Hall’s initiatives that opposed conventional state planning and advocated urban planning from below, as in the *Non-Plan* episode (Hughes and Sadler 2000). Hall and Ward subsequently collaborated on a joint book about the fortune of the garden city to commemorate the centenary of Howard’s book (Hall and Ward 1998).

Hall's idea of a historical thread from Reclus to Turner was drawn from the writings of post-war anarchist architects and people close to regionalism. From 1942, George Woodcock published a series of articles in the newspaper *War Commentary for Anarchism* and in magazines on the topics of urban planning, regionalism, railroads and the countryside. In these articles, he established a connection between anarchist geographers and Howard, Geddes, Mumford and the Regional Planning Association of America. These articles had a considerable influence on Colin Ward and other English architects (Goodway and Ward 2003: 35; Di Paola 2011). *Freedom* published articles on housing, urban planning and regionalism not only by Ward, but also by De Carlo and Turner in 1948 (Ward 1976). Ward remembered coming into contact with these architects and their circles of anarchist supporters several times: Pat Crooke, Herbert Read, and Italians like Marie-Louise Berneri, Zaccaria and Giovanna Berneri. Under the name "organic planning", the historical anarchist thread of *Cities of Tomorrow* appears clearly in *L'equivoco della città-giardino* by Carlo Doglio, published in *Volontà* issues in 1953 or later compilations by Pesce (Doglio 1953; Pesce 1981). Some young anarchist architects of the 1940s and 1950s were clearly interested in Geddes and Mumford. Examples are Turner or Doglio in the early 1950s. By the 1950s, Geddes and Mumford were indeed part of anarchist heritage. In fact, both became the bridge for the development of possible anarchist urbanism. Subsequently, a prolonged silence ensued until recently. Very few planning historians seem interested in pursuing, deepening or correcting the "anarchist" thesis of *Cities of Tomorrow*. Furthermore, the obvious connection between architecture, urbanism and anarchism in the anarchist architects of the 1950s and 1960s seems to have been forgotten or is invisible in libertarian movements.

This oblivion may be associated with the intrinsic weaknesses of the thesis in *Cities of Tomorrow* on the anarchist strain of planning history. One of the weaknesses was that Hall imagined anarchism as a uniform whole in which there seemed to be no differences between Proudhonian mutualism, Bakunin's collectivism or Kropotkinian anarcho-communism. Lopes de Souza is right when he states that Hall's generic anarchism explained too many things. This is particularly clear in Howard's connection with Kropotkin, or Reclus's and Kropotkin's connection with Geddes (Lopes de Souza 2012: 11–12). We need to specify the connections from a historical perspective more precisely than Hall. This brings us to the second weakness in *Cities of Tomorrow's* anarchist thesis. The connections between Kropotkin and Howard or between Reclus and Geddes are lax and, in some cases, only hypothetical. They necessarily require a study of primary sources that a work of synthesis such as Hall's does not include.

The third weakness of Hall's work is that his vision of the anarchist strain of urban planning is too anglocentric. Despite the inventive richness of British anarchist architects of the second post-war period (Goodway 2006; Honeywell 2011) and occasional allusions to Giancarlo de Carlo via Colin Ward (De Carlo and Bunçuga 2000; McKean 2004), the rich connection with the world of Italian architects and urban planners of the postwar period is not mentioned. In particular, the figure of Carlo Doglio is not discussed (Proli 2011, 2017). There is no mention of episodes such as the rich flow of municipalist and communalist proposals of country-city symbiosis in the Spanish libertarian world, proposals of great Reclusian and especially Kropotkinian descent that also refer to the garden city (Masjuan 2000). Direct-action urban struggles are not included in Hall's book, such as the rent strikes of the first third of the twentieth century, which had a significant impact on some Spanish, French and Latin American cities where anarcho-syndicalism was especially strong. The rich tradition of libertarian utopias and alternative spaces outside the city or on its margins are also omitted (Bey 1991; Creagh 2009). Hall does not reference *Communitas*, an influential book in the world of anarchist urban thought (Goodman and Goodman 1947). It is surprising that he does not mention libertarian municipalism and the social ecology of Bookchin (Light 1998), a concept that emerged as early as the publication of the seminal *Silent*



**FIGURE 3.3.2** A timeline of anarchist thread of planning history as proposed by Peter Hall in *Cities of Tomorrow* (1988) – revised and corrected by the authors.

Source: Authors.

*Spring* by Rachel Carson and whose influence extends to the *progetto locale* of Alberto Magnaghi (Magnaghi 2000). Experiences of British participatory self-help building such as that of Walter Segal are too briefly referred in the book, as well as those developed in European countries by Bernard Kohn, Lucien Kroll and others (Hatch 1984).

If we take all this into account, we could provide a much more panoramic, nuanced vision of the anarchist strain of planning (Figure 3.3.2). Obviously, a work of synthesis such as Hall’s cannot cover all of this. It would be extremely unfair to expect this of a pioneering work that puts on the academic map the richness of anarchism thinking to inspire alternative horizons to urbanism. No other book in planning history has been able to approximate these worlds that are apparently so distant and yet so close. We must not marginalize Hall’s thesis, however vague and hasty it is, but discard unproven connections from historical sources and provide plausible arguments rigorously from a deeper knowledge of the anarchist authors that Hall cites. We should investigate the connections, if any, between these authors and the main episodes of alternative social planning of the twentieth century, such as the garden city and the regionalism of the first third of the twentieth century and the bottom-up urbanism of the 1960s and 1970s. In order to examine these connections, the second part of the chapter reviews recent research in the fields of anarchist geography and anarchism planning history on Reclus and Turner, with a focus on the Geddes connection.

### From Reclus to Geddes

Recently, Federico Ferretti showed that the collaboration between Patrick Geddes and Reclus was more important in the formation of Geddes’s ideas than previously thought (Ferretti 2015, 2016a, 2016b). Ferretti mentioned the summer meetings in Edinburgh attended by brothers Élie and Élisée Reclus in 1893 and 1895, the previous contact via Kropotkin since 1886, and the friendship and collaboration through Paul Reclus, Élisée’s nephew, who had been sheltered in Scotland by Geddes since 1894 when he escaped from the French police. Paul and Geddes collaborated throughout their lives, and their friendship lasted and involved their respective families

(Dunbar and Rapacka 1995). Paul Reclus was Geddes' right-hand man at the Outlook Tower and was a key connection, according to Ferretti (Reynolds 2004; Chabard 2006, 2008; Ferretti 2016a). The Outlook Tower and the "walking" model of the Valley section are seen as educational experiments by Geddes and the Reclus clan, challenging traditional education "through the active involvement of children and adults from popular classes on learning experiences out of schools" (Ferretti 2016b: 1). Ferretti argued that the collaboration between Geddes and the Reclus anarchist network of geographers "inaugurated specific strategies of multisensorial geographic education that were not limited to sight and that questioned and relativized the unicity of the observer's standpoint through devices like the Hollow Globe (ideated by Paul Reclus), exhibited at the Outlook Tower" (Ferretti 2016b: 2). Geographical models like the raised reliefs could be handled and observed by visitors. The 1:4,000 raised relief of Edinburgh displayed at the Outlook Tower was also built by Paul Reclus. It appealed to other senses in addition to sight and was drawn from the same way of thinking as Reclus's Grand Globe, in which Geddes was also involved (Ferretti 2015).

Several geographers have stated that Geddes's Valley Section was inspired by the idea of a hydrographic basin that was established by Reclus in his 1869 *Histoire d'un ruisseau* (Dunbar 1978; Raffestin 2007). In the description of natural phenomena associated with the course of a river from its source to its mouth, the great city occupies the lowest part of the valley, at the end of the river's course. Geddes's Valley Section was presented for the first time in London in 1905 and published as a simple diagram in 1909. The Civic Survey of every city must be a regional survey: Geddes cannot understand the city without considering the entire region through which the river runs from its source to the estuary where the great city stands. Ferretti demonstrates that Geddes's Valley Section was inspired by Reclus's idea of the hydrographic basin and that there was continuity between the reliefs projected for the Great Globe and the idea of the cross-section of the hydrographic basin (Ferretti 2016b).

There are other connections. One is the idea of the city distribution in the Valley Section presented by Geddes in *Civics: As Applied Sociology* (1905). In this key article, Geddes quotes the geographers that inspired him for the city-region survey: Metchnikoff and Reclus, anarchists and close collaborators at the *Nouvelle Géographie Universelle* (NGU). Geddes stated that he took the idea of regular distribution of the hierarchy of cities and travel times between them from Reclus. This idea was originally presented by Reclus in *The Evolution of Cities* in 1895. Volker Welter includes a diagram of this valley region depicting the hierarchical relationship among various types of settlements, villages, cities and secondary valleys (Welter 2002). We know that Geddes and Reclus together worked on toponymic corrections for the English version of some NGU volumes (Ferraro 1998). The NGU volumes also take the river basin quite systematically as a criterion for regional division. We find exemplified in the valley of a river basin region the same city location idea that was explained in *The Evolution of Cities*. Sometimes, regional descriptions of European rivers in the NGU include some sections of river valleys. These are very elementary valley sections that indicate the height above sea level and the location of cities at the confluence with tributaries.

We can find one more Reclus-Geddes connection in the anarchist geographer's imagination of an ever-expanding city merging with nature, which was stated for the first time in *Du sentiment de nature dans les sociétés modernes* (1866). The future region-city was envisioned as an unlimited entity: railways and roads link the active city center to the quiet suburbs of unfenced detached houses of gardens and orchards and to distant, wild regional spaces (Oyón 2018a). Water infrastructure and transportation lines facilitate the daily commute of the city's inhabitants and its food supply from regional areas. Volker Welter presents Geddes's conurbation idea as influenced by the Reclus notion of the ever-expanding city of the *Evolution of Cities*.



## From Geddes to Turner

Recent research has shown that the most decisive and lasting influence on John Turner's training as a young architect was that of Patrick Geddes (Golda-Pongratz, Oyón and Zimmermann 2018). When he was sixteen, he was given a punishment at school: to read a chapter of *The Culture of the Cities* by Lewis Mumford. As a result, Geddes's name was deeply engraved in Turner's memory (Oyón 2018b). Geddes was also present in his anarchist sympathies. Turner's first article in *Freedom* in 1948 was about the special relevance that Geddes's "biological approach" could have for anarchism.

At the beginning of 1947, when Turner resumed his studies at the Architectural Association (AA) after the interruption of the war, he discovered papers and books by Geddes that included numerous holistic diagrams and urban surveys. This discovery marked the two main focuses of his work throughout his life: relational thinking applied to place-making activities and self-help housing. This was a key discovery because Geddes's papers contained the 1918 *Indore Report*, the historical beginning of aided self-help housing (Harris 1998, 2003). It is symptomatic that only one of the AA professors is remembered by Turner today. This is Walter Segal, an architect who reinforced the influence of William Morris and the Art and Crafts movement on the family environment and the interest in what was built locally, in hand-built, vernacular architecture. Segal, an architect raised in the anarchist colony of Monte Verità who later immigrated to England, developed a serial construction system with light panels and a structural wood framework that was very suitable, according to Turner, for self-building (McKean 1989; Gyger 2019).

From the moment he discovered the Geddesian diagrams, Turner, with his AA friends Paffard Keatinge-Clay and Bruce Martin, became immersed in their interpretation and in possible applications to architecture. That immersion in Geddesian thinking machines was vital in his biography and particularly in his relational vision of housing. Because of his interest in Geddes, he received from Jaqueline Tyrwhitt a commission to write a brief appendix on the meaning of the most complex of Geddes's diagrams (1927) for the reissue of *Cities in Evolution*. Tyrwhitt, teacher and director of the three-month course for soldier students at the Association for Planning and Regional Reconstruction, was a major influence on Turner. The "ardent disciple" of Geddes taught regional planning and edited *Patrick Geddes in India*, another inspiration for Turner's work in Peru (*Espaces et Sociétés* 2016; Shoshkes 2017: 16). The central thesis of Turner's group was that the *Notation of Life* diagram contributed decisively to thinking in a nonanalytical but relational way. It is essential, Turner wrote, to study the reciprocal relationships between environment and organism through functions: [e-f-o/o-f-e]. Geddes's influence on Turner's group was reflected in two issues of *Plan*, a student magazine published at the AA in 1949 and 1950. As in Geddes and Mumford, the keyword is community. At the CIAM summer school of Venice in 1952, Turner met the Peruvian architect Eduardo Neira, who had already translated Turner's text on the Geddesian *Notation of Life* for his urban planning students in Lima.

In 1955, Neira informed Turner of the possibility of working on housing in Peru. The lectures given on Turner's arrival in Peru at the beginning of 1957 reveal the Scotsman's influence again. In June 1957, Turner arrived in Arequipa, which was then in an explosive process of urbanization and peripheral lands were being occupied by *barriadas* (self-help neighborhoods). Turner prepared an ambitious plan and wrote an interesting report using the four Geddesian chambers. The conclusions of the famous issue of *Architectural Design* of August 1963 were Turner's first major manifesto in favor of self-help housing. It is interesting to observe how his relational vision of housing was made explicit there: to understand a house it is necessary to understand the nature of the urban process where the house is located, the housing product, and its impact on the user's life. All of these factors are interrelated.

In fact, for years Turner claimed that, beyond self-help housing (the field for which he was recognized worldwide during the 1970s and 1980s), his main contribution to housing studies was that the reality of housing resides in relationships. To explain such relationships, he speaks of three basic functions of the housing environment: a reasonable security of *tenure*; a *shelter* function derived from the dimension and characteristics of comfort (or modernity) of the house; and an adequate *location* within the city (proximity to the workplace and to facilities and community networks of relatives and countrymen). Since his essential *A New Vision of the Housing Deficit* in 1966, the meaning of housing has not resided in the object itself, but in the broader user relationships with the housing environment. Here, the architect's very early interest in studying the two-way relationship between environment and organism, housing and inhabitant, through functions (the Geddesian efo-ofe studied in 1949) can be seen again. As in the interpretation of the *Notation of Life*, the reality of objects, of housing, in this case, is only conceived in their *relationships*.

Based on an investigation with Rolf Goetze, in *Uncontrolled Urban Settlement: Problems and Policies* (1966) Turner insisted on these essential functions in analyzes of the housing problem. Turner's relational vision of housing reappeared in his two major texts of the 1970s, *Freedom to Build* and *Housing by People*. He insisted on studying functions and priorities in housing demand, once again setting user utility above the material levels of the house as a mere object. In his opinion, comfort, security of tenure and location must be included in the value of the home. The key issue is not what housing *is* as an object but what housing *does* for the user: housing not as a name but as a *verb*. The English architect's insistence on this relational vision of housing can be seen today (Golda-Pongratz, Oyón and Zimmermann 2018). At the age of 92, he is still working tirelessly, now in his Hastings studio. Obsessed with his late *Framework*, an ambitious instrument for indexing place-making activities, he has again returned to Geddes, the point from which he started seventy years ago. In fact, Turner has never abandoned Geddes.

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# 3.4

## MAPPING TRANSNATIONAL PLANNING HISTORY IN PORT CITY REGIONS – LONDON, ROTTERDAM, HAMBURG

*Carola Hein*

Port city territories are key hubs of globalization. They are locations where changes taking place across the globe—whether political, economic, technical or environmental—make an imprint on space and institutions and where local and global stakeholders interact directly. Planners play an important role in that encounter as they need to negotiate the global and local interests in ports, waterfronts and the city region at large. Through their planning, they provide port and city spaces that accommodate ships of evolving sizes and facilitate the storage of diverse goods, their transformation and their distribution to or collection from the hinterland. As planners build for global challenges in their home countries or elsewhere, they serve as agents of transnational practice, regularly negotiating between foreign practices and local applications. Port city territories, as places where global flows of goods and people leave a mark in space, are ideal places to study transnationalism and transnational urbanism as well as transnational practices in planning history. Investigating how global processes shape similar locations in different ways shows how planners have responded to similar shipping-related challenges.

Following a brief examination of the term transnational urbanism, this chapter argues that port city territories provide unique opportunities to explore the role of planning through the lens of maritime exchange and global commodity flows, in line with the concept of the PortCityScape (Figure 3.4.1). Considering port city territories as an interconnected network of spaces and institutions allows for a study of planning history as a facet of transnational urbanism on the sea-land continuum in a way that goes beyond comparative analysis. To better understand the impact of these historical processes on diverse places we need new tools to capture the intersection between global and local processes. This chapter uses historical geospatial mapping to illuminate the transnational planning histories of port cities around the North Sea, London, Hamburg and Rotterdam, where planners have engaged in various ways with globalization, technological innovation and migration.<sup>1</sup>

### **Port City Territories as a Focus for the Study of Transnational Planning History**

“Transnational urbanism” has become a common term among social scientists and historians investigating flows of people and commodities across national borders and the relationship between these flows and urban spaces. Coined to balance the concepts of “globalization” and

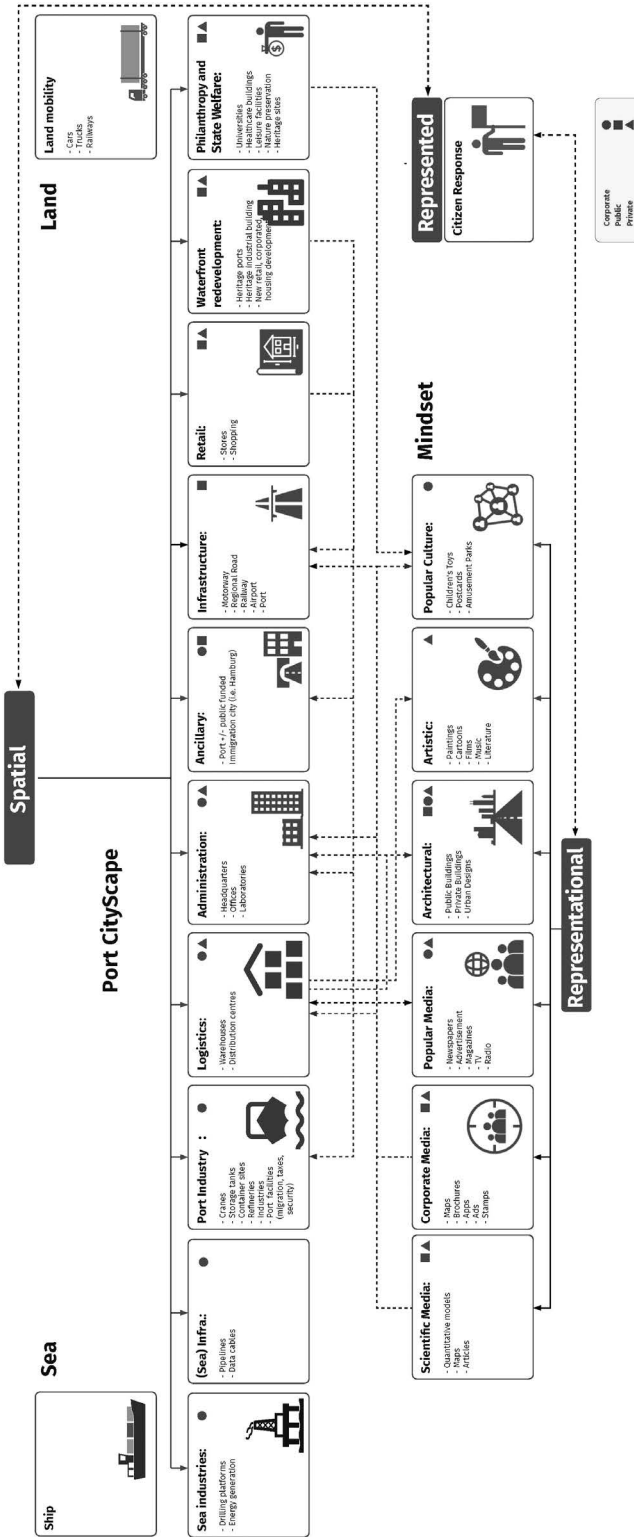


FIGURE 3.4.1 The PortCityScope (Carola Hein 2019a)

“global cities”, the term “transnational urbanism” aims to reintroduce the power of national politics and players. Political scientist Michael Peter Smith used the term to distinguish processes of globalization from globalization as a structure framing the socio-spatial conditions of localized actors (Smith 2001). Critics of Smith’s work point to a lack of concrete evidence and case studies (Stanley 2001; Binnie 2003). Research on port city territories can provide a case study of transnational urbanism by focusing on planning history and the crossing of the sea-land border.

Smith’s call for a multiscalar approach to the study of migration and the exchange of cultural practices is part of a larger body of literature on transnationalism, transnational history, and transnational planning history that includes commentaries by major writers in urban studies (Clavin 2005; Pierre-Yves Saunier 2013). Much of the literature has focused on transient people, institutions, and spaces rather than on physical structures or built environments, including their planning, that resulted from passage across national boundaries. It is this physicality and its production—including the varying roles of actors with training in design professions and with different levels of power—that demand attention.

Planning historians have long been aware of the importance of planning ideas that cross borders and many authors have written extensive case studies. Key figures include Anthony King, who has reflected on the construction of transnational planning histories at various moments in his career. He has pointed to the shifts in theoretical and historical paradigms underlying such an analysis, as well as the difficulty of accessing archives spread around the globe, and the challenges of the language and cultural or national belonging of the scholar writing the analysis (King 1976, 1977; King 2003). Stephen Ward has attempted to systematize the exchanges of planning ideas (Ward 1998; Ward 2002). Themes of urban policy transfers and planning models are at the heart of research by Andrew Harris and Susan Moore, and the international exchange of planning ideas is the theme of the edited volume by Patsy Healey and Robert Upton (Healey and Upton 2010; Harris and Moore 2013). Other scholars, including the late Anthony Sutcliffe, Pierre-Yves Saunier, and Joe Nasr and Mercedes Volait have helped to refine this work (Sutcliffe 1981; Nasr and Volait 2003; Pierre-Yves Saunier and Ewen 2008; Iriye and Saunier 2009). The transfer of planning ideas is part of wider transnational exchanges, as demonstrated in Dirk Schubert’s investigation of the neighborhood unit and its transatlantic exchange in Jeffrey Diefendorf and Janet Ward’s book on transnationalism and the German city (Schubert 2014). Port cities have been explored as hubs of cosmopolitanism and migration, but a methodology to compare planning in these diverse locations with an integrated discussion of formal and informal planning activities and their collective impact on urban transformation remains to be written.

Globalization depends on maritime networks and port city territories are key hubs, where global flows meet local territories. International business communities and the commodity flows they create have long reshaped urban spaces. Elites in port cities have changed ports, warehouses, administration buildings—urban form itself—to accommodate specific commodities and new sizes and forms of ships. Elites who traded these commodities set up their own facilities for housing, leisure, and religious purposes. People associated with trade in general, from business workers to sailors, created their own districts, such as Bryggen, the Hanseatic district in Bergen, Norway. These migrants engaging in transnational trade have long depended on local experts to translate their needs into built form. We can see the palimpsestic effects of business communities and commodity flows on urban built form in many port cities where earlier forms of trade set the stage for later ones. The Dutch company Pakhuismeesteren, for example, was in charge of tea and coffee storage. In the mid-19th century, they began storing petroleum. Over time, the company has grown into the petroleum company VOPAC.<sup>2</sup>

Global corporations are powerful actors, spreading ideas about urban form and planning practices in both intended and unintended ways, employing their own planning agents, or, through their presence and power driving local developments. Given their potentially huge size

and economic importance, their imprint on the built environment can be much more consistent and much larger than that of individuals. Multinational companies, which are vectors of globalization, use standardized forms, the container being a recent example. Hamburg–Süd, China Shipping, and Maersk are just some examples of logos that register the global influence of networked economic players; these signs are function-driven similarities rather than planned convergences; they link urban spaces around the world, claiming them for commerce. How local planning responds to the built expression of globalization, from port planning to infrastructures and how the presence of global economic forces transforms local planning practices across spatial and temporal scales is an extensive area of research. Geospatial mapping can lead to a better understanding of the palimpsestic condition of planning in port city territories.

### **Mapping Port City Territories for Advanced Understanding of Transnational Urbanism and Planning History**

The particular characteristics and similarities of ports, cities and their territories around the world have attracted the attention of numerous researchers. Geographers and economists have developed modeling tools and visualizations based on quantitative data on shipping networks (e.g. Verhetsel and Sel 2009; Ducruet, Cuyala and El Hosni 2017). They have also carefully studied the intersections between ports and cities and their territories, relying primarily on quantitative data but also paying some attention to spatial patterns and physical locations. These models are particularly appropriate for understanding past trends and predicting future ones. Historians and planners have also paid a lot of attention to port city research, creating a large body of literature on specific port cities, often with a perspective from the city, focused on cities and landside developments and on national differences. Each of the authors in this field follows their own methodology and mostly qualitative approach, making it difficult to assess the evolution of these cities and their particular patterns in comparison to one another (to give some examples, (Broeze 1985, 1989; Laar 2000; Meyer 1999; Kokot *et al.* 2009; Desfor *et al.* 2010; Hein 2011; Schubert 2011; Hein 2012; Meyer and Nijhuis 2014; Hein 2016a; Porfyriou and Sepe 2016; Schubert 2018). Analytical links between the two types of literature are missing, as demonstrated by the absence of shared conferences and publications (Hein 2016b).

The desire to visualize changing shipping networks and to understand the similarities and particularities of port cities and their evolution over time has inspired geographers to develop numerous models. Economic geographers have visualized datasets through geometrical shapes interconnected with lines of different thicknesses to make it possible to compare shipping networks, port city relations and their development over time. The literature in the field of economic geography on port city relations is vast, with important contributions to port geography (to name just a sample: (Rodrigue, Comtois and Slack 2009; Notteboom, Ducruet and de Langen 2009; Wang *et al.* 2007). Often the goal of these publications is geared toward policymaking and economic development assessment. In “Building a Bridge Between Port and City”, Zhao and colleagues show through statistics that the port still matters to the city (Zhao *et al.* 2017) The work of the French geographer Cesar Ducruet is emblematic of this approach (Ducruet, Cuyala and El Hosni 2017). His visuals clearly identify shipping networks in relation to specific ports and city locations, exploring, for example, interrelationships between the size of the port and the size of the city (and its region), as well as the relevance of a port within the global system (Ducruet, Cuyala and El Hosni 2017).

As urban planning became a profession in the late 19th and early 20th century, mapping as a way of studying urban territories emerged as a scientific discipline. It became a way to systematically combine spatial and social data and to uncover health issues, social problems, or land use challenges. These uses of mapping developed hand in hand with the professionalization of urban and spatial planning (Hein 2018). To gain an initial sense of how such mapping can aid an



understanding of planning history from a comparative perspective, a team of researchers in the Chair History of Architecture and Urban Planning at Delft University of Technology has started to build on existing research and develop a methodology for comparative historical geospatial investigation. We are specifically focusing on port cities because they exemplify complex spatial development, long-term investments, intersecting institutional realms, and overlapping flows of goods, people, and ideas (Hein and van Mil 2019).

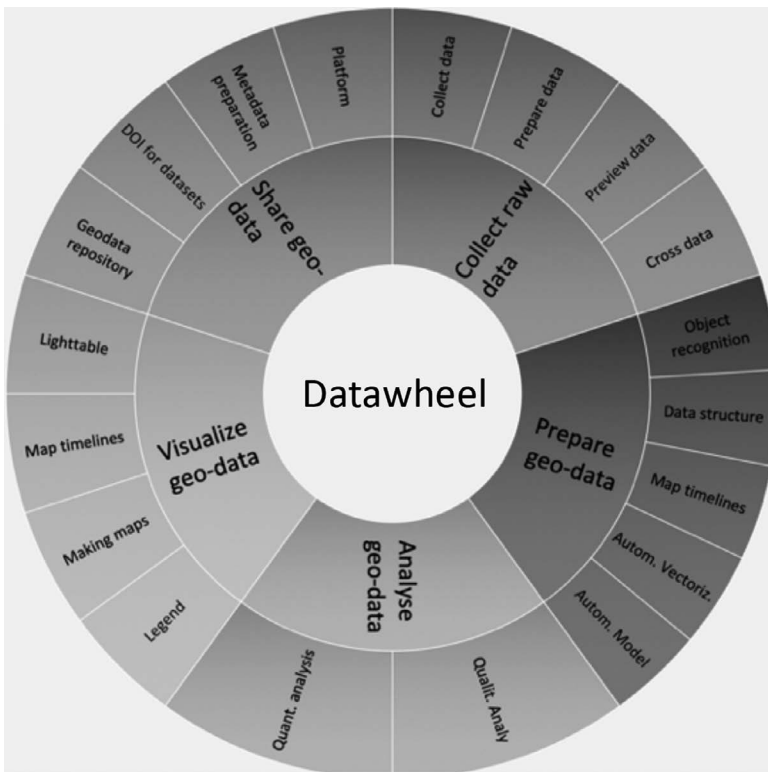
Maps and mapping allow public and private stakeholders to understand spatial contexts, environmental changes, institutional settings, and cultural implications and help us understand planning history from a networked rather than a comparative perspective. Recent innovations involving big data, GIS-based research, and digital datasets offer new opportunities to use maps and mapping to study spatial and cultural elements. Few geospatial tools or research methods currently exist to analyze and represent the palimpsest of spaces, social interactions, and cultural practices of cities and the evolution of particular processes over time. A methodology is needed that complements quantitative assessments of economic and logistic aspects of a particular area and enables the analysis of spatial and cultural patterns (Hein and van Mil 2019). Historical geospatial mapping can help us understand how people have changed cities and institutions over time and in conjunction with complex economic, political, social, and cultural transformations. It can serve as a methodology for transdisciplinary and transnational research helping social scientists and spatial and humanities scholars to consider both quantitative and qualitative aspects of life and work in a spatial context and it can serve planners and policy makers. To facilitate discussions among different stakeholders and to bring together different perspectives, we propose mapping at a scale that helps identify challenges and opportunities in the fuzzy territories of overlapping spaces and institutions (Hein 2019a).

The proposed data wheel (developed by a group working on Digital Humanities at Delft University of Technology and notably in the Chair History of Architecture and Urban Planning) tentatively metaphorically called the Datawheel (Figure 3.4.2), is a methodology designed for the continuous process of collecting, preparing, analyzing, visualizing, and sharing data (Hein and van Mil 2020; Hein, van Mil and Azman Momirski 2020). The name emphasizes the circular quality of the approach, which allows for the process to consistently add new knowledge and integrate findings from one round of analysis into the next, using historically grounded investigation and geospatial mapping as a basis for informed planning and policy-making, education, outreach, and training.

The method consists of five steps, specifically:

1. Definitions, collection, assessment
2. Preparation of the collected data
3. Analysis of the collected and organized data
4. Data visualization
5. Sharing, dissemination, and pilot studies

While geographers have made important steps toward analysis (providing opportunities for global comparison of economic patterns, shipping etc.), there is no methodology for the analysis of port-city relations from a spatial perspective. As a result, many aspects, particularly spatial, social, and cultural elements are insufficiently analyzed. Depictions of concrete physical forms are often made for select locations, as part of individual urban investigations, but they are difficult to compare. Once we go beyond these abstractions, each of these locations shows complex patterns and intricate socio-spatial particularities. To better demonstrate the potential role of mapping in reconceptualizing the spatial and institutional dimension of port connections and to identify places of conflict and opportunity, members of the Chair of the History of Architecture



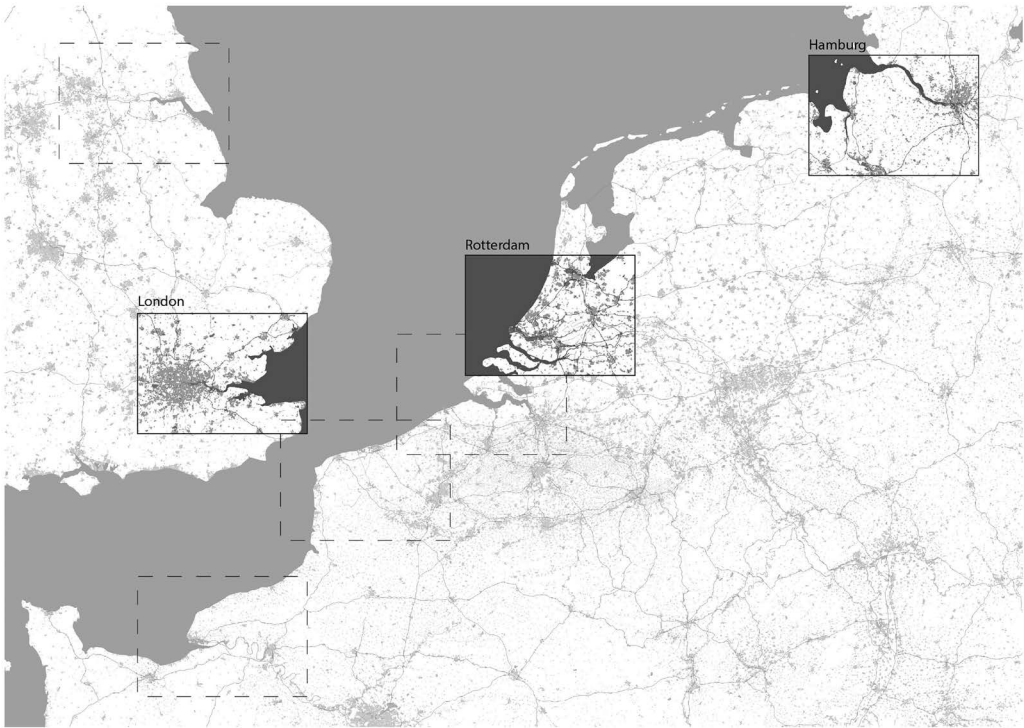
**FIGURE 3.4.2** The Datawheel methodology (by Carola Hein and a group working on Digital Humanities at Delft University of Technology).

and Urban Planning at TU Delft and the Leiden Delft Erasmus PortCityFutures program have started focusing on a shared body of water—the North Sea—as the foundation for a comparative research program (Hein, 2019), developing a methodology for historical and spatial analysis.

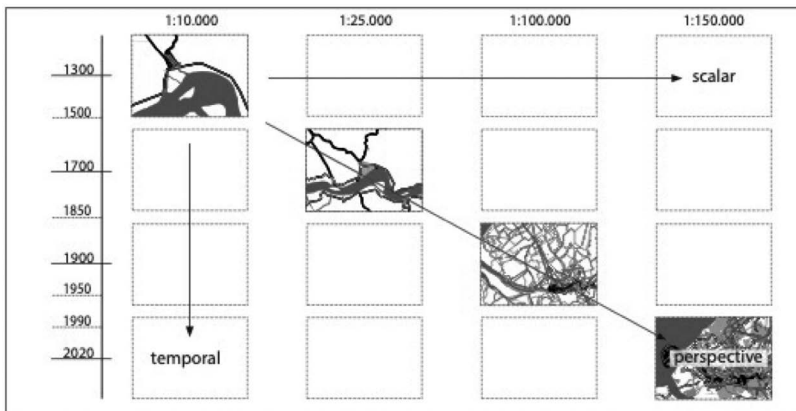
### Case Study Research: Mapping the Planning History of London, Rotterdam, and Hamburg

Focusing on the select port cities around the North Sea allows us to establish and test the method's first steps through a comparative investigation of the interactions between port, city, and hinterland in three river-based port city territories: The Nieuwe Waterweg in the Netherlands, the Thames in the United Kingdom, and the Elbe in Germany. These port city territories are much larger than the cities situated near the ports of Rotterdam, London, and Hamburg. The area near the Nieuwe Waterweg includes the entire Randstad, including Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague, Zoetermeer, and Utrecht. Together with Bremen and Bremerhaven, Hamburg forms the port city region of Elbe. The port of London has largely moved outside the historic city walls, but the decision makers have remained in the city, creating a huge port city region. For a close analysis of the three case studies, we collected similar types of historical maps for each of the three cities. We georeferenced this information and overlaid it with generic data on natural and manmade features and governance patterns in line with the Datawheel methodology.

Historical geospatial research through mapping allows us to identify key moments in urban and planning history (Figures 3.4.3 and 3.4.4). Together with Yvonne van Mil, we are currently



**FIGURE 3.4.3** Research areas of the North Sea studied by the Chair of the History of Architecture and Urban Planning, with the case study of London, Hamburg, and Rotterdam highlighted and other potential case studies framed with a dashed line. Map by Yvonne van Mil based on Global Administrative Boundaries (2018), CORINE Land Cover (2016), and EuroGlobalMap (2017).



**FIGURE 3.4.4** Conceptualization of different approaches to historical geospatial mapping and their usefulness for particular disciplinary approaches or questions. Figure by Carola Hein, Yvonne van Mil, Blanka Borbely, and Batuhan Özeltun based on Global Administrative Boundaries (2018) CORINE Land Cover (2016), and EuroGlobalMap (2017).

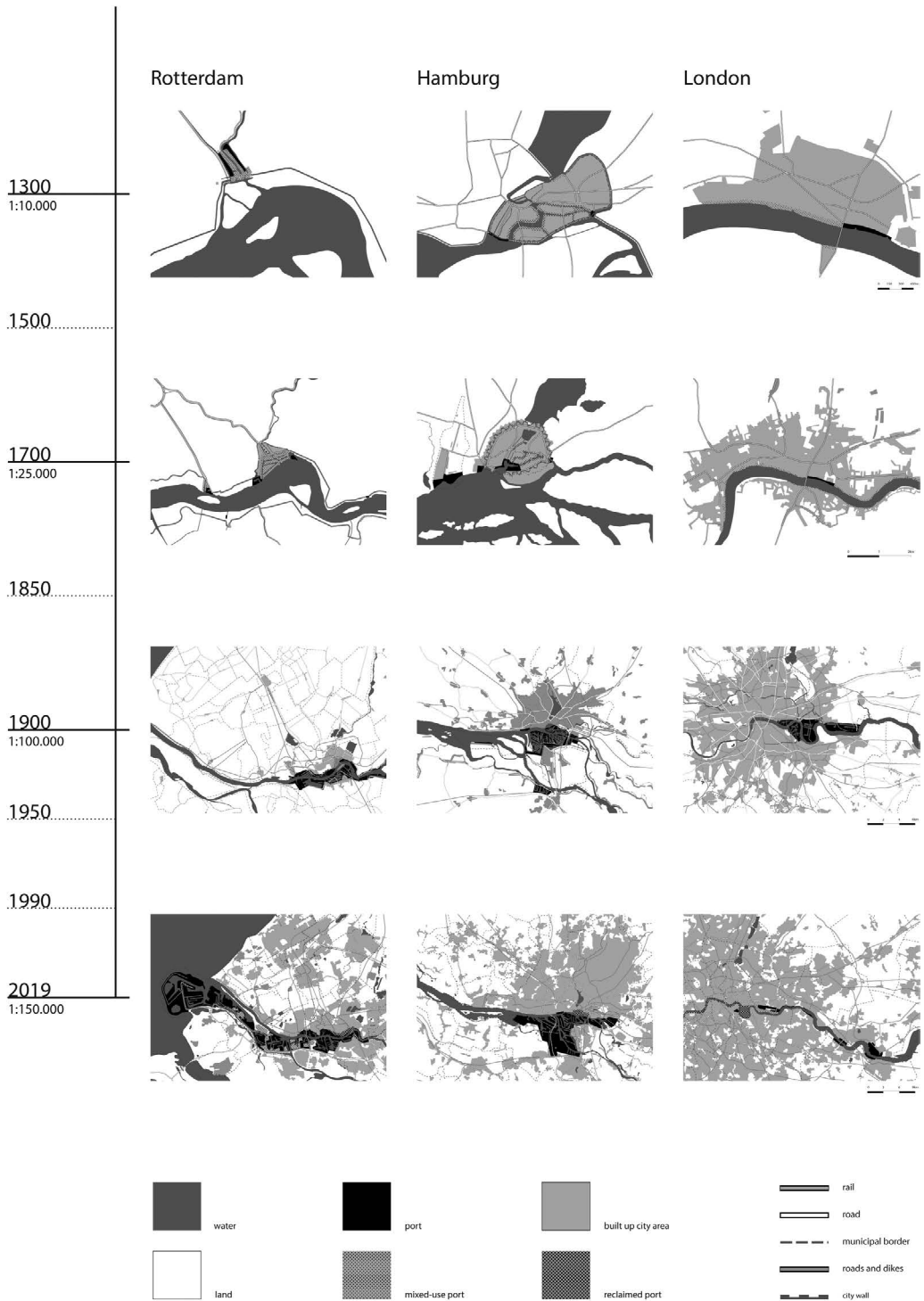
developing a methodology for mapping port cities (Hein and van Mil 2019). We chose to start our case study in 1300, when the Hanseatic League helped sustain the urban development of cities around the North Sea. We see the historic roots of urban planning in this long-term approach. We use steps of 200 years to capture major social, geopolitical, and economic changes, such as the Golden Age, starting in Flanders in the 15th century, shifting to Holland in the 17th century, and to England in the 18th century. We add more detailed information through steps over fifty years starting with the industrial revolution, when the introduction of new technologies and political systems and new insights on legislation on housing and urban planning spurred numerous transitions in cities. These transitions are represented through the years 1850, 1900, 1950, 1990, and 2020 (Figure 3.4.5).

When we consider a port city as part of a larger system—the region—we need to understand the economic, infrastructural, and social scale on which port cities operate. Port city territories are the result of the combined action of both natural and human factors, the local geography, the water system, and the soil conditions on the one hand, and the investment in coastal protection, port and hinterland infrastructure, and administrative centers on the other. As a result of urban growth and new defense infrastructure as well as bigger ships and increased shipping, the footprint of the port and the city has increased extensively. The individual locations' responses to these changes may be different, but their scalar impact is similar: all of them grow tremendously.

Planners needed to intervene in shaping the ports, cities and regions. In contrast to natural features, human-made features are more subject to change over time, as they are created and adapted to people's needs. For this reconnaissance, we focus on manmade features and we have limited categories of land use to industrial areas, port areas, built-up areas, and densely built-up areas (city center). The density, spatial distribution, and physical characteristics of urban settlements are important drivers of social and environmental changes at multiple scales, and therefore crucial for our research. Infrastructure networks, such as transport networks over water, land, and rail, as well as bridges, dykes, and defense systems are another important factor, creating conditions for settlements, economic activities, and mobility. We present the urban morphology in an abstract form, so that the level of detail matches the scale level and the available historical knowledge.

To study the interaction between port and city over time and to identify relevant moments of planning history, we choose the diagonal approach, which allows us to perform a comparative study of the spatial development of the three case studies to understand how port and city relationships have changed in terms of functionality, size, and location of the port in the city and what the role of planning has been. The overview notably includes infrastructure, land use, and institutional borders. As a result, we can see that after the emergence of planning as a discipline each location was the site of different planning approaches.

Planning decisions made in the 19th century created path dependencies that continue to influence planning for ports and cities today. With industrialization, new forms of transport, private actors, port companies, and some city governments created dedicated port areas separate from urban spaces in all three cities. Water access was a privilege largely dedicated to trade. Private and public companies created new land or carved water spaces into existing land. Rapid growth of trade, the emergence of petroleum as a fuel, and urbanization required port and city expansion. Specific patterns vary, but in every case, port spaces grew substantially and started to occupy land in the estuaries. In Rotterdam, the port expanded into one large port area, together with the port of Schiedam and 1886 annexed Delfshaven. In London, the port grew even beyond the administrative boundaries of the city. Key planning decisions concerning the location of the port, acquisition of land, the technology used for port infrastructure, the development of plans, their implementation, and the construction of a port take decades and the impact of the decisions



**FIGURE 3.4.5** First draft for comparative geospatial mapping methodology, with a case study of London, Hamburg, and Rotterdam. Figure by Carola Hein, Yvonne van Mil, Blanka Borbely, and Batuhan Özaltun based on Global Administrative Boundaries (2018) CORINE Land Cover (2016) and EuroGlobalMap (2017).

can last for centuries. London opted for the construction of docklands, a choice that influenced urban reconstruction in the second half of the 20th century. Hamburg explored, but did not adapt, the London model and chose instead to construct a tidal port in the mid-19th century, which ultimately resulted in a different form of waterfront redevelopment. Decisions made at this time have continued to influence port city territories until today and they continue to determine future development. For example, the port authority of Rotterdam has been closely related to the interests of the municipality of Rotterdam since 1882. In order to keep the port within its boundaries, the city managed to annex, if not their entirety, parts of almost all the municipalities neighboring the estuary. By the end of the 20th century only Schiedam, Vlaardingen, and Maassluis had managed to retain their access to the estuary. Port size can be unrelated to the size of the neighboring city as ports start serving a larger hinterland, as Ducruet also showed. Access to the hinterland via rail and road infrastructure in the region is key.

As the maps show, the scales of decision-making have shifted over time and no single institution can compete with or control the region that depends on or is influenced by the port. Maritime activities have been a key driver of urban growth and planning for several centuries. The cities next to the port have also had other incentives for growth. As nodes in a larger urban conglomeration, as regional hubs, or as capital cities, they have taken on many nonmaritime activities and geared their planning toward these needs. Their economic and spatial focus split from that of the port. Although the city of Rotterdam is primarily a port city, together with Delft (a university city) and The Hague (a residential and government city), it functions as a port city region. Hamburg contains the port function within the city-state territory. Here the difference in city size makes it clear that the definition of the concept ‘city’ and the identification of city boundaries is becoming vague, as Meyer (1999) indicates. To adjust to contemporary needs, ports searched for appropriate spaces, abandoning historical ports and leaving the task of redeveloping them to nearby municipalities. Containerization played an important role in the separation of port and city because it brought changes in the amount and types of work available in the port. The arrival of larger and often automated port terminals has pushed the industrial ports outward. Planners in each of the cities have made different decisions regarding the changing relationship between port, city, and region. In Rotterdam, the port authority has consciously built the port toward the sea, creating new boundaries with rural instead of urban areas where fewer citizens are influenced. In Hamburg, port and city are still intertwined in the same city-state, but the river itself has become a barrier. In the case of London, private actors moved the port beyond the boundaries of the city, where environmental and infrastructural conditions are more conducive to modern shipping and commercial interests. A new type of multifunctional space emerged, where heritage ports serve urban functions—often nonmaritime ones, such as business, housing, shopping, or leisure.

## Conclusion

Conscious planning of port and port city spaces occurred before the formation of the discipline. The port was the driver for the emergence of the city of Rotterdam in 1300. Port activities led the development of the city and municipal expansion followed the expansion of port territories. Long-standing relationships between local institutions, ports, municipal governments, and corporations continue to shape contemporary choices. The Port of Rotterdam continues to play a leading role in the development of the region today. Many of the higher-level urban functions linked to the port, such as the location of headquarters, have been ‘outsourced’ to neighboring cities in the Randstad. Meanwhile, in London, the economic functions of the city have taken the lead in the relation between port and city. After a period of port expansion

based on private funding, evidenced first in the growth of the docklands and more recently in the move of port functions to Tilbury, the restraints of the urban context led private players to move first beyond the borders of the city and then outside the larger London region. The case of Hamburg shows a situation where port and city have remained intertwined and have been governed together. As the city grew, so did the port. In 1937, Hamburg incorporated the ports of Altona and Harburg to become a large urban port city region with shipping, port, and administrative capacities (Hein and Schubert 2020a). Based on these maps, we can posit that a city in the vicinity of a port benefits from having control over the port's space and development for environmental, social, and safety reasons. A better understanding of the temporal and scalar development of port city territories from a comparative perspective and of the intersection between spatial and social development can inspire better planning for port city territories. For example, one might argue that Rotterdam's striving to increase its standing in the ranking of Maritime Capitals and to catch up with Hamburg would entail a closer collaboration among port and city stakeholders.

Ports have a huge global foreland and a hinterland that extends often beyond national borders. They are part of economic flows and shipping movements and they are physical entities and socio-spatial constructs. Planners play a key role in negotiating global and local interests and needs. Looking at the interplay of transnational urbanist scholarship and the work of planners in port cities, we can identify promising directions for new inquiry into the exchange of planning ideas: transnational urbanism can be studied from the viewpoint of planning history, but it extends beyond individual players and their schools of thought. A systematic analysis of planning history that involves mapping the impact of globalization in diverse institutional settings of exchange is still lacking, although private corporations create networks within which planners can exchange design premises. Advancing research in the field of planning history (Hein 2018), taking into account the sea-land continuum and the urbanization of the sea (Couling and Hein 2020),<sup>3</sup> will allow for richer investigations, denser methodological inquiries, and multidisciplinary exchange in the growing realm of scholarship on transnationalism.

## Acknowledgment

The mapping project in the Chair History of Architecture and Urban Planning at the Delft University of Technology would not be possible without the contribution of Yvonne van Mil, who is leading the development of a mapping methodology.

## Notes

- 1 The article builds on several recently published articles ((Hein 2019b, 2019a; Hein and Laar 2020; Hein, Mil, and Momirski 2020; Hein and van Mil 2020; Hein and Schubert 2020a, 2020b)
- 2 VOPAC, "Our History" <https://www.vopak.com/at-a-glance/our-history>
- 3 Couling, Hein (ed.), *Urbanisation of the Sea*, nai010/BK Books

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# 3.5

## A LOOK TO TRANSGRESSIVE PLANNING PRACTICES

### Calling for Alternative Sources and Actors

*Andrea Gimeno*

Published in 1982, this image (Figure 3.5.1) is an advertisement of the ‘Alternative Communities Movement’ found in *Undercurrents*, a British self-published zine that started precariously as a compilation of leaflets wrapped in a plastic bag and became a bimonthly publication of reference for environmentalists. Intending to persuade new dwellers to join one of the “at least 100 communes” in Britain, the flier uses an empowering language mixed with illustrations of domestic architecture shaped with geodesic domes, truncated pyramids, tepees and devices to produce clean energy. The alternative to the “bored suburbia” was communal living where safety, freedom, company and personal development were guaranteed: “If you wish to grow, find out about community living”.

During the long 1970s,<sup>1</sup> all over Western Europe – and beyond – young activists believed that the world they were living in had destroyed their inner harmony. In various contexts – ranging from women’s liberation to pop, anticolonialism and counterculture – more or less radical activists responded in various ways to this perception of living in an ‘inauthentic’ world. For environmentalists, inauthenticity was caused by the disconnection between humanity and nature provoked by the “wasteland urban culture”<sup>2</sup> that postwar urbanism had been largely responsible for creating. The idea of an associative and liberating habitat that will free individuals from the consumption of fossil energy and the alienating environments of modernist planning turned out to be a common demand among environmentalists. Alike *Undercurrents*, many zines with an environmentalist tone flourished all around Western Europe operating as a critique of the resource-consuming policies displayed during postwar years. Yet, beyond the critique, they performed as an arena for experimentation and production of spatial ideas where the formulation and dissemination of alternative habitats and planning ideas occurred through its circulation.

Seeking to create a more complex and polyvocal planning historiography regarding the 1970s emergence of environmentalism, I advocate looking at alternative actors and media in order to fill possible gaps and omissions within planning history regarding sustainability. That means including environmental activists, dilettantes and discipline-outsiders as important actors to be considered, and self-published zines as the primary sources to be contemplated.

The chapter is organized as follows: following this introduction, the next section explains the demand of including alternative planning narratives and enunciates the concept of transgressive planning practices for European environmental activism. Thereafter, an argument about the extent to which environmentalist zines serve appropriately as primary sources to track these practices is

**Most communes are NOT hippy dope scenes  
or gurus exploiting innocent babies.  
That's just the media trying to sell papers  
to bored suburbia.**

**There are at least 100 communities in  
Britain already — why don't you live in one?  
Someday most people will live in communes  
— why are you waiting?**

**become part of the future  
join the culture of the future  
you don't have to live in a bedsit  
you don't have to get married 'cos there's nothing else to do**

**get lots of friends and work for your own future  
leave the fossilised culture of the past  
All you have to lose are your chains**

**stop worrying about your security  
learn to make friends instead  
So what, you make mistakes —  
those who don't take risks don't learn**

**so what, you're shy  
so what, you're scared  
who's running your life?  
you or fear?**

**if you know it all already,  
go back to sleep  
if you wish to grow  
find out about community living**

**why lock yourself in a house  
with one person, when  
you could join  
a commune?**

**Worried about the standards of the local school?  
Why not join a commune  
and run your own school?**

**Stop thinking about communes — join one  
Stop being put off by problems — solve them  
So what, the first one collapses — learn from it and make  
sure the next one is better —  
else you'll always be trapped by fear  
you only live once**

Alternative Communities Movement  
18 Garth Road, Bangor, N. Wales (MA2)

FIGURE 3.5.1 Advertisement of the Alternative Communities Movement published at the inside back cover in Undercurrents issues 55–56, 1982.

Source: Photographic reproduction from the British Library. Courtesy of Undercurrents.

presented. And lastly, a discussion on some of the findings made so far when cross-referencing the networked knowledge contained in the zines is outlined, to be followed by a conclusion.

## Definition of 1970s Environmental Transgressive Planning Practices

Over the past two decades, some scholars have been pleading for alternative historiographies in the field of planning history (Llewellyn 2003; Friedmann 2011; Robinson 2011; Avermaete 2017). In *Making the Invisible Visible* (1999), for instance, Leonie Sandercock denounces the heroic and progressive version of the discipline, focused on questions of authorship (key ideas and individuals) and the obsession “to chronicle the rise of the profession, the institutionalization and its achievements”. In response to that and under the influence of the 1960s poststructuralism, there has been a rising interest in microhistories, stories of the everyday spaces, and unknown or marginal figures (Stieber 1999) – all of their alternatives that emerged to dismantle architecture and planning’s master narratives. In that sense, Dolores Hayden in *The Power of Place* (1995) laments the narrowness of planning history when it fails to encompass the broad spectrum of ordinary places and people. In the search for a more inclusive understanding of planning narratives, therefore, some researchers plead for the inclusion of ethnic communities, migrants and women, as these actors were traditionally “hidden from history” (Rowbothan 1973). Sandercock tags all these latent stories and contrapositions as the “*noir* side of planning”.

Concerning the environmental question, the agency of European environmentalist counter-culture throughout the long 1970s remains largely unexplored within the planning historiography, unlike its American counterpart, which has been recently studied (Scott 2016). Hence, it can be hitherto situated within the *noir* family. Like Sandercock, James Holston defends the necessity of including within planning history what he calls the “insurgent citizenship”, that is, the forms of the social that exist in grassroots mobilization and everyday practices because of their encounter with planning operations (Holston 1999). Interestingly, he proposes considering “insurgent” sites and actors not as mere side-effects but rather as essential elements that challenge the categories and processes of planning (Holston 2008). They are not just passive objects but, rather, active subjects with the agency over planning.

In the case of 1970s environmentalism, the agency goes beyond the opposition to planning operations. Understanding themselves as the dissident counterbalance to mainstream planning, activists practiced proactive criticism, suggesting alternative solutions to many planning conflicts. These practices were considered instruments of liberation but also demonstrations of other ways of living linked to the management of natural resources.

But the rebellious period in the long 1970s was short-lived and is regarded as a utopian phase that was followed by a process of stabilization (Häberlen, Keck-Szajbel and Mahoney 2019). The decline of political radicalism eventually led to its absorption and implementation, thus affecting later policies and planning discourses: activists were invited to participate in governmental agencies and environmental premises were adopted in political agendas.<sup>3</sup> Thus, 1970s environmental activism can be identified as ‘transgressive planning practices’ and not (just) as ‘insurgent citizenship’. “The very moment when their works’ own radicality became style, when subversive deconstruction became design, when critical performative gestures became mere theatrical stunt” writes the art historian Benjamin Buchloh about radical artistic practices of that time (Buchloh 2017).

However, as Katka Müller suggests in her book *The Legacy of Transgressive Objects* (2018), if there is something persistent in the process of decline of radical practices during the long 1970s, it is the idea of transgression. Beyond its literal definition (transgression as “an action that breaks the law or the rule” (Cambridge Dictionary)) and borrowing’s Müller’s theoretical approach, the

term ‘transgressive’ is introduced here as defined by Foucault in 1963. Prompted from George Bataille’s writings on sexuality, Foucault saw transgression as a fundamental operation to reshape our societies in the future. For the French author, the ‘transgressive’ will trigger a viable space of production once “it can be detached from its questionable association with ethics” and “liberated from the scandalous and the subversive” (Foucault 1993). Thus, the role of transgression is to perform as a spatial-temporal bridge, “to measure the excessive distance that it opens at the heart of the limit” or, in other words, to operate as an anticipation of the future. Transgression, then, appears as a future-oriented utopian space of possibility.

As will be elaborated further below, the production of ideas and experiments implemented by the environmental movements in Western Europe during the long 1970s anticipated many of the planning questions that in the meantime have become the mainstream debate on sustainability. Conceptions of new architectures suggesting a whole new organization of society, the autonomy of dwelling understood as a closed system for energy consumption and waste generation, and the experimentation with the communal organization for inhabiting and land owning, are some of the discussions included in the zines. Hence, this contribution claims to consider (radical) environmental activism as a transgressive planning practice.

## A Sample of Zines

For planning historians, both the built space and the archive are traditionally understood as the material requirements from which to build a narrative, considering sources as necessary historical facts to sustain a historical inquiry (Mattson 2018). But sometimes, as is the case for environmental activism, there is (almost) no built form and the material that can be found in archives is not enough. The ephemerality of environmental activism and its intrinsic interdisciplinary character made its production difficult to catalog. Yet, its amateurism and antiofficial message contribute to enhancing its absence from the archives. Beyond news about demonstrations and performances published in the press of the time, it is difficult to find sources produced by these ‘outsiders’ within the traditional planning history archives.<sup>4</sup> As the critic Reyner Banham sharply portrayed in 1966, the long 1970s was an agitated period: “Architecture, staid queen-mother of the arts, is no longer courted by plush glossies and cool scientific journals alone but is having her skirts blown up and her bodice unzipped by irregular newcomers, which are typically rhetorical, with-it moralistic, misspelt, improvisatory, anti-smooth, funny-format, cliquey, art-oriented BUT stoned out of their minds with science-fiction images of an alternative architecture” (Banham 1966).

In a moment in which the planning discipline was shaken by unfamiliar actors and media, the question of which sources to consider is crucial for carrying out historical research, especially when actors are amateurs, activists and thus outside of professional or academic circuits. In an attempt to answer this question, the chapter looks at environmentalist zines as primary sources. The emergence of the environmental wave in the long 1970s runs parallel to the explosion of self-published zines. Therefore, a radical transformation of the production and distribution of knowledge coincides with the rise of the activist movements.

Contrary to professional publications, zines are noncommercial, amateur, small-circulation periodicals, which their creators produce, publish and distribute themselves. As described in the Dutch zine *Provo*, their potential audience was genuinely non-professional: “a monthly sheet for anarchists, provos, beatniks, players, scissors-grinders, jailbirds, “Simple Simon” stylites, magicians, pacifists, potato-chip chaps, charlatans, philosophers, germ-carriers, grandmasters of the queen’s horse, happeners, vegetarians, syndicalists, santy clauses, kindergarten teachers, agitators, pyromaniacs, assistant assistants, scratchers and syphilitics, secret police, and other riff-raff”

(Provo 12 1967). An environmentalist zine's reader would find both local and planetary matters, from protests against the approval of a plan for a district to fears about the Vietnam War or the 1973 oil crisis. Yet practical or speculative projects, prototypes for toilets or instructions for growing vegetables in the city, all amalgamated with some advertisements, pieces of advice for mushroom-picking, meditation techniques, hypnotism or homeopathy. The content, as the format of the zine itself, was messy, copy-pasted and collage-like.

Amid the disarray, a constellation of zines published during the long 1970s in Western Europe that mainly focuses on environmental activism is introduced here as the primary source to consider. The collection starts with a 'dynamic sample', a sample of some of the titles that will keep growing while incorporating more publications. So far, it includes the following titles, chronologically classified: *Provo* (The Netherlands, 1966–1971); *ArSe* (United Kingdom, 1969–1972); *Almblad* (Sweden, 1971–1974); *Street Farm* (United Kingdom, 1971–1972); *Undercurrents* (United Kingdom, 1971–1983); *The Kleine Aarde* (The Netherlands, 1972–1997); *La Gueule Ouverte* (France, 1972–1980); *Le Sauvage* (France, 1973–1991) and *Vannbaerereren* (Norway, 1974–1978).

The selection is based on typological (nonprofit, self-published), topic-selected (environmental and spatial planning focus), temporal (published during the long 1970s) and geographical (Western Europe) criteria. Unquestionably, there is a strong predominance of British publications and crucial omissions caused by difficulties in accessing sources remain to be addressed. These imperfections are precisely why the list is called a 'dynamic sample', accepting that it is not finished and should keep growing. Remarkably, when analyzing all the titles one by one, it appears that all the zines on the list refer to each other, functioning within one network, whether this takes the form of a section of recommended publications or just some copy-paste samples or photocopies of one zine into another. Thus, a secondary principle for elaborating the list was tracking all the references that zines themselves suggested. This shows how activists in different countries operated in an informal transnational network where zines were regarded as tools to learn from others' experiences. Yet, it enhances the noncommercial values of zines, working in an alternative logic, out of the market.

## Material and Immaterial Production

*Alternative Everything.*

*We attack the environment to attack the state. The construction of alternatives is both a process and product of the revolution, that by negating the state works to precipitate its inevitable collapse. Every action we take to modify the environment is part of that process. (...)*

*For example:*

*the plan to seed the pavements with grass makes it impossible to walk in the pavements resulting in the use of the street for pedestrians, closing the streets to vehicular traffic.*

*the plan to farm parks is a true realisation of public land resulting in a growing independence from commercial mass production.*

*the plan to plough up the streets is an extension of the park plan manifesting and resulting in the collapse of oppressive urbanism. (...)*

*The nature of the alternative is irrelevant. Any real alternative is an act of rebellion and is subversive. The quasi-alternative will make the alienation of our situation more tolerable: the real alternative changes the situation.*

The cited fragment is part of a text published in 1971 in the first number of the environmental-anarchist zine *Street Farm*. Besides the antistate proclamation and the call for taking action, the lines contain many of the mottos shared by other environmental activism zines. Critical ideas against the lack of nature within cities, against Western consumerist policies, or the dominance of the car in city planning were reiterated within all the publications, portraying a common enemy: ‘oppressive’ modernist urbanism.

The publications here are considered for their expanded qualities as ephemeral, circulating and utopian objects of the recent past. Instead of reporting the world, zines incubated whole new worlds, offering sights of societies living under completely different physical, social and intellectual rules. As the architectural historian Beatriz Colomina states when referring to architecture magazines in the long 1970s, they functioned as *portable utopias* (Colomina 2018). Topics such as urban farming, the relationship between feminism and ecology, collectivized gardens, cooperative housing, community workshops and the link between anarchism and environmentalism are issues that intermittently appear in most of them. These coincidences allow the researcher to navigate and articulate the collection, elaborating potential routes that, eventually, lead to grasping new narratives.

Zines were the media that transformed the culture of revolts in the long 1970s into an alternative vision of the world (Duncombe 1997). Therefore, a series of the themes discussed served as the basis of a hypothetical improved and new society. But what are the common themes? What is the immaterial production that, eventually, influenced the material world? After the exploration of the sample of zines, five major themes are tentatively highlighted as articulating environmentalist counterproposals.

*A critique of modernist top-down planning.* The refusal of the modern city is a joint departing point. In all the publications there was a strong rejection of the top-down imposition of design by planners, who, in their view, contribute to the alienation of the residents. These perspectives were often illustrated in an ironic tone (*Almbladret, Provo, Le Sauvage*) or as critical political articles (*ArSe, Undercurrents*). The development of diverse welfare states and the display of ambitious housing programs giving priority to car traffic found a clear obstacle in the rhetoric of scarcity and the imminent environmental catastrophe articulated by the environmentalist movement (Figure 3.5.2). Straightforward demands such as the stopping of the demolition of buildings in many city centers, for instance, provoked questions, so that the preservation of the city also became an environmental issue (Arrhenius 2010).

*The need for reconceptualizing housing.* The house and its natural, urban and global ecologies should be part of the “Whole Earth” system. Intended to function self-sufficiently, experiments, speculations and built projects of dwellings were regularly included on many of the zines’ title pages (*Street Farmer, Undercurrents, Vannbaereren*). The predominant idea was to build a house that works as a loop system capable of harnessing its waste and generating its own energy (Figure 3.5.3). There was an extraordinary belief in the possibility of gaining autonomy by systematizing the household into a regenerative circuit. The house turned into a political tool that liberates individuals from state mechanisms and contributes to balanced domesticity in terms of natural resource consumption.

*Technology as an instrument of liberation.* An extended manifestation was to shift the misuse of technology toward something that would serve individual human beings. As written in the manifesto of *Undercurrents*, “we (...) believe that technology can be reoriented to serve not economies and governments but individual human beings – to provide small-scale sources of basics like energy, food, shelter, clothing and tools; to provide unfettered communication between the smaller, more human communities that our world must create if it is to avoid overpopulation, alienation, violence and all the attendant evils of mass society”. It is the period of fascination



**FIGURE 3.5.2** The obese woman in this caricature impersonates the city of Stockholm in the context of the Million Housing Programme (1965–1974). Three developers try to feed her, but she refuses: “No, I can’t stand another million”. The men try to persuade her with “one spoon for Järva”, “another spoon for Botkyrka” and “another for Nacka”, three municipalities in Stockholm County they intend to develop. *Almbladet* issue 2, 1972, pp. 21–22.

*Artist:* Gunnel Ginsburg. Photographic reproduction from the National Library of Sweden. Courtesy of Alternative Stad.

with cybernetics in communication. For example, discoveries regarding feedback control processes in biological, mechanical and electronic systems provoked experimentation on the built environment, considering information as raw construction material from which to depart when planning. Devices for energy production and waste management, as mentioned above, would contribute to the autonomy of the house and, mixed with traditional construction techniques, dominate the architectural esthetics within the zones.

*Ruralising the urban.* The dominant idea was to dissolve the dichotomy urban/rural or city/country as an intrinsic characteristic of the capitalist enclosure in order to reconnect mankind with the non-human and natural environment (*Street Farmer*). A feasible path to its achievement, as suggested in the publications, was by taking individual responsibility and action. Therefore, a myriad of do-it-yourself tactics was published: instructions for assembling kitchen gardens, proposals for actions of massive sowing, or a list of steps to create compost among others. Individual engagement would lead to the profusion of organic growth that would replace dominant concrete environments (Figure 3.5.4).

*The search for autonomy.* Autonomy is probably the inherent strategical condition of all zones. The format itself propagated the culture of Do-It-Yourself not only in terms of technology or architecture but in terms of the dissemination of ideas, facilitating and promoting peer-to-peer



# UNDERCURRENTS

INSIDE! Windscale • Free School • NATTA • Leys • India • Tree Farms •  
Citizen's Band • Future Shock • Wind Charger • Albion • Lifespan •  
Garden Villages • Solar Terraces • Planning Ploys and much more..

# 16

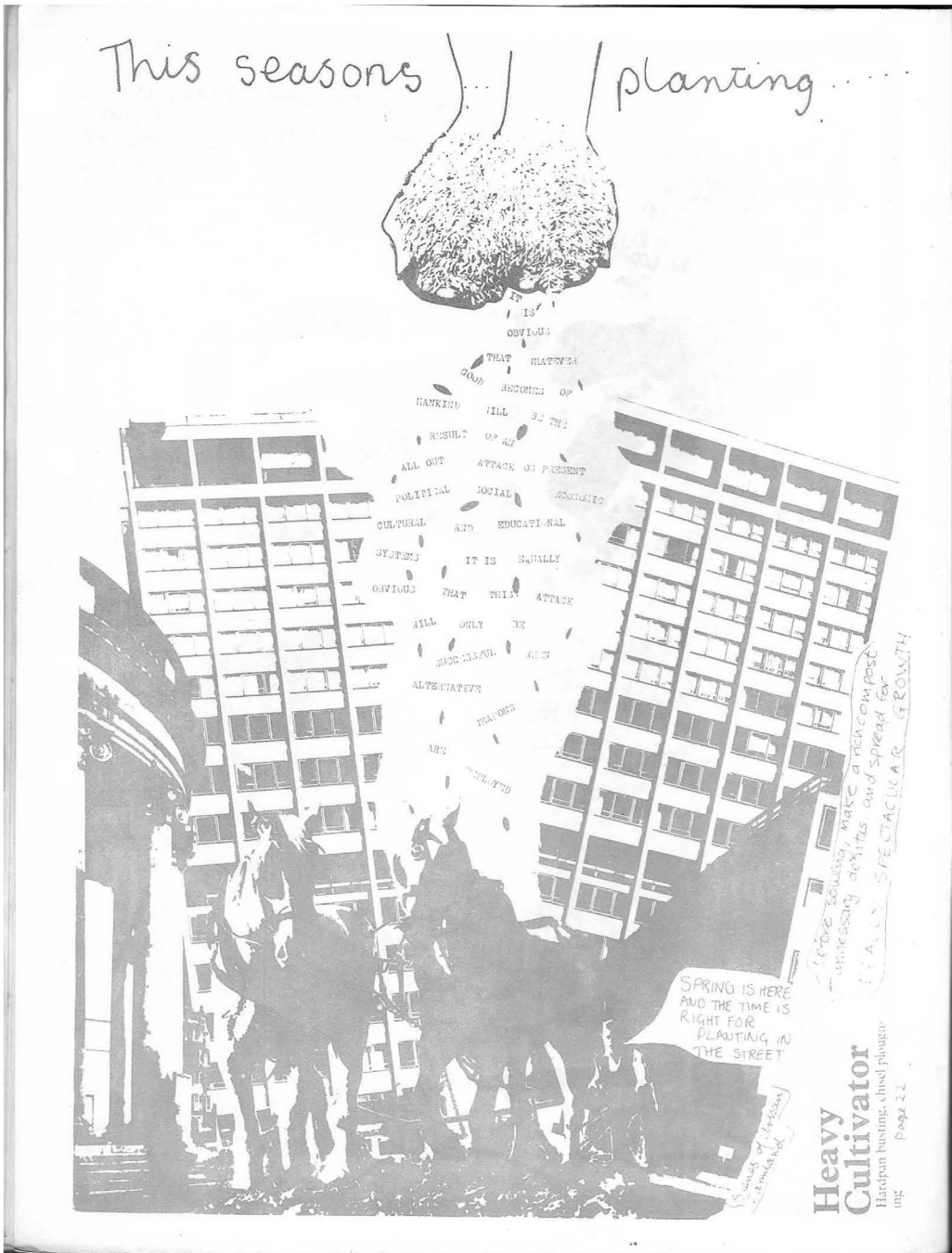
people's  
**HABITAT**  
ISSUE

## THE DO-IT-YOURSELF NEW TOWN



FIGURE 3.5.3 Cover of Undercurrents 16 published in 1976.

Source: Photographic reproduction from the British Library. Courtesy of Undercurrents.



**FIGURE 3.5.4** Collage published in *Street Farmer* 2 p. 22. Playing with a double entendre, the text says: “It is obvious that whatever good becomes of mankind will be the result of an all-out attack of present political, social, economic, cultural and educational systems. It is equally obvious that this attack will only be successful when alternative weapons are deployed. Spring is here and the time is right for planting in the street. Before sowing, make a rich compost of unnecessary detritus and spread for REALLY SPECTACULAR GROWTH”. online public domain at: [www.streetfarm.org.uk/streetfarmer\\_two.html](http://www.streetfarm.org.uk/streetfarmer_two.html)

exchanges. The pamphlets contained objects, tools and ideas that made possible a new, small-scale conception of the world. Drawings of collectivized gardens, community workshops and autonomous terraces, connected the question of autonomy – and the ideology of many of the zines – to the tradition of anarchist planning.<sup>5</sup> The underlying idea is an alternative organization of society as a whole, distributed in smaller, self-managed groups as the alternative to top-down government by the State.

Today, most of these transgressive visions are reflected in the dominant obsessions in the mass media about sustainability or the formulation of alternatives to the housing crisis. Transgressive proposals that were tagged as radical in the 1970s, now dispossessed of their combative connotations, have become part of the current dominant discourses.

## Conclusion

The above-mentioned observation on zines reveals the importance of incorporating overlooked sources and actors in order to create a more polyvocal planning history. The use of zines (and other non-mainstream documents) as primary sources opens a new line of inquiry within planning history that broadens our perspective on the agencies and mechanisms by which the diffusion of planning occurs, its fundamental causation and the role of activism in the development of planning bias.

The cross-analysis between the titles has shown how zines performed as spaces of experimentation and, eventually, spaces of anticipation. The 1970s transgressive environmentalism pointed out a series of preoccupations (recycling, energy production, resource-consumption, global mobility, alternative communities etc.) that are seen today at the center of contemporary planning discourses. As time went by, environmentalism moved from activism to the core of institutions and ideas and actors were co-opted. Therefore, if we are to trace the history of contemporary sustainability, then 1970s environmentalism, alternative sources and actors must be considered.

## Notes

- 1 From here on, I will use the term ‘long 1970s’ to frame the period between 1968 and the early 1980s. Recent historiography uses this term when referring to the intense international transition period between 1968 and the beginning of the 1980s (sometimes until 1989) during which collective-oriented socio-economic interest and welfare policies were increasingly replaced by the more individually and (neo)liberally oriented policies of the postindustrial epoch. It is also the period of new transnational movements and political forms emerging from civil society such as feminism, post-colonialism, minority interests groups, pacifism and what is pivotal for this paper: environmentalism (Villaume Mariager and Porsdam 2016).
- 2 Press quotation from an article about on the Londoner zine *Street Farmer*. Leach, Gerlad, “Living off the Sun in South London”, *The Observer*, August 27, 1972, 1–2.
- 3 I refer here to the contrast between a movement concerned with protecting the natural world from the Western extractive culture in the 1970s and what some activists are calling today’s conservation-industrial complex (big green organizations, environmental foundations, and some academics) which has co-opted much of the movement into ‘sustainability’ with the meaning of keeping this culture going as long as possible. There is no room here to go any deeper into the issue without being superficial (Selznick 1949).
- 4 By traditional archives for planning history I refer to city archives, governmental archives, archives of architecture and design, and even libraries of all types.
- 5 Historical anarchist planning tradition can be traced back to ideas such as the city-nature fusion formulated by Eliséé Reclus; the city-country integration formulated by Piotr Kropotkin; the regional approaches of Patrick Geddes and Lewis Mumford and the autonomy in construction formulated by John Turner (Hall 1988; Oyón and Kuzmanić 2020).

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# 3.6

## NEGLECTED NARRATIVES OF POST-WAR ITALIAN CITIES

### Actors and Rationalities in the Shaping of the Ordinary Residential Landscape

*Gaia Caramellino and Nicole De Togni*

#### **A Multi-Layered History**

The modernization and growth of the Italian cities in the post-WWII years have often been portrayed as the outcome of a homogeneous process and a uniform project by canonic studies in the fields of planning history. The disciplinary viewpoint of city planning favored interpretations that concentrated on ‘linear’ sequences of policies and tools often providing partial perspectives, mainly centered on the history of the City Plan (Insolera 1962; Falco and Morbelli 1976; Oliva 2002), while the notion of ‘public city’ was often used as an interpretative category to write and understand the contemporary Italian urban history (Di Biagi 2008; Laboratorio Città Pubbliche, Di Biagi and Marchigiani 2009; Infussi 2011). The historiography of postwar residential architecture, on the other hand, has mostly focused on iconic interventions and experimental solutions meeting the requirements of an exceptional clientele (Mazza and Olmo 1991), or alternatively, has described postwar Italian cities through the history of their public housing estates (Di Biagi 2001).

Meanwhile, a significant part of the built environment of postwar Italian cities, made of a plurality of objects and cultural positions, has been largely overlooked – if not stigmatized – as a low-quality, unplanned side effect of the processes of land and building speculation resulting from a quantitatively oriented culture. This essay aims to highlight the complexity outlined by the multiple and stratified narratives concerning the history of post-WWII Italian cities, assuming the specific perspective focused on the study of the ordinary residential landscape. Overcoming a series of established interpretations and diffuse representations, a set of underexplored standpoints are suggested, proposing to read the composite and fragmented urban environment of the postwar Italian cities as the result of stratification of processes, policies, spatial forms, actors and disciplinary tools rarely investigated in their complex relations.

The close observation of ordinary buildings and neighborhoods built between the 1950s and 1970s mainly – but not only – through the private initiative can contribute to dismantling the shared images of postwar Italian cities and the dominant narratives on the trajectories of their urbanization. Rarely studied from a holistic perspective, this quantitatively relevant built environment can be observed through the layering of multiple readings: some narratives are already consolidated, while others should still be built from the methodological, theoretical and operative viewpoints of the different disciplines.

Growing attention to the study of the ‘ordinary city’ recently emerged, which has contributed to providing a set of different interpretations in the fields of an architectural history interested in everyday practices, urban studies and urban geography (Amin and Graham 1997; Robinson 2006; Agarez and Mota 2015; Avermaete 2015).

This article rather uses the interpretative category of ‘ordinary’ to describe the large tangible and intangible heritage that lies between the two extremes, generally much more explored, of stigmatization (Goffman 2003) and the economic driven capitalization of projects and parts of cities.

The use of this category to describe the ordinary character of the residential environment produced in Italy during the years of the building boom can offer a new angle for the comparative investigation of the urban history of European cities during the same period, taking into account the obvious specificities of the local contexts. In the framework of a scholarship in urban history that often adopted the lens of housing to investigate diverse aspects of postwar urban growth and territorial planning (Ballent 2005; Foot 2007; Parvu 2010; Parvu and Sotgia 2012; De Biase *et al.* 2014; Clerc and Engrand 2013; Allweil 2017; Swenarton 2017), recent research addressed the study of Italian ordinary housing through the lens of collective buildings for the urban middle class (Bonomo 2007; De Pieri *et al.* 2013; Caramellino and De Pieri 2015; Caramellino, De Pieri and Renzoni 2015), significantly contributing to outlining a methodological perspective and fostering the use of the tools of investigation typical of urban history.

From the point of view of planning, historical studies of the ordinary built environment bring to light a fragmented process of urban growth, largely driven by the production of housing and services based on the emergence of demands for innovation and social emancipation (Renzoni 2018) and often implemented through punctual processes of negotiation (De Togni 2018). The construction of the ordinary post-WWII residential landscape in Italy was often the effect of the cumulative interventions of a variety of public and private actors, assuming forms of mutual interaction that contributed significantly to building important sectors of the public city and left evident traces on the contemporary urban environment (Caramellino and Renzoni 2016) (Figure 3.6.1).

The ordinary residential landscape is also inextricably linked to the construction and fortune of individual and collective, local and diffused narratives, intercepting issues of a spatial (at different scales), political but above all experiential nature. The built environment that constitutes such a large part of the Italian cities, as well as the critical fortune or misfortune of some projects, attests to urban and social visions, possible relationships with national and international models and research, readings of the present and ideas of the future that manifest themselves in professional but also political and legislative cultures, as well as in collective imagination. The perspective of public history, oral history and the study of individual and collective memories can contribute to exploring the relationship between the inhabitants, the physical and social everyday spaces and their practices of use (Piccioni 2006; Portelli *et al.* 2006). Living spaces are in fact not only the built products of material relations but can rather be investigated as repositories of stratified collective, familiar and individual stories, memories and imaginaries.

The research on Italian cities could thus take advantage of and refine these perspectives, combining a detailed long-term historiographic analysis open to urban history and questioning the traditional ‘linear’ reading of planning history, with an exploration of public and collective history which generally has little correspondence with dominant narratives and established interpretative frameworks (Caramellino and De Pieri 2015). This approach would also contribute to broadening the spectrum of conventional sources, including nonspecialized press, family archives, promotional materials, oral sources and documents produced through participatory



**FIGURE 3.6.1** Mirafiori neighborhood, Turin (Italy).

*Source:* Photography Michela Pace 2014.

processes and community studies. Moving from the exploration of the ordinary residential environment of post-WWII Italian cities, the essay will cross different and divergent forms of construction and transmission of individual and collective memory, aimed at putting the production of historical knowledge and imagery under focus.

### **Building and Planning the Ordinary City: Actors, Visions, Strategies and Negotiation Tools**

The comprehension of the complex processes of construction and expansion of postwar Italian cities should interweave with a multiplicity of approaches, methodological perspectives and scales of observation, ranging from the living units to the private, subsidized or public collective buildings to the urban facilities and public spaces, intersecting the city on different levels and interpreting its neighborhoods as a material and immaterial heritage that can only be investigated by fusing investigation tools, sources and methods from diverse disciplines.

The study of ordinary housing offers a specific perspective to address the Italian urban history and to discuss and question a series of established narratives and images of the Italian city during the building boom, allowing a more nuanced history based on multiple times and forms of development as well as a set of new interpretative keys and tools of analysis to emerge (Caramellino and Zanfi 2013).

As seen in the previous paragraph, the ordinary and stratified residential landscape produced by the urban development processes that touched Italian cities during the years of the economic boom has been investigated in recent years by adopting a plurality of different angles and research strategies (amongst others, see Vidotto 2006; Foot 2007). This ordinary environment,

made of residential buildings and estates, often grew in the absence of strong forms of public control and took shape through the stratification of processes, spatial forms and actors whose relations have rarely been explored.

Enriching the current historiographical perspective, this essay introduces multi-layered narratives using research on housing policies, on the multiple actors involved and on their strategies and operative tools, on their interferences with the circulation of formal and technical models and policies, on the processes of structuring and building services, on the role of the general and the specialized press, on the fortune of models and references and on the definition itself of ordinary. These multiple layers are themselves interrelated, often highlighting the weakness of an interpretation usually based on the public–private dichotomy and the state–market paradigm.

As a set of recent studies have demonstrated, a close observation of the rationality, agency, structure and strategies of some major actors operating at diverse levels in the building sector can provide new elements to understand the processes at work in the construction of the ordinary urban landscape (Martin, Moore and Schindler 2015; Miller Lane 2016; Theocharopoulou 2018) and to discuss diffuse images and the canonic representation of the building processes of post-WWII cities, bringing to light unexplored aspects and new interpretative lines on their urban history.

Until very recently, Italian urban history has condemned the patterns of urban growth and the architectural production prevailing during the building boom, and has mostly dispensed with the study of this part of Italy's cityscape built through the rationalities of the market (Cederna 1956; Secchi 2005). The contribution of private developers has therefore been mostly neglected by the historiography of post-WWII Italian cities, and the new neighborhoods of expansion often appeared to be led by economic and building 'speculation' targeting the private sector and not the common good, being stigmatized for their low architectural quality and anonymous character.

Architectural historians, for their part, have concentrated their efforts on the study of a limited number of experimental solutions elaborated by outstanding architects, intending to define a canon of Italian postwar modernism that stood out against the vast quantity of the average building production. The lack of attention for the diffuse forms of this 'average' production, representative of more diffuse practices, is also confirmed by the divorce that seems to emerge between the histories of Italian postwar architecture and the history of the multifaceted professional fabric that answered the massive demand for houses and effectively contributed to the construction of the postwar urban environment (Poletti 2011; Capitanucci 2013).

However, actors of diverse size and with diverse cultural competencies and capacity for action (public administrators, real-estate developers, building companies, banks, architects and engineers, real-estate agencies, building and housing cooperatives, insurance companies ...) were the main protagonists of the massive building expansion and of the unprecedented processes of transformation that altered the structure of postwar Italian cities, largely guided by private initiative and by the production of housing (Caramellino 2015).

Large-scale, national real-estate companies like Società Generale Immobiliare, responsible for the construction of more than 70 residential complexes in Italy between 1945 and 1975, or insurance companies active in the design and construction of houses and neighborhoods for its employees and the market, like INA Assicurazioni, provide fascinating lenses to investigate the role of private developers in influencing the forms of urban growth during the building boom, through the construction of new relevant portions of the city conceived for an emerging urban middle class interested in living in the new neighborhoods of urban expansion (Bonomo 2007; Caramellino, De Pieri and Renzoni 2015). Their building activity, strategies of localization and policies of land purchase cross diverse phases of the construction of the Italian ordinary city since



WWII, influencing the direction of urban growth and interweaving crucial moments of the contemporary planning discourse on the definition of new planning tools – from the approval of the new General City Plans (PRG) to the implementation of new housing and facilities policies (De Magistris 1999).

In the framework of an Italian planning and architectural culture deeply affected by the debate around the notion of *quartieri* and on the postulates of territorial planning, the relationship between the private actors and the public sector takes on different forms, interweaving with and influencing the diverse moments of the production of the ‘public city’: from the first plans for postwar construction recovery to the two 7-year INA Casa programs to the subsidized housing implemented through the Tupini Law and which, subsequently, under Law 167 approved in 1962, allowed a considerable part of the funds allocated to public housing to be used for the construction of new estates by private initiative (Di Biagi 2008; De Pieri 2013; Caramellino and Sotgia 2014).

The building and residential policies of the developers concentrated on the purchase of building land and on the design and construction of new neighborhoods in the fast-spreading suburban areas. This approach was strengthened during the 1960s, when their residential agenda started to change according to the new directions taken by public housing programs, the national planning discourse and the changing ways of living, when new private residential sectors began to be developed on public land along the newly equipped axes under construction in the new areas of expansion defined by the Economic Building Plans (Peep). During the same period, the attention of the developers started to move toward the urban dimension of the house, with the introduction of new research on the *quartieri integrati* (integrated neighborhoods), new ‘large-scale, self-sufficient’ equipped residential districts with a network of facilities and infrastructures that helped to produce a new relationship with the public administrations through the use of planning agreements encoding a relationship of subsidiarity between public and private (Puzzoli 2003). The paradigm of the *quartiere integrato* was used to encourage the design and construction of public space as infrastructure aimed at connecting the residential units with the urban environment, conceiving public space as places of mediation, where the private initiative and the forms of public intervention continuously intersected outside of the indications of the City Plan.

The forms and strategies of intervention in the building market during the years of the building boom intersect the geographies of the urban development and the main moments of the definition of new planning tools and policies, contributing to delineating models of expansion aimed at influencing the direction of urban growth. Residential programs and policies offer a precious insight into the inner workings of city-making practices. Real-estate developers are capable of interweaving diverse strata of the urban market by addressing the articulated demands of diverse social groups of customers, and of responding to the specific variables of each local context: from the economic housing to the ‘intensive buildings’, from the slab blocks for the lower-middle class and the *palazzine* for the upper-middle-class to the most exclusive ‘fully equipped’ residential complexes (with swimming pool, tennis court, private garden and common facilities), up to self-sufficient residential districts and new satellite cities located at the edge of the municipal boundaries that become the new ground of negotiation between the public and private developers on the design of public space (Caramellino, De Pieri and Renzoni 2015).

It, therefore, seems possible to dismantle established stories that depicted the construction of postwar Italian cities as a homogeneous process and the outcome of a single project that adopted a specific angle based on the history of the City Plan. However, looking at the diverse actors on the market, a rather fragmented and incremental process of construction of new urban sectors is revealed: it is implemented through a series of punctual interventions, agreements and forms



**FIGURE 3.6.2** View on Piazza Pitagora, Turin (Italy).

*Source:* Photography Michela Pace 2013.

of interaction and negotiation between the public and private sector, which often took place without any suitable planning and management from the public authorities.

The interplay between private actors and public policies emerges to be one of the defining traits of the period and its analysis can contribute to problematizing the state–market paradigm. The urban expansion was largely carried out through private initiatives, but these were directly and indirectly supported by various forms of public funding that aimed to promote access to home ownership for a large part of the urban population. The systems of private houses and facilities show a typical outcome of the building process that guided the construction of the ordinary landscape between the 1950s and 1970s when public facilities were often implemented as a result of negotiation processes between public initiative and private participation, and private developers contributed to the urbanization and equipping of Italian cities, using public land devoted to economic housing for private developments (Caramellino and Renzoni 2016) (Figure 3.6.2).

Recent research is currently questioning the canonical perspective of planning history, interpreting the postwar Italian cities as a succession of planning acts based on the confidence in a linear and continuous growth.

Among the studies enriching the traditional functional approach to the issue of spatial control addressing underexplored disciplinary tools of planning, the lens offered by recent interpretations of the specific instrument of planning agreements opens up to a history that is stratified, complex and not merely technical. It allows close observation of the multiple forms of construction of the urban landscape, particularly concerning the interweaving of entrepreneurial strategies, design cultures, regulation and administrative and bureaucratic organization, leading to a reinterpretation of cultural and professional backgrounds and of social and negotiation

processes, which is crucial for a complex reading of the Italian cities in the second half of the twentieth century.

In the Italian legislative context, planning agreements are long-standing arrangements between the public administration and the public or private actors, aimed at the discipline and organization of goods for planning purposes, through which the involved operators define the mutual obligations for the interventions.

Since the birth of Italy as a unitary state, the planning agreements have taken on different forms and objectives, reflecting the impact of economic and political power on public and private actors and the orientations of legislation that only officially framed them in 1967. Their relationship – as tools of negotiation or implementation – with the City Plans has long been at the center of a disciplinary and legislative discussion confronting the protection of public interests with the defense of private initiative. They have been interpreted in the postwar planning debate mainly as technical measures to overcome the lengthiness of the procedures foreseen in the postwar City Plan, often favoring private interests (Vercelloni 1961; Graziosi and Viganò 1970; Tortoreto 1977); up to the 1980s, they were depicted as the main tool of speculation and alteration of planning policies by private actors, highlighting their diffused use in the 1960s to negotiate volumetric limits and uses provided for the City Plan, in some cases unhinging its predictions (Campos Venuti 1986).

In relation to the ordinary residential landscape, they rather reflect a rich experience of punctual negotiation (De Togni 2015), discussing tools and practices, professional and administrative networks, demands for social emancipation and the renewal of planning processes at the center of a complex system of actors and habits and disciplinary and critical positions. They often facilitated the implementation of the City Plan through direct and friendly execution, defining building density constraints, distances between buildings and perimeter limits, green areas, services and parking spaces before the introduction of standards and the legislative definition of the tool. Their role and outcomes in the construction of the physical city – most frequently explored regarding residential buildings in the expansion areas (Zanfi 2013; Caramellino and Renzoni 2016) – can also be read within the consolidated urban fabric: they influenced the definition and implementation of the Italian urban transformations at the most variegated scales, offering an underexplored perspective on housing, public facilities, collective services and urban spaces, addressing their cultural matrices and the complexity of the originating and resulting context.

The use of planning agreements provides a unique opportunity for negotiation between the municipality and a wide variety of players (individual owners, builders, temporary assignees, real-estate companies etc.) who dialogue to define the methods, timing and features of interventions that vary from personal concerns regarding private properties to the construction in the collective interest of primary infrastructure, services and green spaces: although built directly by private individuals or on areas made available by them, they contribute significantly to the construction of the public city.

The planning agreements can therefore be analyzed as catalysts of the relationships between public and private law and moments of unprecedented interaction between traditional actors as clients, professionals and the administration. The study of planning agreements could become part of a historiographical methodology oriented to the investigation of a disciplinary context that sees the need to move from a functional representation and architectural interpretation for exempla and models to a complex reading of architecture and planning. This, therefore, allows the close observation of the forms of negotiated construction of the urban landscape, in particular concerning the interweaving of business strategies, design cultures, administrative and bureaucratic regulation and organization.

Through their investigation, it is possible to intercept at various levels the history of planning, policies, building ownership, land regime and real-estate activities that shaped the Italian cities and the ordinary built stock, originating a complex narrative that could enrich the consolidated studies.

## Conclusions

The stratification of diverse and, in some cases, conflicting narratives (administrative, institutional, professional, individual, collective) on postwar Italian cities brings to light the potential of a set of innovative research strategies, methods, practices, tools and sources for the study of the diffuse forms and the multifaceted dynamics of growth of the ordinary city.

In the framework of increasing interest for alternative and hidden narratives of Italian urban history, the investigation of the ordinary residential environment can contribute to rethinking the representation and perception of the construction and modernization of postwar Italian cities in a period of great urbanization and changes in the concept of urbanity itself.

The interrelation between the stratified set of sources (institutional documents, technical publications, promotional materials published by the building companies and real-estate operators, popular press, familiar sources, individual and collective memories...) can contribute to providing new insights into the history of the planning discourse, the professional practice and the domestic cultures, supporting the shaping of a more structured view and a more nuanced narrative of the forms and times of urban growth in booming Italy.

The variously oriented studies on the ordinary residential landscape could therefore contribute to enriching the narrative on the Italian urban, architectural and planning history, experimenting with new research strategies and objectives and proposing an underexplored use of less conventional or established sources and tools of investigation. The resulting stratification of narratives could offer an unprecedented framework to interpret and discuss the postwar process of construction of the city and its legacy on the contemporary urban landscape, encouraging a comparative perspective that can contribute to broadening the reflection thereon at the European scale.

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# 3.7

## THE END OF THE PLANNED CITY? URBAN PLANNING AFTER 1989

*Florian Urban*

### The End of the Cold War – the End of Planning?

In November of 1989, cheering crowds stood on top of the Berlin Wall, celebrating the downfall of the socialist regime in East Germany, which had not only been responsible for building the Wall, but also for the unsuccessful attempt to run a country's economy through comprehensive central planning. Their optimism resonated with protesters all over the Eastern bloc, where the new freedom after the end of socialism was hailed as the end of intrusive and inefficient state planning. But also in the capitalist West planning was increasingly perceived as belonging to the past, along with any form of regulation and intervention. In the Netherlands, Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers announced "*meer markt, minder overheid*" ("more market, less government"), and subsequently abolished government subsidy and public control of the powerful housing associations. In Denmark, the government under Poul Schlüter started what was referred to as *kartoffelkur* (potato diet) and led the privatization of municipally owned flats and public harbor lands. And across the Channel, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher stated that "there is no alternative" to liberalization and deregulation, and, among other projects, promoted the privately driven redevelopment of the London Docklands.

All over Europe, the years around 1989 saw a backlash against planning. Municipal, regional, and national planning institutions were dismantled and restructured. Planning powers were cut back, welfare state provisions reduced, and long-term planning strategies dismissed. This went along with a declining belief in planning for even development, equal wealth and social justice, and rising trust in entrepreneurialism and merit-based social distinction. The measures taken varied significantly from country to country and were often based on makeshift arrangements rather than comprehensive visions.

This chapter will take a closer look at this turning point in European planning history, focusing on municipal planning and the agency of local government. While planning as such did not end, goals and strategies shifted significantly. Municipal institutions were restructured and retreated from core competencies such as housing or service provision.

The chapter will also show that the heterogeneity of post-1989 planning policies in many European countries was related to the contradictory criticism against the modernist paradigms that had inspired state-led planning in the previous decades. While some critics had focused on physical aspects and censured the unsatisfactory design of car-oriented neighborhoods and

functionalist housing blocks (Siedler and Niggemeyer 1964; Alexander 1977; Krier 1979), others centered on strategies and institutions, and disparaged economic intervention and technocratic governance (Friedman 1962), or the lack of participation and individual responsibility (Bahrtdt 1961; Jacobs 1961; Davidoff 1965; Gans 1965). Remedy was therefore sought in revising or removing those aspects of modernist planning that in a particular context were most harshly criticized.

The change in planning strategies in the late twentieth century has been the subject of many studies. Political economists have been pointing to the connection between economic shifts, new modes of governance, and planning strategies (Logan and Molotch 1987; Scott 1988). There are various detailed studies on the showcase projects of neoliberal governance and planning, such as the London Docklands or the Manhattan Waterfront (Edwards 1992; Fainstein 1994). Scholars have also extensively theorized the various ways in which the modification of planning was based on a “post-Fordist regime” characterized by a receding welfare state, increasing market influence, the tertiarization of the urban economy, and a new stage of globalization (Beauregard 1989; Harvey 1990; Mayer 1991; Smith 1996). There is also increasing scholarship on the effects of these changes on urban design policies, including the privatization of public spaces, the commodification of historic environments, and the restructuring of inner cities for leisure and tourism. And there is a growing body of literature on postfunctionalist architecture and urban design that grew from these shifts (Ellin 1996; Brenner and Theodore 2002; Sonne 2017; Urban 2018).

Against this background, this chapter will give a comparative overview of what all over Europe emerged as the most important themes of post-1989 planning. These were the deregulation of housing, the master planning of post-industrial inner-city areas, traffic planning for the automobile and beyond, and different forms of city-based economic development.

## Deregulating Housing

The retreat of the state from the responsibility of housing was among the most consequential move of late-twentieth-century governance, and at the same time highly inconsistent. It evolved against the background of a rhetorical trope that collapsed the negative image of modernist large housing estates with that of state intervention into housing and sought remedy in removing both.

It was nonetheless not this criticism that dealt the deathblow to large housing programs. Rather, it was economic recession, combined with the fact that these programs had been largely successful with regard to their original goals and made the housing shortage less pressing. In the wake of the 1973 Oil Shock, it became increasingly difficult to finance ambitious construction programs, and in the mid-1970s most West European countries scrapped the construction of large, municipally planned estates. The French “Guichard circular” of 1973 that removed state subsidies for *grands ensembles* was emblematic in this respect. In the Eastern bloc states, where authoritarian structures and the path dependency of industrialized construction precluded fundamental reforms, such estates were continuously built until 1989, but virtually no new large estates were planned and the existing plans were increasingly criticized and often downscaled. In Italy or Spain, where modernist multistory housing was never demonized, state intervention decreased as well and large estates were increasingly built by private developers.

The 1980s saw the cut of state subsidies and the increase in homeownership in many countries. In Britain, the system of municipal housing provision was weakened by legal incentives, most importantly the 1980 introduction of a “right to buy”, which allowed council tenants to purchase their flats at a favorable price. In Glasgow, in the mid-twentieth-century Britain’s



second-largest city after London, the amount of council housing shrank steadily before officially ceasing to exist in 2003, while the share of owner-occupied units rose from 19% of the city's housing stock in 1965 to over 30% in 1987 and 44% in 2014 (Urban 2018: 106).

In West Germany, the powerful non-profit housing associations lost their privileges in 1988 and were forced to operate on market principles (Bundesgesetzblatt 1988, 1093). At the same time, social housing units successively lost their rent-controlled status, which had been granted to them only for an amortization period of thirty years. The number of social housing units thus shrunk from 3.9 million in 1987 to only 1.9 million in 1998 (von Beyme 2001: 163) and continuously diminished thereafter.

In the Netherlands, state-subsidized housing was compulsively subjected to a market regime in 1994, when the Dutch government started the process of *brutering* (“grossing”), and converted the country's most significant housing providers, the non-profit *woningbouwverenigingen* (Associations for Residential Construction), into private-law *woningcorporaties* (Housing Corporations) (Urban 2018: 136).

Likewise, most other West European countries dismantled certain aspects of state planning for housing. In the Eastern bloc countries the former state housing providers were privatized after 1989, although there were considerable differences with regard to the degree to which the new private institutions had to operate on market principles. Most significantly, what was scrapped and what was retained varied from country to country. This was dependent on local traditions and cultural specificities, but also on which aspects of anti-modernist criticism were seen as most significant.

For example, Britain was characterized by strong class differences and distinction of social status by housing typology, as well as long-standing associations of middle-class lifestyle with homeownership. In this context regulated and state-supported housing was perceived as belonging to a working-class culture that was to wither away along with mining and steel production. The “right to buy” for council housing, which had originally been promoted by portions of the Labour Party as much as by conservatives, upon its introduction in 1980 coincided with Margaret Thatcher's struggle against the labor unions and the foreclosure of unprofitable state firms such as coal mines and transport companies. Conservative rhetoric thus implicitly promoted the end of council housing as crucial for the country's economic recovery. This helped to generate the momentum for a comprehensive retreat of the state from its responsibilities for housing.

On the other end of the spectrum, housing in Austria largely remained under public responsibility. The famous *Gemeindewohnungen* (municipal flats), which in Vienna made up one-fourth of the city's housing stock, since the 1920s had been benefitting both working and middle classes, which often mixed in the same blocks. Also, there was little association of flatted housing or tenancy with a lower social status. As a result, throughout the post-Cold War era, all political parties supported continuous tax investment into municipal housing, and liberalization was limited to small changes in the supervision of tender and procurement. Municipal planning powers even increased in 1984, when the right of private developers to acquire land was curtailed and the construction of new multifamily buildings largely became an enterprise of the city (Urban 2018: 163, Urban 2019a).

In Poland, as elsewhere in the Eastern bloc, the changes toward deregulation and a capitalist market regime were harsh and comprehensive, and first affected particularly attractive portions of the housing sector: historic buildings in inner-city locations and new, developer-built residences. The less popular large housing complexes of the socialist period, which were home to the majority of the urban population, were transformed in a more incremental way that stretched over several decades. (Szafrńska 2014). The *spółdzielnie mieszkaniowe* (housing cooperatives) that



**FIGURE 3.7.1** Socialist mass housing from prefabricated panels in Warsaw-Ursynów, Zamiany Street (master plan 1971, building 1988–91 by Krzysztof Kasperski), owned by the housing cooperative Spółdzielnia Budownictwa Mieszkaniowego Ursynów (author).

operated owned and operated the housing blocks were gradually modified from highly regulated tools of socialist housing provision to independent players in the capitalist market. Likewise, many inhabitants had acquired quasi-ownership rights to their flats already under socialism and were thus protected against rent increase and eviction (Figure 3.7.1).

The Netherlands is a good example of the contradictions of the new policies. In a country that to a large extent owes its existence to cautiously planned land reclamation, comprehensive state planning has a long tradition. In an attempt to bridge entrepreneurial goals and social remit, certain elements of state responsibility for housing were retained and others abolished. The new “housing corporations” established in 1994 had to operate without government subsidies and control generate income through profitable real estate development. At the same time, they were in theory expected to continue their social mission and cross-finance unprofitable affordable housing through their real estate profits. In practice, however, most went for the market. They sold a portion of their flats to the inhabitants, demolished unprofitable low-rent units, and invested in upmarket housing that promised the highest return (Urban 2018: 136–138).

The whole project was soon overshadowed by scandals involving failed high-risk investments, mismanagement, and excessive executive salaries. Most famously, the CEO of the Vestia housing corporation in Rotterdam, Erik Staal, was forced to step down in 2012, after reportedly receiving an annual salary of half a million euros, while his company’s losses, through a system of mutual guarantees, had to be covered by the rest of the sector (Verbraeken 2012). Ironically, such incidents reminded the corruption scandals among the overly powerful municipal institutions of the modernist era that the “retreat of the state” was supposed to reform, for example, the Newcastle Housing Committee under T. Dan Smith, who in 1974 was sentenced

to prison for bribery, or the non-profit housing association *Neue Heimat* in Hamburg, which in 1986 went into administration after several of its executives had been charged with fraud.

While the reorganization of the housing sector was comprehensive, just as important as what was left unchanged. Housing provision in many cities continued to function on the residues of modernist housing policy. In Poland, as in many other former Eastern bloc countries, soaring house prices left large portions of the population without a chance to secure housing on the free market, but the situation was mitigated by the fact that many already owned flats which they had received under the socialist regime for a fraction of the post-socialist market price. In Germany, many dwelling units had lost their social housing status, but rental contracts continued to be protected by legislation. In Denmark, there was a rising share of private for-profit housing, but residential construction continued to be subsidized by the national government. And in Britain, the privatized housing associations were no longer subordinated to the city council, but some continuously offered affordable housing.

The patchy deregulation of housing was successful in removing some ills of modernist planning, but left many others unchanged and generated new difficulties. The large housing estate ceased to be a tool of social policy and thus no longer performed what in Britain had been criticized as an oppressive attempt to control the working class and in the Eastern bloc as a dictatorial way to enforce a socialist collective. All over Europe, big plans came out of fashion; inner-city neighborhoods were no longer bulldozed; and the better off had more choice of individualized dwellings (Ellin 1996; Klemek 2011; Damer 2018). At the same time, deregulated housing not necessarily increased participation and empowerment, and, most importantly, significantly reduced the availability of affordable housing for the economically weak.

## Master Planning Harbors and Factories

If housing regulation and subsidy became the subject of harsh debates around 1989, the right to carry out municipal master planning remained largely intact. Contentious was only the degree to which local government was supposed to balance public and private interests, and whether it was to be an advocate of the commonweal or a facilitator of unobstructed market action. This became particularly apparent in what at the time became the most conspicuous aspect of urban development: the reuse of factory and harbor areas close to the city center, which had been abandoned as a result of industrial decline.

The textbook example of investor-friendly planning was the London Docklands, which at the same time was one of the earliest cases of post-industrial waterfront reuse. The project marked a time in which London, for the first time since the Second World War, once again experienced demographic growth—in the following twenty years also cities such as Paris, Berlin, Vienna, and Copenhagen started to grow again after decades of shrinkage. The rebuilding of the harbor areas in East London since 1981 was carried out not by the local authority but by the London Docklands Development Corporation, which was subordinated to the national government. The Docklands were the showcase project of Margaret Thatcher's free-market policy and at the same time, paralleling her struggle against the labor unions, emblematic for the violent change from an industrial to a post-industrial urban regime. The role of planners was changed to that of facilitators to private investment, particularly in the growing FIRE sector (finance, insurance, real estate). A buzzing real-estate market was considered beneficial for the city as a whole. Social democratic goals such as social justice or equal living conditions took a backseat, and the widening gap between rich and poor was accepted as long as overall wealth increased. The London Docklands also heralded an era of business districts designed by signature architects, as exemplified in the Canary Warf development (Figure 3.7.2, begun 1988, designed by Cesar Pelli,



**FIGURE 3.7.2** Canary Wharf, the new business district in the London Docklands, developed by the London Docklands Development Corporation on a former industrial site, featuring office blocks and upmarket residences (begun 1988, buildings by Cesar Pelli, SOM, I.M. Pei, John McArslan, and others) (Wikimedia Commons/Quintus Petillius).

SOM, I.M. Pei, John McArslan, and others). And they saw the emergence of residential areas for the urban middle classes, such as Finland Quays on the Surrey Docks (begun 1990, designed by Richard Reid), which were based on postmodern urban design principles such as mixed-use, historic references, and the integration of work and leisure.

The variability of post-industrial redevelopment is evident in the comparison with other well-known examples. If London was the showcase of neoliberal planning, Vienna was the extreme of continuous state intervention. One of the largest post-industrial redevelopments in the inner city was the Nordbahnhof (North Station, begun 1992, master plan by Boris Podrecca and Heinz Tesar, [Figure 3.7.3](#)). Here, as in other comparable projects, the municipality took post-industrial redevelopment as an opportunity to implement social policy. Regulations required private developers to comply with the goals set by the municipality, which included not only flat sizes and maximum rent levels, but also the construction of bicycle and car-share facilities or communal swimming pools (Urban 2018).

The Netherlands occupied a middle ground. Here, municipal authorities took a leading role in the redevelopment of post-industrial inner-city areas. Perhaps the best known of these areas is the Amsterdam Eastern Docklands, which had fallen into disuse in the 1970s, and from 1990 onward were redeveloped. The Eastern Docklands consist, among others, of KNSM Island (master plan 1988 by Jo Coenen), Java Island (master plan 1991 by Sjoerd Soeters), and Borneo Island (master plan by 1993 Adrian Geuze). Also in Amsterdam the redevelopment was predominantly



**FIGURE 3.7.3** Bike and Swim development in the Nordbahnhof area, Vienna (master plan 1992, building designed in 2012 by Günter Lautner/Nicolaj Kirisits). This municipally financed social housing project offers communal bike sheds, a sauna, a fitness room, a sun deck, and a spectacular pool on the roof with a view across the city. Rents are affordable, set at approximately 550 euros per month for an 80-square-meter two-room flat in 2012 (author).

designed for more wealthy inhabitants and put an end to squatting and temporary use (Russell 2001). But contrast to London the municipality retained strong influence. This included not only a close supervision of the master plans and an effective implementation of dense construction, small scale, and pedestrian orientation, but also the mandatory reservation of certain portions for low-income housing. These policies were similar in Copenhagen (Urban 2019b).

In the former Eastern bloc post-industrial redevelopment came with a time lag, as deindustrialization started later and was not as comprehensive as in the West. The famous Gdańsk Shipyards a few hundred meters north of the historic old town, which in 1980 had been the birthplace of the Solidarity Trade Union under Lech Wałęsa, only declared bankruptcy in 1997 and subsequently continued to operate at a smaller scale, thus not allowing for comprehensive redevelopment. Also in other cities, heavy industry continued to dominate central areas. For example, in Kraków-Nowa-Huta the former Lenin Steelworks were reduced in capacity, but continued to be one of the city's largest employers. And in St Petersburg the famous Admiralty Shipyard, founded in the eighteenth century and expanded under Soviet rule, is still a workplace for several thousand people. Only in some places, post-industrial development took off in the late 1990s, as in Tallinn, where the formerly industrial Rotermann Quarter was reconstructed in 1997 and converted into a business and leisure center (design by Kosmos, KOKO architects, Alver Architects, and others).

The redevelopment of abandoned shipyards and factory areas was a consequence of deindustrialization, but at the same time a reaction against previous planning policies that had favored the decline of inner-city neighborhoods, such as motorway construction and the sharp separation between residential, commercial, and industrial areas. In contrast post-1989 planners, although not always successfully, promoted mixed use, connectivity, and integration of their projects into the wider area.

## Traffic Planning for Automobiles and Beyond

Traffic infrastructure has remained a core competency of municipal planners all over Europe. A sea change in 1989 can only be detected in the former Eastern bloc, when the predominance of busses and trams gave way to increasing use of private cars.

Most remarkably, the criticism of the “automotive city”, which had been fundamental to anti-modernist protest movements during the 1960s and 1970s (Jacobs 1961; Mitscherlich 1965; Gehl 1971; Appleyard 1981), had only limited influence on actual traffic planning, as in many cities the private automobile remained the most important means of transport. The protesters' visions of small scale, mixed use, and predominant pedestrian and bicycle traffic nonetheless led to the diversification of municipal strategies. Traffic planning came to be less disruptive than in the 1960s, and the demolition of entire neighborhoods for new motorways was no longer an option. Along those lines, automotive planning was complemented by plans for railways, metros, and tramways, as well as by the increasing introduction of mixed-traffic streets, speed bumps, noise reduction walls, and bike paths.

Most of these strategies developed progressively both before and after 1989. The effectiveness of centrally planned metro systems for urban development had been common sense for decades, and their introduction or extension responded predominantly to increasing urban growth rather than to changes in planning practice. Examples included the new metro systems in Munich (1972), Amsterdam (1977), Vienna (1978), and Copenhagen (1994), and the extensions of the rudimentary systems in Rome (since 1980), Athens (since 2000), and Istanbul (since 2000), which had a huge impact on economic and social life in these notoriously congested cities. Tramways, which in the postwar decades were widely considered obsolete, experienced a



**FIGURE 3.7.4** Erasmus Bridge in Rotterdam (1996, Ben van Berkel), connecting the city center (on the left) with the formerly industrial Kop van Zuid on the right, redeveloped 1998–2009 (author).

renaissance. They were extended in many cities and re-introduced, for example in former West Berlin (1995) and Edinburgh (2014).

In the post-1989 period traffic infrastructure was increasingly used to promote urban development. Examples include the Erasmus Bridge over the Nieuwe Maas in Rotterdam (opened in 1996, [Figure 3.7.4](#)), which improved the connection between the city center and the formerly industrial neighborhoods south of the river, or the Øresund Bridge over the Sound (opened in 2000), which helped to create an integrated international city region between Denmark and Sweden.

Municipal airport and railway planning was an important factor that strengthened particular cities as global networks of control and international tourist destinations. A forerunner was London City Airport, which opened in 1988 in the Docklands close to the new business center Canary Wharf, and which in this respect conspicuously connected multiple strands of post-modernist city planning. Municipal planning also promoted the progressive growth of budget airlines, which made the airplane a cheaper alternative to cars and trains. Examples were the conversion of former military airfields to passenger traffic and their subsequent expansion, as in London–Stansted (expanded 1991), Paris–Beauvais (expanded 1997), Stockholm–Skavsta (transformed 1998), or Warsaw–Modlin (converted 2010). The positioning of cities in the global network of control, communication, and tourism depended on such planning.

Airport planning responded to the sharp increase in national and international traffic that most large cities experienced in the post-1989 period. The rising importance of tourism and business travel only to a small extent led to the construction of new motorways and parking structures in the inner cities along the lines that 1960s planning had foreseen. In this respect, post-1989 traffic planning was effective in changing the overall significance of the automobile, although in slightly different ways than the anti-car protesters of the 1970s had hoped for: cars lost importance for international and inner-city traffic, but their overall number still increased.

## Big Events and Urban Development

The years around 1989 also saw a rise in the “festivalization of urban politics” (Häußermann and Siebel 1993). Municipalities increasingly attempted to boost urban development through the organization of big events. Examples include the Olympics in Barcelona 1992, Athens 2004, and London 2012, which all spawned extensive master planning and development projects; the celebrations of the “European Capital of Culture”, for example in deindustrializing cities such as Glasgow (1991), Dublin (1992), Antwerp (1993), and Copenhagen (1996); or the World Expos in economically slumping large cities such as Seville (1992) or Lisbon (1998). In all these events municipal planners collaborated with politicians, mobilizing public spending, and coordinating private investment, particularly in declining areas close to the city center. While the economic long-term benefits of these events are hard to assess and subject to political controversies, their positive effect on international awareness and symbolic capital are undisputed. In this sense, event planning was connected to image marketing, which around 1989 became an increasingly important aspect of municipal urban planning (Kearns and Philo 1993; Ward 1998).

In Glasgow, which was hit hard by industrial decline during the 1970s and 1980s, urban regeneration started with a series of festivals. In 1988, the city celebrated the national Garden Festival, in 1991 it became “European Capital of Culture”, in 1999 “UK City of Architecture and Design”, and in 2014, the host of the Commonwealth Games. Each event helped to create momentum for post-industrial redevelopment and infrastructure, which were often patchy and short-lived, but at the same time effective in enhancing the city’s profile and reputation.

Along similar lines, many cities sponsored large construction projects to catalyze urban development. The *grands projects* in Paris, launched by president François Mitterand in the 1980s, were part of such strategies and underlined the state’s continuous preparedness to engage in cultural planning. Many of these projects evolved on abandoned industrial sites. The Parc de la Villette (opened in 1987 on a former abattoir, designed by Bernard Tschumi) combined the reuse of a post-industrial wasteland with new museums and innovative architecture. Similarly, the Musée d’Orsay and the Bastille Opera House (opened in 1986 and 1989, respectively, in former railway stations) increased the city’s cultural significance. So did the National Library of France in the Tolbiac area (opened in 1996 on a former industrial site, designed by Dominique Perrault).

Next to the new popularity of image marketing and seed funding for urban development the “festivalization of urban development” reflected the criticism against high modernist urban design in the city center, which was often effective in promoting high-profile cultural buildings but often failed to create lively neighborhoods or even contributed to their decline. The event-promoted development projects of the post-1989 era thus explicitly related to the goals of neighborhood revival, although often at the price of gentrification and the driving-out of poorer long-term residents.

## Conclusion

The picture of municipal planning after 1989 remains ambiguous. The end of the Cold War did not bring about the end of planning. Rather, planning in European cities was restructured, certain elements were modified, and others were retained. Deregulation and the influence of private actors increased, while municipal powers to control and regulate were gradually cut back. In some countries, local authorities nonetheless remained comparatively influential.

The showcase projects of post-industrial urban design, such as waterfront redevelopment and brownfield reuse relied on strong master planning. Likewise, municipalities continued to engage



in traffic planning, which despite criticism continued to focus on the motorcar and was only gradually expanded to strengthen non-automobile means of transport.

Housing saw the most consequential deregulation measures, as in many countries national and municipal institutions retreated from their responsibility, and handed residential construction and management over to the market. In practice, these policies were often inconsistent, as they attempted to retain a certain degree of social commitment while at the same time promoting entrepreneurialism and profitability. Likewise, they failed to create new housing for the economically weak, whose housing situation deteriorated.

Only in the countries of the Eastern bloc was the year 1989 a milestone. Here it marked the end of comprehensive socialist planning, which in fact had been declining for years. In Poland, Czechoslovakia, Russia, and elsewhere, deregulation and laissez-faire came to be particularly widespread, as the next-to-almighty socialist planning organs were dismantled or restructured, and gave way to comparatively weak institutions. On the positive side, this brought about new spaces for trade and leisure as well as increasing opportunities for homeownership, while on the negative side it led to urban sprawl, a voracious real estate market, and growing social disparities.

To some extent the differences between Eastern and Western Europe fade against those between particular countries and planning traditions. In Western Europe, countries such as Great Britain experienced a comprehensive change toward deregulation and the emergence of powerful private actors, while in Scandinavia planning authorities remained comparably influential. Countries such as the Netherlands or (West) Germany occupied a middle ground and kept some important municipal planning competencies, while in countries such as Austria municipal intervention, for example in the housing sector, was largely retained.

In the attempts to reduce and revise municipal planning the negative image of the “planned modernist city” loomed largely. Deregulation and the strengthening of the market were justified by the memories of the state-regulated city and its bleak modernist housing complexes, car parks, and traffic arteries. These were censured as the outcome of comprehensive municipal powers and the overbearing influence of number-crunching bureaucrats.

Municipal planning in the post-Cold War era thus developed around an inherent contradiction. The critics of rational top-down planning favored heterogeneous, incremental approaches by multiple actors, and hence inevitably a weakening of central planning authorities. At the same time, their vision of a post-functionalist city was based on density, mixed use, and social mixture, and therefore only achievable through strong planning. This contradiction in principle remained unresolved and continued to shape the course of planning for the time to come.

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# 3.8

## INTERPRETING 20TH CENTURY EUROPEAN PLANNING HISTORY

### Eight Theses

*Max Welch Guerra*

The history of European urban planning – together with the subsequent additional scales of spatial planning – in the 20th century is only beginning to be written as the history of a coherent whole. The current volume is intended to contribute to that history. The interval between the present and that eventful period provides favorable preconditions for such an endeavor. The progress made in the recent historiographical discourse also encourages us to extend our view to as much of the entire continent as possible. In the meantime, the global dimension has also asserted itself as the horizon of interest with regard to planning history. A better understanding of the role of urban planning and the interrelated additional scales of spatial planning in the history of Europe in the 20th century is also a contribution to the development of such global planning historiography. Planning historiography remains a productive instrument for the collective perception of the realm of practice and the scientific discipline of urban planning.

The theses which are here presented for discussion have been developed on the basis of the contributions in this volume and are intended to encourage the intensifying of the debate on the history of planning from a European perspective. They do not, however, represent a summary of the individual contributions and have not been discussed with the individual authors. The sole responsibility lies with the author of this chapter.

### **The Term “Planning”**

The fundamental semantic element of urban *planning* has several meanings. Planning refers to a plan, a two-dimensional sketch, which illustrates the restructuring of a space. Urban planning, secondly, conveys the preparations for activities resulting from a functional, morphological and socio-political program. Thirdly, planning is a means of optimizing political-administrative activity that was developed in the course of the 20th century and is intended to increase considerably the ability of the state to exert control at its various levels down to the level of the local authorities; it includes questions of funding and public relations as well as subsequent procedural steps such as evaluations. Finally, the term urban planning as the *planning* of towns and cities is a category from political economy: here, planning is the correction of market processes or their replacement by political decisions. These four meanings are present as components of all the scales of urban and, in general, of spatial planning, although in varying, changing proportions. This is true of planning both in capitalism and in the state-socialism of the 20th century.

All four components of the term refer to state activities or at least to state initiatives. Historiographical research often examines it selectively, concentrating above all on the functional and morphological program. The interpretation of the planning history of the 20th century, however, should be supplemented by the consideration of the socio-political programs associated with these components.

### **Terminological and Factual Incongruities**

Urban planning has a wide range of translations into other languages. In some of them, such as German, various terms even coexist. In contrast to the terminology of other scientific disciplines, we are continuously confronted here with semantic incongruities. This linguistic fact is a reflection of the similarly incongruent histories of the development of the realm of practice and the scientific discipline. Different professions have developed and dominated planning as their own sphere of activity. Access to planning was in some cases primarily morphological, in others procedural or affected by political goals. Planning became generally established in the course of the 20th century but its institutional anchoring and its factual importance as an instrument of the state's or society's ability to act varied greatly from country to country.

With a view to increasing its internationalization, planning historiography must clarify the differences in the constitution and the importance of planning for the respective societies.

### **Land Clearance**

Spatial planning was an essential instrument in the subordination of spaces and population to the requirements of the long-term reproduction of bourgeois society. This is true, for example, for the appropriation of informally settled areas, a phenomenon that up until the beginning of the second half of the 20th century even existed in metropolises such as Madrid or Paris. It is also true, however, for the introduction of minimum hygiene standards for the reproduction of the population. The ambivalence of urban planning is clearly visible here. It can be regarded as a civilizational act, for example as a precondition for a considerable increase in life expectancy throughout the continent. At the same time, however, this integration of space and population into the reproductive circulation of the respective social system was accompanied by the de facto expropriation of the habitats of the poor and the disadvantaged. Displacements, and social and racial discrimination, were repeatedly a part of the official planning program.

### **Internal and External Communication**

Beginning at the end of the 19th century, planning first of all developed an extensive, differentiated range of instruments for communication among planners, from manuals and monographs, competitions and exhibitions, conferences, journals, and professional associations to university teaching. This triggered the dynamic diffusion of planning and promoted the generalization of newly tested planning instruments and practices even outside of Europe.

The second realm of communication developed in the course of the 20th century to a further major everyday function of planning in many countries: the production of narratives designed to convey to politicians and society the advantages or disadvantages of specific types of intervention. These narratives were at times closely intertwined with government programs and socio-political projects and served to impart promises for the future convincingly and to strengthen political legitimacy. The production of towns and cities was complemented by the production of socio-political programs on both a small and a large scale.

## Planning Historiography as a Science with Practical Orientation

From the very beginning, from its inclusion in the earliest contemporary urban planning manuals, planning historiography had a didactic function. As a science, it supported the further development of the realm of practice by the dissemination of good examples and other instructive experiences. Its target group was primarily professionals, and neither the community of general historiography nor the public at large.

Accordingly, it was not the task of planning historiography to record the entire range of reality, to present in detail the role and operating mechanisms of planning in the various countries. The didactically motivated practical orientation of planning historiography is an important partial explanation for the low level of reciprocal acknowledgment between planning and general historiography, the former as a rule regarding orientation toward implementation as endangering its scientific character. The practical orientation has acted, and still acts, as the dominant pole of attraction of planning historiography, which tends to weaken its inclination to examine the history of planning in socio-critical terms.

## Orientation toward Growth

It is well known that contemporary urban planning evolved as a reaction by bourgeois society to the spatial processes triggered by capitalist industrialization. One main feature of these processes is the orientation toward growth, which was a *conditio sine qua non* for the capitalist – and later also for the state-socialist – economics. Urban planning and the subsequently emerging scales of spatial intervention are the attempts of individual societies to deal with the processes of growth. This was not only about supporting the extensive processes of urbanization. From the very beginning, the reconstruction and modernization of the existing stock was one of the main tasks of planning, which was already reflected in the early publications and the dedications of the first university chairs. Planning was also soon responsible for the selective protection of heritage from destruction by the processes of growth. The development of planning by means of norms created new actors and instruments – for example, smaller towns with their own planning competence – in order to deal with economic, demographic, and spatial growth in a differentiated way.

Contemporary planning has been oriented ever since its genesis toward enabling and supporting growth, and by repairing or avoiding the undesirable effects of growth in order to enable even further growth. The worldwide crisis of growth-driven societies that became obvious at the beginning of the 1970s led to corrections in the countries of Europe in very different ways – but always in the sense of supporting further growth.

## The Circulation of Matter between Humans and Nature

Throughout all social formations, spatial planning has had a central function in the preparation and implementation of the circulation of matter between humans and nature. Fundamental decisions, for example on the removal, the regenerative maintenance, or the reallocation of the stock, have occasionally been made with the participation of planning experts, and they participated as a rule in the implementation, often with a coordinating function. The same is true of the utilization of land, water, and other resources. Finally, climate change admonishes us to enquire as to the functions that spatial planning has assumed in the course of time for the rest of society. Historiography offers various instruments for reconstructing this function. In doing so, we not only reveal an important and often ignored field of planning activity but also provide information on how society subdued the Earth in the 20th century and before.

## Outlook

It was impossible to cover the entire history of European urban planning in the 20th century in this volume. Important chapters were only touched upon while others were not even mentioned. These include, for example, the special features of urban planning under the conditions of European colonialism and the occupation of other European countries, but also the gender-specific content of planning. A comparison with Chinese or Japanese planning history and planning historiography, for example, would help us toward a better understanding and characterization of European planning history. The perspective of a global planning history expands the epistemological resources at our command for identifying both the individual and the common characteristics of European planning history. We are relying on further research by the scholars represented here as well as by many others who will take up these and further questions and continue the process of the international, collective, and reticulate self-understanding of our discipline.

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