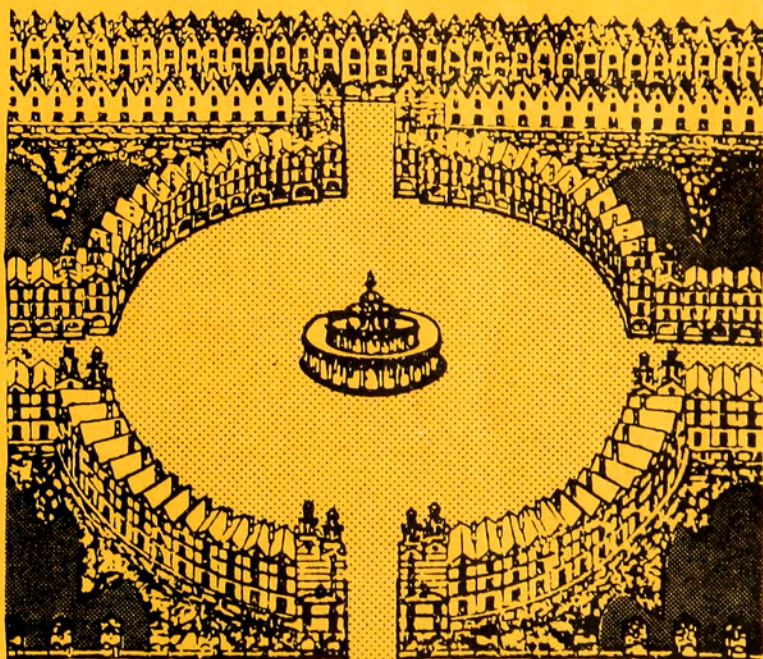


Planning
History
Bulletin

PHB

1979

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Planning History Group

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Chairman's Note

This first number of the Planning History Bulletin replaces the old Newsletter. As an organ of the Planning History Group, the new style is a conscious attempt to provide more information about our membership, our activities, and our field of study. I hope it meets with your approval and that you will feed the Editor with copy for subsequent numbers, as he requests.

Our membership has been pruned, inevitably, by the obligation to impose an annual subscription. However, we still have a total of 219 members (129 in Britain and 90 overseas) and the number is growing. It could and should be larger and I ask for your support in drawing the existence of the Group and its Bulletin to the notice of like-minded colleagues throughout the world. The publication and circulation of the Bulletin is costly, and I fear that your Executive Committee will have to consider a higher annual subscription before very long. But the Bulletin and the Group which supports it can only be as good and useful as you yourselves make it; if together we are successful in publishing a worthwhile venture two or three times a year I am sure you will think it worth the cost and effort. At the moment this is the only device, other than periodic meetings, of keeping in touch with each other, so please give Michael Naslas your support and encouragement.

The Planning History Group has established itself. In Britain at least a regular programme of meetings is emerging. The field is open for this practice to be followed elsewhere: non-UK members of the Executive will no doubt be glad to hear of anyone wishing to arrange meetings under a PHG umbrella, and news of such meetings could be reported in the Bulletin. In the meantime you will see that a Second International Conference is being planned, and we will keep you well informed about this.

Gordon E. Cherry

Planning History Bulletin 1979 1

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Editor's Note

In our view it has become important to find a new format for a publication which should promote the proper study of planning history. It has been agreed that the newsletter should be termed Planning History Bulletin and that careful attention should be devoted to the success of this publication. The Bulletin should become a forum for the exchange of information and ideas in the field. Nevertheless, it is advisable not to attempt too much too soon. There must at the beginning be some limits to what we do, though we hope to extend these as fast as we reasonably can. It is intended to publish the Bulletin, at least initially, twice a year (the next issue will appear in January 1980). We plan, however, to publish it three times a year as soon as it becomes acceptable.

In terms of the volume of information contained, the Bulletin will exceed the capacity of the newsletter very substantially. For example, it will contain the current bibliography, the register of research in progress, full reports of the Planning History Group meetings, information concerning other meetings and conferences, news and announcements, correspondence, book reviews, as well as information on books and publications received. In this connection, attention should be given to Tony King's note published in this issue: he is willing to help in compiling a register of members' current research activities.

The Bulletin is to be essentially a comprehensive review of the whole field of planning history and, basically, it is not seen as a platform for articles and research papers. All the same, it should provide room for two or three short articles of, say, 1500 words each. Blaise Gillie's paper, published in this issue, could be seen as an acceptable version.

I would like to see the Bulletin unfolding into a publication of considerable importance, but this depends, above all, on the support it gets. Reading this first issue may well have given rise to the need to ask questions, to comment, suggest and criticise. Please feel free to write to me on any point which is of concern to you.

Announcements

REGISTER OF MEMBERS' CURRENT RESEARCH ACTIVITIES

Tony King wrote to remind me earlier in the year that when the Group first began we had a small booklet indicating members' interests and ongoing research. Now he would like to bring to our attention the following:-

The Planning History Group Committee would like to compile a register of members' current research activities. Members are asked to send a brief note of these (up to about 50-60 words), and publications likely to arise therefrom, to

A.D. King
58 Lidgett Lane
Roundhay
LEEDS LS8 1PL

PROFESSOR CHRISTOPHER TUNNARD

It is a sad duty to let you know that Christopher Tunnard died on 13 February this year. His widow has written to Gordon Cherry, and apparently he was taken ill in October 1977, soon after our International Conference. She tells that his last book, A World with a View, is his valedictory.

Professor Tunnard was a good personal friend of many of those involved in the field of planning history and an early contributor to the Planning History Group activities. He was a distinguished thinker, indefatigable author and powerful speaker. Our deepest sympathy goes to his family.

MEMBERS OF THE PLANNING HISTORY GROUP EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Planning History Group newsletter of December 1978 extended a call for members of the Group to serve on a new Executive Committee. Ideally, it was thought that we should seek approximately 20 names, internationally spread. If we received many more names than this, we would conduct a postal ballot through a subsequent newsletter (now the Planning History Bulletin). If the number of names were fewer, then we could always co-opt until another opportunity for

nomination presented itself. In actual fact, a very convenient number of offers have been received from members willing to stand for election. They total 23, and are as follows:

UK Members

Mr P.A. Booth, Department of Town and Regional Planning, University of Sheffield.

Professor G.E. Cherry, Centre for Urban and Regional Studies, University of Birmingham.

Dr M. Cuthbert, Department of Town and Country Planning, Heriot-Watt University, Edinburgh.

Dr P. Dickens, School of Cultural and Community Studies, University of Sussex.

Dr S.M. Gaskell, Council for National Academic Awards.

Dr R.J.P. Kain, Department of Geography, University of Exeter.

Mr A.D. King, Department of Sociology/Building Technology, Brunel University.

Dr M. Naslas, Department of Town and Regional Planning, University of Sheffield.

Dr H. Meller, Department of Economic and Social History, University of Nottingham.

Dr A.R. Sutcliffe, Department of Economic and Social History, University of Sheffield.

Mr I.C. Taylor, Carn Forth, Lancs.

Non-UK Members

Dr M.J. Bannon, Department of Town Planning, University College, Dublin.

Professor S. Buder, City University of New York, Dept. of History.

Professor C. Collins, Parsons School of Design, New York.

Professor D.P. Crouch, School of Architecture, Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, New York.

Professor J.B. Cullingworth, Dept. of Urban and Regional Planning, University of Toronto.

Dr P.G. Gerosa, Lugano, Switzerland.

Professor P. Marcuse, Columbia University, New York.

Professor M. Rose, Centre for the History of American Technology, Franklin Institute, Philadelphia.

Miss L. Russenberger, Wisconsin, USA.

Mr J. Salazar, Bilbao, Spain.

Dr S. Watanabe, Building Research Institute, Tokyo, Japan.

Professor W.H. Wilson, Department of History, North Texas State University.

On this basis, therefore, there are 11 UK members and 12 non-UK members.

It has been resolved that the above names now constitute the Planning History Group Executive Committee.

You will recall that the particular officers are as follows:

Chairman: Professor G.E. Cherry (for the time being the Chairman will also act as Membership Secretary)

Meetings/Conference Convenor:
Dr A.R. Sutcliffe

Treasurer: Mr P. Booth

Conference Rapporteur: Dr S.M. Gaskell

Newsletter Editor: Dr M. Naslas

Planning History Group Meetings

PROGRAMME OF MEETINGS FOR THE PLANNING HISTORY GROUP

Tony Sutcliffe would like to announce that the following programme has been arranged:

Autumn 1979, Sheffield
Convenor: Michael Naslas and Philip Booth, Dept. of Town and Regional Planning, The University, Sheffield S10 2TN

Spring, 1980, London
Convenor: Tony King, 58 Lidgett Lane, Roundhay, Leeds LS8 1PL

Autumn 1980, Cambridge
Convenor: Nick Bullock, King's College, Cambridge CB2 1ST

Spring 1981, Swansea
Convenor: Mike Simpson, Dept. of History, University College of Swansea, Swansea SA2 8PP

Planning History Group Meeting, Sheffield, 27-28 September 1979

The general theme of this meeting is Planning in Britain during the first half of the 20th Century. Details will be circulated shortly, but if somehow these do not come your way, the full programme and booking forms are obtainable from Michael Naslas, Department of Town and Regional Planning, Sheffield University, 8 Claremont Place, Sheffield S10 2TB.

The meeting is being organised in conjunction with Sheffield Centre for Environmental Research, and Margaret Fulcher, the Director of the Centre, has kindly offered to contribute in the process of preparation.

There will be a total of six papers, all of them invited, as follows:

- 1) Gordon Cherry, 'Developing attitudes and approaches to the idea of planning, 1919-45'.
- 2) Peter Dickens, 'The Development of Planning during World War II'.
- 3) Patricia Garside, 'Evolution or Genesis? The British Town Planning Movement, 1900-1940'.
- 4) Robert Marshall, 'Anti-urbanism and the Town Planning Movement in Britain'.
- 5) John Minett, 'Ideals to Ashes: How the 1931 Town and Country Planning Bill became the 1932 Town and Country Planning Act'.
- 6) Stephen Ward, 'Shaping the Urban Environment 1919-39: A Comparison of Local per capita Expenditure'.

These papers will be distributed prior to the meeting. In addition, there will be an evening session on Thursday, devoted to a talk on some of Sheffield's planning problems, as well as a half-day local study excursion on Friday.

METROPOLIS 1890-1940. University of Sussex, 26-28 August, 1980

Tony Sutcliffe also reports that plans

for the Group's next international meeting are well advanced. To provide a clearer focus than was possible at the First International Conference, the symposium will investigate the problem of the giant city in its heyday.

In the history of world urbanisation the years 1890-1940 were dominated by the giant urban area, the metropolis. During the early stages of the industrialisation process, in the late eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth, much population growth had occurred in small towns and even completely new settlements on or near coal fields and other sources of natural resources. After 1850 the growing efficiency of means of long-distance, bulk transport (in particular, the rail ways) allowed manufacturing to move more readily to large urban centres, where the greatest external economies were to be obtained. The resulting growth of population in the larger cities was further encouraged by the rapid expansion after mid-century of tertiary activities, many of which stood to benefit even more than industry from a big-city location. In consequence, large cities began to expand faster than medium-sized and small towns and, as the nineteenth century wore on, a growing proportion of the inhabitants of the industrialised areas of the world came to reside in them.

Although these tendencies had been present for some decades, it was not until the 1890s that the metropolis began clearly to be recognised as a distinct and inescapable phenomenon of advanced industrialism. Patrick Geddes coined the expression 'conurbation' to describe it and Adna F. Weber explained it in his influential study, The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century. Recognition was, however, accompanied by doubt. As world economic growth began to accelerate after the difficulties of the Great Depression, promoting a new wave of urban concentration, the desirability of the giant city as a social construct began seriously to be questioned in Europe. For the first time, serious and practicable alternatives to the metropolis were put forward; ranging from massive decentralisation of population into distant suburban communities to the complete

replacement of existing large urban centres by networks of small towns or 'garden cities'. These proposals played a major part in the genesis of the new science of urban planning which emerged in Germany in the 1890s and had spread throughout Europe and North America by 1914. For urban planning the metropolis was the ultimate challenge. Progress could be made towards a more efficient and humane environment in Birmingham or Frankfurt, but London, Paris, Berlin, and New York seemed to pose insoluble problems. Planning thus became locked in a struggle with the metropolis - a struggle which has left its mark on urban and regional planning as we know it today.

The crucial phase of the struggle lasted until the Second World War. Then, aerial bombardment wrecked four of the world's ten largest urban concentrations (Tokyo, Berlin, the Ruhr, and Osaka) and seriously damaged a fifth (London). In the replanning and rebuilding which followed the principle of deconcentration was accepted almost everywhere, even in the metropolis such as Paris which survived the war unscathed. The metropolis staged a brief revival in the 1950s and 1960s but it is now clear that 1940 marked a turning point; thereafter the giant city no longer carried all before it and the industrialised world began to evolve towards a looser settlement structure based on extensive networks of smaller towns. Yet many of the planning policies and popular attitudes generated in the struggle with the metropolis still survive to dominate urban strategies in our present-day world.

METROPOLIS 1890-1940 will include a number of papers devoted to general aspects of the metropolitan phenomenon, and detailed studies of individual metropoli. The former will include Peter Hall (Reading) on the nature of the metropolitan phenomenon, Andrew Lees (Rutgers) on the metropolis and the intellectual, Lars Olof Larsson (Stockholm) on metropolitan architecture, Michael Naslas (Sheffield) on the metropolis as portrayed in music, and David Eversley (PSI, London) on the problem

of the expanding metropolis. Three further contributions are being invited on the metropolis in art, in film and in literature. The following have agreed to contribute papers on individual metropoli: Jean Bastie (Paris) on Paris, Jurgen Reulecke (Bochum) on Rhine-Ruhr, Horst Matzerath (Berlin) on Berlin, and Shun Watanabe (Tokyo) on Tokyo. Papers on New York and London are currently under negotiation. The symposium will also include an excursion. Members of the Group will note that there is no general call for papers, but any suggestions will be welcomed.

Full details and booking forms for METROPOLIS 1890-1940 will be included in a future edition of this Bulletin. In the meantime, enquiries should be addressed to A. Sutcliffe, Department of Economic and Social History, Sheffield University, Sheffield S10 2TN, England.

Report of History of Planning Group Meeting, 17 March 1979

Martin Gaskell, CNAA

The last seminar of the Planning History Group was held on 17 March 1979 in the Department of Civic Design at the University of Liverpool. The theme of the meeting was Planning for Housing in Britain, 1850-1940. The subject posed a whole series of problems, both in terms of the relationship of design and social and economic factors, and in terms of the balance of local and national factors in the determination of planning initiatives and practice.

With the first paper on Housing Peculiarities: the north-east of England 1880-1914, Martin Daunton focussed on the regional variations in housing styles and provided a detailed exposition of the prevalence of the cottage flat and the single-storey house in Tyneside and Sunderland respectively. As members reflected in discussion, though the reasons for such local distinctiveness in design were complex, its consequences for the nature and development of housing forms were of far reaching significance. And it was this issue that informed David Whitham's paper entitled Like honey from the carcase of the lion: state housing and the Great War. He chronicled the variations in the pattern of housing

provided by central government between 1914 and 1918 to meet the needs of specific and immediate explosions of employment.

With the afternoon session the emphasis shifted to the inter-war years when Mark Swenerton presented an argued case for the motivation behind the immediate post-war housing policy and the reasons for the adoption of certain design standards and practices, with a paper entitled An insurance against revolution: British housing policy and housing standards 1918-1921. The change of attitude effected in 1921 was crucial to this argument and the debate on its significance provided the basis for consideration of the final paper of the seminar - Simon Pepper's case study on Ossulton Street: early LCC experiments in high rise housing. This paper tackled not only the issue of standards in housing provision, but also focussed the seminar at the micro-level on the question of the determination of housing forms and patterns and the examination of the relationship of the planning process and housing policy. The seminar had as a whole, therefore, served to direct attention to the continuum of ideas and practice in housing history over the century from 1850.

Meetings and Conferences

HISTORY TEACHING IN PLANNING SCHOOLS

Michael Hebbert wrote the following report of a Day Meeting for history lecturers in planning schools. It was, in his words, an informal occasion, allowing the participants a chance to exchange views on problems and possibilities:

Seventeen lecturers gathered at the London School of Economics on March 19th 1971 for this meeting, which was one of a series of 'workshops' sponsored by the Education for Planning Association. Michael Hebbert opened the proceedings with a descriptive paper on the initial preeminence,

subsequent decline, and recent revival of 'History in the Planning Syllabus'. Roger Smith followed with a paper on 'Applied History in Planning Education', which argued that history could and should be taught as an applied discipline, despite the scruples of professional historians, but that planning schools needed to take steps to ensure that it was taught to a reputable academic standard. The discussion brought unexpected rewards to both speakers. The former's criticisms of T.P.I. history exam papers in the fifties were answered in person by one of the men who set the questions, Jim Page of Chelmer Institute, while the latter's call for greater broadmindedness on the part of the CNAA was fielded reassuringly by Ken Carter of its Planning Panel. Discussion otherwise centred on the problems of inculcating historical method into planning students; case-studies were praised in this context.

After lunch a leading exponent of the historical case-study, Alison Ravetz, gave a perceptive analysis of the difficulties of 'History Teaching in an Architecture School'; Stephen Ward expounded - through a specially prepared case study of the National Parks in the past fifty years - his concept of 'History as Policy Evaluation'; David Whitham described in fascinating detail the varieties of miniature teaching project which he uses to introduce graduate students to the history of housing; and Anthony King put before us the outline of his first and second year courses in the Department of Building Technology at Brunel on the social production of the built environment, ending with a characteristically rousing call on planning historians to conceive their subject in interdisciplinary terms. After tea Gordon Cherry pulled these threads together, emphasising the importance of history in the planning syllabus, and reminding us also of our practical tasks to ensure the conservation of archives, to develop research on the local histories of planning and to open out the international dimension of planning history in the curriculum.

Michael Hebbert
Department of Geography,
London School of Economics and
Political Science

A gathering on the theme PLANNING HISTORY: A COMPARATIVE VIEW OF A HISTORICAL FRONTIER was held at the American Historical Association Convention in San Francisco on 29th December 1978. The composition of the panel was organised by David Goldfield, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, and the meeting chaired by John Hancock, Urban and Regional Planning, University of Washington, Seattle.

The programme outlined the following points:

The purpose of this panel is to stimulate comparative teaching and research in planning history. The participants subscribe both to Sam Bass Warner, Jr.'s dictum that 'If the city is ever to become susceptible to rational planning there must come to be a common understanding of how the city is built', (Streetcar Suburbs, p. viii), and to the notion that a comparative framework will enhance that 'common understanding'. Accordingly, each participant will discuss planning history and historiography in his particular county of research and teaching interest, and relate that discussion to developments elsewhere. Specifically, each participant will cover three issues:

- 1) Historiographical background - the nature and type of work that has been done in the field;
- 2) Planning history in the classroom - materials and bibliography;
- 3) Important issues in planning history including land use, economic development, conservation, housing, and social services, and how they differ from country to country.

Planning History in the United States
David R. Goldfield, Environmental and Urban Systems, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University.

Planning History in Germany
John R. Mullin, Urban Planning and Landscape Architecture, Michigan State University.

Planning History in the United Kingdom
Anthony Sutcliffe, Economic and Social History, University of Sheffield.

Planning History in Japan
Shunichi Watanabe, City Planning and Engineering, Tokyo University.

PLANNING HISTORY GROUP IN JAPAN

Shun Watanabe, Building Research Institute, Tokyo, writes to inform us that he formed a successful workshop of the research on planning history during the City Planning Institute's annual conference last November. As he explains, it was the first of this kind in Japan, and they have decided to organise themselves into a Planning History Group, which will meet once every two months.

RADBURN AT 50

There was a conference in Bergen Community College, Paramus, New Jersey, on 19 May 1979, organised in conjunction with the Radburn Association.

A number of papers discussed, in turn, the relationship between Radburn and (a) the Garden City, (b) the Regional Planning Association of America, (c) the American City Planning Movement and (d) New Town Administration.

Publications

The 'Instituto de Arte y Humanidades' of the Orbeagoz Foundation has recently published a quarterly magazine, called COMUN, of which Javier Salazar is assistant manager. He has been a member of the Planning History Group since early 1978. In his letter he explains:

'Although the first number is fundamentally about architecture, the magazine content is more extensive and takes into account the more significant humanistic phenomena nowadays - artistic, architectonic, urban, historical, anthropological, of knowledge and creation in general - giving priority to its manifestations in the Basque community. In any case, we would be pleased if you could collaborate in it by sending articles or papers from time to time.'

Javier Salazar, Gran Via 89, Bilbao II, Spain.

Recently, too, Carol Herselle Krinsky, Professor of Fine Arts, New York University, has published Rockefeller Center (New York, Oxford University Press, 1978, 223 pp., 126 illus., maps, plans, notes, bibliography; 9.95 dollars paper; 17.50 dollars cloth).

In the words of the author, 'the book is about planning, zoning, patronage, decision-making, money, etc. rather than about art deco ornament or flamboyant personalities, so it seems to belong among the books you (we) list.'

Another useful and interesting publication has appeared this year: Alternative Communities in 19th Century England, by Dennis Hardy (Longman, 1979, pp. 268, paper £5.95).

Mervyn Miller wrote, enclosing a copy of the catalogue which he prepared for the Letchworth Garden City 75th Anniversary Exhibition held at the First Garden City Museum last year. The catalogue is intended to be a permanent document dealing with the planning, early implementation and social history of the First Garden City as well as a record of the exhibits that were assembled for the special exhibition. Copies are still available price £1.00 from the Curator, First Garden City Museum, 296 Norton Way South, Letchworth.

Sheffield Centre for Environmental Research has started to publish a new series of the Occasional Papers: Urban and Planning History Papers. The following papers are available:

77/32 The effects of technological transformations upon the development of the early industrial towns.
M. Naslas. (£2.00)

77/33 The municipal institutions and the improvement schemes of the early industrial towns.
M. Naslas. (£2.00)

79/34 Speculative housing and the land market in London 1660-1730.
P.A. Booth. (£2.50)

79/35 The transforming socio-economic structure and the political, intellectual and cultural activities in the early industrial towns.
M. Naslas. (£2.00)

79/36 Town and country in nineteenth century Britain.

R.J. Marshall. (£2.00)

Cheques (in sterling, please) with order to:-

Sheffield Centre for Environmental Research, 299 Western Bank, Sheffield S10 2UD.

Notes and Articles

Michael Simpson has written to the Bulletin in order to bring our attention to the question of:

RECORDS RELATING TO THE HISTORY OF BRITISH PLANNING

Dear Member,

Research for my current project has led me to use the archives of a number of bodies connected with planning. Without exception, they have gone out of their way to be helpful and I have been allowed free access to their records. However, I have been concerned about two problems arising from my research. One is that many of these records are irreplaceable and invaluable to the student of British planning history yet the records are frequently kept in unsuitable conditions, leading to their serious deterioration.

Secondly, the location, availability and nature of these records are largely unknown and have to be discovered afresh by each new researcher. So far my researches have been confined chiefly to these bodies; I have not yet tackled local authority records and have done little on the central government archives at the Public Records Office. I have seen a number of private collections in the course of interviewing distinguished elder statesmen of the planning world.

I wonder whether other members of the Group have had similar experiences and share my concern about the preservation of and access to our source materials. If so, I shall be delighted to hear from them, especially if they have suggestions for the better care of records and for making collections better known to scholars and more accessible to them.

May I suggest a number of steps to achieving these goals?

- 1) That the Group forms a Working Party of three or four members to investigate the situation relating to records of the history of planning in Britain (including related activities, such as housing, architecture, landscape architecture and, where relevant, public health, transport and amenity).
- 2) That the Working Party should report back to a future Group meeting with proposals for the better preservation of records and improved access to them.
- 3) That the Group should publish a guide to sources (perhaps through CURS).
- 4) That a Records Officer be appointed to continue to monitor the situation, liaise with holders of planning source materials, and update the guide.
- 5) The Working Party should write to County and City Archivists, Chief Planning Officers, heads of bodies concerned with planning, the Public Records Office and individuals asking for details of their holdings and on what basis access to them is granted.
- 6) The Group should urge the holders of records to take professional advice on their care to deposit them in a professionally-supervised archive. The Group should seek to establish reasonable access to them for reputable scholars.

I feel that preservation is a matter of urgency and that information and access are matters of importance in a field which is expanding as rapidly as ours seems to be.

Michael Simpson
Department of History
University College of Swansea

BASIC CONCEPTS IN THE HISTORY OF PLANNING

F.B. Gillie

The Planning History Group has produced a large number of different approaches. This variety appears to offer a good opportunity to study possible links between them.

But such links require a common basis of thinking and that requires basic

concepts which can be accepted by research workers of different disciplines.

With this in view it seems worthwhile to re-examine the word 'planning', since it is perhaps too readily taken for granted by professional planners, whether they are concerned with 'town planning', 'regional planning', or any of the other kinds of planning that have been separately named, that they are necessarily and evidently concerned with a basic activity, underlying such traditional specialisations as municipal engineering, building regulation, architecture and so forth. It can be argued that 'planning' is an attempt to systematise a more basic activity, an attempt which arose because the problems of communities were running into additional difficulties affecting a series of operations which, having grown up by degrees, had consequently been the subject of little systematic thought as a whole.

This 'series of operations' will here be referred to collectively as 'community management'. The extent and quality of community management vary widely, but it always includes two types of activity. First, there is the provision of common services, which include at least roads and may extend widely into water supply, drainage, schools, parks and so forth. The second type consists of the regulations necessary to minimise conflicts between the individuals and organisations which make up a community. The most basic regulation is perhaps the prohibition of building on the public highway, but there may be many others relating to safety of buildings, traffic regulation, etc.

As already remarked, the extent and quality of community management vary widely, but some degree of community management must always have existed. It may, at various times and places, be wide or narrow, efficient or inefficient, democratic or authoritarian. Furthermore, it may be carried on by a single body such as a town council, or by a series of more or less specialised bodies, which may either co-operate or work in a chaotic muddle.

Much past community management has not given thought to the future size and shape of the community as a whole, but has sometimes influenced them, nonetheless, e.g. by extending public services

in one direction rather than another. The individual who is specifically named a 'planner' clearly ought at the start of his work to inform himself on the extent and quality of existing community management, but often he does not.

Moreover, recognition of the existence of basic, if sometimes inadequate, community management could be useful in distinguishing different uses of the term 'town planning'.

For example, this term is often used to mean a study of a whole town, leading up to a programme for its future improvement and measures to deal with expected expansion. This often involves (though the study may fail to discuss the point) a general improvement in pre-existing community management.

Secondly, the term 'town planning' may refer to a limited physical design intended to secure a specific improvement, such as Regent Street or Aldwych in London or the 'Ring' in Vienna. 'Town planning' in this sense is often a spasmodic activity, and it may or may not be accompanied by a change in either the pre-existing community management agencies, the services that they provide or the standards that they impose.

A good example of this limited type of operation is provided by the Viennese 'Ring'. This was an exceptional operation, made possible by the opportunity to remove the city's fortifications and make use of the resulting space. It does not appear to have influenced the city's routine community management or to have led to broader perceptions of the expansion problems of the city as a whole. In the 1870's, for example, the building regulations were crude enough to permit the erection of blocks of flats in which some of the rooms had seriously inadequate daylight. To evaluate the achievement of the planning of the Ring it needs to be seen against this lack of progress in routine community management.

However, certain studies of urban architectural style are largely unrelated to community management. These stylistic questions are usually felt to be of greatest interest where,

as in Edinburgh or Bath, they reflect a prevailing fashion, so that areas grow up with an underlying visual harmony which is not due primarily either to management policies of public authorities or to the dominance of a single architect. One reason why such areas of stylistic harmony are interesting is that they reflect inter-action between the genius of individual designers and the taste of the designer's clients, both of which influence also the work of lesser designers, possessed of small originality. In such areas the contemporary building regulations may have a limited influence on the result, but this is not always so. Some of the most famous architectural set pieces of Bath do not, in one sense, amount to good planning, because they created difficulties in designing a satisfactory layout for the areas around them. On the whole, however, the interest of stylistic studies would, it is suggested, be enhanced if comment in them were related to contemporary standards of routine management.

Community management, of course, is normally a function of local government and reflects two sets of concepts: first the views of the governing group as to what towns should be like and, secondly, their views as to the functions appropriate to and practicable for local public authorities. Local government history has often been written in an unnecessarily dull manner through concentrating on the nature of authorities and their legal powers rather than on how the functions of the authorities were conceived at different times. Even a more penetrating history of local government would, however, have its depressing sides, because it would have to record many mental blocks and failures to realise the importance of certain subjects.

A somewhat neglected theme in the history of planning is that of the changing relations between the community management agency and the developer, who may be a private individual, a private organisation, or some form of public organisation. This relationship is more far-reaching than is sometimes realised because, at any one moment, only certain aspects of the relationship are usually controversial. A particular proposal

for development may touch on three different 'levels of sensitivity' as follows:

- i) it may touch on certain controversial preservation questions;
- ii) it may involve building regulations which are broadly accepted, though their complexity may cause grumbling;
- iii) it may involve other issues which are so completely accepted that they are not always recognised to exist, such as prohibition of building on the public highway.

This relationship with developers is crucial, because it determines how far a well meant plan will become a reality. In developing countries the biggest trouble is often failure of the relevant community management agency to understand and to cope with this particular point of implementation, namely ensuring that the prospective developers will build in accordance with whatever plan is adopted.

Effective control of developers raises another aspect of the history of both planning and local government: the need to invent practical devices for carrying out certain measures. An interesting case is the invention of turnpike gates in eighteenth century England as a means of financing road improvements. The addiction of the people of the USA to the grid-iron street plan may also reflect concern with this question of devising simple machinery.

It would be valuable if the question of the need for and usefulness of administrative devices could be discussed more in international comparisons. As far as France is concerned, for example, one wants to know, not merely that regional prefects were appointed, but how useful they proved to be. Some regional innovations, such as the regional grouping of statistics, have sometimes been counter-productive, since they tend to obscure, rather than illustrate, interesting local characteristics. At a different level, how successful have 'syndicats de commune' been in overcoming the limitations of the very small French communes?

As far as Germany is concerned, most British people have a general idea that German local government is efficient, but they have little idea, for example, of how German land use control is carried out, and whether the Germans, like the British, have recently been concerned to develop a more flexible instrument of local policy.

In the USA documents about regional planning tend to deal with such large areas that they obscure the interesting local developments. For example, the variety within the urban belt which Gottmann christened 'Megalopolis' is far more interesting than its physical continuity. As a result of too much attention to broad sweeps little is known outside America - and perhaps not much within it - about the nature and quality of day to day community management. The USA appears to be a country where there is a wide difference between 'planning' and the way communities are actually managed from day to day.

