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Number 2



From Louis Hellman **Architecture for Beginners**

Planning History Group

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From Architecture for Beginners by Louis Hellman:-



"The Arts and Crafts ideals spread throughout the new European democracies, where they drew on each country's own vernacular. Local and national variations developed in opposition to the imperial neo-Classical styles of the old regimes."

CHAIRMAN'S COMMUNICATION

I am able to announce the result of our procedures for filling places on the PHG Executive Committee. Four U.K. and four non-U.K. places were available, as I indicated in PHB Vol. 8 No. 1; these were for a two-year spell of membership from August 1986.

Three retiring U.K. members have offered themselves for re-election: Professor G.E. Cherry, Dr. J. Sheail and Professor A.R. Sutcliffe. No other nominations were received so the three named are re-elected; there is one U.K. vacancy.

Two non-U.K. retiring members have offered themselves for re-election: Professor J.B. Cullingworth and Professor M. Smets. Two other nominations were received: Dr. R. Freestone (Sydney) and Dr. M. Weiss (University of Illinois at Chicago). The four named are elected

The Executive Committee for 1986-88 will therefore be:

U.K.	Non-U.K.
G.E. Cherry (Chairman)	A.F.J. Artibise
Patricia L. Garside (ex officio, Membership Secretary)	M.J. Bannon
D.W. Massey (ex officio, Treasurer)	B.A. Brownell
G. Gordon	Christiane Collins
J.C. Hancock	J.B. Cullingworth
M.J. Hebbert (Editor)	R. Freestone
R.J.B. Kain	D. Hulchanski
J. Sheail	C. Silver
A.R. Sutcliffe	M. Smets
S.V. Ward (ex officio, Meeting Secretary)	S. Watanabe
	M. Weiss

The second half of the 1980s is throwing up a number of important anniversaries. In Britain we remember from 40 years ago the New Towns Act (1946), the Town and Country Planning Act (1947) and the National Parks and Access to Countryside Act (1949), measures which helped to lay some of the foundations of British Town Planning for the second half of the century. Part of the reason for the rush of legislation at that time stems, of course, from the extraordinary circumstances of the time when a combination of idealism, conviction and new-found political will prepared the ground for post-war reconstruction. We do well to look again at those heady years, not just in Britain but in all countries sucked into the vortex of World War II. The new determination to express the hopes whereby cities and societies would be built afresh, and to banish the earlier fears that the economic conditions of the world had collapsed, meant that planning had come of age. Planning historians forty years on will wish to study that remarkable international exchange of ideas which underpinned the principled of reconstruction. They will also go on to look at the subsequent practice of reconstruction and no doubt reflect, with T.S. Eliot, that:

"Between the idea/And the reality/Between the notion/And the act
/Falls the shadow."

We can expect a flurry of publications on these themes, which I hope the Planning History Group will be able to encourage in its various meetings, seminars and conferences.

Gordon E. Cherry

PLANNING HISTORY GROUP

Balance Sheet as at 31 December 1985

<u>Bank Accounts</u>		£. p.
Giro Account		49. 19
General Fund Current Account		79. 63
General Fund Deposit Account	2103. 21	
Seminar Current Account	4. 92	
Seminar Deposit Account	269. 71	
	<u>£ 2506. 66</u>	
Represented by:		
Accumulated Fund at 31.12.84	1192. 19	
Excess Receipts over Payments	<u>1314. 47</u>	
	<u>£ 2506. 66</u>	

Receipts and Payments Account for the Year Ended 31.12.85

<u>Receipts</u>		£.p.	<u>Payments</u>	£.p.
Subscription for 1985			Bulletin Pdn Costs	910.13
UK	1180.00		Membership Mailing	479.60
Overseas	<u>1268.06</u>		Admin. Charges	114.42
	2448.06			
Less: Refunds	<u>(68.15)</u>			
	2379.91			
Distr. of Publs' leaflets	205.62			
Seminar Account				
Income	131.29			
Expenditure	<u>76.00</u>	55.29	Excess Receipts over Payments	1314.47
Interest on Dep. Acc.	117.80			
	<u>2818.62</u>			<u>2818.62</u>

AUDIT REPORT

I have audited the accounts of the Planning History Group. In my opinion the accounts (which have been prepared on a receipts and payments basis) give an accurate record of the bank balances at 31 December 1986 and of the transactions for the year ended. 12 September 1986.

M. Yorysz

TREASURER'S REPORT FOR 1985

- The year was marked by a number of changes in the Group's financial arrangements including the appointment of a new Treasurer and Membership Secretary. The help of Members in making the transition to the new £10 subscription and Williams and Glyn's/The Royal Bank of Scotland in making arrangements for the transfer of our bank accounts to Liverpool is much appreciated.
- In comparison with 1984 our receipts for 1985 approximately doubled (substantially reflecting the subscription increase) and our payments fell by a quarter. While in part this decrease represents revised arrangements for mailing the Bulletin, it also reflects the incidence of two rather than our usual three printing bills for the Bulletin. (the third payment has been made in the current year and will thus appear in the 1986 accounts.) Nonetheless, even taking into account an allowance for this exceptional item, our accumulated funds carried forward to 1986 do show a reasonable increase to provide a satisfactory base for the Group's activities.
- The Accounts for 1985 are presented in a new format to include separate coverage of receipts and payments and a balance sheet as at 31 December 1985. I am very grateful to Mrs. M. Yorysz for agreeing to act as the Group's Hon. Auditor and for her advice on the presentation of the Accounts.

David W. Massey, University of Liverpool 21 September 1986

NOTICES

Planning History Group Meeting, April 1987

This will be co-organized with the Department of Geography, Queen Mary College on the theme of State Intervention in Interwar Britain. Further details will appear in due course, but anyone interested should contact either:

Steve Ward	or	Roger Lee
Dept. of Town Planning		Dept. of Geography
Oxford Polytechnic		Queen Mary College
Gipsy Lane		Mile End Road
Headington		London E1 4NS
Oxford OX3 0BP		

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Joint two day conference of the Regional Studies Association and Planning History Group September 17 - 18th, 1987: University of Salford

The purpose of the conference British Regionalism 1900 - 2000 is twofold: first, to recount the history of regionalism and regional reform, from the early development of the regional idea by C.B. Fawcett, G.D.H. Cole, Patrick Geddes and H.G. Wells, through the pre-war and wartime experiments in regional planning and administration, to the cul-de-sac of the Kilbrandon Commission and the Regional Economic Planning Councils. And second, as the title implies, the conference will analyze the nature of regionalism and its continued potential as a principle for reform within the United Kingdom, in order to look forward to emerging forms of government for Britain at the end of the century.

Full details will be distributed early in 1987. Enquiries and offers of papers, with titles and abstracts, should be addressed to either of the organizers:-

Dr. Michael Hebbert	or	Dr. Pat Garside
Dept. of Geography		Dept. of Civil Engineering
London School of Economics		University of Salford
Houghton Street		Salford M5 4WT
London WC2A 2AE		

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American Planning Historians' Annual Luncheon

The Sixth Annual Luncheon of the Planning History Group will be held on Saturday, April 4, 1987 at noon in the Wyndham Franklin Plaza Hotel in Philadelphia. The luncheon is being held in conjunction with the meeting of the Organization of American Historians. Theodore Hershberg, University of Pennsylvania, will present a paper entitled, "Planning for a Region: The Political Problems." Sam Bass Warner, Jr., Boston University, will chair the session. Tickets will be available as part of the pre-registration package for the OAH meeting or at the OAH registration. As the number of tickets is limited, purchase through pre-registration is encouraged. For additional information,

contact: Blaine A. Brownell, College of Social and Behavioral Sciences, University of Alabama at Birmingham, Birmingham, AL 35294, 205-934-5643; or Mark H. Rose, The Program in Science, Technology, and Society, Michigan Technological University, Houghton, MI 49931, 906-487-2115.

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Planning History Group Meeting, Spring 1988

This will be on the theme Women and Planning History, and will be organised by Alizon Ravetz of Leeds Polytechnic. The venue is not yet fixed but will probably be London. The organizer intends to start preliminary planning of the meeting soon and would welcome suggestions and offers of contributions. She can be contacted at 15 Hanover Square, Leeds LS3 1Ap.

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BRIDGING THE GAP BETWEEN US AND THEM

A new journal was launched in September 1986. Entitled "Planning Practice and Research" it is born of concern among British planners and academics about the divide between planning practice and planning education and research. It is explicitly devoted to breaking down this barrier, and will be published twice yearly.

The first issue, published in September 1986, has a theme which will be of special interest to members of the PHG, namely "Taking Stock". Articles will concentrate on changes in various aspects of planning and related fields since 1979, while also putting these in an historical perspective.

Subscriptions are:-

UK - individuals £4; institutions £8
Overseas - individuals US \$10;
institutions US \$20 (or equivalent).

Cheques are payable to "Planning Practice and Research", and they and all enquiries should be addressed to:-

C. Lambert, School for Advanced Urban Studies,
Rodney Lodge,
Grange Road,
Bristol BS8 4EA, U.K.

* * * * *

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNAL STUDIES ASSOCIATION

In May 1985 some 100 researchers and specialists in communal studies gathered under the auspices of Tel-Aviv University and Yad Tabenkin, the research institute of the united kibbutz movement. The success of this international encounter moved its participants to set up a permanent body for the promotion and dissemination of research on "communes", international communities, collective settlement, and kibbutz". Its constitution and organizational framework will be finalized at the next such conference.

One of the first actions of the new Association has been to issue a call to all interested scholars. Members will be able to gain access to an international community of fellow-specialists through conferences every 3 - 5 years, and a regular bulletin containing bibliographies of research work and books, as well as up-to-date information on congresses and meetings.

All enquiries to:

Yaacov Oved
(Executive Direction, I.C.S.A.)
Yad Tabenkin
Ramat Efal 52960, Israel.

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FINDING THAT BOOK I

Bookseller Vivian Wright's catalogue c/86, published in September, has several items of interest to the planning historian. He publishes regular lists, will deal promptly with your enquiries, and specializes in architecture and town planning:-

Vivian Wright
Fennelsyre
Raughton Head
Carlisle, Cumbria CA5 7DU, England. Tel: 069-96-431

FINDING THAT BOOK II

Rose Tanner, known to many as the former manager of the Planning Bookshop in Carlton House Terrace, now deals extensively in old planning books. She is always pleased to trace titles. Her list is available from:-

OLD PLANNING BOOKS
47 Theobald Road,
Croydon CRO 3RN, England.

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FINDING THAT BOOK III

Cities of Tomorrow is the title of Inch's Book Catalogue No. 25. More than three hundred books of interest to the planning historian are available, including a nice set of Thomas Sharp's works and a Thomas Mawson collection, as well as a good range of slum, garden city, reconstruction and contemporary urban policy titles.

Inch's Books
3 St. Paul's Square,
York, YO2 4BD, England.

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AN AUDIO-VISUAL LIBRARY OF PLANNING HISTORY

World Microfilms Publications, based in London, have been steadily

expanding the Pidgeon Library of Tape-Slide Talks, initiated by Monica Pidgeon in 1979. The catalogue now runs to a 100 talks by many of the leading contemporary figures in architecture, art, design, landscape and urbanism. Each talk lasts on average 30 minutes (one side of an audio-cassette) and is accompanied by 24 slides, printed information and the speaker's photo, all contained in a clear plastic pack designed in book format to stand on a shelf; the price per talk is between £45 and £50 - the cost of a visiting lecturer's fee and travel expenses. Titles include:-

Reyner Banham	"Mythical Vernacular Movements"
Serge Chermayeff	"Environmental Design"
Henri Ciriani	"Modern Space & Historic Space"
Maxwell Fry	"How Modern Architecture Came to England"
Erno Goldfinger	"Paris in the Twenties"
Oscar Niemeyer	"Concrete Expression"
Jack Pritchard	"Lawn Road and the Thirties"
Sir John Summerson	"Nash's London"

World Microfilms Publications also offer a major list of historic architectural documents, drawings, books and journals on microfilm. These include notable materials from the Royal Institute of British Architects and its Library and Archive:-

The Drawings Collection (Five phases so far issued)
The Comprehensive Index to Architectural Periodicals (1956-1972)
The Rare Books Collection (Five sections so far issued)
Unpublished Manuscripts.

Orders and enquiries to:-

World Microfilms Publications,
62 Queen's Grove, London NW8 6ER.

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Bartlett International Summer School (1979-1985) Proceedings: The Production of the Built Environment

The Bartlett School of Architecture and Planning has held summer schools annually since 1979 and since 1983 they have taken place all around Europe, under an agreement with 14 participating institutions. Tending broadly towards a neo-Marxian framework, the proceedings of BISS contain several important papers on the political economy of land, construction and urban development, including much historical analysis of potential interest to readers of this Bulletin.

A full list of papers and order forms for BISS 1-7 can be obtained from the organizers in London, who are currently offering the complete set of seven voluminous proceedings at a bargain price of only £37:-

Bartlett International Summer School
The Bartlett School,
University College London
22 Gordon Street, London WC1H 0QB

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BRITISH NATIONAL PARKS - A HALF-CENTENARY

The British National Parks originate in a coalition of interest groups - rural preservationists, youth hostellers, zoologists, climbers - which formed in May 1936 as the Standing Committee for National Parks (SCNP) to lobby for the establishment of a central authority with powers to designate and manage extensive landscape areas. Within a few years SCNP's pamphleteer, John Dower, was working within the Ministry of Town and Country Planning to put the scheme into effect. By 1957 ten of Dower's original long list of seventeen potential park areas had been designated. SCNP's role shifted from promotion of the idea of National Parks, to protection of the achievement. In 1977 it became an independent voluntary organization, the Council for National Parks. Now, to celebrate the past half-century, the CNP has published a brief historical booklet 50 Years for National Parks available at £1.50 (incl. postage and packing) from:-

Council for National Parks,
45 Shelton Street,
London WC2H 9HJ.

* * * * *

REPORTS OF MEETINGS

A revaluation of the Garden City - Colloquium held at Delft Technical University, 6-8 March 1986.

This colloquium, organised jointly by Franziska Bollerey of Delft, Kristiana Hartman of Braunschweig and Gerhard Fehl of Aachen, provided ample evidence of the continued vitality of the Garden City as a topic for systematic historical research and discussion. Its international flavour, albeit German dominated, embraced Dutch, Belgian and Spanish contributions, with myself as an English observer and discussant, relating continental experience to the roots of the movement in the work of Howard and Unwin. It was clear from the opening that the Garden City is still very much alive, and each discussion session brought out further questions, often rhetorical, which further fuelled debate. At best, the interchanges evoked the pioneer international meetings of the International Garden Cities and Town Planning Federation and other gatherings where the concept was disseminated. The Delft meeting had its own links with the past through Hans Kampffmeyer who vividly recounted his father's contributions to the movement in the early years of the century. The colloquium moved from the formal setting of a large seminar room at Delft University, through the smoke-filled rooms of the delegates' hotel on the coast at Duinoord, to the community hall at Agneta Park one of Holland's first model industrial villages.

The organisers had structured the event around a series of key topics, ranging from the general to the particular, with widely drawn examples. The opening presentation of Thursday morning by Peter Zlonicky took the significance of the Garden City in present day planning theory. Was it still of relevance for today's architects and planners? Were the social and political dimensions essential adjuncts? Where and when would the next Garden City be built? Like many of the participants he was perhaps more adept at raising than answering such questions. His illustrations of New York suggested that a Garden City might be created indoors, whilst the views of the derelict East side suggested an updating of Howard's vision of the metropolis transformed.

The next set of papers took a series of German garden suburbs and highlighted the disparities between ambitious plans and hesitant implementation. Dieter Scheeren described Karlsruhe-Rupurr in terms of an enthusiastic beginning turning along a problematic path during the period 1907-28. Here the Deutsche Gartenstadt Gesellschaft (DGG) had been determined to provide a demonstration of practical socialism, on the basis of an ambitious plan by the Kampffmeyers. The cottage designs were palpably similar to those by Parker and Unwin for Letchworth, the first of many instances of the potency of the accepted iconography of Garden City design, often irrespective of national culture. This was equally evident at Strasbourg-Stockfeld, described by D.W. Dreyse in terms of its relationship to inner city housing improvements initiated while the city was under German administration from 1870-1918. The catalyst was a housing co-operative which in 1907 was assisted by the municipality to acquire a site for development in conjunction with central slum clearance. The first phase of 457 houses, begun in 1909, had distinctly English features grafted on to a mansard-roof form of continental provenance, whilst the layout plan showed influence both of Camillo Sitte and Raymond Unwin in the spatial design and grouping techniques. Turning to Braunschweig, Gundula Lemke presented an ambitious project by Theodore Goeke which was to remain a paper plan. This appeared to follow the late nineteenth century German

town-expansion practice for orderly suburbanisation beyond the constriction of historic fortifications, a phenomenon hastened by the political stability following national unification. Once again interchange of German and British ideas was evident - Unwin had commended Goeke as an undogmatic follower of Sitte, whilst the latter's plan for Braunschweig showed distinct elements of Hampstead, particularly the south west sector with its triple axis framing the central open space. Summing up this session, Gerhard Fehl wondered whether universality of imagery was a good thing - were such models "negative" in the sense of representing a misguided attempt to apply Garden City theory and design principles irrespective of the particular social and political context. Was Howard's "middle way", interposed between socialism and capitalism, thus lacking in its own distinct ideology, bland to the point of providing the rationale for both socialist and fascist "Garden Cities"?

Some of these points surfaced during the afternoon session. Marcel Smets brought out the fact that Belgium had decentralised its industrial population from the mid-nineteenth century, aided by an enlightened pricing policy by the developing rail and tramways. Indeed Seebom Rowntree reported in detail on Belgian experience as early as 1910 when he noted that a balance had been struck between town and country without disrupting land tenure. "Belgian is a giant Garden City" Smets remarked, not wholly tongue in cheek. Nevertheless Belgium enthusiastically embraced British ideas, almost slavishly following Unwin's Town Planning in Practice. Belgian architects learnt directly from their British colleagues during their enforced exile in Britain during the First World War, while post 1919 Belgian legislation aided the development of co-operative housing designed in the English mould. Juan Rodriguez-Lores presented the Madrid Ciudad Lineal as an alternative model which depended upon the unresolvable opposition of town and country rather than their diffusion and integration. Transportation was a key factor, but the lifestyle was clearly suburban with no inbuilt emphasis on self-sufficiency or co-operative action. The clarity of form allied to an infinite quality may explain the revival of interest in the concept in the 1950s and 1960s when interest in the Garden City itself was at a low ebb.

The prolonged evening session raised problems of interpretation of German experience and provoked heated debate. Wolfgang Voigt presented the Garden City as a leading element in Nazi housing and town planning policy. The concept would, he claimed, be traced back to the eugenic Darwinism propounded by Sir Francis Galton in 1910 - public health aspects of fitness for military service were in any case related to housing policy in Britain from the turn of the century. Allied to the emphasis on a healthy race, Voigt cited the aesthetic reaction against Weimar modernism, in favour of a volkisch village picturesqueness, which also owed as much to Town Planning in Practice as to "pure" German vernacular. Theodor Fritsch, in many ways a visionary - his Stadt du Zukunft appeared in 1896 two years before Howard's Tomorrow - became the leading theorist and his periodical Hammer, with its Wagnerian heading, disseminated material promoting a nationalist lifestyle from 1902. The proposition that volkisch architecture represented fascism and reaction, modernism democracy, socialism and progress, though appealing to the progressives of the 1930s is surely too simplistic to accept wholeheartedly today. Could one draw a clear demarcation between social education and fascist control, or when did a concern with the elimination of tuberculosis become an obsession with racial improvement? In what respect were the Garden City or town planning to be regarded as absolutes in aesthetic terms, or were they

inextricably linked even in visual aspects with their immediate political context? The next presentation by Hans Kampffmeyer did nothing to resolve matters. He took the postwar development of housing in Germany as a continuation of Garden Suburbs of the Weimar period, citing the vast Northweststadt-Siedlung of Frankfurt-am-Main as continuation of Ernst May's pioneering Römerstadt and Niddatal. To most observers the principles of layout and spatial hierarchy in May's work were conspicuous by their absence, and the result appeared simply to represent an example of comprehensive high rise housing development comparable with hundreds throughout Europe. Garden City design principles had been diluted to the point where they were scarcely recognisable, in marked contrast to the controversial Nazi settlements presented earlier.

The next group of papers turned to biographical evaluation of seminal architect-planners active in Germany during the 1920s. Kristiana Hartmann took three key figures - the Swiss Hans Bernouilli (1976-1959), Otto Salvisberg (1882-1940) and Bruno Taut (1880-1938). She described their major work in the housing field, and subjected their approach to an analytical framework scoring them for their contribution to the emergence of planning as a process; Civic Design; Institutional Reform, Health and Hygiene; and the co-operative ideal. Bernouilli was strongest on Institutional Reform, Salvisberg on Planning as a process with negligible scores elsewhere, whilst Taut scored heavily on everything except Institutional Reform and was the strongest all-rounder by far. The technique has inherent dangers of oversimplification, but it did serve to highlight the differences between, and strongest contributions of three professionals whose achievements are undervalued in the English speaking world, outshone by the emphasis still placed upon the Bauhaus prima donnas. All three were old enough to have trained and developed their ideas in the crucial pre-war period which saw the rapid dissemination of the English Garden City, notably Unwin's version, but they remained flexible enough to adapt their ideas in the harsh post-war period and to the brief flowering Weimar Republic.

Ernst May (1886-1970) is better known and Ursula Weiss focussed on his radical, and arguably finest achievements as Frankfurt City Architect, drawing out his initial links with Unwin, for whom he had worked at Hampstead in 1909. The Frankfurt strategic programme of 1925 strikingly embraced the Garden City concept applied to articulated development of suburbs as shown in Unwin's well known diagram included in *Nothing Gained by Overcrowding* in 1912. The Prauhheim, Römerstadt, Rotenbusch Siedlungen all linked radical design to a comprehensive programme and were in turn to be developed further by May at Magnetogorsk in the early 1930s.

By contrast Jürgen von Reuss described a land-based approach to the Garden City formulated by Leberecht Migge in the lean post-1918 period. This took as its basis plots large enough to promote self-sufficiency with minimum housing. Prototypes were developed at Berlin-Schöneberg and Perlberg, near Hamburg in 1920-1. The architects Martin Wagner and Adolph Loos were both involved with the concept, "organic" in all its aspects and related to the philosophy of anarchist-utopianists such as Kropotkin.

The afternoon tour focussed on model estates in Rotterdam ranging from the pioneering high density deck access flats at Spangen 1920-1 (Brinkman), through the traditional charm of Witte Dorp 1922-4 (J.J.P. Oud), a development of single storey white rendered pantiled roofed

houses, now hemmed in by motorways on two sides and shortly to be demolished, to Vreewijk 1916-42, a large scale garden suburb for which Berlage was the leading architect and which featured Unwin-inspired elements in its layout. Perhaps the most impressive was the Kiefhoek Estate 1925-9 (J.J.P. Oud), a dense development in which Dutch modernism, de stijl, came to maturity, with an architectural abstraction allied to a brilliant colour scheme evoking the quality of Mondriaan abstracts. The housing had recently been refurbished and the colour scheme restored.

The final colloquium session was held on Saturday at Agneta Park, a company village laid out in 1885 on an informal picturesque plan reminiscent of the English landscape school. Here was the Dutch equivalent of the enlightened paternalism of the Cadbury and Levers whose pioneering work had provided one of the major tributaries which flowed into the mainstream of the Garden City movement.

Klaus Novy ranged broadly over the organisational forms which had characterised the Garden City and related developments, and analysed housing reform as social reform. This set the scene for Gerhard Fehl whose theme was grouped housing (Hausgruppe) versus terraced housing (Reihenhaus) as the basis for rational estate planning as reflected in the work of Joseph Rings in Essen in 1920. The transition from picturesque groupings to rational terrace forms characterised the evolution of Garden City site planning theory in the period of 1910-20, epitomised in Unwin's espousal of rational blocks in *Nothing Gained by Overcrowding* (1912). Fehl has analysed this period in detail and presented widely drawn examples from work by Theodor Fischer, Martin Wagner, Peter Behrens and Joseph Rings. Following this Gunther Uhlig looked at the design elements of Garden City site layout and argued that Unwin's site design, spatial manipulative techniques, and even co-operative ideals were still valid.

Mark Fester spoke of the characteristic groupings of Garden City layouts being used as building blocks for a new Garden City and had prepared comprehensive diagrams updating examples found in *Town Planning in Practice* and the original Radburn layout. Helmuth Sting likewise dealt with the problems of relating historical building layouts to present day requirements. Finally Otokar Uhl showed how several Garden City estates had been refurbished with examples from Karlsruhe, Nürnberg, Mannheim and Berlin.

Discussion throughout the conference was lively and often centred upon semantic problems of the kind which left an English observer bemused. Gerhard Fehl heroically attempted to draw the threads together and to provide a series of topics for further analysis. Was the Garden City merely an architectural concept? - many of the papers had been architect oriented. (As an architect myself I could not resist putting forward the proposition that architects had needed the Garden City, but did the Garden City need architects?) Did the Garden City bring emancipation from the industrial central city, and how was it integrated with housing reform and the co-operative ideal? Were today's urban problems soluble by the Garden City? The answers to these must await a further session set for the Autumn. Meanwhile it is hoped that the papers, many of which are of direct relevance to English-speaking planning historians, will be published in the excellent *Stadt-Planung Geschichte* (Christian-Verlag, Hamburg) edited by Fehl, in which earlier planning history conference material has appeared. Such a rich event surely needs a permanent record.

Dr. Mervyn Miller, Baldock, Herts.

RECENT AND FORTHCOMING PUBLICATIONS

Peter Ambrose (1986) Whatever Happened to Planning? London: Methuen, 224 pp. £25.00 hardback ISBN 416 371 000, £8.95 paperback ISBN 416 371 108.

Announced by the publishers as an examination of "how the planning system emerged in the Second World War and how it has been eroded since". The author develops his analysis of the rise and fall of town and country planning through two contrasted case studies, one of the London docklands and the other of a green belt area.

Gordon Stephenson, 1986. Planning for the University of Western Australia: 1914-70. A review of past plans and future prospects, Langham Press, Nedlands, 50 pp., price AS 8.95, ISBN 0 9589567 0 7 (copies obtainable from University Bookshop, University of Western Australia, Nedlands 6009 or Dept. of Civic Design, University of Liverpool, PO Box 147, Liverpool, L69 3BX).

First as planning consultant to the State Government, and then as Professor of Architecture, the author played a key role in planning the development of the university campus during the period of rapid expansion in the 1950s and 1960s. As well as recounting the origins and implementation of the Stephenson plan, more general observations are made on the general principles guiding campus planning.

Donald N. Rothblatt and Daniel J. Garr, 1986. Suburbia: an international assessment. Croom Helm, Beckenham, Kent, price £19.95. 0 7 999 2258 2.

Drawing on material from the U.S.A., the Netherlands and Israel, the authors assess the extent to which the dramatic growth of suburbia in the post-war period has enhanced the quality of life, and which factors have influenced that quality. The implications for future metropolitan development and for cross-national comparative urban research are discussed.

Martin Doughty (ed.), 1986. Building the industrial city, Leicester University Press, 212 pp., £27.50, ISBN 7185 1238 3.

In the publisher's series, Themes in Urban History, the volume focusses on the building industry that created the homes for the urban working-class in the nineteenth century. The 4 studies included in the volume are: Land development and house-building in Huddersfield, 1770-1911 (Jane Springett); Building societies in the West Riding of Yorkshire and their contribution to housing provision (M.H. Yeadall); The Welsh influence on the building industry in Victorian Liverpool (Thomas A. Roberts); The Victorian building industry and the housing of the Scottish working class (Richard Rodger).

Stephen D. Helmer, 1985. Hitler's Berlin: The Speer Plans for Reshaping the Central City. Ann Arbor, Michigan: VMI Research Press, XXVI, 336 pp., \$54.95 (cloth), ISBN 08-35-16821.

This detailed assessment of Albert Speer's grand plan for Berlin contends that it was not merely an aberration of the Nazi regime but in step with a tradition of large scale, self-aggrandizing authoritarian ventures of the 20th century. While the text encompasses only 107 pages, the work is profusely illustrated and accompanied by 40 pages of notes.

W.M. Adams, 1986, Nature's Place: conservation sites and countryside change, Allen and Unwin. pp.209 £15.00, paperback £5.95.

This book 'offers an analysis of the state of site protection in British nature conservation' (p.iii): perhaps an unlikely source for the planning historian, but in fact there are full and authoritative early chapters which will be well used by those interested in the history of countryside change. Chapter One covers two centuries of developments in agriculture, land use and landscape. Chapter Two focusses on the lobby for nature and countryside preservation. Chapter Three looks at the evolving machinery for site protection and Chapter Four analyses the Wildlife and Countryside Act, 1981. All this, more than half the word length of the book, constitutes a useful historical review for student consumption.

A. Hutchings & R. Bunker, eds. 1986, With conscious Purpose: A History of Town Planning in South Australia Gwandilla S.a.: Wakefield Press pp. 136 A\$ 24.95 (overseas, postpaid A \$ 29.95).

South Australia was settled in 1836 as a planned community to implement the utopian ideals of early nineteenth century British reformers. This distinctive approach, first manifested in Colonel William Light's famous parklands plan for Adelaide, began a strong tradition of developing settlements in an organized, systematic manner. The contributors trace the rise of suburbia in early metropolitan Adelaide, the spread of frontiers (at a speed which rivalled the American West) and twentieth century model projects and urban expansions. The book is published in association with the Royal Australian Planning Institute.

Thomas Hall (1986) Planning Europäischer Hauptstädte Zur Entwicklung des Städtebaues im 19 Jahrhundert Stockholm: Almqvist and Wicksell 386 pp., Swedish Kr. 220, ISBN 91-7402-1656.

This study of urban planning in Europe's capital cities in 1800 - 1880 combines a short review of each of the fifteen capitals, with a comparative analysis of plan-elements such as streets, sanitation and parks, and also of planning processes and philosophies during the transitional period between preindustrial and modern city planning.

C. Carter and M. Keating (1986) The Designation of Cumbernauld New Town: a case study in central-local government relationships in Scotland during the 1950s Milton Keynes: the Open University. Faculty of Social Sciences Working Paper No. 2. 99 pp. £2.50.

The protagonist in this very interesting piece of policy history is neither central nor local government in the usual sense, but the Scottish Office, Scotland's territorial department, based in Edinburgh yet an integral part of the Whitehall system, and subject not to Scottish Assembly but to the Cabinet and the Parliament of Westminster. The Scottish Office was tenaciously committed to Clyde Valley Plan of 1946, which envisaged new town development as the solution to Glasgow's problem of "overspill", i.e. population surplus to capacity after slum

clearance. Cumbernauld was to be the last and largest of the overspill new towns. To get it built, the civil servants of the Scottish Office had to manoeuvre the project through a highly complex series of negotiations with the local authorities on the one hand, notably Glasgow Corporation, and Whitehall on the other, meaning especially the Treasury, which was deeply suspicious of Scottish housing finance as a

whole and of the new town corporations in particular. They succeeded, Cumbernauld got its designation and thirty years later the background story of this policy coup by the Scottish office is now lucidly researched and narrated by Carter and Keating.

Available from:-

Richard Skellington, Editor
Faculty of Social Services Working Paper Series
The Open University
Walton Hall
Milton Keynes, MK7 6AA

C. Bacon (1986) Coal Mining and the Housing Question in Britain 1901-1939 Privately printed. 130 pp. £4.00.

Reporting research funded by the Aneurin Bevan Memorial Foundation in 1983-6, Bacon describes the struggle of mining communities to improve their housing conditions in the various coalfields of England, Scotland and Wales, and the national campaign which played a significant role in stimulating wider state involvement in housing provision after 1919.

Available from the author at:- 73 Roebuck Road, Sheffield S6 34Q.

Miles Horsey and Stefan Muthesius (1986) Provincial Mixed Development: the design and construction of Norwich Council housing under David Percival 1955-1973 Norwich: privately published. 81pp, £2.00, ISBN 0 9511605-0-8.

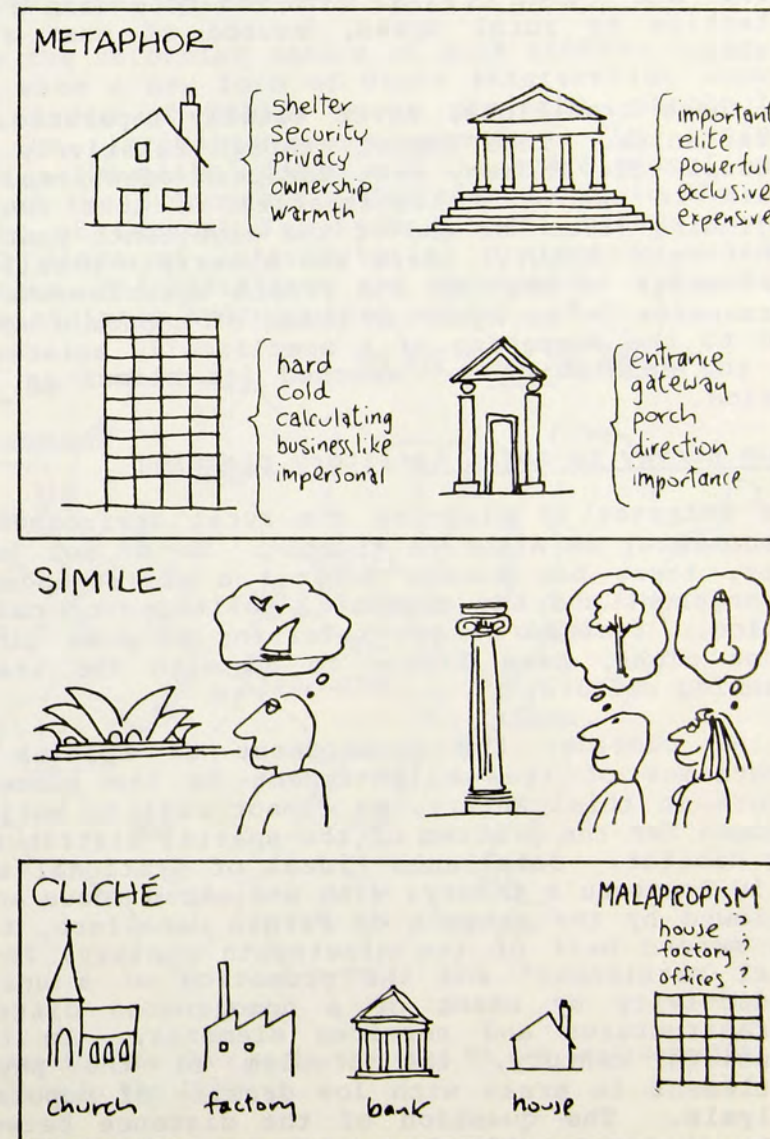
Norwich has a population of 120,000, a long and almost unbroken tradition of Labour Party government, a strong sense of regional identity, and a steady provincial prosperity. Muthesius and Horsey, in their densely-typed but inexpensive booklet, analyze the design of successive council housing estates during David Percival's eighteen years as Norwich City Architect. Percival came to Norwich fresh from the redevelopment of postwar Coventry and broke the city's rather conservative design tradition with a series of mixed-density, Scandinavian-modern developments conceived with special attention to visual variety and landscaping detail, according to the precepts of the "townscape" school. This involved the development of flat to provide vertical accents, but Norwich built relatively few multi-storey blocks and experimented only briefly with the industrialized building systems promoted in the 1960s by national contractors. Percival's estates, which in their unspectacular way have weathered well and retained their popularity, provide the authors with the opportunity for some wider and very interesting reflections on the local implementation of national housing standards, on regionalism, traditionalism, and modernism in British council housing.

Available at £2.00 (including postage and packing) from:-

Dr. Stefan Muthesius,
School of Art History and Music
University of East Anglia
Norwich NR4 7TJ

Louis Hellman (1986) Architecture for Beginners N.Y.: Writers and Readers, London: Methuen. 212 pp £3.95, ISBN 0-04-720033-2.

Louis Hellman has the knack of getting across fundamental ideas and issues in architecture in a couple of succinct sentences and a large cartoon. His use of collage is highly ingenious and witty, and his captions are irresistible. Strongly recommended for the reference library, or the loo, or both.



RESEARCH REPORT

THE AGRARIANIST TRADITION: REGIONAL PLANNING AND RURAL ARCHITECTURE IN SPAIN

Francis Javier Monclus
Jose Luis Oyon
Architects Dept. of Town
Planning, Valles School of
Archit., Barcelona.

The historical development of a set of knowledge and techniques related to the shaping of the rural territory is complex and multiform. Several disciplinary traditions can be recognized in that process depending on the countries and historical periods considered.

On the one hand, there are the literatures of landscape architecture and "gardening" that, in their different aspects, have had great importance, specially in the Anglo-Saxon world. On the other, the spatial economy and the regional geography traditions, specially of German and French origin, have for more than a century paid fundamental attention to rural areas, source of most recent regional planning issues.

To these traditions, never totally separated, we must add a third - agrarianism. This aspect, though relatively neglected, has played a crucial role in many West European countries. The case of Italy and Spain is specially illustrative in this respect. Although in the beginning (from the end of the eighteenth century to the middle of the nineteenth century) there was a certain parallelism with the technical statements of English and French agrarianists of that time, our long permanence in an agrarian phase of economic and historical development led to the deepening of a specifically agrarianist tradition, which - in the Spanish case - reached its climax as late as the 1940 - 1960 period.

From survey to rural territory planning

The interest in planning the rural environment is not a very recent phenomenon, as might be thought. We do not just mean that, as in the city, there has always existed a correspondence between territorial arrangement and the economic, political or cultural interests of each period. Instead we are referring to some lines of thought that, at first sight, have little to do with the traditional corpus of the planning culture.

If we consider the development of Spanish agrarianism, from the programmes of the enlightenment to the successive projects of land reform in this century, we cannot fail to notice the almost obsessive concern for the problem of the spatial distribution of rural population and habitat. Jovellanos' ideal of "rational settlement", associated, as in Rousseau's theory, with antiurban focus and regional balance, was followed by the schemes of Fermin Caballero, the great agrarianist of the second half of the nineteenth century, for the "encouragement of rural settlement" and the promotion of a uniform level of agrarian productivity by means of a homogeneous distribution of population, infrastructures and services elements. In the first third of the twentieth century, the problem of the physical distribution of settlement in areas with low density of population was the object of analysis. The question of the distance between the houses and the plot, the waste of time that this provoked and the distribution of

services in the territory, gave rise to different kinds of proposals around the possible decentralization and relative dispersion of housing, services and infrastructures. In their treatment of such matters agronomists such as Bayer i Bosch, Quevedo, Ridruejo or Soroa went far beyond mere agricultural considerations into what we would now call rural environment planning.

Besides the strictly agrarian tradition mention should be made of the importance of the land survey tradition for Spanish rural planning. The tremendous effort of statistic and cartographic survey of the State territory from the second half of the nineteenth century was not confined to the preparation of maps of roads and population centres, etc. A great part of that process of spatial survey was also related to the development of agronomical resources, based on the elaboration of exhaustive descriptions, dictionaries, and maps (of parceled lands, geological, hydrologic, etc). This was, for example, the case with the "hydrological surveys" which not only measured the water volume to establish the resources in each basin, but pointed out interesting aspects of each valley's geography and suggested global projects for the transformation of the rural territory.

We can see very clearly the reformist nature of such studies during the twenties and thirties, when a new form of State intervention began to be imposed on certain types of public works projects, particularly those related with the irrigation development. An incipient convergence between the agronomists' field and the hydrological became the basis of the work of the Hydrographic Confederations in the 1920s during the dictatorship of General Primo de Rivera, based upon the formulation of general plans of intersectorial character, embracing housing and infrastructure, reforestation, and agronomical and sanitary aspects, as well as the strictly hydrological aspect. (Fig. 1).

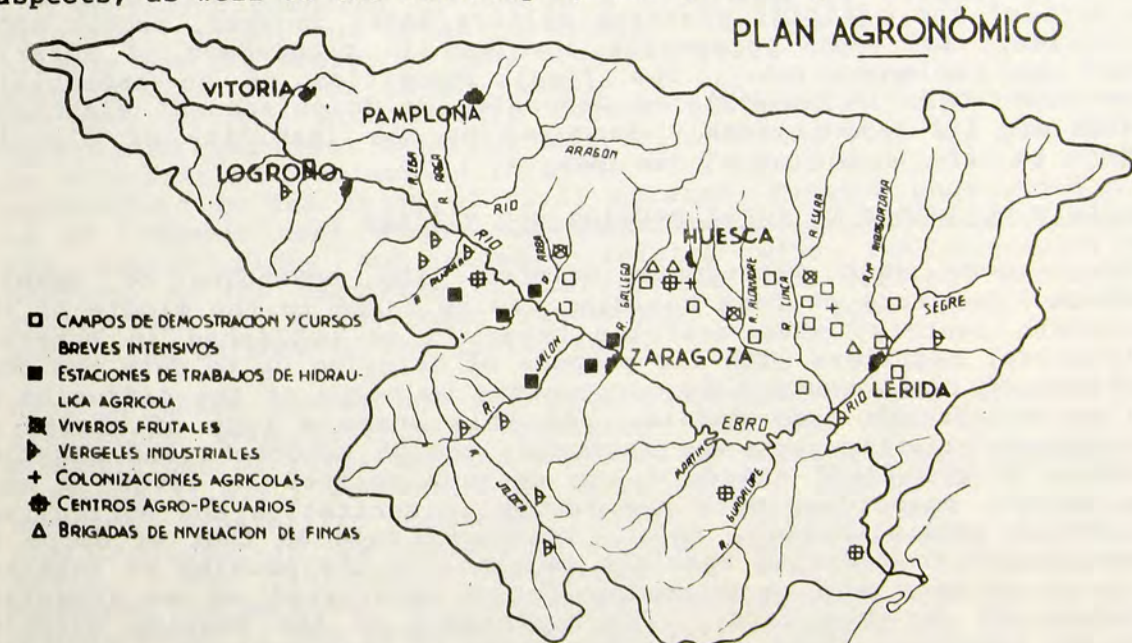


Fig. 1 The Agronomical plan for the Ebro basin prepared by the Confederacion Hidrografica del Ebro in the 1920s.

Frequently, the Confederations' work (particularly that of the Confederacion Hidrografica del Ebro - C.H.E.) has been compared to one of the first and best known episodes of Regional Planning, the Tennessee Valley Authority (T.V.A.), and there really exists a great similarity between them. However, what distinguished the innovating work of Lorenzo Pardo, director-manager of the C.H.E., was the importance attached to agrarian planning. For example, the elaboration of "Planes de colonizacion" (Land settlement plans) was one of the main tasks of the Agronomical Service of the Confederations in each subzone. The impetus of such "hydraulic regionalism" was sustained in the postwar period by the work of the National Institute of Colonization (I.N.C.)

The importance that the colonizing programmes acquired in the second third of the century, certainly stimulated awareness of the pressing planning problems of rural areas. In contrast to the dominant tendency of Anglo-Saxon planning culture that virtually confines itself to establish protectionist rules to avoid the utilization of rural territory, some Italian and Spanish planners thought that the starting point should be located precisely in agricultural production. Such sensibility for the planning of the rural environment was not originally limited to technicians involved in agrarian colonization nor was it just a consequence of the ruralism that prevailed in the context of the Italian Fascism or in the Francoist autarchy. For example, Gaston Bardet, devoted one of the chapters of his small well known post-war book to country planning or "urbanisme rural" ("rural planning"), a phrase already widely used in the 1930s. It is symptomatic that a section for rural planning were introduced in the "I Congreso Nazionale de Urbanistica" that took place in Rome, and the C.I.A.M. of Paris (both celebrated in 1937). However, this interest on the part of the official planning culture later decayed, except among technicians that were personally involved in programmes of agrarian reform and colonization. The final imposition of an essentially agronomist logic in the "Planes Generales de Colonizacion" elaborated during the 1950s was greatly favoured by the inability of planning culture to offer a vision of its own.

From farm buildings to rural housing and village

Although some weak precedents existed, the beginning of Spanish handbook literature on farm building can be dated to the middle of the nineteenth century, when articles began to be published in numerous agricultural magazines with the purpose of bringing up to date the poor condition of rural housing in our country by means of the diffusion of English and French farm models. At this stage a type of closed or semi-closed building form was favoured, though handbooks and magazine articles of the first third of the century shifted to favour a more open design, coinciding with new issues in sanitation and agriculture and cattle specialization. Also, handbooks such as that of Soria or others, began to dedicate specific sections to the housing of settlers or rural workers who were coming to be considered as an essential component of the new farm. The appearance of the housing question marks an important shift as the beginning of this century. According to the reformers, the prime condition desirable for the worker's house was its location in the farm where he worked. According to the reformers, the day laborer's estrangement from his family during long periods was both socially damaging and economically wasteful. The second necessary requirement was that the rural housing must be single-family or "independent" - using the adjective of the time - so

as to encourage family life and values among farm labourers.

By the end of the 1920s there already existed a relatively wide-spread awareness that one of the important elements in the improvement of rural condition was housing reform. Some initiatives of the State already showed an important shift of approach by comparison with earlier years, as the exhaustive report Contribucion al estudio de la casa rural (1919) pointed out. According to that report, the housing problem was not a question that could be restricted to mere construction of aired rooms, with separation of sex, people and animals, but also it had to comprise a set of important needs centred in the village where those houses were sited. It was necessary to build public services of education, assistance, health and recreation that could enlarge the home place and thus complete an adequate environment. The social and spiritual life of the agricultor should resemble that of the city. That led experts in the early thirties to emphasise the theme of the village. As against the clear ruralist and antiurban objectives of Cabelleros' tradition of the nineteenth century, the new settlement models identified the minimal concentration needed to group sanitary, educational and urbanistic services. Thus, the village as service nucleus, as the minimal unity of "urban" settlement in rural territory, turned out to be an essential part of the different proposals of regional planning.

In the beginning of the thirties it is already possible to see the great importance given by agronomical handbooks to small scale settlement programmes. The 1933 competition for village building in Guadalquivir and Guadalmellato areas was, without doubt, one of the fundamental meeting points between agronomic and architectural technique in connection with this theme of rural housing. Architects and engineers competed to design a programme of housing and "public services" thought out by an agronomist. In its detailed basis we can already see the embryo of many projects built after the civil war: the case of Jose Fonseca is an example of it. A member of the Planning Seminary of the Architecture School of Madrid (1932-1936) he was already worried about agrarian matters, and dedicated all his attention to colonization problems in relation with rural housing. As with many agronomists in the study of rural estates, Fonseca understood housing as an economic cost that should be connected with the development of the family plot, and closely related with its characteristics. Housing, as the immovable capital of the farm holding, was therefore susceptible to an economic reasoning, of a cost study within the accounting balance of the family farm.

Most of these issues and means of cooperation among agronomists and architects were faithfully gathered when the war was over. The competitions of rural housing convened by the Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda (I.N.V.) and the Ordinances of that agency make evident the special sensibility towards rural housing and villager so characteristic in the history of Spanish planning during the 1940s and 1950s. The historical experience of "villages of colonization" embodied the essence of techniques about housing and rural planning consolidated in the previous two decades, establishing the culminating synthesis between agronomical and architectonic technique, involving - to a greater degree than ever before or since - architects with evident sensibility towards the relations between housing environment and agronomy, and agronomists who thought carefully about the spatial implications, including the aesthetics, of their programmes.

Since the beginning of the 1960s the development of economic planning and regional economy has led to the displacement of interest towards urban problems. In the presence of a ruling spirit of economism and a doctrine of the "necessary unity of Regional Planning", rural environment planning came to be considered as a "false problem" of concern only to ruralists and technicians unable to understand the interrelation between urban and rural environments.

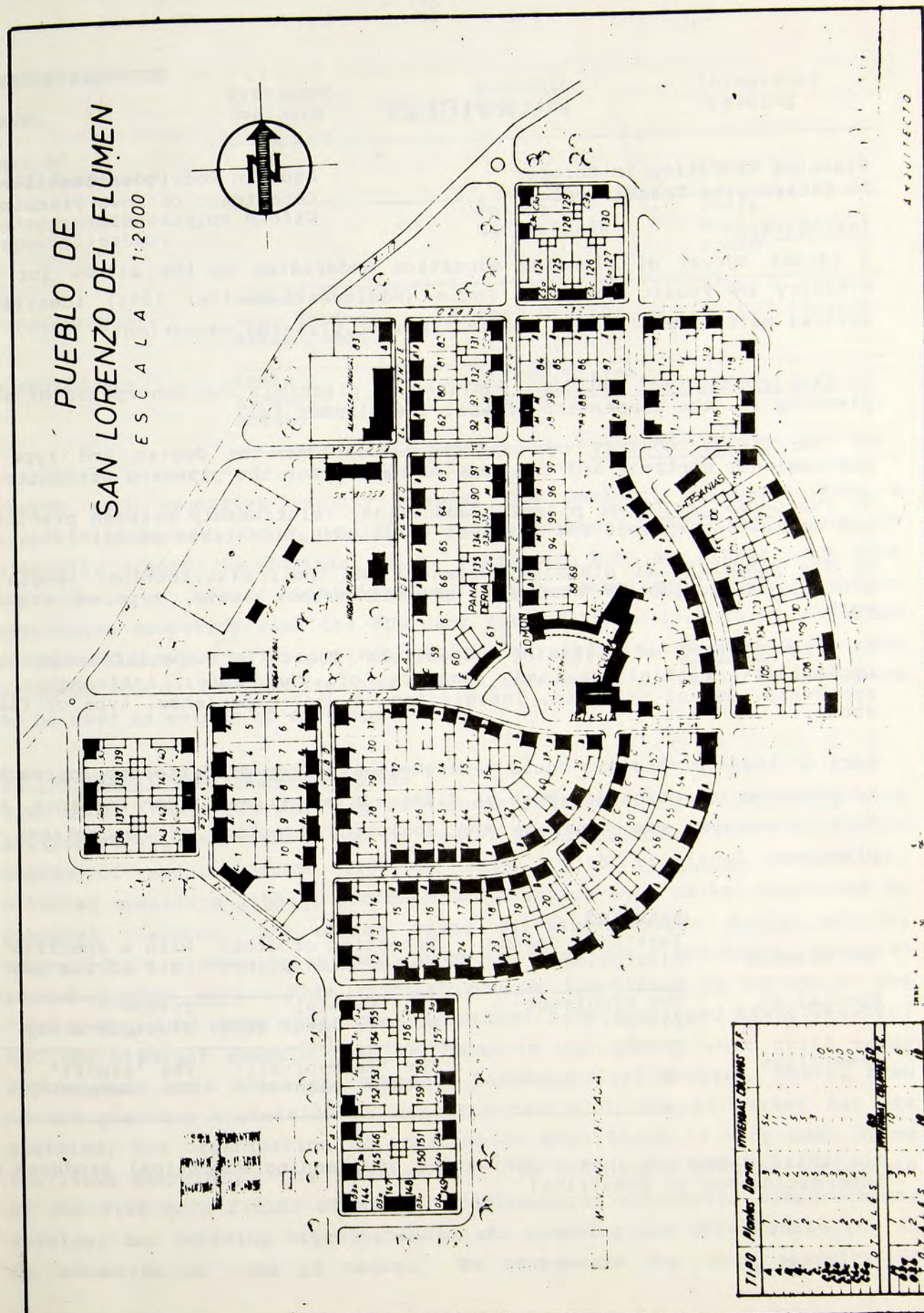
Instead of developing the former tradition, the efforts of the planners who were worried about the subject, seemed to be directed almost exclusively to its integration with the regional economy. Whereas rural colonization sustained a professional movement with common vocabulary, concepts and techniques in countries such as Holland or Israel (and to a lesser degree in Italy), in the Spanish case, the attempt to establish a convergence field between physical and agronomical planning did not survive. Although today we cannot reactivate the old rural myths nor revise the rural planning and rural architecture of the agrarianist tradition, a knowledge of that tradition can contribute to the construction of alternative methodologies of territorial intervention in rural areas.

NB The authors have developed this theme at greater length in their forthcoming book: Colonización agraria en España (1855-1973). Políticas y técnicas en la ordenación del espacio rural. Some aspects have already been shown in: F.J. Monclus y J.L. Oyon, "Colonización agraria y 'urbanismo rural' en el siglo XX. La experiencia del Instituto Nacional de Colonización", Ciudad y Territorio no.57-58, 1983 (Italian version in Storia Urbana no. 28, 1984), and "De la colonización interior a la colonización integral (1900-1936). Genesis y destino de una reforma agraria técnica", in R. Garrabou (ed.), Historia agraria de la España contemporánea (III), Critica, Barcelona, 1986.

For a first approach to similar experiences in other countries see: M.V. Hulten, "Plan and Reality in the Ijsselmerpolders" Tydschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geographie LXI, 1969; J.O. Maos, "Land Settlement in the Mediterranean region: lessons gleaned from Italy, Spain and Israel", Ekistics, 48, 1981; G. de Iucca, "La politica Territoriale nell'esperienza di Riforma Agraria in Italia: l'Opera Valorizzazione Sila", Storia Urbana, 18, 1982.

Opposite:-

Fig. 2 San Lorenzo del Flumen. A colonization village designed by A. Bunuel for the Instituto Nacional de Colonización, Ebro region, 1954.



ARTICLES

Planning Education in Europe: An Interrupted Transition?

Agustin Rodriguez-Bachiller
Department of Town Planning
Oxford Polytechnic

Introduction

A recent survey of planning education undertaken by the author for the Ministry of Public Works in Spain (Rodriguez-Bachiller 1985) identified several main dimensions in the analysis of planning education:

- 1) The PROFESSIONAL IDEOLOGY dominant in planning: the conception of what planning is, the conception of what the planner is.
- 2) The SOCIAL CONTEXT of planning education: the degree and type of professional control, and the type of market for the planning graduates.
- 3) The ORGANISATION of planning education: relationship between practical and academic training, and level at which education takes place.
- 4) The RESOURCES of planning education and their distribution: length of studies, selection of students, student/teacher ratio, type of student work.
- 5) The CONTENT of planning education: degree of specialisation and optionality, definition and location of the core, instruments of synthesis, use of projects, integration of work-experience, type of final study.

Each of these dimensions could generate a typology of different approaches to planning education (or even of different countries). For instance, the first dimension can generate the following typology of conceptions of planning:

THE PLANNER	PLANNING		
	Part of a design discipline	Extension of other social disciplines	With a specific core of its own
Specialist	The architect-planner	The 'partial' planner (team work)	Inter-disciplinarity
Generalist		The 'Jack-of-all-trades' planner	The 'expert' The 'manager'

The third dimension (the organisation of planning education) produces an interesting map of countries:

THEORY/PRACTICE LEVEL	Practical training	Academic training	Integrated training
Partial undergraduate			Hungary
Undergraduate specialisation		France Netherlands	Italy West Germany Spain
Full undergraduate	United States West Germany Netherlands	West Germany	Italy United Kingdom
Postgraduate	Spain Hungary Poland	United States France	United Kingdom

Though most countries usually display one dominant approach, even a superficial survey (and a simplified table as above) shows today a certain diversity around the dominant form, sometimes just as little more than intentions or trends towards the future, sometimes as alternative approaches competing with the dominant form. If we look first at those dominant forms (we will come back to the diversity later), in our survey we found useful to identify some historical models of planning education to be used as points of reference.

1. THE TRADITIONAL-TECHNICAL MODEL

This model identifies planning with another technical discipline (usually architecture), taught in a long (5 years) undergraduate course with little degree of specialisation (10% or less), with practical objectives, oriented towards a liberal professional practice in a market dominated by physical planning, the course being oriented towards design skills, organised in a very heavy curriculum in terms of class-hours, centered around project work. This approach can be identified in Europe as the 'starting point' from which most countries have developed historically, and the clearest example that we found in our survey that still today approximates this model is (somewhat paradoxically) Hungary, where, even if the planning profession is far from having a liberal market for its exercise, the organisation of training in this field is very much along the lines described. The 'main project' in the course must have elements of the five main fields of study (architecture, structure, construction, services, and building organisation), and planning can only 'sneak in' as an extension of some of these. To compensate for this scarcity of

training in planning at university level, the Professional Association organises periodically two-year 'Master' courses for professionals who have been in work for at least two years: these courses consist of 'pairing up' apprentices with established professionals (the 'masters') for two years on a part-time basis, at week-ends. On the other hand, the 'parallel program' in English (!) of specialisation studies in architecture being organised at present in that country (open also to students from different countries and backgrounds) will most probably introduce fundamental changes moving away from this traditional model.

In contrast with this model of planning as an aspect of technology or design, the next two models result from the growing differentiation of traditional physical planning into three different aspects:

1) Disintegration of physical planning into different components, usually materialised into separate courses in Architecture, Urban Design, and Planning, the latter more concentrated on socio-economic aspects of planning. 2) Differentiation of training into separate levels (under and post-graduate). 3) Separation by different objectives, into education oriented respectively to the training of policy analysts, and of practical planners. The process of differentiation has given rise to another two relatively 'pure' models, as follows.

2 THE ACADEMIC MODEL

This model, found mainly in North America, is based largely on post-graduate courses (2 years) where planning is taught as a separate discipline largely dependent on social sciences (with other separate courses for architecture and for urban design), in a 'cafeteria' system with high level of optionality (50% or more) and specialisation, oriented towards theoretical objectives aiming at the training of 'thinkers', relatively uncontrolled by professional organisations, and serving a very diverse job market. Courses are organised around a heavy program of individual study (less than 10 contact-hours/week), with relatively little project work (see Sawicki 1984). There are 77 such graduate schools, producing some 1500 professionally qualified students per year.

In addition to this dominant form of planning education, we find also in the United States planning education at undergraduate level in polytechnics or in less prestigious universities for professionals doing planning work in Local Authorities (Hankins et al. 1982). These courses generally last 4 years. The 28 undergraduate schools between them produce

some 400 graduates per year nationwide, the majority entering the local public sector. We can also find general 'planning studies' courses, with no professional aspirations. On offer in normal universities, particularly those without Master's courses. However, the "academic model" of the graduate course remains dominant.

3 THE COMPREHENSIVE-INTEGRATED MODEL

This model, typical of Great Britain, is also social-science based, but starts from the undergraduate level in what is known as a '3+1' format, with three years for a Degree plus one more for the professional Diploma, sometimes with a year of practice sandwiched in between; the curriculum usually starts with some foundation subjects and then moves on to a core, traditionally imposed by the professional organisation (and consisting of three areas; methodology, the physical environment, and the administrative context), which gives a strong generalist flavour to the training. There is less specialisation than in the American model (about one third of the program), heavier emphasis on project work, and at the same time relatively low number of weekly contact-hours (about 20). The educational objectives are mainly practical, serving a highly professionalised and specific market of Local Government planning; no organisational differentiation is made between 'theoretical' and 'practical' training, but both are attempted within the same structure, which also extends into the post-graduate level with Masters courses which are practically 'collapsed' versions (2 years) of the undergraduate programmes.

The number of planning graduates per year has gone down, from around 1000 in the late 70s, to about 600 in the mid 80s (Thomas 1985). At postgraduate level, universities still dominate (after the big growth of the polytechnic sector in the 70s), while polytechnics attract the majority of part-time student; at undergraduate level, universities and polytechnics share the market (Healey 1983). Unemployment among planning graduates is low (7.3%) compared to other professions, and increasing proportions of them find work in 'non-traditional' planning jobs (Thomas 1985), jobs where planning skills are needed, but not situated in the planning departments of Local Government.

The historical evolution of the content of planning courses in the UK (probably a result of the 'generalist' emphasis) can be characterised by the layer-cake approach (Batty 1984), a cumulation of subjects added on over time (but without any fundamental substitutions), with the overall

effect of a 'thinning out' of the different fields, decrease in depth of their treatment, and the accompanying increase in dissatisfaction of academics and professionals alike.

4 EUROPE

If we consider now other countries in Europe and the variations they represent with respect to these models, we can say that the general trend has been to move from the traditional model towards one of the other two, in different degrees according to different circumstances. Kunzmann (1984) summarises the general trend that planning education has followed in most countries in Western Europe into several typical 'stages': 1) In the first stage, architects and engineers discover the complexity of the urban system and introduce optional subjects in their courses while, simultaneously, economists (and sometimes sociologists) discover the spatial dimension and begin also to introduce special options in their programmes of study. 2) In the second stage, planners within architecture and engineering departments begin to ask for the separate teaching of planning and achieve, either the introduction of separate specialisations in those courses after a common base (the German model), or the creation of separate postgraduate courses in planning (the American model). 3) In the third stage, the growth of such courses and department leads to the establishment of independent undergraduate courses in planning, except in those countries where the resistance of traditional disciplines is too strong, or where demand for 'generalist' planners is not sufficiently high. 4) Finally, the continuation of ideological conflicts, the reduction of the job market, and the crisis of the idea of interdisciplinarity, lead in some countries either to a fragmentation of planning education and the return of 'sectorialisation', or in the segregation of departments into separate groups ('physical' planners on the one hand, 'political' planners on the other).

As we see (and our survey confirms it), the historical trend in Europe has been first towards specialisation within traditional courses, and subsequently the creation of various types of advanced specialist courses. The transition from one type to the other has produced a distinctive hybrid which we may call the 'bifurcated model'.

5 THE BIFURCATED MODEL

This Y-shaped model of undergraduate education starts with a common base of varying length within a traditional discipline - sometimes social

sciences, sometimes technology or architecture, leading to subsequent specialisations in planning. It is usually oriented towards a market of physical planning, normally operating in a context of weak professionalisation of planning activity. The tendency in Europe has been towards this bifurcated model and, with time, towards the generation of separated programmes for planning education, but these trends have followed different paths and have reached different stages in different countries.

In Spain the 9 schools of architecture now offer a major specialisation in town planning, consisting of about half a dozen year-long subjects constituting about 25% of the teaching in the second half of the course). The curriculum embraces a great diversity of topics, from spatial analysis to design, legislation, social sciences and applied project work (with some evidence of the same 'layer-cake effect' as in the generalist-comprehensive approach of the U.K.). The rest of the training in planning in Spain is based on minor specialisations within social science or engineering degrees, and some ad hoc post-graduate courses, usually on a part-time basis, and of varying lengths (from a few days to two years), but with no academic and only limited professional recognition.

In Italy, only two schools - Venice and Reggio - Calabria - offer undergraduate town planning courses. Elsewhere, town planning is one among a number of specialisms that may be pursued within the 17 architectural schools. The standard Diploma structure follows the bifurcated model, with a combination of general grounding in all aspects of the discipline, and specialisation in just one.

The situation in planning education in Italy is dominated by the inefficiency of the higher education system, produced by its enormous massification (it is common for a School of Architecture to have four or five thousand students!) and by its 'unofficially-part-time' nature (even officially, only 50% of students are full-time), both producing an 'impasse' from which different departments are trying to get out in different ways. In Venice the planners are now thinking of returning back to an educational programme of planning integrated with architecture, in Milan or Turin they are thinking of ways of 'completing' the trend towards independence initiated long ago.

In some socialist countries like Poland, the 'Y' model is quite well established, not only in schools of architecture, but also in other departments like economics (with a programme of 2 years in common, 2 years of specialisation, and a final year for the thesis), although the emphasis in these social-science departments is more academic, and little or no use if made of 'applied' work like projects. In architecture departments, by contrast, the approach is more like the Hungarian model. Specific courses on planning are only available at a post-graduate level and on a part-time basis, organised by the (rather weak) professional association of planners.

6 OTHER TRENDS

As we have seen, some countries in Europe are still in the transition towards the 'Y' model in its fully-fledged form. Others, as we will now see, are past this stage, and moving towards one of the other two extreme models:

In France, the three non-traditional models coexist, under different theoretical 'umbrellas', in a system characterised by an agreed 'division of labour' between planning schools: on the one hand, within the general emphasis on pluridisciplinarity characteristic of A.P.E.R.A.U. (national association of 7 planning departments), we have the undergraduate approach of Tours, practical and generalist, but with a substantive focus (rural problems and small towns), or the theoretical and academic approach at Saint Denis in Paris (post-graduate doctoral programs with considerable degree of optionality and specialisation), on the other hand, under the classical view of planning as a specialisation, the standard bifurcated programme is present in the architecture schools. In addition, in France, Local Government officials are trained in planning at municipal professional training schools, providing a 'second level' of training in planning for Local government work.

In Holland, planning courses at university level don't originate from technological or design disciplines, but from the social sciences (geography, demography). As a result of the reform and shortening of higher education cycles in 1982, planning education changed from a clear 'bifurcated' model (3+2 years), to a variation of it (1+3, a 'Y' with a very short stem) which in practice became almost the same as a fully undergraduate format of British style.

Germany is in a situation of coexistence similar to France: a bifurcated model (2 years in common, 2 years planning, and a thesis) in 26 university departments, split equally between architecture, engineering, social sciences, and others, and a British-style model in 6 universities of more recent creation (Berlin, Dortmund, Kaiserslautern, Kassel, Hamburg, Oldenburg), with undergraduate programmes of 4 1/2 years (2 common, 2 of specialisation within planning and a thesis), emphasizing the practical aspects of planning and with a substantial amount of project work (up to 50% in Berlin), in a professional milieu still largely dominated by architects; a total of about 265 graduates are produced by these 6 schools every year (Dortmund, the largest, produces 80, Kaiserslautern produces 10), of rather different orientations: Hamburg and Kassel concentrate on planning while Oldenburg and Dortmund are more oriented towards 'policy' than towards physical planning. Also, in Germany, there are professional schools that train planners for practical jobs in very intensive programmes of 4 years, almost exclusively based on 'classroom learning' and practical sessions. At the end of these studies, a student can go to a university to continue his education (in planning for instance), or he can enter the job market at a low level. While planning at urban level is largely dominated by university-educated planners, levels above and below that of a city (regions, neighbourhoods) are dominated by professionals from these schools (Kunzmann and Muller 1976).

7 CONCLUDING COMMENTS

There is nothing unusual about all these intermediate situations in which European countries are, and most countries that now exhibit some of the 'pure' models have been through similar transitional phases in the past. It can be said that planning education has to a certain degree evolved as a response to changes in planning activity, which came to be organised in different countries of Europe after the second World War in quite similar fashion (Williams 1984). Since then, it can probably be said that the field has undergone in the second half of this century two fundamental changes, both of which originated in America and were later 'diffused' to Europe: these were the change from intuitive to rational plans, and the change from plans to policies.

Both changes in planning, and consequently, in planning education, happened in America in periods of relative economic prosperity, the late fifties and the late sixties respectively whereas in Europe they have

occurred later and have come to be directly affected, one could say 'interrupted', by the economic recession and the contraction of the public sector. Because in England the Labour government responded reasonably soon to the challenge (in the mid and late sixties), it could 'consolidate' what today can be seen as a 'pure' model of planning education. In the rest of Europe, the new forms of planning and planning education were introduced only in the seventies, by when a second wave of change was already working its way through planning's professional ideology, and in some countries, the economic crisis was making itself felt too: in fact, the need for a change from urban plans to policies was really felt in many countries in Europe because of the economic recession and, it can be said, by then it was already 'too late'. So the need for change in professional orientation and therefore in education in town planning was not perceived and dealt with in continental Europe when there were resources available to carry out those changes, but in a period of crisis of the Welfare State, of scarcity, of contraction of the public sector, and to a certain extent, of lack of trust in planning from which, some people say, we will never recover. It is because of this that we can talk of an "interrupted transition" in planning education in Europe.

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ON THE TEACHING OF PLANNING HISTORY IN JAPAN

Dr. Ichiro Nishimura
Dept. of Housing Science
Nara Women's University
Japan.

In Japan planning history has been taught at various levels and in various disciplinary settings as well. However, in this brief review I will restrict myself to teaching at university level and in engineering and architecture departments, for which information is currently available.

A research group on the education of urban planning and design has been reviewing the field. It published a report entitled 'A study of the development of the education of urban planning & design and its talents' in 1983. This group was headed by Prof. Ohtani and the members almost all belonged to the Architectural Institute of Japan (AIJ). As their report is the only useful general account on the theme at the moment, I shall first of all survey the Japanese scene as described by this report then draw upon other sources to provide some representative examples of the subjects concerned.

The Ohtani report covers 48 universities and colleges and 53 departments, amounting to about half of the total schools teaching planning history in Japan. It is probable that the findings reflect the general tendency of all schools.

In all schools involved the students could more or less study the history of urban planning within the Bachelor's degree of Technology (similar to B.A. or B.Sc. in Britain). It is not possible yet to study it at higher degree level (Master and Doctor) in the old and famous universities such as Tokyo, Kyoto University and so on; however, other universities providing higher degrees in the field are increasing.

According to the report, lectures on the history of urban planning are available in 19 departments. The likely content of such lectures may be suggested by a representative text book.

Consider the famous text book entitled "Urban (city) Planning ('Toshi Keikaku' in Japanese) written by Prof. T. Higasa who is one of the representative scholars in the field in Japan. Although this text book

is not exclusively historical, many pages are allocated to history. The first chapter is on the development of urban planning. In this chapter 26 characteristic persons and items in the urban planning after the industrial revolution are explained briefly. They are as follows: (1) John Wood, (2) Claude Nicholas Ledoux, (3) Robert Owen, (4) F.M.C. Fourier, (5) J.S. Buckingham, (6) Model towns constructed by factory owners (for example Krupp Colony, Bournville, Pullman, Port Sunlight and Earswick), (7) Arturo Soria y Mata, (8) Camillo Sitte, (9) Sir Ebenezer Howard, (10) garden suburbs, (11) Tony Garnier, (12) Canberra, (13) satellite towns, (14) Patrick Geddes, (15) Le Corbusier, (16) Clarence Stein, (17) Clarence Arthur Perry, (18) N.A. Milyutin, (19) Gottfried Feder, (20) Frank Lloyd Wright, (21) Greenbelt Towns, (22) Chandigarh, (23) Team 10, (24) C.A. Doxiadis, (25) Brasilia, (26) Kevin Lynch. Thereafter the book focuses on a historical explanation of the development of modern urban planning in western countries (Britain, U.S.A. and West Germany) and Japan as well.

These persons and items shown above and the explanation of modern urban planning in the text book must be the evidence that the urban planning of modern Japan after Meiji Revolution (1868) has been strongly influenced by the western world. Of course one can find other lectures concentrated on the modern Japanese tradition itself. For example Prof. H. Kawakami gives a series of lectures on the history of urban planning in modern Japan.

However, in recent years the complicated but vivid process through which the thought and theory of urban planning in the western world has been introduced has become a major topic of concern for those interested in the history of urban planning. Take, for example, the reforming of Tokyo, Capital of Japan, in Meiji era (1868-1912). Dr. T. Fujimori recently published a fine study of this subject entitled 'The Planning of Tokyo in Meiji Era' ("Meiji no Tokyo Keikaku" in Japanese). In the opening chapter he describes the planning of Ginza Brick Street which was in a sense the symbolic project showing the attitude and power of Meiji New Government to the western world (although it was originally planned against fire damaging the street in 1872). Brick building without reinforcing still remains inadequate in Japan because of earthquake risk. But at the early stage in Meiji era the construction of brick building was the symbol of 'entering to western world'. Then as Japan had little technology of brick construction an Englishman named

Thomas James Waters was employed as a chief architect. He introduced and applied an English Georgian style in the project which he successfully planned, the project itself being constructed after his return home. Unfortunately, we cannot see this famous brick street. But, as Dr. Fujimori appreciates, his achievements are immortal. By the way, after leaving this project, T.J. Waters disappears from historical stage, or at least from Japan. Our British colleagues can report what became of him.

Now turning to another large city, Osaka, we see another major figure who contributed to the development of urban planning. That is Hajime Seki who was once a Mayor of Osaka city. He initiated the construction of the main street, named Midohsuji, on the model of the Champs Elysees in Paris. He also set up the unique academic department of Civics ('Shiseigaku' in Japanese) in Osaka Municipal University in order to tackle the urban problems in a comprehensive manner. Unfortunately after World War II this department never continued. It would seem that Hajime Seki was influenced by Sir Patrick Geddes. Seki's works have recently been reviewed and can be re-appreciated by modern students through his diary, recently published by Prof. K. Miyamoto and associates.

Besides the above-mentioned works which mainly focus on the process since 1868 of exchange (or rather import) between Japan and the western world, some other scholars have been endeavouring to make it clear that Japanese urban planning has been based on the long indigenous tradition of city construction starting more than 1,200 years ago. This tradition can still be recognized in both Kyoto and Nara which were once ancient capitals of Japan. In these cities the influence from ancient China is very evident. Other cities such as Sendai and Kanazawa which were constructed as castle towns in mediaeval era by feudal lords retain to this day their original form. Kanazawa, for instance, is often compared to Norwich in England. When contemporary planners make master-plans in these cities to improve the physical conditions it is especially important that they should consider the distinctive Japanese urban tradition. Studies of this tradition or urban planning in Japan, including the Asian Continental influence have been published by urban historians. One seminal work is 'The Study on Urban History in Japan' ('Nihon Toshi shi Kenkyu') written by Prof. K. Nishikawa.

Meanwhile, a good deal of overseas planning history continues to be published in translation. Recently 'Pioneers in British Planning' edited by Prof. Gordon E. Cherry was translated into Japanese by Prof. S. Ohkubo and associates, and also famous key books such as 'Garden Cities to Tomorrow' and 'Cities in Evolution' were translated. The former was by Mr. M. Choh and the latter was by my group.

Some Japanese researchers write professional articles in English, but they are still few. Dr. Shunichi Watanabe is one of the representatives, and his work will be known to many members of the Planning History Group.

The scholars mentioned in this review might be called the planning historians. The planning historians defined strictly are very few at the moment in Japan though their number is increasing, and will continue to do so. Lastly, I would like to stress the importance of exchanging ideas as equal partners over the language barriers. At some future date we the Japanese might be able to export our planning theory based on the existing tradition. With luck this export will not cause trade friction!

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PLANNED INDUSTRIAL SETTLEMENT IN THE NETHERLANDS 1813-1920

David Betts
Whitelands College
Putney
London SW15 3SN

In many parts of Western Europe a precise pattern of urban development occurred during the course of the Industrial Revolution. Sequentially this pattern consisted of initially rapid and uncontrolled urban growth which, by the middle of the nineteenth century was complicated by squalor and disease, features which then themselves were tempered by an awakening social conscience. Early in the course of the Industrial Revolution various attempts were made to plan industrial settlements (Darley 1975) and, in Great Britain, France and Germany, a range of small scale, but distinct, prototype planned industrial settlements evolved, often embracing planning elements from each other country. The Netherlands, partly because of its geographical position and partly because of comparatively late industrialization, was influenced, in planning industrial settlements, by each of these three countries and yet was able to maintain a planning individuality appropriate to the Dutch tradition. This paper explores the development of the Dutch planned industrial settlement, during the period 1813-1920, from the point of view of the historical geographer, and emphasises, particularly, the diffusion of planning concepts within the Netherlands and the contribution of planned industrial settlements to the Dutch settlement pattern.

Socio Economic background

Two factors interrelated in the Netherlands in 1813. First the accession of Willem 1st to the throne which coincided with the emergence of new attitudes towards the economic development of the country; the second, the inherited class divisions derived from the period of French rule (1795-1813). The 'French' period had been characterized by a lack of internal business initiative with investment restricted to foreign bonds and foreign industrial and commercial enterprises (Lambert 1971). The result was that, in 1813, Dutch industry was extremely limited in scale and was characterized by a few small firms. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, for example, the largest firm in the Netherlands was Voomberg's cloth business in Amsterdam which employed 250 workers (Cipolla 1973). There existed also a small range of textile workshops many of which had been initiated by philanthropists and which continued the tradition of the 'hofje' (the almshouse for the elderly, the pious

or for orphans) which had originated in the Middle Ages and had evolved to meet new socio economic conditions (Grinberg 1982).

Willem 1st had been raised in England and was thus in contact with the British success of the early Industrial Revolution. His economic policy consisted of stimulating Dutch overseas trade, but he was unable to assist greatly Dutch industry which found it virtually impossible to compete with cheap British imports. Nevertheless by 1824, Willem had set up the 'Nederlandsche Handel Matschappij', a company which produced cheap cottons for export to the Dutch colonies. Situated in the district of Twente (Fig.1) this embryonic textile industry was reinforced in 1830 by the movement north of some Belgian industrialists who were intent on retaining their share of the Dutch colonial markets after the political separation of the two countries in the same year. The Belgian textile industry used British equipment arising from the industrialist Lievin Bauwen's expedition to England in 1798, and Belgian factory owners were acquainted with early British attempts at planning industrial settlements, particularly those of Robert Owen, the founder of New Lanark (de Meeus 1962).

The Planned Industrial Settlement 1813-1902

By the 1830s a range of small factories was developing in the Netherlands of which a number consisted on planned industrial settlements. In 1834 Thomas Ainsworth built Nijverdal - a small textile settlement in Twente - which consisted of planned residential accomodation based on the social hierarchy of the factory and, in 1837 the Van Heek family founded a larger, similar settlement at Enschede (Fig. 1 and Hofstee 1981). These settlements accorded with John Burnett's definition of early planned industrial settlements - 'a fashionable pastime for the enlightened' (Burnett 1978, p.82) but they represent, nevertheless, the early international diffusion of planning concepts as well as demonstrating the innate paternalism of Dutch industrialists.

The second stage in the development of the planned industrial settlement in the Netherlands commenced in 1860. Factories became more numerous and larger because of the introduction of steam powered machinery (Admiralty Handbook 1944). In Twente, for example, 8 steam powered spinneries and 13 steam weaving mills arose in the 1860s (Hofstee 1981). Additionally, the simultaneous emergence of the Dutch railways assisted



Figure 1
Planned Industrial Settlement Sites 1813 - 1902

in the marketing of textiles as well as creating a demand for iron and steel products and engineering skills (Lambert 1971). With uncontrolled urban growth housing conditions deteriorated (Grinberg 1982) and in Twente concern arose at the condition of working class housing. In Enschede 'The Enschede Association for the Provision of Housing for the Working Classes' was founded in 1863 (Hofstee 1981) and, consequently, a range of planned industrial settlements were built, not only in Enschede, but also in Almelo and Hengelo (Fig.1). An excellent example of this development was embraced in the work of the industrialist C.T. Stork in Hengelo (1866). The success of Stork's engineering works had caused a housing shortage and Stork began to build dwellings to his own design and to recruit labour from abroad. In the district of Twente planned industrial housing owed something to the model cottages designed by Prince Albert and exhibited at the 'Great Exhibition' of 1851, but other international influences in the sphere of planned industrial settlements were evident in the Netherlands at this time. In Maastricht (Fig.1) the Mulhouse model - the cite ouvriere - was used by the industrialist Petrus Regout for the housing surrounding his pottery and crystal factory. The residential blocks of the 'Mulhouse' model were subdued and adapted in Delft (Fig.1) in 1885 by J.C. van Marken who built Agneta Park for workers of the Netherlands Yeast and Spirit factory. Additionally, Agneta Park was provided with various social and recreational facilities together with a school, a grocery and a bakery. The design here reflects, in part, the British village green tradition illustrated, for example at Akroydon (1859) and Bromborough Pool (1853). The hierarchical nature of the Dutch planned industrial settlement is further illustrated at Griensveen, a peat processing village in the Peel (Fig.1) - built by the Van der Griend brothers who owned additional peat processing plants and constructed associated planned villages at Erica in Drenthe (Fig.1) and in the Peelstraat (Lambert 1971). A feature of these villages was the barracks of the military police, a concept introduced from Germany.

In the south of the country Belgian influence again asserted itself during this period. The industrial village Budel Dorplein was built in 1891 by 'Societe Anonyme des Zincs de la Campine' (Fig.1). Budel Dorplein illustrated the hierarchical and paternalistic tradition of the planned industrial settlement. The hierarchy by the presence of several types of housing related to status - that for the lowest grade

of workers was in the form of 'Mulhouse' blocks and indicates a French influence; the paternalistic is illustrated by the provision of a chapel, a Catholic school and by numerous improving institutions. Also in the south, the South Limburg coalfield was opened up and a range of planned industrial settlements commenced (Fig.1). Starting in 1900 and continuing until 1925 these settlements illustrate the hierarchical/paternalistic phase, tempered, in minor part, by the recently acquired concepts of the garden city tradition.

During the second half of the nineteenth century there was substantial population growth in Dutch cities, growth characterised by high and increasing population densities. Between 1850 and 1900 the number of good, inexpensive city houses built was very small (Grinberg 1982), and much urban housing was of poor construction, inadequately serviced and set at a high rent. From 1848 there were sustained periods of cholera outbreaks. As a reaction to these conditions a range of housing associations emerged commencing with 'The Association for the Assistance of the Working Class' founded in 1851 in Amsterdam and which produced planned, sanitary housing for the deserving working classes (Hofstee 1981). The activity of the association, although small scale, spread to the Hague, Arnhem and other Dutch cities. As with philanthropic housing in Great Britain, the attitude of the Dutch associations was paternalistic and a high degree of social and moral control was enforced.

The 1902 Housing Act

By the end of the nineteenth century the social conscience concerning housing had emerged at the national level and there was major concern at the environmental conditions in the Dutch cities. Earlier efforts at control, as has been demonstrated, had been piecemeal even laissez faire. Arising from the activities of interest groups, which had been stirred into action because of the cholera epidemics, a range of small planned settlements had emerged, some incorporating the garden village concept. The 1902 Housing Act provided a basis for the review of these planning activities, whilst simultaneously an opportunity to consider what had been accomplished abroad in housing reform. Thus from England, the new and distinct phase of employer planned housing, as exemplified by Port Sunlight, New Earswick and Bournville, could be considered. In these English settlement industrial life took place in a planned and controlled environment which, in many ways, provided a solution to the

social problems of industrial society. Contact with Germany had developed since the Mannheim Convention of 1868 (which had assured free navigation to all vessels of the Rhine); not only had Rotterdam expanded but there was a surge of planned industrial development in the Ruhr (Sutcliffe 1981). In the Ruhr Mulhouse residential blocks had appeared initially but, by the turn of the century public competitions for town design were emerging drawing on the international experience in town planning. Thus by 1902, the Netherlands were able to draw on the planning experience of a variety of nations and adapt this experience to the needs of the local situation. In particular, land in the Netherlands was expensive - because of the high cost of reclamation - and in short supply because of the high density of population - and the country was unable to embark on large scale, low density, planned industrial settlements.

The Garden City Tradition 1902-1920

Especially by means of a range of early twentieth century conference on town planning, the works of Ebenezer Howard became well known in the Netherlands. The concepts enshrined by Howard, particularly the eradication of the existing urban network and its replacement by distinct, socially and economically independent new towns became somewhat diluted in the Netherlands (Sutcliffe 1981). First, the Netherlands lacked the large British areas of urban decay since urban growth there had been more recent; second was the scarcity of land on which to build new towns; third the infrastructure of new towns would have been difficult and expensive to provide. Roads, sewers and mains were ill adapted to the alluvium and peat of much of the country (Grinberg 1982). Additionally, most building materials had to be imported and were expensive; during the first world war they were also difficult to come by. Fourth, Howard's concepts were partly overshadowed by the 1902 Housing Act. In the event, the concept of extension planning developed using principles evolved by Camillo Sitte first in Austria and then in Germany. The French planner, Levy, was also influential in town extension and had been attracted to Howard's ideas at a planning conference in Liege in 1904.

Clearly therefore, Howard's garden city concepts were susceptible to adaptation within the Netherlands. They were further modified to incorporate the architectural style of the Dutch village tradition and by the Dutch emphasis on light, air and health which resulted from

evidence provided to the compilers of the 1902 Act. Both Port Sunlight and Hampstead Garden suburb were considered as prototypes by Dutch planners and their design features are identifiable in the range of city extensions which took place in the period up to 1920. Thus, H.P. Berlage's extension of southern Amsterdam demonstrated some British town planning features. The first complete garden village in the British tradition was that of Het Lansink in Hengelo, built between 1911 and 1915 for the industrialist C.F. Stork (Hofstee 1981), Het Landsink (Fig.2) had some design features attributable to Camillo Sitte and the housing style was that of the traditional Dutch worker's dwelling; the layout and design were British. The same planned industrial concepts were exhibited in the railway village of Elinwijk near Zuilen (Fig.2). Older styles of planned industrial settlement persisted during this period, notably the village at Gennep built by the North Brabant and German Railway Company and Heveadorp (Fig.2), built by the Netherlands Rubber Company at Renkum (Hofstee 1981).

The combination of the two traditions - the paternalistic and the newer garden city planned industrial settlement - was achieved in the various settlements used to extend Eindhoven (Fig.2) in the period 1898-1920. Philips' lamp factory had been established in Eindhoven in 1895 and prospered subsequently because of the establishment of world wide markets. By 1910 there were moves to expand Philipsdorp - the company planned industrial settlement - as a reaction to the depressing old industrial sector of Eindhoven, as well as to accommodate workers. In 1911 the Burgmeester of Woensel (the old part of the town) established a folkhouse construction society and an extension of Philipsdorp along garden village lines resulted (Beekman 1982). Here the neighbourhood complex was emphasised and sport and recreation were particularly well catered for. In addition, the villa park at Tongel, in the north east of Eindhoven, was constructed. In the expansion of Eindhoven the concept of changing society was emphasised and was illustrated by a range of dynamic spatial components in the new settlements - commerce, industry, recreation, health and general well being (van Oorschot 1982). In particular, the enhanced interior specifications of housing (bathrooms, kitchens, running water) assisted in the acceleration of social change. By 1920 the first phase of extension planning was complete and, in many ways, Eindhoven had become a laboratory for the planned industrial settlement in the Netherlands. The success of the industrial garden village, as demonstrated at Eindhoven, spread to other

parts of the country and it is evident, for example at Hilversum.



Figure 2
Planned Industrial Settlement Sites 1902 - 1920

Conclusions

The study of the growth of planned industrial settlements in the Netherlands during the period 1813-1920 is an interesting essay in the spread and application of ideas and innovations (Baker 1975). Taking place in a small country in which the communications systems, in its broadest sense, was strongly developed, and at a time when communications technology in adjacent countries was rapidly advancing, the Netherlands were able to seize new concepts regarding planned industrial settlements and both aggregate and adapt these concepts to specific local situation. By 1920, an unofficial policy of population dispersal was emerging, nurtured by the success of new settlement forms (Hall 1965). In the period after 1945, the new settlement forms proliferated, illustrated by Emmerloord, Lelystad and Almere (Pinder 1976). The policy of population dispersal, within the confining parameters of a small, densely populated country, became strongly developed (Keukels 1978). The study of planned industrial settlements in the Netherlands during the period 1813-1920 is not only interdisciplinary but essentially spatial and is, therefore, of interest to the historical geographer.

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A MEDIEVAL AND A MODERN NEW TOWN IN WALES:
COMPARISONS AND CONTRASTS

Dr. Roger Harrison
Crogloff
Borth-y-Gest
Porthmadog
Gwynedd LL49 9TW, WALES

i) Plantation of the new towns

Seven hundred years after the foundation of a new town at Aberconway in North Wales the planned growth period of Runcorn new town in Cheshire was ending. Changes in technology and social patterns make comparisons difficult although not irrelevant. Pack horses have been superseded by trains and lorries but the importance of the routes along which people and goods travel is of equal importance to towns in any period of history. Similarly the relationship between people and their community bears comparison despite the intervention of seven hundred years.

Both the Welsh new towns of Edward I and the modern new towns' programme were planned during war time. After Edward's victory in 1277 Flint and Rhuddlan were planted in north-east Wales on land ceded by Llewellyn and during a second bout of war in 1284 further new towns were planned to ring Snowdonia. Further rebellion in 1294 gave rise to the plantation of Beaumaris on Anglesey.

Modern British new towns were planned during the second world war and leaned heavily on the experience gained at Letchworth and Welwyn after the first world war. By the preparation of plans during war time work was able to commence once hostilities had ceased. Conway was founded four months after the death of Llewellyn and Stevenage started just over one year after the end of the second world war.

Edward I's intention was to pacify through commerce rather than initiate permanent military occupation. His new towns were to be chartered boroughs with their own agricultural and trading economies and although defence was an important part of their function only a minority of the new population lived in or was dependent on the great new castles developed integrally with the boroughs. Similarly Lewis Silkin's new towns were not to be dormitory suburbs but self-contained towns in which an expanding population could both live and work in conditions better than those in over-crowded conurbations.

ii) Investment in new towns

The stimulus of regional economic growth was an important factor in the decisions to found new towns on sites such as Runcorn or Washington. Edward I's considerable investment in North Wales also had the effect of modernising a backward regional economy although his motivation for doing so was undoubtedly different from that of modern democratic government. Although small by modern standards, Edward's towns were at least equal in size to existing urban centres at Nefyn, Pwllheli and Llanfaes. By comparison Runcorn was planned to be only one tenth the size of its 'parent' city, Liverpool, and the influence of Conway in relation to its regional economy is better likened to the effect of Milton Keynes on the Buckinghamshire countryside. All of these medieval and modern new towns were created by the importation of funding from outside their regions. Initially Edward's expenditure in Wales would have benefitted the new immigrants just as Londoners benefitted from investment in Milton Keynes or Liverpoolians in Runcorn but, in the longer term, successive generations and the local economy would accrue the benefit of such investment. Within fifteen years of their foundation both Conway and Runcorn contained a very high proportion of indigenous second generation settlers.

At 1984 prices the public investment in Runcorn had amounted to £ 500M or £9 per person in the country. This was equivalent to around one quarter of a day's pay for a skilled manual worker. Expenditure of Conway apportioned nationally also equated roughly to a quarter of the five pence a day that a medieval skilled tradesman could earn. But if investment in the new towns was apportioned, not amongst the national population but the new town settlers, then Runcorn's £ 12,500 per head would compare with the equivalent of about £ 50,000 per head in Conway. In real financial terms such comparisons mean little but they do illustrate the scale of Edward's movement of resources into his new towns.

The scale of his expenditure was such that it could not last and other priorities, such as wars in Scotland and France, precluded adequate finance being made available for the completion of Carnarvon or Beaumaris. By the end of his reign Edward was greatly in debt to the Italian bankers and foreign debts and military priorities have not been without influence on modern new town programmes. The economic squeeze imposed on the Callaghan government in 1976 by the International Monetary Fund reduced funds available to new towns. By 1983 a

conservative government and declared that all new towns were to be wound up by the end of the decade. It must be hoped that such cut-backs in public expenditure do not have the effect of leaving some new towns without essential elements of their infrastructure. Beaumaris had to wait for over one hundred years for the construction of its town walls!

The introduction of large capital sums into new town necessitated a parallel importation of managerial and technical expertise. Edward I did not trust his investments to the hands of the native Welsh and modern governments have not utilised existing structure of local government as a channel for new town investment. In both ages, although the capital assets created were beneficial to the local community, the revenue from them returned to the king or to central government. The fee farm of the borough of Conway was paid to the royal exchequer and interest on borrowed capital was paid by Runcorn new town development corporation to the Treasury in London.

iii) Planning the new towns

Conway was planned for the king by James of St. George and Runcorn by Professor Arthur Ling and the parameters within which each worked had changed little. Neither man was responsible for the initial selection of the new town sites which had a major influence on the subsequent plans. In Conway the topography determined the land use allocation between castle, town and agriculture. Slopes, bearing capacities of the ground and external communication routes had to be considered in the sequential arrangement of ditches, walls, castle and quays. Similarly in Runcorn such considerations affected the provision of land for industry, housing and the internal communication of the town. Neither town was granted an adequate amount of land for its requirements. Within fifteen years of its foundation Conway was expanding outside its walls and the burgesses were petitioning the king for more agricultural land. Physical and political considerations constrained Runcorn within its designated boundaries and lower than planned housing densities caused by physical constraints within the town will lead to an eventual population some 15% less than originally planned. Additionally shortage of industrial land caused Runcorn's economic growth to stagnate during its second decade just as Conway's had due to inadequate agricultural land being included within the town's boundaries.

Both Conway and Runcorn were planned for an immigrant population and

local people excluded from many of the benefits of the new towns. The imposition of new populations on an existing social pattern created tensions in the medieval and modern new towns. The English were foreign to Wales and Liverpoolians were foreign to the existing population of Runcorn despite being much more "local" than their medieval counterparts. Neither migration was spontaneous and inducements were necessary to encourage people to move to the new towns. Burgess status and rent free periods were offered to medieval migrants just as subsidised housing and industrial grants were available to their modern equivalents. Whereas advertising was used by Runcorn to inform and attract immigrants Conway's new population was recruited from the English estates of the king, his brother, cousins and other magnates of his court. Then, as now, the motivations for moving to a new town were complex but basically were either attraction to a new opportunity or escape from an unsatisfactory life-style.

iv) Land

Both Conway and Runcorn are sited at strategic river crossings and took land for development that was largely within a single ownership. The abbey of Aberconway was relocated at Maenan and Conway was entirely built within the monastic lands utilising the abbey church as its new parish church. At Runcorn a great part of the site was in the ownership of I.C.I. who had acquired it from the family who had held it since they themselves bought monastic land after the dissolution of the monasteries by Henry VIII. Statutory compensation procedures governed the purchase of I.C.I. land but not dissimilar principles were adopted by Edward I. He paid for the relocation of Aberconway Abbey and his policy of "equivalent reinstatement" would be recognised by modern valuers. Tenants of land vacated for the new abbey were also compensated with rented land from the forfeited demesne lands of Llewellyn.

v) Legislation and administration

Although both Conway and Runcorn were each developed on the basis of a single statutory act the principles that governed the operation of the new town within the pre-existing local government context were very different. Conway was granted a borough charter by the king which required the mayor, bailiffs and coroners to be elected by the burgesses and to be responsible for the administration of the town. At the same time the king reorganised the local government structure of North Wales on the English shire basis. The officials of Conway were responsible to

the king's officials in a new regional centre in the new town of Carnarfon. At Runcorn the development of the town was governed by the new towns act but the ongoing administration of the town was governed by the existing structure of local government. This division between development and management resulted in very few representatives of the immigrant population being either councillors or magistrates. The situation was exacerbated by the 1974 reorganisation of local government which made Runcorn the smaller half of a new borough of Halton which itself was divided physically by the river Mersey. Lack of identity was a problem in Runcorn that can never have occurred in Conway where the immigrant population were directly responsible for their own affairs.

vi) Markets and Trade

Both Conway and Runcorn established new marketing centres but also brought considerable new purchasing power into their regions. At Conway the king required all within an eight mile radius to use the new market in Conway and this caused great local protestations. The new town centre in Runcorn initially created a catchment area much larger than the town itself and also occasioned protests from both local authorities and traders although, of course, use of the new shopping centre was not required by law! However as the population of both new towns grew their trading levels grew to be less dominant in the local economy. As new markets were chartered in the Welsh towns of Aber, Trefriw and Llanrwst, Conway's influence diminished. Similarly in Runcorn the upgrading of shopping facilities in Chester, Northwich and Warrington Diminished the status of Runcorn's town centre to that which was originally planned.

vii) Social, economic and cultural aspects

The commercial activities of both Conway and Runcorn depended to a marked degree on owners who were not resident in the town. Trading in Conway was dominated by merchants from Chester who had commercial interests in many of the towns of North Wales. Similarly virtually all new shopping in Runcorn's town centre was operated by national multiple firms. In both cases the established merchants had the finance, transportation and supply sources to dominate these newly created markets.

A similar 'branch' economy was also characteristic of Runcorn's industrial growth with the consequence that very few businessmen took part in the affairs of the town. Both new towns were also dependent on

the importation of building resources for their construction but, whereas in Conway many building craftsmen settled in the town, Runcorn's building workers were brought in on a daily basis from Liverpool, Manchester or Stoke. It was the craftsmen in Conway who became the elected officials of the town whereas in Runcorn local councillors were typically small shopkeepers or trade unionists.

For the short but intense period of their construction architects and engineers were recruited to Conway and Runcorn and brought ideas and techniques with them that, for a period, moved the new towns into the mainstream of European technical culture. The work in both towns not only influenced future development of other new towns in their respective programmes but also the indigenous technicians. Once, however, the intense building period was over, specialist skills had to be imported into the towns for specific projects. Conway looked to Chester for specialist craft skills such as boatbuilding as Runcorn did to Chester and Liverpool for professional skills such as architecture.

Conway and Runcorn were both essentially 'English' towns. The Welsh and Jews were precluded from residence in Conway whereas very few from ethnic minorities moved to Runcorn from Liverpool. Similarly the social structure of both new towns in their early years were characterised by a large and well paid administration drafted in by central government to ensure the realisation of the project. Both of these administrations enjoyed pay, status and, eventually, pensions that were well in advance of those of their fellow immigrants. The importation of men and money created local price inflation in both towns. In Conway excessive demand for victuals necessitated importation from Chester, Shrewsbury or Ireland at inflated prices whereas in Runcorn, building costs escalated as the work programme grew faster than the availability of building labour. Similarly local prices in Runcorn 'old town' were much complained about by immigrants used to Liverpool prices until new competition was introduced by the opening of the new town's shopping centre. Building cost inflation did not occur in Conway as the builders were directly employed by the king at the national going rate for craft work.

Despite the change in technology over 700 years the economies of both towns were greatly influenced by their location within a regional communications network. Conway's site at an estuarine crossing point on

the ancient route from Chester to Bangor and Carnarfon was matched by Runcorn's on the electrified Liverpool to London railway and the Chester to Manchester motorway.

viii) The settled towns

Conway enjoyed new town status for nearly 250 years until such time as Henry VIII withdrew special support for English residents and, in theory, unified England and Wales within the law. Runcorn's special status was largely withdrawn only seventeen years after designation by the dissolution of the new town corporation and the take over of its functions by a neighbouring, but nevertheless absent, corporation. By the time Conway lost its status the original reasons for its foundation had long since vanished whereas the problems of Liverpool that Runcorn was founded to help solve remained intractable. However the considerable investment by central government in Runcorn continued to make it a relatively attractive location for new industry even after the planned immigration period and an important element in the regeneration programme for Merseyside. The strategy of creating new town development corporations in the M6 corridor at Runcorn, Warrington, Preston and Skelmersdale has undoubtedly reorientated industrial development in north west England and will have a permanent effect on the urban form of the region. Whether the effect will be as permanent as the change effected by Edward I remains to be seen but, Conway, Carnarfon and Beaumaris remain amongst the most important towns in north west Wales even today.

If any general thesis concerning new towns can be drawn from this study it is that the time scale of new town development sits uneasily with that of government. Kings were human and, therefore, by nature were fickle and easily transferred their attentions elsewhere and away from the new towns they had created. Democratic government elected for a five year term is possibly even more fickle and impatient than kings. Now that the post second world war programme of new town building is virtually completed it would make sense to research their effectiveness as instruments of government policy. This would cost only a small fraction of the towns themselves have cost and provide a basis on which future policy might be formulated. Edward at least recognised the wisdom of drawing on accumulated experience when he called a parliament to advise on the establishment of his last new town at Berwick. It is

widely acknowledged that British postwar new town legislation and development led the world. The considerable volume of skill and experience that made this happen is still available and capable of providing direction to research into both the completed programmed and possible future directions of policy. It does not appear probable, however, that the government now in power will call a parliament expressly to advise "how to devise, order and array a new town to the greatest profit of ourselves and merchants."

PLANNING HISTORY GROUP

Centre for Urban & Regional Studies
J.G. Smith Building
University of Birmingham
Birmingham
B15 2TT

Tel. 021-472 1301 ext. 2692

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Editor:

Michael Hebbert
London School of Economics
Houghton Street
London WC2A 2AE

Tel. 01-405-7686 ext.2593
Telex 24655 BLPES G

Editor for the Americas:

Daniel Schaffer
TVA
Information Office
E3D87
Knoxville, TN. 37902
U.S.A.

Typing and Production:-

Jacky Jennings

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