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Notes for Contributors

The prime aim of Planning History is to increase an awareness of developments and ideas in planning history in all parts of the world. In pursuit of this aim, contributions are invited from members and non-members alike for any section of the bulletin. Articles should normally not exceed 2500 words, and may well reflect work in progress. Photographs and other illustrations may be included. Contributions submitted on a disc, with accompanying hard copy, are to be encouraged; please contact the editor for format details.

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Editorial

If the focus of planning history has sometimes been directed too much on the British tradition, this issue is welcome evidence of a more international approach. Planning has evolved in a variety of national and cultural settings, and there is a wealth of experience to share. As if to illustrate the point, the articles in this issue are drawn from the varied perspectives of scholars in Norway, France and Australia.

Halina Dunin-Woyseth (Oslo School of Architecture) compares the development of planning in Britain, Germany and Norway, showing that locality and the unique characteristics of place are attracting renewed attention following a long phase of submergence in the face of generalising influences. In turn, Danièle Voldman (Institut d'histoire du temps présent, Paris) offers an account of a more specific process, that of urban reconstruction in France after World War II, though questions are raised about processes that are no less applicable to those that occurred in neighbouring European countries. Finally, Lionel Orchard (Department of History, University of Adelaide) brings planning history to the relatively recent period of the early 1970s, through the example of the urban policies of the Whitlam Administration.

A sharing of experience and different cultural perspectives such as the above is essential to a deeper understanding of those processes which have accounted for the development of planning systems, and of variations in systems adopted in different countries. Each contribution provides another building block that can be used to construct more generalised models of comparative explanation.

But such generalised models are difficult to construct. We are accumulating the building blocks, but how should they be arranged? What general explanations can we offer, for instance, for the introduction of a planning system at a particular time, for the extent to which it might have developed features unlike those of any other system, and for the ways in which ideas and experience are exchanged between countries?

There is no easy way forward, but the role of international conferences is an obvious source of progress. Last year's international conference in Tokyo raised interesting conceptual questions to do with the exchange of ideas and the particular characteristics of the Asian experience. The forthcoming conference at Bournville has a challenging role in carrying forward the debate, the building blocks in this case being the evidence of the garden city tradition, an international topic if ever there were.

Dennis Hardy

Notices

SIXTH EUROPEAN SYMPOSIUM OF HISTORIC TOWNS
Cambridge, England, 20-22 September 1989

This international conference is being hosted by Cambridge City Council under the auspices of the Council of Europe's Standing Conference of Local and Regional Authorities of Europe. The event is being organised in collaboration with Europa Nostra, the English Historic Towns Forum and the Local Government International Bureau in the United Kingdom.

For further information, please contact:
Conference Contact, 42 Devonshire Road, Cambridge CB1 2BL, England. Telephone (UK) 0223-323437. Fax (UK) 0223-460396. Telex 81304.

WILLIAM MORRIS SOCIETY

News from Nowhere Centenary

Next year marks the centenary of the publication of William Morris's utopian romance, portraying London 'after the revolution'. The William Morris Society, an organisation with 1700 members, is planning conferences in London and Oxford to mark the event. Details of these and of other activities of the Society may be obtained from Hans Brill, William Morris Society, Kelmscott House, 26 Upper Mall, Hammersmith, London W6 9TA, England.

AUSTRALIAN PLANNING HISTORY

"In reference to notes about planning history activities in Australia (Vol.11, No.1, 1989) the correspondent persists with an outdated myth. William Light did not design the Adelaide city plan (or "plan-form", whatever that means). He was hired in 1836; the plan was prepared in London in 1835 under the supervision of George Strickland Kingston. Minutes and diaries confirm this and the new evidence is contained in the book, Donald Leslie Johnson and Donald Langmead, *The Adelaide City Plan*, Wakefield Press, Adelaide, 1986. Sadly, there are a few in Adelaide's social and bureaucratic establishments unwilling to accept the obviousness of the evidence. Observers outside Adelaide seem to be more objective.
Also, re. p.32, Walter Burley Griffin designed the Canberra plan, not "Griggen." Further, not all planning historians in Australia were invited to join that "small band", the A.P.H.G: wonder why?"

The above note is from Donald Leslie Johnson, Box 75, Kangarilla, South Australia, 5157.

GRADUATE STUDIES IN THE HISTORY AND THEORY OF ART AND ARCHITECTURE, STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK AT BINGHAMTON, USA

The graduate program offers opportunities for advanced studies and research in the history and theory of art and architecture, with a particular commitment to new theoretical and methodological approaches. Supported by university strengths in history, sociology, anthropology, and critical theory, it aims to develop scholars, teachers, museum curators, and practitioners in the planning professions, capable of interpreting the role of art and architecture within cultural production in the broadest sense.

Because of its links with other interdisciplinary research centers and graduate programs within the university, the program in the history and theory of art and architecture offers a unique opportunity to graduate students wishing to undertake innovative studies of a cross disciplinary nature. It places emphasis on the development of critical, theoretical, and historical perspectives in the study of the visual arts, photography, architecture, planning, and the wider built environment, and of the social and political contexts in which they may be embedded at a local, national, and global level.

As the program stresses the development of analytical and conceptual skills over a broad range of specialized fields, it provides opportunities for students to work towards careers in research, education, museum and gallery practice, publishing and editorial work, cultural policy, or urban design, planning, and conservation at local, national, and international levels.

Applications are invited from students in a variety of disciplines, especially in the fine arts, humanities, and social sciences. The department welcomes inquiries from all regions of the world as well as the United States and encourages applications from minorities and under-represented groups.

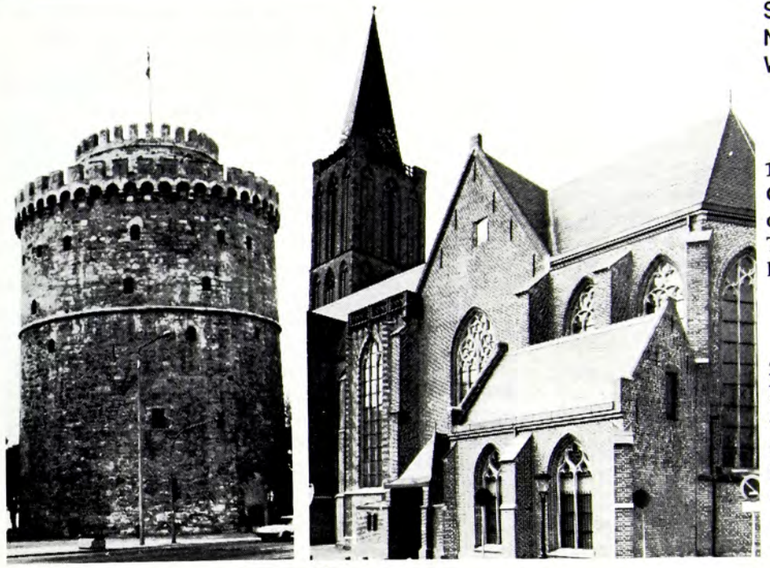
Application forms for admission to the Graduate School may be obtained from the Graduate Admissions Office, State University of New York at Binghamton, Binghamton, New York 13901, USA.

EUROPA NOSTRA AWARDS 1989

Applications are invited for the 1989 Awards for the protection of Europe's Heritage. About thirty-five awards are made annually by Europa Nostra for projects which make a distinguished contribution to the conservation and enhancement of Europe's architectural and natural heritage. All the awards are commemorated by a wall plaque and a certificate, and the most outstanding entries are presented with a silver medal.

Entries should be received no later than 20th October, 1989 by: Europa Nostra Awards, 9 Buckingham Gate, London SW1E6JP, England.

SELECTION OF EUROPA NOSTRA 1988 AWARD WINNERS



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1. THESSALONIKI, GREECE - for the restoration of the 16th century White Tower to house an art and history exhibition.

2. UTRECHT, THE NETHERLANDS - for the restoration of five churches dating from the 11th to the 17th centuries for religious and cultural uses.

3

4

3. HERTFORDSHIRE, ENGLAND - for the rescue from demolition and rebuilding of Tuthill Manor, dating from the late 15th century.

4. GLASGOW, SCOTLAND - for the regeneration of the Merchant City through an ongoing programme of city centre housing.

Articles

Built Form versus Urban Planning Legislation of the Last Century: *Genius Loci* versus International Influences

Halina Dunin-Woyseth
Oslo School of Architecture, Norway

Can we learn from the past?

The idea of this paper[1] was to study the development of urban built form during the last hundred years, and to look at it through two relationships: urban built form as a result of planning legislation, and at the same time, a result of influences, created by dialectics between national, local, and international processes.

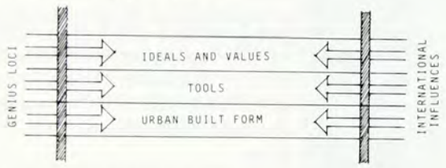

Fig.1. Approach to the problem

The built form of the town has been a physical expression of the total situation of people who have lived in towns at any time in history. Both the unique, monumental, expressed in wood, brick and stone, and the "rest", an anonymous substance and background for the "unique", have been formed by a social consensus, written and unwritten rules and laws (Dunin-Woyseth, 1987:25). These laws, urban legislation, were first building codes and in our modern time, also planning laws.

Urban legislation expressed tradition: the local, the national, it 'ratified' the established practice and habits. It was also an attempt to improve the existing situation in the town. But, above all, it aspired to promote ideals and values of its epoch: social, political and artistic (Dunin-Woyseth 1986:4). Urban legislation has been a necessary link between ideals and realization of them in urban built form. It has been a tool for implementation of the ideals.

During the last hundred years, the urban physical environment, urban built form, has changed dramatically. Looking back, one can indicate periods of "good urban form", and those which are regarded as "bad".

What is "good urban form"?

A comprehensive literature has been dedicated to this subject (Lynch, 1981:359-372). Still, no single definition can be introduced, a definition valid as an archetype. In attempting to describe physical environments analytically, one misses the concrete environmental character, that is, the very quality which is the object of man's identification (Norberg-Schulz, 1980:5) It is rather by looking at urban physical environments as "places" of distinct, individual character, and thus to draw near their substance and nature, that "the spirit of places", *genius loci*, can be found.

The assumption could be made that good urban form, as a source of man's identification, potentially giving him a sense of existential foothold, should be an "evergreen" of planning objectives. Good planning legislation, being a tool for implementation of planning objectives, should also promote good urban form; good form meaning a form of distinct, individual character; good legislation meaning a good tool for enhancement of *genius loci* of urban "places", the physical environment.

Does the term " international" mean in this context "negative" or at least "neutral", whilst "local" is synonymous to quality?

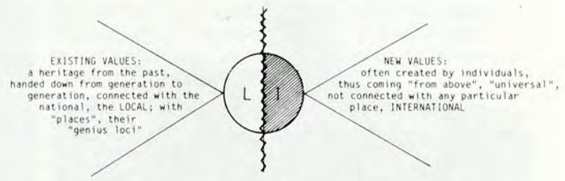

Fig.2. Relationships: Existing/new values and the local/the international

In order to illustrate the question, three periods of development of urban planning will be presented: the formative years, when national planning techniques were transformed into comprehensive planning systems and institutionalized by passing planning laws, i.e. the period until World War I; the following fifty years of consolidation of planning practice; and finally, the years from approximately 1968 onwards, when the criticism of the last period launched a new wave in planning.

These periods could be described in the following way:

- the "Genius-loci planning" period, until 1918;
- the "Cosmopolitan planning" period, 1918-1968;
- and then probably a new period of "Genius-loci planning", from 1968 and until the present time.

For the first period, three countries have been chosen as representative of different ways towards the creation of comprehensive planning systems: Britain, Germany and Norway. The second period is to be illustrated by general considerations on the international level. Finally, for the third period a case study has been chosen in the United States.

"Genius-Loci Planning" Period

Britain

Modern urban and regional planning arose in Britain in response to specific social and economic problems, which in turn were a result of the Industrial Revolution at the end of the eighteenth century (Hall, 1985:19).

Manufacturing was often localized in the central areas of towns, followed by an army of poor industry workers. The worsening environment in the centre drove out the more prosperous. As there were no fortifications in the British towns, the outskirts of the towns became the new residential districts of the privileged (Sutcliffe, 1913).

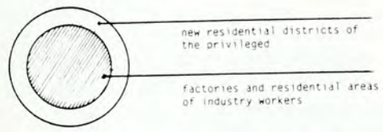

Fig.3. Starting point: Pattern of urbanization of British industrial towns.

The level of public services was not even elementary, with insufficient water supplies and lacking waste disposal. Neither medical treatment nor public health controls protected the towndwellers (Harper, 1985:XII). Pollution of water supplies caused cholera epidemics in 1832, 1849 and 1869 (Cherry, 1972:37). The epidemics concerned the whole society, even its most privileged members. In order to improve the situation some steps had to be taken.

A long political struggle brought results, a series of Acts: the Public Health Act of 1848, which set up a Central Board of Health and enabled the establishment of Local Boards of Health; the Nuisance Removal Acts of 1855 and the Sanitary Act of 1866 (Gaskell, 1983:VII-IX), (Benevolo, 1973:103). From the 1860s on, most stress was put on control of building standards, which was regarded as a tool for the prevention of dangerous diseases (Sutcliffe, 1981:51).

The Public Health Act of 1875 enabled a reform of local government in England and Wales; the country was divided into urban and rural districts, supervised by a central government department, the Local Government Board. The Board published a model set of bye-laws which the local authorities began to adopt for the construction of new housing from the 1875s onwards (Harper, 1985:XXI). Bye-law housing has been a well-known feature of many British towns, as most urban building was governed by regulations which in fact were very similar from town to town.

"Public Health and Bye-law legislation resulted, with all the rigid, unimaginative inadequacies of regulation .. though affording mitigation of unsanitary conditions (it) retained the monotony and dreariness that commonly attaches to mechanized building rigidity, fixed by rule, and from which the exercise of artistry and imagination is excluded" (Hiorns, 1956:325-6).

In British society began a debate on how man's well-being was affected and even determined by the physical environment and its qualities (Cherry, 1972:114-5).

This debate went on at the same time, when the trends of decentralization of urban population became heard of more and more. This intellectual development coincided with the technological development of transportation systems (Lichtenberg, 1986:203). Slowly, the attention of society shifted from the clearance of slums in the central areas of towns to the newly-created, green suburbs. An ideal, a pattern to follow, was the example of two villages, built by factory owners: Port Sunlight (1888) and Bournville (1894) (Gallion, 1950:72).

All these factors were bringing about a search for a new city-wide approach to urban problems. A new strategy would aid in the solution of such problems as overcrowded, unhealthy and expensive housing in the town centres, shortage of new housing for working people, the lack of public open space in working-class areas, depressing ugliness of the environment shaped by the bye-laws.

There emerged two alternative strategies: the garden city idea and the idea of town-extension planning.

Garden City's father, Ebenezer Howard (1850-1928) proposed a general planned movement of people and industry away from the deteriorated city. In his book of 1898: *Tomorrow A Peaceful*

Path to Real Reform, this idea was presented in an almost practical way. In a restricted competition, the winners, architects Raymond Unwin and Barry Parker, produced a plan for Letchworth, the first garden city, which was to become a model to follow in Britain and abroad.

The plan was an example of comprehensive urban planning, containing distinct industrial and commercial areas, a network of communications, a civic centre, a green belt, a park system, and housing areas with fixed densities. The housing followed a new code of building regulations, different to building bye-laws. The authors introduced a low net density in new residential areas of about twelve houses to the acre, whilst the net density according to bye-laws was usually 40-50 houses to the acre (Sutcliffe, 1981:67).

Unwin and Parker made a revolutionary impact on quality thinking in planning. "Their design changed traditional relationships of dwelling and environment... They democratized the stylistic achievement of their time, making great advances in the planning of the smallest dwelling ... and in aesthetic landscaping and grouping of dwellings" (Day, 1981:156-7).

The other strategy was town-extension planning on the lines similar to the German planning system, which was supposed to replace the British tradition of piecemeal planning actions. From 1906 onwards, extension planning, now called town planning, began to be a leading strategy in the struggle for improvement of the urban environment.

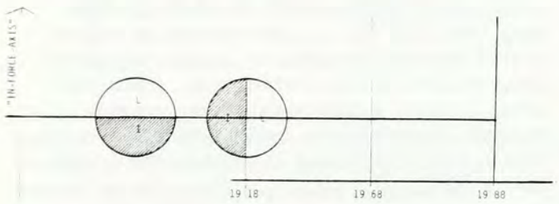

Fig.4. Relationship: the local/the international. Britain. Status:1918

Germany

The urban development pattern of Germany was different to that of Britain and in a way similar to other countries of Continental Europe. Until the middle of the nineteenth century, fortifications restrained the outward growth. Then their role faded, they were removed, but a new restriction replaced them, the factory belt. Thus, the outer districts of towns did not attract the middle classes who continued to live in the central areas, whilst the lower middle classes and working people moved to the suburbs. But this 'exodus' was too weak to change the pattern of vertical development, established in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Industry was often localized in large towns, where both land and house rents were already high (Sutcliffe, 1981:5). In the older districts many houses of the pre-industrial period were turned into smaller, cheaper apartments. The new residential districts were built up by multi-family buildings.

Urban revolution caused new problems and intensified the old ones. Some of the problems were

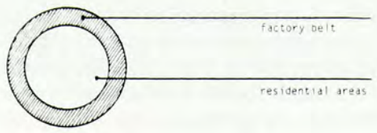

Fig.5. Starting point: Pattern of urbanization of German industrial towns.

not unlike those of Britain: swamped drainage, exhausted water supplies, pollution of air and water (Kabel, 1949:56). The developing transport technologies, railways and canals, pushed and destroyed parts of central areas; roads became congested; low-income housing overcrowded.

What tools were available for managing the situation in the German towns?

Urban authorities could use the legal instruments for the development of land, descending from the Middle Ages and evolved during absolutism (Arnst, 1953:208-9). In Prussia they were codified by the General Territorial Code (Allgemeine Landrecht) in 1794 (Kabel, 1949:53). Giving to all citizens the right to own land, it also defined the powers of the local administrative organs of the State (the Polizei). One of them was the power to establish the boundaries of areas of land to be reserved for use as new public thoroughfares (Fluchtinien) in and around the towns. Thus, the tools were ready to be applied, when the rapid urban growth demanded new initiatives.

The year 1875 is an important moment for German legislation, as it is for the British. The Law on Street Lines (Fluchtiniengestetz) made the municipalities responsible for drawing up extension plans (Croon, 1983:72). The compulsory purchase of land reserved in plans for new streets was another resolution of the law. The cost of building, draining and lighting of the new streets was transferred onto the owners of the frontage sites. Although greatly relieved of the costs for carrying out town extensions, municipalities were not empowered to interfere with the healthy standards of the new residential blocks.

The period after 1875 is that of consolidation of the new municipal powers (Sutcliffe, 1981:91). Extension planning became an everyday municipal activity in Prussia.

From 1890 onwards, the housing question came into focus in a new way: it was regarded in the broader context of the social question (Gallion, 1950:101-2). The quality of the physical environment of urban surroundings had been looked at as an important factor influencing people's well-being, even as its *conditio sine qua non* (Kabel, 1949:155).

Among other important personalities of this phase, one has to be emphasized; a new quality approach to planning found a theoretical basis in a little book: *City Planning According to Artistic Principles* (1889), written by an Austrian architect and planner, Camillo Sitte. His source of inspiration was the town of the Middle Ages, with its variety of forms, the picturesque, "irrational." He abstracted from the layout of the towns a series of principles which was a guide for a "genius-loci-planning" (Cherry, 1972:29). The message of the book made a strong impact not only in all the German speaking countries, but also in Britain and Scandinavia (Jensen, 1980:33).

Many reform associations began to propagate stepped, or differential, building regulations (Staffelbauordnungen). The principle was that full height and high densities on sites should be allowed in central areas of towns, where land values were high (Sutcliffe, 1981:43). In outer areas only a less intensive use of sites and lower densities should be permitted. Narrower streets around smaller houses could be planned on the cheaper land.

In 1891, Germany's first comprehensive set of differential building regulations was passed, dividing Frankfurt into an inner and an outer building zone (Kabel, 1949:147). The new Frankfurt regulations had a revolutionary influence on the development of German urban planning. By the early 1900s, the majority of larger towns had introduced differential building regulations. But soon it became obvious that the new tool needed a more scientific approach, when applied to preparation of development plans. Now it was only a step to the comprehensive planning of whole towns.

In 1900, the general urban development law (Allgemeine Baugesetz) was passed by the Saxony parliament (Kabel, 1949:86). Now it was the responsibility of urban authorities to prepare general plans for both new and established districts. The example of Saxony was followed by other states, and in 1906 by the conservative Prussia. Thus, early in the 1900s, town planning had become a recognized municipal activity.

Fig.6. Relationship: the local/the international. Germany. Status:1918

Norway

In Norway urban development and urban planning is especially influenced by the geographical, topographical and climatic character of the country (Lemberg, 1981:37). More than 70% of the land area is covered with mountains, ice, snow and lakes. Almost 25% is covered with forest and only about 3% is arable land (*Housing in the North Countries*, 1960:85). The length of the country is over 1750 km, almost equal to the distance between Oslo and Rome. About 30% of the territory lies north of the Arctic Circle. Long and deep fjords cut into the land. In the area of 324,000 sq.km live about 4 million people. Great distances and topography make communications both difficult and expensive.

These factors have always deeply influenced settlement in the country. Being a big country with a low population, Norway followed a different pattern of urbanization to that of other industrialized countries. Urban settlements concentrated mainly in a few larger urban areas: Oslo, Bergen, Trondheim and Stavanger, and towns along the coast and in the valleys.

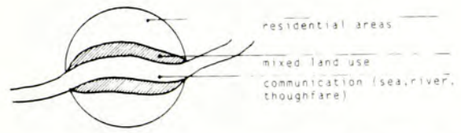

Fig.7. Starting point: Pattern of urbanization of Norwegian industrial towns.

Industrialization in Norway began round 1850; after 1916 industry had become the main trade in the Norwegian economy. Population densities increased in the existing towns at the end of the old century and the first years of the new one (Jensen, 1980:46).

Urban legislation, i.e. urban regulations, have a long tradition in the country. The first regulations originate in the twelfth century (Hagerup, 1979:2). They concerned urban building, aiming at reduction of fire risk. No actual building legislation, valid for all the country, was passed before 1845, at which time building and regulation commissions were established in all towns. Their duty was to provide land for extensions of the

existing and new streets or building of new ones (Hagerup, 1981:337). The law recommended gridiron plans of equal blocks and equal breadth of streets (Dunin-Woyseth, 1988:32). As in the German urban practice, there were no restrictions on the content of new blocks.

Between 1845 and 1913, the social debate included such issues as improvement of health conditions, sound housing, laws and regulations and political ideas. New policies and the technological progress in modes of transportation, and its impact on urban development, led to a demand for new legislation tools.

The laws of 1860 and 1875 are an expression of consideration for public health (Stang, 1943:16). The building law of 1896 was more comprehensive than that of 1845 (Hagerup, 1979:2-3). It was a response to the urban development which followed rapid industrialization of the country. Overcrowding, bad sanitary conditions, increased fire risk, all the symptoms well known in other industrialized countries, produced a situation in towns which demanded a better, more efficient system of public intervention.

The gridiron street pattern was still regarded as an ideal arrangement for street regulation. But functional matters and concerns were the main content of the law.

As early as 1913, a commission began to prepare for a new building law (Stang, 1943:34). In 1924 the new law was passed, giving the legal basis to all urban planning until 1965 (Heggelund, 1929:20-34). There was no directive as to the character of the built form, but the law expressed concern for the quality approach in planning. Plans should respect and enhance the town's *genius loci*. "In the process of planning, one has to pay consideration to the location of the planned area in relation to the whole town; to its development; demand for dwellings; communications; fire resistance; public health conditions; and technical infrastructure. New building should be designed and arranged in such a way that there be harmony between the old and the new" (26) (Heggelund, 1929:24-26).

The same paragraph says that man has to take account of the topography of sites, designate places for recreation, and apply limited densities of people and buildings in the outer areas of the town. Buildings should not be higher than three storeys, except in commercial districts of larger towns.

The law expressed at the same time the functional approach to planning. It reflected the development since 1896: increase of densities in towns, provision of more advanced technical infrastructure, the arrival of private motorization, and a request for stronger public intervention. Planning should contain more sectors than street regulation. New terms appeared: curved street, villa colonies, separation of functions, differentiation of traffic streets. The law was a breakthrough for modern planning in Norway.

What is specific in the law is its consideration and respect for the local character of the physical environment, its *genius loci*. In the period when a functionally planned town, a town of functionally designed architecture, was regarded as a beautiful town; when the leading concept was the arriving functionalism, the Norwegian legislation reflected in the law of 1924 an independent approach, integrating international planning ideals, but retaining particular urban form ideals, focused on environmental identity.

Based on this law many plans were prepared. The best known, even internationally, were the works of Professor Sverre Pedersen (1882-1971). "His planning was based upon his eye for a city's particular features of nature and the determined usage of topography and terrain. His forms have impressions of dominant axial patterns stressing natural viewpoints" (Jensen, 1980:XXII).

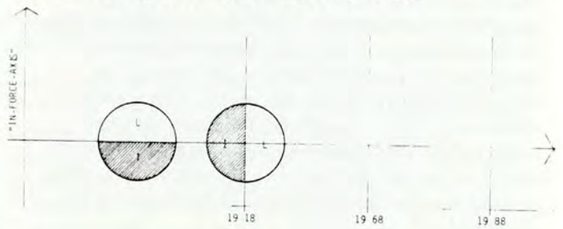

Fig.8. Relationship: the local/the international. Norway. Status:1918

Britain - Germany - Norway

In the British planning system, the emphasis was put on housing reform and social matters. Britain's first comprehensive planning law of 1909 contained a potential for a quality approach to planning. The experience from Letchworth and Hampstead Garden Suburb, and the British architectural everyday practice within residential planning, became a pattern to follow all over the world. The law of 1909 "permitted the suspension of pre-existing bye-laws and statutory enactments, thus permitting the greater freedom of design" (Punter, 1986:352).

In the German planning system the accent was laid on municipal control and preparation of comprehensive plans. This comprehensiveness of the system made a great impact on the process of transforming British planning techniques into its own system. Beauty aspects had been taken care of by the law on street lines (Fluchtliniengesetz) and distance/space regulations, number of floors (Ausnutzbarkeitsbestimmungen) and differential

building regulations (Staffelbauordnungen) (Kalusche, 1976:207). The only direct 'beauty paragraphs' were those on 'disfigurement' (Verunstaltungsgesetze), the laws which forbade buildings from "disfiguring" the urban environment.

Norway is in a way representative of many other countries which were influenced by the 'giants': Britain, Germany, France and the United States. The Norwegian planning system is regarded as a descendant of the German (Cibula, 1970:22). Until World War I, the German influence was the strongest one, with the "curved line" planning of Camillo Sitte, zoning principles, etc. But later on, the influence of British social housing and the garden city principles were more and more evident. But, in spite of strong international influences, the Norwegian urban tradition of concern for the physical environment has been continuously present.

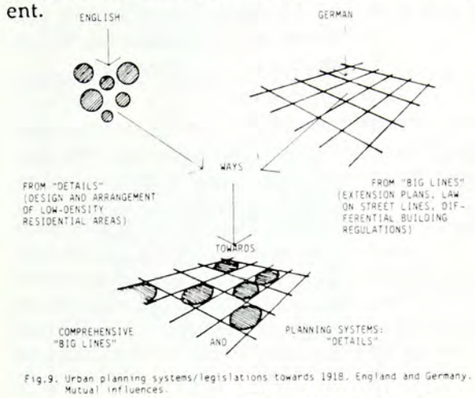

Fig.9. Urban planning systems/legislations towards 1918. England and Germany. Mutual influences.

Period of "Cosmopolitan Planning"

At the beginning of the twentieth century, in Europe and other industrialized countries, comprehensive planning systems became a fact. Social and political ideals evolved in different countries and were diffused all over the world. They were integrated into planning practice by new regulations. But, generally, the national planning systems were still strongly coloured by national planning techniques and bound by the local urban tradition.

A wave of changes began already before World War I. In Continental Europe, for instance, the process started by improvements to the existing principles of urban form through a reduction of densities of building sites, by the introduction of lower building heights and by keeping courtyards unbuilt.

The new, revolutionary direction in town planning was a result of many factors and new ideas, created by great personalities, architects, engineers and planners, or groups of them (Giedion, 1936:272-8). For the development of urban form, these fifty years meant a break from the continuity of local and historical traditions. The 'functional' ideals erased the substance and nature of urban "places", their *genius loci*. Urban form became "cosmopolitan": towns resembled each other on all continents.

As in the previous periods, also in the course of these fifty years, the prevailing planning ideology was followed by the legislation. As the formal ideals were those resulting from functions, urban form was getting more and more "standardized", according to the "standardization" of functions. Zoning and Floor Area Ratios, two-dimensional land-use planning, were the tools of implementation of the ideals, thus "forming" the towns. Form became a by-product of the planning process.

These fifty years could be called the "cosmopolitan planning" period, when the whole triad: ideals, tools and urban form, became uniform all over the world and towns lost their local flavour. The Table on Page 10 (overleaf) attempts to give a short review of urban development during the period of the "cosmopolitan planning" and the beginning of the next one.

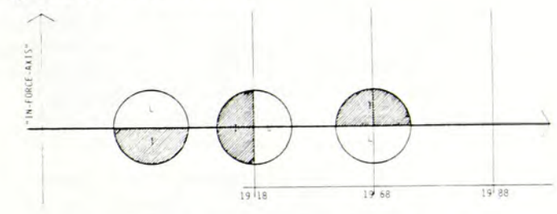

Fig.10. Relationship: the local/the international. World-wide. Status:1968

Again towards a "Genius-Loci-Planning" period?

Looking at the Table for the period 1968-1988, it can be noted that at the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s a general critique arose against the way of shaping the built environment, against a universal placelessness.

New ideologies appeared, including a return to primary values, qualitative instead of quantitative development, new design, and preservation.The catchwords were: the local, the uniqueness of "places", their *genius loci*. The status of the relationship: the local/the international is in 1988 probably like this:

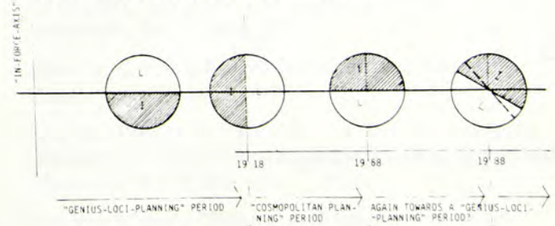

Fig.11. Relationship: the local/the international. World-wide. Status:1988.

OUTLINE OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT 1918-1988

		1918-1940	1945-1968	1968-1988
IDEALS	Objectives Politics Ideologies	Functionalism. Le Corbusier.	No new basic ideologies (unrealized ideal conceptions as Archigram, J. Friedman .....)	Postmodern architecture. Postmodern urban design. Urban renewal.
		Separation of land use into zones.	Zoning as basic principle in planning.	Qualitative instead of quantitative development.
		Vertical compaction of buildings and horizontal green space. Residential areas in green space.	Promotion of tower block flats as an incorrect interpretation of the Ville Radieuse.	Return to the primary values. New design, more maintainance rather than tearing down. Preservation.
LEGAL TOOLS	Building /Planning Laws	Zoning. Floor area ratio as modern tool for land use planning. Compulsory building line loses its meaning as a tool for forming the urban built environment. Now it keeps the traffic apart from the built area.	Zoning. Floor area ratio. Planning becomes in an increasing extent two-dimensional land use planning.	Protected zones. Core zone planning. Design-planning. Preservation of monuments, distinctive quality of places, townscape conservation; all of them as new forms of planning.
RESULT/BUILT FORM	Results/Urban Built Form	System of paralell rows of houses.		
			Mixed arrangement of buildings.	
		Initially focused on street axes, so more and more turning away from the street. First attempts at differentiation of height between floors.	Open, often irregular arrangements of buildings of different heights. The street becomes a purely traffic axis. Division between predestrian and vehicles.	Urban renewal/townscape conservation. Planning by small steps. Small "selfreliant" building groups, enclaves, instead of general overall plans. More consideration to urban open space. More renovation activities.

(Based partly on Hornberger)

Are we on the way towards a new "Genius-loci-planning" period?

The example of San Francisco illustrates how the "quality of place" happened to be one of the main objectives of the planning policy of the city. The legislation, using such tools as the General Plan, and, especially, the Urban Design Plan of 1971, has promoted a "good city form."

The Urban Design Plan was an expression of the general consensus of the people of San Francisco, that something should be done for the protection of the acknowledged high environmental qualities of the town. The Plan, being a part of the General Plan, deals with the problems of both conservation and development. It recognizes physical qualities of San Francisco and gives guidance for protection and enhancement of them. It also proposes how to improve parts of the town which are not satisfactory. "The Plan is a definition of quality, a definition based upon human needs" (*San Francisco Master Plan*, 7.2)

The following issues were dealt with in the Plan: City Pattern, Conservation, Major New Development and Neighbourhood Environment. In each case, the following subjects had been taken up: essential human needs; fundamental principles, with graphic illustrations among parts of the environments, such as open spaces, buildings, hills and streets; a series of policies necessary to achieve or approach the overall objective, based on the acknowledgement of needs and principles, and which is supposed to be a continuing guide and directive for public and private decisions (*San Francisco Master Plan*, 7.2).

In the professional circles of architects, urban designers and planners, an important event took place: the San Francisco Downtown Plan of 1985, 'guided' by the Urban Design Plan, won an award from the periodical *Progressive Architecture* (1/86). The members of the jury emphasized the approach of the planners who had taken the starting point in the "soul of the city", its genius loci. "Much in this document grows out of an understanding of particular conditions that one finds in San Francisco. The uniqueness of it is a strength; usually you pick up an urban plan and it could be about any city in North America" (*Progr. Arch.* 123-4).

Quo Vadis, Urban Form?

By following the history of the last hundred years, one can indicate periods when the quality orientation was an integrated part of the planning process, when planners were not afraid of using the term "beauty of urban environment". It was incorporated into the whole of other, more "rational" objectives of planning and was followed by planning legislation for implementation. Urban form, produced as a result of the process, had been thus deliberately created.

As the "Zeitgeist" changed and the quantity orientation, the "rational" ideals, became prevalent, the legislation omitted the "beauty paragraphs". Urban form changed according to this oscillation.

The world is getting smaller. The diffusion of different leading concepts, ideas, opinions, is more rapid than ever before. "Rudiments of town planning as a repetitive feature of civilization the world over represents both artistic creativity and a way of community life" (Cherry, 1974:6). How to reconcile the objectives of beauty of physical environment with the accelerating process of dissolution of differences between societies of the world in the period of overall advanced communications? Beauty of physical environment is, after all, synonymous with its uniqueness, singleness. Where should one search for a creative basis, a foothold when shaping urban environments? (Relph, 1976:44).

When the period of the "cosmopolitan planning" was over, the broad and strong reaction against it did not give rise to a new, "universal" ideology, as that of the previous epoch. Instead, a new, broad consensus arose: that of repugnance to the modern placelessness of the environment, of a request for the enhancement of its *genius loci*. This quality approach to town planning resulted in new planning objectives the world over: a return to the primary values.

It should be regarded as positive, that this general objective is shared internationally, and still there is no belief that there are "universal" ways to achieve the goals. They should be searched for in the local context of "places", thus reconciling the positive of the international influences, general urban policies, but at the same time seeking for artistic inspiration in *genius loci* of the local environment. What should be the role of urban legislation? It should create a framework for the promotion of quality thinking, of good solutions to existing and future urban problems.

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Urban Reconstruction in France after World War II

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After the First World War, the devastation of the towns was not one of the French Government's main concerns; they regarded it as a financial matter. The "reconstruction of devastated areas" was not a question of urbanism[1], less still of architecture.

After the Second World War, however, the situation was a very different one. In 1945, people were in a position to compare the two post-war situations, and found that the destruction was far more extensive in 1945 than it had been in 1918.

In the Autumn of 1918, all the damage was concentrated near the battle fields, i.e. the Northern and Eastern provinces; only fifteen, of the 75 administrative regions or "départements" had been damaged, rural areas more so that urban ones. In comparison with World War II, there had been relatively little harm done to towns.

But in June 1945 the official evaluation of damage listed about 500,000 buildings as destroyed beyond repair, and 2,000,000 as partly destroyed. 2,000 towns were bombed and devastated in 74 "départements". 7,500 bridges, 15,000 miles of railway track, numerous roads and railway stations (including 115 main stations) were not in working order. Harbours on the Atlantic were so badly wrecked that ships could not berth along the broken piers. All the bridges across the Seine between Paris and the sea were demolished. A full day was needed to travel by train from Paris to Strasbourg. Many thousands of people were homeless, living in shacks and military barracks.

Therefore, after the defeat of the Nazis, reconstruction did become a major issue. In November 1944, when Paris was already liberated, but not the whole of the rest of the country, a Ministry of Reconstruction and Urban Affairs (the Ministère de la Reconstruction et de l'Urbanisme, or MRU) was created by a decree.

The creation of this Ministry, which had extensive authority to conduct an unprecedented operation, was in a way the real beginning of the Reconstruction of Urban France. For this Ministry shared the Government's determination to devote itself to the problem of reconstruction on both the conceptual and the practical level.

And here the history of town planning became a part of the history of France. This was, in fact, the first time France had a Ministry in charge of urbanism. For, although in the beginning of the century some bills had been passed with regard to planning the development of towns and suburbs, never before had any Ministry controlled all the urban planning issues of the nation. And this process was now taking place as part of the general reorganisation of post-Vichy France.

Urban Continuity in a Changing Political Situation

When he restored democracy, General de Gaulle decided to maintain those of the Vichy Government departments which worked efficiently; the Vichy town planning staff was among them. Indeed, as early as Autumn 1940, the Vichy Government had set up agencies to coordinate the clearing of rubble and establish a consistent policy of rural and urban development. These agencies, the *Commissariat Technique à la Reconstruction Immobilière* (CTRI) and the urban services of the *Délégation Générale à l'Equipement national* (DGEN), centralized all the issues connected with Reconstruction. They were conceived with to view of the future, and consisted of two aspects. The practical aspect involved organizing emergency measures. Destroyed towns and villages received Government aid as early as Summer 1940, but especially from the Autumn. Newly-appointed prefects watched over the removal of the debris, supervised the choice of building firms and public works that had won the contracts, and took charge of the victims. For example, temporary bridges restored the traffic between the two banks of the Loire river, huts were built for the homeless at Amiens, the piers were repaired at Dunkirk, and so on[2]. In spite of the constraints of the occupation, much work was done by these agencies during the war years.

This was known to officials of Free France. They knew that the CTRI and the urban services of the DGEN had been satisfactory and quite efficient. Furthermore, General de Gaulle knew that the ideas of the Vichy town planners were very close to those of the town planners of Algiers. He did not see the need for any "purge" of personnel and preferred retaining a well-organized staff. Dismissals in the CTRI were very few. Almost the entire team remained. The MRU archives show that the Administrative and Technical Board members [3] had identical functions from the 1930s to the 1950s. Except André Muffang, who had been the chief of the Vichy CTRI, directors, such as André Prothin and Yves Salaün, kept their jobs. André Prothin, for example, became the dynamic head of the town planning staff which later, in 1963,

was to become the DATAR. He was also to be the first director of the agency which, in 1958, organized the building of the new La Défense area near Paris. And he had begun his career in town planning in 1937 with the International Exhibition in Paris, which glorified modern techniques in the service of art and the happiness of mankind. There he met many people such as Pierre Gibel and André Thiébaut with whom he later worked for years.

The historical analysis of the MRU gives us an overall view of Government intervention in town planning. It provided an opportunity of studying the impact of these policies on urban structures and landscapes. Moreover, it induces us to ask several questions. What is the extent of government power? What are its limits? What are the relations between the Town Councils and the national Government? How were the decisions made? How should we study a phenomenon such as rebuilding, which extends over such a long period of time? It is fortunate for scholars that the CTRI was created in October 1940 and the MRU in November 1944, with practically identical attributions and teams. It makes the questions easier to answer, by comparing a dictatorship with a democracy. Building and rebuilding need a lot of time. Some decisions taken by the Vichy Town Planners only made their impact ten years later.

So, in this field, continuity between the war and the post-war period is more important than political change. We have to bear in mind the duration of the architects' projects, the delays on building sites, the time needed to see trees grow in a new area ... Moreover, obvious obstacles had delayed or prevented the implementation of the main decisions made between 1940 and 1945. Neither at peace nor at war, France might be attacked any time in a military operation. Towns rebuilt in 1941 or 1942 could be destroyed again during the summer of 1944 or after. (This happened in Normandy and in the Eastern areas around the German border). Moreover, the Germans did not allow building work in France except for military purposes. This is why an analysis of the practical realities of building and rebuilding becomes confused when we consider:

1. **Theories**. From the 1920s to the 1950s, various theories were expounded, both in speeches and in writing, by different movements which, however, continued to co-exist through the whole period.[4]

2. **Laws and legal provision**. The most important legal provisions of this period were laid down in 1943. Entitled the "Town Planning Code", this set of laws provided for town planning as an obligation for all towns, extended "building permits", and introduced the compulsory presence of an architect on all building sites. The 1943 regulations represented an effort of synthesis, rationalization and harmonization of previous concepts. They were to become a real legacy for the post-war period.

3. **The reconstructors themselves**. As we have seen, the "decision makers" who had helped to elaborate and put into practice the Ministry's policy, the people who designed projects and worked on the big building sites, were the same during the war and after.[5]

In twentieth-century wars, towns and cities were at stake. A vital part of strategy, they became targets, and held an important place in the conception of strategic bombing between 1941 and 1945. "In the twentieth century, cities *per se*, as a social and economic category, became vulnerable to destruction in war[6]." They constituted residential quarters, areas of production, centers of decision, possible places of resistance ... For some, they ought to be destroyed, for others, they ought to be protected. And in the towns and cities, during the war, it became a challenge for life to continue despite the bombs ... They formed not only a physical, but even more a moral part of the war.

This, rather than the question of safety, was another reason why the Vichy Government, as soon as it was formed, wanted to begin to rebuild. Maréchal Pétain and his staff wanted the new towns to illustrate their aims: to build well-designed towns in a well-governed country, far from fashionable suburbs and industrial modernization. As we know, the grandfather-type speeches hid very modern projects7. Not all the new projects were dream cities, far removed from modern industrial development. Different though the situation might be in 1945, the purpose was in many respects the same. A rapidly rebuilt France was a challenge for the new Government; not only on account of the population, but also on account of the Allies, especially the American people, who had the money and the materials needed.

Bombardments and devastation: an opportunity?

From a different point of view, the destruction caused by war provided an opportunity for new conceptions in town planning methods. In the 1930s and 1940s, urban planners in France were critical of the lack of town planning in the 1920s. The war gave them a chance to break with old habits and obligations. For the urban population had increased during the 1930s and after the war, in fact since 1935, it exceeded the rural population. So 1940 and again 1945 were opportune times for town planners to set up and implement new theories. Writers and experts in urbanism

such as Gaston Bardet and Le Corbusier, magazines like *Urbanisme* or *L'architecture d'aujourd'hui* kept dreaming up theories during the war. They thought now would be the time to start moving and acting. Just before World War II, there was an outbreak of town planning theories. There were also innovations in architectural thinking, as for example by the Modern Movement. And lastly, there was an increased use of new building technologies such as reinforced concrete.[8] But, in a sense, all these were experiments rather than large-scale realities.

For we have to remember how limited was town planning experience in France. All over Europe, the study of urbanism was at an early stage of development in the inter-war period. This was even more accentuated in France, also after the war. Town planning did not exist as a profession. There were architects, sometimes engineers, who were interested in town planning. They came from the Beaux-Arts School, which was traditional and oriented towards the past. In the 1940s, French town planners were more familiar with the designs of Greek columns than with industrial areas or housing for workers. Few of them, like R. Auzelle, M. Lods, Beaudoin, A. Perret or M. Roux-Spitz were acquainted with the Bauhaus or the CIAM. A small circle, which was to become the nucleus of modern reconstructors, was critical of the teaching at the Beaux-Arts. Although they did not completely reject its spirit, they did try to surpass it. They aimed at being technicians as well as artists, mindful of social issues and ideas of space development and planning. They had taken courses at the Institut d'Urbanisme de l'Université de Paris, which had been specially set up in the inter-war period to give training in urbanism to architects in need of such training.[9] Most of them were to be active at the major rebuilding sites. But they really were few in number. The others were conservative, and had no great interest in thinking about town planning.

We can illustrate this by comparing two reconstruction projects carried out respectively in Gien and in Royan, each considered to be a model of its kind. Gien was rebuilt along conservation lines, and restored much as it had been before being bombed. Royan is held out as an example of a modernistic reconstruction.[10] The two towns were of similar size, with a population of about 10,000, but while Gien, which had a bridge over the Loire river, was damaged mostly during the fighting of the 1940s, Royan was almost wholly demolished by British and American air-raids in 1944. The two towns, both destroyed, soon became the symbols of two ways of rebuilding. Gien was restored to its pink brick and ancient façades; Royan, on the contrary, was rebuilt on functionalist principles.

When we carefully compare the two projects, we find that the differences are not so great as we might have expected. In both cases the same effort had been made to facilitate traffic, widen streets, space out buildings. In both cases, priority had been given to tidying up and putting in order houses, buildings, streets and neighbourhoods, exactly as the Beaux-Arts School had always taught.

In fact, the conceptions of the new designs were very similar: a prudent, non-revolutionary modernism. Gien might look like an old-fashioned town, yet it had been restored with a real concern for town planning. And Royan, despite its *avant-garde* buildings, had a very moderate new plan. So it mattered little that the final aspect of the two towns was very different: neither the reconstructors, nor the officials, nor the French people were ready to accept any real change in their towns.[11] Even though some of the reconstrctors and inhabitants of Royan were proud of their new town, old-fashioned towns which had simply been restored as an academic exercise were generally preferred.

There was in fact a real mental resistance against change in urban matters. The victims wanted to recover the same place, with identical curtains or stained glass windows. I believe it would not be exaggerated to say that the French people were unaware of urban issues. They did not accept delays in rebuilding. For this, politicians and officials bore some responsibility. The closeness of elections, the need for rapid results, were often in contradiction with town planning schedules. Rather than keep victims waiting for new plans, governments preferred to give them temporary shelter, and hastily made buildings.

Reconstruction : what is at stake?

The reconstructors were faced with three questions:

1. Who should take the initiative and responsibility of rebuilding, i.e. who would have the control of projects and findings;

2. How were they to decide between the need for urban modernization, involving radical changes, and the general desire for identical reconstruction?

3. What kind of patterns should have been followed or rejected for these new tasks?

The new Government's answer to the first question was clear: the establishment of the MRU proved the State's desire for reconstruction. But, in spite of the number of laws governing all the aspects, and in spite of the Government's inten-

tion of supervising development plans and reconstruction sites, vast areas eluded them. Particularly the housing problem, crucial at this time, was left almost entirely to private enterprise.[12] In fact, most of the reconstruction sites were out of Government hands. It could be said that the State was a rebuilder, but not a builder. It destroyed slums, but was unable to set up a State housing department until 1953. It wanted to encourage the building industry but, through its rental laws, extended rights to those who refused to make this an important item in family budgets. In fact, by trying to combine urbanism with construction, French town planners failed in both; for the hasty construction of housing near industrial areas is not town planning.

And this is the answer to the second question. Rebuilding is not building. The reconstructors' first thought was for the victims; therefore they opted for the temporary solution. They immediately repaired and fitted out shelter for the most wretched. For rethinking a new urban organization, redividing and remodelling parcels of land, would take time, and the victims would not, and indeed could not wait.

Reconstructing, if it was to be done in accordance with the wishes of numerous town dwellers, would mean encouraging people to want to live in detached houses, refusing apartment buildings, forgetting the increasing number of private cars and ignoring a future already beginning to be outlined in American cities. Some French town planners had crossed the Atlantic and were aware of this, without always fully realizing all the implications.

Building, on the other hand, would mean waiting; waiting for the end of austerity and the general shortage of materials and machines; waiting for the surveyors to finish redividing the town plans, using property registers that were sometimes dozens of years old. Occasionally, especially in Normandy, archives had burnt and there was a total absence of both buildings and documents. And it would mean waiting for government approval of reconstruction plans and of damages to be paid. Building would mean following civil service theorists, for whom finding a place to live was becoming a function to be developed like a machine.

In short, the choice was whether to build or to rebuild, now or later, office building or housing developments, monuments or factories, planned or unplanned towns.

To build or to rebuild, it was also a question of patterns. But the way of fascination was really strange : English and American realities, as Scandinavian ones, were well known and appreciated. But, in spite of analysis, reading and studying, and travels, French planners did not seem to have taken care of them. Maybe the French reconstruction was done without patterns?

First of all, choices were made under the pressure of events, and often in connection with election dates. The winter of 1953-54 was a good example. It was so cold that a protest movement arose among the homeless. This campaign, under the leadership of Abbé Pierre, caused considerable repercussions in the press, especially after a child was found dead in an unheated house. From then on, and not only on account of this campaign, of course, greater impetus was given to construction.

The assessment of reconstruction in France after the Second World War shows to what extent economic factors, the extensive destruction, the indifferent legacy of the inter-war years, hampered the reconstructors.

It also shows the gap between theorists' dreams and everyday requirements. And it suggests a people more interested in political organization than in its environment.

Notes

1. A version of this paper was presented in a seminar of the Center for European Studies (Harvard University) in February 1988. As a general presentation of my thesis in progress, it goes over some published articles which will be indicated in the following footnotes. The reconstruction of devastated areas is my own translation for "la reconstruction des régions dévastées" which was the official title.

2. This topic is treated in more detail in "Reconstructors' tales; an example of the use of oral sources in the history of reconstruction after the second world war," in *Reconstructions in Europe*, Jeffrey Diefendorf, editor, London : Macmillan Press, 1988.

3. The sources for the history of that topic are very abundant. The MRU papers are numerous and rather well kept. Those Boards are an example of this.

4. Martine Morel, "Reconstruire, dirent-ils," in Danièle Voldman (ed), *Images, discours et enjeux de la reconstruction des villes françaises après 1945, Les Cahiers de l'IHTP*, No.5, June 1987.

5. Danièle Voldman, "Les architects reconstructeurs forment-ils une génération," in Jean-François Sirinelli (ed), *Générations intellectuelles, Les Cahiers de l'IHTP*, No.5, November 1987.

6. Josef W. Konvitz, *Cities as targets: conceptions of strategic bombing 1914-1945*, Working Papers No.85, International Security Studies program, The Wilson Center, 1988.

7. Richard F. Kuisel, *Le capitalisme et l'Etat en France, Modernisation et dirigisme au XX° siècle*, Paris : Gallimard, 1984. First published by Cambridge University Press, 1981.

8. Danièle Voldman, "Le bâtiment, une branche sollicitée," to be published in 1989 in a collective book on French companies during the war.

9. Rémi Baudoui, *Le premier enseignement de l'urbanisme en France*, to be published in 1989.

10. Danièle Voldman, "Du pastiche à la modernité," *Monuments Historiques*, No.140, August-September 1985.

11. Danièle Voldman, "Les sinistrés les bâtisseurs et les villes," paper to *La France en voie de modernisation*, Fondation nationale des Sciences politiques, 1981.

12. Frédérique Boucher, "Abriter vaille que vaille, se loger coûte que coûte," in *Images, discours*, op. cit. Danièle Voldman, "la loi de 1948 sur les loyers," *Vingtième siècle, Revue d'histoire*, No.20, October 1988.

Social Democratic Reform and Australia's Cities: The Whitlam Legacy

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In many of the capitalist democracies, the 1960s and 1970s were a time when urban and other social problems were widely discussed. The role of central government in helping to resolve them was widely appreciated. But almost as soon as central government was brought to bear on these problems, a backlash against 'big government' emerged which sought to curtail many of the new initiatives. Many argued that these programs represented an over-extension of government. This backlash came about partly in response to the 'stagflation' crisis which emerged in the western democracies in the early 1970s. Since then, corporatism with its emphasis of economic policy, in particular incomes policy, has emerged as a progressive electoral strategy to counter neo-conservatism. Nevertheless, the political strength and reformist credentials of corporatism are somewhat uncertain while conservative approaches currently enjoy power in some of the western democracies.

The Australian experience reflects the pattern. Urban and other social problems were prominent on the national agenda through the late 1960s and early 1970s. The agency of Gough Whitlam, as deputy leader then leader of the Australian Labor Party (ALP), was instrumental in raising the national consciousness of urban issues in particular. Urban research flourished, particularly through the Australian National University's Urban Research Unit and the Australian Institute of Urban Studies, both established in the mid 1960s. One of the most important books on Australian society since World War 2 focussed on Australia's urban problems - Hugh Stretton's *Ideas for Australian Cities*, first published in 1970.

The Whitlam Government gained office in 1972 partly on the basis of its urban promises. Many of the hopes held about the Whitlam victory centred on the implementation of those promises. A new Department of Urban and Regional Development (DURD) was established for this purpose. Whitlam's Minister of Urban Affairs, Tom Uren, has described DURD as the 'brightest administrative star in the firmament of our Government'.[1] Others hold more critical and detached views. Certainly DURD's activities were controversial. The Fraser Government, elected in 1975 after the Whitlam Government was dismissed, sought to curtail the power of central government in Australian society on the basis of many of the American neo-conservative ideas. One of Fraser's first acts was to abolish DURD and wind down many of the policies and programs sponsored by it.

Ever since 1975, those engaged in urban studies and urban policy in Australia have been on the defensive. Public consciousness of urban problems has withered. Public confidence in the capacity of government to deal with complex social problems, of which urban problems are some of the most urgent, has declined. With some important exceptions, the Australian debate about urban issues has become sterile. It reflects either a fairly uncritical defence of the hopes and initiatives of the late 1960s and early 1970s, a critical dismissal of them drawing upon the conservative critique of central government already referred to, or neo-marxist despair about the limits and biases of government intervention in democratic capitalist society. Further, economic and social problems and the need for appropriate responses to them in an era of public austerity now dominate the national agenda in Australia. Urbanists have had some difficulty in defining a role for urban policy in the changed context.

As a result of all of these factors, the Hawke Labor Government elected in 1983 has shown no interest in urban problems, preferring instead to concentrate on incomes policy and structural change of the Australian economy. Meanwhile, the new right gains strength in Australian politics. Some argue that this has been facilitated through some of the economic policy changes made by the Hawke Government, particularly the deregulation of the Australian financial system. The latter is having a dramatic impact on the quality of urban life in Australia, in particular, making it much more difficult to provide adequate and affordable housing and public infrastructure. Future urban reform through central government must necessarily focus on these problems. But for such reform to gain new political relevance, an understanding of the legacy of the Whitlam urban and regional reforms highlighting their strengths and weaknesses is needed. This essay summarises research undertaken to this end.[2]

The Whitlam Doctrine

Whitlam's program of reform had two essential cornerstones. One concerned philosophical ends, the other the means of implementation. The philosophy centred on what Whitlam calls 'the doctrine of positive equality'. This had the goal of greater equality in the provision of community services. Whitlam argued that these services had a great bearing on the standard of living.[3]

The main vehicle of implementation was a new 'cooperative' federalism. This was built upon the idea that tied grants under section 96 of the Constitution became the vehicle for reform. This approach would provide the means to address some of Australia's social and urban problems and the constitutional and political limits to reform in the Australian federal system. In particular, it provided one means by which the dominance of states' rights in that system could be challenged. In the eyes of many, the states were an obstacle to reform. A commitment to participatory regionalism also informed Whitlam's ideas about 'cooperative' federalism.[4]

Whitlam's advocacy of a strong federal role in urban and regional policy reflected many of these themes. At the general level, he argued that the provision of social and physical services had an important locational and urban dimension which necessitated a federal role in urban affairs. A number of specific issues needed to be addressed. These included the social consequences of urban sprawl, in particular the social and physical service deprivations in the outer suburbs of Sydney and Melbourne, metropolitan domination and the problems of population concentration in the big cities, the domination of central business districts on the structure of the metropolitan areas, and the imbalance in power and resources between the three levels of government, in particular, the relative underdevelopment of the role of local government in Australian federalism.

For Whitlam, the main political and institutional sources of these problems were inaction on the part of the federal government and lack of coordination on the part of state governments. He was particularly critical of existing approaches to urban decision-making at the state level. The state bureaucracies were organised so that the various agencies simply provided the service or good for which they were established without any real regard for overall social and urban consequences. Short term functional and instrumental goals dominated longer term urban planning.

Whitlam saw a federal role in urban renewal, land development and decentralisation programs. A commitment to eliminating the sewerage backlog in the big cities was added later. He proposed the establishment of a federal department of urban affairs drawing explicitly upon the precedent of the United States Federal Department of Housing and Urban Development. One of the main functions of the new department would be to look at the overall coherence of public spending on urban development by the state governments. The development of integrated and coordinated budgeting at the state level would be encouraged.[5]

Whitlam appointed Tom Uren shadow Minister for Urban Affairs in 1969. He agreed with the Whitlam analysis and advocacy of a federal role in decentralisation, land development and urban planning although he was more committed to the idea of regional, participatory government.

The Legacy

DURD's mandate was to address the federal neglect of urban and regional problems and to implement the urban programs outlined by Whitlam. Reflecting his general analysis, DURD conceived its overall mission to reform the traditional role of federal government to take account of its urban consequences, in particular to establish structures for coordination, and to push for the reform of urban planning at the state level.

DURD bureaucrats went about their task with zeal. By the end of its short life, the department was undertaking research and giving complex advice on economic, housing, industry and transport policy and had developed a capacity in urban resource planning. Work on a 'national urban and regional strategy' and an 'urban and regional budget' was proceeding. In undertaking this policy work, DURD issued a strong challenge to traditional power bases in the federal bureaucracy, particularly the Treasury, and to urban planning agencies in the state bureaucracies. DURD also implemented many programs. There were important connections between DURD's policy work and its sponsorship of programs. Many of the latter were conceived and implemented with strategic aims in mind.

Much of DURD's work addressed important needs quickly and effectively, and helped change urban thought and action in Australia. Local government was given access to federal finance through changes to the operation of the Grants Commission, provisions which are still operative. While local government is yet to achieve recognition in the Australian constitution, the changes sponsored by the Whitlam Government have enabled it to be a more effective partner in the Australian federal system and to provide a greater range of services to it constituents. An area improvement program was established. While being small in terms of spending, the program provided a wide variety of services and resources in the deprived western suburbs of Sydney and Melbourne in particular.[6] Just as significantly, the regional machinery established to implement this program has provided a political vehicle to

maintaining the reforming impetus and to provide the means for effective coordination on a range of issues where there was none before. This has been very important in deprived outer suburbs.

Among the aims of DURD's urban strategy were to slow down the growth of central business districts, to limit the freeways upon which they depended, to encourage the development of centres in outer suburban areas, and to ensure the preservation of old inner city housing for low income people. It took a number of actions to help these aims. It was centrally involved in defending the idea that the rehabilitation of inner city housing was more efficient and equitable than demolition and redevelopment. In order to show this by demonstration and to preserve inner city housing in public hands for low income tenants, areas of old, run-down housing were bought in Glebe and Woolloomooloo in Sydney and Emerald Hill in Melbourne. The Glebe and Woolloomooloo purchases also helped some of DURD's other aims. Glebe stood in the path of a proposed freeway which focussed on Sydney's CBD. Woolloomooloo was subject to office redevelopment plans which were being blocked by a variety of means including the NSW Builders Labourers Federation's famous 'Green Bans'.

The development of suburban centres in Sydney and Melbourne were encouraged by DURD's sponsorship of office development. Decisions were made to develop major Commonwealth offices at Parramatta in Sydney's western suburbs and in Ringwood in Melbourne. In the dying days of the Whitlam Government, DURD was centrally involved in a major plan for office development in the outer suburbs of Sydney and Melbourne and in some of the regional cities designated as growth centres. Private developers would build offices in the knowledge of guaranteed rental by the federal government. The plan met bureaucratic resistance and did not survive the change of government. DURD also sought to influence investment in transport so that it meshed more closely with its views about good urban policy.

Ideas about decentralisation of work within cities and the preservation of inner city housing developed within DURD and the actions taken to those ends have had an important influence over the past fifteen years. Inner city housing rehabilitation is now conventional wisdom, while the virtues of inner city living inform the ubiquitous defence of urban consolidation in Australia's cities. Inner city freeways remain taboo. Nevertheless, office development within the central business districts of Australia's cities has boomed during the 1980s - another result of the deregulation of the Australian financial system and the consequent dominance of finance capital on the pattern of private investment in Australia. This boom has had and will continue to have dramatic consequences for balanced urban growth and for investment in transport and other infrastructure. Unfortunately, there is less political pressure to counter the centralising trend than there was in the years prior to 1972.

In the early 1970s, it was estimated that over half a million homes in Australia's capital cities were unsewered. Sydney's backlog peaked at some 209,000 homes in 1960[7] while Melbourne's backlog was 160,000 homes in 1972. The Whitlam Government made a commitment to eliminate this backlog by 1978. While problems of inter- and intra-governmental coordination meant that this aim was not met, over $330 million was spent on the national sewerage backlog program over the period 1973 to 1977. This was by far the biggest item on DURD's budget. By the mid 1980s, Sydney's sewerage backlog had been reduced to some 40,000 homes and Melbourne's to 24,000 homes. The allocation made by the Whitlam Government played a major role in that reduction.

Probably the least successful of DURD programs were its most ambitious - the land commission and regional growth centre programs. Both operated on the same basic principles. Public corporations would be established to acquire broadacre land and to develop and market it. Loan funds would be used on the grounds that this would not give unfair financial advantages to the corporations vis-a-vis private developers. The growth centre development corporations would also have the role to facilitate and plan for the balanced development of the regional centre. Both programs faced the problem of political opposition at the state level.[8]

Four agencies were established through the land commission program. Only one reflected the DURD model - the Adelaide based South Australian Land Commission (SALC). The other three in Sydney, Melbourne and Perth were established as non-statutory urban land councils without the level of funding or the powers of land acquisition and development envisaged by DURD. The NSW urban land council was upgraded to land commission status by the Wran Labor Government which gained office in NSW in 1976. But its level of operation was still small due to lack of adequate funds. While each of the agencies established in Sydney, Melbourne and Perth still acquire and develop land, their overall impact on the land market in those cities is small and reflects rather than counteracts activities in the private market. In this sense, they were 'unfair trials' of the program.

The SALC was the only 'fair trial' of the land commission program. Established in 1973, it quickly acquired a large broadacre land bank on the fringes of Adelaide and set about a program of development which aimed to capture a large portion of the market for allotments. Problems loomed however. By the time SALC was fully operational, Adelaide's land market was entering a depressed period. SALC faced both low demand and opposition from private land developers who resented SALC's competition especially in the depressed market. Both factors coalesced to produce a crisis for SALC in the late 1970s. Because SALC was highly geared - it was funded with loan money without any equity capital - its debt on its balance sheet mounted rapidly. High levels of development activity and low demand for its product exacerbated this problem. For some private development interests, SALC provided a good example of inadequacies and limits of public enterprise. SALC's crisis was highlighted during a state election campaign which saw the conservatives gain power. They immediately took away SALC's powers of land acquisition and development and took up negotiations with the Fraser Government over SALC's debt. Ever since 1980, there has been no effective public presence in the Adelaide land market. A reasonable stock of developed allotments ensured that this was not a problem in the early 1980s, but a surge in demand in the mid 1980s caused a doubling of land prices over a two year period. Some stability has returned in the late 1980s but another surge in demand could see land prices again rise rapidly.

It is ironical that in the state where the land commission reform faced least resistance and where it was established most completely on the DURD model, it has been least successful and has put back the cause of reform in urban land markets most severely. One of the main reasons for this relates to the fact that land commissions were to compete with the private sector on basically the same terms. To this end, SALC was funded with loan money without any equity capital. The general lesson of SALC's failure is that public agencies which seek to reform private markets should not emulate private sector principles too closely.

There is an added irony in the South Australian history of the land commission program. The program was conceived in response to the perceived failure of public housing agencies in Australia, particularly in Sydney and Melbourne. They were seen as conservative and inadequate. This reasoning ignored the much more radical and progressive example of the South Australian Housing Trust (SAHT). The SAHT is probably the most important Australian example of the potential and virtue of arms length public enterprise in the area of urban development. As land banker, land developer and house builder using a changing mixture of grant and cheap loan money, the SAHT particularly over the twenty years 1950 to 1970, provided cheap housing for both rental and sale and exercised a restraining influence on the overall land and housing market in Adelaide.[9] Reform through central government must of necessity ride over local contingencies but this must be done sensitively and with an eye to local differences and complexities, particularly where new institutions are to be created to fulfil functions which in some cases are already being undertaken successfully by existing agencies.

Four regional growth centres were established - Albury/ Wodonga on the border between New South Wales and Victoria, Bathurst/Orange in New South Wales, Macarthur on the fringes of Sydney, and Monarto in South Australia. All involved large scale land acquisition and sophisticated planning for their future development. Albury/Wodonga is located on the River Murray on the major inland transport route between Sydney and Melbourne. It is the most successful growth centre even though it is something of an 'embattled survivor'. Its mandate and operating arrangements have been subject to many changes and it nearly came to grief in the early 1980s for essentially the same reasons that saw the demise of the SALC. Its financial arrangements were changed in 1984 whereby some of the loans used to establish the centre were redefined as equity capital in the project. Since its establishment in 1973, Albury/Wodonga's rate of growth has been strong with many major industries choosing the centre as a base for their operations.

Bathurst/Orange was established as a concession for the New South Wales Government's agreement to the Albury/Wodonga scheme and has had a stormy history. It has not attracted the growth originally envisaged. Its status as a growth centre was changed in the mid 1980s and much of the land acquired for the centre was sold back to rural uses. Macarthur has enjoyed buoyant growth as Sydney has expanded westwards but the role of the corporation was also changed in the mid 1980s from that of public developer to more a facilitator of private development.

Monarto was probably the most ambitious of all the regional growth centres, again reflecting the positive reception of the Whitlam reforms in South Australia. It was the only literal 'new city' in the overall program, that is, a new city to be built on a virgin site. Nevertheless, Monarto had a somewhat ambivalent status on other fronts because it was neither a satellite city on Adelaide's fringes - like the successful Elizabeth development had been - nor was it an autonomous regional centre. It was close enough to Adelaide so that a relationship of dependence may have de-

veloped. In any case, events conspired to undermine the project before much headway was made. The projected decline in South Australia's population growth undermined the need for the new town while many questioned it as an appropriate site and location for a new city. The site was fairly austere and in a rainshadow area in the already dry state of South Australia. When the Conservatives gained state office in 1980 they abandoned the project. Federal loans were repaid and most of the acquired land sold back to rural uses, much of it to the original owners.

The growth centre program has been the subject of much debate, much of it content to dismiss and ridicule its aims. Certainly mistakes were made. The financial arrangements for the program presented problems for all growth centres in the same way as they did for some of the land commissions. Bathurst/Orange should never have achieved growth centre status while it may have been better to develop a satellite new town on the southern fringes of Adelaide in place of Monarto. But the continued rapid growth of Sydney and Melbourne highlights the need for alternative centres of urban growth on Australia's eastern seaboard. The Albury/Wodonga experience suggests that strong and sensitive public planning can successfully cater for this growth if new regional centres are chosen in the appropriate locations.

DURD has also left a legacy at more general levels through its impact on both state and federal policy making. As noted earlier, Whitlam was very critical of urban decision- making at the state level, seeing the providers of urban services as excessively bureaucratic and uncoordinated, and urban planning agencies as basically ineffective. DURD took up this critique. It sought to influence the states to reform both their approaches to urban planning and to implement more sophisticated mechanisms to coordinate those agencies and departments providing urban services. It encouraged this by making stipulations in agreements between the federal and state governments establishing some of its programs, and where federal grants were given to the states to finance urban services. DURD articulated policy arguments in papers written on urban planning issues in the various cities.

Again, because of the positive reception of the DURD reforms in South Australia, most effort went into influencing urban planning arrangements in Adelaide. The agreement establishing the SALC pointed to the need for more effective coordination between the various urban agencies in Adelaide. Not much headway was made with this during the DURD years. After the demise of DURD, many ex-DURD bureaucrats looked to South Australia as a place where their ideas might be positively received. Some took up positions in the South Australian public service. John Mant was principal among them. He had been a key figure in DURD and was Whitlam's principal private secretary at the time of the dismissal.

A new Department of Housing, Urban and Regional Affairs (HURA) was established in South Australia in 1976 with Mant as its head. It replaced the State Planning Office (SPO). Its mandate was to coordinate the activities of the various urban agencies and to reform the traditional approach to urban planning, called somewhat pejoratively 'end-state' planning. For some, the SPO's urban plan-making was pretentious given the absence of any control or influence over the providers of urban services. The SAHT's involvement in all aspects of urban development in Adelaide and its autonomy from direct political control also came in for criticism. For some, many problems were caused by having land development, house building and public landlord functions under the control of one agency. This created an inertia which was difficult to change.

A new regional system for urban and regional management and new structures for the coordination of urban development were established. The 'Metropolitan Adelaide Staging Study' was to be the main vehicle for this coordination. It defined a sequence for new urban development in Adelaide over a ten year time period which took account of and tried to influence the activities of the various providers of urban services. 'Urban management' replaced 'urban planning' as the *modus operandi* of this aspect of the new department's activities.[10] The department also became an alternative source of housing policy advice from the SAHT.

Along with these institutional changes went a sophisticated intellectual critique of public planning and public intervention in housing markets. The basic thrust of that critique was that it was better to manage efficiently and equitably what we know we have rather than assume a communal view of an ideal future and work towards it. A kind of pragmatic nihilism informed these arguments.[11]

There was some truth in the view that traditional approaches to urban planning in Australia were ineffective and needed to be changed. The 'urban management' paradigm as it has emerged throughout Australia over the past few years has a great capacity to respond to the wide range of factors which influence urban life, economic, social and physical.[12] But it offers no real defence of urban planning as *public* planning to counter private interests in the development of Australia's cities. This is not to say that approaches to urban planning which went before necessarily

had that purpose. But they were certainly capable of being used to that end if it was so desired. Views about 'urban management' have tended to undermine institutional and intellectual support for strong public involvement in urban development. This is most evident in the critique of the SAHT referred to earlier. The activities of the SAHT needed reform in the 1970s. The interests of tenants needed to be more strongly represented in decision-making while some changes were necessary to the SAHT's approach to large scale urban development. But these changes have taken place and they did not require the general challenge to the SAHT's holistic approach and philosophy that emerged within HURA. As already argued, that approach has many strengths not the least being its capacity to direct and not just respond to trends in Adelaide's private land and housing markets.

DURD's long term impact of federal policy-making has likewise been mixed. It was hoped that DURD would develop the capacity to provide an alternative source of economic advice to the Treasury. In important ways it was successful in this in the early years of the Whitlam Government. DURD officers were crucial in the formation of the first two Whitlam budgets. But the perception now on both sides of Australian politics is that those budgets were irresponsible given the rapidly changing economic circumstances of the early 1970s. Further, some of DURD's work on economic policy, in particular the 'urban and regional budget' which aimed to give an understanding of the urban impact of federal spending, were limited in their capacity to provide the intellectual support necessary for alternative economic advice based on the defence of the public sector and the 'social wage' in Australian society. Indeed, Whitlam's own ambivalence on the consequences for the federal budget of a strong commitment to urban policy expresses those limits. On the one hand, he argues that such a commitment means substantial federal outlays and, on the other, he argues that such involvement may lead to a reduction in outlays if they are properly coordinated.[13]

The Hawke Government, particularly through Paul Keating, has made some strong criticisms of the fiscal irresponsibilities of the Whitlam Government. This critique acts as one of the foils for Keating's defence of the Hawke mix of economic rationalism and social democracy. Private economic growth and wealth generation must now come before redistribution.[14] Of course, this reasoning ignores the positive role of public investment in economic growth while it assumes an immutable trade-off between economic growth and social equity. A recent analysis of the emerging problems of investment in Australia's public infrastructure has developed these arguments.[15] Given the direct relation between infrastructure and the health of Australia's cities, the renewal of interest in urban reform, particularly through central government, now depends on the capacity of urbanists to take up these arguments.

NOTES

1. T. Uren, 'Foreword', in C.J. Lloyd and P.N. Troy, *Innovation and Reaction: The life and death of the Federal Department of Urban and Regional Development*, Sydney, Allen and Unwin, 1981, pp.ix.

2. L. Orchard, 'Whitlam and the Cities: Urban and Regional Policy and Social Democratic Reform', Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Politics Department, University of Adelaide, 1987.

3. For the most recent account of this doctrine see G. Whitlam, *The Whitlam Government 1972-1975*, Melbourne, Viking, 1985, pp.2-3.

4. On Whitlam's 'cooperative' federalism see E.G. Whitlam, 'A New Federalism', *Australian Quarterly*, 43, 3 (1971), pp.6-17.

5. Whitlam's urban analysis and policy thinking is contained in a number of his speeches from the period 1965 to 1972. They included: E.G. Whitlam, 'Cities in a Federation', *Australian Planning Institute Journal*, 3 6 (1965), pp.209-213; E.G. Whitlam, 'Responsibilities for urban and regional development: 1968 Walter Burley Griffin Memorial Lecture', *Architecture in Australia*, 58, 1 (1969a), pp.115-119; E.G. Whitlam, 'An Urban Nation', *Victorian Fabian Society Pamphlet 19*, Melbourne, 1969b; E.G. Whitlam, 'Governments and Cities', Address to the University of Melbourne Political Science Society, August 1970 (published in E.G. Whitlam, *On Australia's Constitution*, Melbourne, Widescope 1977). For Whitlam's later summary of the burden of these speeches, see Whitlam, 1985, *op cit*, pp.373-381.

6. For a recent defence of the worth of the area improvement program see C. Lloyd and P.N. Troy, 'Duck Creek revisited? The case for national urban and regional policies', in J. Halligan and C. Paris (eds), *Australian Urban Politics: critical perspectives*, Mebourne, Longman Cheshire, 1984. Duck Creek is in the western suburbs of Sydney. Environmental improvement schemes, recreation facilities and gardens in and around the creek were sponsored through the area improvement program.

7. For an account of the history of sewerage provision in Sydney and for some arguments about the causes of the backlog see C. Adrian, 'Response to Post-War Suburbanisation: Sewerage Services in Sydney', unpublished seminar paper, Urban Research Unit, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University, 1983.

8. For an account of the land commission program which highlights the opposition experienced in negotiating the program with state governments see P.N. Troy, *A fair price: The Land Commission Program 1972-1977*, Sydney, Hale and Iremonger, 1978.

9. For a defence of the activities of the SAHT in these terms see H. Stretton, *Ideas for Australian Cities*, Adelaide, the author, March 1970; Melbourne, Georgian House, June 1970, pp.154-167. The British New Town Corporations have been similarly successful by taking an active role in all aspects of urban development.

10. For a general account of the emergence of this paradigm in Australia in the late 1970s see P.F. Ryan (ed), *Urban Management Processes: proceedings of the Seminar held in Adelaide 22-25 August 1977*, Canberra, AGPS, 1978.

11. John Mant's role in developing these ideas was central. Mant's papers from the period 1976 to 1980, written when he was head of the Department of Housing, Urban and Regional Affairs have been assembled in an unpublished collection 'Government and Planning in South Australia'. For accessible summaries of Mant's views about urban planning see his contribution to Ryan, *ibid* and J. Mant, 'Good versus bad - plans and pragmatism', *Royal Australian Planning Institute Journal*, 18, 2 (1980), pp.44-47.

12. For a defence in these terms focussing on the recent Sydney experience see D. Wilmoth, 'Metropolitan Planning in Sydney', in S. Hamnett and R. Bunker (eds), *Urban Australia: Planning Issues and Policies*, London and Melbourne, Mansell and Nelson, Wadsworth, 1987.

13. Whitlam, 1985, *op cit*, pp.373; 405.

14. P. Keating, 'Traditions of Labor in Power: Whitlam and Hawke in the Continuum', in *Traditions for Reform in New South Wales: Labor History Essays*, Sydney, Pluto Press in association with New South Wales Branch of the Australian Labor Party, 1987.

15. House of Representatives Standing Committee on Transport Communications and Infrastructure, *Constructing and Restructuring Australia's Public Infrastructure*, Canberra, AGPS, 1987.

Reports

Joint PHG/AESOP Planning History Panel at Dortmund Congress

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While the Third Planning History Group International Conference was taking place in Tokyo in November 1988, a smaller, less formal gathering of planning historians assembled in Dortmund. The occasion was the Second Congress of the Association of European Schools of Planning (AESOP) held in association with the twentieth anniversary of Dortmund University's Department of Spatial Planning. As part of the Congress programme the Planning History Group joined with AESOP to organise a Panel session on planning history. The meeting also served as an opportunity to introduce the PHG to a number of new members.

The Panel, which was convened by Professor Luigi Mazza (Politecnico di Torino), held its meeting on the morning of Friday 11 November in very much of a round-table format, with two papers being presented. The first paper, by David Massey (Liverpool University), explored the development of a 'first' generation of regional planning in England in the period from 1909 to 1939, setting this in a more general context of the emergence of regional planning efforts at the same time in the United States and Germany and touching in particular on the place of the 'metropolitan' level plans in England for Greater London, Manchester and District and the West Midlands in the 1920s and 1930s.

In the course of the discussion Luigi Mazza expressed some reservation about the concept of a 'generation' of regional plans with all that implied for a sense of continuity which was more apparent than real. Cliff Hague (Heriot-Watt University) drew attention to the lack of regional planning efforts in the rural parts of England and Wales and to the different circumstances in Scotland until the mid-1940s series of postwar reconstruction regional plans for the Clyde Valley, East Central Scotland, the Borders (a pioneering rural resource regional plan) and the Tay Valley.

Planning for postwar reconstruction in Germany with special reference to the Ruhr area and to Dortmund was considered by Dr Ursula von Petz (Dortmund University) in the second paper presented to the panel. Dr von Petz pointed out how the general context for postwar reconstruction in Germany was set in large measure by the different policies and decisions of the administering Allied powers. General preparatory planning studies and policies (including town planning standards) had been initiated in the early 1940s by the Nazi government under the supervision of Albert Speer.

The Ruhr region with its concentration of coal, steel and armaments industries was physically devastated at the end of the war. Any efforts to anticipate economic restructuring were resisted by the Ruhr Siedlungsverband, but some of the wartime proposals for physical change were implemented once the immediate housing shortage had begun to be tackled with Marshall Plan/European Recovery Programme funds. In Dortmund an even longer continuity of planning personnel and policies was experienced, when the chief town planner from 1925-37 (Wilhelm Delfs) held office again from 1945-52 and promoted essentially prewar policies of rebuilding of the historic core of the city as a central business district (i.e. rather than as an area of mixed residential and commercial uses).

The discussion on this paper concentrated on the immediate circumstances of reconstruction in Dortmund and on the efforts of members of the Panel to relate these efforts to their knowledge of those of other cities elsewhere in Europe. It was concluded that the whole subject of postwar reconstruction both in its preparation and execution deserved wider and more systematic study.

It is hoped that the Planning History Group and AESOP will organise a further joint Panel meeting at the Third AESOP Congress in Tours to be held from 17-18 November 1989. Details of the Congress are available from: Congress Organiser, Third AESOP Congress, CESA, University of Tours, 37200 Tours, France.

Sources

John Johnson Collection of Printed Ephemera, Bodleian Library, Oxford

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Various publications on late nineteenth and early twentieth-century planning history contain a tantalising acknowledgement to the John Johnson Collection of Printed Ephemera - tantalising because these references are invariably to the kind of research 'nugget' that cannot be found in more conventional collections. So who was John Johnson, and how might a trip to the Bodleian Library assist researchers?

Born in 1882, the son of a country parson, John de Monins Johnson spent his student days at Oxford, prior to a spell as an administrator in the Egyptian Civil Service, followed by an early career as a papyrologist. Retrospectively, he looked back on this latter endeavour as the source of inspiration for a lifetime of collecting ephemeral printing, likening the care taken to sort through the 'rubbish' of yesterday's civilisations in search of documentary fragments with the similar care that might be taken to discover hidden facets of the English past.

When, at the time of the First World War, Johnson joined Oxford University Press, he took the opportunity to pursue what became a lifelong preoccupation. "I set to work, timidly at first, but soon with more confidence, on what appeared to be the miscellany of the world, to show what was really the order and development of it. Trivial things like the development of advertisements on our hoardings, the many-sided interests of postage stamps, the development of the journals, all the ephemera of our lives, were brought into the compass of illustration..." Elsewhere, he described the purpose of his mission more succinctly : "the waste, the ephemera, of today are the evidential data of tomorrow..."

For a quarter of a century Johnson gathered together an enormous collection of "everything that would ordinarily go into the waste paper basket after use, everything printed which is not actually a book." Although it proved not to be a rigid line, the outbreak of the Second World War was taken as a stopping-point for fresh acquisitions, so that when Johnson retired in 1946 he spent the remaining ten years of his life sorting through existing material. In 1968 the collection was transferred to the Bodleian, where it is now available for use.

In its very nature, it is not easy to say with certainty whether a research visit would be directly productive or not, though undoubtedly a visit would be full of interest. There is a chance factor at play, and although it is conceivable that there may be nothing of immediate use the probability is that something unexpected will be found which may well be unobtainable elsewhere.

As an indication of the scale of the collection, the catalogue lists no less than 577 main headings. Of these, the following might be of particular interest to planning historians - Agriculture; Allotments and Smallholdings; Civic; Co-operation; Housing and Town Planning; and Seaside, Lakes and Spas. The Housing and Town Planning heading is an obvious one to pursue, and this itself consists of eleven box files, with the following entries:

BOX 1: THE HOUSING PROBLEM
- Slums, etc
- Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor
- Eighty Club
- Financial Reform Association
- Howard Association
- London Reform Union
- Mansion House
- Metropolitan Association for Improving the Dwellings of the Industrious Classes
- National Housing Reform Council
- St Pancras House Improvement Society Ltd

BOX 2: THE HOUSING PROBLEM
- Society for Bettering the Condition and Increasing the Comforts of the Poor
- Tenants' Better Housing and Protection League
- Workmen's National Housing Council
- George Peabody and other philanthropists
- Misc. societies etc.
- Outer London

- Birmingham
- Burton-on-Trent
- Cardiff
- Derby
- Edinburgh
- Glasgow
- Gloucestershire

BOX 3: THE HOUSING PROBLEM
- Hertfordshire
- Lancashire
- Leeds
- Liverpool
- Northampton
- Special Housing Problems of the Countryside
- Designs for Rural Housing
- Misc.

BOX 4: GARDEN CITIES
- Information Sheets, Prospectuses, Estate Plans, etc.
- Tracts, speeches, papers, journals, etc.
- Publicity
- Correspondence
- Extracts from newspapers and journals

BOX 5: THE POLITICAL VIEW
- Fabianism
- Labour party and socialism
- Liberal
- Acts of Parliament, etc.

BOX 6:UTOPIAN AND COMMUNIST SETTLEMENTS AND EXPERIMENTS ETC
- British Freedom Association
- Bruderhof
- Co-operative brotherhood
- Cosme
- Doukhobortsi
- Free Communist and Co-operative Colony
- Long Eaton Co-operative
- Ruskin Commonwealth
- Miscellaneous Utopian Settlements
- Miscellaneous papers on the idea of Utopian Settlement

BOX 7:PLANNING
- General
- Films, Exhibitions, etc.
- Industrial planning
- Planning, post-war, Ministry of Reconstruction
- Planning, post-war, Design for Britain series

BOX 8:PLANNING
- Oxford
- Building Centre, Housing Centre
- Building plans
- Building specifications
- Housing and building societies
- Auctions
- Rents
- Taxations and rates
- First numbers
- Book prospectuses and book jackets

BOX 9: OPEN SPACES, AMENITIES ETC
- Gardens, parks and recreation grounds
- Footpaths and commons
- SCAPA
- Anti-smoke
- Anti-noise
- Misc.

BOX 10: PRESERVATION
- General Oxford

BOX 11: MISC. PAMPHLETS AND BOOKS

For further details of the collection and arrangements to inspect it, the librarian to contact is Ms Julie Ann Wilson, Bodleian Library, Oxford (tel. 0865-277047).

In gathering this information, I am grateful to Julie Ann Wilson, and quotes in the above are extracted from - Michael Turner (1971) *The John Johnson Collection : Catalogue of an Exhibition*, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Planning History Practice

Planning History: How Relevant is it to Planning Policy and Practice?

Alan Hutchings
South Australian State Planning Appeal Tribunal

In 1977, I advised the Bulletin (*PHB* Vol.9, No.1) about initiatives in South Australia by the then Minister for Environment and Planning to introduce planning policies that recognized the significance of particular localities in terms of the State's planning history.

Some progress has been made since then. The latest version of the plan for Adelaide's C.B.D. aims for built-form strictly aligned to the grid, squares, and parkland frontages so that Colonel Light's famous 1836 Plan is fully expressed in the third dimension. A major study, steered by a resident's group (somewhat in the manner of that for Hampstead Garden Suburb in the 1970s) is now underway for Colonel Light Gardens. This Garden Suburb, increasingly recognized internationally as perhaps one of the gems of the garden suburb era, has survived almost intact in its plan-form, landscape, the location and quality of its community and recreation facilities and the maintenance of its 1920s Californian bungalows. A supplementary development plan for the Suburb with a strong conservation flavour will result from this study.

In policy terms, the key initiative by the Minister is his issuing of a "planning practice circular" on the subject of *Historic (Conservation) Zones*. While the purpose of such zones will be the conservation and enhancement of buildings and townscapes in the generally accepted sense, they will also relate, in some instances, to the plan-form and how new development can express its qualities and take up the urban design and functional qualities inherent in it.

It is often not fully realized in Britain and Europe that the history of planning in "new world" countries such as South Australia, is very much the history of how the land division was laid out. Often not just easy survey plats or capricious doodling, they were derived from strongly held planning philosophies and, as such, have as strong a meaning as the "conventional" or European examples where built form was the starting point.

This increasingly strong link between the results of the study of planning history and policy in South Australia makes me wonder where Planning History in its general sense and the Group in particular are headed? The membership is predominantly based in academia and many of the articles and much of the scholarship is theoretical and internalized. While fascinating, it is a concern that a field of study that I at least consider crucial to ongoing policy formation and planning practice, might not be so seen by others in these areas.

It may be the peculiar circumstances of South Australia where senior academics chair planning commissions, planning ministers hold history doctorates, senior policy advisers sit on faculty boards, etc., that planning history and practice are closely interwoven. Not just the evaluation of the product but also the understanding of how planning administration and law have evolved are seen as most desirable, even necessary, backgrounds for the day to day management of the State's development.

It seems to me that if the tremendous growth and interest in planning history since 1975 is to be sustained or even maintained at the present level, the Group must make a conscious effort to involve the wider professional and administrative community. After all, we would not want the irony of a future historian studying the rise and fall of "planning history"!

Biographical note
Alan Hutchings, until recently, was Executive Planner of the South Australian Planning Commission. He is now a Commissioner of the State Planning Appeal Tribunal. He continues to convene the Australian Planning History Group.

Networks

UNESCO Study Prospectus: Cultural Identity in International Urban Programs

Robert Freestone
Associate Editor

Context
The United Nations has declared the period 1988 to 1997 to be the World Decade for Cultural Development. The first objective is to acknowledge the cultural dimension of development. This UNESCO-endorsed study falls within the ambit of that objective, namely to affirm and enrich cultural identities, to broaden participation in culture and to promote international cultural cooperation. It has the additional major social objective of upgrading the quality of the living environment of under-privileged groups within cities.

Topic
It is proposed to investigate the relationship between the cultural traditions (past), identity (present) and aspirations (future) of individual communities and the development of their urban environments. The purpose is to improve the methodology adopted by various nations in formulating, designing and implementing their urban conservation and development programs in the face of rapid technological change towards such concepts as the information city. The methodology will encompass cultural and environmental guidelines to facilitate progressive change without cultural or environmental distortion. The project will function as a first international overview of the issues linking the concept of cultural identity with that of urban development. It will seek to interpret and to assess different levels of cultural expression in the urban environment of three disparate countries. It is hoped that the understanding of each will be deepened by exposure to the experience of the others.

Outline
The project is being jointly undertaken by the Universities of Delhi, Sydney and Buenos Aires and will terminate with the production of a major report later this year. Each of the three countries selected - India, Argentina and Australia - whilst disparate in culture and population size, has in common a concern, as a democratic economy, for viable independence and for the visibility of its independent identity within the present highly competitive and hence somewhat hostile world economy. The study will briefly compare the recent socio-economic history of the three countries and will then consider the cultural identities which they have created or are contemplating through both conscious and unconscious policies for the urban environment.

This examination is being carried out at three levels:

A. World Heritage Site
As places imbued with respect for traditional values and nominated to UNESCO for their cultural significance.

B. Symbolic Project
Government-sponsored and designed to present a strong national image to the outside world and a focus for citizens.

C. Urban Rehabilitation Area
Whose historic fabric has evolved in response to social and economic forces in the past and is now threatened by ongoing change.

The intention is to consider, within the changing technological and economic world order which we now face, the issues of cultural development in the urban environment through the eyes of urban policy-makers, urban designers and national analysts in each selected country.

An international workshop was held at the Australian National University in April 1989. Speakers included Isabel McBryde (ANU), Moonis Raza (India), Odilia Suarez (Argentina), Sue Holliday (NSW Department of Planning), and Wolf Tochtermann (UNESCO).

Further enquiries to Professor Serge Domicelj; Faculty of Architecture, University of Sydney, NSW, 2006, Australia.

Publications

Abstracts

Ian Burnley and James Forrest (eds), *Living in cities. Urbanism and society in Metropolitan Australia*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1989, 273pp, £9.95, ISBN 0 86 861494 7.

The essays are grouped around five broad themes, namely an historical introduction, an exploration of the issue of equity and social area differentiation, deployment of alternative perspectives on urban form and development, migrant groups, and finally a critical scrutiny of the options presented by urban planning. Together, they provide a national perspective on a country in which more than 70 per cent of the population lives in cities of over 100,000 population.

Clara Cardia, *Ils ont construit New York. Histoire de la métropole au XIXe siècle*, Geneva: Georg Éditeur SA, 1987, 239pp, ISBN 2 8257 01149 1.

This richly illustrated volume explores the development of New York City in the nineteenth century from a city of 25,000 to a metropolis of over five million inhabitants. Special attention is placed on the city's spatial development with particular emphasis on the location and distribution of the city's various social and ethnic groups. Indeed, the author argues that immigration was the most important factor influencing the shape of the city.

Paul C. Cheshire and Dennis G. Hay, *Urban problems in Western Europe. An economic analysis*, London, Unwin Hyman, 1989, 271pp, ISBN 0 04 445010 9.

By the mid-1970s, there was a growing sense that cities were in trouble, and that their functions were changing. European countries began to develop their own national urban policies to tackle the increasing problems. Experience has indicated that urban and economic change are inextricably interdependent. By identifying the relevant current economic developments, valuable insights can be obtained into current and future urban trends.

Dan Coward, *Out of Sight: Sydney's Environmental History 1851-1981*, Canberra: Australian National University, Department of Economic History, 1988, 328pp, $24.95A paper, ISBN 0 7315 0401 1.

'This is a story of human behaviour, either in the mass as waste-makers or polluters, or as individuals initiating, modifying, or resisting changes in environmental policy ... Waste creates problems of public health. So the main theme of this book is an exploration of the origins and development of public health policy in Sydney during the nineteenth century, and its evolution into an explicit environmental policy during the 1960s and 1970s' [from the author's preface]. Opening with a review of the 'British origins' of local sanitary reform, this is a valuable study and especially timely in view of the current environmental and political crisis surrounding the dumping of metropolitan waste off Sydney's beaches. There are many useful statistical tables and maps. And who could resist such arresting chapter headings as 'Excreta in the Suburbs 1875-1916'? Enquiries to Department of Economic History, ANU, PO Box 4, Canberra, ACT, 2601, Australia.

J. Barry Cullingworth, *Urban and Regional Planning in Canada*, Transaction Books, New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1987, 553pp.

It has been said that Americans are benevolently ignorant about Canada, while Canadians are malevolently well informed about the United States. It takes a Briton, in the form of Barry Cullingworth, to be insightful about both, or indeed any country in which he resides for very long.

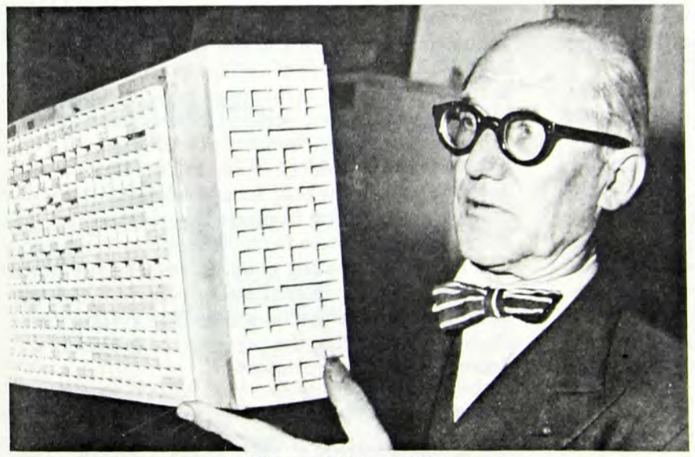
Generations of British students have been grateful for his massive scholarship in the Official Histories, his reviews of housing and urban policy, and his regular magisterial overview, currently the 10th edition of *Town and Country Planning in Britain*. An appointment at Toronto some years ago brought him to confront the Canadian planning scene; in typical style he chose to write about it, comprehensively. The result is a text which seeks to answer the question 'what is urban and regional planning in Canada, and how does it work'? Seventy five years ago Thomas Adams gave Canada its first faltering steps along the planning road; Cullingworth describes the system which has evolved (largely post 1945), drawing the distinctions between American and Canadian practices and philosophies.

Marten A. Hajer, *City Politics Hegemonic Projects and Discourse*, Avebury, Aldershot, 1989, 140pp, £22.50, ISBN 0 566 05754 9.

Analyses the urban political process and the concepts of development under three headings, namely, ideology (the communication of meaning), institutionalisation (the patterns of domination) and strategic action (the interests and passions of planning). A case study of this three-dimensional approach is made of the urban political process in Oxford, England, between 1960 and 1985.

Peter Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow. An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design in the Twentieth Century*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1988, 473pp, £25.00, ISBN 0 631 13444 1.

A tale of extravagent visions, of grand ambitions and, frequently appalling failure, this is a history of the ideas, events and personalities that shaped the cities of the world during the 20th century. Planners have become the handmaidens of business, architects the designers of spectacles; both have retreated from any active interest in real, social achievement.



Le Corbusier and Unité (*from Cities of Tomorrow*)

Peter Hall, *London 2001*, London, Unwin Hyman, 1989, 226pp, £17.95, ISBN 0 04 445161 X.

Twenty-five years ago, Peter Hall published *London 2000*. The present volume examines what went wrong with the dream of the 1960s. The need for a strategic plan is perhaps even greater. The author systematically surveys the major planning problems of the most prosperous region of Britain, and in particular the problems of congestion and overheating in some parts, coupled with economic collapse and deprivation in others. He concludes with a vision of what the region, with proper strategic guidance, could become in the early part of the next century.

Michael Howard, *Advocacy and Resistance: The Question of a Post-War Commonwealth Government Role in Community Facilities, Town Planning and Regional Planning, 1939-42*, Australian National University, Urban Research Unit Working Paper, No.9, December 1988, 45pp, ISBN 0 7315 0499 2.

This little monograph is concerned with attempts to establish a major Commonwealth role in urban and regional planning in Australia in the 1940s. It documents and attempts to account for the significant gap between the radical proposals put forward by the Commonwealth Housing Commission and 'the more circumscribed follow-up efforts' by the Department of Post-War Reconstruction. The author in his abstract suggests that his work 'presents a microcosm of many of the same issues and conflicts' that surrounded the Department of Urban and Regional Development (DURD) experiment in the early 1970s. Enquiries to Urban Research Unit, RSSS, Australian National University, PO Box 4, Canberra, ACT, 2601, Australia.

B.S. Hoyle, D.A. Pinder and M.S. Husain (eds), *Revitalising the Waterfront. International dimensions of dockland development*, Belhaven Press, London, 1988,. 265pp, $27.50, ISBN 1 85293 048 9.

Provides a worldwide analysis of dockland revitalisation, examining the processes of change, how planners and urban managers have responded to the challenge presented, and what the impact of changes in docklands has been on inner-city problems. Under the headings of framework of analysis, policy and practice and strategic planning issues, contributions are drawn from Europe, North America and Asia.

R. Hudson, *Wrecking a Region. State policies, party politics, and regional change in North East England*, London, Pion (Studies in Society and Space series), 1989, 433pp, £49.50, $95.00, ISBN 0 85086 125 X.

Having reviewed the fortunes of the region in boom and slump, the author looks in turn at the formulation, character and significance of central and local government policies, and those of the National Coal Board and British Steel Corporation, during the period since the second world war, concluding with a discussion of the need for greater understanding of regional change and the limits to solving regional problems.

Nathaniel Lichfield, *Economics of Urban Conservation*, University Press, Cambridge, 1989, 361pp, £35.00, ($54.50), ISBN 0 521 32851 9.

As a prerequisite to establishing an appropriate base for the application of financial, social cost benefit and community impact analyses, background information is provided on management and planning for conservation in the urban system in general and the special place accorded to the cultural built heritage, namely those buildings and objects chosen by society for particular protection.

National Capital Planning Authority, *Canberra: A People's Capital*? Australian Institute of Urban Studies (ACT Division), 1989, $20A paper, 130pp.

A collection of 22 essays exploring aspects of the development of Australia's national capital from the early twentieth century to the present. To some extent an epitaphic collection - in view of the recent abolition of the National Capital Development Commission (the city's planning, development and construction agency since 1957), the establishment of a new National Capital Planning Authority, and the introduction of self government to the Australian Capital Territory in March 1989. Enquiries to Publications & Video Sales, NCPA, PO Box 373, Canberra, ACT, 2601, Australia.

Richard Raxworthy, *The Unreasonable Man: The life and works of J.J.C. Bradfield*, Sydney: Hale and Iremonger (Public Works Department History Project), 1989, 153pp, $25A, ISBN 0 86806 344 4.

A descriptive-factual biography of John Jacon Crew Bradfield (1867-1943), a distinguished engineer prominent in the early town planning movement in New South Wales. Bradfield is best associated with the building of the Sydney Harbour Bridge (opened 1932) and improvements and extensions to Sydney's central city rail system. These two projects naturally dominate the book, but it also records his other many activities including involvement in the NSW Town Planning Association, the Sydney Regional Plan Convention in the 1920s, and his visionary schemes for inland development in the 1940s.

Urbanismo Revista, *El Proyecto Urbano*, No.5, 49pp (in Spanish with English translations).

An issue of this admirably illustrated journal devoted primarily to grand-scale urban planning and reconstruction, and featuring work by such architects as Joan Busquets, Roberto Collova and Uberto Siola. Of particular interest to an international audience is a lengthy feature on the contribution made by Sir Leslie Martin. Besides an interview in which Martin reflects on the origins and development of the modern English town, there are analyses of his writings and his work on projects for Whitehall and Glasgow.

John R. Short, *The humane city. Cities as if people matter*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1989, 167pp, £25.00, ISBN 0 631 15823 5 paperback £7.95 ISBN 0 631 15824 3.

Charts the growth of cities that accompanied the industrial revolution and rise of capitalism, and highlights the power of capital in shaping cities according to profit rather than people. Urban buildings and public services represented disproportionately the preferences of architects, planners and administrators. In Part II, the author outlines the way forward for greater citizen participation in planning and running cities, joining writers from Aristotle to Tawney and Arendt in treating people as essentially political beings, whose individual fulfilment lies in the pursuit of broader social goals. The volume concludes by extending the principle of grassroots democracy to the workplace.

Acknowledgements to John Sheail, Gordon Cherry, Rob Freestone and John Gold for providing these abstracts.

Catalogues

The Factory in a Garden

Headings include Urbanism and Planning before 1940; Wartime Planning and Reconstruction in the 1940s; Garden Cities, Utopian Settlements, New Towns, etc.; and Mass Housing, Slums, etc. 411 titles. Inch's Books, Catalogue 45 - available from 3, St. Paul's Square, York YO2 4BD, England.

Catalogue 46

Headings include Architecture, Landscape, Interior Design, Design History and Shopping. 441 titles. Available from Inch's Books, 3, St Paul's Square, York, YO2 4BD, England.

World Microfilms

Masters of Architecture : slide collections on the work of great architects, including a recent set on Le Corbusier.

Royal Institute of British Architects : The Drawings Collection. Microfilms of the Drawings Collection prepared in conjunction with the RIBA.

Both sets of catalogues are available from World Microfilms, Microworld House, 2-6, Foscote Mews, London W9 2HH, England.

Bibliography

Lawrence Trevelyan Weaver (with a contribution by Patrick Nuttgens)

Lawrence Weaver, 1876-1930 : An annotated bibliography.

York : Inch's Books, 1989, 84pp, illustrations, £16.50 ($30), ISBN 0 9514277 0 9.

Lawrence Weaver was one of the foremost writers on British architecture and allied arts of his time. As Architectural Editor of *Country Life* before the Great War he popularised the works of Lutyens, Jekyll and Lorimer and wrote extensively about the new English country houses, whose design and landscaping were then passing through their last Golden Age.

Weaver was an admirably clear writer and his industry was remarkable. As well as his country house book and monographs, he wrote major studies on modern cottage design, memorials, exhibition layout, architectural details and other related topics.

This first bibliography of Weaver provides full details of his many books, in their various editions, and catalogues all his known articles - for *Country Life, Architectural Review* and other journals. The list runs into many hundreds. The author's unravelling of Weaver's many *Country Life* contributions is especially useful: this journal is an outstanding source for the architecture of the period, but one from which information can be difficult to access.

This publication has been compiled by Weaver's, grandson, who has also included a short life of him. In addition, Dr Patrick Nuttgens contributes an essay, ' Lawrence Weaver: Architectural Writer'.

The bibliography will prove invaluable to all those interested in early twentieth century design subjects. Weaver witnessed and documented a whole era of British domestic architecture and its social background.

Exhibitions and the Arts of Display, 1925. Cover design by E McKnight Kauffer. (*from Lawrence Weaver 1876-1930*)

Planning History Group

Treasurer's Report for 1987

1. In comparison with 1986 the Group's Subscription income was marginally down in 1987. This reflects a reduced number of Overseas subscriptions. Receipts from the circulation of publishers' leaflets and bank interest were both higher, although less was received from the sale of back issues of the *Bulletin*. The increase in bank interest resulted from both the higher balances held during the year and the transfer of our funds into a higher interest bearing deposit account during the year. An account was opened with the Cheltenham and Gloucester Building Society during the year.

2. On the expenditure side the year was exceptional in that delays in printing and invoicing for Vol.IX of the *Bulletin* have meant that only minimum costs have actually been incurred in 1987. There is thus a rather large excess of receipts over payments to be carried forward to 1988.

3. There were no movements on the Seminar Accounts during the year other than the addition of interest to the Seminar Fund, the bulk of which is now held in the higher interest deposit account mentioned above.

4. The Group begins 1988 with a slightly lower General Fund balance (£3166-86 over against £3223-26) than for the start of 1987. This is because considerable expenditure for Vol.IX of the *Bulletin* is anticipated for 1988, and £2125-00 has been set aside as a Bulletin Reserve Fund. If the Fund is exhausted by these payments 1987 will have been an expensive one for the Group.

5. Looking ahead it is hoped that 1988 income will be maintained at about the same level as previous years and that the production costs of Vol.X of the *Bulletin* will be held at a generally lower level.

6. I am very grateful to Mr E. Elms for agreeing to act as the Group's Honorary Auditor and for having checked these accounts for 1987.

David Massey
University of Liverpool

Planning History Group Accounts for 1987

Balance Sheet as at 31 December 1987

Bulletin Reserve Fund	2,125.00
General Fund	3,161.86
Seminar Fund	255.00
	£5,541.86

Represented by

General Fund Giro Account	15.84
General Fund Current Account	48.52
General Fund Building Soc. Acct.	50.00
Seminar Fund Current Account	3.54
Joint Fund Deposit Account	5,423.96
	£5,541.86

Receipts and Payments for the Year Ended 31 December 1987

Receipts		Payments	
Subscriptions 1987		Bulletin Production	150.00
UK	1,028.00	Membership Mailing	50.57
Overseas	1,013.13	Administration	182.88
Less refunds	(43.97)		
Subscriptions (other years)	42.91		
Leaflet Distribution	173.99		
Back Issue sales (Net)	5.00	Excess of Receipts	
Interest on Deposits	238.46	over Payments	2,074.07
	£2,457.52		£2,457.52

AUDIT REPORT

Audited and found correct E.G. Elms: 27 March 1989

Planning History Group

The Planning History Group, inaugurated in 1974, is an international body. Its members, drawn from many disciplines, have a working interest in history, planning and the environment.

Chairman

Professor G.E. Cherry
Department of Geography
University of Birmingham
PO Box 363
Birmingham
B15 2TT

021-414 5537

Membership

Membership of the group is open to all who have an interest in planning history. The annual subscription is £10 (currency equivalents available on request).

Membership Secretary:
Dr Pat Garside
Planning History Group
Department of Civil Engineering
Salford University
The Crescent
Salford
M5 4WT

061-736 5843

Professor Gordon Cherry is Joint Editor with Professor Anthony Sutcliffe of an international journal concerned with history, planning and the environment: **Planning Perspectives.** There is a link between **Planning History** and **Planning Perspectives** and members of the Planning History Group are able to subscribe to the latter journal at very favourable discount rates.