PLANNING HISTORY

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BULLETIN OF THE INTERNATIONAL PLANNING HISTORY SOCIETY

CONTENTS

EDITORIAL

PETER J. LARKHAM, UNIVERSITY OF CENTRAL ENGLAND

Once again I am pleased that this issue of *Planning History* manages to give a significant international coverage in its main papers, ranging from UK slum clearance through post-war replanning in Malta to the development of an interesting part of Istanbul. I am grateful to members of the Editorial Board, and various conference organisers, for drawing papers to my attention and for encouraging colleagues to submit contributions. Future papers in the pipeline should continue this international coverage: but, as always, further submissions are most welcome.

The two papers in the last issue dealing with the nature of planning history have resulted in some positive comments. I do hope that they would generate some publishable responses; for, in this 25th anniversary of the academic study of planning history, we should surely be exploring what we do, how we do it - and even, perhaps, why we do it. Most certainly, we should consider what is excluded by the traditional historical approaches that have been taken: what people, what points of view, or what histories?

Prize for planning history paper

The Association of European Schools of Planning (AESOP) has awarded its Prize for the best paper in a journal or collection of papers published in Europe, by an author researching planning in Europe, to Professor John Gold (Oxford Brookes University), for his paper "Creating the Charter of Athens: CIAM and the functional city, 1933-43", published in *Town Planning Review*.

New Fax Number

Please note the new editorial fax number: +(0)121 331 5114.

Peer reviewing

I must record my gratitude to the following for their willingness to review manuscripts submitted to *Planning History* throughout the past year:

David Chapman
Halina Dunin-Woyseth
Gerhard Fehl
Piper Gaubatz
Robert Home
Pieter Uyttenhove
Stephen Ward
Jeremy Whitehand

Tony Sutcliffe has also offered helpful suggestions and recommendations. The constructive suggestions of these reviewers have been extremely helpful to me as editor, and their detailed comments for authors have resulted in significant improvements to papers. I am convinced that this is gradually improving the quality of papers carried in *Planning History* and that we should continue to develop in this direction.

NOTICES

IPHS Conference, Helsinki, 2000

The call for papers for the conference was issued to IPHS members in October 1999. Further details can be found on the conference website <www.hut.fi/Yksikot/YTK/koulutus/iphs.html> or by contacting

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International Conference on University planning

Proposals for papers for this conference, to be held at Easter 2001, are now invited.

The conference will be designedly inter-disciplinary and international. It covers the themes of the planning, design and use of higher education sites, historical and current. This will be a joint event of the IPHS and ISUF, the International Seminar on Urban Form. It will be convened by Peter J. Larkham (University of Central England, Birmingham, UK) and Professor John Muller (University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa).

Anyone interested should contact Peter Larkham (address inside front cover).

Finnish Society of Urban Studies

A group of scholars representing different fields of urban studies gathered in Helsinki on September 16 1999 to found the Finnish Society for Urban Studies. The purpose of this new scholarly society is to encourage inter-disciplinary urban studies and encourage its international contacts. At the moment there is a very active interest in urban studies in Finland. New Chairs have been founded at the University of Helsinki and students have created active networks.

The original idea of this Finnish counterpart or collaborator of the IPHS was suggested by Gordon Cherry himself some ten years ago when he visited Finland. The historian Laura Kolbe, who has been the most active IPHS member in Finland, then accepted the idea with enthusiasm. The founding meeting was also arranged to honour the visit of the IPHS President, Professor Stephen V. Ward, to Finland.

Professor Terttu Pakarinen (Tampere University of Technology) was unanimously elected the first president of the Finnish Society for Urban Studies. Her field is architecture and she is currently a visiting professor at the Chalmers Technical University in Gothenburg. Architecture, history, geography, landscape architecture, aesthetics, sociology, and art history were all represented on the first Board of Trustees. MA Henrik Wager was elected secretary.

The need to have a real society and not just an occasional group of activists and enthusiasts became obvious during the current process of arranging the IPHS conference 2000 in Finland. In this work the staff of the Centre for Urban and Regional Studies (YTK) at the Helsinki University of Technology (HUT) have been most active, headed by its director Professor Hilkka Lehtonen and coordinated by its researcher Liisa Knuuti. The University of Helsinki is represented in the committee by Docent, Ph.D Laura Kolbe (Department of History) and Professor Riitta Nikula and Docent, Ph.D. Anja Kervanto Nevanlinna (Department of Art History).

This report was supplied by Professor Riitta Nikula <rknikula@helsinki.fi>

NOTICES

5th Australian Urban History/Planning History Conference, University of South Australia, Adelaide: 13-15 April, 2000

CONFERENCE OVERVIEW

The 5th Australian Urban History/Planning History Conference will be held at the City West Campus of the University of South Australia from 13th-15th April, 2000. The conference has attracted papers in urban history and planning history from academics, practitioners and post graduate students from a range of social science and humanities related disciplines including urban and cultural studies; sociology; history; geography; education; planning; landscape architecture; architecture and related design fields.

The call for papers (now closed) has resulted in a diverse range of proposals from potential national and international delegates – over seventy have been accepted. These abstracts promise a rich and stimulating conference programme. Most authors have elected to have their papers refereed. These will be published in the proceedings, available for collection at the conference.

KEYNOTE SPEAKERS

Jane Jacobs (University of Melbourne) and Mark Peel (Monash University) will give keynote addresses. Jane Jacobs, cultural geographer and author of *Edge of Empire*, will provide a post-colonial perspective on urban historical themes. Mark Peel, urban historian and author of *Good Times, Hard Times: The Past and the Future in Elizabeth* will draw on his work on disadvantage, social justice and activism in contemporary Australian cities.

CONFERENCE WEBSITE

There is a conference website at http://www.unisa.edu.au/uhph/

ENQUIRIES

All conference enquiries should be directed to the convenor:

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Americanisation and the British City in the Twentieth Century: IPHS Seminar, University of Luton, 6 May 2000

Mark Clapson is organising a 1-day seminar on behalf of the IPHS at the University of Luton.

The list of speakers includes Stephen Ward (the Barlow, Buchanan and Rogers Reports); Mervyn Miller (Unwin's transatlantic connections); Nick Tiratsoo (idea of the citizen and reconstruction); Andrew Homer (the neighborhood unit); Miles Glendenning (From skyscrapers to tower blocks: beaux-arts Americanism in 20th-century Glasgow) and Mark Clapson (the 'Anglo-American suburb' and the planning of post-war new towns).

The seminar will be held from 10.15-17.00 on Saturday 6 May 2000, and will cost £10 (£5 for students/unwaged).
For further details please contact Mark:
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RESIDENTS' REACTIONS TO POST-WAR SLUM CLEARANCE IN ENGLAND

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The term 'slum' had its origins in early Victorian England and slum clearance, as an official project, developed in concept and practice from the 1860s to the 1870s. In two previous books I have looked at how concepts of slum were used in the development of housing and planning policies from the Victorian period to 1945.[1] Slum clearance then entered its last and major period between 1955 and the late 1970s, although an upward trend had been reversed earlier in the decade. At first sight it may seem odd that slum clearance should continue into a period associated, at a general level, with the development of a 'welfare state' in England. Indeed, there were some attempts to move away from 'slum' and 'unfit' housing towards more 'modern' conceptions of redevelopment and urban renewal.[2] The persistence of slum clearance in this period raises questions about its form and practical consequences in relation to its previous history, and has important implications for assessing the nature of the 'welfare state' in England and the housing and town planning policies that were associated with it.

Needless to say, any attempt to answer these questions in detail involves many broad and complex issues. All that is attempted here is to look at one particular aspect of the question. In discussions of the slum clearance that occurred before the Second World War, residents' reactions can be examined in general terms, but not in any detailed way. Afterwards, however, there were several academic surveys of residents reaction to slum clearance which, although suffering from many limitations, offer one important perspective on the process. The object of the paper is to discuss these – a rather more difficult matter than might at first sight appear. The issues can best be approached by beginning with brief accounts of two main books which appeared in the 1970s, and which together pose most of the problems of assessment subsequently developed in more detail.

Norman Dennis's *People and Planning* (1970) found that in areas of Sunderland scheduled in 1965-70 for slum clearance, 53 per cent of residents were "in favour of demolition" and 47 per cent "against". In clearance schemes remaining from the 1960-1965 list those in favour were 57 per cent.[3] This might seem a small thread on which to hang a presentation which might more accurately be described as "people versus planning", but the manner in which the book connected with developing opinion was to make it a notable landmark in the public re-assessment of redevelopment and related issues at that time. The message was that there was no unequivocal majority in favour of clearance of the type that would justify a general imposition of such policies. Instead, any consensus over clearance had disappeared as 'expert' definitions of an 'unfit' house had pushed it beyond the point to which it was justified on public health grounds. In a way that

Fig. 1: Rehousing family moving out of 8 Barnado Street E1 (1955)
(London Metropolitan Archive)

foreshadowed later events, Dennis himself became a community activist confronting the local council on various housing issues.

Dennis's message was so well received that only a few years later English, Madigan and Norman in *Slum Clearance* (1976) found it necessary to warn that "while opposition to clearance has received most attention and publicity, many thousands of residents in inner city areas have gratefully accepted slum clearance as a chance for the better".[4] Their book contained results a new survey of residents' attitudes in a number of English cities in 1970-1, and a review of previous findings. Some aspects of the book relate to Dennis's messages. The 'headline' finding – that there was a bare majority in favour of clearance – was similar, as was the emphasis on the variability of support according to social group and to local housing conditions. However, there were also significant differences. English *et al.* had introduced a category of mixed feelings into their analysis – people who "had reservations", and this meant that the degree of outright opposition that they

recorded – at 21 per cent – was less than half that in Dennis's survey.[5]

For a short time in the 1970s, evidence of residents' opinions formed part of local campaigning, usually in circumstances where clearance was pitted against the new types of area improvement. In this context, some surveys were also carried out by the Community Development Projects.[6] Such material will not be discussed here, partly for reasons of space, and partly because clearance operations were by then subject to new 'rules of the game'. Instead, attention is concentrated only on the academic surveys which culminated in *Slum Clearance*. Since that time, they have been subject to little detailed discussion, but the evidence is worth reviewing again. Despite the limited number of surveys they, present difficulties of interpretation. Moreover, residents' attitudes have a crucial importance in any historical account of slum clearance and related activities. While, as a policy, clearance has to be judged from many different perspectives, unlike urban motorways or other contentious planning policies that affected

local residents it was assumed to be carried out at least in part on behalf of those residents themselves. It is this that gave Dennis's findings their particular resonance.

Like other planning policies, slum clearance was formulated as being in the 'public interest', and many factors contributed to its inception, sustenance and eventual decline. Technically, the policy owed its specificity to the categorisation of houses as 'unfit for human habitation', and to the special rules for expropriation and compensation of such property. These rules related mainly to the owners, but tenants were not consulted about the declaration of their local area and, in that sense, clearance was also imposed upon them. Any benefits to the residents lay simply in the rules and practices that developed contingently alongside the demolition of the property. There was certainly no in-built guarantee that the benefits would predominate. Although there were important exceptions, most residents affected by slum clearance were rehoused by local councils, but the form and location of rehousing varied considerably. It might consist of new houses (often in a more suburban location), flats of various kinds, council houses built in previous periods, or sometimes older houses variably rehabilitated. The process of change was itself fraught with difficulties. The lack of consultation of, and indeed of information given to, clearance area residents became an object of public concern in the 'participation' debate , and the evidence for this is well set out in the volume by English *et al.*[7] None the less, this did not necessarily mean that residents failed to benefit from the process, or perceived it as contrary to their interests. Arguably, the general political context of the post-war world pushed housing issues up the political agenda, and resulted in policies which had to provide for such benefits to occur if their wider objectives were to be achieved.

Much of the difficulty with the evidence arises from the way in which the major surveys overlap each other, so that the later work fails to relate to that carried out previously. Although the study by English *et al.* was published in 1976, it was

based on a survey carried out mainly in June and July 1970. It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that the project was set up prior to knowledge of Dennis's results. Indeed, at that time the main published survey explicitly related to clearance areas was the Wilkinson and Sigsworth study of Leeds based on a 1962 survey and published in 1963 and 1965.[8] This survey found that 82 per cent were 'in favour' of moving and 16 per cent 'against', the others being 'don't know'. The authors explicitly stated that "the question 'do you really want to move' presumed that a move from the immediate area was inevitable" as well as a change of accommodation.[9] A similar approach was taken by English *et al.* in that respondents were asked whether they were "looking forward to living in a different place", and "living in a different place" meant both a different house and a different area.[10] However, in their book the 1962 Wilkinson and Sigsworth survey is relegated to a footnote. Instead, English *et al.* chose to privilege a later Wilkinson and Sigsworth survey of Batley, Leeds and York (1965, published 1972) and the earlier survey by Vereker and Mays of the Crown Street area of Liverpool, which was not a survey of clearance areas, and in later terminology covered both 'slum' and 'twilight' property.[11]

What these two surveys have in common is that they distinguish between a desire to change house and a desire to move from the district. In the Vereker and Mays study, this produced a tripartite division in which 36 per cent desired not to move, 25 per cent to change but to move locally, and 39 per cent to move elsewhere.[12] Wilkinson and Sigsworth (1972) only measured the two aspects separately, and did not attempt a combined assessment. However, English *et al.* recalculated their results to produce a pattern comparable with that in Vereker and Mays. So in Leeds, 27 per cent desired not to move, 20 per cent to change accommodation but to move locally, and 53 per cent to move elsewhere. Movement elsewhere was less favoured in Batley (43 per cent in favour) and York (30 per cent).[13] Both the Liverpool and Yorkshire surveys were meant to analyse attitudes to moving; they were not intended to
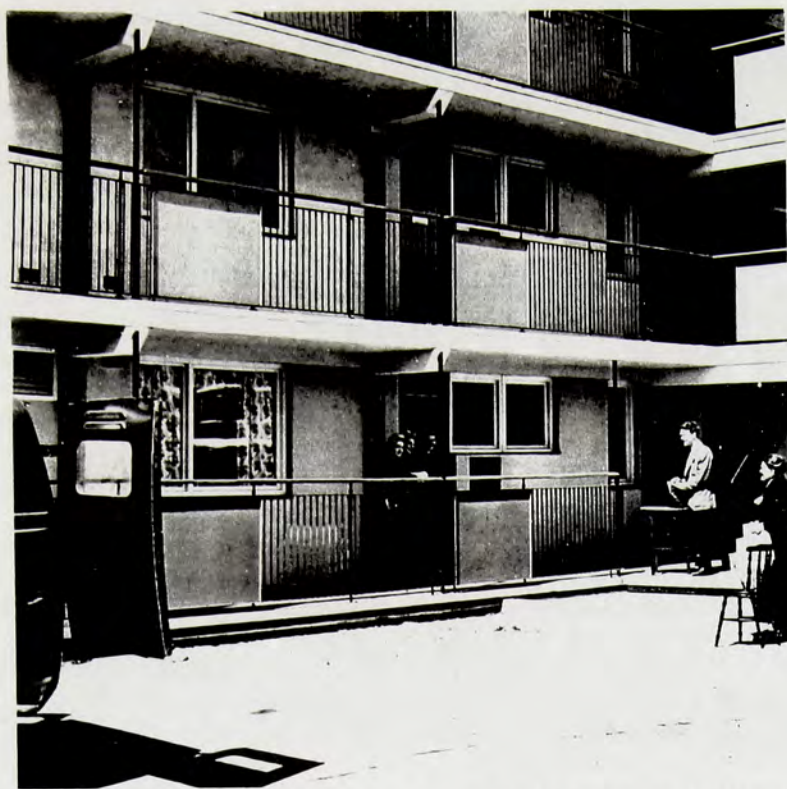
Fig. 2: Rehousing family moving into a new flat on the St Dunstan's Estate E1 (1955)
(London Metropolitan Archive)

measure any overall response to clearance schemes. To use them in that way clearly poses the problem of how to interpret the middle term – in Liverpool, for instance, do 61 per cent not want to move elsewhere and are therefore opposed to clearance, or do 64 per cent want to change home and are therefore in favour? Further complications arise from the problems of interpreting 'district' and 'elsewhere' and from their varied implications for rehousing. A main aim of redevelopment policies was to provide a larger stock of modern inner-area dwellings, but choices were often presented between a central flat or a more suburban house. In Oldham, where the St Mary's project of the Ministry of Housing and Local Government involved a possibility of rehousing on site, 75 per cent wanted to stay, but half of these said that they did not want to do so if offered a flat rather than a house.[14]

In the English et al. study, the middle term is derived in quite another way. As noted above, their question on 'anticipation of moving' was held to reflect both change of house and change of district. It showed 70 per cent "looking forward to living in a different place". The reason why this was not accepted as an overall assessment of the clearance project was quite a new one, that "at so late a stage in the clearance process it is hardly surprising if most people had been anxious for the whole business to be finished".[15] The results of "anticipation of moving" were therefore taken together with data from other questions, particularly one labelled "satisfaction with the present house". This showed that 42 per cent were "happy to stay anyway" and a further 14 per cent "happy to stay if improved". As some simple indication of mixed feelings about clearance this may be fair enough, but in all previous surveys respondents had been much more keen to move house than to change district. As a summary finding, English et al. found 51 per cent or "barely half of households in favour of moving", but only 21 per cent unequivocally against. There were, however, substantial variations from place to place. In the major northern cities of Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds and Newcastle, 55-63 per cent were 'for' and

10-18 per cent 'against'. In the 'pool' of smaller towns, 44 per cent were in favour and 26 per cent against.[16]

English et al. also asked a question about the residents' "opinion of the council plans". Here, far more were in favour: overall, 63 per cent agreed with the plans, 12 per cent agreed but with reservations and 20 per cent disagreed. There were similar variations between places to those reported above, but to a lesser degree. So even in the 'pool' towns, 58 per cent agreed with the plans and 24 per cent disagreed.[17] There is little commentary on these findings, but as an index of support for clearance policies they seem at least as strong as the 'attitude to moving' surveys. They may also suggest that even those who found clearance unwelcome from a personal point of view recognised some advantages to other groups. Such a tendency might also account for high percentages of support found in questions in other surveys which asked for opinions on clearance or redevelopment. In St Anns (Nottingham), Coates and Silburn found that "nearly two-thirds were glad that their area was scheduled for redevelopment".[18] In the Byker district of Newcastle, R.A. Batley found that, when asked "overall, do you approve or disapprove of the decision to demolish the Byker area", only 11 per cent definitely disapproved and 80 per cent approved. He commented that residents were "mostly confident in the fairness of the administration in the demolition situation but sceptical of the degree to which it is responsive to their own wishes".[19] Again, in the Hightown area of Cheetham Hill, Manchester, Mason found that 71 per cent of respondents thought that the clearance of houses in the period 1965-72 "a good thing".[20] Dennis's findings about those in favour of demolition in Sunderland appear very much at the lower end of these results.

The residents' surveys are, of course, quite right in maintaining that attention should not be directed solely to a 'headline' figure of overall support for clearance. The effects on different social groups, even if minorities, are an essential ingredient of any assessment of the process. Moreover, variable and mixed reactions are clearly important in showing

how one type of majority might give way to another. In this respect, strength of feeling is also relevant. At Byker, Batley found that the response of residents was "largely passive". "There seemed to be an almost fatalistic attitude to events associated with slum clearance".[21] However, there is little evidence that clearance was pushed through simply by apathy or fatalism, although strength of feeling is rarely examined. Exceptionally, Dennis's survey of the 1960-5 clearances in Sunderland enabled him to report that among the 57 per cent in favour of demolition, 42 per cent were "very much" in favour, while among the 43 per cent opposed, only 19 per cent were "very much against".[22]

In Dennis's statistics for 1965-70 clearance areas, three groups stand out among "families not in favour of demolition". Owner-occupiers appear as the group most opposed (64 per cent), followed by "old single-person and two-person families" (54 per cent) and residents in single-family cottages (49 per cent).[23] If the latter is taken to represent a class of people identified by more favourable housing condition, then these three groups emerge fairly consistently in the literature, although usually with little data. Conversely, those living in flats (85 per cent), large and small young families (83 and 74 per cent), and tenants of private landlords (71 per cent) were the groups most in favour of demolition. English et al. made a more thorough investigation of these aspects and, if strong views are associated with decisive views, then the groups mentioned above can be put into the following array (Table 1). As this excludes 'mixed' reactions, it does not include the whole population, and it follows of course that all those not in favour are against.

The Table shows that there is much greater support among younger families (89 per cent) than older ones (58 per cent); among tenants (79 per cent) rather than owners (49 per cent), and among those living in 'good' property (77 per cent) rather than 'poor' (52 per cent). The latter condition, it has to be said, is measured only by the presence or absence of an internal w.c. in sole use, for which only 17 per cent of the dwellings in the survey

Table 1: Slum Clearance 1970: Percentages in favour of moving among those expressing a definite opinion.

Tenure		Young families			Old and middle age			All families		
	Amenity	Poor	Good	Total	Poor	Good	Total	Poor	Good	Total
Owner		83	50	79	34	8	27	56	17	49
Tenant		95	82	92	75	55	72	84	69	79
Total		92	77	89	64	35	58	77	52	71

Source: calculated from English, Madigan and Norman *Slum Clearance* (1976), Table 37, p. 167. Young families are those whose head is below the age of 45.

qualified as good. The main factors, of course, cross-cut each other so that the extremes of support and opposition to clearance are found among young tenant families in 'poor' housing (95 per cent in favour) and old or middle-aged occupiers in 'good' property (8 per cent in favour).

In analysing these degrees of support or opposition to clearance, the survey results are strongest on relationships with age, family composition and 'life cycle stage'. The evidence is consistent, and linked to strong rationales concerning these groups and their willingness to change accommodation and district. By contrast, house condition is usually measured by a single variable that cannot capture all the complexities of the subject. Although the importance of tenure has been underlined in general works dealing with slum clearance, it plays a surprisingly small part in most attitude surveys. In some cases, as in Wilkinson and Sigsworth (1962 survey) and at Byker, this is simply because owner-occupiers were a very small group. But the Wilkinson and Sigsworth report of the 1965 survey did not cross-correlate willingness to move with tenure attributes despite much increased levels of owner-occupation in the samples, rising to 43 per cent in York. Many surveys have also been understandably focused on the owner-occupier as resident. While Dennis recognised that such owners were disadvantaged in terms of compensation, he chose to privilege the explanation that they tended to occupy better property. In the English *et al.* survey, one of the main new findings was that young married owner-occupiers tended to favour

clearance, and markedly so in some towns such as Manchester and Liverpool. These owners saw council tenancy as a ladder of opportunity, and such reference to 'life project' was a useful aspect of their study. It remains the case, however, that two-thirds of owner-occupiers in the survey were in the 'pool' towns, and there they constituted 22 per cent of those in favour of clearance and 66 per cent of those against.[24]

In general, it is the dual role of owner-occupiers that is important in the history of slum clearance, and residents' surveys cannot fully capture this. It was usually presumed in the 1950s and 1960s that loss to the owner brought about by the special compensation rules was a necessary factor in producing gain for the occupier. The presence of owner-occupiers challenged this, but although limited concessions were made from 1956, it was only in 1969 that most received market value compensation. Equally, owner-occupiers had significance as investors, and as a group through which public money could be put into older property without the difficulties of trying to benefit the tenant and not the landlord. It was, therefore, ultimately around the growth of this group in such properties that alternative policies could be formulated. Prior to that, criticisms of slum clearance had been mainly directed at certain aspects – in particular the compensation rules and the nature and location of rehousing. Whilst there was controversy about the scope of redevelopment, few doubted that the 'worst' should be cleared. All the results discussed above were produced in this context, and local opinion is likely to have

been influenced by the limitation of the choices available, and by the favourable presentation of clearance in public debate.

The limitations of the above surveys both in number and quality need to be underlined again. It is possible that other evidence will come to light, and the author would be grateful for any references of this kind. None the less, the results of this review suggest that councils did have general support for clearance policies among the residents affected. The comments of English *et al.* here seem perfectly justified – indeed they need to be strengthened. The importance of this is most easily realised from the implications that would have followed from a contrary

position. To find that politicians and council officials carried out a policy of clearance regardless of the fact that they knew that most residents opposed it would have to be the starting point from which any general assessment of the motivation of clearance was carried out. To find that they pursued clearance unaware of that fact would be equally significant. That this is not simply a 'straw man' position is borne out by Alan Mayne's apparent willingness to try and universalise his conception of the 'imagined slum' which produces demolition as an action directed against slum residents.[25]

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1. J.A. Yelling, *Slums and Slum Clearance in Victorian London*, London: Allen and Unwin, 1986; *idem, Slums and Redevelopment: Policy and Practice in England 1918-1945*, London: UCL Press, 1992.

2. J.A. Yelling, 'Public policy, urban renewal and property ownership, 1945-55', *Urban History*, vol. 22, 1995, pp. 48-62; *idem*, 'The development of residential urban renewal policies in England: planning for modernisation in the 1960s', *Planning Perspectives*, vol. 14, 1999, pp. 1-18.

3. N. Dennis, *People and Planning: the Sociology of Housing in Sunderland*, London: Faber, 1970, pp. 206, 181.

4. J. English, R. Madigan and P. Norman, *Slum clearance: the Social and Administrative Context in England and Wales*, London: Croom Helm, 1976, p. 148.

5. Ibid., pp. 159-161.

6. The North Tyneside CDP produced several surveys. Other references to residents' opinions occur in the Birmingham, Coventry and Oldham CDP reports.

7. English *et al., op. cit.*, Chapter 6: Residents' knowledge of the slum clearance process, pp. 124-147.

8. R.K. Wilkinson and E.M. Sigsworth, 'A survey of slum clearance areas in Leeds', *Yorkshire Bulletin of Social and Economic Research*, vol. 15, 1963, pp. 25-47; R.K. Wilkinson and D.M. Merry, 'A statistical analysis of attitudes to moving', *Urban Studies*, vol. 2, 1965, pp. 1-14.

9. Wilkinson and Merry, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

10. English *et al., op. cit.*, pp. 158-9.

11. R.K. Wilkinson and E.M. Sigsworth, 'Attitudes to the housing environment: an analysis of private and local authority households in Batley, Leeds and York', *Urban Studies*, vol. 9, 1972, pp. 193-215; C.H. Vereker and J.B. Mays, *Urban Development and Social Change: a Study of Social Conditions in Central Liverpool 1955-6*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1961.

12. Vereker and Mays, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

13. Wilkinson and Sigsworth *op. cit.*, 1972, Table 6 p. 197 and Table 17 p. 206; English *et al., op. cit.*, p. 157.

14. Ministry of Housing and Local Government Sociological Research

Section, *Living in a Slum: a Study of People in a Central Slum Clearance Area in Oldham*, London: HMSO, 1965 (survey 1962).

15. English *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 159.
16. Ibid., p. 160 and Table A12, p. 204.
17. Ibid., p. 159 and Table A11, p. 203.
18. K. Coates and R. Silburn, *Poverty: the Forgotten Englishmen*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970; 4th ed. Spokesman 1983, p. 100.
19. R.A. Batley, *Byker: Communications Between Planners and the Public in an Area Affected by Slum Clearance*, unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Durham, 1971, p. 232.
20. T. Mason, *Inner City Housing and Urban Renewal Policy: a Housing*

Profile of Cheetham Hill, Manchester and Salford, Research Series, Manchester: Centre for Environmental Studies, 1977, p. 62.

21. Batley, *op. cit.*, p. 261.
22. Dennis, *op. cit.*, pp. 187-8.
23. Ibid., Table 17.5, p. 311.
24. Calculated from English *et al.*, *op. cit.*, Table 43, p. 183.
25. A. Mayne, 'A barefoot childhood: so what? Imagining slums and reading neighbourhoods', *Urban History*, vol. 22, 1995, pp. 380-389; idem, *The Imagined Slum: newspaper representation in three cities, 1870-1914*, Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1993.

FROM WESTERNISATION TO GLOBALISATION: AN OLD DISTRICT OF ISTANBUL

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Introduction

The CBD of Istanbul developed on both shores of the Golden Horn and incorporated a number of historic buildings. The northern part of the CBD, named 'Pera' ('beyond' in Greek), has been occupied mainly by Europeans and minority groups throughout its history. As a result, it has developed a unique European character. Although generally considered to be the most elegant quarter of Istanbul until the 1960s, Pera has suffered from decay, disinvestment and abandonment as a result of later suburbanisation and the multi-centre development of Istanbul; the same factors that have changed the face of many western cities. This study, focusing briefly on the historical development of Pera, will follow its transformation from a western district to a global district.

Pera is surrounded by the Bosphorous in the east and by the Golden Horn in the south (Fig. 1). The Grand Rue de Pera, the main street, runs along the elevated ridge of a high promontory between the Golden Horn and the Bosphorous. Pera has suffered many of the problems afflicting other historical neighbourhoods in Istanbul. Little residential investment occurred during the 1960s and 1970s, allowing the district's older houses to deteriorate. Despite its central-city position, Pera was unable to attract developers owing to its old urban structure: streets were too narrow and inappropriate for heavy urban traffic, and plots were too small to accommodate modern office buildings for the new larger

companies that wanted to locate in the CBD. As a result, Pera gradually experienced an inflow of low-income rural migrants, as did many cities in developing countries (Bähr, 1994). City officials often expressed concern over absentee landlords who were converting Pera homes into rental units – a common practice in many historical neighbourhoods of Istanbul – as well as over the general physical deterioration of the district.

During the 1980s, however, local city officials and speculators realised that Pera was on the verge of becoming significantly revitalised, primarily by middle-class individuals, banks and hotels. The district is on a hill and enjoys a view of the Bosphorus and Golden Horn. Some of the neighbourhood's stone buildings are still in good condition and quite attractive, with high ceilings, dramatic stairways and hardwood floors. The neighbourhood's convenient central-city location, with easy access to the city's main transportation arteries, was no doubt a major contributor to Pera's sudden desirability; but other newer features were also responsible for its resurgence. Pera has a significantly higher vacancy rate than most of Istanbul's historical neighbourhoods; so it can more readily accommodate dwellers suffering from the city's severe housing shortages.

In recent years, there has also been increased recognition of the need to revitalise Pera for the economic and social well-being of Istanbul. First, despite the expansion of Istanbul in different
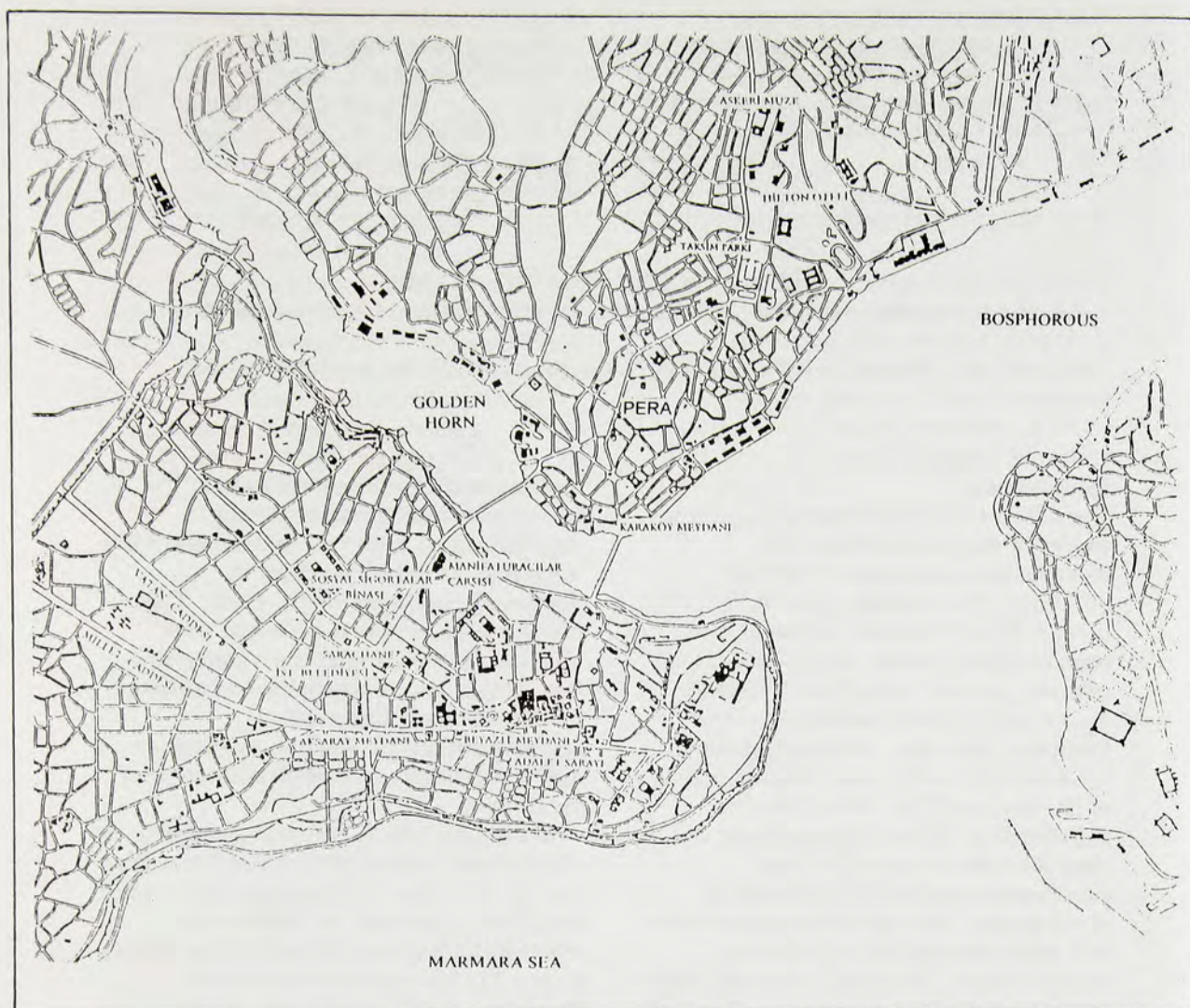
Fig. 1: Location of Pera

directions as a result of rural migration since the 1950s, Pera is still at the centre of the city. Its revitalisation is important for the economic development of the city. Secondly, modernisation of the old housing stock has been judged to be a less costly way to overcome the housing shortage than new construction. Thirdly, it is necessary to clear out the slums from the central areas for the social well-being of the city. Finally Pera, with its historical buildings, shops, restaurants and entertainments, is one of the major tourist areas of Istanbul and benefits from the outcomes of globalisation.

Historical development of Pera
Pera developed as an expansion of Galata,

which was a Genoese colony dating back to the 13th century. When Turks conquered Istanbul in the middle of the 15th century, the hills of Pera were covered by vineyards and orchards. However, beginning in the 16th century, a population explosion spread beyond the walls of Galata northward, to Pera. Although Galata continued as the hub of foreign commerce, many wealthy merchants began to build their summer homes on the more scenic heights above the town. During the mid-16th century, stimulated by outbreaks of plague, various embassies began to move to Pera, starting with the French (Maurand, 1901, p. 204) and followed by the English. Frequent fires in the wooden

houses of Galata also contributed to the diplomatic exodus. Increasing numbers of European merchants, who were protected by these embassies, followed them to Pera. Minority groups, who acted as intermediaries and dragomans in business and diplomatic affairs, clustered around the embassies. Thus Pera developed from vineyards into a European town with ambassadors' palaces, merchants' mansions set in gardens, and the city's fanciest stores stocked with European goods (Grosvenor, 1899). The inhabitants were called the '*Magnifica Communitá di Peyra*', a group of people who, in the course of time, became something more than a minority group although less than an independent colony. Among the variety of cultural backgrounds, Italian and French became dominant in Pera. All Latins were placed under the civil authority of this community. Yet, although its jurisdiction was restricted to the internal affairs of the Latins and the administration of the churches, the *Magnifica Communitá*, by binding the Catholic community together, enabled the quarter to long retain its distinctive character.

The major development of Pera was in the 19th century. Pera became an international trade centre. Ottoman international trade was growing as a result of the integration of the Ottoman Empire with the world capitalist system. Rapid industrialisation of European countries increased demand for Ottoman raw materials. As a result, the growth of exports encouraged the growth of imports from European countries and the Ottoman Empire became a vast market for European industrial products (Pamuk, 1978). Overburdened with the regulations and taxes of western Europe, businessmen found it easier to make money in the Ottoman Empire; especially after the treaty with Britain of 1838, which lessened state control of the economy. Thus the number of foreign tradesmen increased and Pera, with its European characteristics, became their preferred residential location.

Although there were modernisation attempts in the 18th century, after the 1838 Trade Treaty and Tanzimat Charter, the Westernisation movement and foreign influence increased in Istanbul. Pera, with

its already European economic and cultural background, became the focal point of Westernisation. According to the 1885 census of Istanbul, in Pera (together with its neighbouring Galata and Tophane), the population was 47 per cent foreign, 32 per cent non-Muslim, and only 21 per cent Muslim (Shaw, 1979). A large portion of the Christian population was living under the protection of foreign passports. Muslims, unable to meet increasing rents, had been driven out by economic pressures (Mansel, 1995).

In order to westernise urban activities it was necessary to transform existing urban structures into a modern urban pattern. For this purpose, the first regulation governing urban planning and construction activities was prepared in 1848. Neither physical urban structure nor urban services were then sufficient to satisfy the growing demands of the modern society of Pera, so government regulations strove to upgrade the existing structure. As the main commercial and public artery, the Grand Rue de Pera, was less than ten feet wide and suited neither a modern transportation system nor urban services, enlarging the main streets of Pera was of the upmost importance (Rosenthal, 1980).

By the mid-19th century, the population density in Pera had reached intolerable levels, so in 1848 an imperial order was issued to develop a modern neighbourhood (Pangalti) as a first step in promoting orderly growth in the northern part of Pera. In this settlement, infrastructure (water and sewerage lines) was to be incorporated into the street network, and brick and cement construction was made mandatory for all buildings (Celik, 1993).

After the 1840s, the growth in international trade as well as population led to a rapid increase in sea transportation. The existing quays could no longer adequately accommodate the transport of large amounts of commercial goods or the daily commuting of the capital's residents between the two sides of the Bosphorus (Celik, 1993). In 1849, the Karakoy quay was extended to meet the growing need of the customs service. Between 1892 and 1895, in order to ease services for sea transportation, the

waterfront of Galata was rebuilt and wide embankments were opened. Between 1907 and 1910, several new buildings such as warehouses, custom houses and office buildings were built on the waterfront in a new classical style similar to their contemporary counterparts in industrial European cities (Celik, 1993).

New buildings required by modernising society, such as banks, insurance companies, office buildings, hotels, theatres, restaurants, large stores, hospitals, schools, archaeological research institutes, multi-storey apartment buildings, coffee shops, clubs and post offices were built in Pera, which thereby became the most distinguished business and entertainment centre of Istanbul (Naum-Duhani, 1947; Dokmeci and Ciraci, 1988; Celik, 1993; Dokmeci and Balta, 1999). Using modern construction techniques to prevent damage from earthquakes and fires, many buildings were designed by French, Italian or Ottoman architects educated in Paris and able to design the efficient interiors and the artistic exteriors observed in Europe (*La Turquie*, 8 February 1875) (Fig. 2). Several bankers were located in Pera since a great deal of money was being made from financial dealings with the Porte (Kazgan, 1995). Many large residential and commercial buildings were built in and around Pera (Celik, 1993). The great wholesalers and bankers, following European influence, began to build their private palace-like residences in stone in order to prevent fires – which occurred frequently in Istanbul (Rosenthal, 1980).

Westernisation was applied to all aspects of urban life, and a French-style municipality was established in Pera in 1857, the first among the 14 districts to implement 19th-century Western planning principles. For this purpose, the police, fire brigades and public transportation system (horse-drawn trams) made Pera's urban image reminiscent of contemporary European cities (Celik, 1993). The duties of the municipality were to provide city services and public transportation, road construction and supervision of building construction and materials. The municipal government of Pera began street-widening schemes, resulting in new buildings being constructed along

widened and straightened streets. The main roads of Pera and the waterfront development benefitted from public services more than the side streets. Priority was given to Europeans rather than to the democratic distribution of municipal resources (Rosenthal, 1980). Important streets were paved. A sewer was established in the Grand Rue de Pera and adjacent streets. Gas lamps were placed along the Grand Rue de Pera with gas supplied by the Sultan's personal factory (Mansel, 1995). New park areas opened in 1869 along the Taksim-Sisli artery and in Tepebasi to satisfy the public desire to parade in French style (Misailidis, 1986; de Amicis, 1896).

Reconstruction of European embassies by European architects in neo-classical style during the 19th century not only affected architectural styles, but also influenced social life in Pera by the organizing of social gatherings and celebrations in the fashionable new buildings.

Fires significantly transformed older neighbourhoods. Such transformations included the use of new materials and architectural styles, street improvements and so on; although not every disaster led to rebuilding along new lines. For instance, after the 1870 Pera fire, a plan prepared by a commission proposed enlarging the streets. Since this plan did not take into consideration the topographic conditions, it was difficult to implement. Property owners rejected the project, and only the principal streets, those recommended by the residents, were rebuilt (*Levant Herald*, 18 September, 1870).

Urban reform was exclusively concentrated in the centre of the district where most of the upper class lived, conducted business, or sought pleasure. The success of these projects became an example for the rest of the city (Rosenthal, 1980, p. 42). For instance, as a result of the increased business and pedestrian traffic between Pera and Galata, an underground subway system was constructed by a French engineer, E. Henry Gavand, in 1875, earlier than many large cities in the developed world (Dokmeci and Ciraci, 1990).

Following the 19th-century restructuring of historical European cities,
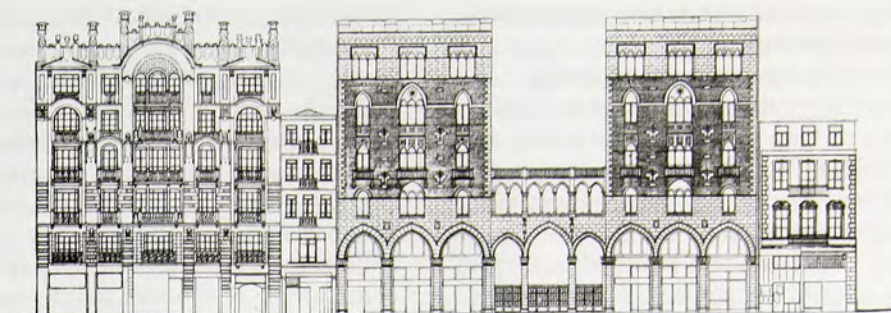

Fig. 2: Building façades along the Grande Rue de Pera

the walls of Galata were demolished in 1863 in order to open new streets, widen existing streets and provide space for new buildings. Between 1870 and 1908 the tramway project played an important role in regulating the main arteries, which had to adjust to its construction and operation. Thus, in the 19th century, the improvement of roads, construction of two bridges over the Golden Horn and the development of transportation systems strengthened the connection of Pera to the other districts of the city and provided the necessary infrastructure together with modern office construction for its emergence as a part of the central business district.

The Westernisation movement also created the need to modernise the Sultan's palaces. After the construction of Dolmabahce (1856), Ciragan and Yildiz Palaces in the north of Pera, the direction of Istanbul's urban growth switched from the historical peninsula of Pera to the high-status neighbourhoods in the vicinity of these palaces. This new development

outward from Pera had four directions of growth: along the Golden Horn, from Taksim to Sisli, from Karakoy to Dolmabahce following the Bosphorus, and the axis which connects Dolmabahce to Taksim-Sisli. Meanwhile, the green silhouette of Pera disappeared as a result of new housing development (Dokmeci and Ciraci, 1990).

The Westernisation of Pera with respect to economic, administrative and technological development, and the modernisation of social life, affected urban form and resulted in a more 19th-century European image than in the other districts of Istanbul.

The 20th century
Pera continued to be the most modern and most politically active district of Istanbul into the 20th century. After the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, during the armistice years, diplomatic traffic reached a climax. When Ankara became the capital (between 1923 and 1935) the embassies relocated: the old embassy buildings were then

reduced to the status of consulates-general (Mansel, 1995). European companies and merchants left Pera after the abolition of Capitulations in 1923. However, young Turkish businessmen replaced them, and Pera continued to be one of the business centres of Istanbul.

During the 20th century, planning efforts have continued to adapt the urban structure of Pera to the modern needs of society. In 1928, Taksim Plaza, embellished by the Republic Monument, which was designed by the Italian architect Canonica, was planned as one of the important open spaces of Istanbul. The large open space around the Monument was used as a place to celebrate official holidays and, after the 1970s, as the privileged site for political parties to hold popular public meetings. Similar trends are also observable in other main cities of developing countries, such as in Karachi.

In 1921, Taksim Casern, built in the second half of the 19th century, was transformed into a stadium; and in 1939, was demolished in order to extend Taksim Park according to the suggestions of the French architect and planner Henri Prost, who was very influential in the planning of Istanbul in the period 1936-1951. Two other caserns on the periphery of Pera from the same period were transformed to house Istanbul Technical University and a new stadium, constructed in 1947. In the 1950s the main artery in Karakoy was widened to solve traffic congestion problems, as a part of the major urban reform of Istanbul. Among the European consultants of this movement were Hans Högg, a German planner, and Luigi Piccinato, an Italian planner. In the 1960s, the waterfront of Tophane was extended to house new entrepôts and port facilities, and the coast to the north was cleared of buildings and reorganised as a park area.

After World War II, expanded international relationships created the need for modern hotel buildings in Pera, which was still a part of the central business district. At the same time, there was a need for cultural facilities which would give an identity to the core of the city. Thus an international hotel and an opera house were built to fulfil these needs and to enhance the image of

Taksim Plaza. In addition, two more international hotels were built in Taksim Park at the expense of already scarce green areas of the district.

Until the 1960s Pera, with its theatres, art galleries, apartment buildings, restaurants, coffee shops and luxurious stores, was still a prominent quarter of Istanbul. During the 1960s, a suburbanisation movement started in Istanbul similar to that in developed countries but to a lesser extent. Changing fashions in town planning and architectural style were illustrated in the construction of modern neighbourhoods. Beyoglu lost its chic allure in the 1970s to the new neighbourhoods with their luxurious apartments for the upper and middle classes. These new neighbourhoods had more comfortable apartments in 20th-century European style, more green areas and better road networks, able to cope with the increasing amount of traffic. People thus preferred to live in these modern neighbourhoods (Dokmeci et al., 1996) rather than in Pera, which fell short of their needs.

With this suburbanisation trend, as upper- and middle-class families deserted Pera and moved to the suburbs, rural migrants occupied the abandoned buildings. The upper floors of some buildings became warehouses or small workshops. Cinemas closed one after another. The former entertainment centre of Istanbul lost even its closer customers, and distances were too great to attract suburban dwellers.

Furthermore, until the 1960s the majority of Istanbul's jobs were still concentrated in the centre of the city. As the historic centre and hub of a transport system provided initially by boats, streetcars and the metro, later by buses, the central area possessed the kind of locational attributes and potential business advantages sought by a wide range of office-based services and trades. However, following the expansion of the city in the 1970s and development of the telecommunication system, a new spatial structure began to emerge: one in which population and employment were increasingly decentralised, with subcentres of employment and commerce forming primarily along the peripheral highways

where land was plentiful and relatively inexpensive. These firms tended to have both international and national connections. Their ties to the old centre weakened (Dokmeci and Berkoz, 1994).

From 1960 to 1990, the percentage of Istanbul's firms located in Pera dropped from 30.4 per cent to 15.5 per cent. In the service sector, the percentage of firms in Pera decreased from 20.9 per cent in 1970 to 17 per cent in 1985. The amount of corporate tax collected decreased from 37.3 per cent in 1970 to 22.2 per cent in 1985 (Dokmeci et al., 1993). Commercial development in the suburban neighbourhoods and megamalls widely overshadowed commercial life in Pera. Similar trends had already been observed in Western countries. Durable consumer goods also decreased – 25 per cent to 7.9 per cent, following middle- and upper-class flight to the suburbs with new stores for this type of goods opening in the new subcentres. Construction companies also decreased from 47.2 per cent to 16.6 per cent, reflecting their move to the periphery where the majority of construction development was occurring.

As Istanbul developed, the increasing use of private cars became incompatible with the old physical fabric of Pera, which was oriented towards pedestrians and public transportation. Consequently, as the narrow streets became clogged with motor vehicles, subcentres along the peripheral highways became more convenient locations for the new firms.

As one of the results of the economic development of Istanbul after the 1970s, firms required greater floorspace. New firms could not find sufficient room in the old centre since land parcels were too small and building height was restricted owing to density regulations in the conservation area of the old CBD. New centres provided large parcels of land for modern office buildings and parking lots.

The cultural transformation is reflected in the results of a residential preference survey conducted throughout Istanbul (Dokmeci et al., 1993). Most of the residents of Pera complain about the discomfort of the old buildings, lack of general heating systems, lack of amenities and green areas, noise and air pollution, lack of playgrounds for children, and a

generally undesirable social environment: just like in city centres of other developing countries (Bähr, 1994). The majority of current residents of Pera would prefer to move to the peripheral districts – even to squatter settlement areas; however, their rent is cheaper than that of the squatter areas and their income is insufficient to cover the high transportation cost of commuting to the city centre.

Although the majority of CBD functions have moved from Pera, and its residents do not wish to live there, it is still one of the major tourist centres owing to its historical attractions. Many tourists visiting Istanbul still prefer to stay at the Pera Palace Hotel, built in 1892, which overlooks the Golden Horn, and to shop at the Grand Rue de Pera. At the same time, despite the growth of Istanbul in different directions, Pera is still at the city's centre, and its revitalisation is very important for the city's economic and social well-being.

In the 1980s, during Mayor Dalan's urban restructuring operation, factories, workshops and warehouses were cleared away to make park areas along the Golden Horn and to beautify the waterfront: similar to the post-modern urbanism movement in Western countries. In addition, although a design competition was organised for Taksim Plaza, the results were not implemented.

Pedestrianisation of the Grand Rue de Pera has long been suggested, to help revitalise the business district. In 1988, construction of a highway parallel to the Grand Rue de Pera supplied the traffic needs of the pedestrianised zone and increased the accessibility of other districts to Pera, though, at the same time, destroying some of the historical buildings. In 1990, pedestrianisation of the Grand Rue de Pera by the City Government increased the number of pedestrians and stimulated the retail trade (the black area on Fig. 3). Re-establishment of the trams on this street complemented the nostalgic atmosphere.

Art exhibits on the side-streets are encouraged by local governments. In addition, a historical building was renovated and transformed into an art centre by an industrialist. The City Government also constructed an exhibition hall which attracts people from

Fig. 3: Grande Rue
de Pera, showing
pedestrianised
areas in black

throughout the city. Music and film festivals attract many people and bring social and economic vitality. A voluntary organisation for the beautification of Pera provides different services for the revitalisation of the area.

A subway between Pera and the new CBD which was developed in the north of the city is currently under construction and is expected to enlarge the market area of Pera and thus to contribute to its revitalisation. On the other hand, such a shift in the focus of activity away from the traditional core, thus changing land use requirements, may also serve to preserve the small-town atmosphere of Pera.

Recently, the municipality of Istanbul has been in the process of preparing revitalisation projects for Pera. For this purpose, Pera is divided into five sub-districts according to their different characteristics and their role within the city's urban structure. The main purpose of these projects is to relocate small manufacturing enterprises which are harmful to the historical buildings they occupy, and to replace them with cultural and public functions. It will be difficult – as it is in other developing countries – to provide the necessary funds for the implementation of these projects.

Conclusion

Pera symbolises the focus of European cultural and economic influence in the Ottoman Empire. Originally, Pera developed around the European embassies as an expansion of Galata, which has been an international trade centre for centuries. The major development of Pera took place during the 19th century as a result of the Westernisation movement and the integration of the Ottoman Empire with western economies. The main emphasis of Westernisation was to introduce new products, encourage new tastes and a higher standard of living with a market dependent on European countries.

Encouraged by the growth of European influence and by vastly increased wealth stemming from Crimean War commerce and the 1838 Trade Treaty, Pera was furnished with the institutions, services and amenities of a modern European city. After the collapse of the Ottoman Empire in the 20th century, and economic, political and social changes, Pera still continued to be the most élite district of Istanbul. In the 1960s, a suburbanisation movement started in Istanbul and wealthy families moved to modern neighbourhoods on the periphery. Rural migrants who worked in low-paid local jobs in the service sector moved in to the deserted buildings. Some of the cinemas closed down, and Pera became a partial slum.

In the 1980s, the revitalisation of Pera began with the pedestrianisation of the main street by the City Government. A highway was constructed to supply traffic to the pedestrianised area and to increase accessibility to Pera. A subway line is now under construction between Pera and the new CBD in order to revitalise business activities. Parking facilities and an exhibition hall have been constructed by the City Government. Luxurious hotels have been opened in the renovated buildings. International music festivals have been organised. A renovated building became an art centre. Some cinemas have reopened as multi-screen venues. Several national and international fast-food stores have located in the Grand Rue de Pera.

Although these projects have been successful in attracting young people to the main street of Pera, they failed with respect to the upper classes. Revitalisation has mostly been limited to this zone and to a limited level. The revitalisation of residential areas still remains as an important task to be solved by urban planners.

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RECONSTRUCTION PLANNING: MALTA FROM 1943

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Introduction

Human inhabitation of Malta has been traced back some 7000 years (Bonanno, 1991). Archaeological evidence of succeeding periods of occupation has been found in abundance. Two impressive examples include the Ggantija Temple of Gozo (c. 3600-3000 BC), and the Hagar Qim Temple on the southern coast of Malta itself (c. 3000-2500 BC). At different times, the islands fell under Phoenician, Carthaginian, Roman, Byzantine, Arab, Norman and Spanish occupations, although the dominant historical influence upon the development of the islands was the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. Mdina is the oldest city in Malta and was the capital before the arrival of the Knights, having been a settlement in Punic times and fortified during Roman and Arab occupations. The strategic position of the Maltese archipelago attracted the attention and occupation of various groups, but it was the Knights, although in decline (Mallia-Milanes, 1992), who created and extended a powerful fortified architectural legacy (Hughes, 1956). Their works and fortifications constitute a powerful example of human, engineering and architectural achievement (De Lucca, 1986).

The Maltese islands are largely composed of limestone which, in various forms, provides the predominant building material. The outcrops of harder stone are extensively quarried for use as building and paving material. The dustings of stone created by the sawing of stone into blocks are used in the mortar joints in the construction of walls. This convenient and easily-worked stone contributes significantly to the continuity of building style and character over many centuries. The wealth of historic and architectural interest has attracted international interest in the Islands. Valletta, and seven prehistoric Megalithic sites, were declared World Heritage Sites in 1980, but the whole archipelago has examples of a distinctive and consistent architectural heritage. It was that heritage, as well as the Maltese people and allied forces, which came under sustained attack during the early years of the Second World War.

The horrors of war and the destruction of physical and human resources are all too evident in Malta; and it is widely recognised that, after the tragedy of a war, social, economic and physical reconstruction is needed. Indeed, it is sometimes seen that the ravages of war may bring opportunities for renewal. This latter view was clearly expressed by the Governor and Commander in Chief of Malta, Lieutenant-General Sir Edmond C.A. Schrieber, when he wrote in the introduction to the 1945 *Outline Plan for Valletta and the Three Cities*[1] (Harrison and Hubbard, 1945[2]), that "devastating as is all this destruction, it has provided the opportunity to build afresh on a wiser plan" (Schrieber, 1945, p. iv). The Dean of St Paul's, W.R. Matthews, echoed this, claiming that "the devastation of war has given us an opportunity which will never come again" (Anon. a, 1945, p. 3).

Reconstruction planning in Europe has been examined in some detail (Hasegawa, 1992; Diefendorf, 1990); but less has been done to explore the subject in British

'colonial' countries elsewhere. This paper reviews the work of Harrison and Hubbard, and their plans for Malta which were published in 1945. The contemporary scene in Britain and the role of the Colonial Office are briefly introduced, as are the backgrounds of the consultants themselves. Their planning schemes are reviewed in terms of their aims, implementation and outcomes. A brief critique of the assumptions and principles that underpinned their proposals is attempted and questions are raised about the appropriateness of their assumptions at the time in the distinctive cultural context of Malta.

Before this, it is helpful to briefly examine the nature of the reconstruction challenge which faced Malta in 1945, and the institutional context for Malta as a British colony or 'protectorate' at the time. Malta occupies a highly strategic location, being situated about mid-way between Gibraltar and the Suez Canal, and between Southern Europe and North Africa. As a British colony it was rapidly engaged in the Second World War along with Britain, despite many cultural ties with mainland Europe, especially Italy. The value of the island made it a prime target, and Malta suffered a massive and sustained bombardment. This led to great physical destruction and loss of life. Abela (1997) paints a stark picture of the siege of Malta. He described "a constant barrage of bombs and explosions on the island that went on, some times non-stop, for months on end, [during which] the native population was often reduced to the condition of rats burrowing in underground shelters for protection to avoid the blitzkrieg" (Abela, 1997, pp. 185-186). The courage and fortitude of the Maltese people in withstanding this assault was recognised by the British in April 1942 by the award of the George Cross.

Context: visions for reconstruction
The destruction experienced during the Second World War in Britain has been associated with the greater acceptance of the need for a national system of planning. Hasegawa (1992, p. 6) claims that "because of the devastation caused by enemy action, town planning provided a focal point for discussion about Britain's post-war future".

Citing Ravetz (1980), he also highlights the professional confidence with which the architectural and planning professions viewed the planning and reconstruction challenge at the time. A myriad of publications and debates aimed at both the professions and the general public all displayed the belief that "drastic change would be inevitable in replanning the country, especially those areas which had been badly damaged by air raids" (Hasegawa, 1992, p. 6).

In *Rebuilding Britain – A Twenty Year Plan*, Simon (1945) considered the broader strategic national planning issues facing reconstruction. He reviewed comparative planning practices both in Britain and overseas, and drew the conclusion that "the successful Rebuilding of Britain depends mainly on three things: national prosperity, a low rate of interest, and the driving force of public opinion" (Simon, 1945, p. 232). Interestingly, he considered the last factor to be the most significant. A key question in Simon's enquiry was whether the success of democracy during war could be continued during peace. He observed that

> "there can be no single overriding aim in peace-time comparable to the demand for victory in war-time, but the nation might well make up its mind that one of its major aims in the twenty post-war years shall be the abolition of slums and the building of seven million good and well planned houses" (Simon, 1945, p. 228).

A similar theme was being pursued by the Architectural Press (Anon. b, *c*. 1944), which claimed that "reconstruction must be planned". Here there was a strong claim for comprehensive redevelopment in the belief that "the problem was not entirely ignored in the past, but had been tackled in isolated bits, afraid to clear whole areas". At the same time, however, there was a rejection of the grand design, as shown by the claim that neither "do we mean grandiose schemes for lining city traffic ways with pompous façades, neglecting the places where people live and work and play" (Anon. b, *c*. 1944, p. 18).

It is interesting to see how quickly the

preparations for reconstruction were initiated. In Birmingham, the Bournville Village Trust commissioned research which led to the publication of an influential report, *When we build again* (Bournville Village Trust, 1941). This report contained a comprehensive analysis of the living and working conditions of the city, and suggestions for quite new development patterns for reconstruction. These were to prove influential in the planning of extensive residential and industrial redevelopment areas after the war, although the constructed 'modernist' realities are now heavily criticised in practice.

While the policies and actions of Government were central to reconstruction planning in Britain during and after the war, Hasegawa has shown that their influence was sometimes challenged at local level. The municipal authorities and local communities, especially traders, in those areas suffering high levels of bombing were quick to establish reconstruction committees. "Coventry took the swiftest action", establishing the city's Redevelopment Committee within a fortnight of the November 1940 raids (Hasegawa, 1992, p. 126). It appears that the more dynamic local committees led the reconstruction agenda for their areas, while the less active or organised localities were more at the mercy of central government inertia or 'conservatism'. The bold ambitions of blitzed cities were encouraged by Lord Reith. As Minister of Works and Buildings he led the government's reconstruction and planning initiatives, reviewing inter-war planning thought, establishing the Uthwatt Committee and the Interdepartmental Committee of Officials on Reconstruction. But, by 1942, Lord Reith had been replaced and central government's ambition for boldness in planning and reconstruction appears to have been waning. By 1944, as revealed by Hasegawa (1992), there was a barely-concealed distance between local ambition and central government policy. Coventry, as the most advanced and ambitious, retained much of its momentum; but primarily because

> "it would have been embarrassing ... if,

by criticising Coventry's plan explicitly, the impression was confirmed ... that the ministry and the government were really trying to suppress the aspirations of those authorities whose towns and cities had been severely damaged" (Hasegawa, 1992, p. 129).

In Malta, in comparison, the situation appears to be simpler. The dominance of the British colonial authorities, and the lack of strong local municipal and commercial organisations to campaign for their own ideas for change, left the field open for a professional 'technocratic' response. The importance of the islands for the military services, and as a strategic defence position, may have also encouraged both substantial reinvestment and a speedy professional response. Certainly, Harrison and Hubbard must have worked quickly. Their work was published in January 1945, after spending "a year of unremitting toil in producing a plan for reconstruction" (Schrieber, 1945, p. iv).

The role of the British Colonial Office in commissioning consultants for reconstruction planning work was significant. Home (1997) traces these influences and makes an interesting connection with Malta, where Abercrombie "carried out a short planning consultanc[y] from his retirement as Professor at UCL in 1946 until his death" (Home, 1997, p. 200). Abercrombie was also funded to prepare a strategic plan for the territory of Hong Kong by "the Colonial Office under the Colonial Development and Welfare Scheme of 1945" (Lai, 1999, p. 61). His work in the colony was swift and the outcomes debatable. After a visit to Hong Kong in 1947 of only just over one month, he produced a report which was published in 1948. While Home (1997, p. 204) claimed that this report "was largely ignored", there are contradictory views that many of the physical and institutional proposals were realised in broad terms if not in precise detail (Lai, 1999, pp. 66-69). The enduring influence of plans in general, rather than in specific terms, would also make an interesting area for future research.

Home recognised Abercrombie as perhaps the most active planning

consultant in countries where Britain had an interest during the post-war period. He also notes that Abercrombie had worked with Holliday in the planning of Haifa during the 1930s. This work in Mandatory Palestine (as it was at that time) would have surely have made connections with the work of Hubbard who, "as chief architect of Palestine ... stamped his mark on all the architectural production of the mandatory government" (Erlik, 1984, pp. 48-50).

Post-war planning and reconstruction in Malta

The strategic military position of Malta had been confirmed during the 1939-45 war, and its significance was no less seen in the ensuing peace. The British Authorities allocated a War Damage Fund to Malta of some £31 million (Bonnici and Cassar, 1990) to support reconstruction of civilian property and infrastructure. It is not clear how much might have been allocated for the reconstruction or development of service property and military installations.

Harrison and Hubbard were commissioned to "prepare an Outline Plan for the region of Valletta and the Three Cities, based upon a survey of existing conditions" (Harrison and Hubbard, 1945, p. xi); but they found their task "unorthodox" for two reasons. First, because the

> "population of the cities had, on account of the damage caused by enemy action, retired to the suburbs and villages, so that life of every part of the region was abnormal, and direct observation of it calculated to mislead, rather than enlighten the stranger".

Secondly because they

> "had supposed, because the Island is a fortress, that maps of Malta in current use would be accurate and up to date. They proved, with one exception, to be neither" (Harrison and Hubbard, 1945, p. xi).

Harrison and Hubbard had gone into partnership in 1937 (Sharples *et al.*, 1996). This followed Harrison's winning of the

commission for the design of Nuffield College, Oxford; after which "he immediately entered into partnership with two younger men who were to act as his assistants, named T.S. Barnes and R.P.S. Hubbard" (Colvin, 1983, p. 168). Austen St Barbe Harrison FRIBA MRTPI (1891-1976) was clearly the senior partner and probably brought the values and expectations of the Victorian and Edwardian periods in Britain. For him, Camillo Sitte could have been an influential figure, and Sitte's ideas of city planning (although not published in English until the early 1940s) seem to have informed the plans for Malta. He had also spent a period "in the office of E. Lutyens at a time when this office prepared designs for governmental offices in Delhi" (Erlik, 1984, p. 48). Harrison was elected as an Associate member of the Town Planning Institute in 1920, and a Fellow in 1924. Robert Pearce Steel Hubbard B Arch ARIBA (1910-1965) graduated from Liverpool University with First Class Honours in 1932. He was born in Glasgow and was the son of a ship designer (Sharples *et al.*, 1996).

They were appointed to prepare the plan for Malta by the Colonial Office in 1943, Harrison as Town Planning Consultant and Hubbard as his assistant. A Press Release noted that "these appointments follow[ed] the setting up of a Reconstruction and Development Committee, a Reconstruction Board and a Reconstruction Department earlier in the year by Lord Gort, the Governor" (Colonial Office Press Section, 1943). It also stated that Hubbard had been "specially released ... from service as a Flight Lieutenant (Intelligence) in the Royal Air Force". All of their later work together seems to have been overseas, including Aden and Ghana.

The link between Malta and the University of Liverpool is interesting. Abercrombie had been the tutor of Hubbard at Liverpool University and wrote of him to *The Times* that he was "possibly the best man we have ... to design simple modern buildings yet in sympathy with the baroque architecture for which Malta is famous" (quoted in Linross, 1965). Whether Hubbard was the first architectural and planning contact

between Liverpool and Malta is not clear. However, in 1959 Mr W. Windyer Morris, then the Director of Planning and Housing for Cyprus, recommended that "at least one Malta Civil Servant" should be sent "to the Doxiadese establishment in Athens, or as a student to Liverpool University ... to study Town and Country Planning" (Windyer Morris, 1959, p. 189). Later, Professor J. Quentin Hughes OBE MC was seconded from Liverpool to establish the School of Architecture at the University of Malta.

Valletta and the Three Cities (Harrison and Hubbard, 1945) contained an impressive level of survey and analysis, especially considering the limited time scale within which the authors had to work. It was published in January 1945, well before the final cessation of hostilities. The report records that they had been working in Malta for a year, but whether preparatory work had been commenced in Britain much earlier is not clear. The Plan incorporates a survey of the war damage, as well as obsolescent property in Valletta and the Three Cities. This was used to inform their subsequent reconstruction plans; but their data only deal with 'civilian' property. No details of 'service property' conditions are included within their plan, presumably for security reasons, and one wonders how much this might have constrained the plan.

A notable building casualty of the war was the Royal Opera House in Valletta which "on the evening of Tuesday, April 7, 1942 was devastated by Luftwaffe bombers" (Bonnici and Cassar, 1990, p. 79). Harrison and Hubbard commented upon the future of the Royal Opera House in a diplomatic, but pointed, way; observing that the building had had many functional defects, which would be difficult to overcome during rebuilding. They noted that the people wished to see rebuilding, and concluded that "such striking and, in our experience, rare unanimity of opinion must be respected; [and] we therefore refrain from making any recommendation" (Harrison and Hubbard, 1945, p. 71).

Three principal themes permeate their proposals and each deserves exploration. These were their proposals for transport and communications; civic designs; and proposals for realising their plans.

Proposals for transport and communications

Harrison and Hubbard (1945, p. 25) optimistically claimed that "traffic in Malta is not, and probably never will be, such as to warrant the rigid classification of streets desirable elsewhere ...". However, they did observe that the traditional modes of transport, by ferry and horse-drawn *karozza* (carriages), and the historic street patterns, were no longer adequate for modern transport needs. They noted the contradiction that many of Malta's thoroughfares are too narrow, while many new residential roads were far too wide. This latter point was acknowledged later by Windyer Morris (1959, para. 9), who observed that the road plans for new development "appear to be unfunctional road grid plans stuck crudely onto the edge of existing development".

Harrison and Hubbard recognised the effectiveness of the radial roads that linked the surrounding areas to Valletta, as well as the informal development of some orbital links between the "pentapole" of settlements, as they described them. They also recognised that these latter were "disconnected and fragmentary", and proposed that a comprehensive and continuous "Girdle Road should be created" (Harrison and Hubbard, 1945, p. 28) (Fig. 1). This would link together all of the radial routes and connect all of the surrounding suburbs. Although these proposals were clearly argued on transportation grounds, there is anecdotal evidence (from a former Director of Works for Malta to the author) that this road plan was driven more by the aspirations of the military to make a rapid road connection between all of their defensive positions around Valletta. Interestingly, the new regional road in Malta and recent highway schemes near the Three Cities do follow the approximate line of the proposed Girdle Road.

Civic Design proposals for Valletta and the Three Cities

Valletta (Il-Belt) and Floriana are contiguous and the Outline Plan dealt with them holistically. The plans for Valletta itself were concerned largely with reconstruction and the opening-up of new civic squares, particularly at Kingsgate
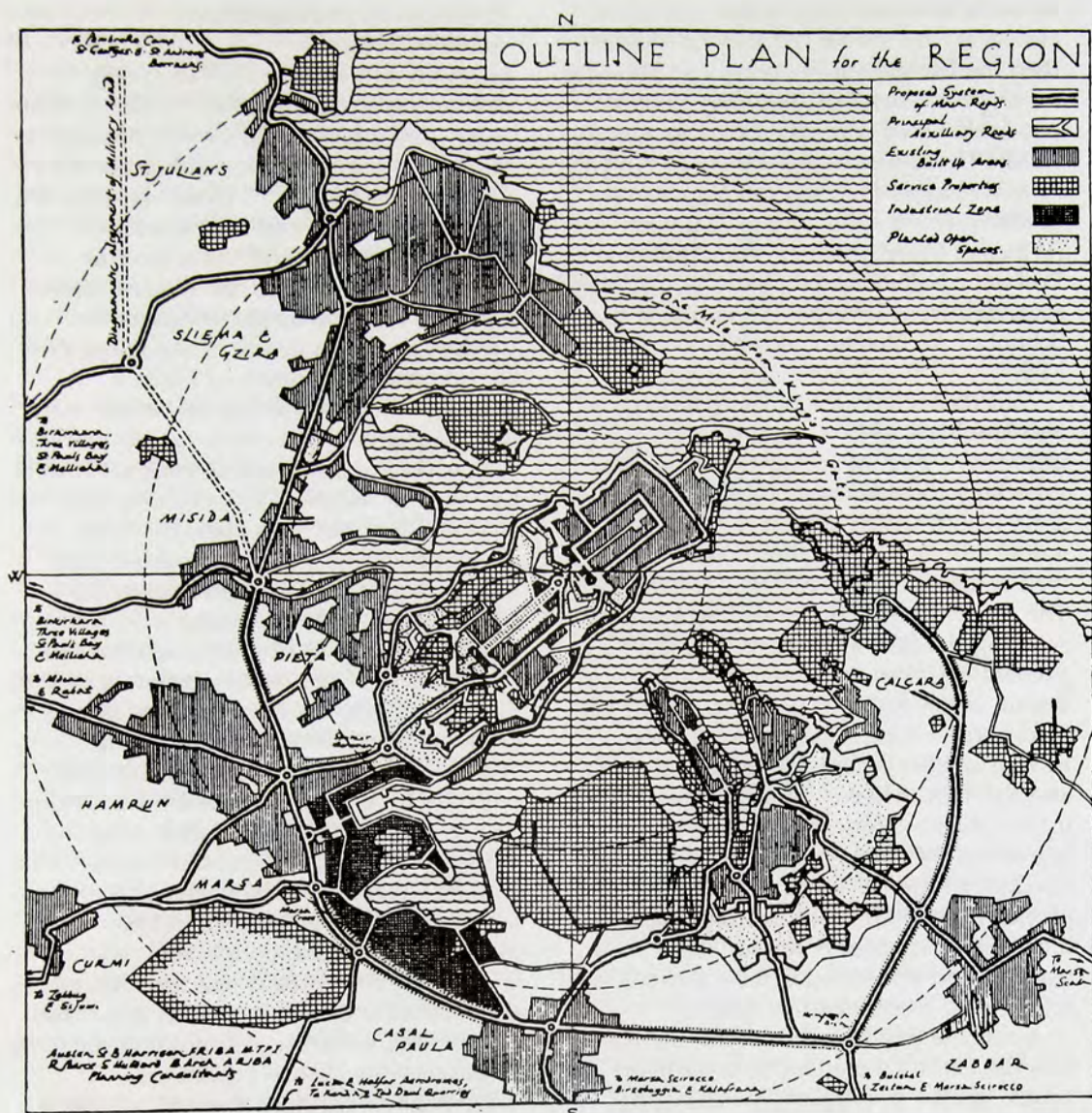
Fig. 1: The "Outline Plan for the Region" showing the Girdle Road
(Harrison and Hubbard, 1945, fig. 14)

Fig. 2: Layout for the new squares around the Church of Saint John (now St John's
Co-Cathedral), Valletta (Harrison and Hubbard, 1945, Fig. 42)

Fig. 3: St John's Square today (photograph: author, 1999)

(now Town Gate), and around the Church of St John (now St John's Co-Cathedral). A new square to be called St John's Square was proposed as a colonnaded space cut into the street blocks either side of Zachary Street (Figs. 2 and 3). These areas had been bomb damaged and presented the opportunity to make a larger area in front of the Cathedral, by widening the space on either side of the narrow Zachary Street. The proposed colonnades would shelter new retail shops, and were planned along the main axis of the Church. This scheme was implemented largely to the original plan, and shops and cafes provide a welcome and lively setting for religious and secular activity. The proposals included small squares on either side of the body of the church. One, which it was proposed to call '1942 Square', seems to have existed already; while another, '1565 Square', was proposed beside the church in Merchants' Street. The latter was not created, though a small walled garden is retained.

For Floriana, they proposed a comprehensive civic design with much enlarged dual carriageway access road, a new bus station, and a series of new building blocks, which created new public
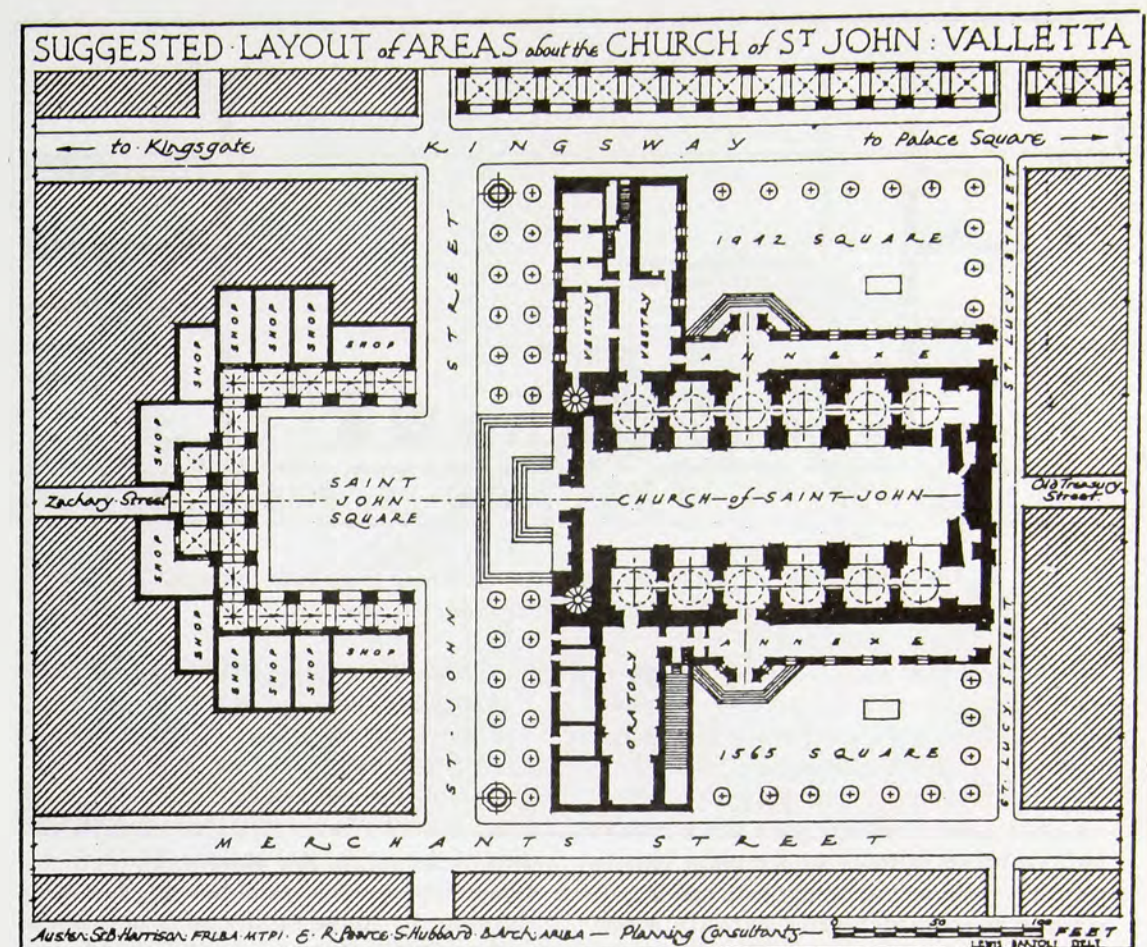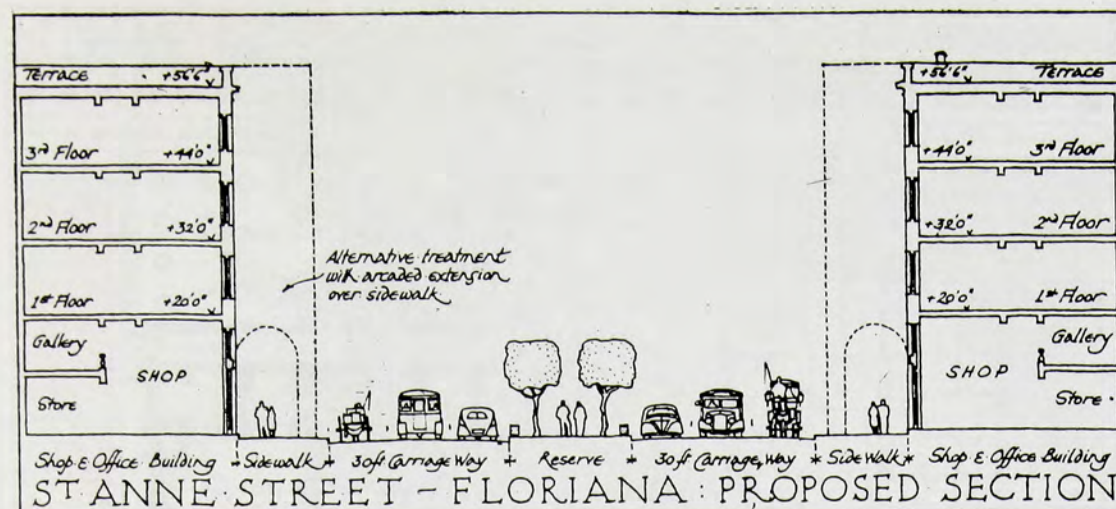
Fig. 4: The proposed section for the improved approach road to Valletta through Floriana
(Harrison and Hubbard, 1945, Fig. 45)

squares, gardens and colonnaded shops and cafes. The contribution of this work to the developing town-plan of Floriana makes an interesting study, and Garret (1996) demonstrates how the post-war reconstruction built upon the development pattern which dates from the early 18th century. Interesting components of the scheme are two very early subways which provide safe passage across the extremely wide and hazardous roads. Figure 4 shows the proposed section for the new dual carriageway and its flanking blocks of housing with retail shops behind colonnades at ground level. Floriana represents the most complete realisation of Harrison and Hubbard's plans (Fig. 5). Even the subways were created and, although they are very long, narrow and unlit, they continue in use today.

At Bormla (or Conspicua in British colonial usage), Harrison and Hubbard produced a grand plan for a series of linked squares, rising from a large new square. These civic spaces would climb the hillside and overlook No. 1. Dock. In reality, the completed reconstruction falls somewhere short of the grand design, with only a small precinct of a square, offset from the dock-side road, giving a setting for the Band Club building and some car parking. On either side, two streets are cut horizontally into the hillside and give access to blocks of rather plain public housing behind. There is no sign of the

civic spaces envisaged in the original plan.

At L'Isla (Senglea) (Fig. 6), the planned square has been created in front of the Church but only half of the new civic square for the proposed civic centre has been formed. To the other, southwestern, side of the main axial street, a block of plain, monotonous social housing has been developed. To the north-east, a new flight of formal steps has been built down to the harbour side. These resemble the Spanish Steps in composition, but their execution in reinforced concrete falls somewhat short of their counterpart and inspiration in Rome.

At Birgu (Vittoriosa), Harrison and Hubbard had proposed a series of housing blocks with internal courtyards. A layout of perimeter blocks was planned in a formal layout with residential roads between. The most impressive part of the scheme was the proposed creation of a new setting for St Philip's Church. While the basic layout of streets and housing has been created, it does not appear that either the private courtyards or the square were created. A very small, elevated area against the side of the church is retained and used as a car park, and the new roads contrast sharply with the other older streets nearby.

In all of their residential and civic design proposals, Harrison and Hubbard seem to have adopted a 'standard' 8-metre width for carriageway and footpaths, a

Fig. 5: The new development and approach road to Floriana as constructed
(photograph: author, 1999)

considerable departure from traditional street form of some 3-4 metres width and the earlier planning schemes of some 13 metres.

Institutional proposals for planning in Malta

The *Outline Plan* contained a brief chapter about the 'Realisation of the Plan', which recognised the inadequacy of the planning system in Malta at that time. In fact, most of the planning was guided by the Code of Police Laws of 1854 (Cassar, 1985). The consultants proposed the introduction of a Town Planning Ordinance, and the establishment of a Town Planning Commission. The Commission would be "empowered, by the Ordinance, freely to make and amend, bye-laws in respect of roads and buildings ..." (Harrison and Hubbard, 1945, p. 108). Despite their strong recommendations, nothing was implemented.

This might be seen as strange, in the period immediately before the implementation of the 1947 Town and

Country Planning Act in Britain, and when the Maltese government was effectively run by the British government through its colonial powers. This aspect is worthy of further study, but it may be that the reality of Malta as a British occupied country and massive military base rendered the perception of the need to regulate land use in the islands redundant. Indeed, it may have been this that kept planning off the institutional agenda for some decades more. Successive proposals for the introduction of a land-use planning system were made, for example by Windyer-Morris (1959). Despite Desmond Heap's success in getting planning legislation onto the Maltese statute books in 1965, nothing was formally implemented until 1992, when the Development Planning Act set up a new Planning Authority for Malta.

Conclusions

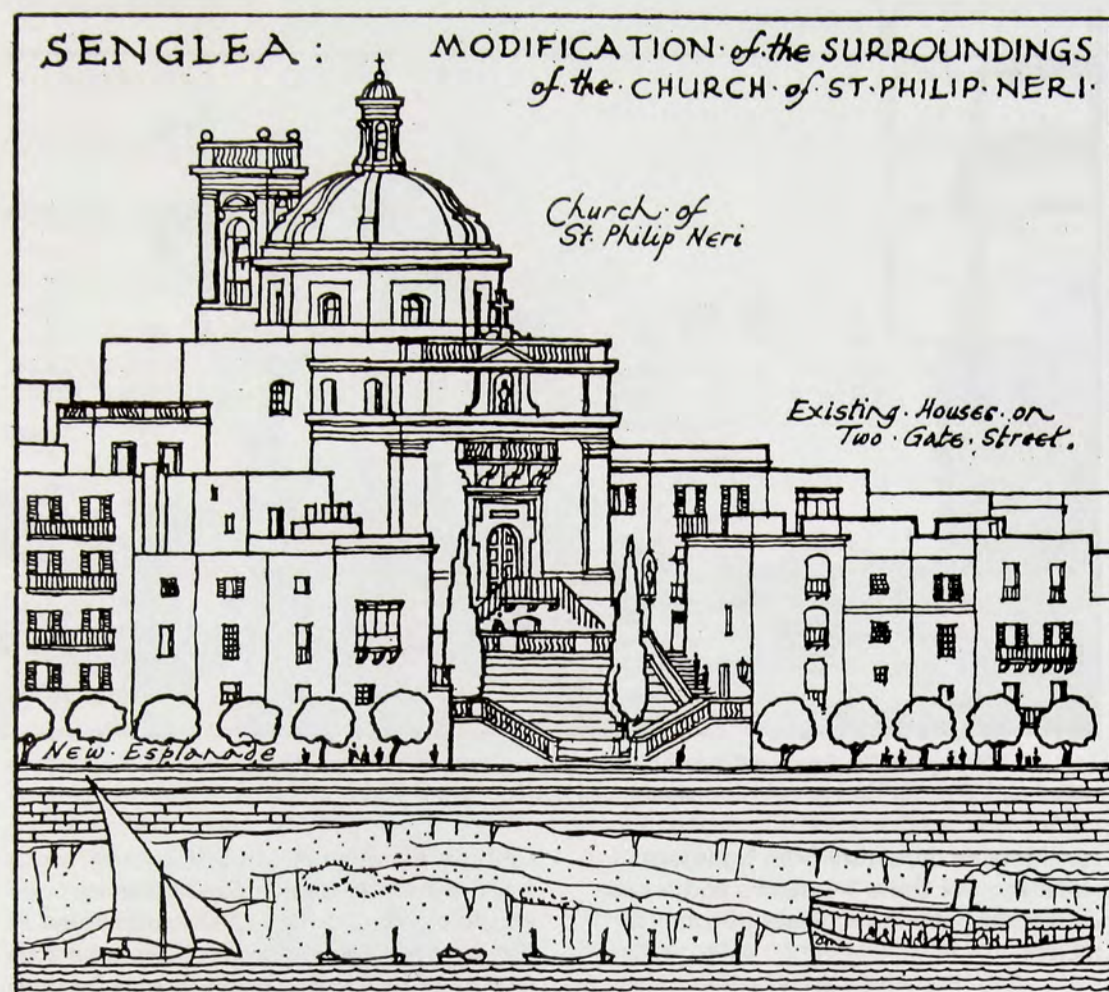The plans produced by Harrison and Hubbard clearly resulted from hard work and dedicated effort. However, although

Fig. 6: Civic design proposals for the steps below the Church of St Philip-Neri, Senglea (Harrison and Hubbard, 1945, Fig. 27)

their proposals appeared to be attractive on paper, there are several aspects that, upon reflection, may appear flawed. These flaws can be grouped into two broad categories. First, there are those factors which lead one to question the appropriateness to the Maltese context of the assumptions and design principles which guided the consultants. Secondly, there are questions about whether their original design intentions were realised in practice.

Their civic designs represent the major volume of their work and, while the transport proposals proved influential, their institutional proposals did not. Unlike much of the civic design thinking in the UK, much of which emphasised the modernist planning ideals of Le Corbusier (1924), Harrison and Hubbard appear to have espoused the artistic principles advanced by Sitte (1898). This period was one of profound change in much of Europe, with the modernist ideals gaining sway in changing not just architectural expression, but the entire approach to urban space planning. Unwin's battle with Le Corbusier (as discussed by Kostoff, 1992) had generally been lost – but not in Malta.

In terms of Harrison and Hubbard's planning and design principles, three main factors stand out. First, their evident inclination to plan for largish public squares; secondly, their adoption of a wide 'standard' residential road width; and thirdly, their assumption that building blocks would be solid, without internal courtyards or gardens. Together, these three principles generate a built form that bears little relevance to the Maltese climate or culture.

The open piazzas in Maltese village cores are important for social and religious purposes, but streets are normally narrow, to cast shade and induce air movement and cool their users. The piazzas generally relate to churches, and not to secular buildings. Therefore, the proposed civic squares did not really respond to the Maltese context, either environmentally or culturally. Neither did the projected road standards. While the consultants had, rightly, concluded that the very wide road standards used in the Maltese planning schemes were far too wide at 13 metres, they too adopted a relatively wide 8 metre standard, which provided neither shade, cooling breezes or social meeting space.

Perhaps the least obvious consequence of their plans is the solidity of the new street blocks, contrasting with the Maltese use of cool shady and private inner courtyards and gardens. These traditional courts provide intimate family spaces which are protected from the intense sun and heat of Malta's summer. This is not replaced in either the squares or streets planned for reconstruction. In fact, the narrow private balconies provided in some of the social housing are particularly exposed to the sun, and provide a poor substitute for the courtyard.

While these fundamental criticisms can be levelled at their work, which was done in haste during 1943 and 1944, there is evidence that Harrison and Hubbard quickly developed a deeper understanding of the Maltese context. Their article on the 'Maltese vernacular' shows a deep and scholarly appreciation of the islands' heritage and traditional architecture and building techniques (Harrison and Hubbard, 1949).

Although some interesting examples exist where the full plans were implemented, there are other cases where their civic designs were only partially achieved. One example of a completed scheme is the creation of St John's Square as a civic space enhancing the setting of St John's Cathedral, in the centre of Valletta. By contrast, a pale shadow of the original plan is found in Birgu, where the new square at St Philip's Church was not created in any real sense and the solid street blocks proposed lack the courtyards of the original scheme. There is need for further research here, as it appears that some of their original design intentions were carried into practice by others over a longer time span, during which the original intentions were modified. Their proposals for the institutional development of planning in malta were not implemented at all at the time and, from the Malta experience, it seems that the institutional introduction and development of planning systems may take even longer than the preparation and implementation of development plans or civic designs.

NOTES AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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REPORTS

Architecture Culture by 1900: critical reappraisal and heritage preservation. Buenos Aires, 31 August-3 September 1999

Arturo Almandoz, Universidad Simon Bolivar, Caracas, Venezuela

This conference was organised by the Centro de Estudios de Arquitectura Contemporanea (CEAC) of the Universidad Torcuato Di Tella jointly with the Government of the City, and part sponsored by UNESCO and some Argentine institutions. In addition to the numerous attentions received by guests and participants, including visits to monuments of the period, the conference was also a good example of organisation and co-operation between the municipal and academic domains.

Apart from the areas of architectural history, preservation and landscape design featured by the programme, I intend here to report only those urban sessions that I was able to attend, mostly related to the perception and representation of cities, and the agenda of emerging urban planning.

Despite the *portenos'* pessimism because of the high unemployment – a situation that some say will have to change after October's general elections – I would like to point out my own impression that Buenos Aires is undergoing a municipal boom which enhances the traditional variety of cultural activities and public life. More so than in previous visits, the city's vitality, elegance and safety are striking to someone like me, coming from Caracas. The same was true for colleagues from other Latin American capitals such as Bogotà or Rio de Janeiro, where street life has been put at risk because of poverty, crime and other social problems, apart from the fact that these cities have been shaped according to different urban models.

On urban culture and representation

Between the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century, some Latin American capitals underwent processes of urbanisation linked to the modernisation of emerging republics. In the pioneering case of Buenos Aires, apart from the new port and railway stations, public buildings such as the Congress (1887-1906) and the Colon Theatre (1908) date from that period; likewise the consolidation of the Avenida 9 de Julio and Avenida de Mayo, as well as elegant areas such as Palermo and Recoleta, to mention just a few examples which led Buenos Aires to be known as "the Paris of South America".

In this respect, the enlargement of the capital in the midst of the pampas was conceptualised by Adrian Gorelik, of the Universidad Nacional de Quilmes, in the opening lecture of the conference. Gorelik showed how the nineteenth-century grid was, in the case of Buenos Aires, a result of an early endeavour to urbanise an empty territory, unlike the *ensanches* of other Latin American capitals, where plans of urban expansion aimed at either stressing the difference between the formal and informal city, or framing existing suburbs.

Between 1880 and 1920, Buenos Aires also underwent social and economic changes perhaps unequalled by any other major city in Latin America. Having been designated as the federal capital of the Argentine Republic since 1880, the Buenos Aires population jumped from less than one hundred thousand to more than a million, while immigration from Europe confirmed Argentina's successful incorporation in Western capitalism's circuits. In José Enrique Roda's *Ariel* (1900) – a book of great influence among intellectuals of the Spanish-speaking world – the "material greatness" and "apparent civilization" of the new capital were seen by the Uruguayan thinker as signs of Latin America's "new Carthage". Buenos

Aires was apparently a booming metropolis of speculation and ostentation, described with Zola-like naturalism in Julien Martel's *La Bolsa* (1891), which inaugurated a cycle of novels and essays describing the peculiarities of Argentina's metropolitanism. From the urban perspective, I think that this cycle even included approaches as diverse as the poetry of Jorge L. Borges' *Fervor de Buenos Aires* (1923), and the sociological portrayal in Ezequiel Martinez Estrada's *La Cabeza de Goliat* (1946).

The debate about the perception of urbanization and metropolitanism led by Martel, Segundo Villafane, Ramos Mejoa and other Argentine writers was the subject of one of the sessions, into which I tried to insert discussion of the tinier urban changes of Caracas in Venezuela's literary "modernism" of the 1900s. Other papers in previous sessions had also considered the attitudes of local intellectuals towards industrial and technological progressivism coming from poles of advanced capitalism. The problematic relationship with North American modernity since Domingo Faustino Sarmiento's *Facundo* (1845) was evident in the presentation of José Francisco Liernur, director of CEAC and organiser of the conference. In terms of urban images, the impressions that travellers such as Jules Huret, Enrique Gomez Carrillo and Georges Clemençeau had of that "great city of Europe", according to the latter's expression, were also discussed. Although less conspicuous than the case of Buenos Aires, Juan Carlos Porgolis, of the Universidad Nacional de Colombia, also used the impressions of travellers in order to report the Europeanised changes in the architecture of Bogotà and other Andean cities. Beyond the Argentine capital, the forms of respresenting natural landscape as a way of structuring the nationality were illustrated by different Argentine

academics, including the interesting presentation of Graciela Silvestri, of the Universidad de Buenos Aires and Universidad de Palermo.

On the emergence of urbanism
As stated in the introduction to the programme, the conference assumed as a premise that the turn-of-the-century period was traditionally dismissed as representing a "late classicism", whereas elements of the contemporary debate were not identified as signs of modernity. In view of that, the conference's first goal was to reappraise the architectural production of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century, and "to update and present new considerations about the architectural culture of that period". Other objectives intended to make awareness of "the necessity of appraising, preserving and using adequately" an architectural heritage that characterises the modern image of Buenos Aires. The last goal was to raise a proposal of including a group of edifices and monumental places in UNESCO's World Heritage List – which certainly contains very few twentieth-century buildings. This proposal was read by the organisers and signed by participants at the closing session of the Conference.

In relation to the urban dimension of that first goal on architectural culture, during the first day I attended an interesting session about the evolution, standardisation and degeneration of the Beaux-Arts as a style of urban design. David Van Zanten, from the Northwestern University of Illinois, explored the extent to which it is possible to talk of an "International Beaux-Arts" urbanism on the basis of its representatives' projects in such diverse contexts as Chicago, Camberra or Buenos Aires. In this respect, Jean-Louis Cohen, of the Institut Français d'Architecture, catalogued the late-Beaux-Arts forms that came closer to

the new vocabulary of the early-twentieth century modernity. Isabelle Gournay, of the University of Maryland, described some projects in which American architects adapted French academicism to new technical requirements. In this respect, it is worth noting the less theoretical but very illustrative presentations of recent renovations of buildings from that transitional period, such as the Grand Central Terminal of New York and the Palacio de Correos in Buenos Aires, which was one of the venues of the Conference. Other papers typified the adaptations of Beaux-Arts to different national architectures in Eastern Europe, Northern Africa and the Near East.

One of the best sessions concerning the emergence of *urbanismo* was devoted to the consolidation of the new discipline through a legal, technical and theoretical apparatus, according to a process which reminded me of the administrative and epitemological components distinguished by Anthony Sutcliffe in his historiographic approach to the birth of modern planning.[1] In the domain of urban norms, François Loyer, of the Ecole d'Architecture de Versailles, took us to the unfrequented period of post-Haussmannian Paris, distinguishing the architectural and urban parameters of the 1902 regulations, and their effects on shaping the urban silhouette of the French capital until the 1970s. Christiane Crasemann Collins – co-translator of the superb edition of Camillo Sitte in English[2] – linked the theoretical and practical contribution to the Stadtebau by two authors of manuals of the German tradition, Sitte and Werner Hegemann. Having published an excellent article in 1995 about the experiences of Le Corbusier and Hegemann in Argentina,[3] Collins this time documented Hegemann's importance as a reporter between the North American and European training, as well as his role as

organiser and compiler of the exhibitions of Berlin (1910) and Düsseldorf (1912) that were so decisive for the articulation of the language of the young discipline of urban planning. For the Argentine case, Ana María Rigotti, from the Universidad Nacional de Rosario, explained the crystallisation of *urbanismo* in the 1920s as a result of partial plans and innovations in urban management that took place since the 1880s, as happened in other countries of Latin America – with some chronological variations.

Conclusion
After the guests were presented with a well-illustrated book by Sonia Berjman about the works of French landscape designers in Buenos Aires,[4] which I mention to remind readers that this report has not considered sessions about landscape design, the conference was closed with reviews by Professors Carl Schorske (Princeton) and Tulio Halperin Donghi (University of California, Berkeley). The powerful conclusion, by the author of *Fin-de-siècle Vienna: politics and culture*,[5] pointed out that perhaps fifty years ago this conference would have been focused on functional modernism, and would probably have ignored the academicism that now seems to be reappraised. Without dismissing the intellectual interest of this reappraisal – confirmed by the variety and richness of the conference papers – Schorske exhorted, with the panoramic authority conferred by his age and work, the inclusion of modernism in future conferences, in order to get a whole review of the architectural and urban ethos of the turn of the century.

NOTES

1. A. Sutcliffe, *Towards the planned city. Germany, Britain, the United States and France, 1780-1940*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1981.

2. G.R. Collins and C.C. Collins, *Camillo Sitte: The Birth of Modern City Planning*, New York: Rizzoli, 1986.

3. C.C. Collins, 'Urban Interchange in the Southern Cone: Le Corbusier (1929) and Werner Hegernann (1931) in Argentina', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 54, No. 2 (1995) pp. 208-227.

4. S. Berjman, *Plazas y parques de Buenos Aires: la obra de los paisajstas franceses. André, Courtois, Thays, Bouvard, Forestier, 1860-1930*, Buenos Aires: Gobierno de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1998.

5. C.E. Schorske, *Fin-de-siècle Vienna: politics and culture*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.

Av. de Mayo entre Perú y Bolívar

Illustrations from the Conference brochure
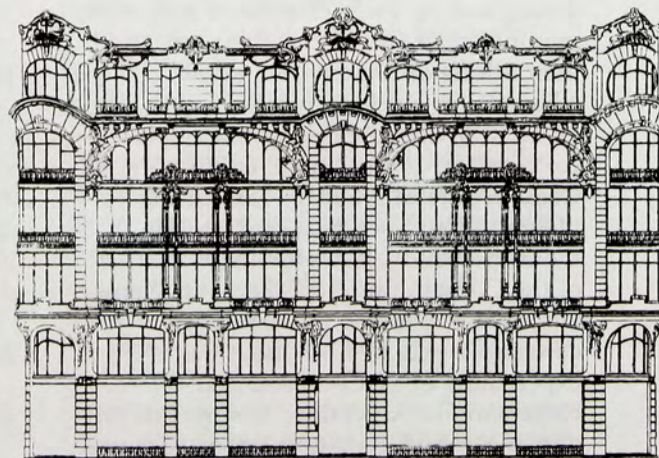
Edificio Av. de Mayo y San José. F. Di Baco, 1913

STEPHEN V. WARD
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Our Society assumes a certain rhythm in its activity. The biennial international conferences form the high points, when many members are able to meet together, disseminate personally their own work, hear what others are doing and think aloud, with others, about broader questions. Many personal contacts are formed, laying a basis for future research or publication projects, or other opportunities for contact. The few days of, and surrounding, these conferences undoubtedly represent the times when the sense of identification with the Society is most intense. New members join; lapsed memberships are resumed. The general mood of optimism about the possibilities for planning history and the IPHS is palpable. The simple truth is that the overall benefit generated by the Society is maximised at such events. It always is, I hope, more that just the sum of the individuals who comprise it, but the size of that additional benefit is almost certainly at its greatest during our conferences.

This does not mean that intervening periods, such as the present time, are times of inaction. For several officers, the level of activity continues much the same whether or not it is a conference year. Thus Peter Larkham, the Editor of this journal, works on a quite different cycle of activity, with high points three times each year, coinciding with production and distribution. *Planning History* is, of course, the most visible signifier of the IPHS's existence. His efforts, therefore, give even the most passive members amongst us the possibility of a shared act of engagement by reading about planning history matters. Along with Peter, other officers labour behind the scenes, processing financial transactions, attending to the details of running the Society in various ways.

The conference cycle itself also rolls onward, thanks to the efforts of the present Conference Convenor, Laura Kolbe, and the other members of the planning team. By the time they read this, members will almost certainly have seen the call for papers and other details for our next international conference in Helsinki from August 20-23, 2000. I was recently able to visit Helsinki to discuss the progress of the conference planning and am fully confident that this will be another great success for the Society. Readers will doubtless have been impressed by the attention to detail and the style with which the conference publicity material has been put together. I have been able to confirm at first hand that these same qualities pervade the whole conception and planning of the conference. The venues, at the Helsinki University of Technology and the University of Helsinki, combine the very best of modernism, designed by the great Finnish architect, Alvar Aalto, with the Russian-inspired classical grandeur of a nineteenth-century city that was also awakening to a desire for independence. The wider city itself, one of Europe's smaller capitals, also offers an inspirational and highly congenial setting. The conference field trips will allow delegates to study many of its features at first hand, and post-conference trips take in the wider Baltic region.

Another, very encouraging, feature of these conferences is the way in which they increase enthusiasm for planning history in the country in which they are located. My visit coincided with a meeting to establish a Finnish society interested in planning and urban history, a welcome affiliate to the formal and informal national or regional networks that already exist. One of the prime movers in this creation of this national body, Riitta Nikula, provides a fuller report elsewhere

in this issue [see p. 3]. These networks themselves can, and do, organise more national or regional gatherings that supplement the large international showpiece events. Australia and South Africa have been active in this regard. I hope shortly to be able to announce such a meeting in Britain. Across the Atlantic, the work of our largest affiliate, the Society for American City and Regional Planning History, has always been very closely synchronised with our own. November 1999 brings their conference in the American capital, planned in close liaison with the IPHS and having a very strong international programme, in addition to its usual North American focus.

Meanwhile, the conference planning cycle of our own Society rolls forward. Shortly the other officers and myself will begin considering the planning of our 2002 conference, following the deadline for submission of bids on September 30. Inevitably, as our biggest events have become more high profile, it has been necessary to institute a more formal bidding process. This does not mean, however, that we want or intend to narrow the possibilities for more informal events, organised on a shorter planning cycle and catering to area- or topic-based groupings. I would urge all members, as well as participating in our big events, to think always about the possibilities for promoting contacts on a more modest scale. Obviously we want to avoid events directly competing with each other, implying a small degree of overall co-ordination. But the scope for such action is immense. Please feel free to contact me personally on this issue, or indeed any others. The contents of my electronic mailbox <svward@brookes.ac.uk> would be far more tedious without the many messages I receive from planning historians across the world. Please keep them (and the conventional letters and faxes) coming!

PUBLICATIONS

Inclusion in these announcements of publication does not preclude fuller review at a later date

Christine Garnaut, *Colonel Light Gardens: Model Garden Suburb*, Darlinghurst, NSW: Crossing Press, 1999, ISBN 0 9586713 7 0, $(Austr)25.95 + $10 air mail postage. E-mail sales: sales@crossingpress.com.au

This book unravels the intriguing story behind the suburb's development; exploring the planning ideas and principles that shaped Colonel Light Gardens and its unique plan. It tells the story of the founding decade (1917-1927), and incorporates residents' memories of living and growing up in the garden suburb. It describes typical house plans and their internal and external features, as well as garden layouts. It brings together more than 80 photographs, maps and plans, many previously unpublished, including a copy of the original 1917 model garden suburb bird's-eye perspective. (From author.)

Mervyn Miller, *Architects of Letchworth Garden City*, individual A4 brochures published by Letchworth Garden City Heritage Foundation, 1999, £1.95 each

As Letchworth approaches its centenary, the Heritage Foundation has paid tribute to the architects whose work, both in respect of master-planning the Garden City and on individual buildings, has created the very special Garden City environment.

Three brochures have been published so far, on the work of Parker & Unwin, C.M. Crickner, and Cecil Hignett. More are planned. They are written by Dr Mervyn Miller, whose work on the Garden City is well known to IPHS members. They each comprise siz A4 sides arranged as a single fold-out sheet; well-designed, readable and well illustrated.

Parker and Unwin, who drew up the 1904 master-plan which superimposed Ebenezer Howard's garden city concept over the undulating contours of North Hertfordshire, went on to design some of the town's finest groupings of houses.

Crickmer, the most important Letchworth architect outside the Parker and Unwin circle, was both prolific and inspired, designing such notable buildings as the Letchworth Library and Meadow Way Green.

Hignett's contribution was also substantial, ranging from the Spirella building and the British Tabulating Machine Works to domestic properties. (From the Heritage Foundation.)

Vilma Hastaoglou-Martinidis, *Restructuring the City: International Competitions for Thessaloniki*, Papadakis Publishing, 1999, ISBN 1 901092 16 X, £30.00

Han Meyer, *City and Port: Transformation of Port Cities: London, Barcelona, New York, Rotterdam*, Utrecht, International Books, 1999, ISBN 90 5727 020 X, 432 pp, $(US) 65.00

John W. Reps, *Bird's Eye Views: Historic Lithographs of North American Cities*, Princeton Architectural Press, 1999, ISBN 1 56898 146 5, £50.00

Gerald McSheffrey, *Planning Derry: Planning and Politics in Northern Ireland*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999, ISBN 0 85323 724 7, £30.00 pb; 0 85323 714 X, £49.00 hb

Sarah Landau and **Carl Condit**, *Rise of the New York Skyscraper*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1999, ISBN 0 300 07739 4, £17.50 (new edition paperback)

Adriaan Van Der Staay, *Landscape Architecture and Town Planning in the Netherlands* (in English and Dutch), Thoth Uitgeverij, 1999, ISBN 90 6868 194 X, £24.95 pb

Nancy S. Steinhardt, *Chinese Imperial City Planning*, University of Hawaii Press, 1999, ISBN 0 8248 2196 3, £16.99, new edition pb

Douglass Shand-Tucci, *Built in Boston: City and Suburb, 1800-2000*, Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999, ISBN 1 55849 201 1, £19.95, revised edition pb

Frank A. Brandall, *History of the Development of Building Construction in Chicago* (revised edition), Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999, ISBN 0 252 02416 8, £42.70

Standish Meachan, *Regaining Paradise: Englishness and the Early Garden City Movement*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999, ISBN 0 300 07572 3, £25.00 hb

Anthony Scrase, *Streets and Market Places in Towns of Southwest England: Encroachments and Improvements*, Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 1999, ISBN 0 7734 7953 8, £39.95 (note: 20% discount offered for pre-payment: £34.46; tel: +(0)1570 423356)

(Titles and details taken from publishers' catalogues and the trade press. Contributions for this section are very welcome!)

Kenneth Watts, *Outwards from Home: a Planner's Odyssey*. The Book Guild, Sussex, 1997. 171 pages, ISBN 1 85776 271 1, £16.95

This is the short autobiography of a British planner who held senior positions in the United Nations over the two decades from 1951 to 1971, mostly in the developing countries of South-East Asia. Its author describes it as an 'intellectual memoir' on the theory and practice of urban policy – "a harvest of thoughts that have accumulated over a career spent mostly in the service of the United Nations" (p. xiii).

The whole book is imbued with a sense of optimism, conviction and commitment to the United Nations ideal. The foreword, by Professor Nigel Harris (of the Development Planning Unit, University College London), sets the tone:

"Kenneth Watts was one of that generation which set out in 1945 to remake the world so that poverty and war would be ended. The state was to be the instrument to achieve these high purposes, through the exploitation of science and the rational planning of society. It is a measure of how far the world has travelled in the ensuing half century that the common-sense of the best generation in the 1940s has today come to be seen as uncommon sense, the height of the unfashionable" (p. x).

Watts calls his career "a kind of metaphor for that of the profession as a whole", moving from technical city and regional development to broader fields of management, and his closing

words to the book call for a re-affirmation of Articles 1.3 and 1.4 of the UN Charter:

"To achieve international co-operation in solving problems of an economic, social and humanitarian character" and "to be a centre for harmonising the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends".

The first part of the book ('The intellectual foundations'), which occupies more than a third of its length, is an account of the intellectual influences on Watts. A graduate in geography and mathematics from Southampton, and demobilised at the age of 26 in 1947 after four years in the army, his career was shaped by a correspondence course he took from the Association for Planning and Research for Regional Reconstruction (APRR). He was influenced by the now virtually forgotten figure of the APRR's "founder and presiding genius", E.A.A. Rowse, a disciple of Patrick Geddes who had devised a planning course at the Architectural Association in the 1930s and was a life-long advocate of the global-scale physical planning to combat the problems of rapid population growth and rural-urban migration. Watts absorbed from Rowse an idealistic belief that planning could be the 'Great Panacea', bringing order and a sense of community into a world damaged by war, at a time when "British planning was regarded as a paradigm throughout the world" (p. xiv). He expounds a view of planning based on five principles: a national planning framework, planning at the regional scale, large cities were "fundamentally antipathetic to

human existence", "every attempt should be made to decentralise people", and "survey before plan".

The second part ('The experience'), deals with Watts' years as a planner in developing countries. From 1951 to 1956 he joined Sir George Pepler's team preparing a master plan for Singapore, where he found a climate of regulation that made it easy to transfer the British model of tight land use control (as he saw it). He then moved to Jakarta for three years, working on an 'outline plan' (the highlight of which seems to have been to propose a new ring road for the city), and helping to establish a School of Planning at the Bandung Institute. In 1963 he went to the Housing Building and Planning Branch of the United Nations headquarters in New York, and gives an account of the various projects with which he was involved; which he classifies into national plans or strategies, urban and regional planning projects, and "projects concerned with all aspects of the construction and housing and improvement of the local environment". Amongst them were the post-earthquake reconstruction of Skopje, the attempt to create a Calcutta Metropolitan Development Authority, and housing programmes under the influence of Charles Abrams and John Turner. He closes the account of his career with his move in 1971 into the management of technical assistance projects in the Asia and Pacific region.

The book ends with a sixteen-page conclusion, in which Watts expresses a desire for the world to rediscover some of its lost idealism, with a wider role for governments and local empowerment, and regrets the

inward-looking "culture of contentment" in the affluent countries of the world. Unsurprisingly, given his personal commitment and career, he looks to a revitalised United Nations which can provide "dispassionate advice" and be "a catalyst for the interchange of ideas and concepts".

Watts has given us an account of the early years of United Nations technical assistance, but it lacks the little personal details and anecdotes that would bring it more alive. He includes nothing of his war-time experiences, nor how he came to write the report on economic problems of Singapore, which apparently got him his job there in 1951. What was it like to live in Singapore and Indonesia in the 1950s, and work at the UN Headquarters in the 1960s? Could we not have more personal impressions of the various VIPs (planners and politicians) who appear in his pages? He evaluates some of the projects with which he was involved, but we do not get much feel for what these projects were really like to work on – their successes and failures. Did he ever speak to the common people whom these projects were supposed to have benefited? We are left with an interesting memoir, but one which promised rather more.

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Alan Rogers, *The Most Revolutionary Measure. A History of the Rural Development Commission 1909-1999*, Salisbury, Rural Development Commission (Countryside Agency), 1999, 142 pages, ISBN 1 869964 71 3

I must declare a personal interest. As a schoolboy, holidays were spent with my grandfather, a blacksmith in the Hampshire Downs of southern England. I recall his immense sense of gratitude to the Rural Industries Bureau, through which he had learned oxy-acetylene welding between the wars and electric welding in the early 1950s. If he found the occasional visits by John Gale from the Bureau invaluable for the information imparted as to what was happening 'out there', I suspect that those conversations over the anvil were an obvious opportunity for Gale to discover how such craftsmen were adjusting as farming rapidly became more mechanised.

Far from being a stuffy 'official history' of the Development Commission and such associated bodies as the Rural Industries Bureau, Alan Rogers has provided an immensely readable account of their changing purpose, activities and key personalities, set within the context of the main economic, social and political developments of the twentieth century. One of the most original and immensely informative parts of Dr Rogers' earlier volume, *Rural Planning in England and Wales in the Twentieth Century*, was his chapter on the development of rural communities and their economies. His co-author for that volume, Gordon Cherry, encouraged him to write more

on the Development Commission, and this is the result. Neither the Commission, in supporting the venture, nor the author, realised that it would become something of an obituary, in the sense of being published shortly before absorption with the Countryside Commission for England into a new Countryside Agency.

Notice of the Commission's birth was given by David Lloyd George, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in his famous Budget Statement of April 1909. The 'development scheme' was part of a varied package of social and economic reforms intended to revive the rural economy and social life. Not only did the announcement acknowledge a responsibility on the part of the State, but it reflected the increasing enthusiasm of that period for what was becoming known as the 'scientific approach', both toward productive processes and management. Although the second reading of the Development and Road Improvement Funds Bill was held up, in order to expedite the passage of the first town planning measure, the Housing, Town Planning &c. Bill, a Royal Warrant for the appointment of the first Development Commissioners was signed in May 1910. Neither measure was drafted in heroic terms.

Although the Labour leader, Keir Hardie, described the later Bill as the "most revolutionary measure" introduced by the British Government, the Commissioners had neither a budget of their own nor the executive powers to carry out the necessary works. They simply recommended how the Development Fund might be used to advance the activities of

existing bodies and those specifically established for the purpose. Where the agricultural research supported in institutes, colleges and universities continued to take the lion's share of annual disbursements from the Fund, it was the support given to the Rural Industries Intelligence Bureau, appointed in 1923, and its network of advisers in rural crafts and industries, together with the social and community developments, that became the Commission's public face. As well as publications on such topics as 'Book-keeping for small rural industries' and 'Poultry feathers (their utilisation in industry)', a start was made in giving practical advice to such crafts as wheelwrights. With national and county branches of the Master Farriers' Association, the Bureau put on demonstrations of acetylene welding. An experimental blacksmith's demonstration van, showing 'modern methods and simple machinery' toured Oxfordshire in 1924. If the ethos under the Bureau's Director, Cosmo Clark, was "almost evangelistic", the Chairman of its successor body, the Council for Small Industries in Rural Areas, might still describe the work of Organisers, some thirty years later, as "a complicated mixture of commercial samaritanism, advocacy of the parable of the talents, and industrial midwifery".

The commitment to "co-operation in agriculture", as enshrined in the 1909 Act, had meanwhile allowed the Commissioners to play an increasing role in supporting social and community development in rural areas, principally through the Village Clubs Association, Women's Institutes, and a third

organisation concerned with rural social development, the National Council of Social Service, founded in 1919. Where the over-riding purpose of the Commission's policies to combat unemployment and maintain social and cultural facilities was that of stemming the tide of rural depopulation, the impacts of immigration to the countryside, whether as a place of residence or for recreation, became, by the 1960s, a matter of increasing concern.

As well as insights into the assumptions and working practices of such a body, the Development Commission itself provides a valuable case study of the kind of 'networking' that might exist within and between the various parts of Government, and the constituencies they were designed to serve. By the time that the founder-Chairman, Lord Richard Cavendish, retired in 1946, both he and three other Commissioners had served for a total of 116 years. A principal achievement of both that earlier generation, and of the new Chairman, Lady Albemarle, was to survive the much-vaunted economies made in public expenditure during the early 1920s and 1950s. The almost obsessively 'responsible' attitude of the Commissioners towards the expenditure of public monies, and their recruitment from the 'great and the good', must have helped. Perhaps most critically, whilst even the Treasury conceded that the Government should be seen to be supporting such rural concerns, no other department or agency saw advantage for itself in assuming such responsibilities.

Where Dr Rogers could write of how the Development Commission's factory and

workshop programme had become, by any standards, an impressive achievement in the 1970s, it came not a decade too soon. Whether the Government of Harold Wilson or Margaret Thatcher, each tried to put their stamp on rural development. With renewed concern for the optimal use of resources, other parts of Government and its agencies now saw political capital in addressing such issues as rural regeneration and resource conservation. In that sense, it was a remarkable achievement that the Development Commission should retain so large a measure of independence. Under the Miscellaneous Financial Provisions Act of 1983, it acquired the status of a grant-in-aid body, alongside the Countryside Commission and Nature Conservancy Council. As well as executive powers, it was given a much broader responsibility for advice on "matters relating to the social and economic development of rural areas". Its structure became more streamlined. It capitalised on its tradition of working in partnership with other organisations. It emphasised how notions of sustainable development should embrace not only scenery and wildlife, but the local human communities of the countryside. And yet it still seemed amateurish among the other, increasingly business-like, rural agencies. With its considerably enhanced potential, it was ripe for a 'take over' that came with the new Labour Government of 1997.

Alan Rogers has written a succinct and lucid account of a 'minnow in a huge pond' of twentieth-century British life. In the sense that it would be foolish

for the planning historian to confine attention to the great departments of State, and the 'stuff' of fierce political controversy, here is the chance to secure historical context through tracing the fate and fortunes of a Commission over

nine decades. Assessment may be made of the competence and commitment of ministers, officials, and professional and voluntary bodies, in their handling of issues such as chronic unemployment and social and cultural

backwardness, where they were of undoubted significance but outside the public spotlight.

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JOURNAL ABSTRACTS

Arturo Almandoz (1999) 'Transfer of urban ideas: the emergence of Venezuelan urbanism in the proposals for 1930s Caracas', *International Planning Studies* vol. 4 no. 1 pp. 79-96

This article focuses on the emergence of Venezuela's modern urbanism through the proposals for 1930s' Caracas. In an effort to combine the different discourses which underpinned the urban discipline, both technical and legal literature are reviewed. As a way of illustrating how urbanistic ideas travelled from Europe to Latin America until the early decades of this century, the article stresses the professional background of the French urbanists called to design the 1939 'Plan Monumental' of Caracas. The role of the local administration in assembling the different strands which had shaped Venezuelan urbanism since the late-19th century is highlighted.

Stephen V. Ward (1999) 'The international diffusion of planning: a review and a Canadian case study', *International Planning Studies* vol. 4 no. 1 pp. 53-78.

This article notes the different approaches to the international diffusion of planning ideas and practices. It briefly reviews the principal body of work by planning historians to highlight the key themes of such studies. This previous work is then used to develop a simple typology of diffusional episodes, based on the power relationshop between the two parties to the diffusion relationship. Thus several forms of imposition and several forms of borrowing are identified. This typology is then used to inform a case study of Canadian planning, focusing particularly on Vancouver. The case study shows how Canada's planning was shaped by recurrent encounters with two major international planning traditions, those of Britain and the US,

particularly the latter. These encounters initially resulted in episodes of undiluted borrowing, alternately, from both traditions. Increasingly after 1945, however, these borrowings became more selective, forst from Britain and then from the US. By the late 1960s, other international influences were also apparent and Canadian planning exhibited a more synthetic approach, achieving real distinctiveness. Interpretations based on context and the autonomous roles of individuals are considered but greatest emphasis is placed on the role of the reformist and professional milieux in determining the origins and extent of Canadian borrowings. The article concludes by suggesting that the existence, however weak, of such milieux within the country importing planning ideas and practices may be crucial to the distinction between borrowing and imposition.

NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

The prime aim of *Planning History* is to increase awareness of developments and ideas in planning history in all parts of the world. In pursuit of this, contributions (in English) are invited from members and non-members of the International Planning History Society alike, for any section of *Planning History*. Non-native English speakers should not be concerned if their English is not perfect. The Editor will be happy to help improve its readability and comprehension, but unfortunately neither he nor the Society can undertake translations.

Contributors should supply one copy of their text, clearly printed, in double spacing and with generous margins. Do not supply copy already in column format. A disk copy is also encouraged, which should be in Word Perfect or Word for PC if possible. Illustrations should be clear black and white photographs with good contrast (it is rarely possible to print satisfactorily from colour transparencies or photocopies) or good quality line drawings. Contributors are responsible for securing any necessary copyright permissions to reproduce illustrations, and to ensure adequate acknowledgement. Captions should be printed double-spaced on a separate page.

ARTICLES

These should be in the range of 2,500 - 3,000 words. They may be on any topic within the general remit of the IPHS and may well reflect work in progress. Articles should normally be referenced with superscript numbers and endnotes. Refer to recent issues for guidance on referencing and text style.

OTHER CONTRIBUTIONS

Other types of contribution are also very welcome. Research reports should not be of more than 2,000 words. They need not be referenced, but any relevant publications should be listed at the end, in the standard format. Illustrations, where provided, should conform to the above notes. Similar short pieces on important source materials, aspects of planning history practice (e.g. conservation) are also encouraged.

Notices of relevant publications from publishers' publicity material are useful; and full publication reviews (700 - 1,000 words) are encouraged. Abstracts of relevant journal papers, particularly those originally published in a language other than English, are requested.

Reports of recent conferences and other events are very welcome, and should conform to the above notes on style and layout.

NOTICES OF CURRENT EVENTS

These are welcome from any part of the world. Organisers of events should, however, bear in mind that *Planning History* is only published three times per year; normally in April, August and December. Please try to ensure that Calls for Papers etc. are notified to the Editor in sufficient time for inclusion. Later inserts are possible at the time of despatch. Sufficient copies, folded as required, must be supplied by the event organiser. Nothing larger than a single A4 sheet will normally be accepted. Every effort will be made to include such inserted news material without cost. However, the Editor reserves the right to make a charge for such material at normal advertising rates.

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Planning History has a circulation of approximately 400, reaching most of the world's active planning historians, mainly in academic institutions. Publishers, in particular, will find it a useful way of publicising new books, journals etc. Advertisements can be carried either printed within the journal, or as inserts. Sufficient copies of inserts must be supplied in good time for despatch.
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Please also refer to the revised Instructions to Authors published as page 56 of *Planning History* vol. 21 no. 2 1999.

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THE INTERNATIONAL PLANNING HISTORY SOCIETY

- endeavours to foster the study of planning history. It seeks to advance scholarship in the fields of history, planning and the environment, particularly focusing on industrial and post-industrial cities. In pursuit of these aims its interests are worldwide;
- welcomes members from both academic disciplines and the professions of the built environment. Membership of the Society is both multi-disciplinary and practice-oriented;
- encourages and gives support to networks, which may be interest-based, region- or nation-based, working in the fields of planning history;
- provides services for members: publishing a journal, promoting conferences, and providing an international framework for informal individual member contact;
- invites national organisations, whose work is relevant to IPHS, to affiliate status;
- administers its affairs through an elected Council and Management Board.

The Society was inaugurated in January 1993 as a successor body to the Planning History Society, founded in 1974. Its membership is drawn from several disciplines: planning, architecture, economic and social history, geography, sociology, politics and related fields. Membership is open to all who have a working interest in planning history. The Society for American City and Regional Planning History (SACRPH) and the Urban History Association (UHA) are American affiliates of IPHS.

Members of IPHS elect a governing Council every two years. In turn, the Council elects an executive Board of Management, complemented by representatives of SACRPH and UHA. The President chairs the Board and Council.

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