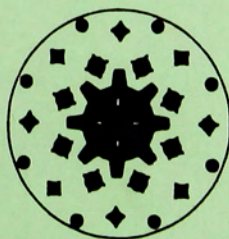


PLANNING HISTORY

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EDITORIAL

PETER J. LARKHAM, UNIVERSITY OF CENTRAL ENGLAND

It seems that three years have passed in a flash: but it has been that long since I took over editing this journal from my colleague Michael Harrison. It is now my turn to hand over to a new pair of hands. We have actively sought an editor from outside the UK, in order to demonstrate the international operations of the IPHS. Although interest was expressed, personal circumstances and problems of institutional support have meant that the editorship will remain in the UK for the time being.

Editing this journal, and dealing with suggestions, inquiries and information from IPHS members the world over, has been a stimulating and pleasant experience: even if, three times a year, a slightly worrying one! Will all reviewers return their comments promptly; will authors revise their manuscripts satisfactorily; will the illustrations reproduce well (sadly, not all do); will the page layout work well; and what errors have my proof-reading missed this time?¹ After that, the envelope-stuffing and mailing are mere relaxation! But a three-year term is appropriate. One learns during the first year, gets into the swing of things during the second, and hands over before one has become tired or bored. Yet there is still scope to add a little personal editorial stamp on the journal.

Looking back on three years, I think it appropriate to highlight several features which suggest that the journal is in good shape to hand on. First, the geographical spread of content continues to be broad, even though there are still some under- or un-represented parts of the world! We have carried papers from authors in Australia, Brazil, Canada, France, Greece, New Zealand, Poland, Russia, South Africa (4), Spain, Turkey, the UK (7) and the USA (2). I particularly regret,

however, the lack of contributions from the Near, Middle and Far East.

Likewise, the spread of topics covered has been healthy. Readers may have spotted that I have deliberately attempted to broaden the span of 'planning history' away from the focus on the industrial city – there was even a paper on mediaeval town planning! Traditional topics, including green belts and garden cities, received coverage too. Several papers have dealt with some fundamental issues underpinning planning history and its academic study, notably that by John Muller: we do need to continue reviewing both how and why we study this history.

Sadly there has been only one paper touching on the *teaching* of planning history, in this issue. I am sorry that more members did not take up the challenge of this theme, particularly as we need to encourage more students to study planning history, and to go on to do research, if the discipline is to continue into the future! I am particularly sorry since this was an issue about which I was corresponding with Gordon Cherry immediately before his final illness. He wrote that

"An issue to climb up the agenda in IPHS circles in recent months has been the teaching of planning history. It is alleged that planning history enters feebly into planning education, and this weakness contributes to a generally ahistorical stance in planning programmes ... IPHS believes it ought to be able to influence [this]."

We still have to respond to Gordon's challenge!

I am particularly pleased that we have moved to a point where every contribution is reviewed by at least one reviewer other

than the editor. This does appear to be paying dividends in ensuring the quality of the material published. Readers have commented on this, and authors welcome the increased standing of a peer-reviewed journal in these times of continual 'research reviews'.

I am also glad that we were able to compile and publish an index to ten years of the journal's output (1988-1998). Without such a method of accessing the journal's contents the journal has little academic worth; however, a systematic 'trawl' through the actual pages themselves can, of course, be rewarding – if time-consuming!

I must, with the greatest of pleasure, thank all those whose support has been invaluable during the past three years. Stephen Ward, Rob Freestone and Arturo Almandoz have all been extremely valuable sources of suggestions and material. David Massey has been consistently encouraging. Other members of the Editorial Board – and other colleagues – have responded very positively to my requests to review manuscripts. Tony Sutcliffe helpfully suggested material and kept the link with

Planning Perspectives alive. Most practically, Malcolm Read and his staff in the Design and Print Unit at UCE have done a sterling job in printing the copies, promptly and to a good standard, at a very reasonable price.

I now hand over to the new editor, Dr Mark Clapson, of the Department of History at the University of Luton. IPHS members will recall Mark's book on the post-war development of UK New Towns and suburbs, *Invincible Green Suburbs, Brave New Towns* (Manchester University Press, 1998). Mark is also organising a 1-day seminar on 'Americanisation and the British city in the twentieth century' on behalf of the IPHS in May: some of the contributions may well find their way into the journal. I trust that the 'old faithfuls' will continue to support Mark as they have me; and that he will find his period of editorship equally rewarding.

1. The sharp-eyed will have noted the lack of a cover logo on Vol. 20 No. 2: I still use the traditional 'paste-up' approach, but between my office and the print room, it fell off ...

New Editorial Address

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E-mail: mark.clapson@luton.ac.uk

NOTICES

Margaret Cherry

Many IPHS members will be sad to learn of the death of Margaret, wife of the Society's former president Gordon Cherry.

Margaret was kind to all visitors, and extremely hospitable to overseas guests fortunate enough to receive an invitation to stay at their house. Sadly she had been ill for some time, and died in early February 2000. A memorial service was held in the tiny village church at Hampton in Arden, which they had both supported.

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: postal address on Editorial page; also mark.clapson@luton.ac.uk Fax: 01582 489014

IPHS Conference, Helsinki, 2000

The main theme of the Conference will be: Centre – Periphery – Globalization, Past and Present. This should be of interest to, among others, urban and cultural historians, architects, town planners, sociologists and geographers. The themes have a historical background yet are also acute contemporary topics. Sessions include:

(RE)DEFINING PERIPHERY
How to (re)conceptualize the periphery?
Changing peripheries of cities/ cities of peripheries
Periphery as a place, landscape, border zone, planning object

THE POSTMODERN CITY: MUSEUM OR MACHINE
Urban tourism in cities – virtual tourism
Heritage thematized – reinventing local histories
From the industrial city to an innovation centre
Technopolis as a planning model
Know-how élites and the city
The interplay between heritage islands and Technopolises

THE MULTICULTURAL CITY IN HISTORY

The multicultural city as a problem and challenge: changing marginalization, differentiation and integration
Baltic cities as multicultural cities: the creolization of identities?
How do planners meet the challenge of the multicultural city?

THE EMBODIED CITY

Our cities as 'a home' and 'the world'
Globalized meanings and places
The embodied city: interpreted and experienced

MODERN PLANNING THEORIES AND POLICIES

How do planning policies confront globalizing cities?
Centre and periphery in planning theories, periphery in the shadow of cities.

FINAL PANEL DISCUSSION

The (real) end of town planning?

The full programme of papers has now been published. Details of these, and the conference arrangements, can be found on the conference website.

LOCATION

The conference venue will be the Main Building of the Helsinki University of Technology (HUT) in the City of Espoo, 8 km from the centre of Helsinki.

PARTICIPATION FEE

The conference fee is €260

NOTICES

(FIM 1500), which includes conference papers, meals, excursions, evening programmes and conference bag.

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Preservation of rare survivor

The last remaining example of back-to-back housing in Birmingham (50-54 Inge Street, built 1789) is to be restored and converted to provide a heritage centre, shops and cafe, by the Birmingham Conservation Trust.

This is an extremely rare survivor of the slum housing made redundant by nineteenth-century bye-law standards and largely replaced by twentieth-century slum clearance schemes.

Information sought: Adrian Berrington (1887-1923)

Architectural historian seeks primary sources and other information on the British architect and town planner Adrian Berrington (1887-1923). He studied in Liverpool, worked with R. Frank Atkinson, Reginald Blomfield, Patrick Geddes and H.V. Lanchester; corresponded with D.H. Lawrence, served during the First World War in France and Belgium and worked for the War Graves Commission; was acquainted with Siegfried Sassoon and Wilfred Owen; won a prize in a Paris masterplan competition and became Assistant Professor for town planning at Toronto University (both in 1920). Berrington was a talented draughtsman, etcher and water-colourist, and any information about drawings,

paintings and etchings in collections and archives is particularly welcomed.

Please contact: Dr. Volker M. Welter, Department of Architecture, Edinburgh University, 20 Chambers Street, Edinburgh EH1 1JZ, UK; Fax 44 (0)131 650 8019, E-mail: V.Welter@ed.ac.uk

Information sought: post-war reconstruction planners

We are seeking biographical information on the various UK-based planners (and architects) who were active in drawing up the several hundred 'reconstruction plans' in the period 1941-51.

The very famous have biographies and entries in the *Dictionary of National Biography*; but information on the following (and others) would be helpful:

W. Dobson Chapman
Anthony M. Chitty
A. Trystan Edwards
Austen St B. Harrison
A.D. Harvey
R. Pearce S. Hubbard
H. Jackson
C.H. James
T.A. Lloyd
A. Minoprio
Manning Robertson
S. Rowland Pierce
H.C. Rowley
Hugh Spencely
P.H. Warwick

Additional details of Geoffrey Jellicoe's plans for Guildford and Mablethorpe and Sutton-on-Sea, and Clough Williams-

NOTICES

Ellis's plan for Bewdley, would be welcome.

Please contact Peter Larkham (address inside cover) or Keith Lilley, School of Geography, Queen's University Belfast, Belfast, BT7 1NN, Northern Ireland.

Letchworth Garden City Heritage Foundation

Following the note on Mervyn Miller's brochures on Letchworth architects, several members have requested the address of the Heritage Foundation: it is

Letchworth Garden City
Heritage Foundation
Suite 401
The Spirella Building
Bridge Road
Letchworth Garden City
Hertfordshire,
SG6 4ET, UK.
Tel: +01462 476000
Fax: +01462 476050
Web: www.letchworth.com
E-mail: info@letchworth.com

Mervyn notes that several more pamphlets are being prepared for publication later this year.

Welcome to new IPHS members

Keith D. Lilley
School of Geography
Queen's University Belfast
Belfast
BT7 1NN

Keith has major research interests in the planning and design of mediaeval towns; he has also published on how more recent planners perceive and deal with the form of mediaeval towns, and is currently researching aspects of post-World War II reconstruction planning (see earlier).

Tertu Pakarinen
Sepankatu 11 C 32
33230 Tampere
Finland

Dr Azza Elishe
Alain UAE University
College of Engineering
Alain
Abu Dhabi
United Arab Emirates

Celebrating Corbusier and Chandigarh

The Swiss Arts Council, the Embassy of Switzerland in India, and the Saakaar Foundation are celebrating the 50th anniversary of the inception of Chandigarh through publication of a book, a travelling exhibition and a multi-media programme.

The exhibition is titled 'A dream realised: an overview of ideas that became cities'. It consists of 54 panels detailing the life and works of the Swiss cousins, Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret. The panels are illustrated with drawings, sketches, photographs and quotes conveying their philosophy of architecture and city planning. The exhibition will be seen at Delhi, Calcutta, Mumbai, Chennai, Bangalore, Ahmedabad and Chandigarh.

The book is written by Sarbjit Bagha and Surinder Bagha. In addition to Chandigarh it attempts to cover the entire Indian works of the two architects – including Le Corbusier's work at Ahmedabad and the Bhakra Dam at Nangal. "It examines the full and extraordinary range of [their] ideas which encompass contemporary town planning, innovative uses of space, and modular standardisation".

A multi-media CD-ROM supports the exhibition display with additional material including virtual tours of buildings not normally open to visitors.

(From press release, Saakaar Foundation.)

OBITUARY M.R.G. CONZEN

M.R.G. Conzen, Emeritus Professor of Human Geography at the University of Newcastle upon Tyne, died in February 2000 at the age of 93.

Con, as he was widely known, has a place in the history of planning in Britain in his own right. Arriving as a refugee from the Nazis in London in 1933, he was advised to become a town planner – and was one of the first two students to enrol on the new course at the University of Manchester. On graduating he worked as a planner until the outbreak of war, publishing a paper on the science of planning in *Town Planning Review* (1938). His work in planning was curtailed as war was declared before his naturalization papers arrived: when this was resolved, he returned to academic work simultaneously in planning and geography.

His publications spanned the years 1938 to 1998. Although he did not have the high volume of output demanded by today's academic environment, his papers were sharp, thoughtful and rich in concepts. Later scholars have proved his ideas to be of wide application.

His own work focused on the field of urban morphology – the study of the form of settlements. Within this, obviously, the history of planning formed a large part. Approaches to planning and managing the urban landscape, and the forms of planned landscapes, underpin many of his papers. He published on the form of settlements in the North-East of England (1949); made a significant contribution to the *Survey of Whitby* (1958); and analysed the development of Newcastle's city centre (1962). His *magnum opus* was an analysis of the town plan of Alnwick, Northumberland (1960), in which he

developed many concepts to explain the development of English mediaeval towns, recognising their complex – and often planned – nature.

After his retirement he began work on the planning of Japanese castle towns. With typical thoroughness he began to learn Japanese, in order to gain a better understanding of source materials and culture. A short paper resulted in 1981.

His last publication was in 1998, a short comment 'apropos a sounder philosophical basis for urban morphology', appropriately published in *Urban Morphology*, a journal set up by the International Seminar on Urban Form to facilitate international collaboration and comparative study in the field which he, in Britain at least, pioneered.

Con is survived by his son Michael, Professor of Geography at the University of Chicago.

Peter J. Larkham
School of Planning
University of Central England

Publications:

Four of Conzen's key papers are reproduced, together with discussion of their background and developments, in J.W.R. Whitehand (ed.) *The Urban Landscape: Historical Development and Management. Papers by M.R.G. Conzen*, Institute of British Geographers Special Publication 13, London: Academic Press, 1981.

A *festschrift* was published: T.R. Slater (ed.) *The Built Form of Western Cities*, Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1990.

MUST THE WALLS BE TORN DOWN? THE CULTURAL DIMENSION OF URBAN PLANNING IN CHINA

MINGZHENG SHI

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Revised manuscript accepted for publication 15 December 1999

Introduction

The city walls of Beijing, an architectural wonder of Chinese history and culture, were demolished in the twentieth century to make way for modern urban planning and design. Having survived numerous natural disasters, peasant rebellions and foreign invasions, the centuries-old walls finally fell victim to the modernist forces of urban renewal early in the century and to the destructive forces of Maoist socialism in the middle of the century.

Must the walls be torn down? Long after the walls vanished, decades ago, debates about the decision to raze them continue to this very day in China. Some denounce the authoritarian Communist regime for its criminal assault on a landmark of Chinese civilization. Others harbour a post-modernist nostalgia for historical and cultural artifacts and criticize the failures of modernist city planning. Whatever the case may be, as a monument and symbol of a bygone era, Beijing's city walls still figure prominently in the collective memories of urban Chinese. This paper will use Beijing's planning history in general, and the dismantling of the city's walls in particular, as a case study to explore the cultural dimensions of Chinese planning experience in the twentieth century. Based on the theoretical premise that urban planning ultimately reflects cultural visions, political ideologies and power relations, this paper argues that modern urban planning is a product of the

interaction and fusion between Western concepts of city development and Chinese indigenous urban traditions.

On the one hand, it reflects tensions, conflicts, and accommodations between impulses of global forces or ideological and political monuments to reduce Chinese cities into decontextualized uniformity. On the other, it represents the heightened appreciation for Chinese cultural roots and local sensibilities in spatial arrangements. The future of Chinese urban planning is destined to transcend both modernism driven by the pursuit of rationality and functionality and rigidified socialist politics, and must be based on a pluralistic and multi-dimensional sense of Chinese history and culture.

"A spatial pattern as intricate as the design of an ancient bronze"

Chinese imperial urban planning was characterized by its basic design principles of centrality, axiality and rectilinearity, a spatial pattern as intricate as the design of an ancient bronze (Churchill, 1962) (Fig. 1). It was based on a syncretic worldview that emphasized the centrality of the emperor as the pivot of the four quarters of the universe, and combined traditional Chinese cosmology, the *ying* and *yang* and five-element theories, and *feng shui* geomancy.

The uniqueness of pre-modern Chinese city planning lies in the fact that the buildings and their locations within the

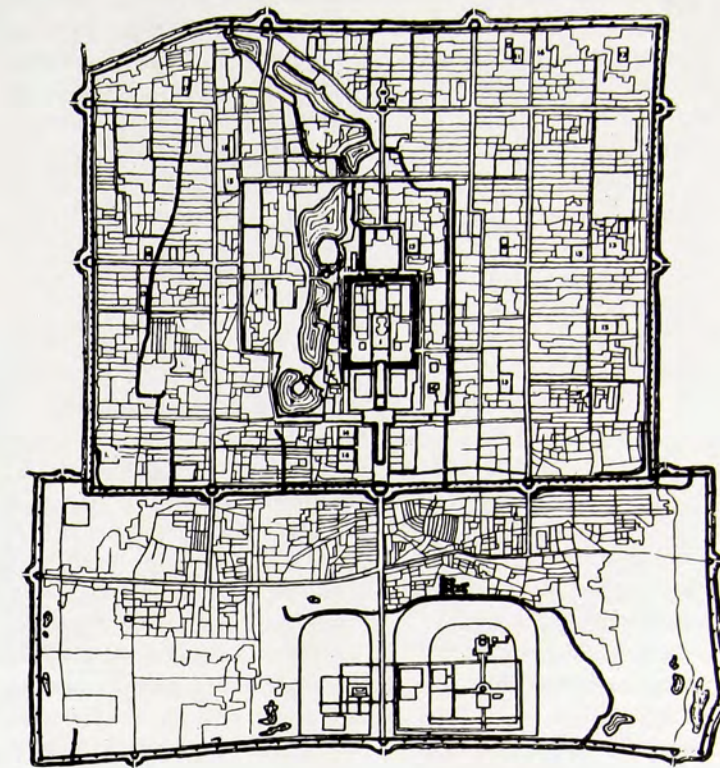


Fig. 1 Plan of Beijing from the seventeenth through to the nineteenth centuries
(source: adapted from Steinhardt, 1999)

city were pre-established by age-old traditions set forth in revered literature or documents of the classical age (Steinhardt, 1990). These ritual and divination texts include *Zhou Li* (*The Rites of Zhou*) and *Yi Jing* (*The Book of Changes*). According to *Zhou Li Kaogongji*, a planning and construction text, a city should be built in a square with three gates on each side. Preferably surrounded by hills in the distance with a river system running through it, the wall- and moat-enclosed city should have an area of about seven square miles, a good size for a pedestrian city. Inside the city, there should be thoroughfares running north to south intersecting with other east-west thoroughfares. Major buildings in the city should face south, the best of the four cardinal directions. On the east side of city an ancestral temple should be built, while on the west side there should be a state shrine. The market-place is usually situated in the north, while the imperial palaces lie in the southern part of the city.

No cities in Chinese history were built exactly according to these ancient planning principles. However, Beijing, China's capital city built in the fifteenth century, adopted many elements of this planning ideal. With its layout and structure epitomized by a seemingly endless maze of walled compounds within walled compounds, Beijing represents a highly-regimented city conditioned by the prescriptions of the imperial cosmology and its geomantic modularity (Wu, 1986; Meyer, 1991).

Traditional city-plans were almost always square or rectangular rather than circular or irregular, reflecting Chinese cosmological belief that the heavens were round while the earth was square. Nearly all cities were walled to protect imperial palaces, temples, granaries, and residences from barbarian invasions, tribal uprisings, and peasant rebellions. Huge wall-gates were usually constructed, making connections between different parts of the walled city and between the city and the

outside world. Walls were so important to Chinese cities that the characters for city and wall are, in fact, identical (Chang, 1977).

Another distinctive feature of traditional city planning was the axial balance and inter-dependence of urban spaces. Compared with the European Renaissance palace, as at Versailles, where the open vista is concentrated upon a single building and the palace itself was detached from the city, the Chinese conception was much more grand and more complex. The central axis of Beijing, for example, was composed of hundreds of buildings, and the palace itself was only part of the larger organism of the whole city (Fig. 2). Although so strongly axial, there was no single dominating centre or climax, but rather a series of architectural experiences. This Chinese form of the great architectural ensemble "combined a meditative humility attuned to nature with a poetic grandeur to form organic patterns unsurpassed by any other culture" (Needham, 1975).

Traditional Chinese cities were planned and designed to reinforce important power relations, especially the cultural hegemony and political dominance of imperial monarchs. City planners were determined to uphold imperial power through shaping

the design and configuration of the built environment. The urban spatial hierarchy represented powerful testimony to, and physical proof of, the imperial order. Maintaining a highly-structured and carefully-planned city form was an important means through which Chinese emperors legitimized their position as both rulers and guardians of tradition. The alteration of an accepted design was, therefore, considered to be a challenge to the imperial order.

"Punching holes in the walls"

The principles of imperial urban planning came under attack in the nineteenth century, when Western industrial countries transformed a number of coastal Chinese cities into treaty ports, which became enclaves of foreign political domination as well as of Western trade and commerce (Fig. 3). Chinese cities elsewhere were also pressured to adopt Western ways (Dong, 1985). Westerners brought along a host of entrepreneurial, technical, and modernist ideas about urban life and industrial prosperity, as well as a body of political, social, and economic values. In addition, the urban transformation was a direct result of domestic political changes in early-twentieth century China. Modern urban



Fig. 2: The central axis of Beijing, looking north with Western-style gardens in the foreground and the Gate of Heavenly Peace (Tiananmen) in the background (source: author)

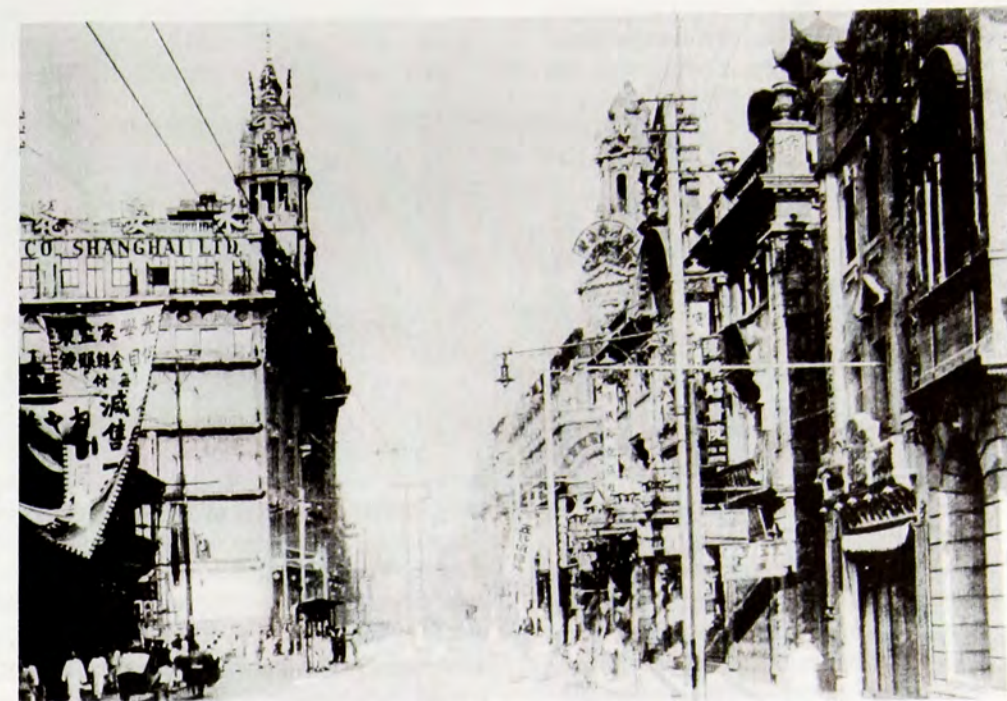


Fig 3 A busy street in Shanghai, China's largest treaty port, in the early twentieth century (source: author)

planning reflected a shift in indigenous ideological discourse from emphasizing the supremacy of the imperial power to one that stressed the primacy of civil society and people's rights. Both Western and modern Chinese ideology confronted the integrity of the Imperial-Confucian world system and its cosmology with a series of powerful secular trends: modernisation, Westernisation, and revolutionary nationalism.

One striking aspect of this effort at urban renewal is the extent to which the old Chinese cities, often viewed as the prototype of the pre-industrial city, were now subjected to a new generation of planning and new attempts to discipline the urban population. Based on the modernist ideology of rationality and efficiency, the republican government was keen on tearing down city walls, remodelling city gates, and constructing or widening roads to allow the passage of railroads, streetcars and general traffic. The change made to the city walls of Beijing by the modernist municipal government is a classic example of the modernist re-ordering of urban space in early-twentieth century China. Proponents

for dismantling city walls argued that, since the introduction of modern warfare, the ancient city walls and gates had become useless. Moreover, the walls blocked mobility and the flow of traffic, and prevented cities from growing spatially to meet the need of population increase and economic development. Movements in Beijing's urban design have focused on this monumental legacy and the extent to which new monuments that intentionally express a 'modern' society should replace it.

As Beijing's monumental buildings and landscapes, however, the city walls and gates served to anchor the collective memory of Chinese cityscape, reminding residents and visitors alike of the enduring power of culture and tradition (Fig. 4). Because they had such a wide and symbolic appeal, they were the first elements in the city to inspire protest when modernist development threatened to destroy them. Opposing the republican government's inclination to demolish and modernize, a Chinese cultural conservatism emerged, arguing against the "mentality of tearing down walls". Deeply sceptical of plans made by those so-called



Fig. 4 The walls and gates of Beijing in the early twentieth century (source: author)

"new men of purpose and principle", Leng Wangu, a columnist for a Beijing newspaper, attacked the government for failing to "grasp the true nature of China". He also pleaded for the "preservation of ancient relics" (Strand, 1996).

The effort to resist change can also be illustrated by the debate over the project to reconfigure the Zhengyang city gate in 1915 in order to improve traffic flow in downtown Beijing. The municipal government employed a Westerner, the German architect Curt Rothkegel, to direct the demolition of the gate's barbican wall and the city wall on either side of the tower. He was also responsible for designing a new European-style plaza inside the old gate, and for punching four new openings in the walls to allow broad avenues to pass through. Despite its apparent success in relieving traffic congestion, the project was severely criticised by Chinese residents, who feared that tampering with the city's old structure might bring bad luck. They also claimed that a foreign architect could know nothing about the cultural consequences of such dramatic renewal.

The development of Beijing's streetcar system, which required the demolition of city walls and the removal of memorial arches (traditional landmarks found in major streets), provoked similar opposition. Much of the resistance to the construction and expansion of the streetcar system came from those who desired to maintain Beijing's traditional beauty and

charm. To them, streetcars, with their ugly overhead wires and annoying tracks, were an unwanted intrusion into urban life. They argued that modern technology would damage the aesthetic beauty and the imperial serenity of the ancient capital. Some even maintained, based on the idea of *feng shui* (a symbol system based on Chinese traditional *ying-yang* and five-element cosmological thinking to determine the location and form of a particular building or structure) that the coming of streetcars could have disastrous consequences.

Opponents of modern urban planning generally emphasized the role that monumental architecture such as the walls and gates had played in Chinese culture. They opposed modern reconstruction not as defendants of the *ancien régime*, but as advocates of cultural salience and in the secular effort to preserve and draw inspiration from the one heritage that was uniquely their own.

"A forest of smokestacks"

The second phase of modern Chinese urban planning covers roughly the first 30 years of the history of the People's Republic of China. Shortly after taking power in China in 1949, the Chinese Communists embarked on a course of urban reconstruction based on a socialist agenda. Swayed by radicalism and the utopian revolutionary ideology of Mao Zedong, Soviet-style planning and design dominated Chinese cities. During this

period, Chinese urban planning focused on industrial production and socialist reconstruction. Many Chinese cities were transformed into industrial centres, and capitalist consumer cities such as Shanghai were criticised as being exploitative and parasitic (Kirkby, 1985). The government cleaned out old teahouses and pleasure zones, and lined major streets with official monuments, government offices, standardised state-run stores, and utilitarian apartment buildings.

Mao envisioned Beijing as a symbol for the Chinese socialist state, a role to be enforced with the building of Soviet-style public structures and squares. Tiananmen Square was expanded to form the world's largest square, and was used to stage political rallies and parades in support of Mao's utopian idea of continuous revolution. In a symbolic break with the past, Tiananmen Square replaced the former embodiment of imperial power – the Forbidden City – to become the new political centre of the nation. The most ambitious public works campaign of this period was the Big Ten Projects (all built in 1958), which included giant buildings such as the Great Hall of the People and the Cultural Palace for Minority Nationalities, conceived primarily as symbolic monuments to the socialist state. The monuments of this period blended together ingredients of Soviet, classical Chinese and modernist architecture to create a new socialist identity for revolutionary China.

The communist government also decided that the remaining city walls and gates in Beijing should be demolished because they were the vestiges of feudalism, incompatible with the socialist nature of the city. Falling victim to communist ideology and politics, the fate of Beijing's city walls had already been sealed early as the 1950s, when Mao himself said on the Tiananmen that he would like to see "a forest of smokestacks" (not city walls) to define Beijing's skyline. The actual demolition came in the 1960s, when Mao became so paranoid about Soviet invasions that he threw every Chinese city into frantic preparations for war. For a while, tunnel-digging became a national campaign. People from all walks of life picked bricks and stones from the

rudder of the city walls and used them for the air-raid tunnels. Mao inadvertently transformed the ancient defence system of the city walls, rendered obsolete by modern aerial warfare, to create a more up-to-date defence (Zha, 1995). Orchestrated by a nativist, xenophobic, and ultra-leftist force, the centuries-old walls were torn down during the heady days of the Cultural Revolution.

If, at the beginning of the century, the advocates of demolition and reconstruction in the name of modernity were a cosmopolitan class of Western-trained reformers, then during Mao's China, the ostracised, marginalised class of Western-trained cosmopolitans had become the silenced proponents of preservation (Abramson, 1997). Liang Sicheng represented a group of architectural experts and city planners who became advocates of cultural preservation. Liang himself was an architectural historian who had been trained at the University of Pennsylvania in the 1920s. As early as 1950, he drafted a plan to keep all of old Beijing enclosed within the city walls, turning it into a great museum and cultural centre; and to build a new, modern city next to it. To him, saving the Forbidden City was not enough; the great walled city itself must be preserved. He insisted that the large structures of Beijing's street grid, its system of enclosures and its axial symmetry – all landmarks in the world's history of urban planning – must all be preserved to maintain the historical and cultural identity of Beijing.

As for the city walls, he had an idea of lining the route atop the walls with flowers and benches, transforming the ring of walls into an elevated park (Fig. 5). He pointed out that the flat tops of the walls, ten metres or more wide, could become a continuous public park with flower beds and garden seats. The gate towers, with their upswept double roofs, could become museums, exhibition halls, refreshment kiosks and teahouses. The moat surrounding the walls at their base, and the strip of land between the two, could make a beautiful green belt and provide boating, fishing, and skating for the city people. This plan, he believed, would allow Beijing to leapfrog through time

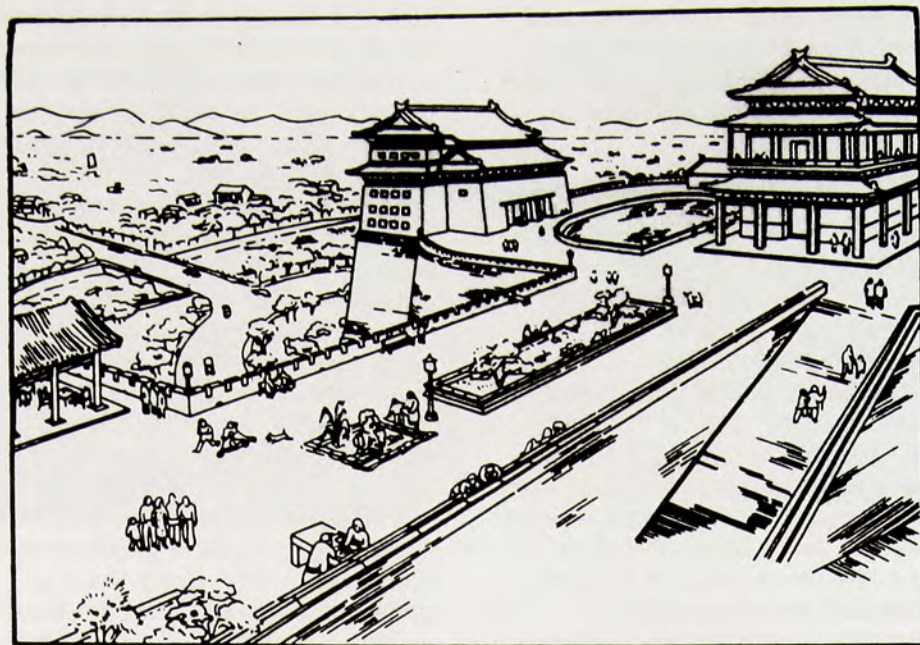


Fig. 5 Liang Sicheng's proposal to make Beijing's city walls and gates into a continuous public park (source: Liang Sicheng wenji, Vol. 4, p. 64)

while avoiding all the mistakes which had been made by Western cities: a modernization that would contain the explosive effects of rapid development and keep an ancient masterpiece for aesthetic appreciation (Fairbank, 1994; Zha, 1995).

Liang's proposal bore striking parallel to what Eric Hobsbawm calls "the invention of tradition" (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983). Sensitive to both the homogenizing force of modernity and the deep-rooted sophistication of Chinese culture, Liang sought to restore and recreate an older urban fabric and rehabilitate it for new uses, and attempted to repackage the old infrastructure of urban space for new styles of recreation and entertainment. To him, tradition and modernity could go together; and modern transformation and cultural conservation caused no apparent conflict. However, the government – in favor of demolition and other radical planning strategies – ignored Liang's alternative planning vision.

"If New York has it, Beijing will have it, too"

China's recent urban change can be viewed as a product of spatial and functional specialisation, in sharp contrast to the generalised urban patterns of the Maoist era (Gaubatz, 1995). In China

today, people are no longer concerned with the revolutionary and political ideology of Maoist urban planning, but have become preoccupied with modernisation along Western lines. While the government still controls urban planning to a large degree, what is increasingly evident is the participation of profit-driven, global capitalist forces from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Western countries. Modernism has returned with a vengeance. Global market forces are competing with localised cultural traditions, giving rise to an identity crisis in contemporary Chinese cities.

"A burst of renewal sweeps away old Beijing", "Stop bulldozing Beijing history, delegates [to the National People's Congress] urge", "Deadly air particles choking main cities"; these newspaper headlines all point to an almost daily ritual. Beijing is being quickly stripped of its character as ancient buildings are torn down for office buildings, apartment blocks, freeways and shopping centres. The former sites of the city walls are now redeveloped, with expressways above ground and Beijing's rapid transit subway system underground, all part of the trappings of an urban modernity. Passing a construction site in downtown Beijing, the author witnessed a scroll vertically

hung from an unfinished building with the slogan "If New York has it, Beijing will have it, too!". City officials and real estate developers seem to consider that the modern projects form Beijing's credentials for joining the rank of world-class cities.

However, conflict between global and local cultures and the problems of modern economic development *vis-à-vis* cultural conservation will remain at the heart of the debate over the future of Chinese urban planning. Many people today have been genuinely alarmed by the feverish race to transform Chinese cities. Among planners, architects, historians, and concerned citizens, there is an increasingly vocal conservation movement attempting to salvage China's rich urban heritage. The major urban planning question has become how to excel in the global community without losing China's cultural identity. Many people have begun to lament the loss of the old urban fabric of

walls and gates, alleyways and courtyard-style residential houses, and especially the close-knit community atmosphere and neighbourly connectedness. There is growing complexity in Chinese popular attitudes toward cultural heritage and local identity. Chinese journals such as *Jianzhushi* (*The Architect*) have recently debated the merits of such municipal projects as the Grand Theatre, the Financial Street and the Pingan Avenue, a newly-expanded thoroughfare cutting through the heart of the old residential quarters in Beijing. Many people realise that, in the face of ever-stronger global forces for homogenization through technological change, increased mobility and improved communication, a primary goal of Chinese urban planning policy must be to retain culturally-essential features of China's urban past and to ensure the continuity of Chinese history and culture.

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CARLOS SAMPAIO AND URBANISM IN RIO DE JANEIRO (1875-1930)

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Introduction

This paper pursues two themes: first, that of the engineer and professor Carlos Sampaio, mayor of Rio de Janeiro between 1920 and 1922; and, secondly, that of the city he ruled, in the wider period from 1875 and 1930. Belonging to a generation of great engineers, agents of the reforms which entirely changed the urban landscape of Rio de Janeiro and the life of its inhabitants, Carlos Sampaio took part in the various projects and achievements which marked the epoch. He was also concerned with spreading his opinions through articles published in newspapers and magazines; it is this combination of activities, as writer, public administrator and private entrepreneur, that make him a symbolic figure of his times and the study of his career important for the understanding of a fundamental period of the urban evolution of Rio.

Teacher and Engineer

Carlos Sampaio was born in 1861 in Rio, his father being a Portuguese small-scale merchant. He was still very young when he entered the Polytechnic School, graduating as an engineer in 1880; in the same year he became a teacher of Applied Mechanics at the institution and was also one of founders of the Engineering Club, a professional association. As with several of his colleagues, he followed one of the few ways for social ascent open for the sons of the urban middle sectors in the Brazilian Empire: education. As an

engineer, he would benefit from the opportunities opened by the changes then occurring in Brazilian society, with the decline of the slavery-based system and the shift of capital, until then invested in the slave trade and plantation agriculture, towards the modernisation and expansion of the economy.

These opportunities, closely connected with the capitalist global expansion of the second half of the nineteenth century, were concentrated in transportation (seaports and railways) and energy generation and transmission. As Brazil's capital, main port, administrative and commercial centre, with a population of 260,000 inhabitants in 1851, Rio de Janeiro attracted a large share of the new investment, making feasible a series of urban reforms considered essential since colonial times.

The city suffered from water shortages, recurrent epidemics of tropical diseases, deficiencies in port services and urban transportation. It was at the Polytechnic School and the Engineering Club that ideas were discussed and evaluated, with the aim of transforming the city into an metropolis worthy of a capital of a civilized country, according to the French models then admired by the Brazilian élites.

In 1875, a Committee of Engineers appointed by the Emperor Pedro II had presented a report proposing several urban reforms to embellish and improve the health conditions of the capital. The

conclusions of this report were contested by the engineer Vieira Souto, as they gave preference to areas near the Imperial Palace and did not include the participation of private enterprise. The committee's proposals were not implemented, which encouraged Vieira Souto in 1879 to demand a concession which would become an example of cooperation among financial resources, government and engineers for achieving major transformations – 'urban surgeries' – in Rio's appearance.¹

His project was to raze the small Senado Hill, in the centre of the city, and dump the removed earth into a swampy area a kilometre away, at the margin of the Mangue Canal, profiting from the sale of cleared land in both locations – the flat area created by the removal and the land-filled area of the former swamp. The city government collaborated with tax exemptions and a license for the transportation of the removed earth (25,000 cubic metres per day) through the narrow alleys of the city, while the Banco Auxiliar financed the project. Carlos Sampaio was invited in 1887 to direct the works, which were then beginning, and became familiar with its technical and financial aspects, which became a model for future similar operations.

In 1889, while the work went on, Sampaio participated in an initiative which became famous in the city's history. Under the direction of a former colleague at the Polytechnic, Paulo de Frontin, also a teacher and member of the Engineering Club,² he supervised the teams of engineers and thousands of workers who tried to overcome the challenge of finding, channelling and distributing water for Rio, then suffering from an acute drought. Frontin's project, which planned a solution in record time – six days – went against the opinion of the sceptics and was launched as a challenge published in local newspapers. Its success made the young engineers known and respected; and, after a short term as a director of the city's telephone company, Sampaio joined Frontin and Souto in establishing the company Empresa Industrial de Melhoramentos do Brasil, specialising in large-scale public works, in May 1890.

Melhoramentos, the Port of Rio de Janeiro and Castelo Hill

The company started operating during a period of important political and financial changes in Brazil. A military coup had overthrown the Emperor, and the new monetary policies of the Republic stimulated a feverish expansion of commercial and speculative opportunities. Based on the prestige of its founders, Melhoramentos rapidly gained concessions and credit for starting projects for urban infrastructure, railways, mining, settlement and port services. Two enterprises are worthy of attention, with the involvement of Carlos Sampaio: the remodelling of Rio's port and the razing of Castelo Hill.

The improvement of the port's facilities was an old aspiration, since the cargo handled was much larger than the capacity of the warehouses and stores which were spread irregularly by the waterfront along the city's old central area. The handling of goods was also very precarious, using slaves until their emancipation in 1888, and horse-driven carts which congested the central streets. The concession won by the company in 1890 planned a continuous quay along the whole port area, which was to be paved and fitted with modern equipment and a railway terminal.³

To be able to dig a tunnel under the many small hills which separated the central streets from the port area, Melhoramentos was authorised to remove a group of slum tenements known as 'Hog's Head' in an operation supervised by Sampaio and the mayor Barata Ribeiro. Hundreds of dwellers had their houses demolished after being evicted by the police and employees of the company. They had to take refuge in a nearby slope known as Favela Hill. This name – Favela – became a general term for the shanty-towns where about one million of Rio's inhabitants now live.

In the same year – 1890 – Sampaio obtained a concession for Melhoramentos to raze Castelo Hill, an undertaking similar to the one at Senado Hill, but larger. It was not a new idea; since the final quarter of the eighteenth century several physicians and engineers had been pressing for its removal to ease traffic and allow seaborne winds to refresh the central

area. According to them, the poor sanitary conditions of Rio were caused by the excess of swamps and hills, and the recurring epidemics and diseases had to be fought by their removal. Castelo Hill, owing to its location and size, was the first on the list, and had been a target for many projects which were not executed because of the lack of resources or technology.

Carlos Sampaio designed a detailed project, using his previous experience and even visiting Benjamin Baker, an English engineer, who analysed the plans and wrote a report of approval. However, when he returned to Brazil, this and other projects from Melhoramentos faced difficulties because of the financial crisis of 1891.

Euphoria had given place to bankruptcies and projects which depended on bank credit were paralysed; the company had to abandon or transfer most of its concessions. Sampaio tried to negotiate them in Europe and, afterwards, sell the more important – the Port of Rio de Janeiro and Brazil's Central Railway – to the Brazilian government, without success.

Returning to Rio, he dedicated himself to teaching and scientific experiments, registering patents for a sewage treatment and the manufacture of batteries. These activities were done in a general atmosphere of successive discoveries and inventions, enlarging the sciences and finding industrial uses for the new knowledge. They were pertinent to two questions facing Rio at the turn of the century; the disposal of refuse and sewage and the practical uses of electrical energy.

A new Rio de Janeiro

The city still kept remains of its colonial past when President Rodrigues Alves appointed the engineer Pereira Passos, a graduate of the Ecole de Ponts et Chaussées in Paris, as mayor in 1902. Despite having a population of over 600,000, the sewerage network, installed by the English company City Improvements, was limited; the narrow streets, where streetcars competed with pedestrians for space, were occupied by substantial buildings in the Portuguese style, and recurrent epidemics killed natives and foreigners indiscriminately.

Passos, with the help of Frontin, Vieira Souto and other members of the Engineering Club, established a sanitation and improvements plan which remains today as an example of authoritarian state intervention on the urban fabric.

The City Council was suspended and a new legislation for municipal ordinances and compulsory purchase of properties opened the way for the demolition of whole blocks of houses and shops; street vendors were expelled and new avenues were opened, rapidly changing the city's appearance. The avowed model, Haussmann's Paris, shaped all of the details of the government's acts, even to the width of the streets and the style of buildings. Passos was insensible to the complaints of merchants and the poor dwellers of the city centre who, as in Haussmann's Paris, had been dispossessed by the demolitions.

The dissatisfaction reached a peak with the episode of compulsory vaccination against variolics (Fig. 1). When the sanitation teams directed by Oswaldo Cruz, a scientist, and protected by troops, switched from the eradication of mosquitoes to household vaccination, a campaign against the measure reached the press and Parliament, resulting in a military and popular revolt in the streets of Rio in November 1904. The trenches and barricades then erected were a symbol of resistance – swiftly defeated – to an urban order imposed without discussion.⁴

Carlos Sampaio was present at the Passos administration representing an American company in charge of the paving of Avenida Central, a typically Parisian boulevard which symbolised Rio's *belle époque*. Cut through the old centre, it became the location of the Municipal Theatre, the National Library, the School of Fine Arts and several other outstanding public and private buildings; it was truly an exhibition of eclectic architecture and decoration copied from Paris.

The Port and Railway concessions, finally sold by Melhoramentos to the government, were also a symbol of the solution adopted for the problems which had dragged on since the 1875 report. The doubts about the role of government and private enterprise were solved when the state assumed the responsibilities of



Fig. 1 'Carnival of 1876', drawing by Agostini; *Revista Ilustrada*, Rio de Janeiro, 4 March, 1876. The terrors of the yellow fever dominate the Carnival parades.

planning and executing the reforms deemed necessary. The obstacles represented by the existing concessions, commercial interests, parliamentary procedures and the poor population's rights were summarily dismissed, and dealt with by force of arms if necessary. The former agents of urban reform, mostly engineers belonging to the Brazilian élites, were now conducting the process as state-appointed managers. They would change sides again and again, as the careers of Frontin, Souto, Sampaio and many others show, with their discourse of 'reform for profit' alternating with 'reform for public good'.

Business Executive

In 1908, Carlos Sampaio became the Brazilian General manager of the affairs of the American entrepreneur Percival Farquhar. Starting with a concession for

the generation and distribution of electrical power in São Paulo, he rapidly expanded his activities, purchasing and founding ports, railways, shipping companies and settlement colonies throughout the whole country. Sampaio kept his position until the middle of the First World War, when the Farquhar Syndicate went into bankruptcy. It is interesting to note that one of the Farquhar enterprises was the Port of Rio de Janeiro; which, after being built by the government, had been loaned to Farquhar. The administrator appointed by Sampaio was his old colleague Vieira Souto, who, in the Passos administration, had been inspector of the port construction.⁵

The Mayor

In 1920, President Epitacio Pessoa appointed Carlos Sampaio mayor of Rio. The President's avowed aim was to

prepare the city for the Independence Centennial commemorations in 1922. In addition to this general purpose, Sampaio intended to promote urban reforms equal to the Passos administration. His *Historical Memoirs*, written after leaving office, and previous articles, reveal an urban vision strongly influenced by medical language and belief in the role of the State as a promoter of interventions justified by scientific knowledge.⁶

In his inauguration speech, he expressed the resolution of finishing the work started by Pereira Passos, and "completing the work of embellishing this city which nature endowed with the nicest frame ...". The clear intention was to bring to an end the frustrated 1891 project – to raze the Castelo Hill – justified by sanitary and modernisation reasons, which made him face the opponents of the demolition, worried with the destruction of a cultural and psychological landmark of fundamental importance to the city (Fig. 2).

Unlike Senado Hill, which had been practically empty, Castelo Hill was home to about 4,000 people and had an important role in the city's life. It was the site of the second foundation of the city in 1567, after the victory of the Portuguese against the French and their native allies; and was the site of venerable churches and buildings, the tomb of the city's founder Estacio de Sá, an astronomical observatory and a hospital. Since the seventeenth century, it had lost its preeminence as the city's nerve centre, as the main religious and administrative functions were scattered along squares and streets in the plain below; but it still retained an important symbolic role.

To diminish resistance, Sampaio stated that

"... only after the careful studies I have done on the city of Rio de Janeiro since my youth, both from the technical point of view relating to its main engineering problems, and the hygiene view, and,

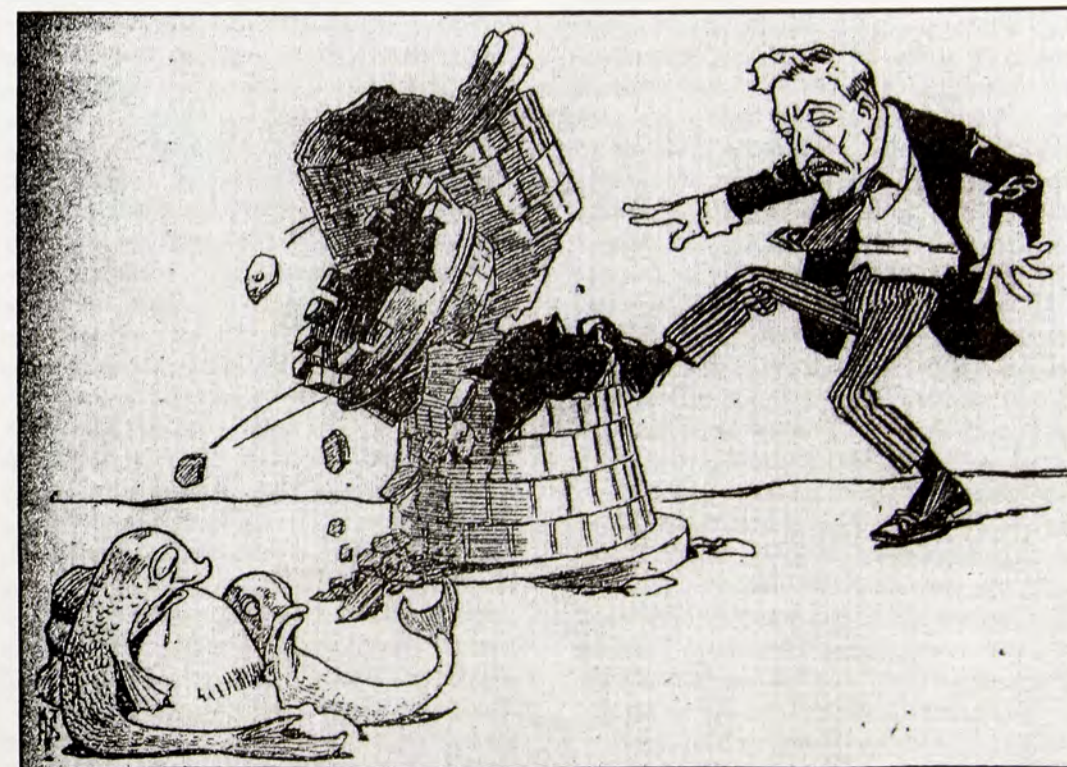


Fig. 2: 'At last', drawing by Calixto; *D. Quixote*, Rio de Janeiro, 4 October, 1920. A few months after being selected as mayor, Carlos Sampaio announced the razing of Castelo (Castle) Hill.



Fig. 3: 'There goes the money', drawing by Calixto; D. Quixote, Rio de Janeiro, 7 May, 1921.
Carlos Sampaio manages to borrow 30,000 contos to finance the razing of Castelo Hill.

finally, from the aesthetic point of view, have I decided, besides other minor works, to face in the municipal government the problems of the Castelo Hill ...".⁷

He therefore designed a project which included a vast landfill of the area facing the Hill, where the International Exposition of the Centennial would be installed. He hinted at the advantages of the opening of avenues, the increase of the city's tax revenue and the beautifying of the city (Fig. 3). Many agreed: after all, the papers and magazines of the period considered as absurd that, facing the Municipal Theatre, behind the National Library and the School of Fine Arts, one could see the washerwomen living on the Hill, spreading clothes among the goats feeding in the grassy slopes.

The demolition started in 1920 and went on until the end of his term of office, but the polemics did not end in 1922. Architects, engineers and men of letters took opposite sides, presenting scientific, historic and sentimental arguments (Fig. 4). Sampaio's vision, presented in his book, affirms that Rio was born and grew through successive demolitions and land levellings, changing the original topography; and that the razing of Castelo Hill, answering present-day needs, was as valid and justified as all changes made by the Portuguese settlers since the sixteenth century. "Tell, me, men of common sense", he asked, "if the important and beautiful city of Rio de Janeiro would have become what it is today if in those ancient times there were also these pompous specialists in urban aesthetics".

Another of Sampaio's initiatives was the channelling of several rivers in the Tijuca residential area. Based on a study he had written in 1909 about the reasons for the constant floods which affected the region, he decided to broaden and straighten the course of the rivers, opening avenues at their sides. The effort was not enough to solve the problem, since the rivers emptied into the Mangue Canal and, when heavy rains coincided with the high tide, it was impossible to avoid flooding – as still occurs today. Engineering works were also undertaken to provide sea defences at the beaches of Copacabana and Gloria.

Carlos Sampaio also created the Urca neighbourhood, at the foot of Sugar Loaf, levelling an area among two peaks, and dredged and cleaned the Rodrigo de Freitas Lagoon, reducing its water area with earthworks and opening an avenue around it. In those cases, he used large loans from foreign banks, guaranteed by the city's tax revenues and the Federal government. The reasoning was the same as in the previous cases: the city needed to be made more healthy and beautiful, opening new residential quarters in the reclaimed areas. Another characteristic of his administration was to start several projects at the same time, even knowing that he would not be able to finish them, using the argument that it was necessary "to go ahead with all those works to an end, or push them ahead so not even the most retrograde administrator would dare to stop them...".⁸

The polemic with Agache
The worry with administrative



Fig. 4: 'Let them fight', drawing by Calixto; D. Quixote, Rio de Janeiro, 23 December, 1921.
While the partisan press keeps busy with presidential politics, Carlos Sampaio proceeds with the razing of Castelo Hill.

interruption of his projects made Sampaio continue arguing in the press about the policies of his successors even after leaving the mayoralty, and to become involved in acrid polemics about the cost and need of several public works, specially the razing of Castelo Hill. Between 1923 and 1927 he divided his time among Brazil, Paris and Montreux, writing articles on engineering, economics, public administration and urbanism and criticizing the delays to several of the projects he had begun.

The hiring of the French urbanist Alfred Agache as advisor to the Rio government in 1927 began a polemical debate which agitated the city. Sampaio participated actively with articles and letters, discussing the proposals of the foreign specialist. Although initially satisfied with the praise of Agache for the generation of engineers which included Sampaio, he later became a critic of Agache's projects.

Sampaio's criticism stressed the distance between Agache's plans and their practical feasibility – "in a drawing one can do whatever one wants and give an excellent impression; but on the ground you only can do what is possible ..." (Fig. 5). He also questioned several proposed

solutions, mainly in the city centre. Agache had suggested a monumental gate of great aesthetic effect in a seacoast region which, not being protected from currents and winds, had never been used for anchorage. Sampaio claimed that Agache "... shows he is not an urbanist, for no engineer would build a landing dock facing the entrance of Rio's bay ...". The proposal for razing the other large hill of the centre, Santo Antonio (a project cherished since the previous century), was contested because of the location of the suggested levelling by Agache.⁹

This discussion recalls a question which grew in Brazil in the 1920s: the dispute between engineers and architects over the planning and management of the city. This conflict became structured on the filling of administrative and corporative positions and gained space in the press. Sampaio questioned the credentials of Agache, calling him a

"remarkable architect urbanist, which is not the same as being an urbanist, because in this case, he cannot avoid [being] an engineer with specialized knowledge ... chiefly in the case of our capital ... about hydraulics because of

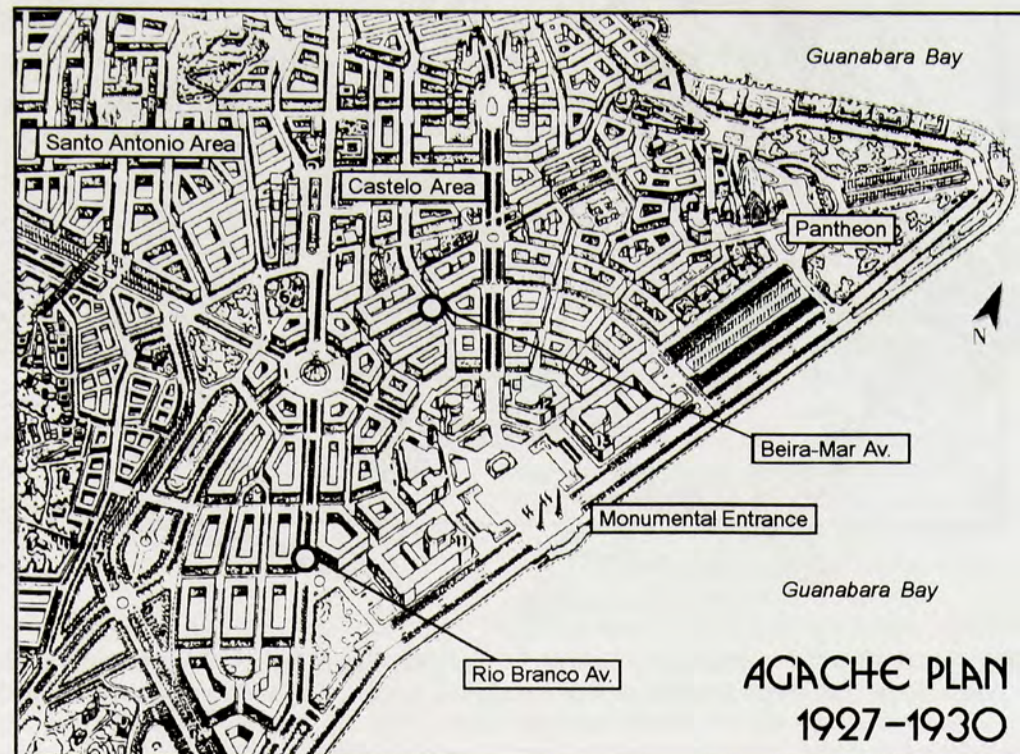


Fig. 5 Agache Plan - Downtown Rio Detail (1927-1930); Revista Municipal de Engenharia, no. 1/4, Janeiro/Dezembro 1994, Rio de Janeiro: Prefeitura da Cidade.

the large floods and sea tempests ... the health problems should be predominant".

But the main point of the discussion was the treatment of the levelled area of Castelo Hill (the Esplanada) which, in the Agache Plan, was a part of an integrated project to rationalise and distribute the urban circulation of a metropolis of more than 1.2 million people. Agache aimed to solving the conflicts originating in Rio's spontaneous growth, changing the direction of urban expansion through territorial and functional zoning. He designed broad avenues lined with blocks of tall buildings, causing Sampaio to react:

"what is more horrid in the Agache project is this curtain of buildings and skyscrapers ... and more for not giving the right direction for the streets so the city can breathe ... how are we to consent, having a city surrounded by mountains, in the erection of this barrier

of buildings, right at the only place supplied with air, and without the streets having the convenient direction for ventilation ..."¹⁰

The partial implementation of the Agache Plan in the late-1920s and 1930s marks the rupture between generations of planners and rulers who, although living in the same epoch and space, no longer shared the same opinions about the field of urban planning in Brazil. The group of professionals which had conceptualised and carried out urban interventions in Rio de Janeiro since 1875 was leaving the scene. The final reaction of Carlos Sampaio against the great watercolor landscapes showing the majestic future of the city as designed by Agache is symbolic, by showing that, denying that outcome, he declared himself to be ready to go back on his enthusiasm for the enterprise which became associated with his personal achievement - the razing of Castelo Hill.

"I have the right to discuss the plans of Professor Agache, and chiefly defend my work ... which he wants to spoil ... [if it is to] put back the Castelo Hill in its primitive place by building skyscrapers ... separated by avenues which do not allow the entrance of air coming from the ocean, it would have been better to leave the Castelo Hill where it was".¹¹

Carlos Sampaio died a few months after this final outburst, in 1930. The replanning of Rio during this period is summarised in Fig 6.

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1. A good view of Rio's transformations between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries is given by Mauricio Abreu, *Evolução Urbana do Rio de Janeiro*, Rio de Janeiro: Zahar/Iplan-Rio, 1987.
2. Frontin became mayor of Rio in 1919 and entered politics, becoming a Senator. He, Vieira Souto and Carlos Sampaio remained close friends throughout their careers.
3. The development of the Port's concessions and projects since colonial times is given in Sérgio Lamarão, *Dos Trapiches ao Porto: um Estudo sobre a Área Portuária do Rio de Janeiro*, Rio de Janeiro, SMCTE/DGDIC/Prefeitura, 1991.

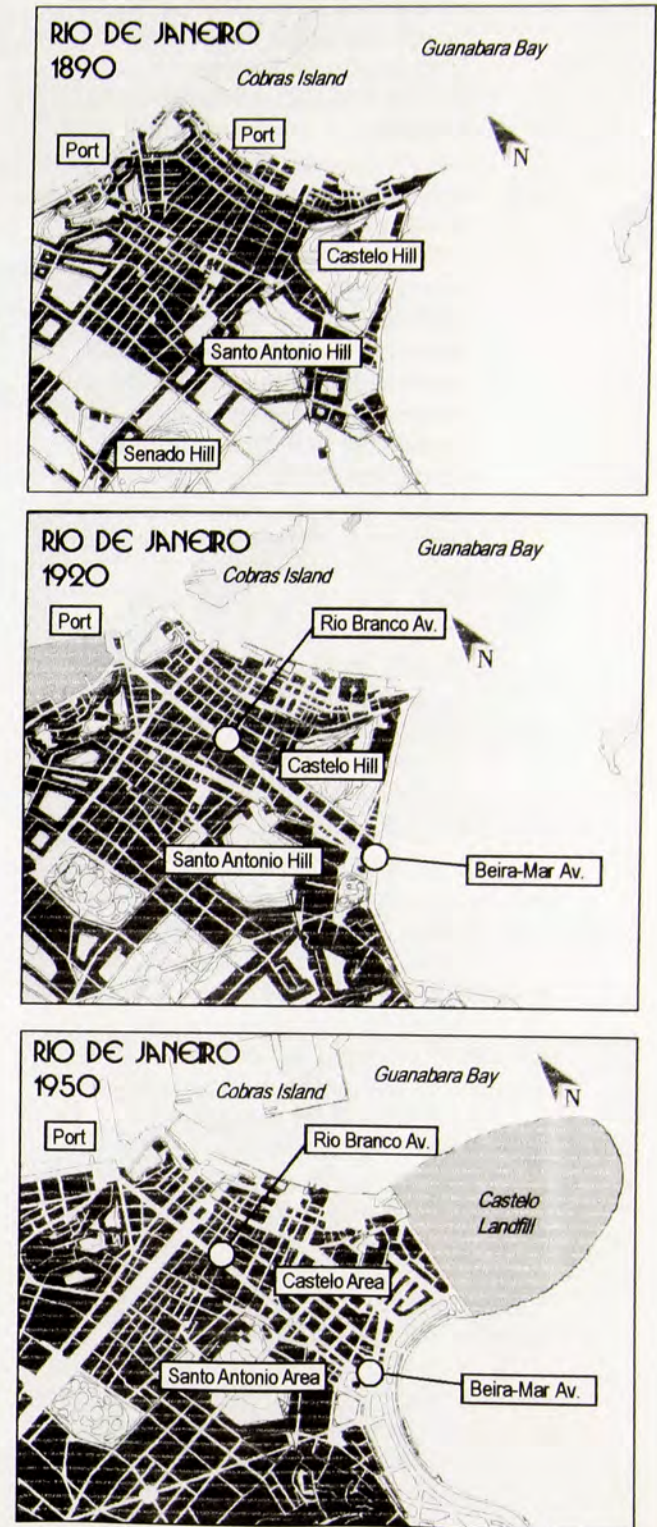


Fig. 6 Downtown Rio de Janeiro (1890-1950); Modified maps originally published in Corredor Cultural Rio de Janeiro: Prefeitura da Cidade, 1985.

4. The Passos administration was analysed in Jaime Benchimol, *Pereira Passos, um Haussman Tropical*, Rio de Janeiro, SMCTE/DGDIC/Prefeitura, 1992. A different view is given in Sônia Gomes Pereira, *A Reforma Urbana de Pereira Passos e a Construção da Identidade Carioca*, Rio de Janeiro: UFRJ/ECO, 1992.
5. Sampaio left the Farquhar Syndicate a very rich man. The American's adventures in Brazil continued well into the 1950s, and are lengthily described in Charles Gauld, *The Last Titan*, Stanford: Glenwood, 1972.
6. Carlos Sampaio, *Memória Histórica: Obras na Prefeitura do Rio de Janeiro*, Lisboa: Lumen, 1924, p. 5.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 9. Among the most outspoken critics of the razing and his administration was the writer Lima Barreto, who had studied in the Polytechnic School without obtaining a degree, and became a symbol of the popular voice of Rio's poor people against the reforms of Passos and Sampaio. His lyrical descriptions of Rio and his attacks on its mayors can be found in Afonso Carlos Marques dos Santos, *O Rio de Janeiro de Lima Barreto*, Rio de Janeiro: RIOARTE, 1983.
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9. Agache's plans are portrayed in Alfred Agache, *Cidade do Rio de Janeiro, Remodelação, Extensão e Embelezamento*, Paris: Foyer Bresilien, 1930. Parts of his drawings and sketches were published in the Brazilian press during the years he spent working for Rio's municipality.
10. Carlos Sampaio, *Idéias e Impressões*, Paris: Imprimeire E. Puyfourcat Fils & Cie., 1929, pp. 38, 40.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 106.

PEDAGOGY UNDER DURESS: TEACHING PLANNING THEORY AS HISTORY

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Introduction

In *Towards Cosmopolis*, Leonie Sandercock (1998, p. 222) notes an "unresolved ... tension between the demands of a state-sanctioned version of planning and its counter, an insurgent or radical practice dedicated to the support of mobilized communities". This tension is very evident in the planning program at York University. The accreditation of our program is dependent on the results of a periodic review by the Canadian Institute of Planners (CIP) – we underwent this review in the spring of 1998. Our reviewers were explicitly charged with the task of discovering how, or if, our curriculum provides the knowledge and skills that the CIP regards as necessary for entry into the planning profession – a profession which it defines as involving the orderly and efficient disposition of land and land uses.

Faculty and students in our program are, however, increasingly critical of the profession and its conservative interpretation of what constitutes legitimate fields of planning. Our own internal curriculum review has resulted in a new emphasis on community-based planning – on working with multicultural communities to address social and environmental issues, as well as issues related to land use and built form. This increasing emphasis on social and environmental practices outside the state planning bureaucracies challenges the traditional culture of professional planning

in Canada. The tension between the conservative expectations and demands of the profession, on the one hand, and the need to become involved in grassroots processes of social change, on the other, creates a situation in which planning students frequently experience confusion and duress.

There is potential for this confusion and duress to create positive change within the profession. I think that planning theory, taught from a social historical perspective, may help create a critical framework for students both to understand their own discomfort with traditional planning roles and to begin to forge new roles for themselves within the planning profession.

Students take planning theory because they are required to by the CIP, not because they want to take it. I believe that the CIP requires planning theory because it is viewed as part of students' acculturation into the profession. It is required despite the fact that "the amorphous quality of planning theory means that practitioners largely disregard it" (Campbell and Fainstein, 1996, p. 2). Students, like practitioners, often assume that theory is irrelevant and impractical by definition. It is my contention that, if planning theory is taught from a social historical perspective, it is possible to expose the roots and explore the implications of different theories in a way that makes these understandable to students and relevant to practitioners. By grounding theory in concrete social

historical practices, students are better able to see themselves as active agents in the field, and as future professionals with choices: choices which may be substantially different from those made by earlier planners. The point is that planning and planners are changing, and current students have a role to play in re-defining the boundaries of the profession.

Planning is changing

It is important to note that people entering the planning profession in Canada are not the same as they were even ten years ago (OPPI, 1995; Research Dimensions, 1997). Canadian planning students come from an increasingly diverse array of cultural backgrounds and experiences. While the majority are white, middle-class Canadian-born students, roughly half are female, and a sizable minority are from Asian, Latin American, Caribbean, and African countries (Fisher *et al.*, 1996; Rahder and O'Neil, 1998). This diversity of cultures and experiences is not generally reflected in the classic planning theory texts of North America, which have tended to present planning theory as universal truth, as a philosophy upholding a single public interest, or as an essentially rational and technical approach to solving urban problems. Women and ethnic minorities in Canada do not see their everyday lives, experiences, and perspectives reflected in these types of theories.

The work opportunities available to graduating students have also changed dramatically over the past five to ten years. A decade ago, planning graduates were most likely to be employed as bureaucrats in municipal or provincial departments of land-use planning, housing, or urban policy and development. In Canada, these jobs are being drastically reduced through budget cuts at all levels of government. Consequently, today's graduates are more likely to work in the private and non-profit sectors as planning consultants or as employees of community and environmental organisations. For example, among recent graduates of York University are a Multicultural Project Coordinator for a conservation agency and a Community Planner for a community health centre. Planning graduates, then,

are working less and less within traditional state bureaucracies and more and more within the realm of civil society. Yet most planning theories are focused on planning as a state-based regulatory activity. Students, then, do not see themselves nor their futures reflected within traditional planning theories.

While I am critical of definitions that limit planning to the work of land-use professionals in state bureaucracies, at the same time, I want to argue for the continued importance of the role of the state. Iris Marion Young (1998), for example, recently argued that there is a danger in relying too much on civil society. The state continues to have an important role to play in a democratic society, particularly in the provision of public services and public spaces. We need to support progressive planning practices both within the state and as part of local participatory democracy, not as one or the other. Planning theory, then, needs to provide students with a much broader understanding of different and changing contexts. An historical perspective is clearly called for, but what type of history?

Critical social history

In *Making the Invisible Visible*, Leonie Sandercock (1998) points out that planning history to date has been primarily a story about the great men who established the planning profession. The history of planning, she argues, is presented as a modernist project of Enlightenment and scientific rationality, excluding and rendering invisible the women and ethnic minorities systematically excluded from the profession and from the physical city-building tradition. She advocates re-examining planning history through a new theoretical lens – a lens focused on what she calls the "noir side of planning." My point here is similar. I am suggesting that planning theory be re-examined within a new historical lens – a lens focused on broader social, economic, and political contexts in which specific planning theories emerge and decline.

A social historical approach to planning theory is quite different from the classic histories of the planning profession. Social history attempts to situate the emergence

of ideas within a broader social context including political culture, socio-economic structure, contemporary social movements, and social relations. Issues of power and privilege involving class, gender, and ethnicity are essential to this type of historical analysis. A social historical approach to planning attempts to understand the lie of the land not only as a physical entity, but as a complex social and political environment. Planning theory, then, can be understood as ideas about planning that are embedded in a specific social, political, economic and cultural location.

Critical pedagogy

The title of this paper is, of course, a play on the title of Paulo Freire's book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (Freire, 1968). His work is important because it encourages students to critically examine their own personal and social reality – grounding adult education in a critical examination of everyday life experience, and suggesting how the development of critical consciousness can create the potential for social change. The point is that, while traditional teaching methods emphasize the assimilation of facts and techniques, pedagogy is a political practice (Simon, 1992). Pedagogy and planning are both about intervention and transformation.

I am not suggesting that all planning students are oppressed. Some are, but many also come from relatively privileged backgrounds. Students are under duress because they are struggling with countervailing definitions, expectations, and pressures with regard to planning. They are required to take subjects which they regard as irrelevant, and they are not sure where, or if, or how they should fit into this field. If critical pedagogy can provide tools for developing self-awareness about one's position in the world and for making more informed choices about one's future role, then, as Scott Campbell and Susan Fainstein (1996, p. 6) note in the introduction to their *Reader in Planning Theory*, "an effective planning history [can help] the contemporary planner shape his or her complex professional identity."

By situating theory within a critical

historical framework, planning students are better able to understand the emergence and decline of specific planning concepts, values, and norms. They begin to see relationships among social conditions, theory, ideology, and planning practice. They appear to better appreciate and more fully engage in theoretical discourse on planning when it is grounded in a discussion of everyday life experiences and practices – past and present. This approach provides an opportunity for students to share their own observations, to discover the roots and implications of debates in the planning field, and to reflect critically on roles which they might play in future planning processes. Rather than advocating a universal planning theory capable of guiding the action of future planners under all circumstances, this approach encourages students to analyse the specifics of a given context, to identify underlying issues of power, and to employ concepts – from rationality to difference – that are most relevant to a specific time and place.

In this way, students may grasp the process by which certain ideas become dominant at particular times, whose interests are served by the proliferation of these ideas, and whose interests are ignored or left out of these discussions altogether. As students become more conscious of power relations embedded in theory, they may also become more cognizant of the need to change planning practices. Many become more attuned to asking who is excluded from current planning processes, whose interests are currently being neglected in this process, why, and how might planning become a more equitable and inclusive activity in the future. In other words, critical pedagogy should not only transform planning education, it should transform planning.

Teaching planning theory

The course I teach in planning theory attempts to do this: with mixed results. We begin with a collective brainstorming session on "What is wrong with theory?" and "What are the elements of a good theory?" Students are quite good at generating criteria that can be used

throughout the course to evaluate the planning theories which we study. In the "what is wrong" category are theories that are too abstract, unrelated to the real world, irrelevant, incomprehensible, impractical, and so forth. In the "elements of good theory" category are theories that describe, explain, interpret, analyse, provide guidance about how to act, and explicitly identify underlying values and assumptions.

Initial reading assignments for the course are not planning theories, but selected histories. These readings are selected to alert students to issues of class, gender, and ethnicity in relation to the origins of planning theory and history in Canada. We begin by talking about Aboriginal history in the Great Lakes region; focusing, in particular, on local First Nations' cultural beliefs and relationship to the land and to nature – cultures in which the concept of private land ownership, for example, was nonexistent. We examine urban patterns and social movements of the nineteenth century – prior to the professionalisation of planning in Canada – including the origins of class segregation (Sanford, 1987). We explore the first urban reform movement in Toronto, when concerns for public health became separated from issues of city building and design, such that social issues and social work became the purview of women, while engineering, architecture, and eventually planning was the domain of men (Meller, 1990). We also read June Manning Thomas's papers on the role played by planners in fostering racial segregation in cities in the USA since the end of the American Civil War (Thomas, 1994; 1998). While Canadian cities do not exhibit the same degree of racial segregation as cities in the USA, there are important parallels and insights useful in the Canadian context.

The bulk of the course is devoted to the examination of particular theories presented in historical sequence. Each class, and the discussion of each theory, begins with an historical introduction – a description of the social conditions at the time when each theory appeared to take hold within the profession, including predominant urban patterns, major historical events, such as recessions and

wars, the introduction of new technologies, and the kinds of ideas, issues, and debates taking place in the broader social world. References are made to the status of women, and to the origins of each new wave of immigrants. The emphasis is on Canadian urban history, but with relevant events in the USA, Great Britain, Europe, and elsewhere noted when these are particularly influential to the Canadian scene.

Over the course of twelve weeks we cover both classic and more contemporary planning theories, including rational-comprehensive, incremental, advocacy, radical, critical and communicative action, feminist, ecological, and postmodern planning theories. In class, the emphasis is on examining the relationship between key concepts in each theory and the broader social circumstances and issues of the time. This examination reveals the ideological underpinnings and normative roles for planners embedded in each theory. By making these values and norms explicit, students are able to make more informed choices about the theories, and potential planning roles, which they might choose to employ in their own work.

Most of my students report that this approach to planning theory provides them with a clear conceptual framework in which to understand and situate themselves within current debates in the planning field. Many of these students specialize in areas such as planning for environmental sustainability or community-based planning for social justice. These students are pushing the boundaries of the planning profession – helping to change the Canadian planning profession from within.

Problems

There are planning students about whom I am concerned. One group, for example, is composed of those interested in traditional forms of land-use planning. These students, mostly male, tend to believe that rational-comprehensive planning theory can be improved with a touch of advocacy or environmentalism, as if they were adding seasonings to a soup. They seem to fall back on notions of technical rationality, regardless of the insights and

critiques offered by other more contemporary theories, because these more traditional concepts are familiar and offer relatively simple solutions to complex social issues and problems. While these students often appear confused by contemporary planning theories, they do not suffer from duress. They do not appear to engage with the course material nor care about the underlying issues explored in the process. It is this lack of caring and engagement that worries me: the fact that they do not see a problem with planning as usual.

I am also concerned about international students, although for different reasons. International students at York come from Europe, the Caribbean, Asia, Africa, and South America – mostly from Third World countries. When I ask how various planning theories and concepts fit with their own knowledge and experience of planning in their homelands, they generally report no congruence whatsoever. Some say that planning is tightly controlled by the government élite, while others report that there is no planning by government at all. Some describe planning as a purely technical activity, while others describe rampant corruption or planning through pay-offs to public officials. The relevance of my approach to planning theory in these circumstances is limited. Some of these students tell me that the course helps to explain, though not necessarily to reduce, their sense of exclusion from Canadian

society. International students create discomfort for me about my own approach because I know so little about the contexts from which they come, and because I realize that my own efforts at creating space for different experiences and perspectives is still at such a rudimentary stage, focused as it is almost exclusively on planning in Canada.

Conclusion

Given that the study of planning theory is required by professional organizations such as the Canadian Institute of Planners, I think that it is important to make this endeavor more than simply a means of acculturating students into the profession. Leonie Sandercock (1998) concludes *Towards Cosmopolis* with a question about how planning educators might fashion a curriculum to straddle the apparently contradictory practices of the professional bureaucratic culture of planning, on the one hand, and the insurgent or radical practices of those dedicated to supporting and mobilizing marginalized communities, on the other. I like to think that a social historical approach to planning theory is a useful element in this endeavor because it provides a critical framework within which students may discover the roots of their own discomfort with traditional professional practices; and because this may, in turn, allow them to begin to forge new more inclusive and equitable roles for planners.

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REPORTS

Conference on Archive Resources in the North-West. Edge Hill College of Higher Education, 28 January 2000

Roger Spalding, *Edge Hill College of Higher Education*

This conference, possibly the first in a series, was organised, according to Chris Parker (Edge Hill) to achieve two objectives: to illustrate the variety of archives in the North-west, and to consider the significance of the creation of Regional Archive Councils (RACs).

These themes were taken up and amplified by Jonathan Pepler (Cheshire Record Office). He noted the general lack of dialogue between academic researchers and archivists, and went on to outline new developments in the field of archive management that could have a very considerable impact on the work of historians. Foremost amongst these is the creation of RACs under the aegis of the National Council on Archives, as part of the Regional Cultural Consortia. The creation of RACs, it was argued, potentially created an opportunity for archive users to play a direct role in shaping archive policy. It has already been established, for example, that representatives of the Royal Historical Society and the Historical Association should sit on the RACs. The RACs, Pepler claimed, would become channels for funding: membership would, therefore, give users the opportunity to participate in key policy decisions, such as what is actually to be preserved, and how it is to be organised. Pepler made a strong case for a dialogue between archivists and academics, arguing that such contact would enable historians to play a direct role in preserving their raw materials.

After these introductory sessions, the conference divided into three parallel sessions (repeated after lunch). Strand A, 'Business and Industry', consisted of two

presentations by Jessie Campbell (Barclays Bank) and Elaine Brison (British Gas). Both organisations base their national archive in the North-west.

Not surprisingly, much of the material presented by Campbell related to financial matters. However, the point was made that Barclays had been a significant presence on British high streets for some time. Consequently, a substantial part of its archive is given over to material relating to property, including plans and photographs. Such material, Campbell argued, represented a valuable record of changing trends in commercial theory and interior design. Such developments are particularly well-documented in the archive's large collection of staff magazines.

It quickly became apparent from Elaine Brison's presentation that British Gas possesses a particularly rich archive for those concerned with planning history. The point was made that, beginning in the early nineteenth century, the gas industry had played a large part in the creation of Britain's urban infrastructure; this was particularly the case where gas was supplied by combined utilities companies that also supplied water and electricity. The archive contains literally tens of thousands of building records and drawings. Brison cited the example of a research student who used the archive to relate the distribution of gas supplies to social zoning in nineteenth century Manchester to demonstrate the potential for tracing the course of urban growth.

It was pointed out that British Gas had also had a presence on the high street. The archive contains a large body of plans of Gas Showrooms, material that could be extremely valuable for exploring the interface between architecture and retailing. Related to its retailing activities, the gas industry was heavily involved in the development of kitchen design, and the archive retains a large body of

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photographs relating to this field of activity. The British Gas archive has, therefore, a wealth of material relating to urban development, high street architecture and domestic design.

Strand B consisted of two contributions on the theme of urban development. The first of these, given by Kevin Mulley (Bury Archive Service) dealt with the holdings of his office. He began by drawing attention to the limitations of his office, primarily the fact that he was the Bury Archive Service in its entirety. Given that, as he pointed out, even a small borough like Bury generates 30 tonnes of paperwork per annum, the problems are easy to comprehend. As Bury was at the heart of the Lancashire cotton industry, its records document the experience of early industrialisation and, in more recent times, the process of de-industrialisation. Bury was also dominated and, indeed, largely owned by the Stanley family (the Earls of Derby). Its records, therefore, provide a valuable insight into the role of an aristocratic landowner in the industrialising and urbanising process. Similarly, as a borough since 1832, Bury's records (council minutes, Parliamentary Acts, and local bye-laws) provide a wealth of material concerning the role of municipal authorities in urban development. Among other things, the office holds 12,000 planning proposals in the form of paper tracings. Mulley showed one of these, concerning the conversion of a Methodist chapel into an early cinema – The Electric Theatre – an example which, in itself, perhaps reflects a significant change in local social mores embodied in building usage.

Andrew Thynne (Lancashire Record Office) gave the second presentation in this strand, which dealt with records relating to New Town development within Lancashire. Most members of the audience were familiar with the New Town of Skelmersdale, to the North-west

of Liverpool, but few realised that Preston, Chorley and Leyland together constituted the New Town of Central Lancashire. Indeed, to this day, few of the inhabitants of these towns realise that they are citizens of Central Lancashire. The failure of this New Town in itself suggests a fruitful area of research into the mechanics of creating a new community.

Thynne pointed out that there was a very considerable bulk of material relating to New Towns in the Lancashire Archive: 500 boxes for Central Lancashire and 330 for Skelmersdale. This material covers every aspects of New Town development, including initial plans, minutes of decision-making bodies, surveys of public opinion, photographs and statistics.

Strand C dealt with the Poor Law and Charitable Relief (Bruce Jackson, Lancashire Record Office) and Sources for Labour History (Stephen Bird, National Museum of Labour History). I opted not to attend that session on the basis that it likely to be of less interest to the readers of *Planning History*.

The penultimate plenary session was a presentation by the North West Film Archive, the largest archive of moving images outside London. Although not directly linked to planning issues, the material held by the archive contains masses of material featuring public areas and workplaces. As a source of information as to how people inhabited these spaces, the archive, housed at Manchester Metropolitan University, would be invaluable. Certain employers, such as the Co-operative Wholesale Society, maintained their own film units. The CWS film of its Crumpsall biscuit factory, made in the 1930s, gives a unique insight into how employment policies were translated into working environments.

In the final session, general satisfaction was expressed at the course and contents of the conference, and support was given

for the idea of making it an annual event. It was also felt that, as well as demonstrating the wealth of material available in the north-west, the Conference

had proved without question the need for historians to develop a much closer relationship with archivists, possibly through the medium of the new RACs.

Visions of Birmingham: the planners' dream and the people's reality, 1900-2030. Exhibition held at the Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, 25 November 1999 - 28 February 2000

Peter J. Larkham, University of Central England, Birmingham, UK

This was an exhibition about idealism in the planning and shaping of the built environment. It is doubly interesting, and welcome, in that planning history of any form is rarely presented in digestible form to the wider public.

The idealism of one generation too often becomes the technological and social failure of the next. The idealism of one socio-economic or professional group is often not that of other groups who, having relatively little voice or power, nevertheless have it foisted upon them. This exhibition is about the ideas, images and artifacts of civic idealism, not about its implementation; even less about its success or failure – save for a comment prominently displayed on the wall facing the entrance: "We know it can't happen, but it would be a great thing if all these tower blocks were taken down" ('Jack', Nechells, 1992).

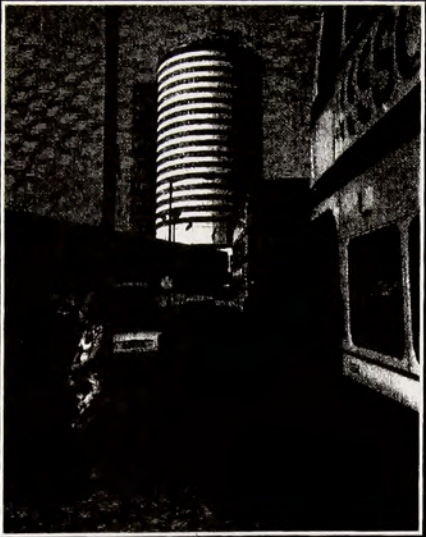
Birmingham is, of course, a very interesting civic venue for an exhibit of planning vision and idealism – particularly of the period following the well-known civic boosterism of the Chamberlains, Cadburys and other notable local families in the nineteenth century. Lay opinion

would have it that the city has suffered from too much idealism, indifferently executed. One has only to think of the Inner Ring Road of the 1960s, now seen as a 'concrete collar' to be downgraded or even partially removed; and some 400 tower blocks each requiring major investment in repair and upgrading. Yet one should consider the exhibition's introductory comment:



"All the major developments proposed for Birmingham over the last 100 years began with a vision. These schemes may have been inspired by a need to solve problems, the availability of new technology or new theories about the way people live in cities. Some of these visions were successful, while others were never realised, but all contribute to the evolution and energy of the city".

Much of this vision and implementation, as the exhibition makes clear in the first exhibit to the right of the entrance, is a direct result of the personality and power of Sir Herbert Manzoni M.Inst.C.E., M.T.P.I., City Engineer and Surveyor from 1935 to 1963. And one should recall that this civic vision, paternalistic, deterministic and driven by top-down bureaucracy as we may now castigate it, was well-received at the time: as the second highlighted quotation prominently displayed stated, "We had a bathroom and a toilet. That was luxury beyond our wildest dreams" ('Mick', moved to Kingstanding, 1930:

**Visions
of Birmingham**
The planners' dream and the people's reality
1900 - 2030



**25 November 1999
- 28 February 2000**
**Birmingham Museum
& Art Gallery**

BM&AG   Birmingham City Council
Department of Leisure and
Community Services

speaking of a product of Manzoni's inter-war campaign for 50,000 municipal houses).

The exhibition is displayed in two smallish rooms in the centre of the Art Gallery, signposted (although not wholly clearly) from the main entrance. It is a museum-quality display, with relatively few exhibits, well spaced out, brightly lit, and labelled. It is difficult to know whether there is intended to be a 'correct' sequence in which to view the exhibits. Even having viewed them all, it is difficult to discern a clear, logical, thematic or chronological sequence. Perhaps this is part of the curatorial art: drawing the viewer in, and making them question the exhibits and the exhibition?

The first room introduces the exhibition, deals with the inter-war municipal housing programme largely through photographs, the post-war redevelopment visions for high-rise housing and new industry largely through watercolour perspectives and bird's-eye views by Reginald Edgecombe, "artist in the Public Works Department", and has a collection of domestic appliances. This room also has, prominently mounted on the walls, the two comments from residents quoted above. Inevitably, these set a tone for the exhibit.

The second room deals with the 'civic centre' around Broad Street – although Haywood's fascinating and visionary book of 1918, with its proposals and perspectives of the same area, is part of the exhibition's introduction in the first room! A large perspective and model cover the 1930s proposals. The developer's ideal and photographs of the current reality of the Bull Ring covered shopping centre are displayed. Other, more current, central development proposals are covered, including Millennium Point, Arena Central and the public art in Victoria Square. There is a section on 'the motor city' with the official

model of Spaghetti Junction. Also here is a display board for public comments, and an iMac on-line display running 'visions of Birmingham using Netscape (unfortunately not operational during my visit as it was without keyboard!).

To me, the wholly unexpected star of the exhibit was the 5' x 5' model of the proposed Civic Centre dating from the 1930s: a surprising survival. This was a time when many towns aspired to such purpose-built centres, from Cardiff to Wolverhampton. Not all were built. Here, only a war memorial and half of one office block were built before lack of money and the war intervened: the recent Hyatt Hotel, International Convention Centre and Centenary Square are products of a very different vision. Now, the heavily-landscaped symmetrical square, redolent of the *beaux-arts* tradition, would be treated very differently. Thus it was particularly poignant for the model of the unrealised dream to be placed next to a large photograph showing the tens of thousands celebrating New Year, 1998-9, in the new Centenary Square on more or less the same site.

Also of interest, in terms of planning history, were the artistic representations. Some were official views, drawn to promote schemes by the Public Works Department's artist in the 1940s (and what a surprise to find that such a person was employed); others were representations of the large-scale demolitions for the inner and middle ring roads, and for the National Indoor Arena, by Frank and Arthur Lockwood. Inevitably one contrasts the images of 'promotion', so reminiscent of the place-promotion of the contemporary post-war reconstruction plans, with the less realist, but more striking, 'recording' images of destruction.

Welcome though this initiative is, I have to ask how many people will view it in the midst of an art gallery? For it does demand a deliberate visit: it is hardly

stumbled upon by chance. How approachable is it, when mundane planning-related materials are elevated to the status of museum exhibits/works of art? It was disturbing (to this viewer) to see pages from the developer's brochures, for example from the 1960s Bull Ring shopping centre – itself now facing redevelopment – displayed in glass cases, or mounted, framed and floodlit (although this discourse between the worldly and the art icon is occurring elsewhere in the museum world and in art philosophy: Danto, 1981).

To answer one of my own questions, during my visit the exhibition *was* popular, with over 20 other visitors – more than any other part of the gallery except the tea-room! The visitors' comments section was well used. But what is to become of this collection of comments? Will it, too, become archived in the art gallery, for some future display? Let us have much more of this popularising of planning and its history, for it brings to the public attention the fact that the shaping of the built environment is a lengthy process full of thought and effort, even if the built result becomes problematic with the passage of time. It emphasises that more cities, parts of cities and buildings are designed on paper than are ever built; it shows the gulf between the ideal in plan and model, and the bricks, mortar (or concrete) of reality. Perhaps one might learn lessons about location, accessibility (physically and intellectually) and content from this exhibition.

References

- Danto, A.C., *The transfiguration of the commonplace*, Cambridge, Mass: M.I.T. Press, 1981.
Haywood, W., *The Development of Birmingham: an Essay*, Birmingham: Kynoch, 1918.

PUBLICATIONS

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

Elizabeth McKellar, *The Birth of Modern London: the Development and Design of the City, 1660-1720*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1999.

This book examines the key period of London's transformation after the Great Fire from a warren of mediaeval timber-framed buildings to a regular, planned urban landscape of brick houses organised in spacious streets and squares.

Stephen Halliday, *The Great Stink of London: Sir Joseph Bazalgette and the Cleansing of the Victorian Metropolis*, Stroud, Alan Sutton, 1999, £19.99

Of course provision of infrastructure, including sewerage, is important in the planning and development of towns; Bazalgette was also responsible for London's Embankment, Charing Cross Road, Garrick Street, Northumberland Avenue, and the bridges of Hammersmith, Putney and Battersea.

Stephen Hamnett and Robert Freestone (eds), *The Australian Metropolis: A Planning History*, London: E & FN Spon, 2000, ISBN 0-419-25800-0 (hbk), 0-419-25810-8 (pbk) (simultaneously published in the United States by Routledge and in Australia by Allen & Unwin)

This book is No. 25 in the Spon 'Studies in History, Planning and Environment' series under the general editorship of Anthony Sutcliffe. *The Australian Metropolis* provides a single-volume introduction to the development of urban planning

in Australia. It fills the need for a convenient, initial resource for anyone interested in the broad evolutionary sweep of modern planning. By setting the evolution of Australian planning within its broader societal context, the book presents a balanced appraisal of the positive, negative and ambivalent legacies resulting from attempts to plan Australia's major cities (from cover description). There are ten chapters organised in roughly chronological order from the nineteenth-century backdrop (Helen Proudfoot) to the eve of the twenty-first century (Stephen Hamnett). Other contributors include Christine Garnaut (on garden city influences in the 1910s), Renate Howe (on reconstruction planning in the 1940s), and Margo Huxley (on the watershed of the 1970s). (From Rob Freestone.)

Peter Hall, *Cities in Civilization* London: Orion (Phoenix Giant pb), 1999, ISBN 0 75380 815 3, 1169 pp, £16.99

Peter Hall explores the history of cities from the cultural crucibles of Athens in the sixth century BC and Florence in the fifteenth century, through the industrial innovations of Manchester (cotton and steam), Detroit (cars) and Palo Alto (computers), to the city as 'freeway' (Los Angeles). (From publisher.)

It has to be said that this is exceptional value for money (as indeed is the hardback version); but the paperback binding is fragile at this size!

"Hall displays phenomenal erudition and consummate organisational skill. He is master of every subject he

touches" (Roy Porter, *Literary Review*).

Eleni Bastea, *Creation of Modern Athens: Planning the Myth*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, ISBN 0 521 64120 9, £50.00 hb

Eve Blau and Monika Platzer (eds) *Shaping the City: Modern Architecture in Central Europe, 1890-1937*, Prestel Verlag, 2000, ISBN 3 7913 2151 X, £39.95

Kathryn Morrisson and Anne Robey, *One Hundred Years of Suburbia: the Aldershot Estate in Wanstead, 1899-1999*, London: Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England.

Robert B. Fairbanks, *For the City as a Whole: Planning, Politics and the Public Interest in Dallas, Texas, 1900-1965*. Ohio State University Press, 1999.

Joel Rast, *Remaking Chicago: the Political Origins of Urban Industrial Change*. Northern Illinois University Press, 1999.

Anthony Clayton and Alan Russell (eds), *Dresden: a City Reborn*. Berg, 1999.

Shahid Yusuf and Weiping Wu, *The Dynamics of Urban Growth in Three Chinese Cities*. Oxford University Press, 1997.

(Titles and details taken from publishers' catalogues and the trade press and [for this issue] the Urban History Association's Newsletter.)

PUBLICATIONS: BOOK REVIEWS

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

The regeneration of port-cities and dockland revitalisation projects are now well documented and, over the last decade, have increasingly contributed to a wider discussion on urban regeneration and planning policy both within national and international dimensions. Within this context there was, during the mid- and late-1980s, a considerable amount of material published aiming to evaluate and discuss the decline of port-cities. As a result, much discussion centered upon ways in which these cities and their associated docklands could, or should, be regenerated; with several debates on alternative planning strategies being current during this period.

This notably this culminated in Hoyle's comprehensive review of dockland regeneration and contemporary planning issues (Hoyle, 1988). Hoyle's work provided a stimulus for much debate on the subject, which was followed by a considerable research interest and publication especially centred upon large dockland regeneration projects in North America, the UK and Western Europe. As a result, much urban policy, planning practice and urban design principles were debated and formulated from the lessons and challenges that emerged from dockland regeneration strategies at that time.

Since then, during the 1990s there was a consolidation of these principles, which have largely been incorporated into accepted norms of planning and

urban design practice within the processes of urban regeneration and dockland redevelopment. At the same time there was also a widening of discussion on the regeneration of ports and docklands which are now, and are increasingly, linked to wider objectives of innovative planning, economic development and tourism and leisure policies. It is these aspects that more recent research and debate has increasingly focused upon.

Nevertheless, Han Meyer's recent publication *City and Port*, which discusses the transformation of four port-cities (London, Barcelona, New York, and Rotterdam) provides the first major comprehensive review of dockland/port-city regeneration since Hoyle's work, more than a decade ago. The book gives a succinct historic review, as well as an analysis of more recent planning and design issues relating to port-city regeneration. In this respect, Meyer's work provides a comprehensive update on contemporary thinking and policy debates, and gives an overview of the current issues, challenges and policy directions now confronting port-cities.

The book is divided into six chapters. The first is somewhat of a 'scene-setter' highlighting, and comprehensively documenting, both the historical development of port-cities through the nineteenth century and the enviro-socio-economic decline and regeneration of such cities during the twentieth century. This is followed by four chapters relating to each of the four case study port-cities.

These four chapters again give a comprehensive review of the historic development of each port, document the evolution of planning strategies and critically

review the current policy issues and challenges of each. The final chapter provides a synthesis of these policy issues and challenges, and summarises the lessons that should be learnt from the case studies discussed. This chapter concludes with a series of observations relating to the challenges and strategic issues that need to be considered for the future success of port-city regeneration.

The four port-city case studies presented in this book prove an excellent choice, since they are not only well-documented and interesting city examples of innovative regeneration strategies within their own national contexts, but also provide a framework of exemplars for the wider context of dockland regeneration strategies throughout the world. Indeed, they provide four interesting comparative alternative approaches to the regeneration process and, as a result, give an interesting insight between the tensions and balance that need to be considered between design, culture, politics, economics, social democracy and public and private interest within the regeneration process.

Additionally, the contemporary maps, photographs and plans – together with the historical illustrations – on each of the case studies are extremely comprehensive and provide a rich collection of visual material documenting the historical and contemporary development of each port-city.

Indeed, the visual content of the book is one of its major assets: it contains a unique visual documentation which catalogues port-city growth, development, decline and regeneration. It thus

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provides an extremely useful resource of visual material for historians, planners, urban designers and other professions interested in the history and chronological development of port-cities.

In summary, Meyer's book provides a very useful update on the current issues relating to port-city regeneration and wider debates on urban regeneration. More specifically, it explores the need of balancing private- and public-sector interests with the need for social democracy, cultural conscience and the need to re-discover strategic and more integrated approaches to design and planning processes within the context of port-city regeneration.

The book provides more of an historical analysis than a critical review of urban regeneration policy, but it raises important comparative social policy, planning and design issues. It is a book that would not only be of interest to historians, geographers, planners and urban designers but also to a wider professional audience linked to such areas as economic development, leisure and tourism.

REFERENCE

Hoyle, B.S., Pinder, D.A. and Husain, M.S., *Revitalising the waterfront*, London: Belhaven, 1988.

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Michael Harrison, *Bournville: Model Village to Garden Suburb*, Chichester: Phillimore, 1999, ISBN 1 86077 117 3, 272 pp, £17.99 hb

Historians of planning, and practitioners, have been aware of the seminal significance of Bournville virtually since the commencement of its development in 1895. In 1879, George Cadbury (1839-1922), Quaker businessman and philanthropist, moved his chocolate factory from the polluted inner urban core of Birmingham, 'city of a thousand trades', to the open fields beyond Selly Oak, five miles south-west of the centre. A few blocks of semi-detached houses were built for key workers, but the 'factory in a garden' stood in glorious isolation until 1893, when Cadbury purchased 120 acres next to the factory.

Known as the 'practical mystic', Cadbury first contemplated a Quaker colony, but the Bournville Building Estate emerged as a venture "to make it easy for working men to own houses with large gardens secure from the danger of being spoilt, either by ... factories or by interference of the enjoyment of sunlight and air". A layout plan, akin to the conventional bye-law suburban grid, was prepared by A.P. Walker, but was amended to introduce a central village green. In 1895, a young Birmingham architect, W. Alexander Harvey, was appointed, and within a few years he had designed an amazing variety of housing groups, handsomely illustrated in his book *The Model Village and its Cottages*.¹

Bournville, as we think we know it, was under way, vested in Cadbury's charitable

Bournville Village Trust in December 1900, when there were 315 houses. Its objective was "the amelioration of the condition of the working classes ... in and around Birmingham and elsewhere in Great Britain, by the provision of improved dwellings, with gardens and open spaces to be enjoyed therewith ...". The seal was set and the following year Joseph Rowntree consulted Cadbury about the Trust deed in relation to a proposed model village at New Earswick, outside York. Cadbury also hosted the first international conference of the Garden City Association, consummating the close relationship between two major strands of community planning at the turn of the century. A few years later, its influence was felt in the formulation of Birmingham City Council's policy, under J.S. Nettlefold, of encouraging lower-density suburban development through town extension planning, the cornerstone of the 1909 Housing and Town Planning Act.

As Michael Harrison shows, the Trust remained vigilant in identifying ways in which it could both respond to, and influence, the changing context of social housing. As early as 1906, it encouraged the Bournville Tenants Co-partnership Society and, in 1920, the Bournville Works Housing Society Ltd was formed, and had constructed 363 houses by 1939. In 1914, an ambitious plan was prepared for the Weoley Hill estate, a model for suburban development and protection of amenity, which included both rental and saleable housing. There were interesting experiments with timber frame, rammed earth and concrete block construction, and the

reconditioning of slum housing was encouraged through the Trust's architects assisting the Birmingham Copec House Improvement Society. In 1927, the Trust even built model cottages at Butlers Marston, Warwickshire, to set a standard for new rural housing.

The onset of the Second World War brought *When we Build Again*, a book² and also a film based on the Trust's research, which played a major part in the debate about rebuilding Britain after 1945. At Bournville, there was major construction by the Trust's Direct Labour Team, and a pioneering self-build association was formed in 1950. Notwithstanding post-war austerity, Dame Elizabeth Cadbury, George Cadbury's second wife, and Chairman of the Trust, was present at the opening of the 200th post-war house in June 1951, shortly before her death.

Her nephew, Paul Cadbury, became a Trustee in 1922, and remained for 60 years. The first non-Cadbury Chairman of the Trust was Professor Gordon Cherry of Birmingham University, appointed in 1993. This brought together the doyen of planning history and one of the key developments which influenced the emergence of the process and profession. The Trust has always been careful to avoid the prescriptive paternalism of the Victorian reformers. In keeping faith with George Cadbury's objectives, a new statement of purpose was approved in 1993: "to provide high quality housing developments, distinctive in architecture, landscape and environment, in socially mixed communities, using best management practices to

improve the quality of life for those living in such communities".

Perhaps the most challenging fulfilment lies in the proposal to develop a 'mark 2' twenty-first century community at Lightmoor, Telford New Town, through collaboration between the Bournville Village Trust, Commission for the New Towns and the Urban Villages Forum.

We have long needed a comprehensive account of Bournville, and this thoroughly-researched and well-illustrated book fills a notable gap. Not least, it charts the evolving approach of the Trust in response to a century of change. If there is a weakness, it is that the community itself remains distanced behind policies and statistics – more personal narrative would have been welcome in the appropriate places.

NOTES

1. W.A. Harvey, *The Model Village and its Cottages: Bournville*, London: Batsford, 1906.
2. Bournville Village Trust, *When we Build Again*, London: Allen and Unwin, 1941.

Dr Mervyn Miller
11 Silver Street Ashwell,
Baldock, Herts SG7 5QJ, UK

Anthony J. Scrase, *Streets and Market Places in Towns of Southwest England*, Lewiston, NY and Lampeter, UK: Edwin Mellen Press, 1999, \$59.95, xvi + 91 pp, ISBN 0-7734-7953-8.

This short book looks at the changing layout of boundaries in towns, looking in particular at burgrave plots, roads and markets. The author, however, never precisely defines the topic; the opening sentence is "The writer first became interested in this topic" (p. 1). Instead the theme emerges gradually during the first chapter. In fact the Preface (by Robert Dunning) gives a much more explicit outline of what the book is about.

Although the book concentrates on the modification of burgrave plots it brings in other questions, such as the large number of towns in the area, the relationship of town and hinterland, the distinction between public and private space, and how urban roads are related to this. It also looks at the impact of Norman castles, crosses, markets, road widening, the removal of gates, modern roads, and the impact of highway engineers. There is a good final point about the need to investigate streets as well as plots and buildings (p. 71).

The geographical area implied by the title is by no means as wide as one might have thought. It covers not 'Southwest England', but only the historic counties of Gloucester and Somerset. And, even then, it concentrates very much on only two towns (Bath and Wells). These have over a quarter of the 70 pages of text entirely to themselves, and are also referred to frequently throughout the rest of the text. Given this concentration, detailed maps of these two towns would have been helpful for those less familiar with them.

The main text is very short (seemingly about 16,000 words), although it does have 28

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illustrations. Unfortunately, the reproduction of many of these is of very poor quality, rendering the shading very poor, and much of the lettering illegible.

The text is not helped by several howlers, such as "Most of

the total of 12 towns effected" (p. 28), or the "principle routes" (p. 65), or "Setting Bath in a wider context shows their Corporation" (p. 70).

Had the book been priced at less than, say, £10, it would be

worth having as a detailed local study of Bath and Wells. Its advertised price of virtually \$60 brings its value into question.

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PUBLICATIONS: RELEVANT JOURNAL ABSTRACTS

John Bold and Charlotte Bradbeer (2000) 'Finsbury Park: the identification of a suburban entity', *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society* Vol. 44 pp. 63-86.

This essay juxtaposes current perceptions of a suburban district of North London with a discussion of its relatively unplanned growth, raising the question of how far a regeneration plan for a now somewhat run-down area should look to history and have a pragmatic 'non-plan' at its heart.

Related to the above theme, but in a different research tradition, readers may recall brief 'research' features on a project investigating the planning of English suburbs (Vol. 19 Nos 2/3, 1997; Vol. 20 No. 2, 1998): the results of that research are now appearing in print.

J.W.R. Whitehand and Christine M.H. Carr (1999) 'Morphological periods, planning and reality: the case of England's inter-war suburbs', *Urban History* Vol. 26 No. 2 pp. 230-248.

The physical forms of England's inter-war suburbs are examined, concentrating on those created by private enterprise. Attention is given to the contrasts between inter-war suburbs and those created before the First World War, and the timing of the adoption of architectural styles and other aspects of built form characteristic of the inter-war period is considered. In places, houses in Edwardian styles continued to be built well into the inter-war period. The dominant characteristic of the period was the creation of garden suburbs. The Tudor Walters Report was more an endorsement of such suburbs than a stimulus to them and many of its recommendations were not adhered to.

J.W.R. Whitehand and Christine M.H. Carr (1999) 'England's interwar suburban landscapes: myth and reality', *Journal of Historical Geography* vol. 25 no. 4 pp. 483-501.

An investigation of suburbs created by private enterprise in interwar England reveals that their development was more problematic, and their physical characteristics were more diverse, than has been widely assumed. Differences between initial proposals for the development of an area and the reality that eventually emerged on the ground were widespread. Though architectural styles, building types and road patterns were generally distinct from those of the period before World War 1, they varied considerably both within and between cities. Two main types of process affecting the landscape can be recognised. The first is systemic change, exemplified by the practically universal adoption,

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during the course of the 1920s, of the garden-suburb ethos and the creation of markedly different landscapes from those that existed previously. The second is adaptive change, involving adjustments, usually piecemeal, before, during and after developments, but conforming to the dominant period characteristics of the layouts; for example, reductions in plot sizes associated with increases in land values. Though conceptually fairly distinct, the two types of change may not in practice be separable.
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J.W.R. Whitehand and Christine M.H. Carr (1999) 'The changing fabrics of ordinary residential areas', *Urban Studies* Vol. 36 No. 10 pp. 1661-1677.

An increasing proportion of change to the built environments of Western countries consists of adaptations of existing physical forms. Many changes are small-scale and piecemeal, but cumulatively they have a major impact on the physical character of the environment. This paper considers the physical changes that have taken place in one of the most extensive types of area in English cities: the suburbs created by private enterprise between the two world wars.

Within each of the two cities studied, Birmingham and London, the form and density of the original development were major factors influencing the distribution of additional dwellings, demolitions and modifications of existing houses, and the types of new dwelling constructed. Between the mid 1950s and the mid 1960s in London, but a few years later in Birmingham, the insertion of additional houses by developers was the main type of change. From the early 1970s, individual householders became major instigators of change to existing houses, especially in London, where incomes rose more rapidly. House extensions were an important element in this change, despite the decline in household size. The large majority of planning applications for changes to existing houses, but only about one-half of those for the construction of additional dwellings, were approved.

J.W.R. Whitehand, N.J. Morton and C.M.H. Carr (1999) 'Urban morphogenesis at the microscale: how houses change', *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design* Vol. 26 pp. 503-515.

The incidence of change to existing houses and gardens within England's interwar

residential areas is examined, the focus being on sample areas originally developed by private enterprise in Birmingham and London. Larger-scale changes, mostly subject to development control by the local authority, notably the building of additional houses within existing gardens, subdivisions and amalgamations of houses, changes of use, extensions and other significant structural works, are distinguished from changes initiated by households without planning permission, and often without building permission, such as changes to chimneys, reroofing, and changes to doors, windows, porches, and gardens. Changes subject to development control are negatively correlated, and smaller-scale changes are positively correlated, with the dwelling density at which the sample areas were originally developed. Among the factors responsible for this are the greater susceptibility of the areas of higher dwelling density to the contagious diffusion of minor and cosmetic changes.

(Contributions for this section are welcome: particularly of English-language abstracts from journals published in other languages.)

PLANNING HISTORY

BULLETIN OF THE INTERNATIONAL PLANNING HISTORY SOCIETY

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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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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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