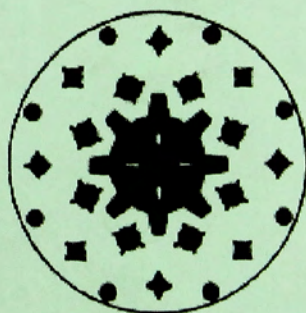


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EDITORIAL

MARK CLAPSON

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The 9th International Planning History Society Conference in Helsinki, held in August 2000, contributes more than a little to this issue of *Planning History*. Anthony D. King's keynote conference paper, 'Re-worlding the city' is the first article here. It is an important contribution to our contemporary understanding of the city, particularly of the suburbs: they are no longer the bastion of the white middle-classes, but dynamic and diverse multi-cultural housing areas, not simply in the West, but also in the booming countries of the Pacific. 'Edge city' forces and globalisation have remoulded suburban life in the great metropolitan areas. King took as his working themes the key themes of the conference:

centre/periphery/globalisation. Robert Home's report on the Helsinki conference, moreover, draws attention to some significant aspects of the event.

The Southern Hemisphere and East more generally gain considerable attention in this issue. Caroline Miller's article on W. R. Davidge and the problems of civic design in New Zealand in the

earlier part of the twentieth century, is a welcome contribution to the neglected history of planning in that country, while two shorter pieces discuss the Chinese experience of town planning and urban growth. One is a review article by Peter Larkham on some recent publications by the University of Hawaii Press; the other is a concise study of transportation and urban development in Manchuria, by Wu Xiaosong and Robert Home.

I am grateful to those of you who have sent me notifications of publications, reports and other notices. Some of these are included here, others will be found in the first issue of *Planning History* for 2001. This will follow shortly.

Finally, and in relation to this, I must apologise for the late arrival, as it were, of this final issue of 2000. This was due to a number of problems. Some of these were minor, notably illness and a flooded office; but one in particular was and remains a major factor, namely the 'corporate repositioning' of the University of Luton, and all that that entails. Happy New Century!

REPORTS

9th International Planning History Conference and 1st Finnish Urban History Conference: Espoo-Helsinki, Finland, 20-23 August 2000

The hosting of IPHS conferences gets better and better. Helsinki was a worthy successor to the Sydney 1998 conference, thanks largely to the efforts of Laura Kolbe (well known to many IPHS members) and her colleagues. Some two hundred participants gathered at the Centre for Urban and Regional Studies, Helsinki University of Technology, in a building and campus designed by the Finnish architect Alvar Aalto in the 1960s. The magnificent lecture theatre, where the conference plenary sessions were held, showed the quality of his work, and indeed the campus library drew visits from the Israeli participants (who are planning a new library for the University of Haifa). Close by was the garden city of Tapiola, a much-acclaimed town planning ventures of the 1960s, which was the subject of an excellent conference session, led by the Finnish-American academic Arnold Alanen (Wisconsin).

The hospitality aspects of the conference were excellent, starting with the welcome reception at the cultural centre of the City of Espoo, in the heart of Tapiola, and hosted by its lady mayor (one of many women among the Finnish officials and academics involved with the conference). The Museum of Finnish Architecture hosted another reception, and there was an excellent closing conference banquet in the Old Student House built in 1868, with a recital by an talented young string quartet playing Sibelius. The closing plenary session - ambiguously titled 'The Real End (?) of Town Planning' - was held in the Great Assembly Hall of the University of Helsinki, and doubled as a special event in Helsinki's year as a European Union City of Culture for the year 2000.

Memorable among the keynote lectures were Professor Anthony King (New York) the 2nd Gordon Cherry Memorial Lecture on 'Re-worlding the city'; Dirk Schubert (Hamburg) on new challenges for urban theory; and Gregers Algreen-Ussing (Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts, and originator of the Danish SAVE project - Survey of Architectural Values in the Environment) on 'The map and local identity'. Stephen Ward was fluent in his role as President of IPHS.

Some idea of the variety of papers presented: Philip Booth (Sheffield) on the feudal origins of British development control; Diane Brand (Auckland) on South American connections with Australasian urban plans; Robert Catlin (California State University, Bakersfield) on the utopian black community of Allensworth, California (Allensworth was born a slave and served as a 'buffalo soldier' in the American Indian wars before creating his model community in 1908); Mark Clapson (Luton) on desegregation in the Anglo-American suburb since 1960. Nurrit Corren (Ort Braude College, Carmiel) on high-rise building in Israeli cities; Owen Crankshaw (Cape Town) on race, inequality and urbanisation in Johannesburg; Richard Dennis (University College London) on zoning of North American apartment housing; Dalia Dijokiene (Vilnius) on re-evaluating Lithuanian cultural suburbs; Gareth Griffiths (Tampere) on multiculturalism in Scandinavia; Michael Hebbert (Manchester) on the historical context of the new urbanism; Baruch Kipnis (Haifa) on Tel-Aviv as an aspiring global city; Nori Lafi (Aix) and Denis Bocquet (Rome) on Italian colonial planning in Tripoli; Kerrie MacPherson (Hong Kong) on Hong Kong as a world city; Susan

REPORTS

Parnell (Cape Town) on British Colonial Office policy toward urban Africa.

The conference doubled as the first Finnish Urban History Conference, and attracted nearly a hundred Finnish academics. Laura Kolbe gave an excellent keynote lecture on Helsinki in its Baltic context (drawing upon her recent co-authored book on the city's history). Other interesting papers by Finnish delegates included Risto Suikkari (Oulu) on the traditional wooden towns of Finland. Good half-day field trips were organised, and there was a successful post-conference tour to St. Petersburg (although this reviewer took himself off to the Arctic

Circle for a memorable few days in the lakes and forests of Lapland).

There were some minor disappointments: the conference suffered (through no fault of the organisers) because a significant number of those who submitted abstracts did not appear to present their papers, and this required some restructuring of the sessions; developing countries were poorly represented, doubtless because of funding problems; some papers bore little relation to planning or urban history.

The next IPHS conference will be held in 2002 in London and Letchworth.

Robert Home, University of East London

Hampstead Garden Trust appoints President

At their meeting on the 17th October, 2000, the Council of the Hampstead Garden Suburb Trust appointed Dr. Mervyn Miller as the first Honorary President of the Trust. Dr. Miller, who retired from the Trust Council at the Annual General Meeting held on 20th September, had served as the Director Appointed by the Royal Town Planning Institute for 21 years. Dr. Miller is a Chartered Architect and Town Planner, historian and lecturer. In 1998, he was awarded a Visiting Fellowship by Oxford Brookes University in recognition of 25 years contribution to the conservation of the built environment.

The meeting approved an amendment to the articles of association to enable the Trust Council to appoint an Honorary President, and Dr. Miller was nominated to fill the role. He was presented with a painting by Annie Walker, who lives in the Suburb, showing the panorama from the Hampstead Heath Extension, with the horizon crowned by

the spire of St. Jude's Church, designed by Sir Edwin Lutyens.

In thanking the Chairman of the Trust Council, Steven Licht, Dr. Miller referred to the responsibility of the daunting task of conserving the legacy of the social vision of Dame Henrietta Barnett, founder of the Suburb, the practical and artistic skills of Sir Raymond Unwin, and, in Central Square, the commanding virtuosity of Sir Edwin Lutyens.

Dr. Miller's place on the Trust Council has been filled by Barbara Woda, Principal Conservation Officer for Hammersmith and Fulham London Borough.

Re-Worlding the City

ANTHONY D. KING

State University of New York at Binghamton, USA

I'd like to begin by thanking the organisers for their outstanding generosity and hospitality in inviting us all to this wonderful city of Helsinki and congratulating them on the excellent choice of conference theme and sub-themes. I'm particularly honoured to have been invited to give this millennial memorial lecture in honour of Gordon Cherry, to whom all of us here owe so much; first, as the founder, and moving spirit behind, the UK Planning History Group and then, the International Planning History Society, in both instances, ably partnered by the immensely wide experience and knowledge of Tony Sutcliffe. It was certainly Gordon's very affable nature, immense enthusiasm, open-mindedness, and wide-ranging interests which helped to foster an interest in planning history world-wide.

The invitation also poses a challenge in that part of Gordon's work, suitably for a historian with a background in the planning profession, was devoted to researching and evaluating the influence of particular planners and their relation to particular cities. My own view of the world has been somewhat different, focussed as much on the larger structural forces which have shaped human beings and the spaces of the built environment, as on individuals themselves. As Marx famously commented 'Men - and presumably he also meant women - make their own histories, but not in conditions of their own choosing'. This is what sociologists like to call the 'structure-agency' question. In Berger and Luckmann's classic text, *The Social Construction of Reality* (1967), they argue that 'there is a dialectical process in which the meanings given by individuals to their world become institutionalised, or turned into social structures. The structures then become part of the system of meanings employed by

individuals and hence, limit their actions.' ¹ But let me begin by addressing my title

Re-Worlding- the City

Post-colonial critic Gayatri Spivak has recovered from Hegel the imaginative idea of 'the worlding of the world', ² the process by which 'the world' actually came to be 'the world'. This didn't, of course, happen just once; the world is constantly being 're-worlded', requiring that we recast our 'structures of attitude and reference' towards to use Said's phrase ³, not only remaking the world for us, but also remaking ourselves for the world. The reality always changes. And our imaginations, our conceptual languages, have a difficult time trying to catch up with this.

We could start with the obvious fact that different people's worlds, and indeed, their cities, are worlded in very different ways, not least, through the representations of their own universes by members of the world's major religions - Islam, Judaism, Christianity, Hinduism, Buddhism. But let me stick with those terms and concepts which, in the last fifteen years at most, the term 'global' has been used to contest - international, trans-national, world-system/ic, post-modern, postcolonial, post-communist - among others.

In reminding ourselves of these various ways in which the world has been 'worlded', I want to ask, what does it *mean* to be the *International Planning History Society*? Are we historians focusing on 'international' planning? Are we members of 'national' planning associations talking about our 'national' planning histories? Or is our focus on the 'inter', the 'between-ness' between the different 'nationals' - the crossover space, the trans-national cross-dressers, the increasingly culturally and linguistically hybrid spaces and

places in the world. Should we, perhaps, be the Transnational Planning History Association?

What, in other words, do we address? What is the appropriate unit of analysis? People? Social problems? Spaces? And if spaces, what kind of units do we consider? Neighborhoods? Places? States? Continents? And what kind of theoretical frameworks do we use?

Having done relatively little in planning history since I went to the USA, what I want to address here are the ways in which my ideas on what I've previously seen as major forces structuring the production of urban space - imperialism, colonialism, nationalism, socialism, global capitalism (and various forms of social and spatial exclusion subsumed by these, whether patriarchy, racism, sexism, classism, casteism) have changed over these last twelve years. My ideas have changed partly from my experience of being in the USA perhaps, but, more importantly, from moving somewhat from sociology and urban studies into art history and cultural studies, with their concern for questions of representation, positionality, identity, visibility, 'modernity', and subjectivity. My talk will be in three parts, addressing issues about the global, the postcolonial and what I call 'contemporary hybrid modernities.'

Interrogating the Global

As historians, we might remind ourselves that in the *long duree*, each of the terms I mentioned earlier had specific social, geographic and historic origins, as well as specific political, ideological, economic and other conditions in which they arose. For example, 'international' came into use - largely in a legal sense - around 1780, and 'transnational' especially in the 1970s, with the increasing visibility of transnational corporations. Terms such as world-system (including centre and periphery concepts) came with Wallerstein in 1974; postmodern, generally from the 1970s and 1980s; global and globalisation from 1960, but especially under the neo-liberal regimes and conditions of the mid to late 1980s

As a representation of processes taking place on a world scale, globalisation is frequently used in relation to the 'economy', to (crudely) describe the economic integration of the world under global capitalism. Other scholars, however, differentiate between economic, political, social, financial, and cultural globalisation. Yet as many critics point out⁴, many representations of globalisation are profoundly unhistorical accounts of the interconnected modern world. Because of this, much discussion of globalisation avoids the highly political (and violent) nature of the way in which globalisation has occurred - through imperialism, different forms of exploitation and violence, whether in slavery, or ecological and environmental destruction, creating conditions of uneven development world-wide since the fifteenth century. We need to acknowledge this before addressing satellite TV, cyberspace, the contemporary concern for global ecology, and the rest.

But we can also speak to what Spivak refers to as epistemic violence.⁵ We need not cite Foucault on the relationship between power/knowledge to recognise that theories of globalisation and the way they're used, not only originate overwhelmingly in the West but take for granted what should be interrogated. Dipesh Chakrabarty challenges this mapping of the world into single global histories by the West and calls for a 'provincialising of Europe'⁶ His fellow Indian critic, Geeta Kapur, addressing the so-called 'New Internationalism' of the 1990s writes:

Even as the developed nations disgorge the developing ones of their material basis, great amounts of cant about 'one world' and polyvocal identities are offered *theoretically*. Internationalists who are physically located in the First World take the national as not only a lost cause but also as a negative hypothesis ... for members of the Third World, privileged and cosmopolitan as they may be, the international is a firmly hyphenated term; the nation is their express concern and determined reality'.⁷

So, if anyone has an agenda for 'internationalising' planning history, we might ask from whose position this is being undertaken.

If we are to take the concept of globalisation *critically*, it needs to be given some precision. What we need to know, as Crang⁸ suggests, is how globalisation takes place through conceived, perceived and lived spaces, in changing patterns of spatial consumption, for example. This I address in my last section. But we also need to know how a very clearly structured system of global political economy (not least related to the imperial and colonial past) has produced, and continues to produce, cultural difference and so-called 'ethnic minorities'.

Here, I turn to another way of 're-worlding the world', a different theoretical representation which critiques this idea of a 'singular', globular view, namely, postcolonial theory and criticism.

Postcolonial Theory

One of the phenomena I've been trying to understand recently are *the conditions* accounting for the quite spectacular growth in the anglophonic academy - American, British, Canadian, Australian, maybe elsewhere - of the new knowledge paradigm of postcolonial theory and criticism.⁹ Among an audience such as this with - from eastern and western Europe, though also Australia, the US, South Asia, South Africa, East Asia - which postcolonial studies has, to varying degrees, penetrated, I'm conscious that I may well be representing a particular anglophonic view of the world. While the postcolonial critique has obviously had some impact on recent planning history, indeed, on the practice of planning itself (e.g. Leonie Sandercock's *Towards Cosmopolis*, 1998), I want to make a few comments about this paradigm.

Postcolonial criticism, according to Robert Young (1990) 'itself forms the point of questioning Western knowledge's categories and assumptions'.¹⁰ It 'demands a rethinking of the very terms by which knowledge has been constructed'.¹¹ Such statements take for granted that, in the early part of the twentieth century, Europe held roughly 85 per cent of the earth as colonies, protectorates, dependencies,

dominions and colonies which, roughly between 1947 and the early 1960s, technically at least, became independent states. Technically, because to cite Gayatri Spivak again, postcoloniality is 'the failure of decolonisation'.

Postcolonial consciousness, however, is not one thing. The editors of *Postcolonial Space(s)* state: 'postcolonial space is a space of intervention into those architectural constructions that parade under a universalist guise and either exclude or repress differential spatialities of often disadvantaged ethnicities, communities or peoples'.¹² Australian geographer Jane Jacobs writes: 'Spectacles of postmodernity are entwined in a politics of race and nation which cannot be constructively thought of without recourse to the imperial inheritances and postcolonial imperatives which inhabit the present.'¹³ I want to make a few comments on this work in postcolonial criticism.

The rise of postcolonial studies is not just, as has been suggested, because of the presence of Third World intellectuals in the West but, more importantly, results from the considerable growth of the proportion of academics, as well as students, from ethnic minority backgrounds between the late 1980s and early 1990s.¹⁴ In addition, the very substantial growth of international students in all anglophone (as well as other) countries has, in the relevant subject areas, given a huge boost to the growth of, and support for, postcolonial studies. At my own university (an upstate satellite of New York City), in a graduate class of 12-15 students on 'Postcolonialism and Culture', for example, I can have students from, to give some examples, Mexico, Korea, Puerto Rico, China, Canada, or India, as well as the USA, all of whom have some history of imperialism/colonialism/and nationalism in common.

How far is the postcolonial agenda primarily driven by the postcolonial and ethnic minority audiences in the West (as a critique of Eurocentricism and also, cultural racism in the academy) or by the situation and conditions in postcolonial countries themselves? And whether in relation to systems of knowledge production, education and professional practice - including planning and urban design?

What are the analogies between an anglophonic postcolonial studies based on the histories of European imperialisms in Asia, Africa and the Americas, and more recent, different forms of imperialism in Europe? Can the centralised state rule of the Soviet Union be seen from a similar perspective?

That there is no single 'colonial/postcolonial narrative', let alone a common set of principles to account for all cases of postcolonial urban development, is most clearly evident in Abidin Kusno's recent book on postcolonial Indonesia,¹⁵ and the fifty year history of urban design and planning in Jakarta, first, under Sukarno, and then, the 32 year rule of Suharto. The problem of postcolonial studies, according to Kusno (himself an Indonesian), has been a tendency to examine colonial discourse as part of an undifferentiated critique of 'the West' - without acknowledging that colonialism can come in many different forms. What Kusno argues is that, until the demise of Suharto's 'New Order' regime in 1998, Indonesia maintained a colonial regime in all but name. Moreover, he departs from a key theme in postcolonial criticism, arguing that colonialism did not bring about a displacement of indigenous culture. Indeed, as the Dutch promoted the Indonesian language throughout the archipelago and also developed indigenous forms and styles of design, they helped construct a sense of nationalism in the new state. The spatially divisive system of planning, however, has been exacerbated after independence.

It should, therefore, be no surprise to us that broad-ranging theoretical models, whether of globalisation, or postcolonialism need to pay careful attention to particular political and historical conditions.

Hybrid modernities

Typically, we assume that the spatial manifestations of globalisation are in the CBD, the downtown, evidenced by the appearance of multinational corporation headquarters, international banks or the pervasive sign of franchised global corporations - the golden M, perhaps in some sort of vernacular disguise. What has been neglected is globalisation (and postcolonialism) in the suburb, specifically in

regard to Crang's 'conceived, perceived and lived spaces'.

Both Roger Silverstone, in *Visions of Suburbia* (1996) and Peter Taylor, in *Modernities* (1999), while both focusing on the anglophone world of the USA, Australia and the UK, see the contemporary suburb as the paradigmatic embodiment of modernity, the classic modern suburb of single family houses in large gardens in tree lined roads. 'This landscape of consumer modernity', Taylor writes, 'represents the culmination of four centuries of ordinary modernity'. Probably thinking of the suburb in terms of the immense amount of society's resources invested in it, Taylor states that it is 'the modern equivalent of the great Gothic cathedrals of the high middle ages in feudal Europe'. With some license, he writes that, with the era of American hegemony, 'the middle class suburb has spread to cities across the world'¹⁶.

Similarly, for Silverstone:

Suburban culture is a consuming culture. Fueled by the increasing commoditisation of everyday life, suburbia has become the crucible of a shopping economy. It is a culture of, and for, display. The shopping mall, all glass and glitter, all climate and quality control, is the latest manifestation of the dialectic of suburban consumption. The hybridity displayed in the shopping mall is a representation, a reflection and a revelation of the hybridity of suburbia. Suburbs are places for transforming class identities. The differences grounded in the differences of position in the system of production have gradually, as Bourdieu states, been overlaid and replaced by the differences grounded in the system of consumption.¹⁷

While I largely agree with Taylor and Silverstone here, there is a major omission in their accounts. Neither pays sufficient attention to the dependence of suburbanisation, both as economic as well as physical, spatial and ideological phenomenon, on the

internationalisation of the economy and the culture, not least, through the processes of imperialism colonialism and the workings of the world economy. Having discussed these topics elsewhere I won't go into them now, except to remind ourselves of the vast transfer of resources and accumulation of capital that characterised imperialism, not only fuelling industrial urban development in the metropole but also promoting the economic, social and spatial expansion of suburban development. Or, in the British, French, Dutch, and Portuguese colonies, the laying out of colonial urban space, subsequently to provide the spatial infrastructure for different kinds of postcolonial suburban development. Along with these developments went the transculturation and hybridisation of suburban spatial and architectural forms.

In the nineteenth century in the West, as the industrial bourgeoisie got larger, the suburb represented a move to an imaginary, more exotic, even foreign universe, one represented by new names, new spaces, new forms, new plants, imported from all over the colonial and non-colonial world'.¹⁸ Quite early in the development of the spatialised social differentiation that became the suburb, three spatial forms (non-native to north west Europe or America) were appropriated from other cultures to give new meanings to suburban life: the villa, the verandah and the bungalow.

Villa, as term and architectural idea, entered the English language from the Italian as a response to a renewed interest in the classics during the seventeenth century. However, it moved into the fashion conscious vocabulary of England only from the late 18th century during the first spurt of expansion of the bourgeois classes. It also entered Germany about the same time. Its transplantation to the USA early in the nineteenth century was an outcome of similar conditions. 'A villa', for architectural writer A. J. Downing (1850), 'is the country house of a person of competence or wealth sufficient to build it with taste and elegance'. Where a cottage could be looked after by a family, 'a villa requires the care of at least three or more servants.'¹⁹ The verandah, another erogenous space and term originally from Spain and Portugal via colonial India, was an additional spatial device for conspicuous

consumption. The bungalow - in the country but not of the country - was equally a product of imperialism, by the first decades of the twentieth century, becoming the suburban house of choice, first in California, then throughout the USA and Canada, then transplanted to Australia, New Zealand, Britain, and South Africa in the interwar years (though everywhere, translated and transformed).²⁰


To turn now from the suburbs of the early 1900s to those of the early 2000s. As we hardly need reminding, suburb is a term and phenomenon around at least since the fourteenth century, even though their massive expansion in Western cities was a nineteenth and early twentieth century development. The idea of the suburb as a lifestyle however is especially associated with the late nineteenth century (1895) when *suburbia* first entered the Oxford English Dictionary.

Sub-urb of course, implied that the suburban settlement was 'sub' (i.e. under or below) the city - a generic growth out of the city. What I want to suggest here is that, today, in many (particularly one-time 'Third World' cities), we no longer just have sub-urbs - we also have *supra-urbs* (or better, *globurbs*) whose origins - economic, social, spatial, cultural and architectural - are no longer generated from the city, or even the country, but develop from outside the nation-state itself. They fly in, touch down at the airport - the new urban centre - and are fed by umbilical cords that not only extend infinitely, but no-one knows where they end. And just as before, the suburbs of today continue to be generated by forces of imperialism, colonialism, and the diasporic migratory cultures of global capitalism. In providing, in this last section, some examples from world and capital cities in the USA, China, and India, I also want to stress the very different transnational, postcolonial or neo-imperial flows of capital and culture, migration, and urban and architectural design that help explain them.

Supraburbs and Globurbs

In the last two or three decades, new supraburbs/globurbs of Washington DC have been created in Northern Virginia, significantly, not far from the Pentagon and

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Fig 1: Beijing Dragon Villas

Dulles airport. The new migrations which have formed them - mostly, but not all, Asian (and later, Asian-American) were, and are, in different degrees, tied to American foreign policy as well as patterns of colonialism and nationalism. Asian Americans, as well as Latinos/as have arrived in the United States as a result of colonialism in the region and the ensuing colonial wars (in the nineteenth century, with Spain, or, later, in Korea, Vietnam, and more recently, with actions in El Salvador, Grenada, Somalia). Immigrants of Asian and Central American descent - with their local suburban economies and distinctive mall architectures - carry the traces of wars. For government, military, and intelligence reasons, 'Pentagon connections are today highly significant for first wave refugees from a number of countries to North Virginia.'²¹ Near Seven Corners, Fairfax County, the Eden Centre/Plaza 7 'replicates a small Vietnamese marketing town', with its Saigon East store, typical (gold) jewelry shops and cultural entertainments. It is the centre of attraction for some 50,000 Vietnamese Americans in the metropolitan area (ibid). Koreans, another war-related community, are largely centred on Annandale, where they support a large suburban mall, grocery and distribution centre for Korean goods and several restaurants. In addition to Salvadoreans, other war-refugee groups from East Africa - Somalis, Eritreians, Ethiopians - refugees of some status, often educated in the US, are also found here.

Beijing

In examining the cultural and spatial transformations taking place outside Beijing, the first thing to note are the 55 million overseas Chinese who bring some \$30 billion investment into the country every year - 60 per cent of it from and through, Hong Kong.²² In the early 1950s, Chairman Mao, with the help of Soviet planners, erased swathes of the ancient fabric round the Forbidden City to make way for the socialist 'people's space' of Tianenman Square, would turn in his grave to see central Beijing transformed into an 'International Metropolis'²³, and global financial centre.²⁴ In 1998, Beijing had a stock of 21,000 units of residential property

'designed for overseas buyers', either 'quality apartments' or 'single family houses', the major clients for these being foreign funded firms, European, American and Asian expatriates or overseas investors.²⁵ In the mid 1990s, villas were a major sell to overseas Chinese.

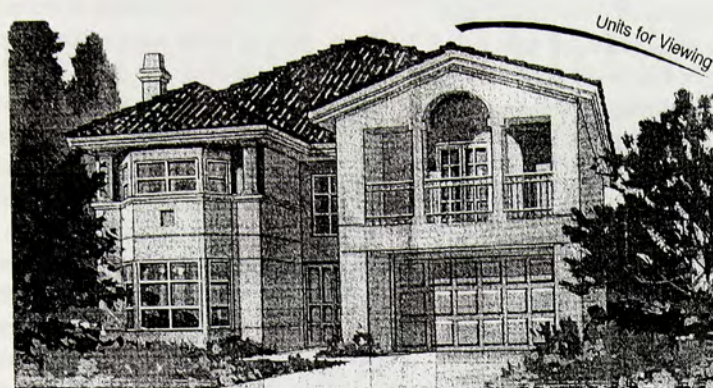
At Regent on the River, seventeen kilometres west of the city centre is a nineteen acre estate of luxury suburban homes 'surrounded by lovely woodland, rivers and streams'. The nomenclature and designs of these 'European and US style houses' are chosen to reach a more residentially discriminating Euro-American-Chinese clientele - 'The American, the Nordic, the Baroque, Mediterranean, Classic European, The Georgian'. River Garden Villas or Phoenix Garden Villas are located 'near the only world class 18 hole golf course, managed by Japan Golf Promotions'. (Figs. 2 and 3) Alternatively, there are Garden Villas, King's Garden Villas, the Beijing Eurovillage - for the international managers of global capital flows. All are in security guarded, gated enclaves. Images of Beijing Dragon Villas, 'beautiful American-Canadian residences,' provide more precise evidence of the transcontinental connectivity of places, linking this transmigratory, diasporic overseas Chinese business class around the world. (Fig. 1)

The villas are compared to other houses in Beverly Hills in California, Long Island in New York, and Richmond in Vancouver, Canada. This latter example is interesting. With the influx of Hong Kong migrants into Vancouver, in the decade from the late 1980s, residents of Chinese descent in this upmarket suburb of Richmond increased from 7 to 37 per cent of all residents.²⁶ This is just one example of the space of diasporic culture. (Only of interest to us, of course, because it's relatively new and unfamiliar). But is this, to cite one of our conference themes, how planners meet the challenge of the multicultural city?

Delhi and Bangalore

The overall conditions producing new forms of transnational space in India are, in some ways, comparable to China but the results are quite different, not least because the large diasporic

Figs 2 and 3: River Garden villas, Beijing



River Garden Villa The Ultimate Lifestyle in Beijing

cosy living style for Beijing expatriates.

Close to Third Annular Road East

River Garden Villa is close to Capital Airport Road, Jingshun Road, and 3rd Annular Road East.

Traffic here is smooth and fast, so you get to the city centre in just 12 minutes.



A Clubhouse with All Facilities

Tennis court, sauna room, swimming pool, gym.



Regular shuttle buses go straight to the city centre from River Garden Villa. And special schoolbuses exclusively for the children of River Garden residents. In-house security, baby-sitting, laundry

and home cleaning services are easily available.

Horse riding, Golf, etc.

Those into horse riding will appreciate The Sherwood Pacific International Equestrian Club nearby. Otherwise, there are several outdoor activities like golfing, fishing and water sports.



裕京花園別墅
River Garden Villa

Exhibition	
Hong Kong:	11:00a.m. — 7:00p.m. Aug 26, 94 — Aug 31, 94
Beijing:	11:00a.m. — 7:00p.m. Aug 28, 94 — Aug 31, 94



population (between 15 and 22 million²⁷) have very different histories, cultures, and diasporic geographies. The Indian diasporic population can be grouped, historically and geographically, into five main clusters, the largest, and probably the wealthiest, being the four million in the USA (1.3 million), the UK, Canada, Australia and other western countries. The social, spatial and cultural transformations taking place around particular cities - Delhi, Hyderabad, Bangalore - has to be seen (if we can believe the advertisements) in the context of two or three phenomena. One of these is the transnational process of transmigration, in which migrants move regularly between 'home' and the 'destination country', shifting capital (and ideas, practices) between them.

More especially, however, it has to be understood through the particular stance of the Indian state which, first, has legislated two distinctive categories - the Non-Resident Indian, giving particular privileges and guarantees regarding the investment of property capital in India, and the PIO, Person of Indian Origin (with similar financial and legal privileges). Both of these categories carefully cultivate an Indian identity: one of belongingness to the state, but another, a transnational identity, that can operate in the market.

The third factor to note, however, is the distinctive postcolonial identity (I use this phrase in a positive way) in which property advertisements (taken from the widely circulating weekly magazine, *India Today International*) represent the new suburban developments with which developers tempt NRI's worldwide to invest. Much of the advertising is directed to flattering the cosmopolitan nature of the potential investor, people 'who have known the very best the world has to offer'. If we can believe the ads, a transnational, if still anglophonic, domestic (and in cases, postcolonial, maybe colonial) suburban villa architecture is in process, with villas emanating or labelled from the US, England, Scotland or elsewhere. (Figs 4 and 5)

Conclusion

What do I want to say with these city stories? First, within a framework of an apparent

'globalisation', to stress the importance of place, and people as 'constitutive of, and central to the functioning of global (cultural as well as) economic circuits'.²⁸

Second, to counter the frequently expressed 'homogenisation thesis' that is often associated with globalisation; to recognize that when ideas, objects, institutions, images, practices, performances are transplanted to other places, other cultures, they both bear the marks of history as well as *cultural translation*.

This can happen in any or all of three ways. Most simply, for material phenomena, they frequently change their form, their social use, or function. And even though arriving in similar forms (whether material technology or images) they are invested with different cultural, social or ideological meanings. And finally, the different meanings which material objects, ideas or images acquire depend on the highly varied *local* social, physical and spatial environments into which they're introduced.

The question of what social or other meanings can be attributed to what I've been describing here is certainly very complex. How these developments are perceived locally is one question. From my own perspective, however, globalisation - seen in terms of capitalist economic integration - has certainly led, in probably every city in the world, to immensely increased scales of economic, social, spatial and housing polarisation - especially in postcolonial states.

But where, thirty years ago, 'modernisation' almost certainly meant a kind of 'westernisation', today it is more likely to mean 'cosmopolitanisation' (though not in the social equity sense that Leonie Sandercock²⁹ envisages.)

My concluding comment, however, I reserve for our conference title. To this, I'd like to add, if I may, five 's's': 'Centres - Peripheries - Globalisations: Pasts and Presents

Acknowledgements

Many thanks to Abidin Kusno, Deryck Holdsworth, John Hunter, Janet Wolff, Joe Wood, and Lisa Yun for suggestions and sources.

Fig 4: Independent Villas, Delhi

SCOTTISH VILLA Type I
The harmony of splendour and space on a plot area of 333 sq. yds. (278.40 sq. mtrs. approx.), and a built-up area of 2840 sq. ft. (264.00 sq. mtrs. approx.), giving you better value at Rs. 33,90,000 (US \$ 1,07,619.04 approx.).

SCOTTISH VILLA Type II
Sheer splendour with wider living space on a plot area of 360 sq. yds. (300.00 sq. mtrs. approx.), and a built-up area of 2966 sq. ft. (275.63 sq. mtrs. approx.) at a better value offer of Rs. 35,90,000 (US \$ 1,13,968.25 approx.).

CONTINENTAL VILLA

ansals
PALAM VIHAR
The elite neighbourhood of Delhi
INDEPENDENT VILLAS

Fig 5: Oxford Hermitage, Bangalore

COME ! EXPERIENCE THE ENGLISH SPLENDOUR AMIDST SPRAWLING COUNTRY SIDE

Oxford Hermitage

Blossoming near Whitefield, in the soothing sub-tropical climate of the pastoral countryside, is Oxford Hermitage. Where 400 exclusive residential plots, ranging from 7,500 to 8,500 sq. ft., stretch leisurely across 200 acres of verdant land. Here, the air is sweetened with the fragrance of flowers from 5 lush gardens. Created after Italian, Scandinavian, Victorian, Mediterranean and Japanese styles.

And further enhancing this international atmosphere, is a gamut of world-class amenities & called the Scottish Glade, with a Swimming-pool, Putting green, Multi-cuisine Restaurant and Health Centre, to name just a few.

Fashion your dream home here, or choose from the 6 model houses we offer. Designed in the Neo-Classical style of Architecture. By one of the eminent Architect firms of Bangalore, Navin Architects.

Brought to you by Corporate Leisure Resorts & Hotels Pvt. Ltd., Oxford Hermitage is a dream of astute investors. Come experience living with true elements of nature.

Seeking open for 2nd Phase

No. 101, Victorian Avenue, 13th Cross, 6th D Main, II Stage, Indiranagar, Bangalore - 560 008.
Ph : 5953060, 5951373, 5959894, 5959895, Fax : 91-80-5953994

NOBODY GIVES YOU BANGALORE LIKE WE DO.

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NEW ZEALAND'S FIRST CIVIC DESIGN SCHEME: W. R. DAVIDGE AND NEW PLYMOUTH

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Introduction

New Zealand's planning and urban history has to date received only modest coverage and the research has generally failed to reveal any significant civic design schemes prior to the 1920s. The Christchurch Beautifying Association promoted a modest civic redevelopment scheme between 1913 and 1916, but the project produced nothing in terms of tangible results.¹ Such Beautifying Societies and Associations existed in a number of New Zealand towns and cities, but unlike their larger American counterparts they concentrated on small 'c' civic design, taking an interest in tree planting, recreation and playground developments.

However, while its existence has largely been overlooked, a quite comprehensive civic design proposal for the provincial town of New Plymouth, which includes a very large coloured plan and a detailed report, was commissioned and completed between 1914 and 1916. Prepared by W.R. Davidge, the plan and proposal are largely unknown because the design was never put into place and the material remained buried within the archives of the now New Plymouth District Council. The plan, in fact, has become disconnected from the Report and is housed in the Taranaki Museum.

The importance of this civic design proposal cannot be underestimated. It represents the earliest application of the

recently developed concepts of civic design and town planning that were being pioneered in Britain. These were ideas that were gaining significant interest and currency in New Zealand in the period before the First World War. This interest reached a high point with the visit in 1914 of William Davidge and Charles Reade on a nation wide tour organised by the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association. New Plymouth seized this opportunity to engage William Davidge, who the Town Clerk T.C. Bellringer described as 'an authority whose advice and assistance to us will be warmly welcomed on many if not all sides'.² This was a bold step for a town which at the time had a population of less than 10,000 and which has originally been subject to some detailed site planning as a New Zealand Company Settlement. Davidge duly did the work while in New Zealand on the Tour but there was some delay in its completion. It was not formally presented to the Borough Council until February 1916. By that point the rigors of war combined with the delay, served to dull the original civic enthusiasm. The plan and the proposal that it detailed were quietly shelved and were never revived.

Thus this paper will explore the role of Davidge in the development of the proposal before looking at detail at what was produced, which went beyond a civic

design proposal to address the future development of New Plymouth.

The Work of W. R. Davidge

William Davidge was almost the archetypal early town planner. Qualified primarily as a surveyor he also held qualifications in engineering and architecture. As such he had all the technical and design skills which might have been expected in an early practitioner. Given his varied competencies it was not surprising that he 'felt that town planning was a matter of co-operation between experts'.³ While he worked in the public sector until 1921, as District Surveyor for Lewisham, Greenwich and Woolwich between 1907 and 1916, and then as Housing Commissioner, he was to go on to do significant work as a consultant. This consultancy with others formed an important part of the development of the practice of town planning.⁴ Davidge was also a man who was a full and active supporter of the early organisations that developed out of the milieu of organisations interested in housing, garden cities and town planning, in the early years of the twentieth century. He was a member of the British Gardens Cities and Town Planning Association from its earliest days and was a foundation member of the Town Planning Institute when it was formed in 1913.⁵ While Davidge's role and work are acknowledged in all of the accounts of the development of the British town planning movement he has never really received the prominence that others of his contemporaries, such as Thomas Adams have, though he was clearly a competent and experienced practitioner.

The Engagement of Davidge

On paper New Plymouth would seem the least likely of the North Island provincial centres to require the expert assistance of Davidge. Founded in 1841 as a New Zealand Company settlement, drawing settlers predominantly from Devon and Cornwall, hence the town's name, it was laid out largely in accordance with the detailed plan prepared by Fredric

Carrington, the Company Surveyor. The site did however have some significant physical problems. While the Huatoki River and the Mangaotuku Stream added character to the town running as they did through its commercial areas, both were prone to flooding. Further the site while located at the sea's edge was generally quite hilly and the main street, Devon Street and Mall, poses real challenges in terms of the steepness of its gradient, to all but the very fit. Finally there was no harbour at that made loading goods difficult until an artificial port could be built slowly and expensively.

Further New Plymouth's early years were dogged by difficulties which grew out of the increasing discontent of the native Maori iwi (people) with the nature of land sales. This culminated in the traumatic Land Wars of the early 1860s which seriously impacted on the towns development. However by 1863 the New Plymouth Town Board, with 51 settler ratepayers, was formed, by 1876 the Borough Council was created and by 1875 a Harbour Board was established.⁶ The town had great potential as it was the largest settlement in the Taranaki province, which, when the bush had been cleared yielded high quality soils and pasture, making it a premier dairying region. The rich soils were produced from the dormant volcanic cone of Mt. Taranaki which dominates the Taranaki landscape. Growth however was slow with the population reaching 4,405 in 1901 and only growing to 11,395 by 1921.⁷

The inspiration to employ Davidge came from T.C. Bellringer the Town Clerk who served in that position for an amazing 50 years between 1902 and 1952. He instituted a series of Annual Reports for the Council covering the activities of each of the Council departments and the growth of the town. In 1914 he reported that 'the people of New Plymouth are realising that the seaport is not the greatest' but that the area had the potential to be 'one of the principal seaside resorts in the Dominion'.⁸ This interest in promoting New Plymouth as a seaside holiday destination reflected a developing interest

both in holidaying and the health benefits of the seaside which has been covered so well by Stephen Ward.⁹ At this point it is perhaps worth observing that while there are attractive beaches in Taranaki, they all feature black iron sand and front to the often turbulent Tasman Sea. Further, Taranaki's position as a premier dairying region and grower of magnificent rhododendrons is partly derived from its high and persistent rainfall.

Of equal concern in the Report was the quality of development in the suburbs particularly the perceived lack of reserves. This appears to be the result of the disjointed growth of the town. While the main Borough area had kept largely to Carrington's plan, with its gridiron layout and provision of generous reserves including a partial town belt, the same had not occurred in the suburban town districts of Fitzroy, Vogeltown, Frankleigh Park and Westown. While these areas were gradually merged, into what was called the Greater New Plymouth area between 1911 and 1912, they brought with them their problems of somewhat sporadic and unplanned development and growth.¹⁰ Committees were formed in each area to undertake a range of beautifying works and while Bellringer complimented them on their work, he also pointed to the need for a 'comprehensive scheme for the improvement for the whole of the foreshore, which could be borne in mind by each committee when extending their work'.¹¹ He concluded by saying that it was for this reason the Council would support the visit of Reade and Davidge on the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association Tour and that 'a strong endeavour will be made to get Mr Davidge to visit New Plymouth and to submit to the Council a special report as to the best method of laying out the whole of the seafront'.¹² Davidge was duly contacted through the Association and Edward Culpin replied in April 1914 that Davidge would 'be perfectly agreeable subject to terms, to undertake the preparation of the plan to which you refer'.¹³ The selection of Davidge rather than Reade is interesting. Reade was well known in New Zealand for his propagandist work for

town planning via the *New Zealand News and Weekly Graphic* and through his speaking tour in 1911. It may reflect the fact that Reade was at best a confident, well read enthusiast who lacked the sound technical skills that Davidge clearly had in abundance. This expertise on the part of Davidge was subtly recognised throughout the Australasian Town Planning Tour and it was Davidge who delivered the technical lectures throughout the Tour and who was invited to lecture at the Universities of Melbourne and Sydney.¹⁴

Producing the Plan

Davidge requested, while in transit to Australasia via Vancouver, Honolulu and Fiji, 'a plan of New Plymouth and information that may be available'.¹⁵ He appears to have arrived in New Plymouth via a steamer from the Port of Onehunga, Auckland, on the 10 July when he met with a sub-committee of Councillors to discuss the work and agenda. For a fee of £25 guineas he would submit a report to the Council before leaving New Zealand, that would deal with 'suggestions for the improvement of the seafront and of other parts of the Borough'.¹⁶ In fact Davidge only spent two days in the town as he was due in Wanganui on Sunday and some of that time was taken up in delivering a well received lecture as part of the Tour Series. The New Plymouth Borough Council also contributed £10 towards the cost of the Tour's expenses and provided a venue and Chairman for the talk. This was the approach used by Tour organisers throughout the country with the Government making a modest contribution but only after some considerable lobbying.¹⁷ The public lecture was however billed as entertainment, as Figure 1 indicates, emphasising that town planning was still in its infancy in New Zealand, as was the revolutionary nature of what New Plymouth was proposing. Given the limited knowledge of town planning techniques in New Zealand at the time, the town was demonstrating a high degree of foresight and innovation.

Davidge had stressed in his meeting with the Councillors that he

would, due to time constraints, only be able to produce a 'suggestive' rather than a

AMUSEMENTS.

AUSTRALASIAN TOWN-PLANNING TOUR.

TO-NIGHT, at 8 o'clock.

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F.S.I., A.R.I.B.A., A.M.I.C.E. (London County Council)

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"THE MESSAGE OF GARDEN CITIES AND TOWN-PLANNING."
Chairman, His Worship the Mayor.

ADMISSION FREE.

CHARLES C. READE, Organiser.

AUSTRALASIAN TOWN-PLANNING TOUR.

c773

Fig. 1: Taranaki Herald, 10 July, 1914

'working' plan. The latter could only be produced with the assistance of a contour plan at additional cost.¹⁸ While there is no suggestion at the time that Davidge saw any problems with producing the plan, in February 1915 he wrote to Bellringer saying he had delayed work on the Report because of the outbreak of war. This led him to realise 'that the people of New Plymouth would probably prefer the project to be deferred for the time being'.¹⁹ He also suggested that he had returned to England to much pressing work. These apologetic letters for on-going delay continued through to 3 February 1916 when the report and plan finally arrived. Whether deliberately or by mistake the Council did not finally pay Davidge until June 1916.²⁰

The Plan and Report

It is unfortunately impossible to reproduce the very large-scale plan that Davidge produced, given that it was beautifully hand coloured and has subsequently been affected by water damage in one area. However the Plan read with the quite detailed Report that Davidge produced gives a clear idea of what he was

proposing. As had been requested there was great concentration on the development of the seafront area which he stated should 'form the principal attraction of the town'.²¹ To achieve this status he recommended that the railway that ran the length of the seafront separating the town from the sea, should be relocated to the Mangotuku Valley. If this could not be achieved immediately then the alternative route be at least identified and reserved. He also recommended extensive engineering work at the seafront to protect and enhance the beach with the intention of creating a marine parade. The latter would, according to the Plan feature parks, amusements, a promenade and a pier. In short a copy, on a small scale, of many English seaside resorts.

The development of 'pleasure beaches' and marine parade was to be only one part of the overall approach to developing tourist attractions in the town. Other suggestions included the development of walkways along the Mangotuku River and Huatoki Stream and the further development of parkland within the Town Belt to form 'a ring of open spaces around the town'.²² In essence Davidge was advocating the development of a linked walkway system that would include local highlights and special features such as 'the remains of Maori 'pahs' which have so strong an interest and years to come will have even greater attraction for all visitors from the Dominion or from the Home Land'.²³

Davidge's suggestions were not only confined to the development of the attractions of New Plymouth, he also addressed the design of what might be called the civic heart of New Plymouth. In Carrington's original plan the main street was clearly to be Devon Street. However for many years development concentrated on Brougham Street which ran at right angles to Devon Street. Davidge suggested a redesign that would concentrate all the major public buildings in the new civic centre, including the development of a new Town Hall and Railway Station which would be enhanced by the development of 'an ornamental water

with cascades etc'.²⁴ This civic centre would then connect with the walkway system. This whole area would be oriented to the sea and would link the commercial and civic heart of the town with the entertainment and recreational features of the seafront.

He also went on to recommend the development of a better train service to and from the town and to advocate within the town the provision of 'rapid transit facilities' either via trains or buses. Recognising the unsuitability of the grid iron layout for such a hilly site as New Plymouth he advocated a more adaptive road layout that included radial and diagonal roads. This new transport system would service the new industrial areas that he suggested should be identified early and developed in a controlled manner. With regard to the latter, he made a strong plea at the end of the Report for the Council to lobby for legislation to grant local bodies specific town planning powers.

The Report and plan produced by Davidge was thoroughly modern, incorporating as it did a clear and accurate concern with efficient transport development. He also accurately identified both the natural advantages of the site and how they might be exploited to enhance the town as a place to live, and to visit. The concepts being expressed were also very reflective of the concerns Davidge had expressed in *Town Planning Systems*²⁵ and *The Problem of the Octopus*²⁶ that both date from the period just preceding the writing of this Report. The Report equally reflects the considerable technical expertise that Davidge possessed which allowed him to produce a competent Report from such a short visit.

A Plan Never Achieved

The delay in presenting the Report and plan was effectively fatal. As Tullett observes 'the report was fully published in the *Taranaki Herald* on 21 March 1916, but little interest appears to have been taken by the public'.²⁷ There were certainly no letters to the editor in the months following the receipt of the Report

or any other signs of public debate. The Borough Council itself seemed never to discuss the matter again after their initial acceptance of the Report. The reasons for the lack of interest are not difficult to apprehend. The time delay resulted in the report being produced in the middle of the First World War when the papers and peoples minds were filled with the trauma and cost of that war. It was not the time for the rather sweeping proposals of Davidge that might have been viewed as a comprehensive package rather than one that could be achieved in a series of steps, over time. Davidge, as indicated earlier, was very aware of the potential effects of the War on the acceptability of what he was proposing.

More importantly what Davidge was proposing would have required a huge financial commitment from the Council that would have had to have been extracted from a small ratepayer base. It was, moreover, a period when all local bodies were struggling to establish and upgrade basic public engineering works. In 1914 for instance, two citizens looking for improved sewage connections were to be 'informed that the sewer loan having been exhausted their application for extension of sewers cannot be considered until next year's estimates are being formed'.²⁸ Such concerns would easily outweigh the almost Herculean problems of finance and disruption that Davidge's plan would have involved. Ultimately there was little evidence of the use of Davidge's plan or suggestions. In the twenty first century the railway still separates the city from the sea and the seafront is itself a rather bleak and unattractive area.

Conclusion

Davidge's plan and proposal were never put into operation at the time, and surprisingly they were never revived even when the Town-planning Act was instituted in 1926. The commissioning and production of the plan and Report do however represent an important aspect of New Zealand's planning history. The application of civic design and redesign techniques within urban areas is a rarity in

New Zealand's history despite the fact that most people have always lived in urban areas. This is certainly the earliest proposal and one that was developed for the archetypal small New Zealand town which aspired to grow larger and more influential. It also served to expose a largely unsophisticated audience to the practical improvements that could be made to the urban fabric by the application of the new ideas and concepts of the town planning movement. It is perhaps doubly unfortunate that it was not instituted, as not only did the people of New Plymouth miss out on the opportunity to enjoy the

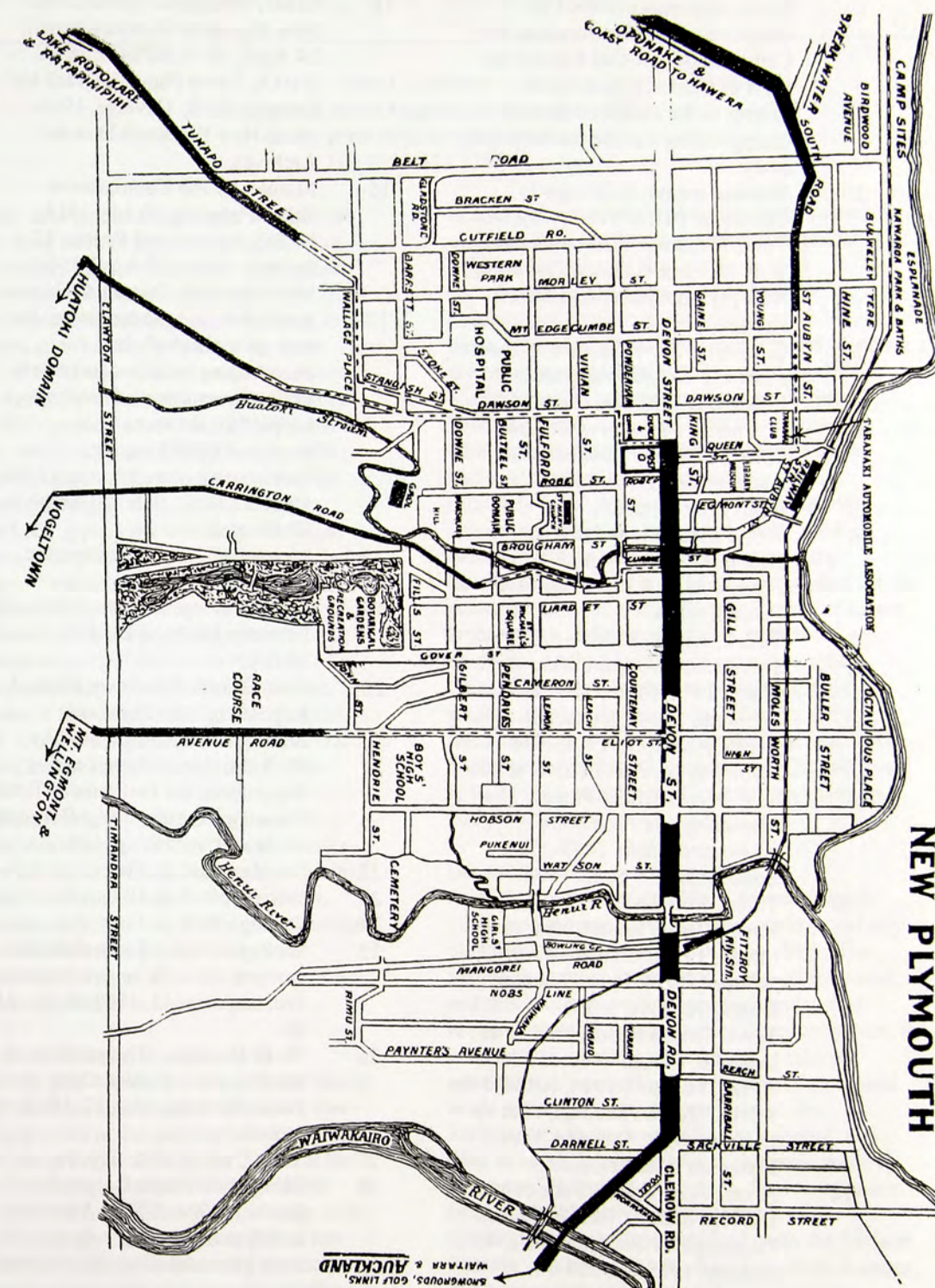
improvements it offered, but the country missed out on the opportunity of seeing town planning in action. The latter might have encouraged the uptake of the civic design aspect of the town planning movement that is still largely absent from the practice of town planning in New Zealand.

The author would like to acknowledge the assistance of Mrs L. Officer, Archivist, New Plymouth District Council, the Taranaki Museum and the Massey University Research Fund, in the writing of this article.



Fig 2: New Plymouth (from a postcard)

Fig. 3 Layout of New Plymouth



NOTES

- 1 These proposals involved the design of a new tram terminal for Cathedral Square that formed the heart of Central Christchurch. Entries to the competition were disappointing and the matter faded away.
- 2 Undated memo, Bellringer to Chairman: NPBC File 3/1/1A Town Planning: Visit by lecturer W.P. Davidge (London) 1914-16; New Plymouth District Council Archive
- 3 G. Cherry, *The Evolution of Town Planning*, Leighton Buzzard: Leonard Hill Books, 1974.
- 4 G. Cherry, *Pioneers of British Town Planning*, London: The Architectural Press, 1981.
- 5 Cherry, op cit, p. 57.
- 6 J. S. Tullett, *The Industrious Heart: A History of New Plymouth*, New Plymouth City Council, 1981.
- 7 Tullett, *ibid*, p. 132.
- 8 Town Clerk's Report, Year to 31 March 1914; Minutes of New Plymouth Borough Council [NPBC] 20 April, 1914, New Plymouth District Archive, p. 13.
- 9 S. V. Ward, *Selling Places: The Marketing and Promotion of Towns and Cities, 1850-2000*, London: E&FN Spon, 1998.
- 10 Tullett, op cit, p. 30.
- 11 Town Clerk's Report, Year to 31 March, 1914; Minutes of NPBC, 20 April, 1914; New Plymouth District Archive, p. 15.
- 12 Town Clerk's Report, *ibid*, p. 15.
- 13 Letter, E. Culpin to Town Clerk, NPBC, 16 April, 1914; NPBC File 3/1/1A: Town Planning: Visit by Lecturer W. R. Davidge, New Plymouth District Council.
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- 15 Letter, Davidge to Town Clerk, New Plymouth District Council, 24 April, 1914; NPBC File, 3/1/1A, Town Planning: Visit by Lecturer W. R. Davidge, 1914-1916, New Plymouth District Archives.
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- 17 Reade handled the funding of the tour quite shrewdly by encouraging local bodies to write to the Government advocating support for the tour. This produced £350 from the Government – see 1A series 1 file 19/275/2 Pt. 1: National Archives, Wellington.
- 18 Minutes of Job Committee; see note 16.
- 19 Letter Davidge to Town Clerk, 12 February 1915; NPBC File 3/1/1A.
- 20 Letter Davidge to Town Clerk, 3 July, 1916; New Plymouth Borough Council File 3/1/1A.
- 21 W. R. Davidge, 'Report and Suggestions for Preliminary Town Planning Scheme for the Borough of New Plymouth', p. 108.
- 22 Davidge, *ibid*, p. 116.
- 23 Davidge, *ibid*, p. 107.
- 24 Davidge, *ibid*, p. 11
- 25 W. R. Davidge, 'Town planning systems', *The Surveyors Institute Transactions*, 42, 1909-10, pp. 31-63.
- 26 W. R. Davidge, 'The problem of the Octopus', *Garden Cities and Town Planning*, Vol. 12, 1912, pp. 162-63.
- 27 Tullett, op cit, note 6, p. 31.
- 28 Minutes of Works Committee, 7 January, 1914; NPBC Agendas and Papers. January – April, 1914. New Plymouth District Archives.

Reviewing the Chinese City

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The origins, development and forms of Chinese cities have long been of interest, particularly as Western scholars have attempted to understand the very different processes operating there. This has resulted in an outpouring of scholarship, from classics such as Wheatley's *Pivot of the Four Quarters* (1972) to the more recent volumes discussed here; from national overviews (Ma and Hanten, 1981) to detailed reviews of individual cities (Sit, 1995) and plans (MacPherson, 1990), and including study of the importing of foreign concepts of planning (Cody, 1996). Even so, there have been gaps in the scholarly coverage: for example, Wang and Hague (1992) identified a major focus of recent publication on the larger coastal cities, which 'may distort perceptions of Chinese planning' in the postwar period.

More recently, Gaubatz (1996) has reviewed the development of Chinese 'frontier cities' where, it is argued, a distinct urban form developed, albeit having many of the traditional features of Chinese city planning: these cities

Conform rigidly in some key aspects to the ideals set out in the Chinese classics for all Chinese cities. In fact, as a group, they conform as much to these ideals, particularly in terms of city shape and the orientation of major buildings and thoroughfares, as their eastern counterparts, if not more (p. 3).

As the Chinese economy and society have changed in the post-Maoist period, so has Chinese urbanism. Gaubatz remarks that 'Chinese cities have changed more in the past half-century than they did in the previous 2000 years', often at the expense of 'the unique cultural heritage of the Chinese urban life and landscape' (1996, pp. 314-5). The planning system during this period has also changed, as 'past urban planning practices, which were legitimised by the socialist ideology of planned growth, are now fundamentally

challenged...the urban planning system needs to undergo both institutional and philosophical reforms.' (Yeh and Wu, 1999, p. 167)

Given this focus, several recent publications reviewing the history and development of Chinese urban form and planning are of interest. A useful souvenir of the IPHS conference this summer was the publication by Kukkonen and Xiaojian (1998) on Ancient Chinese urban development, published by the Helsinki University of Technology. As a relatively brief overview covering some 5000 years it is, perhaps, rather breathless; but it is densely written, contains some interesting illustrations, and forms a good introduction for the non-specialist. It also includes mention of recent archaeological discoveries. Of note is the emphasis on the planning of even the earliest cities, including regular street layouts, rigid zoning, axial and symmetrical design; and the observation that even very early cities (e.g. of the Shang period, 6th to 11th centuries BC) conformed to Feng Shui principles of location and form (p. 19).

Imperial cities

Another perspective on older Chinese cities is given by Steinhardt, whose Chinese imperial city planning appeared in paperback in 1999. The hardback, published in 1990, was well reviewed, and this more accessible reprint is welcomed. However, nearly a decade after first publication, it is regrettable that the opportunity to take advantage of recent literature and archaeological work has apparently not been taken. As Steinhardt's focus is specifically imperial, this does to some extent reinforce the point made by Wang and Hague of a scholarly focus on eastern or coastal China: the western extent of the country/empire is little explored, with the furthest western city being Dunhuang. Two main features of Chinese cities are emphasised: first that

planning in a premodern Chinese context meant more than simply the abstract notion that a city scheme was conceived in its entirety from its inception – remarkable though it is that planning was conducted in this way over the course of four thousand years of one nation's history. In traditional China, it also meant that a plan was drawn' (p. 5)

And we should recall that these cities were immense, the largest in the world: between c. 500 and 256 BC the capital of only one state, Yan, covered 32.km², in the seventh century the wall of Chang'an was 36.7km long, and seventh century Beijing covered 62km² (p. 10).

The book is structured in eight chapters, one introductory and seven chronological. There are copious footnotes and references, a useful index, and a glossary of Chinese, Japanese and Korean characters. The text is fluently written and eminently readable although, despite the strong chronological structure, it does seem to expect some knowledge of dynasties and dates; Kukkonen and Cxiaojian (1998), in contrast, provide a useful 1-page listing.

A major achievement is in the fusion of the textual, pictorial and cartographic evidence – the book carries 161 illustrations, many of which are Chinese, and some are reconstructed plans based on historical and archaeological evidence. In some cases Steinhardt uses these to resolve some confusions of planning, as with Bianliang (pp. 139-141), tracing some inaccurate plans to a 1330s plan drawn when Mongol conquerors were deliberately attempting to legitimate their rule through planning new cities and publishing idealised or fictitious plans and views to demonstrate a 'continuous chain of imperial planning'. The Song dynasty, too, produced idealised plans so that a city that

could never be ideally designed because of topographical constraints could, after its timber buildings had long been destroyed, be recorded as one that had conformed to the norms of Chinese imperial planning. (p. 160)

The concept of the planned city, and the particular forms, geometrics and spatial relationships, is thus presented as a fundamental and pervasive aspect of Chinese urbanism. The book concludes with a brief view of some Maoist re-interpretations of

imperial urban form, particularly of Tian'an Men Square, Beijinh (p. 179ff). This re-interpretation to legitimate the new rule has obvious resonance with the past; and the redevelopment of much of the historical fabric at this time has still left more of the early fabric than the early historical movements and redevelopments of this city.

A regional perspective

Xu (2000) expands Steinhardt's perspective through an extremely thorough study of one city, Suzhou. Although a regional capital, this was not an imperial city, and Xu does suggest that much western study of Chinese cities remains biased in favour of imperial cities at the expense of local cities. This 'notable deficiency' is significant because 'the vast majority of urban centres in the premodern era were not imperial capitals', and 'the idea of building the imperial capitals, especially in its cosmological aspects, is profoundly different from that of building, maintaining and governing local cities' (p. 4).

The book's first chapter explores the context of the city's rise (from c. 514 BC) and decline. Xu then reviews the conception of the city and its symbolism as perceived in the earliest records, of the Eastern Han dynasty, over 500 years after the city's foundation. Chapter 3 examines aspects of urban planning and governance in the period of the medieval urban revolution.

The remainder of the book (4 chapters) examines some detailed aspects of the city's planning and transformations: the walls, the overall urban structure, urban architectural form and style (particularly in contrast to rural form), and the issue of feng shui principles. The latter chapter is particularly interesting, as Xu finds only one documented example of feng shui applied to urban construction here, and questions the assumption seemingly held by many scholars of the primacy of these principles. Whilst the situation may have been different for imperial capitals, Xu questions their general application to regional and local cities, suggesting that their influence varied in intensity at different levels of interest of socio-political groups.

The book is important in highlighting planning and governance principles which seem not only to differ from imperial cities, but also markedly from Western experience. The Western urban/rural dichotomy, with cities having distinct legal and administrative corporate identities

setting them apart from the countryside, is not replicated in this level of the Chinese city. Thus there are no formal public administrative buildings, public squares and so on so characteristic of Western urban form and planning; while temples did not dominate the city spiritually or architecturally (p. 82ff). Likewise, although the concept of 'suburb' exists, and the word is used in transliterations from Chinese texts by both Xu and Steinhardt, Xu argues that Chinese suburbs 'were certainly more "central" in economic terms and more bustling in daily life, and thus were more 'urban' than most areas within the city walls' (p. 164) and thus differed from Western concepts of the suburb and its planning.

This is another valuable book. Its insights into the form and planning of everyday Chinese cities are sharp, and its scholarship detailed. Referencing, glossary and index are all full. Moreover, in discussing the lack of early sources and of corroborating archaeology, Xu does acknowledge that:

It is difficult to recognise authentic accounts of the city's construction as historical fact from amendments or even concoctions. Changes to these texts may have taken place partly through the unconscious processes natural to the passage of time and partly through historiographical editing and exegesis not only designed to afford support for later value systems and moral judgements but also reflecting the cosmological synthesis of the particular time. (p. 30)

If only all writers on early urban form and planning were so careful!

Modernity and national identity

The last volume to be considered (Esherick) demonstrates a change of emphasis, detailing changes in planning and forms of Chinese cities in the period 1900-1950 consequent upon new concepts of modernity and national identity, and it is an edited collection. Its 13 chapters cover 10 cities, exploring the pace of change in the early twentieth century and the range of influences upon it, including that of European, American and Japanese commercial interests and settlements, the Guomindang revolution and the Sino-Japanese war. Following the introduction, 5 chapters cover

the 'modernist city', 3 deal with 'tradition and modernity' and 4 deal with 'city and nation'. Each of the chapters is well argued and makes interesting reading; some are, however, rather better illustrated than others – readers less familiar with these cities or this cultural context would have been better served with more visual matter.

Consideration of 'the modernists city' reviews some overt planning issues including the widening, straightening and paving of streets which had become encroached upon during centuries of use, the provision of sanitation, the impact of railways, and the impact of urban renewal. The most significant is Sun Fo, son of Sun-Yat-sen, and first mayor of Guangzhou (Canton). He had studied in the United States and was a committed modernist planner, in favour of 'scientific' knowledge and methods. His proposals included improving streets and sanitation, and creating public open spaces. Overall, the 'modernist' view involved the imposition of a Western-style division between city and countryside, contrary to Chinese tradition; this was most obvious in the problems of piped sanitation versus night soil carriers – who had a ready market for this traditional fertiliser in the adjoining countryside.

In chapter 8, a planned response to the tension between tradition and modernity is described by Dong. After some rather unsuccessful early republican attempts to create monuments and play down the imperial image, the new republican elite of Beijing/Beiping and its mayor, Yuan Liang, were seeking to present a Chinese image to counter westernised Shanghai, and promoted tourism with a commodified heritage image. Historic buildings were to be repaired and, in the case of city walls and gates that had been demolished, were to be 'repaired' (see also Shi in this journal recently). 'Architectural authenticity,' rather than the appearance of newness, was desirable. Chinese identity was important, despite some Western imports (trams, sanitation) for, as Professor Zhang Xiruo argued, 'the vulgarity of London, clumsiness of Berlin, repetition of Paris and Versailles, tediousness of Rome, what can be a match for Beiping?' (p. 137)

The section on 'city and nation' explores the planning of national capitals during wartime, at Wuhon and Chongqing; although, unwilling to concede a defeat, the Guomindang made relatively little effort to reshape these cities. A last chapter reviews the earlier contributions and

looks forward to future developments and research, after the rural-based interregnum of the Maoist period.

The University of Hawaii Press should be congratulated in producing such well-written, scholarly and well-produced volumes. Very few production errors could be discerned. One minor point from a social science reader's perspective mars the three texts from this publisher. All use notes rather than Harvard-style references, and the notes are placed at the end of each volume (including Esherick's edited volume). The notes are separate from the full list of references (except in the Esherick volume, whose notes give full references for items referred to infrequently, while frequent citations merit a separate bibliography). So, in order to find which author is making a particular point, one has first to find the location of the footnote, then to find and check the reference. This does considerably interrupt the flow, divorcing the reading of textual statement from evidence and reference.

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Transportation and Urban Development in Manchuria (Northeast China)

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In spite of its size and importance, China (and its urban and planning history) has so far a modest (but fast-growing) academic literature in the English language. Research on its regional planning history has tended to concentrate on the treaty port cities of south China, specifically Shanghai and Hong Kong (including one article in *Planning History*). Within the field of urban and regional planning, the influence of infrastructure (especially railways) upon urban development is better researched for Europe and North America than for other parts of the world. This article aims, therefore, to summarise research (hitherto published only in Chinese) by one of its authors on transport and urban development in a less-known region of China – Manchuria.

Manchuria (or Dongbei, as it is known in China) is the north-eastern region of China, bounded by Inner Mongolia (a Chinese autonomous region), Russia and North Korea. In the west it is known for its role during the Second World War as the Japanese colony of Manchukuo (1937-45), headed by the puppet Pu Yi (The Last Emperor of Bertolucci's film). With a population of over 100 million, and a land area of 780 000 sq.km., it is a vast land of forests and plains, with some twenty different ethnic groups (including the last imperial rulers of China, the Manchus) and an extreme climate. Its large reserves of oil, coal and iron ore made it a battle-ground of Great Power politics in the 20th century, between China, Russia and Japan, and important in the development of China's heavy industry. Of its three provinces, Heilongjiang has a mechanised wheat-growing sector, oil and timber resources; the capital of Harbin (population 2 million) is a major rail junction and centre for food processing

and heavy industry. Jilin province is mainly agricultural, and its capital of Changchun was formerly the capital of the Manchukuo state. Liaoning province contains the fertile Liao river basin, and great mineral resources; its capital Shenyang is the centre of the regional railway network. In the south the ports of Dalian and Lushun have been important contributors to regional growth.

The region was historically remote from the rest of China until the modernization of transport in the late 19th century, which had a major impact upon its urban growth and development. Previously the ancient post roads connected the north with the south of China, supplemented by water transport, and were followed by the introduction of the railway. The natural geography and social historical development of the region affected transport and urban growth, including the internal structure of towns and cities.

Road transport in the carriage age

The original transport modes in Northeast China were tracks, rivers, and some man-made post roads. The severe climate meant that in winter the land and rivers were covered with ice and snow, which allowed an extensive transport network of sled- and carriage ways designed to traverse frozen surfaces. The different languages and limited economic exchange among the different ethnic groups over a long period inhibited the development of transport, but there was a developed water transport on rivers such as the Liao, Shonghua, Nen, Heilong and Wusuli.

During the Ming dynasty period (1368-1644), castles were built for the purposes of politics and military control of districts, and were

connected through the post-road and river networks. For example, Liaoyang castle was the centre of the Liaodong district, and controlled important economic and traffic functions. Semi-military markets within the district, such as Kaiyuan, Guangning (Beizhen) and Fushun, were local trade centres, and such castles and towns not only had great strategic importance, but took a vital position in economic and transport growth, and transmitted tributes paid by different nationalities to the emperor.

At the beginning of the Qing (Ch'ing) dynasty of the Manchus (1644-1912), the government introduced a 'closed' policy, which not only constrained the region's exploitation, but also weakened China's northeast border defense. 1,500 Russian soldiers invaded the Heilong River valley, and in the winter of 1665 built the castle of Yakesa, from which they harassed Hulunbeier and Qinqihaer. Several counterattacks organized by the Qing government failed because of the long distances and difficulty of food supply. In the reign of Emperor Kangxi, in the summer of 1683 the government sent 1,500 soldiers under the command of general Sabushu to the Heilong area as a permanent garrison, and enlarged the castle of Aihui (Haihe). The next year a post road was built between Qiqihaer and the capital Peking (Beijing), reserved for official use and so named 'the Royal Road', with a ceaseless flow of government messengers, officers, businessmen and travelers. The Manchus defended effectively the border against the Russians and developed the towns.

Although the post road network was mainly for government use and to strengthen the feudal system, it facilitated economic and cultural exchanges, and more harmonious relations between the peoples of the region. The construction of post roads promoted the formation of towns, allowed easier military movements and border defense, transport of army provisions, local tributes and other materials, and trade between the Northeast and the Central Plain. At that time, towns in the Northeast were mainly located in river basins or along the post roads. Where transport was more developed, the population gradually increased around castles and post stations.

During the Qing dynasty, the network of post roads, centered on the residences of the Shengjing (Shenyang), Jilin and Heilongjiang generals, was extended to the neighboring areas within and outside the border walls. There were

seven 'important frontier towns', all on post-roads or rivers: Ningguta (Ningan), Jilin, Qiqihaer, Moergen (Nenjing), Boduna (Fuyu), Aihui (Heihe) and Sanxing (Yilan). Only the Royal Road (linking the capital Peking (Beijing) to Shenyang, Jilin and Aihui (Heihe) was open all year, while others would be closed in the rainy season. In order to protect the 'birth place of the Manchu Race, the Qing government created outposts, and forbade Han women to enter the region, a closed policy which caused a decline of the post-road system and continued the underdevelopment of the region.

After the Sino-British Tianjin Treaty was signed in 1858, Great Britain got the right to run business in Niuzhuang, which forced the Qing government to open the port of Yingkou. The Qing government had to abandon its closed policy, encourage migration to cultivate the border areas of the three Northeast provinces, rebuild the post roads leading to the border districts, and introduce measures of 'Immigration for Border Construction'. In 1881, General Wudazheng was assigned to supervise the defense and cultivation of Sanxing (Yilan), Ningguta (Ningan) and Huichun, and opened areas on the Sino-Russian border for cultivation. Recruiting offices were set up in Huichun and Sanchakou, and roads were built linking Ningguta (Ningan), Sanxing (Yilan), Huichun, Sanchakou, and Fengmishan (Mishan). The general ordered post stations to be created, and used the military to build ferries and bridges, creating better communication systems. Immigrants from inland China helped develop cultivation and urban growth. To take one example of changing urban fortunes, Sanchakou was formerly a deserted town, containing only 17 households, but by 1886 there were 50 shops, with new houses under construction on the back streets; within a few years a town with prosperous agriculture and industry was revived, but with the withdrawal of the soldiers and the desertion of the post roads, it declined once again.

Traffic in the Carriage Age was backward, as vehicles could move only slowly over short distances and in small volumes, which limited population flows, population growth and urban development. In order to meet the demands of security and defense, the town was usually square and regular in shape, enclosed with high defense walls and trenches, with the town gates the only connection to outside. This planned town was easy for administration and defense, and

concentrate trade and interior traffic. In this period, all towns in the region were affected by the ancient culture and remained largely locally supplied.

The Railway Age

The invention and application of the steam engine brought a new epoch for Manchuria's transport development. It was the Trans-Siberian (or Middle-East) Railway, connecting to the sea at Vladivostok in the north and Port Arthur (Lushun) in Manchuria, that transformed the region, allowing the establishment of an efficient regional and international transport network, increased transportation capacity, and massive population movement into the region. The railway caused a major relocation of Manchurian towns, weakening towns along the ancient post roads, and creating new ones, and injected boundless energy and vigor into the region.

In 1896 Russia and China created a joint company through the Sino-Russian Treaty which allowed the completion of the railway, and in 1897 Russia obtained a lease of the ice-free ports of Port Arthur (now Lushun) and Dalian. The railway was finally completed in 1903, forming a T-shaped rail artery through the whole region, with a branch line linking Dashi Bridge to Yingkou. Trains superseded slower transport modes (carriage and rickshaw), and allowed millions of immigrants to move into the region, greatly accelerating economic and urban development. The ancient post roads were replaced by railway and telecommunications. Harbin, Dalian, Manzhouli, Suifenhe, and Siping were new towns developed in this period. Towns along the ancient post roads lost their former splendour: Jilin, Boduna (Fuyu), Guangning (Beizhen), Sanxing (Yilan), Moergen (Nenjiang), Ningguta (Ningan), Aihui (Heihe) and Sanchakou are examples of such towns. Dalian superseded the earlier trade port of Yingkou to become the largest trade port in the Northeast. Roads could no longer take the increased burden of traffic, and population dispersed to towns along the railway lines. Temporary housing spread everywhere, and urban growth made town walls irrelevant, changing urban form permanently.

Towns changed from walled feudal castles to a more open modern form. Land for urban expansion broke the limits of town walls, onto railway land, and created a multi-cored or unbalanced urban form. The old system of town construction could not longer confine the newborn

railway towns, with different functions and more utilitarian, usually growing on both sides of the railway. Harbin is an example of the new railway towns, the administrative centre of the railway, with an open form and unplanned road system.

The Automobile Age

As the passenger and cargo flows on the railway increased, the primitive transport system gave way to roads for automobiles. For instance, in 1904 and 1905, Yingkou and Changtu respectively opened trolley rickshaw routes, linking the old town to the railway station. In 1907, a Carriage and Railway Shareholding Limited Company was set up in Fengtian (Shenyang); and in January 1908 a 4 kilometre carriage-railway link was opened from the old railway station to the Xiaoximen (followed some years later by a trolley bus service on the same route). The carriage-railway initially used horses and manpower, limiting its speed and capacity, and was later substituted by trolley buses. In 1911, Dalian opened its first trolley bus route from the harbour.

Following the train and ship, the automobile emerged as another dynamic transport mode, faster than the carriage and more flexible than the train. The automobile first appeared in the region in 1910, coming into full service in 1912, and accordingly further influenced urban development. By dispersing population from the overcrowded railway towns to remoter areas, it also offered an opportunity of redevelopment to those old castles along the ancient post roads, spreading urban population more evenly. The automobile also affected urban form and structure. The Huali Automobile Company started in 1914 a bus service between the old town of Changchun and the Toudaogou railway station, and Harbin opened a bus service from Daoli to Daowai district, followed by all main cities in the Northeast. The former closed mono-centred ancient castle towns began to evolve into open and multi-cored modern forms; some old cities demolished their town walls to improve traffic circulation, as the County Annals of Tieling record:

In about 1913, the secretary general of the county raised a proposal to tear down the city walls ... Most of the bricks and stones taken down from the walls had been used in the construction of roads and sewers while the rest were open to public use.

In the new railway towns and cities, without the limitation of walls, districts specialised by function, as independent parts of the city, in a multi-cored form. At Harbin, for example, the Middle-East railway station at Qinjiagang links north through the city to the Iron Bridge over the Songhua River; west of the railway is the former Russian concession, called Daoli district, while to the east is Fujiadian, or Daowai. The city is divided into districts such as the business district, port district, hospital district and army district, and northeast of Qinjiagang is Majiagou, the second district of old Harbin.

Conclusions

This review of transport modernization and urban development in Manchuria shows the importance of technology in urban development. Traffic modernization not only became a symbol of urban growth, but also injected boundless energy into this region, linking city and countryside, production and consumption. Heavy industry accelerated regional development, and transformed the society from traditional to industrial. Transport modernization has affected

not only the city structure and system in the Northeast, but also the evolution of the city's internal functions. It allowed the movement of millions of immigrants into the region, connected developed and undeveloped areas, and accelerated the exploitation of the region and the development of towns and cities there.

Note on the authors Wu Xiao-song has been a lecturer in the Department of City & Resource Planning, Zhongshan University, Guangzhou, China, since 1996. A native of Harbin, he lectured from 1988 to 1996 at the College of Architecture and Urban Planning, Tongji University, Shanghai (which will host the World Planning Congress in July 2001), and his Ph.D. there was on urban history and theory. In 1999-2000 he was a postdoctoral fellow (funded by the Dept. for International Development) at the School of Surveying, University of East London, where Robert Home (author of *Of Planting and Planning: The Making of British Colonial Cities*. London: Spon, 1997, and a contributor to *Planning History* and *Planning Perspectives* is a Reader in Planning.



Fig. 1: Three provinces in Manchuria in relation to China

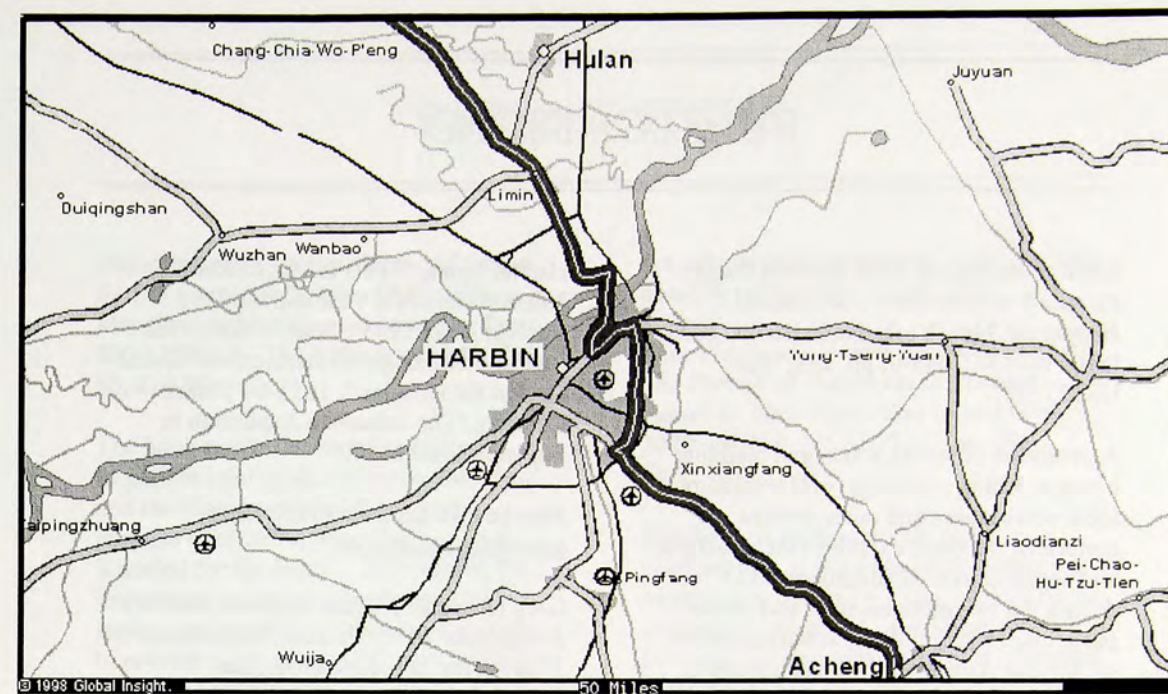


Fig. 2: City of Harbin

NOTES

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- Nock, O. S., *World Atlas of Railways*, London, Mitchell Beazley, 1978; on the Trans-Siberian railway and Vladivostok, see Richardson, W., 'Vladivostok: city of three eras', *Planning Perspectives*, 10, 1995, pp. 43-65.

PUBLICATIONS

Rosalyn Baxendall and Elizabeth Ewen, *Picture Windows: How the Suburbs Happened*. New York: Basic Books, 2000. ISBN 0-465-07045-0; pp. 298; illus. US\$27.50.

A synthesis of social, urban and planning history. Using sociology, oral testimony, local newspapers and other archive materials, the book examines the structural and social causes of suburbanisation during the twentieth century, and draws particular attention to the suburbanisation of African Americans. Its main focus is Levittown, New Jersey, and herein lies a key weakness: for though the book utilises sociologies, it ignores *The Levittowners* by Herbert J. Gans, a classic work of investigative urban sociology. It also has nothing to say about Sylvia Fleis Fava and other leading sociologists of suburbia.

Mark Clapson (ed.), 'Planning, Politics and Housing in Britain', Special Issue: *Contemporary British History*, 14/1 2000. London, Frank Cass, 2000: ISSN 1361-9462 pp. 190; pb; £10 to individuals; £37 to institutions.

Contents: Mark Clapson, Introduction; Andrzej Olechnowicz, 'Civic Leadership and Education for Democracy: the Simons and the Wythenshawe Estate'; Nick Tiratsoo, 'The reconstruction of Blitzed British Cities, 1945-55: Myths and Reality'; Junichi Hasegawa, 'The Reconstruction of Portsmouth in the 1940s'; Andrew Homer, 'Creating New Communities: The Role of the Neighbourhood Unit in Postwar British Planning'; Tatsuya Tsubaki, 'Planners and the Public: British Popular Opinion and Housing During the Second World War';

Harriet Jones, '"This is Magnificent!" 300,000 Houses a Year and the Tory Revival After 1945'; Peter Weiler, 'The Rise and Fall of the Conservatives "Grand Design for Housing", 1951-64'; Mark Clapson, 'The Suburban Aspiration in England Since 1919.'

May be ordered from Frank Cass:
sales@frankcass.com

Greg Hise and William Deverell, *Eden by Design: the 1930 Olmsted-Bartholomew Plan for the Los Angeles Region*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000; ISBN 0-520-224215-9; illus; £11.50 pb (hb also available)

A facsimile report of this famous plan, described 'elsewhere as a vital document in the history of Los Angeles', with a lengthy contextual essay by Hise and Deverell. 'Hise and Deverell examine the reasons [the plan] was called for, analyse why it failed, and open a discussion about the future of urban public space. In addition, *Eden by Design* includes a dialogue between Hise, Deverell, and widely-admired landscape architect Laurie Olin that illuminates the significance of the Olmsted-Bartholomew report, and places it in the history of American landscape planning.' (from publisher)

Michael Holleran, *Boston's 'Changeful Times': origins of preservation and planning in America*. John Hopkins University Press, ISBN 0-8018649-0-9. (April 2001)

'Traces the evolution of the historic preservation movement in Boston between 1860 and 1930.' (from publisher)

PUBLICATIONS

David Jeremiah, *Architecture and Design for the Family in Britain, 1900-1970*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000. ISBN 0-7190-5889-9; pp. 240; £45 hb, £14.99 pb.

The book tracks the complex and important relationship between the 'ideal' and the 'commonplace' in the social purpose of architecture and design intended for the family. Recognising the importance of the nineteenth-century legacy and examining the cultural agenda to provide a better life, the study is defined by two major periods of national reconstruction.

The core areas for consideration include family homes and new neighbourhoods, the products and schemes for everyday life, and the housewife and family lifestyle. The account balances the popular with official publications, regional and national exhibitions, and municipal and speculative developments in cultivating a national belief in progress. (from press release)

Cathy Knepper, *Greenbelt, Maryland: A Living Legacy of the New Deal*. John Hopkins University Press; (forthcoming, May, 2001) ISBN 0-8018649-0-9.

A timely study of the best known of the New Deal Resettlement Administration's three greenbelt towns.

Peter Larkham and K. D. Lilley, *Planning the 'City of Tomorrow': British Reconstruction Planning, 1939-1952*. Pickering: Inch's Books, 2000; ISBN 0-9514277-1-7; pp. 65; £9.95

An extensive bibliography; it also includes non-UK reconstruction planning.

Tom Martinson, *American Dreamscape: The Pursuit of Happiness in Postwar Suburbia*. New York: Carroll and Graf, 2000; ISBN 0-7867-0771-2; pp. 291; illus.; US\$26.00

This book is comparatively rare phenomenon: it is a passionate defence of American suburbia by a city planner based in Northern America. *American Dreamscape* provides a readable overview of the growth of American suburbs, and its attractions. It makes some trenchant and critical observations on the high-density principles of the new urbanism, and calls as much for a suburban renaissance as an urban one.

Caroline Mulholland, *William Mulholland and the Rise of Los Angeles*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000; ISBN 0-520-21724-1; £22 hb.

William Mulholland's grand-daughter evaluates the engineer's development of the water supply system that, probably more than any other factor, allowed the development of Los Angeles into a major urban centre. She 'provides a comprehensive discussion of the problems the city faced when distribution of its water supply was controlled by the privately owned Los Angeles City Water Company, of the negotiations between Los Angeles and Owens Valley residents in the early 1920s, and of the controversy over public versus private electrical power.' (from publisher)

PUBLICATIONS

Rob Freestone (ed.) *Urban Planning in a Changing World*. London: E & FN Spon, 2000; pp. 293; illus.; hb; £45; ISBN 0-419-24650-9

Contents: Robert Freestone, 'Learning from planning's histories'; Peter Hall, 'The centenary of modern planning'; Stephen V. Ward, 'Re-examining the international diffusion of planning'; Dennis Hardy, 'Quasi utopias: perfect cities in an imperfect world'; Jon Lang, 'Learning from twentieth century urban design paradigms: lessons for the early twenty first century'; Gilbert A. Stelter, 'Rethinking the significance of the city beautiful idea'; Dirk Schubert, 'The neighbourhood paradigm: from garden cities to gated communities'; Raphael Fischler, 'Planning for social betterment: from standard of living to quality of life'; Robert Bruegmann, 'The paradoxes of anti-sprawl reform'; Jeffry M. Diefendorf, 'Motor vehicles and the inner city'; David Hamer, 'Planning and heritage: towards integration'; Maurits Van Rooijen, 'Open space, urban planning and the evolution of the green city'; Susan Thompson, 'Diversity, difference and the multi-layered city'; Allen J. Scott, 'Global city regions: planning and policy dilemmas in a neo-liberal world'; Brendan Gleeson and Nicholas Low, 'Is planning history?'

Aileen Reed, *Brentham: A History of the Pioneer Garden Suburb 1901-2001*. London: Brentham Heritage Society, 2000; ISBN 0-9538775-0-7; pb; illus. £25.

With a foreword by Sir Peter Hall, and an introduction by HRH the Prince of Wales,

readers might expect the book to be what it is, notably a beautifully illustrated and timely centenary tribute to Brentham Garden Suburb in West London. 'In an ambitious community initiative', the press release states, 'residents of a 680-household estate [have] produced a top quality, lavishly illustrated book about its history, after more than two years of research and fund-raising. This, the first comprehensive history of Brentham, marks the Suburbs' centenary in 2001, and is the first urban project to receive a grant from the Local heritage Initiative, a partnership between the Heritage Lottery Fund, the Nationwide Building Society, and the Countryside Agency.'

Available from bookshops or direct from Alan Henderson, Brentham Heritage Society, 47 Meadvale Road, Ealing, London, W5 1NT.

Sayer, Karen (December 2000), *Country Cottages: A Cultural History*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, ISBN 0-7190-4752-8. Price £47.00.

Surveys the cottage as icon. Considers its Victorian treatment as a picturesque and ideal home, as compared to its use within realist and official texts concerned with the Condition of England. Also covers the politics of the cottage garden, the way that we might 'read' actual cottages and the sale of the cottage to commuters and holiday makers hoping to escape the city. Its central concern is with the relationship of country to city, and the production and re-production of gendered space.

PUBLICATIONS

Volker M. Welter and James Lawson (eds.), *The City After Patrick Geddes*. Peter Lang AG: Bern, Berlin, Brussels, Frankfurt/M., Oxford, Vienna, 2000. ISBN 3-906764-69-9/ US-ISBN 0-8204-4642-4) pb.; pp. 349; illus; £37.

The City After Patrick Geddes is the first publication to trace the influence of the Scottish biologist, sociologist and city designer, Sir Patrick Geddes (1854-1932). *Contents:* Volker M. Welter and James Lawson, 'Introduction'; Iain Body Whyte, 'The Spirit of the City'; Helen Meller, 'Understanding the European City around 1900: the Contribution of Patrick Geddes'; Murdo MacDonald, 'Patrick Geddes and Scottish Generalism'; Sofia G. Leonard, 'The Context and Legacy of Patrick Geddes in Europe'; David Matless, 'Forms of Knowledge and Forms of Belonging:

Regional Survey and Geographical Citizenship'; Christiane Crasemann Collins, 'City planning exhibitions and Civic Museums: Werner Hegemann et al'; Roger Wojtowicz, 'Lewis Mumford: Builder of the Regional City'; Edward K. Spann, 'The Regional Planning Association of America: British American Planning Culture at Work, 1923-1938'; Catherine Bruant, 'Donat Alfred Agache: Architect and Sociologist'; Mary O. Ashton, '"Tomorrow town": Patrick Geddes, Walter Gropius and Le Corbusier'; Volker M. Welter, 'Artur Glikson, Thinking Machines and the Planning of Israel'; Rosa Tamborrino, '"Saverio Muratori: City and Region in Postwar Italy'; Miles Glendinning, 'Patrick Geddes and Robert Matthew: the Missing Link of Neotechnic Modernity'; Erik Wiren, 'Planning for an Uncertain Future.'

PUBLICATIONS: ARTICLE ABSTRACTS

Za Ping Wang, 'Planning and conservation in historic Chinese cities: the case of Xi'an'. *Town Planning Review*, Vol. 71, No. 3, 2000, pp.

Although the literature on urban development in China has been expanding in recent years, relatively little has been written about the challenge and changes to historic Chinese cities. Historic preservation was an established policy from 1949. This paper reviews the planning and development experience of in the large historic cities since 1949 using Xi'an as a case study. An examination of the impact of national legislation and related policies indicated that the system was only successful in protecting some of the most important historic buildings and sites. The belated introduction of more comprehensive protection and conservation measures in the early 1980s achieved only limited results since much of the historic character of the urban townscape had already been lost. Since 1980, economic reform and increased land values have placed additional pressures on these historic towns. This resulted in the total break-up of old town centres and the loss of many traditional houses. The urban skylines have become increasingly dominated by modern hotels, offices and commercial buildings rather than by traditional temples, towers and pagodas.

Artruro Almandoz, 'The shaping of Venezuelan urbanism in the hygiene debate of Caracas, 1880-1910', *Urban Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 11, 2000, pp. 2007-26.

From the perspective of urban historiography, Caracas is often thought to have been asleep from the 1880s until the first decades of this century. On the contrary, this paper tries to demonstrate how the city underwent major urban

changes, whereby public hygiene reforms were incorporated into the urban policing agenda as early as the 19th century. As a consequence of a medical debate fuelled by the high mortality rate in the capital, the government adopted some of the administrative measures inspired by Europe's sanitary reforms, which contributed to shape Venezuela's modern urbanism – a contribution which has been disregarded until now.

Sean Damar, "'Engineers of the Human machine": the social practice of management in Glasgow, 1895-1939', *Urban Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 11, 2000, pp. 2073-89.

In a 1997 paper in *Urban Studies*, Clapham argued that Housing Studies could benefit from an injection of social constructionist research, as previous housing research had been driven by policy-makers. This paper rebuts this argument, demonstrating that such research has been carried out by sociologists of housing in Britain for some 30 years. The paper continues with a detailed example of such research, offering a case study of the housing management of the interwar (1924) Glasgow housing scheme of Hamiltonhill. Marrying constructionist and materialist theoretical perspectives, and drawing upon a wealth of empirical data, the paper demonstrates that the social practice of council housing management in interwar Glasgow was blatantly aimed at the social control of public-sector tenants, and that this social control was firmly located in contemporary class relationships and class ideology. The paper concludes that such a perspective has considerable potential for the analysis of current housing management practice.

PUBLICATIONS: REVIEW

Rachel Hood, *Faces of Archaeology in Greece: Caricatures by Piet de Jong*. Leopard's Head Press, 1998. ISBN 0-904920-38-0 £26.

The book is about architect Piet de Jong (1887-1967) a Yorkshire man of Dutch origin, who worked in excavations on many famous Greek sites (Knossos, Athens, Corinth...) with British and American archaeologists, such as the prominent Sir Arthur Evans (whose very first operation in 1900 was celebrated in Crete in 2000), C. Blegen (excavations in Troy), E. J. Forsdyke (Director of the British Museum), Austen Harrison (designer of Nuffield College Oxford) and many others. Over forty unusual caricatures made by de Jong himself depict the personalities of the archaeological circle of Greece during the twenties and thirties, including the couple Piet and Effie de Jong. The cartoons were left, by de Jong's will, to his friend Sinclair Hood, former director of the British School of Athens, who in 1900 gave them over to the Knossos Trust. S. Hood's wife is publishing these caricatures, providing for each one a brief note, in many cases a short biography, set against the events and the social atmosphere of the time.

Rachel Hood loves her characters, some of whom she got to know personally. They are intelligent, adventurous, and devoted to their work. They care about Greece, and never fail to stimulate empathy, even enthuse. The narration is unaffected and refreshing, enriched with details picked up from numerous sources.

The stories are coupled by short texts that decipher, where possible, the comments contained in the highly stylised cartoons of de Jong.

The book offers an impressive panorama of foreign archaeology in Greece, but that is not its single merit. It reveals quite a lot about Greece during the interwar years, a most promising time, when political renaissance was reflected in social life. It also contains some information on Greek town planning, which figured high in the governmental priorities up to the beginning of the 1930s. This was manifest in exemplary projects like the replanning of Salonica and the reconstruction of Eastern Macedonia after the war. Piet de Jong participated in the latter, by making the plans for a number of destroyed settlements, among them an important local centre (in this case under the direction of the French Ernest Hebrard). The collection of mini-biographies transcends the boundaries of Greece, allowing glimpses into other parts of the world, like Britain, the Balkans or the Middle East. Extraordinary stories indeed...or was it an extraordinary time? The book is penetrated by the unparalleled atmosphere of the twenties and thirties, a prolific period of European history.

The book is available from the Knossos Trust, PO Box 5, Little Milton, Oxford, OX44 7QS, price £26.00 (plus postage and packing). Cheques to be made payable to Knossos Trust.

Kiki Kafkoulas, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki.

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.

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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.

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THE INTERNATIONAL PLANNING HISTORY SOCIETY

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