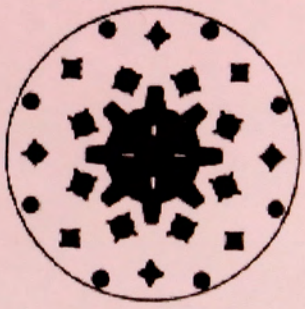
# PLANNING HISTORY

BULLETIN OF THE INTERNATIONAL PLANNING HISTORY SOCIETY



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## "The 21st Century City: Dimensions and Directions"
## Seventh Australasian Urban History/Planning History Conference February 2004

This is an advance notice for the 7th Australasian Urban History/ Planning History Conference for 2004. Bringing together Australian, New Zealand and international delegates, the conference will be held in Geelong, a regional Victorian city near the state capital of Melbourne, from 11 to 14 February 2004. It will be hosted by the School of Architecture and Building at Deakin University.

The conference themes are again diverse but will centre around the conditions and challenges of the city of the twenty-first century and will explore and debate issues, ideas and viewpoints from a broad spectrum of interdisciplinary approaches. The conference will thus continue the tradition to create opportunities for national and international academics, practitioners, or researchers in urban history and planning history, and the many associated disciplines, to engage in critical discourse.

The main conference venue is the Waterfront campus of Deakin University in Geelong, Victoria. The School of Architecture and Building is located in an historic Woolstores building that has been adapted for reuse as part of an ongoing major downtown foreshore redevelopment.

Geelong is a regional city situated about 75 km southwest of Melbourne on Corio Bay, near the Great Ocean Road, the famous Surf Coast, several celebrated wineries, and other attractions and easily reached by train or road.

For more information, suggested contributions, themed sessions, or other enquiries please contact:

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## A REQUEST TO THE INTERNATIONAL PLANNING HISTORY SOCIETY:

## The Anglo Iranian Oil Company towns and settlements in Khuzistân (1908-1951) : models, counter-models or experiments without hereafter?

The Anglo Iranian Oil Company built several towns and smaller settlements in Khuzistân between 1908 when oil was found in commercial quantities in Southern Iran, and 1951 when the oil industry was nationalised and the British expelled. As large scale experiments in town planning, these company towns were amongst the earliest modern industrial towns in the Middle East. They grew under near colonial conditions in a physically hostile environment, amidst a rural and traditional society which was gradually getting to grips with industrial development and the birth of a nation-state.

am trying to articulate a history of the way these oil towns were planned, built, administered, and inhabited. I am particularly interested in these towns given their place within the context of industrial and colonial town planning, given their importance as textbooks for the study of the social history of the A.I.O.C., and given their role in the development of modern Iran.

In order to help me investigate the links between the local urban history of these towns and the wides issues of modernisation and nationalism, I am looking for monographs or articles about the history of oil towns in the near-colonial environments of the Middle East and Latin America, or in both company and state-run oil industries in the United States, Russia and Romania. More generally, I am looking for studies into the modernising influence of new industrial towns, particularly company towns, in under-developed countries.

Many thanks in advance for your suggestions.
Pauline Lavagne d'Ortigue.
Email : pauline.lavagne@freesbee.fr
14 rue Hittorf, 75010 Paris.





## Workshop on

## THE REBUILDING OF BRITISH CITIES IN CONTEXT
## Exploring the post-Second World War reconstruction

Monday May 12th, 2003
University of Central England
TIC, Millennium Point
Birmingham

*Sponsored by* **the Faculty of the Built Environment, UCE** *and* **the International Planning History Society** *in association with* the Centre for Urban History *and* the Urban Morphology Research Group

*Organisers:* Peter Larkham and Joe Nasr, UCE

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 10:00-10:30 | Welcome: *Alan Middleton, Joe Nasr and Peter Larkham* (University of Central England) | |
| 10:30-12:00 | First session: | |
| | **Planning the British reconstruction** | * *Peter Larkham* (University of Central England) |
| | The reconstruction plans | * *John Pendlebury* (University of Newcastle) |
| | The reconstruction planners | Discussant: *Anthony Sutcliffe* (University of Nottingham) |
| 12:00-13:30 | Lunch and walking tour of city centre of Birmingham | |
| 13:30-15:00 | Second session: | |
| | **Producing and consuming the British reconstruction** | **Nicholas Bullock* (University of Cambridge) |
| | Designing the rebuilt city | **Keith Lilley* (Queen's University, Belfast) |
| | Experiencing the rebuilt city | Discussant: *Patricia Garside* (University of Salford) |
| 15:00-15:30 | Break | |
| 15:30-17:00 | Third session: | |
| | **Situating the British reconstruction** | **Stephen Ward* (Oxford Brookes University) |
| | Linkages across reconstructions | **Joe Nasr* (University of Central England) |
| | Comparisons across reconstructions | Discussant: *Dieter Schott* (University of Leicester) |

In recent years, there has been a significant increase in interest in the reconstruction after the Second World War - and in post-catastrophe rebuilding more generally. Country-specific conferences have been held over the past two decades overseas, but not in the UK. Continuing detailed research has uncovered much more about the number and type of reconstruction plans, and about how individual places undertook such plans, publicised them, and implemented them. Yet much more remains unknown. Did this outpouring of planning represent a 'new paradigm'? How did consultants become involved? Were plans too visionary, too prescriptive? How did citizens go through and shape the reconstruction process, and why was public reaction predominantly negative - apathetic at best? Why were so many plans not implemented, or at best implemented only partially? How did the UK experience compare or contrast with other post-war reconstructions? And, half a century later, how are these rebuilt cities perceived and valued, and how are they changing?

This small, informal workshop aims to develop our understanding in this area of planning history. It does not intend to reiterate the details of recent research projects. Instead, key speakers will highlight important facts, issues and themes, with the intention of generating discussion and debate. What links can be made between recent research initiatives, and between disciplines? Future collaborations or other research ideas will be explored.

*Please contact: builtenv.reconstruction@uce.ac.uk; or to Mrs Pat Wheeler, Faculty of the Built Environment, University of Central England, Perry Barr, Birmingham, B42 2SU; (0121) 331-6231*

# Anglo-Japanese Exchanges in Town Planning: The Case of Tama New Town in the 1960s, and William A. Robson

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**Abstract**
The new towns idea originated in Britain but has since been taken up by governments and planning authorities around the world. The post-war planning in Tokyo provides a case in point. Its planners looked to Britain for a lead in their early effort to relieve problems of population growth and urban congestion in the Tokyo metropolitan region. Patrick Abercrombie's Greater London Plan (1945) in particular acted as a major influence. Out of this interest in British planning came Tama New Town, which was begun in the early 1960s and promoted by the Tokyo Metropolitan Government (TMG). Situated some 20 miles south-west of Tokyo, with a proposed area of 3,000 hectares and a population target of 300,000, it became Japan's largest public development project. Yet initially Tama was to be a largely dormitory town.

William A. Robson, professor of public administration at the London School of Economics between 1947 and 1962 and a lifelong Fabian, was a leading expert on London and metropolitan government. His Japanese students included several from the TMG who went on to executive positions in the administration. The Tokyo Institute for Municipal Research, which had a close relation with the TMG, was a longstanding think-tank focused on planning and local government issues. As such, it took great interest in Robson's work, having published a Japanese version of his Great Cities of the World. These links led him to act as consultant to the TMG on Tokyo government in the late 1960s, just as the Tama project was getting underway.

This paper examines Robson's involvement in the planning of Tama New Town and suggests how his views may have intersected with the intentions of Japanese planners. On his second visit to the capital in 1969, Robson undertook a review of Tama at the specific request of the new socialist governor of Tokyo. His report took a very critical view, calling it 'a fundamentally misconceived project' and recommending changes in the arrangements and policies surrounding the planning of Tama. The planners in Tokyo were thus confronted with the British idea of new towns in which self-sufficiency was a key factor and had to reflect on the decisions taken to develop Tama as 'a mainly residential town for commuters'. The episode was widely reported in the press at the time and brought into sharp relief the divergent ideas informing the planning of new towns in the two countries.

## Introduction

The new towns idea, drawing on the earlier garden city ideal, originated in Britain. It has since been taken up by governments and planning authorities around the world. Japan was no exception. After 1945 its civil servants and town planners avidly followed the pioneering development of British new towns. Patrick Abercrombie's Greater London Plan (1945) provided the main model in an early effort to relieve problems of population growth and urban congestion in the Tokyo metropolitan region. Tama New Town, which grew out of this interest in British town planning, was started in the early 1960s by the Tokyo Metropolitan Government (TMG), the governing body of the capital city, and the government-sponsored Japan Housing Corporation. Situated some 20 miles south-west of Tokyo, with a proposed area of 3,000 hectares and a population target of 300,000, it became Japan's largest public development project. Yet initially Tama was to be a largely dormitory town.

William A. Robson, professor of public administration at the London School of Economics between 1947 and 1962, may have seemed an unlikely protagonist in the new town movement, but it took his involvement in Japan to publicly question the basic premise of the project. This paper explores this important but somewhat forgotten episode in the early planning of Tama New Town. It will look briefly at the origins of Tama New Town and its early planning, the circumstances which led to William Robson's involvement, and how his views may have intersected with the intentions of the planners in Tokyo. The episode offers an interesting case study in the evolution and adaptation of the new towns idea in Japan.





## The background and origins: British influences on the post-war planning of Tokyo

The origins of Tama New Town lay in planners' reactions to the failure of post-1945 planning in the Tokyo metropolitan region. The course of post-war planning in Tokyo showed an underlying influence of the British garden city tradition stretching back to the early part of the century when the idea was first introduced to Japan.[1] Its devotees included Issei Iinuma, the doyen of Japanese town planning and a longstanding president of the City Planning Association of Japan.[2] Eiyo Ishikawa, a leading planner of the time who was responsible for the war damage rehabilitation plan for Tokyo (1946), had long championed the idea of planned decentralisation. And when Japanese planners and government officials, as yet small in number, started to travel abroad in the period after 1945 to study latest developments in planning, Britain and her new towns figured prominently on their itinerary. Often they established contacts with the Town and Country Planning Association (TCPA) through their visits to Letchworth and Welwyn.[3] Journals such as Shintoshi [New City] (published by the City Planning Association of Japan) and Toshimondai [Urban Problems] (published by the Tokyo Institute for Municipal Research) diligently followed planning developments in Britain. The City Planning Institute of Japan was established in 1950 as a professional body representing the planning profession. The inaugural issue of its journal, Toshikeikaku [Planning Review], carried notes on the British new towns and Patrick Abercrombie's Greater London Plan.[4]

Of all the cities in Japan, Tokyo suffered most from enemy bombing in the Second World War: approximately 100,000 people killed, a further 130,000 injured and 712,000 housing units destroyed. Its population was 3.5 million in 1945, down from the pre-war peak of 7.8 million. Following the British example, restraining urban growth and planned distribution of industrial population became the basic tenet of planning.[5] Thus the war damage rehabilitation plan for Tokyo called for a permanent reduction of population in built-up areas, to be surrounded by a green belt. Actual rebuilding plans included an impressive network of roads and involved extensive land readjustment projects. The bold Tokyo plan, however, fell victim to the government's financial retrenchment policy in the aftermath of the war.

The 1950s saw a strong recovery of the Japanese economy. With Tokyo attracting an increasing proportion of the country's commerce and industry, its population had exceeded the pre-war peak in 1955 and continued to grow rapidly. The limitations of earlier reconstruction planning and the scale of urban growth led to the establishment of the Capital Region Development Commission in 1956 – an official planning machinery for the Tokyo metropolitan region (extending up to 60 miles radius from the city centre, with a population of almost 20 million in 1955) with national government involvement. Again metropolitan planning in London acted as a major influence, and the Greater London Plan became the commission's main model. The Capital Region Development Plan made in 1958 divided the region into three concentric zones: the inner urban area, the suburban area, largely preserved as green belts extending 6 miles in width, and the peripheral area. The plan envisaged a large-scale programme of industrial satellites based on selected existing towns, to be designated in the peripheral area. Out of the projected population for the capital region of 26,000,000 in 1975, it was proposed that no fewer than 2,700,000 persons would be accommodated in the planned satellite developments.[6]

## Origins of Tama New Town

Although some progress was made in designating and developing these satellite towns, the ambitious Capital Region Development Plan failed to cope with the pressures of unprecedented growth. Tokyo's population was growing at an annual rate of 300,000 by the end of the 1950s: an increase described by Japan Architect at the time as an 'annual addition of what amounts to the entire population of Providence, Rhode Island, or Newcastle-upon-Tyne'.[7] The projected 1975 population for the whole capital region had been surpassed by 1965. The huge influx of new people aggravated the housing shortage. And lacking effective control over land use, private landowners and several local authorities in the proposed green belt areas defied restrictions, and relentless building activity proceeded in the suburbs. As a result, more than half of the area of 110,000 hectares initially earmarked for green belts had already been lost to housing by 1965, when the green belt concept was eventually abandoned.[8]

In the face of this rapid urbanisation, meeting the housing shortage while avoiding the worst of the urban sprawl increasingly became a priority of official planning policy. The semi-governmental Japan Housing Corporation (set up in 1955, to provide housing for middle-income families living in major urban centres) was actively engaged in planning and developing housing estates in suburban locations around Tokyo. The idea of a new town in the Tama district of Tokyo, part of the ill-fated green belt area,

was first mooted by the TMG in 1960. The main aim was to relieve the acute housing shortage in Tokyo. By providing a large-scale planned residential community, it was also hoped to stem the spread of scattered development affecting the area. The project took shape under the New Residential Town Development Act (1963) which empowered public authorities to acquire and develop extensive areas for housing purposes.

Tama New Town on the south-western edge of Tokyo, some 20 miles from the centre, was designated in 1965. It was undertaken by the TMG and two public corporations, namely, the Tokyo Metropolitan Housing Supply Corporation and the Japan Housing Corporation. The master plan, commissioned by the TMG, was drawn up by a special committee of the City Planning Institute of Japan.[9] It provided for an ultimate population of 300,000 on a 3,000-hectare site, measuring 9 miles from east to west and 1.5 to 3.5 miles from north to south, and covering parts of four local authorities. The majority of the new residents would be commuters and their families moving from the overcrowded central areas of Tokyo. The neighbourhood unit was the organising principle. Thus the new town would be divided into 23 neighbourhood units, each with a population of about 12,000 people and its own social and community facilities. Several of these neighbourhoods combined to form a district served by a district centre, containing more facilities and services, while there would be a new town centre with offices, banks, libraries and department stores. Housing provided would be mostly in the form of low- to medium-rise flats. Two private railway companies would build extensions to the site, linking the new town with central Tokyo.[10] Though provision was made subsequently to attract certain types of employment, Tama was to be a largely dormitory town (Fig. I).

**William A. Robson and the new town movement**

As a pioneer in the study of public administration in Britain, Robson taught at the London School of Economics almost uninterruptedly from 1926 to 1980, during which time he was the first professor of public administration between 1947 and 1962.[11] His contribution was to show that administrative law and tribunals, far from being a danger to individual liberty, were an effective way of getting public control over government. Robson also co-founded an influential journal, Political Quarterly, in 1930 and remained its joint editor until 1975.

He was also a strong believer in local self-government. Influenced by the Webbs and himself a lifelong Fabian Society member, Robson became interested in the study of local government, especially the government and planning of large cities. London was his special concern. In his Government and Misgovernment of London (1939), Robson showed how London's growth had exposed the shortcomings of existing local authorities and argued the case for a Greater London government, a single elective authority to provide certain services more effectively for the whole of the London metropolitan region. He later formed the Greater London Group whose influential evidence to the Royal Commission on Government in Greater London (1957-60) led to the creation of the Greater London Council (1963).

Robson's reformist outlook also led him to take a particular interest in town and country planning. For Robson, town planning, which was given a huge boost in the Second World War, was a new problem of government, and he emphasised the need for the proper organisation of planning authorities at various levels.[12] But above all, he saw it as a way of improving people's lives, by providing an attractive setting in which they would live and work. He may have had disagreements with Frederic .J. Osborn of the TCPA over, for instance, the promoting authority of satellite towns and the planning of large cities, but Robson also undertook to write a planning tract during the war in which he endorsed the idea of planned decentralisation and the development of new towns.[13] Moreover, he had high praise for the Greater London Plan with its green belt concept and proposal for new towns.[14] Robson was a member of the TCPA ,and after 1945 he served on its council for many years.

**Robson and the Tokyo Metropolitan Government**

Robson's links with Tokyo were first established in the 1950s. His edited volume on the Great Cities of the World (1954) had a considerable impact on Japanese academics studying problems of metropolitan government. One such figure was Masamichi Royama, a respected professor of public administration at Ochanomizu University (a foremost women's state university). He met Robson at the international conference of political science in 1955 and discussed the possibility of including Japanese cities in a future edition.[15] This duly came about in 1957 when the second edition was published, with a chapter on Tokyo and Osaka by Royama.[16] He was also very much instrumental in getting its Japanese translation published the following year.

In both instances, Royama could draw on the able assistance of the Tokyo Institute for Municipal Research. The institute was founded in 1922 to promote, in particular, the development of municipal government in Tokyo and modeled itself on the New York Bureau of Municipal Research, a similar body in the United States of America. The institute had since became a well-established think-tank focused on planning and local government issues, whose members were familiar with Robson's pre-war work on London government.[17] The institute, as such, had a particularly close relation with the TMG. For its part, the TMG operated an overseas training programme from 1957 enabling a small number of its officers to spend some time at the LSE and study various aspects of local government administration.[18] In addition, an increasing number of them went on short visits to Britain. Robson naturally became a main recipient of these officials sent over by the TMG, assisting in any way he could by giving them academic guidance or providing them with introductions. A number of them went on to assume executive positions in the TMG.[19]

Through these links came Robson's two visits to Tokyo in the 1960s, just as the Tama New Town project was getting off the ground.[20] The first of these visits, sponsored by the Tokyo Institute for Municipal Research and the TMG, took place in the spring of 1967 over a period of six weeks (16 April-29 May). For those who had studied with Robson or had personal contact with him, the invitation was a way of showing gratitude for the help they received. Moreover, it afforded an occasion for the hosts to obtain his expert observations on Tokyo government. Robson himself was most eager to accept the invitation and to study at first hand the city that had rapidly become a major metropolis with all the attendant problems of congestion, housing shortage and urban sprawl. He would thus act as consultant to the TMG.[21] The visit also coincided with the election in 1967 of a new left-wing governor of Tokyo. Ryokichi Minobe was an outspoken critic of the government policy that prioritised industrial growth at the expense of social development. Himself a professor of economics, Minobe warmed to Robson and his reformist views, and they at once established a close rapport.[22]

The outcome was his first report to the TMG on its organisation, planning and administration.[23] It concluded that the structure of TMG had become obsolete. Robson proposed the formation of a joint council with representatives from the TMG and other prefectures making up the capital region, to coordinate policies on housing, public transport and roads. Specific remedies included a system of development charge to curb land prices and to provide funds for the public acquisition of land, the reform and rationalisation of lower-tier authorities, and the creation of a public corporation to take over the capital's transport operations. He also felt that not enough was being done in terms of popular housing provision and was also critical of the barrack-like feature of much that had been provided. Though none of the points made by Robson in the report were entirely new, it was the incisive analysis and the boldness of tone that impressed the Japanese commentators.[24] Newspapers carried summaries on their front pages, widely establishing Robson's reputation in Japan as a leading expert on metropolitan government (Fig. II).[25]

**Robson on Tama New Town**

The general acclamation surrounding Robson's first report led to his second visit to Tokyo in 1969. It came about as a result of an invitation from the International Christian University in Tokyo to spend a term at their graduate school as visiting professor.[26] It also provided a welcome opportunity for the TMG, in conjunction with the Tokyo Institute for Municipal Research, to request further research from Robson on Tokyo. Minobe lost no time in inviting Robson to review some of the pressing problems affecting his administration, among others the question of Tama New Town. The Tama project was a huge commitment for the TMG and its officials were particularly anxious to find out how it was perceived by a British expert.[27] During his three months' visit (8 January-30 March), Robson spent the time allocated for research in obtaining information from and discussing problems with the officials of TMG and other public authorities, on visits to various parts of the metropolis including the new town site, and in conference with Japanese scholars.[28] Upon his return, he produced his second report to the TMG.[29]

Robson devoted the first chapter, the largest section in the report, to new towns and the examination of Tama. Robson starts with a review of the new town movement in Britain culminating above all in the building of London new towns outside the green belt by development corporations, with a large measure of employment and forming an integral part of the policy of decentralisation. In Japan by comparison, he noted, there was 'a tendency to regard suburban residential communities or large-scale housing estates as new towns'[30], and was blunt in his verdict:

> In my opinion the Tama New Town project is fundamentally misconceived. It should never have been planned as a mainly residential town for commuters.[31]

The Tama project, in Robson's view, was unsatisfactory in several respects. Its location was not far enough from central Tokyo for a proper satellite and was not near enough to achieve short journeys to work. In view of the relatively high price of land in and around the new town site, it was unlikely that much industry would be attracted to Tama. It was also unlikely that the research centres or universities which it was hoped to attract would provide enough local employment. Hence the Tama project would only intensify the commuting problem in Tokyo. Responsibility for the new town was divided between the Japan Housing Corporation, the TMG, the Tokyo Metropolitan Housing Supply Corporation, four local authorities and a consortium to build and manage the town centre. There was further division of authority at the national level between the ministries responsible for particular components of the plan. The involvement of so many bodies was likely to result in lack of coordination and unity, and slow progress. It led to complicated financial arrangements making it extremely difficult to distinguish the distribution of costs among these bodies. Another adverse factor was the division of the new town among four local authorities. It produced differences in social service provision and was detrimental to the development of civic identity among its residents.[32]

Robson's misgivings embraced other Japanese new towns too. Senri New Town in Osaka, developed by the Osaka Prefecture Government and the Japan Housing Corporation, was similar in concept to Tama. It was 'essentially a mammoth housing estate equipped with municipal services and shopping facilities for its residents'. Likewise the Osaka Prefecture Government was planning Senboku New Town on similar lines as 'a large-scale housing estate for commuters'. Robson did see some sense in developing what became Tsukuba Science City, a new town being planned some 40 miles north-west of Tokyo for universities and research institutes relocating from the metropolis.[33]

On the basis of his review of Tama, Robson's main advice to the TMG was a rather chastening one:

> In my opinion the whole financial and political responsibility for constructing new towns should be borne by the central government and administrative responsibility be delegated to a development corporation. But if T. M. G. is to participate in the construction of new towns it should at least have a more significant role which reflects its status as the governing body of the capital city and of the prefecture.[34]

At the same time,

> the lessons of Tama New Town should be learnt thoroughly, and nothing of a similar kind should be accepted or supported in the future.[35]

**Reactions: Japanese idea and approach to new towns**

Robson's forthright views on Tama inevitably attracted attention of the media and were widely reported in the press. Mainichi Shimbun, for instance, typically captured the Robsonian tone with its headline which read 'Tama New Town Misconceived. Housing estates storing up double trouble'. On the other hand, Nihon Keizai Shimbun wondered whether some of his points had much relevance on the future of Tama once it had been planned as a dormitory town.[36] Governor Minobe, who publicly shared Robson's views on the need for greater self-sufficiency, did endeavour to get the TMG to assume the initiative in the planning of Tama.[37]

Robson's review of Tama brought two practical results, one immediate and the other more long-term. Towards the end of 1969, an agreement had been reached between the authorities concerned to set up a Tama New Town development liaison council. The TMG would then take the initiative on the council to coordinate activities in developing the new town.[38] It went some way to meeting Robson's criticism on the lack of unified responsibility. The TMG also took the lead from the early 1970s to develop Tama New Town as part of a cluster of four cities which between them would plan for self-sufficiency with their own shopping, services and industry. Tama in this overall scheme would attract universities and research centres relocating from central Tokyo as well as provide much needed housing in a planned setting.[39]

Despite these developments, the fact remained that Japanese new towns were, on the whole, dormitory towns and were intended and planned as such from the start. What accounts for this outcome? What was divergent about Japanese ideas and approach to town planning?

The publication of Robson's report did not bring about any debate on the nature of Tama New Town by Japanese planners. But it is instructive to return to the course of post-war town planning in Tokyo. Japanese planners looked to Britain for ideas in their effort to relieve problems of population growth and urban congestion. The Capital Region Development Plan modeled on the Greater London Plan was their answer. But from the late 1950s an influential line of thinking emanated from planners of the Building Research Institute at the Ministry of Construction. Led by Tadashi Higasa, they argued that, though ideal, neither





inner city redevelopment nor the building of self-contained satellites, both essential components of metropolitan planning in London, had any chance of success in containing the unprecedented growth of cities in post-war Japan. Instead, they actively promoted the idea of a 'new residential town', well connected to the city centre on which it was dependent for jobs and more sophisticated services.[40] The New Residential Town Development Act of 1963, sponsored by the Ministry of Construction, had the explicit aim of facilitating the building of these planned residential communities. The Japan Housing Corporation, along with large metropolitan authorities, proved to be the main instrument for carrying out this policy. So in the case of Tokyo, the line of reasoning was that the Greater London Plan with its self-contained new towns was an ideal that could not be sustained in the face of rapid urbanisation. Masao Yamada, director of the bureau of planning at the TMG, who was instrumental in abandoning the green belt concept and giving the go-ahead to Tama New Town, expressed it in its most extreme form. For him, the Capital Region Development Plan was an unmitigated disaster because it tied the hands of planning authorities while unplanned building proceeded in the designated green belt areas:

> The green belt proposal in Tokyo is denounced as lacking in an understanding of the potential of growth of the giant city like Tokyo. Even around London where the so-called population pressure is much weaker than in Tokyo, the London conurbation has been growing beyond the green belt ring…
>
> In this sense, it is a tragedy that the planning technique of the Greater London Plan was adopted for the regional plan of Tokyo and its environs…
>
> At any rate, a mere static town planning is quite inefficient and ineffective in dealing with the growing challenges of "exploding city" like Tokyo.[41]

It is still a moot point whether the green belt concept in Japan broke down under the pressure of population growth or because of a lack of legislative support.[42] Asked to comment on the Robson verdict, another senior planning officer of the TMG said:

> The choice is, do you leave the families in Tokyo to rot, whilst you build an ideal new town, or do you find them somewhere reasonable to live and solve what you can at the end.[43]

Robson measured Tama New Town against the British idea of new towns as places of work as well as living and was disappointed by what he saw as a huge dormitory town for commuters. But planners in many countries in the post-war period came to the view that 'the British solution of self-contained new towns was, if not unique, certainly extraordinarily difficult to replicate elsewhere'.[44] In Japan, a conscious decision was taken by planners to build planned suburban residential communities in place of self-contained new towns. This idea influenced the planning of a whole generation of Japanese new towns starting with Senri in Osaka which was began in 1958.[45] We still need to explore whether there were other models or examples informing the work of Japanese planners in their quest to evolve and adapt a new town suited to Japan.

**Notes**

1. See, for example, Ishida, Y. 1987, Nihon kindai toshikeikakushi kenkyu [A Historical Study of Modern Town Planning in Japan], Kashiwa shobo, Tokyo, chs. 8 and 9; Watanabe, Shunichi. 1980, 'Garden city Japanese style: the case of Den-en Toshi Company Ltd., 1918-28', in Shaping an Urban World, ed. G. E. Cherry, Mansell, London, pp. 129-143; Koshizawa, A. 1991, Tokyo no toshikeikaku [Town Planning in Tokyo], Iwanami shoten, Tokyo, chs. 3, 4 and 5.
2. The City Planning Association of Japan was a semi-governmental body set up in 1946, to undertake research and promote good practice in planning, and counted local authorities and their planning officials among its main membership. Iinuma, whose international contacts included F. J. Osborn of the Town and Country Planning Association, was instrumental in hosting the Tokyo Congress of the International Federation for Housing and Planning in 1966. See correspondence between Iinuma and Osborn in, Sir Frederic Osborn Archive, Central Library, Welwyn Garden City [henceforward FOA]: B2 Miscellaneous correspondence I-Iz 1943-1978.
3. Takashi Inouye was another leading figure in post-war Japanese town planning, an ardent advocate of the land readjustment method, whose early visits also led to a long association with Osborn and British town planning. See correspondence between Inouye and Osborn in, FOA: B2 Miscellaneous correspondence I-Iz 1943-1978.
4. 'Igirisu no shintoshi kensetsu' [The Construction of New Towns in England] and '1944nen dairondon keikaku' [Greater London Plan 1944], 1952, Toshikeikaku [Planning Review], no. 1, pp. 40-42.
5. On the course of post-war planning in Tokyo, see Ishida, Nihon kindai toshikeikakushi kenkyu, ch. 11; Ishizuka, H. & Ishida, Y. (eds) 1988, Tokyo: Urban Growth and Planning 1868-1988, Centre for Urban Studies, Tokyo Metropolitan University, Tokyo, pp. 24-35, 54-68; Tokyo Metropolitan

Government (TMG) 1983, City Planning of Tokyo, TMG, Tokyo, passim. For a most detailed and comprehensive account of post-war reconstruction, see chapters dealing with Japan in, Tiratsoo, N., Hasegawa, J., Mason, T. & Matsumura, T. Urban Reconstruction in Britain and Japan, 1945-1955: Dreams, Plans and Realities, (Luton: University of Luton Press, 2002).

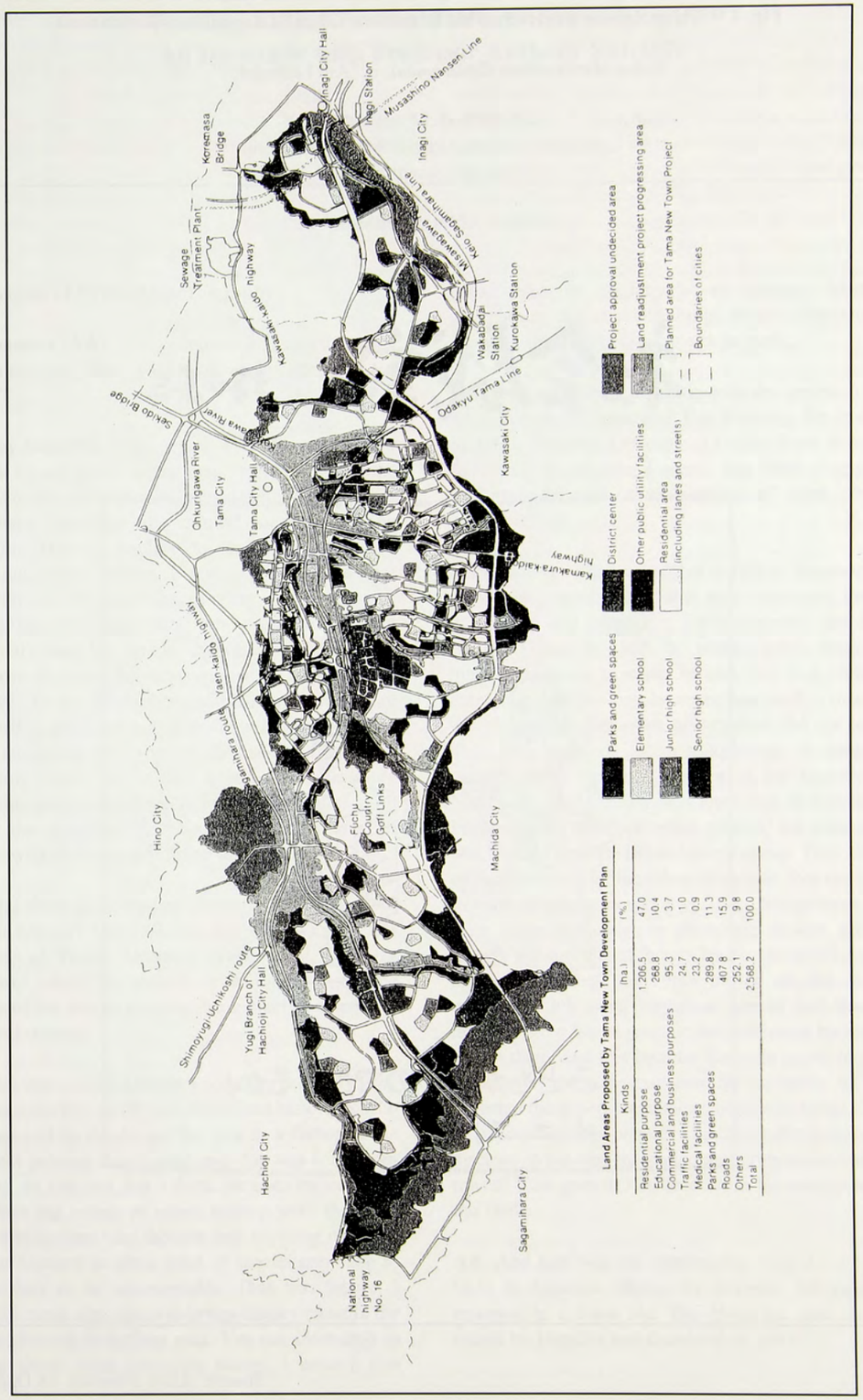
6. Roberts, A. H. 1958, 'Tokyo, 1958', Journal of the Town Planning Institute, vol. 44, no. 9, pp. 254-258; Myles Wright, H. & Yamamoto, K. 1962, 'Towards a Plan for Tokyo', Town and Country Planning, vol. 30, no. 4, pp. 144-150.
7. 'Planning in Tokyo' 1959, Japan Architect, Oct., p. 6.
8. Asahi shimbun, 1 March 1965 and 14 Oct. 1965.
9. The committee included as its leading member, Eika Takayama, professor of city planning at Tokyo University and an influential figure in Japanese post-war planning. At the time, he was also involved in the planning of Kozoji New Town outside Nagoya, Japan's third largest city. Essentially this was another residential satellite, dependent on the central city for jobs and more sophisticated services. See Kozoji nyu taun kaihatsu kihon keikaku [Kozoji New Town Master Plan], 1961, Nihon jutaku kodan, Tokyo. On Japanese new towns in general, see Watanabe, Seiichi. 1973, Nyu taun: Ningen toshi o do kizuku [New Towns: How to Build a Humane City], Nihon keizai shimbunsha, Tokyo.
10. Nihon tosikeikaku gakkai (ed.) 1966, Tama nyu taun kaihatsu keikaku 1965 – holkokusho [Tama New Town Master Plan 1965 – Report], Nihon jutaku kodan shutoken takuchi kaihatsu honbu, Tokyo, passim. The report argued that a substantial population base was required to support a wide range of service provision and the new railway facilities. Hence the relatively high density by European standards of 100 persons per hectare.
    The initial population target was raised to 410,000 in the late 1960s, to provide for a greater number of overspill, but has since been revised downwards to 360,000 owing to changes in economic and social conditions in the 1980s.The population in 1993 was just under 180,000. See also Tokyo Metropolitan Government (TMG) 1995, Tama nyu taun 30 nen no ayumi [Tama New Town. 30 years of Progress], Tokyo to tama toshi seibi honbu, Tokyo, 1995. For a full technical study on the evolution of Tama New Town, see Takahashi, K. 1998, Rengo toshiken no keikakugaku: Nyu taun kaihatsu to koiki renkei [Planning the Interlinking City Region: New Town Development and Regional Cooperation], Kajima shuppankai, Tokyo.
11. See 'Obituary', Times, 15 May 1980; Dictionary of National Biography 1971-1980, 1986, Oxford University Press, Oxford; Hill, C. E. (comp.) 1986, A Bibliography of the Writings of W. A. Robson, London School of Economics and Political Science, London.
12. Robson, W. A. 1952, 'Town Planning as a Problem of Government', Journal of the Town Planning Institute, vol. 38, no. 9, pp. 216-223.
13. See, for example, correspondence between Robson and Osborn in 1938 and 1942 in, FOA: B125, W. A. Robson; Robson, W. A. 1941, The War and the Planning Outlook, Faber and Faber, London, pp. 10-11.
14. Robson, W. A. 1946, 'The Greater London Plan', in Planning and Reconstruction 1946, ed. F. J. Osborn, Todd, London, pp. 152-158. For all his advocacy of new towns in Britain and Japan, however, Robson's heart was in big cities, above all London. In an interview towards the end of his life, he said: 'I love London. I know its history. There are certain things of which as a Londoner I'm very proud of — two things in particular. One is the Barbican development and the other the arts complex on the South Bank — the Festival Hall, National Theatre and National Film Theatre.' See 'Fight central power, says 'father' of public admin', 1979, Local Government Chronicle, No. 5847, 11 May, p. 499.
15. Royama, M. 1956, 'W. A. Robuson no daitoshi mondai no kenkyu ni tsuite' [On W. A. Robson's study of Metropolitan Problems], Toshimondai [Urban Problems], vol. 47, no. 2, pp. 101-107
16. Robson, W. A. (ed.) 1957, Great Cities of the World: Their Government, Politics and Planning, Second Edition, George Allen and Unwin, London.
17. See Tokyo shisei chosakai (ed.) 1982, Tokyo shisei chosakai 60 nen shi [Sixty Years of the Tokyo Institute for Municipal Research], Tokyo shisei chosakai, Tokyo.
18. Nomura, S. 1980, 'Robuson kyoju to Tokyo to' [Professor Robson and Tokyo], Toshimondai, vol. 71, no. 9, pp. 82-83.
19. For instance, Hitoshi Ihara, who went on the programme to study the London new towns and green belt policy in 1959, became chief of administration section in the planning department in the late1960s, and was very much in the front line of assisting Robson in his work on Tokyo. Likewise Shinichi Nomura, who studied local government finance under Robson in 1962, went on to become vice-governor in the 1970s. Both men were responsible for writing the original Japanese draft which became Royama's chapter in Robson's Great Cities of the World. William A. Robson Papers, Archives Division, London School of Economics, London [henceforward WAR]: 23, Tsuji to Robson, 11 Sept. 1961. Kiyoaki Tsuji, professor of public administration at Tokyo University, was another Japanese academic who knew Robson well, having spent some time at the LSE.
20. On both occasions, Robson was accompanied by his wife, Juliette Alvin, an accomplished cellist and a pioneer of music therapy for children with learning difficulties.
21. WAR: 334, Tajima to Robson, 20 Sept. 1965; Robson to Tajima, 14 Oct. 1965; Onogi to Robson, 6 Dec. 1966; Robson to Onogi, 21 Dec. 1966. Michiji Tajima and Katsuhiko Onogi were respectively President and Managing Director of the Tokyo Institute for Municipal Research. It was Tsuji, at the time staying in London, who first suggested the idea of inviting Robson to Tokyo.
22. Minobe served three terms as governor from 1967 to 1979, during which period he was mainly supported by the socialists and the communists on the Tokyo Metropolitan Council. See Mikuriya, T. (ed.) 1994, Tosei no 50 nen [50 Years of Tokyo Government], Toshi shuppan, Tokyo, pp. 57-73, 127-136. Admiration was mutual. Robson writes admirably of Minobe's policy in 'The Other Tokyo', New Society, vol. 15, no. 395, 23 Apr. 1970, pp. 682-684. See also Robson's affectionate letter to Minobe on his retirement as governor in, WAR: 313, Robson to Minobe, 10 Apr. 1979.
23. Robson, W. A. 1968, Report on Tokyo Metropolitan Government, Tokyo Metropolitan Government, Tokyo.
24. See, for example, Tsuji, K. ,'Tosei kochokuka ni kichona teigen' [Invaluable Advice for overcoming the Metropolitan Impasse], Mainichi Shimbun, 17 Dec. 1967; Editorial, Yomiuri Shimbun, 19 Dec. 1967.
25. Asahi Shimbun, Mainichi Shimbun and Yomiuri Shimbun, 17 Dec. 1967.
26. The offer was supported by a Ford Foundation grant. See WAR: 333, Ichinose to Robson, 22 Nov. 1967; Inomata to Robson, 20 Feb. 1968. Tomoji Ichinose and Koichi Inomata were both members of staff at the Graduate School of Public Administration, International Christian University.
27. See, for example, WAR: 333, Onogi to Robson, 3 Oct. 1968; Robson to Onogi, 17 Oct. 1968; Ihara to Robson, 20 Nov. 1968; Minobe to Robson, 30 Nov. 1968. The arrangement was that Robson would devote half of his working time in Japan on research for the TMG.
28. See, for example, Asahi Shimbun (Evening Edition), 31 Jan. 1969; Asahi Shimbun, 16 Feb. 1969 and 6 Mar. 1969; Mainichi Shimbun, 24 Jan. 1969; Yomiuri Shimbun (Tama Edition), 8 Feb. 1969.
29. Robson, W. A. 1969, Second Report on Tokyo Metropolitan Government, Tokyo Metropolitan Government, Tokyo. In addition to new towns, it also dealt with urban renewal and transport problems.
30. Ibid., p. 33.
31. Ibid., p. 35.
32. Ibid., pp. 34-36, 39-41, 43-45.
33. Ibid., pp. 46-50. For these new towns, see, for example, Witherick, M. E. 1972, 'Senri and Senboku two new towns for Osaka', Town and Country Planning, vol. 40, no. 1, pp. 31-35; Allen, L. A. 1983, 'Japan tries the new town path', Town and Country Planning, vol. 52, no. 11, pp. 309-311.
34. Ibid., p. 38.
35. Ibid., p. 43.
36. Mainichi Shimbun and Nihon Keizai Shimbun, 1 Oct. 1969. Also reported in, Asahi Shimbun, 25 Sept. 1969; Yomiuri Shimbun, 1 Oct, 1969.
37. Mainichi Shimbun, 9 Aug. 1969; Nihon Keizai Shimbun, 4 Oct. 1969; WAR: 333, Ihara to Robson, 14 Oct. 1969; Minobe to Robson, 24 Oct. 1969.
38. Asahi Shimbun, 25 Dec. 1969; WAR: Box B6, Ihara to Robson, 29 Jan. 1970.
39. See Nihon chiiki kaihatsu senta/Tokyo shuto seibi kyoku (eds) 1972, Tama renkantoshi kihon keikaku an – gaiyo – [Tama Cluster City Preliminary Plan: A Summary], Tokyo to shuto seibi kyoku, Tokyo; WAR: 423, General Planning Coordination Bureau, Tokyo Metropolitan Government, 'Measures taken by the T. M. G. in response to Professor William A. Robson's "Second Report on Tokyo Metropolitan Government"', 20 Apr. 1973.
40. See Higasa, T. 1958, 'Jutakuchi kaihatsu no mondai to shorai no hoko – Tokyo to oyobi sono shuhen chiiki o rei to shite – ' [Problems and Future Trends in Residential Development: With particular reference to Tokyo and its Environs], Kenchiku Zasshi [Architectural Review], vol. 73, no. 854, pp. 24-29; Higasa, T., Irisawa, H. & Ishiwara, S. 1960, 'Shin jutaku toshi no keikaku kijun ni kansuru kenkyu' [Planning Standard of New Residential Towns], Toshikeikaku, vol. 8, no. 4, pp. 12-29. Tadashi Higasa later became professor of city planning at Tokyo University in the 1960s.
41. FOA: Box H13, folder entitled 'Tokyo 1966', Yamada, M., 'The Planning for the Tokyo Metropolitan Region', paper given at the 28th World Congress of the International Federation of

Housing and Planning (Tokyo), 10 May, 1966, pp. 17-18.

42. See Sandai toshiken seisaku keiseishi henshu iinkai (ed.) 2000, Sandai toshiken seisaku keiseishi: Shogen shutoken kinkiken chubuken [Planning the Three Major City Regions: Oral Testimony; Tokyo, Kinki and Chubu Metropolitan Regions], Gyosei, Tokyo, pp. 242-287.
43. 'Tama 'nyu taun' no namae o torikesu mukeikaku' [Tama New Town: A Misno mer and Lacking in Plan], 1969, Shukan Shincho [Shincho Weekly], no. 42, 18 Oct., p. 37.
44. Ward, S. V. 2002, Planning the Twentieth-Century City: The Advanced Capitalist World, John Wiley, Chichester, West Sussex, p. 205.
45. See Katayose, T. 1981, Jikken toshi: Senri nyu taun wa ikani tsukuraretaka [Experimental City: How Senri New Town was Built], Shakai shiso sha, Tokyo.








**Land Areas Proposed by Tama New Town Development Plan**

| Kinds | (ha) | (%) |
|---|---|---|
| Residential purpose | 1,206.5 | 47.0 |
| Educational purpose | 268.8 | 10.4 |
| Commercial and business purposes | 95.3 | 3.7 |
| Traffic facilities | 24.7 | 1.0 |
| Medical facilities | 23.2 | 0.9 |
| Parks and green spaces | 289.8 | 11.3 |
| Roads | 407.8 | 15.9 |
| Others | 252.1 | 9.8 |
| Total | 2,568.2 | 100.0 |

**Fig. 1 The Basic Conception of Tama New Town**

Source: Tokyo Metropolitan Government, 1983, *City Planning of Tokyo*, TMG, Tokyo, p. 124

**Fig. 2 William Robson presenting his Report on Tokyo Metropolitan Government**

*Tokyo Metropolitan Government:* "Am I obsolete?"

*Robson:* "Yes"


Source: *Asahi Shimbun*, 18 Dec. 1967





# Framing Latin America's Urban Historiography
## An Interview with Professor Anthony Sutcliffe[1]

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**To Anthony Sutcliffe, mentor**

### The Origins of Urban Historiography

**A. Almandoz (AA):** Was economic and social history the mainstream from which urban history grew in Britain?

**Anthony Sutcliffe (AS)**: Yes, it was. What happened was that a great leader in this area, Professor H.J. Dyos, started in the early 60s to bring together colleagues who were attending the annual meeting of the Economic History Society to spend a few hours discussing urban history. Elsewhere, we found that there were already historians, of whom Asa Briggs was perhaps the most important, who were working on individual towns, but the idea that organisation become a process is what the economic historians brought forward. On the whole the political historians were interested in points at which towns influenced history or in biographies of towns, so they selected the most interesting towns just as they would select the more interesting people about whom to write biographies. So it was the economic historians with their idea of process who really started urban history in the 1960s.

**AA:** Was there any criticism about the emerging field of urban history? And I ask you this while thinking, for instance, of Philip Abrams's position in *Towns in Societies*,[2] where he seemed to call into doubt the validity of the city to become the subject of a specific historical domain.

**AS**: This was indeed Abrams's position. But you know, ever since the 60s up till now we've had historians who said that just to single out the city as a factor in the historical process is not valid and this was true about Abrams, as you say, but I think he contributed a lot. The other big critics of urban history were the great mass of historians who thought that anything new that was put forward as some kind of special approach to history, had to be unacceptable. That was where, I think, the main opposition to urban history came in the 60s. Traditional historians said: I'm not interested in hearing about cities changing things, I believe that great men or social classes change things or government has changed things or administration has changed things, but not the city as such.

**AA**: How was the relationship with the approach based on architectural variables? I'm thinking, for instance, of A.E.J. Morris's *A History of Urban Form Before the Industrial Revolution*. I mean, this kind of approach was more focused on the patterns of cities, physical typologies, etc.

**AS**: You have to remember that in British historiography there was a strong emphasis on cooperation between disciplines and when Jim Dyos launched the Urban History Group in 1963, he wanted other disciplines' interest in towns to come in and join in a combined enterprise. Morphology, however, was really a matter for the geographer. But most geographers did not join in. There was work on urban morphology in geography carried on by Professor Conzen, at the University of Newcastle, and Conzen was interested in fortification lines and their effect on urban growth,[3] but none of this was brought into the urban history group. They did this on their own. As for the urban historians, they did not try to work on urban morphology, or on architecture. They were more interested in economic factors affecting growth and any social factors leading to conflict within the towns. And as the 1960s moved on, the growing number of left wing historians argued that the main interest of the towns was for the revolution building up within them, and this became the main social tendency along with the economic one. So the study of towns reflected the general tendencies of British social history. How poor were the people? Did they suffer greatly from disease? What was the police and army contribution to towns? This growth left little room for morphology in the 1960s.

**AA**: And how was the relationship with the emerging field in America, taking for example the panorama reported in a book like *The Historian and the City*, edited by Handlin and Burchard in 1963.[4]

**AS**: The Americans had established a school of urban sociology in Chicago between about 1900 and 1925, and this school of sociologists was very interested in history because they wanted to know why places like Chicago had grown up. There was also a strong school of urban biography. This was a locally induced thing: citizens wanted a history of their town. American urban history carried on quite independently of the British school, until Dyos started inviting some of these people over to England. Handlin is a fine example of this, and his work on immigration was much respected in Britain. Dyos at that time saw the international cooperation mainly in terms of cooperation with the Americans, but this was almost entirely because he could only speak English and he couldn't even read the work produced on the continent of Europe and in South America or anywhere else. So he used to lean towards these American historians. The Americans could obtain big resources to study cities and in the 60s and 70s they had a number of big projects like the Philadelphia Socialist History Project, which was an early computerised project. It eventually failed because they couldn't computerise all the history of Philadelphia. So that fell away in the late 1970s and urban history did less well in the States after that except that a number of new people set up the *Journal of Urban History* in the late 70s, and this has been going very well ever since. It has a good circulation. But like many journals of urban history, it includes a lot of things that you and I would not really think of being urban history. They are social history, really. But I should also say that the (American) Urban History Association was revived in the 1990s.

**AA**: Was there any influence in Britain from the urbanists' approach, namely the organicism and evolutionism epitomized in the works by Gaston Bardet, Marcel Poëte or Patrick Geddes?

**AS**: British interest in theory, especially that generated by foreigners, is very limited. Bardet and Poëte were never translated into English.

**AA**: But Geddes wrote in English…

**AS**: Yes, but he was not a historian. He's only influential in the sense that he was very interested, as you say, in organic forms, but British economic historians are not interested in organic processes, they want the market, land values, migration, investment, and so on. Geddes has had little attention by historians, apart from the work of Hellen Meller.[5] I'm not saying that culturalism in England had not recognised Geddes as a very important influence, but the urban historians cannot handle that. And Geddes is Scottish. Poëte was a French writer, who never wrote about England.

**Urban History and Planning History**

**AA**: I would like to talk now about the distinction between urban history and planning history. Do you think that the latter is a sort of urban history with an emphasis on physical form, as you suggested in a 1981 interview with Stave.[6]

**AS**: These definitions and distinctions are very difficult. Let me tell you a story about Jim Dyos again. I once said to him: 'The trouble with you, Jim, is that you think everything is urban history; and he said: 'So it is'. I went on: 'Do you think the history of agriculture is urban history?'; and he said: 'Of course it is, because that is the food supply for the city'. Now, this imperialistic attitude can damage your scholarly credibility, but we've never been able to find an accepted definition of urban.

So, is planning history, a part of urban history? Well, I would say that both of them are part of History and I would say we've gone too far in splitting up history into these different compartments, because people are constantly arguing for their own area. When I was a student at Oxford, I learnt that the historian could study anything using his comprehensive historical training. This would mean that planning was simply one more historical field. And the same would be true of urban history, of course. To claim to be a distinct 'history' you need a distinct theory and methodology, and neither planning history nor urban history have them. Instead, they continue almost entirely on empirical lines. I'm beginning to feel that we would be better off if we were just historians. As you know, I have always preferred to speak of 'history of planning', rather than 'planning history'.

**AA**: Do you think that planning history, or history of planning, as you have just said, has been more influenced by architectural history?

**AS**: Yes, but in Britain less than other countries. It is mainly about assigning functions to land and adjusting the structure of the city. Planning, in my opinion, is essentially a question of public control of land. So private land developments are not regarded as planning – that is 'development'.

**AA**: When I posed the question I was thinking of key figures in the field outside Britain, such as Leonardo Benevolo and Paolo Sica in Italy, or Françoise Choay





in France.[7] They seem to have contributed, from the 1960s, to define the field of planning history as a neighbouring area of the history of architecture.

**AS**: Their work is very important and even essential. In Britain we have not studied architecture as part of planning history. When Jeremy Whitehand,[8] who is a historical geographer at Birmingham, set up his urban morphology group, he invited the Italian morphologists to his meetings. They stressed that they were interested in three-dimensional urban morphology, including architecture, and it took some time for Whitehand to find common ground with them. Personally, I think it's very important to include architecture in the study of planning and cities. That is partly why I'm writing a book on architecture now.[9]

**AA**: What do you think of today's urban history panorama in Britain?

**AS**: I don't know what it is. I look at the programmes of the meetings for the (British) Urban History Group – which Dyos and I successfully chaired from 1963 to 1985 – and I don't know what on earth they do. It seems that anybody can give a paper there, on any topic. There's no focus at all. I don't think it's in a very good phase at the moment, though it should be said that the best efforts of British urban historians now seem to be devoted to the European Association of Urban Historians.

**AA**: So, in the end, you feel that the history of planning has been more focused than urban history has.

**AS**: Urban history is very little different from social history. Above all, urban historians lack clear definitions of 'town', 'city', 'urban', and 'urbanisation'. So I think that they have distributed themselves too widely. Planning history concentrates on the public control of private land – it is much more precise. However, planning history, with its big, broad international conferences, may be going the same way as urban history. But I begin to realize that all this justification is mainly advocacy – in a few years we shall employ lawyers to do it!

**AA**: But if one looks at that in terms of, let us say, current organisations or institutions that received that legacy from the 1960s and 1970s, it seems that the International Planning History Society (IPHS) is very healthy in terms of the kind of events they organise and the kind of people they can gather. At the same time, the Centre for Urban History (CUH) and the European Association for Urban Historians (EAUH), they have nowadays a lot of success in the international context, or in the European one at least. Although you think they are not focused, they have contributed to the international structure of urban and planning history.

**AS**: Yes, but I think that we are getting obsessed by numbers of papers (whatever their subject and quality), exotic destinations, and Power Points. It is the new '747 history' – 'Let's discuss it at the airport!' We should remember that the future lies with young students. Dyos, Gordon Cherry and I understood this in the 1970s. Now it is: 'I hope to prepare a few words on the plane'.

**AA**: I think you are very keen on the possibility that Latin America and other regions of the world could be incorporated into this planning history movement. So, you have to sort of reconcile these international events with national ones within the same organisations.

**AS**: A national programme is more likely to attract students and young researchers. Yes, I like the idea of international conferences, but I know from experience that you cannot get them planned in two years. I would favour three years or even four years between each international conference. And we must remember that scholarly journals are a world network for the exchange of knowledge. Yes, I would be in favour of more national meetings for the reason I said earlier. When he started the Urban History Group, Jim Dyos made big efforts to get students in. He said: 'Write to me and tell me what you're doing and you can come to the annual conference and it won't cost you anything'.

**Latin America's Urban Historiography**

**AA**: Well, now that we've talked about Latin America, something I currently try to do is to frame the emergence of the urban historiography in the region, within the international context, because there must be some influences. If we talk about urban history in Latin America, the first reference is Jorge Hardoy.[10] How did you meet him?

**AS**: I met him first in America at one of the American planning conferences and then he asked me to Buenos Aires, after they had recovered from Galtieri He was always a great academic leader and he'd suffered under 'the generals'. He organised a big conference in Buenos Aires to celebrate that he and free Argentine scholarship were back in action. I saw him as a towering figure in Latin America in both planning and urban history and I think that everyone would say that, who knew him or knew his work. He was a generous

and creative man, who was much loved – and not only in Latin America.

**AA**: Were you in contact with other urban historians in Latin America apart from Hardoy. Have you met any others?

**AS**: There were some who wanted to submit articles to *Planning Perspectives*, about five or six I've been in touch with, but this was all done by mail. I did meet many of them of course at Buenos Aires. From what I've seen from South America – you might confirm this – what comes to me is often derived from the *Leyes de las Indias* tradition. Of course, work on plans and layout is extremely interesting. I've published in *Planning Perspectives* two or three articles by South American authors and I'm prepared to translate more, if necessary, to get them in. And I can tell you, when I was editor if I got an e-mail from South America saying: 'I'd like to do a paper. What do you think?' I'd reply immediately, saying: 'Yes, please develop this. Let me know'. Because it's a big area, a big continent. I hope that the 2004 conference in Barcelona will make the whole world aware of the importance of Latin America for the history of urban planning. It is much more than 'Le Corbusier came here and gave some lectures'.

**AA**: I think that, to some extent, that relative absence also affects Spain, since it is partly caused by the language. Spain nowadays is in a different position, because it is in the European Union, but at the same time belongs to the Spanish-speaking world, which has its own agenda. With all our urban historians and planning historians, it's like there was a gap between the two worlds, I mean the English and the Spanish-speaking.

**AS**: Yes, but once the papers arrived with me at *Planning Perspectives*, I could almost find a place for them. I never thought: 'Oh, this is in a different world, its not addressing our issues'. I could make good use of a Latin American article because it showed there is a very different approach in Latin America.

**AA**: How do you see the future of Latin America in an organisation such as the IPHS? I mean, there isn't really a great participation in terms of members from Latin America there, not even from Spain.

**AS**: No. Nevertheless, I would assert that to stimulate study you should begin on a Latin basis. There s no need to say: 'We must follow the European and American example because we are so retarded'. Spanish and Portuguese are great world cultural languages. Remember that Europe speaks about twenty languages. Your Iberian heritage gives you a unique basis for cooperation and communication. But you are doing things in South America aren't you, Arturo, to bring people together?

**AA**: Yes, I think that, to some extent, that is my role…

**AS**: I see you as the successor of Hardoy, and I've told you this. I know you're very modest about this, but he did get people together and it really worked when he got them together. I see you in the same role, in the first three decades of the new century.

**Urban Cultural History**

**AA**:. Finally, I would like to talk about the domain or the new field of so-called urban cultural history.[11] How would you characterise that field, if that's possible? My impression is that it was anticipated in a book such as *Metropolis, 1890-1940*.[12]

**AS**: No it wasn't anticipated there. I think your 'urban culture' was something that we had really not yet reached and I would be all in favour of it. I'm not too sure though whether an input from cultural studies, which is something rather different, is going to help the study of towns, because this highly theoretical area tends to be really very undisciplined and personal. But we can certainly try and develop much more on, let us say, the culture of Paris in the nineteenth century, and real work has been done there, including by yourself. You go to the writers and poets, like Baudelaire, and you can apply some of that in South America because of the French influence there.[13] Well, I think that this approach to culture, which is about flâneur-people, usually of some education, seeing things in the city that other people don't. That's fine, and certainly part of history. But cultural studies, which come out of literature and 'critical theory', not out of history, can rather confuse us. I wouldn't be happy about seeing things in the city that really weren't there unless imagined by the author. But the cultural idea that you have pursued – and I've read this in two or three pieces of your work[14] – is very valuable because it helps you to get to the experience of the city. Most of those urban historians in Britain which you mentioned back in the 60s, weren't working on experience. They wanted objective facts, and especially statistics. Clearly experience of cities is something we really need to get at. I was coming into Pittsburgh on the train one night a year or two ago. It was two o'clock in the morning and suddenly you could see the illuminated skyscrapers of Pittsburgh reflecting across the water. I will never forget this beautiful but unexpected sight. But how can you convey this in history?





**AA**: I think for conveying these kinds of images you have to make use of urban discourses different from the specialized ones, such as literature, which is a creative discourse, as well as art. This exploration is what you do with cinema as well... To me, this was a revelation in that chapter of Henri Lefebvre's *La révolution urbaine* (1970),[15] where he speaks about the sort of pre-eminence of the artistic discourses over the technical ones. I mean it is clear you must leave the specialized domain of the urban, if you want to enrich the whole scope with other ingredients...
OK, finally I wanted to know about your interest in cinema about the city, which is a way of representation. Would you call it an urban cultural history?

**AS**: I use the cinema for the city, first of all to take me back in time and to enjoy an experience of the lost city. The cinema does this better than any other medium. So you have an important source for urban study from the 1920s onwards. Students love to share in this experience, once you have explained why you are showing these strange old films. I often tell them that the film is pure historical experience, as though they were transported to the past. The other thing I do is the portrayal of cities, where the film director presents a picture of the city in feature films. It's usually enhanced I must say, by directorial techniques, so it is not an objective document. But is our own vision of the city objective? The feature films' varied interpretations can help us evaluate our own view of the city. Once they understand the potential of film, they don't say: 'Oh it's a silly old black-and-white film. We'll go back to taking notes from the book'. They say, 'Yes, I have been to New York in 1939'. Surely this is a type of *historical* understanding that we want to to encourage in our students.

**AA**: Thanks very much indeed.

**Notes**

1 This interview was conceived as a part of my current post-doctoral research "On Latin America's Urban Historiography, 1960-2000. An Epistemological and International Approach", Centro de Investigaciones Postdoctorales (CIPOST), Central University of Venezuela, Caracas. The interview took place in Nottingham, on 9 July 2002. I want to thank Professor Rubena St. Louis of the Modern Languages Department, Simón Bolívar University, Caracas, for transcribing the tape into the first version of this text. This version was revised by Professor Sutcliffe during the VII Seminário de Historia da Cidade e do Urbanismo, Salvador de Bahía, Brazil, 15-18 October 2002, in which we were guest speakers.

2 See Philip Abrams, 'Introduction' and 'Towns and Economic Growth: Some Theories and Problems', in Philip Abrams and E.A. Wrigley (eds.), *Towns in Societies. Essays in Economic History and Historical Sociology* (1978). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979, pp. 1-7, 9-33, pp. 2, 15, 31. The professor of sociology called into question the mystification of the city as an autonomous and 'unitary social object', claiming for its theoretical reunification with the 'larger social context' and the 'complex of domination' of wider political scope, basing the latter on Max Weber's analysis

3 M.R.G. Conzen, 'The Morphology of Towns in Britain during the Industrial Era', in J.W.R. Whitehand, *The Urban Landscape: Historical Development and Management: Papers by M.R.G. Conzen*. London: Academic, 1981. For identifying the works of some British authors, I have consulted two reference books: Anthony Sutcilffe, *The History of Modern Town Planning: a Bibliographical Guide*. Birmingham: Centre for Urban and Regional Studies, University of Birmingham, 1977; Richard Rodger, *A Consolidated Bibliography of Urban History*. Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996

4 Oscar Handlin and John Burchard (eds.) *The Historian and the City* (1963). Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1967

5 Hellen Meller, 'Patrick Geddes: An Analysis of his Theory of Civics 1890-1904', *Victorian Studies*, 16, 1973, pp. 291-316. Helen Meller, *Patrick Geddes: Social Evolutionist and City Planner*. London: Routledge, 1990.

6 Bruce M. Stave, 'A Conversation with Anthony R. Sutcliffe. Urban History in Britain', *Journal of Urban History*, **7** (3), 1981, pp. 335-379, 373

7 See for instance Leonardo Benevolo, *Le origini dell'urbanistica moderna* (1963). Bari: Laterza, 1989; see also *Storia della città*. Roma: Laterza, 1975. Paolo Sica, *Storia dell'urbanistica*. Bari: Laterza, 1976-8, 3 vols. Françoise Choay, *L'urbanisme, utopies et réalités*. Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1965;*The Modern City: Planning in the 19th Century*, trans. M. Hugo, G.R. Collins. London: Studio Vista, 1969.

8 J.W.R, Whitehand (ed.) *Urban Landscape: Historical Development and Management*. London: Academic. 1981; 'The Basis for an Historico-Geographical Theory of Urban Form'. *Institute of British Geographers Transactions*, 2,

1977, pp. 400-416; 'Urban Historical Geography, or Scholars and Social Scientists'. *Area*, 6, 1974, pp. 254-256

9 Sutcliffe is currently working on an architectural history of London. He has already published *Paris: An Architectural History*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993, which was awarded a Best Book prize by the American Association of Publishers.

10 Jorge Hardoy was an Argentine urban historian, who died in the early 1990s. His works published in English include *Pre-Columbian Cities*. New York: Walker and Company, 1973; Jorge E. Hardoy (ed.), *Urbanization in Latin America: Approaches and Issues*. New York: Anchor Books, 1975; J.E. Hardoy and Richard M. Morse (eds.) *Rethinking the Latin American City*. Washington: The Woodrow Wilson Center, The John Hopkins University Press, 1990

11 I have tried to approach the subject in 'Comments on Urban Cultural History. A Latin American Perspective', *Urban Perspectives* (in press)

12 Anthony Sutcliffe (ed.), *Metropolis, 1890-1940*. London: Mansell, 1984

13 Arturo Almandoz, *Ciudad y literatura en la primera industrialización*. Caracas: Fundarte, 1993

14 Arturo Almandoz, *Ensayos de cultura urbana*. Caracas: Fundarte, 2000. Arturo Almandoz, 'Longing for Paris. The European-oriented dream of Caracas urbanism (1870s-1930s)', *Planning Perspectives*, **14** (3), 1999, pp. 225-48

15 The chapter is called 'Mythes de l'urbaine et idéologies', in Henri Lefebvre, *La révolution urbaine* (1970). Paris: Gallimard, 1979, pp. 139-54





# The British historian's contribution to the understanding of urban and regional planning

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History is probably the biggest area of scientific knowledge in Britain. In the early summer of 2002, Professor David Cannadine, Director of the Institute of Historical Research, University of London, told the nation on the radio that more British people were studying history than ever before. This was mainly because the number of students on history courses at university had increased, but he could also have referred to the impressive number of expensively produced television programmes devoted to historical topics, such as Simon Schama's multi-part History of England in 2001.

Meanwhile, heritage sites like the Tower of London attract growing numbers of visitors and more and more guides to historic buildings and sites are published or revised. With a continuous history of 2000 years, and an equally venerable building heritage, Britain enjoys a rich historical tradition which sustains a wide range of research. All this has made history a valued university discipline since the eighteenth century and historians are respected figures in Britain. They and their writings are not associated with major changes of regime or periods of national failure or controversy. Their judgements are rarely doubted. Most historians come from the middle and upper classes and they paint a picture of national progress and success, together with a gradual improvement in popular well-being. With Britain's emergence by 1900 as the world's first fully urbanised nation, and a pioneer of urban and regional planning (if not the founder of modern planning), it is not surprising that many British historians have been attracted to the history of towns, cities, and urbanisation ('urban history'), and to the history of urban and regional planning ('planning history').

Historians in many parts of the world, including South America, see the city as a dynamic or even disruptive force for change, a seat of conflict and new ideologies, a spatial system for the exchange of ideas, or as the locus of cultural creation or reinforcement. British urban and planning historians, on the other hand, have generally conformed to the 'progressive-national tradition' which marks most British historiography.

The cities form part of a national society and change slowly in the context of a progressive equilibrium. Contrasts between town and country, and conflicts of interest between them, are not greatly emphasised. In the study of planning history, influences and contributions from outside Britain are not prominent (but see Sutcliffe 1981 and Harrison 1981). Little attempt is made to develop theory, except by historical geographers who in any case see themselves More as geographers than historians (but see Taylor 1999; Ward 1999; Vigar 2001). Imported theory of neo-marxist, phenomenological or culturalist origins was gaining a degree of respect by the 1970s but since then it has faded under the influence of Britain's tougher economic and political climate. Narrative exposition – 'stories', as they are sometimes called these days – is much more common than analysis, and this approach stimulates an awareness of progress among the educated public. On the other hand, British planning historians have a strong Sense of place and are aware of the physical manifestations of cities and the spatial and physical aspects of plans.

Most of the British historians who are interested in towns, cities and planning fall into two self-aware groups. The urban historians, for their part, first started to meet in 1963 under the chairmanship of H.J.Dyos, an economic historian at the University of Leicester. The planning historians' activities, on the other hand, date from 1974 under the chairmanship of Gordon Cherry, a professor of planning at the University of Birmingham. These developments reflected the distinctively English enthusiasm for scholarly meetings which the small size of the country, and the absence of major political or personal divisions among the historians, makes possible.

To avoid excessive generalisation, I shall identify seven areas in which British historians have added to our understanding of cities and planning:

1. 'organic' growth
2. workers' housing in early industrialisation
3. early suburbs
4. origins of urban planning
5. planning myths
6. international diffusion of planning
7. 'planning disasters'

**1. Organic growth**

Until the 1980s students of towns and town planning used to make a fairly simple distinction between 'planned' towns and the natural or evolutionary growth of towns (organic growth). This distinction was fundamental to the training of town planners who were led to believe that planning involved the creation of a physical order determined by rational principles and the latest scientific knowledge. Geographers, meanwhile, worked steadily on the processes involved in 'organic' growth, drawing partly on their general notions of environmental change.

This simple antithesis was undermined by new concepts of urban planning which began to circulate in the 1980s. Planning ceased to be seen as mainly the authoritarian or technocratic imposition of physical order on the environment. Instead, it became one somewhat diffuse element in a process or series of processes of urban change. This new perception coincided with a growing lack of confidence in the post-1909 style of planning which had centred on 'planmaking'. Meanwhile, the geographers – and especially those interested in the new field of 'urban morphology' – were reviewing the whole concept of 'organic growth' by conducting street plan and site plan analysis of medieval, mainly English towns ( Whitehand 1987 1-10). They pointed to groups of sites, and streets, which were laid out by landowners such as bishops or abbots in order to increase their revenue. Some of these layouts, as at Salisbury, were based on a grid plan, or at any rate they generated a clear pattern of streets and sites. The street plans of some of these areas were distorted by the passage of time, but once the geographers had begun to detect them, they came to be recognised as a widespread phenomenon, though disagreements persisted between scholars who insisted on finding documentary evidence, and those who relied on 'reading' a plan and on physical survivals (see e.g. Lilley 2001). Some geographers have gone on to suggest that the creation of small groups of sites or even individual sites requires 'planning'. There was a danger that the 'garden gnome' definition of planning – 'choosing a site for your garden gnome is a significant planning decision' – would come into play here, but the urban morphologists have clearly asked some important questions of the old 'organic' school.

This review of 'organic growth' and 'planning' has coincided with the great surge of the British urban conservation movement since the 1970s, and the growth of 'post-modern' concepts and practice in urban design. Winding streets and small sites are now often valued, both in surviving parts of old towns, and in the layout and design of new ones. Historical study of the fabric of older towns helps in the formulation of conservation policy, and in the design of new, conforming structures. Historians help the planners to understand the economic and social factors which helped create the old townscapes. Participation and consultation become easier because the issues relate to established townscapes or well-known buildings. Historians involved in these new tasks value their responsibilities, while planning students cannot ignore the work of the historians. With conservation and rehabilitation admired by all social classes throughout Britain, and pursued even by individual house owners, the historian can be proud of his skills.

**2. Workers' housing in early industrialisation**

British urban history was launched by economic historians and workers' housing became a major topic of study from the 1960s. The distinctive English type, back-to-back housing (1780-1900), attracted much research.

Scottish tenement housing was less studied until the 1990s, reflecting the more limited development of Scottish urban history. However, both types showed how mass housing demand from people living at subsistence level tended to produce a standard housing type, notwithstanding differences of tenure and even of building regulations. This standardisation under market conditions anticipated a much later standardisation in an era of public housing. Historians were generally divided between those who thought that early housing and supply were inadequate, and those who saw it as part of liberal-nationalist progress. The improved housing prompted by building regulations after about 1870 has been less studied (but see Daunton 1983).

**3. Early suburbs**

Thanks to the early leadership of H.J.Dyos, English urban historians were fascinated by the growth of suburbs between about 1840 and 1900. They saw it as





mainly a middle- and upper-class phenomenon. No agreed definition of 'suburb' ever emerged, but this lack of precision was typical of British urban history. As suburbs represented peripheral growth, geographers were very interested and dozens of theses appeared on the this theme, many of theme drawing on Chicago School theory. The geographers tried harder to develop definitions, in order to allow scientific comparisons between cities. On the whole, however, they added little to the understanding or urban growth or of the structure of urban society. Recently, however, the urban morphologists led by Jeremy Whitehand, following on from Whitehand's earlier work on 'fringe belts' have shown how plots have influenced the built form, and how builders and developers have created suburban environments (Whitehand and Carr 1999).

**4. Origins of urban planning**

British urban planning was derived mainly from the suburban layouts generated by Victorian prosperity, public health policy, and institutions of public order (see Edwards 1981; Gaskell 1981; Miller and Gray 1992). Additionally, Ebenezer Howard's Garden City idea – initially an anti-urban concept – helped promote planning theory and practice. The idea of the comprehensive planning of towns and cities was largely an import from Germany which matured under the advocacy of John Nettlefold, a Birmingham city councillor, from about 1905 (Sutcliffe 1988). City-centre planning and monumental design were not an important feature of British planning because of the weakness or absence of statutory powers allowing intervention in established urban environments (except in the case of slum housing for which powers had been accumulated since the middle of the nineteenth century).

British historians have always tended to base their idea of urban planning around the concept of 'statutory planning' (see e.g. Ward 1994). This means intervening in the environment on the basis of powers derived from national legislation. This fitted the British case where the Housing, Town Planning, Etc Act of 1909 (see Sutcliffe 1988 294-9) inaugurated a long series of planning Acts which gave planning powers to local authorities or – as in the case of the New Towns Act, 1946 – created national planning programmes. Previous controls, such as the building and health regulations which proliferated in the nineteenth century – often as a result of local initiative – were seen by historians as leading towards the 1909 Act without in themselves being planning (see esp. Ashworth 1968). Non-statutory planning, of which Howard's Garden Cities (1898-) were the most ambitious example, are generally incorporated gradually by historians into the development of statutory planning, with the New Towns Act often seen as the final incorporation of the Garden City idea into statutory planning (see Hardy 1991a and 1991b). Voluntary, 'utopian' communities, which flourished in the nineteenth century and are portrayed by specialist historians as harbingers of a new society (see e.g. Bell 1969, Darley, 1975; Hardy 1979 ) are often seen by planning historians as leading toward the Garden City movement, and therefore towards incorporation in the State planning system. The same was true of factory villages, which multiplied outside the towns from the 1750s, and which often included advanced features such as rational street plans. Histories of planning seen from the perspective of urban design also tend to emphasise the period of statutory planning. Morris 1997, a book based on survey lectures at the University of Edinburgh, is a recent example. Order and progress – at least in the long run – are assumed. Anarchic development, praised by some authors in a historical context from the 1970s (see e.g. Hardy and Ward 1984), was never allowed to flourish in practice, though the 'community architecture' movement of the 1980s, an ostensibly 'grass-roots' phenomenon, had some impact on the layout and design of public housing (Morris 1997 209-11).

There has been some interest in urban planning as a profession (e.g. Hawtree 1981) but this has not extended far beyond the Royal Town Planning Institute and the State and local government employees engendered by statutory planning (e.g. Cherry 1974). However, British historians have written a number of biographies of planning pioneers. These stress the experimental nature of early planning, and in summarising much pioneer advocacy they bring some of the key principles of urban planning to the fore more clearly than in the 'statutory' accounts, which often assume that the case for planning does not need to be made (e.g. Cherry 1981; Simpson 1985 (Thomas Adams); Meller 1990, Welter and Lawson 2000 (Patrick Geddes); Miller 1992 (Raymond Unwin); Cherry and Penny 1986; (W.G.Holford).

This linear interpretation (see e.g. Cherry 1974, 1982, 1988) has come under pressure since the 1970s, when liberal-socialistic assumptions about the value and practicality of urban planning came under attack in a new economic and ideological climate. At first, most of this new wave of thinking was derived from the oil shock of 1973, when confident assumptions about the

growth that had previously underlain planning could no longer be made. Gradually, however, slow economic growth and the ideal of conservation generated new concepts of the urban environment which stressed humanity, participation, and history (see e.g. Ward 1994, 188-259; Cherry 1996, 169-210). This debate, which is still continuing, brought the established, linear history of planning into question. Non-statutory initiatives, such as nineteenth-century estate development in the West End of London, private architectural schemes, and the 'anarchic' Docklands development were now often acknowledged as planning, and the definitions of planning which historians would accept – insofar as they, as British empiricists, had ever been interested in definitions – broadened and splintered. The rise of that unique post-modernist pursuit, cultural studies, with its preoccupation with the urban experience, further called into question the rationality of planning.

For all this, statutory urban planning survived in Britain. Although the Thatcher era appeared at first to threaten its complete destruction, all the major institutions and practices, and most of the ideology, were left in place. This was because British planning protected property values and provided a secure context for development , just as planning always has (see Meller 1997). As Barry Cullingworth put it a few years ago, 'there has been no fundamental change since the inception of the system' (with the sole exception of the repeal of the compensation and betterment provisions of the 1947 Act) (Cullingworth 1991 277). So the role of the planning historian has also survived.

**5. Planning myths**

Myth and history are, in theory, very different, but much British planning history – especially as taught to trainee planners and related students – includes myth. The biggest and most pervasive myth is that Britain invented urban and regional planning in about 1900 and went on to be a leader and example into the 1970s, when growing confusion worldwide about the nature and goals of planning undermined the linear approach so favoured in Britain. The acknowledged importance of the statutory basis of British planning meant that planning students spent the early days of their courses learning long lists of Acts of Parliament. This process of accumulation allowed nineteenth-century interventions in the environment , many of them local or voluntary, to be built in to what became a long historical process. Given that Britain became the world's most advanced industrialising – and therefore urbanising – nation from about 1750, and by 1900 headed the world's biggest empire – nearly one-quarter of the world's land surface according to some calculations – this national perspective on planning was perhaps not surprising.

Students of British planning were also told that much of the rest of the world had followed the British example. This claim certainly applied to the rest of the Empire, where the origins of planning can be dated back to about 1850. It did not apply, however, to Europe, the US, Central and South America, and the advanced parts of Asia. Planning in these regions, which often had followed a very distinctive course – beginning in many cases long before 1900 – was little known in Britain. Students learned about the medieval bastides in south-western France, Haussmann (who was dismissed as 'not a real planner'), American grid plans (dismissed as 'crude' and 'not real planning'). Even these few foreign examples were often used to demonstrate how superior British planning was.

Some British innovations, such as 'development control', which sprang from the application or pre-application of development plans under the founding Act of 1909, were a valuable reality as well as myth (see Booth 1999). Others were concepts which were not fully applied but which built up a mythical status as applied planning fell short of the ideal. The best known of these was the Garden City and its statutory successor, the New Town.

The planning of a completely new urban settlement, as at Brasilia and Chandigarh, is often accepted as a persuasive example of planning at work. Although the post-1946 New Towns differed in many respects from Ebenezer Howard's Garden City concept of 1898, and from the two examples built under Howard's guidance, Letchworth (1902-) and Welwyn Garden City (1919-) (see e.g. Miller 1989), there was enough continuity to allow observers of British planning to detect a powerful, independent planning tradition within the national urban and regional planning structure.

After 1946, the Garden City/New Town became very much an 'icon' of British planning showing, more clearly perhaps than any other feature, how Britain had led the world. Other countries were derided for adopting the term 'Garden City' but failing to build completely independent settlements on the lines preached by Howard. However, a growing body of historical work has shown that, from the start, Howard's concept was subject to modification in response to changing conditions and the incorporation of broader planning principles (Beevers 1988; Sutcliffe 1990). As for the New Towns, policy changes greatly altered the original concept until the programme was run down and finally abandoned from the 1970s (see Aldridge 1979; Hardy 1991a). These changes reflected changing circumstances and were all part of effective planning, but they weakened the concept of the 'planning icon' as an effective force (Sutcliffe 1978).

One of the less studied features of Howard's Garden City was the Green Belt. This developed from the outer ring of the Garden City estate to a planning constraint on rural land surrounding even the largest cities. The leading Garden City pioneer, Raymond Unwin, became an influential advocate of the Green Belt after the First World War, and London and other large cities started to buy agricultural land to form green belts in the 1930s. A London green belt was a basic element in Sir Patrick Abercrombie's Greater London Plan of 1944. The New Towns strategy embodied in radical new legislation in 1946 also included green belts (see Cullingworth 1979). In 1955 a large number of statutory green belts were established in the context of the sweeping national planning powers contained in the Town and Country Planning Act of 1947.

Green belts were a response to the peculiarly English form of urban growth, which since the eighteenth century had seen the richer elements of the urban population moving out to the periphery and building there at very low densities (suburbs). By the end of the nineteenth century part of the working classes were also normally housed in the outer districts. The twentieth century saw a great surge of outward growth, by which time these spreading towns and cities had begun to come into conflict with another English myth, that of a romantic and beautiful countryside. This myth had developed during the nineteenth century when the middle classes had taken over the aristocratic ideal of a rural existence (Meacham 1999). The idea of a ring of open countryside around the city thus responded to uniquely English conditions and perceptions at a time when Britain was the world's most heavily urbanised country (Sheail 1981). Britain's National Parks policy emerged from a similar perception of the role of the countryside in a heavily urbanised country (see Cherry 1975).

The Green Belt thus became a foundation stone of British planning history (see Thomas 1970; Hall 1973). However, given that the green belts have become reality, their status as myth does not lie in their unattainability so much as in the general British lack of awareness that they have hardly ever been adopted outside the United Kingdom. On the contrary, most British planning students assume that this great British innovation has been generally adopted.

British planning historians have done very little to provide a context for the British green belts by studying approaches to constraint, or the results of lack of constraint, in other countries. So the myth survives as a national belief or faith. Let it be said, however, that the green belts justify themselves in terms of their environmental result, which is unique in the world.

**6. International diffusion of planning**

British planning historians led the way from the 1970s in setting up a world-wide structure (Planning History Group, 1974, later International Planning History Society, 1993) for the study of planning history. These personal and scholarly links helped extend British interest , and sympathy for, approaches to planning in other countries. *Planning Perspectives*, the journal of planning history founded by Cherry and Sutcliffe in 1986, devotes most of its space to articles and book reviews dealing with planning outside Britain. From the 1980s British historians such as Sutcliffe (1981) and, later, Ward (1999), became interested in particular in the ways in which planning ideas, and individual planners, were transferred from one country to another, and elements of international consensus or common practice were built up. Ward has constructed a model of international planning exchange which is very influential, at least among writers in English.

One aspect of international exchange has become a field of study in its own right – colonial and imperial planning. It interests historians in all the former colonial nations, and notably in France, but Britain has at least one noted practitioner, Robert Home. He works mainly on Africa, but India has attracted a number of authors (e.g. Tyrwhitt 1947). Reach into the Middle East is expanding (see e.g. Crinson 1997). In the Empire, British administrators had extensive powers but experienced town planners were few. Motives were very different from Europe. For instance, the creation of a European quarter in the cities, the definition and application of rudimentary standards for the native areas (mainly designed to protect the European districts from disease and fire), autocratic methods, and the separation of ethnic groups, meant that the political context of planning was completely different (Home 1997). Also different was the atmosphere inwhich British historians sometimes had to work whenresearching in the field.

Imperial planning was linked to imperial symbolism in

the planning of the capital city in the home country. Work by Garside and other authors on imperial London from about 1850 to 1930, mainly linked to design, has shown how grandiose images could contrast with the spatial and design ideals of the planned garden suburb and the Garden City (Garside 1984). It was the achievement of Raymond Unwin to combine civic centres, vistas and axes with winding, low-density residential streets, first of all at Letchworth and then in a number of schemes and writings after the First World War (Miller 1992).

**7. 'Planning disasters'**

Britain's early urbanisation led it into the provision of municipal housing as early as the 1860s (St.Martin's Cottages, Liverpool, 1869) and this socialistic tradition was not seriously reviewed until after Margaret Thatcher became Prime Minister in 1979. No other country became as firmly committed to the principle of municipal housing for its workers, and when State subsidies became available in 1919, the principle of a national programme was established. Public housing was the source of many myths. Some, such as the 'coal in the bath' myth, had little basis in fact, but the recognition that tenants preferred low-rise (two-storey) buildings ran through the whole history of British housing. It played a big part in the biggest reverse that British planning suffered in the whole of its history from 1909 to the present day. This was the 'high rise' building and planning phase which lasted from the late 1860s to the late 1960s (see Sutcliffe 1974; Dunleavy 1981; Bullock 1987; Horsy 1988; Bullock 1994; Yelling 1994).

Peter Hall has created many new planning concepts but he is best known for his idea of the 'planning disaster' (Hall 1980). This concept can usefully be applied to the 'high rise' debacle. A 'planning disaster' is a planning policy or implementation programme which becomes out of date with the passage of time. Sometimes these policies have to be abandoned at immense cost, or their implementation creates, at worst, serious or disastrous problems, or, at best, their result is a major disappointment.

The rise and fall of high rise housing In Britain between 1945 and 1968, though never formally designated by Peter Hall as a planning disaster, had most of the key features of one, except that a national programme of high rise building was never formally 'planned'. Since the 1970s the historians, and researchers using historical methods, have played a major role in unravelling what went wrong, while planners, architects and politicians have been unable to see beyond their own areas of participation. High rise and its related planning idea, mixed development, were introduced carefully and sensitively in the late 1860s and the early 1860s. By the Midas, however, a broader application in the context of the reinforced green belts and a wave of slum clearance, together with industrialised building methods, produced a great surge of high-rise building. Accumulating structural and social problems led to a radical reassessment in the later 1960s, when the partial collapse of a London tower block (Roan Point) in 1968 helped to bring the whole programme to a halt and led to progressive demolitions which still continue today. This 'planning disaster' undermined the whole concept of progress and competence on which British planning history had been based (see Dunleavy 1981). Hall's theories stimulated much historical work on the episode, while Allison Ravetz, a planning historian who specialises in public housing (Ravetz 1974), went on to identify a number of ways in which theoretical rigidity, preconceptions, and inflexible institutions had undermined and distorted post-war British planning (Ravetz 1980). Thus history made a big contribution to the new debate on the value of planning which set in in the 1980s.

**Conclusion**

The conclusions of this paper are here presented in summary form:

1. Urban planning and history are closely associated in Britain.
2. The historians' contribution to planning and planning debates relate very largely to Britain.
3. With the exception of a number of Americans, non-British historians have not made a significant contribution to British planning history.
4. Theory has played only a minimal part in British planning history.
5. British historians have played a bigger role than those of any other country in promoting the international study of planning history.
6. Much planning history, including international and non-British planning history, is published in Britain where publishers take advantage of English as the world scientific language.

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## Nick Tiratsoo, Junichi Hasegawa, Tony Mason, and Takao Matsumura, Urban Reconstruction in Britain and Japan, 1945-1955: Dreams, Plans and Realities. Luton: University of Luton Press, 2002. Paperback, 100 pp. £20.00. ISBN 1 86020 590 9

[A summary of this book was published in Planning History, 24(1), 2002, p.47]

The reconstruction of bombed cities attracts many planning historians. New powers, the successive official and unofficial plans, the role of the 'planner', local and national planning debates, contextual issues, and the eventual realisations, while of interest in themselves, often reflect broader historical questions such as advanced planning techniques, the state of public opinion, and the strength of cautious or conservative forces in both government and business. Conflicts between professional planners and other interests, including provincial and central government, are easy to observe and understand. The visual presentation of the proposed architecture and layouts in books, pamphlets and articles is generally of a high standard, suggesting a better world to come. The values of modernity and conservatism are generally so well expressed that both can be persuasive, though historians generally side with the visionaries. The conservative forces are usually the property owners, the finance ministers, and the city treasurers, often in various forms of disguise. The contrast between the plans and the often depressing reality of rebuilding seems to confirm that 'the planner will never get through'.

In Britain, historians often associate this failure with a betrayal of socialism. Overall, 'a great opportunity was lost' is the historian's frequent conclusion. The possibility that a victory for the 'planners', in the form of sweeping reconstruction according to plans drawn up in the first year or two after the war, might have been an even bigger environmental disaster is, in the experience of this reviewer, never considered. We know, however, that this victory never occurred. Nor did the 'planners' triumph in Germany, where war damage was comparable to Japan's yet the structure of urban government and planning was the best in the world. Perhaps the 'great opportunity' should be seen instead as an unprecedented urban challenge in circumstances of unique difficulty, a challenge which needed much more than attractive and idealistic plans, and which was never likely to result in the golden city promised in wartime.

Professor Tiratsoo's efforts to rewrite the social history of the British war years have reached a broad readership and an even bigger audience on British television. He believes that the deluded and exploited experience of the masses has been distorted by historians who tamely accept the propaganda line of the time. In the evacuation comedy, *Gert and Daisie's Weekend* (1941), the two Waters sisters bawl out the rousing song, 'We'll all have a party when it's over', which includes the line 'We're all in this together ', but Professor Tiratsoo portrays the workers as cheated by 'the toffs' but ready to fight back with mutter and strikes, even at the expense of 'Victory V'.

In the book under review, he and his co-authors retain much of this interpretation, with the masses in both countries cheated of proper planning by a number of negative forces of which the 'machinations of governments' (p. 93) are the most insidious and sinister. In the British section of this book the authors develop this line. Rather surprisingly, property owners are let off the hook for the most part, but government takes a beating while mass participation is seen as essential to quality planning. 'Planners' are allotted a heroic or even angelic role, as the main source of environmental and social truth and, above all, as the advocates of modernism. 27The opponents of planning are mainly local versions of the 'toffs', denying the workers what they had won through their wartime efforts, and sticking to their 'conservative ideals'. Not surprisingly, this perception is difficult to apply to Japan, but the authors emphasise mass participation in replanning whenever there is evidence for it. Wartime visions are discreetly curtained off, except in the photograph of the loyal imperial planner, Hideaki Ishikawa, sitting proudly (one assumes) in front of his plan for the reconstruction of Shanghai in 1938 (unnumbered plate). The axial approach and linked grids recall Daniel Burnham but

experience of other Axis occupation planning would suggest that this is the Japanese sector of Shanghai. Ishikawa was a leading Tokyo planner during the war and in the early post-war years, but the excellent selection of plates does not include examples of his Tokyo plans. Ishikawa was aware of American and European practice, but this book does not allow us to establish the degree of continuity between his wartime plans for Tokyo and his post-war approach. It seems unlikely, however, that mass participation played a part in any of this.

The authors' quest for a mass experience is expressed most fully in the local case studies. It also seems to have distracted them from central government activities and national politics, even though the limited results of planning, as agreed by the authors, were largely a result of central economies and the perceived need to restore national economic strength ('machinations', we conclude). The masses, in both countries, certainly made their views known from 1945 onwards, but what they wanted above all was housing, not the latest trends in planning. In different ways, the central governments of both countries conceded the case for urgent housing provision and the replanning of cities on modern and humane lines was set back. The same was true of Germany, where 'missed opportunities' abounded in the field of urban planning. More than 'machinations', surely, are at work here.

The authors' treatment of British reconstruction is able to draw on an extensive historical literature and on numerous planning publications during and after the war. Japan offers much less. Until recently the Japanese reconstruction experience was virtually closed to western historians. In America, Jeffry Diefendorf has inspired some useful research on the Japanese case, while Nick Tiratsoo has done a similar job in Britain. It is now possible to compare the Japanese and the European experience, although Japanese bombing and reconstruction as a mass phenomenon still cannot be perceived as readily as in Britain. Underlying these varying perceptions is the absence of democracy in Japan from 1930 into the early years of the Anerican occupation. Indeed, Germany was not very different, leaving Britain as the main source of a comprehensive reconstruction story.

Wisely, Tiratsoo and his associates have limited their European input to Britain. However, in excluding Germany they have set aside a country whose destruction experience, and status as a defeated and occupied belligerent, made it more comparable to Japan than Britain was. Britain's replanning opportunity was mainly located in the city centres. In Japan and Germany it was mainly in residential districts stretching out from the city centre and reaching, in some directions, as far as the edge of the built-up area. Little was left of the city centres but some of their stronger buildings, protected by fire-watchers, survived the raids, albeit in a damaged state. The persistence of modern, steel-framed buildings was especially a feature of Japanese cities, where the Americans had relied on incendiaries rather than high explosives.

The London blitz created a number of areas of destruction outside the centre, mainly in the East End and on the South Bank. However, the main areas suitable for comprehensive replanning lay in the City. In the provinces, a 'doughnut effect' was produced, except that in the big seaports the destruction often stretched from the city centre to the docks. The city centres had already been seen as a planning problem in the 1930s, mainly in relation to traffic congestion, and some replanning had been done on paper under the Town and Country Planning Act of 1932. Sheffield had prepared a new city centre plan by 1939, and a new road plan for London, based on the Bressey Report of 1937, was in serious preparation. Most other towns and cities, sensibly awaiting firm decisions on the basis for their compensation costs, were not so advanced, but the MARS Group's presentation of modernist ideas on urban planning from 1933 encouraged national interest. Meanwhile, the Royal Academy had commissioned an architectural scheme for the new junctions envisaged in the Bressey Report.

Because Britain fought the war as a democracy, and commercial services and materials were not seriously curtailed, the night bombings of 1940-41 encouraged a public debate on urban reconstruction in the context of a government-backed consideration of the broader 'Reconstruction' of the nation as a whole. The proceedings of Women's Institutes, debating societies, school parliaments, and churches have not always survived but newspapers, magazines, books and radio programmes bear witness to the intensity and quality of the debate. Heavy raids ceased after May 1941 when most German bombers were moved to the East, and the V1 and V2 attacks in 1944-5 did not destroy large areas of London as conventional raids, with their numerous incendiary bombs, had tended to do in both London and the provinces. This meant that the areas potentially available for replanning in British cities were visible to all from 1941, when work started on removing the





ruins and creating temporary accommodation for shops and offices. The 'Baedeker raids' in 1942-3 cleared further areas, notably at Canterbury and Exeter, but the character and extent of the reconstruction task was largely unaltered between 1940 and 1945. This allowed Parliament to pass two important Acts of replanning legislation during the war, in 1943 and 1944. After the war came the greatest piece of planning legislation of all time, the Town and Country Planning Act of 1947, and a related measure, the New Towns Act of 1946. Britain thus created the world's firmest foundation for post-war reconstruction, and one that did not lack in 'socialist' qualities.

Japan's experience was very different. Heavy US raids on Japanese cities did not begin until early 1945 when the American advance brought Japan within range of their bombers (the carrier-launched 1942 raid on Tokyo having been purely symbolic). The flimsy structure of most Japanese buildings tempted the Americans to use large proportions of incendiaries. These were increasingly napalm bombs – the horrific equivalent of the phosphorus used by the RAF in Germany. Fires spread over large areas, with little to stop them except fire breaks provided by rivers, canals, and gaps blasted by the Japanese army. The devastated areas were comparable in area and degree of destruction to those of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, where radiation created additional problems.

With Japan ruled by an American military administration until 1951, a full debate on planned reconstruction could not flourish, especially in view of Japan's lack of a democratic tradition, the popular tendency to accept decisions given from above, and an anarchic tradition in the detail of street, alley and house building. Reconstruction moved ahead nevertheless, mainly on the basis of unauthorised rebuilding, much of it self-build, on the devastated sites. The national tradition of flimsy building was largely maintained (though fireproof materials and methods were encouraged to a much greater extent than before the war), and low houses again covered most of their sites and, together with other buildings, most of each block. Residential streets, though often designated for substantial widening in the post-war plans, usually ended up little wider than in the past owing to national reductions in requirements or ad hoc decisions by the municipal or prefectural planning committees.

Alleys within the blocks remained narrow and tortuous. Private gardens, though carefully planned and tended, were minute and hemmed in by buildings. This was reconstruction without effective town planning, though a number of cities made gestures such as huge central squares or long 'hundred—metre wide streets' running straight through the city centre. However, most of the 'hundred-metre wide streets' planned shortly after the war fell victim so some economy drive or other. Hence Nagoya's pride in its impressive hundred-metre wide street, now a monument of planning history.

Tiratsoo and his fellow authors, who write as a team, have added considerable depth to our understanding of reconstruction planning. Their plates alone provide a rich portrait, with many original or rarely seen items. They have chosen a case-study approach linked to two national 'overviews'. Three cities are studied in each country. Tokyo is one of the Japanese cities (with Osaka and Maebashi). London figures only in the form of Lansbury, the main area of destruction in the East End, but this focus is justified by the limited attention given by historians hitherto to the replanning of residential areas. Coventry has been studied before but as one of the world's finest examples of post-war planning it merits its place here – another great monument of planning history. Portsmouth is a good example of the 'conservatism' detected by the authors throughout the British planning story. This reviewer would have liked to hear more about Plymouth, where sweeping powers were used, with the approval of Patrick Abercrombie, to create a Beaux Arts city centre. Where did the 'conservatism' lie here? But there is plenty of time to look at this one.

Three issues have been selected for special attention: (i) the extent and nature of the destruction, and its possible impact on rebuilding; (ii) the identity, role and influence of the professional planners, and (iii) the political context at all levels of government.

The British section contrasts wartime enthusiasm for planning with the post-war results. It was widely assumed during the war that replanning would be comprehensive and that large areas would be taken into public ownership. High aesthetic standards were assumed and the planners were expected to play a, if not the, major role. The authors detect (pp.8-9) a decline in enthusiasm between 1942 and 1945 at all levels of society and activity as the practical difficulties became clearer, but they appear to neglect the prolific work of Abercrombie across the country, the rapid development of the New Town idea, and the impressive legislation of the war years – an achievement which far surpassed the fascist, utterly

conservative, Japan and Germany. All of these were promoted by central government, beginning with the legendary visit of the Coventry councillors to John Reith in 1940. Given that the comprehensive planning hailed by the authors relied on the public acquisition of large areas of land, it is not surprising that little progress could be made until the basis for compensation was incorporated in national legislation. Also needed were universal controls over development. When these were provided, principally in the Town and Country Planning Act of 1947, effective decisions could be made about the cleared areas. It is true that, as the authors emphasise, this radical statute, together with the New Towns Act of 1946, was passed under a Labour administration, and was therefore vulnerable to Conservative indifference after 1951, but that is what they call democracy, chaps!

If reconstruction, whether modern or traditional, planned or piecemeal, was legally possible from 1947 onwards, what was the result? The authors rightly point to the state of a British economy in which Government planning gave a low priority to residential and commercial construction. Essential rebuilding was reluctantly authorised, but the 'doughnut effect' meant that city-centre businesses had been able to relocate to converted houses and flats on the edge of the city centres after the major raids. All the bombed cities had their new 'West Ends' of this type, beginning with London, and the rebuilding of old commercial premises, whether in replanned layouts or on the old sites, was not seen as a priority by the central government, mainly because it would divert structural steel from industry and labour from the struggling public housing programme. The immediate building of civic theatres, libraries, and municipal offices, was completely out of the question, not least because it would absorb public funds. Rebuilding was consequently postponed until the 1950s, in what the authors rightly detect as an anti-planning climate which had helped the Conservatives come to power in 1951. Many premises were now rebuilt on their old sites and much of the replanning that was put into effect related to traffic. Yet even precinct planning, developed during the war by the far-sighted traffic engineer from the Metropolitan Police, Alker Tripp, was hardly put into effect, except at Coventry.

Japan is a different story. The authors point out (p.49) that the nature of Japanese society and government (this used to be called 'militarism' and 'emperor worship' but planning historians now live in an era of 'continuity' which precludes the use of such terms) discouraged a debate on urban reconstruction during and after the raids and in the early years after the war. Democracy was apparently feared by senior civil servants because of the '...extremely low...cultural standards...' of the Japanese people (p.54) (this might have been expressed as 'no tradition of democracy in Japan'). They suggest that more work by historians like Yorifusa Ishida (quite limited so far) may reveal a Japanese air-raid experience with political implications. This reviewer's impression is that most of the survivors of napalm and nuclear attack suffered many years of clinical depression and neuroses which put agitation for modern planning completely beyond them. However, the work of Ishida and others has revealed a rapid governmental reaction to the raids, with the Ministry of Home Affairs' important 'Basic Policy Principles for the Planned Reconstruction of War-Damaged Areas' issued in December 1945. This laid down guidelines, inter alia, for wider streets and bigger open spaces. Meanwhile, the War-damage Rehabilitation Board, set up in October 1945 under Ichizo Kobayashi, stressed the importance of local inititiative. With such large areas to be rebuilt, presumably at lower densities, the agenda included the restriction of the growth of the largest cities, green belts, satellite towns/garden cities, and land readjustment schemes (merging of ownerships to create planned sites and streets) which had already been under way before the war. With the idea of a national plan also in circulation in the press, the reconstruction of bomb damage clearly formed a large part of total urban and national planning policy, in contrast to the limited British 'doughnut' task.

Not surprisingly, Tokyo was the centre of national interest, and Hideaki Ishikawa's initial plans stressed the importance of garden cities and green belts there. An alternative, Corbusian model was generated in western Japan. Professor Takizawa of the Kobe College for Technology was the leader here, and his work in mega-dense central and inner Osaka was much admired. As early as 1946, however, a distrust of civil-servant planning built up in the press as planning, much of it rudimentary and in character crude and repetitive, proceeded slowly.

Total destruction offered a big opportunity for land readjustment. Some progress had been made here before the war on the lines pioneered in Germany from the early 1900s (lex Adickes). The normal procedure was that local associations of property-owners would pool their ownerships, allowing the rational replanning of sites and thoroughfares and the eventual restoration to the owners of their legally-determined





share of the total area. The municipalities and prefectures exercised oversight and, after the war, the central government subsidised the work. However, government efforts to reduce the national deficit from 1949 ('Dodge Line' – we would have valued some explanation of this though it looks like some intervention of the MacArthur government) led to a reduction of the area of land earmarked for readjustment schemes, with Tokyo hit hardest. Many planned parks and wider roads, including the 100-metre-wide streets dreamed of in many cities, fell victim to these economies. Meanwhile, largely uncontrolled rebuilding by private owners, squatters, and even public housing agencies, was difficult to dislodge, even in planned areas. Even housing designated 'temporary' (normally thirty years) seemed likely to remain for some decades longer (the 'prefab' law, once again!).

A classic problem in work of this type is to relate the planning of devastated areas and sites to the parallel planning of the cities in which they lie. The authors face the problem squarely but their relative neglect of central government creates problems for them. Throughout the book, the authors are clearly looking for public participation and democracy. They are often disappointed, especially in the Japanese case, though it appears that the Japanese press could be forthright at times, and officials could be more outspoken than their British equivalents. On the other hand, it would appear that a large number of senior officials and politicians chose to resign from planning posts between 1945 and 1948 because they expected to be charged with war crimes. Here and elsewhere, the reader can sense a Japanese context which is very different from the British experience. The Japanese authors, nevertheless, have faced up to this problem and the western reader is offered a good deal of guidance on the Japanese context, especially in the case studies.

The authors' interest in identifying 'planners' who can be praised, or blamed where necessary, is less relevant in Japan than in Britain. While the authors often neglect key British planning legislation, they do detect large numbers of British 'actors' who have a planning qualification, or who exercise functions created by the planning Acts. In Japan, the 1919 planning Act was the only piece of national planning legislation until 1968. Most of the advisory planning schemes drawn up for Japanese cities in 1945 and 1946 appear to have been the work of architects, and to have been based on the assumption that the necessary planning powers would be provided somehow.

The authors are not very interested in the physical creations of planning. For instance, the 100-metre-wide streets, which fascinated Japanese officials and politicians, need much more explanation. Were they radical interventions, or extensions of long-established planning ideas? Were the big, central squares related to Soviet concepts of the 1920s and 1930s? (Sounds unlikely, but you never know.) Were the big green belts and park systems derived from wartime fire break concepts, or from the nineteenth-century fear of big urban fires in wooden cities? (Much more likely, this one!).

This review has got to end sometime and it cannot provide a neat conclusion. It can only be said that the authors have done a fascinating job. The biggest achievement is to draw Japanese authors into an international analysis in which Japan can take its place within a world picture of wartime hell and post-war struggle. Cooperation between the authors, directed by Professor Tiratsoo, has produced a new historical environment which will surely create new perspectives on the social history of the Second World War. Germany and the US will no doubt be drawn in and a new picture will emerge. A new approach to historical research has been set before us, and we should be grateful.

**Christopher Crouch, Design Culture in Liverpool 1880-1914: the Origins of the Liverpool School of Architecture.**
Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2002. xv + 200 pp., 35 illustrations, no price given.

The central assumptions on which this book is based are summed up in the Preface:

> During the period 1880-1914, the Arts and Crafts conception of a vernacular, commonplace design – representing a material-based design philosophy co-operatively instigated – developed nationally into a baroque, art nouveau, individualistic design that bore stylistic similarities to the Arts and Crafts but which negated its agenda of the collective.

Crouch seeks to investigate this transition, which he acknowledges to have been a complex matter involving long periods of overlap and cross-fertilisation, in the setting of Liverpool, where the foundation of the Liverpool School of Architecture and Applied Art at the University in 1894 expressed broadly Ruskinian assumptions about the need to sustain a close relationship between architecture and allied arts, to teach architecture as a 'traditional handicraft, rather than just as a formal academic skill' (p. 97), and to provide craft workers with a practical training that would enable them to find personal fulfilment as individuals within a framework of collaborative endeavour. From the very beginning, however, matters were not so simple, and the first Professor, Frederick Simpson, soon demonstrated a countervailing interest in current American practices, in the Beaux Arts and what became the City Beautiful, and in new industrial building techniques. The combined School's ten-year career was riddled with conflicts and contradictions on these and other lines, although as represented here they are more implicit than explicit, and its influence was restricted by failure to link into established national networks and publications. When Applied Art was handed back to the Municipal School of Art in Mount Street in 1905, while Charles Reilly arrived as the new Professor of Architecture, the stage was set for a further retreat from the Arts and Crafts tradition, as the University moved towards a key role in the development of the new discipline of Town Planning, American influences grew stronger and the *Town Planning Review* provided an influential and controversial outlet for the views of major figures of the future such as Patrick Abercrombie and Stanley Adshead. The Liverpool department became firmly identified with sweeping redevelopment, radial roads, geometrical layouts and rigorous functional zoning, in contradistinction to surviving attachments elsewhere not only to the ethos of Arts and Crafts and of the picturesque, but also to the Garden City movement. This is an important set of themes, and attention is drawn throughout to the politics and power-struggles inherent in these developments: the shifting relationships between the city corporation and the University, the recurrent efforts of the RIBA to extend its control over the definition of a still-emerging profession, the struggle for resources within the University, the problem of how to deal with the 'South Kensington' system of mechanistic examinations, the search for patronage (culminating in Reilly's remarkably successful cultivation of the soap magnate W.H. Lever alongside the incorporation of Liverpool's Chief Engineer into the department's activities and ethos) and the construction of a mouthpiece whose messages would be listened to and passed on by the specialist London media. There is a lot of very interesting material in this relatively short book.

Ultimately, however, the whole seems less than the sum of the parts. Crouch is at pains to emphasize the importance of the Liverpool context in which these developments took place, but his reading into the economic, social and political history of the city is very limited. In particular, he takes no account of the enduring sectarianism of Liverpool's rough-and-tumble popular politics, while the Trades Council and the craft trade unions appear briefly on stage only to vanish again, and municipal politics are seen through the lenses of that cultivated minority with whose biographies and personalities Crouch shows himself to be familiar. Nor does he seem aware of the reworking of Liverpool's economic history over the last ten years, which has paid more heed to the role of manufacturing industries beyond the building trades, and has reduced the overall significance of casual labour on the docks. Awareness of this work would complicate the rather simplistic characterisations of Liverpool exceptionalism (itself the subject of debate across a broad front) on which much of the argument is founded. Awareness that the United States was only one of Liverpool's international trade partners, although admittedly in many ways the most important, might also dilute aspects of the argument. And the question of municipal intervention in the enduring problems of Liverpool's slums is far more complicated than the simplistic list of small-scale interventions supplied here. A very important study could be made of the relationship between Reilly's department and the great inter-war municipal housing schemes, which are now well-documented; but no trace of this link surfaces here.

All this is important because Crouch emphasises the importance of the Liverpool context without establishing it. We hear a lot about W.H. Lever and Port Sunlight at beginning and end, and there is an element of successful closure in the treatment of this theme; but the Liverpool Garden Suburb is left dangling after some tantalisingly interesting discussion, and we never return to the debate on the proper architectural style for Liverpool's Anglican cathedral, which closes the first chapter, indicates the importance of conflicting views on the purpose and nature of Gothic, and then almost vanishes from view. More depth on the debates at municipal level that obviously had a profound effect on advanced architectural education in Liverpool would also have been helpful, but Crouch's research agenda seems not to have extended to a systematic analysis of any council chamber debates that may have been published in the local press, which seems to have been accessed mainly through cuttings books. Basically, I learnt a great deal from this book without ever being satisfied by the development of the argument (which was often disturbingly disjointed) or the depth of the understanding of (especially) wider political and economic contexts. This may arise in part from a publisher's requirement to cut wordage, and there are hints of the influence of a rather ham-fisted editorial hand, which may have affected the overall argument as well as the flow of individual sentences. The bibliography, too, is unduly 'select' and does not include primary sources. All this is a great pity, as the core of this book raises issues of great importance and introduces a lot of fascinating new material.

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**Artruro Almandoz (ed.),** *Planning Latin America's Capital Cities: 1850-1950*
(London: Routledge, 2002; ISBN 0 415 27265 3; pp. 282; illus.; hardback,£55.)

The capital cities of Latin America were, and are, unique. Largely shaped by European culture, architecture and planning, the cities reflected key features of Paris and other European cities. European experts shared in their building and planning, while many Latin American architects and planners trained in Europe. France was the main source of inspiration until the United States began to play a part in the 1930s. Planning Latin America's Capital Cities is the first comprehensive work in English to describe the building of these capital cities in the post-colonial period. (from dust jacket)

**Nicholas Bullock**, *Building the Post-War World: Modern Architecture and Reconstruction in Britain*
(London: Routledge, 2002; hb and pb; ISBN (pb) 0 415 22179 X; illus.; pp. 287)

*Building the Post-War World* examines the way in which World War 2 and the ten years of reconstruction that followed saw the establishment of modern architecture in Britain. It charts the opportunities created by post-war rebuilding, showing how the spirit of innovation and experimentation necessary to winning the war found applications in reconstruction. Above all it shows how hopes for a new and better world became linked to the fortunes of new architecture (from back cover)

**Wilhelm Miller**, *The Prairie Spirit in Landscape Gardening*, Introduction by Christopher Vernon, Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002, ISBN 1-55849-329-8, 72 pp hardback, $34.95USD.

A facsimile edition of Wilhelm Miller's classic *The Prairie Spirit in Landscape Gardening* (1915), a profusely illustrated book that championed the "prairie style" of landscape design. It was the first book to address the question of a truly American style of landscape design and remains one of the most significant early treatises on that topic. Christopher Vernon (University of Western Australia) provides a substantial, illuminating introduction linking the prairie landscape style to the architecture of the Progressive Era. With over 100 images, this handsome volume features projects by midwestern luminaries such as Jens Jensen, O. C. Simonds, Walter Burley Griffin, Frank Lloyd Wright, and Warren H. Manning. The book is published in association with the Library of American Landscape History and forms part of the American Institute of Landscape Architects' Centennial reprint series.

# Book Reviews and Notices

**Paul Reid,** *Canberra Following Griffin: A Design History of Australia's National Capital,*
(Canberra: National Archives of Australia, 2002, ISBN 0 642 34447 7, 400pp; hardback, $90.00AUD.)

In 1912, Walter Burley Griffin's design for Australia's national capital was chosen from more than 100 international entries. The late Paul Reid attempts to correct many popular misconceptions about Griffin and Canberra by answering some fundamental questions: Just what did Griffin propose for Canberra and why wasn't it built? Is modern Canberra better or worse than the Griffin design? The well-illustrated big format book includes some rarely seen images from the National Archives collection and presents all 12 of Marion Mahony Griffin's original competition drawings, together for the first time, with explanatory diagrams and extensive quotations from Griffin's official reports. The focus is urban design and across 14 chapters Reid analyses key plans in Canberra's development. Paul Reid was a former Chief Architect of the National Capital Development Commission and Professor of Architecture at the University of NSW. He died in 2001.

**Willem Salet, Andy Thornley and Anton Kreukels** (eds.) *Metropolitan Governance and Spatial Planning*
(London: Spon, 2003; ISBN 0 415 27449 4; illus.; pb, pp. 406; £ 24.99p)

Metropolitan Governance and Spatial Planning explores the relationship between metropolitan decision-making and strategies to co-ordinate spatial policy. This relationship is examined across 19 city regions of Europe, and the similarities and differences are analysed. City regions covered: London, Birmingham, Cardiff, Stockholm, Berlin, Frankfurt, Hannover, Stuttgart, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Prague, Vienna, Venice, Milan, Paris, Brussels, Aix/Marseille, Barcelona and Madrid.
(from back cover)

**Tony Scrase**, *Medieval Town Planning: a Modern Invention?* (Bristol: University of the West of England, Faculty of the Built Environment, Occasional Paper Number 12, 2002; ISBN 1 86043 294 8; illus., pp. 132.

Early works on the form of medieval towns often relied on a simple dichotomy of planned and organic. Planning was characterised by orthogonal forms preferably a full gridiron. The intention of this piece is to examine critically this approach, show that its influence has been at times less than helpful and to suggest alternative ways of considering change in medieval towns. (from p.1) [Please note: further copies of this and other faculty publications can be ordered from Faculty of the Built Environment, University of the West of England, Coldharbour Lane, Frenchay, Bristol, BS16 1QY]



PLANNING HISTORY
BULLETIN OF THE INTERNATIONAL PLANNING HISTORY SOCIETY

# NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

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

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

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All articles are refereed. Two hard copies should be sent to the editor, in addition to one in electronic form, either as attachment to email, or on a disc. These should be in the range of 2,500 - 4,000 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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**NOTICES OF CURRENT EVENTS**
These are welcome from any part of the world. Organisers of events should, however, bear in mind that *Planning History* is only published three times per year; normally in April, August and December. Please try to ensure that Calls for Papers etc. are notified to the Editor in sufficient time for inclusion. Later inserts are possible at the time of despatch. Sufficient copies, folded as required, must be supplied by the event organiser. Nothing larger than a single A4 sheet will normally be accepted. Every effort will be made to include such inserted news material without cost. However, the Editor reserves the right to make a charge for such material at normal advertising rates.

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# INTERNATIONAL PLANNING HISTORY SOCIETY (IPHS)

## THE INTERNATIONAL PLANNING HISTORY SOCIETY

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

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

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

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