PLANNING HISTORY

BULLETIN OF THE INTERNATIONAL PLANNING HISTORY SOCIETY

PLANNING HISTORY

BULLETIN OF THE INTERNATIONAL PLANNING HISTORY SOCIETY

EDITOR

Dr Mark Clapson
6 Forrabury Avenue
Bradwell Common
Milton Keynes
MK13 8NG
UK

Tel: 01908 668548
E-mail: Mjciphs@aol.com

EDITORIAL BOARD

Dr Arturo Almandoz
Departamento de Planificacion Urbana
Universidad Simon Bolivar
Aptdo. 89000
Caracas 1086
Venezuela
Tel: (58 2) 906 4037 / 38
E-mail: almandoz@usb.ve

Dr Halina Dunin-Woyseth
Oslo School of Architecture
Department of Urban Planning
PO Box 271 3001 Drammen
Norway
Tel: 47 22 20 83 16 / Fax: 47 22 11 19 70

Dr Gerhard Fehl
Lehrstuhl für Planungstheorie
Technische Hochschule Aachen
52062 Aachen
Schinkelstrasse 1
Germany
Tel: 0241 805029 / Fax: 0241 8888137

Dr Robert Freestone
Planning and Urban Development Program
Faculty of the Built Environment
University of New South Wales
Sydney NSW 2052
Australia
Tel: 02 9385 4836 / Fax: 02 9901 4505
E-mail: R.Freestone@unsw.edu.au

Dr Robert K. Home
Anglia Law School
Anglia Polytechnic University
Bishop Hall Lane, Chelmsford
CM1 1SQ, UK
E-mail: r.home@apu.ac.uk

Dr Kiki Kafkoula
Department of Urban and Regional Planning
School of Architecture
Aristotle University of Thessalonika
Thessalonika 54006
Greece
Tel: 3031 995495 / Fax: 3031 995576

Dr. Peter Larkham
Birmingham School of Planning
University of Central England
Perry Barr
Birmingham
B42 2SU
UK
Tel: 0121 331 5145
E-mail: peter.larkham@uce.ac.uk

Professor Georgio Piccinato
Facolta di Architettura
Universita di Roma 3
Via Madonna dei Monti 40
00184 Roma
Italy
Tel: +39 6 678 8283 / Fax: +39 6 481 8625
E-mail: piccinat@arch.uniroma3.it

Dr Pieter Uyttenhove
64 rue des Moines
F-75017
Paris
France

Professor Stephen V. Ward
School of Planning
Oxford Brookes University
Headington
Oxford
OX3 0BP
UK
Tel: 01865 483421 / Fax: 01865 483559
E-mail: svward@brookes.ac.uk

Professor Shun-ichi Watanabe
Science University of Tokyo
Yamazaki, Noda-shi
Chiba-ken 278
Japan
Tel: 81 474 24 1501 / Fax: 81 471 25 7833

PLANNING HISTORY

BULLETIN OF THE INTERNATIONAL PLANNING HISTORY SOCIETY

CONTENTS

Rebuilding the City: The Percy Johnson-Marshall Collection

A unique resource for the study of architecture, urban design and regional planning

Rebuilding the City is a collaborative project between Edinburgh University Library Special Collections Division and Edinburgh University Department of Architecture. It will make the Percy Johnson-Marshall Collection, and smaller collections of associated bodies, available for the first time.

The Collection

Percy Johnson-Marshall was an urban designer, regional planner and educator who enthusiastically embraced 20th century theories of human spatial organisation and postwar reconstruction. He collected a huge knowledge base in the field, which he used both as a practitioner and for teaching.
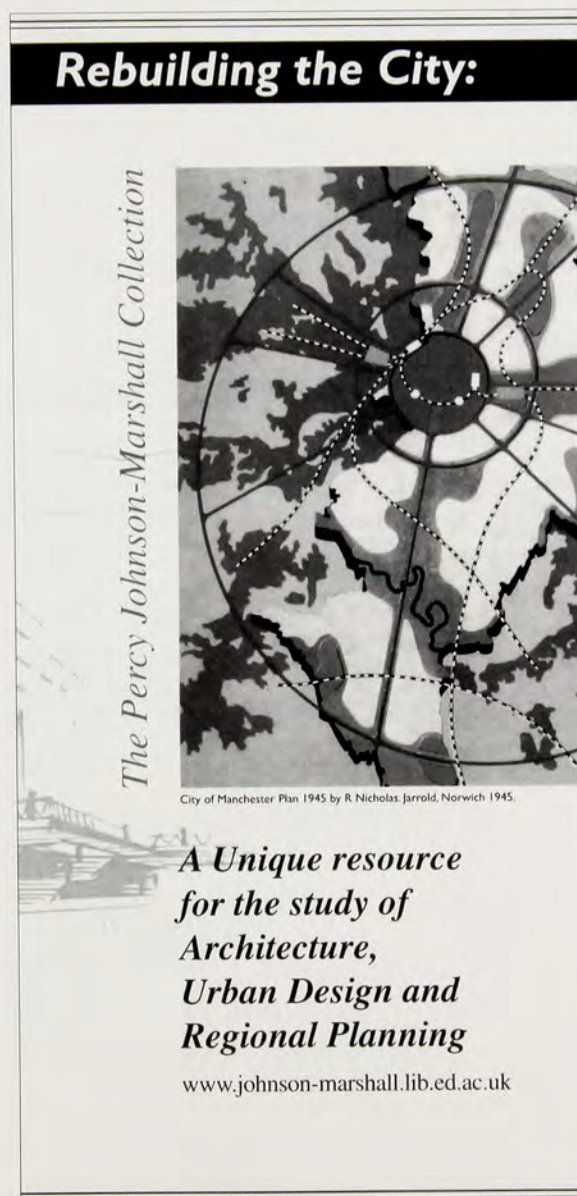
The collection covers a wide range of architecture and planning material, including published books and journals, personal and professional papers, papers relating to professional organisations, survey material, planning reports, government reports, plans, drawing, photographs and slides.

Material relating directly to Percy Johnson-Marshall's own career and a large collection of comparative material are included. Major subject areas covered are: Urban Design, Regional Planning, Postwar Planning and Reconstruction, New Towns, Architecture and Urban History.

The Project

Rebuilding the City aims to arrange, conserve, store, catalogue, and index the Percy Johnson-Marshall Collection. The catalogue will be available on the Project's website in early 2004 where free text and index-based searches along with a browsing facility will be available along with approximately 200 exemplar images of plans, documents, reports and publications from the collection. www.johnson-marshall.lib.ed.ac.uk

A Symposium, *The Man-Made Future: Planning, Education and Design in the Mid 20thCentury*, is to be held at the University of Edinburgh, 5-7 September. Speakers to include Jeffrey M. Diefendorf, Miles Glendinning and Keith Lilley: Please contact Dr. Clive B. Fenton, School of Arts, Culture and the Environment, University of Edinburgh: cfenton@staffmail.edu.ac.uk

Rebuilding the City:

The Percy Johnson-Marshall Collection

City of Manchester Plan 1945 by R Nicholas. Jarrold, Norwich 1945.

A Unique resource for the study of Architecture, Urban Design and Regional Planning

www.johnson-marshall.lib.ed.ac.uk

'The Rebuilding of British Cities in Context: Exploring the post-Second World War Reconstruction': Workshop held on Monday 12 May 2003, at the University of Central England, TIC, Millennium Point, Birmingham.

This well attended workshop was the latest in a series of one-day events promoted by the International Planning History Society in Britain. It was organised by Drs Peter Larkham and Joe Nasr of the University of Central England. The proceedings were sponsored by the IPHS and by the University of Central England, and held at UCE's Millennium Point building. Just one kilometre from Birmingham New Street station, and within a recently developed area of the city centre, Millennium Point was a fine location for the conference. The day was initiated by Alan Middleton of UCE, and it ended with a field-walk around some newly-developed areas of Birmingham's city centre.

The first session was entitled 'Planning the British Reconstruction'. Peter Larkham's paper on 'the reconstruction plans' showed how, despite some heavy bombing, the street patterns remained intact in most cases, as did the infrastructure. Birmingham itself was a good example. Yet bombed areas did of course require rebuilding and replanning, and the reconstruction plans were often more intelligible to the public than were the more distanced reports of the Town and Country Planning Acts. However, some relatively less damaged or even undamaged boroughs felt disadvantaged by the lack of a postwar reconstruction plan, and wanted one of their own. Some local authorities called upon consultant planners such as Stanley Adshead, Patrick Abercrombie and Thomas Sharp, but other authorities drew up their own plans.

In a paper which dovetailed perfectly, John Pendlebury (University of Newcastle) then discussed 'the reconstruction planners'. The devastation created by the Blitz created an opportunity for what Pendlebury called 'a frustrated generation of town planners' to engage in large-scale redevelopment. Those planners, such as Adshead at Southampton, Forshaw and Abercrombie in London, to name but two examples, held a number of beliefs in common, for example a horror of nineteenth century extravagance and a preference for rational Georgian designs; the need for comprehensive planning; a commitment to zoning; a concern for physical form, and in buildings for their time. There were some differences. Thomas Sharp, for example, was no admirer of the garden city movement in planning. It also emerged, in the following discussion led by Professor Tony Sutcliffe (University

of Nottingham) that some planners were more modernist than others: there was a tension between supporters of the MARS Groups, and those who respected CIAM. Furthermore, some disliked the American planning influences of the interwar years, while other planners were more sympathetic to American innovations, a point made by John Stevenson of Oxford University.

In the Second session, 'Producing and consuming the British Reconstruction', the linkages between top-down and bottom-upwards experiences in planning encouraged another lively debate. Keith Lilley (Queen's University, Belfast) focused on Coventry in his paper 'Experiencing the rebuilt city', a paper drawn from an impressive project funded by a Leverhulme Trust award. Coventry was of course very heavily bombed; little remained of its mediaeval heart by 1945. Using oral history and delving into the local press and media, Lilley emphasised those voices rarely heard in British Reconstruction history. Many Coventarians mourned the loss of their old city, but they took a nuanced view of the redeveloped city centre.

Nicholas Bullock (University of Cambridge) discussed the issues within the designing of the rebuilt city, such as how 'modern' Reconstruction was intended to be. Bullock argued that English planners possessed almost locally-specific versions of modernism, because those architects involved in the rebuilding of Britain were of an older perhaps more conservative generation than the younger avant-garde in a number of overseas countries. Nor were the opportunities for architects uniform. Coventry it is well known presented a huge opportunity and Gibson produced a more unified plan, whereas Bristol, to take one example, was more typical because it was less destroyed. Housing was the main priority in most postwar rebuilding, and the continuing influence of the garden city and garden suburb tradition in town planning and housing design contributed to relatively lower densities than many architects might have liked. Schools were a more successful arena of architect-designed modern buildings. Shops were less so, often because of the tastes of the client, such as Marks and Spencer, or Woolworths.

In her observations Professor Patricia Garside (University of Salford) argued that Reconstruction

History was now really getting down to fundamental questions about the nature of rebuilt city centres. Tony Sutcliffe observed that all over Europe a certain mediocrity prevailed in many new postwar schemes due to the competition of interests involved in financing, planning and rebuilding.

The third session, 'Situating the British reconstruction', was more avowedly comparative and internationalist in its subject matter. Professor Stephen Ward (Oxford Brookes University) noted the many meanings of the term 'Reconstruction' – it has been used to describe the period following the American Civil War for example – and the spreading of Reconstruction information following the Second World War. War had disrupted information flows, but subsequent enforced migrations, and also the 'random contacts' generated in postwar conditions, which led many notable architects and planners to become involved in Reconstruction. One notable example was Albert Meyer, the American planner, who served in India and contributed to Indian postwar development. The imposition of new models by occupying authorities was also significant: in Italy, for example, Ina Casa was greatly encouraged by Marshall Aid and inputs from Anglo-American models of community development. Aid and dependence, even short-term, encouraged such osmosis. American building

techniques were also taken up in Britain, and elsewhere.

Joe Nasr (University of Central England) emphasised that we cannot really understand subsequent reconstruction processes without understanding the nature and extent of previous destruction. And in summing up, Professor Dieter Schott (University of Leicester) also emphasised the different scales, spaces and dimensions of Reconstruction processes between countries. In Britain, for example, there were some considerable aerial bombardments, whereas in Warsaw, in Poland, extensive obliteration was accompanied by invasions and occupations.

As Peter Larkham (UCE) stated at the beginning of his paper: 'this is a new kind of workshop: short, sharp provocative papers are intended to stimulate lively and informed debate'. This was certainly the case, and the organisers are to be congratulated on a fascinating, informative and successful experiment in one-day workshops. It is to be hoped that some of the day's papers will subsequently be published in *Planning History*, *Planning Perspectives*, and other academic journals.

Mark Clapson,
University of Westminster

Walsall: the origin, promotion and disappearance of a wartime 'reconstruction' plan

PETER J. LARKHAM
Department of Planning and Housing, University of Central England, Perry Barr, Birmingham, B42 2SU, UK.
Tel: 0121 331 5145 E-mail: peter.larkham@uce.ac.uk

Introduction
From the onset of bombing during the early part of the Second World War, a flood of literature appeared on how to reconstruct damaged urban areas. Indeed, by 1942, the Architects' Journal observed that "it seems that almost everyone who can write, and many who cannot, are indulging in this contemporary form of escapism".[1]. Part of this outpouring consisted of numerous 'reconstruction plans' that were produced for a wide range of towns and cities across Britain. These plans had no statutory standing, often being termed 'outline development plans', until the new planning system introduced by the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act.[2] There were eventually several hundred of these plans – far more than the number of severely bomb-damaged towns.[3]

A number of planning or improvement schemes had been proposed for Walsall (part of the industrial conurbation in the English West Midlands) before the Second World War, and some had been implemented at least in part. All were understandably curtailed at the outbreak of hostilities. However, the Borough's Public Works Committee had discussed reconstruction proposals since at least December 1942, based largely on a report from the Borough Surveyor, itself derived mainly from reviewing the aspirations of these immediate pre-war planning schemes rather than caused by a requirement to address any significant bomb damage. The basic plans for re-structuring parts of the town centre, and other proposals for the remainder of the Borough, were plainly at a reasonably advanced state at that time, at least in the minds of the professional officers of the Borough. The issue of future planning was raised immediately after El Alamein and the Battle of the Atlantic; most wartime histories suggest that the tide of war had perceptibly turned. This was an expression of confidence in the future, a return to normal business.

The Walsall plan and its production form a useful small-scale study of this period of reconstruction planning. It demonstrates the importance of individuals in the plan-making process: the Borough Surveyor (not a town planner) was the originator of the detailed proposals. The Public Works Committee oversaw this planning function, but made relatively minor amendments to the

plans, and again were not experienced in town planning per se. In this example, the intention was to stimulate public debate; however, the available evidence suggests that this failed. Nearly 60 years later the town is still awaiting completion of its ring road.

The Borough Surveyor's ideas
In this case the role of the Borough Surveyor, a Mr Habershon, is paramount. He circulated a short typescript report, labelled "Private and Confidential", to members of the Public Works Committee. Dated 14/12/42, its title was "Tentative suggestions on the future of town planning in Walsall".[4] It was wide-ranging, and the main issues covered were the relationship of Walsall to other towns in the Midlands conurbation, roads (and related issues such as traffic volume and circulation patterns), and the limits to the town's future growth.

Paragraph 9 refers to town centre issues:

"Other essential features which will fundamentally affect the town centre are:

(a) the ultimate extent of market and shopping facilities in the central area
(b) the ultimate extent of cultural and recreational facilities in various parts of the town
(c) the development and scope of the Civic Centre
(d) the development of Church Hill.

It is not, however, possible for me to do more than refer to these matters in this brief report."

The normal Public Works Committee meeting of 16/12/42, at which town planning matters were discussed,[5] reviewed the Borough Surveyor's report. The minutes imply that it was not discussed at particular length. It was "suggested that plans showing the Borough Surveyor's suggestions for the future planning of Walsall should be made available to members of the Committee". The Borough Surveyor is minuted as replying simply that "such plans were open for inspection in his office".[6] The Committee clearly felt that this was not entirely satisfactory; indeed that the issue was of such importance that specific Committee meetings should be programmed to consider it.[7]

The first meeting of the "Special Public Works Committee re Town Planning" was on 18/1/43.[8] This discussed a number of detailed proposals particularly for the town centre, including

The need for 80-foot wide thoroughfares, and the need for demolition of properties to allow this.

A new central shopping area, a quadrangle at Upper Bridge Street, with canopies over the shops.
A covered arcade from here to High Street (and a further arcade elsewhere in the centre).
Demolitions required for a large new square and for extensions to the Town Hall etc.

A range of other zoning and improvements was also briefly mentioned.

The Committee's meeting of 19/1/43 discussed the report further.

"The Borough Surveyor pointed out to the Committee the various alternatives he suggested for the central layout of the town, chief amongst these being to cut a road through from Leicester Street between the General Post Office and St Paul's Church".

A few more details are given in the minutes of this verbal presentation, but whether plans were available for inspection is not recorded.

The Special Committee met again on 4/3/43 to review the location of a Technical College particularly in relation to through vehicle access and shopping areas. There was also some discussion of wider planning in the Borough. A further meeting was held on 11/3/43 which reviewed a Western by-pass and other traffic routes, and the general zoning of the central area. It was minuted that "the Borough Surveyor had shown great foresight in his proposals, and had presented them in a very clear manner".

On 16/3/43 and again on 23/3/43 the Special Committee met to inspect various sites affected by the emerging proposals, particularly where demolition was concerned. The latter meeting was conducted in part from the Council House tower. The minutes record little more than the occurrence of these meetings!

By 29/3/43, and developing from the detailed considerations of the Special Committee, a draft report from the Public Works Committee to the Council's General Purposes Committee had been circulated and was discussed. After the meeting of this date there was

a long break at which replanning issues were not discussed by the Public Works Committee at all, presumably while the General Purposes Committee reviewed the final report. The Public Works minutes are fully occupied by normal business including refuse disposal, budgets, and the War Office's request in April 1943 that the Borough Surveyor be seconded to review "the restoration of civilian life in those parts of the Continent that might be occupied by the Allies".

By 22/9/43 the General Purposes Committee had suggested various (relatively minor) amendments to the Borough Surveyor's report, and suggested that the report be passed to various Council committees for comment. The Committee felt "that plans, perspectives, and an explanatory pamphlet be passed also to the local press, the Chamber of Commerce and the Trades Council, with a view to such proposals being reconsidered 6 months hence". This does suggest that the report just considered had not been illustrated. The Special Committee heard on 21/10/43 that the Town Clerk also agreed that the planning proposals "and plans thereof" should be made widely available, as property in the town centre was frequently changing hands even in wartime, and the proposals had significant implications for some properties.

Publicising the proposals: the brochure
At a full meeting of the Public Works Committee on 24/11/43 the means, and costs, of publicising the proposals was discussed. The Borough Surveyor submitted to the meeting a "draft explanatory memorandum together with plans" and reported on the costs of printing 1000 copies. The meeting suggested 5000 copies, a telephone quotation was obtained, and this was agreed. Two local firms were used, Messrs Huxley for the printing, and the Walsall Lithographic Company for the maps. Five thousand copies were ordered "in the first instance, the type to be kept standing so that further copies may be ordered if required".

Of this print run, copies would be circulated to all Council members, 500 complimentary copies sent "to representative bodies in the town", and the remainder sold to the public "through local booksellers at a retail price of 6d each (4d each being charged to the bookseller)".

The publication itself[9] is of 8 large text pages (21.5 x 28.6 cm) in a card cover itself holding two folded maps in a rear pocket. The inner front cover contains a Foreword by the Chairman of the Public Works Committee in which he asks readers to see these proposals

"as forming a possible master-plan which might be adopted, with suitable amendments, to regulate the future development of the town. The plan is flexible and is open for constructive criticism ... The proposals now put forward may need alteration ... The Public Works Committee, with the authority of the Council, are publishing these proposals for the serious consideration of all interested and will welcome any comment or criticism".

The body of the plan sets the context in a few short paragraphs and is then divided into four main sections.

Major traffic problems
This section includes consideration of through traffic and main local traffic, with sections on new road proposals (and consequent demolitions) including western and internal by-passes, an outer ring road an "ring road extensions". It seems that much of these routes were in place and simply required some connections; the ring roads do not seem to have been wholly new schemes as was proposed for Wolverhampton. Nevertheless, these proposals involved closing six roads.

General zoning proposals for the use of land
This section began with consideration of a green belt of agricultural land around the built-up area. Other key considerations were the separation of industrial and residential areas (although attempts were made to reduce "home and factory" travel times), the isolation of residential areas from major roads, and the full and proper use of derelict land (which comprised 11% of the borough).

General layout of buildings in central areas
Within the central area the plan would focus on the provision of more open space, the concentration of shopping areas, pedestrian/vehicular separation, the provision of a civic centre, and the redevelopment of the Church Hill area. The civic centre would incorporate the (existing) town hall and council house, with extensions; law courts and police station, the (existing) public library; the General Post Office and government offices, all set in a half-ellipse around a space cleared to form a car park and gardens. The Church Hill redevelopment, although outside the central area itself, had previously been identified for some form of redevelopment.

Local traffic in the central area
These proposals included the location of three new bus stations "sited so as to reduce the unremunerative bus mileage in the town centre to a minimum", the

provision of new car parks, and the strict control of on-street parking.

Of the two maps included, one covered the entire borough and showed the land use and wider traffic proposals, and the second was a block plan of the proposed central area development.

A conclusion, of three brief paragraphs, stressed that further detailed proposals would need to be developed within this framework; that no financial implications of the scheme had been prepared, and that "it may be 50 years or more before some portions of the scheme are actually carried out".

By the meeting of 26/1/44 the Borough Surveyor was able to report that about 2500 of the booklets had been sold or distributed. Complimentary copies had been sent to the Minister, the Secretary of the Town Planning Institute, and various other bodies. By 23/2/44 the Deputy Town Clerk reported to the Public Works Committee that "the Town Planning Brochure had received favourable comment in the press, and that requests for copies thereof had been received from the Town Clerks of several boroughs". Thereafter the Committee minutes record nothing about the proposals as far as the end of the Minute Book in December 1944.

Publicising the proposals: the exhibition
It was felt that a brochure alone was insufficient; this was a time when various high-profile national reconstruction exhibitions and related publications were occurring. The Special Committee meeting of 24/11/43 accordingly minuted that

"The Borough Surveyor reported that in addition to drawings and maps, he was having a model of the central area made, and thought these should be on exhibition in the town ... It was also suggested that a film might be shown if a suitable one could be obtained, and also exhibits relating to planning in other towns."

The Special Committee meeting of 26/1/44 heard a report from the Borough Surveyor

"upon the exhibition at Messrs Henry's premises, The Bridge, and stated that the model etc would next be exhibited at Bloxwich, and then at the Savoy cinema ... The Committee considered that after this, it should be exhibited elsewhere in the town if requests were made to that effect, and possibly at various schools in the Borough."

Again, nothing more is heard about the exhibition. No photographs of the design, structure or content of the exhibition are known, and it is noteworthy that the cost implications were not discussed by the Committee despite their close attention to other small budget items.

Reactions to the proposals

As has been suggested, the Minute Books contain virtually no references to the proposals after February 1944. There is some comment in the local weekly newspaper, the *Walsall Observer*. This was an 8-page paper having no strong editorial stance and no regular letters column.

Its issue of 15/1/44 carried a short report of "the first public explanation of the scheme for the future planning of Walsall", given in a talk by the Borough Surveyor to the local Forum Group on 12 January. The issue one week later (22/1/44) contained on p. 5, the main local news page, a 4-column feature on the plan. The text was heavily derivative of the plan brochure itself, and the central area map was reproduced. There was mention of the exhibition, opened on 21/1/44 in Henry's shop, with plans and a model "prepared by Mr Willott, of the School of Art". There were two substantial and critical comments by local Aldermen, one of whom felt that the scheme was premature and that "the town should first complete the improvement schemes it had in hand when the war started". He felt that "homes for the people" would be of greater importance. Alderman Edge objected to the provision of too many shopping arcades and, most particularly, to the creation of a new open space around the central St Paul's Church.

"'For what purpose?', he asks ... The creation of such an open space in the very centre of the town would be fatal to the shopping interests. It would do for Walsall shopping what had been done in Birmingham by the municipal buildings at the top of New Street [ie the gardens around the Hall of Memory]. Such a space would serve no useful purpose".

Another week later, in a section on the activities of the Walsall Trades Council (29/1/44 p. 3), Councillor Whiston, the Chairman of the Public Works Committee "said he wanted to kill any idea that housing would receive second place" in the replanning of the borough. A Mr Reed "said there was an impression among certain people that the Public Works Committee did not care a hand about workers' houses but were merely concerned with the town centre". Councillor Whiston is quoted as responding simply "that is not true". However, on p. 6, Whiston writes a Letter to the Editor reiterating that there is no suggestion about priority

especially in terms of housing: the plan was "merely a master plan which it is suggested should be worked to in the development of the town".

Page 5 of the same issue carried a lengthy critique by Mr Will Wiggin, apparently a civic benefactor. Whilst this does not examine any of the individual proposals, he is intensely critical of the motives and method of the plan:

"What that invitation suggests [ie to criticise the plan] is that members of the Committee have some misgivings about their own plans, and that they are not satisfied that they are as complete as they ought to be ... The author of the plan has shown vision and imagination, but his Committee has not been sufficiently thorough or it would have made sure with its consultations before coming to the public".

With the exception of a brief note that the Borough Surveyor had addressed the Chamber of Commerce in the paper's edition of 12/2/44, the plan vanishes from the paper's pages.

Comments and comparisons

Obviously, this was a period when many towns were beginning to consider post-war planning issues, whether the towns had been bombed or not; although Walsall was in the first wave of such activity. A great deal is known about the local political background to some of the larger city plans, particularly for the badly-bombed cities (eg Coventry, Southampton and Bristol[10]). These provide often lengthy sagas of conflicts within councils, conflict with local groups, conflicts between councils and central government, and significant delay in implementing plans, often in a form very different to the original proposal. However, very little is yet known about less-prominent, industrial, less-damaged towns, with the exception of Wolverhampton.[11]

It was apparently not uncommon for the lead to be taken by Council professional staff and committees: in fact, of the plans known, there is an even balance between plans prepared in this way and those written by outside consultants.[12] In both the Walsall and Wolverhampton plans the impetus came from the Borough Surveyor. In neither case was he apparently a trained town planner.[13] In both cases he made detailed proposals to a committee of elected councillors, who made only minor amendments of detail rather than any more considered and critical review of the proposals.

Hasegawa terms those leading the reconstruction effort – and the public involved – 'visionaries'.[14] However it must be questioned whether that is appropriate in the

PLAN "B"
WALSALL–TOWN PLANNING
PROPOSED CENTRAL AREA DEVELOPMENT
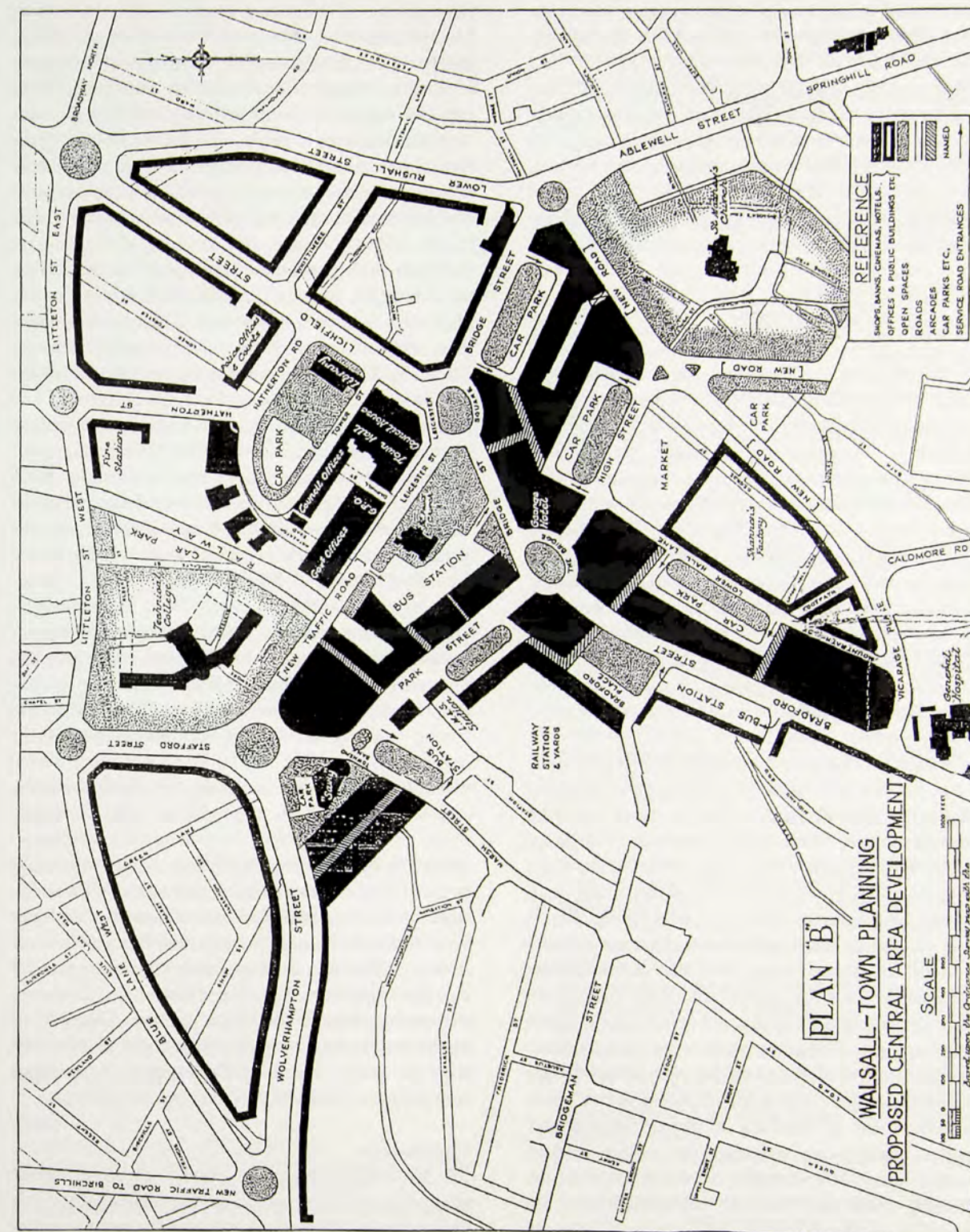
Walsall case, as the proposals are relatively small-scale even though the whole borough is considered. In Wolverhampton the proposals for the town centre were far more radical. Again, Hasegawa suggests that the earlier plans were more radical, and that this quality became diluted in the later plans of the late 1940s.[15] Yet there is virtually nothing in the Walsall proposals that could be termed radical. This is, in fact, a very safe, unthreatening vision of the future town. Many of its concerns (vehicle-pedestrian segregation, open space, public transport) are typical of the period and dominated post-war planning, while the transport-domination is typical of the 'technocentric' approach in the UK and elsewhere,[16] although far less well developed in Walsall's ring road proposals than in places such as Wolverhampton.

The Walsall Committee minutes have relatively little record of discussion of principles or details. This seems to reflect both the nature of contemporary debate, and the style of minute-taking. Although the Borough Surveyor's reports are included within the minutes, they too are short on discussion of principles and tend simply to list proposals. There is no discussion of the costs of either the model or the exhibition, surprising in view of this Committee's minute discussion of other, minor, financial matters. In contrast, the relevant committee in Wolverhampton had extensive discussion of the costs of both brochure and exhibition; the latter in particular, with its room hire, fittings and displays, films and opening ceremony, was a cause for budgetary concern.[17]

The Walsall brochure is a thin, 8 page, leaflet containing the two pull-out maps as its only illustrations. Its 6d cost was modest. The Wolverhampton brochure was four times the length, much more obviously a designed product, and illustrated with a range of maps, drawings, and photographs of the town centre model. However, it also cost four times the price (2/-). The Walsall plan is rather unusual in that it deliberately does not depict a vision of the future town, save the rather abstract representation of street pattern changes. Many other plans carry building elevations and/or three-dimensional representations. Arguably, these may aid readers' conceptualisation of the physical implications of the proposals, and there was a contemporary debate about the importance of thinking in three dimensions.[18] However, many plans recognised the dangers of such visualisations. For example, the Norwich plan repeatedly states that "the new buildings shown are intended to indicate height and size only and are therefore made as non-committal in design as possible".[19] Yet, however superficially attractive, such visualisations may serve to fixate the reader on a

particular point or (despite cautionary captions) promote an expectation of a particular visual appearance. Wolverhampton appeared to suffer this from its photographs of an accurate model of a new civic centre,[20] despite the Reconstruction Committee stating that "it will almost certainly be found desirable to invite competitive designs from Architects of standing".[21] In explicitly taking the view that theirs was a 'Master Plan' to guide future development, the Walsall Public Works Committee neatly side-stepped these problems. However, the low and negative public response suggests that the public did not understand this nature of the plan.

Exhibitions were a common means of communicating these complex ideas to the public.[22] As it plainly took place in a shop unit, the Walsall exhibition must have been relatively small. It had no high-profile opening ceremony. There is no documentary evidence that the exhibition actually took place in Bloxwich and subsequent suggested venues. In contrast, and within a few miles and a few months, Wolverhampton's exhibition in January 1945 was opened by Lord Woolton, the Minister of Reconstruction, and the Bilston exhibition of 1944 was opened by the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Town and Country Planning, H. Strauss.[23]

However, there is no minuted analysis of numbers of visitors to the Walsall exhibition; nor apparently any means of recording their comments. No photographs have been traced of the model or of the exhibition format and layout. Nor is it known whether the suggestions for a film and for display of other towns' plans were implemented. Again, this is in particular contrast with many other exhibitions.

Unlike the Wolverhampton Express & Star, which had initiated a 'reconstruction forum' in 1943, took a strong editorial position on the reconstruction plan, and also published over 25 readers' letters, the Walsall Observer is quiet. There are also few associated events, save for the Borough Surveyor and Committee Chairman addressing several meetings (eg the Chamber of Commerce, in the 12/2 issue). This could be compared with the public meetings elsewhere, and the prize competitions in both Wolverhampton and Liverpool.

Conclusions

The Walsall plan is another example of 'expert-driven planning', an officer-led initiative mediated (albeit only marginally) by council committees. It was an intuitive plan based on experience of the area rather than on the systematic collection and analysis of data. Many of the reconstruction plans began to move towards the latter

style, typified by the plans of Max Lock;[24] and the 'Development Plans' specified by the 1947 Act reinforced this structure and approach. The plan took a deliberately long-term perspective, as did many: a 50-year timetable was not uncommon. The brochure and exhibition were equally deliberate attempts to engage members of the public with this aspect of forward thinking and planning. Again, the language of other plans and exhibitions reflects these aspirations. However, the Walsall case can only be seen as a failure. This is particularly so in comparison with the neighbouring town of Wolverhampton, whose brochure and exhibition were available about a year later. There is no evidence to suggest that Wolverhampton explicitly learned lessons from Walsall, but it certainly spurred much more public comment. Even here, though, council officers and the newspaper editor were disappointed at the low volume of responses.

Is this another case of local apathy? Virtually the only item in the *Walsall Observer* commenting on the plans from a member of the public – and apparently a significant local benefactor – was largely negative. The repeated use of the word "criticise" in Walsall's call for comments is very unusual, but even this brought little result. Arguably, members of the public were not accustomed to this form of involvement at this time, despite the reconstruction plans and exhibitions for places such as London and Plymouth. The well-known plans and exhibitions for Coventry, Exeter, Glasgow and others were later: in this respect, Walsall was in the forefront of reconstruction activity.

As the critical comment in the *Walsall Observer* suggested, the public were, perhaps, not used to contributing their views at such an early stage of the planning process, nor to trying to envisage the future shape of the town over the span of decades. They may have been more used to being told by 'experts' what was coming, rather than to being asked for their views. This example is, therefore, a failure in public *consultation* and was too imprecise to provide public *information*. But the 'consultative paradigm', marked in the UK by the 1969 Skeffington Report,[25] was nearly a quarter of a century in the future.

Notes

1 *Architects' Journal*, 15 October 1942.
2 Cullingworth, J.B., *Reconstruction and Land Use Planning 1939-1947*, London: HMSO, 1975.
3 Larkham, P.J. and Lilley, K.D., *Planning the 'City of Tomorrow': British Reconstruction Planning, 1939-1952: an Annotated Bibliography*, Pickering: Peter Inch, 2001.
4 A copy of this report is bound in the Minute Book of the Walsall Public Works Committee for the meeting of 16/12/42; Walsall Local History Centre reference 250/220.
5 The remit of the Public Works Committee was wide and included waste disposal and budgetary issues. Not all meetings discussed such "town planning" matters, even when meetings did consider detailed related matters such as building applications.
6 The source for all quotations not otherwise referenced is the Minute Book of the Public Works Committee referring to meetings held on the date specified.
7 Such issue-specific meetings of the Public Works Committee were usually minuted, in the same Minute Book, as the "Special Public Works Committee re Town Planning" even though some of these meetings also considered the more varied normal business of the Committee.
8 However this is recorded in the Minute Book after the normal meeting on the following day, 19/1/43.
9 Walsall Borough Council, *Walsall – a Town Plan*, Walsall: Public Works Committee, Walsall Borough Council, 1944.
10 Hasegawa, J., *Replanning the Blitzed City Centre*, Buckingham: Open University Press, 1992.
11 Larkham, P.J., 'Rebuilding the industrial town: wartime Wolverhampton', *Urban History*, forthcoming; Wolverhampton Borough Council, *Wolverhampton of the Future*, Wolverhampton: Reconstruction Committee, Wolverhampton Borough Council.
12 Larkham and Lilley, 2001, compare sections 2.1 and 2.2.
13 However, by mid-1944 the Wolverhampton Borough Engineer, Michael Law, was referred to in Committee Minute Books as "Borough Engineer, Surveyor and Planning Officer".
14 Hasegawa, J., 'The rise and fall of radical reconstruction in 1940s Britain', *Twentieth Century British History*, Vol. 10 No. 2, 1999, pp. 137-161.
15 *Ibid.*
16 Diefendorf, J.M., 'Artery: urban reconstruction and traffic planning', *Journal of Urban History*, Vol. 15 No. 2, 1989, pp. 131-158.
17 Larkham, forthcoming.
18 Larkham, P.J. and Lilley, K.D., 'Imagining townscape: aesthetics of scenography in British post-war planning', unpublished paper presented to the Ninth International Planning History Conference, Helsinki, 2000.
19 James, C.H., Pierce, S.R. and Rowley, H.C., *City of Norwich Plan*, Norwich: City of Norwich Corporation, 1945, for example see caption on p. 51.
20 Larkham, forthcoming.
21 Reconstruction Committee, Wolverhampton, *Report of the Reconstruction Committee to the Council*, Wolverhampton: Reconstruction Committee, Wolverhampton Borough Council, 1945, p. 16.
22 Lilley, K.D., 'The city on display: planning exhibitions as civic propaganda or public consultation?', unpublished paper presented to the Urban History Group conference, Edinburgh, 2002.
23 Nine further exhibitions were opened by senior national politicians (information from Keith Lilley).
24 For example see Lock, M and Partners, *The County Borough of Middlesborough Survey and Plan*, Middlesborough: Middlesborough Borough Council, 1946.
25 Skeffington Report, *People and Planning*, London: HMSO.

'Searching for the Framework for a 'World History' of Planning'

SHUN-ICHI J. WATANABE
Professor of Urban Planning, Tokyo University of Science
(shun.watanabe@nifty.com)

Contents

1. Introduction

Thank you, President Ward. Ladies and gentlemen, good evening. I am deeply honoured to have been asked to give this lecture commemorating the great Professor Gordon E. Cherry. First of all, for those who remember Gordon so well and for those who do not know him, let me introduce the late Professor Gordon E. Cherry.

He was not only such an outstanding authority in planning history, but also one of the founding fathers of this association, and always demonstrated great academic leadership. From the first time I attended this conference, Gordon always made a special effort to help and guide me, as a participant from outside the Western world. Further, when we held the Third International Planning History Conference in Tokyo in 1988 in order to begin to 'internationalise' planning history, Gordon helped to make the conference a success by consenting to be our adviser and contributing his leadership. Standing here on this platform, I remember him so vividly that I can scarcely express to you my sadness that he is not here with us tonight.

Just exactly a quarter century ago, I attended the first International Planning History Conference held in 1977 at Bedford College in Regent's Park. The themes of the papers were: the English Town Planning Act of 1909, German Town Expansion methods, the American City Beautiful Movement, et cetera. As a young visitor from the Far East who knew of these wonderful cases only from textbooks, I felt as if I had died and gone to heaven to hear them spoken of by those who were the foremost researchers in the field. As almost all the participants were from Britain, the US, and Germany, I had the strong feeling that 'Wow, this is not an "international" planning history conference, this is a "NATO" planning history conference!'

Now we are here at the 10th conference. Apart from the fifth conference in Richmond, Virginia, I have attended and presented a paper at each event. I am sorry to say that with Gordon not attending, I may have inherited the distinction of being the 'World Champion' in conference attendance. I am thinking that soon I will have to apply to the Guinness Book of World Records.

2. Themes

2-1. From 'International History' to 'World History'

Since this association was established in 1993, I have been the only council member from outside the Western bloc. My academic mission has been to turn this association into a truly 'international' one. But what does that really mean? Let me ask you a couple of questions.

First, 'Is it part of international planning history if we discuss historically important planning cases of different countries at an international conference?' My answer is: 'No, a mere international accumulation of national histories does not make international history.'

Second, 'How about the research on such internationally famous planning cases as Garden Cities and New Urbanism?' My answer is: 'No, they are only the history of internationally famous planning attainments.'

Third, 'How about the history of international exchange of planning ideas and techniques?' My answer is: 'Partly YES.' It is my belief that in order to create real 'international history' it is not enough simply to work from the 'bottom up' of case studies from each separate country, but it is also clearly necessary to work 'top down' from the viewpoint of the whole 'world history'.

2-2. The Worldwide Diffusion of Modern Western Urban Planning

I believe that there is a very strong bias towards Western Europe and North America in this association. The reason for it lies in the fact of the worldwide diffusion of what we call 'modern Western urban planning.' At the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, modern urban planning was developed in England, Germany, the US, and elsewhere, which I call the 'West', and since then has spread throughout the world. In this presentation, I roughly include all other areas collectively as the 'non-West'.

The Western countries were the first in the world to experience the Industrial Revolution and the resulting rapid industrialization and urbanization. Entirely new patterns of urban space such as industrial districts, slums, suburbs, et cetera began to be created. New social classes such as the industrial working class and urban middle class began to emerge. With the rapid and disorderly growth of the industrial cities, serious environmental, social, and residential problems emerged.

The creation of these dreadful inhuman urban environments led in turn to the creation of various methods of public intervention and rational control over private development, which finally created urban planning as a social control technology. This was a reform movement based upon the power of the citizens, and a central theme was the 'total control of the built environment'. The main battlefield of the reform was in the suburbs, where the middle class with gradually increasing political power sought for the planned development of quality residential areas of their own.

With the spread of international exchanges among the Western countries, this new social technology of urban planning began to spread and to produce a variety of planning legislation, techniques, professional organizations, urban images, and so on.

As we all know, a very important contribution to this flow of ideas was made by Ebenezer Howard with his theory and movement of the Garden City. In Japan, by the way, almost a century has passed since the garden city concept was first introduced in 1905, and planners have not been able to stop thinking about it ever since. This is still the case, as is proven by the tremendous participation in this conference, at which even families are participating – including my four-year-old grandchild.

At the beginning of the 20th century, urban industrialization began to spread throughout the world, and with it modern Western urban planning also spread to the non-West. Therefore, to a greater or lesser degree, the history of modern urban planning in each country worldwide can be seen as the history of the encounter and/or collision of that country's urbanism with modern Western urban planning. In this way it is possible to sketch one part of a 'world history' of planning.

In many cases, however, international exchange was fundamentally 'unidirectional'. In other words, if we are to make a flow diagram, the flow was always 'from the West to non-West'. In this way the modernist bias that 'Western and modern is good, and native and pre-modern is bad' was also spread.

In this situation, Japan's position was somewhat delicate. From the Japanese standpoint, a two-tier structure was evident. At the world scale, ideas came from the so-called 'advanced' West to the 'delayed' East Asia as a whole. At the East Asian scale, however, ideas were imposed from Imperial Japan to neighbouring countries during the period before World War II. It pains me greatly to admit this to my fellow researchers from other East Asian countries.

2-3. 'Something Worth Knowing'

In international 'exchanges' in the past, very little academic interest has been paid to urban planning in the non-West, namely in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, which by the way is an area of great concern for the next conference to be held in Barcelona, 2004. But leaving it this way will be unsatisfactory to participants from the non-West and particularly to those from the developing world. If I can say so as an IPHS council member, without an increase of members from the non-West, this meeting surely looks a lot like an exclusive club for planners and historians on the admirable urban planning of the rich Western countries. No matter how you look at it, this does not fit with the thinking of the wise Professor Gordon Cherry.

As for the planning history of the non-West, not much has been published. Of course, in this we researchers from the non-West are also to blame. But it is also the case that Western researchers have not shown as great an interest in our planning history as we have shown in theirs. The Western planners tended to think: 'Compared with our own "good" cities, what are these

"bad" slums in the developing world? It is not possible to have planning history of cities that are nothing but slums.' In other words, they thought that there is no planning history worthy of knowing in such places. But I would ask: 'Is this view right?'

In order to think this point through more deeply, I want to pose two questions. First: 'Is planning history the history of "good" planning only?' Of course, the answer is NO. Second: 'Is planning history the history of "all" kinds of planning, namely, a history of "good" AND "bad" planning?' And of course the answer is YES. For me it is worth knowing both about 'good' planning and 'bad' planning. The first reason is that it is absolutely necessary to understand the structure of 'bad' planning in order to improve it toward 'good' planning.

The second reason is that discussing 'what is "good" planning' and 'what is "bad" planning' would open the possibility of our understanding the social nature of planning. It is important to critically examine the concept of 'good' planning of the West, which has been generally considered as the planning model universally applicable in the entire world. What is needed is to understand it not as the 'absolute' model but as a particular result of Western history, and to 'relativise' it. Such 'relativity' of modern Western urban planning is an indispensable necessary precondition for a 'world history'.

It is probably possible to pursue this way of thinking from the standpoint of Japan. The reason is that 100 years ago Japan was an underdeveloped country in terms of modern planning, and through interaction with modern Western urban planning Japan became a recently developed country. So we can most deeply understand the difficulties of the presently developing countries when illuminated by our own past experience. However, the problem is that, in reality, few know how to progress with such research, and the methodology is not clear. A theory is now needed which would be able to encompass the experiences of both West and non-West, and developed and developing countries.

And so, I want to discuss a theoretical framework from now on. I am afraid that this will probably get pretty theoretical and dense. For all those who find themselves wanting to fall asleep, please go ahead. I believe in the free market where the free choice of consumers is very important. But don't snore too loud; no external diseconomies, please.

### 3. Methodology?Theoretical Framework?

3-1. Planning World Model
As everyone knows, in general terms the primary purpose of urban planning is to improve the physical conditions of the city or, in a wider sense, of human settlements. In order to do this, urban planning has developed as a social technology of methods of controlling various elements in a planned way. To explain this to such a knowledgeable audience would, in my country, be called 'Preaching towards Buddha'. I thank you for your endurance, my patient Buddhas.

Here I want to emphasize two points about urban planning. The first is that urban planning is a social technology. The second is that it is quite possible to build cities even without urban planning. So, I would like to propose the following theoretical framework. Before the appearance of modern Western urban planning, the 'society' made cities. In other words, if we make a diagram of this, we can establish the relationship between two elements in this way:
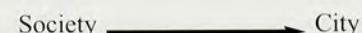
Society ⟶ City

This arrangement was artificially interrupted, however, by the third element, the 'planning system'. This was necessary because the city that the society made became a bad environment, and thus in order to make a more livable city the special device of urban planning was necessary. To represent this we must add the third element to the above two-element diagram, which will look something like this:

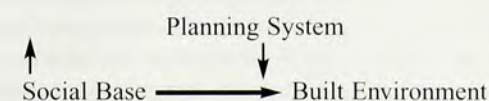Planning System
↑   ↓
Society ⟶ City
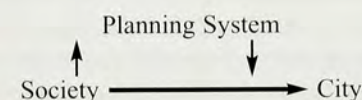
It is this planning system that constitutes the technical core element of urban planning, which is the main concern of planning researchers and practitioners alike. The planning system as such includes:
(1) Planning institutions (such as planning legislation and planning agents);
(2) Planning techniques (such as Master Plans, zoning, etc.);
(3) Planning organisations (such as central and local governments and NPOs);
(4) Planning actors (such as professionals and bureaucrats);
(5) Planning resources (such as financial and other resources);
and to guide all of the above, we must have
(6) Planning ideas, policies, visions, and urban

images (such as Garden Cities and New Urbanism).

If we put the planning system at the centre of the 'planning world' diagram this way, we can now consider the 'society' as the 'social base' of the planning system. The 'social base' thus defined is the totality of social and historical conditions that support and limit the planning system through various social, political, and cultural channels. Indeed, the way the social base affects the planning system may be viewed as the 'planning culture' of a country at a certain time. In other words, it is from this soil of social base that the flowers of the planning system bloom or wither.

Planning System
↑   ↓
Social Base ⟶ Built Environment

Well, what about the 'city', which is the output of such a planning system? Generally speaking, modern Western urban planning has dealt with the 'city' as the physical or 'built environment', not as a non-physical entity.

First, it conceived the 'city' as the social system that supports the urban life of people in terms of 'facilities' or 'land uses'. Second, it paid special attention to the 'good' or 'bad' arrangements of the kind, location, scale, and form of these facilities or land uses. Third, based upon this standpoint, it aimed at generally improving these arrangements. In a word, modern Western urban planning has developed as 'physical planning'.

In a later development, we could see the growth of two general ideas. The first is that urban planning is no longer limited to merely working toward the purely physical 'good city', but is also characterised by an expansion towards broader non-physical social goals such as cities that are environmentally sound and economically vital. The second is that just as the area of activities of urban dwellers expanded, the planned area also expanded from the urban to surrounding suburban areas, and from the urban to regional scales.

With this expansion of the scope and scale of urban planning, in many countries 'urban' planning is no longer focused on cities only but on the entire space of the country, and it has become common to simply refer to it as 'planning', not 'urban planning'. In the following the term 'built environment' is used instead of 'city'. Then, let us call the whole fabric of the social base, planning system, and built environment the 'planning world'.

Finally, it is important to note that the built environment created in one period is incorporated into the society of the next period, and can become a strong part of the social base. Following this logic, the flow diagram of the 'planning world' can be completed this way:

Planning System
↗   ↘
Social Base ⟶ Built Environment
↘   ↙
(Next Period)
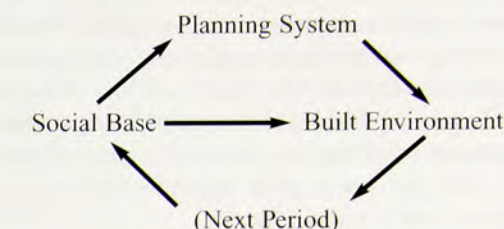
3-2. 'Comparative Planning' Methodology
Such a 'planning world' takes a different form in each country and each period. Here I define 'comparative planning' research as an approach that attempts to get an accurate understanding of the planning world through comparing the similarities and differences of various planning worlds. We can compare the planning world as a whole, its components, or its subcomponents. For example, we can compare:
– English garden city vs. Japanese garden city (planning world level),
– World cities of New York vs. Tokyo (built environment level),
– American zoning vs. English development control (planning system level), or
– Japanese land problem vs. Korean land problem (social base level).

Let us now turn to the methodology of comparative planning. First, we select, say, the various built environments for comparison, and mutually compare them to clarify their similarities and differences. Here the point is to pay special attention to 'differences' rather than 'similarities', and begin to draw a picture of precisely 'HOW different they are'. Next we must explain 'WHY they are so different' based upon various factors of the planning system. In case we select planning systems as comparative objects, our explanation must be based upon the social base. By doing so, we can come to a good understanding of the way the built environment is so uniquely and differently affected by the different planning systems, or similarly the planning system affected by the social base.

3-3. Points about Comparative Planning Research
Paying special attention to differences in the comparative objects in this way would deepen our understanding of the planning world. It is quite a matter of course that comparison needs multiple comparative objects. Further, I would like to mention

three points that seem to be important for comparative research.

First, in order to explore the differences in the comparative objects it is necessary to carefully compare each set of corresponding elements separately. Such a comparison is premised on the idea that there are some structural similarities between the comparative objects. If there are no structural similarities, it is simply impossible to make a comparison. Isaac Newton cannot be compared with an apple. On the other hand, Isaac Newton can be compared with Marilyn Monroe.

In other words, the structural similarity and the attributive difference (and similarity) are made clear by the comparison. Having detected some areas of similarity, by increasing the number of cases compared, we can gradually approach 'universality'. This also suggests that comparative research finds not only differences but also makes the universality clear.

Second, in the comparative research method that I have just described, you may have an impression that we compare very mechanically the corresponding elements with equal weights. This method may be called a 'hard comparison' in contrast to a 'soft comparison', by which you have a main comparative object in the centre of your concern with a heavy weight and compare it with many other objects without placing an equal value on them. In this case, emphasis is put on searching for the unique characteristics of the main comparative object, which may lead to the discovery of the particular 'key concept' of it.

For example, I think it is possible to pretty well explain the general characteristics of the planning world of England with the key concept of the 'amenity ideal' and similarly the American planning world with the key concept of the 'community ideal'. The 'Watanabe Thesis' would hold that another unique British key concept is the 'country living ideal'. Without understanding the historical and social context of this ideal, it is impossible for a foreigner to answer the question: 'Why do all British town planning professors choose to live in the countryside, not in the city?'

Third, the comparative objects that you choose can be the case of multiple countries in the same period or the case of a single country at different periods. We can understand the former as international comparative research and the latter as historical research. These two research methods can be equally handled in this way, at least structurally. This view is especially important in

trying to find the essential characteristics of the planning world that have constantly changed historically in every country.

A theoretical framework and plan of approach have been set out above. When these two are laid on top of each other, what kinds of new understandings and questions are created? I will discuss these two points in order now.

3-4. Planning System Intervention
It is worth asking: 'What does it mean to say that a planning system "makes" the built environment?' That is to ask: 'How does the planning system intervene in the process by which the social base creates the built environment?' In the case of modern Western urban planning, public intervention into the market by governments was a response to the evident 'failure of the market' in providing a good urban environment during the Industrial Revolution. The following three are the fundamental technical measures that were developed as planning tools.

The first is 'public works'. Public works are the direct provision by the government of a range of such urban infrastructure as roads, parks, and others that are not usually provided through the market mechanism. In order to provide such services it is commonly necessary for the government to acquire sites and to build on them by itself. This can be seen as a 'direct intervention' by the government in the working of the market.

The second is 'regulations'. The government can also have a powerful influence on the development of urban areas even when it does not build directly; it can regulate the processes of investment and building of new housing, shops, and factories by the private sector. Such regulations can be seen as an 'indirect intervention' in market processes by the government. A common example of such regulations is the land use control techniques such as American 'zoning' and British 'development control'.

Generally speaking, modern Western urban planning tried to control the entire urban space by dividing it into two areas of distinctly different nature and dealing with them with different planning measures. One is the public space for urban infrastructure by public works, which was maintained directly by the government; the other is the privately owned space for private development, which was indirectly regulated by the government.
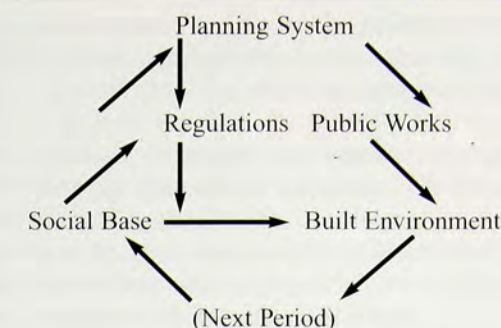
The third is the 'Master Plan', or American 'comprehensive plan' and British 'development plan'. It is often the case that in carrying out public works and regulations, local citizens' opinions will come up to oppose them. In order to both gain citizens' consent and to allow greater input from public opinion, it becomes necessary to create a common basis for creating the 'good' built environment.

The Master Plan is a public document that shows the concept of a future vision for the development, improvement, and conservation of the built environment in the form of maps, diagrams, and short text. Its functions are: first, to serve as the basic grounds for individual decisions for public works and regulations; and second, to provide visions to widen the range of choices for future decisions. In this way the Master Plan became an important planning tool for systematising such public participation and evaluation.

The sophisticated two-tier system made up of the Master Plan, on the one hand, and public works and regulations, on the other, is well developed in the West, which is the technical core of modern planning at large.
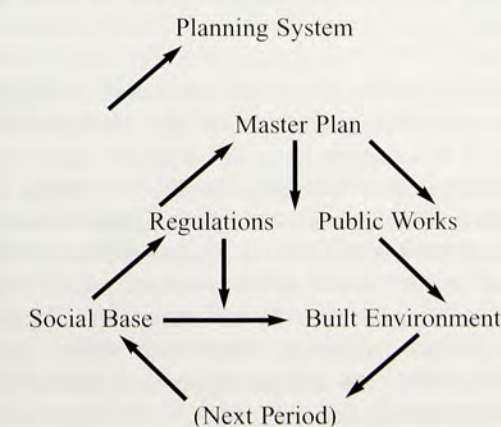
3-5. Social Support for the Planning System
For a planning system to be able to make effective interventions, it is crucial that it has strong and

informed support in the social base. What we should pay attention to here is the structure of that support. The point is the question: 'Which social class benefits most from the practice of planning?'

For the most part, the supporters of modern Western urban planning were the newly developed middle classes whose own homes were in the suburbs, and their aim was to create and protect their 'good' residential environment through land use regulations. In fact, the motivation of preserving their own property values was clear but kept rather secret.

A planning profession with its own sense of values and expertise was created to carry urban planning forward. Those professionals developed an image of the 'good city', which denied the further growth of large cities, promoted dispersed suburban development, and developed a powerful system of land use controls to ensure that the suburbs remained separate from the central city. This image of the city and of the planning system was widely supported by the middle class. In other words, a planning system that was strongly supported by the social base was established.

The professional planners transcended their particular workplace and became a group that was united by their professional identity. In both the US and UK, the planning profession became established as a separate discipline from either architecture or engineering. The concept of the 'good city' is usually left quite abstract in the planning laws, and it is entrusted to the judgement of the profession to gradually define it through practical applications. In practice, therefore, in England the members of the Royal Town Planning Institute are the ones who define what the 'good city' is. It is not Prince Charles.

In the West, planning professionals with their own sense of values and expertise have a great deal of social support. If we look at it from a global perspective, though, such a situation is quite unusual. From the perspective of Japanese planners, it is doubly enviable that in the West the planning profession is independently established in this way and that the professionals have such strong social support. I believe many planners outside the West share this envy.

As for the social support behind urban planning in the West, it seems quite natural that it is scarcely worth mentioning. Outside the West, however, there are many countries in which there is very little social support for planning. It means that the planning system intervenes little or not at all in the process through which 'the

society builds the city'. It means that 'the society is free to build the city itself'.

Many planners in the West, looking at the planning in the non-West, would criticise: 'You are provided with such a "good" planning system and yet you have such a "bad" built environment.' But I do not think this criticism is very helpful in two ways. First, all planners would agree that a planning system that intervenes little or not at all is unable to create a 'good' city any way.

Second, from the society's point of view, the city that the society can build with little or no 'unjust' intervention IS the 'good city'. In other words, the viewpoints of the 'society' and of planners can be quite different and even contradictory. There, the non-West planners are not necessarily supported as in the West.

Here, let us look at the case of land use controls. A planning system may be well supplied with various measures of regulations, but actually using them effectively is an entirely different matter. In the non-West, it is often the case that various regulatory techniques are used in ways quite different from what was originally intended, or are even not used at all. In the West, because the gap between the intent of planning techniques and their actual use is not so large, it is possible to read the urban planning law and have a reasonably accurate understanding of the facts.

In the non-West, however, it must be examined very carefully. There, even when there is a legally well-established planning system, there still can exist such practices as traditional and community-based controls as well as non-controls including a tacit consent for an illegal situation such as squatting. There, the situation is that 'the society builds the city' rather than 'the planning system builds the city'. We should not overlook the reality and structure of such weakness or absence of effective planning controls. It is certainly the situation of 'something worth knowing' within the framework of the planning world diagram.

3-6. Transfer of the Planning System
Well I have spent about 40 minutes now. I had better hurry up because I can see that Professor Ward, who is also a timekeeper, is watching me with growing anxiety. It's OK, please don't worry. I promise to finish this within next ten minutes so that everyone can make it to the pub before closing time.

In this diagram of the planning world, we can understand the worldwide spread of urban planning, which I discussed before, as the transfer of a whole or

part of the planning system of one country to other. As for the success or failure of the transfer, we had a rather inadequate viewpoint in the past.

It was often thought that transfer is a success if it results in the replication on the receiving side of a planning system that is similar to that of the sending side. Also, it was often considered to be a failure if the planning system is transferred but results in a very different form from the original or if the transfer that is tried is given up in the end.

The garden city idea is a very good example of the transfer that ended up with a fairly different form in most cases throughout the world, as the transfer of the garden city, in contrast to Howard's concept, resulted in garden suburbs.

Certainly, in this process it is essential for the receiving side both to have an accurate understanding of the planning system that is being transferred, and to fully grasp the context of the social bases of both the sending and receiving sides. There are also many cases, however, where even though the planning system was understood accurately it did not work in the implementation process of the receiving side. I believe it is in this implementation process that the transferred planning system is socially scrutinised as: acceptable as it is; acceptable only if it is transformed properly; or not acceptable and to be rejected. And we should not see the cases of transformation and rejection simply as failures.

Here I would like to reverse the normal way of looking at it. In other words, when thinking about 'success' and 'failure' in the transfer of planning systems, it is not just a simple matter of it being a success if one transfers the original system intact, and a failure if one cannot.

Generally speaking, there are many cases in the non-West where the planning system does not function at all as it is expected to in the West. In such cases Western planners are often unable to forgive the existence of 'bad' results in the built environment even where a 'correct' theory was applied. But in fact the reverse is true. What may be a 'correct' theory in the West can be quite naturally an 'inappropriate' theory that is, in our framework, even a 'bad' theory in the non-West. This view also may be applicable to the case of the garden city theory.

In this way we can begin to develop a new viewpoint about the transfer of planning systems. A desirable method for the transfer is probably not about results,

but about process. In other words, it is necessary for the receiving side to have a pragmatic attitude in critically evaluating, in making any necessary changes to, and in even rejecting, the planning system to be transferred. And the final result should be reported back to the sending side. By this way both sides will learn from the transfer, be it a success or failure.. Putting it like this, I believe that truly international planning exchange will be possible that will go beyond the limitation of West or non-West issues.

3-7. The Responsibility of Planners
In the diagram above, my attention is directed at the improvement of the planning system. Why? Because that is the practical purpose of planning research. Here it is important to distinguish between those factors that we can manipulate for intervention, and those factors that we cannot. The former are within our responsibility, while the latter cannot be our responsibility. Generally speaking, we can manipulate the planning system but cannot manipulate the social base.

For example, the miserable slums of developing countries may not be necessarily the result of a failure of urban planning, but are probably a direct reflection of the country's poor social base. In fact, there is no need for practitioners to be ashamed of their country's poor slums at all. It is likely, however, that they will continue to suffer frustrations because they have already seen a 'good' built environment that can be produced by a 'good' planning system of the affluent West.

This interpretation may effectively absolve planners from any responsibility. But 'Can planners really escape from all responsibility for the poor social base?' Of course NOT. It is necessary for them to challenge the society towards a planning system that can actually work, based on firm ideals, and with a strict adherence to realism. Here the development of Howard's garden city movement provides an attractive model.

We all know that Howard's garden city idea has strongly influenced the development of the British planning system from the days of the first Town Planning Act of 1909 to the post-war New Towns policy. In this example, we can see how an idea first conceived by a single individual gradually gained the support of the social base and influenced the development of the planning system. If we look at this diagrammatically, we can see that at each stage of the development, the

idea of the garden city as the 'driving force' pushed forward the reality of various aspects of the social base, whereas the reality as the 'checking force' dragged the idea backward. In the somewhat violent interaction of these two forces, the idea makes progress. The thing that we planners have to do is to attempt to win at this tug of war between idea and reality.

4. Conclusion: Toward a 'World History' of Planning
Now it is time to conclude. Well, 'What can we see when we review the 21st century from this perspective?'

In many non-Western countries, and especially in the developing world, most children will go to bed hungry, and most will sleep in slum-like environments tonight. On behalf of the people of such desperately poor countries, we are against 'the city that the society makes', yet 'How, and in what ways, is it possible to provide a "good city" through a "good" planning system?'

Here again we should remember Howard. If our dear Sir Ebenezer had been born in 1950, and had opened a 'Website of Tomorrow' in 1998, let us imagine what great proposal he would have uploaded on it in the evening of July 11th, 2002, fighting against the frequent lock-ups and crippling virus invasions? For all those gathered here tonight, for planners and citizens throughout the world — including computer experts — that is a serious issue to consider.

The crucial question here is: 'How can we prove the modern Western urban planning system, which spread throughout the world during the 20th century and which was proved to be really a useful social technology, as equally useful for the whole world society during the 21st century, particularly in the poor developing countries?'

Therefore, let us go ahead and take the various national histories that we have experienced personally and have each brought to this conference, and by discussing them from the global perspective, begin to weave them together into a contemporary and future 'world history' of planning.

After all, we are all world citizens — And we are all Howard's students.

Peter Richmond,
Marketing Modernisms: The Architecture and Influence of Charles Reilly.
Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2001, *xvii + 250 pp., 47 illustrations. £44.95 h/b & £18.95 p/b*

(Sir) Charles Reilly (1874-1948) was head of the Liverpool School of Architecture from 1904 to 1933. More than anyone else, Reilly was responsible for its growth and for establishing its reputation and influence. This achievement was linked to the development of the University as a civic institution and, on a narrower scale within Liverpool's political culture, to the early town planning movement. Richmond's study makes no *explicit* claim that Liverpool was the most important school of architecture at the time, but it nonetheless implies that this was the case.

A flamboyant and extrovert figure, Reilly was not afraid to go where others feared to tread or to take up progressive causes. He's an important subject and Peter Richmond has done him justice. Together with Colin Croucher's *Design Culture in Liverpool 1880-1914* (reviewed recently by John Walton in *Planning History*) and Alan Powers' 1982 Cambridge PhD on the development of English architectural education (both of which are cited here), Richmond's study sets the scene for new ideas.

Reilly was trained as an engineer at Cambridge. Starting out in the 1890s as an exponent of classical Edwardian architecture, he switched at the end of the early 1900s to American *Beaux-Arts* design, and, in the 1930s, to committed support for the International Style. Richmond suggests that the gap between this apparent *volte-face* and preceding classical forms is less than previously claimed. Reilly's moves between Edwardian baroque, neo-Georgian and the modern movement are depicted as an organic growth entailing no real clash. According to this interpretation he sought to define classicism as a set of principles, which would sanction a bland style capable of providing flexible but consistent quality. Defensible? Certainly but by no means, it must be cautioned, the end of the story!

Architectural education and the origins of English civic planning
The development of architectural education in England based in *academia* as opposed to *apprenticeship* (in an office) was more precarious than in France or Germany. Reilly and the other schools of architecture – University College London and the Architectural Association – were starting from a very low base.

Reilly's predecessor at Liverpool, Professor Frederick Simpson, writing in 1895, points to France where

> They still have a vernacular style in which their *architects and workmen* (my emphasis) are trained, and although…not perfect…it is surely better than the 'babel of voices' which exists in England at the present time (p.28).

Reilly's central concerns, therefore, were to promote a flexible classical style, which would raise the overall quality of English urban design to a decent, uniform level, and to move the training of architects from private offices to a university setting.

Liverpool, where the University was deeply involved in the life of the City and where its elite families retained some control over its economic and cultural destiny, offered Reilly an ideal platform. Due to the close relationship between University and City he found himself combining promotion of its repertory theatre with the conservation of Bluecoat Chambers and a prolific career as a journalist. In retirement he was also author of the post-war Reilly Plan for Birkenhead.

More importantly this link between Liverpool and its University drew him into an alliance with the soap magnate, philanthropist and developer of Port Sunlight, W H Lever (already by 1904 Lord Leverhulme). In 1909 they co-founded the world's first academic planning school. Reilly's partnership with Lever was the primary source of his influence in the early British town planning movement.

If, in Anthony Sutcliffe's words, planning had to be invented, then 'the specific combination of intellectual perception and practical activity' required was most likely to come from the marriage of Ebenezer Howard's network of self-governing communities with Raymond Unwin's domestic architecture (*Towards the Planned City*, Oxford 1981, p.204). This union was already under construction at Letchworth. But it had little, if anything, to do with the new School of Civic Design. As Richmond argues, there was no *civic* design at Liverpool, only *urban*.

The early planning movement, drawn together within the concept of Howard's garden city, was rooted in Christian Socialism, Co-operation and Henry George's

proposals for taxing land values. Its problem was that, without state support it lacked the initial resources to get its schemes built. State involvement was, of course, anathema to Howard's ideology. The movement, therefore, was forced back on the older tradition of philanthropic patronage. It was at this point that the Edwardian industrialist entered the story. This new figure, moving towards the modern industrial and financial conglomerate, was a different individual from the brutal, self-help Victorian entrepreneur. Lever was the perfect expression in flesh and blood of this switch. Like Gerald Crich, the fictitious colliery owner's son in DH Lawrence's *Women in Love*,

> He did not care about . . equality. The whole Christian attitude of love and self-sacrifice was old hat. [This was published in 1921.] He knew that position and authority were the right thing in the world . . . They were the right thing for the simple reason that they were functionally necessary.

Reilly's alliance with Lever was fatal. To cite Lawrence again

> Without bothering to *think* to a conclusion, Gerald jumped to a conclusion. He abandoned the whole democratic-equality problem as a problem of silliness. What mattered was the great social productive machine. (Pelican edition 1966 p.255.)

Nor was the other side of the bargain innocent. Reilly's commitment to American *Beaux-Arts* planning and the City Beautiful as house style and flexible model was more than just a simple aesthetic choice. To ensure the survival of the School of Architecture through difficult economic times he had to be able to offer placements and jobs to students in North America and the prospect of commissions throughout the British Empire (this is an area for further study). Competitive designs for public buildings in North America or the Empire would require a monumental style and this would, in turn, be reflected in studio work at the School, the method chosen to pass on skills. It's interesting to learn, for example, that William Crabtree's design for the Peter Jones department store in Sloane Square had its origins in his final year Liverpool thesis (p.168). The same approach was copied in Civic Design, but on a larger scale. Such a system was unlikely to be interested in low cost housing or the fate of Liverpool's slums.

None of this was inevitable. Stanley Adshead (Reilly and Lever's first head of Civic Design, closer in spirit to Patrick Geddes) was, from the evidence here, searching for a community based approach in which

town planning would play a co-ordinating role. Adshead emerges here as an interesting but shadowy figure whose departure from Liverpool in 1915 indicates Reilly's indifference to the need for a more sensitive approach.

The intrusion of neo-classical, *Beaux-Arts* planning into a sphere of interest previously linked to the Arts and Crafts movement raises wider issues. For too long we have accepted a historical interpretation which sees a number of distinct streams flowing together to create the broad momentum necessary for urban intervention. Here, however, we are brought face to face with what happens when they come into conflict.

Evaluating Reilly's 'Classicism'
One of the real surprises of Richmond's study is the extent to which the new and influential *Town Planning Review* was used to attack Howard's concept of the Garden City. Lever was also a patron to the Co-partnership Council, responsible for promoting interest in garden suburbs among working class and lower middle class households. Yet, in sponsoring the new Civic Design department, it almost seems as if he was defending his own, earlier creation, Port Sunlight, comparable to an American company town, from democratic encroachment. Liverpool, if anywhere, should have been peppered with garden suburbs and the new Department of Civic Design and *Town Planning Review* should have been behind them with Reilly and Lever spearheading the campaign. Yet only one – Wavertree – ever emerged, and it was planned by Raymond Unwin with individual houses designed by G I Sutcliffe, neither of whom were connected to Lever, Reilly or the University.

It's important to note, however, that co-partnership embraced industrial organisation as well as housing. It was bound in complex ways which have yet to be explored with the economic system emerging from Victorian Britain. In this instance, therefore, Lever's interest was more autocratic and commercial than insincere or inconsistent, since there was no suggestion that I'm aware of that Lever Brothers was ever planned as a co-operative or with any objective in mind other than enriching its founders.

Where would you have preferred to be in 1911? Enjoying the cultural politics of Liverpool with its social elite or out at Wavertree? Whatever your ambivalence towards the Ladies' Committee, Garden Suburb Choir or Open-air parliament would have been outweighed by freedom from the alternative (*Liverpool Conservation Areas* rev. ed. 1982). Reilly and Lever's

indifference (hostility?) to a social experiment in tenant control, which gave Liverpool its finest twentieth century domestic architecture, speaks volumes. Far from promoting planning the two men held it back. Or, more precisely, they channelled it in directions which did it harm. It's worth noting that their response to Wavertree, the University's first Lever Prize in 1912, went to an incongruous *Beaux-Arts* design for the centre of Port Sunlight!

Richmond claims continuity for Reilly's commitment to widely differing architectural styles. Town planning complicates this picture. Continuity remains, as it must in any historical account, but operating in more subtle and interesting ways. Richmond suggests that Reilly's commitment to an ambiguous and bland classicism was consistent with technological changes in construction and, later on, with an acceptance of the International Style of the modern movement. But Reilly himself legitimates this with the dubious term *modernisms* (note the plural). It is entirely logical to go further and claim that this adaptability was itself the source of difficulties that persist into the present.

A distinction needs to be made between the style Reilly promoted and his philosophy. The first was derived from the American firm of McKim, Mead and White, reflecting shifts in construction, style and the economics of building. (Is there a parallel here in the contemporary work of Skidmore, Owings and Merrill in Docklands and elsewhere? I'm not sure.) The second was eclectic, drawing in Richmond's view on Geoffrey Scott's *The Architecture of Humanism*, in which classical architecture is valued for bringing clarity and cohesion to design. Watkin describes Scott's book, published in 1914, as 'a bible to architects anxious to bring about a Classical renaissance in English architecture' similar to that in America following the Chicago World's Fair of 1893 (quoted on p.52). Reilly's American contacts, his engineering background and the move into urban design were united within a set of principles derived from classical architecture but not tied exclusively to it. What were important were classical values *not* classical details.

The trouble was that Reilly's 'classical' principles were *too* flexible and *too* successful. There was very little that twentieth century architects could devise that these principles couldn't justify. As a launch pad for academic respectability and professional status they were matchless. The architect as Reilly's own career and his publisher's cover note accurately claim, could be pictured as 'architect, teacher, journalist, town planner and cultural entrepreneur'. Who could ask for more?

Reilly was not required to establish any real social or economic context. He was too busy occupying a role as gentleman amateur, social visionary, cultural gadfly or any other that he could think of. He had no time for the real task facing architectural education or its role in the early planning movement. This was the hard work of problem solving within a set of material conditions and design skills, which would involve co-operation with other participants in the building process. Instead, the architect became a decorator of the space *external* to buildings. To achieve this, Reilly, Lever and Patrick Abercrombie used a bogus notion of civic design (which had nothing to do with uniting architecture and landscaping within a specified social context) to extend their own professional boundaries. Never was the term 'civic' more abused or stripped of its true meaning. In doing this, they contributed to forcing urban design on to the path that would lead to a repudiation of human scale and a wider alienation from those who occupied, rather than those who commissioned public housing.

Reilly within a wider context
This verdict would be unfair unless we can demonstrate that there were alternatives to the choice Reilly made. For all his self-promotion and the 'inconsistencies' so skilfully brought to light by Richmond, Reilly's 'rejection of strict adherence to Classicism' (p.42) could have provided English architecture with some rules about scale, decoration, materials and style which are still badly needed. Listen to Reilly (writing in 1924) on the eighteenth century terrace:

> Externally each individual house did not differ materially from its neighbours. This was a fine sign of urbanity, a tribute to the community…Any excessive expression of individuality or of personal importance in a building was considered bad manners (quoted pp.50-1).

Splendid stuff, but two years earlier, in response to Arthur Beresford Pite's plea for 'designs really expressive of modern constructions and materials', Reilly had backed off in order to defend the anachronistic Rome Prize which he had promoted for the prestige of his own School. Yet his own Church of St. Barnabus in Dalston (the building Reilly himself wanted to be remembered by) built in 1909-10 in 'an industrial aesthetic' of brick and reinforced concrete fulfils everything for which Beresford Pite asks. Time and time again Reilly recognised the essential truth of the situation but failed to deliver. The Peter Jones store in Sloane Square, on which he was consultant

architect, 'was not designed [in Reilly's own words] in the ordinary way, from the outside inward, but from the inside outward' (p.171). So why had the Liverpool School spent the preceding three decades denying this principle?

We need more about the style and education debate. We have to start with the other architectural schools, especially University College London where planning seems to have operated as an outpost of Liverpool, and the Architectural Association, home to a self styled elite organised in the back room of a gentleman's dining club. But the quest doesn't end there. It may be significant that Beresford Pite, an interesting parallel figure and perhaps Reilly's most interesting contemporary, was linked not to the universities but to the LCC's Brixton School of Building. There is an interesting suggestion earlier, never really followed up, that the separation of applied art and architecture (and the division between municipal and university schools?) helped to fragment the Arts and Crafts movement.

In Liverpool we require a clear understanding of the relations between housing and its sectarian politics. There is no single reference in this book to a working class organisation in the City, which is strange given Reilly's radicalism. Did the warped structure of Liverpool party politics limit interest in areas of social policy such as housing intensifying it in others such as education? Did the weakening of the City's labour movement by religious conflict drive Reilly into the arms of a small number of elite families whose time had already gone? Or was any wider reaching out precluded by his attachment to one of the area's most prominent industrialists?

When Reilly could no longer avoid the social implications of planning in his 1945 'Reilly Plan' for Birkenhead, he adopted the crude and unworkable psychological theories of Ivor Wolfe (or – more likely – had them thrust upon him).

> Ordinarily [wrote Wolfe in his book on the Plan] the young couple do not take the whole house, but one of the kitchenless 'bridal suites' provided in the village green, and they either feed at the community centre or have their meals delivered in an insulated container (quoted p.186).

This bizarre suggestion goes to the heart of the matter. An architecture, which removes social and political understanding from its system of educational goals and curricula, is *necessarily* incapable of providing an adequate approach to the wider issue of planning and

organising our towns and cities. As Adshead put it in 1909, whilst 'it is impossible to consider town planning without reference to architecture, architecture does not necessarily cognate town planning' (p.94). Substitute 'absorb' or 'subsume' for 'cognate' and the meaning is less ambiguous. The monumental architecture of the Liverpool School was tied less to the goals of the early town planning movement than to promoting architectural consultancy and using higher education to inflate professional status. In such a system, social goals are relegated to secondary status or no status at all.

Some of Reilly's pupils, it is true, *did* enter Sir Lancelot Keay's housing department. Reilly's neo-Georgian style *was* incorporated into some of the Liverpool's most attractive estates. But had his students really been prepared to tackle the slums? Relations between the City's two architectural knights are not explored. In the 1930s Manchester University offered evening classes and vocational courses helping to create a committed municipal civil service. It's doubtful whether Liverpool – in Reilly's time – could match this.

The architectural legacy of British town planning
Just as there was no real conflict between Lever's sponsorship of Port Sunlight and his desire to establish Congo style plantations along Belgian lines in British West Africa, so too with British town planning. It was wholly appropriate that the first post- reconstruction town centre scheme in a British provincial town should be the 1960s Shankland Cox Plan for Liverpool. Hadn't, in John Walton's words, Reilly and Abercrombie first made the connection between radial roads and ambitious redevelopment?

This may seem unfair. But questions have to be asked. Did their influence persist in the architectural and planning curricula they established? These seem to have continued with little change for a very long time. What of their successors, none of who appear to have had the slightest interest in (to give a single example) the tradition of community studies established within the University in the post-war period? And how did Liverpool come to find itself one of the first victims of urban renewal?

Only Arthur Dooley, shipyard welder and local sculptor, spoke in 1960s Merseyside of self-governing communities and civic design with a human scale. Did Dooley's failure in the 1960s contribute in part to Derek Hatton's rise in the 1980s? This is a big jump and we have to be careful.

Other figures are involved and the story, as told here, is necessarily incomplete. (To what extent was Liverpool's role in architectural and planning education challenged by other institutions?) But some continuities do seem strong. The obvious point is that the influence of higher education on town planning has been long-term. Students trained in Liverpool in the 1930s had the pick of jobs when the new planning system was established immediately after World War II. Their power and influence, therefore, persisted well into the 1960s.

But the lynchpin has been the link between higher education and architectural consultancy. Events have continued to give power to those who have maintained a hold in professional *and* academic institutions to the detriment of a wider view. The revived commitment to urban planning in the 1960s saw the creation of architectural consultancies with academic links on a lavish scale. These 'old boys' clubs' of the 1960s and 1970s were able to re-invent themselves as 'networks' in the new business culture of the 1980s and 1990s. In the new millennium centralised control of decision-making continues the flow of patronage to big names, sustaining Lawrence's 'great social productive machine'.

This explains the pervasive link between architecture and town planning in Britain. Although comparison is difficult, other European countries seem to have relied on strong building codes and more traditional approaches in which engineers, architects and building trade's craftsmen worked more closely together. In England a single attempt was made by central government to address the problem. The 1950 Schuster Report on *Qualifications of Planners* rejected the notion of 'a detached activity to be left to the experts'. But it failed to dislodge the narrow yet ambiguous framework Lever and Reilly had first tried to impose on the new science of city planning.

'Modern architecture (of which the Liverpool School is held to be important) has in reality no more

foundation, no more stability, than so much stage scenery,' wrote one of Reilly's critics in 1913 (p.99). Richmond's story has a very modern ring. Ninety years on Richard Rogers' *Urban Renaissance* task force carries it one step forward or back according to your view. Forward in that it finds one more role for the architect, that of urban manager responsible for stimulating new forms of prosperity. Backwards in that it does little more than revive Reilly and Lever's inappropriate version of the City Beautiful within the context of New Labour's accommodation with business interests.

Both Reilly and Rogers share a misleading and dangerous view of urban planning and their own role within it. Neither can be dismissed as irrelevant because Reilly was (and Rogers remains) able to stifle more appropriate responses to the central question of how we should live in cities.

The real action, of course, is going on behind the school bike shed where John Prescott's overblown Office of Deputy Prime Minister is carving up large slices of South East England with the high volume house builders. The trouble with this is that it's at the expense of better solutions and it leaves Britain with the most squalid, ill-maintained and inefficient – not to mention costly – urban environment in northern Europe.

This book enables us to set about tackling a range of old issues. Reilly was influential in setting a pattern the infant British planning system didn't need. Worse still, the legacy did not become apparent until the 1960s and continues to flourish today in the form of post-modern architecture, another of Reilly's *modernisms,* which he would have seized on and accommodated all too well.

John Mason
Middlesex University

Nicholas Bullock,
Building the Post-War World: Modern Architecture and Reconstruction in Britain

Architecture and building in post-war Britain have long been among Nicholas Bullock's varied interests. Some of his work has already appeared in print but this masterly study will strike the reader as completely new. Bullock writes as a highly cultured architect with international expertise in town planning and building – a Summerson redivivus. His thorough, historical method adds significantly to the more personal assessments of Lord Esher and others. His foreign work allows him to set the British experience in an international context, with Sweden the outstanding example and the Modern Movement viewed as a world phenomenon. His scholarship is impeccable and he writes with clarity and elegance.

The book is about architectural change. How, Bullock asks, did modern architecture (the Modern Movement and its outliers) rise from its obscure and fragmentary state in 1930s Britain to become a generally accepted design language by 1955? The answer lies mainly, he tells us, in the war and the ten years of energetic reconstruction which followed it. He sees the new architecture as an expression of the great mood of social change and socialist idealism inspired by wartime conditions, from Tecton to the Smithsons. Throughout, he concentrates on two major currents – the work of an architectural elite, and progress in general practice.

Bullock argues that 'the shock of the Blitz' made people look forward to the future (p.xiii), and specifically to a better society. Because considerable rebuilding would be necessary, planning and architecture were prominent, and symbolic, in the wartime debate. Bullock provides an outstanding account of this episode, referring to all the interests involved from central government to local groups and individual architects.

Very little building was done in the early years after the war but Bullock avoids the customary smart forward hop to the Festival of Britain. He has clearly scanned every page of the architectural journals – a frightening task which few have attempted, let alone completed -allowing him to give due prominence to almost forgotten meetings, correspondence, and competitions. His account of views on the 'English' qualities of architecture, including the Picturesque Movement, and of the still influential 'stripped classical', provides an essential context for the debate on modernism. The competition for a new T.U.C. headquarters in 1948, won by David Aberdeen's

Corbusian design, here acquires an important place in post-war architecture.

With architecture at last moving towards practice from about 1950, at the Royal Festival Hall and other exhibition buildings, and the new Coventry cathedral, Bullock is able to present a rounded picture of architectural development. He now detects a new, confident avant-garde. Le Corbusier's influence is now explicit and the Smithsons are on the scene, providing an intellectual and practical expression of British modernism. The CIAM are meeting in Britain for the first time. The New Towns, meanwhile, provide a combination of the modern, the traditional and the practical in the 'English' context of the small country town. This is mature architectural history, and Bullock takes it forward to about 1955. Let us hope that he will soon extend his account beyond this point, if his other interests allow.

In the second half of the book, Bullock turns to building. For the most part this means municipal housing and schools. Prefabs are justly prominent here, together with other experimental housing. The plans of schools and housing estates figure strongly. This reviewer is especially grateful for Bullock's clear description of that mysterious 'no fines' concrete, and for his explanation of why L.C.C. housing was built by the Valuer. Much of this appears in a special chapter on London in which Bullock weaves numerous strands into a comprehensive tapestry.

Although the author does not neglect town planning, his pre-1955 time frame encourages him to concentrate mainly on Coventry. In the City of London, he deals mainly with the design of the new office blocks built by 1955. Real progress at the Barbican lies outside his period. Perhaps he has a future book in mind.

This important book deserves recognition as the key authority on English architecture and building between 1930 and 1955. Not only will it repay frequent reading, its lists and indexes will make it a major work of reference. It is richly illustrated, often with little known examples. This is research and reflection of the highest quality – a great step forward in the history of the environment.

Anthony Sutcliffe
Department of History, University of Nottingham

Metropolitan Governance and Spatial Planning.
Salet, W, Thornley, A and Kreukels, A (eds, 2003) *Spon, ISBN 0-415-27449-4*

The book by Salet, Thornley and Keukels is an edited collection of twenty-two chapters on 19 city-regions of (western) Europe. Its main objective, in its own words, is to "explore the interrelationship between the formulation of strategic spatial perspectives for the whole metropolitan area and the arrangements of governance that enable decisions to be made." (p xiii). This link is reflected in the book's title 'Metropolitan Governance and Spatial Planning', which quite accurately describes the content. City regional governance and the surrounding issues have gained considerably in attention over the last few years, reflecting the growing concern in academic as well as practical (policy related) discussions on urban development and governance against the backdrop of globalisation-inspired competition between urban centres. The underlying notion is the finding of some possible 'best practice answer', and this includes learning from other cities' experiences. Comparing different examples of urban governance seems thus welcome and, indeed, essential for a relevant, practice informed debate on globalisation and the greater attention this brought to the regional scale, especially in economic policy making (OECD 1999, Ohmae, 1995, Scott 1998, Barnes and Ledebur 1997). City regions have become the foci and meeting points of these processes and debates (LeGalès and Lequesne 1998, Priebs 1999, Jonas and Wilson 1999) and thus investigating differing examples of urban governance seems a good, worthwhile idea per se. Exploring 19 examples makes it certainly interesting. It is here where this book makes a welcome and timely contribution to the understanding of city regions, their different workings in decision-making, and their responses to planning-political issues. It is thus a timely, useful and helpful contribution to the debate of city regional governance. Focusing on the planning aspect, it provides practical insights into the actual workings of institutional policy making 'on the ground' and thus helps those interested in urban governance issues to gather a better understanding of the underlying, place specific issues. Having some illustrative information, e.g. maps, would have added to the informative contents, especially for readers not so familiar with the presented cities. There are few books offering such comparative work (see also Herrschel and Newman 2002).

While these are all important strengths, there are also some significant weaknesses. Most of these relate to the 'edited collection syndrome', and this affects the structure of the book as well as the presentation and utilisation of the material introduced. The book is organised into six parts, consisting of an introduction and conclusion as bracket around the four main parts of the book, with four to six cities discussed in each. The titles to these four chapters are simply the names of the cities dealt with in each of the chapters – there are no subtitles or 'themes' that might give a clue to the rationale and interpretation of each of the groupings. This impression of an apparent absence of an obvious link between the cities in each group is somewhat reinforced by the lack of a summarising section in each of the four parts. This could have provided a synoptic perspective and rationale for the groupings. There are also inconsistencies in the theming of the individual contributions. Thus, for instance, in Part II, the chapter on London offers a helpful programmatic subtitle 'institutional turbulence but enduring nation-state control'. By contrast, the remaining three examples in that section offer little in this way, e.g. 'The Birmingham case'. I am aware of the difficulty in gelling different, individual contributions, whether based on conference papers, or commissioned contributions, and making them part of one story. This is not necessarily a problem, but succeeding here very much determines the book's scope to get its message across effectively. This, however, has been achieved only in part. For instance, at the more general, framework level of the book, chapter 2 offers a discussion of city regional governance in a European perspective, looking at the different scalar nature of city regions' external relationships. The discussion hee refers to a study by Healey (1998) and uses her categorisation (table 2.1, page 35) of 'regions' and their territorialisation. This is interesting and certainly useful in the context of the book, but it does not get picked up as a conceptual perspective. Instead, it merely appears in passing and then disappears again. This is unfortunate, as the systematic could have provided structural connectivity between the various elements. As it is, however, this overview chapter seems like grafted on without really connecting with the subsequent case study chapters. There is no further reference to the rationale for the groupings. Similarly, in the introduction by the editors, while it offers an interesting and useful conceptual diagram of the main analytical elements underpinning urban governance, but this then, too, seems to have been abandoned, or ignored, by the subsequent case studies.

While this omission is not necessarily a problem, it leaves a sense of a somewhat missed opportunity and a slight feeling of disappointment. This, however, should not distract from the undoubted strengths of the book, which lie in its provision of detailed accounts of place-specific case study analyses. Indeed, the presentation of the many different city regional contexts of governance and planning policy could encourage further study (there are useful references at the end of each chapter). Overall, the book is interesting to read, very useful as background for further studies and certainly of great help to students or other interested parties seeking illustrative examples of urban governance in Europe. It also allows familiarisation with the practicalities of city regional governance across western Europe. This is a major strength of the book, especially when most of the relevant discussions tend to be abstract and theoretical.

This book thus helps to fill this gap and connect the abstract debates with the realities of city-regional governance 'on site'. This alone is an important achievement and contribution to understanding the still new phenomenon of the city region and its workings. For that reason alone I would certainly recommend the book to all interested parties, be they students, academics or practitioners either to provide a general 'feel' for the various local versions of city regional governance in Europe, or as a springboard for further analysis of individual city regions and their governance.

References
Barnes, W R and Ledebur, L C (1997): *The New Regional Economies*. London: Sage
Healey, P (1998): The place of 'Europe' in Contemporary Spatial Strategy Making. In: *European Urban and Regional Studies*, vol 5, no 2, pp 139-153
Herrschel, T and Newman, P (2002): *Governance of Europe's City Regions*. London: Routledge
Jonas, A and Wilson, D (1999): *The Urban Growth Machine: Critical Perspectives Two Decades Later*. Albany: State University of New York Press
LeGalès, P and Lequesne, C (1998): *Regions in Europe*. London: Routledge
OECD (1999): *Draft Principle of Metropolitan Governance*. Paris: OECD
Ohmae, K.-I (1995): *The End of the Nation State – The Rise of Regional Economies*. New York: Harper Collins
Priebs, A (1999):'Die Region ist die Stadt! Ein Plädoyer für dauerhafte und verbindliche Organisationsstrukturen für die Stadtregion'. *Informationen zur Raumentwicklung*, no's 9/10. Bonn: Bundesamt für Bauwesen und Raumordnung.
Scott, A (1998): *Regions and the World Economy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Tassilo Herrschel,
University of Westminster, UK

Ebenezer Howard, Tomorrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform
Metropolitan Governance and Spatial Planning.

(Original edition with a commentary by Peter Hall, Dennis Hardy and Colin Ward
*(London: Taylor and Francis, 2003; pp. 219; illustrated)*

'Ebenezer Howard's *Tomorrow* is deservedly the most famous publication in the history of modern town planning. Published in 1898, it was repeatedly republished under its more familiar title, *Garden Cities of Tomorrow*, and translated into many languages.

Yet *Tomorrow* has never since been published in its original form – partly because it contained elaborate and expensive colour diagrams, essential to understanding Howard's central ideas, but lost in subsequent editions. Partly in consequence, his message has been misunderstood and distorted. Most notably, most commentators think he advocated building isolated garden cities in the remote countryside, while the reverse was true: his proposal, contained in the lost diagram of Social Cities, was for construction of huge planned polycentric urban agglomerations. And another central notion – that the community should appropriate the land rent that went (and still goes) to distant landlords – has likewise been

misunderstood, because another diagram, *The Vanishing Point of Landlord's Rent* – also disappeared into limbo.

Now, to celebrate the centenary of the first garden city at Letchworth, the Town and Country Planning Association has performed a service to planners worldwide by initiating the facsimile republication of the very scarce original first edition of *Tomorrow*. Accompanied by a scholarly commentary on the text, and a new introduction and postscript, by three leading commentators – Hall, Hardy and Ward – it throws new light on London in the 1890s and on the people who influenced Howard as he wrote his masterpiece. Liberally illustrated, the facsimile of *Tomorrow* will be a compulsory purchase for every serious student and practitioner of planning and for teachers and students of modern social, economic and political history'.

(from frontispiece of *Tomorrow*)
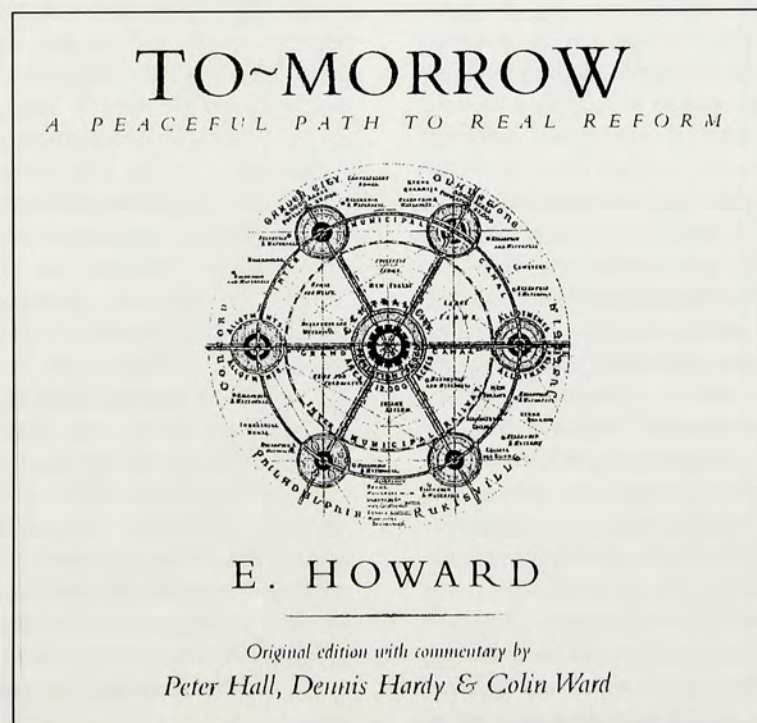
Also of interest:
Peterson, J. (2003) *The Birth of City Planning in the United States, 1840-1930* (£14,50; John Hopkins University Press; ISBN 0801872103)
Randall, G. C. (2003) *America's Original GI town: Park Forest, Illinois* (£15; John Hopkins University Press; ISBN 0801877520)
Sorensen, A., (2002) *The Making of Urban Japan: Cities and Planning from Edo to the 21st Century* (Routledge; ISBN 0 415 2265 11)
Stevenson, G., (2003) *Palaces for the People: prefabs in postwar Britain* (£12,99; Batsford; ISBN 07134 88239)
Young, T., (2003) *Building San Francisco's Parks, 1850-1930* (£33.50; John Hopkins University Press; ISBN 0801874327)

Some recently published articles:

Larkham, Peter J., 'Rebuilding the industrial town: wartime Wolverhampton', Urban History, 29/3, 2002; pp. 388-409.

'Abstract: There are well-known reconstruction plans for various UK cities produced during and after the Second World War, but little attention has been paid to those towns suffering damage, or whose plans were not drawn up by the usual eminent consultants. This paper explores the process of preparing such a plan for Wolverhampton, in the English West Midlands. Here a 'technocentric' plan is evident, typical of the 1940s reconstruction plans, but one with roots stretching back a decade into the mid 1930s; one whose key impetus was the Borough Surveyor, but which was prepared for a major programme of public involvement and consultation. Although this plan was not carried out in this form, it set the agenda for the next forty years of development in planning thought and in changing urban form. It was pivotal in the history of the town and its restructuring from the middle of the twentieth century'.

Wu, Fulong 'The (Post)-Socialist entrepreneurial city as a state project: Shanghai's reglobalisation in question', Urban Studies, 40/9, 2003, pp. 1673-1698;

'Summary: To what extent is it possible to capture the experience of an entrepreneurial endeavour in the post-socialist transition within the thesis of 'entrepreneurial city'? This paper applies an explicit definition of the entrepreneurial city – namely, the construct of three indispensable elements, including entrepreneurial strategies, entrepreneurial fashion and entrepreneurial discourses – to the city of Shanghai. It is argued that the formation of territorially based entrepreneurialism is a *state* project in the post-socialist transition. Marketisation and globalisation in this context are entangled processes. Whereas the state's legitimacy embedded in the public ownership of production has been eroded through marketisation, the entrepreneurial project allows the state to tap the market to restore its role in response to perceived, as well as real, globalisation. Through examining three historical metaphors of Shanghai's role in national development, this paper questions the process of the 'reglobalisation' of Shanghai as a transition to the 'global city' rather than its continuity as a globalising *Chinese* city'.

TO~MORROW

A PEACEFUL PATH TO REAL REFORM

E. HOWARD

Original edition with commentary by
Peter Hall, Dennis Hardy & Colin Ward

ALL IPHS MEMBERS SHOULD SUBSCRIBE TO IPHS-CONNECT

The Society maintains an electronic distribution list, IPHS-Connect.

The IPHS wishes to make IPHS-connect a more vital and regular medium of communication between all members. At the present time only a fraction of the membership subscribe to IPHS-connect. Although this electronic network is wider than IPHS alone, it provides an excellent opportunity for quicker transmission of IPHS news, announcements and events of interest. IPHS subscription notices for 2003 request for the first time email addresses so that all IPHS members will automatically become subscribers to IPHS-Connect Listserve.

When you subscribe, you will receive all messages sent by other subscribers to the list, and all subscribers will receive your messages.

To subscribe:

Send an email to listserve@listserv.bsu.edu

In the 'TO' area, enter listserv@listserv.bsu.edu

Do not enter anything in the subject field

In the 'Message' area, enter subscribe IPHS-Connect your firstname your lastname

This list is maintained by Profesor Nihal Perera, Ball State University, the E-Comm coordinator for the IPHS.

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.

ARTICLES
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.

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

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

NOTES FOR ADVERTISERS
Planning History has a circulation of approximately 400, reaching most of the world's active planning historians, mainly in academic institutions. Publishers, in particular, will find it a useful way of publicising new books, journals etc. Advertisements can be carried either printed within the journal, or as inserts. Sufficient copies of inserts must be supplied in good time for despatch. Advertisements printed in the magazine must be supplied in camera-ready form and must respect normal deadline times. The usual charge is £50 for up to a single A4 sheet or page. Multiple page inserts will be accepted *pro rata*.

Please also refer to the revised Instructions to Authors published as page 56 of *Planning History* vol. 21 no. 2 1999.

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.

PRESIDENT

Dr Robert Freestone
Planning and Urban Development Program
Faculty of the Built Environment
University of New South Wales
Sydney NSW 2052
Australia

Tel: 02 9385 4836
Fax: 02 9901 4505

E-mail: R.Freestone@unsw.edu.au

EDITOR OF PLANNING HISTORY

Dr Mark Clapson
6 Forrabury Avenue
Bradwell Common
Milton Keynes
MK13 8NG
UK

Tel: 01908 668548

E-mail: mjciphs@aol.com

MEMBERSHIP

Applications are welcome from individuals and institutions. The annual subscription is:

Australia	30.00 $ Aus
Canada	27.00 $ Can
France	18 Euros
Germany	18 Euros
Italy	18 Euros
Japan	2,200 Yen
Netherlands	18 Euros
USA	18.00 $ US
UK	10.00 £

Further alternative currencies available on request from Dr Michael Harrison, Treasurer, IPHS, School of Theoretical Studies in Art and Design, University of Central England, Corporation Street, Birmingham, B4 7DX, UK; tel (0)121 331 5880/5885; fax (0)121 331 7804
Email: michael.harrison@uce.ac.uk

Applications for membership should be sent to Dr Michael Harrison.

Cheques, drafts, orders etc. should be made payable to the 'International Planning History Society'.