CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

20

CENTURY
URBAN PLANNING
EXPERIENCE

An end-of-the-millennium global exploration of the legacies and lessons of a century of urban planning.

15–18 JULY 1998
University of New South Wales
SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY URBAN PLANNING EXPERIENCE

Proceedings
of the 8th International Planning History Society
Conference and
4th Australian Planning/Urban History Conference
University of New South Wales
Sydney, Australia
15-18 July 1998

Editor: Robert Freestone

JULY 1998

FACULTY OF THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT
THE UNIVERSITY OF NEW SOUTH WALES

INTRODUCTION

The International Planning History Conference held at the University of New South Wales in Sydney, Australia from 15-18 July 1998 was the eighth in a series held under the auspices of the International Planning History Society. The first conference was held in London in 1977. Since the early 1990s the conferences have been held biennially, with the two most recent gatherings being in Hong Kong (1994) and Thessaloniki, Greece (1996).

Taking the theme 'The Twentieth Century Urban Planning Experience', the conference was billed as 'an end-of-the-millennium exploration of the legacies and lessons of a century of urban planning'. Major themes and issues included:

- rise and fall of planning agendas, ideologies and methodologies
- production of planned communities and landscapes
- theory, education and measurement in built environment studies
- formulation, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of public policy
- roles of individuals and institutions shaping planning activity and its outcomes
- spatial impacts of planning and urbanisation
- conservation of cultural and natural heritage
- environmental management and sustainability
- evolution of planning processes, partnerships and participation
- lived experiences of planning experiments

The conference also encompassed the 4th Australian Planning/Urban History Conference, following earlier meetings in Sydney (1993), Canberra (1995) and Melbourne (1996). While the urban history component has been somewhat overshadowed by the planning strand, an eclectic range of papers dealing with the patterns, processes and implications of urban change was also presented.

The scope and depth of contributions is extraordinary. These proceedings convey well the diversity, globalism, and interdisciplinary character of contributions. Also evident is the desired convergence between, on the one hand, academic and policy discourses, and, on the other, historical and contemporary perspectives.

With nearly 250 papers presented, and an even greater number of delegates, the scale of the conference surpassed the early expectations of the International Planning History Society and the University of New South Wales. The event certainly vindicated the critical early support came from key actors in the private sector, the NSW State Government, local government, and professional organisations, notably the Lend Lease Property Group, the Royal Australian Planning Institute, Sydney and Melbourne City Councils, Kinhill, APT Peddle Thorp, Australian Institute of Urban Studies, ACT Planning and Land Management, Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute and Qantas.

For simplicity, the papers in this massive volume are organised alphabetically. Thirty-nine papers were presented at the inaugural conference of the then fledgling Planning History Group 21 years ago. This book includes a total of 187 papers, representing nearly 80% of the papers actually presented.

Robert Freestone

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Contents

Contents

Contents

Contents

Contents

Contents

Contents

The Politics of "Good Planning" in Portland, Oregon

Carl Abbott
School of Urban Studies and Planning
Portland State University
Portland, OR 97207-0751
USA

INTRODUCTION

Portlanders are proud of themselves. Like the residents of many other U.S. cities, the people of Portland, Oregon can be formidable promoters of their home community. Ask around town and you'll learn that Portland is special for its climate ("mild," not rainy), its views of snow-capped Mount Hood, its small town ambiance and "just folks" style, and its success at fending off many of the problems of urban sprawl and congestion. In this self-satisfied picture of achievement by avoidance, Los Angeles has long been damned, Seattle has sold its soul, and only Portland still treads the strait way of good planning.

Unlike many other cities, however, well-informed observers around the nation share the evaluation. Portland enjoys a strong reputation in the circles of urban planning and policy as a well planned and livable metropolitan community. The city and region gained initial attention in the late 1970s and 1980s and have enjoyed a surge of positive commentary in the 1990s. Portland is one of the few U.S. metropolitan areas that measures favorably against the model of the compact metropolis that dominates the contemporary literature of urban planning and design.

This presentation addresses three questions that other communities might ask in considering Portland's reputation and record.

> o First, what characteristics set Portland apart from comparable cities in the U.S.?

> o Second, what factors have allowed Portlanders to shape a city that meets the professional criteria of good planning? What are the key steps and measures through which Portlanders have shaped the metropolitan area during the last generation?

> o Third, what lessons might other cities learn from the Portland experience, and what aspects of this experience hold the potential for imitation?

Analysis of these issues supports two broad conclusions about the politics of good planning. **WHAT** Portland has accomplished centers on decisions about **urban design and the physical shape** of the metropolitan area. **HOW** Portlanders have shaped their cityscape and metroscape has to do most essentially with **politics**--public values, leadership, the capacity of planning agencies and local governments, and the quality of civic discourse. Good design and planning did not happen simply because they are good ideas. They happened because the community talked itself into making key decisions to put planning ideas into action, and created the infrastructure of civic institutions to support and implement those decisions.

THE COMPACT METROPOLIS

Unlike many fast growing metropolitan areas in the American West (such as Phoenix, Houston or Las Vegas) Portland is still best understood from the inside out. It has been fertile ground and source of good examples for the advocates of neo-traditional neighborhood planning and the so-called "new urbanism."

Downtown: Metropolitan Portland is anchored by a strong and viable central core. The downtown is walkable and attractive. Downtown and the immediately adjacent areas have to date held or captured all of the key cultural institutions for the metropolitan area, including university, performing arts facilities, sports venues, and convention facilities. The central office district has increased its number of jobs to more than 100,000 and upgraded average job quality over the past twenty years. Two-thirds of the Class A office space in the metro area are downtown (far higher that the 40 percent typical for other cities in the United States).

Inner Ring: Portland lacks the "grey area" or ring of derelict industrial districts and abandon neighborhoods that surrounds the highrise core of many cities. Downtown Portland is bordered by viable residential neighborhoods at several economic scales and by neighborhoods in the making on surplus railroad and harbor land. An innovative industrial sanctuary policy uses a zoning overlay to protect inner manufacturing and warehousing districts from the incompatible uses such as big box retailing, allowing major employment centers within two miles of downtown to add roughly 100,000 jobs to those in the central business district.

Middle Ring: Beyond the inner ring of apartment neighborhoods and industry is Portland's ring of streetcar suburbs, the residential districts that first developed between 1890 and 1940. In most cases, these neighborhoods were successfully recycled for a third generation of families in the 1970s and 1980s. Several bypassed neighborhoods have experienced the same process in the 1990s. These recycled neighborhoods support an unusually prosperous set of neighborhood business districts and an unusually strong city school system, which is itself a selling point for neighborhoods.

Outer Ring: Much of Portland's recent employment growth has taken place in postwar suburbs, including office clusters and electronics manufacturing. However, the combination of an Urban Growth Boundary and an economic recession in much of the 1980s prevented the scattering of low density development in a leapfrog pattern. The lack of an outer circumferential freeway or beltway has combined with the strong urban core to blunt the nationwide trend toward the independent employment centers known as "edge cities." Instead, the outer ring of the metropolitan area remains closely tied to the core through a radial highway system and a developing radial rail system.

PLANNING COALITIONS

As a compact and centered metropolis, Portland thus matches in many particulars the model of good urban form that dominates the professions of planning and urban design in the late 1990s.

The metro area also benefits from planning and growth management institutions that are now textbook examples of "good government" for other North American cities. Most important is the Oregon land use planning system, established in 1973 and administered by a state Land Conservation and Development Commission. Implementing state planning guidelines in the Portland area is Metro, an elected regional government whose powers were substantially enhanced by local voters in the 1990s.

In Portland as in every other city, however, planning is politics, as is urban design at any scale larger than an individual project. Good ideas do not realize themselves; they are implemented through political decisions in which the community considers alternatives and makes choices. **In Portland, those decisions have involved the construction of a series of remarkable stable alliances around issues of urban form.**

These coalitions are products of the last thirty years. In the decade after World War II (1945-1955), Portland politics revolved around traditional battles between old guard politicos and reformers over police corruption, proposals for city manager government, and the acceptability of public housing. From 1955 to 1965, politics revolved around the longstanding tension between business interests on the east and west sides of the Willamette River, expressed in bitter electoral battles over the location of public facilities such as a Coliseum and domed stadium.

One reason for introverted battles over issues left over from the 1930s and 1940s was Portland's failure to catch the postwar economic boom. From 1945 to 1965, Portland was stodgy in social tone, cautious in leadership, and stingy with public investments. The neoprogressive political reform movements that spoke for new economic interests and transformed cities such as Denver and Phoenix bypassed Portland. Within the Pacific Northwest, Portlanders pinched pennies while Seattle consolidated its economic lead with strategic investments in the University of Washington, in the Century 21 exposition, and in facilities to handle containerized cargo, and in community infrastructure.

The late 1960s, however, brought important changes. The rise of a locally based electronic and instrumentation industry and the expansion of business and professional services brought in highly educated outsiders, many attracted by environmental amenities as well as specific jobs. In combination with the newcomers, a new generation of voters with limited interest in old battles chose a new set of political leaders with fundamentally new municipal and regional agendas.

This local revolution in public leadership coincided with changes in the national dialogue about city planning and politics. Portland's new politics were informed by the urban renewal and freeway critics of the 1960s, who emphasized the value of small-scale and vernacular

urban environments and the excitement of large cities. City planners rediscovered that downtowns were complex collages of subdistricts rather than unitary wholes. Both quality-of-life liberals working in the growing information industries and members of minority communities reemphasized the values of place and the sought to make neighborhoods effective instruments of resistance to large-scale changes in the urban fabric. Within this changing national discourse, Portland stood out not for the content of its vision but for the effectiveness of its leaders in transforming the common vision into a comprehensive set of public policies and for constructing powerful political coalitions around several planning goals.

Downtown and older neighborhoods: At the center of Portland planning politics is the mutual support of downtown businesses (the traditional "growth machine") and older neighborhoods. Mayor Neil Goldschmidt (1973-79) overcame east side/west side mistrust with a three-facet effort that emphasized public transportation, neighborhood revitalization, and downtown planning. Improved public transit would improve air quality, enhance older neighborhoods, and focus activity downtown. A vital business center would protect property values in surrounding districts and increase attractiveness for residential reinvestment. Middle class families who remained or moved into inner neighborhoods would patronize downtown, and prosperity would support high levels of public services. Neighborhood planning would focus on housing rehabilitation and amenities to keep older areas competitive with suburbs.

The downtown-neighborhood coalition remains viable 25 years later, assisted by Portland's social homogeneity. Portland is a middle class city of small business proprietors, skilled union members, managers, and professionals. Unlike neighboring Seattle, its history is not one of labor-management conflict or ethnic polarization. The small African-American population (only 8 percent of the City of Portland in 1990) is well-integrated at the neighborhood scale by any national comparison.

White collar and blue collar employers: Embedded in the downtown-neighborhood coalition is an important compromise between old warehousing and manufacturing industries and downtown office employers and developers. That compromise has been to use zoning to identify certain parts of the downtown fringe for expansion of offices and housing while protecting older uses in other fringe areas. This industrial sanctuary policy is a powerful tool for avoiding the mismatch between the location of jobs and housing that afflicts many metropolitan areas.

Central city and older suburbs: A logical expansion of the Goldschmidt coalition has been the definition of common agendas by the City of Portland and key suburban cities. The coalition developed in the 1980s around planning for a four-spoke light rail system. The three largest suburbs recognized that light rail links to downtown Portland offer strong development potential for secondary activity centers. They have agreed with Portland that Metro's "Region 2040" plan, with its promise of compact residential development and promotion of city and suburban downtowns served by improved public transit, offers the chance to pursue futures as outlying anchors on a radial transportation lines rather than as beads on a beltway.

This alliance has been facilitated by the social homogeneity of the metropolitan area. Census-defined minorities constitute only 12 percent of the metropolitan population, making Portland one of the "whitest" metro areas in the U.S. As a consequence, intensified development in suburban communities does not carry an automatic implication of racial change. Nor does it imply substantial shifts of social status, for the gap between city and suburban household incomes is smaller than in a majority of comparable metropolitan areas.

Farmers and metropolites: Providing a context for Portland area planning, as well as the specific sanction for the UGB, is Oregon's land use planning system. The LCDC system originated in 1973 as a farm preservation program. The decision to use an Urban Growth Boundary as a as central tool made it possible to attract Willamette Valley cities as part of a legislative coalition.

A willingness to consider European-style constraints on urban expansion has been rooted in part in a sense of physical limits unusual in the expansive West. Valuable Willamette Valley farmland is an obviously finite resource, whose limits are marked by the foothills of the Cascades and Coast range.

Urbanists and environmentalists: A compact urban form benefits the undeveloped landscape and natural systems as well as farms. The commitment of environmental advocates and "greens" to Portland growth management also links closely to the sense of physical limits, for relatively little urbanizable land remains between the suburban frontier and edges of the Northwest forest. In effect, the recent neotraditional vision of compact development has been layered on an environmental regionalism of the sort historically associated with Lewis Mumford. The former draws from the planning and design professions who are the strongest advocates of "new urbanism." The latter draws on scientific environmentalism with its concern for sustainable natural systems. The result is a potent alliance between boulevardiers and backpackers, friends of city life and friends of trees.

PLANNING LESSONS FROM PORTLAND

The Centrality of Transportation: Transportation planning and investment has been the pivot for Portland's planning efforts. Transportation decisions have strengthened downtown and older neighborhoods and created city-suburb alliances. The public fear of Los Angeles-style traffic congestion is the single strongest source of support for regional planning and compact urban form.

A Habit of Planning: Portlanders have developed a habit of planning. The civic community is comfortable and familiar with planning processes, issues, and terminologies. Issues of planning are part of the civic discourse and a staple of local news reporting to an extent unusual in other cities. Metropolitan areas frequently take a single well-publicized swing at defining a regional agenda but lack follow-through. The Portland experience suggests the vital importance of following such highly visible activities with continued discussion through conferences, meetings, and publications sponsored by locally based institutions. These institutions might be an urban university, government agencies, or nonprofit advocacy organizations (such as the Regional Planning Association of New York).

The Power of Incrementalism: Portland has built its particular urban form and its supportive institutions of planning and growth management through a series of incremental steps. The decisions and institution-building that have shaped the Portland of 1996 had their beginnings in the late 1960s.

For three decades, residents of the Portland area have moved one step at a time, addressing problems in sequence rather than trying for comprehensive one-time solution to a complex set of concerns. They have also built public institutions incrementally. An example is the gradual creation of a strong Metro from its origins in the Columbia Region Association of Governments (1966), addition of a Metropolitan Service District (1970), modification of CRAG (1974), merger of CRAG and MSD into Metro (1978), and the further expansion of Metro's authority and independence in 1992.

Other cities might also think about the value of incremental approaches to growth management. It is common wisdom among community organizers that it always important to start with small but winnable issues to build community confidence and political momentum before tackling the hard problems. The Portland experience suggests that an analogous approach may be relevant for citywide and regional planning and growth management.

Coalition Building: The central point of this analysis is the importance of building stable political coalitions for moving a metropolitan regional agenda. Portlanders have developed a political culture that considers policy alliances and team building as the normal way of doing public business and balances the brokering of economic and political interests with a serious regard for rational argument.

It is unlikely that the basis for coalition building will be the same in other metropolitan areas, for key issues and key players will differ. Growth management and urban form may be less important than another commonly recognized problem, such as city-suburban revenue sharing or the creation of political bridges across racial divide). Nevertheless, Portland's recent planning history suggests that U.S. metropolitan areas are not locked into an inevitable cycle of spatial sprawl and city-suburb conflict.

[References and full version of paper available on request]

FROM URBANISM TO PLANNING: THE CARACAS SHIFT (1930s-1940s) (1)

Dr. Arturo ALMANDOZ
Departamento de Planificación Urbana
Universidad Simón Bolívar
Apartado 89000 / Caracas 1086
VENEZUELA

INTRODUCTION: THE PROPOSALS FOR MID-1930s CARACAS

After Juan Vicente Gómez's death, which put an end to Venezuela's longest dictatorship (1908-1935), one of the first steps taken by the E. López Contreras's new democratic administration (1935-1941) was to move the presidential residence back to Caracas by the end of 1935. López Contreras was to find a capital which had long since shown the signs of the petroleum boom: with a population of 203,342 and an extension of 542 urban ha by 1936, Caracas possessed the highest density of Venezuela - 146.84 inhabitants per square km - while the demographic increase had been 45% since 1926. Rural-urban migration had become an important factor of growth: 87,902 residents were born from immigrants to the capital, which boasted 8 lines of taxis and cars, 2 tram enterprises, buses, trucks and a very busy urban life, according to the 1939 Census. Beyond the crowded centre, the new *urbanizaciones* had replaced the coffee plantations in the capital of the former coffee-exporter country. From La Florida to Chacao, eastern suburbs evinced a growing speculation in real estate, urbanized with a frenzy which could not be perceived in the Gómez era.

Given its potentially revolutionary effects, Gómez had always postponed any discussion of the urban changes to Caracas; but immediately after his death, the debate was to burgeon out in the national press, while related articles appeared in specialized journals. The daydreams and fantasies repressed for so many years started to be released haphazardly in the utopian proposals of Ramiro Nava - a visionary lawyer and architect who came to be known as the Venezuelan Jules Verne. The bulk of Nava's ambitious plan "Bloque de Oro" - published since January 1936 in *El Universal*, Venezuela's largest newspaper - was to be displayed in his Americanized proposals for López's restored capital, comprised in his "Plan Ramironava", which intended to be a step forward in relation to the allegedly timid and abstract programme of the government (1971: 690-94). Less ambitious but more realistic were other proposals for the refurbishment of the city centre and its articulation with eastern suburbs, such as an anonymous project for the expansion of Caracas, focused on the traffic problem, which could no longer be solved with further organization of the transit, but only with the necessary transformation of one of the colonial streets into a big avenue (Proyecto..., 1936: 5). A week later, Luis Roche hastened to publish his response in the same newspaper. In "Embellecimiento de Caracas", the well-known developer recognized not only the traffic, sanitary and functional shortcomings of the capital, but also the ornamental deterioration due to the invasion of cars and the rampant installation of new infrastructure. Apart from some recommendations for the sanitary and financial development of the capital, the highlight of Roche's proposal was in relation to the design of new roads - which seemed to imitate the examples of both New York and Paris (Roche, 1936). In a series of didactic articles published in *El Universal* from 1938, the crusade for renewing the centre of Caracas was taken up by the Spanish Rafael Bergamín. With quotations from the French urbanist Henri Prost, the newcomer explained his particular vision of the problems of the crowded centre: in addition to the structural restrictions due to its colonial grid and its defective drainage, the functional modification of a centre where commercial, administrative and monumental functions were mixed was urged by the author. In relation to this, Bergamín proposed a densification of the lots of central blocks, with 5-storey buildings which would allow for the widening of central streets, whilst rescuing inner spaces for greenery - one of the major wants of Caracas (Bergamín, 1959: 14, 19, 22-23).

Despite their relative lack of theoretical support, all these proposals had the merit of coming to terms with the historic challenges of post-Gómez Caracas. They publicly proclaimed the exhaustion of its colonial centre - whose untouched grid had suffered nearly four centuries of social and economic changes. They also transformed the pending questions of urban sprawl and traffic into the more general issues of the urban renewal of the centre and its articulation to the eastern suburbs, while urging for planning instruments in this respect (Caraballo, 1991). Especially the proposals of Roche and Bergamín had the merit of combining functional needs with aesthetic ameliorations in terms of monumentality, ornamentation and greenery - an equilibrium of which it was good to remind the greedy developers of the booming capital. But, above all, there was a point which all these proposal agreed about: the crisis of the growth and traffic of Caracas could not be solved with a partial treatment of its centre alone, but with a general plan for the city.

THE FIRST LOCAL OFFICE OF URBANISM

Some of the problems and dilemmas hinted at in the proposals for Caracas were to be solved by the new head of the Gobernación del Distrito Federal (GDF), General Elbano Mibelli, appointed by the President in February 1936. Apart from backing López's sanitary and educational policies from the GDF, the General also paid immediate attention to the urban problems of Caracas, which were being discussed in the newspapers in the days of his appointment. As publicly reckoned by newspapers proposals in 1936 and by Governor Mibelli himself later on, the question of traffic was intimately associated with the general transformation of Caracas, which could not be postponed any longer (GDF, 1940: viii). After writing to the Colegio de Ingenieros de Venezuela (CIV) in April 1937 asking for advice in order to develop the public services of the GDF, and apparently also following a presidential request, Mibelli created, on April 6, 1938, the first Dirección de Urbanismo (DU) of Caracas. With technical and economic resources detached from the municipal administration, the DU was not meant to be a mere body for controlling the growth of the capital, but a planning agency which should immediately study, elaborate and implement a new "Plan de Urbanismo" for the city of Caracas, as it was set up in justification of Mibelli's legal resolution (Gobernación, 1939, I: 271).

At the same time, the urbanistic apparatus was boosted with a new Comisión Técnica de Urbanismo (CTU) composed of local experts and representatives from the Ministry of Public Works (MOP), the DU and Mibelli himself. The GDF's new urbanistic machinery was completed with the expertise of French professionals: on the same date as the creation of the DU, there was also celebrated a contract with the Paris-based office of Henri Prost, Jacques Lambert, Maurice Rotival and Wegenstein, who were supposed to provide "their authoritative opinions and technical programmes which should be necessary", as well as to teach the engineers which might in future collaborate with the government (Plan..., 1939: 4). Among other political reasons, the choice of Prost's office was due to the CTU members' academic and cultural links with Europe, and especially with France (Martín, 1994: 345-53).

The French team contracted for the urban plan of Caracas had a genealogy ultimately related to the so-called "École Française d'Urbanisme" (EFU), which made of France one the big exporters of the new discipline, thanks to the urbanistic enterprises of French colonialism (Choay, 1983). Prost had had a more direct liaison with Eugène Hénard, the Musée Social's work, and the great aims of colonial urbanism; Rotival, on the other hand, had a theoretical understanding of all of those ingredients, including the work of Hénard - who was to be celebrated as the "urbanist of Paris" some years later. In terms of design, Prost's tribute to the Haussmannian tradition in Morocco was continued in Rotival's respect for regularization and monumentality. All the theoretical ingredients of French colonial urbanism were thus represented in the technical team called up for the mission in Caracas (Martín, 1991: 84-88).

Rotival gained the Venezuelan professionals' respect with his new methodological framework, which combined both evolutionist and philosophical ingredients of French urbanism with the functionalist analysis of modern town planning. Under Rotival's guidance, the DU first elaborated a diagnosis of the evolution of Caracas throughout different epochs, in terms of population growth and movement, traffic and transport, climate, infrastructure, etc. Secondly, in order to formulate the proposal, the traditional social, philosophical, demographic, geographic and economic study of the centre and the suburbs was complemented by the introduction of new systematic instruments of analysis, such as "zoning" and the hierarchy of roads. Caracas was thereby divided into functional areas: commercial, industrial, residential and recreational, completed by the district of public buildings; residential zones were also subdivided according to social strata (Gobernación, 1939, II: 373-75). In view of all these breakthroughs, the interaction of the French envoys with the DU technicians tends to be taken as the birth certificate of modern urbanism in Venezuela.

THE MONUMENTAL PLAN OF CARACAS (1939)

The French envoys' Haussmannesque conception of *urbanisme* is evident in the introduction to the so-called "Plan Monumental de Caracas" (PMC) - which served to launch the *Revista Municipal del Distrito Federal* (RMDF) in 1939. The PMC's definition of urbanism protested against the traditional misconception of a superfluous ornamental art; instead, urbanism was an

urbanism - explained with a certain naiveté - were supposed to benefit all the components of the city. As the best illustration of the long-term advantages of an urbanistic plan, the example of Haussmann was called up. The hygiene problems of mid-nineteenth-century Paris could be solved only because of the indomitable energy of its Prefect, whose creative genius confronted malevolent opposition in order to transform the city into a great capital. In view of such a conclusive example, the problem of the new organization for Caracas did not have to start from zero, but should rather imitate the way modern legislations combined urbanistic goals with economic means (Plan..., 1939: 19-20).

The example of the Haussmannian capital was also used to solve the PMC's great dilemma: urban renewal or urban extension of the centre? According to the experts, Caracas presented a vicious movement towards the east; if boosted by the urban extension, this tendency would allegedly bring about a devaluation of the centre in the future. The risks of that scenario were illustrated by Haussmann's decision to urbanize western Paris, which had supposedly fuelled the deterioration of central slums, whose clearance and sanitation costs proved to be very expensive in the long term. So learning again from the Haussmannian experience, the PMC's first propositions opted for a sort of urban renewal which sought to solve the traffic problem through the enlargement of central streets and the design of a main avenue, whose dimensions could give a monumental image to the city, a goal which was boosted by the proposal of further plazas and public spaces (Plan..., 1939: 22-25). Despite the wide package of general proposals, the PMC's main concern focused on the so-called "indispensable works", whose execution always represented a relatively small expenditure which still had a considerable importance for the whole plan of a city. In view of the decisive importance of aesthetic works in those examples, the PMC gave priority to the execution of the monumental works, headed by the construction of the 30-m-wide Avenida Central, forked into diagonals at both extremes - western El Calvario and eastern Los Caobos. Crowned by a Sagrario devoted to the Liberator, new public buildings reinforced the monumental character along the Avenue (Plan..., 1939: 31-32).

It was in the middle of 1939 that the Governor presented to the DF councillors the long-concealed Plan for the transformation of the capital - a presentation which remains the best manifesto of Mibelli's conception of urbanism, which claimed to be a balance between so-

called "ornamental" and "necessary" works (Plan..., 1939: 14-16). The General was thus about to realize his ambition of dressing post-Gómez Caracas as a capital worthy of the Government and the visitors, the investors and the community. In the wake of the proposals for the urban changes of 1930s Caracas, and though he insisted on calling it an "art", the Governor and his French advisers had officially introduced technical urbanism into the Venezuelan administration.

FROM URBANISM TO PLANNING

The new government of General Isaías Medina (1941-1945) was to distance itself from the monumental urbanism of the previous administration, which in some way still represented the transition from the Gómez era into the democratic republic. In terms of public works, the links between Medina's government and the New Deal administration would include the latter's financial aid for urbanistic projects in Venezuela - what probably was a response to Venezuela's alliance with the Americans since the bombing of Pearl Harbor. For the booming capital with a population of 269,030, the new local government issued in 1942 an *Ordenanza sobre Arquitectura, Urbanismo y Construcciones en general*, which contemplated the elaboration of so-called "Planos Reguladores" for the different areas of Caracas - a major step towards the later adoption of modern zoning. In the case of the PMC - which had already been reduced to a mere "Plan Director de Calles y Avenidas" by the end of López's period - the monumental forum of the west was to be replaced by a housing project, more appropriate to the social targets of Medina's populistic administration. The change of use was favoured by the new Governor of Caracas, Diego Nucete Sardi, who commended to Carlos Raúl Villanueva the urban renewal of El Silencio - a red-light slum on the western side of central Caracas. The solution adopted by Villanueva in El Silencio was conciliatory on both the urban and architectural levels: although the civic use of the original forum was changed, Villanueva explicitly respected the location of El Silencio as a *rond-point* of the PMC system of avenues. Inaugurated by Medina in July 1944, the 7-block project - each one housing between 50 and 150 families plus basic services - thereafter stood as a major achievement of his administration, and also as a milestone in the shift towards the new structure and dynamics of metropolitan Caracas.

Rotival's own reaction to the change of use in El Silencio was illustrative of the functional rationality of the times to come. Although he was allegedly upset when told of the replacement, the PMC's deviser consoled himself with the idea that Haussmann's Paris and Prost's colonial cities were the sole exceptions which confirmed the rule that urbanists can never see their plans fully realized. At the same time, looking back at the European bourgeoisie of the baroque city, which wanted to remain in the urban centre, Rotival questioned himself about the pointless construction of monumental avenues for modern bourgeois who preferred to live 20 kms away from central Caracas. So he decided to praise Nucete's and Villanueva's attempt to set in the skeleton of the embryonic metropolis cheap housing for those groups who did want to remain in the centre, and whose accommodation was in fact one of the original targets of the PMC. In this respect, given the usual financial restrictions on public housing projects, Rotival recognized that the incorporation of commercial activities into the grounds made out of El Silencio a rare example of an economically balanced "housing scheme", which certainly contributed to the urban diversity representative of central areas of Latin cities (Rotival, 1966). So, even for the French master, El Silencio thus succeeded in demonstrating how monumental urbanism was a remnant of the *ancien regime* in the post-dictatorial capital.

In the years to come, monumental urbanism was consigned to oblivion in the growing metropolis. Though the former CTU could survive with different names until 1948, the new governmental board which took over after the coup d'etat against Medina entrusted the problem of the development of Caracas to new national organisations. Created by the same decree on August 10, 1946, both the MOP's Dirección de Urbanismo and the Comisión Nacional de Urbanismo (CNU) mirrored the importance acquired by the new discipline at the public level.

The CNU would be responsible for the so-called "Planos Reguladores", designed for Venezuela's main cities - Caracas, Maracaibo, Barquisimeto, San Cristóbal y Ciudad Bolívar - in the early 1950s. Among the CNU's original members were some of the CTU's, such as Martínez Olavarría, Pardo Stolk and Villanueva; but the modernization of the urban administration was to involve a general replacement of the veterans formed in Europe with new generations of Venezuelan professionals trained in the United States. One of the first advisers appointed by the CNU was Francis Violich, who came from the Berkeley School of Architecture; the newcomer immediately noticed that "a renaissance in thinking" was taking place among young Venezuelan engineers and architects: they were "eager to demonstrate their unused capacities" for urban planning, after having studied abroad or in the school of architecture which had recently appeared in the Universidad Central of Venezuela (UCV) (Violich, 1975: 280).

Another international adviser of the CNU, from the late 1940s on, was once again Rotival, who this time appeared before his former Venezuelan apprentices dressed in a North American attire. Working by then at Yale University, the rejuvenated planner came with a great concern about region - an ambit that the Rotival of the "grands ensembles" did not seem to pay so much attention to. The post-war urbanist also demanded consideration of financial aspects to the working method of planning; using a distinction that he was to formulate some years later, one can say that the former "urbaniste" wanted to be considered now as a "planificateur", the new right-hand man of North American statesmen (Rotival, 1964: 42; Martínez Olavarría and others, 1983). Distinguishing between the urbanist of the "centre" and the urbanist of "des unités des voisinage", Rotival confined both of them to the domain of the city, whose ultimate incorporation into the domain of the region could only be accomplished by the planner. The latter also was the only one who could orchestrate the general concept resulting from the inputs provided by diverse specialists, including architects and urbanists. In accordance with his American experience, Rotival considered the so-called architect-urbanist as a hybrid which could be dangerous in terms of planning, "parce que l'urbaniste s'est jusqu'ici préoccupé de composition architecturale mais a, en fait, ignoré la planification". This is why Rotival the planner finally encouraged urbanists to abandon their mere architectural concerns and to assume the planning challenge for which they could be empowered (Rotival, 1964: 45).

The members of the CNU were also able to perceive that there was still a difference between Rotival's "macrocosmic" vision of planning and the "microcosmic" vision by Francis Violich. The former seemed to promote a short or "fast approach" as a methodology which could select basic factors and formulate hypotheses without knowing the whole planning situation. Instead, Violich brought a method based on the detailed knowledge of zones, as the only way to formulate instruments of urban control (Martínez and others, 1983: 64-66; Martín, 1991: 106). So, despite all his tackle as a planner, there was still an echo of the French intuitive approach to the city in Rotival the urbanist. And there were also vestiges of monumentality in his innovative proposal for the Centro Simón Bolívar - a modernistic ensemble of high-rise office buildings with underground parking, which became the germ of the Caracas of the skyscrapers.

But the grand manners of French urbanism had definitely surrended their supremacy to the wonders of functional planning coming from North America, a process which was to be emphasized in the decades to come. As Violich was to summarize in the 1970s - when writing for a compilation which featured Caracas as one of the *World Capitals* - the dilemma before the local urban planners throughout these decades was "the question of a conceptual approach on which to base the institutional process. A latter-day Beaux Arts movement inspired the late 1930s, and a social orientation, the mid-1940s, only to give way in the early 1950s to a functional approach drawing on North American techniques" (Violich, 1975: 285). In these years, when the UCV appointed a commission to explore the incorporation of urban studies into the architectural curriculum, La Sorbonne was included only as another case study amongst the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the Reenslar Polytechnic Institute and the Universities of California, Cornell, Yale, Wisconsin and Toronto (Arnal, 1957: 4-5). Young

Venezuelan planners no longer wanted to plan their cities in the grand manners of French urbanism.

(1) This paper has been drawn from the author's PhD thesis, 'European urbanism in Caracas (1870s-1930s)', London: Architectural Association, 1996, developed under the supervision of Dr. Nicholas Bullock, King's College, Cambridge. The translation of the thesis is about to be published: A. Almandoz, *Urbanismo europeo en Caracas (1870-1940)*, Caracas: Fundarte, Equinoccio, Ediciones de la Universidad Simón Bolívar, 1997

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ARNAL, E. (1957) 'Gestiones para el establecimiento de cursos sobre urbanismo en la Universidad Central de Venezuela', *Revista del Colegio de Ingenieros de Venezuela*, 253, 4-11

BERGAMIN, R. (1959) *20 años en Caracas. 1938-1958*, Madrid

CARABALLO, C. (1991) 'Los últimos días de aquella de los techos rojos, o los "planes" antes del "plan"', in *El Plan Rotival. La Caracas que no fue*, Universidad Central de Venezuela, Caracas, 49-72

CHOAY, F. (1983) 'Pensées sur la ville, arts de la ville', in *Histoire de la France urbaine*, vol. 4: *La ville de l'age industriel. Le cycle haussmannien*, M. Agulhon (ed.), Seuil, Paris, 158-271

Gobernación del Distrito Federal (1939-1940) *Exposición del Gobernador al Concejo Municipal de Caracas...*, GDF, Caracas

MARTIN, J.J. (1991) 'Rotival de 1939 a 1959. De la ciudad como negocio a la planificación como pretexto', in *El Plan Rotival...*, 73-107

_____ (1994) *Planes, planos y proyectos para Venezuela: 1908-1958 (Apuntes para una historia de la construcción del país)*, Universidad Central de Venezuela, Fondo Editorial Acta Científica Venezolana, Caracas

MARTINEZ, L., G. FERRERO, J. FERRIS, J.A. VEGAS, M. VEGAS (1983), 'Maurice Rotival', *Punto*, 65, 56-66

NAVA, R. (1971) *Obras Completas*, Mediterráneo, Caracas

'Plan Monumental de Caracas' (1939) *Revista del Concejo Municipal del Distrito Federal*, 1, 17-ff.

'Proyecto de Ensanche para Caracas. Cómo resolver el primer problema de congestión de tráfico' (1936) *El Universal* (February 27) Caracas

ROCHE, L. (1936) 'Embellecimiento de Caracas', *El Universal* (March 4), Caracas

ROTIVAL, M. (1964) 'Planification et Urbanisme', *Urbanisme*, 82-83, 42-45

_____ (1966) 'Caracas marcha hacia adelante', in *Caracas en tres tiempos*, Ediciones Comisión de Asuntos Culturales del Cuatricentenario de Caracas, Caracas, 172-182

VIOLICH, F. (1975) 'Caracas: Focus of the New Venezuela', *World Capitals. Toward Guided Urbanization*, in H. Wentworth Eldredge (ed.), Anchor Press, Doubleday, New York, 246-292

Postwar Planning in The Philippines: Lessons From the Last Five Decades

Sophremiano B. Antipolo
University of Southeastern Philippines
Obrero Campus, Davao City 8000
Philippines

Postwar planning in the Philippines included planning at the national, local, and regional levels. At each level, however, urban planning is embedded. This paper sketches the history and lessons learned from the last five decades, 1940s – 1990s.

The Decade of the 40s

Postwar planning in the Philippines formally began in 1946 when the National Urban Planning Commission (NUPC) was created by then President Sergio Osmena, Sr. by virtue of Executive Order 98 for the reconstruction of the cities and towns destroyed during the war. In 1947, the People's Homesite and Housing Corporation (PHHC) replaced the NUPC and the National Housing Commission (NHC). Most of these offices were concerned with housing. In the same year, Republic Act 333 made Quezon City the capital of the Philippines. The Capital City Planning Commission (CCPC) headed by Juan M. Arellano, was then created to prepare a general development plan for the new capital city. In planning the new capital city, the Commission took into account the role of the city: politically, aesthetically, socially, and economically. However, nothing came out of the well-conceived master plan of the Arellano Commission. The lesson from this experience is threefolds -- the grand vision of 1949 could have been realised if the following were done: (1) transform the Commission into an agency with executive authority; (2) acquire without delay privately-owned land needed for roads and other essential public facilities as well as land for housing projects at prices then prevailing; (3) transfer land use control from the city authorities to the Commission, including the levying and collection of special assessments on privately-owned land (Aragoncillo et. al., 1984).

The Decade of the 50s

In 1950, urban squatting began to show signs of proliferation. In the same year, the National Planning Commission (NPC) replaced NUPC and CCPC, and was authorised to: (1) design a town, city or regional plan for any part of the country; (2) draft uniform building codes for presentation to local authorities and adoption in their legislative bodies similar to zoning ordinances and subdivision regulations. In 1954, the NPC prepared the master plan for Manila. In 1955, President Magsaysay through Executive Order 148 created the National Housing Council (NHC). In 1959, after the enactment of Republic Act 2264, the planning of Philippine towns and cities became the responsibility of the local governments. However, very few cities took advantage of this opportunity (Abrams et. al., 1959).

While agencies for the administration and operation of urban housing development program existed, they worked fragmentally. At that time, the concepts and consequences of urban development, city planning and urban rehabilitation were not yet fully appreciated by either the government or private sector nor were urban development needs incorporated in long-range economic plans. The NPC had its activities limited to that of a consulting agency. The lesson of the 1950s was that planning was up to the individual city or

municipal government and because funds and technical personnel were unavailable, in most cities, no planning was done at all (Araneta, 1960).

The Decade of the 60s

The decade of the 60s was characterised by a continuing movement of the Filipinos to the cities to search for a better life. Thus, urban planning and its programs must cope with the increasing population. However, the strategies used by the Presidential Commission on Squatter (PCS) which studied and recommended solutions to squatter problems with Sapang Palay as the pilot project in 1963 proved to be ineffective. According to Hollnsteiner (1964), the planner's commitment to long-range planning on a comprehensive scale often places him in direct conflict with the ordinary populace, which seeks immediate or short-range, limited scope improvements. What to the planner is his work and accomplishment, to the people represents a remote and time-wasting period of inaction and non-accomplishment. Planning is making decisions affecting the whole form and character of the community and the life of its people. The lesson, then, was that planning calls for citizen participation. Public participation is essential in the planning process.

The idea of establishing a centre for urban studies became more attractive when, in 1963, the then Institute of Public Administration of the premier University of the Philippines (U.P.) received a grant from the Ford Foundation to undertake a research project on the problems and operations of local government and their role in national development. This led to the creation of the Local Government Center (LGC) of the said Institute.

In October 1965, the U.P. Board of Regents established the Institute of Planning (now the School of Urban and Regional Planning) upon the approval of Republic Act 4341 by the Philippine Congress. The establishment of the Institute of Planning was largely a product of the increasing recognition of urban and regional problems and trends and of the realization that planning is important in assisting or redirecting these trends. It was also a response to the need for capable urban and regional planners whose training and experience are appropriate to the conditions existing in developing countries like the Philippines (Carino, 1975)

A series of seminars on "Man and His Environment" was held between February and June 1969. An assessment of the papers presented indicated the following: (1) a recognition of the ills of the city, its causes and its effects; (2) the adoption of measures to use or at least alleviate these ills; (3) the recognition of the need for planning and the procedures and methods of planning; and (4) the urgency of implementing these plans. The lesson drawn here stressed on the failure in the implementation of land development schemes and improvements, due to the lack of foresight and understanding not only by the government but by the private sector as well.

The Decade of the 70s

There was a need to relate slum and squatter problems to an overall plan for urban and regional development so that a study, which focused on squatters and slum dwellers in the five cities of the Philippines, namely: Baguio, Iloilo, Cebu, Davao and Iligan was conducted in 1971. The Philippines has an urban system characterised by primacy. Accordingly, attention has been concentrated on the major urbanised area in the vicinity of Manila, also described as *Greater Manila* and *Metro Manila*. Urban problems are most acute in the

metropolitan area, and "the crisis seems limited to the Manila area because of its characteristics as a primate city.

In the Philippines, urban development generally has been neglected and existing planning or development board are mainly concerned with economic planning but not with physical planning. Since the purpose of economic planning is to provide a better environment with a higher standard of living for the people, it should lead to physical urban planning. Physical urban planning should go hand in hand with economic planning at the local, regional, and national levels.

Although it is quite easy to come up with a national policy stating certain goals, implementation is difficult because of the conflicts in inter-governmental relations. And the transfer of the physical planning function to local government in the Philippines are often cited as detrimental effects of the local autonomy crusade. Reasons why programs to cope with internal city or metropolitan area problem have not been too successful were: (1) lack of forward looking tradition of city planning; (2) widespread adherence to local officials and some national government people to the doctrine of localautonomy; (3) failure of the national government to provide the leadership in confronting the city and metropolitan problems.

The need for a national urban strategy that will translate development goals to reality at that time was already felt. According to Lacquian (1972), a national urban strategy means the formulation, adoption, implementation and evaluation of a continually evolving set of programs and activities designed to optimize the role of urbanization in economic and social development. What is needed is an integrated effort on the part of the public and private sectors to access their activities in the light of their physical, environmental, and spatial impacts on developments over the national landscape.

Town Planning, Zoning and Housing (TPZH)

The creation of the National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA) in January 1973 ushered a new strategy in planning. The Constitution of 1973 mandated the NEDA for the purpose of recommending a continuing coordinated and fully integrated social and economic plans and programs. It is an effort of the government to make development planning a more organized activity integrating physical planning with socio-economic planning. To bridge the gap between socio-economic and physical planning, an Inter-Agency Task Force on Human Settlements (TFHS) was created in 1973. It was charged with the responsibility to produce a framework plan for the nation and the Manila Bay Region (NMPC-MHS, 1977). An integrated report was completed in November 1974 containing the "Framework Plan for the Nation and for the Manila Bay Metropolitan Region" with policy recommendations on special programs such as housing and the creation of the Metro Manila Commission (MMC).

On December 1974, the MMC served as the technical secretariat in the Philippine National Preparatory Committee for HABITAT which underscored the importance of human settlements issues. As a result, a solution-oriented National Conference on Human Settlements was convened -- a deliberate effort to communicate the National Program on human settlements development.

Throughout 1977 to 1978, strong coordinative linkages with the human settlements approach that proved vital led to the holdings of the National Conference for Town Planning, Housing, and Zoning (TPZH). It led to the organization of a nine-agency National

Coordinating Council (NCC) in February 1977 by virtue of Letter of Instruction (LOI) 511. The NCC-TPZH Program achieved the acceleration of land use and zoning plans prepared in the major centres of the country in line with that of the regional and national priorities and guidelines. It further enhanced local capabilities for plan preparation and administration.

The Human Settlements Commission (HSC) was elevated to the Ministry of Human Settlements (MHS) in 1978 by virtue of Presidential Decree (PD) 1396 which also created the Human Settlements Regulatory Commission (HSRC), and designated Metro Manila as the National Capital Region. It was through the MHS that government policies for renewal and development of Philippine towns and cities were carried out. Its program is primarily directed to three major concerns: (1) land use and town planning; (2) shelter; and (3) environmental management.

Town planning is basically a local government's function but over the years, the national and regional agencies have been extending technical assistance due to lack of technical expertise and funds that could support the conduct of comprehensive and integrative planning. An inter-agency coordinating secretariat for local planning assistance under the aegis of the then Ministry of Human Settlements came up with a Manual of Operations for Local Planning Assistance on Town Planning and Zoning. It was used as guidelines for planning activities of local government units -- a result of the joint efforts of the Ministry of Human Settlements, the National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA), the Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Budget. As provided by the Memorandum of Agreement signed on July 13, 1980 roles and responsibilities of each agency including their local officials and institutions were defined.

Regional Planning in The Philippines

The government's recognition of regional planning as an important tool in national development is reflected in the regionalisation and decentralisation of national administration as embodied in the Integrated Reorganisation Plan (IRP) of September 1972. The IRP laid the foundations for the activation of regional development in the country. The major elements in the IRP which influenced the course of regional planning are: (1) the creation of the NEDA; (2) division of the country into 11 (subsequently 12, 13 and 15) administrative regions; (3) creation of the Regional Development Council for each of the administrative regions; and (4) the regionalisation and decentralisation of key government agencies.

By the end of January 1975, the IRP attained physical decentralisation of administration and operation of national government agencies. The regional development councils were activated for each region. In January 1976, a Presidential directive mandated all departments and instrumentalities of government to prepare their respective medium and long-term development plans for integration by NEDA into the Philippine Development Plan for 1978-82. This same directive also included the preparation of the integrated regional development elements of the national plan. Accordingly, the Philippine Development Plan for 1978-82 included a chapter on regional development which incorporated the Five year Plans for each of the regions of the country.

The Decade of the 80s

In the 1980s, an innovative planning activity was subsequently introduced. This was the formulation of the Regional Development Investment Program (RDIP). The RDIP translated the strategies and targets of the regional development plans into viable and implementable investment programs and projects packaged in terms of time-setting, costing, and location. The Integrated Area Development (IAD) approach was used in formulating the RDIPs.

The economic crisis in the early 1980s as well as other national problems made regional development planning all the more relevant. Regional development as a strategy and goal of development was subsequently embodied in the balanced agro-industrial development (BAID) strategy of the Philippine Development Plan for 1983-87. The BAID strategy sought to achieve national recovery which emphasized development in the countryside, giving importance to agricultural enterprises and small-scale industries.

Regional Planning after the People Power in 1986

The change in national leadership in 1986 and the restoration of the bicameral system of government even led to a more substantive decentralisation of government administration and development planning. The Medium-Term Philippine Development Plan for 1987-92, including the supportive regional development plans and investment programs were designed to address the persistence of poverty and income inequality, high unemployment and underemployment, and urban, rural and regional disparities.

During this period, greater efforts towards genuine decentralisation saw the creation of the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM) and the Cordillera Autonomous Region (CAR). The approval of the new Local Government Code (LGC) in 1991 enabled a more active participation at the local levels in development activities. This was clearly evident in the formulation of the National and Regional Development Plans for the period 1993-98.

New Trends and Issues

Notwithstanding the relatively long experience in regional planning, new trends in regional development processes continue to evolve. One such trend is area development or interregional planning. This has arisen as a result of the growing awareness that the development of individual regions as planned in isolation would leave out development opportunities that may be present outside of that particular region (Sobrepena, 1993).

Interregional Planning. Area development planning activities are now in varying stages in each of the areas of Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao. Mindanao is now considered several steps ahead of other island groups with the creation of the Mindanao Economic and Development Council.

Physical Planning and Sustainable Development. Another emerging trend is physical planning which emphasizes the concerns for sustainable development. The basic idea here is that planning should consider the limits posed by the capacity of the land and other physical resources to carry a certain level of population. These natural resources should be able to supply the needs not only of the present population but of the future generation as well. In line with these, a new set of plan documents namely, the National and Regional Physical Plans propose land use policies and allocation which reconcile the competing uses of land and other physical resources based on economic, environmental, and other considerations were prepared.

National Urban Policy Formulation. Not to be overlooked in the growing concern for urban planning which is part and parcel of regional planning. The heightened concern on urban development stems from the recognition that urban centres contribute to about 70 percent of

the country's gross domestic product. Rapid urban growth, if left unmanaged, can degrade the environment, choke roads with traffic and relegate large portions of the urban population to slum dwelling.

Planning Support Systems. Relatedly, the importance of information generation, utilisation and dissemination in various development efforts is being recognized specifically in the planning cycle. In this regard, a number of information systems and technologies aside from the traditional sources of information such as statistics and indicators are being formulated in order to model, forecast, and access data efficiently and effectively. This includes *Geographic Information Systems (GIS)*.

Regional Yet Global: Transborder Regional Cooperation. Another evolving dimension of regional development planning is the establishment of direct access or linkages from regional centres to international markets particularly neighboring countries. In this regard, the groundwork initiated by President Ramos himself by strengthening the link between Mindanao and the neighboring Asean countries particularly Brunei, Indonesia, and Malaysia through the BIMP-EAGA (Brunei-Indonesia-Malaysia-Philippines East ASEAN Growth Area). The BIMP-EAGA has already established significant footholds in economic cooperation.

Conclusion

Looking back at the record of the last five decades, there is every reason to be optimistic about the future. As the Philippines aims to become a newly industrialising country (NIC) by the year 2000, urban and regional planning shall not be left at the roadside. We have noted that the Regional Development Councils (RDCs) have been strengthened and nowadays are vigorously pursuing the development of their respective regions. Furthermore, President Ramos is supportive of regional development as evidenced by the hallmarks of his economic program, namely: people empowerment, countryside development and regional growth centres.

References

Abrams, Charles et. al. (1959). *Report on Housing In the Philippine Islands,* (New (York, N.Y.: United Nations).

Aragoncillo, E. et. al. (1984). "History of Planning In the Philippines, 1946-72", *Paper submitted to the School of Urban & Regional Planning* (Quezon City: U. P.)

Araneta, Salvador (1960). "The Planning, Approval, and Implementation of Economic Policy" in Milre, Robert (ed.) *Planning for Progress* (Quezon City: U.P. Press)

Carino, Benjamin (1975). "Education for Planners: The Graduate Program of the Institute of Environmental Planning" in *Philippine Planning Journal,* VI (1) April 1975.

Hollnsteiner, Mary (1964). "Reciprocity In the Lowland Philippines" in Lynch, Frank (ed.), *Four Readings In Philippine Values* (Quezon City: Institute of Philippine Culture).

Laquian, Aprodicio (1972)."The Need for A National Urban Strategy in the Philippines" in *Philippine Planning Journal* III (2), April 1972.

NMPC-MHS (1977). *Concept of Human Settlements : A Brochure* (Manila: NCC).

Sobrepma, Aniceto (1993). "Revisiting Regional Development Planning In the Philippines" *In Philippine Development Digest* (Pasig City: National Economic and Development Authority)

'This villa life'[1]: Suburbs, town planning and the new social order 1914-1929

Paul Ashton
Department of Writing, Social and Cultural Studies
University of Technology, Sydney

On 17 October 1917, J.D. Fitzgerald, Minister for Local Government in the NSW Holman National Government, noted in his Presidential Address to the First Australian Town Planning Conference and Exhibition that, apart from defeating the 'Hun', Australians and their leaders

> must prepare for the reconstruction of the world, which will follow the re-establishment of peace. We must provide for 300,000 valiant soldiers who will return victorious to Australia from the battlefield. Many of these will go back to City life; and we must make *City life* better for them. This is the sphere of the Town Planner...[2]

For Fitzgerald, this was also the moral duty 'of statesmen of all parties Liberal, National, Labor of men of good will of all churches and creeds... [and] of [all] unclassified bodies of men and women who love their country and desire its development and progress'. In his Presidential Address to the Second Town Planning Conference held in Brisbane between 30 July and 6 August 1918, Fitzgerald further called on politicians, prelates and patriots to rally as the nation prepared to face 'the second great war that struggle for commercial and industrial supremacy, which... [would] begin on the day peace... [was] declared'.[3]

Thus, during the first World War, would-be social reformers looked forward to the possibility of a new social order: they wrote about it; talked about it; and dreamed about it. Although holding a myriad of sometimes subtly and at other times radically divergent views, reformers such as J.D. Fitzgerald, Robert Irvine and Meredith Atkinson, were inspired, to varying degrees, by municipal growth, the strivings for new amenities, democracy, socialism, cooperative movements, the growth of secular education and, most importantly, the new science of town planning. But while conscious of the possibilities for a new social order, they were equally aware of the alternatives. As Raymond Williams has said of their European counterparts, many of them sensed that 'history could go either way: that the only alternative to a new social order was an increasing chaos, the cities smashing themselves to pieces'[4] or, as in the case of Sydney, grinding to a halt under the dead weight of past mistakes. Australian society had arrived at a critical watershed in its development.[5]

Proponents of a 'New Social Order' commenced campaigns from around 1912 with characteristic missionary zeal,[6] though their voices were to merge into a more sustained discourse over the first two years of the war.[7] It was clearly perceived that the war in Europe had 'released social forces... that marked a new epoch in the industrial and political sphere'.[8] These forces needed to be controlled and harnessed for social good. Reform, not radicalism, was required. The preparation of the populous for a new world was also a prerequisite for social change and advocates of the new order pointed to state socialism, co-operation, syndicalism and guild socialism as portentous historical developments:

> every fresh social experiment provides new proof of the simple fact that, until human material with which we must build our new society is more unselfish, more public-spirited, and more efficient, every mechanical reform must fall far short of its promises. The conservative cites the faults of human nature as an excuse for leaving things alone. But the real lesson of history is that the dead heritage from the past must and can be removed, and that the progress of civilisation can be deliberately and successfully planned for many years ahead, so long as the people are educated up to an understanding of the elements of

a true reconstruction.[9]

Human raw material in the antipodes was considered to be the finest in the world. Australians, it was claimed by Meredith Atkinson, educationalist, publicist and then President of the Workers' Educational Association of Australia, had thrown off 'outworn theologies' and the 'humbug of early Victorian religious cant'.[10] Many difficulties, however, had yet to be overcome. Largely as a result of the 'inferior type of politician' found in Australia, the country was said to be still 'in the very cave days of democracy'.[11] Both class war, exploding in the Great Strike of 1917, and social instability needed to be banished if Australia was to be remade into an 'ideal commonwealth' 'the New Atlantis of modern civilization'.[12] Social conditions had to be created, Atkinson urged, to bring to fruition the 'Socialists and Eugenists[']... contention that we can cultivate a super-race'.[13]

This social program was enlisted, in the context of total war, into a broader scheme for 'National Efficiency' which, as in Britain and elsewhere, called for .

> the most efficient adaptation of means to produce the highest welfare and civilisation of a people and to ensure its survival against internal diseases and the attacks of other nations.[14]

Social and national efficiency depended upon three essential ingredients: 'industrial competency'; social harmony; and the 'organisation of society in conformity with a concept of social progress'.[15] The latter two were of particular importance in combating 'internal diseases' such as slum-bred radicalism and industrial unrest. Class-based politics was equated with treason and industrial unrest was ascribed to the machinations of the foreign agitator.[16] Getting back to a traditional way of life was, for some such as C.E.W. Bean journalist and later Official War Historian [17] as critical to postwar reconstruction as the need to embrace new technologies in the race for national economic supremacy. This meant reclaiming the values of the pioneer and the cooperative and recreating a familial Arcadia. New, outer suburbs, untainted by the Bolshevism or near bolshevism that plagued Sydney's teeming inner suburbs, would be one of the sources of the New Social Order.

At the beginning of the war, J.D. Fitzgerald had pointed to the central role which town planning had to play in the creation of a new and higher social order. The ideal of *town planning*, he wrote in 1914, was 'the highest which can animate the human mind. It is nothing less than to create conditions which will produce a higher type of human being a civic superman superior to the man of to-day in his physical, mental and moral attributes; in his capacity for creating wealth; and in his power to control his own destiny and enhance his own wealth and happiness'.[18] Others argued for town planning's importance in post-war 'reconstruction'. In 1918, Marcus Barlow, in an issue of *Land and Transport*, wrote that 'the day is not far distant when a general demand for better community conditions will force an interest in town and city planning and relegate individualism to the background'.[19] By this stage, however, any traces of radicalism that may have previously been discerned in the town planning movement had by and large evaporated.

Many 'evangelical' planning advocates for example, Fitzgerald and George Taylor became increasingly right wing in their politics which is not surprising given a movement which preached eugenic aims, cooperation with capital and the need for class harmony. Contradictions also stemmed from their desire, on the one hand, to liberate human potential for the benefit of the race and, on the other, to control and regulate people and processes.[20] As in their general political tendencies, many of the expert gentleman planners became increasingly coercive and legalistic in their approaches. Fitzgerald provides a classic

20

example. Having commenced his political career as a municipal socialist Fitzgerald joined the infant Labor Party, splitting with the pro-conscriptionist faction in 1917 and eventually ending his career in politics as a member of a conservative National Party. Fitzgerald's obsession with pushing a bill for the creation of a Greater Sydney also put a practical stop to various minor but urgent reforms to legislative controls over the built environment. Having spent years drafting the bill, Fitzgerald, as Minister for Local Government, allowed nothing on the parliamentary agenda which was 'included within the scope of the Greater Sydney Bill'.[21] Less than a year before his death in July 1922, however, Fitzgerald was to regret that the 'usefulness of the town planners' missions is not yet recognised in Australia.[22]

A prominent, though technically untutored and somewhat occasional campaigner for this reactionary style of 'town planning' was C.E.W. Bean. A member of the Town Planning Association of New South Wales, Bean emphasised in his book *In Your Hands, Australians*, that the nation's advancement on all fronts 'can only be done by planning'.[23] Writing with a military swagger and indicating an ideological authoritarianism, Bean insisted that the 'laissez faire of peace' had to be overthrown and replaced by 'careful planning' in those large and important portions of Sydney and Melbourne 'which had still to be built up will be built in our lifetime or the lifetime of our children'.[24] Noting the limited options for 'breeding up the race' in the Old World, Bean argued that Australian's had 'a free hand in making our people'. And for Bean, towns, as opposed to cities, were the essential cradles for undertaking such vital work. Fusing nature and civilisation, properly appointed towns avoided the 'dullness of country life' as well as the strains of city living which bred people who were 'small, nervous and weak'. A suburban existence was the way forward. 'It is', wrote Bean, .

> immensely, overpoweringly important to the Australian nation that its city folk should live in their own houses around the towns, and that every house should have its garden (so much so that it would be worth while to make a law of it and remit the tax on gardens). It means everything in the world for the health and spirit of the children that they should have this home life. Their mothers and their families are the great educators. And up to the present most Australian children do have these homes and gardens, fresh air and playgrounds. It is a pure accident no planning of ours but still they have them, and that is one reason why Australian city men, alone amongst almost all city soldiers, made practically as good soldiers as Australian country men. There are healthier homes around our Australian cities, on the whole, than around any other cities except those of New Zealand. ... But one hears people argue: "This villa life will be impossible because of the difficulty of getting servants. We shall have to live in big flats, like Germans." Do not believe it. If we have any brains at all we shall invent a way out of this difficulty without ruining our nation (which is what the crowded life of apartment houses would do). We want, for all we are worth, the individuality and the variety of our home and family life.[25]

Materially linked to the nearby city, retaining a village atmosphere and enshrining rural and homely virtues, the new towns the suburbs were to create a new frontier: sturdy yeoman existing in a 'familial arcadia'[26] were to be supplanted by sturdy petit-bourgeois families living in 'familial arcadia'. (Others have noted the similarities between agrarian communities and the urban petty bourgeoisie.)[27] Old values were readopted on these new quarter acre 'selections'. Based on agrarian mythology or romantic agrarianism[28] Bean's ideological program emphasised individualism: individual solutions to social problems. The agrarian myth was refashioned as attention was focussed on reorganising urban environments for industrialisation. The city the agent of modernity[29] was to be primarily the engine room for capital accumulation. In general spared the nastier effects of capitalism, middle-class suburbia was to become the ideological heartland of Australian neo-liberalism. Bean's familial arcadia also amounted to a program for class quarantining; it seemed that the greatest difficulty confronting his arcadian vision was the 'servant problem'.

21

Whether desired or not, powers for quarantining classes were provided under the lengthy and detailed *Local Government Act* of 1919.[30] Containing 685 clauses and schedules and thirty parts and touching almost every aspect of daily life, this legislation codified the existing law (which had been passed in 1906); attempted to remedy previous defects; and amplified and extended the powers of local government. Previously, only one per cent of the state had been under local government legislation. Now most of the state, with the exception of the City of Sydney, came under this Act.[31]

Various requirements could be stipulated by local councils in terms of residential development, but the most influential in terms of the character of suburban growth was the ability to control land use via the definition and proclamation of 'residential districts'.[32] Areas could thus be created in a municipality in which certain land uses and activities could be banned. Further, in combination with two other ordinances, minimum lot sizes could be set, building materials stipulated and height, lot coverage and setbacks determined. These powerful controls were known colloquially as 'brick area' regulations.[33] And they were used to keep 'undesirables' out of certain areas. Other sections of the Act enabled the exclusion or regulation of nuisances, defective buildings, noxious trades, dairies, infants' milk depots, public toilets, chimneys, lodging and boarding houses, hairdressers and barber shops.[34]

Despite the continued growth in investment in 1920s suburbia, the decade saw a re-allocation of resources to industrial interests and the emergence of authoritarian forces. At the grassroots level, manifestations of this authoritarianism could, by the Great Depression, be found in strict, utopian settlements such as Hammondville[35] at Liverpool and an attempted agricultural settlement at Manly.[36] Authoritarianism had also crept into the work and thoughts of members of the town planning movement.

Walter Burley Griffin's experience after World War one had clearly left him a soured man. He had been more or less sacked as Federal Capitol Director in late 1920 due in part to his dismissive attitude to economics and bottom lines and he had been greatly disappointed by his failure to win an international competition in 1922 for the Chicago Tribune Building.[37] Turning to theosophy[38] and later moving to Castlecrag in 1924, Griffin sought to move 'back to nature' to 'develop an organic communal life'[39] with modern means. He detested

> the monotony of the modern environment [which was]... not merely here but everywhere. The isolated relics of earlier art as well as the unique variations in races of men and genera of plants and animals being obliterated in the ubiquitous standardised product of our building art.[40]

'Communion', he wrote, 'with primeval nature is the common school for future architects that it was in the beginning of civilisation, when everywhere in every race and every climate anonymous architects expressed fitness and beauty in their constructions.'[41] To achieve this return to nature, Griffin blended the modern and the anti-modern camelot and high art deco as well as the urban and the anti-urban metropolitan and cosmopolitan pursuits with retreat and reaction against mass society. His final earthly paradise was to be an exclusive, tightly planned and, at first, executed middle-class suburb, isolated from the city but accessible via car, on 650 acres which he and his wife Marion had secured through their land development company, the Greater Sydney Development Association.[42] As Weirick has noted, a number of the shareholders in the company, most of whom were Griffin's friends and supporters, took up an offer of a free allotment which was bound by the condition that they construct Griffin-designed homes. This was intended

to forge from the outset a special character for the area.

Inspired by the agrarian impulse and the environmental movement in Australia and the United States of America, Griffin's utopian experiment on the sandstone plateau above Middle Harbour was both a 'crusade' for art[43] and an attempt to separate 'the genius or the man ahead of his times'[44] and his cohort from the 'masses [which] must painfully grope out their own uncertain way'[45] in an age dominated by frightful mass consumption, the market and vulgar economics:

> Two of the factors in the simplest equation concerning the social side of urban life have, strangely enough, been lost sight of in all modern cities, which are essentially industrial and treat humanity as one industrial unit... In tribal or village communities, from which all civilization has arisen, there were essential intermediate social units between the family and collective industry. At least there was the neighbourhood of a few families with many interests in common and also the domestic community of some two thousand persons all well known to each other. These were the relationships that provided natural standards of conduct, easy and varied ways of emulation and encouragement to free expression, and the growth of independent thinking as well as healthy outdoor living and human contact. The physical basis out of which these qualities have grown in the past is lacking in modern cities, and so is the human product wanting and degenerate, and the leadership is being recruited from constantly diminishing rural communities. Effort is being made in some parts of some cities to overcome this fatal deficiency, as it has to be overcome, by making available common properties and common spaces to these two separate groupings: neighbourhood and the village.[46]

Griffin's suburb was eccentric and unique. But here, writ large, was the new suburban inheritance. The suburbs were to effect class segregation or quarantine and create, via statute (vis the 1919 Local Government [Amendment] Act) and other means, insular environments in relatively isolated areas largely for Sydney's middle classes. Suburban Sydney was to foster cultural narrowness, parochialism, social introspection and exclusivity. Griffin's abhorrence of the 'active destruction going on, not only in the inevitable breaking up of old idols but in the wanton despoliation of nature'[47] was reflected in fashionable magazines of the times. 'To the average man', journalist Nora Cooper wrote in *The Australia Home Beautiful*, 'the word "modern" probably conveys nothing at all except a secret sense of strangeness and discomfort at the loss of familiar things'.[48] The suburban paradigm, to which many aspired, went largely unchallenged for more than a generation.

Notes

[1] C.E.W. Bean, *In Your Hands, Australians*, Cassell and Company, London, 1918, p. 72.
[2]. Australian Town Planning Conference and Exhibition, *Official Volume of Proceedings*, Varden & Sons, Adelaide 1918, p.35 (my emphasis).
[3] *Second Australian Town Planning Conference and Exhibition*, Brisbane 1919, p.28.
[4] Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City*, Paladin, St Albans, 1975, p.279.
[5] Novelists were also inspired by the possibility of a new social order. See, for example, Katherine Susannah Prichard's romantic work, *The New Order*, People's Printing and Publishing Co, Perth, 1919.
[6] For example, see J.D. Fitzgerald's contribution in *The Sunrise*, E. Findley, Melbourne, 1912.
[7] One of the first publication which looked at the intellectual bankruptcy of the old liberalism and the possibilities for 'a newer and better order' came out of a conference jointly sponsored by the Workers' Educational Association of New South wales, the Economic Research society of Sydney and the Labor Council of New South Wales in June 1915. See Meredith Atkinson (ed), *Trade Unionism in Australia*, Sydney, 1915. The quotation is at page 87.
[8] Clarence H. Northcott, *Australian Social Development*, Columbia University, New York, 1918, pp. 9-10.
[9] Meredith Atkinson, *The New Social Order: A Study of Post-War Reconstruction*, WEA Series no 2 (students' edition), Sydney, 1919, p. 71.
[10] Meredith Atkinson, *Australia: Economic and Political Studies*, Macmillan, Melbourne, 1920, p. 56.

[11] Atkinson, *The New Social Order*, p. 15.

[12] Atkinson, *Australia*, p. 56.

[13] ibid., p. 55.

[14] R.F. Irvine, 'Town Planning and National Efficiency', in R.F. Irvine et al, *National Efficiency: A Series of Lectures...*, Melbourne, 1915, p. 6.

[15] Northcott, op. cit., pp. 260-61. The concept of social progress is discussed in Chapter 1.

[16] *The Soldier*, 15 December 1916, p. 2; 5 April 1917, p. 3.

[17] Bean was to argue that suburbs, fusing nature and civilisation, were essential cradles for 'breeding up the race'. See C.E.W. Bean, *In Your Hands, Australians*, London, 1918, p72.

18 J.D.Fitzgerald, 'Town Planning and City Beautification', *The Lone Hand*, 1 May 1914, p.389.

[19] Marcus Barlow, 'Town Planning: Defects in Our Existing City Plans', *Land and Transport*, vol 2, no 14, July 1918, p. 22.

[20] From the American example, see Christopher Lasch, *The New Radicalism in America [1889-1963]: The Intellectual as a Social Type*, Chatto & Windus, London, 1966, especially p. 168ff.

[21] Sydney City Council, Town Clerk Letters, TC 331/18, 19 and 28 February; 20 June; and 5 July 1918.

[22] J.D. Fitzgerald, 'New Cities for Old', *The Property Owner*, vol 3, no 40, 11 April 1921, pp. 1-2.

[23] C.E.W. Bean, *In Your Hands, Australians*, Cassell and Company, London, 1918, p.36.

[24] ibid, pp.34; 25.

[25] ibid, p. 72.

[26] The term is used in Miles Fairburn, 'The Rural Myth and the New Zealand Urban Frontier: An Approach to New Zealand Social History, 1870-1940', in *The New Zealand Journal of History*, vol. 9, no. 1, April 1975, p.6.

[27] B.D. Graham, *The Formation of the Australian Country Parties*, ANUP, Canberra, 1966, p.15.

[28] See David B. Danbom, 'Romantic Agrarianism in Twentieth-Century America', in *Agricultural History*, vol. 65, no. 4, 1991, pp.1-12.

[29] H.J.Dyos, 'Urbanity and suburbanity', in David Cannadine and David Reeder (eds), *Exploring the urban past: Essays in urban history by H.J.Dyos*, CUP, Cambridge, 1982, p.21.

[30] *Local Government Act*, Act no. 41, 1919, in *The Statues of New South Wales*, vol. 1, Government Printer, Sydney, 1920, pp. 321-665.

[31] The City of Sydney was excluded for political reasons. See Paul Ashton, *The Accidental City: Planning Sydney Since 1788*, H&I, Sydney, 1993, Chapter 3.

[32] Section 309, p. 488.

[33] Murray R. Wilcox, *The Law of Land Development in New South Wales*, The Law Book Company, Sydney, 1967, pp. 81-2; 86; 497-99.

[34] Sections 283, 289, 302 and 510, pp. 477-78; 479-80; 484; 586-7.

[35] See Chapter 3.

36 The fundamentalist National Catholic Rural Movement (1939-c1970), a reaction to capitalism and capitalist urbanisation, was a later, variant expression of agrarian ideology. See Deborah Edward, 'The National Catholic Rural Movement - Ideal and Deliusion: The operation of Australian Catholic social theory, 1939-1970', BA(Hons) thesis, Faculty of Arts, University of Sydney, Sydney 1986.

[37] Peter Harrison, *Walter Burley Griffin: Landscape Architect*, National Library of Australia, Canberra, 1995, p. 49; 67.

[38] See Jill Roe, *Beyond Belief: Theosophy in Australia 1879-1939*, NSWUP, Sydney, 1986, pp. 306; 312-15; 375-76.

[39] Walter Burley Griffin, 'Building for Nature', *Advance! Australia*, vol. 4, no. 3, 1 March 1928, p. 125.

[40] ibid., p. 126.

[41] ibid.

[42] See James Weirick, 'The Castlecrag Experiment of Walter and Marion Griffin', in Robert Freestone (ed), *The Australian Planner*, School of town Planning, University of New South Wales, Sydney, 1993, p. 186.

[43] *The Australian Home Builder*, no. 6, November 1923, p. 38.

[44] 'Building for Nature', p. 123.

[45] ibid., p. 123.

[46] ibid., p. 217.

[47] ibid., p. 124.

[48] Nora Cooper, 'The "Modern" Spirit in Architecture', *The Australia Home Beautiful*, vol. 7, no. 7., 1 July 1929, p. 38.

The Case of the Sinking Stack:
A Theory of Growth, Renewal and Decay of Urban Stock

B. Atkinson[1]
BScTech, MSc, PhD, FRIBA, ARAIA, MIStructE, C.Eng.

Reader, UNITEC Centre for Materials Performance, School of Construction, UNITEC Institute of Technology, Auckland, New Zealand

ABSTRACT : The growth and decay of the class of urban artifacts we call buildings has been observed in the 20thC. as a quasi cyclic phenomena. These artifacts which form the greater part of our built environment, range in types from manor house to church, from factory to CBD skyscraper. Their appearance as well as disappearance echo to large extent the fluctuations of the on-going national economy. Nevertheless each class of building, seen as a numerical whole or population is found to obey variations of simple but inviolate rules of renewal and decay. The mathematical descriptor that we choose to use, we call the *sinking stack* effect.

A dynamic model of the urban stock called a *sinking stack* is presented. The stack represents the accumulation of constructional endeavour over long periods extending back into history. Each element or section of the stack is subject to renewal and decay in a manner appropriate to the historical influences it has been obliged to bear. In general, except for current additions, the stack reduces in 'height' numerically with the passage of time. Thus the stack tends to sink continually - modelling the disappearance and ageing of the built environment. The stack needs replenishment, maintenance and care in choice of entry items. Such a choice will involve the use of what we now know as either renewable or non-renewable resources, depending on the adoption of sustainable or depletion philosophies.

Studies of urban housing in the UK as a typed class, for which statistics can be found covering most of the last century or so, allow comparison between mathematical models of these effects and the actual situation found in the field.

A computer model illustrating the dynamic effects of these notions has been developed which greatly assists in understanding such phenomena. Within the scope of the study strong indicators emerge regarding the direction that urban renewal politics and policies should take.

INTRODUCTION

Experience shows that each cycle of construction, associated with a class of building carries its own personal stamp of identity, recognised not only by the pastiche of style and owner idiosyncrasies, but by conformity to regulation and constructional standards, as well as

[1] Contact address: Dr.B. Atkinson, Reader in Const.Tech, School of Construction, UNITEC Inst. of Tech., Carrington Rd., Auckland, New Zealand. Tel: (649) 849 4180 (switch), also (649) 815 4321 x 7131 (direct), Fax: (649) 846 7369 , e-Mail: batkinson@unitec.ac.nz

material properties and performance, each one of which is characteristic of its time. The cycles are not natural, rather more quasi cyclic, more induced by social and political constructs.

The definition of the lives of a particular unit within a given class or group follows. We need to consider individual buildings or groups of typed urban stock. The *average age* (T_{av}), the *useful life* (sometimes known as the economic life), and the *actual life* (n) (sometimes known as technical life, or durable life, or structural life) of typed urban stock are self evident terms. the latter defines time-spans from construction to demolition. The term *amenity value* is also seen as critical to the analysis of urban building renewal in all its forms, as is the equally abstruse concept of *quality* construction. The *productivity* of units per annum (p) governs the limiting total stock of units that can exist at any one time. The *total stock* (T) varies at any time (t) on a centurial time-line depending on the addition and loss of stock prior to time (t).

There are two associated features of western twentieth century planning that are worthy of review, and out of which some ground rules for future building stock policies need to be found. The first is population growth and the attendant economic and survival-based mass migrations that follow; and the second is the manner that these populations use available resources and are housed.

This paper is concerned with modelling the 20th C growth characteristics of western style housing stock taken as a typed class of building. The validity of the models that have arisen has been tested using statistical data drawn from UK government sources, that dates back to 1885. The models that have been conceived begin with a simple growth equation through to more complex algorithms. A computer simulation of stock growth and other parameters illustrates the dynamic nature of the growth and decay process, and is offered as a description of the mechanism for the typed class of buildings chosen. The provision of building stocks that are heralded as sustainable, presupposes that some general philosophy of building principles is adopted which refers perhaps to Gordon's 'long life, loose fit, and low energy' plea, rather than say one which bows completely to the gods of profit, or to the adage of 'fast turnover, full house, and frail fabric'.

THE MYSTERY

In 1985 the nett population of the UK reached zero growth, peaking at about 54M. Various estimates of the size of the housing stock at that time give about 22M housing units. Some 0.5M of these predate 1885, and at any one time we may expect about 4% to be unoccupied, mainly due to occupant transition. If the mean durable life (n) of these is considered to be 60 years, which is a figure often quoted, then a mean productivity rate of at least 317k. units per annum would have been necessary in order to reach the above total number of units. Since this rate of productivity has been reached only a few times in the years following WW2., then our assumption about the mean expected durable life of the dwelling units is incorrect.

We know that the average 20thC. productivity rate was about 190,000 units per annum. This implies that the mean durable life of the dwelling units would have to be at least 115 years or so. Such an age does not fit the popular conception of the durable requirements of a dwelling house. The mystery of how such a large, but clearly necessary size of stock came about is not so easy to solve in terms of the parameter sizes that we have come to accept as sacrosanct.

The era of 250yr old dwelling units may not have been reached, but if current renewal rates and early demolitions continue, then such longevity will be necessary unless part of the population sleeps under the stars, or there is a gross loss in the amenity value of our dwellings. The irony is that reducing the quality of construction in order to improve supply, which took place immediately after WW2, will only exacerbate the situation. This mystery has been termed the housing time bomb. Even by passing comment in this paper it is the first 20th C planning lesson that we need to appraise.

MODELLING THE STOCK GROWTH.

As a first consideration we need to study the simplest of mathematical relationships described here as model No.1. Space limitations preclude rigorous mathematical treatment here, but the main features of the concept and other models will be outlined..

The growth and decay model that we shall demonstrate is analogous to the logistic equation for population growth used by demographers, or the cooling and radioactive laws used by physicists, or the organic growth model used by engineers and biologists. It involves two parameters; firstly the productivity p (units/yr.), and secondly the durable life of the units n (yrs). The economic life of a building is normally less than the durable life n, but we will confine our debate to a simple model. It may not be obvious to the uninitiated, but given these two parameters it is impossible to exceed in number a total stock greater than their product. The climbing curve of total stock T (units) approaches this limit asymptotically as t, the time in years from an arbitrary base, increases. The assumption for model 1 is that the generating differential equation is:

$$dT/dt + T/n = p \quad \text{which yields} \quad T = p.n.(1.0 - e^{-t/n}) + T_0. e^{-t/n_0} \quad \ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots (1)$$

assuming boundary conditions that for t =0, values of $T = T_0$, and $n = n_0$.

A very useful parameter that can be derived from equation (1) is that of the average age of the total stock at any time t_a. This parameter could equally well be called the moving average and is derived from:

$$t_{av} = {}_{t=0}\int^{t=t_a} (t - t_a).(dT/dt)\, dt \Big/ {}_{t=0}\int^{t=t_a} (dT/dt)\, dt \quad \text{which on expansion yields}$$

$$t_{av} = \frac{t_a(p.n - T_0) - p.n^2(1 - e^{-t_a/n}) + T_0 n_0(1 - e^{-t_a/n_0})}{p.n(1 - e^{-t_a/n}) - T_0(1 - e^{-t_a/n_0})} \quad \ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots (2)$$

if we assume that $n = n_0$, then:

$$t_{av} = [\, t_a / (1 - e^{-t_a/n}) \,] - n \quad \ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots (2a)$$

Even with a simple expression such as (1) it is seen that the average age of the stock at time t_a represented by (2) is quite complex. It is possible to calculate the average age of the stock accumulated in this way over several cycles of construction each one of which has a specific value of p, n, and T over the operative period of the cycle. For each period of addition to the stock there follows a longer period of loss of stock represented by the r.h.s. of the r.h.s. of equation (1). Each of these cycles is stacked above the previous cycle in order to build up a

total stock growth function over a given period of time. Fig. 1 illustrates the general form of the function.

This concept is complicated by the variations in p and n that arise from time to time, which we have come to recognise as changing building productivity cycles. 25 such quasi cycles can be found in the 100 years since 1885 to 1985, each with a different productivity rate and durable life. Each cycle has not only its growth phase, but on completion leaves an extended decay phase as the stock is gradually replaced over the ensuing years. In 1985 therefore we had the current cycle of production overlaid or stacked on top of the residue of decaying units left by the previous 24 cycles. The total in 1985 was in fact about 22M units. The average age was about 105 years and increasing.

With the passage of time it is clear that the stack reduces unless it is constantly replenished at the top, or during the current or last cycle. Such an analogy we call the *sinking stack*. We can visualize the stack by analogue; by placing a piece of plain black paper with a 3mm. wide vertical slit cut in it over the T v. t function. Focusing our attention on the lines that cross the slit, the underlay should be drawn sideways under the slit. The motion of the lines across the slit exactly models the changes that occur in the stack with time. Alternatively we can emulate this effect graphically on a computer.

There are some points of note. The addition of new work delays the rate of sinking. Additional maintenance work also reduces the sinking rate unless we accept falling amenity values for the stack as a whole. In practice we neglect some parts of the stock, and focus attention on others. CSIRO indicate that lagging maintenance is usually between 2 and 6 times less than what is ideally required. The nett result is that the total stock or height of each part of the stack inevitably falls. The difference between maintaining an ideal full height stack, and the reduced height that we experience in real life, indicates the degree of imperfect maintenance that takes place, changes in amenity values, loss of function and neglect. It also reflects political, social and economic constraints and other influences. Examples of these would be wars, demographic changes and housing subsidies.

It is possible to conceive more complex generating functions than model No.1 by including additional parameters. Model No. 3 for example introduces the z parameter which is a replacement factor accounting for loss of manpower diverted from new building work to maintenance work as the total stock increases. It also allows for increasing productivity compounding at a rate r per period a. Our trials show that this model produces a total stock function closely matching that of the chosen typed class of buildings (20thC.UK dwellings) at least according to the available statistics. There is a fine balance between the effects that variations in p, k and r generate.

DWELLING HOUSE STOCK RENEWAL - UNITED KINGDOM

Fig. 2 shows the annual production of dwellings in the UK during most of the 20thC. and the end of the 19thC. Of significance is the unstable nature of the annual number of additions. Fig. 3 shows the graph of total dwelling stock v time overlaid with the values derived from model No. 3. They are in reasonable accord. In this function the massive annual variations are lost amidst the statistical chatter of the overall accumulations which number millions. Fig. 4

shows the average age t_{av} of the stock v time from 1885 to 1985. This graph is taken from the statistics, but can be computed theoretically from model 3 using equations equivalent to equation (2) or (2a) above. By doubling an average annual value we roughly know the durable age of the average unit, which in this example appears to be about 105 yrs., far beyond the 60 yr norm that has its origins associated with cost-in-use considerations.

CONCLUSIONS

It is axiomatic that a population has to be housed. Whether the dwelling units are older than expected durable limits becomes irrelevant if amenity values remain acceptable. Higher amenity values are enjoyed as far as they can be taken within an available capital framework; but a loss of amenity is endured beyond the effects of other influences because of the need for basic shelter. The UK stock, which characterises the features of large typed stock, is seen as far too old for comfort because it was never built to last for so long. The analysis shows that at the current rate of renewal many dwellings will be in use until they reach at least 250yrs old. A loss of amenity value will arise in these groups. Normally we expect the useful life of a building to be less than the durable life. Our modelling illustrates these notions.

There is a clash of philosophies between those who currently uphold *sustainibility* with a rapid turnover of housing stock combined with the usual developers profit creaming (not necessarily a contradiction), as against *sustainibility* with a slow replacement of stock because of a built-in long life. In reality whichever philosophy we adopt, as shown in this paper, the UK buildings will largely remain because most needed whatever their physical state. Mass demolitions of middle aged stock are a thing of the past. Over 1.25M are currently condemned but occupied. This observation is perhaps an indirect definition of the growth of slums.

The parameters which effect the production and maintenance of housing stock have been noted above in the abstract. The aging process in dwelling house stocks is a problem carried over from the 19thC. into the 20thC. that has never been satisfactorily resolved. It is clearly due to be carried into the 21stC.

This paper has introduced the reader to the concept of stock replacement using the sinking stack analogy. Having grasped this theory at a simple level it is possible to develop more complex models which, for example, take account of wide variations in productivity and short term economic cycles. This could provide insight into how to provide long term buffers against infrastructure downgrading or collapse. More detailed papers are planned which will explore these possibilities.

Selected Sources
AJ (1985) *Hammersmith's houses of horror.* Feb. 6th. London
AJ (1978) *The week: Peterloo's housing fails.* Oct. 25th, London
A.M.A. (1984) *Housing and Construction Statistics 1973-1983: Estimates* HMSO, London
Ashworth, H. (1957) *Housing in Great Britain* Thomas Skinner, London.
Burnett, J. (1978) *A social history of housing 1815-1970,* Mathuen, London
D.O.E. (1985) *Housing and Construction Statistics* HMSO, London
M.H.L.G. (1970) *Housing Statistics 1960-66, 1966-69* HMSO, London.
RIBAJ (1985) *The Month: decaying Britain: the facts pour in from hard hit councils* Aug.
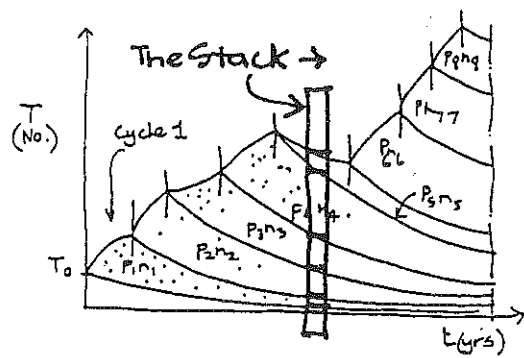
Fig. 1 The Sinking Stack - growth over several cycles.
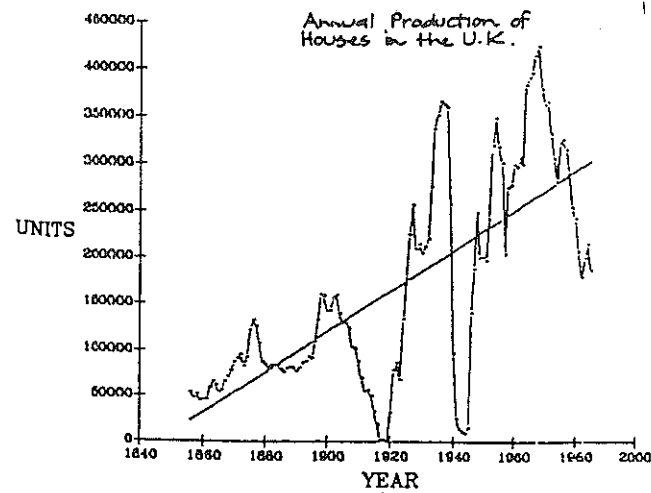
Fig. 2 UK Housing stock 1885-1985 Annual Additions.
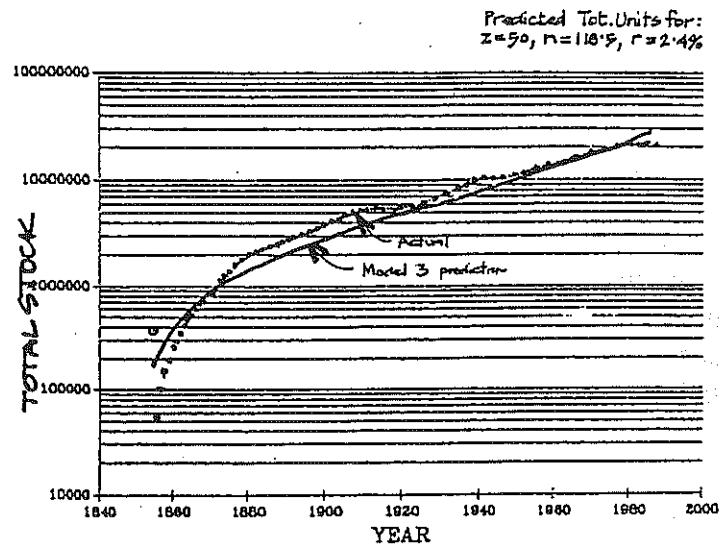
Fig. 3 UK Housing 1885-1985 Theory and actual Growth
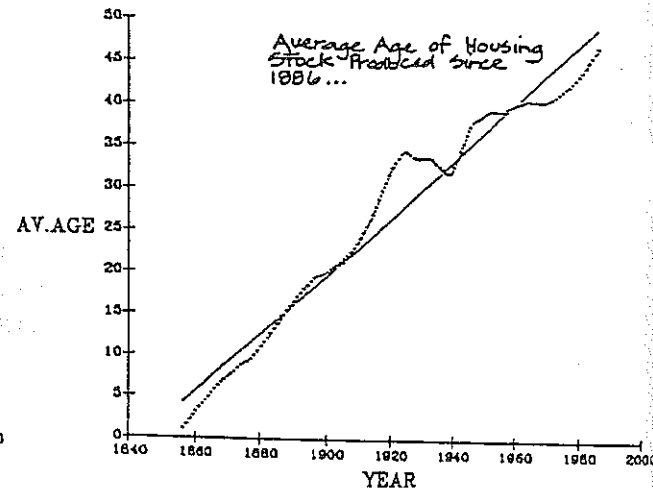
Fig. 4 UK Housing 1885- 1985 Increase in Average Age

APPENDIX A : Some Growth Models for Typed Building Stock

1. $\quad T = p.n.(1.0 - e^{-t/n}) + T_0. e^{-t/no}$ ....(1)

2.i $\quad T = p.n.[\,(1 - m.n/p)(1 - e^{-t/n}) + m.t/p\,] + T_0. e^{-t/no}$

2.ii $\quad T = p.n.[\,(e^{-tg} - e^{-t/n})/(1 + g.n)\,] + T_0. e^{-t/no}$

2.iii $\quad T = p.n.\{[(1 + r)^{a.t} - e^{-t/n}]\,/\,[\,1 + a.n.logn(.(1 + r)\,]\,\} + T_0. e^{-t/no}$

3. $\quad T = p.n.\{[(1 + r)^{a.t} - e^{-(t/n + t/z)}]\,/\,[\,1 + n/z + a.n.logn(1 + r)\,]\,\} + T_0. e^{-(t/no + t/zo)}$

where T = total stock [no.], p = productivity [no./yr], t=time [yrs], n = durable life [yrs], no = durable life previous cycle [yrs], T_0 = Total stock at t=0, m= increase in p per yr, g = exponential time constant [1/yrs], r = compound increase in p [no.], a = compound time constant [1/yrs], z = replacment factor [1/yrs].

Dublin Town Planning Competition: Ashbee & Chettle's The New Dublin – A Study in Civics

Professor Michael J. Bannon
Department of Regional & Urban Planning
University College Dublin
Richview, Clonskeagh
Dublin 14, Ireland

BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT.

The image of a neo-classical, grand Dublin, "*the second city of the empire*" is familiar to many. In part, this classical Dublin owes much to the foresight and guidance provided by Dublin's Commissioners for the Making of Wide and Convenient Streets and Ways (The Wide Streets Commissioners, McParland, 1972; Craig, 1969; Harvey, 1949). But behind and alongside the grandeur and the splendour of Georgian Dublin there was another reality, a population of deprived, under educated, poor and unemployed living in slums in back alleys, mews courts and lanes and especially concentrated in the western half of the city (Warburton et al, 1818). The elites aggravated the problem by fleeing their traditional inner city areas to the unincorporated suburbs or abroad, leaving much of Dublin's fine neo-classical heritage to fall into multi-family tenements. The causes of the Dublin slums and tenements appear to have been unique in the western world in the 19th century in that these conditions were not the result of industrialisation. As Larkin notes "*Dublin, in fact, suffered more from the problems of de-industrialisation than industrialisation between 1800 and 1850*", (Larkin 1998). The results of these processes included poverty, destitution, overcrowding, unemployment, disease and very high death rates, as well as the decline and decay of much of the physical fabric of eighteenth century Dublin.

DUBLIN'S HOUSING CRISIS.

A great deal of material has been published on the housing crisis in Dublin at the beginning of the 20th century, a crisis that had deepened throughout the nineteenth century and to which the public and private responses had been woefully inadequate (Daly, 1985; O'Brien, 1982; Prunty, 1998). By 1914 nearly 26,000 families or thirty-five percent of the population lived in 5,000 tenements while more than 20,000 of those families existed in one room and another 5,000 families had only two rooms. The Dublin slums became the institution, the locus, where poverty existed and where a '*culture of poverty*' developed which was to exist long after many of the slums and tenements had disappeared, (Prunty, 1998).

Traditionally, the view had been held that the root cause of the Dublin housing crisis was the poverty of residents which was based on insufficient and precarious employment. Geddes in his evidence to the 1913 Housing Inquiry challenged this neat sequence. For him housing was seen as "*fundamental to the problem of labour, since the house is a central and fundamental fact of real wages*", (Bannon, 1978; Bannon, 1985). There was little chance of improvement in the "*terribly depressed conditions of labour*" until "*a greater efficiency*" on the part of the Dublin worker was secured, and to this end "*no remedial policy is more promising than that of improved housing*", (Cowan, 1918). Of wider significance and perhaps of more lasting consequence was the ability of Geddes to convince Lady Aberdeen of the logic of his argument.

THE ABERDEENS AND THE POOR OF DUBLIN.

Lord Aberdeen and his wife, Lady Ishbel, were Scottish members of the Liberal Party who gave a life of distinguished public service at home and abroad. The record of their stay in Ireland was one of commitment to social reform and to the Home Rule movement, ("*We Twa*", 1925). In particular, Lady Aberdeen devoted herself unceasingly to the causes of social reform, housing improvement and economic development. In 1907 she founded the '*Women's National Health Association of Ireland*' dedicated to the eradication of disease, reducing mortality rates, improving housing and creating local enterprise. In time, the W.N.H.A.I. was to spawn several reform organisations still active in social and economic advance throughout Ireland.

As a Scott, Lady Aberdeen would have been familiar with the work of Geddes, she visited his Outlook Tower in Edinburgh and she recognised the potential of his "Cities and Towns" travelling exhibition to help "*stir up public feeling*" on Irish housing conditions and deprivation throughout the cities and towns of Ireland. "*With this end in view [we] invited Professor Geddes to bring his Cities and Towns Exhibition to Dublin, guaranteeing him against loss. He came, not once, but twice, and he and the Exhibition made a deep impression upon a small circle of earnest students*", ("*We Twa*", 1925).

GEDDES: POVERTY, HOUSING AND THE TOWN PLANNING COMPETITION.

Geddes took his "Cities and Town Planning" exhibition to Dublin during the summer of 1911, where it was displayed as part of the international Congress of the Royal Institute of Public Health. During the Congress and over the next three years Geddes subjected Dublin to his renowned flurry of attack and reform on all fronts, (Bannon, 1985; Welter, 1998). He was instrumental in bringing to Dublin the leading figures of the emerging town planning profession in Britain and the United States. He encouraged, and cajoled all the leaders of Dublin to work towards the eradication of the housing crisis in a planned and orderly manner. Geddes recognised the urgency of the "*civic uplifting*" of Dublin's population. For him "*planning pays its way*" and he cautioned that "*putting buildings up in a permanent way without town planning is preparing slums for the future*", (Report of Housing Inquiry, 1914). Rather, using the analogy of war preparations, he advocated "*bringing up resources on every side*" while "*drawing up your plans*". Drawing up a plan should not be an excuse for procrastination – "*during the preparation of a town plan much useful work could proceed 'subject' to criticisms'*".

Apart from the exhibitions, Geddes influenced the establishment to set up the Housing and Town Planning Association of Ireland in 1911 which later merged into the Civics Institute of Ireland. Along with his daughter, Nora, he embarked on a '*campaign to convert*' derelict sites into recreation areas. He ran Summer Schools for Civics and, with Raymond Unwin, reviewed the Municipal and Local Government Board's proposals for housing development, including the site for a Garden Village at Marino. One of his most important achievements, the only one with lasting consequences and the one central to this conference, was his success in getting the Viceroy to agree in early 1914 to the establishment of a Dublin Town Planning Competition with a prize of £500 to go to the winning entry.

The competition was considered to be of international importance and was widely advertised. By March 31st 1914 the Housing and Town Planning Association of Ireland's Technical Committee had finalised the Competition's particulars and conditions of entry. The planning proposals were to relate to a Greater Dublin area taking in Howth, Glasnevin, Ashtown, Dundrum and Dalkey. The submissions should have regard to three main headings: communications, housing and metropolitan improvements, (Bannon, 1985).

The submitted plans were to be assessed by Professor Patrick Geddes, Professor John Nolen, Boston and Mr. Charles McCarthy, the Dublin City Architect. The guidelines emphasised that too much remained unknown about Dublin's needs as yet to allow any definite commitment to implement any of the schemes. Rather the objective was to "*elicit Plans and Reports of a preliminary and suggestive character, and thus obtain contributions and alternatives which may be of value towards the guidance of the future development of the City in its various directions*". A total of eight entries were received.

The Competition Results.

After lengthy deliberations, the prize of £500 was awarded to the Lever Professor of Civic Design at the University of Liverpool, Patrick Abercrombie, who in association with Sydney and Arthur Kelly, Liverpool surveyors, had compiled the winning entry. The prize was awarded to Abercrombie and his colleagues having regard to the "*magnitude and comprehensiveness of the exhibit, evidencing corresponding thought and labour*" as well as "*skill and beauty of execution*".

The proposals by Abercrombie, Kelly and Kelly, published in 1922 as Dublin of the Future: the New Town Plan, (Abercrombie et al, 1922) consisted of two rather contrasting parts. With regard to the city centre, the idea was to model Dublin, the emerging national capital, on the plans of Hausmann and Henard for Paris (Evanson, 1979) complete with boulevard construction, extensive street widening, a new traffic concourse (a Dublin Place de La Concorde) and sites for new public building, including a bourse! Outside the centre, the authors prepared sketch suburban housing layout plans to accommodate the 60,000 to be "thinned out" from the centre. The plan provided for a hierarchy of open spaces, metropolitan bus and underground transport systems, the suburbanisation of industry and extensive in-filling of Dublin Bay to accommodate housing, open space and industry.

Apart from the winning entry, the adjudicators singled out for special mention the competition entry by C.R. Ashbee and G. H. Chettle since "*no other report expresses a fuller and more comprehensive grasp of civic problems*." The adjudicators favoured publication of this report and expressed the view that had circumstances not prevented its completion, "*the author of the premeditated design might have found in this [entry] a more serious competitor*".

CHARLES ROBERT ASHBEE, 1863-1942.

C. R. Ashbee was born in London of middle-class parents. In 1883 he took up a place at King's College, Cambridge. He read philosophy. He was greatly taken with the ideas of Ruskin and William Morris. In his final year at Cambridge he appears driven by the '*socialistic enthusiasm*' of many young men of means to better understand the working classes and to get at the "*common humanity*" below the class differences.

Having completed his studies at Cambridge he joined the London architectural firm of Bodley and Garner in 1886. In the evenings Ashbee turned towards the chronically deprived East-End of London, to Whitechappel and to Toynbee Hall, the University settlement in the East-End, where as a resident he was required to carry out social or educational work. Much of Ashbee's energies were devoted to crafts education and to the development and management of the Guild of Handcraft. The experience at Toynbee Hall also instilled in Ashbee a commitment to university extension education and for much of the 1980's, alongside his work

13. The establishment of a 'park system' linking up the existing parks, open spaces and squares and creating new ones, utilising private enterprise where possible.

14. The establishment of a system of playgrounds linked to schools throughout the city.

15. The control of all buildings so as to differentiate neighbourhoods and protect private property and real estate values.

16. The passing of regulations to protect the city from the recurrence of the existing evils of the tenement house system.

17. The establishment of bodies whose object is the recording and preservation of historic Dublin.

18. The substitution through the zone system of a better distribution of the industrial grouping of the city, without any disturbance of the two main Dublin Industries.

19. The completion of what may be called the civic outfit of the city in the matter of public buildings; those for instance that will be needed in the future, e.g., the Linen Hall as a "People's Palace"; Ethnographic Museum; the Weavers' Hall, etc.

20. The cleaning of the Liffey, freeing it from the introduction of refuse, and giving improved facilities for open-air bathing places for men, women and children.

REFERENCES

Abercrombie, P., S. Kelly and A. Kelly, (1922), *Dublin of the Future: The New Town Plan*, The University of Liverpool Press.

Aberdeen, Lord and Lady, (1925), "*We Twa*", Collins Sons & Company, Glasgow.

Bannon, M. J., (1985), "The Genesis of Modern Irish Planning", in M. J. Bannon (editor), *The Emergence of Irish Planning, 1880-1920*, Turoe Press, Dublin pp.189-260.

Bannon, M. J., (1988), "The Capital of the New State" in A. Cosgrove, (editor), *Dublin Through the Ages*, College Press, Dublin, pp.133-150.

Bannon, M. J., (1978), "Patrick Geddes and the Emergence of Modern Town Planning in Dublin", *Irish Geography*, Vol. II, pp.141-148.

Craig, M., (1969), *Dublin 1660-1860: A Social and Architectural History*, Allen Figgis, Dublin.

Crawford, A., (1985), *C. R. Ashbee: Architect, Designer and Romantic Socialist*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London.

Daly, M., (1985), *Dublin the Deposed Capital: A Social and Economic History*, Cork University Press, Cork.

Dublin Civic Survey, (1925), University of Liverpool Press and Hodder and Stoughton London.

O'Brien, J. V., (1982), "*Dear Dirty Dublin*": A City in Distress, 1899-1916, University of California Press, Berkely, Los Angeles and London.

Prunty, J., (1998), *Dublin Slums, 1800-1925: A Study in Urban Geography*, Irish Academic Press, Dublin.

Warburton, J., J. Whitelaw and R. Walsh, (1818), *History of the City of Dublin*, Vol. 1, London.

Welter, V. M., (1998), "Stages of an Exhibition – The Cities and Town Planning Exhibition of Patrick Geddes", *Planning History*, Vol. 20, No. 1, pp. 25-35.

From a core to a border urban approach

Helen BARROSO, Francisco MUSTIELES, Araxí Latchinián

Instituto de Investigaciones de la Facultad de Arquitectura, La Universidad del Zulia
Apartado postal : 15399. Maracaibo, Venezuela
E-mail: hbarroso@luz.ve - fmustiel@luz.ve

Abstract

Government intervention in housing plans in peripherical areas in Venezuelan cities, should not be limited to building housing projects or providing some services and basic equipment, as it has been done during decades among government institutions responsible of housing problems. They need strategic plans of urban interventions.

A comparative analysis of housing programs developed in peripherical urban areas in Europe, Latinoamerica and Venezuela, permitted the detection of a historical strategy of development: *the core urban planning or core approach.*

The periphery of Maracaibo is defined by the establishment of a heterogeneous group of no-control settlements. This heterogeneity is defined by the coexistence of high density population communities with low density ones, combined with communities deficiently equipped and bad transportation service. This situation has led a new strategic equipment plan: *the border urban planning or border approach.*

This paper discusses extensively these two strategic approaches.

Key words

Urban planning, urban design, urban policy

FROM THE MODEL TO THE STRATEGY

The Karl-Marx Höf, the Raben Höf, the Engelsplatz and so many other viennese housing interventions carried out between 1918 and 1933 were constructed differently, as a result of a different urban insertion and of a different programs, but they reproduced the same model, the viennese höfe.

From the german experience of the siedlung we can distinguish at least two basic models, the Britz model and the Siemensstadt model; the first one is a product of the relationship existing among the german expressionist component of the modern movement and those related to the functionalism; the second one is an example based on the modern reflection of urban space.

The development of social and modern condensers in the early soviet housing experience put traditional social spaces (living and dining rooms) outside the house, concentrating them in special buildings with the required equipment.

The british neighborhood units or venezuelan "unidades vecinales" were above all heiress of the Siemensstadt siedlung.

Though the viennese höfe, the german siedlung, the soviet common houses, the british neighborhood units or venezuelan unidades vecinales, were generally conceived as models and materialized differently, all of them were based on the same urban strategy: *a core approach* (Barroso 1997:1-31).

Being the periphery of the Venezuelan cities heterogeneous, from a social and economical point of view as well as from its urban mobility and basic facilities and equipment requirements, it seems more adequate not to propose a new model as an object that can be reproduced, but instead housing residential intervention strategies: more coordinated initiatives to obtain a result to impose a model, to face a growing heterogeneity. The strategy designates rather the choice of decision criteria, called strategic, because they pursue to guide a development without modeling it.

In the following paragraphs we describe a historical strategy on which most of the housing models were based: the core approach. We also propose a new strategy for the government housing projects, that is thought can be more adapted to the heterogeneity of the periphery: the border urban planning or *border approach*. Finally, we will establish a general way when each one of those strategies must be implemented in the second periphery of Maracaibo.

THE CORE APPROACH

Core urban planning or core approach is understood as the integral housing intervention strategy (housing, facilities, equipment) that takes care exclusively of the inherent requirements of the plot, that means that all the urbanization requirements are established in function of the population to be located in the plot.

The *core approach* is autonomous in the relation with its environment, it's not very sensitive: it does not distinguish if the plot is located in a rural area -surrounded of cultivation, in the middle of the city -surrounded of well equipped and consolidated sectors-, or in critical periphery -surrounded by spontaneous development areas, badly equipped.

In the following paragraphs some of the most important residential models built in the present century will be rapidly revisited focuses on detecting the type of strategy that supported the western housing urban planning; however the available information concerns more the housing equipment (kindergarten, basic schools, washing machine service, small stores, parks, etc.) than the facilities (water, electricity, sewage, roads, etc.), and consequently all the references concerning strategies will be referred exclusively to the housing equipment.

The höfe: a core approach

The viennese höfe were inserted in two differents sites: in existing urban tissue (Rabenhof, Ley-Strasse, etc.), or in semirural areas (Karl Marx Höf, Engelsplatz, Sandleitenhof, etc.), surrounded by plantations, a kind of advancement of the city and its tissue.

In both cases, the facilities and even more the equipment were the result of satisfying the internal demand of people estimated to live in the höfe.

In those housing complexes the built surface represented generally about 50% of the total plot; the rest of the plot, generally corresponding to the great inner courtyard, was equipped with gardens, game fields for children, and, in many cases, gymnasiums and daily care centers (Aymonino, 1981:29).

In Venezuela the influence of viennese höfe, as in the housing complex named "El Silencio", locates in central courtyards games and garden areas of exclusively for the residents. The stores are located on the ground floors of the buildings facing the public streets, to make them more accessible.

The positioning of the equipment in the center of the höfe or around of the courtyards of the complexes, confirm the materialization of a core strategy whose gravity center is located inside of the complex and not outside, and in many cases with the conceptual center of itself (hof).

The siedlung: toward an open conception, but not a border strategy

The german experience could practically be summarized in two large models of siedlung, the Britz (1925-27) of Bruno Taut, and the Siemensstadt (1929-30) of Walter Gropius: the first is the result of a most traditional conception, centered in itself, and the second is a product of a resolutely modern, more autonomous and opened conception.

The Britz model, as so many other siedlung, was born among plantation: urban emergency in the middle of the nothing. The trade location on the complex, on the Fritz Reuter Allee, looking for future demands, seems to indicate the presence of a different intervention strategy. Now then, the criteria of trade location, in siedlung, as well as in höfe, does not seek to satisfy only demands of the population of the complex in which they are inserted, but, obviously, in search of improving their profitability, they are positioned in such a way they can absorb external demand; i.e., they are located on edges, on certain main arteries, to favor their proximity to future inhabitants of other housing developments.

The school in the Siemensstadt is located in a central wooded space; the rest of the equipment (sport fields, kindergarten, nurseries, etc.) are located in continuos intermediate spaces between open buildings. However open this layout is towards the immediate environment it does not mean that it is opened in terms of use of the equipment offered in the siedlung;

therefore we have to avoid confusing an opened project with a border approach; in a border approach the criteria for quantifying facilities and equipment demands consider not only the people living inside of the housing complex but in the precarious surroundings.

The influence of the siedlung -Siemensstadt model-, in Venezuela, exemplified in the 23 Enero housing unit, and the San Martín and Simón Bolívar urbanization, built housing complexes with communal services, children parks, sports fields, schools, nurseries and commercial zones inside of their open layout, where its dimensions were based on the demographic dimension of the people projected to live in those housing units.

The social condenser and the "neirboring units"

The social condenser of Narkomfin has also centralized common services, (nursery, school, club, kitchen and collective dining room, etc.) exclusively for the people living in this condenser. In the social condenser project of Barsch and Vladimirov (1929) the "rooms" building is crossed with an "equipment" building where there are common cooking stoves, meeting areas, recreational activities, etc. for the enjoyment of 1680 persons estimated to live in this great collective house.

The model of the "neighborhood unit" is also a clearly materialization of a core approach. Generally it is characterized by the centralization of the services equipment and the application of maximum walking distances, according to the criteria sustained by Clarence Perry, who defines the size of the housing complex according to the distance of walked by a child to go to and from the most remote house the school.

The Carlos Delgado Chalbaud urbanization (1950s), designed by Villanueva, is a neighborhood unit of four residential groups disposed around a civic center, with commercial and sports facilities.

The PiÒonal urbanization -today The Acacias-, developed to the south of Maracay, is composed of 7 large blocks separated by the system of publics roads, with the central sector reserved for the equipment. These large blocks are related at the same time to the central sector by pedestrian paths and green areas. The development was organized around the educational service. The basic units of the development were grouped around an equipment nucleus where, in addition to the school, the shopping and recreational areas were located.

THE BORDER APPROACH

A new intervention context

Today's government housing intervention inside of the urban perimeters of the venezuelan cities is confronted to a different reality from that of the fifties and sixties; the current intervention areas, municipal or federal plots, are frequently surrounded by non-controlled settlements.

The purpose of a border approach is precisely not to lose the opportunity, with the new housing accomplishment to improve at least partially, the neighboring areas of unbalanced and , precarious habitat, surrounding the new government housing interventions.

The border approach considers for the programme and urban conceptual purposes, the particular conditions of those areas; the location of equipments must consider another territory: *the unbalanced and precarious habitat perimeter*, that means the plot including the immediate precarious environment; this way, we will pass from a core to a border strategy; that means solidary urban planning, generating positive externalities.

The geographical center of the new intervention, frequently supported with special equipment, will not necessarily stay in the center of the plot, but will be displaced probably toward its edges, seeking the gravitational center of the area including the unbalanced and precarious habitat perimeter.

Border approach and positioning

The heterogeneity and unbalanced state of the periphery of Maracaibo, as in so many other venezuelan cities, requires not general but specific treatment considering the differences existing among the spatial units of analysis.

Positioning equipment in a border strategy will vary based on the characteristics of each spatial units.

Central positioning will be used in those plot perimeters located in balanced surroundings; *border positioning*, will be used when the plot's perimeter is surrounded by unbalanced and precarious habitat.

REFERENCES

Aymonino, Carlo (1981), El significado de las ciudades, H. Blume Ediciones, Colección Biblioteca Básica de Arquitectura, Madrid, España.

Barroso, H., Mustieles, F. et Latchinián A., (1997), *"Un modelo habitacional urbano para la periferia de Maracaibo"*, Instituto de Investigaciones de la Facultad de Arquitectura, Universidad del Zulia, Maracaibo, febrero, mimeo.

Unravelling the Australian Housing Solution: The Post War Years

Mike Berry

Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute
20 Queen St
Melbourne 3000
Victoria

Introduction

> The Australian housing system can be characterised by three particular elements: the relative youthfulness of the stock (67 per cent built since 1945); the low density of construction (77.5 per cent of dwellings in 1986 were single detached: and the dominance of owner occupation as a tenure type (Maher, 1994).

> Australia as a suburb (Stretton, 1970).

Australian urban scholars have long remarked on the unique features of Australia's housing inheritance. Low density suburban life in a house of one's own has been the dominant aspiration and, for a large majority of currently living Australians, the substantive reality, especially since the Second World War.

However, from the early 1970s onwards - and particularly over the past 15 years - housing provision in Australia has become more uncertain and problematic - for residents, investors, builders, financiers and, not least, governments. The defining elements of Australia's housing system are under threat including the nation's love affair with owner occupation. This paper outlines the contours of the rise and possible demise of what might be called, 'The Australian housing solution'.

The Long Boom

The Australian economy grew rapidly in the 1950s and 1960s:

- The national population increased by 50 per cent between 1947 and 1971, more than 40 per cent of this increase due to overseas immigration
- Sydney and Melbourne grew more quickly than the national rate due to their strong attraction for migrants
- Aggregate employment grew more quickly than population over that period as the overall workforce participation rate increased along with the proportion of the population of working age
- Real GDP increased, both in absolute and per capita terms, and average (male) weekly earnings consistently rose faster than inflation
- Unemployment, with the exception of a brief credit squeeze in the early 1960s, stayed below 2 per cent.

Rising living standards and economic security were associated with a prolonged flow of investment into housing, institutionally assisted by the development of a 'protected circuit' of capital in which mortgage finance for housing was provided by the heavily regulated savings banks and building societies and through deliberate government policy. Overwhelmingly, this investment flowed into the construction of owner occupied detached bungalows in the new, expanding suburbs on the edge of the major metropolitan regions, apart from a sharp flat building boom, especially in Sydney, during the middle third of the 1960s. The key question here, of course, is why? Why did 'the Australian housing solution' emerge - or, at least, solidify - during this period? The almost unique combination of a high home ownership rate, detached housing and suburban location, cut deeper into the Australian working class than in other Western democracies like the U.S., where the suburbs developed more as exclusionary middle class enclaves and receptors of 'white flight' from the central cities.

Simple, single-factor explanations are unlikely to adequately account for so complex a process. It is not sufficient to explain these outcomes as, in some general and vague sense, the consequence of 'rising affluence' or 'land availability' or population growth. Nor is Kemeny's (1983) thesis that an omnipotent, ideologically driven government policy is the major determining factor at all plausible.

Other analyses have taken one or more of the key features, like suburbanisation, and sought to place them within broader structural accounts of urban form and transformation. For example:

- Berry (1984) drawing on Walker's (1978) earlier analysis of American suburbanisation, argued that Australian suburban development was driven by changes to the organisational structure of capitalism (ie. separation of home and work, creation of internal hierarchies, etc.) and the impact of key technological developments in both production and transport.
- The growth of suburban employment occurred alongside the growth of the suburb as the locus of the dual economic role of women in both the capitalist and domestic economies.
- The emphasis on home ownership derived, in part, from the manner in which Australia has, historically, been integrated into the capitalist world economy. High home ownership, in this view, is largely derivative, a set of consequences of broader structural forces, rather than the intended result of deliberate action by consumers, governments, financiers, or other actors (Mullins, 1981; Berry, 1988).
- The suburban lure of *affordable* home ownership is, in part, due to the role of urban ground rent in influencing the flow of capital through the built environment (Harvey, 1989a; Berry, 1990).

In recent years, attempts have been made to apply French regulation theory (Dunford, 1990; Jessop, 1990) to an understanding of Australian urbanisation (eg. Berry, 1990; Berry and Huxley, 1992; Grieg, 1995). The decades of the long boom saw the triumph of the Fordist regime of accumulation in which the associated ' mode of regulation' delivered high levels of employment and rising real wages linked to productivity increases, this institutional basis guaranteeing a rising mass consumption of housing and other durable consumer goods. Harvey (1989b) has termed the resulting urban form, 'the Keynesian City', a 'structured coherence' of socio-technical conditions of production, labour supply, mass consumption and sense of community, expressed in the (extensively) expanding urban environment. The Keynesian city was built through state-backed, debt financed mass consumption of owner occupied housing, cars, white goods, roads, hospitals, schools and other elements of the social wage or 'norm'. Crisis tendencies inherent in capitalist societies were partly displaced to the built environment for production and consumption. Urban and suburban development figured as a (temporary) 'spatial fix' for the recurrent overaccumulation of capital in the economy at large. Traditional urban based class struggle generated at the point of production was also partly displaced to the sphere of consumption, giving rise to a more diffuse, interest-based urban politics, of which the 'green ban' phenomenon was the clearest example in Australian cities during the 1960s and early 1970s. So central was 'the spatial fix' during this period that Harvey (1989b, p.39) concludes: ' (i)t is now hard to imagine that post war capitalism could have survived, or to imagine what it would have now been like, without suburbanisation and proliferating urban development'.

New Questions, New Solutions?

By the mid-1990s it was clear that the long established pattern of housing provision described in the preceding section was under threat. In hindsight, the 1980s appears as a watershed. Thereafter, suburban development in the major cities slowed, as resident population in the inner suburbs first stabilised and then began to rise, albeit haltingly and in an uneven fashion. Pressure on fringe development in Sydney and Melbourne has also been relieved by declining foreign immigration and sustained levels of net internal migration away from these cities though this latter trend may be reversing. Selective redevelopment at medium and high density in the inner and middle suburbs reflected these changing population trends, reinforced by government planning policies with sought to limit, as well as channel, outward residential development. And finally, for the first time since the 1930s, there are indications that Australia' high rate of home ownership is declining (Yates 1998).

It should be stressed that these changing outcomes are partial, uneven, in places uncertain and, in any event, at a very early stage in their genesis. Suburban development continues in the major cities, albeit at a slower pace and through more diverse forms, as affordable home ownership continues to attract many households, even at the cost of increasing inaccessibility to jobs, friends and social activities. The indication that the Australian housing solution is unravelling is more a forecast of what is increasingly likely to unwind, and like all forecasts should be treated cautiously. Nevertheless, it is worth exploring the dimensions and implications of these new trends since they can be seen to relate to far-reaching structural changes, rather than being accidental or ephemeral phenomena.

Long term demographic forces are pointing to a general aging of the population. The proportion of over-65 year olds is forecast to grow from 12 per cent in 1990 to more than 20 per cent of total population by the year 2031, depending on future immigration levels (AURDR, 1995a, p.75). In the medium term (up to 2012) growth will focus on the 45 to 64 cohort.

The retirement housing choices of (and constraints on) older Australians will significantly influence outcomes over the coming decades (Stimson, et. al., 1997). The 'empty nest' thesis suggests that older single or two person households will look to exchange their large suburban homes for higher density living in the central city or in well located sub-metropolitan centres, once their children have left home permanently. However, there is little more than anecdotal evidence for such claims. More persuasive is the evidence that older people are migrating long distances especially to coastal retirement centres (Paris, 1994). Outright home ownership has always been a central plank of retirement planning in Australia. But it is not clear that this high rate of outright ownership will be maintained. People are retiring earlier and living longer. Tying up the bulk of personal wealth in the form of the family home may not be the optimal way for all people to organise their retirement. In the first place, other avenues of wealth accumulation and income spreading are available, notably superannuation. In the second place, in order to maintain retirement lifestyles some elderly households may need to consume the wealth locked up in their homes by trading down to a cheaper dwelling, moving permanently into renting or by taking out a 'reverse' mortgage and gradually reducing equity in their dwellings.

Work carried out by the National Housing Strategy (1991) suggested that there was a growing 'mismatch' between housing need and the nature of the existing housing stock. Smaller households, in this view, need smaller houses. The forecast continuing decline in average household size might imply an increasing demand for smaller, denser dwellings, and therefore provide a continuing spur to the current surge of medium and high density residential development in cities like Sydney. However, the simple mismatch thesis has been attacked as simplistic (Maher, 1994, 1995; Batten, 1996). It is not clear that all or most small households want small dwellings. The demand for housing is still income elastic; the average size of dwelling in Australia has increased by almost 40 per cent over the past 25 years (Maher, 1995). The fully detached family home provides flexibility in the face of life-cycle changes -eg. the option of sharing space, accommodating visitors, converting to dual occupancy, etc. In the case of owner occupied dwellings, current taxation regimes favour over (rather than under) investment in housing, while significant transaction costs are a disincentive to movement.

There are, however, other possible factors underpinning the recent prominence of medium density housing. In particular, the life-style choices of more affluent, employed middle aged households place a premium on time. Residence in a newly constructed, well located unit avoids the heavy time commitment devoted to maintaining and improving the traditional suburban house. Time saved can be devoted to work and the increasingly commodified pursuit of leisure and culture. For some households the extra security afforded by the enclave-like development may be a further incentive to turn one's back on the traditional solution.

On the supply side, large developers have been converting run-down or derelict industrial and commercial sites and buildings into residential complexes. This has been facilitated by the creation of a pool of suitable sites in the wake of the collapse of the asset boom of the late 1990s, and the peculiar dynamics of the 'sell off the plan' development process. The key unanswered question is - does this apparent trend signal a permanent shift in Australian housing outcomes or is it a short term response to the boom-bust cycle of the late eighties, early nineties?

The trend towards 'densification' has been reinforced by government planning policies designed to achieve 'urban consolidation'. Denser living has been promoted not just on grounds of greater choice (in the context of the mismatch debate) but also in support of environmental and economic goals - eg. contributing to a reduction in car dependence and greenhouse gas emissions (AURDR, 1995b; Energy Victoria et. al., 1996). Although these claims are hotly contested (eg. Maher, 1993; Troy, 1996) urban consolidation policies have clearly influenced the trend to smaller lot sizes and redevelopment outcomes, especially where State Government land development agencies are active in the urban land market (Bramley, 1997).

However, the most radical challenge to the traditional approach is posed by the signs of imminent decline in the home ownership rate. The relatively stable rate of owner occupation over the past twenty years is due to the fact that the decline in the proportion of households purchasing (usually on a mortgage) has just been offset by the rise in the proportion of outright owners - ie. those who have completed their purchase. If, in future, the proportion of older outright owners declines - for the reasons outlined above - and the purchaser rate continues to slide, then the overall rate will also decline.

Yates (1998) has compared the rate of home purchase in 1975 and 1994 for different sub-groups defined by age, household type and household income, drawing on data from the ABS

Household Expenditure Surveys. Her findings can be summarised as follows:

- The purchaser rate has fallen across all age groups. Particularly significant for the immediate future is the decline in the early middle age group, 30-44 years, who would in the past, have been seen to be well established in their career and domestic situations, and therefore, well placed to take on the long term debt commitment of home purchase. In the long run, the fall in purchaser rate for under 25 year olds suggests an even sharper decline as this cohort ages, unless this fall reflects a delayed intention to purchase rather than a permanent state of non-ownership.

- In the case of household type, couples with and without dependent children have experienced declining purchaser rates over this period; regarding the traditional nuclear family, itself declining as a proportion of all households, less than half were purchasing by the mid-1990s. Single person and single parent households increased their rates but from very low bases; it is still the case that the vast majority of such households are *not* purchasing their own houses.

- The case with respect to income level is remarkable. All income quintiles have experienced a decline in purchaser rate. However, the fall is particularly sharp in the bottom 60 per cent of income earners. By the mid-1990s the most affluent 20 per cent are more than five times more likely to be purchasing than the least affluent 20 per cent. The *differential* in purchase rates of households in the lowest and highest income quintiles increased by almost 10 per cent between 1975 and 1995, roughly paralleling the decline in real income per household over the same period. Real income per household declined by 15 per cent in the lowest quintile (Yates, 1998).

Those trends reflect the force of both greater constraints and choices differentially distributed across the population. Taking the constraints first, increasing economic inequality is polarising access to and the affordability of owner occupation, even in a climate of low inflation and low nominal interest rates, Consequently, the income distribution of private tenants is significantly skewed to the lower end, while home purchasers are concentrated in the middle income categories. Just as important has been the increase in economic insecurity and the high rate of long term unemployment, associated with the relative decline of full time permanent jobs (Gregory and Sheehan, 1998). Low waged, uncertain job tenure, and recurrent periods of unemployment or underemployment provide a shaky foundation on which to contemplate home purchase, with its associated transaction costs and inflexibilities, especially where high inflation and housing capital gains can no longer be counted on to rapidly reduce the real debt outstanding. Although these economic constraints cut across all age groups, they bite particularly hard among younger people who face the greatest degree of economic insecurity and the highest unemployment rates.

Changes in government policy are also making it more difficult for lower income people to access and maintain owner occupation. The introduction of a national compulsory system of superannuation in Australia over the past decade has diverted potential disposable income away from investment choices like home purchase. Governments at Federal and State levels no longer see their role as one of encouraging 'the marginal would be home owner' into owner occupation. Direct subsidies, either in the form of cash grants or interest rate discounts, have largely been discontinued. The policy of selling public housing to sitting tenants at favourable rates, rampant in the 1950s and 1960s, has long gone. There now appears to be general acceptance in policy circles that in an increasingly unequal and uncertain world not everyone is likely to become or stay an owner occupier. This realisation was sharply reinforced by a number of unsuccessful attempts by State housing authorities in the late 1980s to encourage lower income earners into home ownership through the use of unconventional 'low start' mortgages. The subsequent spate of mortgage defaults and financial losses - the schemes were

implemented at the height of a property boom when interest rates were high - created a severe political backlash on the governments concerned. At the same time, the Commonwealth's emphasis in the social housing field has passed from the supply-side provision of capital grants to the states for the construction and management of public housing to the demand-side provision of rental assistance to private tenants through the social security system. The view behind this policy switch is that market processes are to be relied on to provide housing to lower income people; however, the market concerned is not for owner occupation but for renting from private landlords.

With respect to choice or changing preferences, life style factors may also be causing a re-think on the relative advantages of renting versus owning, especially for younger people. Given the increasingly commodified form of leisure, entertainment and youth culture in Australia, reinforced by American models and media, there is increasing competition for the young person's disposable income. The attractions of a mobile, cosmopolitan, consumption-focused life style undercut the capacity and willingness to save for home purchase as a prelude to locking in commitment to repay a large debt over a prolonged period. Housing situation mirrors job situation - both are seen as temporary and instrumental.

The growth of long term renting is the 'flip side' of declining home ownership. Over 40 per cent of private tenants in Australia have been renting for 10 years or longer (Wulff and Maher, 1998). This group can be divided into those who have always rented and those who once, in the past, were owners occupiers. The former tend to have lower incomes and higher than average rates of unemployment. The latter are a more socio-economically diverse group, older and more likely to have been divorced. Low and insecure income may, as noted earlier, 'trap' tenants in this tenure. However, as has been implied above, long term renting may be the tenure of choice for some affluent households due to:

- the prospect of low real capital gains on housing and the existence of other tax favoured investment opportunities
- the need to utilise wealth directly as working capital (rather than tie it up in a dwelling)
- the pursuit of life-style, including central city location at which renting rather than buying is feasible

The changes described in housing provision, policies and outcomes, can be cast within the structural and institutional analysis sketched earlier. The transition to the 'Post-Keynesian city', characterised by a move to a Post-Fordist regime of accumulation and mode of regulation, has led to a re-focussing on the primacy of the circulation of capital, a retreat of the traditional welfare state and the triumph of the neo-liberal policy agenda, especially in Anglo-democracies like Australia. Financial deregulation, reduction of tariffs and other forms of market protection, and industrial relations reform designed to increase labour market 'flexibility' were central components of the changing mode of regulation in Australia from the late 1970s (Berry and Huxley, 1992; Berry, 1996; Dalton, 1998).

In the post-Keynesian city, Harvey has argued, capital circulation through the space economy is increasingly regulated by four key processes, two of which are particularly relevant to the issues under review. First, competition within the spatial division of labour arises as different cities and regions each seek to attract and keep new growth industries to replace declining or 'sunset' industries. The rapid growth of tourism and hospitality in some regions like the Gold Coast in South-East Queensland is a case in point. 'Flexible labour markets' provide a potential competitive advantage for those jurisdictions in which 'neo-Taylorist' principals thrive. Lower taxes financed by cuts in 'wasteful' social expenditure and reduction in publicly provided service quality add to cheap and pliant labour in attracting new capital. In the case of knowledge intensive industries, including elaborately transformed manufactures, information technology and associated services, the existence of highly skilled local labour and a well developed educational training milieu (so called, 'soft infrastructure') are powerful attractors. More generally, the production of an efficient built environment for production became an important strategic means of maintaining or restructuring growth in the urban economy. However, the jobs created and destroyed are increasingly differentiated by income, skill level, security and location. Urban politics is re-focussed on the sphere of production, and in particular, on the social construction of conditions seen to be supportive of locally embedded capital accumulation. It is the perception, as much as the reality, of relative advantage that is central to the project.

The leads to a second process of urban transformation underway - viz. increasing 'competition within the spatial division of consumption'. The city appears as spectacle, a locus for major sporting events, mass entertainment, gaming and leisure complexes, factories of fun and festivals. Competition between cities is cast as a zero-sum game and outcomes measured against which city attracts or loses the Grand Prix, largest casino or most avante garde cultural festival. But the irony is that as competition for distinction intensifies and *difference* is earnestly sought, the outcome is what one commentator has called, mere 'variations on a theme park', where:

> electronic means of production, and uniform mass culture abhor the intimate, undisciplined differentiation of traditional cities, The new city replaced the anomaly and delight of such places with a universal particular, a generic urbanism inflected only applique (Sorkin, 1992, p.XIII).

Underlying this homogenised over-world of public spectacle are the real generators of social polarisation and spatial inequality. Capital and public resources are diverted to supporting the spectacle and transforming the built environment to suit. Both the wealth generated and the opportunity costs imposed are unevenly distributed (Gibson et. al, 1996). In part, the appearance of high-security, up market residential complexes in the central city and premier tourist locations are material representations of this 'generic urbanisation', architecturally marked by neo-Georgian stigmata or other whimsical post-modernist insignia. Gated estates and sophisticated surveillance in city apartments are as effective in separating rich and poor as the long established separation of rich and poor suburbs.

Concluding Comments

Clearly, there is little agreement on the precise nature of urban transformation underway in advanced capitalist societies like Australia, other than a general assertion that 'things are different now'. It has been argued in this paper that with respect to one manifestation at least - viz. the way in which housing is provided and consumed in Australia - the differences are pronounced and increasingly discernible. The taken-for-granted predominance of traditional suburban housing is under siege. Increasing inequality and insecurity, long term demographic change, mean government and the innovations (and commodification) of popular culture are all part of the 'bubbling postmodern complexity' which is fragmenting or differentiating housing aspirations and opportunities.

In the light of this analysis, what is facing urban scholars and policy makers at the fin de siécle, is the need for ' new ideas for Australian cities'.

A full list of references is available from the author on request.

New York Comes of Age: Planning a World City, 1860-1990

Eugenie Ladner Birch
Department of City and Regional Planning
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104-6311
USA

Between 1860 and 1990, New York grew from an important regional hub to a global metropolis, a phenomenon that its reflected in its populations statistics. In 1860 the city had 1.2 million residents; by 1990, the number was 7.3 inhabitants. During this time, the city's public- and private-sector leaders planned and implemented important projects in several areas to enhance and protect Gotham's hegemony in the nation, and later, in the world. They effected these accomplishments through entrepreneurial and opportunistic choices, not through systematic grand schemes. They were, in general, driven by a single objective: to make New York City supreme. Further, in many instances, a single visionary leader successfully rallied support for needed changes, stimulating the city's physical growth and enhancing its adaptability.

This paper surveys several key actions embodying this phenomenon. They fall into five categories: political definition, infrastructure construction, economic base development, housing provision and cultural activity and communications cultivation. It also identifies specific leaders whose vision and political acumen have inspired these enterprises. To support this argument, this paper highlights examples from each category; a longer work will develop each one more comprehensively.

Political Definition

While the Big Apple's municipal history is exceedingly complex, three phenomena contribute to a political definition that supports New York's evolution as a world city. They are: the consolidation of 1898 and its aftermath, the establishment and evolution of a municipal planning and development apparatus and the continuing support for an open immigration policy. The consolidation resulted in a 320- square-mile city having a strong economic base and an ample supply of land suitable for many development purposes. It also yielded unique governmental arrangements that are effective through 1990. The establishment of the city planning commission and department and the subsequent democratization of land-use decision-making through the creation of 59 community planning districts with participatory powers provided a smoothly functioning regulatory process for growth. While the legalization of zoning, subdivision regulations and building codes predated the founding of the planning units, the consolidation of these activities in the 1930s and their expansion in the 1960'a contributed to orderly planning. The addition of a regional dimension through the founding of the Regional Planning Association also supported the central role of the city in the metropolitan area. Finally, the city's welcoming attitude towards immigration throughout the 1860-1990 period yielded an ever-expanding labor force whose survival instincts have shaped all facets of

city life. Leaders associated with these activities are Andrew Green, George McAneny, Robert Wagner, Jr., and Fiorello LaGuardia.

Infrastructure Construction

The city's growth resulted from the construction of a strong and effective infrastructure encompassing a far-reaching network for internal and external travel, dependable and ample water, sewage disposal, power and communications facilities and a web of community facilities including schools, police and fire protection and hospitals. Among the most important achievements in this area was the delivery of transportation services ranging from more than 700 miles of subway knitting the city together to a suburban rail and later highway, network expanding the region to the growth of cargo-handling in a series of harbor and later airport developments which would also facilitate world-wide business linkages. Leaders associated with these efforts are Robert Moses and Austin Tobin.

Economic Base Development

Guaranteeing its world city status has been the city's ability to support a multi-faceted and adaptable economy. Moving from manufacturing and processing strength originating in the nineteenth century but depleted by the mid-twentieth century, the city's business classes have used the capitalistic system to advantage. As a center for investment and banking, the city has continually galvanized sufficient funding to push into new economic frontiers. While stress and dislocation have accompanied these important transitions, the city has emerged as a leader time and time again. Heavy investment in such new physical forms as skyscrapers and later in urban renewal sites as well as the creation of targeted programs exemplified by the business improvement districts of the modern age are emblematic of this process. This section will highlight selected business leaders including August Belmont, Charles Dyer Norton and the New York Partnership.

Housing Provision

The city has energetically devised multiple approaches to fashioning its housing supply to accommodate the needs of its population. Decent affordable shelter has been a continuing theme addressed through several means including passage of protective legislation and the development of mass-produced dwellings from the tenement to public housing to the Nehemiah unit. The transformation of middle and upper income dwellings from single-family units to multi-family apartments are a second part of the story. Finally, the city has adapted obsolete non-residential land uses for housing in unique ways. Figures symbolizing these efforts include Lawrence Veiller, Mary K. Simkhovitch, Robert Wagner, Sr. Robert Moses and Michael Lappin.

Cultural Activity and Communications Cultivation

As a center of cultural activity and communications, New York City has actively supported its arts and media sectors. Using selected examples, including the formation of

Lincoln Center, the creation of Teleport and the renewal of Times Square, the paper will show public and private sector unions designed to maintain hegemony despite competition and economic hardship.

Conclusions

Becoming a world city is not accidental. The New York case demonstrates that productive alliances among public- and private-sector leaders develop to support and maintain the dominance of such cities. Usually the cooperation revolves around creating a large political polity that functions effectively within a nation's planning context. It also works to provide appropriate infrastructure, support the growth and adaptation of the economic base, assure sufficient housing and cultivate superior cultural and communications facilities. These activities often have traceable physical manifestations and are attributable to the vision and persistence of exceptional civic leaders.

Suburban Alchemy: American New Towns and the Cultural Transformation of Suburbia

Nicholas Bloom

American History, Brandeis University

38 Estes St. #7

Lynn, MA 01902

Over 21,000,000 Americans traveled to Chicago in 1893 to experience the World's Columbian Exposition: a full-scale model of a perfect urban space that would replace the smoky, congested, and fractious nineteenth century city. Visitors mingled in the shadow of majestic neoclassical buildings set carefully in a series of formal public spaces. Many middle-class Americans, in particular, found themselves inspired by this vision of a beautiful, cultured, socially harmonious city, and went on to organize City Beautiful planning and cultural reform efforts in numerous American cities and towns. Since the 1893 Exposition, however, few urban planning projects seem to have captured so forcefully the American public imagination.[i]

A series of 1960s planned suburban communities--Irvine, California, Reston, Virginia, and Columbia, Maryland--known as new towns have, however, cumulatively attracted not only tens of thousands of reform-minded middle-class residents, but millions of American tourists, and hundreds of journalists and academics. These visitors and residents came to experience and to participate in a full-scale solution to one of the most pressing urban problems of the nineteen fifties and sixties: suburban sprawl. Much as the smoky, fractious industrial city of the late nineteenth century inspired the Columbian Exposition, so the suburban subdivision--unplanned and mass-produced, divided by race and class, environmentally destructive, and culturally barren--inspired the comprehensively planned new town.

New town developers and residents self-consciously sought to offer American society a radical, new suburban communal model; and because the suburb was well on its way to becoming America's dominant urban form, they were effectively offering an alternative to mainstream American community development. Few historians, however, have grasped the historical significance of these communities. Unlike a World's Exposition and similarly sensational events, usually concentrated in a single year and location, the development of new towns has proceeded in a slow, incremental fashion over the last thirty years. In addition, most planning historians have viewed American new towns as profit-driven, overgrown subdivisions, based loosely on Garden City plans. While it is true that developers sought profit, and borrowed concepts from Radburn, New Jersey, contemporary European new towns, and more traditional suburban subdivisions, they re-shaped these elements into new, creative forms. Finally, new town residents have created signal elements of these communities, not developers or planners. Historians and historians of planning still pay insufficient attention to the role residents play in shaping their communities.[ii]

The early American suburbs--Llewellyn Park, New Jersey, Riverside, Illinois, and Roland

Park, Maryland, for instance--offered elaborate housing and elegant community design. The sophisticated melding of rural and urban life they pioneered seemed quite successful to observers. Well planned, leafy, architecturally distinctive, and tied closely to the city's cultural life by train and streetcar lines, they complemented the new industrial and commercial city. One of the notable and curious elements of nineteenth century and early twentieth century intellectual life is the extent to which a suburban critique did not develop. By the 1920s and 1930s, with the development of the automobile suburb, a suburban critique emerged (as reflected, for instance, in the writings of Sinclair Lewis and Lewis Mumford). The automobile suburb, unlike its predecessor, was less often well planned, usually architecturally monotonous, and increasingly independent of the city. By mid-century, the automobile suburb seemed destined to become the dominant American urban form, and inspired a renewed critique from middle-class reformers. While these critics overstated the case against suburbia, they were right that the new suburbs were poorly planned, architecturally monotonous, and institutionally underdeveloped; racially, religiously, and class homogeneous; isolating and often boring for women and teenagers; and lacking in strong cultural and civic traditions. If the suburb was to define American urban life, many members of the middle-class believed changes would have to be made.

The reform began in new towns with the design of a new suburban physical environment. Comprehensive planning, commissioned by the reform-minded developers, distinguished new towns from ordinary suburbs and included a greater mixture of land uses and a variety of housing types; better architectural, graphic, and landscape design; environmental preservation; well-defined village and town centers; transportation planning; and institutional planning (including educational, recreational, cultural, and governmental initiatives). Many of the planners working in these new towns desired to move away from rigid planning methods, and adjusted planning to reflect actual resident use. Finally, each new town plan combined different philosophies of development and design: from a series of idealized pastoral villages to an "urban sinew" winding through the community. The planning in Reston, Columbia, and Irvine, however, developed in an even more unexpected manner; planning became as much a community activity as a professional practice.

Developers had, after all, provided residents not only with a well-conceived, ambitious master plan that would take decades to complete, they also provided a community-wide, informal education in new town planning philosophy. Developers and their staffs created sophisticated multi-media welcome centers, sponsored talks by well-known planners and architects, created publications that promoted the new town spirit, and surveyed resident response to planning. Developers also encouraged their design professionals to be public figures in the community. Planners and other development professionals wrote columns in newspapers, often lived in the communities they planned, and were the frequent subject of features in local newspapers and national magazines. Through this educational process developers hoped to attract residents and to assure long-term support for their master plans--and they succeeded.

Many residents rallied around new town ideals and began demanding a larger role in planning. Residents developed organizations to monitor the new town planning, and in some cases created their own plans. Resident committees often worked with larger governmental organizations, including county and city governments, to gain more power over planning. They created institutions to complement those created by the developer in order to provide a wider range of social services: from subsidized child-care to mass transit. These residents and local journalists also wrote numerous articles and editorials in local newspapers on new town issues.

Sometimes, they gathered with other residents to discuss the success of the planning and developed their own ideas for improving new town design. Residents even founded historical societies and archives to preserve historical sights and early new town developments. While these efforts varied in influence, the residents profoundly effected the course of new town planning and institutional development.

Suburbs, however, suffered from more than just "sprawl" and limited institutional development; suburbs also lacked the social diversity that would make them attractive to liberal members of the middle-class. While much of the history of the American middle-class has been a search for greater exclusivity and upward mobility, a portion of that same middle-class has consistently sought out both more social variety and greater social justice (i.e., settlement workers, participants in New Deal efforts, and civil rights activists). A surprisingly large number of these middle-class liberals gathered in new towns and began building, with the developer, as complete a vision they could of not just a more beautiful suburb, but a more socially just suburb. These reformers believed that they could eliminate the pattern of middle class "flight" in American cities by consciously creating more diverse communities from the start. The developers and residents thus promoted the creation of subsidized and more affordable housing within their communities; prohibited racial steering by real estate agents; and organized high-profile ecumenical efforts. Residents and developers also hoped to make communities that would function better for women by providing child care and a physical environment where children could be more independent (for instance, giving children the opportunity to walk to school and recreational activities). New towns thus attracted many women with an interest in career development and feminist activities. Inevitably, social problems did arise in new towns, and the heightened optimism of new town residents made them question themselves and what appeared to be increasingly conservative neighbors (and Irvine made no effort to encourage racial integration). While the social reform spirit in most communities changed and even dwindled, it has not disappeared. Not only has concrete progress already been made, but also there remains a core group of reformers dedicated to preserving diversity.

New towns, however, were not to be just more socially diverse; many people saw them as an opportunity to develop more sophisticated suburban cultural activity. As the suburb had become a more independent community, it appeared to many Americans to be culturally barren--while television provided some cultural stimulation, most suburbs lacked museums, galleries, concert halls, and public art. The developers initially provided cultural activities--including concerts, art exhibitions, and public art displays--to attract residents. As the communities developed, some of the developers retreated from cultural sponsorship. During the last three decades, however, the residents, sometimes with financial help from the developers, have created an impressive network of cultural activities and organizations including concerts, theaters, art exhibitions, galleries, art and craft festivals, art courses, higher education opportunities, and even additional public art projects. Resident efforts, then, have been central to fulfilling the new town cultural mission.

In addition to cultural amenities, developers and residents created a number of events that would boost community spirit and help overcome the anonymity of both suburbia and the city by adopting and adapting both small town and urban traditions. Developers and residents, for instance, sponsored community festivals to build community spirit. These included community "birthday" celebrations, July 4th celebrations and parades, a "harvest festival," and holiday pageants. Residents also created organizations to promote community feeling. A Columbia

innovation, a "Friendship Exchange," for instance, consciously sought to respond to any imaginable family or individual need, much as residents of a small town might do. Drawing all these activities together in Reston and Columbia has been the paternalism of well-liked developers. Developers like James Rouse (in Columbia) and Robert Simon (in Reston) have provided a steady human leadership to these rapidly growing communities. Finally, the experience of building a community has also created a self-identified group of resident "pioneers." These "pioneers" see themselves as different from later arrivals in the community, united as they were in the early days by being part of an innovative communal experiment. The civic culture of these new towns, then, quickly attained a complexity and richness usually reserved for more established communities.

These new towns have spawned numerous imitators, now known as Planned Unit Developments (P.U.D.'s). P.U.D.'s, like Mission Viejo, California, generally provide residents with slightly better architectural design as well as abundant recreational facilities, but little else. New urbanist communities like Seaside, Florida, or Celebration, Florida are most notable for their emphasis on more traditional architecture and urban design. In time, both P.U.D.'s and new urbanist communities may develop more sophisticated institutions and social patterns. In the meantime, only these three new towns--Irvine, Reston and Columbia--have attracted a significant group of middle-class reformers with the energy and talent to create and support a wide range of new suburban institutions, social arrangements, and cultural events. It is these residents, then, with the help of sympathetic developers and planners, who have created the only full-scale, comprehensive alternative to late twentieth century American suburban sprawl.

---

[i] Raymond Mohl, *The New City: Urban America in the Industrial Age, 1860-1920* (Arlington, Illinois, 1985); R. Reid Badger, *The Great American Fair: The World's Columbia Exposition and American Culture* (Chicago, 1979); Paul Boyer, *Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820-1920* (Cambridge: Harvard, 1978); Jeanne Madeline Weimann, *The Fair Women: The Story of the Woman's Building* (Chicago: Academy, 1981).

[ii] This paper is a brief overview of my dissertation, now nearing completion. The dissertation uses interviews, oral history projects, community guides, video documentation, and draws on local newspaper and magazine articles including articles appearing over the last three decades in *Baltimore Magazine, The Baltimore Sun, The Columbia Flier, Columbia Forum Newsletter, Howard County Sun, The Orange County Register, Orange County Magazine, The Reston Times, The Restonian, The Washington Post Magazine, The Washingtonian*. I also draw on public relations materials including *The Irvine World News, New Worlds of Irvine, The Reston Letter,* and *Columbia Magazine*.

I also examine articles on the subject from national periodicals including *American Builder, Architectural Forum, American Home, Business Week, Catholic Review, The Communicator, Fortune, Life, Time, Harpers, House and Home, Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Journal of Homebuilding, Journal of Orange County Studies, The New Republic, The New Yorker, Newsweek, Reader's Digest, Presbyterian Life, Together Magazine, Urban Land, Urban World,* and *The New York Times Magazine*.

Speeches and articles by those involved in the planning and design of the community are also used. These include: Thomas Ashley. "Planning a New City: Irvine, California," Director of Development Strategy Planning for the Irvine Company. ca. 1964; Morton Hoppenfeld, "Intra-Office Memorandum: Working Procedures for Program Planning," November, 1963; The Irvine Company, "Report to the Community, 1980"; "Irvine Villages. Welcome Home. Your Guide to a New Environment," April, 1977; The Irvine Company, "Irvine at 20: Planning Ahead," 1992; Donald N. Michael "Recommendations for the Social Planning of Columbia: Physical Facilities and Social Organization," Abstracted from the deliberations of the CRD Social Planning Work Group, July, 1964;

James Rouse, "Cities that Work for Man--Victory Ahead," given at Lions International Symposium of the "City of the Future" at the University of Puerto Rico, October, 1967, and "It Can Happen Here," Conference on the Metropolitan Future, University of California at Berkeley, September, 1963; William Pereira, "A Preliminary Report for a University-Community Development in Orange County," Prepared for the Irvine Company, 1959; Glenn Saunders, Jr. Interviewed by Peter McCandless and Tom Grubisich, December, 1984; Ray Watson, "(Irvine) General Plan, 1970."

I have also benefited from a number of dissertations and secondary texts that treat new towns including Marshall Glenn Brewer, *The Gestation of a Planned City: Irvine, California, from 1958-1971* (Master's Thesis, Northern Arizona University, 1975); Richard Oliver Brooks, *Hiding Place in the Wind: The New Towns Attempt* (Ph.D. Diss., Brandeis University, 1973); Lynne Burkhart, *The Politics of Race and Class in Columbia, Maryland: Old Values in a New Town* (New York: Praeger, 1981); Carlos Campbell, *New Towns: Another Way to Live* (Reston: Reston, 1976); Carol Christensen, *The American Garden City and the New Towns Movement* (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1978); Reid Ewing, *Developing Successful New Communities* (Washington: ULI, 1991); Nathaniel M. Griffin, *Irvine: The Genesis of a New Community* (Washington: ULI, 1974); Spencer Olin and Mark Poster, *Postsuburban California: The Transformation of Orange County Since World War II* (Berkeley: California, 1991); Judy Liebeck, *Irvine: A History of Innovation and Growth* (Houston: Pioneer, 1990); Daniel Schaffer, *Garden Cities for America: The Radburn Experience* (Philadelphia: Temple, 1982); Lee Lanz-Stewart, *An Historical Perspective of the Planning, Development and Provision of Leisure Services in a Planned Community: Reston, Virginia* (Ph.D. Diss., University of Maryland, 1983).

Secondary works on urban, suburban, and planning history have helped shape the framework of the thesis. These include: Joseph Arnold, *The New Deal in the Suburbs, 1935-1954* (Ohio: Ohio, 1971); Thomas Bender, *Toward an Urban Vision* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1982); Bennett Berger, *Working Class Suburb* (Berkeley, 1960); Peter Blake, *God's Own Junkyard: The Planned Deterioration of America's Landscape,* (New York: Holt, 1963); Howard P. Chudacoff, *The Evolution of American Urban Society* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1981); Scott Donaldson, *The Suburban Myth* (New York: Columbia, 1969); Michael H. Ebner, *Creating Chicago's North Shore: A Suburban History* (Chicago: Chicago, 1988); Mark Findlay, *Magic Lands: Western Cityscapes and American Culture after 1940* (Berkeley: California, 1992); Robert Fishman, *Bourgeois Utopias: The Rise and Fall of Suburbia* (New York: Basic, 1987); Frances Fitzgerald, *Cities on a Hill: A Journey through Contemporary American Cultures* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1981); Herbert Gans, *The Levittowners* (New York, 1967); *The Garden City: Past, Present and Future,* ed. Stephen Ward. (London: Spon, 1992); Richard and Katherine Gordon, *The Split-Level Trap* (New York, 1964); David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989); Delores Hayden, *Seven American Utopias* (Cambridge: MIT, 1976); Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York, 1961); Kenneth Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford, 1985); James Howard Kunstler, *The Geography of Nowhere: The Rise and Decline of America's Man-Made Landscape* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1993); Richard Lingeman, *Small Town America: A Narrative History, 1620-The Present* (New York: Putnam, 1980); Eduardo Lozano, *Community Design and the Culture of Cities* (Cambridge: Cambridge, 1990); Helen and Robert Lynd, *Middletown* (1929); Lewis Mumford, *The Highway and the City* (New York, Harcourt, 1963); John Palen, *The Suburbs* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1995); Mel Scott, *American City Planning Since 1890* (Berkeley: University of California, 1969); *Variations on a Theme Park: The New American City and the End of Public Space,* ed. Michael Sorkin, (New York: Noonday, 1992); John Stilgoe, *Borderland: Origins of the American Suburb, 1820-1939* (New Haven: Yale, 1988); Jon Teaford, *The Twentieth-Century American City: Problem, Promise and Reality* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1986); *Two Centuries of American Planning,* ed. Daniel Schaffer, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1988); Sam Bass Warner, Jr., *The Urban Wilderness: A History of the American City* (New York: Harper, 1972), and *Streetcar Suburbs: The Process of Growth in Boston (1870-1900)* (Cambridge: Harvard, 1962); and William Whyte, *The Organization Man* (New York, 1956).

Whitlam in Werriwa: A study in the Urban Political History of Western Sydney

Michael Bounds and Drew Cottle
Urban Studies Research Centre
Faculty of Arts and Social Science
University of Western Sydney - Macarthur
Campbelltown, 2560, New South Wales

This paper reflects preliminary research on the relationship between the Labor Party and urban change in Sydney in the 20th Century. As an archetypal example of this change it explores the relationship between the political career of E.G. Whitlam, from 1952 when he became a Federal A.L.P. parliamentarian until he contested the 1972 elections as the Opposition Labor Leader and the urban development of his electorate, Werriwa, on the then urban fringe in southwestern Sydney.

The growth of the Labour Parties and Social Democratic Parties in the developed nations of the late 19th and the early 20th century was built on the constituency of industrial workers in rapidly growing urban areas. The populist politician representing the working class community is a feature of this development. The relation between labour politics and populist politicians in various countries is well documented; its relation to place and the process of urban development is less well identified. The relation between the spatial and the political leads to a certain conflation of concepts where areas/spaces are seen as generating or representing particular political voices. This is sometimes reflected in the view of community that the space necessarily generates a social solidarity. Concepts of community and politics are mutually supportive particularly in relation to Labour or social democratic parties. Political organisation is often seen as synonymous with community organisation and the images and virtues of community associations and their affective ties are held to be reflected in the political organisation.

Lockwood(1958)[1] together with the studies of Goldthorpe(1969)[2] and others identified the process of social industrial and political change occurring as a product of mass education, affluence, the long boom and suburbanisation. The breakdown of attachment to place and common experience associated with working class communities, the emergence of physical and social mobility and the consequent severing of ties with traditional political interests and consciousness is often described as the embourgoisment thesis. The notion of a tradition of shared political consciousness and working class communities may have been illusory. As such, these communities were a product of urban and industrial development of the 19th century and the shared political consciousness may well have been a construction of the party machines and populist politicians who represented them.

The Labor experience in the late 19th and early 20th centuries was thus parallelled by that of social democratic parties around the world and was directly related to the process of urbanisation and industrialisation during that period. Two crucial aspects of the party's development in the early part of this century were the relative shortage of labour and thus affluence of the labour constituency and its cultural homogeneity. Party followers were in general well paid unionised and of Anglo-Irish descent.

In 1891 the population of Sydney was 382,000 mostly living within a mile or so of the ridge between Circular Quay and Central railway. The workforce was concentrated within walking distance of their industries. Sydney was already highly segmented occupationally and socially with the gentlemen workers, the middle classes and the proprietors living in the gentrified outer suburbs of Paddington, North Sydney and Newtown, and the working class population in the pedestrian city of central Sydney. As Hagan and Turner[3] point out

> " The continuity of working and social lives made for easy industrial and political organisation. The days industrial disputes were thrashed out again in the local pubs, and the trade union official (himself a working man) could do his organising after work on foot. When Labour electoral leagues were established, he could do his industrial and political organising simultaneously... influence reached easily to the Labor council whose office was in the trades hall in Goulburn street, not 400 yards from the southern corner of Darling Harbour" (1991:16)

The pedestrian character of the city was soon to change, the electric tramways and the reduction in fares opened up the outlying suburbs to workers and the population began to disperse to the suburbs and to take up home ownership with all the material concerns and community building obligations that imposed. The suburban lifestyle had arrived, and this effected the character of Labor politics. In some suburbs the Labor leagues could access potential members and voters through the workplace, in the tramways depots and brickpits of the suburbs, but it was access to the Union lists of members particularly in white collar occupations, clerks and shop assistants in the outer suburbs that enabled the labour leagues to grow in the new tramway suburbs. Access to the new membership in the suburbs meant a change of policies to reflect aspirations for home ownership and subsidised travel on trams and trains to the city. (Hagan and Turner 1991:31)

Sydney continued to grow through to the mid 1930s although at a somewhat slower rate, and with the limits of the tramways network reached in 1928. It followed the railway west to Auburn and Parramatta, and southwest to Canterbury Bankstown. In spite of this growth, industry remained concentrated in the inner industrial areas and employment remained highly centralised.

Post World War 2 in the inner city the rewards of the party machine were reflected in redevelopment and new high rise housing in the inner urban areas, a policy being pursued in the UK as well.

> "The main legacy of those decisions, and similar programs of comprehensive redevelopment in other major cities, was the inner city high rise housing estates- the characteristic urban form of the late 1960s, along with the shopping mall, the system built primary school and the off street parking facility"(Deakin 87: 57)[4]

In the 1950s the religious culture of Australia was founded on the traditions and religions of Irish English and Scottish immigrants, and although only about three in every ten Australians went to church regularly, for Catholics this was six in ten making them about half of the attendant church populations. Catholic subculture expanded in the 1950s and was lent solidarity by anti catholic sentiment in the media. Irish descent and Labor politics bound together the Roman Catholic communities of inner industrial working class suburbs.

> "...the network of kinship links, economic ties and friendship based on common schooling, local Irish pubs, and membership of parish organisations, had led to the creation of a Catholic political

machine- a system of patronage which controlled branches of the Labor party and exerted a powerful influence in municipal and state politics. In the 1950s the machine flourished"(Hilliard, 1991:406)[5]

However as the suburbs grew with migration and the shift to home ownership which took owner occupiers form 40% in 1947 to 60% in 1961, so the hegemony of the Irish Catholic machine in the inner cities declined and the natural electorate of the Labor party migrated from the Irish of the inner city to the different ethnic groups in the outer suburbs.

Boulay and Di Gaetano (1985)[6] argue that machine politics in the U.S. reflects the particular characteristics of political structure in the late 19th and early twentieth century in the US which was gradually in the post war period transformed into other forms of political patronage. The characteristics of machine politics were distinctive 'leadership-bossism', an identifiable usually pragmatic-mythic relationship between leaders and voters, a special organisation and an mutually exploitative relation between local economic interests and the machine leadership (1985:25) Boulay and Gaetano cite three reasons for the decline of machines in the 1940s and 50s in the US, these are:

- Changing ethnicity and immigration patterns
- Municipal reform
- Expansion of the welfare role of national government.

The first is perhaps the most common view of machine politics and is the one we have identified in New South Wales. Machine politics is seen as an exchange of political independence for material security by recent immigrant groups and is evidenced in the US and Australia in Irish support for the Labor or democrat parties, but its passage is not so predictable as the decline with generational change or the arrival of new ethnic groups.

The rise of the welfare state in the post war period with its universal benefits and the increasing affluence and ease of employment among the population eroded the capacity of local machines to cultivate support through handouts. Equally, the rise of urban based politics and the distribution of collective consumption goods in the suburban policies of the Whitlam Labor government can be seen as a substitute for the more parochial machine practices of the pre war and immediate post war period. Urban political economy had changed undermining the basis of the parochial inner city party machine. The locational mobility of capital had also freed business and entrepreneurs from dependence on machine bosses. The rise of suburbia and the shift in electorate of the Labor party had begun by the 60s to undermine the traditional party organisation and support base of the Labor party and these patterns to some extent parallelled patterns of urban social and political change in the US.

In the Labor party these trends provided an opportunity for Whitlam to develop an alternative power base which we articulate below. The urban renewal and war on poverty programs of the 1960s in the US (Bellush & Hausnecht 1967)[7] together with community development programs in Britain and the US had provided new models for Federal intervention in the cities and the delivery of targeted welfare programs. The growth centres policies, targeted assistance and attempts at central urban planning pursued by the Whitlam government had their genesis in policies pursued in Europe and the US. The political culture and systems of governance in Europe made the conditions for their application in Europe and the UK more amenable. In Australia they provided a blueprint for addressing many of the problems of rapid development in the industrial suburbs of our capital cities and for reconstructing the electoral base and party organisation of the Labor party.

The period 1952-1972 is critical to the struggles and eventual success of Whitlam as a political figure and the transformation of Werriwa from a largely 'Greenbelt' area of market gardening and poultry raising to raw working class suburbs with few amenities and infrastructure fringed by the ribbon development of light manufacturing industries[8].

Most Biographies of Whitlam fail to consider him as a Labor leader representing a new phenomenon - suburbia. Although Whitlam's political career was forged in Canberra and his eventual leadership brought significant policy charges to the Party he was not a product of an inner-city working class culture and its political vehicle, the Labor machine. Whitlam came from an upper middle class background in which public service was seen as a civic duty[9]. Whitlam's entry into Labor politics was fortuitous. After unsuccessfully contesting Sydney City Council elections and the State seat of Cronulla for the A.L.P. he was able to win pre-selection as a candidate for the relatively safe Labor federal electorate of Werriwa on the strength of the Australian Workers Union preferences. Whitlam represented an area undergoing dramatic demographic, social and economic charge as the pressures of immigration, house building and the creation of basic public amenities altered forever the rural Liverpool-Campbelltown region. Whitlam became a new kind of Labor politician of the new western suburbs of Sydney. In *Whitlam P.M. : A Biography*, Laurie Oakes noted, 'He (Whitlam) applied himself with surprising diligence to the problems of his constituents, behaving almost like a man with a marginal seat despite his large majority. He took his social life seriously, too, attending dances, fetes and barbeques and appearing regularly in clubs in the electorate .. In a fast growing area he was called upon to open dozens of schools, baby health centres and clubs and he found time to improve the ALP organisation in Werriwa[10].

If Whitlam's parliamentary commitments lay in Canberra the considerations of his Werriwa constituents did not go unheeded. Labor activists in the local branches, Labor aldermen on the Liverpool Council, the Labor member for the State seat of Liverpool, Whitlam supporters throughout the electorate and his wife, Margaret Whitlam kept Whitlam constantly informed about the needs and hopes of their rapidly growing suburban community. Whitlam spoke frequently on the problems of migrants living in the East Hills and Cabramatta hostels. In 1965 as Labor's Deputy Opposition Leader he could embarrass the Country Party by claiming that 'my electorate included more primary producers of all kinds than any electorate represented by any member of the Country Party .. Schools, playing fields, women's rest centres, baby health centres, hospitals, ambulance stations, swimming pools, parks, roads, bridges, bus services, storm water channels and footpaths were only some of the issues urgently required by the multi-ethnic electors of Werriwa. Whitlam responded to these demands. The Fairfield municipality (part of the Werriwa electorate) in 1952 was without such basic public facilities as secondary schools, hospitals, swimming pools and public libraries. By 1960, '(the) electorate had 250,000 residents. It was by far the most populous in - Australia. Moveover, only 40 percent of the residents were entitled to vote. This statistic illustrated two of Fairfield's notable characteristics. It had the largest number of children and the largest number of migrants in any district in Australia'[11].

From the time Whitlam had entered federal politics until his elevation to Labor leadership in 1967 the A.L.P. was preoccupied then paralysed by the Cold War. In its long opposition (1949 to 1972) the Labor Party had been split over the question of Communism and the Menzies-led Coalition government deployed the Communist bogey to defeat Labor at successive elections Although the major cities of Australia developed vast new series of suburbs during the long post-war economic boom (1952-1972) the Federal Labor Party was broken and factionalised by the Split, dominated by trade union interests, lost to the vagaries of the erratic leadership of Dr H.V. Evatt and neglectful in its policies to the needs of those living in the new suburbs[12].

An intellectual idealist, Whitlam, had been earlier drawn to the Labor Party with promises of a new post-war order while serving in the Pacific War with the R.A.A.F. The defeat of Labor's post-war plans in the 16 Powers referendum in 1944 propelled Whitlam into the Labor Party as an activist Apart from his abiding interest in international affairs and constitutional reform Whitlam hoped to initiate reforms which would be of ultimate benefit to the majority of Australians living in suburbs like his own, Cabramatta. Such a goal could be seen as Whitlam finally realising certain of the objectives of Labor's post-war plans which had drawn him to the A.L.P. After the crushing Labor defeat in the 1966 'Khaki' election the Labor Leader A.A. Calwell stepped down. In the ensuing Caucus election Whitlam was chosen as the new Labor Leader. Earlier in 1963 Whitlam had criticised Federal Labor's subservience to the control of trade union officials. Such criticism had almost cost him pre-selection as the Labor candidate in Werriwa. It also marked Whitlam as a rising force within Labor's ranks who was willing to challenge the old guard's hold over the Party.

From 1967 until the1972 elections Whitlam assisted by a group of like-minded advisers and confidantes, the most prominent of whom were: John Menadue, Race Matthews, James Spigelman, Dr Peter Wilensky and Patrick Troy[13] sought to rid the A.L.P. of its Cold War straitjacket. New policies embracing the needs and demands of those in the new suburbs were enunciated. In 1969 Whitlam wrote a booklet *The Urban Nation,* for the Fabian Society. Whilst John Menadue and Patrick Troy assisted Whitlam in its research, Whitlam's interest in matters urban was not merely co-incidental with his quest for the Labor leadership. In 1964 he urged the Commonwealth to involve itself in "regulating the cost of building and community services as had been done in the United States [where] ... the Federal Administration makes grants to the states to resume land or acquire land, in collaboration with lending institutions and construction companies to redevelop it. The consequence has been that the redevelopment or subdivision of land including the provision of services, has been carried out at cost..".

Whitlam believed the new suburbs not the inner city or the industrial centres were Labor's new heartland. At a Federal Labor Women's Conference in October, 1968 Whitlam stated, 'I am the first Labor leader who has ever represented the urban sprawl, who has ever represented outer suburbs. I have lived in these areas for twenty-one years. I have raised four children in these areas. We have built two houses in them. We have never been connected with the sewer.... My children have always had to travel twenty miles to a high school... there were no municipal libraries. There were no paved roads within a mile where we were. There are still no paved footpaths. For telephones you would wait four years. There is more hepatitis in our region than anywhere else ... if a member of Federal Parliament mentions these things he is said to be talking like a shire president or shire councillor. But the fact is that until the Federal Government accepts responsibility which national Governments have accepted in every other

country we will go short of these things..' Those who lived in the public housing estates or were home-owners in the suburbs, who were reliant on private transport and who desired public amenities for their children were seen as potential Labor voters.

The questions and issues about their area raised in the Werriwa A.L.P. branches were forwarded to Whitlam in Canberra. Such information was translated into Labor policy by Whitlam's key advisers in Liverpool Council chambers. It was the novelty and strength of Labor's new urban policies under Whitlam which undermined the ideological hold of anti-communism as a vote winner for the Coalition forces amongst non-Anglo-Celtic migrants in the suburbs. In the aftermath of the 1961 Federal election Whitlam's Campaign Director, E.V. Hale noted, 'A special feature of the campaign was the number of migrants of several nationalities and other non-party members who volunteered to assist. Maltese, Greeks, Italians, Yugoslavs and Germans and others not only operated as interpreters at our booths but also visited a large number of compatriots homes with how to vote cards, to assist in securing formal votes ... this work by New Australians was a tribute to the zeal of Mr Whitlam who has assiduously attended to the problems of migrants, as indeed, he has worked for all electors ...'[14].

If the Vietnam War generated a radical questioning of Australian foreign policy and Australian society generally by sections of the intelligentsia it was Labor's concern for the mounting material problems of suburban voters which gave it a narrow victory in the 1972 elections. Too often Australia in the Cold War has been viewed as the preserve of anti-communism, a rising generalized affluence, political apathy and the realpolitik of R.G. Menzies. The growth of Australian suburbia and its attendant problems as a constant reality of the Cold War is a subject largely neglected historically. A study of E.G. Whitlam's political representation of Werriwa in the centre of Sydney's new post-war suburbs offer a new reading and understanding of both Cold War social history and the importance of the urban to the political ascendancy of a new kind of Labor Leader.

Notes

[1] Lockwood,D. (1958) *The blackcoated worker* ,Allen & Unwin ,London

[2] Goldthorpe,J.H. et al (1969) *The Affluent Worker in the Class Structure*, Cambridge Universtity Press, Cambridge

[3] Hagan J &Turner K A (1991) *History of the Labor Party in New South Wales 1891-1991* Longman Melbourne

[4] Deakin N (1987) *The Politics of Welfare*. Methuen, London

[5] Hilliard D God in the suburbs :the religious culture of Australian Cities in the 1950s. *Australian Historical Studies* V24Nr97 Oct 1991.

[6] Boulay H & Di Gaetano A Why did political Machines disappear? *Journal of Urban History*, V12 No1 Nov 1985 pp25-29.

[7] Bellush J and Hausnecht M *Urban Renewal People Politcs and Planning* Anchor New York 1967.

[8] Freestone, R., 'Sydney's Green Belt, 1945-1960', *Australian Planner*, Vol.30, No.1, March, 1992, pp.70-77.

[9] Sexton, Michael, *Illusions of power : The Fate of a Reform Government,* George Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1979, p.12; Oakes, Laurie and Solomon, David, *The Making of a Prime Minister,* Cheshire, Melbourne pp.47-51.

[10] Oakes, Laurie, *Whitlam P.M. : A Biography,* Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1973, p.65.

[11] Vance, George, *Fairfield : A History of the District,* Fairfield City Council, Fairfield, 1982 p.ix.

[12] Troy, Patrick, 'Love Labor Lost. Whitlam and Urban and Regional Development', in Emy, Hugh et al (eds.), *Whitlam Revisited: Policy development Policies and Outcome,* Pluto, Leichhardt, 1993, p.153.

[13] Walter, James, *The Leader : A Political Biography of Gough Whitlam,* University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, 1980.

[14] 'Werriwa,F.E.C. Campaign 1961 – Campaign Directors Report'K.H.7314 (Item791) A.L.P. Archives, Mitchell Library.

EARTHQUAKE, REBUILDING AND NEW TOWN PLANNING. THE MASTER PLAN FOR THE "NEW SAN JUAN" BETWEEN 1944 - 1950

Oscar Bragos
Centro Universitario Rosario de Investigaciones Urbanas y Regionales - Facultad de Arquitectura, Planeamiento y Diseño - Universidad Nacional de Rosario
Riobamba 220 bis - 2000 Rosario - Argentina
T.E. - FAX: 54 41 256307 - E-mail: mgarce@agatha.edu.ar

PRESENTATION

This work considers the evolution of ideas and conceptions about town planning and urban plans in Argentina during the forties. These ideas and conceptions are crossed with new interpretations about the city and the thoughts of the previous international town planning, on one hand, and by the dominant political and ideological conceptions in that particular moment in the history of the country, on the other. In order to show the evolution of planning conceptions; it has been chosen the different plans done for San Juan after the 1944 earthquake.

It is possible to distinguish in Argentina various "generations" of urban plans before the plans done for San Juan, in fact three generations. First, the plans elaborated during the twenties (plans that paid special attention to the urban outline of the city to guide its extension). Second, the "generation" placed in the thirties (plans with projects to transform the central areas, including the theme of social housing as one of the main chapters of the plan). And finally a third generation (plans that considered the city as the centre of a territory and included the idea of neighbourhood unit as the minimum element for the design of urban configuration).

INTRODUCTION

On January 15th 1944, an earthquake completely destroyed the city of San Juan, the capital of the province of San Juan, located at the bottom of Los Andes Mountains in Argentina. The city had to be rebuilt.

Two years before, in 1942, the provincial government decided to make a Master Plan for the city. Two well-known argentine urban planners were in charge of this project: Benito Carrasco and Angel Guido. An engineer from Buenos Aires, Benito Carrasco had made urban plans for other cities during the second and third decades of this century: Mendoza (1917), Córdoba (1928) and Concordia (1928). These Plans can be considered as the first generation of urban plans in Argentina. Angel Guido, an architect and engineer from Rosario, took part in the urban plan for Rosario (1935), and also elaborated the plans for Tucumán (1936) and Salta (1937). These plans as well as the plan for San Juan done in 1942 can be considered as the second generation. (BRAGOS, 1997)

The plan made by B. Carrasco and A. Guido (*Plan Regulador para San Juan*) was not taken into account in the process of rebuilding the city after the earthquake. Even though it was made two years before the cataclysm and had had official acceptance, new specialists were requested instead and many commissions were created to prepare a new plan. For five years, at least seven proposals were made, one after the other, until the last was definitively chosen.

THE ANTECEDENTS

The *Plan Regulador para San Juan* (1943)

In this urban plan, the main ideas considered by the authors in their previous experiences were used. For example: Benito Carrasco's special street layouts according to the different zones of the city; civic centres for each zone of the city divisions; a big suburban park and the ring road around the city. As well as Angel Guido's monumental civic centres, designs for the

workers districts (layout of the sector and projects of the dwellings units) and zoning. These criteria were always used albeit the size and type of the city.

The authors elaborated the plan considering the city would reach a population of one hundred thousand inhabitants within a period of three or four decades. The plan for this future city included the main projects to transform San Juan into a "modern" city such as:

- The ring road (*avenida de circunvalación*) or parkway that links peripherally all the radial streets.

- The civic centre, with two proposals, one picturesque and the other "modern" with a monumental character (the civic centre was considered as "the authentic built expression of the city that the residents have the right and honour to present to the rest of the argentine cities").

- A big urban park with a lake-channel, as almost all XIX Century extension plans had.

- "Charming" garden suburbs in the outskirts that together with the social dwellings were considered "one of the main goals and the social task of urbanism".

- The transformation of the railway system.

- The zoning as the "spinal cord of the plan".

The authors planned to give the city a modern profile also by creating distinctive areas: schools and hospitals areas, industrial district, university campus, airport and merchandise distribution centres. (CARRASCO, B.J.; GUIDO, A., 1942)

The theme of seismic shakings was completely underestimated in the plan. San Juan is located in an earthquake area that periodically has seismic movements of different intensity and there was a significant antecedent: in 1861 an earthquake completely destroyed the city of Mendoza, two hundred kilometres south of San Juan. But the authors didn't consider this subject to be "significant for the city in that time, because of a prototype of antiseismic building techniques were developed offering minimum risks in a city with usual tremors". They only recommended making buildings with external galleries in the ground floor, because during the earthquake in Los Angeles in 1933 they proved to be appropriated to protect the people from loosening from the buildings. But the earthquake of 1944 in San Juan tragically showed that these galleries would have been useless.

REBUILDING OF THE CITY AND THE NEW PLANS

The solutions adopted after the earthquake are an unfortunate example of the way the government works. Commissions that were created and dismissed; plans that were made as fast as they were replaced; different groups of professionals in charge of the projects. Also the final destination of the economical resources to rebuild the city raised the suspicion on the opponent political parties.

The first plan: *Proposal of the Comisión Provincial de Estudio para la Reconstrucción* (1944)

Soon after the earthquake the provincial government created the "Provincial Study Board for the Rebuilding" and three architects made the first guidelines for the rebuilding of the city. The authors worked during three months and their proposal went beyond the elaboration of the main ideas for building a new city. They presented a plan for the economical development of the province and, for the city, they suggested the elimination of the main obstacles -the layout of the railroad system- for allowing the extension of the city in all directions. (ROITMAN, 1995)

The second plan: *Anteproyecto de Plan Regulador para la Nueva San Juan* **(1944)**

The national government also created a "Rebuilding Technical Department" to prepare a plan to guide the works to rebuild the city. A team was formed with recognised architects from Buenos Aires: C. Muzio (who designed "Conception neighbourhood" in Buenos Aires city); F.H. Bereterbide (who took part in the winner team in the contest to elaborate the Master Plan for Mendoza in 1941) and E.E. Vautier and J.H. Lima (from the *Dirección Nacional de Arquitectura*).

To do their job the group went to the disaster area to gather information. Although the plan previously elaborated by B. Carrasco and A. Guido had an *expediente urbano* (the local version of the British civic survey and of the French *dossier urbain*), this document was not considered by the group, although the Plan of 1942 had been approved and officially published by the government immediately after its elaboration.

Back in Buenos Aires the group, inspired by the experience of the National Resources Planning Board of the United States made their own version of the preliminary project in order to submit it to public opinion. Their purpose was to agree with the basic ideas of the organisation of the new city to elaborate afterwards the final version of the plan. This task would be in charge of a group of "professionals town planners". The plan was supposed to be the model that the other cities will use to program their growth and expansion. (COMISIÓN DE URBANISMO, 1945)

The main proposal of the authors was to settle the city in a new location. The influence of Bereterbide's ideas in the Plan for Mendoza was evident in two aspects:

- **The city as the centre of the region.** The organisation for the city's growth is programmed considering its area of influence far beyond their real administrative limits. In this way the city becomes the urban centre that articulates a net of "regional centres" joined by the railroad. In these centres the typical production of the area -vineyards- will be developed. According to the authors, these regional centres were a model taken from the model farm of Le Corbusier, the soviet koljoces and the community rural centres of the Farm Security Administration in the United States.

- **The neighbourhood unit as fundamental element in the city.** Designed in accordance with the principles of a strict division between the road traffic and the pedestrian traffic, classifying the streets according with its type, intensity of the flow and speed of traffic. In this occasion, these criteria were taken from the project for the city of Radburn in the United States.

In this preliminary project we also can find some ideas that were already present in previous plans elaborated for other main cities in the country, such as Rosario and Mendoza for instance:

- The **civic centres**, (government centre, financial core, and commerce district) with buildings projected by different architects following common patterns. In this way, it was thought that "we will have a wide variety of personal architectonic shapes, but harmonised in a balanced magnificent and beautiful group". (COMISIÓN DE URBANISMO, 1945)

- The **zoning**, formulated in this case according with the organicist metaphor that established that each zone considered as an urban organ should be as clearly defined as the different vital organs are for a human being.

- The articulation between the **road system** and the **green space system** based also in the old organicist metaphor. According with this theory, the first is the circulatory system with its classification of arteries, veins and vessels; while the latter is the breathing system (the lungs of the city).

The third plan: *Proposal of the "Rebuilding of San Juan" group* **(1944)**

The plan designed by the "Rebuilding Technical Department" was rejected mainly because it was not share the proposal to move the city to a new location. So, the Department was discarded. In 1944 the "Council to Rebuild San Juan" was created and immediately dissolved to create a new one under the name of "Rebuilding of San Juan". A group of new professionals was called, including the architects J. Vivanco and J. Ferrary Hardoy (members of the team that together with Le Corbusier elaborated in 1939 a plan for Buenos Aires City).

According with the synthesis of the plan done by D. Roitman, we can see that its main ideas were those authors took into account before for the plan of Buenos Aires. Ideas that expressed the thought of the ICMA:

- The **civic centres** defined according to their functions (civic centre, financial centre, and cultural centre).

- The new **road pattern**, which eliminated the traditional grid system for a new and hierarchical road system. The separation of different types of traffic and the building of a new kind of blocks (*super manzanas*) were proposed to adapt the city to new requirements of internal transport and safety of inhabitants.

The fourth plan: *Proposals of the "Rebuilding council"* **(1945)**

After few months the group of "Rebuilding San Juan" was dismissed and architect J. Villalobos was requested to be in charge of the Plan. The main idea of this new proposal was the design of a new layout for the rail and road systems for the access to the city. He also maintained the concept of the *super manzanas*, but with a different internal organisation than that thought by the former group. (VILLALOBOS, 1947)

Architect J. Villalobos maintained a big discussion with former and future professionals whom took part in the elaboration of plans for the city, particularly about the land tenure during the period of rebuilding. (VILLALOBOS, 1946; BERETERBIDE, 1946; PASTOR, 1946)

The fifth plan: *Anteproyecto de planeamiento para la reconstrucción de San Juan* **(1945)**

Soon after, a new team was formed directed by architect C. Mendióroz because of an agreement signed between the new organisation and the "Urban Department" of Buenos Aires Municipality. At last, in June 1945 the new preliminary plan was presented and approved by National Government in October of the same year. The new plan used, with some variations, ideas present in the previous plans, such as:

- **Territorial organisation**, consisting of the definition of road and railway systems and in the zoning within the region (urban centres and rural settlements, crop areas, industrial activities and natural resources).

- **Zoning**, defining areas in the city, following functional criteria (residence, trade, industry, administration, etc.).

- **Civic Centres** defined according to their functions (political centre, administrative centre, and justice centre).

In this occasion, the concept of neighbourhood unit, present in one of the previous plans and in the plan for Mendoza, was set aside. Sectors of the city were defined as middle class and low-income residential areas, as it was done in the plans for the first generation. (MENDIÓROZ, 1946). Some aspects of the new plan were highly criticised by architect Villalobos, especially the railroad outline and the expansion of the city following the grid plan

of the old city. He proposed to adopt the model of neighbourhood unit recommended by the National Housing Agency of the United States. (VILLALOBOS, 1947)

The sixth plan: *Plano Ley 1122 "reajuste de planeamiento"* (1947)

The provincial government approved in 1947 the "law plan N° 1122". This law substantially modified the previous plan approved by the National Law 12865. This plan approved by a provincial law got the worst concepts: a simple outline of streets done by someone "ignorant in architecture and urbanism", a "shame for argentine urbanism". This was the opinion given by J.M.F. Pastor, the professional who would be in charge of the elaboration of the fourth version of a plan to rebuild San Juan. (PASTOR, 1949)

The seventh plan: *Plan Regulador de Extensión de San Juan (1948)*

In the beginnings of 1948 a new "Rebuilding Council", under the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Nation decided that other group of private engineers and architects elaborate an emergency urban and regional plan under the supervision of an Urban and Architectonic Advisor. Architect J.M.F. Pastor had this responsibility. That same year, the plan was approved by the Council and becomes the final plan to rebuild the city; works that had started some years before.

The new plan was done following three basic principles: the social structure of the city; the definition of the road system and the zoning. The plan used the former ideas of the railroad system and the road system, but these are not the distinguished aspects. (PASTOR, 1949; 1950). The social structure of the city was the most important aspect that differentiated this plan from others previously elaborated. In this aspect, we can see that the author's ideas were the same that those of National Catholicism's: the triad "God-Fatherland-Home" which should be "preserved against all odds". (PASTOR, 1947: 94)

The social structure of the city is based essentially on the concept of neighbourhood unit as the minimum cell of urban organisation. The neighbourhood unit seems to be the urban solution to eliminate the bad living conditions of the people that inhabit "in cardboard cities" in the outskirts. The earthquake made this situation more evident, and was considered worst than the disaster itself because the poor living conditions of the low-income sectors were seen as a threat for society. J.M.F. Pastor states that in this kind of habitat "the human race is spoiled and the civic spirit and moral fall apart". For this reason, this population should be urgently "revitalised physically and spiritually". (PASTOR, 1949: 105)

In this way the "hygienic and cheerful" quarter becomes the minimum unit of urban organisation since it was considered as a small city with single family housing, schools, churches, public parks and public buildings. The idea of social stratification vanished. So, he will no longer refer to working class quarter or to high class houses or to any other specific category -neighbourhoods for bank employees, railroad employees, etc.-. The concept of the family as the basic cell of social organisation goes beyond any classes differentiation. For that reason, all neighbourhoods should be heterogeneous to avoid any kind of social discrimination. Through his corporative conception about the society, the author supposed that people from different classes would live separate but not segregate and that the community centres would be the place where different classes will merge with no conflict. From this point of view the city is understood as a big civic unit divided into "small cities" - the neighbourhoods-. Finally, after the construction of houses a new stage will appear: to teach people how to use their houses, their neighbourhood and their city.

To conclude, the different plans for San Juan show that the evolution of town planning ideas for the plan and the city was not a lineal process, it had its pros and cons with different concepts coexisting at the same time. But, the ideas that went along with the ones supported by the government were reinforced. All this means that while old fashion concepts about social organisation were reinforced, innovative ideas from different sources referring to town

planning, mainly American ones, were incorporated. All of them were formulated in accordance with the dominant ideology.

According to the first –old fashion concepts about social organisation-, we can say that in the forties, the nationalist, corporative and catholic conceptions about social organisation became stronger in the country. This process had begun in the thirties by actions that came from the Catholic Church and pro fascist groups. They wanted to rescue the "traditions" that belong to the "argentine nation" and pretended to eliminate the liberalism, creating instead of it a new Christian state. Military coups and the arrival of the peronist party in the government in 1946 marked the end of the liberal state, which was replaced by a corporative and authoritarian regime. All these ideas influenced town planning: the great city will be conceived as a threat to the harmonious development of the society. We will no longer speak about individuals, not even mention them as citizens. The family, the parish or the quarter will be the primary elements to structure the city. In order to impose this new model of social organisation, Planning is understood from now on as a State matter.

Regarding the second -innovative ideas on town planning- two new matters appear related to the previous paragraph. One, the idea of neighbourhood unit as the physical scheme or urban element that can solve the synthesis between social organisation and physical environment. It was understood this was the way that allows the full development of the inhabitants of the country. This social organisation should be also understood as a way to impose social discipline, especially for the working class. The other is the idea of regional planning that becomes established and it will supported and defended by J.M.F. Pastor who had been inspired by the experience of the Tennessee Valley Authority. Town planning will be understood, from now on, as a step in planning process, implying a hierarchic subordination in the decision process, involving national planning, regional planning and urban planning.

To apply all these ideas of town planning from this particular point of view, necessarily implies an internal differentiation in the discipline: a technical discipline -to build the city- on one hand, and a philosophic discipline -to organise the society- on the other. Pastor called the first Urban Planning and the second, Urbanism.

SOURCES

BRAGOS, O. (1997): *Urbanismos y urbanistas en la Argentina durante la primera mitad del siglo XX. Propuestas para la transformación de la ciudad y de la sociedad.* Valladolid, Programa de Doctorado (inedit).

BERETERBIDE, F.H. (1946): "Solicitada". En: *Revista de Arquitectura*, marzo.

CARRASCO, B.; GUIDO, A. (1942): *Plan Regulador de San Juan.* San Juan, Gobierno de la Provincia de San Juan.

COMISION DE URBANISMO DE LA EX DIRECCION TÉCNICA DE RECONSTRUCCIÓN DE SAN JUAN (1945): "La Reconstrucción de San Juan". En: *Revista de Arquitectura*, N° 293.

MENDIÓROZ, C. (1946): "El planeamiento en la reconstrucción de San Juan". En: *Revista de Arquitectura*, N° 311.

PASTOR, J.M.F. (1946): "Solicitada". En: *Revista de Arquitectura*, marzo.

PASTOR, J.M.F. (1947): *Urbanismo con planeamiento. Principios de una nueva técnica social.* Buenos Aires, Editorial Arte y Técnica.

PASTOR, J.M.F. (1949): "La reconstrucción de San Juan". En: *Nuestra Arquitectura*, N° 236.

PASTOR, J.M.F. (1950): "Plan Regulador de San Juan. Legislación en que se apoya". En: *Revista de Arquitectura*, N° 355.

ROITMAN, D. (1995): *San Juan: la ciudad y el oasis.* San Juan, Editorial Fundación Universidad Nacional de San Juan.

VILLALOBOS, J. (1946): "Sobre el problema de la tierra". En: *Revista de Arquitectura*, febrero.

VILLALOBOS, J. (1947): "Contribuciones al remodelamiento de la ciudad de San Juan". En: *Revista de Arquitectura*, N° 314.

It's obvious when you know the answer –
The "analysis of predetermined solutions" in C20th transport planning

Ray Brindle
Chief Research Scientist,
ARRB Transport Research Ltd.,
500 Burwood Highway,
Vermont South, Victoria 3133
Australia.

> "The 'analysis of predetermined solutions' is . . . a process
> of 'justifying' previously made decisions". (Kain 1968)

Prologue

John Kain's paper to a Commonwealth Bureau of Roads symposium in 1967 was prophetic in several respects. He commented, for instance, that congestion tolls and parking restraint policies (through both supply and price) were universally rejected by transport authorities - yet, he noted, "might markedly affect the phasing and even the need for major elements of existing highway plans".

But his observation that metropolitan transport planning was marked by the "premature imposition of constraints" - of which, he said, the analysis of predetermined solutions was a "particularly virulent form" - was not only an astute comment on metropolitan transport planning of the 1960s; it was also an observation about the transport network aspects of urban planning that could arguably have applied at any stage of this century. Melbourne provides an example.

The evolution of Melbourne's transport plans

In 1929, the report of the (Melbourne) Metropolitan Town Planning Commission, a notable product of the maturing interest in town planning from the first quarter of the century, commented that -

> "the internal combustion engine has transformed the whole basis of road communication and that probably one quarter of the developed Metropolitan area is set aside for communications by road."

Being far from averse to meeting the demands of the car (and motor lorries, it was clear), an indication of which was obtained from primitive origin and destination information, the Commission devoted much of its effort to defining a higher-order road network to overlay the existing road pattern. (It also made the first of a series of official cases for Melbourne's city loop railway, based on what Richards et al (1970) described as a "hunch".) The timing of this grand plan for the civic renewal and expansion of Melbourne was exquisite; the 1920s were far from easy for many Melburnians - as F. O. Barnett's photographic record of slum housing of the time so poignantly records - but worse was to come. The Great Depression and then WWII stalled any idea of large-scale civic programmes.

The 1954 Metropolitan Planning Scheme (i.e. detailed zoning map) refined the thinking of the previous 30 years into a network of some 560 km of arterials (440 km of which was to

have some degree of access control), comprising a predominantly ring-radial system. Much of this network was in common with the network of the 1929 plan, and about half of the new road length was located in the creek valleys and other undeveloped spaces threading through the new suburbs (Borrie 1954). The case for the city underground railway was again made, based on broad system and pedestrian access grounds developed in the post-war years. A version of the rail scheme was accepted by the Parliamentary Public Works Committee in 1954.

Although planning studies for the 1954 plan included travel interviews in 1 per cent of households, there had been so far little, if any, "travel analysis" as we later came to know it. This was still the age of town planning optimism, in which the link from plan to actuality was assumed, but the mechanism was sometimes hidden in the mists. Westland (1970) observed somewhat curiously that the 1954 plan allowed for a doubling of population (to 2.5 million) but "there was little resultant change in road space". This comment makes sense only if it is taken to mean that there was little addition to the 1929 plan, in terms of roads.

Through the 1950s, a handful of highway engineers from Melbourne completed the highways and transportation courses at Yale and elsewhere in the US, and came back with a zeal to finally implement a modern road network for Melbourne. In those days, the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works (MMBW) was Melbourne's highways planning authority and had a strong core engineers and planners trained in the new transport planning skills. But they did not invent Melbourne's freeway network; the Metropolitan Street Service Study of the late 1950s (Traffic Commission 1960) and the MMBW's transport network pilot study of the early 1960s, which paved the way for Melbourne's version of a "transportation study" later in the 1960s, merely revived and enhanced the old plans.[1]

International consultants were called in to start the Melbourne Transportation Study. Their task was to conduct a travel study, which led to the report "Travel in Melbourne" (1964), to develop forecasting models and to apply the forecasts to the two plans *which were supplied by the MTS Committee* (Delaney 1965). This last point is important; it became fashionable later to blame "American traffic engineers" for the freeway emphasis in the 1969 plan, but the reality is that the consultants had to work from plans supplied to them by the local committee.

When the Metropolitan Transportation Study Committee's technical working group developed the two plans for analysis - one highway-based, the other highway-restrained, but both to contain the ever-present city rail loop proposal which the State Government had already committed itself to building[2] - it was no coincidence that the highway elements were based on the old familiar proposals that had been around for some time. A veteran from those days recalls how he was asked to re-jig the ring-radial network derived from the previous MMBW plans into a more trendy grid network. After the consultant's work was finished, a local study group was set up, providing a nursery for the training of a generation of transport planners (and sceptics). The next three or four years were spent fine-tuning, analysing innumerable variations on the basic network, and horse-trading between the various departments represented on the committee.

As an aside, a rebel faction among the railways representatives in the study group became concerned that the case for the city rail loop had not been well-established on technical grounds, and put up a number of more efficient proposals for improvement of the rail system (Clark, Richards and Ogden 1970). History records, of course, that Melbourne eventually got its "underground", but analytical transport planning had nothing to do with it. The travel

benefit case was marginal, albeit on pseudo-scientific grounds, despite wildly optimistic forecasts of CBD employment. A senior planner of that time recently recalled that they had no confidence in the forecasts of city employment but were told to stand by them because they were vital to the case for the city rail project.[3]

"Travel in Melbourne" - the result of the survey and modelling phase - was released in 1965 with newspaper headlines already forecasting that Melbourne would "need" 500 km of freeway and an underground railway by 1985. This was still four years before the release of the plan itself (Metropolitan Transportation Committee 1969). It came as no surprise that the eventual 1969 plan did indeed include 500 km of freeway and an underground railway, all scientifically "proven" after some six years of survey, analysis and planning effort. But it was in essence the highway-based plan developed by the working group as *input* to the analysis phase some four years before, and it carried the clear fingerprint of the town planning studies and intentions of 1929 and 1953, and well-brewed technical thinking in the meantime.

The 1969 Transport Plan has had a mixed outcome. Elements of the freeway plan have been built, but the logic of their sequencing and their economic case seems to have borrowed little from the transportation study. The public transport component of the plan has done well in proportion, compared with the freeway component. The keystone - the city loop - has been built, and some major tram extensions completed. This might be read as a commentary about what constraints do to instil a sense of realism about what is achievable - but it also says something about what truly initiates major transport projects. How much of what Melbourne has now would have happened with or without the transport study of the 1960s? Was all that effort spent to "prove" the pre-determined?

Extrapolating to the general

Such examples are not rare, transport planning being:

(a) especially vulnerable to "analysis of predetermined solutions" (and the premature imposition of constraints in all its forms); and

(b) one of the few areas of planning that uses masses of numbers and is thus an easy target for manipulation and misappropriation.[4]

In addition:

(c) transport planners also often get it wrong; and

(d) since most of them have an engineering or science background, and are therefore not "real" planners, the whole profession of transport planning (including traffic planning and engineering) can be easily marginalised.[5]

The problem with transport planners of the 1960s and 1970s was *not* that they blindly followed a "scientific approach" to planning or that they had too much influence on transport decisions. Rather, there was precious little true "planning" going on at all and those few attempts to use quantitative arguments to change "predetermined solutions" (such as Melbourne's city rail loop) were spurned by the horse-trading committees.

The Lamp of Geddes is, it seems, allowed to shine only in already familiar corners, and the phenomenon of "analysis of predetermined solutions" is not restricted to modern transport planning.

It is salutary to find how few modern planners recall, or ever knew, what the "Lamp of Geddes" is (or was?) (Jackson 1963, p. 19). It is quite unfashionable today to promote a "scientific approach to planning", and partly for good reason. Blind faith in the truth of numbers and the supremacy of reason was, one would have thought, despatched by Dickens in "Hard Times" long before the birth of modern town planning. Nevertheless, the planning professions have struggled to maintain some semblance of system and reason in their approach to their craft, and Geddes' chain of surveys - analysis - plan - implementation - assessment - more surveys etc sticks in the minds of those taught in the "old tradition".[6]

But in these post-modern times, a mechanistic approach to planning - transport or otherwise - does not have appeal. A paper written by this author some years ago (Brindle 1992) tried to find some common ground between the "Field of Dreams" school[7] and the technicians who ought to be good at "what if?" analyses. "Post modernism" does not mean throwing out all the numbers or analytical techniques, as Douglas Lee (author of the influential "Requiem for large scale models" in 1973) admitted in a more recent paper (Lee 1973, 1994).[8]

Furthermore, were planners *ever* serious about applying the "scientific approach" rigidly to movement aspects of city planning? Without going into the details, with which many readers will be familiar, one could mention any of the innovations and leaps forward in planning ideas, e.g:

- Howard's "System City" at the end of the 19th Century, with satellite communities linked by rail to London. (Howard 1946)

- Parker and Unwin's bold introduction of culs-de-sac in New Earswick, near York, in 1902 and Letchworth Garden City in 1904.

- Stein and Wright's Radburn concept of segregated networks at the neighbourhood level, and courts for vehicle access to dwellings (1928).

- Hierarchical road networks, evident in Parker and Unwin's work, Burley Griffin's concept for Canberra, and many before and after them.

- The extensive rail network in the Los Angeles region around the turn of the century.

- Heavy rail network development in any city.[9]

- New town road networks and neighbourhoods of the 1930s, 1940s and later.

- Many aspects of today's "New Urbanism".

- Renewed enthusiasm for "light rail".

- Ideas for "sustainable cities".

Many, if not all, of such innovations would be regarded as "good things", at least for an era or two. But none of them, as far as can be ascertained, were exposed to the cold logic of the scientific approach to planning. The very origins of C20th planning, the Lamp of Geddes notwithstanding, appeared to set the non-analytical pattern for subsequent urban transport planning and debate. One might even ask the question:

Has objective analysis ever really influenced landuse-transport planning ideas or decisions on major metropolitan transport issues (above the project design level)?

The corollary to that question is:

What differences have analytical land use-transport planners ever really made?

As I write these questions, Melbourne's City Link freeway programme comes to mind. Post facto analyses and justifications notwithstanding, would it be too cynical to wonder if the

scheme would ever have occurred to the government if it did not fit into the "big projects, go ahead" imagery that also gave birth to the Casino, Grand Prix and the Docklands redevelopment? It is reasonable to conclude that, in that environment, the City Link project was always going to be adopted - a predetermined solution if ever there was one - and that travel analyses were never going to do more than adjust the project consortium's estimates of toll income.

Looking back over a century that dawned with the first attempts at thinking about land use and road networks as an integrated entity, today's analytical land use-transport planner might be excused for feeling a touch superfluous, merely someone who adds authority to what was going to happen anyway. There are many ways of rebutting such a conclusion, some of which will, it is hoped, come to light when readers contemplate the questions that this paper has posed. This note hopes to provoke some constructive - and optimistic - responses.

References

Borrie, E.F. (1953) *Melbourne Metropolitan Planning Scheme 1954. Report.* Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works.

Brindle, RE (1992) Transport and land use: A 'neo-modern' approach. *Proc. ARRB Conf.,* 16(6), pp.111-135.

Clark, N.F., Richards, I., and Ogden, K.W. (1970) Analysis of the proposed Melbourne underground railway. In: N.F. Clark (ed) *Analysis of Urban development. Tewksbury Symposium 1970.* Transport Section, Department of Civil Engineering, University of Melbourne.

Delaney, J.D. (1965) Preliminary transportation plans. *Symposium on Melbourne Metropolitan Transportation Study. Part II - Analyses and projections.* The Institution of Engineers, Australia, Melbourne Division. Highways and Traffic Engineering Branch. August 11, 1965.

Howrad, E. (1946) *Garden Cities of Tomorrow.* Faber and Faber, London.

Jackson, J.N. (1963) *Surveys for town and country planning.* Hutchinson University Library, London.

Kain, J.F. (1968) A re-appraisal of Metropolitan Transport Planning. The Economics of Road transport. *Occasional Paper No. 1.* Commonwealth Bureau of Roads, Melbourne.

Kay, B.P. (1970) Proposed public transport networks. *Symposium on Balanced Urban Transportation in Melbourne.* Highways and Traffic Branch, Institution of Engineers, Australia, Victoria Division.

Lee, D.B. (1973) Requiem for large-scale models. *J. American Institute of Planners* 39(3), 163-78.

Lee, D.B. (1994) Retrospective on large-scale urban models. *J. American Planning Association* 60(1), 35-40.

Metropolitan Town Planning Commission (1929) *Plan of general development, Melbourne.* Report of the Commission, Melbourne.

Metropolitan Transportation Committee (1969) *Melbourne Transportation Study. Vol. 3: The Transportation Plan.* Metropolitan Transportation Committee

Parliament of Victoria (1960) *Parliamentary Debates*, May 31st 1960, page 3434.

Traffic Commission (1960) *Metropolitan Street Service Study.* Traffic Commission, Melbourne.

Westland, J.G. (1970) The transportation problem in the early sixties. *Symposium on Balanced Urban Transportation in Melbourne.* Highways and Traffic Branch, Institution of Engineers, Australia, Victoria Division.

Endnotes

1. The Metropolitan Street Service Study, with its dire warnings that, without the construction of freeways, Melbourne's traffic would grind to a halt by 1970, was an early bid for a "science"-based justification of high-capacity roads.

2. In the parliamentary debate at the time of the decision to proceed with the city rail loop, the Leader of the Opposition (C.P. Stoneham) said: "In years to come, someone may refer to what happened in 1960 in order to decide whether members of the Legislative Assembly did a good or bad job in respect of the underground railway. They may wonder where are the documents on which they acted and where are the reports and data on which they made their decisions. Unfortunately we have not any. All we have is the Minister's second reading speech and a model toy railway." (Parliament of Victoria 1960)

3. The plan was based on a Golden Mile employment of around 215,000, an increase of some 60,000 over 1964. Central area employment has never come close to that figure, and non-work travel to the city has declined dramatically as a proportion of total travel. Travel to the CBD by all modes is currently only 4 per cent of total metropolitan travel distance.

4. A senior railways engineer, when confronted by the author in 1969 about the weakness of the travel case for Melbourne's city rail loop, resorted to the defence that "it had been recommended by the expert consultants" - when it was clear that the Committee itself had presented the loop to the Technical Group as a given. The circularity of the argument is breathtaking.

5. A whole unit in an urbanism course at Murdoch University, WA, is devoted to lampooning transport planners, and planning students at Melbourne University are warned of the evils of "scientism" in analytical transport planning of the 1960s and 1970s. These examples are, no doubt, paralleled elsewhere.

6. Who can forget the mnemonic "SAPIA"?

7. "Build it and they will come", from the movie "Field of Dreams". Nice movie, naive planning theory.

8. Lee seems to have been embarrassed by the fact that his earlier paper appeared to have given a whole generation of planning students - and their teachers - the idea that a quantitative and analytical basis to planning was inferior to qualitative and design-oriented planning.

9. Mostly pre-dating the car and modern town planning (see Canon's "The Land Boomers" for a reminder of the basis of transport "planning" in Melbourne 100 years ago) - but the ad hockery of those days is not entirely behind us. A senior Victorian transport official in 1970 spoke enthusiastically of the proposed East Doncaster commuter rail link - still unbuilt - which, he said would be "an important stimulus to further conversion of orchard and rural land" (Kay 1970). Many rail schemes today are promoted on the basis of their land development connection, regardless of the greater levels of car use that will also follow.

The Politics of Urban Sprawl Reform

Robert Bruegmann
Art History Department
University of Illinois at Chicago
Chicago, Illinois, 60607
United States

The term "urban sprawl," which, since before World War II has been used in Britain and the United States to describe low density and/or undisciplined urban settlement patterns, has taken its place, along with phrases like noise, pollution and global warming, as an indication of an undoubted evil. Its supposed opposite, "compact development," has also been established as representing an alternative, more desirable kind of urban pattern. An active anti-sprawl crusade has enlisted the support of many reform groups, particularly those who feel they are taking a "progressive" stance on open space, planning, environmental preservation and social equity matters.

One of the most striking things about this crusade is the extent to which it maintains the rhetoric of earlier urban reformers while turning the diagnosis and prescription for better city on its head. During virtually the entire period of the rise of the dense industrial city, that is from the mid-18th century until the mid-20th century, most informed observers believed that the greatest problem in large cities was density. In the latter part of this period the most conspicuous term used to describe this evil was "blight." In this medical analogy, overly high density caused pathological conditions that destroyed city fabric. To battle blight two basic strategies were used. The first consisted in creating a new kind of urban periphery with green belts around existing settlements and garden cities and new towns, each surrounded by their own green belts. On the city interior new transportation systems allowing access to inexpensive housing away from dense areas, slum clearance, urban renewal, new roads and highways were all used in a constantly escalating battle against blight.

The results were, in many ways, paradoxical. One curiosity was that those places, like Britain, France or the Eastern bloc countries, with highly developed centralized planning mechanisms were less successful in decentralizing cities than places like the United States with almost no central land planning powers and little in the way of coordinated local public planning. Even more paradoxical was the fact that by the postwar decades when it was clear that decentralization was the trend everywhere and that the old central areas had been emptied of a large percentage of their former population, the results were horrifying to the very groups that had so long advocated decentralization.

What progressive urban observers found was a low density landscape that appeared to stretch across vast areas of the land with little apparent pattern, obliterating the traditional distinctions between city and country, and, in their opinion, wasting resources and destroying the environment. Instead of blight, the new evil was sprawl. This term, which appears to have become popular in Britain between the wars, became popular in the United States in the 1960s in the wake of new social science ideals, activist city planning based on these ideals, and the New Urban History.

Curiously, much of the rhetoric of the sprawl reformers has been similar to that of the blight warriors of earlier generations. Both are steeped in a heavy reliance on physical determinism, the essentially modernist belief that there are simple relationships between built form and human interaction patterns. Even the mechanisms to combat sprawl have often been the same as those advocated to stop blight: growth boundaries, new towns, satellite cities. In fact, the differences were more often aesthetic than anything else. In place of the utopias of the future, for example Le Corbusier's Radiant City, the Soviet Linear City or the 1960s new towns, we now tend to have utopias of the past, for example the large scale historic district, the revival of the streetcar or rail network or the projects of the New Urbanists.

What has remained constant throughout has been the composition and stance of the reform groups. Although the political point of view has ranged from far to the right to far to the left, these reformers have shared the belief that as upper middle class professionals they have a right and a duty to make decisions about the proper form of the city. Like a doctor who is obliged to act in the best interest of a patient who cannot be trusted to know what is best for him, the urban reformer must be in a position to dictate the long term needs of a sick city even when the prescriptions may not be acceptable to many of the citizens. Lazy, undisciplined behavior like sprawl must be countered by stern, corrective action taken on the basis of unassailable authority.

To make this case reformers have made three kinds of diagnosis. The first is an aesthetic diagnosis. Sprawl is monotonous, lacks order and is ugly, they say. A second kind of diagnosis, is social or political. It has been argued, for example, that the new city patterns foster inequality because they maroon the poorest citizens in the inner city while depriving the central city of tax revenues from wealthy suburbanites. The final kind of diagnosis, one based on efficiency, has received perhaps the most sustained attention, in part because it is here, many reformers have believed, that the most unassailable case using quantifiable evidence, could be made. Sprawl is wasteful because it eats up valuable farmland, requires a more extensive public utilities and costs more to maintain, according to this line of reasoning.

What can history tell us about the diagnoses of urban sprawl and the proposed remedies? First, the aesthetic diagnosis. It is symptomatic that suburbs were rarely called ugly when they were an upper middle class phenomenon but are often called that when they house the middle or lower middle classes. This suggests the clear class biases involved. But it is also conspicuous how fluid aesthetic norms are. All of the things typically said about sprawl, its lack of order, monotony and ugliness, were also said about the dense industrial city and about virtually every successive new urban form that has been seen whether it was suburban London in the early 19th century, central Chicago at the turn of the century or Los Angeles from the 20s through the 50s.

Reformers focusing on social inequalities have tended to prescribe more government, more centralized planning, metropolitan area taxation and other remedies for what they perceive as the fragmentation of the city. These are interesting arguments, but a quick historical view suggests that inequalities do not disappear with larger governments and that the advantages gained by larger government are countered by the losses of equally desired local autonomy. In most US cities some functions, notably water, wastewater removal, highway and air transportation have been dealt with at an increasingly high level, but in other cases, for example at the level of the school or the homeowner association, decision making has been deliberately devolving downward.

Finally, efficiency arguments have not tended to stand up very well in the light of empirical research. It is conspicuous that many of the observed phenomenon regularly defy the predictions of reformers. Commutes have not gotten longer in the more dispersed cities. Building at higher densities or using large scale master planning has not necessarily proved to be more efficient or economical than more typical development. Nor is the record good on the reformers' prescriptions. The greenbelts, for example, have arguably just extended sprawl further. In fact the history of planning yields ample illustration of the ineffectiveness of reform measures ranging from zoning to urban renewal, from pedestrian main streets to bonus zoning. These measures are very likely not to work, to create side effects at least as bad as the original problem or to backfire altogether. Even if a prescription works in one generation, moreover, it may be viewed as the failure of the next.

Does this argue for complete inactivity? I would rather argue that what it argues for is a great deal of humility about our ability to comprehend anything as complex as the city. It also argues for a good deal more attention to history. It is only history, after all, that can suggest the enormously varied ways cities have worked and changed over time, the ways aesthetic, social and political ideals change, the ways individuals and groups of all kinds have tried to alter cities to reflect their own preferences and the way that every such action has ramifications, intended and unintended, across the entire urban fabric. At very least we ought to know a great deal more about "sprawl," to disentangle the arguments made about it and be sure that it is actually a problem before thinking we could hope to remedy it.

Planners and the American City: What Does the Historical Record Show?

Patricia Burgess, Ph.D.
Director, Planning and Urban Design Services
The Urban Center, Levin College of Urban Affairs
Cleveland State University, Cleveland, Ohio 44115
USA

The contemporary American profession of city planning is now roughly one hundred years old, and planners, along with art, architecture, urban, and social historians, have been researching and writing its history for nearly forty years. While we know a great deal about certain individuals and events, no single work examines the historical record in its entirety to evaluate the profession's impact. This paper summarizes the findings of nearly forty years of planning history and finds a very mixed record. If we would improve on it, both practitioners and planning educators must study--and learn from--the past.

Examining the historical record involves looking at the "official" history of the profession, at works that examine the profession as a whole, at several edited anthologies, and at dozens of journal articles written by scholars in many disciplines. The record shows that much of the planning in cities was not done by planners. However, since they are our concern here this paper will limit its examination to the work of the planning profession, including both those who identified themselves as planners and those whom the profession has claimed as its own. To evaluate the record, we turn to the profession's own statement of purpose:

> The American Planning Association, and its professional institute, the American Institute of Certified Planners, are organized to advance the art and science of planning and to foster the activity of planning--physical, economic, and social--at the local, regional, state, and national levels. The objective of the Association is to encourage planning that will contribute to public well-being by developing communities and environments that meet the needs of people and of society more effectively.

The collective record--i.e., the sum total of the body of evidence--is very mixed. Some is clearly positive; some is clearly negative; much more is very equivocal.

The Positive: The record is positive on several points. For one thing, positive evidence greatly outweighs the negative that the "Founding Fathers" were heroic figures. Olmsted and other early planners raised important issues for public discussion and raised consciousness about addressing them. They told government and business leaders as well as the general public that they did not have to accept the city as they found it; they could

do something about it. These early planners believed that they could not only cure the city's ills but also prevent their recurrence later or occurrence elsewhere. Olmsted Sr. and Burnham are obvious candidates here, but so are Benjamin Marsh and those involved in the sanitary reform and playground movements in cities throughout the United States.

These early planners were also heroic because they thought on a big scale--they were visionaries, Big Thinkers. This is true not only of Daniel "Make no little plans" Burnham, but also of Olmsted, MacKaye, and the prolific Lewis Mumford. Planners were involved in many aspects of the New Deal, from public housing to the NRPB. They helped legitimize federal government involvement in urban affairs and helped shape the nature of that involvement. Although they were very different, both the Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs and the activities of the Regional Planning Association of America were far-reaching.

The work of these early planners exhibited a high degree of professionalism at a time when the profession was trying to define itself. Their work was careful and thoughtful, not sloppy. Nolen's plans varied to meet the conditions and concerns of many different cities. Bartholomew enhanced physical planning with data collection: on land use, economic base, demographic trends.

Then there were the early women in planning. They were relatively few but very important for the issues they addressed. They were a consistent voice raising concerns about housing and social issues, talking about equity and about policies and practices affecting the disadvantaged or less fortunate. In one sense they were more heroic than the men because their formal participation in the profession was very limited.

Finally, there were the plans. For the most part the physical plans were good plans. They were really urban design in its best aesthetic sense, merging the form of urban space with its functions, incorporating appropriate scale and balance. They sought to raise the quality of the built environment above that which the unplanned, unregulated market was providing while at the same time meeting the needs of efficiency. This is evidenced in the housing and neighborhood designs of Wright, Stein, and Perry as well as in the larger plans of Burnham, the Olmsteds, and Nolen.

To say that the evidence concerning the early planners and their work is largely positive does not imply that the plans were flawless or the people faultless. Neither is the case. Still, when one considers urban conditions at the turn of the century--conditions that had been growing steadily worse for most urban residents--and imagine what might have transpired had the early planners not taken action, one must recognize their contributions.

Negative: Countering the positive evidence is a body that is negative. The planning profession has been criticized for having far too often served the "wrong" side--that is, the rich and powerful--with negative social, economic, and physical consequences. That is as true for those who had business groups as clients as for those who worked on Urban Renewal and Redevelopment, much highway planning, and some aspects of

suburbanization, which benefitted business interests at the expense of low-income or minority residents or even ordinary citizens. Moreover, planners have been complicit--or sometimes actively promoted--segregation of American cities by race and class. That is the inescapable conclusion of several works dealing with Urban Renewal and Redevelopment, highways, housing, and zoning.

Others criticize the profession on the basis of its ideas rather than its results. Some find that planners have been too ideological and inflexible (e.g., Rexford Tugwell) or their ideas too fuzzy and idealistic (the Regional Planning Association of America). As a consequence, critics say, planning ideas--or even planning itself--has been dismissed as irrelevant, or has generated such fierce opposition as to necessitate a revision that negated whatever potential good it might have accomplished. This is particularly so with respect to housing. There was much less attention to housing and social concerns after what Marcuse calls the "planning/housing split," when an emphasis on efficiency and physical plans took over; and when housing was the subject of planning an implied social control or a middle class bias was often evident.

Planners are also criticized for their eager acceptance of new technology and approaches without thinking through to the consequences. This resulted, perhaps, from the focus on efficiency, and the planners' relationship with the automobile is particularly revealing. Planners initially viewed the automobile very positively as a means to disperse central city population, which it certainly did. Their involvement in the highway program and their desire to facilitate mobility for the population encouraged suburban expansion after World War II and its ubiquitous shopping centers and homogeneous subdivisions. Although the results are far less visible, a similar situation existed regarding the planning profession's eager adoption of social science modeling and computer technology, which caused many to overlook the human element in planning--real people live in cities and communities, not aggregate numbers in a computer simulation model.

Much of the above discussion points to another, larger criticism of the planning profession--its arrogance. From the profession's earliest days (in both the words and work of Burnham, for example) and consistently since (especially regarding Urban Renewal and Redevelopment) there has been an implicit--and sometimes explicit--statement that "We are the experts; we have identified the problem and produced the solution. *We* know what *you* need." The planning profession has too often overlooked the perspective of those affected when defining problems and issues and designing solutions. Related to and aggravating the arrogance has been an inherent middle-class bias in the profession. The result has been a tendency for planners to define problems and propose solutions in terms of middle-class goals, values, or lifestyles.

A final criticism of planning where the evidence is overwhelmingly negative relates to women and minorities. Especially in its early years the profession actively limited the role women could play. Also, plans and planning policies have affected women negatively more often than men. And, as noted above with respect to segregation and urban renewal, the impact of much planning practice on minorities has been negative. In sum, then,

despite the conclusions of the positive record, the planning profession's practitioners and accomplishments are not untarnished.

Mixed: There is a large body of planning history that reveals a decidedly mixed record. The mixed record also results from examining the entire historical record, particularly as it relates to several specific issues.

One is zoning. One body of zoning history has looked at conditions--especially in residential areas--in early twentieth century cities and laid the city's ills at feet of slumlords and industrialists (often portrayed as "greedy capitalists"). These works have shown the potential for zoning to cure those ills and have told of the triumphant struggle to enact zoning and have it declared a legitimate use of the police power. This history focuses primarily on the planners' goals and the means to achieve *desirable* ends, and it views zoning positively. Other works have examined the results of zoning and have seen the racial and class segregation and the sprawling low-density development of upper-income white suburbs. They have shown zoning aiding developers rather than directing development.

The judgment is also mixed because the record shows that planners have tended to be better at producing ideas and plans than at executing them. It is primarily in the realm of ideas where the profession has pushed boundaries. When implemented, however, the ideas often delivered less than promised. Moreover, that conceptual boundary-pushing pretty much stopped with the New Deal and World War II. With the exception of Advocacy Planning, there has been little since 1950 that is conceptually creative or unique. Planning has often been timid or conventional.

Furthermore, despite planning's avowed forward-looking perspective and futurist orientation, the record shows that the planning profession solved the *last* problem much more often than it prevented the *next* one. Situations did not remain static while planners researched conditions, identified problems, and proposed solutions. One planning generation's solution to the previous generation's problem created a new problem for the generation yet to come.

The collective history of planning also illuminates a tension about the purpose, goals, and role of the profession. The "paradox of doing good" has caused some to so moderate their goals as to prevent meaningful results. And the profession has been split between those who sought to mitigate the worst effects of the existing social-economic-political structure and those who sought to change the structure.

Part of the reason for planning's mixed record is that by and large planners have lacked the power to implement their plans. In early years they were consultants to business interests or to local government; but in either case someone else was responsible for implementation. Even when planners became municipal employees, implementation was still the province of another. An even bigger constraint for implementation has been the private development sector: that is who buys and sells land, plats lots and streets, and finances and builds shopping centers, office buildings, and all types of housing.

Lessons from the Overall Record: So what has the planning profession done for urban America? The evidence records an impact that has been somewhere between negligible and negative (if one focuses on results), or a case of unfulfilled potential (if one adds the attempts and underlying ideals). However, that is probably a bit too strong an indictment.

A measure of success in planning, as in anything else, varies with when it is measured. Was success achieved when the problem was recognized and identified, when the solution was designed, when the "plan" was adopted and implemented, or when the results were evaluated? The planning profession has had more impact and more success in identifying problems and designing solutions than in implementing those solutions--and some of the results have been dismal. Also, is planning a "success" if the plan is implemented or its goals achieved--not when intended but at some later time? Implementation and impact can be a long time coming. For example, Burnham's 1909 *Plan of Chicago* is surprisingly durable and reflected to a considerable degree in present city but Burnham did not see it.

What is the overall judgment then? By a host of objective measures more people live, work, and play in better surroundings than did one hundred years ago when the profession's groundwork was laid. Admittedly some of that improved condition can be attributed to technology and general economic prosperity, but the planning profession has affected the application and distribution of the benefits of technology and prosperity in ways more beneficial than an unplanned (or solely privately planned) market would have. It has mitigated the worst effects of the existing system. With reference to the APA statement of purpose quoted earlier, through the dialogue the profession has fomented and engaged in and through some of the techniques it developed and applied, it has "advanced the art and science" of planning and fostered the activity of planning. And the communities developed probably meet the needs of more people more effectively than would otherwise have been the case. Still, that is hardly a rousing endorsement. The errors have been many and much remains to be done.

Today's practicing planners must learn from past negative consequences, the "hell" their good intentions sometimes paved the road to. They must also be aware of the arrogance of planning, as well as the timidity and conventionality of much planning practice. The planning profession may need to redefine its own role to recognize *explicitly* the roles of the political process and the private development sector, which place limits or constraints on what the planning profession can do.

Planning educators must educate their students about the profession's inherent "limits of power"--wisdom, expertise, and capacity to achieve. Wisdom comes with time and experience but also with a wide knowledge of ideas and experiments. A solely technical education will not provide enough of a basis. Expertise is the planner's knowledge base and technical skills, but as important as having them is knowing when to apply what tools --and what the technical skills can and cannot do. Capacity in planning is in part

determined by understanding the political process and how the private development sector functions.

Finally, it is important for planners and planning educators to learn from history what has worked in past and what has not--and why! Part of that is knowing and understanding the role of the planner as visionary. It is the planner who can conceptualize cities, their problems, and the solutions in unconventional and nontraditional ways--even ways that seem infeasible--then show both the potential results and how they might be achieved. The importance comes from the act of conceiving better alternatives and presenting them for discussion--not necessarily with the expectation that politicians, the public, and the private sector will jump on bandwagon wholeheartedly, but with the knowledge that if the planners do not raise the issues and possibilities for a better urban life they may not get raised at all.

References
Due to space constraints this summary contains no text citations and lists only a few comprehensive works and anthologies below. Contact the author for a complete text with a full bibliography.

Boyer, M. Christine. 1983. *Dreaming the Rational City: The Myth of American City Planning*. Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press.
Hall, Peter. 1988. *Cities of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design in the Twentieth Century*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
Krueckeberg, Donald A., editor. 1983a. *The American Planner: Biographies and Recollections*. New York and London: Methuen.
_____, editor. 1983b. *Introduction to Planning History in the United States*. New Brunswick, NJ: Center for Urban Policy Research, Rutgers University.
_____, editor. 1994. *The American Planner: Biographies and Recollections*, revised edition. New Brunswick, NJ: Center for Urban Policy Research, Rutgers University.
Sandercock, Leonie. 1998. *Making the Invisible Visible: A Multicultural Planning History*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Schaffer, Daniel, editor. 1988. *Two Centuries of American Planning*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
Scott, Mel. 1969. *American City Planning Since 1890*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
Sies, Mary Corbin and Christopher Silver, editors. 1996. *Planning the Twentieth-Century American City*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

The right to the city: Citizens action and the 1974 Melbourne Strategy Plan

Sheila Byard
Department of Social Inquiry & Community Studies,
Victoria University of Technology
Melbourne 8001
Victoria

The public and the city plan

Neighbourhood associations have been said to be self-interested in their aims, opportunistic & defensive in their involvement in city planning (Sandercock 1977). North American homeowners associations have been said to be mere 'trade unions' of the middle class (Davis 1992). Both Davis and Sandercock have however argued that this terrain needs closer scrutiny; the latter speaking of the need for good planning history to step down from generalities to catch "the actual dynamics of real life situations"(Sandercock 1990). This paper uses the story of the CAN report 1973 - the Citizens Action Plan for North and West Melbourne - to explore what happened to the public 'right to city' after the Melbourne City Council started to create a Strategy Plan in 1972. (North Melbourne Association 1973). The Strategy Plan did not in the end lead to an approved planning scheme. But the process (of bringing planning to the people) was to have far reaching consequences for the practice of planning not just in the central municipality of Australia's second largest metropolitan region, but in the State as a whole and beyond. Most importantly the promise that people in the street could "assist to bring improvements about" (Interplan 1972) was to dissolve notions of planning as a mystery performed by experts. In this we follow McLoughlin who gave a significant role to "ordinary people engaged, consciously or otherwise in the shaping of their city". (McLoughlin 1992). He argued that cross-class alliances produced the best defence of local living and working environments. It is argued in this paper that the Citizens Action Plan provided a model for those who were interested in building alliances of this type, including the basis for subsequent campaigns by the member groups of the Combined City of Melbourne Associations, & for struggles over the future of the central city and its fringe areas in the years which were to come.Thus the period from 1971 to 1974 can be seen to be a significant episode of challenge to the domination of municipal affairs by business and developer interests, and in the evolution of the public 'right to (plan) the city'.

The need for a city plan

In January 1971 the Victorian Minister for Local Government asked the Melbourne City Council to set up a planning department and to prepare a plan for the central city area. (Hamer 1971) A year later the Melbourne City Council voted to have consultants prepare such a plan for Melbourne. Not everyone was keen on this move. The Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works took the view that it was most important for planning work to be conducted at a metropolitan level (Dingle and Rasmussen 1991); the Professor of Planning argued that a more important step would be for the municipality to create "a totally separate planning department continually engaged in

research and planning, and aimed at producing its own philosophy towards the city" (McAlpine 1972).

By the late 60s Australia's major cities were seen by developer interests as ripe for modernization. There was an emerging coalition of interests against unbridled development, with warnings about the damage which could be done to the inner suburbs by indiscriminate re-development. Both in Sydney and Melbourne "reducing the city's dimension to a human scale was something which had to be tackled; We face the problem of insufficient places where people can lean and sit and talk to each other in comfortable and relaxed surroundings" (McAlpine 1972). The Minister himself had warned of the danger of development creating "concrete canyons hedged with monolithic office buildings and populated only during business hours."

The right to (a say on) the city

An American firm, Interplan, won the contract to deliver the Strategy Plan for the central municipality. Donald Wolbrin, a planner from Hawaii, was designated Project Director. He wrote to the Melbourne City Council in September 1972 to present the draft report, *The Basis for the Strategy Plan*, addressing himself to the "Lord Mayor, Councillors and Citizens of the City of Melbourne" (Interplan 1972). The draft report proposed a public involvement as part of the package. It is safe to say that Interplan had little idea what would follow from this commitment. In fact the creation of a committee system to under-pin public involvement in the plan process gave relatively little opportunity for citizen input. The table shows the Interplan view of the functioning of the Citizens and Organizations Committee which was to be further divided into a series of sub-committees:

Table 1
Function of Citizens and Organizations Committee in the Strategy Plan process.(Interplan 1972)

Sub-committee A:	Institute of Urban Studies, Royal Australian Institute of Architects(Vic), Institution of Engineers, Royal Australian Planning Institute(Vic) & the Building Industry Congress.
Sub-committee B:	Town & Country Planning Association, Carlton Association, East Melbourne Group, Hotham Hill Neighbourhood Association, Kensington Social Action Group, Melbourne-South Yarra Group, North Melbourne Association, Parkville Association,
Sub-committee C:	Building Owners and Managers Association, Melbourne Chamber of Commerce, Chamber of Manufacturers, the Royal Automobile Association of Victoria, The Real Estate Agents Association, The Retail TradersAssociation, the National Trust and the Real Estate and Stock Institute.
Role:	Committee members to furnish information they feel is pertinent to the Programme and to react individually to programme elements.
Purpose:	To inform them of programme progress and recommendations of the programme
Meetings:	Every other month.

There was to be no endorsement of the plan from these stakeholders, much less from the public at large. A guest lecturer from Seattle was to tell the Town and Country Planning Association the essence of 'community planning' as conceived by professional planners was to use a few field workers, & to implement some of the ideas offered by the community;"It gives planning a legitimacy" (Hancock 1976). Thus Interplan's programme of citizen participation proposed special attention to 'the man on the street'; "It is important that special efforts are made to pass on information to him in a manner that attracts his interest. for this reason travelling exhibitions and displays shall be set up in such locations as banks, town and local halls as the plan evolves".

How did the public use the Strategy Plan process?

In 1972 the North Melbourne Association was one of the inner urban action groups which responded to the call for participation in the preparation of the Strategy Plan. During the 1960s this neighbourhood (of about ten thousand people) had suffered greatly from loss of residential buildings due to the sprawl of the city centre's functions and the Government's urban renewal schemes which affected fifty acres in the centre of the area. There was anxiety that community networks were being greatly weakened in this and other parts of the Melbourne City Council's West Ward

Some members of the Association had been involved in the local Tenants Council and the North and West Melbourne Progress Association.Members of the North Melbourne Association recognised the need to learn from other urban organisations and sought opportunities to exchange ideas. This eventually resulted in the establishment of the Committee for Urban Action. (North Melbourne Association 1974) Individuals involved in the preparation of the CAN report had links with other bodies with urban interests including other organizations represented in the above table. For example several had been involved in the Town Planning Research Group's production of the Irregular newsletter which had paid detailed attention to the Skeffington Report in 1969 (Irregular 1969).

Participants in the NMA were of course influenced by other national and international shifts in interest towards a program of urban action in the 1970s. Such forces including the emerging social liberation movement and the ecumenical policies of some of the Churches, as well as the changes that were taking place in both State and Federal Government policy in Australia. For example the Federal Government popularised local urban action through the establishment of the Department of Urban and Regional Development, and as stated above, the State Government initiated moves for the Melbourne Strategy Plan. Community organisations had a sense of power as a result of victories in campaigns directed toward reversing State Government policies on freeways and 'bull-dozer' urban renewal. There was a heightened sense of public confidence in the gains which might come from a more participatory planning process.

Thus in the late 1960s and early 1970s local papers such as the 'Northern Advertiser' and the 'Melbourne Times' had begun responding to a readership who were keen to have a more participatory approach to urban planning. These papers did much to pave the way for an informed local response to the Strategy Plan. In late 1972 the North

Melbourne Association Planning group had begun planning for a printed response to Interplan's several reports to the Council (Crow 1972).

By May 1973 this response had acquired a new name: the NMA called a public meeting to discuss preparing a citizens action plan. As the Strategy Plan was to be presented to the MCC in December 1973 seven months were left to to prepare an alternative plan. Work groups were formed and a time-line adopted. Existing NMA work groups were disbanded so that members could be involved in preparing the CAN report. Over the next six months more than a hundred particpants took part in various CAN related activities: research projects leading to eight working papers, preparation of the Association's response to the draft strategy plan, neighbourhood meetings at which key elements of the response were endorsed and production of the report itself.

During this rush of activity old and new members of the Assocation focussed on the emerging Strategy Plan. The question can asked as to whether there was not a danger of convergence between the work of the professional planners and the members of the public who were trying to beat the planners at their own game. What was to distinguish all this activity from the sort of data collection and analysis the professional planners were doing? The natural scepticism of this group and the caucusing which occurred with allies from the other localities and from organisations like the Town & Country Planning Association and the Institute of Urban Studies meant that there was no real likelihood of co-option.

The NMA approach was make a determined effort to involve the widest range of those who lived and worked in the area in evolving a strategy for the city of which they were part. This lead to painstaking educative attempts like the butcher paper maps, diagrams and charts which formed the basis for the CAN report's affirmation of values. It would be this statement, and what followed from it, endorsed by a series of community meetings which would distinguish the impact of the local report from the one prepared by Interplan. Part 1 of the CAN report asserted "our basic value judgement is one which involves the concept of a 'mixed and participatory city' - a city oriented towards people and the increased satisfaction they can gain from their inter-relationships. We should emphasise that this concept applies not only to residents, but to the people who work in the area and the hundreds of enterprises, commercial and otherwise, that exist there now" (North Melbourne Association 1973).

From this basis the CAN report introduced secondary values (the retention of existing building stock, and the maintenance of the existing mix of social uses) by which any new develpments should be judged. While it is hard to reconstruct the workings of the North Melbourne Association during the Strategy Plan period, what can be said is that members were drawn from both men and women, and from those who would have proudly proclaimed themselves working class and as well as from the middle classes. It was not just the ideas of the report that came out of this cross-class activity; the very collation of the CAN report was done on kitchen tables all over the suburb, the binding at some-one else's place of work as a 'foreigner'.

The outcomes of the Citizens Action Plan

Early in December 1973 both the Melbourne City Council's Strategy Plan and the North Melbourne Association's Citizens Action Plan were unveiled. In 1974 the Council adopted the Strategy Plan in principle but efforts to implement it through a planning scheme were frustrated. Interests like Building Owners and Managers Association which had not bothered to become involved in preparing the strategy challenged the council over key recommendations. As Long has demonstrated the mid-1970s collapse in office building in the CAD meant that developers became increasingly anxious about 'restrictive town planning and other stultifying controls' (Long 1996). The use of amendments to modify the existing planning scheme resulted in dilution of support for the Strategy Plan. Community organizations building on the basis of the techniques evolved in the CAN exercise were able to engaged effectively in a series of battles over Amendments 96, 35, and 45, as well as defensive efforts in relation to the Mixed Area Studies.

When in 1980 the State Government introduced Amendment 151 in an attempt to resolve the question of appropriate limits to development in the city fringe areas the pro-development lobby was still unplaced. Some of those who had been involved in the Citizens Action Plan process were elected as councillors only to see the council dismissed by the State Government. Some commentators (Saunders 1984, Long 1996) have argued that the split which had emerged on Council between Councillors elected from the residential wards and councillors elected from CBD wards which precipitated the dismissal, demonstrates the longer term powerlessness of Association interests.

In fact it can be argued that the strategic approach adopted by the Association in its dealings with both professional planners and the level of government which employed them laid the foundation for successful broad alliance campaigns right through the 1980s and 1990s. The Citizens Action Plan demonstrated to citizens at large the importance of getting the documents, of accepting the briefings offered, and using the timelines and opportunities to make formal submissions in all formal planning processes. Thus when the Council set up the local area Community Planning Groups the NMA and other local associations were well placed to monitor the activities of council staff (Gardner, 1998). Between 1981 and 1982, when the actions of the State Government had left the affairs of the city in the hands of three appointed Commissioners, the democratic planning of the City went underground. A wave of development was approved without conventional councillor input. The Commissioners did accept the previous practice of development applications being listed & made available with other committee papers to members of the public shortly before meetings. Through the umbrella organization Melbourne Voters Action, individuals with strong community links meet on a weekly basis to prepare responses to council agenda items. If the goal of this organisation was radicalisation of the local population, it was unsuccessful (Saunders 1984). But if the goals were more modest then it can be seen as another effective episode in the building of a broad participatory alliance in the inner city region. Certainly this schooling in the business of the municipality created the effective links which brought a new more democratic style to the Council in the mid- 1980s (North Melbourne Association 1985)

There is no time in this paper to analyse in detail the longer term impacts of the alliances forged in the CAN episode but it can be argued that the its commitment to shared values was a trigger to the reformist push which resulted in the 1987 Planning & Environment Act and to the last blast of national urban policy in the National Housing Strategy,Better Cities Program & the Australian Urban and Regional Development Review.

What impresses the contemporary reader of CAN is its commitment to shared values, its pragmatism and the breadth of its vision. This is no narrow NIMBY statement of claim but a "framework of strategy for the citizens affected". In North America at this time there were planners who saw their work as a high calling. John Friedmann in putting forward his idea of transactive planning said that "the planner whose efforts strike to the very heart of the social enterprise...will find the justification of his work and a call to responsibilty in the enterprise itself. The calling of his work will be found in the seriousness with which he goes about the tasks which lie ahead".(Friedmann 1973). In Melbourne this sample of public reponse to the invitation to participate in the production of a plan for Melbourne, suggests that Friedmann's sentiment might be re-worded "People whose planning efforts strike to the very heart of the social enterprise ...find the justification of their work and a call to responsibilty in the enterprise itself. The calling of their work will be found in the seriousness with which they go about the tasks which lie ahead".

This paper has been prepared using the archival resources of the Crow Collection (part of the special collection section of the Victoria University of Technology library). Acknowledgement is also made of assistance given by a number of those involved in the 'Citizens & Organizations Committee'set up by Interplan, and of several who helped prepare the Citizens Action Plan for North & West Melbourne.

References

Crow, R. (1972). Do you agree with this plan? *Northern Advertiser*. Melbourne: p.2.

Davis, M. (1992). *City of Quartz*. New York, Vintage Books.

Dingle, A. E. and C. Rasmussen (1991). *Vital Connections: Melbourne and its Boardof Works 1891-1991*. McPhee Gribble.

Friedmann, J. (1973). *Retracking America: A theory of transactive planning*. New York, Anchor Press.

Gardner,L.(1998) Community Planning & the City of Melbourne, 1975 - 82, *The Public & the City Plan*, (Seminar proceedings) Victoria University of Technology, Melbourne.

Hamer, D. (1971). Govt: Aim for a City of Life, Color, January 20. *Herald*.   Melbourne,.

Hancock, J. (1976). "Citizen Participation - How to Plan a city for People." *TCPA (Victoria)*(Ronoed paper): 5.

Interplan, Pty. Ltd. (1972). Basis for a Strategy Plan City of Melbourne *Strategy Plan*. IP. Collaborative. Melbourne..

Irregular (1969). "United Kingdom:Public participation in planning." *Irregular/EcosoExchange*(September 1969): 72-74.

Long, C. (1996). Corporate Planning for the corporate city: central Melbourne planning after the 1974 Strategy Plan. *The   Australian City - Future/Past*. (Conference Proceedings), Monash University.

McAlpine, R. (1972). Remarks *Concept*(6, March-May 1972): 1-24.

McLoughlin, J. B. (1992). *Shaping Melbourne's Future? Town Planning, the State and Civil Society.*, Cambridge U.P..

North Melbourne Association (1973). *The C.A.N. Report*, North Melbourne Association.

North Melbourne Association (1974).*First eight years*. North Melbourne Association.

North Melbourne Association (1985). *Finished and unfinished business (on the City of Melbourne strategy plan 1985)* North   Melbourne Association.

Sandercock, L. (1977).*Cities for Sale*, Melbourne University Press.

Sandercock,L.(1990) *Property, Politics and urban planning*, Transaction Press, New Brunswick

Saunders, P. (1984). The crisis of local government in Melbourne:the sacking of theCity Council. *Australian Urban Politics*. J. Halligan and C. Paris(eds). Melbourne, Longman Cheshire.

Corridors of Planning: Recollections of the Sydney Region Outline Plan Preparation

Richard Cardew
Graduate School of the Environment
Macquarie University, Sydney, New South Wales
Email: Richard.Cardew@mq.edu.au

One afternoon in 1967 Tony Powell walked back into the large open office area that accommodated the State Planning Authority's Regional Planning Division. Tony was head of division and leader of the Sydney Region Outline Plan planning team. He had been in a meeting with Peter Kacirek, the Chief Planner, recently arrived from the UK with structure planning experience.

Tony carried a large piece of tracing paper 1.5 by 1 metre, the sort that was used to cover a map and sketch new maps. The only markings on this sheet were a series of ½s in red texta about 1.5 cm high, in the pattern shown in the left hand of the figure below. "Is that the Sydney Region Outline Plan" he was asked? "Throw it away" he growled. I kept this tracing for many years but have since lost it. It was the SROP. The small markings represented ½ million people each to the main growth corridors of Sydney (the sectors of the SROP) and ½ million decentralised to the country. The spatial allocation of population was not the result of careful calculations. And did it matter?
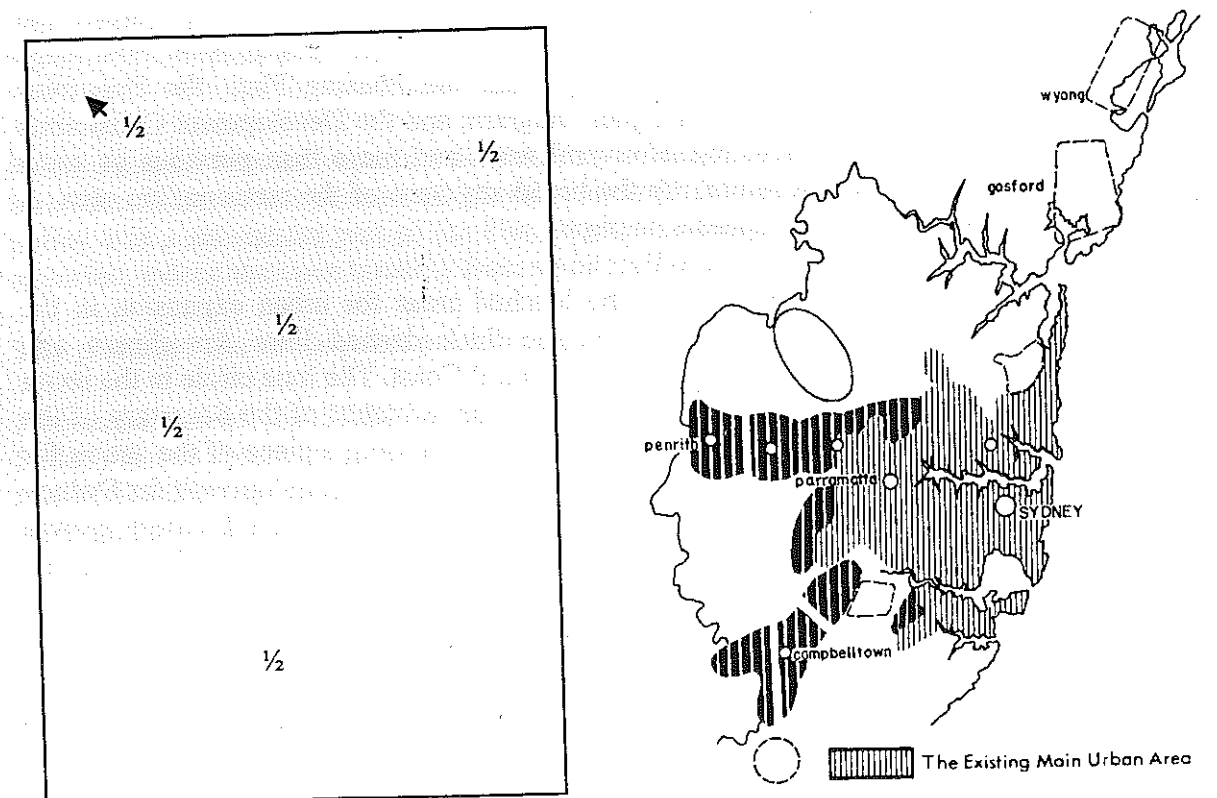
I think that the ½ million for the country was a way of compensating for an unduly optimistic internal forecast of the population. The forecaster believed the most accurate method was to project the trends of last intercensal period (a 5-year interval) 30 years!

The logic was that all known trends were embodied in the short-term trend and therefore it was appropriate to base a forecast on the trend. It produced a figure of 5.5m for the Sydney region in 2001, ½ million more than the projections of the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS). The ABS emphasised that their figures were only projections but the SPA and others relied on them and had no alternatives but internal forecasts.

The SROP in essence was a plan for the year 2001, and to some on the fringe of the team an end-state plan in the most literal sense imaginable. Departing from the greenbelt notions of the preceding plan they produced a spatial strategy that followed the market, but simply contained it within corridors, in some places edged by the physical boundary of a proposed motorway. The planners had long since abandoned the greenbelt concept. Indeed they did not even have a readily accessible record of how much greenbelt land had been released by 1967.

The sectoral pattern of the plan, essentially an edge sharpening of Sydney's fundamental stellate pattern, meant that large wedges of non-urban land use filled the interstices created by the urban areas. To the team there was little aesthetic or design significance in the spatial pattern of the plan. However, Christopher Tunnard, a leading American Planner visiting in 1968, was rather taken by this spatial form and so commented to the mild bemusement of the assembled regional planning team.

Features of the plan

The maps of SROP are well known and they still serve as helpful visual aid to talks on Sydney despite their age. The graphics are appealing, conceived by John Garcia, and aided by members of the team, probably most notably Chris Cunningham. Five maps were produced to summarise the plan: the Plan; the Phasing Plan; the Principles Diagram: a second version of the Principles Diagram; and the Development Constraints Map. The plan maps are revealing in several ways and more than previous or some subsequent plans allow one to identify the broad structure of the metropolitan area. A simplified version of the plan appears on page 1.

First, the sectoral pattern is evident in the hatched areas for urban expansion in the Western and South-western corridors and the thick dashed lines for elipses and rectangles in the North-West corridor and the Central Coast. The lone circle in the south around Appin was a late addition probably due to the influence of the Secretary of the SPA who hailed from Wollongong and was probably securing a piece of the action for that part of the world. The planners had been anticipating substantial growth for Sydney since the mid-1950s. A revision to the population forecasts revealed far more growth than anticipated in the preceding plan by the Cumberland County Council, the one that gave Sydney its first greenbelt. They had enough information to know the broad land use strategy for these two corridors. But the North-West sector had not been thought of, it was cheapest to extend hydraulic services in an arc to the west and south-west with an extension south-west. Hence the North-West sector took the form of an ellipse. The West and South-West Sectors and Hoxton Park-Fairfield had been the subject of interest for many years and land use structure planning was well advanced by 1967.

Like many beachside recreational areas on the outskirts of large cities, the Central Coast had become a commuter zone in the 1950s. About 15% of the resident workforce in the southern end was commuting into the contiguous Sydney area. The Wollongong Urban area was not included. It was an insular community physically and functionally separated until the 1980s. Its inclusion in regional planning for Sydney came in the mid-1990s (DOP 1995), only a few years later than it should have.

Second, strategic land uses were an emphasis of the plan, particularly the airports. A second airport at Towra Point across the Botany Bay, linked by an underground/water rail tunnel and managed from a single control tower at Kinsford-Smith was the hope (Kacirek, pers comm c1995). But the NSW Minster for Local Government, Morton did not have the courage to take this decision that was left to him by Prime Minister Gorton (Kacirek, pers comm c1995). An agreement with the Japanese Government to protect Towra Point for migratory birds was the official seal given under the Whitlam Labor Government. If this option were current it might add an interesting dimension to the debates about a second airport for Sydney.

Third, the map was diagrammatic. It was carefully constructed to avoid giving precise boundaries and not because the SPA was avoiding it becoming the `speculator's bible' a term it subsequently and somewhat erroneously acquired. The reason was that it was not to be a blueprint, it was meant to be outline of the direction of growth and the location of strategic land uses such as airports.

Fourth, the physical environment on the one hand was seen a set of constraints, but on the other as a scenic resource of exceptional value. Steep and flood liable land was excluded from development even though the former simply heightened the challenge and interest to architects. The harbour was a prized asset. A Sydney Harbour Foreshores Study was in progress at the same time, but it was proving too much of a challenge for the person assigned to the task. Ecological values were generally unknown, though Ian Sim whose work led to the conservation of the Myall Lakes area was part of the team.

Fifth, transport was an important determining influence. The main rail transport routes form the spine of the sectors of growth and were flanked by motorways. Transport policy was a substantial part of the Plan despite the lack of support from the transport agencies, indeed the open hostility from some staff of the Department of Main Roads.

The plan and the subsequent pattern of growth

A comparison of the SROP with the subsequent pattern of urban development in Sydney shows the match to be close (Lee S-M c1995). The main difference was that the rate of development proceeded faster than estimated land requirements and not because the population forecast was too low (Roseth 1988). In fact the forecast was too high. Rather the reason was that more land was required per head of population increase than anticipated. Forecasting of land and dwelling requirements were fairly rudimentary in those days despite the influence of engineers and surveyors who essentially quantitative people.

Land and housing requirements were calculated as follows. The population was divided by the average number of persons per dwelling (it had then fallen below the neat figure of 4 to 3.8) and the land requirements were based on 4 lots per acre gross or 10 lots per hectare. This logic produces a marginal occupancy rate of 2.63 dwellings for every 10 persons added to the population or 263 dwellings and 26 hectares per thousand people. Couple this with an assumption that land releases may be built out within 5 years or so

and the land required is 130 hectares per 1000 population increase. In the 1970s, the marginal occupancy rate fell below 1.

Residential densities were also lower than estimated partly because of confusion over definitions. Calculations were initially done on the small scale and simply extrapolated unaltered to the large scale of the indicative residential area drawn on a map like the SROP maps and later planned in detail to include schools, community centres and large ares of open space. Ten dwellings per hectare at the scale of a single subdivision of say 30 lots could become 7-8 dwellings per hectare at the very gross level. To 1992 it averaged 8.8 lots per hectare and 12 at the net level with 14% of the land in open space (Cardew 1996).

Blueprint mentality

It is appropriate at this point to mention an incident that confirmed that the odd blueprint planner existed at the time. I had several discussions with a planner who believed that the SROP was a plan for 2001 and that the plan itself should make no provision for growth beyond that date, i.e. not even by including land to enable the land market to continue operating in 2001. So the 10 or so years of stocks was not to be included in the calculation for 2001. The debate was not critical to the plan, when there is an ellipse for a release area one cannot be precise about how much land is referred to, but it revealed the attitude. Second, at the edge of the western corridor, land south of the motorway was shown as industrial. Later it was thought that it might be better used for residential purposes and swapped with the industrial zone to the northern side of the motorway. This engendered some debate between the traditionalists and the modernists, though other issues might have been involved.

SROP and urban consolidation

From time to time the SROP has been criticised for supporting suburban sprawl and doing too little to encourage what subsequently became urban consolidation. An estimate of the increase for the established areas was provided, a figure of 263000 if I recall correctly. It was rounded to about a quarter of a million people (p20) with the possibility of another 100,000 if wider public acceptance medium density housing and home unit development occurred.

By 1968 the flat boom was in full swing. About 50% of new dwellings were flats. Planning controls were still weak and the amount of building in places like Randwick, Botany (Eastlakes), Inner west, Sutherland (Cronulla) Mosman, and Canterbury was leading commentators to believe that the urban landscape of Sydney was being transformed. The Chairman of the State Planning Authority supported a Waverley Council's estimate that its population would move from 48,000 to 96,000 by the year 2001.

Older planners informed us that flat building in Sydney was not a new phenomenon and that the claims of the time were probably not founded in more than simple belief. So the change was not fundamental, but as it later turned out a resurrection of a trend that had begun near the turn of the century. Declining numbers of persons per dwelling was a far stronger influence on population trends in established areas.

Theory, practice and predicaments

Theory played little part in the plan formulation. Some theory was found wanting. Theory building was becoming popular in the social sciences, especially geography, and Central Place Theory among the more prominent and dear to the heart of geographers. Toni Logan had done a masters thesis on retail hierarchies and central place theory in the Shire of Warringah. She wrote a working paper on Central Place theory and attempted to apply it to the commercial centres in Sydney. Given the CBD was the primary centre Parramatta was the next largest and clearly a second order centre if the only one. But what size in employment to give it, especially in 2001? The CBD had over 200,000 workers (the Plan documents were equivocal about whether the trend was upward or downward); Parramatta at that time about 15,000. I remember her resorting to guesswork and saying, 'will we make it 50,000 or 100,000?' and played safe with the former. In fact even the former could prove too optimistic.

Underlying values

The SROP was a product of the long boom mentality. Growth was expected to continue unabated and major societal change was not anticipated. Market forces were not challenged at either senior level or amongst the regional planning team. Those involved in development control exhibited a stronger anti-market and developer stance. We had an openness that comes with enthusiasm and excitement. The task was to guide or coordinate development and ensure government infrastructure investment met the requirements of growth. It was an exciting time and the team had few distractions to the task for a couple of years, and the distractions were generally regional planning tasks rather than project level issues or ministerials.

One can focus in the backroom

The team in the back room numbered up to 10 persons, with little turnover and no discernible hierarchy of role. Morale was generally high. Collectively we had limited experience at the pointy end of planning, development control and the politics of land use change. Our focus was on the concerns of the social scientists and contemporary issues such as housing, retailing and industrial land use change. Transport issues were slightly removed from the team though the Plan dealt with them as comprehensively as any issues. Urban governance, inter-governmental relations and financing of urban infrastructure were not given much attention by the team from my memory. Here, Peter Kacirek was a critical and effective counter-balancing influence. He had a keen appreciation of the issues before government as a whole and was particularly influential even to the point of persuading the Askin coalition government to introduce a betterment levy.

External influences were not pronounced, most brought their experience and prior academic training to bear. Study tours, comparisons with other regional planning approaches did not occur, though Kacirek had wide experience. So we were somewhat insulated. The names from outside that sometimes appeared were Pat Troy who had left before the regional planning task began and George Clark who delighted in dropping in to provoke certain senior staff.

Concluding comments

The value of the SROP lay *inter alia* in the following:

➤ It provided an overview of the city and literally the outline of the future pattern of growth.
➤ It also fostered some inter-agency cooperation at a time when planning was little known and commanded insufficient respect.
➤ The Urban Development Program, a planning process that managed the release of urban land at the urban fringe by coordinating public sector agencies, local government and the development industry. It was accompanied by changes to developer requirements that assisted the coordination process and increased the amount transferred from economic rent to infrastructure finance.
➤ Regional open space and special use corridors; and
➤ Spawned several transport studies.

The ethos of planning that produced the SROP was never to return for various reasons. Massive social and economic change in the 1970s (property boom, inflation, oil shocks, social policy, politicisation of the public service, environmentalism) combined to undermine the confidence of regional planners. The 1960s were the halcyon days. The opening comments of the Review of the SROP (NSW PEC 1980) are revealing. Reading between the lines the message is, in the light of these changes we have lost our confidence and are uncertain about how to go about it. That same review shows also provides a very useful summary of the Plan and is suitably frank about the strengths and weaknesses of it. Stronger on spatial content and land supply that current plans, but less sophisticated in policy, theory and process than some subsequent metropolitan plans it served a purpose. Whilst it got some of its sums wrong, in general terms it got the directions of growth right and spawned probably the most enduring and effective urban management program operated by the state government planning agencies, the Urban Development Program.

References

Cardew R (1996) Residential Densities in Sydney, *Australian Planner*, 33:105-113

Cumberland County Council (1948) *Report on the Planning Scheme for the County of Cumberland*, the Council, Sydney

DOP Department of Planning (1995) *Cities for the 21st Century*, The Department, Sydney

DOEP Department of Environment and Planning (1988) *Sydney into its Third Century, Metropolitan Strategy for the Sydney Region*, The Department, Sydney

Kacirek P. Peter Kacirek was chief planner of the State Planning Authority, 2 IC to the Chairman Nigel Ashton. See Meyer R for an obituary

Lee Sok-Mook (1994) *The Effectiveness of Growth Management in the Sydney Region: Some performance indicators*, Unpublished PhD thesis, School of Town Planning, UNSW

NSW PEC, Planning and Environment Commission (1980) *Review, Sydney region outline plan*, the Commission, Sydney

Roseth J (1988) Housing and People in the Sydney Region: Review and Prognosis, *Planner* (Jn of the NSW Division of the Royal Australian Planning Institute, 3(7):25-28

SPA State Planning Authority (1967) *Sydney Region Growth and Change, prelude to a plan*, The Authority, Sydney

SPA State Planning Authority of NSW (1968) *Sydney Region Outline Plan*, The Authority, Sydney

Private Hands and Public Gloves: Options for globalizing US planners, 1945-1975

Jeffrey W. Cody, Associate Professor
Department of Architecture
Chinese University of Hong Kong
Shatin, NT, Hong Kong

When contemplating the cultural, economic and political roles played by the United States in the aftermath of World War II, clichés abound. Two of them are (1) Henry Luce's famous characterization at the end of the war that this has been the "American Century" and (2) that people worldwide are experiencing American "cultural imperialism". In this paper I sidestep discussion of these clichés, focusing instead on two main points about the monumental roles US planners played from 1945 to 1975 .

First, I argue that American planning influence took on more globalizing dimensions from this period framed by the military victory the U.S. shared with allies in World War II and the military defeat the U.S. largely suffered alone as a result of the Vietnam War in 1975. After mid-century the U.S. military was a catalyst for American planning initiatives on a worldwide scale. From the Marshall Plan and its aftermath in Europe to planning schemes in the Middle East associated with petroleum exploitation, and from some South America cities affected by growing middle classes to war-ravaged Southeast Asia, U.S. planners responded to new challenges in many cultural contexts. Second, I argue that these planners engaged in international endeavors by employing one of two options: either by striking out on their own beyond US borders as what I call "private hands" working for private companies, or increasingly by working with the sanctioning assistance of US governmental institutions, what I term "public gloves". If it is true, as some analysts have argued, that between 1945 and 1970 "most international construction was American," then I argue that U.S. private and public planners worked hand in glove to exert significant roles worldwide, and that ultimately the private planners were drawn into the public glove because of the scale of economic support given by the U.S. government to selected foreign countries through its myriad international development programs.

TWO U.S. GOVERNMENT PLANNING CATALYSTS

Near the end of World War II the U.S. Government began setting the stage for profound American planning influence abroad when it intensified the activities of two unrelated bureaucracies, the Army Corps of Engineers (established in 1802) and the Export-Import Bank of Washington (created in 1934). By summer 1945 in the islands of the western Pacific the Corps of Engineers was shipping prefabricated hospitals from the U.S. mainland and "carving whole new communities out of the jungle". In North Africa, too, the Corps planned and constructed airfields, roads and new ports. Essentially, then, by 1945 the Corps of Engineers was sometimes acting like a planning agency within the U.S. Army but the effects of the Corps' planning efforts were being seen and felt beyond the confines of U.S. military bases.

Meanwhile, the U.S. Export-Import Bank financed many planning-related construction projects during the war, especially in South America, from railways and reclamation works to steel mills and power plants. Selected governments applied to the Bank for loans and grants to offset the stagnating results of the war. Latin

America was ripe for this program because of how severely the continent had been affected when its trade connections with Europe were severed during the war. One important planning-related component of these Export-Import Bank agreements stipulated that credit funds had to be utilized for the purchase of all equipment for the works in question exclusively from the U.S.

These planning-related ventures by the Export-Import Bank and the Corps of Engineers were critical in two main ways. They not only prepared planners, contractors, engineers and architects for subsequent projects -- establishing precedents especially by virtue of large-scale military-related schemes -- but they also built tangible foundations of urban infrastructure upon which wealthier middle classes after the war erected settlements often tinged with palpable influence from the United States. Although it is problematical to measure with precision the effects of all these ventures, it is possible to trace the extent of planning operations three decades after the war, and then to see how the thrust of those operations changed over time. That changing geography of American planning influence, with complementary changes in focus by the actors in the drama that brought American planners, engineers and architects to the far corners of the globe, is part of what I will outline here.

EUROPE AS ONE MAJOR ARENA FOR U.S. PLANNERS, 1945-1960

One logical place to focus attention initially is Europe, not only because of the major effects of the Marshall Plan there but also because many American planning ideals (particularly regarding mechanization and suburbanization) were ultimately borrowed, translated and transformed by European practitioners to a keener degree than elsewhere, in part perhaps because of longstanding cultural affiliations between North America and Europe. Between 1945 and 1953 there were two principal activities in which American planners became actively engaged in Europe, either planning and constructing U.S. military installations, or designing and overseeing the construction of substantial infrastructural projects such as oil refineries, steam plants or reclamation works. U.S. engineers with a specialty in construction machinery, which was increasingly being exported to foreign markets after the war, were also being employed by European clients to operate and service this equipment. By the early 1950s several private U.S. planning, engineering and architectural companies were thriving under the aegis, or what I am characterizing as the glove of the U.S. federal government-sponsored Marshall Plan. They included Parsons, Brinckerhoff of NY; Stone & Webster of Boston; Morrison-Knudsen of Boise, Idaho and Fluor of Los Angeles, to name just four among many others.

U.S. PLANNERS IN AFRICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST, 1945-1960

Immediately after the war American planners were not limited in their ventures to European locations. President Truman anticipated U.S. involvement in promoting American technology to underdeveloped countries as well as to war-torn Europe when he announced his Point Four program in 1949. As Truman attempted to implement his program, in the context of ongoing U.S. military expansion in North Africa, Americans planned and erected airbases in Libya and Morocco. However, most planning work was given to European practitioners because European colonial connections were still bringing overridingly European planning influences to Africa, as had been the case since the earliest stages of colonialism on that continent. One contemporary observed that "by long custom and by the economies of contact with Europe, the jobs go northward, not to the west." Two exceptions to this "jobs go northward" rule were Liberia, which held traditionally close political and cultural

associations with the U.S., where American planners in 1953 updated the port of, and erected the waterworks and sewerage system for the capital Monrovia; and Ethiopia, where the American ally Haile Selassie employed U.S. highway planners to try to knit his empire together in a more American way by using asphalt to move vehicles more efficiently across the East African desert.

In the Middle East during the same period American planners competed keenly with, but often more successfully against European planners and by the mid-1950s U.S. planners were active from Turkey to India, especially in the fields of infrastructure development and regional development planning. They were especially needed because of the implications stemming from petroleum development that intensified in the region after the war. Dams, highways, ports, new settlements and related facilities were threaded into programs of economic development. Furthermore, as the Cold War began many saw the Middle East as a testing ground for capitalism on the Soviet Union's southern flank where American techniques of industrial development could become not only bases for monetary profit but also object lessons in the contemporary quest, as one contemporary American engineer put it, to "demonstrate to the people concerned, who will make the decision between our way and the Russian way -- whether they know they are making it or not." Another commentator expressed this point even more tangibly: "The Middle East is a fertile field for the American method and the American machine -- [because] the quantities to be moved are big enough to warrant big machines [and] the jobs to be done warrant big organization." As was the case at the end of the war, some of those organizations were private firms while others were subsets of the U.S. government. Examples of the private firms were Parsons, Brinckerhoff (planning the new Turkish, coal exporting town of Zonguldak on the Black Sea as well as highways in Bahrain); Thompson-Starrett (planning the new Turkish resort town of Cesme on the Aegean); Harza of Chicago (designing dams from Iraq to India); TAM of New York (erecting dams in along the Tigris River in Iraq); Morrison-Knudsen (planning dams in Afghanistan and Sri Lanka); Harland Bartholomew (providing planning services for municipal water supply and sewerage systems in Pakistan); Bechtel of San Francisco (building roads, harbors and generating stations in Saudi Arabia); and Fluor of Los Angeles (planning the U.S. airbase at Dharan, Saudi Arabia). By the early 1950s the U.S. government was fostering a more favorable market for American planners by having created in 1945 the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (i.e., the World Bank), which loaned substantial sums globally for development projects that often required planners. Because roughly 2/3 of the money loaned was spent in the U.S. itself for construction equipment and materials, there was an inherent preference for those firms most familiar with American technologies. By the mid-1950s World Bank-sponsored planning work in the Middle East could be found in Iraq (for irrigation work), Turkey (for highway construction), Lebanon (for dam construction), Pakistan (for modernising Karachi's harbor) and Iran (for long-term health, education and agricultural plans).

LATIN AMERICA AS A KEY ARENA FOR U.S. PLANNERS, 1945-1960

If the Middle East was receiving keen attention by American planners and contractors in the 1950s, the region that received most monetary attention from the U.S. in the planning field during this period from both private hands and public gloves was Latin America. Given the intense commercial linkage between North and South America that had existed since at least the early 19th century, this connection was more a ratification of a long standing relationship than it was a newly found arena for American planning operations. At the end of the war one of the "public gloves" that

continued to finance many of these projects was the Export-Import Bank, which often focused on transportation planning such as road and rail construction, environmental planning such as drainage and sewerage works, or low-cost housing projects that often used American prefabricated component technologies. One site that exemplified the Export-Import Bank initiatives was Volta Redonda, Brazil, where a new three-mile long, steel mill was created, a new model community planned and a new railway built to bring products more easily to export facilities. The Brazilian President Vargas took personal interest "in making Volta Redonda a show place. . . . The town has been laid out with curving streets, fine plazas and park areas, and carefully planned landscaping. The town will [have] electricity, gas and treated water." The US$ 75 million agreement at Volta Redonda mandated, as was often the case with Export-Import Bank projects, that credit funds could only be utilized for the purchase from the U.S. of all equipment. This stipulation locked recipient countries into an ongoing economic relationship with American construction technologies as well as with those who knew how to operate and export those technologies.

Other offices of the U.S. government also acted as catalysts for planning schemes, such as the International Cooperation Administration, which provided funds for development planning and (like the Export-Import Bank) was "partial to U.S. companies", and the State Department, which sponsored traveling exhibitions devoted to U.S. architecture and planning that toured South America in the late-1940s, a professional endeavor which had occurred as early as the 1920s when the International Committee of the American Institute of Architects sponsored similar exhibitions throughout the continent. Shortly after its establishment in 1945, the World Bank also became a major source of revenue for American planners, as was the case in the Middle East. In 1951 in Bogotá, for example, the Colombian Minister of Public Works applied for a large loan to finance the construction of a long railroad line, bridges, housing and a "pilot plan . . . to find a normal size and shape for the capital city which as been growing very irregularly for 400 years." In the same year El Salvador was awarded a large World Bank Loan to construct a new airport, pave roads "from border to border" and build a $30 million "TVA-type power project", planned by the J.A. Jones Construction Company of Charlotte, North Carolina. By 1953 the World Bank was financing other electric power generating projects, at least partially patterned after the Tennessee Valley Authority, in Brazil, Chile, Mexico and Uruguay. Therefore, TVA planning assumptions, along with those technologies tied to the TVA, were being fanned to foreign shores by World Bank loan schemes.

If these "public gloves" were actively stroking the South American continent at the behest of American planners, many U.S. "private hands" were also energetic in the 1950s where South American planning was concerned. Probably the most important of these was IBEC, the International Basic Economy Corporation, established by Nelson Rockefeller in 1946, and operating "on the premise that a private American business corporation that focused on developing the 'basic economies' of developing countries could turn a profit and encourage others . . . to establish competitive businesses", such as supermarkets and other American retailing schemes. IBEC became most active in Venezuela and Brazil, although it advised clients about burgeoning development plans in Iran as well. In 1950 Rockefeller constituted an eleven-man panel of New York municipal service experts headed by Robert Moses to visit and then make planning recommendations for Sao Paulo that encompassed mass transit, highways, parks, water supply systems and land reclamation. Similar initiatives occurred in Caracas, Venezuela. IBEC continued to operate in both Brazil and Venezuela throughout the 1950s.

CONSOLIDATION AND COMPETITION, 1960-1963

By the early 1960s, as President Kennedy's foreign aid initiatives gathered momentum, the number of federal "public gloves" increased, from micro-level organizations on a worldwide scale (such as the Peace Corps as of 1962 or the International Executive Service Corps as of 1964), to more macro-level funders on more regional bases (such as the Inter-American Bank, in South America, or the Development Loan Fund, which initially doled out the lion's share of its monies to South Asia, the Middle East and East Asia respectively). Beginning in the early 1960s the nature of many lending institutions also began to change, as organizations disbursed more loans than grants and encouraged even greater linkages between U.S. firms and local investors (marking the beginning of joint-venture operations) especially in the housing field, and as Kennedy attempted to consolidate foreign aid operations in the Agency for International Development (AID).

However, problems persisted for planners either trying to cement those linkages, tap into that funding or actually implement their plans abroad. By the late-1960s other planners, engineers and contractors were mounting stiff competition to the Americans regarding joint ventures with local investors. Furthermore, although the State Department was both increasing its number of commercial officers in U.S. embassies and building new facilities abroad, European countries sometimes were better situated from this commercial point of view because of their more longstanding relationship with certain foreign governments. The U.S. situation was more hit-or-miss, exemplified by the kind of request issued by Secretary of State Dean Rusk to all U.S. foreign service posts in September 1962: "I am requesting that your principal aides be alert to, and seek out export opportunities for American business; that you develop the necessary contacts in order to be 'in the know'; that your Missions shows foresight in advising U.S. business not only of impending bids, but also on construction and development projects long before they reach a definitive stage." Complications also arose both from divergent cultural norms regarding laws and contracts, and the lack of realistic estimates or specifications before planners and contractors submitted a bid for a project. By 1966 professional organizations began conferring publicly with U.S. government officials about how to resolve these disincentives to international planning and engineering work. U.S. engineering companies and planning consultancies also began changing internally, from partnership-based corporate entities to more internally-specialized entities with functional branches, such as structural engineering, town planning, service engineering, etc. Despite these problems and annoyances, the reality persisted into the 1960s that if American planners and their construction-related colleagues sought work abroad, then it was generally more beneficial for them to attach their projects to a federally-sponsored "public glove" than it was to go it alone as an entirely "private hand."

VIETNAM AND OTHER CHALLENGES FOR U.S. PLANNERS, 1962-1975

One of the "gloves" that wielded the biggest clout from the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s was again the U.S. military, whose importance escalated in 1962 as it increasingly began to mount operations in Vietnam, located in a region that had not been the target of as many U.S. planning operations as either Europe, the Middle East or South America after the war. In 1957, for example, of the 4,900 U.S. citizens employed abroad in the fields of engineering or construction, only 800 were located in the so-called Far East, compared with 1,400 in the Middle and North Africa, or 1,100 in Latin America. In 1962, however, builders and engineers began to follow the lead of military contracts and by the late-1960s, as the U.S. military escalation increasingly

called for "instant air bases" and related public works facilities, many U.S. consultancies became tethered to those contracts until most of the work was completed by 1970.

By the early 1970s, in response to ever-stiffer competition from non-U.S. planning and construction-related firms, the U.S. government created other public gloves to assist private U.S. firms with construction interests abroad: the National Export Expansion Council, the Department of Commerce's International Business Assistance Service, the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, the Bureau of Competitive Assessment, and the Office of East-West Trade Development. However, despite the ostensible positive encouragement these organizations provided, they were not able unilaterally to offset the effects of political events such as the Arab Oil Embargo in 1973 that crimped many foreign markets. Nonetheless, by 1974 many American planners were turning their attention to the markets in the Middle East, expanding as a result of higher revenues.

CONCLUSIONS

(1) Public gloves provided consistent support for private planning hands from 1945 to 1975.
(2) The public gloves changed sizes and forms over the same period.
(3) Similarly, construction markets varied substantially. The Middle East and Latin America were most active initially; Latin America sustained its appeal until the mid-1960s; East Asia (because of the burgeoning Vietnam conflict) attracted substantial activity from 1962 to 1970; and the Middle East (because of the Oil Embargo) became a major arena for American planning activity in the mid-1970s.
(4) American planners needed to compete ever-more-feverishly with European-trained and other local planners.
(5) The previous four conclusions call into question the validity of the two opening clichés. Where planning is concerned, (1) has this been "the American century", and (2) can the U.S. be justifiably accused of "cultural imperialism"?

Abandoning the Obvious: Searching for ways to validate the ARCH in architecture

Nuritte Corren
Head of the Artchitectecture Department
Ort Braude College
Karmiekl 20101
Israel

Architectural schools are facing a major challenge: traditionally they have been educating architects to take the lead in the environmental design process. The very term "Archi- Tect" means "chief of building". Indeed, the creative leadership of architecture is a magnet for many students who seek opportunities for individual expression in an established profession.

However, a burgeoning body of international reports reveals that in practice, architects are losing their leading role in environmental design. In part, this phenomenon may be attributed to reasons external to the profession, such as changes in the building process, the emergence of new design professions, and transformations in the cultural perception of architecture. Yet reasons from within the profession are also apparent. The literature refers to an "attitude problem": architects as a group have forsaken the ARCH and tend to be "Arti-Tects". They seek creativity as an autonomous end, diminish the complexities of the design tasks, and disassociate themselves from the needs and expectations of their clients. The disproportionate emphasis on the individual creative act has come at the expense of generating a communal knowledge base that can strengtehn the demand for the unique services given by the profession.

This paper discusses the joint potential of two institutional frameworks to redirect the course of the architectural profession. The one is architectural schooling. The other is the statutory framework of design control. At first glance, the two seem very distant, even adversary. However their dual operation may well provide a cure for some of the profession's ailments, and strengthen the architectural discipline. Let us first regard the present operation of each of these institutions, based on examples from the Israeli scene.

Architectural education is modeled by the profession in accordance with its values. At present, many curriculums in Israel tend to cultivate the heady gratifications of self-expression in their students by increasing the abstractness and artistry of design tasks and distancing them from the problem solving functions of architecture. As a result, students learn to equate proficiency with originality per se, and develop a disinterest in knowledge. They emerge from their studies without the fortitude and the tools necessary for the practice of design in the complex context of modern buildings.

Design control is superimposed on architectural practice by the statutory planning system. A study of design controls in Israel reveals that they have progressively multiplied to the extent of becoming "surrogate architecture". On the national level, building codes regulate the basic functions of building as well as grant incentives for specific building typologies and the aesthetic articulation of facades. On the regional level, architectural controls in development plans substitute architectural practice by

detailed "pre-designs", and local government are increasingly intervening in the design process by reviewing the architectural value of projects on an individual basis.

The public officials that enforce the controls explain the need to fortify architectural decision making by standardized knowledge, and to discipline overly "creative" architectural designs. Not surprisingly perhaps, an analysis of the contents of design controls in Israel, and the procedures by which they are decided reveals a paradox: The institution of design control suffers from many of the ailments which it attempts to correct. The aims of design control are often fuzzy, and are not based on rational decisions. Many controls are formed by individuals who have been given free rein to "create" on a large scale. Moreover, a trivialization of the controls is evident in their focus on physical standards or the superficialities of style, rather then on wider concerns. Amazingly, the system lacks evaluative procedures by which it can direct its future operations based on empirical findings.

Yet if we overlook it's present weaknesses, the design control system can strengthen the architectural position. Statutory design control has the potential both to protect architectural interests in the competitive building process, and to provide a normative knowledge base for design. It can impose by the power of the law professional decisions and quality standards that in the usual client-architect relationship could not pass. Design control can provide a valid knowledge base for design due to it's quest for rules and decision making procedures that reflect the values that society attributes to architecture.

At this point we return to the role of education. In order to utilize the design control system as an empowering force, architectural schools must first tackle that "attitude problem". As long as the schools imbibe students with the feeling that "creativity" is the main measure of their accomplishments, they will not help them to develop their team-playing abilities, nor learn how to utilize social institutions for strengthening the social stature of their profession.

Architectural schools have the responsibility for directing professional values, the obligation to lay the foundations of architectural knowledge and the research facilities for it's continual development. By widening the agenda of professional education beyond the obvious need for creativity, architects may well find that they are better able to practice what they have learnt, to the overall benefit of the built environment.

Planning on the Colonial Fringe: Land Use Planning in Iran

V.F.Costello
School of Geography and Environmental Management
Faculty of the Built Environment
University of the West of England
Bristol BS16 1QY.
United Kingdom

The production of city plans may exist at two levels. One level is that of the plans themselves: these may perhaps be the result of detailed analysis of urban problems and contain realistic intentions to solve those problems within the constraints of resources and knowledge, or at another extreme they may be purely statements of political intention, visions of a shining future which are as much propaganda as plan. The second level is that of physical implementation, how the plan is worked through on the ground (Sutcliffe,1981). This paper looks at both these levels in the past and present land use planning in Tehran. It examines what these plans tell us about Iran and Iranian political processes over the past half century, and what light the current implementation of plans sheds on general processes of urban development and on the particular circumstances which are found in the Islamic Republic. It will concentrate on the Master Plan of 1969 and ask the questions as to what was the plan, what were its aspirations, and what is the contemporary reality?

The paper is based on field work and documentary study of Tehran. Past land use planning and demographic change can be studied through maps, census material, photographs, and the aspirations expressed through earlier plans. Contemporary change can be logged by all these means, by field work and increasingly by remote sensing.

Before the Master Plan

The old core of Tehran is some twenty kilometres from the foot of the Alburz mountains. The city expanded from its preindustrial core in the second half of the nineteenth century and in the early 1870's an earthen rampart and a fosse were added these were consciously modelled on Thiers' Paris fortifications of the early part of the century. They encompassed much open space. In the middle decades of the twentieth century the preindustrial core was largely dismembered by the vigorously secular and nationalistic Pahlavi regime. Analysis of this process can show some parallels with European experience and also with other Iranian cities (Costello,1973). In the 1930's the new Pahlavi regime drove avenues (*khiabans*) through the fabric of the old city. The effect was to impose a plan which was very much in the spirit of Baron Haussmann, with grid imposed on the existing fabric. The buildings of the old Qajar palace complex were largely destroyed and a number of new ministries were built on the site. The external style of most public buildings was Achaemenian or even Sasanian, as the regime sought to distance itself from the more immediate Islamic past and associate itself with what it saw as pre-Islamic imperial glories. The grid was eventually extended to most of the city and two boulevards constructed to link the city with the attractive foothills town of Shemiran. The grid has a number of potential disadvantages for modern traffic management but there are reasons for its use in Tehran other than a simple desire for order (Costello, 1993 and de Planhol,1968).

By the early 1940's Tehran's population was growing at more than twice the rate of other cities in Iran to reach 700,000. It became the primate city. After the Second World War it continued to grow as government, commercial, educational and other institutions concentrated there. The First National Census of 1956 gave the total as 1,512,082. Urban growth out from the core was much influenced by environmental contrasts between north, towards the mountains, and south towards the desert. The modern commercial sector and suburbs for the wealthier sectors of society developed mainly northwards, while the poorer suburbs were to the south. There was a free market in land.

There was at first very little land use planning control of the physical expansion of the city which accompanied all this. Before 1951 unused land on the periphery of the city was considered to be owned by whoever developed it. Much was seized by speculators and, as the demand increased, enormous profits were realised. In 1951 such land was placed in the hands of a government controlled bank (Bahrambeygui, 1977). A number of directives were issued by the municipality but there was no land use planning as such. The lower price of land at a distance from the city centre encouraged developments to leap-frog, rather like much of suburban America, leaving unused sections to await development. Low fuel prices made commuting an option for the wealthier classes.

Government intervention in the process was largely confined to providing infrastructure facilities - improving the road network and the water supply, with limited participation in housing. The regime was by the 1960's heavily dependant economically on oil revenues and on efforts at import substitution for durable and non-durable goods. Politically, it looked to the United States for support, after the coup engineered by the CIA in 1953. It is hardly surprising then that the Iranian government would turn to a U.S.-based model to try to solve its physical planning problems.

The Tehran Master Plan

Iranian planning in general was dominated by a series of Five Year Plans beginning in 1949, but these were overwhelmingly sectoral in content and had "insignificant spatial impact" (Amirahmadi,1986,p.524). It was increasingly apparent that some form of comprehensive spatial planning was needed during the 1950's and the 1960's. Eventually a High Council for City Planning was created in 1965 to guide and prepare master plans for all major Iranian cities. However these concentrated on physical planning, particularly the planning of new road networks. There were problems:

> the limited number of specialized and experienced engineers in urban development, lack of proper statistics and data concerning towns, the absence of concrete regional development policies at the national level, the failure to determine how to implement comprehensive projects, and the lack of performance guarantees (Plan Organization, 1968).

A Los Angeles firm, Victor Gruen Associates, in association with Abdul-Aziz Farman-Farmian of Tehran, was commissioned to prepare a master plan for Tehran in 1966. The plan was of the type that was being exported throughout the developing world by American and European planning consultancies. As Lowder puts it:

> "These...conditions are reflected in the hallmarks of most urban plans dating from the 1960's: their draughting from the top and from an engineering stance, and their focus on formal land use in isolation from local economic or social circumstances...Urban planning was reduced to a technical exercise concerned with assigning land uses in isolation from the economic and social characteristics of the city in question" (Lowder, 1993, p. 1243)

In Tehran the planning teams carried out comprehensive social, economic and physical studies of the city. As requested legislative proposals were made as to how the plan should be implemented. A number of implicit and explicit assumptions were made by the master plan. Explicitly, it was assumed that the population of Tehran would rise to twelve or sixteen million by 1991. But it was also assumed that Iran in general and Tehran in particular would by then be through the demographic transition and begin to show a demographic profile like those of the already industrialised countries. Implicitly it was assumed that the sociopolitical framework within which the future development of the city would take place would be substantially the same. Most of these assumptions looked reasonable at the time, but the assumption about the sociopolitical framework was overtaken by events.

The final document ran to 1500 pages in several volumes. A variety of alternatives for the city's future growth were evaluated. The planning literature consulted and quoted was largely, and perhaps surprisingly, British, although works such as Kevin Lynch's *Image of the City* (1960) were also consulted. The plan finally proposed a linear extension of the city largely to the west along the line of the Alburz mountains incorporating a number of satellite towns to give focus to the settlement pattern and relieve pressure in the present city. Tehran's development would thus be redirected from its north-south axis to an east-west axis, guided by a new superhighway and subway network.

A survey of major capitals throughout the world looked for examples of what constituted a recognizable and admirable capital image. The plan also made a number of recommendations for improving the appearance of landmarks, neighbourhoods and parks in the short term and pointed to opportunities for good design in the long term.

Implementation of the plan was to be through extensive public investment in the major infrastructure such as the metro and the highways but most development would be through the private sector. This development would be controlled by the establishment of a five year service line, to be moved outward every five years until the outer limit of the city was reached after twenty-five years. An interim development pattern was proposed, with a series of fixed minimum plot sizes, ranging from 120 square metres around the old city of Rey in the south and up to 350 square metres in the more favoured northern suburbs.

Most of Tehran's residential development was to be concentrated on proposed satellite communities to avoid urban sprawl. Each community was to have a mixture of low-,medium- and high density housing, with provision for office employment, retailing, entertainment, and recreation. The three-tier hierarchy of service provision was based at the lower tiers on primary and secondary school catchment areas. A major centre in each community was to be served directly by the superhighways and the metro, when complete.

Standing back from the comprehensive plan now we can see parallels with other master plans of the period. The supergrid bears some comparison with the contemporary plans for Milton Keynes in the United Kingdom, though the scale of the total enterprise may have more in common with the great Paris Regional Plan of 1965. The conscious attempt to create a

hierarchy of service provision and neighbourhoods goes back even as far as the first Garden City in the U.K. at Letchworth.

Work was begun on a number of the satellite communities in the early 1970's and from the start the intention was not to integrate different income groups within each community, as was the goal in, say, the post-war New Towns of the U.K., but to segregate them. This was seen at its most extreme in the plan for a wholly new city centre on an almost empty tract of land a few kilometres north of the city centre. This was to be named after the shah himself, and called Shahestan Pahlavi.

Shahestan Pahlavi

This was to be a multiuse centre that would bring together government, cultural and commercial functions in a monumental setting. The plan called for the best elements of formality, order and design which could be learnt from a number of European capitals and combine them with the best examples of Iran's own traditional urban culture. It was to be the modern equivalent of the Persepolis of the ancient Achaemenian kings of Iran or the Esfahan of the Safavids. The scale was remarkable. The projected residential population was fifty thousand, but 200,000 would be employed on the site. The promotion of this new centre was in direct contradiction to the need perceived by other planners in Iran to restrict Tehran's growth and try to limit its disproportionate consumption of the nation's resources (Costello, 1993). However, as F.Halliday (1979) put it: "the only kind of planning in Iran is what the shah wants."

Already by the mid-1970's the were growing tensions between the modern and the traditional sectors of the country's economy. Much of the vastly increased oil revenues which followed the events of 1973 was spent on consumption and speculative housing in Tehran. Iranian planning combined entrepreneurial, corporate, and private planning and industrial and real estate development, with the public entrepreneur acting at the behest of private interests. The priority afforded to government sponsored schemes meant that there were significant shortages of materials for private sector developments. The private sector concentrated on providing middle- and high-cost dwellings while the state provided for its employees. The military was not constrained by the plan and built apartments blocks outside the line of the city limits envisaged in the 1969 Master Plan. The states's failure to address the problem of housing the urban poor was one of the factors that lead to its downfall.

The traditional bazaar sector was to some extent marginalised, and there were plans to develop a vast new commercial centre away from the old core, and at the same time pull down the old core which was described as requiring "total renewal" in the 1969 Master Plan. Conservation in the old core was not seen as feasible, except perhaps for the larger monuments. The long term intention was to complete the work of destruction begun by Pahlavis in the 1930's. Of course this was standard planning doctrine in many countries at the time. The U.K. finally stopped wholesale demolition of the central part of its cities in the 1970's. But in Iran it had also implications for the conflict between the traditional and modern corporate sectors.

Planning After the Islamic Revolution

When the Revolution came in 1979 the traditional bazaar sector was one of the strongest supporters of the new Islamic regime. Ayatollah Khomeini established his first headquarters in the old bazaar - a clear spatial statement of where the new priorities would be. But clear spatial policies and an awareness of the potential significance of spatial planning in ordering the city did not emerge. Planning remained largely sectoral. Take the case of housing planning: in the years after the revolution attempts were made to end speculation in land through a number of land ownership laws which were based on Islamic principles. The priorities ostensibly at first were towards socially distributive policies. But in discussions of social justice in the Islamic Republic the concept of property rights was central from the start:

"Repeatedly, it is issues touching on property and the state's power to tamper with private property that have aroused the strongest sentiments among the religious leaders. The controversy also reflects on the inability of Iran's religious and secular leaders to agree on interpretations of Islamic law that can simultaneously satisfy the concern for social justice and the concern for property rights as articulated by different factions and individuals within the leadership." (Bakhash, 1989).

In the early years of the Islamic Revolution free housing was promised to the urban poor and access to suitable housing was declared a 'right' of the Iranian people. The expectation of getting a house encouraged further rural to urban migration. Major economic problems, including the consequences of the eight year war with Iraq, meant that these promises could not readily be fulfilled. In recent years the policy has been to rely on the private sector to fulfil these needs. The rapid rise in Iran's population and contraction in both private and public housing investment have, if anything, worsened the housing situation since the revolution. Far from being through the demographic transition, Iran has one of the highest rates of population growth in the world.

Conclusion

How does Tehran compare now with the original vision of 1969? Firstly, much of the major road infrastructure envisaged by the Master Plan has been put in place. The construction of the highway network was begun before the Revolution and continues still. Also the metro has been begun, though there have been acute engineering problems and a shortage of capital which have caused delay after delay. Next, the reorientation of the city from north/south to east/west has been followed through as has the construction of many of the satellite new towns. In recent years much more housing has been high-rise and some aspects of the Le Corbusian image have come to pass.

Shahestan Pahlavi was never built, and the site is now partly occupied by a forest park and there are plans for a religious centre with associated retail and recreation functions. The symbols of the Islamic regime have replaced those of the Pahlavis and the major monumental work of recent years has been the construction of the tomb of the Ayatollah Khomeini. The tomb of Reza Shah Pahlavi was destroyed. On the other hand, the bazaar remains much as it was before the revolution, and attempts by the Tehran municipality to introduce modern services within it have been resisted by bazaar merchants, some of whom may fear the sort

of destruction that occurred in the past. However some wholesale functions have been moved to new sites on the edge of the built up area such as the new fruit and vegetable market in southern Tehran.

Three general points may be made in summary. At the scale of the city as a whole the there is a good match between 1960's aspiration and 1990's reality; at the local scale there is little match. Vast numbers of people do now live in apartment blocks, but they do not pursue the westernised lifestyle envisioned for them; the market still is all pervasive, despite attempts to impose an 'Islamic' version of economics.

Finally, we may add that unlike the 1960's, there is little information on what the plans for the future are. As propaganda exercises they are for internal consumption within Iran only. The current regime publishes almost exclusively in Persian. This does make it difficult for the academic to find out what are the current aspirations for Tehran.

References

Amirahmadi, H. 1986. Regional Planning in Iran: a survey of problems and policies. *The Journal of Developing Areas* 20, no 4 (July):501:529.

Bahrambeygui, H. 1977. *Tehran: an urban analysis*. Tehran: Sahab Books Institute.

Bakhash, S. 1989. The Politics of Land, Law and Social Justice in Iran. *Middle East Journal* 43, no. 2, Spring.

Costello, V. 1973. Iran: the Urban System and Social Patterns in Cities' (with B.D. Clark), *Trans. Inst. Br. Geogr.*, July.

Costello, V. 1993. Planning Problems and Policies in Tehran, in Amirahmadi,H. and El-Shakhs,S.(eds) *Urban Development in the Muslim World*. New Jersey: Rutgers University.

Halliday, F. 1979. *Iran: Dictatorship and Development*. New York, Penguin.

Lowder, S. 1993. The Limitations of Planned Land Development for Low-income Housing in Third World Cities. *Urban Studies* 30, no. 7, 1241-1255.

Lynch, K. 1960. *Image of the City*. Cambridge: M.I.T. Press.

Plan Organization. 1968. *Fourth National Development Plan*. Tehran: Plan Organization.

Planhol, X. de. 1968. The Geography of Settlement, in Fisher, W. B., ed. *The Cambridge History of Iran, Volume 1. The Land of Iran*. London: Cambridge University Press.

Sutcliffe, A. 1981. *Towards the Planned City*. London: Blackwell.

Paradigms after the end of ideologies

Ype Cuperus
OBOM Research Group
Delft University of Technology
De Vries van Heystplantsoen 2
2628 RZ Delft
The Netherlands

Modern history can be characterized as the end of ideologies. Fukuyama indicates 'the end of history', suggesting that all countries will develop towards liberal democracies as the only coherent political aspiration as an end state of historical evolution. Architecture and urban design have always been determined by paradigms (modernism or international functionalism) and have been replaced by new paradigms that have succeeded at high speed (post modernism, deconstructivism), as a sign of the end of paradigms. In this paper new ruling laws are described (economy, control, environmental concern). The question will be raised if this is the end state of evolution in urban planning theories. This in turn will be placed in a historical context. The concept of Open Building is an inter related set of planning and building tools that can be characterized as 'third wave' and is currently under development and applied by the OBOM Research Group. These tools will be identified briefly and put in the perspective of third wave planning and the new ruling laws mentioned.

ESTABLISHED PARADIGMS

Paradigms in this paper are defined as patterns or general conceptions (Collins, 1988). Looking at the general conceptions on which urban design is based the relevant paradigms can be subdivided in politically biased and socially biased paradigms. Although these two groups are strongly related (in many cases political conceptions are adopted to serve the improvements of social standards), they need to be discussed separately. Should political strategies be adopted to improve the built environment or should we focus on the quality of the environment itself in order to improve? These different approaches have resulted in seemingly opposing different strategies.

In order to put the subsequent paradigms in a historical context, the three waves in the development of societies as they were defined by Alvin Toffler are used, the First Wave being the agricultural, the Second Wave the industrial and Third Wave the information society (Toffler, 1981). By referring to the waves mentioned, the development in paradigms is not so much connected to years and historic events, but more to the stages societies go through. This in turn gives a broader base for comparison of different cultures and societies.

Political paradigms

Many design decisions in the industrial society resulted in built environments of which the results have put unwanted and unexpected strain on the society. The slum cities, built in the Nineteenth-Century and the way the professional designers have responded to it, are well described by Peter Hall (Hall, 1996). They housed an uncontrollable society and became breeding grounds for epidemic disease and crime, in Great Britain finally resulting in shipping large numbers of petty and heavy criminals to fatal shores of *Terra Incognita* (Hughes, 1987). The industrial society was

also the age of scientific exploration and newly developed paradigms, responding to the old rural agricultural society grinding to a hold and painfully shifting toward a new urban industrial society. Old religious and social values were questioned and new ideas gained more ground. Darwin's evolution theory shook the churches' foundations and Karl Marx's Das Kapital questioned the way power was distributed in society. In the field of urban planning and architectural design concurrent theories were developed, which should make and end to the inhumane living conditions in the slum cities. Good examples are the garden city movement, a healthy environment by introducing an rural-romantic atmosphere in urban planning and the rise of modernism, a clean, light environment by concentrating on the necessary, and stripping it from decorations. In this respect it is interesting to note that the modernist movement in Soviet Union after the revolution was seen as anti-revolutionary and a historical style of building was advocated by the ruling party, whereas during the cultural revolution in the People's Republic of China any form of romanticism or decoration of the built environment was seen as anti-revolutionary.

Modernism in urban planning was represented by Le Corbusier, who still has many followers in the design trade and whose influence still can be felt. Although he should not be blamed for the results of the works of his adapts, who may have misinterpreted the original ideas, it can not be denied that many high rise satellite cities all over the world lack the quality for good urban living and by their segregation of the city and industrial areas generate enormous commuter traffic flows.

Designers responded to the disappointing results of modernism, first without really distancing themselves from it my means of putting some irony in their design. This was called Post Modernism (Jencks). A new generation of architects took their protest against the old modernist movement one step further in a movement called Deconstructivism. Architectural shapes could not be understood anymore by reasoning, it was for the initiated only. The deconstructivist designers were related to the French linguists like Barthes and Derrida, who introduced new codes in language to change its meanings (Broadbent, 1991). This was based on the presumption that clear language was adopted to mislead the uneducated proletariat, thus being one of the last intellectual convulsions of communism. There is a certain irony to it that the modernist movement and the opposing deconstructivist movement had the same ideological bias, being this socialist feeling that the poor and suppressed needed to be supported against the exploiters of the new industrial age. Many architects feel they have the moral obligation to improve the world. But isn't this very much a Second Wave point of view, in which mass solutions for mass problems needed to be counter balanced by a greater social concern, being the quality of the built environment?

Physical paradigms

Inspired by the politically charged conceptions many urban environments were shaped. Simultaneously other planners and theorist were concerned with the physical quality of the urban environment. By writing about '(...) common ordinary things: for instance , what kind of city streets are safe and what kinds are not (...)' current city planning and rebuilding is attacked (Jacobs, 1961). Others, like Christopher Alexander and John Habraken have explored new ways in planning and design, based on similar concerns about the quality of the built environment (Alexander, 1977, Habraken 1961).

We need to realize that the world is not shaped by designers (however they may think differently), but by many other major forces as well. For the better or the worse, nevertheless forces that cannot be denied and that should be recognized by the designing profession. These new forces are: the growing influence of the consumer; perpetual change, the growing environmental concern and above all the influence of global economic powers. These have to be seen against the light of the merging Third Wave (the information society) and its conflicts with first and second wave societies having characteristics of all the waves mentioned.

THE END OF IDEOLOGIES

Modern history can be characterized as the end of ideologies. Fukuyama indicates 'the end of history', suggesting that all countries will develop towards liberal democracies as the only coherent political aspiration as an end state of historical evolution. ' (...) Both Hegel and Marx believed that the evolution of human societies was not open-ended, but would end when mankind had achieved a form of society that satisfied its deepest and most fundamental longings' (...) . And: '(...) Whether (...) it makes sense for us once again to speak of a coherent and directional History of mankind that will eventually lead the greater part of humanity to liberal democracy? The answer I arrive at is yes, for two separate reasons. One has to do with economics and the other has to do with what is termed the "struggle for recognition." (...)' (Fukuyama, 1992). In philosophical terms there may have come and end to history and in my interpretation of ideologies as well. The question remains if we can live without practical ideologies as a drive force. If Fukuyama is right, what does this mean to the building industry and the built environment? In general two movements can be seen, freed from old political biases. Let me elaborate on the themes of economics and the struggle for recognition. The latter is described by Fukuyama in terms of 'domination' with all sorts of negative side effects. The idea of recognition, adopted to the built environment could be found in control over ones own territory. Could this presumption lead to new guiding patterns or conceptions?

NEW PARADIGMS

First there is the acceptation of the free market mechanism, letting the end consumer determine the building industry and its resulting built environment, secondly the importance of control over ones one territory and thirdly the global appreciation of the environmental debate.

The paradigm of economic laws

Free market forces have always been suspect, because it tends to make the rich richer and the poor poorer. This was very much the case in the feudal agricultural society and in societies in the early stage of industrialization. After the initial stage of the industrialization however the masses are soon recognized as potential buyers of mass goods and they don't feel victim of the possessing classes, but they have spending power ant they love it!
Always contradictory to the communist ideology, it has now been embraced (whether openly or not) by almost any country or state, it has been removed from the set of ideologies and it has been accepted as a (positive) driving force in itself.

The paradigm of control

In second wave industrial societies the masses are controlled by laws, enforced by police. With the rise of the level of prosperity, higher taxes, higher salaries, police force becomes dearer, while simultaneously the people become more emancipated, thus harder to control. Therefore, new ways to regulate security and safety in society, thus in the built environment need to be explored. Toffler draws a parallel between the exercise of violence and the first wave, possession and the second wave, and knowledge and the third wave (Toffler 1990). In the late industrial societies possession by the masses could be the leading principle of (self) control. If people have something to care for, something to lose, they will be look after it and they will be prepared to defend it.

The paradigm of the environmental debate

Thirdly there is the acceptation of the environmental concern as a driving consideration that can not be denied. There is a reasonable side to it: we all experience the bad side effects of pollution and we feel that overfishing the oceans and burning tropical forests are irreversible or at least have a long recovery time and are therefore bad. If the impact of our behavior (for example pollution) cannot be directly experienced anymore, we are asked to believe and accept. In the Netherlands there is a public awareness campaign, running newspaper adds in which the people are advised not to leave the TV set on stand by, but switching it off, thus saving energy, thus reducing the green house effect. Environmental concern gives guidance to our behavior, it is the measure stick for good and bad, it has become a new paradigm, not based on old political or religious ideologies.

THE OPEN BUILDING CONCEPT

The poor quality of the Post War mass housing was a major concern for a group of Dutch architects, who in 1963 organized themselves in the SAR, the Foundation for Architectural Research. Its director wrote: 'We should not try to forecast what will happen, but try to make provision for what cannot be foreseen' (Habraken, 1961). Different levels of decision making in the building process were introduced, in order to separate, yet coordinate long term from short term decisions. Decisions about the urban fabric accommodate and constrain decisions on a lower level, for example about the positions and dimensions of buildings. The base building in turn accommodates and constrains its fit out. These decision making levels were called 'support' and 'infill'. Infill was not only separated from support, in terms of decision making, but also technically and in terms of ownership and user influence. Modular coordination rules were used to make the parts with different life spans loose fit, yet coordinated. It was to provide a built environment the users can relate to, take care for, look after and defend it. The total concept of a continuous change of demands, conditions for responsibilities and care as well as the concept of levels is called Open Building and is to date the main research subject of the OBOM Research Group in Delft (OBOM, 1996). The technical solutions concentrate on the interface between building parts (OBOM 1997), which has attracted the interest of environmental specialist who emphasize the importance of the reusability of materials.

CONCLUSIONS

By their complex nature, urban planning and architectural design are the domain of the professionals. At the same time built environments have materialized without the assistance of trained designers. In both categories, successful as well as unsuccessful results can be seen. The built environment, whether designed or not is always the result of conscious or unconscious planning decisions. Unconscious planning decisions lack practical knowledge of infrastructural demands and constraints, at the same time it has a high degree of short term practicality. Professional planning on the other hand is (or should be) based on thorough technical and organizational knowledge. This in turn has resulted in an internationally acclaimed design climate in which every decision has to be justified by reasoning, regardless of the resulting quality. Justifications are found in technical facts as well as in old and new paradigms. In this paper it is argued that the new paradigms are freed from their political bias and that the are based on economic laws, control and environmental considerations. The concept of Open Building originates from what in this paper is referred to as 'physical paradigms'. It has resulted in a set of planning tools in planning and building, that can be adopted. regardless of the applied paradigms, patterns or general conceptions. Many urban developments, especially in some of the Southeast Asian megacities under construction will take place with minimal professional input. We need to find ways to combine planning without professionals and professional planning based on the new paradigms mentioned. That is the challenge for the next century.

References

Alexander, C. (1977) A Pattern Language, Oxford University Press, New York.

Broadbent, G. (1991), 'Deconstruction, A Student Guide', Academy Editions, London.

---------- (1988) 'The Collins Concise Dictionary of the English Language', second edition, Australian edition, Collins, London.

Fukuyama, F. (1992) 'The End of History and the Last Man', Avon, New York.

Habraken, N.J. (1961) 'Supports, an Alternative to Mass Housing', translated 1972, London

Hall, P. (1996) 'Cities of Tomorrow', Blackwell, Oxford.

Hughes, R. (1988) 'The Fatal Shore', Pan Books, London.

Jencks, C. (1977) 'The Language of Post Modern Architecture', Academy Editions, London.

OBOM (1996), 'Project Sheets', OBOM, Delft.

Kapteijns, J.H.M. (1997), 'The Building Node', OBOM, Delft.

Toffler, A. (1980); 'Third Wave', edition 1981, Pan Books, London.

Tofller, A. (1990)'Powershift', edition 1991, Bantam Press, London.

'PUTTING THINGS TO RIGHTS': land restitution, public participation and inner city redevelopment in 'District Six', Cape Town

Neil Dewar
Environmental and Geographical Science
University of Cape Town
Cape Town 7701
South Africa

INTRODUCTION

District Six in Cape Town was fashioned by a variety social groups who imprinted their culture and lifestyle. It evolved through almost one and a half centuries of social and political change; it reflected the attitudes, values and mores of its inhabitants while simultaneously molding those of succeeding generations; it has long been the site of struggle, particularly between the poor and relatively powerless against those with status influence and power; in this regard, it has come to assume great symbolic significance for an emerging nation; planning intervention and ideology have played a pivotal role in its development; the state has been fundamental in executing planning policies and in determining the lived experience of its residents.

District Six derives its name from being declared the sixth voting district of the municipality of Cape Town in 1867. It had its origins in rapid economic and population growth experienced in Cape Town in the latter half of the nineteenth century absorbing population overspill from the original settlement (Fig 1).
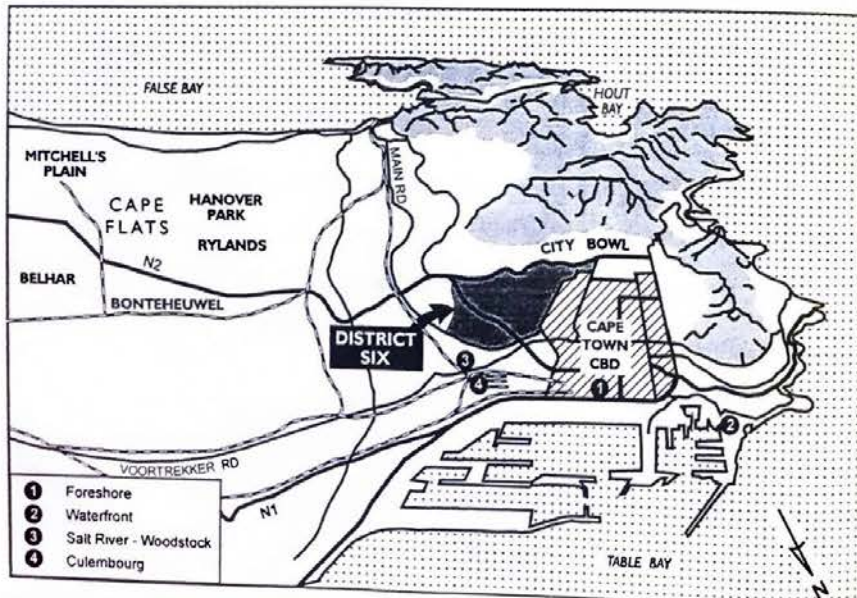
Fig 1. District Six and key city bowl planning initiatives

From the outset it contained a complex admixture of races, classes, nationalities, income and status groups. Structural poverty was endemic. *Ab initio*, it suffered from a marked lack of services and building maintenance. Dirt, decay, dereliction, and disease prevailed. Overcrowding was widespread. Early development was unplanned save for the layout of the street grid. The City Council, dominated by landlords and merchants, did little to alleviate the poverty. However, after outbreaks of smallpox and bubonic plague, when some 2000 Africans were removed to newly built 'locations' on the outskirts of the city and their homes destroyed basic sanitation and drainage was provided. Despite, or possibly because of, their poverty, oppression and exclusion from power and plenty, working class people in District Six developed their own ways of moulding a living urban landscape to their requirements.

THE EXERCISE OF FORMAL PLANNING AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

Formal planning was brought to bear on District Six following promulgation of the Town Planning Ordinance (33 of 1934). Modeled upon British planning principles, it mandated that every local authority prepare a town planning scheme directed toward 'the coordinated and harmonious development' of the local authority area to 'promote safety, health, amenity general welfare, convenience and order while maintaining economy and efficiency'. Its fundamental premise was land use control through zoning, the application of standards, and separation of 'non-conforming uses'. However, in the South African city, the goal of eliminating overcrowded, unsanitary, dilapidated and unsanitary areas for the common good invariably carried racial overtones.

In Cape Town planning fell within the purview of the City Engineer's Department. From the outset strong emphasis was placed on 'rationalizing' land use and on the design and upgrading of the road system of District Six. The need to demolish what was considered to be a slum area and to redevelop it in accordance with 'modern' town planning principles was forcefully argued. However the spectre of large-scale population removal elicited considerable public suspicion and debate despite official assurances that the scheme was never intended to effect racial segregation. Throughout, the City Council vehemently asserted that there was never any intent to displace and segregate the majority of the coloured residents of the area.

Other priorities, occasioned by the War and financial strictures, militated against early demolition and redevelopment whereafter planning was overtaken by events. In 1948, the National Party came to power in the first post-war election and in 1950 the notorious Group Areas Act was promulgated, precipitating an era of formal social engineering founded upon race segregation, inter-group conflict and personal suffering and anguish that will leave a lasting legacy in the country.

On 11 February, 1966 District Six was proclaimed a White Group Area. The rationale of government was articulated by the Secretary of Community Development: "With a view to its special situation on the slopes of Table Mountain, the beautiful view and attractive scenery, ... the best contribution which can be demanded from the area in the interests of community development is the establishment of economic *(read 'White' - author)* housing of a relatively

high standard therein"(Cape Times, 10 June, 1969). Consistent with this vision the government developed a Master Plan that provided for large flat complexes, vast open spaces, shopping centres and the pedestrianization of a commercial precinct. Demolition began in 1968 and, over the next decade, some 35 000 coloured residents were systematically moved to newly built council estates on the Cape Flats (Fig 1). A vacant wasteland resulted, interspersed by a few remnant buildings, mainly churches, mosques and schools. Protest was immediate and unrelenting. Initially spontaneous and then increasingly organized, it emanated from many sections of civil society. History will judge its effectiveness.

The forced removals had many deleterious consequences for individuals, families and a previously tightknit community. These included psychological trauma, fear, bitterness, stress, the dislocation of families, loss of community and social pathologies of many kinds (e.g. crime, vice, alcoholism, drug abuse and anomie). Exacerbating and reinforcing this, the nature and quality of the built environment in the new housing estates was also extremely negative, alienating and dysfunctional. Suffice it here to observe that the estates were bleak and monotonous, exposed and windswept, generally far from established places of work, lacking human scale (in deference to the motor car), lacking public amenities and poorly served by retail facilities. Building structures were generally sub-standard.

In the late 1960's the fundamental debate concerning District Six turned upon (1) whether it was feasible and desirable to undertake urban **renewal** retaining the existing population; (2) whether to demolish and **redevelop** primarily with low-income housing, to accommodate as much of the existing coloured population as possible; or (3) whether it was necessary to demolish the built fabric entirely and to **redevelop** the area in a manner consistent with planning principles current at the time for the White section of the population only and at market related prices. It was a debate in which protagonists and antagonists took polar positions into the mid-1970's.

In 1975, in response to continuous protests and as grudging compromise, parts of District Six were declared Coloured Group Areas. Nevertheless, two years later, a recommendation of a government commission (the Theron Commission) to return District Six to the people was rejected as was a similar recommendation (of the President's Council) in 1981. Disturbingly for government, no property sales or redevelopment occurred. Civil organizations ensured that would-be investors and developers were disuaded. The area remained a bare monument to the excesses of apartheid. In response, government itself became a developer commencing building of the Cape Technikon over a 21 ha site in 1979. It also built some townhouses and tenements for state employees, marketing them at prices below their value and at heavily subsidized interest rates, and funded a multi-million rand commercial project, the 'Oriental Plaza'. Opposition from a wide spectrum of political opinion continued unabated.

A related parallel concern was the future of the central business district (CBD). Mirroring the experience of many cities world-wide, CBD's in South Africa have been vulnerable to a variety of centrifugal forces, particularly decentralization of the retail and office component to planned shopping centres in the suburbs, congestion, parking shortages, functionally obsolescent buildings, and high rents and rates. In South Africa these problems are compounded by poor public transport, and negative shopper perceptions caused by dirt, crime and violence, the recent large scale influx of street traders, a lack of the residential component and relatively little 'night life'. In many areas streets are considered threatening and unsafe. An inner city planning and development project integrating the Waterfront, the Foreshore, District Six, Salt River and Woodstock, the Culembourg rail yards and the wider city bowl area was considered crucial to the future of the CBD (Fig 1).

Meanwhile the wider political context was changing. While popular opposition to the state was at all times controlled and frequently repressed, it was never quelled. Davies (1986) has shown how resistance periodically reached crisis proportions whereupon government would respond with varying strategies of coercion, compromise and co-optation. In this relatively uncertain political climate, in 1986, British Petroleum (BP) sought to establish a tripartite agreement between a consortium of major business interests, the City Council and the 'community' to undertake the redevelopment of District Six as part of a larger inner city renewal initiative. To this end they created a non-profit 'Section 21' company ('Headstart') to undertake preliminary investigations and to float suggestions regarding planning, design, costs and financing in a 'seed plan'.

At the outset, a number of principles were established. Stated succinctly, these were:
- the area must be racially mixed with access (in legal and economic terms) open;
- opportunity should be given to previous inhabitants to return *to the greatest possible degree;*
- the development should accommodate a wide range of economic groups, particularly the poor;
- in order to spread income generated through the redevelopment process widely, opportunities should be created for small-scale agents;
- the development should maximize the locational and environmental advantages of the site;
- the development should result in an environment which is complex enough to accommodate the wide range of activities and needs that are generated through urban living;
- planning should be based upon widespread consultation, negotiation and community acceptance;
- the final plan should be minimalist in nature - it should constitute only a framework that, by its logic, would constrain and channel individual action in socially and environmentally desirable directions thereby creating qualities of spontaneity and complexity.

Accepting the Technikon as a reality, the planners proposed to use it as a central unifying focus and sought to integrate it into the life and activities of the area as a truely urban campus that would facilitate the maximum possible sharing of public and private facilities between the city and the Technikon. Major elements of the plan were:
- a strongly defined tree-lined and colonnaded pedestrian link with the CBD railway station and bus terminus;
- a system of embedded spaces - courtyards giving spatial organization to the housing and urban squares around which the greatest mix of functions would occur;
- different densities and types of housing to accommodate a wide range of socio-economic conditions;
- retention of the complex, fine-grain scale of the original street grid in order to draw on historic memory;

- conservation of existing institutions and buildings of value;
- a commercial and public transport axis along the historic shopping ribbon, Hanover Street (now Kaizergracht).

To achieve this vision a complex arrangement of land swops and financing, involving loans and cross subsidization, was proposed. From the outset, Headstart worked assiduously to identify all interested and affected parties to engage them in the planning process and to attempt to gain consensus concerning policy and planning decisions. They nevertheless considered it impossible to accommodate all the original residents of the area.

This was the last formal attempt at planning for this significant and valuable tract of valuable land.

Headstart's efforts notwithstanding, in a political climate of extreme mistrust, a 'Hands Off District Six' campaign was mobilized in 1987 largely on the grounds that 'the people' had not been sufficiently or appropriately consulted and that 'big business' was cynically promoting itself. Increasingly, District Six became a vehicle for political struggle and assumed greater symbolic significance. Further protracted negotiations led to an agreement to pool the remaining land and to cede it to a Community Land Trust. A crucial outcome of its later deliberations was endorsement for an integrated, mixed use, high density inner city affordable housing project - in principle exactly what Headstart had promoted. Among its many achievements was the design of innovative financial strategies to enable the return of lower income ex-residents. The problem of accommodating all ex-residents remained intractable.

However, planning was once again overtaken by events. In April, 1994, South Africa acquired its first government elected by universal franchise. Early legislation in a massive national transformation programme, was the Restitution of Land Rights Act (22 of 1994). *Inter alia*, the Act made provision for group claims provided it could be proven that they were in the 'public interest'. On the grounds that existing development made it impossible for exact properties to be claimed by disposed owners and that the original community could not be identified adequately (many having been tenants or casual occupiers), the Cape Town City Council lodged an application with the Land Claims Court that District Six be considered as a group claim. This was contested by a number of claimants who considered that restitution of actual properties was both possible and desirable and that members of the original community could be identified. For instance, medical and tuberculosis clinic records were scrutinized to locate Africans who had never been permitted to own land and who had been relocated between 1901 and 1930.

In the event, the group claim application was withdrawn and, following further negotiation, a Community Beneficiary Land Trust, comprising all key role players, was established in December, 1997. In 1996 the Land Restitution Act had been amended regarding the issue of expropriation. Previously any claim based on dispossession of land under the Expropriation Act (63 of 1975) was deemed invalid. The amendment provided for restitution in cases where compensation had not been 'fair and equitable' - a contentious issue of definition in law. Recognizing this, and now claiming political legitimacy, the Trust resolved to pursuade all claimants to 'pool' the land and to accept a single, integrated planning scheme. Hencefoward,

whatever the number of their previous property holdings, no person would be entitled to ownership of more than one dwelling. Thus, after almost a decade of bitter factional conflict, essentially the same principles had been revived in the planning proposals for District Six.

At present the Trust is seeking greater inclusivity of role players and to pursuade a few recalcitrant 'holdouts' to accept its resolution. Committees are attempting to establish the quantum of damages due to claimants and are making recommendations regarding either the offer of alternative land, the payment of monetary compensation or involvement in an alternative housing project.

Thus the District Six problematic remains unresolved. Despite numerous efforts at public participation in planning and decision-making, resolution of conflict has been elusive. Until political and judicial institutions can settle issues of ownership and compensation, the developmental potential of inner city renewal will remain unfulfilled and the planning exercise will remain moribund.

"The story of District Six involves multiple geographic issues and themes. It revolves foremost around intangible but rich notions of community and place and the intricacy of their reciprocal relationship. The geography of forced removals is marked partly by the splintering of society and severing of bonds between individuals and their environments. It is also characterized by relentless domination of one group by another and by the accompanying political struggle. The process is mirrored in the urban landscape" Hart (1990, p. 118). District Six reveals how urban space, however impoverished, can become a symbol and focus for struggle. It also illustrates how urban space can be manipulated to different ends and demonstrates how planning (or lack of it) can influence the sense of identity and the lifestyles of people. District Six serves to remind us that planning can indeed be used and abused by providing an example of how ideologies of the state, the business sector and civil society can both promote of subvert the enterprise.

REFERENCES

Cape Times, June, 1969.

Davies, R. J. 1986. When? reform and change in the South African city, *South African Geographical Journal*, 68. (1). p. 3 - 17.

Hart, D. 1990. Political manipulation of urban space, in Jeppie, S. and Soudien, C (eds.). 1990. *The struggle for District Six: past and present*, Buchu Books, Cape Town.

The Rocky Road of Traffic Planning: Traffic Arteries in Cologne and Basel

Jeffry M. Diefendorf
Department of History
University of New Hampshire
Durham, NH 03824, USA

Without doubt one of the most important themes for urban planning in this century has been traffic planning. Where planners early in the century concentrated on rails, by the 1920s and 1930s the focus had changed to seeking ways to accommodate the volatile growth in motorized traffic, and this concern has been central to nearly all planning paradigms since then. The causes of the growth in motor vehicle traffic are many, including the mass production and low cost of cars and fuel, rapid suburbanization, and ideologies that equated car ownership with individual freedom, mobility, and potency. In spite of the fact that motor vehicles clogged city streets, fouled the air, and claimed precious space for parking, the juggernaught of automobiles has yet to be tamed by the best efforts of town planners. As we reach the end of the century, we can see traffic planning in all its glories and its failings. In America and Europe, freeway systems link cities with each other and with suburbs, rivaling or replacing rail services. Cities depend on heavy trucks for delivery and shipment of all kinds of good. Both mass and individual tourism depend on motor vehicles. On the negative side, cities are plagued by traffic jams, accidents and fatalities, air and noise pollution. Town planners are caught in a matrix of strident demands, demonstrable needs, and hostile criticism. Modern traffic planners are not to be envied.

This paper is intended to assess traffic planning in Europe cities by sketching the experiences of Cologne and Basel, old metropolises with dense central areas containing important architectural monuments. Basel and Cologne both evolved as semi-circles along the Rhine. In both places, planners wished to construct major traffic arteries through the hearts of their historic cities in order to relieve the congestion of narrow streets. The comparison of these cities is made all the more interesting by the fact that while there are similarities in planning ideas, there are great differences in their immediate histories, most notably that Cologne was badly bombed during World War II and extensively rebuilt while Basel was spared in the war. [In the oral version of the paper, there will also be discussion of traffic planning in Boston, Massachusetts.]

Urban planning in Cologne has been associated with some of the most famous names in German planning: Joseph Stübben, Fritz Schumacher, Paul Bonatz, and Rudolf Schwarz. Once the Prussian state agreed to relinquish its fortifications and defense zone around the city in 1877, Cologne expanded its territory--almost entirely on the Left, or West Bank of the Rhine--to accommodate a growing population. In 1880, Joseph Stübben, one of the founders of modern planning, developed a plan for the expansion of the city. Of interest here are 2 features of Stübben's plan. First, he enclosed the historic old city with a ring boulevard serving pedestrians and coaches and including green areas in the center for pleasant strolling. Stübben also recognized that the city's railroad line constituted a major disruption in the city fabric. The main railroad station was built next to the cathedral, and the tracks cut through the heart of the city from west to east. He preferred removing the train station and tracks from the central city to a peripheral location, but, failing that, his plan called for elevating the tracks to allow for interrupted passage underneath.

In the early 1920s, Cologne's dynamic and ambitious Lord Mayor Konrad Adenauer sought Fritz Schumacher from Hamburg to prepare a new plan. Under Adenauer, Cologne expanded further, as a green belt was added out beyond the suburbs laid out by Stübben, and a

new outer ring road helped carry traffic around the city. Like Stübben, Schumacher recognized both the desirability and impracticality of moving the railroad lines and train station, but Schumacher also saw the need to improve traffic flow around and through the old city. He called for widening existing streets and cutting new arteries through the *Altstadt*, pointing out that playing "the role of the destroyer" was not really his fault, since the city had declined to make such changes earlier. Schumacher planned a major east-west thoroughfare that would carry traffic over the Aachener Straße, past Neumarkt and Heumarkt, to an enlarged bridge over the Rhine. His plans for the old city were not realized, but the ideas by no means disappeared. They popped up again in Bonatz's suggestions of 1930, leading Adenauer to complain that too much "nonsense" (Unfug) was being advocated in the name of "traffic." Cologne and its old streets, Adenauer said, "are not there primarily for autos," and the regular town planner Wilhelm Arntz observed that "the historic old city cannot be saved if we sacrifice it for traffic."[1] True enough, but this did not solve the problem of growing congestion in the inner city.

For all the anti-urbanism in Nazi propaganda, the Nazis were in practice committed to certain kinds of modernization of their large cities, and they were also clearly fascinated with technology, including automobiles. The building of the Autobahn network and the launching of the "people's car" had, to be sure, much to do with job creation and politics, but they also marked an unmistakable commitment to motor vehicles. The Autobahns were to link Germany's cities; new arteries, widened streets, and major axes through historic cities were to smooth the flow of traffic. In the case of Cologne, the plans for its redesign as a representative city included completion of the east-west artery advocated by Schumacher, plus the construction of a north-south artery from the Neusser Straße to the Bonner Straße. The Nazis also wanted to close the old train station and replace it with two stations, one on the western edge of the city, the other across the Rhine in Deutz, the location of a proposed Forum. Much of the historic pattern of small, crooked streets was to be replaced with a grid of wide streets lined with large buildings. Some of these innovations were supposed to be completed by 1940 in time for a proposed international exhibition on traffic, but the war precluded both staging the exhibition and realizing these plans, though considerable demolition and street widening along the route of the east-west artery did take place.

The very continuity of ideas for traffic planning in the first half of the century shows that those ideas were logical, technical solutions for a real problem, the need to do something about motor vehicle traffic flowing into and through an ancient city designed for pedestrians and horses. It can come as no surprise, then, that some of the same ideas emerged again during postwar reconstruction.

In postwar Cologne there were many advocates for retaining the basic street system in the inner city. With most of the buildings reduced to rubble, only a few monuments and the street pattern could evoke historic Cologne. Lord Mayor Hermann Pünder called the main train station a "thorn in the side" of the city and sought its relocation. Like his predecessors, in this he was unsuccessful. Pünder promised that "the monster traffic" would not be allowed to determine the character of the historic metropolis, but ultimately this did not preclude construction of east-west and north-south axes.[2] The reconstruction plan produced by Rudolf Schwarz, the most important postwar planner, called not only for such axes (though not as broad as in the Nazi-era plans) but also for a grid of medium capacity streets that would outline neighborhoods, within which the small streets of the past would prevail.

The east-west artery, well under way under the Nazis, moved ahead, but the final decision for a north-south artery didn't come until a general traffic plan was drawn up in 1956. That plan argued that this artery was simply essential. Motorists were currently clogging both the Ring and the Rhine shore drive to the point that drivers were seeking alternative routes though small residential streets. The number of work-hours lost through traffic delays was such that it cost the economy around 10 million DM a year, compared to the 15 million DM needed to build the artery. The north-south artery was completed in September 1967. Since a complete Autobahn

ring was finished in mid-1965 and the first section of an inner-city subway opened in 1968. Cologne's planners might have hoped that they were done.[3]

That proved an illusion. The number of cars continued to grow as West Germany grew ever more prosperous, and congestion on the streets and the demand for parking grew apace. Both the shore drive and the Ring continued to carry a high volume of automobiles and trams. The Ring lost its character as a pedestrian boulevard. Traffic on the shore drive created a barrier between the city's inhabitants and the Rhine. In fact, auto traffic proved to be the monster that Pünder had feared would destroy the city.

What was to be done? Cologne has ended up taking the path chosen by many German cities, namely, deciding that automobiles could no longer enjoy the top priority in planning. For example, to solve the problem of traffic along the Rhine shore, the city chose the costly but attractive solution of a shore tunnel, which opened in 1982. Once again pedestrians have easy access from the central city to the river. In many places streets have been narrowed or obstacles placed to discourage speeding. New areas have been given over to pedestrian zones, with motor vehicles prohibited except for early morning deliveries. And motorists have come to accept the fact that driving through the central city, even on the east-west or north-south arteries, is simply not the quickest way to get from one side of Cologne to the other. Instead, they use the exterior Autobahn ring. Much of the time it too is now clogged, but at least the worst of the traffic planning problem has been relocated outside the city center.

Basel also was constructed mostly on one side of the Rhine. The canton of Basel-city containing the central city lies on the south bank; Kleinbasel, a smaller urban area, lies just across the Rhine to the north. Straddling the Rhine, the city also borders both France and Germany, and those countries retain sovereign rights over parts of the train stations, located on the edges of Basel-city and Kleinbasel, where trains from France and Germany end. The cantonal governmental system of Basel is a parliamentary democracy with strong safeguards for the rights of citizens. Always seeking to avoid the expense and domination of a large governmental bureaucracy, important planning activities were farmed out to temporary commissions and to institutions and individuals outside the official governmental structure. Important legislation could, and often was, either referred to public referenda or subjected to revocation by initiatives started by the citizenry. Consequently, town planning in Basel proceeded cautiously and slowly.

In 1892 the city created the first planning agency, and in 1896, the Great Council both provided funds for a city planning office and also commissioned the famous Cologne planner Josef Stübben to draw up a plan for a city street network. For the next 3 decades, the chief planner, Eduard Riggenbach, drew up plans for individual streets in Basel and Kleinbasel. In 1927, motivated by the fact that a growing volume of motorized traffic was threatening to clog the city streets, the governing council asked Riggenbach to draw up a new general plan. This plan, presented to the city in early 1930, contained features which continued to inform planning discussions until the 1960s. One proposal was the suggestion for an underground tramway under the central core. Another was the construction of a major artery through the central area that would carry traffic over a new bridge just downstream from the historic Middle Bridge. Construction of the artery would have required demolishing of many ancient buildings, including a general renewal of the block bordered by the Nadelberg and Schneidergasse. Clearly the underlying motive for the 1930 plan was improvement in traffic flow through the historic center of Basel.[4]

The Great Council referred the plan to a special parliamentary commission for study which recommended that the council reject the plan. The commission supported the general idea of a traffic artery through the city and simultaneous renewal of decrepit areas, but it also voiced concern about the possible destruction of the character of the Altstadt, the old city core. At the same time, the commission opposed the construction of an underground tram; that project would be much too expensive, for one thing, and there was skepticism that Basel's size would justify such a project. Since the plan's primary author, Riggenbach, had just died, the commission

suggested that now was the time to create a permanent city planning office within the city government and hire a professional planner to draw up new plans.[5] The new planner, Adolf Schumacher, submitted a new general plan in August 1933 that contained many of the same features as the Riggenbach plan but in a less ambitious way. The proposal to the Great Council asked not for approval of all details but a general endorsement of the overall concept. In that way the planners could proceed in small steps as conditions warranted. The decision to build a new bridge, the traffic artery, and even an underground tram could be left open.[6]

Once again a commission examined the plan. After lengthy study, the commission endorsed a revised version of the plan but noted that most of it would be realized only in the future. For the moment it was just too expensive. More urgent--and feasible--were smaller urban renewal projects and repairs to old buildings with dangerously unhygienic housing units.[7] Furthermore, even more modest street widening and city-mandated renewal projects required new laws to regulate placement and height of buildings and to facilitate the redrawing of property lines.

The Schumacher plan was approved by the Great Council in July 1934, but in fact conditions were not conducive to the sort of changes in the city's fabric contained in the that plan. The Great Depression seriously hurt the city's economy and made many features of the plan prohibitively expensive, not to mention producing considerable unemployment. Many local architects, including the noted architect/politician Hans Bernoulli, remained critical of parts of the Schumacher plan and announced their intention to prepare alternatives in spite of the council's approval of it.

The central proposals in the 1930 and 1934 plans--the underground tram, the traffic artery through the central city, the new bridge, and massive urban renewal--were pushed into the background by a large number of much more modest construction projects. When a new building law was submitted to the Great Council in 1939, it contained not only technical provisions regulating building heights and redrawing property lines but, even more important, a general zoning plan for the city. While certain areas were designated for housing, industry, and future development, large parts of the historic core were given special protection from development by being including in a special Altstadt district. (This became known as the "violet zone" for the color used on the plan.) The law stipulated that the building department now had the general responsibility to see that any new construction, demolitions, and street alterations in the violet zone did not harm the overall artistic and historic character of the area.[8] Whereas earlier planning, motivated primarily by traffic considerations, was frustrated by pragmatic fiscal restraints, henceforth considerations of historic preservation constituted a major, legally sanctioned obstacle to traffic planning.

The outbreak of World War II meant, quite naturally, that planning remained on the level of talk while the city girded itself for a possible invasion.[9] After the war's end, there was new growth of the economies of both the city and the hinterland and a renewal of ties with both Germany and France, all of which produced growing demands for better through traffic for motor vehicles and better access to the central city. The planning office and the building department focused on the options of constructing a ring and tangent system of high capacity roads to carry vehicles around the city and, once again, constructing some sort of artery into or through the center. In 1946 a revision of the earlier plans was submitted to the Great Council, and after prolonged study by still another special commission, it was approved in 1949.[10] This plan called for a partial ring and tangent system, some street widening in the city core, and a program of renewal of the Nadelberg/Schneidergasse block that would have moved the main open-air market into an enlarged area in that block and thereby freed the area of the old market (in front of the town hall) for traffic flow.

While some streets were indeed widened and progress made on a segment of a ring road on the south side of the city near the SBB train station, the planners and citizens fought prolonged battles over other aspects of the plan. Preservationists protested the loss of historic

buildings, and an unsuccessful public initiative tried to block widening of the Aeschengraben in 1954. Hans Bernoulli and others revived a call for an underground tram system, now coupled with a large pedestrian zone. Meanwhile, the boom of the postwar economic recovery meant with ever growing pressures on the city's street system.

In an effort to break the logjam, the city sought outside help. In 1955 it commissioned Professor Kurt Leibbrand of the Technical University of Zürich to draw up a new general traffic plan. Completed in 1958, the Leibbrand plan called for a system of tangent roads to divert through traffic around the city center, the construction of a system of large parking garages on the edge of the center, placing key stretches of the tram system underground, and connecting Basel to both the Swiss and also international Autobahn (superhighway) network. Recognizing that all this would be expensive, Leibbrand suggested a 25-year period for realization.[11] If adopted fully, this plan would have cost some 220 million francs between 1960 and 1980, a figure that shocked the frugal Baslers.

It is not surprising, then, that the Leibbrand plan was not implemented. The local associations of architects and engineers joined together to produce a thorough critique of the Leibbrand plan and to make alternative recommendations.[12] Even this plan sought to retain the idea of placing at least some segments of the tram system below ground, but this received a lower priority than completion of a tangent system of roads around the center. This would be a so-called "city-ring" of higher capacity city streets rather than an actual Autobahn ring. The major traffic artery through the historic core was finally abandoned in favor of giving greater emphasis on the rights of pedestrians in that area. And with the abandonment of the artery idea, the way was cleared for further restoration of historic buildings in the center instead of demolition. The central core had to be made livable for residents and usable for business without being dominated by motor vehicles. Indeed, during the next decade the violet Altstadt zone was enlarged to include groups of buildings previously unprotected by the legal authority of the historic preservation law. Today Basel makes do with a surface tram system and very limited automobile access to the central city. Traffic flows on the "city-ring," allow historic Basel to function as a charming small metropolis.

It is, I think, instructive to see how similar ideas about traffic planning evolved in quite different circumstances, and with different outcomes. In Cologne, new road construction took place first in the context of Nazi planning and then during the postwar reconstruction of the badly bombed city. In both instances, planners believed they had a great opportunity to transform the old city. Basel, of course, was not bombed, but planners nonetheless sought to transform that city. It is clear today that Cologne's new arteries have enjoyed mixed success. Cologne has already put part of its inner-city artery system underground. In spite of decades of planning, Basel never built its inner-city artery, and the city and its inhabitants are now grateful that there is no mistake to be rectified. Traffic planning remains, by necessity, a central part of town planning, but no planner would now advocate making cities serve the automobile. Indeed, the number of cars using the roads and needing parking places continues to grow while planners no longer admit to the ability or desirability to accommodate that growth. Cities, planners, and motor vehicles--this is a dynamic that will surely continue into the next century.

NOTES

1. See Jeffry M. Diefendorf, "Städtebauliche Traditionen und der Wiederaufbau von Köln vornehmlich nach 1945," *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter* 55 (1991), pp. 254, 255.

2. Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln, Acc. 2 Oberbürgermeister/614/24-27: speech of

Pünder, 23 June 1946.

3. See Bruno Wehner, *Stellungnahme zum Generalverkehrsplan der Stadt Köln 1956.* Typescript, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1957), and speech by Oberbaurat Kurt Jatho to Stadtplanungsausschuß, "Neue Straßen im Altstandbereich Kölns," 15 September 1966, in Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln.

4. See Ferdinand Musfeld-Imhof, *Der Tram im Birsig Tunnel* (Basel, 1929,), for an argument for the underground tram tunnel, which would occupy the channel of the exiting tunnel in which the Birsig river flowed. The plans prepared by Musfeld-Imhof are found in BD-Reg 2B, 6-1-1. For the 1930 plan, see Ratschlag 2994, 23 January 1930.

5. Ratschlag 3131, Bericht der Grossratskommission, 7 May 1931. For a brief survey of these discussions, see René Nertz, "Vom Umgang des Baslers mit seiner Altstadt," in Fingerhuth, Carl, Rolf d'Aujourd'hui, Alfred Wyss, René Nertz, Josef Schüpfer, Werner Stroesslin, Peter Baumgartner, and Mauro Renggli. *Neues Wohnen in der alten Stadt: Die Sanierung staatlicher Liegenschaften in der Basler Altstadt 1978-1990* (Basel: Verlag der Basler Zeitung, 1991).

6. Ratschlag 3370, presented to Grosser Rat, 31 August 1933: die Festsetzung eines allgemeinen Korrektionsplanes für die innere Stadt.

7. Ratschlag 3433: Bericht der Grossratskommission, 14 Juni 1934, with plan 1395, especially p. 37.

8. Ratschlag 3765: Bericht der Großratskommission für die Revision des Hochbautengesetzes, 16 March 1939; and Ratschlag 3769, 13 April 1939.

9. See Staatsarchiv Basel/BD-Reg 1A/801-3/Innenstadtkorrektion: Allgemeines & Einzelnes/clipping from *National-Zeitung* 23 March 1944.

10. Ratschlag 4224: betreffend die Festsetzung eines Allgemeinen Korrektionsplanes für das Großbasel, presented 23 Mai 1946; and Ratschlag 4531: Bericht der Großratskommission für den Großbasler Korrektionsplan, presented 7 July 1949.

11. Kurt Leibbrand, *Gesamtverkehrsplan Basel* (Basel, 1958). Volume 1, Gutachten; volumes IIa and b, Beilagen.

12. Basler Ingenieur- und Architektenverein, Ortsgruppe Basel des Bundes Schweizer Architekten, and Sektion beider Basel der freierwerbenden Schweizer Architekten, Teilberichte zur Begutachtung des Gesamtverkehrsplans Basel (1960-62). A summary appears in "Gesamtplan der Stadt Basel: Zusammenfassender Bericht über die Planungsarbeit der Fachverbände," in *Schweizerbauzeitung* 81, nr. 16 (18 April 1963): 253-273.

Planning The Urban Future With Regards To The Urban Past

Lidija Djokic, MArch; Milica Pejanovic, dipl. ing. arh.
Faculty of Architecture
University of Belgrade
Bulevar revolucije 73
11000 Belgrade
Yugoslavia

Introduction

During the twentieth century more buildings were brought up than ever before. Not only are they numerous, but their quality is such that they will live for quite a time. By the end of the twentieth century most European cities have inherited buildings from different time periods, mostly referring to the past few centuries. Many of these buildings, monuments of the past have historical, architectural, environmental or other values which request special attention from contemporary planners. Planning at this point in time is conditioned among other factors by the influence of the urban past, still present and preserved in most European cities by buildings representing a certain time, culture, society and environmental character.

The Influence of the Urban Past on Contemporary Planning

Besides the common factors which influenced planning through history (physical, social, political, financial and other) at the end of the twentieth century we can add another important aspect of influence: the existing buildings of the urban past. The relation between the survived buildings or sequences and the wider urban environment is an important determining factor in the planning process. At the end of the twentieth century planning can not avoid solutions for revitalizing the spaces and places of the past. In almost every urban plan, there exist certain restrictions. A majority of restrictions are due to the existence of buildings brought up in the recent or more distant past which have certain values. These buildings are usually protected by the city or state and they need to be incorporated into the new plans.

Zemun: building differentiation according to time of appearance

Zemun: building differentiation according to style

Zemun: building valorization

The following two examples are of parts of Belgrade and they show the diversity of social, political and other circumstances which occurred on a particular location through history. Both of these locations are in the city of Belgrade, the first in an area called *Zemun* and the second along *Knez Mihajlova* street. The first map of *Zemun* shows the different periods of time when the buildings were brought up. There are seven different time periods relevant for the buildings on this site dating from the fifteenth century up to 1967. The second map displays the different styles of buildings on this same location. These two categories are not automatically accepted as reasons for preservation. The third map shows the building valorization of old *Zemun* and here the same buildings were analyzed and their values categorized in eight categories. This map offers recommendations for future plans regarding the existing buildings. It is clear that many of these buildings have values which entitle them for revitalization. Each of the existing buildings inherited from the past carries with it besides the form and appearance a certain character of its time. The role of a new plan would be to incorporate such a building with the new city conception, and in every possible way keep it alive.

The second example (on the following page) shows the development of *Knez Mihajlova*, a major street in Belgrade where the historical change of political, social and other circumstances can be felt among its buildings. Planning in such situations seeks for solutions which request interventions which will unite the existing and the new into a sensible whole. It is not to be expected that consciousness and professionalism, talent and capability of architects for implementing their buildings into the city environment will guarantee good results. An important role of planning is to integrate this will with other development aspects, interests and aims in order to define the main context value factors and ways for them to be protected and developed in the future.
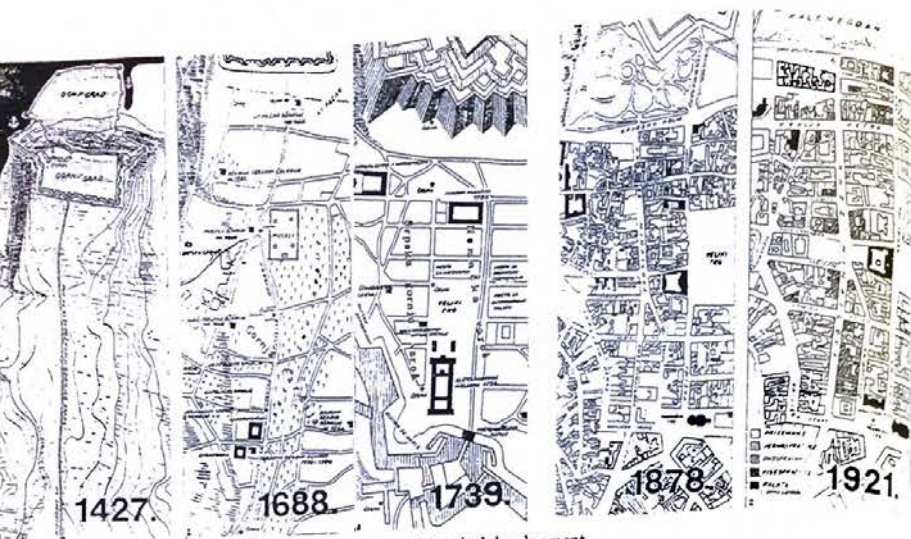
Knez Mihajlova street: historical development

Planning the already built environment

New buildings which result from new urban plans need to fulfill requests set by the specific plan regarding the form, function and contribution to the environment. Expectations for the old buildings are even greater. Not only should they continue to represent the time and environment in which they were built, but they should adapt and continue to function in the new circumstances.

Today it is becoming important (while working on a particular project) to study the means by which each new project can not only serve its own purpose, but also add greater coherence and meaning to the wider urban environment. The necessity for relations between individual buildings and the wider urban environment, as well as defining the project elements so that the particular building forms a whole itself, was realized as an urban need for some time. Planning which will respect and contribute to the value of the existing environment might include functional, economical, ecological, sociological and other components referring to the natural elements (such as topographical, for example), but it is mostly determined by the physical (aesthetic) space quality.

Conclusion

Planning at the end of the twentieth century has developed from planning of clear open spaces to planning in built, and to a certain degree, urbanized environments. The relation between preserved buildings or sequences and the wider urban environment is an important determining factor in the planning process. At the end of the twentieth century, the planning process can not avoid solutions for revitalizing the spaces and places of the past. An important role of planning in the future will be to integrate the existing with the new, providing interests and aims which will protect the urban past and keep it as a vital increment of the future environment.

References

Alexander. C. (1987) *A New Theory of Urban Design*, Oxford University Press, New York.
Skalamera, Z. (1975) "Podrucje knez Mihajlove ulice - istorijski razvoj", *Knez Mihajlova ulica: zastita nasledja uredjenje prostora*, 7-6 .

Land Division As A Reflection Of Historical Changes In An Urban Environment

Vladan Djokic and Vladimir Milic
Faculty of Architecture
University of Belgrade
Bulevar revolucije 73
11000 Belgrade
Yugoslavia

Introduction

Following the radical changes of the political and economic system, the heritage of the housing "super-blocks" is going through a new valorization in the aspect of land and building ownership. The transition period represents a process of new valorisation and physical transformation of the modern urban scheme and opens a new dilemma upon planners: should the Corbusier model for a massive production of housing blocks be followed or saved as a heritage and in what way should it be transformed as to coordinate with the new laws of market economy. The authors trust the social and economic interests to preveal and suggest a model of adequate transformation of these, specific urban structures.

The Historic Legitimity of the Modern Scheme

Almost half a century of existence and development of the modern urban model for a multi-storey housing development of a large number of new blocks and cities, represents enough time to recognize the CIAM theory in the European planning practice. As an answer to the need for reconstructing cities after the Second World War as well as an appropriate response to the serious social requests, housing development according to the Athens Charter has for long been the reality in Western Europe. At the same time, the ex-socialist countries have developed a morphologically identical scheme in all their plans and housing developments. Even though the form of the blocks in both of these cases was identical, and the housing building technology very similar, the general organization was different depending on the political and economic system. Suspending private property over land, buildings and investments, the socialist countries have proclaimed a different system of values in housing, in favour of community and socialist ideas as the leading ideological motif in urban planning and housing. The effects were a failure, and therefore possibly equal to the negative characteristics given by the western critic of modern urbanism (destructive social effects, standard crisis, maintenance of physical structure, etc.). The east European experience, especially in the former Soviet Union where millions of people still live in the "super-block" ruins, did not degrade the theoretical values and quality of modern urbanism, but it proved something else. It proved that for the success of such a model, high economic standard of the urban environment and efficient systems for maintenance and management of these structures are necessary. The critic of theory and practice of Le Corbusier, Mies Van Der Rohe, Hilberseimer and other members of the modern movement in urban planning was developed by Jane Jacobs, Peter Blake and others who proved most of their arguments in the East European countries. The challenge of the social and economic transition which appears at the end of the twentieth century in these regions sets a new dilemma for the valorization of the modern urban heritage.

The System Transition and the Modern Urban Heritage

The crisis of the modern urban model has culminated in the period of social, political and economic changes in Russia, Poland, Hungary, Czeck Republic, ex- DDR, Bulgaria and Romania as well as in the former republics of Yugoslavia. The crisis of living standard and privatization imperative on one hand, and system solutions which favour democracy and politically legitimate different interests and conflicts on the other, still haven't offered a satisfactory solution for the ownership of land and buildings in cities. In Yugoslavia, as in the majority of former socialist countries, the owner of land in cities is the local state. This is why these societies have not yet formed and developed the land market. At the same time under the pressure of social tension, the real estate has been privatized with minimal prices, and this mostly refers to apartments in new housing blocks built during the past few decades on the basis of modern models. The economic crisis and slow privatization initiated illegal development which changes the structure of modern "superblocks" and degrades their original principle of composition. Public funds for the maintenance of housing quality and physical structure in these blocks are very poor and can not follow the trends set by illegal changes. In a certain sense, a parallel real estate market is formed and an increased interest for locations in new housing areas which are close to downtowns are obvious. A similar reality exists in Belgrade, Yugoslavia. These changes significantly influence the structure of "superblocks" and degrade numerous values which this model obviously has. This degradation is obvious on the examples of uncontrolled (by regulation) additions to the existing buildings in new developments with destroyed green areas and in the general devastation and degradation of the existing buildings. Similar trends in housing areas of welfare (public) character in west European countries, the local authorities worked out through radical reconstruction of these structures or through privatization of buildings and land. This ensured the possibility for the original model not only to be saved, but to raise the housing standard to a higher level. In post-socialist societies, the system has not yet succeeded to solve the problem of renewal of the modern structures of the fifties, sixties and seventies. The solution to this problem lies in clear distinction of property over land and buildings, as well as in clear distinction of rights and authority which result from private property relations. The privatization of urban land in new modern settlements in ex-socialist countries is still a large political and social issue over which the authorities rating is questioned. Due to this, important and complete solutions are not yet visible since the local authorities conduct a short term political program in the context of unstable economy in the countries of eastern Europe, especially in Yugoslavia where this situation is extreme because of a deep political and economic crisis.

The Transformation of the Modern Model: Realistic Solutions

Researching the possibilities and restrictions in the context of social and economic environment in Yugoslavia, we have concluded that complete privatization of urban land in Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) is not yet possible. This is why it is not yet possible to treat the inherited "super-blocks" as urban wholes with a completely solved property status. At this point the only private property that exists is the one over apartments, but not over land. The "super-blocks" according to their original model do not assume a partial land division so that the individual buildings are not necessarily set on their particular land. In some places (as in New Belgrade, the largest modern settlement of approximately 300.000 people and 100.000 apartments) "super-blocks" contain 5.000 people on one lot. The solution we offered assumes a land division inside the "super-blocks" so that each

building is set on its own specific lot. This lot would still be owned by the government according to the present status of land ownership set by the republic of Serbia. To lots determined in such a way would apply ownership rights which exist at this time as a substitute to total ownership. In other words, apartment owners in buildings who are at the same time the owners of the common areas, would increase their rights to the clearly defined lot. This solution enables the user interest of the apartment owners to include the land in the immediate surroundings of the building and in this way control illegal developments which degrade the living standard values in their particular neighborhood. In the sense of morphology changes of the modern model, it assumes a possibility that future development planning be restricted by the owner interests of the local tenants. Also, many planning methods would need to be changed since they would have to respect the interests of the users. The mentioned change would be good for the reform of the public offices which would then be directed towards competition with the private offices for the maintenance of the housing funds, green areas, common spaces, parking, etc. These changes, we believe, would enable the transformation control of modern schemes in the direction which would ensure their survival as cultural heritage of planning and design in the so called "heroic period" of modern architecture.

Conclusion

The survival of valuable modern urban settlements which were formed in eastern Europe after the Second World War was greatly restricted by the process of social and economic transition in these post socialist societies. Pledge for their protection as valuable structures with historical quality that represent cultural heritage of our 20-th century are still not followed by adequate economic solutions which would result from a compromise of different economic and social interests. The suggested model is developed according to experience and the specific situation in Yugoslavia. Nevertheless, its development is possible in the context of other post-socialist countries with certain oscillations depending on the specific solutions for the social and economic reforms. These societies show implications for private property and legitimate interests of the tenants as well as the conflicts which will result. We believe that the only way for implementing urban and design ideologies of our century and the future is in respect of the present specific situation. This includes the heritage of modern urban planning, as well. The saying of Le Corbusier that "revolution can be avoided by good architecture and even better urban planning" today in post-socialist societies is more realistic than it ever was before.

References

Macura, V. (1983) Urbano planiranje u Srbiji 19. i 20. veka, Beograd-projekt, Beograd.

Some Key Issues in Urban Redevelopment in China

Wencai Du and John Gilliland
School of Geoinformatics, Building & Planning
University of South Australia
Adelaide, SA 5000

Hu Jun
Hainan Provincial Geoinformatics Center
53 Bailongnan Road, Haikou, Hainan, 570203, China

Abstract

The rapid growth of the Chinese economy and the rapid increase in urbanization have brought urban redevelopment at large scale since Chinese economic reforms began in 1980s. This paper addresses some key issues in Chinese urban redevelopment in terms of urban planning and urban development/redevelopment based on the examination of several city redevelopment cases. The authors have found that with rapidly growing redevelopment, distorted land markets and ineffective urban land planning and land resource management in China have resulted in degradation of built urban environment, losses of cultural resources and open space, putting negative impacts on air and water quality, energy consumption and aesthetic quality. The authors also put forward integrated urban redevelopment strategies.

Introduction

During the last two decades, there have been fundamental changes in the nature of the Chinese economy. The rapid growth of Chinese economy and the rapid increase in urbanization have brought urban redevelopment at large scale since Chinese economic reforms began in 1980s. From an urbanization level of about 17.9 percent at the end of 1980s, the urbanization level had gone up to about 48 percent in the 1997. Since the 1980s the urban population in China rose greatly. Although the urbanization process often means accelerated economic performance for a country, the accompanying rapid increases in the demand for urban land for residential purposes for all income groups, locations for industry and commerce, and land for public infrastructure and projects. As the result, the urban redevelopment occurred with an incredible speed, size and investment. Within existing built-up areas of cities, a different type of land conversion is undergoing rapidly in China.

However, with rapidly growing redevelopment, distorted land markets and ineffective urban land planning and land resource management in China have resulted in degradation of built urban environment, losses of cultural resources and open space, putting negative impacts on air and water quality, energy consumption and aesthetic quality.

The purpose of this paper is to discuss urban redevelopment issues based on examining several city redevelopment cases and the factors that perpetuate these problems in the redevelopment process and urban redevelopment strategies.

The Current Issues in Urban Redevelopment Planning and Construction in the Chinese Inner Cities

Although the nature and extent of the urban redevelopment issues in specific cities in China differ according to the unique land, environmental, economic, social-cultural conditions in each locality, the pressing degradation of the built-up environment associated with urban redevelopment and the key factors that account for continued urban built environmental problems are very similar.

Lack of Comprehensive Urban Redevelopment Planning

Since the mid-1980s, Chinese government in their polices toward urban development and construction has aimed at improving residential condition by increasing the quantity of residential property. It has brought about the changes in investment environment and greatly spurred physical redevelopment. Before economic reform under old planned economic system, the operating style of Chinese planning agencies was just an institutional framework that mainly concerned economic development and industrialization, and acted as a controlling device in response to the rapid growth of urban centers to limit the growth of the city. To achieve the objectives the government had promoted the construction of factories and public infrastructure and constricted the construction of residential housing, transportation, and living facilities. It was failures in organizing the city spatially and functionally so it was unable to provide for a better society and nature. Correspondingly, there were a disappointing lack of housing, traffic congestion and pollution.

Entering the mid-1990s, the Chinese central government shifted the policy to stimulate economically productive activities. However, the policy still failed to enhance the quality of life for residents. Many urban planning agencies within the government and many planners continue to perform at traditional planning functions. To achieve the objectives the government has promoted the construction of commercial space over housing and public facilities.

Meanwhile, a centralized decision-making system, shortage of skilled planners, lack of access to up-to-date information, and inappropriate institutions and legislation in China has prolonged the preparation of urban planning. Therefore, most cities have no redevelopment plans and no comprehensive development plans. It was very common that even when the plan was completed, it would take several years before the submitted plan was approved by the appropriate government authority. As a result of this delay, when the plan was refereed to the municipalities for implementation, the city had changed considerably. Most of the changes do not conform with the plan, yet the rigidity of the plan prevents appropriate adaptation to fit the changed circumstances. Therefore, most

cities have no redevelopment plans and no comprehensive development plans. Facing a great amount of urban redevelopment and construction, the planning agencies in governments have no ability to prepare plans. As a result, most of construction projects on redevelopment were completed without a comprehensive plan. It has led to an inconsistency and constriction between the shorten urban rebuilding and long-term urban construction, and the local urban redevelopment and whole urban planning.

Pursuing Ambition, Luxuries and Modernization

Most cities' redevelopment planning are usually too ambitious, luxurious, and modern in redevelopment proposals regardless the real situation of their physical, economic conditions and market abilities. To achieve the objectives of a plan, it requires a major part of the inner city in which were occupied by old residential districts, marginal small-scale or middle-scale enterprises, or derelict facilities to be dismantled completely and reconstructed again. Most urban development planners pursued willfully to build the first class, highest international standard luxurious and most modern cities despite the real situation in their locality. Under the influence of the plans, commercial developers, even though, they built many new skyscrapers, festive malls, plazas, and atriums, which created more attractive cities, failed to provide amenities. As a result, the central business district(CBD) expansion has increased property values, forcing out residents, raising living expenses, and breaking up communities, resulting in the traffic congestion and degradation of the built environment.

Excessive Dense Urban Redevelopment

During the period of transition from traditional planned economic system to market-oriented economic system, laws and regulations on the construction of urban areas have not been fully established . Lack of adequate regulations, commercial developers, who pursue a single objective of the greatest investment return in the urban redevelopment and ignore the built environments, have increased the density of construction. For examples, the density of population in the redevelopment areas of Shenyany was increased to 151 percent. The density of residential population increased from 600-800 persons per ha to1400 - 1800 persons per ha (Zhang Pihe, 1996). In Shanghai, the density of construction in some areas of urban redevelopment areas have increased to 400 percent. For instance, in Hulongyun redevelopment district, the rebuilding density is increased 567 percent(Yang Jiangqiang, 1995). Higher dense urban redevelopment has exacerbated already existing situation of built environment degradation in inner cities.

Excessively Taking Up Cultural Resources and Open Space

In China, an often overlooked issue in urban redevelopment is the degradation of cultural resources and loss of open space. Although the nature of these resources will differ according to conditions in specific cities, both the cultural resources and open space in a city serve a variety of public purposes and are important constitutions of a city environment.

The deterioration or loss of cultural resources is due mainly to urban rebuilding. The approach to China□ urban redevelopment is real destructive. All buildings in planned redevelopment areas were been razed regardless of the fact that the buildings are old or new, or have historic value or not. One of the most visible and serious impacts of urban redevelopment on cultural property is the extent to which dampness is rising to unprecedented levels in historic buildings. Many cultural properties, in which are product of high levels of sophistication, knowledge, tradition and history, had been dismantled. For example, in Nanjing, Xi-an and Shenyany with a more than 2000 years history cities, excessive urban redevelopment have led to dampness of the cultural resources and historic buildings.

In many inner cities, urban redevelopment has compromised natural landscapes and other open space. For example, Shen Qingqi (1996) reported that owing to the urban construction and urban redevelopment taking up open space, green land had been reduced from 6.1 sq. km in 1991 to 5.87 sq. km in 1992 in Ganugzhou in order to increase the density of buildings and the destruction of houses.

Factors Perpetuating Urban Redevelopment Issues

In most Chinese cities, distorted urban land markets and inadequate urban planning and poorly urban built environmental management, which are exacerbated by rapid urban growth, have caused to varying degrees the urban redevelopment and built environmental issues discussed above. The key factors that account for these problems are: inappropriate regulation, inadequate infrastructure capacity, lack of newest land use planning approach and poorly coordinated actors in the urban land market.

The most important factor accounting for losses of cultural resources and open space is inappropriate regulation. In many cases, the problem lies in the lacking or inadequate regulation. Most governments have not formulated effective land use policies, laws, and standards that address the urban redevelopment in inner cities or have not adequately enforced the existing land use regulations.

The pervasive lack of adequate infrastructure is another principle factor accounting for the degradation of built environment. For example, the lack of adequate roads causes traffic congestion.

The lack of the newest land use planning approach is the most important factor influencing to urban redevelopment. Most planners are still working to formulate the large-scale urban development projects; the greater governmental intervention enters most urban redevelopment projects, and communities have no right to access to the process of decision-making concerning urban redevelopment planning, and so on. All these have contributed to the degradation of built environment and the losses of cultural resource and open space.

Weak institutions and poorly coordinated actors in land market undermine most governments' efforts to manage urban land use planning and cultural resource

management effectively. Urban redevelopment involved many different agencies or departments, particularly in urban land administration and in urban planing or urban construction agencies, these institutions formulate planes or policies or make investment. Unfortunately, in most cities, there is no very good coordination among these institutions or agencies.

Integrated Urban Redevelopment Strategy

Balancing among urban redevelopment, environmental and economic objectives requires an integrated urban redevelopment strategy. Although the failures of government interventions in urban predevelopment and urban land market in most cities governments, some degree of government planning and control must be exerted over urban land use and development. Without effective policies and regulations, it is likely that commercial developers or real estate developer are contributed to the urban built environment degradation and the losses cultural resources and green-land. At the same time, government policies and regulations should not prevent the community groups from joining decision-making. For cities undergoing rapid redevelopment, therefore, one of the most important challenges is to achieve a proper balance between urban redevelopment and environmental protection. To achieve the objective mentioned above, it requires:

- Protect cultural resources and open space in proposed urban redevelopment areas through special controls, development standards or special taxes-coupled with effective enforcement.
- Facilitate the urban land market through opening land market, improving the functioning of the land market so as to promote resource protection.
- Improve and strengthen urban redevelopment planning.
- Enhance the coordination among government bodies in determining priorities and implementing urban redevelopment strategies.
- Build the mechanism of the community groups joining development strategy decision-making.

References

Editor; News Report on Beijing Urban Redevelopment, *Urban, 1995, 3, p 7.*

Zhang Pihe, Achievement & Loss in Shenyang Urban Redevelopment, *Urban Planning, 1996, 1, pp7—12*

Yang Jiangqiang, An Analyses in Old Urban Redevelopment, *Comprehensive J. of Urban Planning, 1995, 4, pp9-13*

Wu Mingwei, A Comprehensive Approach to Urban Redevelopment, *Urban Planning, 1996,1, pp4-5.*

Shen Qingqi, Old Urban Redevelopment and Ecology, *Urban Planning, 1996, 5 ,pp46-48*

Deconstruction after Demolition

Elma Durmisevic
Delft University of Technology
Faculty of Architecture
Department of Building Technology/OBOM
De Vried van Heystplantsoen 2
2628 RZ Delft
The Netherlands
e-mail:E.Durmisevic@bk.tudelft.nl

Abstract

The development of the building in former Yugoslavia has taken a dramatic turn after four years of war. Many old and post war buildings need to be restored or rebuilt. An enormous building production is needed at short notice. Similar conditions Europe faced after World War II. At that time application of systems for mass production was seen as good way to acquire low cost building and to rebuilt fast. Usage of the first industrialised systems often resulted into a built environment of poor quality without identity. New developments could be adopted to create a better environment.

Forthcoming reconstruction in former Yugoslavia has considerable economic and environmental constrains and cannot be accomplished without extensive international help programs. This has resulted into unique combination of conditions that can only be dealt with by applying the latest technologies. This paper identifies and evaluates the adoption of set of planning and building tools (combined in the Open Building Concept) as developed and still being developed by the OBOM Research Group on Delft University of Technology.

Introduction

During almost four years of exhausting war in former Yugoslavia enormous changes regarding built environment occurred in all former Yugoslav countries. Some of them have already successfully passed through the post-war recovery programs while others are now faced with these challenges.

One of the ex Yugoslav countries that suffered colossal damages in last 5 years was Bosnia and Herzegovina. Direct damage in Bosnia is estimated to amount US$80,0 billion. [ReBH97] Strategy for its recovery in the first post-war years was defined in co-operation with the international community.[ReBH97] Up to now some US$2,9 billion was invested in the recovery of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Nevertheless, challenges for further reconstruction are still enormous. Looking only at the housing stock some 75% [ReBH97]of the stock needs rehabilitation. In days ahead Bosnia and Herzegovina has to shift from the emergency recovery system towards programs which would allow establishing of a long-lasting sustainable system of economy. Rapid socio-demographic and economic changes have created a need for such planning and strategies that allow greater degree of flexibility.

Sarajevo the state's capital requires at the moment enormous building production. In the period from 1992-1996 63% of housing stock was damaged or destroyed. Tremendous change occurred in socio-demographic structure of the city caused by fluctuation of population. On the other hand there are more and more foreign investors asking for new market conditions and policy changes. In forthcoming reconstruction of the city Government is urging for such kind of reconstruction projects that will allow flexible planning and building in order to accommodate quick changing demands. That would include structural reforms aiming at improvement of environment for flexible and market oriented economy. Evaluation and adoption of planning and building concept known as "Open Building Concept" based on hierarchical planing structure with independent levels of decision making will be considered in this paper.

State of planning and building in Europe after World War II

Turn over from agricultural to industrial society have created enormous socio-demographic changes caused by migration of population from countryside to developing cities. New planning strategies were needed in order to accommodate new functions and life styles. At the same time industrialisation brought tremendous acceleration in development of science new technology.

Terms like prefabrication, mass production and transportation for example were already know on the beginning of 20th century. Through the industrial Revolution the process of making parts of buildings in factories became recognised practice. Particularly these developments have helped the establishing of industrialised way of building which become essentially important for the post war recovery of Europe in 50's.

The destruction caused by World War I and World War II resulted into unprecedented need for huge building production that could've been fulfilled only through industrialised production. The significance of this time was that all known techniques were brought together in order to create a system of factory produced components which could be transported to different sites. From economical point of view perfect conditions were created to produce low cost buildings. For building technology that meant greater quality control, faster building, easier assembly and better working conditions. But for built environment it presumed that identically same components were creating block after block of identical dwelling units producing surroundings of concrete panels and boxes with no identity. In short, usage of such systems created low quality environment. Especially this was a reason way none of the systems developed after second world war did not have long production in West Europe. At the same time some Governments in eastern Europe, forced by their weak economy and enormous housing problems encouraged giant-production of closed prefabricated concrete systems.[Stri91] The most important lesson to be learned from such combination of prefabrication and mass production is that prefabrication preferably uses larger component sizes and often ends up with identical products when combined with mass production. If diversity is to be priority than prefabrication of large stiff components can't be directly connected to mass production.

Simultaneously conventional planning process, by which residential developments were designed was one which ignored social evolution and disregarded the possibility of change and adoption to those changes. Decision making on use of building or public spaces were based on short-term view of the current state of housing and not on long term survey of users

needs and market conditions. The public spaces of such neighbourhoods can't comply with requirements of our modern society.

Planning for change

Unpredictable fluctuations in market economy demonstrate that traditions which have been followed for a long time are now changing and that market itself is in state of transformation. Developers are less willing to risk developing huge projects that take few years to develop. Speculating in an unstable economy they prefer to be responsible for developing only a segment. Such fragmentation of responsibilities caused by unstable market and changing demands are strong arguments for a need to develop planning strategy that accommodates multiple options early in the design phase [Frie97].

The rate of recent changes in technologies and society which is coupled with the changes taking place in the lives of users and in the conditions stimulating market activity justify new planning approaches which are dynamic and flexible.

The scope and scale of change in modern society could be seen in the demographic structure of world's society. For example after second World War housing market was dominated by single-family home and there was no reason to change the traditional way of designing houses. However since 1960's rang of buyers has increased and traditional family accounted in some western countries only 17%-20% of all family types [Frie97]. Today we could say that almost quarter of all clients looking to by a home are singles or single-parent families.

Changes are occurring in organisation of offices and workplaces as well. Using the latest developments in telecommunications work-at-home trend is becoming more and more popular all over the world being the fastest growing alternative work stile. All above mentioned trends are creating unstable market conditions and long term investments seems to have high risk factor in process of constant changes.

Adaptability to changing market trends thus more user oriented planning, has become extremely important today. Instead of designing urban subdivisions today and commit their developers to long and costly change process later, one could propose an approach that would allow changes with reduced intervention at the latter stage. Such approach is being developed by OBOM research group of Delft University of Technology known as "Open Building Concept".

Open Building

Open Building can be described as followed :

1. Open Building recognises hierarchical order in decision making process between independent levels of decision making.
2. It allows flexibility and freedom in the design of independent levels in a manner which reflects the technological developments and the needs of society at the time.
3. It recognises different life cycles for different levels in the built environment which plays important roll in flexible planning for the future.
4. Open Building distinguishes three main levels being tissue, support and infill. They are separated but yet well co-ordinated through their hierarchical organisation which is providing continuity and coherent design.

Hierarchical organisation of different levels of decision making being neighbourhood, building block and dwelling do not only determine their sequence of planning and decision making, but can also indicates the process by which architectural controls can be implemented along these different scales of communities. Through the linear hierarchical relationship linking each level to that which is above it and that which is below it, continuity and harmony are achieved. At the same time a great deal of long term flexibility is maintained as well as a high degree of freedom at the defined levels of decision making. Organising urban planning through a system of hierarchical progression of independent levels of decision making would provide great deal of flexibility and freedom in adjusting and adapting to the changing circumstances of economics, demographics and technology. Developments designed in stages would reflect needs of society and pace of technology at the time.

A Changing society needs technology to change - Open Building Concept and its Technical applications

First examples of industrialised buildings showed clear dependency between quality of built environment and technological developments at the time. In order to overcome the restrictions of the industrialised building systems and still use economic advantages of industrial production additional research was needed. West-European countries have established new research groups in search for alternatives that would give more variety and obtain better environmental conditions. Following the development of modern building further one can say that it is characterised by a gradual transition from stylistic to an analytical approach with greater focus on technology and building methods.

In the 60's and 70's the search for diversity was pursued in setting up dimensional co-ordination for the building industry .It was obvious that there were certain advantages to be gained from building components which could be used in more than one of numerous building systems and that the key to such solution would be through the co-ordination of the components size. Interchangeable building units were introduced into design and gave architects more tools to build with in order to respond to specific needs of different projects.

Dealing with the same problem concerning implementation of industrialisation into everyday building, Dutch architects have founded a research team called "SAR" in 70's which was supposed to develop a new design tools. SAR has introduced the idea of levels being : the support and infill as production shears in order to create better conditions for designers as well as for industries.

OBOM research group at Delft University of Technology inherited the idea of levels from "SAR" as a starting point for further research. The research carried out in OBOM today concentrates on technical applications of Open Building concept dealing mainly within two levels being: levels of "support" and "infill". Open Building distinguishes levels of decision making among a number of parties who prefer to act independently while expecting coherent architecture as a result. The idea of levels, has first of all to do with fragmentation of responsibilities. Further on, design and technical decisions are organised following patterns of these responsibilities. The distinction between "support" and "infill" is seen as basis for further improvements in building and design process. This takes into account development towards independent decision making on different levels which should provide greater flexibility and better users control. OBOM's research is concentrated on further division of "support" and "infill" into their subsystems such as "cladding", "partitions" and "services".

In general all building elements could be organised according to their functions into autonomous subsystems. Subsystems are recognised as independent parts of building structure which are being assembled into a main structural frame. In this way all subsystems gain more autonomy while their independent development opens the opportunity for developing more variations on types of buildings and provides greater users interface. Organising building through a group of independent subsystems (subsystems of cladding, partitioning and services) a clear distinction can be drawn between lower level representing individual preferences and higher level representing the common facilities (frame). Such thinking described above can be depicted in recent Open Building projects in Japan and the Netherlands presented below.

"Next 21"- Open Building in Japan

Next 21 is experimental future-oriented 18 units housing project situated in Osaka. It was conceived by Osaka Gas Company and Next 21 Construction Committee. The project was designed in two stages. One team of architects designed a frame (support) and other team designed 13 different dwellings that would fit into the frame. This so called "Two-Step" housing system divides up building elements into two groups:

1. long life elements with a high degree of communal utility such as columns, beams and floors
2. short life elements in private area such as partition walls, building facilities and equipment.

The building frame and other subsystems being exterior cladding, interior finishing and mechanical systems were treated independently [Kend95]. Each was considered as a subsystem with a different life cycle. The advantage of this system is that the building could be adapted to users needs while maintaining its social value as a cityscape and as a building.

"XX Project"- The Netherlands experiment

XX Project is a Project for office building that will stand for 20 years. This is also a project based on Open Building principals concerning distinct levels of decision making which is determined by technical solutions .The Idea to build a building that could be dismantled after 20 years is based on life cycle analyses of buildings and continual function changes [Post98]. Average building today last 75-100 years while the materials it is made of have different life spans (from 5-75 years). Still most of these materials are being put together in a manner that provides stiff conditions. At the same time such building is being changed by its users approximately every 20 years. Bearing in mind that there is also enormous acceleration in technological and social developments which reduce our ability to predict the future scenarios for building use it becomes clear that nowadays design flexibility and variation possibilities are becoming increasingly important for a sustainable planning.

In order to assure buildings suitability in all thinkable scenarios related to its use in a future, architect of XX project added an extra factor to the design, being the possibility to completely disassemble the building after 20 years. Although the project reflects the users needs today, the techniques used for its materialisation opens up various possibilities for changes in the future. Organising planning through a system of hierarchical progression of levels of decision making can achieve a great deal of flexibility and freedom in adjusting and adapting to the changing circumstances of economics, demographics and technology. Such planning's reflect need of society and state of construction at the time.

Conclusions

Greatest concern of all countries regarding built environment is how to provide sustainable planning which will accommodate everyday social, economical and technological changes with respect to ecological problems of our time. Such task gives the planning process and design extra dimension and increases their complexity. The constrains mentioned above are also essential starting points for country as Bosnia and Herzegovina which is facing post war reconstruction today. They can't be implemented without extensive international help programs since the unique combination of conditions regarding post-war reconstruction plus sustainable planning for the future can be dealt with only by applying the latest developments in science and technology. Answer on increasing demands of our society is to be found in flexible planning which will satisfy each stage of urban development. The method for such planning can be recognised in strategy of Open Building based on levels.

By distinguishing levels of decision making planning and building processes are being simplified since the responsibilities are being fragmented on different levels. Using linear hierarchical structure of decision making environmental control would be established while at the same time each level would be given possibility for variations. For the reasons of flexibility levels being: urban tissue, support and infill should have its own autonomy and modification possibilities without drastic implications on levels above or below. Such approach has technical implications and demands new approach in materialisation as wall. This new approach in materialisation can be recognised in developments of "subsystem building". Well co-ordinated subsystems being autonomous parts of building structure, with perspectives for their own independent development opens the opportunity for creating more variations on types of buildings and provides greater users control [BrDK98]. The building based on techniques which conceives strict division between the frame (level of support) and autonomous subsystems (infill) can easily be adopted to life style changes coupled with technological and social developments. Such new approach in materialisation would create environment of diversity with respect to individual preferences while obtaining urban continuity and harmony.

References

[Frie97]   Avi Friedman ;" Design for change: Flexible Planning Strategies for the 1990s and beyond";
            Journal of Urbam Design,Vol.2,No.3,1997

[ReBH97]   Ministry of Foreign Affairs - Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina;
            "Implementation of the Reconstruction Program,"
            Status Raport 3, December 1997

[Stri91]   James Strike ,"Construction Into Design ",1991

[BrDK98]   Jan Brouwer, Elma Durmisevic, Joop Kapteins; "Fast Tech"
            The Architectural Annual 1996-1997- Delft University of Technology ,1998

[Cupe97]   Ype Cuperus; "The importance of capacity to change" Proceedings of the third International Convention on Urban Planning,Housing and Design", Singapore1997

[Post98]   Jouke Post ; "Bouwen voor even" BouwWereld, No.4 feb. 1998

[Kend95]   Stephen Holmes Kendall, "Developments Towards Open Building in Japan", 1995

Spatial Planning with Underground Building in Information Society

ir. S. Durmisevic and Prof. dr. ir. S. Sariyildiz
TU Delft, Faculty of Architecture
Technical Design and Computer Science
Berlageweg 1
P.O. BOX 5043
2628 CR Delft
The Netherlands

e_mail: sanja.durmisevic@bk.tudelft.nl
e_mail: i.s.sariyildiz@bk.tudelft.nl

Abstract

Urbanism - a science born at the dawn of 20th century, changing steadily its course, accommodating the requirements of contemporary generations and trying to imagine the possible new worlds. It is a science constantly busy with the past, present and future.

Focal point of this paper will be the recent urban planning "shifts" taking place in the Netherlands and some major transformations occurring in Dutch larger cities. Factors that led to these changes are of global importance since they occur round the world, common for almost all developed countries and regions. These transformations are caused not only by constant population growth. They are a result of greater concern regarding environmental problems and fast changes of technology and lifestyle. Even though technologies change rapidly the habits and lifestyle change somewhat slower, but one cannot deny the substantial role of technology and its influence on our daily life.

From the lessons learned in the course of time, what can we expect in the future and how can we improve the quality of life in cities? We will deal with two aspects in this paper: building underground (as an important factor for the improvement of life quality in cities and also from the environmental point of view, a new territory to explore and integrate in urban planning) and a second one, the Information and Communication Technology (ICT), its role and possible influence on future planning.

Introduction

Throughout the history technical innovations and developments had an influence on human behaviour and therefore was reflected on a society as well. This influence was noticeable in daily life, living, working, recreation, shopping and entertainment so that the customs were changing causing cultural modifications. In such way the humankind was constantly in evolution process.

During the middle ages cities surrounded by massive walls were literally locked up for the safety reasons. City's ports were closed during night to provide protection from enemies. Such concept of a city is nowadays totally unimaginable. They represent today open urban structures, since not only the safety aspects have changed, but due to the technological developments our views and values have changed as well. For example, spatial organisation of the living area became different and number of people sharing the rooms was reducing, causing alterations in living culture. Walls, formerly surrounding the cities, were in the course of time demolished and cities expanded rapidly, attracting new businesses and activities such as: offices, factories, universities and other commercial and cultural facilities. Such sometimes uncontrolled growth has caused other problems like for example the distances became larger, infrastructure more complex, dependency on personal transport grew, traffic jams became more common, pollution in every sense increased.

It is only few decades ago that people become more aware of environmental problems such as pollution, global warming, the greenhouse effect, exhaustion of natural resources, the loss of green/recreation areas, affected bio-diversity etc. [SSOB97]. Therefore the urgency of finding a solution the environmental problems and improving the quality of life in cities is becoming a priority. Two new territories that will influence future spatial planning and improve life quality are "Building Underground" and "Information & Communication Technologies" in its broad sense.

I   Building Underground and some Urban Planning Tendencies in the Netherlands

In this paper building underground is considered to be a new territory, even though the idea of using underground spaces is as old as human race. We refer to it as a "new" due to changed views, perspectives and meanings of underground spaces for today's society.

In the past it served as a home, shelter, storage place and a graveyard. Today, till some extend it still serves these purposes, but a new dimension is that we are more consciously then ever thinking about using the underground spaces in our daily life and for larger group of people. This has already been a case in some countries, due to harsh and extreme weather conditions. Nowadays, other regions as well are considering the utilisation of underground spaces, due to space deficiency in their urban areas and no other alternative for city expansion. In other words, there is a wish to integrate the subsurface space in everyday life of a city.

In the Netherlands there are two processes taking place that deal with problem of space shortage, and a third process only lately has gained more recognition:

1.   winning land from the sea
2.   city renewal - towards compact solutions
3.   gaining space by means of ICT

I.1.   Winning Land From the Sea

Through its history of planning, the Netherlands is known as one of the countries that explored the extreme frontiers in order to provide new space for its ever growing population. Many decades ago land was taken from the sea and technologies to obtain such results are improving each day more. There is a Dutch saying: "The God created the world, the Dutch created the Netherlands". Some of the latest cities created on such artificial lands are Almere, Lalystad etc. Idea exists to create a new airport on a sea, since the contemporary one has no possibilities to expand. An increase of noise level threatens its existence from day to day, considering that population living around the airport is more concerned about their living environment.

Another example is a proposal to create a double coast line, that would stretch from Hoek van Holland till Scheveningen, providing extra space for new developments, especially of residential and business areas [EOSM97]. Naturally these proposals raise up questions and polemics, since the environmental impact of such intervention is of great concern for the society.

I.2.   City Renewal - Towards Compact Solutions

Creation of new areas for developments are one side of a story. Parallel to this process of constant search for new territories yet another process begin to occur as well. Mayor cities in the Netherlands, such as: Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Den Haag and Utrecht, are now in the process of city centre renewal. This renewal comes as a wish to maintain and improve the quality of life in cities and sustain their own identity in the future as well. In the past, some of the canals were dumped and replaced by streets in order to expand city's traffic. Such interventions changed totally the atmosphere of the streets, submitting space to cars. This doesn't prove to be the best solution and therefore the underground seems to be the next option for further expansion and not only of the traffic, but of other functions as well that are vital for a serviceable, modern city. In such way historical city centres can be preserved and the pressure from the surface relieved. At the same time, by interposing building underground, a more compact city structure is obtained, which has many advantages. Another process that happens more often today is "abandonment" of office buildings, which are sold (mostly to the housing corporations) so that these buildings are reconstructed into

apartments. Perhaps such tendencies will be even more common in the future. Even offices that do tend to keep their "physical" space and presence, are sometimes forced to move into a new office space, since either the rents are too high or their old building cannot meet the requirements of today's technology and equipment that they would like to use.

I.3. Gaining Space by Means of ICT

The first two processes are physical and deal directly with the shortage of space, while the third one offers space deduction by imposing the "invisible" presence. In other words, ICT will initiate function shifts and changes in office space, public and residential buildings.

It seemed logical that our cities expended in the past, searching and acquiring new territories, expanding and establishing businesses. Such developments were working as a magnet force, attracting more people to settle around that area. We could almost compare it with the idea of Hawking's "big bang" that happened in the universe, but on the other hand he also suggest that if there was a "big bang - explosion" it also means that at some points cosmos will stop its expansion and will start to shrink [Hawk88].
Each city had its own "big bang", flourishing, reaching the peak of its development and economical growth. Today, perhaps the "gravitational" energy that will force cities to shrink, on a local level, will be the "Internet". Internet is the invisible force that acquires no actual physical gain of the territory, but yet it is present everywhere. It will motivate cities to think more carefully of their planning and to of its attractiveness for people. Only this time business will not be the major gravitational force attracting people to settle down, but other qualities that cities can offer will determine the settlement place. Such qualities are: recreational facilities, transport, mobility and accessibility of a city and functions within, quality of water and air, nature resources, quality of services etc. People will search more for the extra qualities and a sense of belonging and identity. Spending hours and hours behind the computer screens going from one virtual world to another, the sense of place and identity will become more significant. Accessibility of the physical world around us will be more important then ever. The areas that will most likely be influenced by the up coming ICT will be explained more in detail in Section III.

II Amsterdam versus Rotterdam - Different Reasons for Utilising Underground Space

In the following text we will concentrate on two Dutch cities - Amsterdam and Rotterdam and explain the reasons why building underground seems an "attractive" solution. Reasons and motivation to "descend" below ground level can be very different for each city and till some extend it is here the case as well.

II.1. Amsterdam

Amsterdam, or as they call it in Europe "Venice of the North", is known for its well kept historic centre with 4 mayor canals, many old bridges and typical canal houses. It is a cultural centre of the Netherlands and a mayor attraction for tourists from all over the world. In a way it is a "museum" city.

For Amsterdam, building underground may seem attractive since it gives an option to expand traffic in the city and yet preserve historical city centre keeping their title as a "museum" city, proving that city as such can still continue to exist in modern age by providing all necessary facilities that a modern city requires. On the other hand, many goods are transferred via Amsterdam's airport (Schiphol) being further transported by trucks through road network to their final destination. Therefore, traffic jams caused by trucks, air pollution and noise could be significantly reduced if there was an underground network from the airport so that the goods can be transported through tunnel system. With help of modern technologies the containers could be automatically operated and arrive to destinations with least annoyance to the traffic on a ground level and environment. In such way transport would be better controlled and a number of transport accidents would descend.

II.2. Rotterdam

Rotterdam, on the other hand, is a harbour city and a main port for Europe. It was almost completely destroyed during Second World War and in 50 years time rebuilt into a strong economic and business centre. There we can find many examples of: modern architecture, experimental architecture (mostly to be found in apartment buildings), and modern constructions and engineering. In comparison to Amsterdam, Rotterdam has preserved very little of historical, architectural heritage, but it developed itself into one of the worlds most important harbours, attracting businesses from all over the world. It is a city very much interested in the latest developments that can be recognised in its very experimental and always surprisingly new architecture. The municipality of Rotterdam is lately taking a greater interest in underground projects. In the Netherlands we say that in Rotterdam money is earned and in Amsterdam it is spent.

For Rotterdam, building underground may seem interesting for solving traffic congestion in order to attract more businesses and to "defend" their title as a leading "innovation" city in the Netherlands. Rotterdam is interested in building their city centre more compact in order to strengthen the identity and better define the centre. Realising a compact city would mean a more effective use of vertical line; reduced dependency on private transport; more spaces for recreation; reduced city's congestion.
On the other hand, being an important harbour city it would be of great interest to solve goods distribution through underground network of tunnels (the same reasons as those given for the Amsterdam's airport). Also underground connection between different harbours in Rotterdam would be vital for better functioning and "communication" between these harbours.

By careful designing of underground spaces the cities can gain an extra dimension and quality. It is a space that has huge potential not only for transport but for many other commercial facilities as well, especially in city centres.

III   Information and Communication Technology

In the past, most states were monarchies, but due to the knowledge increase among population and growing consciousness of own values, democracy was slowly paving its path. These changes were possible thanks to the technological revolutions, such as discovery of printing machine and industrial revolution that followed. It was possible to transfer knowledge more efficiently to lager group of people. Later the telephone came, followed by TV, fax machines and today with e-mail and Internet the new "network" or "information" society is being shaped. How will ICT influence our society and the ways of living, working and recreation in the 21st century? If ICT has an influence on these areas of our lives it automatically means that our cities and architecture will be influenced as well.
To predict future is impossible, but considering the processes that occur today an indication of what might happen in the near future can be conceived. Further in the text, some areas that will be affected by the ICT will be discussed:
1.   spatial planning of cities
2.   medical care
3.   education
4.   transport and mobility
5.   recreation and free-time entertainment
Bringing changes into above mentioned areas will influence our daily life in different aspects and therefore the organisation of our cities will undergo modifications as well.

III.1. Spatial Planning of Cities

According to some researches, two thirds of the world population will be living in cities in the 21st century [EOSM96]. If that is the case, future structuring of the cities should gain more attention.
In the Netherlands few research projects were started that dealt with teleworking. The conclusion and results were that in the future more and more people will have their offices at

homes. With Internet possibilities it is feasible to work from homes handling at the same time and work more productively. Consequence of that will be less travelling "home-work-home" and therefore less traffic pollution, less accidents and traffic jams. Since the working environment is shifted to homes, less office space and accompanying facilities will be required and therefore the energy and space savings for the employer would be very attractive.

According to the latest researches there will be other type of activities that take place in daily life, like cultural and tourist activities. People will spend more of their spare time shopping, travelling, visiting museums **and** recreating to improve their overall well being and knowledge. There will **not** be less mobility, but another sort of mobility can be expected. On the other hand, teleworkers can more easily choose their living environment independent of their work. Due to such changes there will be other demands that will play an important role in deciding were to live, which can also have an influence on the future spatial organisation of the cities. Some of these demands were mentioned earlier in the **text**. Teleworkers will have more flexible working hours and therefore their work can be more relaxed and without unnecessary stresses, like for example, arriving too late at the office due to traffic jams, missing a bus or a bus coming too late, or stress of having to work in overcrowded office spaces and other work-related stresses. More woman, handicapped and elderly people will have a chance for better communication with the rest of the world, and therefore better integration in the society and higher possibilities for the employment.

Thanks to the existence of "virtual offices" and "virtual commerce" employers can look for cheaper working forces in **other parts** of the world. Such things are already happening. Through Internet, an assignment to develop some software can be for example given to a researcher from another country, where the labour is cheaper. This can have influence on the global employment and unemployment rate.

II.2. Medical Care

Telemedicine is **a** new term in Medical Care. Doctors and specialist all over the world can now have direct contact with each other and with their patients; roentgen photos can be exchanged; consults given and even with help of video-conferencing an assisted operations could be done from a distance. Naturally, this would require the presence of a local specialist. Also the services given to the elderly and handicapped people can be improved with the ICT. Some first aid suggestions can be given through video-conferencing by the doctors in case of emergency calls before the ambulance arrives. In other words, the level and services of Medical Care will ameliorate with assistance of ICT.

II.3. Education

In the Netherlands there are already few primary schools that introduced ICT in their education program. They learn to work with Internet already in first year of their schooling and even to make their own homepages. Some universities are starting with experiments in field of "distance learning", so that each student can be connected from their computers or lap tops through Internet with the university, receiving an assistance by their lecturers or instructors. Perhaps, not so far in the future it will be possible to have wireless connection to the Internet so that it will become feasible to work from any location. Such things will naturally save a lot of physical space, individual assistance and therefore money as well. That money could be invested in new developments and researches, raising the level of knowledge and sciences. Distance learning will have an impact at the education level of elderly and handicapped persons, and other people that are isolated since they live, for example, in rural areas.

II.4. Transport and Mobility

It is self-evident that ICT already has an influence on transportation and therefore on mobility as well. In the main ports such technology is applied to improve the logic of transport sector. This has in a way an impact on mobility and environment. By developing alternative transport

systems the significant decrease of CO_2 emissions can be expected. The question remains: do we need more mainports or is it not better to improve existing infrastructure by switching over to ICT operated infrastructure. There are some researches in that direction, and as a result a car, run by electric power, should be available already next year at the market. This car would be much smaller, requiring less space and parking place. They should be used inside cities, suitable for shorter distances. For longer distances, faster and larger transport systems will be necessary. In other words public transport should be improved, so that larger distances could be travelled by public transport, and once a city is reached electric cars could be used. As mentioned earlier, it is expected that in a near future transport of goods will be automatically operated by computer systems and preferably that will be done through underground tunnels.

II.5. Recreation and Free-time Entertainment

Information and Communication technology will create more spare time that will be used for different cultural activities and tourism. In the past years, number of business and leisure travels has already significantly increased. This will have an influence on future city planning. In order to attract more visitors and stimulate greater consumption there will be a need for better services, improvement of public transport and accessibility, "refinement" of public spaces and parks. In such way, quality of service improves and number of offers increases, both for the "global visitor" and "local inhabitant".

III Conclusion

Urbanism is a science constantly busy with the *past* (from which the lessons are learned), *present* (where knowledge is applied and tested) and *future* (the frontier and a playground where possible "new worlds" are imagined).
In our presence, Information & Communication Technology and Building Underground will be new territories, playing an important role for future city planning as well. They both seem to be the invisible territories, but ICT is the invisible one, requiring hardly any special space or place but yet is present everywhere. While building underground is perhaps hidden, it still requires actual space and place for its existence.
ICT conquers the space through the invisible network of cables and perhaps in the future there will be no need for such cables. ICT stimulates dispersal on a global level (in a sense that at any wished moment we can visit any desired place, and virtually be a part of that place or even take an action far away). On the other hand, on a local level it stimulates compactness since it requires a minimum space. The same is with building underground. It stimulates compactness on a local level and dispersal on a global level. ICT carries over the immaterial (information, thoughts and knowledge) while underground constructions can ease mobility of goods and our material, physical world.

"Marriage" with technology will reflect on future city planning and lifestyle in general. Even though these two territories seem to be invisible for the eye, still they will shape our future.

References:

[EOSM97] R. Knoppers, article: "Dan Maar De Zee In"
          Wetenschap en Technologie voor Mens, EOS Magazine, 1997
[SSOB97] Horvat E., van der Krogt R.A.A., Haasnoot J.K., Edelenbos J.,
          Monnikhof R.A.H., van der Hoeven F. rapport: *"Strategische Studie
          Ondergronds Bouwen""* COB-studie N710 - February 1997
[Hawk88] S. W. Hawking, book: *"A brief history of time; from the big bang to black
          holes"* Bantam Books, Toronto - 1988
[EOSM96] C. Titulaer, article: "Een Stad in de Wolken"
          Wetenschap en Technologie voor Mens, EOS Mgazine - December 1996

Not Los Angeles! Masterplanning Irvine

Michael H. Ebner
A. B. Dick Professor of History
Lake Forest College
555 n. Sheridan Road
Lake Forest, Illinois 60045-3499
USA

> *Orange County, with Irvine at its heart,*
> *has become a new kind of place--not a conventional city,*
> *not a conventional suburb, but possessing*
> *the attributes of both.*
> *Paul Goldberger, New York Times (December 11, 1988)*

Irvine, California invites study as a masterplanned city five miles east of the Pacific coast. Covering 53 square miles of Orange County, it comprises 6.7 percent of its landmass. In 1990, its population exceeded 110,000 (65,000 homes, 30 million square feet of office and retail space, 30 million square feet for industry, and 62,000 undeveloped acres). Conceived in 1960 and incorporated since 1971, it is thirty-five miles southeast of downtown Los Angeles (Map).

Planners originally envisioned Irvine as a new standard for regional development in the final third of the twentieth century. To this day it sustains its celebrity, if *not* promise. As its development accelerated at an extraordinary pace in the 1980s, it became a closely observed laboratory for assaying the reverberations of rapid growth. Five characteristics are indispensable to comprehend Irvine:

- it is a multidisciplinary transportation center;
- it is a university research center;
- it is a magnet for technology and science;
- it is an affluent regional entrepôt;
- it is a globalized corporate center.

Indeed, the thick catalog of current metropolitan fashions yields multiple labels becoming Irvine: post-suburban; edge city; exopolis; and technoburb. While this paper's principal concern is Irvine as contemporary place, the narration necessitates a retrospective frame dating to the era when California attained statehood in 1850. Attention is devoted to a span of 126 years (1864 to 1990), in which the 125,000-acre ranch was transformed into a renowned masterplanned city whose population during the 1980s increased three times faster (+78 percent) than that of Orange County. Four ingredients shaped this metamorphosis:

MAP

IRVINE AND
ORANGE COUNTY,
CALIFORNIA

10 MILES
16 KILOMETERS
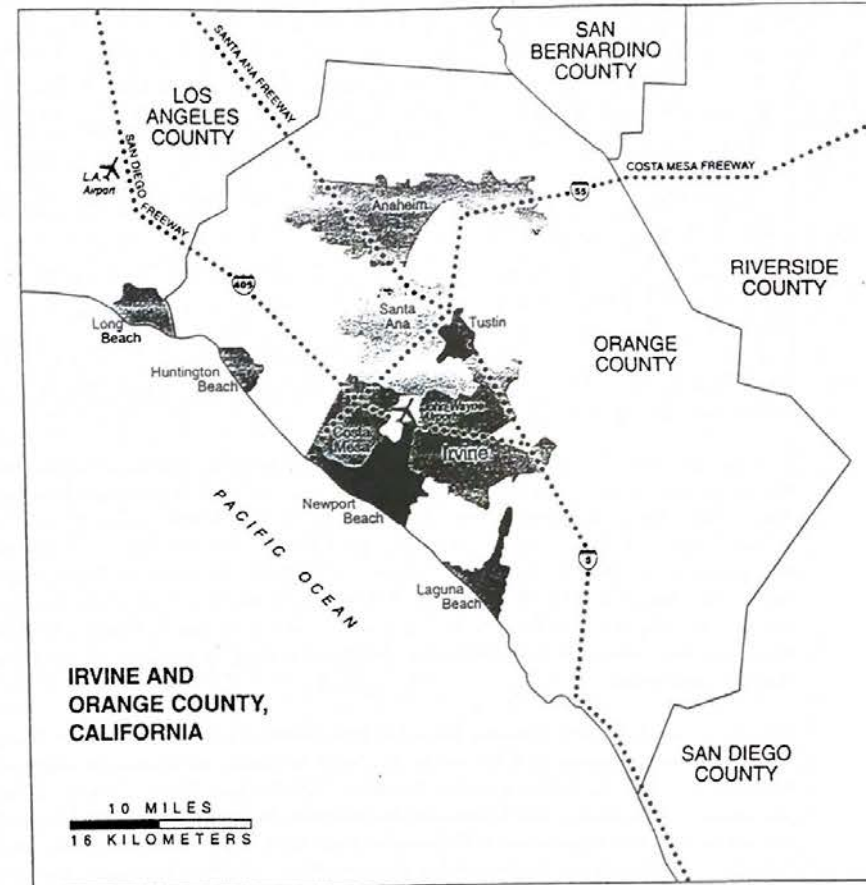
CREDIT: JUDITH REW GRAPHIC AND DESIGN

- a succession of ambitious entrepreneurs vying since the 1860s for control of Irvine's land domain, Donald L. Bren standing unrivaled since 1983;

- recurrent waves of metropolitan growth emanating from Los Angeles since the mid-1880s, spawning a five-county colossus in which Orange County has   played a key role since the 1920s;

- debates over masterplanning within Irvine, idealized in the 1960s when William L. Pereira designed it as the alternative to the relentless suburban sprawl characterizing coastal Southern California; and

- power struggles, involving players both individual and organizational, all manouevering to stamp their distinctive brands upon Irvine's body politic.

Entrepreneurship pervades every narration of Irvine's development, dating to the acquisition of the ranch. It has incited a succession of struggles, inside and outside the Irvine family, over its future. The land-based empire--evolving from sheep grazing to corporate farming to city over its 164 years--has yielded a highly commercialized commodity. The value of Irvine, both as city and corporation, is inextricably linked to the bountiful, multi-faceted metropolitan marketplace of Orange County.

Metropolitanism has dominated the evolution of Southern California even though it amounts to a quixotic historical ingredient. Since the 1880s, surges of growth generated from Los Angeles have restructured its five-county region that Kevin Starr depicts as "the continuous sub/urb." As of 1997 this vast expanse (33,996 square miles) contained 15.5-million inhabitants; *since* 1990 its population increase (+963,626) exceeded all metropolises nationwide (Atlanta's +581,730 was next). Yet the people whom demographers count as residents of *statistical* Los Angeles elect to identify their lives and livelihoods with its amorphous *outer cities* like Orange County. William Fulton aptly labels Los Angeles the *reluctant* metropolis.

Masterplanning is the countervailing force. The Irvine family's sudden embrace of it during the 1930's had amounted to a calculated maneuver to stymie unchecked metropolitan encroachment into its closely-guarded province. By the late 1950's, yielding to the inevitability of the ranch's non-agricultural development, the modernized Irvine Company revised its corporate sensibilities to embrace the plans drawn by William L. Pereira. Long after the Irvine Company supplanted his elaborate design in 1970, Irvine residents still summoned its basic elements as the cornerstone of their community's foundation.

Power is wielded by the Irvine Company over its municipal namesake (and much of Orange County), affirming Amy Bridges' thesis that developers in the contemporary urban west exercise dominant roles in local political affairs. No matter who has controlled this enterprise since 1937, the company has operated with a threefold purpose: (i) as a catalyst for the ranch's strategically-planned transformation; (ii) as a profit center; and (iii) as a sturdy bulwark trying to withstand unwelcome players. To be sure, periodic incursions--

requisitioning ranchland for defense requirements, escalating tax assessments, imposing the Irvine General Plan, and vying to control the company--have caused changes of considerable magnitude. But mostly--as the *slow growth* advocates learned--the company does foil its adversaries. Physical affirmations of its mastery punctuate the local landscape: Fashion Island; Newport Center; Irvine Industrial Complex; Jamboree Center; Irvine Business Center; and Irvine Spectrum. Such artifacts are hallmarks of *new* American cities some 30 to 40 miles from urban cores.

From the vantage point of 1990, whatever one's preference in the battles over growth, surely most treasured Irvine and mindfully contemplated its future. Cris Kaufman, a satisfied resident, attested to the high regard it aroused: "Why would I want to move from Irvine when every facility I need is close by, and the quality of life is unsurpassed." But despite affirmations--which are ubiquitous--citizens also found themselves contesting perplexing questions colored by their singular historical circumstances as residents of a celebrated masterplanned city within metropolitan Los Angeles. Hence a quandary: is Irvine an interdependent ingredient exemplifying Robert Fishman's concept of *regional pluralism* or a vast suburban refuge into which people furtively escape? Some concede (even welcome) its agency within the metropolis. Others resist. Whichever one's predilection, Irvine's contemporary inhabitants appear less assured--at times bewildered--because the demarcations bounding their lives are shifting before their eyes.

Open Space Planning in Desert Environment:
The Predicament of Maintaining Historical Peculiarity, Cultural Character & Climate Responsiveness

R. El Diasty
Department of Architectural Engineering,
UAE University, P. O. Box 17555, Al Ain, UAE

Abstract
Eurocentric planning thoughts usually fall short of maintaining open space functionality under harsh desert climate. Furthermore, they fail to accommodate desert historical peculiarity, heritage and the cultural character. In this paper, an attempt has been made to establish a desert-sensitive, open space planning notion that is driven by historically-shaped desert living. Means of implementation, suitable for the contemporary setting of urban desert communities, are discussed with a focus on historically-shaped, climate-responsive planning strategies. Such strategies reflect the historical peculiarity and cultural character of the desert environment. Such approach to outdoor space planning is able to capitalize on historical regional desert experiences in handling peoples needs, local climate and terrain. The paper reveals that climate influences the indigenous socio-cultural entourage as well as the physical form, organization and order of the urban fabric; namely open spaces, streets and buildings. Urban planning in desert environment should continue to be an iterative organic process extending from its own past yet able to accommodate efficiently science, engineering and technological advances while respecting aesthetics, and its territorial, social and cultural needs of the community.

Introduction
Eurocentric open space planning thoughts have been imported and transplanted by most practitioners into the desert without providing at least some regional adaptation to ensure applicability outside the region of origin. Such thoughts, when applied in desert regions, usually fail to maintain open space functionality due to the harsh desert climate and also fail to adapt desert historical peculiarity, heritage and the cultural character emanated from local desert climate and topography. In desert regions, the hot season extends over one-half of the year; unless desert climate-conscious planning strategies are adopted, the outdoor open spaces, during this period, can rarely be utilized. Today's lack of desert-sensitive planning thoughts can be attributed, mainly to historical and practice-related reasons. At the time when modern planning thoughts were established, suggesting outdoor open space planning that would address people's need in desert territories would have seemed to be of very little use, ideologically marginal and geographically of no importance. In this paper, an attempt has been made to establish a desert-sensitive, open space planning notion that is driven by historically-shaped desert living. Means of implementation, suitable for the contemporary setting of urban desert communities, are discussed with a focus on historically-shaped, climate-responsive planning strategies. Such strategies reflect the historical peculiarity and cultural character of the desert environment. The proposed desert-sensitive notion is expected to lead to outdoor space planning that is able to capitalize on historical regional experiences in handling peoples needs, local climate and terrain. The notion can be seen as an extension of desert history rather than being needlessly constrained by non-desert imported thoughts. Moreover, it is sensitive to desert fundamental regional differences namely people, terrain, and climate. These three differences shape the historical evolution of a society's culture and identity. In addition, the proposed notion considers the chronological development of the urban form as a direct product of regional historical evolution and as a true reflection of the very unique characteristics of a given society. In the following sections, the paper focuses on the desert planning historical peculiarity with emphasis on regional versus global planning as well as desert versus European urban values. The cultural character, people and terrain are then viewed as

planning determinants where the role of climate responsiveness in planning is discussed with reference to the outdoor open spaces.

Desert Planning Historical Peculiarity: Regional versus Global
Globalization may have been better if it was based on global multi-cultural base. Unfortunately, what is being globalized today , commonly described as eurocentric planning, is actually a regional concept that was originally developed based, on the European culture and in more recent history to meet the industrial revolution in Europe. Regional and indigenous patterns of urban settlement vary from one region to another depending on factors such as culture, social fabric and climate. Urban planning for many centuries was maintained as a regional concept . However in recent history, globalization, in the form of a unified international planning concept, has become more evident to an extent that the alternative patterns of urban settlement no longer differ nor are they region specific. Global urban planning concepts have become even more attractive as the demand for rapid industrial development and its subsequent needs of infrastructure and community services. However, traces of regional variations continue to exist. Today's urban planning can be seen as a blend of globalisim and regionalism. The ratio between both is unfortunately used as an indicator of the degree of modernization. favoring a higher ratio of globalized planning although natural indigenous patterns of urban settlement varies from one region to another depending on the lifestyle, culture, social structure, climate etc. When regional aspects are ignored, local-specific problems become inevitable. Thus, it can be said that, in recent history, urban planning has transformed from a regionally-oriented concept to a globalized concept that is in most cases insensitive to regional diversity, particularly those pertaining to the local social, cultural and climate identity. In recent decades, globalization of urban planning into an international style has practically dissolved the differences between the alternative patterns of urban settlement worldwide. The distinct physical character of globalized planning is a planning that gives the provision of infrastructure and community utilities and services a priority over social, cultural and climate planning considerations. Modernization in the west, being symbolized by the paved roads or the automobile, is no longer immune from severe criticism particularly as we look into the future of cities. Kay (1997) looked into how transportability controls us today and how can we be back in control. The work of Kunstler (1996) dealt with how the American dream of a little cottage is mutated into today's sprawling automobile. Hall (1996) focused on the impact of the information revolution and its impact on cities of tomorrow. Safdie (1997) provided the architect vision of the future city after the automobile. These are some of toady's' concerns in the west. Outside the west, the socio-cultural and climate differences add other dimensions to these concerns.

Urban Values: Desert Versus European
Planning of desert communities had been primarily through its people's participation rather than through governments and municipalities. Indigenous desert cities were planned by their own communities for themselves. This has been one of the regional historical examples of planning as a social movement that stresses a central focus on community life and the integrated daily urban activities; living, work and recreation. The starting population size may be in the tens or hundreds where every part of the settlement is at a walking distance. This type of planning is practically city planting rather than city planning. A place is selected, a small settlement is seeded in and later it expands in directions that meet its needs and branches out into new neighborhoods and districts as it requires. This type of organic planning highly accommodates the communities changing needs with time and is in contrast to today's rigid one-shot master planning, in which future generations have to fit regardless. Moreover, open spaces are inspired as a response to climate with human comfort in mind. So, in desert cities, shaded pathwalks, streets and open spaces were created to induce and promote outdoor activities and social communication before they act as a medium for circulation and movement. Houses were designed low in height, inward-looking for privacy, naturally cooled, with small apertures to reduce solar radiation, yet provide air movement, openness, and view. Unlike desert urban values, the core of European planning concepts are influenced by the Renaissance cities that were designed to achieve monumentality and grandeur and later were transplanted to the rest of the world. The transplanting process required the creation of

municipal and government planning jurisdictions to plan on behalf of the community. Thus, the community is no longer a participant in the planning of their cities and planning becomes a technical profession administered by the government. Government's vision of the city to promote monumentality, grandeur and facades' ornamentality has superseded communities vision. Government needs become more important for meeting community needs. As a result, a transformation from organic planning to rigid, gridiron planning has evolved. The inward-looking compact design concept for privacy is replaced by an outward-looking design that require placement of buildings far from each other. This has encouraged community division and isolation. Moreover, introducing the concepts of setback, freestanding single-family house and suburbia has further encouraged wasteful, inefficient use of land. Orderly arrangement of parts of the city via functional divisions separates residential neighborhoods from the business districts and the industrial parks. Later, industrialization expansion cause rapid population growth, city sprawling, congestion, disorder, and the creation of slums. This in itself made governments and planners more concerned about the appearance of the city and eager to benefit from engineering innovations to enhance city living by providing paved roads network, bridges, public transit systems and sanitary infrastructure. The works of Le Courbusier in Chandighar and Oscar Nemayer in Brasilia are living examples of appearance dominated planning. The urban values that were developed through this type of historical evolution are diagonally opposite to those of desert communities.

Moreover, eurocentric planning thoughts were initially developed as regional response to peoples' needs and thus they were able to handle European cultural and climate issues. In recent history, Europe has been the focal point of the civilization we know today. Everywhere outside Europe was looking to Europe as the leader in modernization and development. So, the eurocentric ideology has easily spread all over the world with little, if any resistance. Even far distant countries with unique culture and heritage, that have been known for their resistance to change, such as Japan and lately China have reverted to Europeanization and in recent years Americanization as well. This trend after extending beyond Europe boundaries is now conveniently described as Westernization. Urbanization anywhere comes with a socio-cultural cost. Berry (1973) identified the Human cost of urbanization during the 20th century. Bearing this in mind, the term "Westernization" may one day mean globalization. The work of Abu-Lughod and Hay (1977), provides a good further discussion about Westernization as globalization. Nevertheless, this trend has been instrumental to the world economic growth, industrial development and technological advancement to an extent that such far distant regions have become major economic powers boosting world economy, development and modernization. As a result, the need for fast urban development to meet the rapid economic growth has forced practitioners to adopt the well tested eurocentric western planning thoughts yet carelessly transplant them into other regions without providing at least some regional adaptation to ensure applicability outside their region of origin. Even desert regions are not immune to the widespread of eurocentric planning trends without learning from the mistakes made in Western cities. As a matter of fact some western cities also assumed to be immuned. Orfield (1997) discussed how the twin cities, Minneapolis and St. Paul thought they were immune against urban sprawl, regional polarization and central city decline. Practitioners and other decision makers are not to be criticized alone since the response to their decision from the people made them believe that they are on the right track. People everywhere are for economic prosperity and thus rarely criticize economic development on the assumption that total reshaping of their built environment is unavoidable by-product. Loukaitou-Sideris (1993) has addressed the meaning and uses of open space and the effect of corporatism, with Banerjee (1993) and privatization of open space(1995).

Cultural Character, People and Terrain as Planning Determinants

People and the settlement are the essential ingredients of urbanization. People means the population, its culture, its traditions and way of living. Settlement includes land, topography, urban form and climate. Dimblgy (1972) has outlined the intricate relation between man, settlement and urbanization. Friedman & Burns (1985), stressed the idea of planning as an art based on people and settlement. Today's lack of desert-sensitive and desert-specific planning thoughts for open spaces can mainly be attributed to the practice-related reasons mentioned above as well as

some historically-shaped causes that ignored one or the two main ingredients of urbanization. For instance, at the time where modern planning thoughts were established, the idea of suggesting outdoor open space planning that would address people's need in desert territories would have seemed to be unjustifiable and of very little use, not to mention that it would have also seemed ideologically marginal and geographically of no importance. Planning in the desert needs to have a high level of sensitivity to its fundamental regional differences namely; people, terrain, and climate. These three differences shape the historical evolution of a society's culture and identity. The desert-sensitive notion would lead to outdoor space planning that is able to capitalize on desert historical regional experiences in handling peoples needs, severity of local climate and the unique properties of desert terrain. The notion would be seen as an extension of desert planning history and evolution rather than being needlessly constrained by imported, non-desert thoughts. Additionally, chronological urban development is a true reflection of the very unique characteristics of any given society. Thus, the desert-sensitive notion considers the chronological development of the desert urban form as a direct product of regional historical evolution. On the other hand, ignoring this notion would make desert urban centers unable to maintain open space functionality under harsh desert climate, accommodate desert historical peculiarity, nor accommodate heritage and the cultural character emanated from local desert climate and topography.

Morris (1979) provided a historic review of the urban form. A one simple conclusion that can be made is that throughout history, it is evident that the urban setting and form is a true reflection of a community's own needs for living and survival. In harsh desert climates, survival cannot be secured only by fulfilling the basic necessities but through the realization and proper response to climate. Desert communities consider climate a major factor influencing the planning and design of their built environment. Indigenous desert communities have addressed climate in the design of their built habitat and committed themselves to the enhancement of their thermal comfort throughout the year. In desert regions, the extremely hot season extends over one-half of the year, requiring the adoption of appropriate desert and climate-conscious planning strategies for the outdoor open spaces. Otherwise, the open spaces become deserted and rarely used except for vehicular movement. The return to residential-work mix-use as a mean to efficient use and the reduction of the driving distance. Living far from the work place causes thermal strain on city living and causes roads and traffic congestion. Zoning and subdivision control should be flexible to accommodate changes with time yet allow some control over building height, density, and expansion. Although transportation has evolved from walking to today's fast urban transit systems, urban expansion should be controlled as desert cities must have compact plan. Many current practitioners and decision makers perceives urban planning as a static single solution; namely a rigid master plan with rigid future expansion . In reality, life is dynamic as are the community needs and thus urban planning should be a dynamic moving target. Desert cities should recognize its historical identity as an urban living place. Historically-shaped, desert climate-responsive planning is in itself dynamic and can help in reflecting the historical peculiarity, cultural character and the way of living in desert communities. Desert-sensitive, planning notion that is driven by historically-shaped desert living is demonstrated in open space planning and the means of implementation that are suitable for the contemporary setting of urban desert communities. The overall planning and design of desert communities must realize one important design function that has been overlooked; namely designing with climate in mind. A more comfortable habitat can be developed if planning and design integrated techniques that are responsive to both environment and climate are utilized. Traditionally, the urban desert context has been known for its thermal function as climate modifier. The success of the community development is tested during the extreme heat of the summer. Minimizing thermal discomfort is a primary design objective. Desert community planning and design necessitates the need for thermal comfort-centered comprehensive planning and design for the outdoors.

Historically, people themselves were the sole deriving force behind the formation and planning of desert settlements. As modernization and urban development progress, the desert community's urban needs become more complex and intricate factors such as multi-traditions, and multi-cultures

are to be considered in a single community. Politics and economy continue to be reflected into the planning process as well as being a reflection of the community. Desert unique terrain characteristics and properties are local planning determinants that help in generating appropriate, desert-specific planning strategies. Also, the ecological balance of desert terrain should no longer be unrealized, overlooked or ignored. In many instants, desert is utilized as a waste dump of other heavily populated regions. Even a planned urban community within a desert environment can be seen as a major source of pollution that could have an adverse effect on the desert. The short and long term environment-related implications of developing new urban communities in desert environment should be studied and assessed before embarking on the development stage. In order to meet the need for new urban communities without compromising the quality of the desert environment, all possible environmental implications of each decision needs to be carefully examined by policy makers.

Climate Responsiveness in Planning of Open Spaces

Throughout history, the development of a functional outdoor spaces in the hottest regions of the world has been undoubtedly a unique planning challenge. Earth, water, air and night skies have been utilized in hot, arid region to moderate the microclimate. Indigenous climate-responsive design techniques were used to enhance thermal comfort. considering the extreme heat of the summer coupled with the fact that most activities take place outdoors in open and semi-open spaces. In an effort to continue building on these valuable experiences, basic concepts and techniques for incorporating climate in the planning process are essential in order to enhance thermal comfort in desert communities. The work of Hassan Fathy in Egypt (Shearer & Sultan, Editors (1986)), provides an excellent example on how to respond to the hot arid climate. These concepts and techniques utilize shading, evaporative cooling, earth-sheltering, convective and radiative night cooling, natural lighting, prevailing wind, naturally ventilation, cooling towers, underground heat exchange loops as means to enhance thermal comfort. The planning and design of outdoor spaces should allow people to feel comfortable, able to function outdoors and have a engaging outdoor experience. To help ensure its' success, the planning and design must incorporate ways to measurably reduce users' thermal discomfort in summer through the use of basic climate responsive techniques needed to enhance outdoor living in summer. Climate responsive design techniques help reducing both space thermal loads while effectively improving the outdoor thermal comfort, particularly in open and semi-open spaces. Climate planning techniques can be used to help modify summer's outdoor thermal conditions, ensure human comfort and provide control over the thermal conditions of open and semi-open outdoor spaces. Subsequently, the prime goal is to plan a climate responsive comfortable outdoor spaces that would also be able to i) introduce a unique natural cooling experience through planning to users, ii) expand the possible number of hours of staying outdoor during the hot season, iii) reduce pollution potential, and vi) add to the environmental holistic quality of outdoor living.

The philosophy of climate responsive planning is centered around how to improve the micro-climate and ensure a measurable improvement to the thermal conditions and space functional efficiency. There are two ways to plan open outdoor spaces in a hot climate. One is to plan with hot climate in mind and the other is to ignore climate at the planning stage on the assumption that urban designers and architects will work on the details later. In the latter approach, the effect of the climate does not constitute a major planning philosophy. Ignoring climate means that the open space cannot effectively function during the hot season. Thus, accounting for the climate at the very early planning stage is a sensible approach to ensure the effective use of the space year round. Proper utilization of the available natural energy of the sun in winter, wind breeze and water vaporization in summer can effectively enhance thermal comfort. A climate responsive design is also environment-friendly particularly as the environmental concerns about pollution levels and the continuous degradation of the global environment are increasing. The essential design characters that can help in achieving the above include minimizing summer solar exposure using compact well shaded built-up areas, using evaporation and vegetation, and inducing movement of air through open spaces. In addition, one can effectively shade outdoor spaces from direct summer sun, reduce

glare and blowing sand. In brief, the use of planned shading in hot, arid regions is fundamental to climate responsive planning that is geared for heat avoidance and dissipation. Effective cross ventilation, evaporation, and night sky cooling provide additional support to effective shading.

Conclusion

The eurocentric urban values that were developed through the historical evolution are diagonally opposite to those developed in desert communities. Although global urban planning is becoming more attractive as the demand for rapid industrial development and its subsequent needs for infrastructure and community services increase, alternative patterns of urban desert settlement need to be different and region specific. Urban planning should continue its historical trend of city planting rather than inflexible city planning. Urban planning of desert cities should continue to be an iterative organic process that would be able to accommodate efficiently modern technological advances while respecting desert aesthetics, and its territorial social and cultural needs of the community. Today's urban planning of desert cities should be constrained by topography and climate. Climate influences the indigenous socio-cultural entourage as well as the physical form, organization and order of the urban fabric; namely open spaces, streets and buildings. Most importantly, planning of desert communities should continue their historical heritage of being primarily developed through its people's participation. In order to maintain open space functionality under harsh desert climate and to accommodate desert historical peculiarity, heritage and the cultural character eurocentric planning thoughts should be reassessed when applied directly or indirectly in desert settings. The desert-sensitive, open space planning notion presented in this paper is driven by historically-shaped desert living and thus able to reflect the historical peculiarity and cultural character of the desert living environment. Moreover, it capitalizes on historical regional desert experiences in handling peoples needs, local climate and terrain. Desert community planning and design necessitates the need for thermal comfort-centered comprehensive planning and design for the outdoors. Climate responsive planning and design help to save energy and reduce the potential of having man-made, built-in polluting sources at the very early stages of conceptual planning and design where the unique climatic aspects of the site, surrounding area, and region become integral parts of the climate responsive design.

References

Abu-Lughod, J., Hay, R. Jr. (1977), Third World Urbanization, Hethven.
Berry, B. (1973), The Human Consequences of Urbanization: Divergent Paths in the urban experience of the 20th century, London.
Dimblgy, G. W., ed. (1972), Man, Settlement and Urbanization, Schenkman, Mass.
Friedman, J. & Burns, L. S., Editors (1985), The Art of Planning, Plenum Press.
Hall, P. (1996), Cities of Tomorrow, Blackwell.
Kay, J. H. (1997), Asphalt Nation: How the Automobile Took Over America and How Can We Take It Back, Crown Publishing.
Kunstler, J. H. (1996), Home from Nowhere: Remaking our everyday World for the 21st Century, Simon & Schuster.
Loukaitou-Sideris, A., (1993), "Privitisation of Public Open Space: The Los Angeles Experience", Town Planning Review, vol. 64, no. 2, pp 139-167.
Loukaitou-Sideris, A., (1995), "Urban Form and Social Context: Differentiation in the Meaning and Uses of Urban Parks," Journal of Planning Education and Research, vol. 14, no. 2, pp 89-102.
Loukaitou-Sideris, A., Banerjee, T.,(1993), " The Negotiated Plaza: Design and Development of Corporate Open Space in Downtown Los Angeles and San Francisco," ." Journal of Planning Education and Research, vol. 13, no. 1, pp 1-12.
Morris, A.E., (1979), History of Urban Form, George Godwin Ltd.
Orfield, M. (1997), Metropolitics: A Regional Agenda for Community and Stability, Brookings.
Safdie, Moshe (1997), The City after the Automobile: An architect Vision, Basic Books.
Shearer, W. & Sultan, A. A. , Ed. (1986), Hassan Fathy's Natural Energy and Vernacular Architecture: principles and examples with reference to hot, arid climates, U. Chicago Press.

The Green City Experience: Al Ain, Case Study.

Dr. Azza Eleishe.
Faculty of Engineering-Architectural Department.
United Arab Emirates University.
P.O. Box 17555 - Al Ain - UAE.

Introduction:

The city of Al Ain, UAE, is well known for its highly developed and carefully maintained garden city image. Located within a predominantly desert area of the gulf region, the city of Al Ain with a current population of approximately 280,000 is the second largest in the Emirate of Abu Dhabi and the fourth largest in the country. Referred to as "The Garden City of the Gulf", Al Ain has evolved from only a conglomeration of few scattered villages in the desert to a carefully planned and well developed modern city, winning the second place in the International Competition "Nations in Bloom'97", under the theme of "Al Ain, An Oasis City for the New Millennium - An Example to the World".

The transformation of Al Ain into a modern day Oasis City that started in the late sixties has been clearly manifested in major changes in both the urban design of the city and the changing life style of its inhabitants. This paper is a brief description of the city's planning process, which can be considered one of the most remarkable planning experiences of the 20th century, producing a modern green city within the desert, in less than a thirty years period.

Historical Background:

The city of Al Ain is one of the oldest cities of the United Arab Emirates as well as the largest of its cities which are located inland, far from the gulf coasts. The city is located within the arid region that represents a natural extension of the Empty Quarter desert of the Arabian peninsula. Prior to the withdrawal of the British in 1971, the area was known as the Trucial Omani States. Al Ain region, called the Buraimi Oasis, was recognized as a permanent agricultural settlement and an important natural oasis as a result of its location within a flooding depression where large amounts of fresh water and relatively fertile soil are available. Historically, the original settlement in Al Ain region included around twelve agricultural villages, surrounded by palm trees. Fertile soil engulfed by rain waters from the mountains was irrigated using the "Aflaj", an underground and surface aqueducts system which brought the water from the Omani Hajar mountains to the plains. The importance of Al Ain was derived not only from its agricultural nature but also from its location at the borders of the Empty Quarter Desert, in the route of traveling merchants transporting goods through the Arab Peninsula to India and Persia, making it an important trade center.

The Green City- A Vision:

At the turn of the century, Al Ain was known to be lush with vegetation, fruits, wheat and grass for animals. By mid 1900s, little of any vegetation was found aside from palm groves, bushes and trees. The only place to plant anything was in the date gardens watered by the Aflaj system, which provided water for all vegetations, as well for domestic needs and for the animals. Settlement points were associated with the availability of watering points for the nomadic population and their animals.

Oil discovery and its exportation in the early sixties, coupled later with the unification of the Emirates in 1971, can be considered crucial and historically life-changing for the people of Al Ain as well as for the whole population of the UAE. Being the home town of the Ruling Family of the Abu Dhabi Emirate, Al Ain had always received special attention and care from the authorities. "Sheikh Zayed has always harboured a vision of Al Ain as a haven of green for his people." (Dyck 1995). In fact, the first government employee was employed through the political agency of Abu Dhabi to come to the Oasis and work under Sheikh Zayed who was the deputy ruler of Abu Dhabi and the ruler's representative in Al Ain. It was in September 1962, that a professional with a degree in agriculture planned and supervised all the planning of the early trees and first roundabouts of Al Ain (Dyck 1995). The growth of Al Ain outwards from the original oasis and date gardens to settled developments with agricultural base, was encouraged by population increases and relinquishment of the nomadic way of life by Bedouins herdsmen. Oil revenues and various development projects helped both processes.

The introduction of automobile transportation and electric power in the early seventies made Al Ain an easily accessible and livable place. Starting around 1966, an ever increasing influx of foreigners started and tremendous progress followed: road construction, general electric power plant, building construction, schools, modern hospitals, and especially government housing for nationals. In 1967, the government started providing free low cost housing with sewage disposal and running water for locals changing their lifestyle from a nomadic outdoor life to a more indoor life. In fact, housing can be considered a true reflection of people's income and changing life style changing from bedouin tents, palm branches houses, and mud block houses, cement blocks housing units and finally modern concrete villas.

Al Ain population has increased from 13,000 in 1968 to 142,000 in 1985 to approximately 280,000 person in 1997, which represents 80% of the inhabitants of the Eastern region of Abu Dhabi Emirate (TPD 1997). Al Ain occupies 50,000 hectares of the regional of the regional total of 1.17 million (TPD 1985). Large investment projects in the housing, education, health, landscape, roads and services sectors have been undertaken. Such developments together with the large increase in the population transformed Al Ain entirely to a modern city. Becoming the service center for its region and the headquarters for the Ruler's representative in the Eastern region of the country helped Al Ain acquire its special importance connecting it by newly constructed highways to the Capital city Abu Dhabi and to Dubai, the largest trading center of the country. The city's importance has increased and it acquired a new function after the inauguration of the UAE University. The resulting incoming large number of students, faculty members and employees at the university increased immensely the amount of services offered in the city, enhanced its businesses and augmented its commercial activities.

Several new projects were implemented: Al Ain International Airport, several housing projects, services and utilities expansions in the city and its surrounding villages, agricultural projects, new tourist and recreational amenities such as museums, archeological sites, zoological gardens, various public parks and green areas annexed to institutional buildings such as hotels, mosques, etc... have all transformed the city into a center of attraction for tourist and visitors from within and outside the country.

Al Ain Region in the National Context:

Al Ain and its region contain 12% of the UAE population and employment and approximately a quarter of Abu Dhabi's population and employment, which reflects its share of the non-oil economy (TPD 1985). The main productive role of the region in the national context is as an agricultural producer, and as the main source of construction materials in the Emirate. The principal role of Al Ain itself is that of an educational, cultural and recreational center. The town also has a special status as the birth place of the Ruler of Abu Dhabi and the favored location for Sheikh's palaces. The climate is better than in the coastal cities, and the green garden environment has added to its attraction. Located inland and away from the main

concentration of population on the coast, it does not contain any oil related activities and it is predominantly service oriented. This is reflected in the high proportion of community, social and personal services (43% of employment) in the regional economy compared with the UAE as a whole (34% of employment) and a relatively small manufacturing sector (4% of employment) (TPD 1985). Apart from the University, Al Ain's service role is predominantly regional rather than national. The retail and financial sectors are relatively small but Al Ain does have some national administrative functions related to agriculture as well as some specialized medical services for the whole Emirate. In the vicinity of the town are located a cement factory and various quarries which support a modest industrial sector, primarily serving the needs of the region. Al Ain also makes a substantial contribution to regional agricultural production and is a marketing and servicing center for the agricultural sector.

Physical Planning Characteristics: The Landscape.

The most impressive feature of Al Ain city is its green soft image which contrasts with the surrounding empty desert. The city has maintained the already existing date gardens and groves, in addition to implementing a system of tree lined roads, public gardens and green open spaces throughout the city. Plantation areas, farms and forests have been implemented as well. The date groves which can be considered the remaining of the original oases, represent village scale shaded areas within a predominantly surrounding urban environment. The internal microclimate of these oasis is considerably cooler than the surrounding city, and their historical value adds to their importance as a major recreational and tourist attraction. Three different tree forests for sand stabilization and recreation have been developed. The garden city image of Al Ain is strongly and mainly conveyed by heavily landscaped roads and roundabouts with an abundance of ornamental plantation. The main road system's design consists of a four to five meters wide central area planted with date palms, hedges and shrubs, while the sides have an equidistant row of trees. Roads in the central commercial and administrative zones of the city and the main entrances to the city are fully landscaped. The rectilinear grid of the major roads is intercepted with roundabouts where different landscaping tools have been used for identification as well as aesthetic purposes. Design features of the roundabouts vary from garden scale plantings with sculptures of mostly traditional character, heavy plantations or green ground cover with few scattered trees especially in those located the outskirts of the city.

PUBLIC GARDENS & PARKS*

1- Public Gardens within Al Ain City limits:		
Type	Number	Area in Sq. Meter
1-General Public	11	3,254,00
2-Women & Children	5	383,000
3-Institutional	26	1,468,292
2- Public Gardens in Al Ain Region:		
Type	Number	Area in Sq. Meter
1-General Public	10	614,780
2-Women & Children	2	70,348
3-Institutional	11	77,533
Total	65	5,867,953

*Al Ain Municipality Statistics 1997.

Type	Number	Area in Sq. Meter*
3- Green Houses	16	16,284
4- Arboretums	10	1,238,500
5- Roundabouts	99	

*Al Ain Municipality Statistics 1997.

TOTAL PLANTATIONS in Al Ain Region *

Type	Number
1- Ornamental Trees	130,747
2- Forest Trees	469,396
3- Fruit Trees	101,368
4- Scattered Bushes	739,149
5- Hedges shrubs	1,319,867
Total Trees & Shrubs	2,753,628
6- Palm trees	62,416
7- Green Areas	7,115,131 Sq. Meter
8- Flower beds	143,254
Total Area in Sq. Meter	42,232,821

*Al Ain Municipality Statistics 1997.

Public parks and gardens are useful mainly for recreational purposes, carefully designed with plenty of amenities geared mainly towards children and families. They are mostly inward looking with little contribution to the visual quality of the city. In addition, semi public institutional landscaped areas such as those connected with the Municipality, offer another alternative for the public, and are used heavily by the city's inhabitants especially in the later hours of the night after most public gardens have been closed. Unfortunately, while much emphasis is placed on the landscaping of the major corridors and open spaces of the city, the landscaping is not as extensive inside the different residential neighborhoods. Although residents of government housing units have cultivated their courtyards, the surrounding areas are left barren and deserted.

The urban area of Al Ain can be clearly defined in two parts: the original Oasis plantation characterized by its heavily landscaping features in the central area, and a relatively newer stretch of development along the Abu Dhabi road in the western side of town. A grid has been built along this road, enclosing large development blocks, comprising housing areas, palace and government compounds, schools and a new large university hospital. Plantation are concentrated mainly alongside the Abu Dhabi road while the remaining geometric grid has little if any landscaping. In general, a uniform suburban feeling characterizes the city as a result of its low density and the absence of any distinctive characteristic features. The detachment of buildings from the main planted boulevards creates the effect of a long green corridor, and the lack of neighborhood identity have resulted to a somewhat monotonous and empty garden city.

Water for public consumption and irrigation is available from two main sources: original ground water wells and water from a desalination plant pumped in from Abu Dhabi. Since more environmentally sensible practices have been adopted by the authorities, recycled and saline water have been also used for irrigation (6.5 million gallons per day of recycled treated

water and 7.5 million gallons from wells are used daily by the horticulture department. (TPD,1997-3).

Urban Planning Development Phases :

Al Ain Town Planning Department (TPD) has played an important role in the design and implementation of the city's planning scheme (Abd-Al Rahim,1998). Three main phases in the development of Al Ain can be defined : 1- Affiliation with the city of Abu Dhabi: until 1973 planning of the city was undertaken by Abu Dhabi planning department who sent surveyors to decide on projects' location. This phase could be described as mostly random, without an overall comprehensive detailed planning scheme. 2- Al Ain TPD and The Master Plan for the Region of Al Ain until the Year 2000: Initiated in 1973, the planning department took the responsibility of the design and implementation of a preliminary urban development plan for the city and its villages, and was used until the completion of a Master plan for the city and its region until the year 2000. The land use scheme and the general outline of the physical characteristics of Al Ain were already established, the transportation system and utilities were adequate, besides, the large size of the streets, the abundance of plazas, roundabouts and public gardens at this initiative phase helped the city avoid future problems associated with population increase and city expansion. The Master Plan to the year 2000 was based on population and employment projections and their consequential quantitative demands on land, transportation and public utilities. 3- 1985 to Present: With the completion of a Regional Strategy and urban development plan for the city of Al Ain and its region, many urbanization and services projects have been undertaken such as the addition of almost thirty square kilometers of housing districts, redevelopment projects for the town center, expansion of tourist resorts and recreational centers, etc...

Conclusion:

During Al Ain development phases, innovative techniques have been used to maintain the city's green image (water resources' preservation, plants selection, etc.), and systematic measures have been followed to preserve its low rise scale and its traditional heritage: (maximum building heights, design approval by an Islamic Building committee). The maintenance of existing planning features and the implementation of new projects are clearly indicative of the city's commitment to the conservation of Al Ain as a modern green city blooming on the desert edge.

References:

1- Abd-Al Rahim, Bakry (1998) "The Urban Planning of Al Ain City & its Region: Development & Future", Research Section-Al Ain Town Planning Department, Al Ain.
2- Al Ain Municipality & Town Planning Department (1997), "Al Ain-City of Beauty", Al Ain Municipality, Al Ain, UAE.
3- Al Ain Municipality & Town Planning Department (1997), "Nations in Bloom 1997", Al Ain Municipality, Al Ain, UAE.
4- Al Ain Municipality, Horticulture Department, Statistical Section (1997), "Gardens & Plantations Statistics- Dec. 1996.", Al Ain Municipality, Al Ain, UAE.
5- Al Ain Town Planning Department (1985), "Master Plan for the Region of Al Ain, Final report, Volume 1", Al Ain Town Planning Department, Al Ain, UAE.
6- Dyck, Gertrude (1995), "The Oasis", Motivate Publishing, Dubai, UAE.
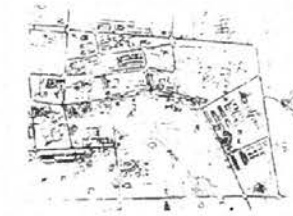
Tracks and walls in an original oasis

Development of Al Ain city

Heritage park

Aerial view showing part of the city center and a historic oasis.

Greenery along boulevards

Shrubs and ground cover

Pictures: Al Ain-City of Beauty

The Earthly City

Chris Elliott
Chris Elliott Architects
Rushcutters Bay, New South Wales

"This race (the human race) we have distributed into two parts, the one consisting of those who live according to man, the other of those who live according to God. And these we also mystically call the two cities, or the two communities of men, of which one is predestined to reign eternally with God, and the other to suffer eternal punishment with the devil" [1]

For almost two millennia western civilisation has existed under the hegemony of the Christian faith. Since the life of Christ, western man has developed a philosophical construct which places the Christian God at the centre not only of the west but of the entire universe.

Saint Augustine of Hippo relentlessly pursued the problem of trying to understand the nature of God, and of himself. "Do heaven and earth then, contain the whole of you, since you fill them? Or, when once you have filled them, is some part of you left over because they are too small to hold you? Or is it that you have no need to be contained in anything, because you contain all things in yourself and fill them by reason of the fact that you contain them? For the things which you fill by containing them do not sustain and support you as a water-vessel supports the liquid which fills it. Even if they were broken to pieces, you would not flow out of them and away...You fill all things, but do you fill them with your whole self? Or is it that the whole of creation is too small to hold you and therefore holds only part of you?[2] In this passage taken from the "Confessions of a Sinner" Saint Augustine struggles with the notion of the omnipresence of God and as we can see this leads him into difficult territory.

Being mere mortals our conception and descriptions of God can never go far beyond our own ability to comprehend things. Thus in the Christian theology, God is generally understood and represented as a being with thought processes and morals not dissimilar to our own...."You , my God, are supreme, utmost in goodness, mightiest and all-powerful, most merciful and most just."[3] He is also conventionally represented in Western art as a being with physical attributes similar our own.

One constant of the attempt to understand was that God has always been conceived as the supreme being, the ruler and creator of the universe. As such our earthly city builders sought his approval for their designs. Some paintings from the middle ages portray the authorities of a city presenting a model of their city to the heavenly father for his blessing. Alternately, God is depicted as a benevolent being positioned in the clouds presiding nurturingly over the earthly city and its citizens below - just as a shepherd watches over his flock.

At the same time, as artists portrayed the image of God and the image of the ideal city in medieval art, so too thinkers attempted to define the moral and ethical shape of the earthly city. The earthly city which was really only a temporary residence for its wretched souls, nevertheless, must aspire towards imitation of the heavenly city, the ultimate destination of all believers.

"The earthly city, which does not live by faith, seeks an earthly peace, and the end it proposes, in the well-ordered concord and civil obedience and rule, is the combination of men's wills to attain the things which are helpful to this life. The heavenly city, or rather the part of it which sojourns on earth and lives by faith, makes use of this peace only because it must, until this mortal condition which necessitates it shall pass away. "[4] St. Augustine thought deeply about the nature of cities which he likened to the order of the universe, with of course God at the centre.

In the same way as the earthly city must resemble the Godly city so too the inverse is true. The image of our God has always resembled the image of ourselves. The philosophical construct based on this system has known no limits. It has legitimised the conquest and appropriation of most of the world and now even ventures into space.

During the middle ages the Europeans started to explore the world. Many riches awaited them. A mixture of curiosity, greed and perhaps need motivated the exploration and conquest of new lands. The newly found lands offered up their treasures (not always willingly) and our fore-fathers did not hesitate to exploit them. This has led to fabulous successes in the development of wealth, technology and western culture.

Mixed with these successes we have the shame of the dispossession of indigenous peoples that has been the hallmark of western colonisation. The project of colonisation would have been impossible without the philosophical construct that underpinned it. We needed to believe that we were justified in the endeavour. We needed to feel that we were doing the right thing. In the case of the English, they undertook their explorations, their colonisation and subjugation of indigenous inhabitants in the name of saving the "heathens" from eternal damnation --permanent exclusion from "the heavenly city" – we were helping them!!

Missionary zealots quickly followed the explorers and paternalistically set about altering the beliefs of the natives. It is true that they brought some good things - modern medicine and other benefits but they also irrevocably damaged the existing cultures. This was thought acceptable because those cultures were not highly valued.

In Europe there is one set of problems. In Australia we have another. I would like to discuss some aspects of the Australian situation. Currently, in Australia there is a debate raging over the details of the so-called "Mabo" legislation, a major step forward in our philosophical position which finally recognises native title - the right of the original inhabitants to own the land of their ancestors. The current argument is over the issue of whether native title extinguishes pastoral leases. The recent "Wik" decision establishes that the two can co-exist.

The Australian situation brings into focus the conflict between traditional and western culture, and now, on the eve of the second millennium this issue seems even more heightened. Perhaps it is time to re-construct our world view. Not that this time frame should have any bearing on the issue as it is itself an arbitrary system imposed by us on the

unsuspecting aboriginals. What do they know of the birth, life and death of Christ....only what we have told them.

What happens when a European culture confronts a traditional culture ? In Australia we took away their children, we forced them to live in missions many were killed, many others died of our diseases or the alcohol we brought with us. The early white settlers looked at the aborigines with a mixture of curiosity, bemusement, and scorn. Little understanding was exhibited.

When in 1803, the British navigator Matthew Flinders explored the Gulf of Carpentaria in the north of Australia discovered some rock paintings. These were subsequently sketched in watercolour by the ship's artist, William Westall forming the first European record of aboriginal art. Flinders described the paintings as follows:

"In the deep side of the chasms were deep holes or caverns undermining the cliffs; upon the walls of which I found rude drawings, made with charcoal and something like red paint upon the white ground of the rock. These drawings represented porpoises, turtle, kanguroos [sic], and a human hand; and Mr. Westall, who went afterwards to see them, found the representation of a kanguroo [sic], with a file of thirty-two persons following after it. The third person of the band was twice the height of the others, and held in his hand something resembling the whaddie, or wooden sword of the natives of Port Jackson; and was probably intended to represent a chief. They could not, as with us indicate superiority by clothing or ornament, since they wore none of any kind; and therefore, with the addition of a weapon, similar to the ancients, they seem to have made superiority of person the principal emblem of superior power, of which, indeed, power is usually a consequence in the very early stages of society." [5]

In fact on closer study the image was found to depict 34 people, men women and children, in a canoe with a tall man at the front with a harpoon following a dugong![6] More importantly, Flinder's assumptions about personal authority or "superiority" and the "stage" or progress of society are very suspect and obviously conditioned by a European world view.

Now we have a number of critical problems in Australia - deforestation; salination; erosion; and water shortage are just a few. Our methods of cultivation have severely damaged a fragile land. Our wilderness areas and native flora and fauna are threatened by the proliferation of introduced feral animals ... pigs, rabbits and cats. It seems to me that we could have slowed down a little and looked more carefully at the aboriginal way of life. I think we may have learned a great deal. They have managed to live in this country for 50,000 years without damaging it. In a mere two hundred years we have wreaked havoc.

When our Medieval forefathers created their images of God they made them look just like themselves, what a co-incidence ! So then, what do the aboriginal spiritual beings look like ? A rock painting at Deaf Adder Creek in Arnhem Land depicts the Rainbow snake, human beings and a "kangaroo-man" . The meaning of such paintings are highly complex and very poetic:

"In the aborigines conception, the Rainbow is not always a snake or a snake -like creature. It can be manifested and painted as a composite figure incorporating human features and /or those of several animals, or be almost completely human in shape. Further, the Rainbow is not a single being but several that are linked in genealogical order; and it may not only be either male or female but can also be bisexual. The bisexual Rainbow is said to have come from, and now dwells, under the world. It is credited with creating the country, the "Dreaming places", and with the institution of the social order. The male and the female Rainbow, in contrast , live above ground residing in the rocks and waterholes at particular sites. They are also creators but appear less powerful than the bisexual Rainbow."[7]

When we arrived in the new lands we laughed at the stories of the Dreamtime and many Australians are still very dismissive of aboriginal mythology, thinking the stories naive and childish. What about the story of Adam and Eve ? Or Noah's Ark ?... How could we be-little the aboriginals attempts to make sense of their world !? Are their stories or paintings any more absurd than our own medieval icon paintings? How blind could we be ?

Cities in the new lands grew quickly. Forests were felled, resources harnessed and local people subjugated or destroyed by the onslaught. Many crimes have been committed in the name of religion (and Christianity is, of course not alone in this) but it seems to me that the worst perpetrated by Christianity has been the systematic and methodical denigration of the other religions, belief codes and mythologies that it encountered in its world-wide quest. If you destroy a culture you destroy its people. The Tasmanian aborigines are now extinct.

Of course, we knew that our world view was the correct one. These poor people needed to be taught the truth; but old habits die hard. The displacement of traditional culture is represented poignantly in the Wim Wenders film "Where the Green Ants Dream". In a bizarre and disturbing moment of the film a small group of aborigines are seen sitting in the aisle of a supermarket. It is then revealed that previously this was a place of dreaming.

In Australia explorers and pioneers settled the coastline and gradually penetrated the hostile interior revealing a vast dry land and no inland sea, as was hoped for. Meanwhile as the twentieth century approached in Europe and America architects proposed radical changes. The development of railway had allowed the opening up of the north American continent and the development of the elevator allowed the conquest of the sky. The earthly city gained a new dimension. The soaring towers of New York heralded the beginning of a new age. Excited by these prospects and armed with a rather unhealthy over-dose of self-confidence the early modernists proposed sweeping changes to city planning that if executed would decimate the existing urban fabric of European cities. The post World-War II building boom saw the realisation of an number of debased versions of these utopian schemes.. The inner city suburb of Woolloomooloo in Sydney was threatened by such a scheme and it is was only prevented by the actions of militant trade unions... the "Green Bans". Most Sydney-siders viewed this outcome with a sigh of relief.

The CBD of Sydney was not exempted from modern building activity and it is with a sense of some loss that I remember childhood visits to Sydney, the big city with my grandmother on the train. In those days (the early sixties) Sydney was still a low-rise (5-6 stories) city built of

stone department stores and cinemas with plush velvet drapes. In the last two decades it has been transformed from a city with a nineteenth century flavour into a bustling modern metropolis with an impressive skyline. This echoes the development of westernised cities across the world. Land and the city in the twentieth century have been seen as the platform upon which mechanised man could act out his technological fantasies.

The Australian aboriginals have a rather different world-view. They believe that they belong to the land rather than the other way around. Their relationship to nature was one of co-operation and harmony, not domination.

In recent years we have become aware of the new problems caused by our species. The threat to the earth's environment, the increasing use of non-renewable resources, the destruction of habitats, the extinction of other species and the corresponding threat to bio-diversity have all become major concerns. In Australia we have unique problems such as water shortage and soil erosion.

In addition many have realised through the confrontation of cultures that ours may not be the only way... some have turned to Eastern religions or dropped out of mainstream society altogether. Few of us take this path but many are disillusioned.

So what does all this have to do with architecture and cities ??
First of all we need to be contained.
we need to keep out of the country,
we need to stay in the cities,
we need to make our cities smaller,
we need to make them more energy efficient,
we need to keep out of the wilderness and
we need to consume less resources.

Australians are addressing some of the topics I have mentioned. Glen Murcutt has shown a way forward that deals intelligently with the issues of climate control, energy use and a sensitive relation to the land and its inhabitants. Sadly though, few have faced the more pressing problem of how to apply these principles to our major form of habitation, the city.

In the light of the serious problems that we face, the perennial debate over style seems almost obscene. Architects and critics polemicize endlessly about the nature of space, the meaning of space, the threat of global communications revolution" the death of architecture" and so on. Moreover, they argue over the style that their buildings should exhibit, each camp asserting that their creations are superior or somehow more relevant than others. So many beautiful esoteric words are published while the important issues are ignored.

It is my contention that we need to reconstruct our world-view and revise our concept of our place in this world. I am not suggesting a return to living a more simple life in the bush, quite the opposite. I think that it is too late for us to recover that "lost Eden". Rather I am suggesting that we me need to make our cities more intelligent and more sensitive to the impact they have on their opposite - the wilderness. Our relation to nature can no longer be thought of in the traditional western way - that of the painter to the empty canvas. As we expand, the natural world contracts.

Perhaps we also need to think of a theoretical tabula rasa in order to concentrate on the more important task of making cities more compact and less resource hungry.

NOTES

1. Saint Augustine. (354-430 AD) The City of God. Republished by The Modern Library, New York, 1950, Book 15, 1 p.478.
2. Saint Augustine . The Confessions of a Sinner. Penguin Books London 1995 p.3.
3. Saint Augustine . Ibid. P. 4.
4. Saint Augustine. (354-430 AD) The City of God". Republished by The Modern Library, New York, 1950, Book 19, 17 p. 478.
5. George Chaloupka The World's Longest Continuing Art Tradition. Reed Sydney 1993. p18.
6. Ibid p18.
7. E.J. Brandl, Australian Aboriginal Paintings. In Western and Central Arnhem Land, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies. Canberra ACT 1973 p. 181.

Resuscitating 'Community' on Swanston Street

Kathleen Ferguson
Centre for Comparative Literature and Cultural Studies
Monash University
Clayton, Victoria

The city is an organic construction It is charted through history, it becomes part of living memory - even as its parts fall into disuse and entropy. These pieces become a source of social and spatial stigma, they are converted to a topic of media and political debate. Places deemed to be public and, as such, accountable to the tax payer for their existence and maintenance are usually made to face charges of waste, unproductivity or unsuitability as urban landmarks. Privately owned spaces are subject to a different economy, a form of Darwinism of the market place which dictates a change of ownership and a revamped image. Often, these two systems collide - public space in decline is sold to private interests under a discursive platform of upgrading the financial and cultural value in a fashion only private interests could achieve. The civic plaza becomes a hotel atrium and the city lumbers on. Accounts in the media focus upon a renewed sense of 'community', conceived by an intervention in the malleable built form. The embodiment of the streets and squares, roads, lanes and buildings are claimed to be under the control of urban planners - but is space and its myriad personal, human uses, ever so compliant? I want to examine a well known city street in Melbourne through the optic of several theorists of the urban and of politics therein, by way the term 'community' -as it is presently used, and as it may come to be used in the future.

Perhaps opening up a civic square or closing a city street does have an impact on the social relations that are often equated with community, but how it does so is unclear. The perception of common life may be as important as the space in which it is enacted. In this paper, I want to trace out the construction of the city and the community through its particular civic thoroughfares, to examine where theory which grounds the city in everyday concepts such as 'lived experience' departs from the perception of cities as institutions which embody triumphant reason. This paper is not aimed at a critique of either of these views - it is, however, arguing for a position which problematises some of the assumptions inherent in both post-structuralist and political economy models. While the former suggests that the city cannot be known except as fragments, the latter often overlooks the local all together in the search for unifying systems which confirm systemic approaches to the city. In place of these two methods of analysis are new means of interpreting urban life which spring from critiques of a cohesive, homogenous city which, to preempt later discussion on Iris Marion Young, 'privilege unity over difference' (Young,1990) in a manner at odds with the conflicting needs and desires of people using city space. The stage for this dialectic of reason versus heterogeneity is Swanston Street, place familiar even to many non-Melburnians. Even if it remains an empty signifier culturally, the street functions as a prototype of changes occurring in many Australian cities. So I want to introduce Swanston Street as both a microcosm and a metaphor of debates in contemporary planning. At issue is the perceived cross-over of discourse from the regulative functions of the planned city to the mapless drifting through the postmodern diaspora. While the two are diametrically opposed in some sense, I wish to argue that many of the same problems remain uncontested at each stage. [1]

City life, if it can be neatly thematised in any way, might be explained in the presence of conflicting human desires concentrated in a relatively small space. It would follow then that any attempt to design this space would take into account disparate users when assigning identity to specific areas. Nevertheless, the process of planning must inevitably structure these claims in order of perceived viability. This can be seen at work in the localised political clout of retail investors or in directive government projections on aesthetic and tourist winning considerations. Lobbying entities such as these filter urban designs through the sieve of everyday requirements of the city, but often put a spin on outcomes which direct attention away from city users without a specific, commercial interest in the urban environment. In short, in the decision making process, some claims carry considerably more weight than others, leading to a systematic privileging of some forms of social intercourse in connection with models of the rational city.

In 1991, a joint project of the City of Melbourne and the State Government began the re-invention of Swanston Street, amid a rhetorical flurry of 'transformation' and the perennial 'clearing of urban arteries', except that this surgical manoeuvre avoided the usual approach of appeasing motor traffic with fly-overs and a transit lane. Instead, at midnight on the 28th of March, 1992, the street was barricaded and, overnight, a major city street had been 'greened.' Swanston Street faced its first morning as an "arrival concourse for trains, trams and pedestrians" - but not for cars.[2] In time, the street was populated with quirky statues, roadside cafes, street furniture and specifically designed lighting -- combining to cement the street's reputation as one of 'Melbourne's prime assets'[3] And all this was achieved between April and October, 1992, at the cost of just under $11 million (ibid.:2) The achievements were considerable: a 46% reduction in accidents, improved public transport service and an augmentation of the street's image as a site of parades and marches, a locus of community participation. But at the top of the Council's list of improvements is the makeover from 'the city's traffic sewer', to the 'winner of numerous design awards, a pleasant place for an outdoor cappuccino'[4]   Here, in this post-communal appropriation of community, it is the flagrant display of consumer distinction which constitutes a connection with place and with other users of that space.

That pecuniary interests exist and flourish in the city is hardly a surprise, the incongruity lies in the entry of commercial ventures into the processes of decision making and urban identity consolidation.   And while the presence of these commodified entities is no threat *per se*, their central position in the discourse of local and State planning suggests an impingement upon the balance of retail traders, government, local groups and so on, which make up the sum total of city space users. To some extent, the heightened awareness of private interests has been construed as an economic necessity; with the tightening of the public purse has come a new rationale which dictates a whittling back of services to the bare bones of state functions. At the same time, terms such as 'post-industrial' or 'service' economies based on tourism and hospitality have catalysed renewed vigour in the presentation of cities as marketable products, in competition with each other over ambience, safety, locality and prestige.[5] This need for strategic urban positioning seems unique in history - cities were generally endogenously focused, or competed with each other in the form of trade wars, or the more abstract and peculiarly parochial animosities of general inter-city rivalry. This may be a thing of the past, outmoded by an

international market of places which are textualised to be read as unique, but infinitely repeatable experiences. While the social and cultural resources of these places can be drawn upon in the marketing process, the greatest bargaining power is in economic 'situatedness' - historic buildings and famous monuments have to be recoded as items reducible to a few cultural tropes, in order to be drawn into international comparison, before they can claim any place in the tourist market. Swanston Street's plans from the 1960's onwards, with exhibited a notable bias towards public space particular focus given to the non-commercial environment of the City Square. Since that time, attitude towards 'the public sphere' and the space it encompasses seems to have changed dramatically, replacing open and accessible structures with more recent conceptions of public interaction in private space. This then entails a perceptible shift in the behavior of those using the space and a more obvious change in the 'clientele' actually allowed access to publicised private space.

The embodiment of the contemporary public sphere seems less closely connected to that described by Jurgen Habermas and more to do with the 'fear of symbolic violence by contact with others' discussed by Sharon Zukin in relation to unpatrolled and unruly areas of the city. The sense of communality entailed in earlier notions of a public sphere have come under threat, both in theory, through the criticism directed at overarching and repressive notions of community, and at a practical level, in an age where economic values insist on the disappearance of 'society.' In much the same way, representations of a 'public sphere' as a site of common ground for debate have faded - there are more popular mediums for discussion which are distinctly non-spatial, leaving public spaces for the more corporeal pursuits of those who have no access, or no interest, in comparatively sophisticated, technological objectives. If you want to rollerblade down a flight of stairs, eat the lunch you bought from home or proselytise your religious creed or political affiliations, use public space. If, however, you want to participate in a dialectical forum in the style of The Public Sphere log in at an Internet Cafe. There's bound to be one on Swanston Street. The problem is that you may not be able to find public space, in the strict sense, any longer. Footpaths are not merely means of pedestrian thoroughfare, but restaurant extensions, canvases for chalk art and rooms for 'street furniture', while civic plazas are perceived as much maligned commercial theme parks. The needs of global markets and tourist industries do not distinguish between public and private terrain any more than they do the sometimes flawed, sometimes nostalgic rendering of local experience.

City Planning - Regulative Functions or more postmodern 'disrespect'?

Attempts to recreate this precious commodity 'local experience', even as an act of simulation, frequently result in endearingly optimistic anomalies: " newly installed wrought iron lighting maintains the historic character of Centre Place." [6] or even the sound of pre-recorded crickets piping from concealed speakers along the Yarra. Developments in the aesthetic character of the city may appear suddenly and without explanation, before being absorbed among the fabric of constant change and upheaval. It may be that these simulations of local experience are read as cheerfully ahistorical figments of a town planner's imagination, or perhaps even misread as a previously undiscovered element of the city's history, thus subverting the logic of the simulacrum.

The fragmentation of identity is central to the urban planning that constructs present day Swanston Street. According to city plans, the concourse has been divided into "three character zones - North, Centre and South... defined through their position within the city, existing uses and patron profiles." [7] The very idea of specialised zones offers the intriguing image of self enclosed precincts, even as the intermingling of patrons is an inevitability. Despite the allotment of 'civic and recreational uses' in the South, a tourist emphasis in the Centre and the ambiguous 'student life and 'alternative' activities in the North, Swanston Street remains a place where disparate uses, and fractured 'communities' prevail against the grain of the projected and planned city. As a short cut to broad base representation required by the pragmatic environment of planning policy, appeals to 'community' are often an expedient nod to local consultation, but when the city is situated in an international market of tourism and competition to ensnare business headquarters, the notion of communal homogeneity, as it sits in local culture, can take on a life of its own.

Despite a presumption of interchangability in the logics of individualism and global capitalism claims to community have lost none of their appeal. In a paper on the construction of social difference in the city, Iris Marion Young asserts that there is no conflict between individualism and community, that "each is a condition for the other." [8] Nevertheless, this sense of identity is often played out at a neo-tribal level, whereby self-perception is defined in opposition to another group. The dynamics of 'us' and 'them', Young explains, is indicative of a denial of difference in the striving for immediacy and cohesion. (ibid.:312) In contrast to the enforced homogeneity of the small social group, the city is outlined as a model of unreflective difference and liberating anonymity, made possible by the co-existence of strangers. From this perspective, the claims made by community are underwritten by the acceptance of difference, quite apart from the prescribed behavioural norms set out by idealised representations of the well planned and welcoming city. With this in mind, contemporary urban boosterism provides a sense of seamless incorporation which speaks to neither the individual, or the community, but to a marketplace of 'city-consumers.' The target market is then drawn towards a spatialised cluster of communities, or precincts, where difference is aesthetised and commodified as lifestyle choices, but the common thread is the opportunity to "revive yourself with an open air cup of coffee." [9]

Whether plans for the design of Swanston Street are interpreted as regulative functions or as postmodern indicators of "corporate celebration and polarisation" [10] the net result is far removed from the enforced vision of equilibrium and rationality. The city is either a locus of self-regulative behaviour, 'normalised' by surveillance from above, or a site of 'placelessness' made palatable by user pays intimations of public life and the recreation of cultural locality. I hope this is an unworkable binary distinction, for, like Young, I believe there is room for a model of city life that promotes, and is itself featured by, diversity.

While a vibrant and diverse cultural life may be a key factor in rendering a place 'livable', the rights of inhabitants to utilise the city (even when this usage steps beyond the charmingly multiform and towards the mundane, incomprehensible or undesirable) there is an obligation to accept this as part of city life. The idea of 'lived space' is as much a site of loitering or demonstrating as it is civic parades and shopping. The distinct privileging of this diversified, self-conscious space is enacted

everyday in Swanston Street, as the features which make the city more livable, more enjoyable, provide the focus for attention, while the City Square withers beneath a lack of funding and 'community' insistence that it is an eyesore.

During March and April of this year, Swanston Street was the focus of renewed media interest as to its future. After several name changes, radical traffic re-routing, a brief identity crisis and a lot of public art, questions were raised on the outcome of civic planning and the level of urban vitality in the city's spine. Sculptor Deborah Halpern wrote of the need to "love Swanston Street back to life"[11] and a variety of spokespersons for things urban entered into the debate that the pulse of the street remained laboured and proposals were needed to resuscitate it. As with many city streets, there is the dilemma of bifurcation which is not necessarily helped by further linear divisions in the way of precincts. Also of concern was the settling of clientele, such as bargain stores and pinball arcades, at the southern end, the traditional entrance of Swanston Street. The usual rationale of market popularity equating to legitimate presence remained strangely silent on that occasion. In conclusion, it the clear message emitted from planning bodies and groups claiming to represent city users is "why isn't Swanston Street working?", but the question is unanswerable, only questionable: in what sense is the street dysfunctional, and for whom? These issues prompt a return to the proposed audience of urban planning, who benefits and who is excluded from the enactment of specific visions of the city? While the importance of nurturing the material city is not in contest, geographic and discursive space must be allowed for those who do not fit in to the envisioned 'livable' city. An environment which is open to all does not have to proclaim itself to be 'diverse' - its heterogeneity is self-evident.

References

Bachelard, G (1964) *The Poetics of Space* Boston: Beacon Press

City Of Melbourne (1994) *Swanston Street Walk- the Next Stage*
_____ (1995) *Our City , Our Culture* ibid.
_____ (1995) *Swanston Walk* ibid.
_____ (1996) *Swanston Street* ibid.
_____ (1997) *Swanston Street Precinct Directory and Map* ibid.

Davis, M (1992) *City of Quartz* New York: Vintage Books

Habermas, J (1994) 'The Emergence of the Public Sphere' pp.81-90 *Polity reader in Cultural Theory* Cambridge: Polity Press

Halpern, D (1997) 'Love this Street back to Life' *Herald-Sun* 10/4 p. 19

Merrifield, A (1997) 'Between Process and Individuatio - translating metaphors and narratives of urban space.' *Antipode* 29:4 pp.417-36.

Young, IM (1990) *Justice and the Politics of Difference* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Zukin, S (1995) *The Cultures of Cities* Cambridge: Blackwell

Notes

[1] Bachelard,G., 1968:63
[2] *Swanston Street Precinct Directory*,1997:3
[3] *Swanston Street Walk*,1995:2
[4] *Swanston Street*,1996:6-7
[5] Zukin,1995:3
[6] Melbourne, Our City Our Culture, 1995:16
[7] *Swanston Street Walk - the next stage*,1994:2
[8] Young, I.M., 1990: 307
[9] *Precinct Directory and Map*1997:5
[10] Davis,M.,1992:24
[11] Halpern,D. *Herald-Sun* 10/4/97:19

A participatory planning experience in a liberal local government in Brazil[*]

Ana C Fernandes
Universidade Federal de São Carlos
Programa de Pós-Graduação em Engenharia Civil
Via Washington Luís, km 235
São Carlos, SP 13565-905
Brasil

A few introductory words

Participatory planning is a rather recent and still small-scale initiative within Brazilian urban planning experience. Even the latter has been for itself a recent phenomenon as industrialisation and an intensive accumulation regime have only emerged in Brazil in the late 1950s, amid the international investment and capital transfer from the North to the South associated with Fordism's *golden years*. Yet, it has come to the fore in Brazilian political and professional agendas concerning urban development and sustainability for various successful experiences that started to spread over the country.

This paper addresses the participatory budget model from the view point of the experience implemented by a non-left-wing local government in the state of São Paulo. This is understood as only made possible because of the current fiscal crisis of the Brazilian state which goes hand in hand with the country's re-democratisation in the late 1980's. International movements and arguments in favour of the locality, as opposed to other levels of government, also bring relevance, resources and further improvements to the model.

A brief view over Brazil's development "model" and its impact on urbanisation

The new development pattern inaugurated in the 1960s fostered an intense urbanisation movement. Now industry and services led the accumulation process, transferring income in to urban areas and activities, thus causing fast population flows from countryside to town. By 1980, Brazilian population living in urban areas summed about 70% of total population, whilst they were less than 30% forty years earlier.

In order to foster the industrialisation project, the state brought in important changes to the country's institutional apparatus relating to the financial system. These were to provide funding for industrial production, on the one hand, and credit for personal consumption the accumulation pattern required, so as to compensate the country's income concentration. Investment in urban infrastructure and housing would also support the social changes towards industrialisation and implementing the new accumulation regime. In this way, in the context of the late 1960s authoritarian period, the state built a comprehensive financial system to provide the means for both public and private agents related with the construction industry.

This system allowed the access of low-income workers in the formal housing market at the same time it fostered low-paid employment, consumption for industrial goods, as well as funding for municipalities to invest in urban infrastructure. Local governments throughout the country, but especially those of larger cities and state capitals, were provided with the means to invest in social housing, sanitation, transportation and other urban equipment and services. The system (known as "Sistema Financeiro da Habitação" – SFH coupled with the "Sistema Financeiro de Saneamento" – SFS) thus set the financial conditions necessary for overcoming the economic constraints that restricted accumulation whilst setting the bases of a new political alliance that united varied interests around the construction industry: financiers, real state agents, housing builders, construction parts industry, heavy infrastructure builders and the state, from federal to the local. Under the leadership of the latter, its economic agent and regulator, a new, complex and huge financial circuit set in motion major changes in the built environment in Brazil[1] (Mello, 1990).

Local government planning that resulted from this context was one politically authoritarian, conceived within the terms of facilitating the consecution of interests involved in the new alliance. As the funding instruments were under the management of the federal government, this required local governments to present master plans and other planning pieces so as to entitle them to receive the amount of money they applied for. These pieces turned into bureaucratic devices, developed by technical offices that specialised in the making of master plans that could be reproduced for as many municipalities as requested. No need to say that those plans were forgotten once the money was disbursed. The low quality built environment and environment disasters that resulted from this sort of practice associated with the authoritarian context and income distribution are responsible for the sick, poor and displeasing characteristics of many Brazilian towns.

This urbanisation process has mobilised diverse social movements and non-government organisations throughout the country, especially during the 1970s. This process gathered momentum during the congressional discussions that preceded the promulgation of Brazil's new constitution of 1988. The so-called "urban reform chapter" was a product of the intense debate that urban movements delivered after over a decade of more or less organised claims for social housing, urbanisation of slums, water supply, power, public transportation among other urban services and equipment. These movements, which have become known as urban social movements widely described in the literature, partially reached their goals along with the end of the military regime in 1985 and the 1988 Constitution. Re-democratisation led not only to the "urban reform chapter" but also to migration of many previously voluntary support agents of those movements in to new democratic local governments (Fernandes, 1989), to the rising of a *municipalist agenda*, and to the increased transformation of voluntary into professional support agents of urban movements of all sorts (see Novy and Kemper, 1997, for further discussion on this topic).

Urban planning and financing under the *hegemony* of the locality

The *municipalist agenda* led by the majority of the country's mayors was aimed at changing the division of the fiscal resources among the three levels of government in Brazil (federal, state and local government levels). During the military rule, fiscal revenues were concentrated in the federal government which distributed them back to the remainder according to unclear criteria. Their major argument was the fact that they lived closer to the citizens hence would be best able to understand and meet their claims whilst would be more easily subject of their control. To a certain extent the mayor movement was successful, for the new constitution overturned the division of fiscal revenues in favour of the two lower levels of government, which

---

[*] This article was inspired on a project that implemented the participatory budget of Leme, São Paulo, Brazil, to which Kleyferson Araújo, Lourenço Costa Jr. and Rogério Rodrigues contributed as part of the project staff.

[1] According to Mello, the SFH represented 12% of Brazil's GDP ten years after its creation. By 1980, nearly the totality of formal housing provision was made under the system funding mechanisms whilst the public housing provision accounted for 1/3 of the country's global housing provision. These figures show a high level of public intervention in the housing sector even for European social-democracy standards.

now respond for about 70% of total net revenue. Re-democratisation thus meant a complete reshuffle in the management of Brazil's urban process.

Re-democratisation in Brazil also coincided with the fall of the soviet world which brought about world-wide astonishment among left-wing parties and institutions concerning their historical values and perspectives under the free market hegemony. Limitations appear to be even greater for developing countries like Brazil to figure out alternatives to the liberal recipe. In the face of the restraints to the country's accumulation regime due to the collapse of its financial pattern precipitated with the 1970's oil shocks, the Latin American debt crisis hit the Brazilian economy and society particularly. Regarding urban areas, the crisis forced public expenditure to a minimum which brought the SFH to fund only 8.0% of the country's new housing in 1984-86, as compared with 47.8% in 1979-83. This fall pushed participation of housing-related financing in GDP from 2.7% in 1980 to 0.3% in 1986 (Mello, 1990). Along with it, funding for urban services and equipment, transportation and sanitation also dropped in the 1980s. Re-democratisation and valorisation of local government within such credit constraints have led to great uncertainties and disappointment concerning democracy and politics.

Yet the local, as opposed to the global, gathered wide-spread attention amidst the increasing internationalisation of financial and commercial flows. Localities had to face intense competition in order to attract direct investment looking for new markets and advantages with which to increase employment and funding for urban developement. This dispute raised the concerns with life quality in urban areas to the extent of inspiring the 1996 UN Conference on Human Settlements. Debate about the so-called Habitat Agenda in Brazil was to a certain extent a re-edition of the 1988 Constitution debate on urban reform. Though the new debate manifested that there was a long way to go between the constitutional command and improving urban life quality and environments. Among other aspects the Habitat agenda put forward, two of them lead to the urban reform debate: importance of the local level of government and participation of citizens in the decision making and management process of cities and towns.

The participatory budget model in brief

Regarding both aspects, the Brazilian experience presented in the Habitat II was rather rich. On the one hand, local initiatives concerning urban life quality were either prize-winner or indicated to a list of innovative experiences; on the other hand, participatory planning experiences caught the attention to the country's representatives from the Southern Brazil city of Porto Alegre. There left-wing governments had for the third consecutive time been elected mostly on the basis of a complex though successful system that allowed for the population to decide over how to employ public investment. The model was funded on the division of the city into regions, within which public sessions would take place in order to foster regional population to figuring out and listing their claims according to previously agreed criteria which come to be settled in a participatory budget council. Within this council, claims from every region were settled and combined into the municipal budget.

In spite of the difficulties experienced and constant evolution it requires, this has become a successful model for it has allowed a two-fold benefit: first, it helps local government on getting closer to the expectations of population over priority investments, thus improving its possibilities to deliver the "right" decisions in the context of financial constraints; second, it also helps local government avoid undesirable political pressures and settlements from local and non-local politicians over budgetary decisions. Actually, it is worth reminding that the sort of political agreements based on the exchange of private gains like those that bring building investors together with municipal managers are those that underlie most of the barriers to urban reform.

After a few years, the model firstly devised aimed at decisions concerning the municipal budget expanded, so that urban planning has been brought in to the participatory decision making process. During public sessions theme-oriented priorities (such as education, health, urban development, public transportation, urban violence) are assembled with regional claims and proposals of the local government. Together, these three references are settled within the Participatory Budget Council in order to form the budget matrix proposal which is then sent to the town council. In this way the Budget Council has become, in these municipalities, the arena within which all questions and interests over public expenditure are settled. The budgetary piece can be recognised as expression of the consensus reached by diverse and in most cases antagonistic social fractions along and due to the participatory process. In this sense, it replaces the master plan requirement of the previous authoritarian period giving grounds to effectively turn the plan directives into practice.

Like Porto Alegre (which has not been the first experience in Brazil), other cities and towns have increasingly implemented the participatory planning or budget model in the past five years. Very few, nevertheless, are non-left-wing local governments. This is well understood, especially in the context of restricted access to education for the majority of Brazilian population. Participation requires democratic environment which in turn prospers within educated social groups, who understand and claim their constitutional rights of citizenship. The more educated the population, the less dependent it rests on the state initiative, the more it influences public policies and other concrete forms of state action. This is actually the characteristic of the particular participatory planning experience that this paper addresses.

The experience of Leme's participatory budget process

It refers to a middle-size town (about 80 thousand inhabitants) in the state of São Paulo called Leme, which has elected right-wing candidates for many years. This is not the proper description of the particular party fraction in power in Leme though, in spite of the fact that it has elected Brazilian president Cardoso under a wide alliance with traditional and new-coming right-wing parties – the so-called PSDB, or the Brazilian "social-democratic" party. Leme's local government is led by a political coalition which gathered centre and liberal professionals most of them closely connected with collective institutions or popular claims. Moreover, this coalition has not developed the traditional antagonism between the official PSDB and Brazil's largest left wing party (the Worker's Party) and its participatory budget model. Introduction of the latter in Leme, since the current government first year of mandate, has thus been subject of only moderate discussion within the local council. In spite of some resistance of certain areas within the government itself, the model was implemented, concerning the regional public sessions, election of each region's delegate and constitution of the Participatory Budget Council. The latter set up the set of criteria which based the distribution of resources among the regions and settled the investment priorities for the percentage of the 1998 budget left to the participatory process. The mayor and many of his staff attended to each of the public regional sessions. This move brought him closer to the population in a way that encouraged him to put the model forward. He could recognise the gains in popularity he could get out of the participatory process as well as the political stability in his relations with the local council. As he now knows, the participatory process helps him to ease the traditional populist mediation that local politicians hold between population and municipality.

By the start of Leme's second year of participatory budget making process, it can be clearly seen that extended difficulties have been introduced into it. The first year, for its specific characteristics, was quite simple. There had been only one public session in each region, thus bringing population capacity to examine its problems and turning them into claims to a minimum. By the second year, there will be two sessions per region, which will allow more time

for the citizens figuring out their problems, claims and finding out their best delegates. Additionally, the local government will have the opportunity - and duty - to settle an account with the population on the developments of priorities indicated in the past year as well as the local government projects for the town as a whole. Moreover, the complementary theme sessions have not taken place as expected since it was the first year. These are prepared to happen from the second year onwards which if they raise the possibilities for participation concerning major local planning decisions they also raise population expectations even more. In order to respond to these expectations and avoid failing in its political agreement with population the local government has no other option rather then taking it seriously ever and producing the means the process requires, as already mentioned by Leme's vice-mayor. There is no other alternative once the process has started as far as their local political project is concerned, he argues.

In search of a conclusion

While the perspective of an educated society is still far from reaching as far as Brazil is concerned, participatory planning has meant three important goals. First, it has represented the kind of civic education most needed regarding the majority of population, especially that which first attended the public sessions early in the beginning of the participatory process. After all, those excluded of gains from power agreements and political alliances, urban services and life quality as well as of traditional communication channels with the mayor and his/her staff, are also those who first get into the process. They soon get acquainted to the notion and operation of local budget and the means to decide over it which makes quite a big difference in their self-image as citizens. Second, as already mentioned, the participatory model has become an alternative for local governments reach popular legitimisation in the context of reduced revenues and increased responsibilities in an age of collapsed public funding for housing and urban investment along side transfer of public actions and responsibilities from the top to the bottom of government levels. As known, the deeper the crisis the greater the antagonism among conflicting interests. In so being, popular decision over public investment reduces the exposure of local government to political crisis. Finally, as long as the local state level is the arena within which conflicting interests determine the production of urban space, the participatory experience may become an important tool for turning the use of and the right to the town – in Lèfebvre good old term – democratic. This process can certainly lead to increased educational standards and better life quality for the majority of Brazilian population. The planning experience would have then become an educational and concrete experience for the possibilities the participatory model gives to the creation of effective social consensus over the built environment.

References

ernandes, A C 1989 Uma imagem em negativo: considerações em torno da assessoria ao movimento popular. Campinas, MPhil thesis presented to the Institute of Philosophy and Human Sciences of the State University of Campinas (Unicamp), mimeo.

ernandes, A C, Araújo, K, Costa Jr, L and Rodrigues, R 1998 Orçamento participativo de Leme - Relatório Final. São Carlos, mimeo.

Mello, M A B C de 1990 Regimes de acumulação, Estado e articulação de interesses na produção do espaço construído (Brasil, 1940-1988), in Valladares, L and Preteceille, E Reestruturação urbana, tendências e desafios. Rio de Janeiro, Nobel/IUPERJ: 168-182.

Novy, A and Kemper 1997 Contra a cultura de projetos, a favor do fortalecimento solidário do contrapoder. Viena, Institute de Estudos Urbanos e Regionais da Universidade de Economia de Viena.

UNIFYING A DIVIDED CITY. The early landscape vision of the National Capital Development Commission 1958-1964.

Dianne Firth
Head of Landscape Architecture
Faculty of Environmental Design
University of Canberra
ACT 2601 Australia

1. BACKGROUND TO THE DIVIDED CITY

Canberra is Australia's capital city of the twentieth century. Conceived at the turn of the century, sited in the first decade and given vision in the second, it took another half a century before that vision became whole. In 1955, the national capital of Australia was a divided city; a northern city and a southern city separated by a broad floodplain subject to regular flooding. This was the outcome of three critical influences: firstly the selection of the city site, secondly, the approved design for the city, and thirdly, the ability to implement the design.

1.1 Selection of the city site

The selection of the site for the federal capital was based on a mix of idealism, pragmatism and political compromise. The city needed to be inland to be secure from naval threat, possess a cool bracing climate for alleged health reasons, be accessible to Sydney and Melbourne, and possess attributes worthy of a national capital[1]

From the first investigations by the New South Wales Government in 1900 with the offer of Bombala, to the Federal Government's search in 1903 and the proposal of Dalgety, it took until 1908 for state and federal consensus to arrive at the Yass-Canberra district.

In all these investigations, the issue of an adequate and pure water supply was of prime importance. New South Wales was developing nearby Burrinjuck Dam, an enormous water body at that time, to enable the development of irrigation areas along the Murrumbidgee. In a similar mode it was even suggested that a dam just below the junction of the Molonglo and Murrumbidgee Rivers would provide an enormous inland lake that would allow boat transport around a large area of the future city.

Surveyor-General Scrivener who had been involved in some of the earlier investigations selected within the Yass-Canberra district a city site traversed by a major floodplain of the Molonglo. This was a purposeful decision. Ornamental water was a key element in every important city of the period. By siting the city astride the floodplain, there was the potential to hold at little cost, ornamental waters on a grand scale. Regulating weirs in the catchment would regulate floods and maintain water levels. An Advisory Board[2] formed to advise the Minister of Home Affairs as to the best site also gave prominence to ornamental water.

1.2 The approved design for the city

For the Federal Capital Competition, ornamental water was listed as a requirement and river flows and weir positions on the Molonglo were indicated. The plan provided to competitors centred the city on the flood plain and showed the level of the highest recorded flood.

Although the Advisory Board believed the city would be best located to the south of the river, this was not conveyed in the competition brief.

137 entries were adjudicated. Records of the 46 designs that were copied for the Australian Government show that most designers used the floodplain to develop ornamental waters, either as lakes or canals. The entry by Walter B Griffin of Chicago was awarded first prize. Griffin's design adapted the natural contours to form water basins "of the largest extent consistent with location in the heart of the city" with flanking naturalistic lakes. Views were "uninterrupted across the basin and the water front of the public gardens and along the broad plaisance to Ainslie". A water axis at right angles to a land axis integrated main topological features of the city. Griffin utilised two weirs; one at 1825 feet to hold back the lower outlying informal West Lake and the triple internal architectural basins; the other weir at 1845 feet to hold back the waters at a higher level for a large naturalistic East Lake whose beaches were to be allowed to vary with the river supply in order to maintain the formal basins and lower lake at a uniform level throughout the year. This weir was to carry the railway as well as roads.

In that the Australian Government did not feel obliged to use this design or any of the others, a Board of Departmental officers reviewed the designs and developed its own scheme. This contentious issue was only resolved after a change of Government and Griffin was brought to Australia to discuss his design with the Departmental Board.

The Board expressed alarm about the cost of the earthworks for the lakes and avenues, doubted the adequacy of the water supply for the upper lake, and were worried about the hygienic effect of fluctuating water levels. They also urged the establishment of both government and civic centres on the south of the river for the convenience of the growing town [3] Griffin in turn explained his theories of design, could not see shelter from the wind was a primary consideration and believed that the Board's advocacy of the southern location for the initial population must confine urban development in the area permanently, a result which would contradict all the expressed reasons for selecting the site. Griffin was quite unable to accept the Board's arguments that Canberra would never become large and that it was unprecedented to divide a city by water. [4]

Minister Kelly instructed Griffin to prepare new drawings. Griffin and the Board discussed the revised plan and the following day, Kelly called the Board members into his room thanked them for their services and disbanded them. Two days later Griffin was formally appointed Federal Capital Director of Design and Construction. The problems Griffin had in gaining the co-operation of Departmental officers to start the construction of the city and the political intrigues involved are reported in the 1916 Blackett Inquiry and will not be developed in this paper.

It is enough to say that Griffin considered the lakes as critical and anticipated their implementation early in the development of the city. He even considered the larger lake proposal to be gained by the dam below the junction of the Molonglo and Murrumbidgee Rivers to be feasible. By 1915 he had started preliminary investigations and engaged the services of T. Noble Anderson for expert engineering advice. Perhaps the biggest stumbling block was the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Public Works which had been established to enquire into all projects over 25,000 pounds. An investigation into the building of ornamental waters was one of its first inquiries.

In 1916, as a result of evidence presented to the Public Works Committee, it recommended unanimously "that the suggested eastern lake be indefinitely postponed and that the provision of the other ornamental waters be delayed for a period of years." It also recommended that the lakes should be formed following generally the contours; that is, the formal basins should be modified. It was also decided that "pending the formation of the lakes, the area to be submerged, as well as the 100 ft reservations around them, be utilised for agricultural or other purposes on permissive occupancy".

In 1953, a witness for the Public Works inquiry into the Commonwealth Avenue Bridge summarised the 1916 decisions made regarding the lake as based on "the expense involved, the large area of land which would be submerged, the considerable area of ornamental water which would be provided by the other lakes, and that an earthen dam in the position proposed would not be a harmonious feature in the landscape." [5] Another reason was a real concern over the adequacy of the water supply to fill the large East lake during periods of drought.

Griffin continued to work on the infrastructure of the city, securing key avenues and nodes in the layout of the city both north and south of the river until the end of 1920 when his contract was not renewed.

1.3 Implementing the design

The Federal Capital Advisory Committee, established in 1921, advised the Minister on the design and construction of the national capital and construction was undertaken by the Department of Works. Although the FCAC was committed to the Griffin plan, there were some problems with its implementation and attempts were made to consolidate development on the southern side of the river to avoid the problems of the floodplain. Progress was slow.

In an attempt to speed development, the Federal Capital Commission was formed in 1925 with considerable power to undertake development. Continuing commitment to the Griffin plan resulted in Griffin's 1918 plan being gazetted in 1925 as the approved plan for Canberra. From that time on, changes to the gazetted plan required tabling in Parliament and the support of both houses.

Another attempt was made to implement a revised lake in 1926. This proposal was much less ambitious and based on a series of weirs backing up water to form a continuous ribbon of water. Presented to the Public Works Committee for inquiry, it was again recommended that the lake could wait. Provisional Parliament House was completed in 1927 and commercial and suburban development continued to the north and the south of the floodplain.

With the onset of the economic depression of the 1930s and the abolition of the FCC, the management of the Territory was split between several departments and administered from Melbourne. From time to time, attempts were made to raise the issue of the lake, but there was no driving force to follow through the proposal. Only essential building work was carried out and it was not until after the war that any serious attempt was made to develop housing for the population that had more than doubled. [6] At this time there was a further attempt to resurrect the idea of the great lake as a post-war reconstruction project.

Although the physical form of Canberra changed little over the war years, the scene was set for rapid growth. The role and power of the Commonwealth had changed during the war period with many State responsibilities coming under Commonwealth control. From 1947 there was a

move to bring departments to Canberra in stages. There was to be a general expansion of city services, a large building program and changes in the method of city government. Cabinet even approved the plan and allocated an annual budget of 2 million pounds.

Unfortunately this initiative failed. Lack of political patronage and executive direction coincided with a change of government in 1949. Canberra development continued in an uncoordinated manner under fragmented departmental administration with advice being given to the Minister by the Canberra-based National Capital Planning and Development Committee. Under this regime two major changes were made to the Canberra plan; in 1950 East lake was removed along with the railway connection to Yass and in 1953 West lake was eliminated and replaced by a ribbon of water.

2. UNIFYING A DIVIDED CITY

In the 1950's, the first impressions of visitors to Canberra were rarely complimentary. In the centre of what was supposed to be the city were river flats covered with lucerne paddocks and grazing stock. During the period of Robert Menzies Prime Ministership, Canberra found a patron. From an initial disinterest, Menzies became aware of town planning and the importance of a strong national capital as a symbol of national development and world standing. Actions leading to this goal included acting on the recommendations of the 1955 select Senate Committee inquiry into the development of Canberra. An eminent town planner was invited to give advice, and a strong and progressive planning authority was formed with responsibility to plan, construct and develop the city. Given sufficient power and funding, the National Capital Development Commission rose to the challenge with the implementation of a landscape vision, Lake Burley Griffin.

2.1 Senate Inquiry 1954-55

Two significant national events in the early 1950s threw the spotlight on Canberra as the national capital. The first occurred during the 1951 Jubilee celebrations. It was the Commonwealth Jubilee Congress on Regional and Town Planning. Attended by most of the significant town planners in Australia and notable overseas experts including William Holford, Griffin's design was reviewed with favour. The second event was the visit early in 1954 by the new regent, Queen Elizabeth II to open Parliament. Media attention marked Canberra as the national capital.

Canberra's piecemeal development came under scrutiny at the end of 1954 when the Senate Select Committee commenced hearing evidence from witnesses. Chaired by Senator J.A. McCallum, the report was presented to Parliament towards the end of 1955. It recommended that the existing departmental control be replaced by a single Canberra Authority with corporation status and adequate funds. Regarding the lake, it recommended "that examination of the lakes question be undertaken immediately, and final decision implemented as soon as possible, provision of the three central basins being regarded as obligatory". One Senator presented a dissenting report. Woods regarded the Griffin plan as inadequate and recommended a redesign by a "first-class town planner" and that an outside advisory body be set up comprising a planner, an architect and an engineer.

2.2 Holford, the visiting expert

In mid-1957, Sir William Holford, the eminent British town planner, accepted a commission from the Australian Government to advise on the future of Canberra. In his report, *Observations on the Future Development of Canberra, ACT*, made to the Commonwealth Parliament in 1958, he presented the alternatives: "either to remain a divided city, with the flood plain of the Molonglo as an open wedge between the federal town on the south bank and the municipality on the north ... , or to become a unified city, metropolitan in character if not in size, a cultural and administrative centre and a national capital."

2.3 The National Capital Development Commission.

Consequent to the Senate inquiry recommendations, the National Capital Development Commission was established as a statutory body in September 1957 to undertake and carry out the planning, development and construction of the city. Despite some objections from Parliament, government departments and the general public, the NCDC mobilised its resources in a way that no other development agency had done in the past. Prime Ministerial patronage, the appointment of a strong Commissioner and an assured budget certainly helped. The Commission commenced operations on 1 March 1958 with John Overall as Commissioner. A National Capital Planning Committee comprising architects, planners, engineers and cultural experts with the Commissioner as Chairman was formed to provide advice to the NCDC and the Minister.

The first year was spent in planning with the focus in two areas. The first dealt with the expansion of the urban areas and the second related to planning proposals which would give Canberra the status of a National Capital. The completion of the Lakes, the development of the central parks and the construction of public buildings were considered essential to the second category.

In approaching the question of the Lakes, the NCDC summarised; "The outstanding capital cities of the world incorporate water areas, whether consciously planned or not. All the Australian State capitals have been built around or have developed water features. The enjoyment of water sports has become an important part of our way of life. In Canberra, away from the sea, the value of the water is even greater."[7]

A little more than a month after staff began, the Department of Works was commissioned to undertake urgent hydrological studies and establish the design criteria for the required engineering for the Lake Scheme. The study required co-operative input from many Commonwealth and State Departments.[8] In preparing its report it was assumed that the East lake would not be provided, that alternative weir sites at Yarralumla and Acton would be reviewed and that the normal level of the lake would be at 1825 feet or at a level to be suggested after the investigation. A river model was constructed as part of the Department of Works study and planting was started on the high ground of the lake margins.

Early in 1959, the NCDC published its Planning Report covering the five year period 1959-1964 and presented a five year works program to Cabinet for funding approval. This program provided for essentials of urban growth and also for special features considered to be the minimum required to "commence the progression of Canberra from a utilitarian city to a National Capital". The Lakes Scheme was itemised separately with an expenditure of 2.2 million pounds over the five year period. Secure financing was critical in that the Commonwealth Annual Budget System often resulted in difficulty providing for an orderly

flow of works under the Works Program. It was only with the direct intervention of Menzies that the Lakes funding over five years was guaranteed.

By 1960 work on Scrivener Dam had begun and in March 1962 Menzies opened Kings Avenue Bridge with considerable fanfare. By September 1963 the valves on Scrivener Dam were closed and the lake slowly started to fill. Despite some sceptics who thought the lake would never fill, heavy falls in the catchment in April 1964 rapidly brought the lake to the planned level of 1825 feet or 556 metres. On the windy Saturday afternoon of 17 October 1964, Sir Robert Menzies officially inaugurated the lake at Regatta Point amidst the setting of a sailing regatta. Lake Burley Griffin was the largest landscape work ever undertaken in Australia for ornamental reasons and Canberra was the largest inland city with a population exceeded the 75,000 of the Griffin plan.

In writing on the history of Canberra, Eric Sparke asserts, "Completion of the lake produced, in John Overall's words, 'a bonus of confidence', reflected in an upsurge in private investment which earned many times the cost of the lake for consolidated revenue. ... the lake was the Everest of NCDC's early phase. It integrated and brought meaning to the city, gave it a magnificent legacy of water and park, and established for all time the basic geometry of the Griffin plan for the national centre". [9]

Within Commissioner John Overall's first seven-year term of appointment (1958-1965), the NCDC developed strategies, organisational and construction approaches that enabled it to implement a landscape vision which visually and physically unified the city through the creation of Lake Burley Griffin, its setting and its bridges.

ENDNOTES

[1] District Surveyor Scrivener had been instructed by the Federal Minister for Home Affairs, Hugh Mahon to bear in mind that; *the Federal Capital should be a beautiful city, occupying a commanding position with extensive views and embracing distinctive features which will lend themselves to the evolution of a design worthy of the object, not only for the present but for all time, consequently the potentialities of the site will demand most careful consideration from a scenic standpoint, with the view of securing picturesqueness, and also with the object of beautification and expansion.*
[2] The Advisory Board comprised Departmental officers; David Miller (Chairman) Secretary, Department of Home Affairs; Percy T. Miller, Director General of Commonwealth Public Works; W.L. Vernon, Government Architect New South Wales and Charles Robert Scrivener, District Surveyor New South Wales. It was formed 9 February 1909 and reported its views and recommendations to the Minister on 16 June 1909.
[3] Jim Gibbney, *Canberra 1913-1953*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1988, p.34.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Hugh Wilson, Assistant Chief Hydraulic Engineer, Commonwealth Department of Works, Head Office, originally presented his report, *Molonglo Lakes Proposals*, to the Director of Engineering at the Department of Works. The report was later used in the 1954-5 Senate Inquiry into Canberra's development.
[6] Canberra's 1929 population was 6880, in 1939 at the beginning of the war it was 10,800 and in 1947 it was 13,500.
[7] National Capital Development Commission, 1959, *Planning Report Covering Proposals for the Five Year Period 1959-1964*, Canberra, p.7.
[8] Departments of Interior and Health; The Commonwealth Bureau of Mineral Resources, Geology and Geophysics; The Commonwealth Bureau of Meteorology and the Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation; The Water Conservation and Irrigation Commission and the Soil Conservation Service of New South Wales.
[9] Eric Sparke, *Canberra 1954-1980*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1988, p.144.

A Century of Planning: From Standard of Living to Quality of Life

Raphael Fischler
School of Urban Planning
McGill University
Montreal
Canada

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is at once ambitious and modest. On the one hand, it aims to describe the evolution of modern urban planning between the year 1900 and the year 2000. On the other hand, its goal is merely to turn a hunch into a hypothesis. The hunch is that the change and the continuity that characterize the past hundred years of planning practice can be captured in two expressions, "standard of living" and "quality of life." The idea is, first, that both phrases represent the ongoing effort of planners to analyze social phenomena objectively in order to make urban problems amenable to public intervention and, second, that the shift from "standard" to "quality" denotes a fundamental change in planning and in government and society at large. The hypothesis is that the modification of planning which the linguistic change evokes is due, at least in part, to the transformation of the identity and status of the worker in western society or, in more general and marxian terms, to a redefinition of the problem of labor power.

The essay is based on primary and secondary sources, one set from the first two decades of the century, another set from the last twenty years. American sources form the majority of the evidence, but Canadian and British sources were consulted as well. Literature from other countries would have to be used in order to give the argument a wider validity. The intellectual scope of the inquiry comes at the expense not only of geographic range but also of historical depth: contradictory interests or conflicting interpretations in planning, either then or now, are acknowledged but not explored. Any analysis of planning, generically speaking, over several decades and across different continents, is doomed to be superficial. It is hoped that the hypothesis advanced here, though not radically new, will nevertheless stimulate further research on the linkages between urban planning and the Welfare State in various countries and on the ways in which changing definitions of social problems guide the eyes and hands of planners.

Standard of living, quality of life

Planning pioneers used the expression "standard of living" to refer to a set of economic and environmental conditions which would guarantee the physical efficiency and social integration of the manual worker in modern industrial society. Officials and philanthropists who ventured into the slums of American and British cities noted explicitly the link between poor housing and lower productivity at work. The programme of reform that they helped to launch was in large part guided by the imperative of efficiency, the efficiency of the city as a whole and the efficiency of the individual worker. While one group of professionals attended to the development of good production and transportation infrastructure, another was chiefly preoccupied with the poor living conditions of the labouring classes. To address this problem, some focused on the issue of wages and supplemental revenues, others on the quality of houses and neighborhoods. But both sets of reformers, the social-economic and the environmental, resorted to the idea of standard of living to articulate their purposes and shape their actions.

The housing conditions of the poor were by no means the only object of attention of early planners, nor was interest in working-class housing conditions driven by a singular benevolent interest. In fact, the planning movement would soon part ways with the movement of social reform, a close ally at the turn of the century. Still, one may understand modern urban planning as the merging of two historical streams of thought and action: on the one hand, an architectural impulse, an attempt to regulate the development of the built environment in order to meet human needs; on the other hand, a utopian impulse, a desire to make society more orderly and happy. The struggle to raise the standard of living encapsulated both drives, because it represented an attempt at social betterment—improving the happiness of the common person--and because it did so, in part, by means of environmental reform, aimed at increasing the health, safety and welfare of the population. The cornerstone of spatial improvement policies was the enunciation of standards of adequacy for dwellings, neighborhoods and infrastructure. Between, roughly, 1840 and 1960, urban development in western cities was guided in large part (though not exclusively, especially in Britain after the 1920s) by quantitative specification standards. For French designers of post-W.W.II "grands ensembles" as well as for American regulators of nineteenth-century tenements, the goal was to formulate standards that would raise the quality of housing within the limits imposed by existing economic conditions. Though reformers and planners recognized the qualitative (moral, spiritual) nature of the standard of living, they used the term, in effect, as a shorthand for the ensemble of particular standards achieved in the realms of housing, nutrition, clothing, recreation, etc.

The phrase "quality of life," as opposed to "standard of living," gives voice to an ongoing concern with non-material dimensions of human welfare, beyond the basic needs of the individual. (The concept of "amenity" in British planning alludes to this idea.) It translates a broader notion of human productivity and a growing recognition that well-being is also a function of cultural vitality and political autonomy. It expresses the concerns of those who care about sustainable development but also the interests of those who worry about the competitiveness of their city in the post-industrial age. The notion of quality of life emerged in the 1960s as a key concept in attacks on modernist planning and its standards-based methods. In western cities, the reaction was prompted chiefly by the loss of history and community in the face of urban renewal; in the Third World, it was provoked by the failures of technocratic development efforts. Critics rejected the idea that planning should serve to meet a narrowly conceived sets of needs or interests and claimed that there was more to development than making profit or increasing the GNP per capita.

In Western urban planning, the notion of quality of life was in effect borrowed by officials and business people in their attempts to revitalize cities and position them advantageously in their competitive field. The history of the City Beautiful Movement attests to the fact that planning pioneers also cared about urban amenity and the international status of cities. What is noteworthy, though, is that the technique of evaluation embodied both in the idea of standard of living and in the idea of quality of life--the use of quantitative indicators of living conditions--has been utilized with a double twist. First, the focus is now on middle- or upper-middle-class residents rather than on working-class people; second, the source of quality of life lies in large part in private-sector environments, goods and services.

The causes of this change are to be found, obviously, in the tremendous increase in global mobility and global competition, which have themselves been made possible by the digital revolution. Technological advances have also rendered the high-tech and service sectors, rather than heavy industry, the engines of urban economic development. Under these circumstances, the knowledge and entrepreneurship of highly mobile and choice-conscious individuals has replaced the physical

strength of rural or foreign immigrants as the primary object of attention of urban policy makers. While no regional economy today could function without its abundant supply of low-wage, low-skill workers, these people's well-being is no longer an economic need, nor is it, therefore, a political priority.

The Welfare State, of which urban planning was a significant vector in the first decades of the profession, can no longer compensate for the decline of worker's utility. To its fiscal and ideological crisis has been added a political crisis: the Welfare State cannot sustain past levels of expenditure, its bureaucratic institutions have lost public confidence, and the social contract on which it was based (the solidarity of people exposed to the dangers of industrial production, its accidents, its seasonal and cyclical fluctuations) has unraveled.

At the same time, globalization has also meant world-wide immigration from the poorer South to the richer North. Immigration was also an issue at the turn of the twentieth-century, and the fear of the Other was an important theme in contemporary writings. Yet manual labor offered most (but not all) a ticket of entry into the mainstream of society. At the close of the century, the incredible diversity of cultures, races and religions, the bifurcation of economic opportunities, and a greater sensitivity for difference have made multiculturalism, rather than assimilation, the order of the day. In the first instance, the idea of an "American (or Canadian or French, etc.) standard of living" served not only to assess the living conditions of workers but also to promote a sense of common expectations in terms of material and social achievement.

The "average man" (gendered masculine), whatever his background, could make it into the middle class, and urban planning was one tool that the State could use to facilitate his integration. Today, the idea of "New York City's (or Toronto's or Paris's, etc.) quality of life" is a tool to assess whether taxpayers are getting their tax dollars' worth and whether the city is competitive on the national and international stage. But, with its emphasis on social and cultural factors, it is also a means to assess how well minority groups fare in urban society. Indeed, while quality-of-life studies have been particularly important in the area of medicine and medical ethics, "quality of life" in planning is about the health of the community (of the multiple communities in the city), not just the well-being of the individual. Because of this collective approach, and because of the association of "quality of life" with elite concerns, "standard of living" remains the term of reference when it comes time to argue for improving the material living conditions of the poor.

Conclusion

During the first decades of the century, raising the standard of living of workers, which meant primarily increasing their wages and ameliorating their living conditions, was, alongside the development of urban infrastructure and public services, a means of providing industry with a more efficient and reliable workforce. Since the 1970s, improving the quality of life, which means chiefly to create a more pleasant and healthful environment, is a way of securing the presence of highly qualified knowledge-workers. Despite the differences--in scope, emphasis, tone--, between the two concepts, the idea of "quality of life" does not mark a radical departure from the tradition of public governance and urban management that emerged from the nineteenth century and of which the notion of "standard of living" is a prominent expression. Both constructs are modernist in nature: they exemplify our continued attempts to represent human reality in quantitative terms and to render more "rational" our collective decision-making. "Quality of life" is to our post-industrial and multicultural society what "standard of living" was to the industrial and assimilationist society

of the past: a shorthand for people's understanding of what is needed to live a healthy life, a worthy life. What has changed is our understanding of health and our conception of worth.

References

Devine, Edward T., *The Normal Life* (New York: Survey Associates, Inc., 1915).

Douglas, Mike, and John Friedmann (Eds.), *Cities for Citizens: Planning and the Rise of Civil Society in a Global Age* (Chichester & New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1998).

Hunter, Robert, *Poverty: Social Conscience in the Progressive Era* (New York: Macmillan, 1904; rpt. Harper Torchbooks, 1965).

Nussbaum, Martha, and Amartya Sen (Eds.), *The Quality of Life* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

Offer, Avner (Ed.), *In Pursuit of the Quality of Life* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).

Richards, Ellen H., The *Cost of Living as Modified by Sanitary Science*, 2nd ed. (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1903 [1899]).

Rosanvallon, Pierre, *La nouvelle question sociale: Repenser l'Etat-providence* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1995).

Rowntree, B. Seebohm, *The Human Needs of Labour* (London & New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1918).

Sandercock, Leonie, *Towards Cosmopolis: Planning for Multicultural Cities* (Chichester & New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1998).

Schmandt, Henry J., and Warner Bloomberg, Jr. (Eds.), *The Quality of Urban Life* (Beverly Hills & London: Sage Publications; Urban Affairs Annual Reviews, Vol. 3; 1969).

School of Building and Real Estate, National University of Singapore, Proceedings of the First International Conference on Quality of Life in Cities: Issues and Perspectives, Singapore, 4 - 6 March 1998, 3 Vols.

Streightoff, Frank H., *The Standard of Living Among the Industrial People of America* (Boston & New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1911).

What's Old is New Again: The Use of Visualization in Communicating Planning Information and Policies

Kelleann Foster, RLA
Associate Professor
Landscape Architecture Dept., Penn State
University Park, PA
16802 - 1429 USA

Abstract

As the 21st century approaches, planning information is poised to shift into a more dynamic form of communication. At the beginning of this century planning's earliest advocates made ample use of diagrams and illustrations. It was recognized that citizen acceptance of their plans was required to move forward. To gain that acceptance, reports were lavishly illustrated. Sometime during the depression the use of graphics associated with planning and policies disappeared and it was not until the last decade or so that the use of illustrations resurfaced.

Many planners and designers understand the importance of recognizing and communicating the special qualities that create a place's identity. Actual pictures from a town along with photo-realistic simulations can greatly advance the public's comprehension of policies for that specific place. Understanding the historic importance of images and their re-newed acceptance, combined with new computer technologies, provides the basis for a major paradigm shift in how planning information and policies will be communicated in the next century.

It is beginning to be shown that if planning policies can be made more novice and citizen friendly, the planning process will be able to engage and involve more people. Two new multimedia tools, the Visual Interactive Code (VIC) and Pa. BLUPRINTS (Best Land Use Principles & Results, INTeractively Shown) provide exciting examples of this new communication paradigm.

Historic Use of Images

Everyone realizes that towns are complex, dynamic and multi-dimensional; unfortunately typical planning policies of today are static and often full of legalese text, which falls far short in representing that richness of place (Tufte 1991). The use of images can help overcome this lack of richness in the expression of place, and historically they were employed by early planners to assist in

A sketch prepared to illustrate cottage type houses proposed for working men in Bridgeport. (Figure 1)

public comprehension of planning proposals. The city reform movement advocates in the late 19th century recognized that citizen acceptance of their plans was necessary to secure funding. Here we find the origins for a reciprocal relationship between the public and the expert, "the designer" (Wilson 1989). To gain that crucial public acceptance, reports were lavishly illustrated. The 1909 *Plan of Chicago* (Burnham) "has been called an 'art book' of monumental character." It was distributed practically world-wide and became an invaluable example of this type of community education and communication (Hubbard 1929). Essentially, the Chicago Plan sold its ideas through the use of powerful visuals. This publication established the framework regarding the importance of using images for city planning.

With the Chicago Plan precedent, it became commonly accepted that plans prepared to inform a city about new ideas for planning and policies were to be well illustrated. In fact the definitive authority in the 1920's, Hubbard and Hubbard, who wrote profusely from Harvard's Landscape Architecture Department, stated that "unless a report is attractively illustrated by pictures and plans, frequently it is not understood or appreciated" (Hubbard 1929). They also state that "Nothing speaks as clearly as pictures..." "Text should be clear and brief, with... statistics and details (placed) in the appendices..., photographs and diagrams are to be used... to give visual proof of critical points..." (Hubbard 1929). Figure 1 is from landscape architect John Nolen's "Plan for Bridgeport CT," completed during this time and exemplifying this illustrative approach.

As with most new ideas, there was a great amount of energy and excitement regarding the promotion of the city reform (City Beautiful) concepts. Many visually-based methods of public communication were used, such as window displays in downtown shopping districts (Hubbard 1929). Even movies -- which are obviously totally image based -- were used effectively in some places. The classic example of a movie for planning purposes was the Chicago Plan Commission's "Tale of One City" (Hubbard 1929).

When the promotion of city reform ideals lost it zeal, presumably sometime during the depression, the use of graphics and images associated with it also disappeared. Unfortunately their use did not resurface during the United State's next growth spurt following World War II.

Recent History of Images in Policies

Until about 30 years ago, planning policies' primary focus was to accommodate the attractive process of growth. But within the last 20 years, policies have involved the more difficult problems of restraining growth (Peter L. Abeles in Haar 1989). Policies are no longer just simple tools for separating the working and the living environments. Policies and regulations now include providing for differing housing needs, protecting scenic vistas, and conserving special habitats, amongst other issues (Peter L. Abeles in Haar 1989). Planning policies have become far more complex that their original city reform promoters could have imagined.

Recent research shows that frequently citizens do not realize the impact their policies will have on their community (Sullivan 1997). Unfortunately this leads to a failure to promote what a town wants for its future, and worse, it leads to the public's distrust of the whole planning process. The need to communicate these more complex relationships has been recognized through the creation of some new, non-traditional policy formats. Recently architects, landscape architects and other designers have become more involved in writing policies, which has resulted in a stronger emphasis on three-dimensional communication and spatial qualities.

One of the more widely known creators of a new code type is the team of Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk. Their promotion of neo-traditional town design has received much publicity. Since the town structure they advocate evolved prior to regulated policies, they needed to rework the typical policy format to accommodate their ideas. They devised a chart-like system that graphically depicts the standards for an area, such as use, building location, and parking (Mohney 1991). Because their work focuses on the qualities of the street, their codes typically delineate street cross-sections, which are quite similar to those generated over half a century ago to promote city reform ideas.

A similar approach, although one with a much stronger grounding in a specific community's character, are regulations for Pasadena, Ca. USA's "City of Gardens," adopted several years ago.
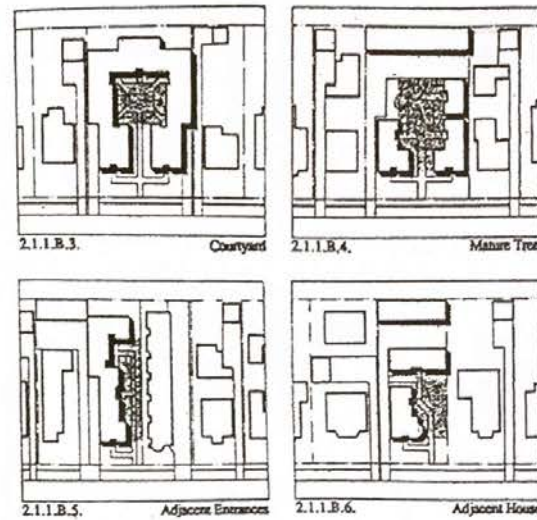
(Figure 2)

This policy for multi-family development was researched and created by Daniel Soloman and Christopher Alexander. Their goal was to perpetuate Pasadena's special garden character and architectural variety by establishing standards strongly based on the area's historic development patterns. Because of that, the regulations dictate the presence of courtyards (Osborn), as well as the visibility of these gardens from the street (Ellis 1988). The code uses many sketches, annotated plan views, and sections to communicate these regulations. (See Figure 2)

One of the most interesting new policy formats is found in the Planned Residential District for Manheim Township in Lancaster County Pa., USA. The planner at Nelessen Associates, who developed the code, feels it is very elemental -- a policy that the average citizen can understand (Constantine). It combines pictures and sketches with plain-English terminology. The code was developed through a series of workshops with local citizens using a Visual Preference Survey™. The process enabled the citizens to identify both good and poor examples of the type of growth desired in their community (Nelessen 1994). Then some of those example photographs were incorporated into the policy. Manheim Township's zoning code is unique due to the inclusion of actual pictures from within their community.

The future of policy communication

While the aforementioned examples provide an important step forward in policy format, it is just a beginning. The inclusion of graphics and black & white pictures to inform spatial understanding about a place must be taken further if we desire to have policies that adequately communicate this information to the public. It is "just a beginning" because the information is tied to a printed medium. The ability to easily cross-reference or search the wealth and diversity of information is non-existent, and the use of dynamic, color images is cost prohibitive. Printed regulations fall short in effectively communicating the complex issues associated with today's policies.

The combined capabilities of several computer technologies allow for highly visual and human-interactive results. Some of the more prominent of these are CD-ROMs for children's games and new reference materials such as multimedia encyclopaedias. In general, the use of dynamic computer technology in the land use design and planning fields lags behind the exciting advances in other fields.

The technology providing these advances is called "multimedia" software. Multimedia is simply defined as computer programs that allow text, hand-drawn sketches, maps, photographs, sound and video to be combined in a strongly visual and interactive way (Johnson 1995). "Interactivity" is one

of the most exciting aspects of multimedia because it allows information to be displayed visually and retrieved in a non-linear fashion. "The greatest benefit of this kind of system is the ability to link together many disparate pieces of information" (Wiggins 1990). Certainly the intricacies and inter-relatedness of planning policies fall into this category.

Nearly five years ago the author began development of an initial prototype multimedia policy to explore the possibilities of visual communication in this new medium. The prototype used SuperCard® multimedia software to organize, interconnect and access land use design and planning data in an interactive and strongly visual manner.

Multimedia software, allows information to be manipulated in two different ways -- it can be structured hierarchically and it can be linked (Himes 1990). It is the ability to link information that provides multimedia with its dynamic capabilities. There are two basic link structures: the "navigation jump" to another location in the data, and the display of hidden data (Himes 1990). When selected, any word, icon, or menu item can be designated to instantly link to, and then display, other information. These capabilities allow vast quantities of information to be stored, and then revealed only as needed. Since the type of information that multimedia software can handle is very diverse, a multimedia planning policy can be quite versatile and very visual while still being affordable.
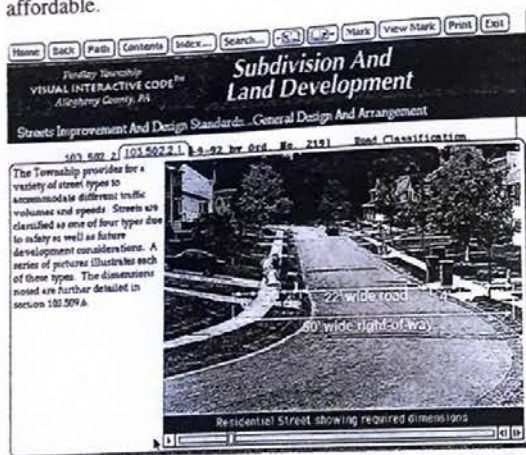
(Figure 3)
In VIC red-colored text (here, a policy section number) is selected to reveal a pop-up illustrative commentary window with plainly-worded text and a "slide show" of images.

The initial prototype evolved into a multimedia policy structure called the Visual Interactive Code™ (VIC™). (See Figure 3) The first town to actively use the VIC is Findlay Township, Pa. USA, a mostly rural town anticipating growth due to its location near the new Pittsburgh International Airport. The VIC development team of landscape architects, a software developer and a land use attorney translated the existing policies into a visually-based, place-specific format on the computer.

The creation of the VIC has significant advantages over the conventional policy format. These include:

• using color and pictures makes information more relevant for the public

• a graphically driven structure is easy to use and is engaging for the user

• illustrative qualities make the VIC stronger from a legal perspective

• the user retrieves information in a manner similar to our thinking processes

• VIC's organizational structure allows easy access to vast, disparate amounts of data

• it uses powerful yet affordable technology

• its creation process and use will encourage citizen participation

The latest example of the use of multimedia for the communication of planning information is the BLUPRINTS CD-ROM (Foster), released in July 1997. BLUPRINTS stands for Best Land Use Principles & Results, INTeractively Shown. The goal of the CD-ROM is to enhance public awareness of, and understanding about, alternative policy options for guiding development and protecting natural and cultural resources in a town. One of BLUPRINTS' most dynamic aspects is a collection of images, photo-realistic simulations and graphics that illustrate six regulatory topics in three different community settings -- rural, suburban and town. Picture buttons link the topics and illustrations for ease of use in navigating between them. Interactivity is further enhanced by photographic simulations which allow the user to experiment with changes to a particular view when variables are manipulated, such as building setbacks, road widths, and sign sizes (Figure 4). This colorful and engaging series of images, and their associated explanatory text, clarify and illustrate regulatory concepts that are currently difficult to understand in simple printed and text-based communication.

(Figure 4)
In the "Place Illustrations" portion of BLUPRINTS variables can be turned on/off to provide instant portrayal of its impacts on the scene.

The CD-ROM is already helping citizens discuss planning issues from an informed perspective. Citizens in Lycoming County, Pa. USA were at odds about how to set density standards for a proposed agricultural preservation policy. The community planner with the County Planning Commission feels that BLUPRINTS' pictures and explanations enabled the citizens to reach a consensus. He thinks the citizens could not have made the progress they did without the assistance of BLUPRINTS (Harris 1997).

The shift in communication paradigm seen in a multimedia policy will enable designers, planners, citizens, and developers equal and comprehensible access to the types of information required to make informed planning decisions about future development. Adaptations of multimedia technology can more comprehensively explain the possible results of implementing a policy as well as illustrate important concepts and alternative choices. This new communication format, with its roots in planning history, will lead citizens and public officials to empowered decision-making -- their town's future will be based on a better informed understanding of the factors affecting development.

References

Ellis, John. 1988. US Codes and Control, *Architectural Review*, 184, 1101: 81.

Burnham, Daniel Hudson, 1901/reprint 1993. *Plan of Chicago* New York : Princeton Architectural Press.

Constantine, James. 1993. Phone conversation, A. Nelessen Associates office, Princeton, NJ.

Foster, Kelleann, Timothy P. Johnson and David Goldberg. 1997. *Pa. BLUPRINTS*. University Park, PA: Penn State Landscape Architecture Department.

Haar, Charles and Jerold S. Kayden, eds. 1989. *Zoning and the American Dream*. Chicago: Planners Press.

Harris, Bill. 1997. Phone conversation, Lycoming County Planning Commission, Williamsport, PA.

Himes, Andrew and Craig Ragland. 1990. *Inside SuperCard*. Redmond, Wa.: Microsoft Press.

Hubbard, Theodora Kimball and Henry Vincent Hubbard. 1929/reprint 1974. *Our Cities Today and Tomorrow: A Survey of Planning and Zoning Progress in the United States*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Johnson, Timothy P. 1995. Desktop Multimedia, *Landscape Architecture Magazine*, 85, 9.

Kimball, Theodora. 1923. *Manual of Information on City Planning and Zoning*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Krueckenberg, Donald A. 1983. *Introduction to Planning History in the United States*. New Brunswick, NJ: Center for Urban Policy Research.

Mohney, David (ed.), and Keller Easterling. 1991. *Seaside : making a town in America*. London : Phaidon.

Nelessen, Anton C. 1994. *Visions for a New American Dream: Process, Principles and an Ordinance to Plan and Design Small Communities*. Ann Arbor, MI: Edwards Brothers.

Newell, Tim. 1994. Computer Imaging and Animation: Emerging Communication Tools for the Land Development Industry, *Land Development* 7, 2: 9-11.

Nolen, John, ed. 1916. *Better City Planning for Bridgeport, some fundamental proposals to the City plan commission*. Bridgeport, Conn.: Brewer-Colgan Co. Printers.

Osborn, Lola. 1993. Phone conversation, City of Pasadena California's Urban Conservation Division.

Sullivan, W.C., and F.E. Kuo, M.Prabhu. 1997. Communicating with Citizens: The Power of Photosimulations and Simple Editing, *Environmental Impact Assessment Review*, 17, 3: 295- 310.

Tufte, Edward R. 1991. *Envisioning Information*. Cheshire, CT: Graphics Press.

Wiggins, Lyna L. and Michael J. Shiffer. 1990. Planning with Hypermedia: Combining Text, Graphics, Sound, and Video, Journal of the American Planning Association, 56, 2: 226- 235.

Wilson, William H. 1989. *The City Beautiful Movement*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

The naturalising of urban open space: experiences from the United Kingdom and New Zealand

Dr. Claire Freeman
Resource and Environmental Planning
Massey University P.Bag 11222
Palmerston North
New Zealand
Tel : ++6 3504344 Fax: ++ 6 3505689
E.mail C.freeman@massey.ac.nz

Introduction
This paper examines the somewhat cyclical process of denaturalisation of landscapes that has occurred in New Zealand and the United Kingdom and the move now towards a re-naturalisation. It asks how these processes have influenced the landscape and the approaches that have been adopted by planners and land use managers in the conservation of valued landscapes. The focus is on urban areas which have seen the greatest degree of transformation and which present the greatest challenges for sustainable planning and biodiversity conservation in the twentieth century. To meet these challenges necessitates developing an understanding of the broader historical conservation processes and their relationship to the current resurgence of interest in developing natural landscapes in urban areas.

Redesigning the landscape; from forest to pasture
Both Britain and New Zealand in their natural state were similar. Both were characterised by extensive forests, with rugged steep forested highlands with poorly vegetated mountain tops, extensive river networks and wetlands and long uneven coastlines. In the 1990s forests have given way to pastureland, wetlands have been drained, rivers polluted, coastlines developed as ports, fishing harbours, cities and for tourism. In Britain there is no remaining natural landscape that has not been modified by human intervention. This does not mean however, that there is nothing of ecological value as the wealth of birdlife on the estuaries clearly indicates. In contrast New Zealand does have and now by and large, zealously guards its natural remnants, particularly its forests. The primary difference between the process of denaturalisation in the two countries is one of timescale. In Britain the denaturalisation has been a long and slow one punctuated by bouts of activity such as the Elizabethan felling of forests for ship building. By contrast New Zealand carried out an equally dramatic transformation of its landscape, most significantly from bush to sheep pasture in little over one hundred years.

The process of transformation
New Zealand: When the colonists arrived the Maori had already begun the process of transforming the New Zealand bush, the giant Moa was hunted to extinction. But, this was as nothing compared to the rate and scale of devastation that followed the European settlers. It was not only flightless birds such as the parrots and kiwis, or the slow long lived reptiles such as tuatara that succumbed, but the very base of the ecological system the indigenous bush. Whilst the transformations wrought by the Maori were noticeable they were tempered by the Maori respect for nature, through the approach of kaitiakitanga. In essence a responsibility for the guardianship of nature. The colonists

few such scruples, and set about clearing the indigenous forests with relentless energy, reducing the bush from its original 23 million hectares to its present 6.2 million (Taylor and Smith, 1997, p.5). The overall landscape transformation was such that "when the Treaty of Waitangi was signed almost all the plains ecosystems were composed exclusively of plants and animals native to the country" now "instead, almost every tree, every bird, every living thing on the coastal plains [with a few exceptions] is foreign" (Park, 1995, p.331).

Britain: Over the last 2000 or so years the British modified their own landscape slowly and without outside interference, developing a new landscape which has become highly regarded and valued in its own right. Henderson (1992, p. 397) in his study of wilderness argues that; "in general the British are quite satisfied with their landscapes... and therefore react quite negatively to landscape change, particularly if it does not pretend to be recreating some favoured historical element". The British ideal landscape is therefore a modified one that is perceived to incorporate both natural and man made elements. British conservationists have relied on a set of ideals founded on 'tradition'(Hambler and Speight, 1995). Conservationists would be expected therefore, be comfortable with the conservation of natural urban spaces which represent an extension of the modified landscape. However, as urban landscapes rarely fit in with preconceived notions of 'traditional' landscapes the adjustment to conserving urban in addition to rural landscapes and habitats has been slow.

The acceptance of transformation
Societies have "complex and possibly contradictory attitudes towards cultural heritage landscapes" (Kirby, 1991, p.326). It is a complexity that planner and resource manager have to work with. In New Zealand two contrasting states of mind have operated with regard to the natural landscape. The first emanating from the colonial attitude that bush is alien, threatening and in the way of progress, i.e. making a living. Therefore, when the colonists wanted to enjoy nature, it was not the bush and indigenous species that they wanted in their gardens and parks but tamed and historically familiar species such as 'roses' and 'rhododendrons'. The second state of mind is that of the conservationist. As early as the 1890s both states of mind were present as evidenced by the fact that, "the Liberal government was simultaneously pursuing the conflicting goals of opening land to settlement and designating a range of reserve types, including scenery, fauna, and flora and national parks for preservation purposes" (Roche, 1987, p.105). There are two major examples of early conservation that are worthy of note. Firstly, in 1887 TeHeuheu IV gifted Tongariro to the government to protect it from encroaching farmers. Tongariro National Park thus, predated the first British national parks by over sixty years. Secondly, the first New Zealand greenbelt area (which remains largely intact) in Wellington was set aside in 1841, predating the United Kingdom Greenbelt Act (1938) by nearly 100 years.

In Britain landscape transformation was an incremental process, and it is difficult to conceptualise a 'natural' British landscape in its pristine form. In Europe, and particularly in Britain, "the long, continuous and relatively dense settlement of Europe has meant that few areas have escaped the impact of man and virtually all have been used in some way over the centuries and millennia" (Pearce and Richez, 1987, p.55). In New Zealand the concept of natural has never been lost, as can be seen from the national parks. Unlike in Britain, New Zealand's National Parks meet the IUCN definition of "a relatively large area where: one or several ecosystems are not materially altered by human exploitation and occupation... or which contains a landscape of great natural beauty" (in Pearce & Richez, 1987, p. 54). The juxtaposition of pristine natural landscapes with scars resulting from natural landscape devastation: eroding hillsides, muddied rivers, the decline of much loved fauna such as the kiwi and the recent loss of unique birds such as the hui; has contributed to a strong desire amongst New Zealanders to protect remaining indigenous bush and its unique flora and bird life. Critical in this regard has been the establishment in 1987 of the Department of Conservation in New Zealand. An understanding of these historical processes of transformation, which have shaped urban greenspace planning, is essential if the differing processes of urban conservation are to be understood.

The development of urban open space
Urban open space is for the most part a product of its culture and society. In Britain few cities were planned, most grew organically with open space typically comprising functional spaces such as churchyards, market places, remains of village greens and flood plains. Planned open spaces came later with the development of urban open space coming into its own with the Victorians who are associated with many of the still substantial urban parks. These were formal parks, comprising landscaped gardens, together with carefully selected landscape features such as rose and bird gardens. Parallel to the development of this planned open space was the growth of an unplanned and far more ecologically interesting informal greenspace comprising amongst other land types, railway corridors, canal sides, allotments. In the later 1900s there followed the development of a wealth of wildlife that naturally colonised land associated with industrial decay, land that was too contaminated or too difficult to develop; derelict land, waste heaps, quarries, and mining areas (many areas suffering from subsidence are now superb wetlands).

New Zealand's open space developed in a less organic manner as would be expected with towns and cities that have a comparatively short history. The cities reflected the influence of both their geographical location, (often hilly coastal locations) and the transferral of British urban culture with its parks and preoccupation with formal landscaping and horticulture. The influence of British culture still resonates in new Zealand's parks with their rose gardens, greenhouses and exotic trees. Some of the British trees thrived in the idyllic warm wet New Zealand conditions, however not all did. So the search for specimen trees was expanded to include the Australian gums

which lapped up the warm wet conditions, growing to a size and flowering to a degree which they would struggle to achieve in their native location. New Zealanders were 'blessed' with ideal conditions for the rapid creation of formal parks that mimicked and arguably eclipsed their British counterparts.

In New Zealand's 'planned' cities there was little land left over for natural colonisation. Only where land was too steep or inhospitable to development could natural landscapes cling on, albeit in a modified form, as happened in Wellington with its town belt, or in small spaces such as undeveloped sections which somehow manage to evade the developers' notice. New Zealand's natural ecosystems are more fragile than in Britain. Few indigenous species are able to survive in the urban environment due to loss of habitat and inability to compete with exotic birds such as thrush, sparrow and mallard. This is an interesting contrast to Britain where ecological studies have shown the urban environment often has greater biodiversity than many rural areas and where a number of specialised species such as black redstart and sparrowhawk have contrary to expectations made successful adaptations to urban living.

Recognising and valuing the natural

Protection and conservation legislation and policies in both Britain and New Zealand have focused on protecting the rare, the valuable and the pristine. It is an emphasis that largely excludes the recognition and protection of urban landscapes which by virtue of their location and 'character' tend to be excluded from most conservation measures. This exclusion of urban landscapes and habitats is now being increasingly questioned and there is a definite and growing interest in urban ecology and urban habitats.

Valuing the urban environment
Our urban centres can be regarded as bellwethers of our global environmental fate. Our success at meeting the challenges of protecting biodiversity in urban areas is a good measure of our commitment to protecting functioning ecosystems world wide. If we can not act as responsible stewards in our own backyards, the long term prospects for biological diversity in the rest of the planet are grim indeed (Murphy, in Adams, 1994, p.139).

Britain: The importance of natural open spaces is now widely recognised in the United Kingdom, such that it seems odd that such an integral element of the urban system was overlooked for so long by both land use managers and ecologists. Support for the recognition of natural urban greenspace has come from a number of quarters: The Council of Europe (1986), The Open Spaces Society (1991), and the Royal Society for Nature Conservation, with its strong Urban Wildlife and Ecology Trusts and from within the planning profession itself (see inset).

This recognition is evident for example, in the development plans currently being produced where protection of natural urban areas, through designations such as local nature area and green corridor are now common practice. Substantial ecological records are available for natural areas in cities usually collected by Wildlife and Ecological Trusts and supported by the local authority. Local authorities and indeed some planning departments are increasingly employing ecologists. Legislation and government documentation are also recognising the amenity and ecological value of natural open space of which Planning Policy Guidance Note 9 *Nature Conservation* (Department of the Environment, 1995) is the most significant. As we move towards the millennium the future of urban nature conservation in the United Kingdom on the surface at least, seems to be developing well. It is supported by relevant national documentation and legislation, substantial ecological databases, and is integrated into plans and the planning process.

New Zealand: In New Zealand the shift towards recognising and supporting natural urban open space has been less perceptible and for the most part more recent in origin. At national legislative and policy level there is still minimal reference to natural urban greenspace in any of the key planning documentation. Significantly, the key environmental document in New Zealand, tyhe Resource Management Act makes no explicit reference to natural *urban* greenspace. Fortunately, there are some indications that the omission of natural urban landscapes from national

Royal Town Planning Institute
We should also be looking to the protection of rich natural habitats throughout all areas, including the cities. The planning system should have an important role in the 'greening' of our urban areas. Ecology and landscape policies should be an essential part of many development proposals... (1990, p.11)

documentation is to be addressed in the near future. The Office of the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment (PCE) is an independent oversight body responsible for reviewing and reporting on the environmental impact of government activities, including environmental planning. In its draft *Strategic Plan* for the environment identifies the management of the urban environment as a significant area to be addressed by the Commissioner over the next five years. (July, 1997). In addition the PCE recommended the production of a "comprehensive inventory of open space in urban areas as an essential component of good planning practice. Some local authorities, particularly larger urban councils such as Wellington, Auckland, and Christchurch are taking urban conservation seriously and do have and continue to develop ecological strategies of various types, supported by substantial ecological data bases.

Developing a natural urban ethos potential and pitfalls.

In terms of documentation, policy and planning guidance, mechanisms for the protection and enhancement of natural urban open space are far more advanced in the United Kingdom than in New Zealand. But to leave the analysis at this point is premature and of questionable validity. The natural indigenous areas found in New Zealand far exceed in ecological significance and extent any natural areas in the United Kingdom. Largely due to its inhospitable geography but occasionally due to far-sighted thinking on the part of some early colonists some of New Zealand's main cities retain tracts of indigenous habitat that is of excellent urban ecological value, again far in excess of comparable United Kingdom urban habitats. New Zealand is expected to increasingly benefit from the recognition of Maori approaches to land management which recognise the integrity of natural landscapes. Planners have being forced to broaden their outlook to incorporate alternative approaches in which natural areas and their integrity is seen as a serious planning concern. New Zealanders are having to come to terms with and admit the environmental damage that they have wreaked on their unique landscape and reappraise fundamental planning ideas and methods. In part this process has been supported by the far sighted but somewhat impractical Resource Management Act. To reintegrate natural habitats into the New Zealand urban landscape will be a difficult and demanding task as planners and land use managers have limited experience of natural urban space.

Conclusion

On the surface the United Kingdom appears to be progressing well in developing a more naturalistic approach to open space planning. The planning of natural open space is becoming accepted as an integral component in planning policy, development plans and development control. However, urban conservation in the United Kingdom ew Zealand continues to be bedevilled by many of the problems experienced in New Zealand. Both have inherited conservation approaches developed for rural areas and were not designed to meet the needs of the modified, robust and heavily peopled habitats of the urban landscape. In New Zealand the conservation priorities remain the saving of its unique and endangered fauna and flora, much of it endangered by highly robust and resilient foreign invaders. The naturalisation and conservation of modified urban landscapes may seem to many to be inconsequential by comparison. Yet, whether in New Zealand or in Britain urban areas are where the majority of the population live and interact with their environment and it is where planners can have their greatest influence. Planners need to look forward, but to do so requires that they understand and embrace the complex societal and cultural histories that have shaped the landscape in the past.

References

Adams, L.W. (1994) *Urban Wildlife habitats A Landscape Perspective*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis.
Council of Europe Committee of Ministers (1986) *Recommendation No.R.(86) 11 of the Committee of Ministers to Member States on Urban Open Space*.
Department of the Environment (1995) *Planning Policy Guidance Note 9: Nature Conservation*, HMSO, London.
Grey, A. (1994) *Aotearoa and New Zealand A Historical Geography*, Canterbury University Press, New Zealand.
Hambler, C. and Speight, M.R. (1995) Biodiversity conservation in Britain: science replacing tradition, *British Wildlife*, 6 (3), p.137-147.
Henderson, N. (1992) Wilderness and the Nature Conservation Ideal: Britain, Canada and the United States Contrasted, *Ambio*, Vol. 21 No.6. pp.394-399.
Kirby, V.G. (1991) Heritage or millstone? A review of the relevance of historic landscapes to sustainable land management in New Zealand today, *International Conference on Sustainable Land Management; Proceedings*, Napier,13-17, Nov. Hawkes Bay Regional Council.
Memon, P.A. (1993) *Keeping New Zealand Green: recent environmental reforms*, Otago Press, New Zealand.
Open Spaces society (1991) *Spaces between, Community Action for Urban open Space*, National Council for Voluntary Organisations, London.
Park, G. (1995) *Nga Urorora The Groves of Life*, Victoria University Press, Wellington.
Roche, M.M. (1987) A time and a place for National Parks, *New Zealand Geographer*, Vol. 43, No. 2, pp. 104-107.
Royal Town Planning institute (1990) Caring for the environment through conservation and change: A Royal Town Planning Institute Position Statement, *The Planner*, Oct, pp.11-12.
Taylor, R. and Smith, I (eds)(1997) *The State of New Zealand's Environment*, Ministry for the Environment, GP Publications, Wellington.

The UK planning system - can it change from reactive to pro-active?

Hildebrand Frey
Director, Urban Design Studies Unit
Department of Architecture and Building Science
University of Strathclyde
Glasgow G4 0NG
Scotland, UK

Introduction

With a few notable exceptions, today's city planning system in the UK is largely reactive. It responds to some degree to the demands of city departments and agencies, to politicians out for instant success and, but most importantly to economic forces (investors, developers) for support of their understandably selfish development objectives. But even worse than the lack of co-ordination and integration of disparate development projects is that at a time when the discussion of sustainable urban development and form is intensifying the planning system seems to be unable to participate let alone lead the debate.

This paper attempts to explain in a brief review how the role and nature of the planning system in the UK changed over the last 100 or so years. The City of Glasgow will be used as medium for the illustration of the impact of different planning attitudes and approaches because it is at hand and information is readily available. Added to this review will be a personal view of what the role of planning is and what it ought to do - to plan and shape, i.e. design the city and city region. In the presentation this will be illustrated through strategic urban design frameworks again for the conurbation of Glasgow. The paper will conclude with the discussion of the changes to the planning system believed to be essential and urgently required to become pro-active.

The period of the 'invisible' but effective planning system - pre World War I development

The pre WWI development of Glasgow generated what some call the 'strongest Victorian city in the UK if not Europe'. One would therefore assume that planning played an essential role in achieving the considerable degree of coherence if not within the city of that period at large then within its individual development clusters. Yet this consistency of urban form, structure, development pattern is not at all the result of rigorous planning. Development was incremental, largely speculative and therefore driven by economic forces and, with the exception of small areas, there is little evidence of masterplans.

Nevertheless all incremental development projects added up to generate coherent urban areas which share many characteristics:

- perimeter block development, predominantly with continuous enclosure of streets and squares;
- within individual districts a more or less regular grid pattern, modified by topography, rivers, other natural and man made features;
- similar building types such as tenement, terrace, warehouse etc.;

- a rigorous identity of building height (3 or more generally 4 floors) in some areas and a mixture of floor heights in others as a result of different historical layers of development;
- the use of similar building materials (sandstone), architectural language and detailing, colour and texture of surfaces.

This is not to say that all was good with Victorian Glasgow. There was considerable poverty and ill health, overcrowding and bad sanitation, pollution and congestion. But these problems were largely the result of the lack of social responsibility for the working classes and poor housing rather than a poor city form and structure. Even areas later declared slums and demolished had a coherence and rigour of development that puts to shame all achievements of the inter-war and post 2nd war periods. With an invisible planning system at work, such continuity and local coherence was achieved not so much through masterplanning (generally only in form of feuing of urban areas) but as a result of a shared value system. Incremental development projects were based on the same understanding of what the city is and how it works, applied the same unwritten (invisible) development rules of perimeter block development etc. Only in the 2nd half of the 19th century these were supported by more 'visible' rules, in Glasgow imposed by the City Improvement Trust and specifically John Carrick, to improve environmental and sanitary conditions. The result of a shared understanding of what a good city is generated the Glasgow we admire today, at least what's left of it.

Inter-war urban development
[A period of 'sensitive confidence' (Shepley, C., 1995)] [1]

If up to WWI planning played no significant, certainly no domineering role - except gently or not so gently imposing minimum standards rules - things change considerably in the period between the two wars. For the first time in urban history, at least in Glasgow, new 'estates' or villages are planned, laid out, designed and built as entities, and in a very short period of time. Planners, architects, engineers rule supreme through the Corporation which takes on the vast expansion of the city almost single-handedly as the private sector involvement is relatively small.

The concept behind many of the new estates is that of the garden suburb. Though plan configuration and form is consistent, the results represent at best an ill-conceived attempt to merge the quality of the city with the quality of the country without achieving any of it, at worst they are anti-urban (and not at all sensitive as Shepley puts it). With the introduction of low-density low-rise the old properties of the traditional city are not completely abolished but considerably weakened. The city starts to sprawl.

It should not be ignored that, as Michael Welbank [in Jenks *et al* (1996), p.75] puts it"... *there was a strong element of social conscience in what was done"* [2]. Planners believed that the new estates were built for the right reasons and that they were the right solutions. *"Planning, therefore, was visionary and imaginative - confident and effective."* [3] I am not so sure whether this assessment is correct. Vision there was, but it was not all that imaginative, and its realisation did not involve the people for whom the housing was provided. It produced suburbs of much the same nature, character and visual appearance, endlessly repeating the same poorly designed terraces and semi-detached family homes, dull estates without any focus and with insufficient amenities. Confident and effective the planning system was, but had the ultimate consequences of the introduction of suburbia in terms of the use of land, transport distances, car dependence, congested roads, pollution etc. been taken into account, maybe the garden suburb model would not have been applied. So for the first time the

planning system implies it weight it starts to weaken the structural quality of the city because it adopts an at least in parts questionable urban concept.

The immediate post-WWII period
[Sheppley's 'period of autocracy and insensitivity']

During the 1950s and '60s, new peripheral development and the comprehensive redevelopment of existing areas was undertaken by an autocratic and insensitive planning system, assisted if not dominated especially by road engineers and architects - often, however, opposed by the emerging generation of planners [4]. One does not need to spell out in detail what happened because the storey is well known. Generally, there was a strong idealistic desire to improve the city, and planners, architects and others involved were convinced to do the right thing but they were utterly insensitive to the fact that they operated with new planning concepts which had had no practical application before, the consequences of which could not, therefore, be predicted. We all know the results. The second time the planning system applies its weight, this time in full, it initiates the most extensive destruction the city has ever seen in its entire history. And again, this is the result of opting for a largely inappropriate urban concept.

The 1970s and 1980s
[A period of the loss of confidence and the change of the planning system from autocratic to reactive and bureaucratic]

The autocratic planning system immediately after WWII stood for wholesale demolition and replacement of vast areas of the city, new towns, new peripheral estates at an unprecedented scale and within a very short period of about two and a half decades, without any involvement of the local population, but also without any reference to the then already strong warnings of many formidable Sociologists and Psychologists that things went wrong (to name but a few: Mitcherlich (1965) [5] in Germany; Jacobs (1961) [6] in the USA). During the '70s, however, the mood of the planning system changed slowly but steadily. Confidence diminished gradually as the first social problems arose, more abruptly after evidence of inadequate technology emerged, in the UK specifically after the Rowan Point disaster.

Evidence of mistakes of the '60s led to a reaction against autocratic planning. People and communities start challenging the system; the Covent Garden Redevelopment Plan in London, for instance, is stopped by community groups and their representatives. Of course, much of the critique of planners should have been addressed to other professions as well but was very effective in changing certainty in the planning system into uncertainty [7].

During the 1980s and in a Thatcherite enterprise culture, planning, specifically strategic planning, was increasingly regarded as unnecessary if not downright a hindrance to those forces that would shape the city: developers and investors. Social responsibility was no longer that of the state - after all we were told that there was no such thing as society. Urban form and structure was now shaped again by market forces, but this time largely without control by the planning system, without any commonly understood or accepted development rules and patterns - which had all been swept away by the Functionalism of the 50s and 60s - and without a shared value system - which had given way to the pursuit of single-minded values and goals of companies and individuals.

Planning changed as a result of the reaction to the 60s and the new political mood: it was to support market forces, frequently at any cost to city structure and morphology and the weaker

players in the city (example Docklands, Isle of Dogs) and gradually became more bureaucratic. I like the idea expressed by Michael Welbank that the creation of an overwhelmingly complex planning system was the undertaking not of the planners but of *"those few - who seeking to circumvent, evade, or frustrate the needs and wishes of the wider community - have made it necessary to erect a superstructure of bureaucracy to deal with the citizens' rights"*.[8]

With regard to new larger development the planning system had become reactive and as a result the city form and structure, already badly hampered with during the two previous periods, got even worse. Individual projects were no longer integrated by any city concept, and the result were in many places badly organised chaos. It is interesting to reflect upon a parallel movement which highlights a rather schizophrenic situation, the consolidation and regeneration of historical areas. The renewed appreciation of the morphology of traditional areas led to substantial renovation of central and other historical areas that had survived comprehensive development. While enterprise culture encouraged deregulated development elsewhere, in these areas development control strictly secured the traditional morphology and design quality. Then there is the ongoing improvement of the post war housing estates, an attempt to correct mistakes made in the previous period and to generate better housing conditions in underprivileged areas. Improvement projects are, however, predominantly the response to what is perceived to be a housing rather than an urban problem; socio-economic, spatial and infrastructural problems are not tackled in parallel because there is no strategic and integrated planning of city areas let alone the city or city region.

The situation today

What we have today is a planning system that is barely alive. Development is incremental, speculative, investment driven (nothing new); generally - and again with a few notable exceptions like, for instance, Birmingham - planning has no social, environmental, functional, structural or formal vision of the city (as it had in the 19th century and even during the '60s) which would help co-ordinate incremental development. Development has also become intensely political, and as politicians are pragmatic and their horizon about 5 years and no more, there is no long-term view of urban development. Rather than focusing at the future of urban districts, the city and city region, much of the planning efforts focuses on small details through planning control.[9] Planning has no commonly understood, accepted and pursued view of what the city is and how it works, and there are no longer shared rules for urban development as there were in the 1st period of this review. As a result urban development outside protected historical areas just happens, but without any concept: buildings in a sea of car parking or derelict land; lollipop housing schemes; out-of-town and in-between-town retail parks, business parks, research parks, anything parks. And all this in addition to all the disasters created during the 50s and 60s. Bits of the city look like scrap heaps when looking down from a aeroplane.

The task ahead

Just at a time when planners had moved *"from confidence to uncertainty, from consensus to hostile scrutiny, from freedom to bureaucracy"* as Welbank puts it[10], just at the time when the planning system is at its weakest and most ineffective, in the 1990s the question of sustainable development becomes the focal point of the discussion about the city and city region.

It is today largely understood and accepted that the city's form and structure, the way the city works and the way we use it causes massive damage to the regional and global environment. What has been stressed repeatedly and strongly in many different world conferences, green papers, agendas[11] is the need to rethink the role, form and structure of the city to render it, or better its relationship to the country, sustainable. It goes without saying that the planning system ought to play a key role in this rethinking process. The question is whether it is capable of playing that role.

Demands for sustainable development come from all sides. Planners are asked to propose solutions to adapt the city. There are calls for visions and many different models of sustainable development are put forward, specifically after having twice in the recent past chosen the wrong concept. Of course, it is wise not to fall blindly for any of these models not least because most of them are partially responding to the full set of sustainability criteria. Choice must be based on knowledge which is generated through involvement in research and debate; but there are no clear indications that the planning system in the UK is engaged in either of them. Just at a time, therefore, when the planning system is asked for a most significant contribution towards a sustainable city region it seems to be unable (or unwilling?) to respond. It needs to wake up and become pro-active:

- it needs to become part of the debate about and research into sustainable urban development; it needs to collaborate with researchers of all relevant disciplines in the search for sustainable urban models; it needs to understand the generally accepted sustainability criteria such as: containment; mixed use and decentralisation of functions to improve access and choice; public transport to reduce car dependency; services and facilities in walking distance; open green space and a symbiotic relationship with the country; a degree of self-sufficiency and independence of the city; involvement of people and communities in the shaping of their areas by decentralisation of power;

- it needs to understand the consequences of these demands for the city structure and form: a hierarchy of different areas of different size and population (from neighbourhood to district, town, city) with centres of provision of different capacity (from NBH centre to district centres, towns and city centre), linked by a hierarchy of different transport systems (from walking and cycling to bus, LRT, railway); and it needs to be able to generate an integrated set of long-term strategic development and design frameworks on city region, city, city district and neighbourhood level that reflect this structure;

- it needs to be instrumental in the integration of all social, economic, functional, spatial, formal and environmental planning aspects into comprehensive frameworks for urban development; it needs to understand that to deal with these issues in isolation is counter-productive and leads at best to little more than patchwork;

- it needs to develop an understanding of the city and city region as a complex multi-dimensional entity with a physical form and structure that either supports or hinders sustainable development and that needs to be shaped, designed on regional, city and city district level, not only at the level of individual spaces and projects; land-use maps and the highlighting of development opportunities are insufficient instruments for the improvement of the city form and structure;

- it needs to convince politicians of the absolute necessity of long-term thinking and strategies;

- and last and perhaps most importantly, it needs to listen to the people and involve them in the shaping of their environment.

For this to become possible the planning system must operate with multi-disciplinary and multi-departmental working groups operating jointly at all levels of the city region. Planners, architects and traffic engineers must understand that they must not dictate solutions but that they are partners in working teams in which at neighbourhood and district level people and communities are represented. The planning system must become co-operative, pro-active.

It is clear that in order to achieve all this, the planning system needs to change dramatically. Most importantly, a shared value system needs to be developed; all members of the system need to share the same vision of a good city and city region in order to be able to pursue the same objectives. Then all members of the system need to have similar skills that go beyond specialisms: they need to be able to understand, express and develop complex spatial and formal structures as well as deal with social, economic and environmental issues. For that to be possible all members of the system should have a shared basis of education and training which has to include design, modelling, evaluation and communication skills.

In short, what we need is a little revolution. But with it we may save not only our cities and city regions but the regional and global environment. And for that to achieve it is worth having a revolution.

Notes

1 Shepley, C. (1995) *Still Life in Planning*, Address to the Town and Country Planning School.
2 Welbank, M., The Search for a Sustainable Urban Form, in Jenks, M. *et al* (ed.) (1995) *The Compact City - A Sustainable Urban Form?* E & FN Spon, London.
3 Ibid, p.75.
4 Ibid, p.75.
5 Mitcherlich, A. (1968) *Die Unwirtlichkeit unserer Städte - Anstiftung zum Unfrieden*, Edition Suhrkamp (written 1965).
6 Jacobs, J. (1961) *The death and Life of Great American Cities*, Vintage Books/Random House, New York.
7 Welbank, M., in Jencks *et al.*(ed.) (1996), p.75.
8 Ibid, p.75
9 Welbank, M. in Jencks *et al* (ed.)(1996), p.75.
10 Welbank, M. in Jencks *et al* (ed.)(1996), p.75.
11 World Commission on Environment and Development (1987) *Our Common Future*, Oxford University Press, Oxford; Commission of the European Communities (1990) *Green Paper on the Urban Environment*, CoEC, Brussel; United Nations (1993) *Earth Summit Agenda 21: The UN Programme of Action from Rio*, United Nations, New York; United Nations Environment Programme (1993) *Environmental Data Report 1993-4*, Blackwells Publishers, Oxford.

Interpreting Landscape: Bard College, New York, Revisited - A case study of the Masterplan for Bard College, Annandale-On-Hudson, New York, 1988.[1]

Stephen Frith
Professor of Architecture
University of Canberra

"For our state is nothing but an imitation of the most beautiful and best life and that indeed is the truest of all tragedy." Plato, *Laws* 817bff.

The idea of a perfect built place for human habitation comes to our culture through both the apocalyptic Jewish and Christian literature associated with the New Jerusalem and from the Hellenic literature of the ideal *polis* of Plato and Aristotle. The poetic imagery of Virgil and the pastoral poets furthered the dream of Arcadia. These ideals have become embodied in the planning of academic institutions throughout rural America, especially those which have inherited the Jeffersonian picturesque tradition. Bard College is a clear example of this inheritance, located on a site of great physical beauty on the Hudson River in Upstate New York.[2] A masterplan was commissioned in 1988 by an anonymous donor who wished the historic landscape on the site preserved. The designers for the Bard College Masterplan were aware of the significance to the sense of place of the site's historical and cultural traditions, especially the ancient dream of an ideal place.[3]

The desire for an architecturally unified campus was a strong assumption in the planning brief, even though the current campus is made up of a diverse number of properties and with the full range of functions appropriate to a campus, from chapels to gymnasiums. The Heritage Task Force for the Hudson Valley called it a

> "visual potpourri . . Bard is an architectural amalgam developed piecemeal over the school's 125 year history. The campus is today a loosely organised visual ensemble that juxtaposes buildings of varied size, purpose, and design style in a way that reduces any sense of unified identity to the whole."[4]

The Masterplan in its survey and analysis phase set out to "map" the differing areas of the campus. The dividing of the campus into discrete areas of analysis may seem at first glance to be a typological interpretation of the landscape, boxing it into identifiable use categories. For example, the remains of four farms are observable within the boundaries of the property, and a simple typological analysis would have drawn a line between them. A strict typological approach however would ignore the cultural history of the landscape over several centuries. The task became one of defining the boundaries of the precincts within which restoration and management guidelines could be established. The survey method adopted was more akin to seeing the landscape as a "palimpsest." This analogy to a document that has been scraped over and reused so that the underlying structure can be "read" through the existing text was a term popular amongst *philosophes* in the 70's, and became something of a cliché. The *errores* and interesting accidents which happen in the marginalia were seen to inform the central dialogue of a text. The design strategies which emerged for the Masterplan in 1988 attempted to marry the differing landscape and cultural

histories of the place, and provide for further renewal and building guidelines to suit future needs of the college and the desired 'healing' of the existing amalgam.

The designers involved in the Masterplan design were all aware of the wider context of the Bard lands in the regional landscape of the Hudson Valley, a fragment of a large bio-region.[5] While aware of the wider spatial and temporal implications of a bio-regionalist understanding, there was an avoidance of defining nature outside a human context, that is, the histiographic qualities of the landscape were not seen as the sole representation of nature. There was also awareness that what the landscape could reveal was limited, that disclosure is always only partial. What the methodology of the Masterplan aimed towards was the determination of the extent of disclosure of a natural order, and investigation of its boundaries. Central to the long tradition which the design hoped to reinforce was the understanding of nature as containing the capacity to embody the human ethical order.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries landscape was seen as a form of order that was the antithesis for the disorder of human affairs. At Bard this was witnessed in the self-conscious attempts to re-order the landscape. The separation of the natural and bucolic worlds was once attempted on the site, in the original landscaping of the historic property Blithewood. The architect A.J.Davis extended the home for Robert Donaldson in 1835, and designed an octagonal gatehouse on the site. His associate A.J Downing in an 1849 publication eulogised the redemptive qualities of the landscape on the property:

" "Blithewood", on the Hudson, is one of the most charming villa residences in the Union. The natural scenery here is nowhere surpassed in its enchanting union of softness and dignity, - the river being four miles wide, its placed bosom broken only by islands and gleaming sails, and the horizon grandly closing in with the tall blue summit of the distant Catskills . . .The smiling gently varied lawn is studded with groups and masses of fine forest and ornamental trees . . .a fine bold stream fringed with rocky banks and dashing over rocky cascades, thirty or forty feet in height and falling altogether a hundred feet in half a mile . . .In short we can recall no place of moderate extent, where nature and tasteful art are so harmoniously combined to express grace and elegance."[6]

The Picturesque landscape, which had its origins in the English landscape tradition, was here modified to suit American aspirations. It is sometimes called the American Romantic Landscape style. The Picturesque aesthetic fitted easily to many campuses around the country in the nineteenth century, including St. Stephen's College for the training of Episcopal clergymen in 1860, which was founded on the estate and was the gift of John Bard. In 1934, during the College's affiliation with Columbia University, the institution's name was changed to Bard College.

One of the predominant problems of the Picturesque is the bringing to primacy of visual perception at the expense of other ways of seeing the landscape.[7] The expression "Picturesque" is attributed to the Reverend William Gilpin, who believed that landscape scenery should conform to the principles of landscape painting. In part the origins of the movement was a reaction to Edmund Burke's *A Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas on the Sublime and the Beautiful* (1756), who sought a rational ordering of sensibility seeking perfection in the natural world. Critics included Uvedale Price, who noted the pleasure in irregularity and roughness rather than in a finely ordered aesthetic, and took exception. Richard Payne Knight's poem "The Landscape" (1794) and his *Analytical Inquiry into the Principles of Taste*

(1805) were influential in promoting the discussion. *With Humphrey Repton's Sketches and Hints on Landscape Gardening*(1794) this work helped domesticate and promote the landscape ideology of the Picturesque. They suggested a set of working principles that championed irregularity, variety, intimacy, gestural movement and roughness as desirable qualities. This aesthetic must be seen in the context of a reaction to growing industrial disorder in the cities of Britain and of the USA in the nineteenth century.[8] The landscape was to be newly visualized, clothed in redemptive allusions. To be instilled in the observing subject looking out upon the landscape was the "habit of feeling through the eyes."[9]

The Picturesque aesthetic was also significant in the formation of the buildings on the site in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. The intent would fit with Charles Dicken's impression of Yale University in the 1840's, "erected in a kind of park . . dimly visible among the trees."[10] Most 19th century educators strongly favoured rural colleges. The intent was to create a buffer of "moral protection" as well as to provide a beautiful setting for the absorption of appropriate cultural values. The tendency to regard cities as morally polluting and dangerous to the human character was not confined to the Puritan vision. During the colonial period, even a city college, such as the New York Free Academy at the intersection of 23rd and Lexington Avenue in New York (later College of the City of New York) was depicted in an idealised wilderness. The desire for access to the frontier for evangelism of the heathen combined with a distrust of cities brought many colleges into apparent wilderness areas. Very often the architecture and planning of these institutions was done by the graduates of English Universities, especially Cambridge, and as at Bard College the influence of the Oxbridge colleges can be seen in the early quadrangular orientation of the planning schemes.

The dominant style at St.Stephen's was established firstly by John Bard's Gothic Revival Church of the Holy Innocents of 1857, which was designed by Frank Wills, a former associate of Richard Upjohn. The subsequent academic buildings of the campus for the remaining part of the century were built in a Collegiate Gothic style, which was deemed to be most appropriate for the Picturesque setting. A notable exception to the Gothic style is the Hoffman Library of 1893, built in imitation of a Greek Temple, where the association with a remote classical world was considered to be the most appropriate stylistic choice, and easily embraced in a Picturesque landscape. One of the perceived benefits of the Gothic revival style was seen to be the sense of instant age and the engendering of a sense of permanence. The notion of memory was significant to the choice, especially in the way Ruskin perceived it in the popular *Seven Lamps of Architecture* :

"There are but two strong conquerors of the forgetfulness of men, Poetry and Architecture; and the latter in some sort include the former, and is mightier in its reality: it is well to have, not only what men have thought and felt, but what their hands have wrought, and their eyes beheld, all the days of their life."[11]

Architecture as a mnemonic carries with it the aspect of permanency often desired by colleges, such as Bethany College in West Virginia, where the architectural firm of Walter and Wilson in the 1850's designed a campus in Collegiate Gothic style, to give the impression of incremental development over a long period of time. Another aspect of the Collegiate Gothic, or "Jacobethan" or Tudor Collegiate styles, was

expressed by the Gothicist Ralph Adams Cram who praised Cope's work at Princeton as being redolent with "racial memories".[12]

The aesthetic heritage the masterplaners therefore had to contend with at Bard is seen in terms of the mutually supportive Picturesque view of the landscape and the scenographic qualities of the architecture. The issues became how to respect this heritage as well as design for the needs of a modern college, especially the circulation, building and utility requirements projected for the college. After the necessary survey and analysis phase of the plan, the design phase of the masterplan began with the mapping of constraints upon the development. This was intended to include boundaries of a cultural as well as of a natural and infrastructural kind. 'Constraint mapping' proved to be extremely important to the understanding of the project. It is a child of Zoning, and its virtue when faced with a plethora of complex issues and pieces of information, is to begin the establishing of boundaries of place character. It is through constraint mapping, as well as through our historical research, that the precincts map emerged within which a management plan could be pursued. The identity of the individual precincts was provided by the place character, which became the reference for our recommendations.[13]

Our research into the landscape at Bard revealed significant and subtle changes in the landscape, especially concerning the watersheds and hydrology, topography and soil conditions. Collectively, these determined the best areas for building development. Different geological areas were associated with appropriate land usage, both of type and of degree. We were fortunate in that the geological strata and hydrological boundaries married with the cultural and historical boundaries. Armed with this analysis, the projected growth of the college could be guided towards areas where it is most economical to build, and towards those places within the community most capable of accepting them without unnecessary damage to the environment or without incurring unnecessary capital, operating and maintenance expenses. In this way, a landscape economy emerged. The resultant division into precincts, guided by constraint mapping, contained places whose character was informed by both sensitivity to natural and cultural and community conditions.

The Central Campus Precinct

Perhaps the best illustration of the convergence of this information enabling a productive plan or agenda is seen in the precinct we called "Central Campus." The relation to adjacent wetlands, to 'common' and recreational areas, and an internal road and circulation system helped to determine strong boundaries for this precinct. The Central Campus contains most of the academic buildings, as opposed to residential and recreational buildings on the College lands. Different dominant physical determinants were mapped and then overlaid, a typical planning procedure. This method was essential to a 'distanced' designing for projected use of the landscape in the precinct. Clear design directions became apparent that were not self evident from initial site inspections.

The topography of the site is distinguished by an outcrop of rock upon which the nineteenth century collegiate buildings were founded. After looking at the soil conditions over the whole estate, the central area was seen to be unique in its soil type. The soils analysis confirmed the wisdom of the founders, for the central spine of

rock is the best land for building in the entire Bard Estate. The existing building pattern, mapped in a figure-ground study without reference to secondary information, helped to determine the appropriate footprint for further development along the natural spine of rocky ground. The steepness at the edges of the spine, the existing terminus of the Cemetery at the northern end, and the pattern and scale of nineteenth century building helped to eliminate alternatives. A geometrical analysis of the pattern of existing buildings along the spine was drawn, and it was abstracted and furthered along the spine, thereby locating the footprint of future building sites. Guidelines were developed to ensure sympathetic massing, material encoding and scale with the adjacent historic buildings. The usage to which these sites may be put was suggested by an analysis of the public to private hierarchy of the precinct. This helped to determine what public uses were missing and which could be identified as adding a possible richness to the college mix of uses. This involved giving a cultural value or signification to certain key buildings, reinforcing their status as monuments. The Library and the central administration buildings, called Ludlow and Willink Hall, designed by Richard Upjohn and built by 1869, were especially dominant in the spine. Between them in a mall-like landscape modelled after the "Old Brick Row" at Yale stretched the majority of the Collegiate Gothic buildings. These two "anchors" set the pattern for a projected third anchor at the southern terminus of the spine, the suggested use being an equally significant cultural and public building to the library such as a theatre or gallery. These projects were planned to avoid the haphazard decision making which had been the history of the college, where buildings of "public" use had been put in remote locations from the campus community, sometimes at the whim of donors or administrators. The marriage of ecological and geographical considerations with the historical heritage of the man-made environment is a possibility at Bard, for planning decisions can be made without working in a vacuum, and the planning allows for a multiplicity of opportunities for Bard College in the future. By this method, a thread of connective tissue is maintained between the new campus buildings and their historical centre.

In conclusion

Although a cohesive campus plan was seen as desirable, an artificial unity was determined to be avoided. As the *Politics* of Aristotle makes us aware, "the polis is by nature a [diversified] multitude"(plethos) (1261a18-19). An artificial unity, or a unification which by some is considered the greatest good of the polis, is in reality its downfall, "for the good of each thing is what preserves it" (*Politics* 1261b9). The greater good of each of the disparate parts of the college is what ultimately came to form the masterplan. These parts we called "precincts", and they were determined by an 'archaeological' investigation of the architectural and cultural context, as well as that of the landscape, which contains the memory of past farming, garden and geological histories. The layering of the built order over the physical geography became its own guide for the healing, restoration and management of the campus fabric. A right order was desired, which did not make an artificial distinction between what is 'natural' and man made, as much of the landscape on the Bard estates was entirely worked over by different generations of human beings. While recognising the ancient discourse of the dialectic between *nomos* and *phusis*, of nature and culture, in which the history of interpretations tends to be located, we recognised that the landscape had its own history to reveal, in the sense of an Aristotelian *poesis*, a revealing that shows forth.

Notes

[1] The author was a multi-disciplinary team coordinated by a landscape architectural office, Hudson-Pacific Alliance, led by Stephen Yarabek and Birgitta Carlson. The natural resources inventory and utilities investigation was ably carried out by a consultant, George Tukel, who had taught phenomenology at a local university, and the urban design and architectural historical study was by Stephen Frith.

[2] For a history of Bard College, see Reamer Kline, *Education for the Common Good,* (Pub: Bard College, 1982.)

[3] Cf. Hans-Georg Gadamer on the *Republic* by Plato on the ideal place as a state of thought: "This state is a state in thought, not any state on earth. That is to say, its purpose is to bring something to light and not to provide an actual design for an improved order in real political life. Plato's state is a "paradigm in heaven" for someone who wants to order himself and his own inner constitution. Its sole raison d'être is to make it possible for a person to recognise himself in the paradigm. Of course the point is precisely that he who recognises himself therein does not recognise himself as an isolated individual without a state. He recognises in himself the basis upon which the reality of the state is built, and he is able to recognise that basis in himself however deformed and degenerate the actual state in which he lives may be." Hans Georg Gadamer, "Plato and the Poets" in Dialogue and Dialectic: Eight Hermeneutical Studies on Plato. Trans. P.Christopher Smith, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980) p.49.

[4] *Management Plan Mid-Hudson Historic Shorelands Scenic District*, Heritage Task Force for the Hudson Valley Inc,. New York State, 1983, p.90.

[5] See especially the recognition of the geological history of a region that contributes to an understanding of a sense of place in the work of Thomas Berry, "The Hudson River Valley, A Bioregional Story," in *The Dream of the Earth*, (San Franciso: Sierra Club Books, 1988) pp.171-179. See also the special edition of Berry's work in *Cross Currents*, Volume XXXVII, Nos 2 and 3, Summer/Fall 1987. Also *Thomas Berry and the New Cosmology*, edited by Anne Lonergan and Caroline Richards, Mystic, Connecticut, Twenty Third Publications, 1987.

[6] But note also A.J.Downing, *Rural Essays*, New York, Leavitt and Allen, 1857, p.109.

[7] Compare Martin Heidegger, in "The Age of the World Picture", *The Question Concerning Technology and Other Essays*, Trans. W.Lovitt, (New York: Harper and Row, 1954) p.134: "The fundamental event of the modern age is the conquest of the world as picture. The word "picture"[*Bild*] now wants the structured image [*Gebild*] that is the creature of man's producing which represents and sets before. In such producing, man contends for the position in which he can be that particular being who gives the measure and draws up the guidelines for everything that is. . . For the sake of this struggle of world views and in keeping with its meaning, man brings into play his unlimited power for the calculating, planning and moulding of all things."

[8] See especially Nikolaus Pevsner, in"The Genius of the Picturesque", *Architecture Review*, London, Vol.XCVI, July-Dec.1944, pp.139-146, regarded the pioneers of the movement as a handful of philosophers, writers and *virtuosi*. Anthony Ashley Cooper, Third Earl of Shaftesbury, and Joseph Addison argued in favour of "the beautiful wildness of nature." Alexander Pope's garden became especially influential.

[9] See Christopher Hussey, *The Picturesque: Studies in a Point of View*, New York, Putnams, 1927, p.4. Note also pp. 12 and 17. On the sources of the Picturesque, see especially the collection edited by John Dixon Hunt and Peter Willis, *The Genius of Place, The English Landscape Garden 1620-1820*.Cambridge, Mass, MIT Press, 1988, third edition 1993.

[10] From Charles Dickens, *American Notes*, London, 1908, p.75 (originally published 1842.) Quoted by Paul Turner, *Campus, An American Planning Tradition*, The Architecture Foundation, New York, MIT Press, 1987, p.4. See also idem, p.227.

[11] John Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, London, Everyman's Library, 1969, p.182.

[12] The term "Collegiate Gothic"is first attributed to the architect A.J.Davis, who worked on the neighbouring Montgomery Place as well as at Blithewood. For this discussion, and information on Cram, see Paul Turner Ibid, p.101 ff.

[13] See the Precincts Map, *Bard College, A Master Plan*, Vol. II, p.17, 1989, Located in Bard College Library.

Change and Estimation in Living Conditions by the Reconstruction of Japanese Public Condominiums

Professor Yoshiko Fujimoto
Ohtani Women's Junior College
North 3-11-31 Nishigori Tondabayashi-city
Osaka 584-8522, Japan

1. Object of Research

Construction of medium-rise and high-rise condominiums (herein-after, referred to as Condominiums) in Japan was started in about 1955, and the total number exceeds 2,650,000 units at present. It is increasing at the annual rate of about 120,000 to 160,000. It is just twenty years since a large number of Condominiums were supplied, and now is the appropriate time for the second large-scale maintenance such as external wall painting and roof water-proofing. Large-scale maintenance is performed for the maintenance and conservation of the buildings themselves, and finally a problem of reconstruction will be posed as the limitations of the physical life of the Condominium. However, there are few cases of Condominium reconstruction, and information required for concretely tackling such a problem is insufficient; there are only 38 embodiments throughout Japan as of 1993. The research on change in living conditions by the reconstruction has just been started.

The object of this research is to find out the factors for success in reconstruction from some rebuilt Condominiums, to estimate the reconstruction, and to clarify the change in living conditions by the reconstruction.

2. Research Method

Of eleven Condominiums reconstructed in the Kansai district, questionnaire survey by door-to-door request was conducted for three cases for collection by mail. The survey object is so-called returned tenants, people who had resided before the reconstruction among Unit owners in cases Nos.3, 4 and 5 previously reported.

The content of the survey includes (1) change in daily living actions between before and after the reconstruction, (2) influence of the reconstruction on the neighborhood and family relation, (3) the presence of purchase of furniture accompanied by the reconstruction and its expenditures, (4) the residents' opinion and apprehensive estimation for the reconstruction concerning the dwelling ability of the residence after the reconstruction, (5) living intention in the future, and the like.

In this research, the case research was conducted with a number of distributed questionnaires of 88, a number of collections of 25 and rate of collection of 28.4% during November to December in 1992.

3. Results and Considerations

The survey result for each case is summarized as follows:

The people to be surveyed are of old age, and mostly a nuclear family or a solitary household of high income, who have resided in the Condominium for many years. As regards the dwelling ability after the reconstruction, the degree of satisfaction for each equipment is high, but they are dissatisfied with only storage. However, the living actions came to stay by the increase in number of rooms, which is a factor for highly evaluating the reconstruction.

First, in case No. 3, there are mostly households of old age and high income, who have resided for as many years as 30 to 40 years. As regards the living actions, since there was a living room before the reconstruction, any change is hardly seen in the living conditions, but each action is performed in a Japanese-style room in most households. This is probably because there are many old age households and they are found of the Japanese-style room. As regards change in living condition, the expenditures for purchase of furniture are as high as about 900,000 yen during the survey. In view of equipment, since the motive for the reconstruction of the Condominium was to grade up the equipment, etc., the grade in this case is higher than the two other cases, and almost all households are of high income, and small in number of households. Therefore, the degree of satisfaction for all equipment is high, and all of them highly evaluate the reconstruction.

Next, in the case No. 4, almost all households are nuclear families of high age, varied in annual income, and have resided for as many years as under 30 years. As regards the living action, a Japanese-style room is used for all actions except for meals, and therefore, beds are hardly used.

Finally, in the case No. 5, there are many nuclear families or solitary persons of house holders in wide age bracket who have resided for many years. As regards living actions, since a living room has been provided, the living actions for each of them have come to be performed in private room, and the places of actions have come to stay. Even in change in living conditions, although the furniture have been shared among the family until now, private rooms are provided, and each person has furniture for his own use, and therefore, almost all households purchase new furniture. In view of equipment, they are satisfied with the size and location of the balcony, but the half are dissatisfied with storage. As regards the former balcony, they are satisfied because there is nothing to shut off sunshine around the Condominium. It is probably because there is insufficient storage space that the degree of dissatisfaction for the latter storage is high. They highly evaluate the reconstruction, and the living intention is high.

On comparatively studying the Condominiums in these three cases, the five common points in reconstruction are as follows:

- The regular value exchange method was used owing to high remaining volume rate.

- The unit price for installment sale could be set high because of good surrounding environment.
- They sympathized with reconstruction of a Condominium in the vicinity.
- The leadership of the representative of the management consortium was so great that a committee with complete allotment of part could be established.
- The temporary addresses have been decided.

The foregoing common points are obtained, and agreement of the rightful persons may be said to have been smoothly obtained. To succeed in the reconstruction, the money aspect and the opinions of tenants are the problems, and are greatly affected by the presence or absence of the above-mentioned common points.

Also, in view of the dwelling ability, the Condominium is located in Ashiya City - the surrounding environment is good, and the Condominium itself is of a high class, and therefore, many households of a high income and old age have moved into the Condominium. Since households of different generation groups have moved in after the construction, there is an opinion that the neighborhood relation has become worse for the reason of noisiness and low morals as a result.

However, these three cases all highly evaluate the reconstruction, and it can be said that the old inhabitants have well united together because all of them finished a large work called reconstruction. After the reconstruction, it is considered that unity between old and new inhabitants will greatly after the dwelling ability.

4. Future Outlook

Assuming that it cannot be regarded as success in reconstruction of the Condominium cannot be said if all the inhabitants are not satisfied, these three cases can be regarded as the completion of a satisfactory residence.

Table 1
Outline of Persons to be Surveyed

Case Outline of residents	No. 3	No. 4	No. 5
Average size of a family (person)	1.8	2.4	2.1
Percentage of persons living alone (%)	20.0	0	25.0
Percentage of 1st generation (%)	80.0	50.0	33.3
Percentage of 2nd generation (%)	0	25.0	41.7
Percentage of 3rd generation (%)	0	25.0	0
Average age of house holder (years)	68.0	64.0	52.5
Housewife's age (years)	67.5	60.0	50.0
Number of persons having an occupation (case)	0.6	1.0	1.3
Average annual income (10,000 yen)	1012.5	790.0	862.5
Number of years of residence (year)	31.5	35.7	30.2

Table 2
Evaluation on Dwelling Ability after Reconstruction

Position	Evaluation
Elevator	Does not stop at 2nd floor. In trouble when an old person comes
Building manager	Does not receive any door-to-door delivery, etc.
Two Western-style rooms on the north side	Since it is dark, an electric lamp must be turned on
Garbage disposal	No dust chute
Interior finishing	Cheap-looking. Easily breakable. Omitted works are noticeable.
Neighborhood	Many hirers of low morals
Carport	Few
High-grade	Satisfactory

Table 3
Animus Manendi and Removal Plan in the Future

Case	No. 3	No. 4	No. 5	Total
Intend to reside permanently before the reconstruction	3 case	3 case	9 case	15 case
Intend to reside permanently now, though intended to remove before	2	1	2	5
Moved to a detached house in my possession	0	2	1	3
Unknown	0	0	0	0
Others	1	0	1	2
No answer	0	0	0	0
Total	6	6	13	25

Table 4
Reason why I want to remove in the future

Case	No. 3	No. 4	No. 5	Total
Because narrow	0 case	0 case	0 case	0 case
Dissatisfied with room planning and equipment	0	0	0	0
In consideration of old age	0	1	0	1
Because I want to have a garden of my own.	0	1	1	2
Others	0	0	0	0
Total	0	2	1	3

Although there are only 34 successful Condominiums in reconstruction throughout Japan, Ashiya City in Hyogo Prefecture, for which the case research has been performed, has succeeded in seven cases, and this may be regarded as the mecca area for reconstruction. These three cases are lucky cases where the reconstruction was executed without necessity for any fund for it by using the regular value exchange method. The reconstruction problem should finally and naturally come up as a limitation in the physical life of the Condominium after continuous consideration for maintenance and preservation of the Condominium such as repair has been repeatedly given. Instead of considering that the beginning of obsolescence is reconstruction, it is the problem in the future to properly maintain and control the Condominium over a long period of time while performing large-scale repair, and to continue desirable residence control.

As problems after the reconstruction, since the annual income, age, outlook on the living, sense for living conditions, and the like are different in every respect between old and new inhabitants, it can be predicted that it will be difficult to form good human relations. After the reconstruction, it is necessary to have a feeling that we are living under the same, large roof, and to more consciously promote communication among the inhabitants than before. In other words, the accordance between old and new inhabitants can be said to be indispensable.

Acknowledgment

author wishes to extend her gratitude.

References
Yoshiko Fujimoto: A Survey of Reconstruction Processes & Related Problems in Japanese Condominiums, Journal of Japan Institute For Condominium Living, No.5, at 5-16 (1997).

_____: A Study of Reconstruction in Japanese Public Condominium. Journal of the 10th Symposium of Architectural Building and Managing Technique in Architectural Institute of Japan, at 279-286 (1994).

_____: The Reconstruction of Public Condominiums in the Kansai Area, Dep't. Kinki Branch in Architectural Institute of Japan No.35, at 961-964 (1994).

_____: Living Estimation after Reconstruction in Japanese Public Condominiums, Architectural Institute of Japan No.F (1994).

_____: A Study of Reconstruction Processes & Related Problems in Japanese Public Condominiums, Bulletin of Ohtani Women's Jr. College No.337, at 23-37 (1993).

Praxis, Paradigms and Pendulums: One Hundred Years of Auckland Regional Planning

Peter Fuller
Auckland Regional Council
PB 92012, Auckland
New Zealand
pfuller@arc.govt.nz

Regional planning in Auckland is big news: not all of it good-news - most of the world has heard about the cardiac arrest of the heart of our city after a blockage in the supply of power in February this year.

The population of Auckland could reach 2 million people in 50 years and the Auckland Regional Growth Forum is considering options for managing this growth. The questions facing the current generation of decision makers do not exist in a 'vacuum' but are part of a temporal continuum: the forces that have shaped the current social, political, economic, and physical environment have inertia that can not and should not be ignored. However: does time flow in a straight line or is it circular? This paper identifies key regional planning themes to emerge from the previous 50 years which provide evidence of a circular pattern. This pattern has implications for the next 50 years of regional planning.

In this paper "planning" is defined in the broad context of a decision making and outcome producing process involving politicians, the public, interest groups, planners, and other professional and technical bodies.

Figure One: Praxis, Paradigms and Pendulums, is a model that provides a framework for interpreting the main themes from the last five decades of Auckland regional planning. The triangle in the model represents a continuum between social, environmental and economic spheres. These points could also be considered in terms of social, environmental and economic *capital*. At different times different planning paradigms have been dominant depending on key drivers, some of which are listed below each decade heading.

A *crisis* has often been the catalyst for the shift to a new position on the continuum. For example, the economic crisis in the early 1980's precipitated widespread market deregulation. This paper postulates that the next significant planning paradigm may be driven by a social crisis in health and housing that could precipitate a new form of collectivism. Centralised planning to address social, economic and spatial divisions in society, may become a future reality.

1950's: Economic and Social Capital - Collectivism

Poor housing was the main driver behind the planning movement in Auckland, just as housing was a key motivation for the birth of planning in Victorian England (Hall 1988). An influenza epidemic in 1918 helped promote a massive state housing programme: which was consistent with the Keynesian policies of central government. As well as a crisis in health and housing, post war NZ perceived there was crisis in its security and this drove a massive immigration scheme to boost the population. The powerful Ministry of Works and Development undertook large-scale public works projects with the confidence of knowing that 'growth was good.'

Figure One: Praxis, Paradigms and Pendulums
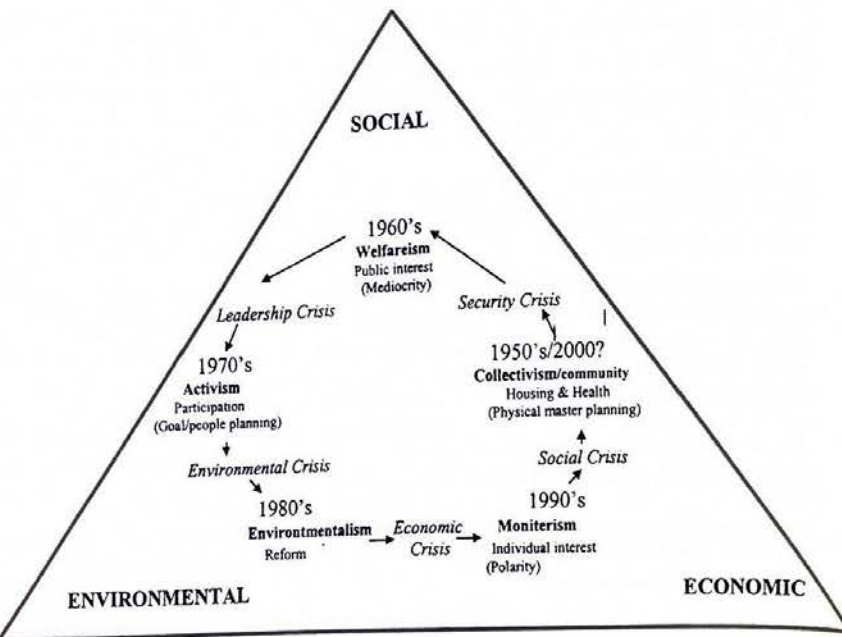
The efficient provision of infrastructure was a major planning concern because of the multitude of councils and special purpose boards. The formation of a regional planning agency was seen as a way of achieving integration. The first regional plan was produced in 1951 (AMPO), but was not legally binding. It was written in the "master plan" style and failed to anticipate the rapid demographic and technological changes that emerged in the 1950's and 1960's. For example the plan made the assumption that the region would reach a population "ceiling" of 600,000, (part of the "Garden City" notion of an ideal city size (Hall 1988)), and that the "saturation" level for car ownership would be 250/1000 people. Our current population is just over a million, the level of car ownership is about 500/1000 and the number of trips made has tripled since the 1950's.

1960's: Social Capital - Welfarism

In the 1960's the vision of a "cradle to grave" welfare system captured the hearts and minds of the people and the nuclear family was supported by the state. This was also the 'development decade' with major infrastructural developments and improvements to the airport, sewerage system, water supplies, motorway system and harbour bridge, and the port. Planning was internalised into the mainstream of local government. In 1963 an act of parliament formed the Auckland Regional Authority, and service delivery functions were transferred to the Authority over the following years.

In the 1960's there was a crisis in leadership. A youth culture was emerging that increasingly questioned authority, prompted by issues such as the Vietnam war. An adage in this era was: *"Don't trust anyone over thirty"* and these social trends led to significant changes to the way planning was undertaken in the 1970's

1970's: Social and Environmental Capital - Activism

In the 1970's centralised planning and unmitigated growth was increasingly questioned and an awareness of impending environmental crisis developed. The costs of urban growth were being assessed for the first time (Group 1977) and a strong generic anti-growth lobby emerged focused on issues such as the rights of Maori, the raising of Lake Manapouri and urban sprawl. However, it is paradoxical that in the latter part of this decade the people involved with planning became increasingly aware of their impotence to 'control' growth. The strategic approach that evolved was to focus on the quality, sequencing, and direction of growth: *"Where and how, not if and when"* (Olsen 1997).

The amorphous mass of metropolitan mediocrity the state house movement had created, and the emergence of new social phenomenon such as 'suburban-neurosis', amplified social awareness. Cherry (1996) noted that in the late 1970's criticisms from social scientists about the sterile, impersonal, environments that planning was creating reached unprecedented proportions: *"British planners have so far seen cities as physical entities with physical problems; they now had to see cities as social entities, the product of a particular society at a particular time."* (p. 181).

During this decade there were major increases in the level of public participation in the planning process. Social values became a strong part of the planning process. For example in the *"Alternatives for Future Growth Study"* (ARA 1975) the following assumption was noted: economic stability is dependent on resource redistribution to avoid social problems and higher priority will be given to the social needs of the community in future planning policies. In considering alternatives it stated: *"Compromises are essential, but if there is a bias, it should be towards the young, the elderly, the poor and generally those least able to help themselves."* (p. 75).

The 1970's were also characterised by "regional development", when regional planning was encouraged by central government AMPO to make forays into the economic arena. The *"Auckland Regional Planning Scheme"* (ARA 1988) promoted: *"increased sustainable production...diversity of primary land use activity...intensive productive uses...appropriate processing infrastructure...investment..(and)..efficient marketing."* (p. 52) . The Scheme stated that subdivision: *"....is inappropriate when it diminishes rural production or caters for pecuniary gain."* (p. 61). Wannop and Cherry (1994) described a similar episode of planning in Britain as: *"...a phase of plans meddling in resource allocation and economic policy, causing confusion within government and presaging a period in which regional planning would be scorned and be believed to have died of over-ambition."* (p. 30). In the 1980's central government made radical changes to the 'rules of the game.'

1980's: Environmental and Economic Capital - Environmentalism

The highly regulated economy that had developed since the war precipitated a serious economic crisis, at the end of the National government's term in 1984, which resulted in a 20% currency devaluation. Economic reform, based on new-right ideology, was vigorously promoted by the Labour government. Based on public choice theory, the building block for the economy was believed to be the economically rational individual making their own choices. Planning was considered to be paternalistic and an interference in the proper workings of the market.

During this decade there was significant political strife in the Auckland Regional Authority and it took over 8 years to make a new Regional Planning Scheme (ARA 1988) operative. As planning had become more public, conflicting values became more evident and the main points of disagreement about the Scheme were on how much the Scheme should include social objectives and Maori values. The increase in wealth of the middle class corresponded to an increased demand for a quality environment. Reform of planning legislation and local government was initiated to reflect the new environmental and economic paradigm.

1990's: Environmental and Economic Capital - Monetarism

The passing of the Resource Management Act in 1991 represented the marriage of an otherwise estranged couple: commercial interests, motivated by the desire for less regulation, and environmental interests, motivated by the desire for sustainability. "Planning" was not even invited to the ceremony! The "seven year itch" is now evident and a consensus is emerging that neither party is very satisfied with the relationship.

Within the Auckland Regional Council environmentalism, based on the science disciplines and supported by the "effects" based legislation, replaced planning as the dominant 'culture.' Policies were implemented, e.g. metropolitan limits to contain urban sprawl, with little or no reference to the social or economic consequences. Policy makers failed to realise that unless property values are increasing, in net real terms, it is likely that nothing is being contained! The distributional effects of regulation were not properly acknowledged. Furthermore, regional planning had largely failed to appreciate that what is considered "urban sprawl" depends more on *when* you look than *where* you look. The secure majority had 'captured' the planning process, and the outcomes reflected environmental values without regard to the consequences of policy on minority groups, such as new entrants to the housing market.

Social indicators in Auckland plot the development of a crisis in crime, health, education, and housing. Many diseases that are symptomatic of poor living conditions e.g. tuberculosis and meningitis, occur in Auckland at levels now uncommon in the developed world. The 1996 census indicated that the number of people per dwelling is increasing in Auckland, mainly due to over-crowding. The census also indicated that 'white-flight' from parts of South Auckland is continuing, and the numbers of children travelling from poorer areas to wealthier areas for schooling is increasing. Wannop and Cherry (1994, p. 50) described how the strategic physical problems of growth management, identified in the United Kingdom in the 1960's, have turned out to be far less important than problems associated with the spatial inequalities of local services, the distribution of opportunities, and urban renewal. This realisation is not yet fully appreciated in Auckland.

In Auckland the growth management debate is currently dominated by bio-physical issues, e.g. the effects of development on receiving environments or identifying the most "sustainable" transportation systems. The social dimension is not well understood and regional planning is being attacked from both the 'left' and the 'new-right' (McShane 1998). Irene Gollop (1995) concluded that town planning, as a profession, has had an adverse effect on the provision of low cost housing in Auckland because of its concentration on aspects of the physical environment at the expense of social concerns. Both sides of the spectrum would probably agree with Hall's (1988) conclusion that after half a century of bureaucratic practice: "...planning had degenerated into a negative regulatory machine, designed to stifle all initiative, all creativity." (p. 11).

Cherry (1996, p. 225) raised doubts about the "value-addedness" of the statutory system that had evolved in Britain. He quoted Simmie who identified six major criticisms of planning that placed it at the "cross-roads". These weaknesses included the unintentional way in

which planning has exacerbated the problem of urban poverty, and how the values of planning penalise the poorer classes. He suggested that planning cannot deal with the complexity of cities; interferes with the proper working of the market; limits wealth creation, innovation and experimentation; imposes unnecessary costs on development; and is currently mainly used by organised pressure groups to serve their own ends.

Peter Hall (1988, p. 395) identified the increasing disparity between different groups in cities and the re-emergence of the "permanent underclass", all be it a much smaller proportion of the population than in Victorian times. He very astutely observed that: "...there is an odd and disturbing symmetry about this book: after one hundred years of debate on how to plan the city, after repeated attempts - however mistaken or distorted - to put ideas into practice, we find we are almost back where we started." (p. 11). The evidence from the history of regional planning in Auckland confers with the broad conclusions of Hall, Cherry and Simmie.

2000 - 2050: Social, Environmental and Economic Capital?

Justification for planning is derived from the interface between individual decision making and collective decision making. The regional planning movement in Auckland has largely failed to develop and articulate a theoretical base for collective decision making that is robust enough to counter the individualism of public choice theory.

Forester (1980) argued that the contribution of critical theory to planning was: "... pragmatics with vision - to reveal true alternatives, to correct false expectations, to counter cynicism, to foster inquiry, to spread political responsibility, engagement, and action." (p. 277). At different times in the past fifty years the social, environmental and economic spheres of regional planning have been visionary and pragmatic, but establishing and maintaining a successful "mix" of all five ingredients has been elusive.

Hall (1988) suggested that the practical prescription contained in the above quote comes down to the good old-fashioned democratic common sense type planning developed as advocacy planning by Davidoff way back in 1965: "...cultivate community networks, listen carefully to the people, involve less organised groups, educate citizens on how to join in, supply information and make sure people know how to get it, develop skills in working with groups in conflict situations, emphasise the need to participate, compensate for external pressures." (p. 339).

A clue as to why regional planning has not performed better is that there has consistently been an insufficient emphasis on: involving less organised groups, both at a political and technical level. This is crucial because over the past 50 years elections and staff appointment processes have not yielded regional planning organisations that reflect the demographic composition of the region. Surveys of values and submission processes have favoured those with a formal education in English, however, Auckland is culturally very diverse. Regional planning is unlikely to be an innovative force in the new millennium if it shelters behind the bureaucratic processes of local government, focuses mainly on the environment, and does not adequately account for the social and economic effects of regulation.

In the self proclaimed "City of Sails", that is wedged between two magnificent harbours and coastlines, there are primary school children from Pacific Island families that have not been to a beach or a regional park. What will the next 50 years be like for Auckland's children? The model: Praxis, Paradigms and Pendulums, provides valuable clues to help address this question and indicates that the next significant planning paradigm may be driven by a social crisis in health and housing that could precipitate a new form of collectivism. There is a

common saying: *"Those who do not learn from the past are condemned to relive it."* It would be most unfortunate, if: what we learn from history, is that we do not learn from history!

The performance of regional planning in Auckland over the past 50 years has been variable. Extreme positions have been adopted within the continuum between social, environmental and economic spheres. New Zealand led the world in welfarism in the 1960's, the "Values" party was the first political "green" party, and few economies were as protected as ours prior to 1984. Now few economies are as deregulated as ours and the rest of the world watches our economic 'experiment' with reserved interest. While it is inevitable that shifts of position in the continuum between social, environmental and economic spheres will continue: would it be desirable if there was also movement to the centre? In Auckland the planning 'pendulum' appears to swing in a circular motion. Is it the role of planning to be like the effect of gravity on the pendulum: balancing powerful social, environmental and economic forces?

Note

This paper is based on research undertaken for a Masters of Planning at Auckland University. This paper is not written on behalf of the authors employer, the Auckland Regional Council.

References

AMPO (1951). Outline Development Plan for Auckland. Auckland, Auckland Metropolitan Planning Organisation.

ARA (1975). Auckland: Alternatives for Future Regional Growth. Auckland, Auckland Regional Authority.

ARA (1988). Auckland Regional Planning Scheme. Auckland, Auckland Regional Authority.

Cherry, G. E. (1996). Town Planning in Britian since 1900: The Rise and Fall of the Planning Ideal, Blackwell.

Forester, J. (1980). "Critical Theory and Planning Practice." Journal of the Amercian Planning Association 46: 275-86.

Gollop, I. B. (1995). The History of Town Planning, Government Policy and the Provision of Low-cost Housing. Anthropology. Auckland, University of Auckland: 39.

Group, A. R. J. S. (1977). Auckland: The Costs of Growth - a survey and analysis of proposed works and services in the Auckland region. Auckland, Auckland Regional Authority and the Ministry of Works and Development.

Hall, P. (1988). Cities of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design in the Twentieth Century, Blackwell.

McShane, O. (1998). Land Use Control Under the Resource Management Act : A Think Piece. Wellington, Ministry for the Environment.

Olsen, N. (1997). Personal interview (unpublished).

Wannop, U. and G. E. Cherry (1994). "The Development of Regional Planning in the United Kingdom." Planning Perspectives 9(1): 29-60.

COLONEL LIGHT GARDENS: BACK, TO THE FUTURE

Dr Christine Garnaut
Faculty of Art, Architecture and Design
University of South Australia, City West Campus
North Terrace
Adelaide South Australia 5000

INTRODUCTION

Following the release of Ebenezer Howard's *Tomorrow: a peaceful path to real reform* (1898), the garden city movement emerged as one of the most significant international influences on early twentieth century planning thought. Howard devised a revolutionary model of society that would create alternative social, political, economic, physical and aesthetic conditions to those that existed as a result of the Industrial Revolution in Britain.

Under Howard's scheme the workplace and home environment would be improved in a city located in the country but offering all the functions expected of an urban centre. The city's populace would be responsible for its own administration. Land was to be communally owned with profits returned to shareholders for the collective benefit. In his garden city Howard predicted renewal of the human spirit through social contact: "equal, nay better, opportunities for social intercourse may be enjoyed than are enjoyed in any crowded city, while yet the beauties of nature may encompass and enfold each dweller..." (Howard quoted in Cherry 1974). Fundamental to the philosophy was the notion of harmony between individuals, and between individuals and nature.

The first practical application of Howard's idea was initiated by the Garden City Association at Letchworth (1903) in Hertfordshire. As others have indicated, proposal and reality did not meld and the first garden city, designed by architects Raymond Unwin and Barry Parker, became the paradigm for a model environment rather than a model society. Letchworth was held up as a demonstration of how the physical aspects of Howard's idea could be applied in a residential setting. "... its low density, gardens and tree-lined streets" (Ashworth 1954), all ordered according to a specified plan, were in sharp contrast to unplanned developments elsewhere. Due to the fact that these physical design features were achievable, the garden city movement championed not the building of other Letchworths but residential planning "on garden city lines". Unwin's Hampstead Garden Suburb (1905) was revered as the prototypical, quintessential example of a garden city environment at the suburban level.

As Howard's message spread to various parts of the world, garden suburbs, towns and villages were constructed in accord with the accepted design canon. One of these, Colonel Light Gardens, was established between 1921 and 1927 approximately six kilometres south of Adelaide, South Australia. Originally titled the "Mitcham Garden Suburb" it was hailed as "a model garden suburb" and promoted as the precedent for similar developments in South Australia. Designed in 1917 by Charles Reade (1880-1933), a New Zealand-born journalist turned town planner, the suburb represents the most comprehensive and intact example of the British garden suburb paradigm transposed to Australia. Eighty years after the plan's unveiling, Colonel Light Gardens remains intact, tangible evidence of its extraordinary design. Its endurance justifies Reade's argument that its underlying philosophy was sound.

The suburb's uniqueness has not gone unnoticed. Each generation of residents has appreciated its "comfort, convenience and beauty". Many have developed a sense of belonging and conscious pride

in their suburb (Henry 1955, Garnaut 1997). Since the 1970s the Colonel Light Gardens Residents' Association (CLGRA) has fought to preserve the suburb's design features and amenity and to promote its heritage significance. More recently it has been joined by Mitcham Council, the administrating authority (since 1975), as well as the Colonel Light Gardens Historical Society formed in 1996. Since the 1980s, scholarly research and publications have added fuel to the locals' argument (Hutchings 1986, 1990; Freestone 1989; Cheney 1994; Garnaut 1995, 1997).

The efforts of these various voices have borne fruit. On 9 December 1997, in recognition of its contribution to Australia's town planning, cultural and built heritage, Colonel Light Gardens was entered on the federally administered Register of the National Estate. In addition the whole suburb has been nominated as a State Heritage Area under the South Australian *Heritage Act* (1993). A Plan Amendment Report currently awaits ministerial approval.

In a 1991 Judgment relating to a development application within the suburb, Judge John Roder of the South Australian Planning Tribunals Court, stated: "Colonel Light Gardens is a continuing suburb in which urban residential living of a nature distinct from that to be found in many areas designated both before and...after...exists. [It] sets a special page in planning history..." (Roder 1991). This paper explores the basis of Roder's assertion by reference to the suburb's plan, legislative framework, administration and legacies for contemporary urban designers. Reade based his design for Colonel Light Gardens on Hampstead Garden Suburb. The paper draws parallels between the British exemplar and the transposed paradigm.

MITCHAM GARDEN SUBURB

Background

In 1912 Charles Reade began working as a volunteer in the offices of the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association (GCTPA) in London. Consequently he acquired first hand knowledge of garden city values and principles, met protagonists of the movement and gathered up-to-date information about garden city developments in Britain and elsewhere. After proving himself in a range of administrative and propagandist tasks Reade was appointed organiser and co-lecturer of the 1914 Australasian Town Planning Tour, an essential mechanism for spreading the garden city message to Australia and New Zealand.

In his Australasian lectures, Reade stressed the need for improving living and workplace environments; implementing garden city principles by *planning* rather than merely *subdividing* (that is cutting up land into the maximum number of residential blocks for commercial gain) and instigating comprehensive town planning legislation. He recommended the establishment of model garden suburbs as "object lessons" in garden city design (Reade 1915). It was with that objective in mind that the South Australian Labour Government purchased Grange Farm at Mitcham in June 1915 and obtained Reade's services as Adviser on Town Planning (Garnaut 1997). Later he was made Government Town Planner, the first in Australia.

Plan

A bird's eye perspective of the proposed Mitcham Garden Suburb was initially released at the First Town Planning and Housing Conference and Exhibition organised by Reade and held in Adelaide in October 1917. Following passage of the *Garden Suburb Act* (1919), appointment of a Garden Suburb Commissioner and the official naming of the suburb as Colonel Light Gardens, the first blocks of land were released for sale in August 1921. Reade's plan was modified three years later. In mid 1924 the South Australian government, in conjunction with the State Bank, initiated the Thousand Homes

Scheme, Australia's first mass housing project, on a portion of the garden suburb site (Garnaut 1995). The garden city principles that informed the original design were retained.

On paper, the Mitcham Garden Suburb was noticeably different from the conventional subdivision. The physical layout was not determined by the "existing practice of subdividing with straight lines-streets running north or south or east or west..." (Barwell 1919). Roads varied in width, line and length. Along the straight ones, buildings were set back at corners and at occasional intervals. They were sited in spacious grounds generously distant from their neighbours. Residential blocks accommodated front and back yards but the smaller blocks were backed by an internal reserve for recreation and horticulture. With the garden city principle of "social mix" specifically in mind, these blocks were meant for the less well off.

Not every house conformed to the convention of facing the street; some were turned, with the main entrance at the side. Public buildings, shops, schools, theatre, town hall, churches, dwellings and a variety of recreation areas were designated to specific parts of the suburb. The principle of architectural harmony—unity but not uniformity in design—was adhered to. Buildings were similar in scale and form but no two houses of the same design were drawn side-by-side. Utility ways allowed services (gas, electricity, water, sewerage, telephone) to be connected from the rear so as not to mar the streetscape with unsightly poles. They also afforded easy pedestrian access to main roads and facilities. And trees abounded—on street verges, in gardens and parks.

On the ground development

Reade left South Australia in December 1920, before his model garden suburb was even begun. Writing to him in 1927, Garden Suburb Commissioner Harris outlined how the plan had been implemented and described the suburb's progress. Houses were built, roads, footpaths and recreation areas developed and schools, churches and public meeting halls constructed. Sporting facilities included tennis courts, football and soccer grounds and two children's playgrounds. There was a lending library and a theatre for moving pictures. Harris estimated the population at 6000, including 1400 children enrolled in the two primary schools. There was a mix of income groups. Approximately 2000 street trees had been planted and hardy flowering shrubs and plants installed in ornamental street garden plots.

Moreover, as the Commissioner explained, social interaction between residents had led to the establishment of community groups "for both welfare and amusement" (*Register* 23/6/1930):

> the feeling of ownership is evident everywhere in the planting of front gardens, hedges, and in many arbors, pergolas...Mothers' Club, School Committee, Children's Welfare Committee, Progress Association, and other bodies of that ilk, are going strongly... (Harris to Reade 1927).

Legislative and administrative framework

In keeping with the international garden city campaign, Reade advocated legislation to provide a framework of rules governing initial and future development. Hence the *Garden Suburb Act* (1919) not only secured establishment of the Mitcham Garden Suburb but also dictated a set of regulations about its functioning and administration. Administered by a sole Garden Suburb Commissioner responsible to parliament, not the local government authority, the suburb became the state's inaugural example of a legally enabled residential environment. Hence the model was protected in law. That made it unique (Cheney 1994), not only in South Australia but also Australia-wide. Moreover its separate administration, together with its location on the urban fringe, assisted protection of its extraordinary design (Garnaut 1997).

Ccomparison with Hampstead Garden Suburb

Reade's extensive knowledge of garden city developments overseas informed his design for the Mitcham Garden Suburb. As noted he was particularly influenced by Unwin's Hampstead Garden Suburb and comparison of the plans reveals numerous similarities in the physical design (Garnaut 1996, 1997). The sites were about the same size and were chosen for their "views of the countryside" and proximity to public transport. Each was intended as a self-contained, low density residential environment catering for all residents' needs except employment. Both were designed according to the principle of land use zoning. Neither suburb had an industrial sector or a hotel.

In both suburbs there was a hierarchy of public open spaces: large "parks"; sporting grounds; a central square that included a trinity of buildings as well as formal gardens; allotment gardens and internal reserves; setbacks in front of houses; street corner garden reserves and grassed verges. Existing natural features were retained. Together with new plantings, they contributed to the desired park-like environment.

Roads were classified according to projected usage. Reade anticipated an increase in motor vehicle ownership and usage and made streets wider than Unwin's. Roads of different line and length were incorporated in both designs but site topography influenced Unwin more than Reade. The latter emulated Unwin's use of building setbacks on straight stretches of road and at corners. He terminated vistas either with specifically sited buildings, street garden reserves or existing trees. The *cul-de-sac* featured in Hampstead Garden Suburb. Although it was not popular in Australian planning thought, Reade included three in his scheme.

Architecture was a fundamental influence on the social, cultural and aesthetic character of both suburbs. In his 1913 article, "A defence of the garden city movement", Reade explained the role of architecture in garden city planning and its contribution to "the social realisation of... fellow neighbours" (Reade 1913). He detailed the spaces in which interaction might occur:

> [Houses that were not] ordinary dreary villa rows... with long projecting backs and high boarded fences... Garden[s] (including allotments), tennis fields, club houses where meals or recreation in dancing, billiards, cards or parties can be indulged in, cinema shows... institutes where children may engage in kindergarten, singing or dancing, where books may be had or lectures, discourses or meetings take place...

At Hampstead and **Mitcham** garden suburbs such buildings brought people together and, for those who chose to live there, provided foci, hubs of activity, points of familiarity and identity. As part of the everyday lifestyle of individuals, families and communities of users they sheltered residents, provided places to transact business, worship, learn, interact socially, play and pursue leisure activities or sporting interests. As social and cultural symbols they became stages for a diversity of human actions and interactions. Aesthetically they were interesting and attractive, linked visually by their harmony of scale, form, materials and colour. By-laws and regulations, resulting from parliamentary Acts enabled for both suburbs ensured consistency in the built form.

COLONEL LIGHT GARDENS: LESSONS AND LEGACIES

As noted, residents of Colonel Light Gardens acclaim their suburb as South Australia's showpiece of garden city planning and support its registration as a place of heritage significance. But it is also important as a model of early twentieth century design still relevant at the end of the millenium—its design elements are being emulated in 1990s residential developments. Academic and practitioner appraisal of Reade's plan, as well as site visits to and survey of master plans and promotional materials for contemporary South Australian projects confirm this view (Garnaut 1997, 1998).

Hardy notes the "enduring lure" in Britain and elsewhere of "settlements of a manageable size with a sense of identity, the provision of a good living and working environment, and a way of dealing with escalating land values and of securing benefits for the whole community..." (Ward 1994). Advocates of the American based New Urbanism movement are on a similar quest. Drawing on the era and traditions of the garden city (Katz 1994), and other ideologies, they are attempting to address the social, economic and environmental problems associated with unchecked urban sprawl. However despite the "new" label, as its proponents and reviewers acknowledge, the movement has definite roots in past practice.

What then are the similarities between Reade's suburb and contemporary Australian residential developments? Comparable features and design elements include: utilisation of the topography of the site—including curves and existing hills, vegetation and waterways; considerations of permeability, legibility, public safety and security; accessibility to a range of allotment sizes; reliance on a hierarchy of roads; proximity to public transport; creation of a network of pedestrian walkways and bicycle tracks; provision of a full range of facilities for educational, religious, sporting, retail, commercial and administrative purposes; development of a civic centre; provision, distribution and integration of a diverse range of public open spaces including ovals, parks, reserves, playgrounds; variation in size of residential allotments; variation in house styles to avoid monotony but not to infringe on privacy or the established character of an area and street plantings for visual effect and buffering of noise (Garnaut 1997, 1998).

Notwithstanding the fact that there are obvious parallels between Colonel Light Gardens and more recent residential developments, they cannot be directly and solely attributed to any one design; the influence of a diversity of social, economic, environmental and legislative forces acting over seven decades must also be acknowledged (Garnaut 1997, 1998). And there is clearly one point of difference—site density. The garden suburb aimed for and achieved a low density environment by providing detached single storey houses on large blocks. In response to popular demand for affordable housing, the very opposite occurs today—blocks are smaller and dwellings closely sited. However to compensate for minimal yard sizes, public open space is provided in the form of parks, reserves and playgrounds.

CONCLUSION

Garden Suburb Commissioner Stephens opined in 1935:

> The main characteristics of a garden suburb are exemplified at Colonel Light Gardens, for with its generous provision of recreation grounds, the beautification of its streets, the absence of congestion of dwellings, and the provision of social and welfare organisations, it has improved the health and enlarged the outlook of hundreds of workers... (*News* 12/2/1935)

These features mirrored the "special characteristics" of the garden suburb forwarded in 1921 by Sydney architect and planner John Sulman (Freestone 1989). Local residents recognised and were proud of Colonel Light Gardens' difference: "...we are the Garden Suburb...It has **been** a monument...of the Government's efforts in showing municipalities how a proper garden suburb should be laid out..." (quoted in Henry 1955).

This paper has surveyed the design origins and features of the model garden suburb at Colonel Light Gardens. It has also alluded to its lessons and legacies. Using Hampstead Garden Suburb as his exemplar Reade devised a theoretical, practical and legislative garden suburb prototype for South Australia. Although it was not the catalyst for fundamental change in existing planning practice that he

had hoped, the value of the venture was not diminished, as several generations of residents have attested. Contemporary home owners are working to ensure the protection of the suburb's amenity and to raise its standing locally, nationally and internationally.

Colonel Light Gardens is of relevance to today's urban designers/planners. Guided by economic, environmental, social and market forces and governed by planning codes, they seek to create living places in which "the supply and location of public facilities, the organisation and design of urban elements into functional patterns and the regulation of individual land uses" (Hutchings 1990) are integrated into a comprehensive scheme. With justification and confidence Colonel Light Gardens residents promote their suburb as one object lesson in how to achieve that goal. It definitely is a case of back, to the future.

REFERENCES

Ashworth, W. *The Genesis of Modern British Town Planning*. Routledge and Kegan Paul: London
Barwell, H.N. (1919) "Real Estate and Garden Suburbs." *Register* 29/5/1919
Cheney, S.L. (1994), "Colonel Light Gardens. A unique suburb in Adelaide: law shapes the urban environment." *Alternative Law Journal* Vol 19 No 4 August pp.153-155
Cherry, G. (1974) *The Evolution of British Town Planning*. Leighton Buzzard: Leonard Hill
Davidge, W.R. and Reade, C.C. [1915] *Australasian Town Planning Tour: Recommendations in regard to town planning*. Adelaide
Freestone, R. (1986) "Exporting the garden city: metropolitan images in Australia, 1900-1930." *PP* Vol 1 pp.61-84
————— (1989) *Model Communities*. Thomas Nelson: Melbourne
Garnaut, C. (1995) "Remodelling the Model: the Thousand Homes Scheme in Colonel Light Gardens." *JHSSA* No 23 pp.5-35
————— (1996) "Transposing the model: design sources for the Mitcham Garden Suburb." *The Australian City-Future/Past*. Office of Continuing Education: Monash
————— (1997) "Model and Maker: Colonel Light Gardens and Charles Reade." Unpublished PhD thesis (University of South Australia)
————— "Model Intentions: Colonel Light Gardens—an object lesson in urban design." *Australian Planner* (forthcoming 1998)
Harris to Reade 27/7/1927 CLG Docket 3282/1927 (Local History Collection Mitcham LHCM)
Henry, F.S. (1955) "Colonel Light Gardens: a study of the Garden Suburb in Adelaide." Unpublished M.A. thesis (University of Sydney)
Hutchings, A. and Bunker, R. (1986) *With Conscious Purpose*. Wakefield Press: Netley
Hutchings, A. (1990) "The Colonel Light Gardens suburb in South Australia: the continuing influence of the garden city tradition." *PH* Vol 12 No 1 pp.15-20
Katz, P. (1994) *The New Urbanism: towards an architecture of community*. McGraw Hill Inc: New York
Miller, M. and Gray, A.S. (1992) *Hampstead Garden Suburb*. Phillimore: Sussex
"Progressive Garden Suburb." *Register* 23/6/1930
"Rates still uncollected." *News* 12/2/1935
Reade, C.C. (1913) "A defence of the garden city movement." *TPR* Vol 4 pp.245-251
Roder, J. (1991) Planning Appeals Tribunal Judgment 332
Ward, S. (1992) *The Garden City: past, present and future*. E&FN Spon: London

A Conceptual Framework for Evaluating and Promoting the Environmental Performance of Cities: Retrospect and Prospect

Barrie Gasson
School of Architecture and Planning
University of Cape Town
Private Bag
Rondebosch 7700
Republic of South Africa

1. INTRODUCTION

The Environmental Performance of Cities is one of the major issues of our time and it occupies the heart of this paper. The attainment of high levels of city - nature performance raises at least three questions : firstly, how should we conceptualise the needs that urban dwellers have from nature; secondly, how well have cities met these needs; and, thirdly, how might cities better meet these needs in future. These three questions structure the paper.

2. A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This framework (Fig. 2) is informed by the work of thinkers in various disciplines dealing with nature - built environment relationships, such as architecture, landscape architecture, applied ecology, civil engineering, and city and regional planning. It has parallels with frameworks used by Lynch (1981) and Spirn (1984).

Human beings everywhere have three basic needs from nature. The first is psychological and revolves around the needs of orientation ("knowing where I am") and identity ("belonging to") in the landscape. (Lynch, 1976; Norberg-Schulz, 1980). Nature is conceptualised here as place and theatre for living. When settlements are conceptualised as works of art, and are deliberately located and designed to promote a positive rapport with the surrounding landscape, they enable residents and visitors to experience a strong sense of place, of being somewhere specific.

The second need is biological and derives from our metabolic dependence on regular supplies (inputs) of air, water and food, and supplements of fibre, materials and energy. Equally, we must discharge waste products (outputs) regularly. (Wolman, 1967; Odum, 1971). Nature here is conceptualised as our life support system, as the source and sink of inputs and outputs, respectively. When settlements are conceptualised as biological communities, and their economies and ecological footprints are geared as much as possible to the capacities of their regional natural systems, they contribute to conditions of public health and ecological sustainability.

The third need is physical and derives from our vulnerability to the forces of nature, and the vulnerability of natural communities to our actions. It makes sense to avoid settling in hazard-prone environments, and it is also being realised that protection and conservation of biodiversity makes sense and is also ethically the right thing to do. (McHarg, 1969; WRI, 1992). So, nature is here conceptualised as a physical platform

characterised by high degrees of variability in spatial (pattern) and temporal (process) terms. When settlements are conceptualised as permanent abodes, and their built footprints are sensitively fitted to the variabilities of their landscapes, they exhibit qualities of being intrinsically suited to those conditions and reduce exposure to life and property-threatening processes.

3. RETROSPECT : ENVIRONMENTAL PERFORMANCE OF CITIES DURING THE 20th CENTURY

The century can be divided into three eras and the planning record examined accordingly : Era 1, up to the late 1930s; Era 2, the post-war era to the early 1970s; and Era 3, the 1970s to the present.

During Era 1 the Founding Fathers of the discipline (Geddes, 1949; Mumford, 1938; MacKaye, 1962), with their inter-disciplinary backgrounds, and their wide-ranging interests in the human condition and the natural and built environments, proposed a planning philosophy in which people and nature were accorded co-equal status. The purpose of planning was to entrench the cultural - ecological diversity of cities and regions by countering the trend towards metropolitanism and an internationally standardised culture. This was to be achieved by controlling the sizes of individual cities, utilizing modern technologies in promoting city constellations (regional cities), and securing and protecting the surrounding rural and primeval landscapes. Viewed through the above framework it is clear that many of those needs were central to their thinking and are reflected in their planning proposals.

Era 2 was dominated by the imperatives of post-war reconstruction and development as well as post-colonial development. The paradigm of modernization and rapid economic growth drove the development path and produced two consequences of interest here. Firstly, it entrenched a utilitarian and exploitative approach to nature and landscape : nature's value was derived from its utility as a factor of production, or according to its distance from a centre of population; many of its commodities were regarded as substitutable by manufactured commodities, and resource depletion was therefore not an issue. Secondly, urbanization, metropolitanization, and growth centre promotion became the centrepieces of much planning activity and were planned in a predominantly low density, space-extensive form. Though some planners still held with the old philosophy (eg. Keeble, 1969), others aligned themselves with the new imperatives (eg. Chapin, 1965). In the main, the growth of city economies / metabolisms and physical city expansion occurred with limited reference to sense of place, ecological sustainability, or land suitability.

In Era 3 the breakdown in environmental quality came to a head on many fronts. It was clear that extensive areas of contemporary settlements failed to promote sensory harmony and were alienating and disorientating environments. The majority of settlements were characterised by severe metabolic imbalances, reflected in environmental depletion and degradation, and associated pathologies. Most of them placed siginficant numbers of residents in the path of avoidable hazards, and also overran and displaced valuable resources and vulnerable ecosystems.

4. PROSPECT : PROMOTING THE ENVIRONMENTAL PERFORMANCE OF CITIES

Since the 1960s a variety of initiatives have produced an array of publications detailing the extent, causes, and probable consequences of the escalating global environmental crisis. Figure 2 is a an incomplete statement of these, often convergent, streams of thought. Increasingly, cities, as the home of 52% of global population and as the centres of much of global production and consumption, have been identified as both major contributors to the environmental problems and the victims of its consequences. Four propositions emerging from these initiatives are of particular interest to planners in the promotion of high levels of city - nature performance: sustainable development, sustainable cities, ecological economics, and bioregional management. The conceptual framework enables us to judge their adequacy in promoting high performance cities.

The thrust of the sustainability and ecological economics propositions is primarily metabolic. They emphasise the need for the rate of resource extraction and the rate of waste release to remain within nature's regenerative and absorptive capacities, respectively. They echo the propositions of Wolman (1967) and Odum (1971) and have implications for the management of city metabolisms.

Bioregional management aims at the promotion of biodiversity, both ecological and cultural, through the rational arrangement and management of wilderness, rural and urban ecosystems in river basins. (WRI, 1992). This triad of ecosystems is informed by the compartment model (Odum, 1969) which recommends that the process of ecological succession be managed to different stages in order to control impacts and promote environmental quality. The triad is similar to the founding fathers' primeval, rural and urban environments, and the river basin is the same as Geddes' well-known Valley Section. The commitment to cultural and ecological diversity revives a central tenet of the founders' planning philosophy : regionalism.

What is under-represented in these propositions? The spatial variability of the landscape as regards resources and hazards, and how intrinsic suitability considerations should inform urban and regional order, are often lightly dealt with. The central significance of sense of place is insufficiently recognised.

What, therefore, are some requirements for attaining high city - nature performance?

The promotion of sensory harmony requires that the city's presence, or image, be positive in the landscape. This quality can be best achieved through settlement forms that are compact and built to relatively high densities, and have clear and permanent edges between urban and rural - primeval domains. Conversely, the landscape's presence should be incorporated into the experience of the city through the way in which public spaces open up views and vistas towards significant natural features.

The promotion of metabolic balance requires that city metabolisms / economies be tied to the greatest extent possible into the processes of the regional natural systems. These qualities can be best achieved through compact relatively high density

FIG. 1: NATURE & SETTLEMENTS : A FRAMEWORK FOR PLANNING (Gasson, B. 1998)

1. HUMAN NEEDS FROM NATURE	Psychological Existential	Biological Extractive & Absorptive	Physical Expansive
2. NATURE AS	Place & Theatre	Life Support System	Variable Platform
3. SETTLEMENT AS	Work of Art	Biological Community	Permanent Abode
4. KEY CONCEPTS	Sense of Place	Ecological Sustainability	Intrinsic Suitability
5. PERFORMANCE DIMENSIONS	Sensory Harmony	Metabolic Balance	Spatial Fit
6. PERFORMANCE INDICATORS	Disorientation Alienation Loss of Place	Pathology Resource depletion Environmental pollution	Hazard exposure Resource losses
7. ANALYTICAL "LANGUAGE"	*Orientation* * Centres * Paths * Domains * Edges *Identity* * Romantic landscapes * Cosmic " * Classical "	*Flows & Cycles* * Photosynthesis * Respiration * Input - Output * Storage * Workgate * Human enterprise	*Physiographic region / River basin* *Urban Suitability hierarchy* * Flat land * Forest and woodland * Steep slopes * Fertile soils * Aquifers & Recharge areas * Floodplains * Surface water
8. ANALYTICAL METHODS	Genius Loci Env. perception	Energy Diagrams & Matrices (electr. analogue circuit)	Physiog. Unit maps & matrices Parametric maps & "
EIA TECHNIQUES	Visual	Network & Matrix	Overlay & Matrix
9. PLANNING ISSUES	How to enhance sense of place	How to remain within regen- erative & absorptive capacit. How to close the cycles Where / what not to discard	Where not to build Where potential to build What roles the no-build areas

238

239

FIG. 2: STREAMS OF THINKING ABOUT ECOLOGY, ECONOMICS, SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT, AND HUMAN SETTLEMENTS (Gasson, B. 1998)
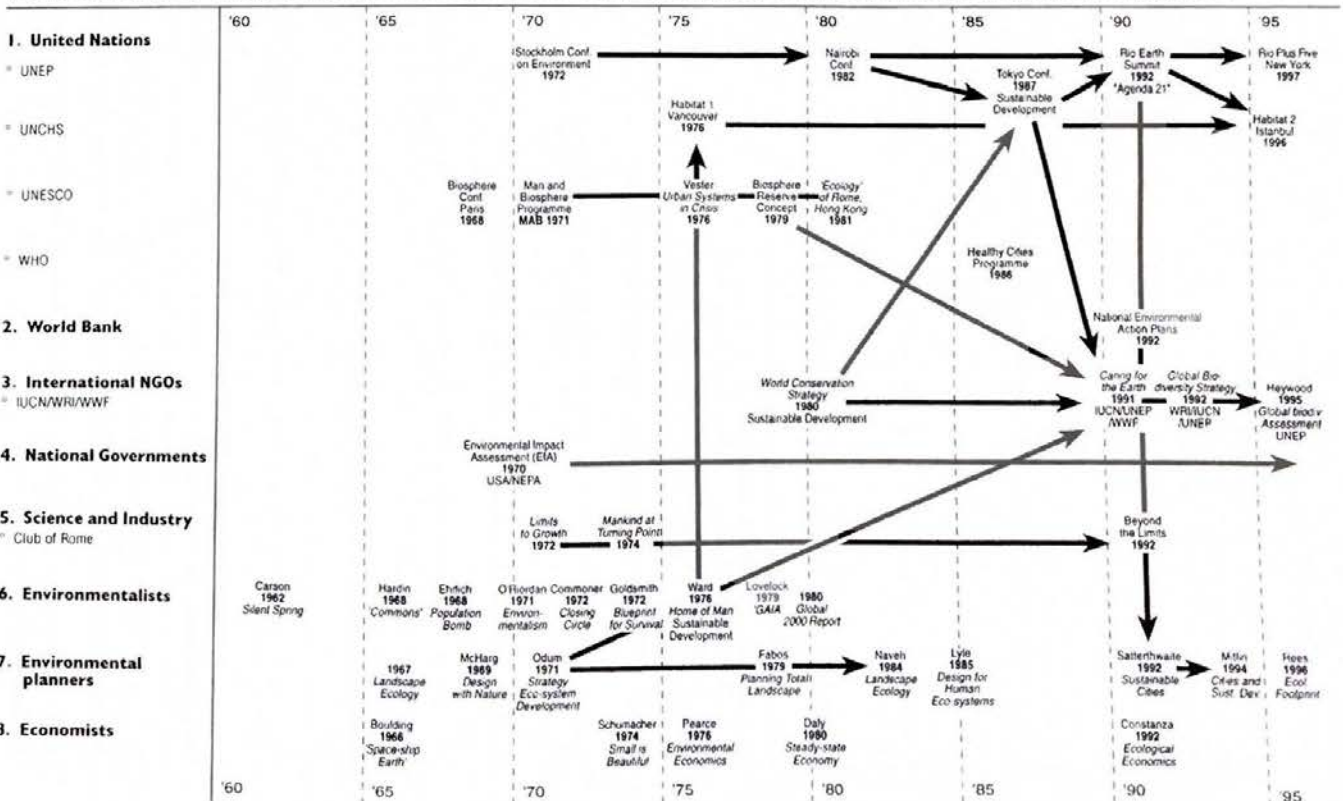
settlement forms that facilitate efficient per capita energy and water usage, and urban economies and urban land use patterns that promote effective waste recycling.

The promotion of spatial fit requires city footprints to be discriminating in the type of land that is developed, and efficient in the use of that land. These qualities can best be achieved through a compact relatively high density settlement form that avoids both hazard-prone areas and vulnerable resources and ecosystems.

5. CONCLUSION

The attainment of all of these qualities in a single city poses a considerable challenge to true inter-disciplinary thinking and co-operation - and much else besides.

6. REFERENCES

Chapin, F. S. (1965) (2nd Ed.) *Urban Land Use Planning*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana.

Geddes, P. (1949) (2nd Ed.) *Cities in Evolution*, Williams and Norgate, London.

Keeble, L. (1969) (4th Ed.) *Principles and Practice of Town and Country Planning*, The Estates Gazette Ltd., London.

Lynch, K. (1976) *Managing the Sense of a Region*, The MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass.

Lynch, K. (1981) *Good City Form*, The MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass.

MacKaye, B. (1962) *The New Exploration - A Philosophy of Regional Planning*, Univ. Illinois Press, Urbana.

Mumford, L. (1938) *The Culture of Cities*, Secker and Warburg, London.

Norberg-Schulz, C. (1980) *Genius Loci - Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture*, Academy Editions, London.

Odum, E. P. (1969) "The Strategy of Ecosystem Development", *Science*, 164 : 262 - 270.

Odum, H. T. (1971) *Environment, Power and Society*, Wiley Interscience, New York.

Spirn, A. W. (1984) *The Granite Garden - Urban Nature and Human Design*, Basic Books, New York.

Wolman, A. (1967) "The Metabolism of Cities". In *Cities, A Scientific American Book*, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth.

WRI / IUCN / UNEP. (1992) *Global Biodiversity Strategy*, World Resources Institute, Washington, D.C.

Amenity, health and the 'modern community': Productive animals in the suburban landscape, Perth, Western Australia, 1898 to the present. A synopsis.

Andrea Gaynor
History Department
University of Western Australia
Crawley WA 6907
Australia

Historians have often depicted suburban development in Australia as a process whereby agricultural land uses such as dairying, poultry farming and market gardening give way to residential development, with food production subsequently forming an insignificant part of suburban life and landscape. However, in looking at the language and case studies contained in the archives of health and municipal authorities, it becomes apparent that suburbia is a site in which tensions between production and consumption, yeoman ideology and modernity, autonomy and conformity may be read through conflicts surrounding the keeping and attempted exclusion of productive animals such as goats, cows and fowls. In this paper I will explore long-run changes in the nature of these ongoing tensions, in order to expose the myth of suburbia as an homogeneous site where consumption defines both modernity and conformity. For, in spite of the attempts of health, municipal and planning authorities to create suburbia and its citizens in this image, the backyard chook (fowl) pen and even the odd suburban sheep have by no means been banished entirely.

Productive animals have received little serious consideration from those in the fields of planning and history. This paper does, however, draw on the work of both Margo Huxley and Andrew Brown-May, employing the connections made by Huxley between zoning, homogenisation of space, and the creation of identities, as well as the relationship between by-laws and consumerist trends in domestic life,[1] and examining the veracity of Brown-May's brief references to the role of a "progressive urban ideology" in the proliferation of animal-related by-law, as well as the part played by such restrictions in the production of an overarching suburban conformity.[2]

There is no doubt that the regulation of productive animals has increased since the turn of the century - a tendency which in and of itself has contributed to conformity. However, whilst it is easy to trace the origin and development of regulation, it is less easy to trace the differing ways in which regulation has been policed, and resisted, and indeed the relative proportions of households with productive animals and those without. In this paper, however, I will attempt to do all three: assessing available indicators as to the changing prevalence of productive animal-keeping in the suburbs; locating the origin of regulation in ideas about disease and tracing it as it develops throughout the century; but also looking for traces of changes in the ways it has been policed, implemented, subverted or ignored. Overall, I will show that the project of creating a modern consumer society has not been without its hitches, one of which has been an ongoing tension, both in municipal bodies and local communities, between conformity and autonomy, demonstrated in the struggles over productive suburban animals.

Changes in regulation, as well as the enforcement or subversion of that regulation, reveal several shifts in ideas about health, the rights attached to private property, and ideal citizens and communities. These ideas, and attempts to represent them in actual suburban landscapes, changed over time as well as differing between suburban residents and even different levels of government. Initially, regulation was created in a genuine attempt to protect the health of a population. This was largely done through the stipulation of distances between potential sources of miasma - bad-smelling gases thought to cause certain diseases - and living spaces. However, the two-tier structure of health authorities, by which it was intended that such regulation be enforced, meant that centralised attempts to assert conformity on the grounds of health were often subverted by local authorities' attempts to protect the right of residents to maximise the use-value of their land by

keeping productive animals, the latter being a persistent view with its roots set deep in a strongly-held yeoman ideology. In 'The Manufacture of Middle Class Suburbia',[3] Jenny Gregory notes that few historians have mentioned the link between an agrarian ideal, yeoman characteristics and the middle class desire for a house and land. Some have, however, picked up on the suburban-yeoman connection. For instance Graeme Davison, in *The Rise and Fall of Marvellous Melbourne*, asked "([w]as the yeoman dream of five acres and a cow realized in a quarter-acre block and a pen of chooks?)"[4] I would argue that it most definitely was, and that this 'yeoman dream' was often recognised in the policing, if not always the formulation, of by-laws relating to suburban animal husbandry. The animal-keepers themselves also employed a variety of strategies by which to avoid conforming with the regulations.

From the time of the First World War, local authorities in their by-laws increasingly sought to define rights to the enjoyment of private property in terms of amenity - an environment which was not only healthy, but pleasant. Given the prevalence of environmental determinism, this new concern with amenity can be seen as not entirely divorced from the earlier concern with health, although it also included an increasing concern with the preservation of property values. However, lingering ideas about householders' rights to keep livestock led to some compromise, and less conformity, in the enforcement of a growing body of regulation. Much of this regulation was created at the insistence of central health authorities, often following only one complaint, or was promulgated through centrally-formulated Model by-laws. By the end of the Second World War, an extensive body of regulation relating to the keeping of livestock had thus been created in most suburban areas. In the period of post-war reconstruction, this regulation was mobilised broadly in terms of health and amenity (related mostly to flies and noise), but was also a means by which the state sought to involve itself in the creation of identities congruent with a "modern community" through the exclusion of traces of its 'other' in the small-scale 'peasant'-type agricultural activities characteristic of pre-war suburbia.

Throughout this period, the regulations have been subverted or ignored by individuals or organisations at the various levels, and policed with varying degrees of thoroughness. However, as suburban consolidation leads to increasing residential densities in the 1990's opportunities for lawful animal-keeping are decreasing, whilst environmentalism, unemployment and perhaps also the profit motive are playing a part in increasing the popularity of backyard livestock. Without an understanding of the history of suburban animal-keeping, its regulation, and the underlying issues, we are unlikely to be in a position to address this ongoing suburban tension in a fair and equitable manner. I would conclude that attempts to create an 'inanimate' suburban conformity have, if only to a small extent, failed, and that what is now required is an abandonment of the inherited body of regulation, which is largely based on superseded theories of health and constructions of amenity informed by a highly ideological vision of the ideal suburban community. This quest for suburban homogeneity must come to an end - a goal which will be assisted by the implementation of flexible regulations which reflect the current state of knowledge with respect to health, whilst attempting to balance the right of people to keep productive animals in suburbia, with the rights of those who would exclude them.

[1] Margo Huxley, "Space, knowledge, power and gender", in L. Johnson (ed.), *Suburban Dreaming: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Australian Cities*, Deakin University Press, Melbourne, 1994, pp.181-192; Huxley, "In search of 'the good life': being a political economy of certain local government by-laws within the metropolitan area of Melbourne, Victoria", *Urban Policy and Research*, vol. 3, no. 1, 1985, p.22.

[2] Andrew Brown-May, "Good fences make good neighbours?: ordering landscape and the tractable paraphernalia of suburbia", *Urban History Planning History Conference Urban Research Program Presentation Copy Vol.1*, Urban Research Program, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University, Canberra, 1995, n.p.

[3] Jenny Gregory, "The Manufacture of Middle Class Suburbia: the Promontory of Claremont, Nedlands and Dalkeith, within the City of Perth, Western Australia, 1830's-1930's, PhD thesis, History Department, University of Western Australia, 1988.

[4] Graeme Davison, *The Rise and Fall of Marvellous Melbourne*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1978, p.185, quoted in Gregory, *op. cit.*, p.18.

A Planner's Dream - A Citizen's Nightmare: Town Planning for the Tropical Town of Darwin 1930 - 1950

Eve Gibson
14 Porter St
Ludmilla
Darwin NT 0820

While much has been written about the effects of the Japanese bombing attacks on Darwin and its people during World War II, there has been little recognition of the fact that it was due more to town planning initiatives of the time, rather than the war, that Darwin residents were barred from returning to their homes until 1946, long after the bombing raids had ceased.

There were five town plans created for Darwin between 1937 and 1950. Although a start was made to implement each plan, not one of the five was completed to its original vision. That the plans failed was not due to the incompetence of professional town planners, but rather to tension between the military and civil administration in Darwin, internecine fighting between government departments in Canberra, and bureaucratic bungling and incompetence on a grand scale.

The town of Darwin on Australia's far north coast underwent great changes during the 1930s. Described by novelist Ernestine Hill in 1930 as *visibly, painfully dying*, international developments during the decade focused attention on the strategic importance of Darwin. The result was a rapid build-up of military personnel, and of workers needed for military constructions. The population more than doubled from 1 572 in 1933 to 3 653 in 1939.

The military build-up provided a valuable economic contribution to the town. However, accommodation and basic and facilities such as electricity and water came under increasing pressure. A series of town camps developed in which workers, and often their families, lived in tents or bag-huts - make-shift shacks with sacking walls to provide protection from the elements.

The 1937 Payne Fletcher Report on the Northern Territory was highly critical of the appalling living conditions of workers in Darwin. It also noted the neglected appearance of the town, its poor roads, unmade footpaths and evil-smelling drains.

It was clear that professional town planning was needed for the town, to provide both a blue-print for the establishment of proper public facilities, and recommendations for future development. In May 1937 the Minister for the Interior appointed a committee to deal with the issue. It submitted its recommendations, and a town plan for Darwin drawn up by a senior Department of the Interior architect, W.T. Haslam, late in 1937.

The 1937 town plan was oriented towards the development of Darwin as primarily a military base, with defence requirements given top priority. The demands of the Royal Australian Navy most affected the town centre, the Navy having requested that all land on the toe of the peninsula on which Darwin is sited be allocated for naval

purposes only. This area contained the principal government administration offices and much of the main business district. It also encompassed the entire area containing early buildings of historical significance such as the Town Hall, Court House and the residence of the Administrator of the Northern Territory, Government House. The plan proposed that a new civic centre and government offices be erected in an area outside of that required by the Navy.

That Darwin should develop as a garrison town was not the intention of C.L.A. Abbott, who took up the position of Administrator in 1937. Abbott suggested that the military should co-ordinate with the civil administration to consider the urgent questions of housing, roads and other amenities. This suggestion was rejected, the service chiefs choosing to regard the Administrator and civil administration as firmly subordinate to the military.

Abbott did, however, succeed in his determination that an experienced town planner be appointed. In October 1939 he asked the Federal Government to appoint Brisbane Town Planner, R.A. McInnis, to undertake the task of developing a town plan for Darwin. A staunch proponent of the Garden City Movement, McInnis saw trees, parks and recreation areas as issues equally important as buildings in the creation of a pleasant living environment. Under his direction, Brisbane was the first Australian city to adopt a large scale town planning scheme, with zoning of areas for specific purposes, such as living, industrial and recreational.

McInnis arrived in Darwin in September 1940. He observed the neglected appearance of the town, and the lack of civic pride. On investigation he found this hardly surprising as there was no civilian involvement in running the town, and citizens had no power to influence political decisions through the ballot box.

In the comprehensive report which accompanied his 1940 Darwin town plan McInnis outlined the history of the Territory, and noted the tendency of the Commonwealth Government to treat it as a colony. *It is not*, he wrote, *a foreign possession to be exploited, it is a part, a very necessary part, of Australia, to be developed.*

The Northern Territory, which was transferred from South Australia to Commonwealth control in 1911, was unique on mainland Australia in that it was administered directly from Canberra through an appointed Administrator. It lacked any real representation at the federal level, the Territory having only one, non-voting, member in the House of Representatives, a concession won in 1922 after a bitter battle by Darwin residents and the North Australian Workers Union.

At a local level, there had been an elected Darwin Town Council until 1931, when it was replaced by a council nominated by the government. From the outset the nominated council was faced with severe financial difficulties due to non-payment of rates by absentee landlords, and increasing pressure on public services by the expanding military establishments, all of which demanded services but contributed little to council revenue. A final blow to council efforts to maintain public facilities occurred on 10 March 1937, when a massive cyclone hit Darwin. On 1 April 1937 the Darwin Town Council officially handed over its responsibilities to the government, and Administrator Abbott took over direct control of municipal issues.

McInnis in his report recommended the immediate formation of a town management board to advise the Administrator. He also suggested the formation of a citizens advisory council, stressing that the willing co-operation of the people of Darwin was vital in maintaining an attractive town.

With regards to the existing layout of Darwin, McInnis was pleased with the central town area, which had been laid out by surveyor G.W. Goyder in 1869. He felt that while minor alterations, such as the widening of two major streets and the upgrading of streets and kerbing to take into account motor traffic, were necessary, the wisdom of the original design would become evident as the town developed. *The face of the town*, he wrote in his report, *cannot be changed, but most of the blemishes can gradually be removed.*

What did need changing, and immediately, was the sanitation system in place. Darwin in 1940 still relied on wells, water-tanks and bores for water. Sewerage was disposed of by way of pans emptied into the Sanitary Reserve, which was at the base of cliffs near a residential area. It would not, in McInnis' view, be possible to create a pleasant tropical living environment until the issues of sanitation and drainage were resolved using modern methods.

The town plan and accompanying report by McInnis in 1940 took a sweeping and holistic approach to improving living conditions for Darwin residents. He outlined in detail plans for zoning areas into residential, business and industrial areas. He studied existing housing and made recommendations as to the styles most suited to the tropics. He consulted an eminent local botanist with regard to trees and plants most suited to a programme of street planting and beautifying public recreation areas. He also looked to the future growth of the town, recommending that the existing town boundary be vastly extended, that the civil aerodrome be moved further out, and that a priority issue was the upgrading and sealing of the dusty track that was Darwin's only link with the southern states.

In December 1940 McInnis presented his completed Town Planning Scheme for the Town of Darwin to the government. Administrator Abbott was delighted with the plan which, he believed, could be implemented without incurring heavy expenditure. The military chiefs were less enthusiastic, as McInnis insisted that the prime town area claimed by the Royal Australian Navy should remain in place as the centre of government administration and business.

All discussion as to the 1940 town plan stalled as the shadow of war touched Australia's northern coastline. Plans to evacuate the civilian population of Darwin were activated in November 1941. Darwin residents, many of them unwillingly, were forced to leave their homes and motor vehicles, destroy their pets and take with them only basic necessities to evacuation points. On 19 February 1942 Japanese bombers attacked Darwin. The town was placed under military control, and Administrator Abbott and his staff moved to Alice Springs.

Although the last of the fifty-nine Japanese bombing attacks on Darwin took place on November 12 1943, military control of Darwin, and the ban on civilians wishing to return to their homes continued until the end of 1946, fifteen months after the war

ended. That the armed services chiefs had every intention of retaining control of, at least, a large area of Darwin was clear in the military town plan submitted to the government in 1943.

The 1943 Darwin town plan, which started out as a hobby for three Army officers, was expanded and developed on the instructions of the General Officer Commanding the Northern Territory Force, Major-General A.S. Allen. It drew on both the 1937 and the 1940 town plans, returning to the 1937 recommendation that the main administrative and business centre be moved to an area outside of the existing old town centre, and using large sections of McInnis' pain-staking 1940 report with regard to areas such as zoning, buildings and tree-planting.

There was, however, one recommendation contained in the military town plan which had not appeared in either of the previous town plans for Darwin - that of land acquisition. The proposal that all privately owned land in the Darwin area be compulsorily acquired by the Commonwealth was accompanied by detailed maps showing privately owned properties, and a breakdown of costs involved. Land acquisition as suggested in the military town plan of 1943 was the single factor which delayed the return of civilians to Darwin.

In response to the town plan proposed by the military Administrator Abbott, still in Alice Springs, appealed to the government to allow McInnis to return to Darwin and prepare a town plan which took into account the extensive war-time damage and changed circumstances due to the proposed acquisition of freehold land. The 1944 Darwin town plan appeared under the names of McInnis, the Chief Surveyor in the Northern Territory A.R. Millar and one of the three Army officers involved in compiling the 1943 military town plan, H.J. Symons.

While the 1944 plan retained many of the basic recommendations outlined in the 1940 McInnis Darwin town plan, changes through the war years rendered other recommendations obsolete. The provision of a good sealed north-south road, the Stuart Highway, had been completed as far as Alice Springs in 1942. The connection of reticulated water from Manton Dam to Darwin meant that a modern sewerage system could be put in place, and that water was available for gardens and street planting.

Bombing damage and the destruction of Chinatown by the military during the war years also meant that McInnis could expand his vision for the central town area. He proposed a civic centre in which public buildings would be surrounded by ample open space to give grace and dignity to the centre of administration. Room was allocated for a building to house a future legislative assembly, major public buildings such as a court house and library, and a new post office to replace the one destroyed by Japanese bombing.

The problem for McInnis was that, as in 1940, his proposed civic centre was on the site that the Navy was determined to retain for purely naval use. McInnis was also highly critical of armed services demands for almost every prime piece of foreshore land for military purposes. The 1944 report recommended that most of the land occupied by the military should be returned to public use as soon as hostilities ceased.

McInnis and Administrator Abbott presented the 1944 Darwin town plan and report to an interdepartmental committee in Canberra on 2 February 1945. The body of the report was not even discussed, the entire session being taken in discussing the issue which caused the greatest friction - the siting of the civic centre. In desperation Abbott took the town plan straight to the Prime Minister, John Curtin, who promised to allocate two million pounds to the project. However, Curtin died shortly afterwards, before official approval was given to the McInnis plan.

In December 1945 Abbott wrote bleakly to the Secretary of the Department of the Interior, A.J. Carrodus, that *over all householders in the Darwin area lies a kind of monstrous shadow known as the Darwin Town Plan.* This plan was a completely new Darwin town plan formulated by the interdepartmental committee.

That the task of rebuilding Darwin was to be undertaken by an interdepartmental committee rather than a single department was due to clashes between the Minister for the Interior and the Minister for Post-War Reconstruction, each of which claimed that their department should control the considerable funding, an estimated 30 million pounds over five to ten years, allocated for the post-war reconstruction of Darwin. Cabinet ruled that it was a matter for both departments, and the interdepartmental committee was formed.

On 16 August 1945 the Darwin Lands Acquisition Bill passed into law. In accordance with this act, all freehold land within an area of 144 square kilometres around Darwin was to be compulsorily acquired by the Commonwealth from 17 January 1946. On 18 January 1946 Cabinet approved the submission that plans drawn up by the Department of Works and Housing be adopted as the basis of the future development of Darwin. Existing housing was to be rented on a temporary basis only as the intention was to completely demolish the town and design a new tropical city.

Blame for the unpopular land acquisition was placed squarely on McInnis. That done, the Canberra bureaucrats had no intention of wasting time on the more mundane aspects of town planning. Millar as chief surveyor in Darwin was instructed to start implementing McInnis' recommendations with regard to the establishment for a frame-work for administration, zoning, sewerage and drainage. Also adopted from the McInnis recommendations was the extension of the Darwin town boundary and the re-siting of the civil aerodrome.

In 1947 the Department of Works and Housing issued a release giving details of the new town plan for Darwin under the heading 'Australia's Darwin Rises Again: Much Bombed Town as Modern Tropical City'. The release spoke glowingly of Darwin's future, revealing that a mission had been sent to the United States and South America to study the latest developments in modern town planning techniques and architecture, and that Darwin was in the hands of an army of experts - *The Darwin for tomorrow,* according to the release, would be *Australia's best example of enlightened town planning.*

The Darwin town plan as devised by southern-based town planners invoked a storm of protest from Darwin residents. The planners, accused in one newspaper article of approaching the planning of Darwin as though the area was *a paddock and not a town*

already in existence, had totally ignored the original Goyder lay-out and replaced it with a new frame-work of curved streets and cul-de-sacs.

The proposal that the familiar face of Darwin be changed to such an extent, and that all buildings in the town centre were to be demolished, increased the distress suffered by Darwin residents. Barred from returning to their homes until the Lands Acquisition Bill had been passed in 1946, they returned to find that their homes, which they no longer officially owned, had been wrecked or burnt, and their personal possessions looted. The majority of the destruction was caused not by Japanese bombing, but by the military. An investigation into the systematic looting and destruction of civilians homes by military personnel was held in July 1942.

If 'The Plan' of 1947 - it gained the dubious distinction of capital letters due to the heated criticism to which it was subjected, was ever produced in a complete form it was never forwarded to the administration in Darwin. Millar constantly voiced his frustration at attempting to finalise surveys working from parts of the 1944 McInnis plan and with only fragments of the 1947 town plan.

The Administrator, A.R. Driver, who had replaced Abbott in 1947 also became increasingly concerned at the lack of progress. He noted in his 1947-1948 report to the government that, despite the money available for housing, the Department of Works had completed only ten new houses in the Northern Territory during the year. He was equally critical in his 1948-1949 report, suggesting that the responsibility for the reconstruction of Darwin be placed under the control of one department, and that the town planners office be sited in Darwin rather than Melbourne.

As time passed the people of Darwin, tired of waiting for government action, started re-building. The buildings, mainly of a low-cost, temporary nature, reflected the insecurity of residents. By July 1948 only seventy per cent of claims resulting from land acquisition had been settled, and many owners had been paid only a fraction of the value of their property. A visiting journalist in 1949 wrote of Darwin that: *The old pre-war Darwin, a rambling, graceless...shadeless frontier town...is being confirmed again with the help of official policy.*

The end to the colossal bureaucratic experiment in town planning - The Darwin Town Plan, came swiftly. In December 1949 the Labour government was swept from office by the Liberal-Country Party coalition led by R.G. Menzies. The new government showed little interest in maintaining expensive involvement in the re-building of Australia's northern town and Darwin, described by a Liberal member of parliament as *a planner's dream and a citizen's nightmare*, was left to its own devices.

References: Eve Gibson, 1997, *Bag-Huts, Bombs and Bureaucrats*, Historical Society of the Northern Territory, NTU Press, Darwin.

Is Planning History?

Brendan Gleeson[1] and Nicholas Low[2]
The Urban Research Program, Research School of Social Sciences
Australian National University, Canberra, ACT, 0200 (1)
Faculty of Architecture, Building and Planning, The University of Melbourne,
Parkville, Victoria, 3052 (2)

INTRODUCTION

For much of the post-War period, the development of Australia's cities and regions was governed by a set of state-based Town and Country Planning systems, a form of regulation largely inherited from Britain. Although subject to a variety of antagonistic forces throughout their development — notably, in the form of private sector resistance, political interference and occasional bureaucratic ineptitude — these various Town and Country Planning systems had, by the late 1970s, each evolved into sophisticated regulatory regimes.[1] Moreover, in each regime the medium to long term patterns of intervention were forecast and constantly re-shaped through strategic planning functions that operated at both State and local levels.

Australia's urban and regional planning systems are now being transformed. What distinguishes the present transformation from past incremental change is the fact that contemporary shifts in policy and regulation threaten the real existence of planning itself. Planning may be reduced to a rhetorical veil thinly covering the irrational and socially disruptive reality of market forces. In particular, the various 'neo-liberal' (or 'economic rationalist') reform processes that have advanced under the banners of National Competition Policy, the Planning Officials' Group and the Property Council of Australia constitute an assault upon the core values that have animated planning practice in the past. In some State planning systems, the neo-liberal reform agenda has begun to assert itself through various policy initiatives that have undermined the place of any meaningful public intervention in urban development.

In truth, however, the core values of planning have been breaking up under the pressure of a series of critiques of modernism over the last twenty years. Broadly they can be grouped under three main headings: Marxist critiques of the capitalist State, pluralist and cultural critiques, and environmentalist critiques. Mostly these critiques were based upon a certain disillusionment with the seeming failure of planning to deliver the promised world. Few envisaged a return to the past, but rather sought to take planning further, hoping to make planning more democratic and responsive to new insights. Yet they also undermined the foundational tenets of planning without reinstating a clear vision of the future. Meanwhile neo-liberalism was waiting in the wings to justify a return to the very world which had produced the problems planning was designed to solve.

Our aim in this paper is to revisit these reform agendas, and to consider their combined effects on urban and regional planning in Australia. The paper is structured as follows. We begin by considering the values which informed the idea of planning

---

[1] Leaving aside a few notable exceptions, such as Queensland, where strategic planning was slow to develop.

as it sought to cope with the massive task of reconstruction of the world economy and societies after the Great Depression and the Second World War. We then consider the emergence of disillusionment with the effects of modernist planning and briefly discuss the three main strands of critique which emerged from the 1960s. Then we outline some elements of the contemporary neo-liberal assault on planning in Australia which, in a sense, seeks a return to the forms of governance (including, for some, laissez-faire) that prevailed until the Great Depression. Finally we return to the value positions of earlier critiques with a view to recovering the basis for a renewal of the promises of planning.

THE VALUES UNDERLYING PLANNING

Underlying values are not much mentioned in planning documents of the post-war period. Histories of planning more often emphasise the older value traditions of communitarianism and public health, and the post-war institutional innovations of national and regional town and country planning. Perhaps planners wanted to be seen as objective and value-free scientists — McLoughlin (1969) argued that planning should be founded upon the science of location theory — perhaps planners wanted to distance themselves from political controversy, perhaps the virtues of planning were more or less taken for granted. Yet these values provided the essential philosophical climate for urban and regional planning. As Stretton (1970:3) has observed, 'city planning can't really be separated from general economic policy'. It is that climate and economic policy context which has now changed.

In Australia at Commonwealth level, the Labor government in the war years was strongly inclined towards central intervention for purposes of reconstruction. In the sphere of housing the Commonwealth Government accepted responsibility for housing policy, and especially for low income housing. In 1945 the first Commonwealth-States Housing Agreement was put into effect. This agreement provided for loans from the central government to the States for the erection of housing for low income families. The loans were made conditional upon each State legislating to enable it to control rental housing projects, to undertake slum clearance *and to introduce town planning*. Town and country planning, according to the Minister introducing Victoria's first Town and Country Planning Bill, is 'the science of guiding and shaping the growth of our cities, towns and rural areas'. The aim and purpose of town planning is 'the health and happiness of every member of the community'. The problems of land use on the periphery of cities were created by land speculators. Co-ordinated planning was necessary to see that these did not recur.

THE CRITIQUE OF PLANNING

Marxist critiques
The verdict of Marxist critiques for planning and for planners can only be described as extremely discouraging. Clark and Dear (1981) proposed a state derivationist version of Marxist analysis in which the separate dynamics of the political sphere is acknowledged, yet ultimately the democratic state is viewed as beholden to capital which holds the keys to the finance for state programs. The planner is, and can only ever be, a functionary of the capitalist state apparatus. The way to recover a sense of the original purpose of planning was for planners to step outside the roles capitalism prescribed for them.

On the one hand, then, resurgent Marxism, fed by disillusion with the results of democratic socialism in practice, provided a rigorous and convincing framework for analysis and critique. On the other it overlooked the considerable differences within capitalist societies. Moreover it demolished, root and branch, the core philosophy of democratic socialism, reduced its values to mere ideology, and showed the great projects of the state to be mere 'accommodations' necessary to allow capitalism to survive its crisis.

Cultural and pluralist critiques
A range of contemporary feminist, postmodern, and other radical democratic perspectives criticise planning's tendency to adopt technocratic and authoritarian forms. In the main, these critiques have aspired to a democratised form of planning that would recognise and cherish social diversity and an expanded range of human values. Importantly, cultural critics have opposed homogenous conceptions of 'the public', and have instead emphasised social heterogeneity as a core consideration for planning. They argue that this emphasis on diversity can frame a new political-ethical ideal for planning, a reconstituted notion of 'the public interest' that values and nurtures the existence of different 'publics' as the basis for a healthy, cosmopolitan democracy.

Environmental critiques
Environmentalism, whilst generally sharing the ideal of democratisation, has sought an expanded ecological agenda for planning, and, in particular, the dethronement of positivistic, technocratic approaches to spatial regulation. In short, environmentalism seeks to reconstitute the traditional notion of public interest in planning by expanding the sphere of moral consideration in public policy to include non-human communities and other natural phenomena. Environmentalists stress the urgency of this political re-articulation, arguing that humanity's survival is imperilled by Western society's entrenched contempt for Nature.

Anti-planning conservatism
There has always been political and intellectual opposition to planning from conservative political-economic interests that regard it as an unwarranted intervention in the land economy. The conservative critique ranges, of course, from deep antipathy to any form of planning to a variety of positions that accept some form of intervention in certain contexts and within carefully circumscribed limits. Politically, the 'anti-planning' case is most sharply revealed in the day to day practice settings — especially in local governance — where developers and other resource users frequently express dissatisfaction with regulatory controls that inhibit their ability to use property for personal gain.

The intellectual case against urban planning rests essentially on the propositions that planning both distorts land markets and raises the transaction costs of development through bureaucratisation of the urban economy. It is argued that these 'diseconomies' reduce employment growth and also stifle the ability of the land market to satisfy consumers' needs for housing and transport. The general prescription of conservative critics is for the removal of mandatory public regulations (e.g., zoning) from land markets on the assumption that private co-ordinating mechanisms (e.g., covenants) will produce more efficient resource allocations.

CONTEMPORARY NEO-LIBERAL REFORM AGENDAS IN AUSTRALIA

National Competition Policy (NCP)

The broad thrust of the NCP reflects the familiar desire of neo-liberal interests to reduce government to a minimalist role in the economy, essentially to correcting limited aspects of market failures. What perhaps is novel about the NCP is the extent of its political-economic aims which include reform of both public services and public regulation. Of central interest here is that the reform process has been extended to planning — by 1997, several state governments had embarked upon NCP reviews of their development control systems. One key effect of NCP policy on New South Wales' planning system has been the introduction of competition for development approval — hitherto the preserve of local government — through the Environmental Planning and Assessment Amendment Bill 1997. Bonyhady (1997:1) concludes that the NCP reforms to the New South Wales legislation will "reduce public rights of participation which government made so much of in the 1970s but which are now decidedly out of fashion across the country".

The Planning Officials Group (POG)

Australia's national POG is presently conducting a 'performance review' of state and territory planning systems. Whilst the POG, and its concerns, has no direct role in National Competition Policy recent evidence suggests that its thinking is neo-liberal in character. The aim of the PSPR project is to derive 'objective' measures of how various land use planning systems 'perform'. The project discussion papers released thus far reveal a partial, and ideologically-conditioned, view of public planning. There is both a weak conceptual grasp of how planning frameworks are actually constituted, and, of more concern, no real appreciation of the raison d'etre of public regulation of urban change. Instead, planning is conceived here as simply another 'service' within the land economy, a sort of 'quality check' on the development process that ensures its maintenance through the imposition of certain longer term considerations (environmental and social).

The Property Council of Australia (PCA)

The third contemporary neo-liberal agenda that we now turn to is the set of reform proposals that aim, ostensibly, to standardise Australia's state-based development control regimes. These proposals are embodied in joint submission to Australia's planning, housing and local government ministers by various development lobby and professional interests, and co-ordinated by the PCA (PCA, 1997).[2] The report explicitly lauds the reforms to planning controls that have been undertaken by a neo-liberal administration in the State of Victoria in recent years. The development sector interests that have endorsed the draft report include such bodies as the Housing Industry Association and the Real Estate Institute of Australia who, together with the PCA (and its predecessor, the Building Owners' and Managers' Association) have been critics of various aspects of planning regulation in the past. What is perhaps most surprising about the draft report is its seeming endorsement by a number of professional bodies that are more usually associated with advocacy for planning, such

---

as the Royal Australian Planning Institute and the Royal Australian Institute of Architects.

IMPACTS ON PLANNING

What has been the combined effect on planning of the different reform impulses that we have discussed? Moreover, what were the interrelations between the reform vectors themselves? Were these marked by parallel tendencies, convergences and/or antitheses?

We leave aside here consideration of the Marxian critique of planning given that it no longer exerts a direct policy influence. The three contemporary reform vectors can be distinguished on fundamental socio-political grounds. On the one hand, environmental and cultural critiques have both sought to expand the domain of planning by extending its political reach and by enlarging its conceptual outlook. Both 'enlargements' have attempted to resolve two central (and interrelated) crises that overtook Western planning from the 1960s: one of socio-political legitimacy, and one of ecological sustainability.

On the other hand, neo-liberalism, in its various institutional and political guises, has set out to reduce the domain of planning. The various rhetorical demands to reduce inefficiency and overlap in planning systems have, in the main, cloaked a deeper political instinct that is fundamentally hostile to planning, if not implacably opposed to it altogether. Of course, these are old refrains, and the echo of the past resounds clearly in the new calls for efficient and standardised planning regulation. What is new, however, about the contemporary attack on planning is its conceptual and political reach: neo-liberals desire both to contract the domain of planning (de-regulation) *and* then to privatise segments of the residual sphere of regulation (out-sourcing). In both instances, the raison d'etre of planning as a tool for correcting and avoiding market failure is brushed aside in favour of a new minimalist form of spatial regulation whose chief purpose is to facilitate development.

In recent decades, these two sets of countervailing forces have met on the uneven, and rapidly shifting, field of Australian public policy, producing a new evolutionary impetus in State planning systems and Federal urban policies. In the struggle, each side has attempted to enlist the ideals, and occasionally the personnel, of the other, though this strategy has been most effectively employed by neo-liberals. Thus, greens and democratic reformers have, at times, promised that their agendas will help streamline planning systems. Neo-liberals have also shown political shrewdness by setting green and democratic ideals alongside their own political-economic aspirations, promising that their reform agenda will meet the (seemingly antithetical) claims of capital, justice and nature. Of course, green-democratic ideals have not been borrowed from their original proponents in any meaningful sense: rather neo-liberals have advanced facsimiles of these objects that are mere shadows of their original forms. Thus in practice, assurances on the democratic and ecological benefits of the neo-liberal approach have been exposed as smokescreens for a socio-political agenda that seeks to impoverish the institutional and ideological bases for planning.

The testimony of recent policy experience in Australia suggests that in the battle for planning reform, neo-liberalism is gaining the upper hand. Increasingly, both greens and cultural critics have been marginalised from reform discourses and processes that

---

[2] Perhaps revealingly, the title is the same as that of a recent tract by an influential Australasian politician, Sir Roger Douglas, the former Finance Minister of New Zealand who has helped to engineer and implement much of the neo-liberal reforms that have transformed that country since 1984 (see Douglas, 1993).

have been generated by neo-liberal governments. Moreover, throughout Australia, traditional planners have expressed increasing dismay at the corrosive effects of neo-liberal reforms on established public planning systems. Thus, both strands of 'radical critique' have found common ground, if not common cause, with more conservative advocates of orthodox planning approaches.

CONCLUSION: RENEWING THE PROMISES

What then can traditional advocates and sympathetic reformers do to restore the ideological and institutional bases for planning? Indeed, can these two groupings identify a common political-conceptual ground, given the potential that exists for disagreement over what constitutes an equitable and effective form for planning? Put differently, can the various proponents for planning agree on a common set of values for the institutional (re)regulation of space? As Davison and Fincher have recently observed, "it is easier to demonstrate the flaws of orthodox planning practice than to reconstitute the planning profession along new lines (1997:10).

We see the need for an urgent political and intellectual reinscription of the case for planning if this form of governance is to survive to see the new millennium in any meaningful form. For now at least, the new planning cannot, we believe, be about building a society according to a pre-determined model. In this we agree with Beilharz (1994: 113): "To be a socialist, in this context, is less a matter of striving towards the light on the hill than of seeking to interpret and change modernity in accordance with such core values as freedom and dignity". But this is no more than Keynes, Tawney and Mannheim recognised in the 1930s and '40s.

References

Beilharz, P. (1994) *Postmodern Socialism: romanticism, city and state*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press

Bonyhady, T. (1997) 'Diminished democracy', Urban Research Program Newsletter (Australian National University), no.31, 1-2

Clark, G. & Dear, M. (1981) 'The state in capitalism and the capitalist state' in Dear, M. & Scott, A.J. (eds.) *Urbanization and Urban Planning in Capitalist Society*, New York: Methuen, 45-61

Davison, G. & Fincher, R. (1997) 'Urban studies in Australia: a road map and the way ahead', unpublished report for the Australian Academy of Social Sciences, copy supplied by authors

McLoughlin, J.B. (1969) *Urban and Regional Planning, A systems approach*, London: Faber and Faber

Property Council of Australia (PCA) (1997) 'Unfinished business: prospects for an intergovernmental agreement on development control', unpublished report, Level 26, Australia Square, 264 George St., Sydney, 2000

Stretton, H. (1970) *Ideas for Australian Cities*, Melbourne: Georgian House

"Squatters" as Constitutive Outside and the Geographies of Exclusion: some thoughts on the necessary presence of the "other" within "ours" through the Turkish experience

Sezai Goksu
Dokuz Eylul University
Faculty of Architecture
Department of City and Regional Planning
Sehitler Cad. No:12 Alsancak 35230 Izmir
Turkey

Introduction

Migration and urban growth are the two interrelated themes central to urbanization practice in Turkey that can be explained by underdevelopment processes. However, in Turkey, planning practice does not have a structure that produces these facts. In other words, actual planning practice is not constructed on these two phenomena that dominate urbanization practice, so it assumes as if they are absent. This must not only be perceived as deepening the abyss between theory and practice. Furthermore, this means occurrence and nourishment of a very conflict area, socially, economically, culturally, and spatially, even though it is not desired. As a result, clear boundaries come to existence between the people who see themselves as the real owners of the city and the "others" as new comers who are excluded from the regular geography (Sibley 1997). However, it has to be accepted that both are in character of "constitutive outside" for each other and this kind of relationship becomes political in terms of identity construction (Keith and Pile 1993).

In the first part of the paper, I discuss the more theoretical dimensions of building processes in Turkey explaining how their vision of the social life necessarily calls for an antagonistic structure. My account here is quite critical highlighting an argumentative turn in planning that follows the research strategy of critical theory (Fischer and Forester 1993). In the second part of the paper, I examine the more substantive dimensions of building processes that refer to the construction of identities as political processes stressing on "differences" and the fact that the outside is constitutive (Massey 1995). Finally, by way of crucial arguments of radical and pluralist democracy project, I raise some general conclusions about building processes including democratic politics that must be aimed at transforming political struggles into legitimate deliberations in the condition of "intersubjectivity" (Forester 1993). My overall argument is that geographies of exclusion emerges directly from the view shaped around the attempts of owning the city rather than the sense of "loyalty". The most important pedagogical objective of this paper, therefore, can be defined as to show the way in which squatters, as the "others", can no longer be seen as an enemy to be destroyed. In this context, urban redevelopment projects can also no longer be seen as legitimate strategies because of their crucial character of "displacement".

Theoretical Dimensions of Building Processes in Turkey

It is very difficult to say that all the building processes can be controlled by planning mechanism in Turkey. In other words, just half of the built-up areas in big cities can be urbanized through the conditions dictated by planning mechanism. The rest of the

built-up areas, that are the illegal parts of the cities are totally the result of urbanization practice, and such a practice could not formulate itself as a resource of planning theory that will anticipate its own outcomes. Therefore, we can only talk about the theoretical dimensions of construction processes which are controlled by the planning mechanism.

Modern history of Turkish planning practice can be evaluated as quiet new, and it can be said that planning has emerged to modernize the cities through the basic consents of republican ideology. According to this practice, it is accepted that the basic reference points are the new development areas where the modern society can establish a spatial organization unproblematically. The consideration relative to the older built up areas of cities is a redevelopment process which makes these areas similar to the new development areas. That is transforming old into new by planning mechanism.

The planning mechanism that is based upon all the assumptions and methods of rational and comprehensive approach, because of its modernist attitude, has inevitably suggested a single type of urban model all over the Anatolian geography. According to this suggestion, the principles related to the new development areas which particularly aim at designing the society will be applied to all cities. Meanwhile, redevelopment processes will be applied in order to make existing (old) parts of cities suitable to the modern society of the future. As a result of such an approach, a content-dependent planning mechanism has been constructed, by aiming at a homogeneous geography over which contextual differences have been ignored, all the new development areas have been made similar, and all the old traces have been erased.

Today, in Turkey, most of the people settle in similar apartment type of buildings, work at similar places, and use similar urban activity centers in most of the cities. Furthermore, educational establishments, health services, streets and boulevards, and recreational facilities are all in similar characters in most of the cities. The single difference which distinguishes cities from each other is the authentic character of older parts of the cities, where redevelopment processes have not yet succeeded in removing this character. The basic reason of this unsuccessfulness is the highest rate of redevelopment cost. It can be said that, if this type of threshold can be passed over by economic development, in all probability, all intercity differences will totally disappear. However, for the time being, these old parts of the cities that manifest different spatial, social, cultural and economic characteristics sustain their reputation of being a geography of resistance against the modernist planning practice (Pile and Keith 1997).

In Turkish cities, there is an interesting conclusion that develops from the contradiction between the old and new parts of the cities. Because the population who used the older parts has moved to new development areas, older parts became the places of the urban poor, and because they are generally in the position of tenancy, and they will be displaced by the end of redevelopment processes, this type of contradiction gains a social dimension and a kind of resistance culture based upon economic and social demands develops behind the spatial resistance. This puts forward the main insufficiency of theoretical basis of content-dependent modernist planning in social consensus.

Substantive Dimensions of Turkish Urbanization Practice

Besides modernist planning practice which is based upon rational and comprehensive approach, in Turkey, there is an urbanization practice that cannot be taken into account and anticipated by such a planning practice. Because of the consequences which are created by population movement from the rural areas, an illegal building process which cannot be controlled by planning mechanism had taken place in the cities, by controlling the planning mechanism itself. The third different part of the cities, that is to say the squatter settlements, is the most crucial conclusion of illegal building processes empowered by the interregional inequality over the Turkish geography. In recent times, especially in big cities, total area and population of squatter settlements are equal to the sum of the old and the new development parts of the cities. This means that, according to Turkish urbanization practice, half of each big city is formed by the settlements of the new comers.

Because new comers are from different rural places, they have different spatial, social, economic and cultural characteristics, that squatters challenge the theory of single typed modern city-modern society which is based upon the ideology of planning mechanism. Therefore, existence of squatters, while being the source of a type of urban tension, at the same time, constitute a geography of resistance against the redevelopment projects of urban capital. However, there is an important difference between the old parts of the cities and squatters. People who live in the squatter settlements represent different ethnic and cultural identities in addition to the urban poor like the people who live in the old parts. For this reason, it cannot be claimed that the squatter settlements are homogeneous building regions. Squatter settlements have rather heterogeneous structure constitute different introverted sub-regions while being the arena of ethnic and cultural identity constructions.

The first strategy developed for the squatters was demolition. The basic philosophy of that kind of police strategy was to obscure a different formation in the city. However, because it was understood that people who live in squatters accomplished important services of the city and they have great vote potential for elections after all, demolition strategy was given up and, in particular, politicians had permitted this formation by following a type of policy of urban populism. Subsequently, the strategy of planning mechanism as a tool of assimilation has been applied to squatter areas. According to this strategy, nowadays, squatters are being assimilated to the legal new development areas by the planning mechanism which legalizes them.

However, this kind of situation that is based upon the struggle of identity cannot be transformed into a reconciliation between modernist attitude of rational planning and the process of social conflict (Gregory 1994). In Turkish planning history, therefore, may be the first time, the necessity to change planning mechanism comes into question in reference to social consensus. Now the question is; how can planning mechanism be transformed into a structure sensitive to different identities?

Democratizing Planning and Necessary Presence of the Other

Cities, in history, have never been homogeneous entities, like the societies (Lefebvre 1996). However, planning as a modernity project has tried to homogenize firstly the city, and secondly the society. Perhaps, the motivation of enlightenment project for

the creation of free individuals have not proposed a homogeneousity that directed modernity to a type of totalitarianism. . However, the capitalist version of modernity has constructed its own tools, like planning, to reproduce capitalist system. Planning, for this reason, has never demanded to transform itself into a structure emphasizing differences. Providing the entities of cities and societies has been the basic goal for planning in order to make the socioeconomic system alive.

While the twentieth century is ending, because of the new developments in social theory, differences, identities, and political sphere are particularly being emphasized through the questioning of modernity (Calhoun 1994). Although , it is common to question modernity project, ignoring it would not be evaluated as a right attitude. The most appropriate choice might be the reconstruction of modernity through critical reasoning rather than the instrumental one. Hence, the important question that stands ahead of planning is; how can a democratic planning practice be constructed over the dialectic moments complementing while excluding each other? The argument behind this question is that there is not any phenomenon in nature that stand alone without its own opposition, that is to say there must be an exterior that constitutes each phenomenon. Such as urban / rural, capital / labour. In the city there are many different phenomena which constitute each other, perhaps this is the real meaning of the city. Therefore, totalitarian and antidemocratic structure of the classical definition of the urban, stating the cities are the places in where only the functions and people suitable to urban life take place and the others have to be excluded, seems opposed to the dialectics of nature. Furthermore, a definition that has been orientated by such an effort which tries to homogenize through assimilation has never been seen as successful.

A planning practice that accepts the term of constitutive outside and reality that is expressed by this term would step forward to democratize itself. A planning practice that is based upon such an important hypothesis, accepts that an urban structure without the other would not exist. Therefore, it would neither attempt to involve in an action to demolish the other and the place of the other, nor it would attempt to assimilate to us. Planning, therefore, will begin to be sensitive to self-assertion and grounding which are the important themes of radical democracy (Mouffe 1992). Such a sensitivity will ultimately change the up to down process of modernist planning into a down to up style. A planning process that pays attention to the power from below must not necessarily lead to the situation of chaos which has been tried to be dictated by postmodern discourse (Bauman 1995). The strategic point here is to catch and develop common-sense between differences through the planning practice.

Ethics and justice that are the basic themes to develop common-sense can be used in preserving differences and in preventing displacement. However, because it is possible to load different meanings to these terms ethics and justice, it will be necessary for both to be universally reconceptualized. In other words, it is not possible to accept ethics and justice as context-dependent themes (Harvey 1996). Therefore, such an illuminative and critical planning practice based upon ethics and justice will have an ability to decode the background of a contextual intervention in the places of others.

Notes on Turkey Instead of Conclusions

Today, the urban planning approach still in validity, in Turkey, lean on a modernist base because of its positivist and determinist structure. In cities, therefore, planning have a theoretical framework only related to the parts that it can legally control. According to the procedure of control, urban processes can be understood and predicted. The basic assumption behind this approach is that the history has an order. The future of the city in perfect harmony can be formed by instrumental reasoning, and all kinds of inharmoniousness would represent unreasonable developments. Because the spatial configuration organized by the technical reason is the most appropriate solution, inharmoniousness may take place in the future has to be obstructed.

The existence of squatter settlements as an actual reality in Turkish cities, besides all of the attempts of planning, is perceived as an inharmoniousness that must be removed. Squatter settlements, however, are the regions that constitute the legal parts of the city_in all means. As being the different geographies of resistance, these regions indeed are the spatial units over which different identities are constructed. It cannot be expected that planning is blind to such a reality which occupies most parts of the cities. In recent times, as a matter of fact, such regions each have begun to develop their own administrative organizations while separating themselves from the official hegemony of central cities. This type of development, in Turkey, means that there will be many more municipalities in big cities in future, and these units will wish to make their planning procedures independent of master plans of big cities. In such a situation, an increase in urban tension will be expected. However, a democratized planning practice will help to reduce this tension by making spatial problems the subjects of democratic deliberations. It can be said that, therefore, this has to be perceived as the real social role of planning.

References

Bauman, Z. (1995) *Life in Fragments: essays in postmodern morality*, Blackwell, Oxford.

Calhoun, C., ed (1994) *Social Theory and the Politics of Identity*, Blackwell, Oxford.

Fischer, F. and Forester, J. eds (1993) *The Argumentative Turn in Policy Analysis and Planning*, UCL Press, London.

Forester, J. (1993) *Critical Theory, Public Policy, and Planning Practice: toward a critical pragmatism*, State University of New York Press, Albany.

Gregory, D. (1994) *Geographical Imaginations*, Blackwell, Oxford.

Harvey, D. (1996) *Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference*, Blackwell, Oxford.

Keith, M. and Pile, S. eds (1993) *Place and the Politics of Identity*, Routledge, London.

Lefebvre, H. (1996) *Writings on Cities*, Blackwell, Oxford.

Massey, D. (1995) 'Thinking radical democracy spatially', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 13, 283-288.

Mouffe, C. ed (1992) *Dimensions of Radical Democracy: pluralism, citizenship, community*, Verso, London.

Pile, S. and Keith, M. eds (1997) *Geographies of Resistance*, Routledge, London.

Sibley, D. (1997) *Geographies of Exclusion*, Routledge, London.s

Caracas and the Problem of Modern Representation

Prof. Lorenzo González
Instituto de Estudios Regionales y Urbanos
Universidad Simón Bolívar
Sartenejas, Baruta
Caracas 1080-A
Venezuela

This paper explores the theoretical principles supporting the change of physiognomy of Caracas during the 20th century. The principal matter is the problem of representation posed by urban planning and modern architecture, which could be summarized as the change of paradigms from urbanism and Beaux Arts to planning and the International Style, as well as the transition from figurative to abstract landscapes and systems of representation.[1]

Caracas began to experience an intense process of urban transformation in the 1930s. It supposed a series of changes in urban and architectural ideas. The Municipal Commission of Urbanismo was created in 1937 with the purpose of regulating the urban development and "the search for logical solutions" to the fundamental problems of the city. The Government of the Federal District did not stay behind --on April 6, 1938, it created the Dirección de Urbanismo (Department of Urbanism). Its task was to produce, with the aid of a team of French advisers, the Master Plan of the city. As a result of the combined effort of the Dirección de Urbanismo and their consultants, a "Monumental Plan," also called "the Rotival Plan," was presented for the consideration of the authorities in 1939.

The Plan of 1939, in its attempt to transform the city in a modern and controlled atmosphere --using new geometric clarity in the search for a better society-- marks the introduction on a grand scale of European planning techniques and design guidelines. It also represented the Venezuelan sense of urgency to import modernity, at a time when the possibility of reaching the status of a developed country in the course of a generation seemed feasible. The image of development relied heavily on urban iconography. Foreign cities and their planning principles were what better represented progress and the best of the universal culture.

Maurice Rotival (1892-1980), hired by Governor Elbano Mibelli, arrived in Caracas in 1937. After several months of work, the "Monumental Plan" (note that this title is pregnant with symbolic and figurative references), prepared with the decisive contribution of the French advisers Rotival and Lambert, was presented to the Municipal Council in 1939 and approved in 1940. The Plan had a clear figurative scheme, with a single center as the prevailing element of image. The city was divided into two parts: a monumental center and a group of peripheral residential developments, as ocurred in the French capital. The Plan described the pursued image in this form: "The great city, with its pretty boulevards, parks, theaters, gardens, clubs, etc. The outskirts, with their beautiful garden-cities and their sport clubs united to the metropolis through comfortable and beautiful arteries of rapid circulation."[2]

The quest for intelligibility in urban development began with a central area conceived as a multi-functional nucleus along the Bolívar Avenue, a monumental corridor following the east-west axis of the narrow valley of Caracas. The monumental axis, inaugurated on December 31, 1949, challenged the traditional concentric pattern of the city by imposing a French boulevard over the grid and system of squares that Spanish urbanism had institutionalized in Latin America. The spine of the proposal was the 30-meters-wide central corridor running from the hill of El Calvario, (where a gigantic square, a monument to Simón Bolívar, and a new civic center were proposed,) to Los Caobos Park. At each end, two sets of diagonal roads would connect the central avenue (later the Bolívar Avenue) with new thoroughfares. With its proportions, symmetry, and architectural homogeneity, the Avenue offered a monumental look, similar to that of the Champ Elysees, in Paris, and Unter den Linden, in Berlin. For Rotival, an organic analogy was the reason of the immense intervention: ". . .the creation of a spinal cordwas required; to insert the essential organisms

there, to isolate and ventilate the communities, to model the arteries, squares and gardens after such beautiful nature: to let flow, in short, a generous blood, and to make a hypertrophied heart beat regularly."[3]

The achievement of the new physiognomy called for ". . .a new road plan based on a new layout.."[4] The Plan foresaw a specific architectural image, a new face for which the old face had to be erased, without leaving traces. Gobernor Mibelli, introducing the Plan, argued that "to leave the city in its current state is to abandon it to its own decadence" and that although the city "conserves the physiognomy that appeals to us so much. . .it will become an ancient and unhealthy city. . .[unless it is modified] giving it an aspect coherent with modern demands."[5] The need for a new and modern city was reinforced by an appeal to functionalist elements, including economics, hygiene, public interest, tourism, light, transportation, and safety. These elements opposed, theoretically, the ornamental tendencies of traditional urbanism. The new urbanism was defined as a science, equivalent "to a program of organization and development. . .versus the mistaken idea of urbanism as a luxury, an ornamental art which focuses mainly on erecting triumphal arches and fountains."[6] This is Adolf Loos on an urban key.

However, despite the functionalist rhetoric, architectural images accompanying the plan were closer to the tenets of Beaux-Arts urban design than to the International Style. This is apparent in Lambert's design for the Civic Center, with its monumental Congress building, the statue of Bolívar, and the Teotihuacan-like pyramid containing the tomb of Simón Bolívar. The Central Avenue, flanked by free-standing flat-roof buildings, was probably inspired by Berlin-Treptow, a housing development that Rotival had already praised in one of his more significant essays.[7]

The Plan of 1939 is useful to illuminate the evolution that the discipline of urbanism was experiencing. At that time, a double transition was taking place: the shift from French to U.S. models and from Beaux-Arts to the International Style (or from academicism to the vanguard.) The proposal for Caracas is symptomatic of the series of changes leading from "urban art" and "monumental urbanism" to modernist master plans and regionalism. Rotival himself was a subject of that transformation.

Rotival's departure to the U.S., World War II, and local events introduced changes to the Plan of 1939, which, although it was not carried out, provided a general guideline for future developments. The most important modification to the scheme was the creation of El Silencio (1941-44), a housing development located where Rotival had envisioned the new Civic Center. The replacement of monumental buildings and spaces by residences intended for the middle classes not only fit better the new international financial conditions, but also reflected the more liberal political and social orientations of the Venezuelan government. El Silencio also introduced a more human scale, replacing what Rotival would later describe as "the perhaps too monumental conception of the old plan."[8]

After the hiatus created by World War II, and with the advent of the Revolutionary Junta, a National Commission of Urbanismo was created in 1946. Planning moved from the local to the national level of government. As had occurred in the previous decade, the Commission and the Venezuelan government required the services of foreign advisers in urban planning such as Maurice Rotival, Francis Violich, Joseph Lluis Sert, and Robert Moses. Rotival returned to Venezuela in 1947. The international planner, already a U.S. citizen, had become familiar with North American planning experiences such as those for Rockefeller Center, Central Park, and the Tennessee Valley. Robert Moses, at the height of his prestige as a planner and developer, was called to prepare an Arterial Plan for the city.[9]

The first tasks of the National Commission of Urbanism were to prepare an updated plan and reevaluate the Monumental Plan of 1939. Two powerful reasons behind that were: a dramatic rise in population that had surpassed what had been planned; and that whereas the former plan only included the Federal District, the populated area of the city had spilled beyond its

boundaries. The new Master Plan (Plano Regulador), intended for a population of 1.7 million, was prepared in 1951 and presented in 1952. It became the first --and remains the only-- legally approved plan of the city since the colonial period.

As a distinctive part of Rotival's initial agenda, the Plano Regulador reaffirmed the importance of the Bolívar Avenue.This time, the most important undertaking was the creation of a different end to the Avenue, set apart from El Silencio. Rotival also recommended larger masses in other sections of the avenue because its first section remained invisible.[10] These ideas were the inspiration (or the justification) for Simón Bolívar Center, the multi-use complex which echoed Rockefeller Center in Caracas' downtown.

The Master Plan--though reflecting again the previous image of boulevards, ample spaces, rational circulation, and monumentality--updated planning ideas such as CIAM principles of urban functionalism and zoning. This resulted in the creation of neighborhood units with a clear-cut division among industrial, commercial, residential areas. Gerardo Sansón, the Minister of Public Works said that: "The fundamental idea of the plan is defined in this way: to separate, classify, and organize the different elements conforming the city according to their basic functions: residence, work, circulation, and education."[11] Following this logic, the city was divided into 12 zones or communities, each of which would be designed on the basis of several neighborhood units, and on the CIAM's hierarchical system of roads known as the "7V". The Zoning Ordinance, largely the result of Violich's efforts, and emphasizing a system of homogeneous zones characterized by land use, density, and construction ratios, was approved in August 1958

Like the Monumental Plan of 1939, the 1952 proposal provides some clues to illuminate the evolution of the planning profession, nationally and internationally. This time, the influence of CIAM and of U.S. planners was noteworthy. Rotival himself was revising his planning principles after his experience in the United States. He was influenced by Rostow's theory of exponential development, the planning system of the Tennessee Valley, and the new field -- rather abstract-- of geopolitics.[12] These influences were synthesized in what Rotival called "organic planning," an approach comparing the city and the region to living organisms. The city, no longer allowed to resemble itself, was associated with other systems and organic models. For Rotival, "La ville est bien un organisme vivant, avec son cœur, ses artères, les flux et reflux d'une circulation qui est un peu comme celle du sang. (The city is a living organism, with its heart, its arteries, and a circulatory flow and reflow which is somewhat like that of blood.)"[13]

Let us briefly examine some of the principles which influenced, via Rotival, an entire generation of Venezuelan planners and plans. In a document published in the United States in 1947, Rotival delineated some of his ideas:, in the first place, and perhaps as a result of World War II, planning had to combine democratic values with military strategies such as the use of dynamite and large-scale demolition of the city. For Rotival, in Cold War code, planning was "the 'intelligence function' of government."[14] Secondly, the region --not the city-- emerged as an essential planning subject. Thirdly, CIAM's functionalism and zoning had permeated Rotival's model; the city was segregated into component activities and understood as an organism divided into parts or communities such as the neighborhood unit, district, subregion, and region. Finally, the scientism and the faith in reason continued to feed planning thought. Consequently, the planning process was seen as a rational sequence of steps leading from data-analysis to action. Characteristic of this methodology were the Cartesian diagrams representing a sequence of rational steps. The objective operation of the scientist prevailed over the subjective of the artist. Aesthetics had emigrated from the urban design process.

All these ideas greatly infused Rotival's work in Venezuela. Moreover, Rotival's methodology became the national planning approach, and was presented at the Panamerican Congress of Architects and Planners, which took place in Caracas in 1955. The methodology, transformed by local planners and international advisors, continued to be used by the

National Commission of Urbanism until the late 1950s in the preparation of many plans for Venezuelan cities.

Following the sequence of these urban proceedings and the rhythm of the increment of oil revenues, public works became a laboratory for the application of the abstract principles of metropolitan space. Caracas became a transfigured landscape of highways, skyscrapers, and shantytowns. The architectural language, with exceptions, was that of the international modernism.

The complex urban and architectural processes summarized here show how planning contributed to articulate many public and private decisions and initiatives with regard to the city. In spite of many contradictions, those processes demonstrated the will to re-create the capital in a modern fashion using imported principles. As a result, the internal structure of the city experienced profound transformations: the entire territory was connected through expressways, the core of the city was recast, residential areas became increasingly segregated from other residential areas and workplaces (for those without automobiles, transportation would continue to be a problem), a set of specialized areas were born along new roads and systems of urban transportation, and a new pattern of land uses reflected the intense differentiation and specialization of the social structure. Furthermore, the immense building program of the period found in planning a framework and a narrative.

More recently, the plans of the 1970s and 1980s somewhat repeated the abstract ideals of that of the 1950s, focusing on urban utilities, equipments, and standards. The resulting morphology resembles the homogeneity of Italo Calvino's Trudy, a place like any other place. In the 1990s, there has been a return to the reading and operation of smaller units, sectors and collages, with a postmodern approach in the architectural representation. The most noticeable transformation has been the figurative quality of the proposals, which suggest, at the end of the century, that the history of planning and architecture in Caracas has evolved full-circle.

[1] An earlier version of this paper was included in: Modernity and the City: Caracas 1935-1958, Doctoral dissertation presented in the Department of City and Regional Planning, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY, 1996.
2 The Plan was published in 1939. A facsimile edition was published in 1985. See Concejo Municipal del Distrito Federal, Revista Municipal del Distrito Federal, no. 1 (Caracas: 1985. First November 1939), p. 23. My translation.
3 Maurice Rotival, "Caracas Marcha hacia Adelante," in Carlos Raúl Villanueva, Caracas en Tres Tiempos (Caracas: Ediciones Comisión de Asuntos Culturales del Cuatricentenario de Caracas, 1966. First 1950), p. 181.
4 Carlos Raúl Villanueva, Caracas en Tres Tiempos,Op. cit., pp. 21-22. My translation.
5 Concejo Municipal, Revista Municipal, Op. cit., pp. 14-15.My translation.
6 Concejo Municipal, Revista Municipal, Op. cit., p. 19. My translation.
7 Maurice Rotival, "Les Grands Ensembles", L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui, no. 6 (June 1935), p. 69.
8 Rotival, "Caracas Marcha hacia Adelante", Op. cit., p. 173.
9 Regarding Moses' visit, see Lorenzo González, "Modernity for Import and Export: The United States' Influence on the Architecture and Urbanism of Caracas." Colloqui, no. 11 (Spring 1996). pp. 64-77.
10 Rotival, "Caracas Marcha hacia Adelante", Op. cit., p. 181.
11 Quoted in: Juan José Martín Frechilla, Planes, Planos y Proyectos para Venezuela: 1908-1958. (Apuntes para una Historia de la Construcción en el País), Prólogo de Manuel Beroes (Caracas: Universidad Central de Venezuela, 1994), p. 382. My translation.
12 Rotival was called "the man of geopolitics applied to urbanism.".See "Maurice Rotival, 1892-1980", L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui, no. 208 (April 1980), p. V.
13 Maurice Rotival, "Planification et Urbanisme," Urbanisme, nos. 82-83 (1964), p. 44. My translation.
14 Myres S. McDougal and Maurice E. H. Rotival, The Case for Regional Planning with Special Reference to New England (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947), p. 8.

Edward Bennett and the 1915 Plan for Ottawa and Hull: Creating a City Beautiful plan for Canada's capital

David L A. Gordon
School of Urban and Regional Planning,
Queen's University,
Kingston, Canada K7L 3N6
gordond@post.queensu.ca

This paper examines the 1915 *Report of the Federal Plan Commission on a General Plan for the Cities of Ottawa and Hull* (Holt 1915). The plan was prepared by Edward H. Bennett, a Chicago architect who was one of the leading City Beautiful planners of the day. The paper focuses mainly upon the plan itself, which is little known, despite it being one of Canada's first comprehensive plans.

Background to the 1915 Plan

Ottawa was not planned as a national capital. It was a rowdy lumber town with a population of 10-12,000 when Queen Victoria designated it as Canada's capital in 1857. It was still a dreary industrial city at the turn of the century, with little evidence of its status as Canada's capital, other than the magnificent Gothic Revival parliament buildings. The embarrassing state of the rest of the city appalled Prime Minister Laurier and several Governors General. Laurier established the Ottawa Improvement Commission (OIC) in 1899 to acquire property and beautify the city.

The OIC retained Montréal resident Frederick Todd to advise them on landscape planning. Todd had trained in Frederick Law Olmsted's office, and was perhaps Canada's first professional landscape architect (Jacobs 1983). In 1903, Todd prepared a preliminary parks plan for the national capital, which considered both Ottawa and its sister city Hull, located across the Ottawa river in the province of Québec. However, the OIC declined to retain him as a regular consultant. They relied on its technical staff for design and construction with such poor results that various architects' associations lobbied newly elected conservative prime minister Robert Borden to establish an expert commission to plan the national capital.

The Federal Plan Committee

Borden was uncomfortable with the idea of a commission of architects, whom he could not control. In September 1913, the government appointed a Federal Plan Commission chaired by Herbert Holt, a prominent Montréal railway executive and Conservative party activist. The Mayors of Ottawa and Hull were ex-officio members and other commissioners were two Montréal and Toronto executives and the architect Frank Darling.

The Federal Plan Commission's first move was to retain a consulting engineer. They appointed E. L. Cousins, the chief engineer of the Toronto Harbour Commission, whose work was well known to the Toronto based members of the FPC. The Commission interviewed two landscape architects for the position of chief planning consultant: Thomas Mawson of England and Boston's Frederick Law Olmsted Jr. However, they appointed Chicago architect Edward Bennett in December 1913. Canadian architects and planners protested vigourously.

Edward Bennett

Despite the outcry from the disappointed local competitors, the Federal Plan Commission probably made the right choice in 1913. Edward H. Bennett (1874-1954) was one of the foremost American planners at the time, and would likely be considered the leading proponent of the City Beautiful in that era. Bennett was born in England, educated in the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris and joined Daniel Burnham's office in 1903. He immediately proved his worth in the San Francisco plan (1904-5), where Burnham left him in complete charge of the work after a few weeks in residence, and gave him credit as co-author of the plan (Draper 1982).

Burnham and Bennett's greatest collaboration was on the 1909 Chicago Plan. Burnham was clearly the instigator and guiding force of the plan, but he again insisted that Bennett should be given equal credit for the work. This was no mere promotion of a valued associate; Bennett worked full time on the plan from 1906 to 1910, supervising the office and consultants, revising reports and preparing most of the technical analyses and drawings. Burnham, busy with a thriving national architectural practice, donated his time to the project and prepared an early draft of the text. As an indication of Bennett's importance in the planning process, the Chicago Plan Commission continued to retain his services as its city planning advisor until 1930.

Bennett set up his own firm in 1910, and was preparing plans for Detroit, Minneapolis, Portland and Brooklyn at the time he received the Ottawa commission. In the years ahead, he would prepare plans for, Denver, Buffalo, St. Paul, the New York Regional Plan, the Federal Triangle in Washington and the 1915 San Francisco and 1933 Chicago World's Fairs. Bennett was clearly the leading American planner operating in the City Beautiful style (Draper 1982)

Bennett never hid his City Beautiful influences, despite the criticism the movement endured after 1910. We have a clear record of his approach to the Ottawa-Hull plan from an early speech (Bennett 1914; Gordon 1997).

How the Plan was Prepared

A foreign consultant preparing a master plan can expect political and technical problems without an adequate local presence. The Federal Plan Commission opened an Ottawa office in December 1913, headed by a Canadian engineer. Cousins prepared the railway, utility and waterway sections of the plan from his Toronto office, where he was visited by Darling, Home Smith and Bennett. Cousins and Bennett collaborated on the road plans. All the urban design, zoning, parks and government building analysis was done in Bennett's office in Chicago. Frank Darling made two trips to Chicago to review these plans. Bennett retained Jules Guérin to do the water-colour renderings in the luminous style that he used for in the Chicago plan. In the best tradition of the Ecole des Beaux Arts, Bennett and his staff did a 'charette' over the 1914 Christmas holidays to complete the drawings before the year-end deadline.

The initial output was a group of twenty -seven drawings hung in an exhibition in January 1915. The plans included technical analysis of land uses, population densities and growth and railway and streetcar traffic, but Jules Guérin's renderings probably stole the show. His

water-colour aerial perspectives, some as large as six feet by three feet, showed bird's-eye views of the regional park system and the future central areas of Ottawa and Hull. After feedback from the Commission and senior federal and municipal officials, the technical drawings were modified and the text of the final report was prepared. Bennett wrote a first draft in early 1915, incorporating sections by Cousins on the engineering issues. It appears that the Commissioners ordered a complete re-working of the introductory portion of the plan to incorporate their political concerns.

Components of the Plan for Ottawa-Hull

The technical analysis underlying the plan was thorough and largely stood the test of time. For example, the population projections indicated that the Ottawa-Hull regions would grow from 125,000 to 250,000 by 1950. They were almost exactly correct, despite the upheavals in the intervening years. The 1915 FPC report contained most of the other components suggested for a comprehensive plan by the leading authorities of the time:

- a regional parks and forest preserves system
- a parkway and playground plan
- street layouts for future suburban expansion
- regional passenger and freight railway plans
- regional highway plans
- new plans for street railway lines
- utility analysis
- waterway and flood analysis
- plans for federal and municipal government buildings
- a central business district plan
- a preliminary zoning scheme

The zoning provisions of the plan recommended separating the city into six districts and included height limits for each section of the downtown in the zoning plan to protect the prominence of the Parliament Buildings in the skyline. What the 1915 Report did *not* include were any plans for housing, particularly housing the poor. The discussions of suburban housing and street standards included in Bennett's original draft were edited out of the FPC's final report.

Implementation Provisions

The Commissioners themselves and their advisors in the civil service appear to have prepared the implementation provisions of the 1915 plan. The first and foremost recommendation of the Commission was a separate federal district for the national capital, similar to Washington DC. The Commissioners also recommended the reorganisation of the railway network, a comprehensive plan for the government buildings and zoning.

The Commissioners regarded the railways as the most important technical problem in the plan, and they were probably correct, given the numerous level crossings and multiple stations. The plan recommended that the new Federal District Commission be placed in complete control of the railway situation, and the acquisition and control of all existing tracks and terminals. Given that Herbert Holt was the president of a prominent railway company, this recommendation was both radical, and an indication of a serious co-ordination problems between the railways in the city.

The Fate of the Federal Plan Commission Report

The Federal Plan Commission report was printed by the end of 1915, but as a result of production errors it was neither widely distributed, nor available in both Canada's official languages. The report was not tabled in Parliament until March 10, 1916. It was not an auspicious time. The war in Europe was going badly and the Centre Block of the Parliament Buildings had burned in a spectacular fire the month before. The report received a few brief reviews in the press, and the Federal Plan Commission disbanded, having completed its limited mandate.

The plan quickly sank from sight in a capital transfixed by war. The conventional explanations why the 1915 plan was 'put on the shelf' include:

- the nation was focused on the war (Eggleston 1961)
- any expenditure in Ottawa was diverted to rebuilding the Centre Block (NCC 1987)
- a City Beautiful plan was inappropriate for Ottawa (Van Nus 1984; Taylor 1989)

The first two points were valid excuses for inactivity in the short term. However, the war ended in three years, and many plans were made for improving the country upon the return of the veterans. Secondly, the Centre Block was rebuilt by 1925, including the new Peace Tower. The country was still in an expansionary mood in the mid 1920s. Why did the federal government not proceed with the rest of the plan for Ottawa?

A partial answer might be that the political aspects of the Commission's work were naive, and not conducive to effective implementation. When the Tory government fell in 1920, the Commission had been dissolved for five years and there was nobody to advocate the plan to the new Liberal administration. The contrast with the powerful and long-term promotion of Burnham and Bennett's 1909 Chicago plan by the Commercial Club is particularly instructive here. In addition, the Federal District proposal was a complete non-starter in the City of Hull and the Province of Québec. They were fiercely opposed to the loss of any of their territory or sovereignty.

Thomas Adams' opposition to City Beautiful planning was a more serious obstacle to the 1915 Plan. He was called to Canada in 1914 to act as the Town Planning Advisor to the Commission of Conservation and remained in Ottawa for a decade. Adams tirelessly promoted a scientific approach to planning (Simpson 1985). The first issue of the Commission of Conservation's journal after the FPC report was released contained a lengthy article attacking the plan's approach (Adams 1916).

The Legacy of the 1915 Plan

The City Beautiful movement was extensively criticised by contemporary planners and later academic analysts. It was vigorously opposed by practitioners like Adams and the engineers and land use planners who dominated planning after 1910 in North America. In recent years, the role of urban design in planning has made a comeback, and some City Beautiful plans are being re-evaluated in a more positive light (Wilson 1989). Ugliness does matter, particularly in a national capital as dreary as Ottawa in 1913. Few patriotic citizens want an ugly capital. Federal politicians and civil servants also wanted a well planned city for both symbolic and practical reasons. Under these conditions, the urban design skills of a planner like Edward

Bennett, and the presentation techniques of Jules Guérin would be particularly important for the plan.

The critics of the City Beautiful also over-state their case on the impracticality of the plans. Concentrating on the luminous images of new civic centres led many observers to ignore the technical planning which was the foundation of the Chicago and Ottawa plans. Most of the railway relocation proposals in the 1915 Ottawa plan were carried out as suggested in the 1950s leaving an east-west limited access highway that is now the backbone of both the regional expressway and transit networks.

The City Scientific critics also seem oblivious to the zoning proposals in City Beautiful plans. Bennett's zoning proposal for Ottawa was one of Canada's first published reports The City of Ottawa implemented Bennett's suggestion for a 110 foot height limit immediately and this bylaw remained as one of the few controls on downtown built form until the City finally prepared a comprehensive plan and zoning bylaw thirty years later.

The criticism that the City Beautiful approach places undue emphasis on monumental civic centres may be correct for many commercial cities, but is particularly misplaced for Ottawa. The prominence, beauty, symbolic content and function of the capital are the primary concerns of the national government in urban planning. The FPC selected a consultant who was an expert in these fields. Bennett's appreciation of the Gothic architecture of the Parliament Buildings, its setting on the bluff above the river and suggestions of an oblique axis along Elgin Street have been foundations of the planning of the parliamentary precinct for subsequent decades.

The Holt Commission report was dogged by a parliamentary fire, a European war and poor implementation provisions. The plan was also tarred by the 'City Beautiful' brush, which was an inappropriate package of criticisms for this city, in most instances. Although little of Bennett's design was implemented before his death in 1954, some of his plans live on in the physical fabric of Canada's capital today. The 1915 Holt Commission Report deserves recognition as one of Canada's first comprehensive plans.

References

The principal primary sources for the paper include:

Edward H Bennett papers, Art Institute of Chicago, Collection 1973.1
Daniel H. Burnham papers, Art Institute of Chicago, Collection 1943.1
Noulan Cauchon papers, National Archives of Canada, MG 30 C105
Colborne P. Meredith papers, National Archives of Canada, MG 29 E62
National Capital Commission Library Reference Section
National Map Collection, National Archives of Canada
Records of Olmsted Associates, Inc., Manuscript Division, U. S. Library of Congress,
    Washington DC, Job File 5070, "Ottawa City Plan, Ottawa Canada, 1913-1914".
Ottawa Improvement Commission papers, Department of Finance, National Archives of
    Canada, RG 19, Vol. 551

Adams, Thomas 1916. 'Ottawa-Federal Plan', *Town Planning and the Conservation of Life*
    Vol. 1, No. 4 pp. 88-89.
Bennett, Edward. 1914. 'Some Aspects of City Planning, with General Reference to a Plan
    for Ottawa and Hull.' April 21, 1914. EHB Papers, Box 40, p.7
Draper, Joan E. 1982. *E.H. Bennett: Architect and City Planner*, Chicago: Art Institute of
    Chicago.
DeGrace, W. 1985. 'Canada's Capital 1900-1950: Five Town Planning Visions.'
    Environments 17 (2): 43-57.
Eggleston, Wilfred 1961. *The Queen's Choice: A Story of Canada's Capital*, Ottawa: Queen's
    Printer.
Gordon, D. 1997. 'Introducing a City Beautiful Plan for Canada's Capital' Paper presented to
    the Society of American City and Regional Planning Historians Conf., Oct. 24, 1997
Hillis, K. 1992. "A History of Commissions: Threads of an Ottawa Planning History", *Urban
    History Review*, Vol. 21, No. 1, pp. 46-60. October.
Holt, Herbert S. 1915. *Report of the Federal Plan Commission in a General Plan for the
    Cities of Ottawa and Hull*, Ottawa: FPC. 138 p.
Jacobs, P. 1983. 'Frederick G. Todd and the Creation of Canada's Urban Landscape.'
    Association for Preservation Technology (APT) Bulletin. Vol. XV No. 4, p. 27-34.
National Capital Commission, 1987. *A Capital in The Making*, Ottawa: NCC, pp. 16-17.
Simpson, M. 1985. *Thomas Adams and the modern planning movement: Britain, Canada,
    and the United States, 1900-1940*. London: Mansell.
Taylor, J.H. 1988. "City Form and Capital Culture: Remaking Ottawa", *Planning
    Perspectives*, Vol. 4, pp. 79-105.
Todd, Frederick, 1904. *Report to the Ottawa Improvement Commissioners*, Ottawa: Ottawa
    Improvement Commission. 31 p.
Van Nus, W. 1984. 'The Fate of City Beautiful Thought in Canada, 1893-1930,' in G. Stelter,
    and A. Artibise, *The Canadian City*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, pp. 167-86
Wilson. W. H. 1989. *The City Beautiful Movement*, Baltimore Johns Hopkins UP.

Urban Governance In Western Australia: The Primacy Of Land, and the Emergence Of Growth Coalitions.

Shane Greive, Department of Geography, University Of Western Australia

This paper summarises the core of a doctoral thesis that considers the history of Western Australia's planning and development since the beginning of European settlement. To be brief, perspectives from the founding years of Western Australia are used as a heuristic device to tease out the main points. The analysis focuses on the interrelationship between the changing modes of development and the particular character of different ensembles of dominant actors who have consciously, and sometimes implicitly, participated in shaping the course of development. In seeking to weave together a broad contextual understanding of the who, the how and the why of development decisions, concepts from regulation theory (Lipietz 1987, Tickell and Peck 1992) are linked with ideas about growth coalitions (Logan and Molotch 1987).

Local historians examining different aspects of Western Australia's development history have provided much of the substance that is used to convey my arguments. In many instances, key findings that were tangential to the original focus of their research provide, in combination, the starting point for this analysis. To me it appears that time and again historians examining a particular period of Western Australia's development find evidence of coalitions of place-tied actors - both inside and outside the state bureaucracy - who were actively involved in speculative land development schemes, which were either implicitly deceitful or blatantly corrupt. Here it is argued that these were [not only] historical examples of duped investors and state sponsored land speculation, rather, they can be more usefully recognised as recurring features that are characteristic of Western Australia's dominant mode of development.

A central component of this argument is that the mainstay of Western Australia's developing economy has always been the promise of the wealth that access to relatively large tracts of good quality land can provide. And, that this promise has been symptomatically [if not systematically] propagated, bolstered, and otherwise purposefully manipulated in order to attract the necessary external labour and capital. The origins of this pattern of development began fairly distinctively, less than 170 years ago, when a coalition of British Government and private sector interests founded a land investment scheme on the banks of the Swan River on the south-west coast of Australia. It was the first such Crown endorsed free settlement initiative for over 70 years, it was to be financed by private capital, and it began a massive land alienation process involving some 2.6 million square kilometres.

Western Australia's predominantly land based economy is primarily regulated at the State level by an ensemble of locally dominant actors. These actors are purposeful in their pursuit of economic growth, yet subject to both physical and social constraints, as they strive to successfully negotiate their place within national and international regimes of capital accumulation. From a governance perspective, these actors are understood as 'other' planners participating where they can to promote and direct the nature of development. Moreover, as this interpretation of planning history argues, these 'other' planners have continued to shape the nature of development on many more fronts than is commonly acknowledged in much of the local planning discourse. Decisions such as those associated with the initial colonisation process, the introduction of convicts, the creation of the wheat belt, and the urban infrastructure improvements at the turn of the century, are all viewed as legitimate expressions of strategic planning activities. Furthermore, long before the legislative framework for

Town Planning was created in 1928, these 'other' planners were guiding the development of town sites, and urban subdivisions, and otherwise regulating the built environment through the use of land use zoning codes, subdivision requirements and similar such legislative controls and normalising social conventions.

As a particular model of colonial development, the European settlement of Western Australia marked the beginning of an economy based on immigration and the regulation, subdivision, and tenure of land. In 1829, the subdivision of Western Australia began with relatively larger parcels of better quality rural land being granted to the first investor settlers on very generous terms. The process has continued with the subdivision of relatively smaller and poorer quality land parcels, sold for higher prices to successive waves of migrant settlers. Ostensibly this process is regulated by the state, and results in the extraction and transfer of an economic surplus from the newer settlers, to the advantage of the state and the more established landowning/development interests. Currently, an inner city example of this trend is the exorbitantly priced strata titled apartments, which since the late 1980s have been actively encouraged by the state, developed by private interests, and eventually sold to Asian investors. Similarly, on the suburban fringe, the state now promotes small 200 sq.m. house and land packages in areas shunned by established locals. These are developed by mass home builders to be sold to the lower end of the first-time home buyers, with recently arrived migrants as the target market.

As a crude generalisation characterising the historical development of Western Australia's economy, this premise identifies the 'primacy of land' as a foundation for a relatively distinctive and modern mode of capital accumulation. Followers of the Canadian philosopher Harold Innis draw parallels between Canada and Australia in terms of a distinct form of British colonialism, based on pioneering the rural settlement of territory defined as unoccupied. As Innis (1977) identifies, where the British did recognise existing 'civilisations' such as in India and China, the path of development focused on trade rather than territorial expansion through British migration and settlement. This perspective lays the foundation for understanding the emergence of a particular model of development which was largely confined to Australia, Canada, and to a lesser extent Africa, and the west coast of the USA. In highlighting the character of this particular model of development, Angus (1992) makes the following distinction;

> while previously 'civilised' societies were colonised, reorganised and exploited through a British military-administrative class aligned with an indigenous elite, 'savage' societies were subjected to genocide, slavery and/or removal and confinement. Their populations have been largely displaced [read alienated from the land] and replaced by European immigration, which in itself cannot be discussed apart from the class and ethnic/national exploitation that motivated it (Angus 1992:18).

As a function of what Soja (1995) has termed the triad of time, space and society, the model of development in both Australia and Canada fostered a particular elevated role of the state in respect to the development and regulation of the economy's primary resource - land. In the case of Western Australia, the Colonial Office was able, and eventually willing to finance the first fleet, establish the colonial administration, and maintain regular communication and supply lines. Cameron's (1975) archival research confirms that the Colonial Office's prime motivation to invest was Captain Stirling's glowing account of the potential for rural settlement, and the bureaucratic

and public support his claims engendered. Unlike the penal settlement origins of Australia's east coast, and unlike the pilgrim refugee settlements on America's east coast, the settlement of Western Australia was from the outset a state endorsed land investment initiative. The state would maintain control, but the investment risks were to be borne by private interests.

With Stirling's arrival in Western Australia in 1829, as the appointed Lieutenant Governor, the establishment of the colonial administration heralded a new social and spatial order for the pre-existing human settlement and landscape. All land west of longitude 129 East was annexed and declared property of the Crown. The laws applicable to the land, were the existing laws of England. The broader intent of these laws, many of which originated from feudal times, promoted property rights over the rights of individuals. Along with the first investor settlers, Stirling also carried the instructions from the Colonial Office on how to subdivide and distribute the land. According to Poole (1979:220) these instructions which included land use allocations and provisions for public buildings and roads within networks of towns, constituted Western Australia's first town planning guidelines. More fundamentally, however, for the new colonial order these developments institutionally and culturally enshrined the 'ownership of land' which in effect was an imposed social regulating concept hitherto unknown to the Aboriginal people already occupying the land.

The naval officers and other officials under Governor Stirling's command and patronage formed the first bureaucracy, and their efforts and persuasions in response to the social and physical environment would be instrumental in shaping the new colonial order. They were agents of the Crown administrating the vast 'unoccupied' lands of Western Australia. For these duties, they received additional compensation in the form of land grants and salary. Stirling's First Officer, Septimus Roe, was for example appointed the Surveyor General responsible for surveying the colony and preparing the base maps from which to organise the division, sale and tenure of land. The large estates developed and held by these officer-bureaucrat farmers testifies to the extent to **which** they prospered from their positions. They simply benefited directly from their privileged relationship in establishing and organising the colonising mode of development.

As with the Senior Officers, the colony's leading settlers were men of means, affluent and well connected (Stannage 1979:14). However, and this is a key point, for the profits to be realised and the risks and hardships made worthwhile, it would be essential for the colony to grow rapidly. Land by itself, undeveloped and disconnected from consumer and investor markets is even now worth very little. As a consequence, from the earliest beginnings of the colony's foundation, the officer-bureaucrats and the investor settlers would share a common interest in promoting the growth potential of the settlement. Indeed given the less than glowing reality of the colony's agricultural potential, Stirling can rightfully be considered Western Australia's first 'land boomer'[1]. Moreover, under his patronage emerged a coalition of pro-growth interests formed between the state bureaucracy and the settlement's larger and more established land holders (Stannage 1979:14).

---

1 In reference to the overly optimistic claims made by property speculators during the 1880s in Melbourne, as described in *The Land Boomers* (Cannon 1966).

This coalition fostered an economy based on land and land resource development which in turn was dependent upon immigration and external capital. What is being added to Cameron's thesis, is that what he uncovered was not so much a historic example of duped investors and state sponsored land speculation, but rather for Western Australia it was the beginning of 'business as usual'. Historical and contemporary empirical evidence also points to the existence of more localised but similarly oriented pro-growth coalitions (see Greive and Tonts 1996, along the lines of Murdoch and Marsden 1994).

Those who are familiar with Western Australia may be wondering how these ideas are linked with the dominant features of the more standard portrayal of the State's developing economy. Foremost among these are: the 1890s Gold Rush, the development of a viable agricultural sector, post war industrial expansion and, since the 1960s continued mineral resource development (Webb 1993, Oliver 1995, Harman 1986). Leaving aside industrial development for the moment, it is readily apparent that both rural and mineral development hinges on the state regulating the division of land through freehold ownership, leasing and licensing arrangements. These economic activities are all dependent upon the subdivision of land, or more conceptually, the subdivision of space, which, I am arguing, is the central interest of the state and a broad coalition of private sector interests.

From a regulation theory perspective, the state's role in maintaining a stabilised land tenure and subdivision process involves not only the creation of an appropriate legislative framework but would also entail encouraging land investment through infrastructure provision, marketing, technical assistance, and a broad spectrum of complementary social regulating mechanisms. For providing these allied land regulatory services, the state benefits through direct sales and leasing payments and various fees, royalties and taxes. Paradoxically it is these types of regulations, standards and conventions which commodify land and create the 'free' market for property. Rural and mineral development also hinges on the state regulating the division of land, or more conceptually the subdivision of space, through freehold ownership, leasing and licensing arrangements. So yes, 'this tendency to use land and government activity to make money was not invented in nineteenth-century America, nor did it end there' (Logan and Molotch 1987:55).

The first false promise of Western Australia's rural potential may have been an honest mistake, but the numbers of new settlers virtually stopped by 1830 once the truth was known. Stirling, however, was able to retire to England in 1840 on the fortune he made by off loading 62 000 acres of his poorer quality land to a consortium of Wakefield[2] inspired 'systematic settlers'. As Cameron (1979) notes it was ironic that the Australind settlement failed in its first year, primarily because it fell victim to the very 'land jobbery' that fuelled the acceptance of Wakefield's ideas within the Colonial Office.

There was 'jobbery' too in the 1850s when a coalition of pastoralists and merchants still desperate for growth lobbied for convict-tied labour and capital, even though it had already ended in the east. From a growth coalition perspective, the convict era

---

[2] Edward Wakefield was a American economist who's ideas on colonial development [arguing the correct ratio of land, labour and capital] found favour in Britain's Colonial Office in the wake of the frenzied land speculation apparent in the initial colonisation of Western Australia.

was distinct, as Trollope (1873) understood when he mused that for the colony to grow, convicts were the solution when free labour either would not come, or would choose to leave once the chance arose. Trollope also recognised the chorum of local jobbers who emerged to benefit and siphon from the pool of convict labour and capital.

It was not until 1892 with the discovery of large deposits of gold near Coolgardie 600 km inland that the colony finally delivered on its promise for growth. The problem then became, how to keep the miners once the gold ended, and it was this concern that stimulated the wheat belt subdivisions and eventually Perth's infrastructure improvements. But the false promises continued, as Berry (1995) highlights in quoting from the advertisements placed by Western Australia's State Government in eastern state newspapers:

> droughts unknown, seasons as certain as the sun rise...state agricultural bank the most liberal in the world...every acre well served by existing railways, proposed or under construction (*The Australasian*, December 25 1909).

The other telling aspect of these advertisements is that they allude to the character and key elements of the State's evolving growth coalition(s). The State's Agricultural Bank was the forerunner to the Rural & Industries Bank of Western Australia (R&I) which would continue the tradition as the State's main finance vehicle for securing both local and international capital for land and land resource development. The heavy reliance on subsidised transport infrastructure - first rail then later roads - would also be an ongoing feature of the State's land sale ethos. Newspapers too, particularly the *West Australian*, would play a key role in manufacturing the appropriate land development imagery, through advertisements and editorial content.

Not all of the land development initiatives endorsed by the state were purposefully corrupt, and perhaps the buying and selling of the potential wealth of land requires some degree of blind faith and boosterism. While not all the powerful actors succeeded, and not all the poorer migrants suffered through their experience, there were/are nevertheless, clear parallels between Western Australia's stratified social and spatial orders. Whether in the city or in the country, past or present, those who were/are most entrenched within the land based economy have generally had the most to say about how it is divided, and it shows.

By dispensing with contrived distinctions that obscure a broader understanding of the nature of planning and development, the contemporary relevance of the governance perspective is that it highlights the pivotal relationship between land, state and society. This relationship, as central as it is, was only touched on by the Commission On Governments' (COG) investigation of the potential for systemic government corruption in Western Australia (COG,1996). In contrast, the argument here describes a much broader and more entrenched potential for corruption, especially in relation to land, involving a large part of the existing population - with the distinction between 'us' as victim and 'them' as perpetrator tightly intermeshed. In effect COG's brief, as broad as it was, did not extend far enough beyond the formalised tentacles of government to implicate many of the key actors of the growth coalition at the State level, nor any of its place-space defined subsidiaries.

With little else to offer, perhaps more so than elsewhere the land based economy in Western Australia includes the construction and real estate industries, as well as the mining and agricultural sectors. These are in-turn supported by the transport sector, as well as finance, insurance, legal and government services. Less obviously perhaps, the land based economy is also directly and tacitly supported by the media, telecommunication, tourism, and education sectors, and even a cursory examination of Western Australia's manufacturing sector will show that its largest corporate entities are predominantly involved in the secondary processing of land based resources - minerals and energy. In effect, Western Australia's 1.8 million people are all engaged, by degrees, in the extraction and distribution of the land based wealth generated through its articulation with national and international regimes of capital accumulation.

As Sandercock (1978:232) has said of Australia, 'land speculation is the national hobby', but as a point of departure, there was never any 'lack of control over the fundamental economic resource'. Rather as has been argued here, the regulation of land was/is of central importance to the Crown, the local state, and a broad coalition of private interests. In other words, because the State is itself directly involved in land speculation, as are larger and smaller commercial interests, as well as individual homeowners, there should be no expectation that institutionalised planning can do much other than facilitate this process. Hence, the claim that Perth's Metropolitan Regional Planning Scheme was simply 'a punters guide to land speculation' (Harrison 1978:154). From this perspective, the challenge for land use planning then becomes how to foster growth and facilitate land development and speculation, over the long term with fewer ecological and social losers.

Angus I. (1993) Orality In The Twilight Of Humanism: A Critique of The Communication Theory of Harold Innis. pg 16-42, in Dependency/Space/Policy, A Dialogue with Harold A. Innis, Angus I. and Shoesmith B. Eds, in *Continuum, The Australian Journal of Media & Culture, Vol 7, No 1 1993.*

Berry C. (1995) Towns built on fields of gold: Local government in Western Australia's goldfields and wheatbelt: decline and rize, paper delivered at the Ninth International conference of Historical Geographers, Perth Western Australia.

Cameron J. (1981) *Ambition's Fire: The Agricultural Colonization of pre-Convict Western Australia*, UWA Press.

Commission On Government (1996) Reports 1-6 published by COG, Western Australia.

Greive S. and Tonts M. (1996) 'Regulation, Land Development and the Contested Countryside: Reflections on Bridgetown Western Australia'. *New Zealand Geographer*, 52 (2), 18-23.

Harmen E. (1986) "The City State and Resource Development in Western Australia", Chapter 5 in *Urban Planning In Australia:Critical readings*, Mcloughlin B. and Huxly M. eds, Longman, Melbourne.

Harrison P. (1978) 'City Planning' p 141-173, in *Australia Cities and Public Policy*, Scott P ed., Georgian House, Melbourne.

Innis H. (1977) *Empire and Communications*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto. Angus 1993 also refers to H. Innins (1956) Essays in Canadian Economic History, University of Toronto Press, and Innis (1949) The Press: A Neglected Factor in the Economic History of the Twentieth Century, Oxford University Press, London.

Lipietz A. (1987) *Mirages and Miracals: The Crisis Of Global Fordism*, Verso, London.

Logan, J. and Molotch H. (1987) *Urban Fortunes: The Political Economy of Place*, University of California Press, Berkeley.

Murdoch J. and Marsden T (1994) *Reconstituting Rurality: class community and power in the development process*, University College London.

Oliver B. (1995) War and Peace in Western Australia, The Social and Political Impact of the great War 1914-26, UWA Press.

Poole M. (1979) 'Town Planning', p220-232, in *Western Towns & Buildings*, Pitt Morison M. and White J. eds, UWA Press.

Sandercock L. (1975) *Cities For Sale: Property, politics and urban planning in Australia*, Melbourne University Press, 260.

Soja E. (1993) *Time Space & Society*, Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of space in Critical Social Theory, Oxford University Press, London.

Stannage C. T. (1979) *The People of Perth*: A social History of Western Australia's Capital City, pg 1-364, published by Perth City Council, Perth, Western Australia.

Tickell A. and Peck J. (1992) 'Accumulation, regulation and the geographies of post-Fordism: missing links in regulationist reseach'. *Progress in Human Geography*, 16 (2), 190-218.

Trollope A. (1873) *Australia*, eds Edwards P. and Joyce R., University of Queensland Press. St.Lucia, Queensland. First published by Chapman and Hall, Australia and NewZealand, 1873.

Webb M. & A. (1993) *Goldern Destiny: The Centenary History of Kalgoolie-Boulder and the Eastern Goldfields of Western Australia*, pub. City of Kalgoolie-Boulder Western Australia.

Urban planning and cultural development: the role of artist organisations

Ron Griffiths
Faculty of the Built Environment
University of the West of England
Frenchay
Bristol BS16 1QY UK

1. Setting the scene: cultural capital and urban revitalisation

Throughout their history, cities have been the primary centres of cultural production, exchange and consumption. Since before they became sites of large scale manufacturing industry, cities have functioned as arenas in which cultural capital is created and deployed in the furtherance of different social purposes. The nature of the relationship between cultural capital and the city has, however, undergone significant changes over the last 15-20 years. In particular, there has been a profound re-evaluation, by policy makers, business leaders and urban analysts, of the importance of the cultural domain in promoting urban revitalisation. Cultural processes, of many different kinds, are now widely viewed as critical to the economic prospects and social health of cities.

This re-evaluation of the cultural domain is connected to major transformations that have been taking place in the role and functioning of cities. It is now widely agreed among urban analysts that, around the late 1970s, cities in the developed world entered into a new phase of capitalist urbanisation. While the terms used to describe this transition vary, it has been theorised by many commentators in terms of the rise of the *post-fordist* city. The notion of the post-fordist city is not without its critics, not least because it can overshadow the differences that exist in the circumstances, problems and responses of individual cities. However it does point towards a number of key features which appear to mark out the contemporary urban experience. These features embrace aspects of urban economies (deindustrialisation, flexible production, globalisation), urban social structures (diversity, fragmentation, polarisation, exclusion), urban governance (entrepreneurialism, network structures, partnership), and the organisation of urban space (specialised zones of consumption and pleasure, post-suburban edge cities, sharper lines of segregation).

In the context of these interconnected processes of change, cultural capital has come to play an especially significant role. Cultural capital can take a number of different forms. *First*, it exists in the form of the knowledges, skills and understandings which are available among local populations. The traditions, folk wisdoms and collectively-negotiated survival strategies that have grown up and persisted among minority communities, artistic communities, and in working class neighbourhoods are examples of a city's cultural capital in this "cognitive" sense. It concerns the shared ways of thinking and feeling that develop out of common social experience. *Second*, a city can possess cultural capital in the form of specifically arts-based institutions and buildings, such as museums, theatres, concert halls and studios and the organisations that run them and make their work in them. *Third*, it can take the form of symbols and images about a city, its people or its history. These can be positive or negative.

These different types of cultural resource have been mobilised in a variety of ways in the revitalisation efforts of city leaders and partnership groupings in the post-fordist era. The most common is what has been termed a *promotional* or *consumptionist* approach, in which forms of cultural capital are deployed as instruments of inter-city competition and spatial politics to attract consumers or investment into the city. A contrasting *productionist* approach has also been pursued by a number of cities. Production-oriented cultural strategies stem from a recognition that "creative input" has become a key element of economic activity in many sectors of production. This is most evident in the case of the so-called "cultural industries". This term gained prominence in the work of the Greater London Council in the 1980s, where it was part of an attempt to shift the focus of arts policy away from high art, and to emphasise the economic and cultural importance of the more commercial forms of cultural production, such as film, TV, music recording, multimedia, advertising and design. More recently, some urban analysts have broadened the debate by pointing to the role which cultural capital plays in creating conditions for innovation and creativity in production more generally. This is linked to the general tendency for the symbolic, or design, content of production to grow as part of the switch to flexible production and away form mass production (Lash and Urry 1994). This gives advantages to places which can capitalise on their distinctive cultural attributes through their industrial and business activity (Scott 1997).

In spite of their differences, consumption-oriented and production-oriented approaches both involve using culture to assist economic development. In both, culture is seen primarily as an economic asset. But they do not exhaust the possibilities. Some cities have also discovered, or rediscovered, other ways of mobilising cultural capital and cultural processes in the service of urban revitalisation, but with the focus on fostering social integration, or social sustainability, rather than promoting economic development. Underlying the *integrationist* approach is a recognition that social exclusion often has a cultural dimension: an important part of the experience of exclusion is a weakened or non-existent sense of identity and pride. A key step in integrating excluded populations into the social mainstream, therefore, is to assist them to find their voice, to validate their particular histories and traditions, to establish a collective identity, to give expression to their experiences and aspirations, to build self confidence. For this purpose, various kinds of cultural activity (writing, music, drama, photography) have been found to be effective (Kelly 1996, Landry et al 1996).

The realm of culture has, then, become increasingly central to processes of urban revitalisation. But what has this meant for artists and other culture sector workers? The growing importance now attached to culture in the revitalisation of cities might seem to imply that the environment has become a more supportive one for artists and other creative workers. In reality, however, while recent changes have undoubtedly opened up new opportunities for artists and given an additional legitimacy and credibility to artistic and creative endeavour, the relationship between artists and the city has been, and continues to be, a very complex one. The aim of this paper is to explore some aspects of this relationship. The next section discusses some of the forces affecting the economic status of artists and considers how artists have responded, focusing on the UK experience. One of the most striking responses, certainly in the UK but seemingly also in other countries, has been the growth of artist organisations of different kinds. Many of these organisations have been active in creating new spaces for living and working, often in marginal, devalorised parts of cities. Some of these initiatives are considered in the third section of the paper. In the final section some conclusions are noted about the implications of these initiatives, for cities and urban planning.

2. The economic status of culture sector workers

The culture sector, of which artists are a part, is a highly diverse one. One aspect of this diversity is the extreme variation in income levels. The rewards earned by the highest earning designers, performers and artists can be spectacular, and it is possible for well paid careers to be achieved in some segments of the culture industries, such as journalism, TV, graphic design and advertising. But for the majority of musicians, artists, actors and others working in cultural markets, the prospects of making a decent living from cultural production are very uncertain. Recent studies in the UK have confirmed the generally low level of incomes among artists. A 1996 study found that 62% of artists earned less than £10,000 a year, while other surveys have indicated that the trend during the early 1990s was a downward one: "In 1990/91, the average income for artists was the equivalent of eighty-five percent of the national average gross income; by 1994/95 the percentage had decreased to seventy-one" (Jones 1997 p.14). This deterioration has occurred over a period in which a number of initiatives have been introduced with the intention, in part, of improving the financial prospects for the arts and artists. A case in point concerns the Arts Council of Great Britain's enthusiastic promotion of percent for art schemes to fund public art projects. By the early 1990s a number of agencies had been established by arts funding bodies with the specific purpose of stimulating public art, and several local authorities had employed specialist officers to take forward public and environmental art provisions in different fields of local authority activity. However, this does not so far seem to have achieved any substantial improvement in the material opportunities for most artists and craftspeople (Jones 1997).

The UK national lottery, which commenced operation in November 1994, undoubtedly constitutes the single largest new source of funding for the arts in Britain in recent years. It was expected to make available approximately £250 million per annum to each of five "good causes" (arts, sports, national heritage, charities and celebrating the millennium) over the current seven year licence period. Arts lottery funding is channelled through the existing Arts Council apparatus, with the Arts Council of England (ACE) responsible for distributing by far the largest share. By the start of 1997 it had committed itself to grants in excess of £620 million, with the four largest being for London-based performing arts institutions. The overwhelming emphasis in lottery arts grants on building projects, rather than revenue support programmes, reflects the guidelines on lottery spending established by the government. Like other lottery distributors, the arts bodies have managed to introduce non-capital schemes, notably the A4E (Arts 4 Everyone) programme, aimed at supporting new creative projects, with a specific focus on enabling young people to realise their creative potential. However, welcome as they have been to arts organisations, the non-capital schemes have involved only relatively modest sums and are subject to tight eligibility criteria. As a result, the lottery has done little to counter the long-running decline in public revenue support for arts and culture in the UK. Indeed, given the demands which lottery applications make on partnership funding, administrative energy and other resources, there are grounds for believing that the overall effect of the lottery on the health of the arts sector in revenue

terms has been negative. The main beneficiaries, at least in the short to medium term, have been advisors, arts consultancies, architects and construction companies.

Other factors have also had a negative impact on the economic status of artists in the UK. The shrinkage of part-time teaching opportunities in art schools has more or less removed what has traditionally been a key part of the support structure of artistic life. Changes in social security rules announced in 1997 are likely to have an even greater impact. The benefits system has acted as an unofficial funding mechanisms for the arts for more than 20 years. Young artists and musicians have been able to take advantage of the flexibility in the system to keep above the breadline during that vital early period in their careers when they are developing skills, establishing their expressive styles, building contacts and finding markets. But this will change later this year, when changes to the so-called "jobseekers' allowance" are introduced. Benefits will be withdrawn after six months, with recipients required to join training schemes or undertake environmental or social care tasks. A further factor is that recruitment to the arts field has continued to grow, despite the poor economic prospects. As the pool of people competing for work and incomes from cultural production and exchange has expanded, the difficulties which individuals face in making a living have correspondingly increased.

As can be seen, the economic and social status of artists and other culture sector workers has, over the last 10 years or so, been affected by a complex set of forces. At the city level, the role that the cultural realm can play in urban revitalisation has received increasing recognition in official quarters, and this has created a new source of legitimacy for the work of artists of all kinds. Prestigious new venues for the performance and display of art works have come into existence, and cultural "ingredients" have been used to give added value to development schemes of many kinds. But while the level of rhetorical support for the culture sector has grown and the physical infrastructure of cultural life has been visibly upgraded, improvements in the material conditions of culture sector workers have so far been much less noticeable. In this context, artists have had to use their inventiveness to devise new survival strategies and support structures. They have been obliged to acquire more sophisticated entrepreneurial and business skills, and to turn their energies towards thinking up new strategies to get themselves and their work noticed. An important part of the response by visual artists to the more difficult circumstances of the 80s and 90s has been the growing prominence of artist organisations and collectives. The adoption of collective ways of working represents a significant departure within the visual arts community. Unlike, say, the performing arts of music, dance and drama, which naturally lend themselves to collective practices, the dominant tradition among visual artists has been to work independently, as solo producers. But the force of economic circumstance has led many artists to band together, mainly in order to share costs. The rise of collective modes of working has undoubtedly had important implications for artistic practice. The question at issue for this paper is whether it has also had important implications for the functioning of cities and the use of urban space.

3. Artist organisations and the re-use of urban space

Artist organisations differ widely in terms of size, origins, range of activities, philosophical stance, objectives and organisational structure. We should therefore not been drawn too readily into generalisations about them. However, it is possible to point towards certain widely shared characteristics. *First*, they tend to embody what has been

termed a "lifestyle" philosophy: an emphasis on pursuing a creative mode of life. A *second* feature is what Jones (1997) refers to as "site specificity": a concern to respond artistically to the characteristics of particular locales and environments. This connects to a *third* characteristic shared by many artist organisations: creating an engagement with local populations on a long-term basis. This is something that goes beyond "audience development" as conventionally conceived (ie as a quantitative issue, increasing the size of the audience). It is a relational matter, of redefining "what constitutes 'an audience' for the visual arts and, perhaps more significantly, the nature and direction of the exchange between these people and artists" (Jones 1997 p.4).

While not all artist organisations have been buildings-oriented, many have been concerned with creating new spaces in which to carry out the business of cultural production. These spaces have typically been in marginal, devalorised areas within cities - redundant dockside buildings, disused warehouses and factories, low rent neighbourhoods. Space within them has been in plentiful supply as a result of factors such as the deindustrialisation of cities and the movement of harbour functions to more deep-water locations. Artist organisations have been drawn to such areas mainly out of economic necessity, because such places offer the prospect of low or negligible rents. But functional and aesthetic factors have also come into play. The large uninterrupted floor areas typical of industrial buildings offer enormous scope for conversion into studio spaces. Such buildings often also have striking architectural features derived from their former industrial uses that can be incorporated into the new working and living spaces, and even into the artworks made in them. In addition, the buildings are often located in wild and hostile environments that offer a strong challenge to the creative imagination. The existence of cultural residues from histories of industrial labour, social struggle and population movement can also contribute to the creative potential of these environments.

Many of Europe's capital cities have examples of run-down districts that have been given new life following occupation by groups of artists. In London, for example, the East End district of Shoreditch in the Borough of Hackney is now said to be the epicentre of the highest concentration of artists in western Europe. Harbour cities have also been a favoured location for artist groups. A recent study by an Amsterdam-based consortium of artists known as the IJ Industrial Buildings Guild reported on a range of artist initiatives to occupy redundant industrial buildings in a number of harbour cities, including Dublin, Bristol, Szeczin and Amsterdam (Buchel and Hogervorst 1997).

One of the major challenges that these initiatives have had to deal with has been to find suitable organisational models for coping with an extremely difficult set of demands: equipping new working and living spaces, in often harsh environments, on very limited funds, while at the same time keeping alive an artistic vision. This has not been an easy task, but the lessons they have learnt may have a wider applicability and significance, especially in a the context of current debates about sustainability and the city. Three cases, from Amsterdam and Bristol, can be used to illustrate the range of experience.

Het Veem, Amsterdam - self-management model; sweat equity.

Y-Tech Foundation, Amsterdam - more commercially-based model; separation of users from management.

Artspace, Bristol - self-management; lottery grant obviating sweat equity.

4. Concluding comments

This account of artist-led initiatives to make spaces for cultural production reveals, perhaps, a different way of mobilising the cultural capital of the city from those that have been dominant in the recent period. But how significant are these initiatives for the city in general? How might the city gain from them? Several potential benefits can be suggested. First, they can play an important part in re-urbanising the city: creating urban districts that are inclusive, diverse and unpredictable, making connections between cultural production and cultural consumption, and avoiding the monofunctional sterility of the tourist-oriented culture zones and the islands of high income gentrification. Second, insofar as they succeed in establishing the kinds of creative engagement with local populations that many have sought to achieve, they can contribute to the building of sustainable, self-aware and self-confident communities. Third, they can possibly point the way towards alternative organisational models, and alternative models of building design and management, that can be adapted by other agencies of housing renewal and economic revitalisation. Fourth, there is a greater prospect of finding imaginative ways to re-use the structure and fabric of old buildings, and keep alive the social memories embodied within them.

But it is important to avoid any romantic view of artist organisations as an incipient urban social movement. The presence of artist groups can give rise to antagonistic relationships with other local residents just as easily as it can provide a new energy for inclusive community building. It is also important to recognise the fragility and vulnerability of artist-led initiatives to re-use urban spaces. In the context of a capitalist land market, success can quickly become self-destructive, as marginal districts suddenly become marketable and increased rental values make the newly acquired spaces unaffordable to artists. The question for urban planners is how to work with artist organisations so that the benefits can be captured and the destructive impact of land markets circumvented. One of the preconditions for this is knowing what artist organisations are trying to achieve, and understanding how they work.

5. Key references

Buchel P. and Hogervorst B. (1997) *The Turning Tide*, Amsterdam: The IJ Industrial Buildings Guild

Jones S. (1997) *Measuring the Experience: A study of the scope and value of artist-led organisations*, Victoria Cottage, Victoria Garesfield, Rowlands Gill, NE39 1LU, UK

Landry C. et al (1996) *The Art of Regeneration: Urban renewal through cultural activity*, Stroud: Comedia

Lash S. and Urry J. (1994) *Economies of Signs and Space*, London: Sage

Scott A. (1997) "The cultural economy of cities" *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 21(2) 323-339

artorg03.doc

FROM REPUBLICANISM TO EUROPEANISM - LEGAL MILESTONES IN THE EVOLUTION OF THE IRISH PLANNING SYSTEM ANALYSED

Berna Grist
Department of Regional and Urban Planning,
University College Dublin,
Richview, Clonskeagh,
Dublin 14, Ireland.

Introduction

The objective of this paper is to examine the legal landmarks in the development of the planning system in the Republic of Ireland. Planning is a creature of statute, in that theories and techniques may be international but their effectiveness depends on the statutory framework within which they operate. Bad legislation inevitably leads to poor planning, whereas an objective yet flexible system can assist in both the promotion of growth and the protection of the environment.

During the 800 years of colonial occupation, a pattern developed whereby an Act would be passed in respect of Britain and, some 5-10 years later, a corresponding Act would be passed for Ireland - albeit in an amended form to take account of the very different political and social situations. In this way, by 1922 when independence was achieved, a system of local government based on a network of county councils and similar to that in Britain had been established for over two decades.

Like most colonies, the economy was undeveloped. A lack of natural resources, a peripheral location in the North Atlantic off the west coast of Europe and neutrality during the Second World War kept Ireland insulated from the post-war economic revival until the early 1960's.

The Local Government (Planning and Development) Act of 1963 gave Ireland its planning system. This was partly modelled on the British Town and Country Planning Act of 1947, a logical approach insofar as the local authorities in Ireland would be responsible for planning, as were their British counterparts. However, the 1947 Act had been designed to cope with strong development pressures in a highly urbanised society. There was a significant urban/rural divide in terms of income and social outlook between the area around the capital city, Dublin (on the east coast) and the rest of the country. In the more prosperous eastern region, pressures for development resulted in a recognition of the need for some level of regulation but controls appeared superfluous in the more remote rural areas, which continued to experience economic stagnation and emigration.

Small farmers, only a generation away from the tyranny of colonial land tenure, were aggrieved at the idea that restrictions might be imposed on the improvements they could afford to make to their freehold land. Planning was resented or ignored in rural Ireland in the 1960's and only came to be accepted as a necessary evil during the 1970's and 80's when industrial development began to spread throughout the island.

The Role Of The Constitution

In 1921, the Irish State was recognised by Britain in a Treaty which gave Ireland the same constitutional status within the British Empire as the Commonwealth of Australia[1]. The following year, the fledgling Irish parliament enacted the Constitution of the Irish Free State, to

which the Treaty was annexed. In this Constitution, the legislature was stated to consist of the King and two Houses. Provision was made for a representative of the Crown, called the Governor General, and for an oath of loyalty.

The 1922 Constitution was amended extensively, at first to smooth wrinkles in the new administration but from 1932 onwards, the focus was on the removal of the symbols of the Commonwealth. It was decided, in 1937, to make an entirely new constitution which would mark a distinct alteration in Ireland's relationship with Britain. Although Ireland was not clearly stated to be a republic (a deliberate policy omission to take account of the aspiration of including Northern Ireland in the State at some future date)[2], the Crown was replaced by an elected president and the people were declared to be the basis of all governmental authority, including the authority to enact the Constitution itself.

While the "sole and exclusive power of making laws for the State" was vested in the *Oireachtas* (national parliament), the enactment of any law which would be repugnant to the Constitution was prohibited. To safeguard against error, both the High Court and the Supreme Court were empowered to invalidate Acts of Parliament by reference to the principles of the Constitution. This constitutional power vested in the judiciary and the rigidity of the document itself are singularly "un-British" features of the 1937 Constitution[3].

Articles 40 and 43 contained extensive protection for the right to the private ownership of property, a completely new element which had had no corresponding provision in the 1922 Constitution. Partly inspired by Catholic dogma and partly in response to the perceived dangers of socialism and communism, these articles prohibited the abolition of private property as an institution, while recognising that the State may delimit the exercise of private property rights by law in the interests of the common good[4]. This seemingly innocuous provision was to have a major impact on the planning system.

The 1947 Town and Country Planning Act had effectively nationalised development rights and their associated values[5]. If permission to develop was refused, no compensation was payable for loss of the development value of the land. The 1963 Planning Act had to be drafted in the light of the rights to private property guaranteed in the Constitution, however, and these rights of course included development rights. Consequently, extensive provision was made for the payment of compensation. With very limited exceptions (principally refusals on traffic safety, sanitary or other public health grounds) if the value of an interest of a landowner was reduced as a result of a refusal of permission or a grant subject to onerous conditions, the landowner was entitled to be paid compensation. Ronan Keane, now a judge of the Supreme Court, expressed the opinion that without these provisions for the payment of compensation

"the constitutionality of the far reaching interference with property rights which the Acts permit would be in question"[6].

That the legislature was correct to be concerned about the constitutionality of the 1963 Planning Act was quickly evident. The Act came into force on 1 October 1964. In March 1968, proceedings were issued by a number of property owners in Dublin city centre, claiming the powers given to planning authorities in relation to development plans were unconstitutional. This challenge was unsuccessful, largely because the High Court found that the legislation did not exclude compensation for the refusal of permission to construct buildings on undeveloped land, except in very limited circumstances based on the "exigencies of the common good"[7].

The operation of the planning system developed very much in the shadow of this and another High Court judgement. In the *Viscount Securities* case, it was held that a refusal of permission to build houses on land zoned for the further development of agriculture created a liability for compensation[8]. After this second decision in 1976, there was a gradual awareness among development industry advisers that any purchase of land could lead to a valid compensation claim, even if it failed to lead to a permission for housing. There was a similar awareness among planners that every decision was being made in a climate of

"compensation-itis". This set a very low value indeed on the provisions of democratically adopted development plans.

In the mid 1980's, a more environmentally conscious public began to become aware of the magnitude of compensation claims. The much publicised payment by Dublin County Council of £2m compensation to a property company, Grange Developments, after a vigorously challenged claim, aroused considerable opposition to what was perceived as "unjust enrichment" of private developers out of public funds. Planners and lawyers began asserting the opinion that a change to the Planning Acts, eliminating payment of compensation in respect of developments contravening the zoning provisions of development plans, could be justified in constitutional terms. The argument was made that a development plan, which provides for the control and encouragement of development benefiting the community, represents the embodiment of the "common good" and that limiting the right to develop in contravention of such a plan was justified without compensating the landowner for loss of the development value of the land in question. This represented a fundamental shift in attitude from the pre-eminent position given to every aspect of the rights of landownership in the early, post-colonial period. Interpretation by the judiciary, of course, reflects the changing standards of society. Judicial indications that reconsideration of the constitutional parameters binding the planning system were a possibility[9] gave the legislature the impetus necessary to enact the 1990 Planning Act.

The extensive list of non-compensatable grounds for refusal contained in this Act include the reason that a development would materially contravene the zoning provisions of the development plan. An examination of the full list indicates the increased importance of the development plan as a basis for the restriction of property rights. In fact, post 1990, the odds are "heavily stacked against the recovery of compensation" by individuals whose development ambitions are frustrated by a decision of the planning authority.[10] Restrictions which would have been neither politically nor constitutionally acceptable in the 1960's were generally welcomed in 1990 and no legal challenges have been made in respect of the provisions of the 1990 Planning Act.

State Exemption from Application of Statutes

Decisions of the High Court and Supreme Court between 1922 and 1963 indicated that one aspect of the royal prerogative, the right of the Crown not to be bound by statute unless expressly or implicitly referred to in the statute concerned, was accepted as having survived into and for the benefit of the new State.[11] As a consequence, in the 1963 Planning Act, while local authorities carrying out development in their own functional areas were exempt from planning control[12], no specific mention was made of an exemption for State authorities which were required, however, to "consult" with the relevant planning authority. Known as section 84 consultations, this procedure was understood and accepted to be the alternative to planning permission in the case of developments by the State, (government ministers and the Commissioners of Public Works). Indeed, the guidance issued by the Department of Local Government to planning authorities on the introduction of the 1963 Act specifically stated

"The Act does not apply to State authorities........... Accordingly, they will not require to obtain permission from a planning authority prior to carrying out development".[13]

In 1989, the Commissioners proposed to build two visitor centres (interpretative centres) at sites of outstanding natural beauty in the Wicklow mountains (Luggala) and Co. Clare (Mullaghmore), which proved to be very controversial. The Commissioners engaged successfully in the section 84 consultation procedure with Wicklow and Clare County Councils and started building, only to be legally challenged by objectors. The Supreme Court held that the Commissioners were obliged to apply for planning permission because the rule of State exemption, which was inseparable from its origin in the Crown prerogative, had not survived

the enactment of the 1937 Constitution. As section 84 did not refer to an exemption for State authorities, it did not create any such exemption.[14]

That government departments should have to apply to local authorities for planning permission represented another interesting shift in political attitudes. At the foundation of the State in 1922, local authorities were viewed basically as administrative agencies of central government[15] and for central government to submit any project to local government for assessment would have been unthinkable. Obviously, some adjustment to the Planning Acts was necessary to remove the anomaly whereby the State alone among developers would have to go through a procedure of consultation before applying for planning permission. The Local Government (Planning and Development) Act, 1993, was enacted to regularise the situation. Regulations made under this Act exempt developments such as prisons, courthouses, police stations, military barracks and works of national security or connected with the business of the *Oireachtas* or specified Government departments. In these regulations, developments by local authorities within their own functional areas, while remaining exempt from the obligation to obtain planning permission, were made amenable to public scrutiny through a procedure of public notice and consultation. The Irish planning system since its inception has made good provision for third party involvement but it is arguable that this particular opening up of the planning process would not have taken place without the incentive provided by the *Howard* case.

The Influence of European Law

Ireland joined the European Economic Community (as it was then) in 1972. The European Economic Community came into existence in 1957 with the Treaty of Rome, changed its name to the European Community in 1986 and became the European Union in 1993. Changes in nomenclature may be viewed as reflecting closer links between the people of Europe or tighter control by Brussels on the activities of Member States (see *Special Areas of Conservation* below). One result of accession to Europe has been that, in areas covered by the various European treaties, European legislative measures take precedence over Irish domestic law, including the Constitution.

Europe has been a major source of environmental legislation in the form of Directives, which must be transposed into the law of Member States by national parliaments. While Directives are binding as to results to be achieved, they can be implemented either by amending existing laws or by establishing new statutory procedures. The most important, in terms of the development of the Irish planning system, was the Directive on the Assessment of the Effects of Certain Public and Private Projects on the Environment. Environmental impact assessment (EIA) is a procedure which ensures the likely effects of a proposed project on the environment are examined systematically prior to the commencement of development, thereby mitigating or avoiding any significant adverse effects. The actual term is taken from the U.S. National Environmental Policy Act of 1969. It is important to stress that the EIA process is intended to form part of, rather than pre-empt, the decision-making process.

As the Irish economy grew and industry spread throughout the island in the 1970's and 80's, so did an awareness that development can result in environmental degradation. *An Foras Forbartha* (The National Institute for Physical Planning and Construction Research), in a review of the operation of the planning system between 1963 and 1983, identified "the protection of the natural and the built environment" as an objective which planning was expected to address. This was the only new objective it was felt necessary to add to those set out by the Minister for Local Government in his statement introducing the Planning Bill to the *Oireachtas* in 1962 [16]. An attempt had been made in 1977 to require the submission of an "environmental study" as part of any planning application for a potentially polluting trade or industry, the cost of which might be expected to exceed £5m. This proved unworkable in practice and it was not until the EIA Directive was implemented that the environmental

dimension of employment-creating projects came to be given adequate and timely consideration.

The Directive came into force in July, 1988 and Ireland, somewhat tardily, grafted environmental impact assessment onto the planning process in 1990. An environmental impact statement must be submitted as part of the planning application for any of the projects listed in the 1989 EIA Regulations and failure to include this statement invalidates an application. As regards public perception of what planning should be doing for the community, this enlargement of the development control procedure has given planners a more central and relevant role for the 1990's.

The Directive on the Conservation of Natural Habitats and of Wild Fauna and Flora (the "Habitats Directive") has resulted in the amendment of the legislation relating to the contents of development plans. This ambitious Directive is intended to give coherent and integrated protection against transboundary threats to both habitat types and animal / plant species. It provides for the establishment of an ecological network of protected areas across all Member States, to be known as Special Areas of Conservation (SAC's).

From February 1997, planning authorities have been required to include objectives in both urban and rural development plans for the protection of Special Areas of Conservation[17]. This is the first time since 1963 that the objectives it is mandatory to include in development plans have been expanded. The provisions relating to the granting of planning permission have also been amended to ensure consideration is given to the impact of any development on SAC's, normally but not exclusively by means of environmental impact assessment. Most SAC's are in rural areas but some estuarine sites can reach into towns.

Under European and Irish law, developments threatening the wildlife importance of SAC's will not be allowed, whether these involve a continuation of damaging farming practices, changing farming practices (e.g. drainage works to marginal land) or the carrying out of building works. Most Special Areas of Conservation are in the highly scenic but economically disadvantaged south and west of the country. These are areas of small family farms, high emigration and low incomes. The agricultural community has been vociferously concerned about the impact of the Directive on their ability to derive a livelihood from their lands. As European legislation takes precedence over even the Constitution, they cannot assert their constitutional property rights against designation of SAC's. Under the Habitats Directive, all practices on designated farms can be controlled by the State, which has to have regard to the strictures of the European Commission in the ongoing implementation of this far reaching Directive - the first intrusion by Brussels into the control of land use within Member States. Some affected farmers have asked if the fruits of the colonial struggle have simply been handed back to Europe.

The "Celtic Tiger"

This, however, would not be a widely held attitude. Ireland has been a major net beneficiary from various European funds and the Irish are, in general, enthusiastic Europeans. The term *Celtic Tiger* is a metaphor used to draw attention to the similarities between the recent strong growth in the Irish economy and that of South East Asian countries in the early 1990's. One of the results of this prosperity has been that pressure for development is intense. Both planners and the planning system are having difficulty coping with the demands placed on them

Conclusion

A major review of the Planning Acts by the Minister for the Environment commenced in late 1997 and amending legislation is expected sometime this year. This review has been partly the result of the voracious appetite of the Celtic Tiger for more and more development land, but it

cannot be denied that a system in operation for over 30 years needs to be examined and, if necessary, updated.

The courts have played a significant role in initiating various statutory amendments over the last three decades, as discussed above. This time it will be the turn of the legislature to ensure planning is adapted to meet the needs of the 21st century in Ireland.

References

1. *Articles of Agreement for a Treaty between Great Britain and Ireland*, signed in London on 6 December, 1921: Article 1.

2. Chubb, Basil, *The Constitution and Constitutional Change in Ireland*, (Institute of Public Administration, Dublin, 1978), p.21.

3. Kelly, J.M., *The Irish Constitution* (Jurist Publishing Co. Ltd., Dublin, 1984), p.xxviii.

4. *Bunreacht na hEireann*, (Constitution of Ireland) 1937, (Government Publications, Dublin).

5. Cullingworth, J. Barry and Nadin, Vincent, *Town and Country Planning in Britain* (Routledge, London, 1994), p. 108.

6. Keane, Ronan, *The Law of Local Government in the Republic of Ireland* (Incorporated Law Society of Ireland, Dublin, 1982), p. 195.

7. *Central Dublin Development Association v Attorney General* (1975) 109 ILTR 69.

8. *In re Viscount Securities Ltd* 112 ILTR 17.

9. *X.J.S. Investments Ltd v Dun Laoghaire Corporation* (1987) ILRM 659.

10. Galligan, Eamon, *Irish Planning Law and Procedure* (Round Hall Sweet & Maxwell, Dublin 1997), p. 313.

11. Kelly, J.M., op.cit., p. 696.

12. Local Government (Planning and Development) Act, 1963, section 4(1).

13. Department of Local Government, *Notes for the Information of Planning Authorities* (1964), p. 111.

14. *Howard v Commissioners of Public Works* (1994) 1 IR 101.

15. Chubb, Basil, *The Government and Politics of Ireland* (Longman, London 1992), p.275.

16. Grist, Berna, *Twenty Years of Planning* (An Foras Forbartha, Dublin, 1983), p.15.

17. European Communities (Natural Habitats) Regulations, 1997 (S.I. No. 94 of 1997).

Science and the Stuff of Life: Modernism and Health in Inner London in the 1930s

Pyrs Gruffudd
Department of Geography
University of Wales Swansea
Swansea SA2 8PP
Wales, U.K.

This paper addresses the relationship between modernist architecture and health in Britain in the 1930s. This grew out of a concern for the patterns of ill-health generated by dark, insanitary and cramped areas of the Victorian industrial city, and from the concurrent belief in the health-giving benefits of the new architecture – most notably natural light, fresh air and sanitary design. There was a clear interplay between modernism and health. In part, this was functional – the hygienic benefits of minimalism, the free circulation of air and sunlight – but this functional relationship acquired symbolic resonance. Patrick Abercrombie (1939, p.xii) claimed that the forms and lines of modernism were "in an indefinite way connected with the cult of fitness" and modernism became the symbolic language for many gymnasia, seaside lidos, and – of course – laboratories and hospitals. Countering this 'technical' understanding of functionalism, however, was a naturalistic and organic one. For Lewis Mumford modernism signified the biotechnic age: *"'living' in architecture means in adequate relation to life. It does not mean an imitation in stone or metal of the external appearance of organic form: houses with mushroom roofs or rooms shaped like the corolla of a flower. It was not flowered wallpaper that was needed in the modern house, but space and sunlight and temperature conditions under which living plants could grow.... In short: a physical environment that responded sensitively to the vital and personal needs of the occupants"* (Mumford, 1938, p.412). In this paper I want to consider some of these issues by looking at architecture and health in inner London in the inter-war period, and specifically at two buildings which are both landmark buildings in the history of British modernism but which are both associated with health. They are both health centres, in fact – the Pioneer Health Centre in Peckham (1935) and the Finsbury Health Centre (1938). The fact that they are both modernist landmarks, I will argue, is not merely a coincidence, but there are significant differences between the two. These are not so much in terms of their link to those narratives about health but, rather, in the ideological or social visions they sustained and embodied.

The Pioneer Health Centre

The Pioneer Health Centre (PHC) was founded in 1926 by George Scott Williamson (a pathologist) and Innes Pearce (a General Practitioner) as an experiment in preventive medicine and in family and community support. They argued that 'health' had to be separated from 'disease', and the generation of health separated from the practice of medicine. They pointed to what they saw as the debilitating character of modern urban life and a general absence of "wellness" in the working population. That lack often went unnoticed until it became pathologised as 'illness'. Pearse and Williamson argued that society was paying huge attention to the unhealthy at the expense of health: "We

are running the danger of being led into the impious position of loving disease above health" (1931, p.3). They established the PHC in a converted house in Peckham in south London. The borough was selected as it exhibited a 'typical' inner-urban semi-skilled working-class population: "It is no sheltered group of workers but a sturdy people who have succeeded in keeping themselves in as fit a state as is possible in the face of present social conditions" (Pearse and Crocker, 1944, p.70). The PHC functioned as a family club and health centre, where leisure facilities and classes were provided on condition that families submitted themselves for a health examination each year. The first survey of members' health showed that only 9% were free of disease or disorder. But the Centre's thinking extended beyond preventive medicine and into the realms of what the doctors called 'Biological Cultivation'. This was founded on an evolutionary understanding of human-environment relationships that takes us close to Mumford's notion of the Biotechnic. Pearse and Williamson rejected the hereditarian stance of the eugenics movement, and their case for sterilisation of the unfit, and stressed the importance of environment: "We cannot.. but regret that enthusiasm for eugenics should occupy the attention of the practical sociologist to the exclusion of an immediate effort to modify the environment in times of human need or national crisis" (Pearse and Williamson, 1931, p.49; see also Gruffudd, 1995).

Architecture was of great importance for the PHC. The original building was closed in 1930 and the founders collected funds for a new building that would allow the doctors to expand the experiment; they aimed to get 2,000 families signed up at one shilling a week. Following an architectural competition the architect-engineer Owen Williams's design was selected. It was composed of three large concrete platforms supported on pillars with a rectangular central space occupied, on the ground floor, by a swimming pool (75 x 25 feet). Elsewhere, the structure was almost entirely open-plan. Temporary dividers were used but the consultation block was the only part permanently separated off. The building contained a gym, theatre, nursery, cloakroom, and kitchens, and a large amount of flexible space enclosed by full-height windows. Significantly, the building attested to a biotechnic belief in Nature. It was set back from the road in open space, with mature trees. The front was almost totally glazed and the series of bow windows could be slid to one side to open out the buildings. A roof terrace was also provided. Throughout, the importance of fresh air, sunlight and views over green space were stressed as health-giving elements. According to Hussey (1935, p. 383) "here is one of the central problems of the twentieth century – the bringing of science to bear upon the stuff of life – solved completely and economically with twentieth century construction and materials". Another writer said "it is a fit Temple of Hygiea, the goddess whose function it was to maintain the health of the community, and whose great blessing was said to have been brought by her as a beneficient gift of the gods. As I strolled along its sunny promenade decks, the glass sides thrown open to let the fresh air in, I was struck by the feeling that I was on board a Ship of Health" (Johnston, 1935, p.5).

'Environment' was defined in broad terms. In the first instance it meant the family - a living organism that Nature had made into "her instrument for the cultivation of functional efficiency" (Pearse and Crocker, 1944, p.122). The home was the nurturing space of the 'family nucleus'. Hence the family was the basis of the PHC. This implied a stress on traditional gender roles, and the constitution of motherhood as women's primary role. The doctors cited a growing body of evidence identifying the debilitation of women through conditions like "suburban neurosis" and the consequential decline of the home as a nurturing space. This evolutionary thinking also extended to the level of the community and to social space. Here the building assumed perhaps its greatest significance. To begin with, it was a social space within which the practice of scientific surveillance could be carried out: "Here then is a modern building designed as a laboratory for the study of human biology. The general visibility and continuity of flow throughout the building is a necessity for the scientist. In the biological laboratories of botany and zoology the microscope has been the main and requisite equipment. The human biologist also requires special 'sight' for his field of observation – the family. His new 'lens' is the transparency of all boundaries within his field of experiment. Sixteen steps down from the consulting room and he is engulfed in the action that is going forward, and which, by reason of the very design of the building, is visible and tangible to his observational faculties at all times" (Pearse and Crocker, 1944, p.68).

The design of the building was supposed to invite social contact, through both chance meetings and formal occasions. There was a hierarchy to this social use of space, and also clearly plotted lines of gender. The building's ground floor was for Physical Culture – the gym, swimming pool, dance hall etc. The middle floor for Social Culture was perhaps the most interesting. Here were held small meetings, instructional classes, and informal recreation such as card games. This floor also incorporated 'gossip corners' for women. The development of Social Culture was particularly geared at women and aimed at countering the isolation of the mother and the consequential decline of the home environment. The top floor of the building was set aside for Mental Culture – debates, the library, spaces for quiet contemplation and educational classes, and some laboratory spaces. Throughout the Centre, action was to arise spontaneously from the environmental circumstances impinging on the families – "biological cultivation", or "tilling the social soil", as they called it. The sight of others engaged in exercise or other activities was to inspire members. Similarly, the Centre was visible from the outside, and especially at night. In these ways, the Centre was conceived as an evolving organism occupying a 'zone of mutuality' between the family/home and society – a "social placenta" in the living body of society. It fulfilled the role of traditional spaces in earlier societies. Owen Williams intended it to be "for the towns man what the village church, the village green, the village pond and even the village pub were to the country man. It is to be a nucleus around which a section of human society can grow naturally. Its motto might well be 'To know; To Be; To Live'" (Williams, 1935).

In this sense the building counters a functionalistic interpretation of city and social planning. The doctors were suspicious of the State's role in planning and reconstruction and sought to advance an evolutionary – and apparently more conservative – vision based on biological thinking: "So in the midst of social disintegration here there is beginning to appear a nucleus of Society the structure of which is neither 'planned' nor 're-constructed' but living; that is to say growing, developing, differentiating, as the result of the mutual synthesis of its component cells – its homes" (Pearse and Crocker, 1944, p.298). The PHC was, of course, a retreat from state provision of health care and

was widely criticised as such, but it was widely admired by the architectural and planning movements.

The Finsbury Health Centre

Elsewhere, however, the ideological component of health planning was being reconciled with the biological cultivation of the organism. The work of Berthold Lubetkin and his partners in the architectural co-operative Tecton, formed in 1932, has been seen as demonstrating all the ideological components of 1930s modernism (see Allan, 1992). They had a clear socialist commitment to improving the living standards of London's working-class population. They also exhibited a characteristically left-wing belief in the social and transformative function of science. Some of these themes are demonstrated in early commissions at London Zoo (e.g. Gorilla House, 1933) characterised by a concern for the efficient nurture of the animals concerned. The buildings were praised by Lewis Mumford and in fact, there is far more connection than might at first appear between Lubetkin's zoo buildings and Mumford's biotechnics. Many of the analytical techniques and practical solutions utilised by Tecton in their zoo buildings were developed in parallel in buildings for human use and habitation. In 1932 Tecton drew up plans for a TB clinic for East Ham in London. The starkly modernist design set out what would be key aspects of Tecton's building for health, aspects echoed in the gorilla house designs. The design is streamlined, hygienic and deliberately promotes the virtues of modernism in environmental and social reform. It is based on a calculation of maximum penetration of sunlight. Most importantly, the building's modernist concern with zonation and functional efficiency becomes essential in the treatment of communicable disease. Not only is air circulation modelled in order to provide currents of fresh air and to expel foul air, but the circulation of the public - both well and unwell - and staff - both medical and clerical - is also modelled to provide clear and hygienic routeways.

These design elements were eventually expressed in purest form in the Finsbury Health Centre, commissioned by a progressive Labour-controlled borough that also commissioned Tecton to build working-class housing. In his work in Finsbury, we see Lubetkin's modernism as an instrument of social policy and radical reform (a more familiar narrative of modernism). Finsbury was the second smallest borough in the London area, and was also the second most overcrowded. According to the Medical Officer of Health (*Annual Report* 1931, p.66) "When the tenement is overcrowded, the conditions for promoting the disease are as pernicious as they possibly can be. It is difficult to conceive a condition which favours the spread of the infection more than overcrowding". The death rate from TB in 1931 was 1.37 per 1,000 people – above the rate for London and about 70% above the rate for England and Wales. 10% of all Finsbury deaths were due to TB. However, the Borough also considered there to be an educational element. Reports contained gruesome lists of insanitary practices, typically noting that 10% of council tenants were "dirty and slatternly" (Medical Officer of Health, *Annual Report* 1932, p.112). Health propaganda initiatives played an important role, therefore, in Finsbury's response to ill-health.

Tecton had been contracted to design public housing for Finsbury and completed two estates in 1937 and 1938. Based on Lubetkin's knowledge of Eastern Europe, these were eight stories high and set in open space, each flat having a balcony and flows of sunlight and fresh air. But these modernist principles found even more potent expression in Lubetkin and Tecton's Finsbury Health Centre. It was a two storey building of glass and concrete composed of a central block for administration and a lecture theatre, with projecting wings for the clinics and consulting rooms, and a small ward for tubercular patients. The building reflected those modernist concerns with natural efficiency and internal efficiency. The design was hygienic with all pipes hidden for cleanliness, and all details considered as part of an organic and restful whole. The building's relationship to nature was less accentuated than that of the PHC but flows of sunlight and fresh air were crucial to the design: "a special characteristic of the building is the open-court planning and large continuous ranges of windows to allow the maximum of air and sunlight to penetrate into all the Clinics and public lobbies and giving efficient cross-ventilation through all Departments" (Metropolitan Borough of Finsbury, 1938b). A roof terrace and balconies further broke down the division between inside and outside. This system of flows, as in the East Ham clinic, also extended to the flows of people – staff and patients, contagious and not, even alive and dead.

Perhaps even more importantly the building was symbolic of the Borough's commitment to health and a central plank in the reconstruction of the Borough as some kind of working-class utopia. In functional terms, the Centre drew together Finsbury's previously scattered health facilities into one building; this expressed the strong and co-ordinated central bureaucracy seen as being lacking at national scale. The sheer visibility of the building made the presence of services more apparent. The two wings splayed out as if projecting open arms into the borough. It was intended to be welcoming, and the gradual ramp up to the main entrance added to that effect. More assertively, though, Lubetkin thought of the shape as being reminiscent of a megaphone for health – broadcasting its message into the community. This echoes his sense of the building as a social condenser, effectively condensing undifferentiated citizens through a particular social and ideological situation. The propagandist or educational role that Finsbury had adopted was reflected in murals in the foyer urging people to enjoy "Fresh Air Night and Day", "Live out doors as much as you can" and to "Eat natural foods". The foyer also included space for exhibitions and led on to a lecture theatre at the rear of the building.

At the building's opening ceremony the Chair of the Public Health Committee argued that "Its opening marks the end of three years of patient effort and careful planning and the dawn of a new era in public health service. We believe we have been successful in presenting a building which is essentially modern and business-like, and which, by its general open expression, automatically associates itself with hygiene and public health. … Care has been taken to give to the whole structure a light and clean appearance, to make it an edifice to the splendid service which it represents; a building which will inspire confidence through its thoroughly modern and up-to-date appearance" (Metropolitan Borough of Finsbury, 1938a). The building was very widely admired. *The Times* (October 4th 1938) noted that it spoke "in every line of light, air, and well-being" and perhaps inadvertently drew a biotechnical analogy: "The close relationship between form and services... suggests an analogy between the organic system, respiratory, digestive, and vascular, and the external form of the human body...".

Writers on municipal architecture praised its modernity as expressing a new ability to tackle modern problems on the part of public authorities. Up to date social legislation demanded up to date architecture (see *Keystone*, October 1938).

Conclusion

There were many differences between the two health centres. Peckham was a preventive medicine centre organised for health. Its conservative, gently organic rhetoric, therefore, suited its intention. Finsbury, however, was fighting a brave rearguard action against disease and so its style and language suited its presumed social heroism. There were also differences between Finsbury's funding from the local state and Peckham's essentially private funding. But there were profound similarities in the buildings' use of modernism. Both, however, reflected that faith in planning and fitness for purpose that was so widely exhibited at the time, and both reveal a naturalism within their modernism. They reveal, in effect, the biotechnical potential of the new architecture. It is clear that for architects like Lubetkin and for the founders of the PHC, their modification of environment – their 'biological cultivation' - was based on a theoretical and biological understanding of the connections between the human and non-human world. It is perhaps not surprising then that Lewis Mumford, in *The Culture of Cities* (1938, p.356), should illustrate the new forms of the biotechnic civilization as a Frank Lloyd Wright house ("an organic union of garden and house"); the "exquisite purity" and functionalism of a Japanese house; a TB clinic by Tony Garnier stressing the healing qualities of "light, color, order, visual repose" (as well as a natural, mountainous setting); the modern American kitchen which, together with the bathroom, was one of the great biotechnic utilities of the modern dwelling; and, finally, the responsiveness to environment and to residents of Tecton's Gorilla House for London Zoo.

References

Abercrombie, P. (Ed) (1939) The Book of the Modern House (London: Hodder & Stoughton)

Allan, J (1992) *Berthold Lubetkin: Architecture & the Tradition of Progress* (London: RIBA)

Gruffudd, P. (1995) "'A crusade against consumption': environment, health and social reform in Wales, 1900-1939" *Journal of Historical Geography* Vol.21 No.1, pp.39-54

Hussey, C. (1935) "Designing for health" *Country Life* April 13th, pp.382-3

Johnston, H.H. (1935) "Brave adventurers: the pioneers of Peckham" *Tit-Bits* May 18th, p.5

Metropolitan Borough of Finsbury (1938a) Pamphlet: *Opening of the Finsbury Health Centre... on Friday, 21st October, 1938* [Lubetkin Papers, RIBA]

Metropolitan Borough of Finsbury (1938b) Pamphlet: *Visit of Delegates from the 24th Annual Conference of the National Association for the Prevention of Tuberculosis to the Finsbury Tuberculosis Dispensary* [Lubetkin Papers, RIBA]

Mumford, L. (1938) *The Culture of Cities* (London: Secker & Warburg)

Pearse, I.H. and Williamson, G.S. (1931) *The Case for Action: a Survey of Everyday Life Under Modern Industrial Conditions, with Special Reference to the Question of Health* (London: Faber & Faber)

Pearse, I.H. and Crocker, L.H. (1944) *The Peckham Experiment: a Study in the Living Structure of Society* (London: Allen & Unwin)

Smith, F.B (1988) *The Retreat of Tuberculosis, 1850-1950* (London: Croom Helm)

Williams, O. *Synopsis of Remarks by Sir Owen Williams at the Private View.. of the Pioneer Health Centre, March 27th, 1935* [Pioneer Health Centre Papers, Wellcome Institute]

LARGE TECHNICAL SYSTEMS AND READY-MADE LIFE: THE SINGAPOREAN "CONDO-MANIA"

Xavier Guillot
51A Marang road
Singapore 099281

During the last decades, commentaries about the progress of telecommunication technologies and its ascendancy upon the city have broadened in various disciplines. It has led to a new vocabulary to describe transformations of our economy and society. Indeed, the worldwide diffusion of telecommunications networks and its recent combination with micro-processors, which make up telematics, can be seen to create a major technological evolution or what some authors call a change of "techno-economic paradigm" (Freeman, 1991), because of the role of telecommunications in changing our economy and our way of life.

Back in the 1960's, Melvin Webber coined the term "Non Place Urban Realm" (Webber, 1964) to express the existence of another level of community organisation - the Urban Realm - which is not spatially delimited and, therefore, different from other place bounded approaches to the city. According to him, both the idea of city and the idea of the region have been traditionally tied to the idea of place. Similarly, the idea of community has been tied to the idea of place, but it is now becoming apparent that it is the accessibility rather than the propinquity aspect of "place" that is the necessary condition.

Today's reference to a new electronic space, place or city is increasingly common in the current discourse surrounding the Internet, and the ways they parallel and interact with conventional cities. William Mitchell argues that "Internet subverts, displaces, and radically redefines our received conceptions of gathering place, community, and urban life. The Net has a fundamentally different structure, and it operates under quite different rules from those that organise the action in the public places of traditional cities. The Net negates geography. While it does not have a definite topology of computational nodes and radiating boulevard of bits, it is fundamentally and profoundly antispatial" (Mitchell, 1995).

Taking into account these ideas, how can we move beyond them? How can we relate them to the local physical scale of the city to understand in which way urban places and electronic spaces are together culturally constructed within the broader framework of today's tele-mediated life ?

Urban economists have a different approach to the impact of new communication technologies on the city. They approach this question by the way communications are used to support wider processes of economic, political, and spatial restructuring (Castells, 1989; Sasssen,1991; Castells and Hall, 1994). To these authors, cities are still necessary as the sites of massive investment, as the controlling hubs of global networks, as places with unique concentrations of infrastructure, labour markets, services, information and skills. They are the sites where the intensively mobile flows of information, money, people, and services become fixed and interact.

This perspective means that cities cannot simply be seen as artefacts that are shaped by communication regardless of place and geography. Cities and the need of humans to gather in a limited area still matter because "the combination of geographic dispersal of economic activities and system integration which lies at the heart of the current economic era has

contributed to new or expanded central functions and the complexity of transaction has raised the demand for a highly specialised system (Sassen 97).

It is possibly the reason why, in a "global city" like Singapore, the government plans to extend the existing financial district to twice its size on reclaimed land (URA 1996): to enable the highly specialised interaction through face to face contact rather than "virtually". Similar processes of urban concentration also occurred in other types of places such as export-processing zones or high-tech districts like the well known Silicon Valley in California or the planned Super Multimedia Corridor in Malaysia. In this sense, the key relationship between cities and telecommunications is a global-local one, in which a city is integrated silently and invisibly into the new global electronic networks through which areas of the global economy are tied together to support profitable enterprise.

But once again, how can we move beyond the description of macro level processes? Besides financial districts, high-tech districts or other working places, does this techno-economic paradigm change have any impact on the place where we live ? For instance, has there been any significant impact on the recent evolution of housing? What theoretical approaches are available to answer this question ?

LARGE TECHNICAL SYSTEMS AND DAILY LIFE TECHNOLOGY

In global economy "there is no fully virtualised firm and no fully digitalized industry" argues Saskia Sassen. "The vast new economic topography that is being implemented through electronic space is one moment, one fragment, of an even vaster economic chain that is in good part embedded in non-electronic spaces" (Sassen 1997). In other words, it means that people still need to have face to face contact to exchange information and perhaps more than in previous stages of economy because of constant increase of highly specialised services, information and skills.

The same remark shall be applied in our approach to the way domestic activities are conducted outside our jobs. Electronic communication networks have not replaced other existing technical networks but they become complementary (Graham and Marvin, 1996). Indeed, if the Internet matters for many people in their daily life, so does the transportation system to move around, the electrical power to supply the light bulb of our home or to keep our fridge running twenty four hours a day. Evaluating the significance of this paradigm shift therefore requires placing it into the broader context of our dependency on technology from "large technical systems", as Bernward Joerges (1988) defines them, to the numerous domestic technological objects that I will call here "daily life technology."

Back in the 1960's, Marshall Mc Luhan (1964) had already suggested that daily life technology is a medium of communication. According to him it is an "extension of our body in a new invention and a new social technology". At the end of the 1970's, Richard Berk (1980), James Gershuny (1978) and other American authors followed this path and initiated a similar thought on economy and domestic technologies through the concept of New Homes Economies. Their work showed that the distinction between working and leisure time reduces and that a new technological, economical and symbolical unity emerges which includes the totality of daily actions.

Today, similar approaches are being developed, as for instance by Karl Hörning (1988), Victor Sardigli (1992) or A. Gras (1993). For these authors "Daily environment has become filled

with sophisticated technological objects which are the very expression of the arrangement of large technological systems. Individual telephones, privates radios and televisions, mass transit systems accompany their development at a different pace according to each country. All this takes place as if the technological object searches for its niche, slowly developing its meaning in an interaction between large technical systems and the social which "resist" and "avoid" the evolution. It seems after, that the final issue was a foregone conclusion (Gras, 1993).

The combination of the freezer, the frozen dish and microwave oven is a good example which gives an idea of this dependency. As Alain Gras (1993) pointed out, according to marketing criteria, today we have arrived at the fifth generation of eating products with instant dried dishes, coming after the fresh product, canned food, frozen food, and frozen prepared dishes. But more important, is to note that the frozen prepared dishes, in comparison with the first generation of eating habits implies in its fabrication, packaging and delivery, the existence of a huge technological input and network of power: fast transportation system, integrated circuits, powerful refrigeration machinery, etc that are the "large technical systems". In other words, it means that the easier and simpler our domestic action becomes through daily life technology, the more complex and numerous are the technological systems to support this action.

The common objective of daily life technology is to make our domestic actions easier, although its "medium" may be different as for the E mail or the freezer. But, ultimately, the goal remains the same, that is: to take short cuts in our daily life actions to create more time available and, in return, to create new needs. The freezer eliminates the time it takes to go to the market every day to buy fresh vegetables, and the E mail reduces visits to the post office and enables the receiver to get messages faster. Furthermore, the way they operate is also similar in using the same networks of power that are the large technical systems which we mentioned earlier.

Marshall Mc Luhan suggested in his time that "Clothing and housing as extensions of skin and heat control mechanisms, are media of communication, first of all in the sense that they shape and rearrange the pattern of human association and community."(Mc Luhan, 1964). May I suggest that, as an extension of our body, housing has also evolved in accordance with daily life technology, by serving a similar purpose which is to improve comfort in our domestic life by using time more efficiently. Along this hypothesis, our habitat, as an extension of our body, has also been searching for its niche and slowly developing its meaning in an interaction between large technical systems and the social. The recent trend of private condominiums in Singapore will provide the study case of this idea.

IMPLEMENTING A NEW STANDARD OF LIVING

For most visitors, the predominant image of Singapore is its high rise public housing where over 85 per cent of the population live. This development has been well documented (Chua Beng-Huat,1997), but little is known about private housing and in particular private condominiums which have become increasingly popular since the 1980's.

To face the urgent need for more affordable private housing for the higher income group who either did not qualify for low cost public housing or could not afford to purchase the traditional landed properties (bungalows, semi-detached house or terrace house), as well as to face the problem of urban sprawl and land wastage, the government introduced in the 1970's the condominium concept as a planning device. Following its official adoption in 1974,

development was, at the beginning, slow. It was in the early 1980's, due to favourable economic, conditions that the development took off (Sim Loo Lee,1989)

As a planning concept, "condominium" is used to describe residential development comprising flats, apartments and town house blocks arranged in such a way as to maximise the use of land. Objectives are as follows:
- To encourage more intensive use of limited land resources; overall residential density could be increased to twice the Master Plan maximum density or to 741 persons per hectares.
- To preserve more greenery and open spaces for recreational facilities, especially in residential areas: building coverage is limited to not more than 20 per cent of the site, so as to allow adequate areas for open space and landscaping.
- To ensure adequate maintenance of communal amenities and facilities in housing estates, apartment blocks and buildings.
That is in short the historical planning background. How have developers and architects interpreted these guidelines? What makes the result attractive to city dwellers who can afford them?

The reality of their completion shows that a tremendous design effort has been made, to offer a better standard of apartment, more than by its size and finishings, than public housing does. Condominiums are attractive because they enable their inhabitants to experiment a different type of life style by their location, facilities and services that are included in the package. Four typical facilities/services are the common characteristics found in most of the recent condominiums:
- Recreational amenities
- Accessible transportation network
- Climate control equipment
- Security control factor

Each of these characteristics will be reviewed along two ideas:
- By the way they reflect different types of actions responding to specific "needs" of today's city life, in a similar manner that daily life technology can be associated with specific domestic actions.
- By the way these actions refer to various processes associated to a particular life style that can be observed in a place like Singapore..

THE EMERGENCE OF A READY MADE URBAN ENVIRONMENT...

The first characteristic refers to the provision of recreational amenities in addition to apartment units in order to satisfy emotional and physical comfort. In the early stage of condo construction, the swimming pool was the basic facility that was provided. But progressively more facilities have been added such as: club house, sauna , gymnasium, tennis court, barbecue pits, etc. Condominiums tend therefore to provide not only an apartment, but also a place of recreation and evasion to escape the stress of the working life and to live in an imaginary countryside, as their name suggests: The Hillside, Palm Garden, Hazel Park, etc. or in an other city: Regent Ville, Garden Ville, Sim Ville, etc. These facilities refer to a process that I will call "de-realisation" or "de-contextualisation" because it tends to create a distance from the existing reality of the surrounding environment and to simulate a local idealised environment, in the same manner as "theme parks" do.

The second characteristic refers to the accessibility of condominiums to the transportation network ensuring the participation of their inhabitants in social interaction with the rest of the city. It means that location still matters, not for the social interaction occurring on the door step, but rather for the time it takes to reach the highway interchange, MRT station or future LRT station. (if no MRT stations are located within walking distance, most condominiums provide a private minibus shuttle). This accessibility refers to a process that I will call "de-articulation" in opposition to "connection" as it tends to negate the idea of closeness with the life of the immediate surroundings and stresses a mechanical type of human travelling and interaction. It means that street life is almost non existent in a condominium environment similar to a suburban setting of other developed countries where cars are the main means of transportation from one place to another.

The third characteristic refers to provision of air conditioning mechanisms to all apartments regardless of individual desire to use natural or mechanical technology that have been used in the past in such tropical climates. This type of facility refers to a process that we will call "normalisation" because the design of the apartment (ceiling height, openings size, wall setting out) have adopted some architectural norms associated with a western life style from temperate climates.

The fourth factor refers to the twenty four hours security facility that is provided in condominiums by the existence of a wall surrounding the compound and the presence of a guard at the entrance. This facility refers to a process that we will call the "fortress effect", because it excludes random access by people who do not belong to the condominium communities, and creates private blocks that are isolated from the rest of the city.

...IN RESPONSE TO A READY MADE LIFE

Overall, these processes give an idea of the direction in which city life tends to evolve for city dwellers who can afford to inhabit private condominiums. Although this example has been taken from the Singaporean context, it can certainly be applied to other developing cities in South East Asia where similar private development has been completed. The counterpart of this living trend is that the old symbols of the local urban life increasingly seem to be lost or remade, to be replaced by an intangible and accelerating set of global flows of images, services, products and commodities.

This is particularly true for condominiums. Other examples in Singapore are historical areas and buildings (Boat Quay, Clarke Quay, Convent of the Holy Infant Jesus), and the way they have been re-thought and re-packaged along similar lines, by marketing their historical urban image. In the words of Knox (1985), these processes refer to the way cities are, "increasingly being re-developed and fragmented into diverse "packaged" or "themed" and "simulated" elements, to be marketed for global consumption by tourists, business, media firms and consumers via technical media, While ostensibly public spaces, many of these new packaged and themed developments are actually controlled so that what happens in them and who visits them is extremely predictable (like in a condominium) and consumption driven.

For Sorkin (1992), there is a sense of parallel shift towards a kind of "universal particular" or "generic urbanism" of commodified, globalised, urban space which embraces both physical and electronic elements. In reality it also means that urban places and their design become geared towards the simulation of "mythical environments" One issue of this evolution is that the

distinction between the "public" and "private" space of cities has become blurred with the multiplying "private public spaces".(Bianchini, 1989)

As suggested by Robin and Hepworth (1988), "this perspective allows us to explore economic shifts as they shape and transform the infrastructure, fabric and ecology of the physical environment, and as they weave the texture and patterns of everyday life". By focusing then on this relationship between large technological systems and daily life technology, we have a street-level appreciation of what the information revolution amounts to; we can explore not just the economic and technological issues, but also the re-composition of everyday experience and culture, the way of life.

REFERENCES
Berk, R. (1980), The New Home Economics, in S.F. Berk (Ed.), *Women and household labor*, London, Sage

Bianchini, F. (1989), "The Crisis of urban public social life in Britain: origin of the problem and possible responses", *Planning Practice and Research* 5 (3), pp. 4-8.

Castells, M. (1989), *The Informational City: Information Technology, Economic Restructuring and the Urban-Regional Process*, Oxford, Blackwell.

Castells, M., and Hall, P. (1994), *Technopoles of the World. The making of 21st Century Industrial Complexes*, London, Routledge.

Chua, B.H. (1997) *Policy Legitimacy and Housing. Stakeholding in Singapore*, Routledge, London and New York, ,

Freeman, C. (1991), " Information technologies and the new economic paradigm", in H. Shutte (Eds), *Strategic Issues in Information Technologies: International Implications for Decision Makers*, Pergamon, Maidenhead, pp. 5-18

Gras, A. (1993), *Grandeur et dépendance. Sociologie de macro-systèmes techniques*, Paris, PUF.

Knox, P., "Capital, material culture and socio-spatial differentiation", in P. Knox (Eds*), The Restless Urban Landscape*, Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, 1993, pp. 1-3.

Gershuny, J. (1978), *After Industrial Society? The emerging self-service society*, London, Macmillan.

Graham, S. and Marvin, S. (1996), *Telecommuications and the city*, Routledge, London, .

Joerges B. (1988), "Large Technical Systems, Concepts and Issues", in T. P. Hugues and R. Mayntz, *The Development of Large Technical Systems*, Frankfurt, Campus

Hörning K (1988), "Technik im Alltag und die Widersprüche des Alltäglichen", in Joerges B. (ed), *Technik im Alltag*, Frankfurt, Suhrkamp.

Mc Luhan, M. (1964), Understanding Media, McGraw-Hill Book Compagny, New York,

Mitchell, W. (1995), *City of Bits: Space, Place and the Infobahn*, MIT Press, Cambridge Mass.,

Robins, K. and Hepworth, M. (1988) "Electronic spaces: new technologies and the future of the cities", *Futures*, April, , 155 -176.

Victor Sardigli (1992) *Les sens de la technique*, Paris, PUF.

Sasssen S. (1991), *The Global City, New York, London, Tokyo*, Princeton University Press, Princeton New Jersey.

Sassen S. (1997), "Cities in the Global Economy", paper published in the Proceedings of the Third International Convention on Urban Planning, Housing & Design, Singapore, 1997

Sim L. L. (1989), "Residential land use policy and condominium housing development. The Singapore experience", *Land Use Policy*, April, pp. 121-131.

Sorkin, M., Eds. (1992), *Variation on a Theme Park*, Hill and Wang, New York,.

Urban Development Authority, URA, (1996), *New Down Town. Idea for the City of Tomorrow*. Singapore.

Webber, M.M.. (1964), "The Urban Place and the Nonplace Urban Realm" in M.M. Webber et al. Eds, *Explorations into Urban Structure*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.

Taken for granted? Auditing the Paving Traditions of English Historic Towns

Richard Guise
Urban Design Program, Faculty of the Built Environment
University of the West of England
Bristol, UK

This paper identifies an often underrated element of the resource stock of the inherited built environment of Britain, namely the street surfaces of valued townscapes. It argues that there is a very sparse literature on this subject and that heritage of traditional paving - despite isolated good examples of protection - faces a range of threats. Thus there is a need to take stock of this resource in order to frame policies and action for conservation and for wider use of natural paving materials.

The paper continues by describing and assessing an audit programme for both recording local paving traditions and through that, building a national database. This programme has been developed by the author and his colleague in the traditional Paving Development Project, University of the West of England, Bristol.

The 20th century has seen the widespread growth of urban planning. Hand in hand with this has been the expansion of the concept and practice of conservation. At the turn of the century conservation in most countries meant little more than the preservation of ancient monuments. Later we have seen the "listing" of a variety of building types and styles from the ancient to those of the immediate past.

However, although these forms of protection have their validity it seemed that the totality of the town scene was still under threat from large scale redevelopment. Conservation Areas were introduced in 1967 in order to safeguard the spaces between buildings and to afford some protection for boundary walls, street furniture, certain land uses and, within the context of this paper, the floorscape. All these elements contribute to valued street scenes. We take them for granted until one day they are 'improved' out of existence or are eroded through non existence or unsympathetic management and maintenance.

Most recently Conservation is being seen as embodying two major policy directions:

a)   it protects the elements of local distinctiveness, that is, where built form, including paving reflects the local pattern of materials drawn from quarries in the locality.

b)   it has its part to play through The Rio Earth Summit in 1992 and Local Agenda 21 to help achieve Sustainable Development at the local level. Stone paving, which involves low energy inputs to produce and lay and has a robust and durable lifecycle.

Given, then, that in conservation areas at least, historic paved areas are deemed protected, and that they are recognised as adding to the attraction of the street scene why are they under threat?

The reasons are diverse:

1) The highway engineering culture is one which seeks to improve a perceived problem (i.e. removing impediments to the safe and swift movement of traffic) by technical and engineering means, regardless of cultural or aesthetic considerations.

2) The same can be said of the utilities, including most recently cable TV, who again regard existing streets as outdated infrastructure to be adapted to modern needs or replaced as soon as possible.

3) The components that constitute the street surface, eg. footpaths, kerb, crossovers and carriageways, and the materials such as, granite, sandstone, limestone etc. in the form of flagstones, kerbs and setts are often perceived as being unavailable, or prohibitively expensive.

4) Then there is the problem of craftsmanship : laying paving is a skill, usually taught over years of apprenticeship. With the general "deskilling" of the construction industry this craft together with their skills in quarrying, specifying, designing and supervising, the natural stone paving option has all but disappeared.

5) Lack of organisational co-ordination in the public realm; The conservation agencies until quite recently have, usually been in a relatively weak position against highway and other agencies who have larger budgets and more direct concern with their public realm. Thus the requirements of the inherited streetscape have been largely overruled. This situation has been compounded by the fact that many conservers have been more interested in the restoration and repair of historic buildings rather than street surfaces. Indeed in many reports which should accompany the designation of conservation areas, little is said specifically about remaining areas of original paving and thus it can be ignored when reinstatement and replacement works take place.

6) It has recently come to light that paving cannot be "Listed", as it is not a building and therefore there is no specific protection.

7) Whilst some authorities have little regard for the inheritance of street surfaces, there *is* a value placed on them in the reclaimed building materials trade. There are well documented cases where pavements have been 'stolen' and sold to unwitting purchasers eager to repair their stone pavements.

Unlike vernacular building, which has been well analysed and documented (Brunskill, 1971 & Clifton-Taylor 1972) there are very few sources to consult regarding traditional paving types and distribution. Brunskill gives a useful model of mapping of traditional building materials and types related to geology and this is being considered as an idea for the visualisation of the material that we collect.

Again unlike vernacular building the relationship between paving material and geological location is a strong theme but it is enriched by a history of importation of materials from quite distant sources, if the transport (usually by sea or canal) cost and convenience justified the use of superior materials in terms of durability.

We can piece together this story first by consulting geological maps to establish broad patterns of distribution, secondly by observation, usually supported by a field geologist and thirdly by consulting the records of the meetings of the Local Paving Commissions.

Paving Commissions were established in the late 18th and early 19th centuries with responsibility to lay and maintain carriageways and footpaths. The commissions had inherited a legacy of very poor quality street surfaces often impassable between towns at certain times. The Minutes of the meetings show that the Commissions were often looking to import stone from different pats of the country if it was more durable and of a reasonable price. Hence we see the granites of Cornwall in South West England or Mount Sorrell in Leicesterhire in the Midlands being used in larger towns, especially within the hinterland of a port. We also see the superior Caithness Stone, from the remote north east of Scotland being shipped to London, Newcastle, Glasgow and the select resorts of Brighton and Hove.

The varied and complex geology of Britain therefore is reflected in the richness of the surfaces beneath our feet. It is clear that if we agree that the maintenance and fostering of local distinctiveness is important as a counterbalance to the globalisation and standardisation of our urban environments and what's more that the character of our streetscapes is an important contributor to local distinctiveness, then it follows that, to quote the theme of this conference, we must take stock.

We have to identify the distribution and character of the inherited floorscape of towns and cities as this is a resource which is threatened with loss through indifference and neglect, yet with recognition can be renewed to a sustainable future, through policies for conservation, sourcing of stone and training in design and craftsmanship using natural paving materials.

As we have seen, there is no organised body of knowledge in this area; we have to start virtually from scratch. The Traditional Paving Development Project at the University of the West of England was established in 1993 to address the issues of awareness raising, craft training and auditing the street surfaces of England. To date we have organised three conferences aimed at conservation planners and highway engineers to alert them to this resource. That series was followed by 4 practical training workshops held in different parts of the country involving craftsmen demonstrating laying techniques with a variety of paving stones. We have 2 further workshops scheduled for late 1998.

Alongside this area of our work we are undertaking an audit of the paving materials and laying traditions in Britain. We knew it was an ambitious task at the outset, but it is proving more time consuming as we progress. Nevertheless we are now entering what promises to be a relatively accelerated stage in the process.

The audit is conceived, as a necessity and as a desirable aim, as one which involves interested people in local communities. Obviously the two of us who comprise the core of the Traditional Paving Development Project would be unable to audit virtually every town and city in Britain. Instead we have devised an audit pack and introductory workshop sessions where we engage local environmental groups, usually known as Civic Societies, to undertake audits in their local areas. In this way it is hoped that the audit can be a vehicle where local groups can work with their planning and highway departments - and where possible with local schools - in partnership instead of being characterised as organisations who are always thrust into a reactive, negative role in relation to planning issues.

A pilot study was undertaken of six towns in the south west of England which was used to test the audit technique. Invitations to civic societies within the area were sent through the National Council of Civic Trust Societies, with whom we ran the project. About 20 groups sent representatives to a workshop we held in Taunton, a town centrally located within the region. The workshop introduced the issue and then the audit pro formas. We conducted a walkabout in Taunton which helped people to identify stone types, typical locations where remnants of local paving are likely to be found and to practice using the pro formas. A total of six groups agreed to survey their home towns, and others agreed to follow as their programmes of other activities would allow. Whilst we eventually completed and published (1996) six audits the process was extremely time consuming. A number of people who were initially enthusiastic seemed inhibited by the prospect of having to complete what they perceived as a technical process. It also became clear that each society, although apparently possessing a substantial membership, can only rely on a very small number of people willing to do practical fieldwork. We are learning by this experience and have just completed some amended audit materials which hopefully will be more user friendly.

At the time of writing we are entering another stage in the audit process. Following a meeting in the City of Oxford with an enthusiastic Civic Society, local historians, concerned individuals and representatives of the local planning and highway authorities, we are embarking on an audit of the street surfaces in that city more well known for its "dreaming spires". Oxford will be an excellent precedent for further studies as it has a recent history of removal of its traditional pavements, which provoked opposition by local groups. There is now, however, a commitment to claim many streets in its central area for pedestrian priority, and furthermore, to use more sympathetic materials. The audit will therefore fulfil two of its functions: first to record local paving materials and traditions as a contribution to the national database and secondly to provide a quantified statement of the local paving heritage which identifies the extent and location of remnant areas of this streetscape resource and identifies the materials in order to inform planners, highway and utility engineers where extra care must be taken in works to the public realm.

Alongside this observational work, amateur and professional historians will be researching the records of the local Paving Commissioners and inspecting old photographs and lithographs, to identify documentary evidence which will fill in the broader picture which is obscured by later highway work involving the replacement of streets of setts by tarmacadam. However, close observation of holes in tarmac - a useful if strange activity! - reveals that often the original surface has been overlain rather than replaced.

The audit is attracting the attention of local radio, which may excite some listeners to undertake audits in their locality. It is the intention to hold an exhibition of the findings where maps, photos, and historic documents will find an interested audience.

Another, more ambitious audit programme has also completed its first stage. This involves the Womens Institutes in the County of Dorset, a large area of small towns south of Bristol. An initial meeting with county representatives of the approximately 200 WIs in Dorset resulted in the endorsement of the project and commitment to undertake town by town, village by village audits. The reality is likely to be that a fraction of WIs will complete their audits, but we look forward to this mode of working on a wider scale. Any investigation of the local campaigns to prevent the removal of traditional paving - and there have been many - reveals that it is the watchfulness and action taken by women that

has been instrumental in saving areas of valued streetscape from imminent removal.

In the Summer of 1997 we conducted a postal survey of all planning authorities in England on their experience and attitudes regarding the use of traditional paving materials. Over 395 authorities received a questionnaire and we had an encouraging 41% response. Questions ranged from their use of traditional materials in street improvement schemes, (where just over 50% had used these materials in the last 5 years) to the problems encountered in using traditional or natural materials. Not surprisingly initial cost was seen as an inhibitor to use, but more significantly a lack of knowledge about the nature of the products, how to specify, design, lay to supervise natural stone was of greater concern. 97% of authorities supported the idea of establishing training courses in the use of traditional paving materials. Of perhaps more central interest to this paper we also invited recipients to complete an outline profile of paving traditions in their localities. 70% completed this outline to varying degrees. It revealed pockets of local knowledge, and also some localised zones of quite rare stone types. The survey highlighted the fact that there is a need to focus and exchange information which at present is extremely variable in coverage and resides mainly in the minds of interested individuals.

A major task in the near future is to assemble the information which we are compiling into a systematic, accessible and visual database which is easily and regularly updated. Obviously computer mapping with CD Rom type libraries of photographs and other data would be the most obvious outcome. One of our colleagues is undertaking a feasibility study with a view to attracting funding for the project.

It is clear that we have quite a project on our hands; the project has blossomed from being viewed as quite an obscure topic hardly respectable for academic enquiry to being seen as essential in collecting and assessing much needed information about a component of out built environment heritage which is taken for granted - until it is lost.

References

Brunskill, R W (1971) *Handbook of Vernacular Architecture*, Faber.

Clifton Taylor, A (1972) *The Pattern of English Building*, Faber.

Guise, R & Franks, G (1996) 'Audit of Traditional Paving in South West England - Stage 1', UWE.

Guise R & Green N (1994) 'Traditional Paving Design'. Conference Proceedings, UWE/Somerset Counrt Council

Urban Conservation Progress in Beijing
The Features of Beijing Plans in 1938, 1953 and 1982

Qinghua Guo
Faculty of Architecture, Building & Planning
University of Melbourne
Parkville, VIC 3052
Australia

The history of urban design and construction in Beijing is over two millennia. However, urban conservation has been an issue for merely two decades. In 1982, Beijing was proclaimed as a historical and cultural city: its cultural heritage was finally protected by law, and a master plan was put forward. Two earlier schemes of urban improvement for Beijing were made in 1938 and 1953. The 1938 plan was outlined during the Japanese occupation (1937-1945). The 1953 plan, drafted in the reign of Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung, 1893-1976), was deeply influenced by the current political ideology and geared to national economic planning. This paper attempts to give a historical summary of Beijing planning practices in perspective of conservation. In this context we shall observe the impact of the urban renewal ideology and policy, and examine the urban manipulation that transformed Beijing from the imperial capital of China to the socialist national capital of the People's Republic.

IMPERIAL CITY (1264-1911)
Beijing as an important strategic site of special advantage for military defence can be traced back to the Warring State period (403-221 BC), but the foundation of the present capital was laid in 1264 by Kublai Khan, a grandson of Genghis Khan, Lord of the Mongols. Following the tradition of his adopted land, Kublai proclaimed himself founder of a Chinese dynasty, which he named Yuan - 'origin' or 'primal' (1271-1368). The Yuan reign selected this military and key trade site built the Great Capital (Dadu) according to ancient Chinese planning principles.[1] The city was sheltered by mountains in the north and west, and had several rivers. The water courses extended to the Great Canal which was one of China's great feats of engineering, re-opened in the Yuan era to facilitate transportations between central China and North China.

Beijing remained the capital for the Ming (1368-1644) founded by Han Chinese and also for the Qing (1644-1911) originating from Manchuria. The present Beijing maintains characteristics of the Ming and the Qing capitals and is firmly branded during the Yuan dynasty. The city, like all ancient Chinese capitals, was physically defined by concentric walls and moats. The Palace City (Forbidden City), located in the centre, was embraced by the Imperial City, in turn embraced by the Capital City (Inner City). Each domain was surrounded by a thick and high wall. Beijing is regular and geometric with its axis running north-south. The Forbidden City and the imperial government are geographically located in the centre along the axis. A fourth city, the Outer City, was built later to the south to accommodate the increasing population and commerce in that area. The Inner City was an up-class residential area built around the imperial city (Figure 1).

PLANNING INITIATIVES (1938-1942)
In 1931, Japan invaded and occupied Northeast China, Manchuria, made up of three provinces: Heilongjiang, Jilin and Liaoning. Manchuria's rich resources of coal, iron and agriculture were expected to increase Japan's economic strength considerably. In 1937, the invaders further occupied larger areas in North China including Beijing. This region was important both for its and its industry. To consolidate their position, the Japanese had formulated a Five Year Plan of North China carried out by their architects and engineers. The Beijing plan was part of the region plan. The practical considerations of this plan were:[2]
1. To deal with rapidly increased population: between the end of 1936 and the middle of 1939

the Japanese population in Beijing rose from 4000 to over 41000, and the Chinese from 1.5 to 1.7 million.
2. To develop the road transportation system to strengthen Japanese occupation militarily and economically.
3. To design a new area for Japanese colonisers thereby segregating Japanese and Chinese citizens and reducing tensions.

The outline of the plan include:
• Population frame: Inhabitants in 20 years to increase from 1.5 million to 2.5 million including Tongzhou county (present Tong Xian) at east.
• Planning area: The southern gate of the inner city, Zhengyang Men, was the core of the greater Beijing plan, extending 30 kilometres to the north, east and west, and 20 kilometres to the south.
• Urban division: The great metropolis was subjected to five divisions: (1) the walled city which was to be preserved as a cultural property; (2) green belts were to be surrounding the city walls; (3) the western suburb was designed for the Japanese occupants and administrative authorities; (4) the eastern suburb was reserved as a residential area associated with (5) the Tongzhou industrial suburb.

The western suburb was to retain the gridiron plan measuring 30 km² in area with a 35 km² green belt. The plan emphasises its central axis, 100 meters in width, running parallel to that of the city, designed towards the Foxiang Pavilion of the Imperial Summer Palace to the north. It was linked by a road of Chang'an Jie (80 m in width) with the city. In 1941, the first phase of the project was implemented. By 1942, 800 Japanese families moved into the western suburb. However, a year later in 1943 the second project came to an abrupt halt as a result of the War II and never resumed thereafter.

TRANSFORMATION INTO AN INDUSTRIAL CITY (1953-1957)
Shortly after the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, international military and ideological conflicts forced China to enter into an alliance with the USSR. China was soon modelling herself on the Soviet Union. To develop heavy industry came to be regarded as a first priority, and China had restored industrial production, entered a new era of industrialisation characterised by close imitation of the Soviet model.

At a conference on urban development held by the Central Finance and Economic Commission in 1952, a decision was reached to construct 'key cities in co-ordination with the national economic development programme.' This decision became the basis for urban design during the 1950s. Since the state Five Year Plan (1953-1958) focused on industry, urban planning was based on short-term industrial development.

Under the guidance of the USSR's concepts of urban construction and following the national economic development, the ideology contained in the urban plan principle was called 'Three Services', which was formulated at the First National Conference on Urban Development in 1954. The three services were attached to: (1) proletarian politics; (2) socialist production; and (3) the livelihoods of the labouring masses. The principle laid special emphasis on transforming 'consumption cities' into 'production cities'. Thus, it was decided to transform the consumer city Beijing into an industrialised city, and the reconstruction should be done around the city centre with the extension towards all four cardinal directions in order to serve not only the production and the people, but also the state government (Figure 2).[3] These policies affected Beijing's urban plan over the next three decades. In the course of this time, preference was given firstly to industrial production and secondly to civil construction. Under the political slogan of 'Learn From the Soviet Union,' Soviet design ideas and Soviet neo-classical architectural style proved a strong influence on China's urban construction practice and aesthetics.

In China, several industrial regions were divided for the purposes of planning. Beijing became an integral part of the national industry planning. It was developed as a city geared for production with an extremely heavy industrial base, involved in the processing of iron, coal, petroleum and automobiles. The city also has a significant number of woollen textile mills. This

resulted in substantial urban growth. Accordingly, the city's population increased most rapidly among the working class. However, the form of the city was not greatly changed except for the addition of new buildings and the expansion of urban land.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE PEOPLE'S CAPITAL (1958-1966)
Soon after economic recovery, urban reconstruction practice began in Beijing. The idea was to reconstruct a people's capital out of an emperor's capital. That is to say, the theme - supreme emperor - expressed in the urban design must be replaced by working-class people. Large projects undertaken inside the city were the reconstruction of Tian'an Men Square, the erection of state buildings, and the construction of road and subway. Outside the city, the Shisanling (the Thirteen Ming Tombs) reservoir construction and a Ming tomb (Dingling) excavation were started.

Symbol of Glorification of the People: Tian'an Men Square
Originally Tian'an Men was a T-shaped square between the gates of Tian'an Men and Zhengyang Men. It was confined by parallel walls as a passageway to Tian'an Men, the front gate of the Forbidden City. The square is named after the gate. It was used as a centre of revolution and patriotic demonstrations in 1919 (May 4th Movement). In accordance with this revolutionary event that triggered the founding of the Chinese Communist Party, the square was chosen as the site for the grand founding ceremony of the People's Republic of China in 1949.

As a symbol of 'new China', Tian'an Men square received several major decorative objects including the stele to the People's Heroes erected in the square centre. In 1959, the square was transformed into a huge square in 1959. For the celebration of the first ten-year anniversary of the People's Republic, ten national buildings were projected in Beijing, three of which were located beside the Tian'an Men square. The enclosing walls were demolished together with nearby governmental houses and dwellings. They were replaced by two very large national buildings, the People's Great Hall and the Museums of Chinese History and Chinese Revolutionary History. Although the Great Hall and the Museums were built in classic western architectural styles, they have become showpieces of the Chinese people's city.

Following Mao's 'Great Leap Forward' movement, the municipality also began a series of road reconstruction projects, which swept away citywalls, gates, temples, pagodas and pailou.[4] A huge avenue (Chang'an Jie), 100 meters in width and 4 km in length, extends from the Tian'an Men square to the west and the east. The square and the avenue are regarded as symbols of a bright socialist future. The Forbidden City lost its commanding position and now forms a backdrop to the square.

Symbol of Overcoming the Emperors: Shisanling (the Ming Tombs) Reservoir
Thirteen Tombs of the Ming emperors were located at the southern foot of Mt. Tianshou, 50 kilometres northwest to Beijing. It is an excellent Feng-Shui site for tomb design. To the south, two hills form a natural gateway to the compound occupying over 40 square kilometres.

During the 'Great Leap Forward' period of Mao's revolutionary romanticism, the tombs were changed in two ways in 1958: The Dingling tomb archaeological excavation was started and the Shisanling reservoir was constructed. The reservoir, built at the north part of the natural tomb gateway, was completed largely by voluntary labour of the residence of Beijing after Mao's demonstration. A dam was built across the gateway to restrict the river flowing the valleys of the tomb hills. The reservoir has never been able to hold much water due to the fact that the place is geologically unfavourable for storing water. However, from political ideology point of view, it was successful in so far as the towers of the tomb architecture at the foot of the mountains were too relegated to form the backdrop to a people's project. It is likely that Mao designed this reservoir in order to destroy the 'Qi' of his forebears rather than for the purpose of irrigation. It is in keeping with Chinese practice that the new ruler demolish the headquarters of the overthrown one in order to destroy the former ruler's Qi and with it his potential energy and by gone the glory.

Citywall and the Emergence of Architectural Preservation
Beijing had a huge citywall made of rammed earth covered with fine finishing bricks. The standard wall proportion between height, bottom and top thickness was 3 : 2 : 1. The Beijing citywall of the Qing dynasty was 20 meters thick at the bottom. For facilitating increasing traffic flow, a ring road was constructed where the citywall and moat stood in despite of objections. As a result, the moat was either replaced by subway or filled up;[5] most of the citywalls and gates disappeared, only a few legacies were left amongst the victims of socio-political change and municipal reconstruction.

The city retained its limitation of population within the confined area and simply kept growing to all four sides, especially to the west where the Japanese had lined the plan. In 1958, under the new policy of 'do-industry-agriculture' activities (cities combine with countrysides, workers integrate with peasants in order to abolish the antithesis between cities and countrysides, between workers and peasants, and between intellectuals and labours), the metropolis was divided into self-contained units in order to enjoy both urban and rural advantages. However, this policy didn't recast the physical form of the city, but brought varied functions to Beijing.

The reconstruction in the city central area was realised through road rearrangements and memorial building constructions on grand scales. A hierarchy of urban construction preference is based on its political status in China. Given that the capital city is regarded as the national political heart of the country, Beijing enjoys the privilege of huge investment in urban development, and of first rank building scale and street size, etc. In comparison, residential-houses produced in the 1950s and the 1960s proved to be far insufficient.

In Beijing planning viewpoint, the movement 'Let Hundreds Flowers Blossom' attempted to prevent inappropriate changes during the city reconstruction. The leading voice was from a prominent scholar, Liang Sicheng (1901-1972), an architect, educator and the Chairman of the Expert Commission of Beijing Planning unfortunately with no power to administer permits for demolition. He dared to suggest that the reconstruction plan for Beijing would ruin its unique character and despoil the syntax of the ancient city. That syntax linked the imperial compounds of the Forbidden City with the sprawling landscapes of courtyard houses. Liang proposed to make the citywall into a continuous garden (Figure 3).[6] He said that when the city's gatetower was demolished, 'it was like cutting a piece of flesh from me' and 'when the bricks of the citywall were torn down, I felt as if my own skin was stripped off.' As a direct result of the struggle, the protection of cultural heritage was ratified in 1961, and nearly 200 historical buildings selected to be 'national cultural properties,' among them more than 20 in the Beijing area. Thanks to the ratification all these heritages have survived the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976).

Due to international tensions and internal failures in the political movements and natural disasters, China entered a long period of economic and political struggle, social disorganisation and international isolation. In 1966, just as China's economy began to revive, the Cultural Revolution swept the country. The next ten years were the darkest in the history of the People's Republic. The economy was set back, city plan was in abeyance during these tragic years. Housing building came to a standstill which meant that available houses were hopelessly over filled. In the fact of an ever increasing population, Beijing's residential housing was sorely lacking in terms of quantity and quality.

URBAN CONSERVATION: RESTORING HISTORICAL CITY (1982-present)
The city continued to restrict in population by 'Beijing residence ID card' control supplemented by national legislation, the number of inhabitants quickly reached over 10 million. Since the 1980s, housing production has been tremendously increased. As private enterprise grows, the housing market is moving from welfare benefit in which everyone is guaranteed housing subsidised by the government, to commercially based supply-and-demand with various standards. However, in big cities, the housing shortage is still a big problem exacerbated by recent migration from rural areas. In overcoming the housing shortage, the character and significance of many historic areas in cities have been jeopardised and even destroyed. The clear

break with the past is more and more obvious.

The Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties was promulgated in 1982. Beijing was designated as 'one of the famous historical and cultural cities of the country' by the State Council in the same year. The general plan of Beijing was approved in principle in 1983, and the master plan was finally announced in 1992.[7] The importance of urban conservation was stated as follows: ' Conservation should be carried out appropriately to protect and maintain Beijing's urban configuration formed during the Ming and Qing dynasties.' The master plan also called for dismantling and moving more than 100 air polluting industries to new areas in the suburbs, at the same time expanding the subway system and creating satellite towns. The target of population around the turn of the century was fixed at about 10 million. In future no heavy industries are to be developed with the exception of light industries such as food-processing and electronics.

Legislation on Protection Areas

Cultural property protection areas and national heritage control zones designate high priority to the conservation of imperial palaces and gardens. There are 188 cultural heritage sites in Beijing area among them about 20 per cent are national treasures, the rest metropolis. The new five-year plan of Beijing is moving forward to preserve and restore more than 100 cultural sites. The programme includes the Yuanming Yuan (Old Imperial Summer Palace) on the north-western fringe of the city, which was burned to the ground in 1860 by British and French troops in a revenge to the 'Boxer Movement' after the Opium Wars. To preserve the townscape, buildings are limited to 45 meters in height in the old city, and 60 meters in further areas. There are four grade protective and control areas. They are:

1. Forbidden City and the monuments built along the north-south axis, the highest category for preservation. No new buildings are allowed to be built.
2. The area around the Forbidden City. One-storied new buildings are allowed to be built but not exceeding 3 meters in height. Existing multi-storeyed buildings shall be replaced by single-storied courtyard houses step by step.
3. The space within a distance of 250 meters beyond the Forbidden City. Three storied new buildings must not exceed 9 meters in height are allowed.
4. Areas within the Imperial City. Six storied new buildings not exceed 18 metres in height.

FINAL NOTE

During the 20th century, the political, ideological prospect of Chinese cultural power has changed profoundly especially between the 1950s and the 1970s. In recent years with the 'Open the Door' policy, changes in economic and political values have been the major factors accounting for changes in urban planning, urban form and urban conservation.

To preserve Beijing as a symbol of Chinese cultural identity and continuity, its architectural heritage and city fabric must be conserved. The best way to conserve Beijing is to keep its original functions, as this means fewer changes. But, that was impossible since Beijing was built upon old capitals and has now been transformed into a modern city. Beijing's history is a process of change, for change is constant and cannot be denied. The question for modern Chinese is not only conserving their architectural heritage and ancient cities but also concerning for their culture and tradition values. It is still too easy to draw any conclusion from Beijing's lessons in urban planning and conservation, however, past experience has demonstrated that number of key factors should be addressed:

- Legislation for urban cultural property. It must not only give the framework and structure of conservation, but also ensure against any political interference.
- Making of an inventory of all cultural property. Complete analysis and evaluation are essential for conservation. The documentation should include illustrations, photographs and drawings.
- Urban planning and conservation requires proper considerations of all aspects in a programme that balances all values including emotion, culture and use.
- The concern of city feature should primarily be addressed to the scale and character of a district or group of buildings, with the ensemble rather than the detail of its component parts.

310

NOTES

[1] Dadu was the city where these principles were most closely adhered to. The fundamental rules for constructing walled capitals were established by the Zhou (11th century-771 BC). It was recorded in the book entitled *Rites of Zhou* written in the 5th century BC, in the chapter Artificer's Records: 'Square in shape and nine *li* in length (2 *li* = 1 kilometre), three gates on each side; nine avenues north-south and east-west respectively, each 9 vehicles in width (c. 18 m); square (100 × 100 *bu*) in plan for the royal court and the market; the palace in the south and the market north, the Temple of Ancestors to the east and the Altar of Land west.'

[2] Akira Koshizawa (1986), "City Planning of Peking under Japanese Rule: 1937-1945" in *The 5th Conference on the History of Civil Engineering in Japan*.

[3] Beijing History Committee (1985), *Beijing City Construction since 1949* (for internal use only).

[4] pailou: A monumental gateway made of one row of columns supporting decorated roof structures, depending on the number of columns, it may have one, three, five or more openings, erected at the entrance to a street, palace, temple, bridge or tomb.

[5] Beijing has four ring roads, running concentrically to one another. The innermost road surrounds the Palace City. The second, third and fourth ring roads are multi lane highways. The outermost road was completed recently. The major road is the Chang'an Avenue running east-west. Two subways run parallel to the Chang'an Avenue and the Zone Two respectively.

[6] Liang Sicheng (1950), 'Discussion about the Question of Preservation or Demolition Beijing Citywall.' *New Construction*, Vol. 2, No. 6.

[7] Beijing City Plan Institute (1992), *Beijing City Planning (1991-2010)* (internal report).

Liao   Jin   Yuan   Ming-Qing
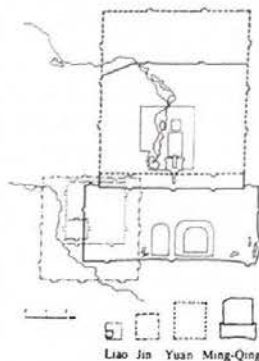
Figure 1 Beijing through History
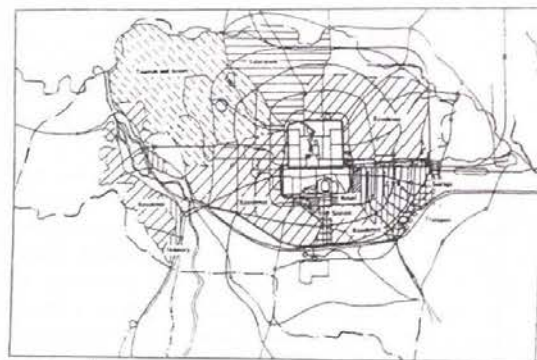
Figure 2 Beijing Plan, 1953
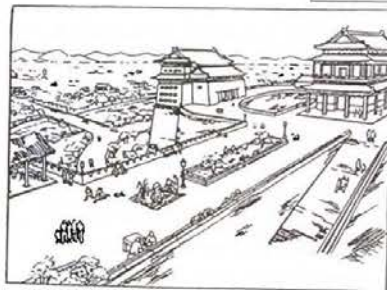
Figure 3   Liang's proposal of making Beijing citywall into a continuos garden

311

Modernisation in the Colonies: the Garden City Movement in New Zealand

Professor Errol Haarhoff
Department of Architecture
University of Auckland
Private Bag 92019
Auckland, New Zealand

Those New Zealanders who are sufficiently wide awake to the advantages and benefits of Town Planning, have recently had a feast of lantern slides and information given to them by Messrs. Davidge and Reade who have just passed through this Dominion on a mission to spread the Town Planning movement from the Garden Cities & Town Planning Association of England. It is not to be expected that such a mission would attract enormous crowds, but those who went to hear the lectures with their minds open, cannot have failed to get a greater insight into this modern movement for the betterment of the people.
(Editorial comment, *Building Progress*, August 1914).

This extract is from a report published in *Building Progress* on a 1914 lecture tour of New Zealand by William Davidge (a Planner from London) and Charles Reade (later appointed Chief Town Planner of South Australia). The *modern movement* that was to *better the lives of people* reflected the proposals of the Garden City and Town Planning Association of England, under whose auspices Davidge and Reade spoke. The Association had been inspired by one of their founder-members, Ebenezer Howard who had published *'Garden Cities of To*-morrow' in 1902[1], building on many earlier 19th century visionaries who were seeking social, political and physical solutions to the appalling conditions that arose in cities consequent to the industrial revolution. Robert Owen (1771-1858) was among many industrialists at that time who sought to provide his workers with decent housing, social services and moral guidance. He argued that it was '...better to put the poor and unemployed to useful work than to have the burden of poor relief, and since character was a consequence of the material environment, only by making a decent environment could society produce decent people' (Houghton-Evans, 1975:36). His 'utopian' community of 800-1200 inhabitants surrounded by 1500 acres of agricultural land (the Village of Unity and Mutual Co-operation), possesses characteristics subsequently modelled by Howard. This included the deterministic notion that health and happiness were causally related to the material quality of the physical environment, and that the country-side offered a better opportunity for achieving this. Also demonstrated in the 19th century factory towns was the reality that industry could successfully operate in the countryside. Arguing for combining the advantages of the *town* with that of the *countryside* led Howard to his well-known 'magnets' diagram, that is a key concept to his Garden City.

Notwithstanding the apparent unity between the Garden City movement and Town Planning advocacy presented by Davidge and Reade in their New Zealand lectures,

there was at that time a deep division on these issues in England. Howard's proposal involved the construction of new self-sufficient towns with predetermined maximum populations, located in the countryside as an alternative to the seemingly inexorable growth of the established urban areas. The Garden City and Town Planning Association, on the other hand, had argued that city extension could be carried out on *'Garden City lines'*, (in a manner that Unwin and Parker had done in their design of Hampstead *Garden Suburb*). Charles Purdom takes up this issue in his 1913 book, *Garden Cities*:

> *We often hear the expression, "Town-planning on Garden City lines," but the phrase in the sense in which it is used, i.e. in connection with the growth of suburbs, is an absurdity. Town-planning on Garden City lines is the planning of new small towns. It is nothing else. The fact that the new suburbs appropriate part of the name of the new town, and even allow themselves to imitate certain details of its development, is, perhaps, a compliment to the Garden City, but it is nothing more. What is essential in Garden City is not town-planning.*

Elsewhere he comments that 'Mr Burns's Act (a reference to the 1909 Housing and Town Planning Act in the UK) sets up machinery for the extension of towns and, like the garden *suburbs*, maintains the very thing which Garden City declares to be fundamentally wrong. It was to put an end to the extension of towns and the building of suburbs that Garden City was founded', and proclaimed that he had '...regretted the day that the Garden City Association weakened its good wine with the water of town planning'.

The Christchurch architect, Samuel Hurst Seager was among those who heard the lecture given by Davidge and Reade on their New Zealand tour of 1914. Hurst Seager had trained as an architect in London between 1882-84 at the time Arts and Crafts represented the *avant garde* in architecture and design, and Bedford Park was being developed. He returned to Christchurch to reinterpret these ideas in New Zealand, and designed in 1902 a housing development, the *'Spur'*, at Sumer, Christchurch modelled on the Bedford Park idea (Lochhead, 1988). Without reference to Garden Cities, Hurst Seager writes in 1911 that he welcomes the proposed adoption of town planning legislation in New Zealand, but doubts that this will guarantee that cities will be beautiful (Hurst Seager, 1911). This reflected his advocacy at that time for the City Beautiful movement in New Zealand. Reference, however, is made to the Garden City, and in particular, Letchworth, by the editor of an edition of Building Progress in 1913, which is followed by the visit of Davidge and Reade in the following year. It would appear that Hurst Seager engages with the garden City movement as a consequence of the Davidge/Reade lectures.

Following his own agenda, Charles Reade returned to Australia to be involved in two Planning Conferences, the first in Adelaide in 1917, followed by one in Brisbane in 1818. Hurst Seager attended the 1918 conference, representing the government of New Zealand. He presented a paper, arguing for the construction of 'Garden Cities and Villages' to provide the Australasian nations with a means to settle soldiers returning from the War, illustrating his concept with a Howard-like diagram. He also published an extensive report on the proceedings, which included a reproduction of Raymond Unwin diagram from his 1912 article, *Nothing Gained by Overcrowding*, to which

---

[1] Originally published in 1898 as *Tomorrow - a Peaceful Path to Reform*

Hurst Seager (1919: 20) adds the following caption:

The Garden City Principle applied to Suburbs: Mr Raymond Unwin here illustrates the application of the garden-city principle of a belt of green encircling the whole community to the extension of new suburbs. The suburbs on the left are seen separated from the city by belts of land, which will remain open for all time. On the right is the factory area, served by the railway and wharves.

Hurst Seager used both the experience of the Brisbane conference and his influence to persuade the New Zealand government sponsor a Town Planning conference in Wellington in 1919. As in Brisbane, an underlying agenda was for New Zealand to promulgate Town Planning Legislation[2], but in Wellington, Hurst Seager also repeated his call for the New Zealand Government to build Garden Cities, to accommodate and rehabilitate servicemen then returning from World War 1. On the question of town planning, the opening address by the Acting Prime Minister, Sir James Allen must have been a disappointment. With little more than passing reference to Town Planning and a reminder to the delegates that they should not `forget art' in their deliberations, he went on to use the conference as a political platform to rally support for the building of War Memorials in foreign lands. But other officials must have been more to the liking of Hurst Seager and his agenda. Russell (the Minister of Internal Affairs to for whom he had written the Report on the Brisbane Conference), spoke of a need to establish Town Planning in New Zealand:

Great Britain has realised her mistake, and during recent years town planning associations and activities have been strongly in evidence. As a result various garden towns have been laid off, suburbs have been created for the purpose of improving conditions, and higher standard of living for the masses is being looked for. (Proceedings, 1919)

The Minister also noted that whereas the Municipal Corporations Acts in New Zealand provides for 'some provision for the abolition of insanitary areas...' , there was no legislation for '...securing that new towns shall be located, planned and laid off on lines which will secure to the inhabitants of the future an ideal condition, as regards healthfulness of situation, sanitation, drainage, water supply, and the laying-off of suitable parks and recreational places. Yes I think it will be recognised that upon these things all town planning should be based' (Proceedings, 1919). The consequences of outmoded legislation was address by another Government official, von Haast (Proceedings, 1919:88): 'Nowadays the gridiron type of plan is universally condemned and abandoned by the great authorities on town-planning. Look at any plan of the garden city and it will be seen that it is the diagonal and curving streets that gives them their charm.'

The enthusiasm for Garden Cities in New Zealand, however, was dampened by some doubters. Salmond (Proceedings 1919: 127) raise a question about the extent to which conditions in New Zealand were similar to those in the Britain, and therefore the extent to which the British solutions were appropriate. On the question of Hurst Seager's suggestion that the Garden Villages should be built for the repatriation of returning servicemen, Salmond retorted that " it is a pity that soldiers who wished to be farmers apparently also desired to have the advantages of the city. County life has its own attractions apart from those of the city. ...All that should be necessary would be to provide the soldier with the land to work...It was a mistake to encourage the soldier to expect to have the amenities of city life while working on his farm in the country'.

Hurst Seager, in his address, also used the occasion to propose a resolution (unanimously adopted): 'That this annual meeting is in favour of a special propaganda being started throughout the country with a view to impressing upon local authorities...the importance of applying the complete garden-city principles to the schemes of reconstruction which are to be undertaken after the war'. (Proceedings: 1919: 115) He must have been disappointed nevertheless that in the competition organised for the Conference, there were no entries in the Garden City design categories, but a Silver and a Bronze medal was awarded respectively to H.G Helmore and Miss A Sleigh, both of Christchurch, for their *Garden Suburb* designs.

Immediately following the 1919 Wellington conference, Hurst Seager (letter 6/6/1919) wrote to Ebenezer Howard claiming that 'it is the result of your work...which has induced the Dominions to seriously consider garden city activity', and reports on his proposals for 'Garden Villages', and his desire to meet with Howard. In the same month he also wrote to Raymond Unwin (letter 18/06/1919), to whom he sent a copy of his Brisbane conference report, and a desire to also met with him.[3]

In 1920 Hurst Seager designed *Drury Hill Garden Suburb* in Wanganui. With a site set on a hill, it uniquely had an elevator to transport residents from the foot of the hill to its summit. The lay-out had a system of curvilinear roads organised around internal parks and gardening allotments, but lacked the 'park belt' consider mandatory by Howard and Unwin. It was Hurst Seager's intention to control development to achieve aesthetic aims. But as Schrader (1993) comments, the developers sold sections without the restrictions and conditions to enforce Hurst Seager's intentions, and Drury Hill became little more that a subdivisional plan for quarter acre lots.

In 1925 the New Zealand Government did sponsor two competitions for the design of 'Garden Suburbs', in Auckland at Orakei, and in Wellington at Lower Hutt, and both entries submitted by Hammond were placed first.[4] The Plans of both submissions, and to a greater extent in the Orakei submission, exhibited a planning arrangement that had 'garden suburb' features of the kind Unwin prescribed. But absent is any reference to a 'park belt'. The Orakei scheme combines axial main streets and curvilinear residential roads, something lacking in the far less distinguished plan for Lower Hutt. But most remarkable is the observation that the architect's own account of his winning schemes published in 1925 which makes no reference to garden Cities or suburbs, or to the work of others including Hurst Seager, with the accounts being restricted solely to technical descriptions and attributes of his projects. (Hammond. 1925)

The New Zealand Government did not promulgate Town Planning Legislation until

---

[3] Hurst Seager and Raymond Unwin exchanged letter between 1919 and 1927, culminating in an undertaking (not fulfilled by Unwin) to visit New Zealand and Australia in 1929.

1926, and Garden Cities were never built. But, as Ferguson (1994:88) reports cheap government housing loans and the release of Crown land on the outskirts cities in New Zealand, resulted in what she describes as a 'frenzy of speculative development' in the 1920's. She comments further:

> The emphasis on subdivision and expansion meant that subdividers paid only lip-service to the ideas of the garden city and town-planning movements. Suburban local authorities were keen to promote subdivision, and made few demands. Estates were usually subdivided on a grid pattern, any hint of a curved street lay-out or a (park) bringing boasts that the estate was organised on the most progressive town-planning lines. (Ferguson 1994:88)

Such a boasts can be witnessed in the sales brochure for the Tamaki Garden Suburb (designed by Evans who was place second for his entry to the 1925 Orakei Garden Suburb competition). Tamaki was essentially a subdivisional plan with roads laid out in concentric semi-circles crudely truncated where the outer circles meets the river estuary. There is no park belt, no curvilinear roads, and no unified built form. The Garden City and the Garden Suburb became reduced to a marketing slogan.

In 1935, the election of the first Labour Government in New Zealand, saw the introduction of a public housing programme, which utilised the Garden Suburbs competition layouts of Orakei and Lower Hutt for first state housing projects in New Zealand. Whilst these followed the original *Garden Suburb* layouts, new influence were being felt from America, in the work of Perry and Stein with the concept of the Neighbourhood Unit fast became an overriding concern into the 40's, 50's and 60's.

References

Davidge, W R 'The Town Planning Conference: A Review' , *RIBA Journal*, 22 October, 1910, pp775-782

Davidge, W.R. 'Town Planning in Australia and New Zealand', *RIBA Journal*, vol XXII, July 1915, pp437-448.

Ferguson, G. *Building the New Zealand Dream*, Palmerston North: The Dunmore Press, 1994.

Freestone, R. *Model Communities: the Garden City Movement in Australia*, Melbourne: Nelson, 1989.

Hammond, R.B., 'Orakei Garden Suburb Competition Report', *NZIA Journal*, September, 1925, pp101-104

Hammond, R.B., 'Borough of Lower Hutt Town Planning Scheme", *NZIA Journal*, November 1925, PP 129-132

Heath, P.M. (ed) *A Record of the Town Planning Exhibition and Proceedings of the Conference of the Manchester & District Joint Planning Advisory Committee*, Manchester: Henry Blacklock, 1922

Houghton-Evans, W *Planning Cities: Legacy and Portent* London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1978.

Hurst Seager, S, *Report on the Brisbane Town-Planning Conference and Exhibition and their bearing on Town-Planning in the Dominion*, Wellington: Government Printer, 1919.

Lochhead, I J 'The Architectural Art of Samuel Hurst Seager", *Art NZ*, No 44, pp92-98. 1988

Osborn, F.J. (ed) *Ebenezer Howard Garden Cities of Tomorrow*, London: Faber and Faber, 1946.

Perry, C. 'The Neighbourhood Unit' in *Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs*: *Vol VII* New York, 1929.

Purdom, C. B. *The Garden City* London: J M Dent, 1913.

Proceedings of the 1st New Zealand Town Planning Conference, Wellington, 20-23 May, 1991, Government Printer.

Schrader, B., Garden Cities and Planning, *New Zealand Historic Places*, September 1993, pp30-33

Unwin, R. "The Planning of the Residential Districts of Towns', *RIBA Journal*, Congress Number, 1906, pp vi-lvii

Unwin, R. *Nothing Gained by Overcrowding*, London: Garden City and Town Planning Association, 1912.

Letters referred to held in the National Archives, Wellington.

"A Telegram from the Queen": The Centenary of Modern Planning

Peter Hall
The Bartlett School of Architecture and Planning
University College London
London, UK

Perhaps it should be a telegram from the President; perhaps in Australia it soon will be. However commemorated, the modern planning movement effectively commemorates its centenary year in 1998. It was in October 1898 that Ebenezer Howard published the original edition of *To-Morrow!*, soon to be republished under the more familiar title of *Garden Cities of Tomorrow*. And, though there were other important foundation stones of the modern planning movement, surely without doubt this was the most significant. It was not of course the birth of town planning, which had occurred millennia before that in the cities of the Middle East. But it was the effective birth of the modern planning movement: a significantly different movement, distinguished by its social purpose.

Rather remarkably, we can consider this century in the form of five snapshot pictures, taken almost exactly a quarter century apart.

1898: The first is of course 1898 itself. That year not only saw publication of Howard's tome, but of Kropotkin's influential *Fields Factories and Workshops*. In London the London Country Council were planning, and were just about to build, the first peripheral housing estate at Totterdown Fields. Patrick Geddes was conducting his early experiments in community self-help in the slums of Edinburgh, and was inviting speakers to his summer schools. It is significant that all were British, either by birth or adoption. The birth of modern planning took place in London and in Edinburgh.

For all these people, housing was the central question. They sought an answer to the problems of overcrowded urban slums - but also, in the case of both Howard and Kropotkin, to the problems of the depressed and depopulating countryside. The answer would be central urban renewal at lower densities, accompanied by new garden cities and garden suburbs on green fields; these would be built either by public agencies, or by voluntary groups based on the principle of cooperation. The planning movement was an outgrowth of the housing reform and land reform movement, and remained firmly coupled to it. The means to this planned dispersion would be the new technologies of electric power and low-cost public transport, above all the electric tramway.

Remarkably soon after 1898, the first actual experiments were under way: at Letchworth and Hampstead Garden City, and in the early LCC estates; at Margarethenhöhe and Hellerau in Germany. And the original impetus extended over at least a quarter century, culminating in the ideas of the Regional Planning Association of America, which in the 1920s effectively married the ideas of Howard, Kropotkin and Geddes into a central vision of decentralised communities in the distant countryside, powered by electricity and accessible through the private automobile.

1922-3: Almost exactly a quarter-century later, though the RPAA was developing the original British concepts into a new American synthesis, the main developments were on the European mainland. Le Corbusier was publishing his Voisin Plan, proposing that central Paris should be razed to the ground and replaced by a new world of cruciform towers and multi-lane freeways. Ernst May was being appointed as Architect-Planner of Frankfurt am Main, there to develop his satellite towns. In Berlin Martin Wagner was collaborating with other leading architects of the Federal Republic - Hugo Häring, Hans Scharoun, Walter Gropius - on a set of new housing developments which resolutely employed the Bauhaus principles of design for living. Vienna was at work on its great series of housing projects, most notably the Karl Marx Hof, which became so influential that it directly influenced similar developments in London and elsewhere. Henri Sellier was designing the first Paris cités-jardins along similar lines; in Amsterdam H.P. Berlage was laying out the great Amsterdam South scheme.

All these developments, though sometimes they confusingly adopted the garden city label, were quite different from the original British formulation. Though for the most part peripherally-located, they were essentially quite high-density schemes taking the form of terraces, quite often with a high admixture of apartment blocks. They were planned as an integral part of the city and were connected to it by good public transport. They stemmed from a very distinct continental style of urban apartment living, and although they were imitated in British slum clearance schemes (as in the LCC's Ossulston Street estate in the late 1920s), they did not become the norm there. What they did have in common with the British housing schemes of the same era was motivation and agency: they were essentially social housing schemes, built either by municipal agencies or by cooperative-type housing associations. The link between housing and planning remained the key, as Catherine Bauer stressed in her influential book *Modern Housing* in 1934.

The United States in this period married high hopes and great disappointments. The vision of the RPAA was not realised; Rexford Tugwell's plan for Greenbelt cities was effectively truncated by a conservative Congress, and the TVA became essentially a power generation and agricultural extension scheme. In Australia Griffin's plan for Canberra was continually stalled by disagreements and rivalries; elsewhere, as in the United States, the prevailing ethos was to assist suburban development by private enterprise.

1945-52: The years immediately after World War II saw an unprecedented burst of planning activity, especially concentrated in Europe: in the UK, the publication in 1945 of Abercrombie's *Greater London Plan*, the 1946 New Towns Act and the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act; in Copenhagen, the Fingerplan of 1948; in Stockholm, the Generalplan of 1952. This activity was overwhelmingly driven by the motivation for comprehensive postwar reconstruction of bomb damage and (in some cases exclusively) of outworn slum housing; in effect it represented a continuation or completion of the earlier movements after a long delay brought about by the great depression and the war. Again, carried over from these earlier waves, there was the same emphasis on comprehensive schemes of urban renewal and construction of new communities by public agencies; the underlying assumption was that this was all part of a comprehensive programme to create a welfare state, administered by well-meaning public professionals -

invariably, architect-planners - with little public involvement.

Driven by the huge housing backlog in most European countries, and further by the postwar and subsequent baby booms, the resultant programme of construction lasted fully a quarter of a century, until the end of the 1960s; it produced many of the landmarks of the twentieth-century planning movement, including the comprehensive reconstruction of London's East End, the Mark One British new towns and the Stockholm satellite communities. Further, these represented a consistent ethos of growth-oriented comprehensive planning, in which public planning took the lead and the private sector was reduced to a residual role.

There were few parallels outside Europe, although South Australia built a UK-style new town at Elizabeth, and later on the United States saw occasional private-enterprise new towns (Reston and Columbia outside Washington DC; Irvine in California). Large-scale American urban renewal, beginning in the 1950s, effectively uprooted ethnic communities without creating any effective means for overspill; in the worst instances, as in Chicago, the very poor were segregated in ghetto-style housing projects within the inner city.

1973-5: Approximately another quarter-century later, a remarkable disjuncture occurred in these same countries, and indeed worldwide. It was a change in *Zeitgeist* coinciding with the arrival of the postwar "baby boomers" into active political and public life, and it was first marked by the remarkable public manifestations on university campuses in the late 1960s. Essentially this generation, for the most part reared in postwar affluence, rejected many of the values of its parents: comprehensive reconstruction and construction, large-scale development and automobility were now seen as positively bad, and the prevailing slogan, borrowed from the influential environmental campaigner E.P. Schumacher, was *Small is Beautiful*. Protection of the environment now became a basic imperative, following the immensely influential 1972 Club of Rome report, *The Limits to Growth*. Underlying this was a general hostility to the advanced capitalist system and a desire for a return to simpler lifestyles, coupled with deep paranoia about the ways in which the system was managed by professional technocracies. One principal result for planning, first evident in the United States but rapidly spreading worldwide, was a demand for bottom-up advocacy-style planning in which professionals acted as servants to local communities. This marked the point at which public participation in planning first became a major issue, particularly in the United Kingdom and the United States.

There was an interesting parallel in the developing world, where the British planner John Turner, heavily influenced by the kind of anarchist thinking that had permeated the origins of the modern planning movement, first proposed self-build site-and-service housing in Latin America; in affect, a legalization and planned organization of the urban occupation movements that had taken place on a large scale in these cities in the 1950s and 1960s, a result of movement off the land. Rather remarkably, it soon became orthodoxy in the World Bank, which saw it as a low-cost and effective alternative to bureaucratically-organized public housing schemes. By the 1980s, such schemes were proliferating throughout the fast-growing cities of the developing world.

These themes continued to re-echo throughout the 1970s and indeed beyond. They appeared to represent effectively the beginnings of a new political platform, and in Germany the Green Party had considerable success in local elections for some cities. During the 1980s they existed rather anomalously side-by-side with right-wing movements stressing economic liberalism and freedom from control, which in the United Kingdom resulted in an ultimately futile attempt to scale down the planning system. Effectively it could be said that planning constituted one of the dimensions on which a new political division was being forged in advanced countries, replacing traditional class movements and interests.

On one issue both sides agreed: on the need to regenerate decaying urban economies by injecting new activities. But the two sides disagreed both on the objectives and on the mechanisms: the left suggested the revival of the traditional economy and the use of democratic mechanisms which clearly gave the predominant weight to existing interests; the right proposed the creation of new urban economic bases through private real estate development supported by public infrastructure, using mechanisms which bypassed elected local councils. Both mechanisms produced results: the city of Rotterdam successfully redeveloped its waterfront, Salford in Greater Manchester did the same, while in New York, London and many other British cities urban development corporations achieved very similar impacts.

1998: One hundred years after Howard, people in the advanced capitalist countries live in a very different world from his: one in which the great majority have achieved relative affluence, albeit with some reduction in security compared with the 1960s, and in which as a result they have a considerable stake in their own homes and their own local environments. One result is that, for the first time since the beginning of the modern planning movement, housing and planning have become decoupled: the so-called housing question has shrunk to the provision for an unfortunate minority, as in fact it has been from the start in the United States and to a considerable degree in Australia.

Perhaps to a greater degree than ever before, there is now a divergence between the advanced industrial (or post-industrial) nations. In the United States and many parts of Europe, the main emerging question has been the continued out-migration of people and economic activity from the cities to the suburbs and the countryside, leading to the emergence of areas of concentrated multiple deprivation in the cities; and these in turn have become a negative element encouraging further out-migration by the affluent majority.

Coupled with the rapid growth in household numbers in these countries - a product less of population growth than of household fission through more young people leaving home, divorce and separation, and longer periods of widowhood - this brings a central dilemma for strategic planning: how far is it desirable and possible to repopulate and reanimate the cities for affluent households, thus promoting the objective of sustainable development, or alternatively how will it be possible to secure the necessary greenfield developments. Thus, against a totally transformed economic and social backcloth, the issues seem strangely similar to those of a century before; not least because rising agricultural productivity has again rendered substantial areas of countryside superfluous

for farming.

These issues have less resonance in North America and in Australia, with their lower densities and traditions of suburbanization. But there are international trends shared by all the advanced nations: the stress on sustainable urban development; related to this, the attempt by some architect-planners to assert a more compact style of development (the "new urbanism" in the United States); the increasing stress in every country on preservation and conservation of historic buildings and entire urban districts, which over thirty years has spread from a few countries to embrace countries and cities formerly immune, as in Pacific Asia.

Historic preservation at the district level: retrospect and prospect

David Hamer
Department of History
Victoria University of Wellington
Wellington
New Zealand

Origins

The "historic district" strategy has become a principal feature of the modern historic preservation movement. The purpose of this paper is to survey the development of this phenonemon in the United States, explain why it became so popular, and consider recent trends in the management of heritage at the district level.

The large-scale district orientation of modern historic preservation in the United States is principally a consequence not only of adverse reactions to the impacts of urban renewal in the 1950s and 1960s but also of opportunities opened up by urban renewal programmes which included assistance for the retention, protection, and restoration of existing housing and neighbourhoods. In 1965 a landmark publication in the history of historic preservation, *With Heritage So Rich*, declared that the preservation movement must go beyond saving individual historic buildings and called for concern for the "total heritage". Its recommendation that a national register be created that would include not only buildings, sites and structures but also districts was implemented in the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, which created the National Register of Historic Places. After 1966, within the framework created by the National Historic Preservation Act and by state initiatives, there was a strong trend towards making districts the protective shell around threatened structures of historic value.

During the 1970s and 1980s historic preservation moved from its traditional concern with individual structures to an emphasis on the contexts of structures. Now the focus is increasingly on preserving areas in which there are no individual buildings that would have been considered worthy of preservation in accordance with traditional criteria. Increasingly it has been the district itself that matters.

Reasons for the popularity of Historic Districts as a format for historic preservation

• The creation of a Historic District and the establishment of appropriate controls have often appealed as the most efficient form of management of the resources that had traditionally been the focus of historic preservation:

individual structures. Looking after individual buildings at a dozen different locations over a large city is very difficult and expensive. The channelling of federal funding for historic preservation into neighbourhood contexts revolutionised the possibilities and made it a great deal more feasible to leave buildings *in situ* and attend to the preservation or restoration of their environments.

• In many communities urban redevelopment had left landmark buildings dangerously exposed and vulnerable. Placement in a "heritage village" was not an option for saving landmarks such as town halls, courthouses, and churches. Concentrating on individual structures ignored what was happening to their contexts and settings. Many preservationists have been converted to the district approach as it has become clear that a focus on individual buildings is too narrow and that it would be in the interests of the survival of individual structures themselves that an effort be made to protect their contexts. Once contexts deteriorate or are transformed into the settings for incompatible buildings or activities, buildings can lose much of their meaning. They are then more vulnerable because their historical meanings are much harder to understand.

There was a rapid growth in the number of Historic Districts after 1966. Reasons for this included:

• The federal tax credit regime established in 1976 by the Tax Reform Act. Tax credits encouraged and rewarded investment in the rehabilitation not merely of individual structures but of large numbers of structures within districts. The development of Historic Districts since has closely followed the fortunes of federal policy on tax credits, which has undergone repeated changes.
• The growth in the resources, knowledge and expertise available to achieve preservation on this scale.
• The interest of many places in exploiting heritage to attract tourists, even to the extent of becoming another 'Williamsburg'.
• The trend towards mass production of Historic Districts, one of the principal reasons for which has been the stereotyping of the history that they represent.

Protecting and strengthening the fabric of neighbourhoods and communities have been major reasons for Historic District designations.

• Preservationists have learned that coalitions with city planners are one of the most effective and necessary strategies for the achievement of preservation objectives. And, because city planners work at the level of districts and zones rather than individual structures, historic preservationists have found themselves being drawn into the same spheres of action. Their energies too have had more and more to be focused into district and neighbourhood stabilisation, preservation and rehabilitation.
• Local Historic District designation has provided a means to protect properties from intrusions that threaten to disturb the established character of

a neighbourhood, e.g. the growth of nearby metropolitan areas, which often threatens to overwhelm the traditional character of small, hitherto relatively separate and isolated communities.
• The restoration of pride in a community has been linked to the restoration of buildings and districts whose features exemplify eras when there was pride and confidence. It is often stated, or at least implied in much preservation activity, that there is a relationship between buildings and levels of economic optimism. The idea is that somehow the mood of the original boosters might rub off today via a restoration of the buildings which they created to display their wealth and their confidence in their town's future.
• Historic Districting has been a component in strategies to strengthen community and permanence as against the impermanence associated with Americans' rootlessness and restlessness, the "frontier" side of the American experience. In Historic Districts the transience that has been so prominent a part of American life and has been lamented by some as corrosive of community values is ignored or countered in a number of ways. The emphasis is on evidence, derived from history, of commitment to community.
• Concern for restoring the strength and vitality of the neighborhood as a fundamental unit in American cities, especially when planners in the 1970s elevated territory to being the pre-eminent element in the definition of a neighbourhood. The Historic District provided a historical dimension for this.
• Historic Districts appealed as models of how districts could be better organised. They became a resource. The development of Historic Districts coincided with and influenced the emergence of new thinking as to how urban districts in general could be better structured. Kevin Lynch's *The Image of the City* (1960) was particularly influential in this regard. He took the recently established Historic District of Beacon Hill, Boston, as a good example of a neighbourhood that was effectively structured in the terms of the criteria that he had been emphasising.
• Historic Districts have been a resource for community rehabilitation in that they embody various examples and models of community structure that, for a number of reasons, are believed to have worked well in the past.
• They have been a form of usable history. They are often an outcome of a strategy to use the past to help a town, city, or neighbourhood cope with the challenges of the present and future. Creating pride in community, and a sense of community identity and "uniqueness", has been a constant theme in justifications for seeking Historic District development. Making the business district a Historic District, and taking advantage of tax credits, have been major components in many Main Street rehabilitation strategies.
• Gentrification. Groups of residents concerned about actual, impending, or threatened changes to the character of their neighbourhood have often sought the protection afforded by Historic District designation. In many restored districts the people seeking this are not the descendants of the people who actually made the history and built and lived in the houses. They are the

owners of properties which they have restored, and they are interested in protecting their investments through the maintenance of an overall "historic" character for the neighbourhood. They have invested a great deal of time and capital in the restoration of their houses. A common pattern has been for outsiders to start buying property for renovation and then put pressure on the city authority to establish a local Historic District with architectural controls and design review process. The marketability of a historic ambience has been a major feature of the relationship between Historic District development and gentrification. Districts that have a "historic" image and atmosphere, or can be enabled to acquire one through such devices as Historic District designation, have had a strong appeal for the "gentrifiers".

• The design review and control processes associated with local Historic Districts have had a considerable appeal.

Some consequences:

• Once a Historic District is created, there is often a diffusion of its influence. A significant spillover effect into contiguous areas — "creeping Old Townism" — has been observed.

• The boundaries are permeable from the opposite direction as well. Historic Districts increasingly are functioning as a sort of island or refuge, drawing into themselves unwanted and endangered buildings from other areas. (Beasley, 231)

• When a locality is designated a Historic District, it receives not only boundaries but also a name. This is another distinguishing feature, a form of boundary. This may be the first time that a district has had such a clearcut and authorised identity.

Problems have included:

• Boundaries. As the determining of Historic Districts reached out beyond the fairly easily defined confines of individual structures, the fixing of appropriate and defensible boundaries became a complex matter. This was all the more so as interest developed, via the writings of Kevin Lynch, for instance, in mental or cognitive maps, that is maps drawn by people that reveal the associations that particular buildings and landmarks have for them in a city environment. Elasticity of boundaries derives also from people's less easily definable notions of the dimensions of their neighbourhoods. Neighbourhoods are not neatly self-contained entities. They overlap and interrelate, and people's perceptions of what is their neighbourhood will vary considerably according to their personal circumstances and experience. The boundaries of Historic Districts often reflect political constraints and tactical considerations and exclude, at least initially, institutions and property-owners who resist inclusion. Political and strategic considerations have had a good

deal more to do with determining the shape and content of Historic Districts than purely historical aspects.

• There has also been concern over the possible social impacts of the creation and enforcement of boundaries. There is a danger in particular of repeating and reinforcing the extreme social differentiation which was a feature of suburbanisation. Historic District boundaries and their often explicit physical representations may reinforce this tendency.

• The risk that other areas that are thereby seemingly classified as non-"historic" may be neglected or even abandoned as regards historic preservation attention. The alternative is an integrated city-wide approach to planning in which the historic character of every district is identified and placed into the mix of features which are to be the basis of determination of their overall character. The problem about this is that there are many features of the past of a district that most people now would rather see obliterated than preserved on "historical" grounds. Examples include poverty, racial segregation, and the "deterioration" which urban renewal itself was designed to remove.

Trends

• New formats for historic preservation have been emerging. An example is the growth — or revival — in popularity of the concept of the historic park, reconceptualised under the particular influence of Disneyland as a theme park, a setting for entertainment, recreation, and the presentation of history in theatrical and staged formats. At Disneyland several historical themes were used to create idealised settings at least one of which, Main Street, has been seen as having a substantial influence on Historic District development itself. (Francaviglia, 142-76). There was a thematic approach inherent in the development of Historic Districts from the beginning. Establishment criteria have emphasised predominant periods, associations with famous people, and historic events. In many of the classic Historic Districts, a theme has been identified which has been made the determining influence on the district's historic environment and ambience. Film companies have come to value Historic Districts as settings for their movies.

• Various kinds of fake, replica and manufactured Historic Districts have emerged. "Olde Townes", colonial villages, and many variations on such themes have proliferated.

• There is a growing tendency to move threatened buildings from other areas into Historic Districts to supplement the old houses that constitute the original core. In part this is designed to fortify and entrench the overall "historic" environment of these districts. It has proved to be difficult to avoid this when there are pressures on isolated buildings outside a protected zone. Pressures are certain to arise for alternative uses of portions of a district which appear to be only marginally worth protecting in "historic" terms. A strategy of enhancing and strengthening "historic" character is often an imperative in these circumstances.

• Attempts have been made to create heritage areas that are larger than the traditional Historic District. Examples are the Heritage State Parks in Massachusetts, the Urban Cultural Parks in New York State, and the Blackstone River Valley. Preservationists have had to take into account that their town planning allies deal with larger units than the small neighbourhoods which have so far been the basic kind of Historic District. As the units covered in planning become more regional in scope, historic preservation has had little option but to follow this trend, given the closeness of its integration into urban and metropolitan planning.

Conclusion

From the vantage-point of the late 1990s, the Historic District appears as a phenomenon born out of and then nurtured in particular historical circumstances. It emerged in the 1960s from the reactions to the devastations caused to the historic fabric of innumerable urban communities by programmes of urban renewal and improvement and the construction of freeways. It took off in the 1970s for a variety of reasons including the availability of tax credits, the desire of gentrifiers and also longer-term residents of older city districts to protect their environments and properties, the rise of "heritage" tourism stimulated by the 1976 Bicentennial, the growth of concern for the rehabilitation of neighbourhoods as a basic unit of American society, and the development of the "Main Street" strategy for effecting the revival of older commercial districts. Historic Districts were a form of applied and usable history that was particularly well adapted to the requirements of the age. But have they lost that relevance and applicability? The Historic District format has not been well suited to represent the history of the diversity and incessant change that have characterised most cities. The challenge now for both preservationists and planners is to find ways of preserving — or restoring memory of — the history that is in all districts and not just those where there has happened to survive a particularly cohesive and aesthetically pleasing ensemble of historic structures.

REFERENCES

Ellen Beasley, "New Construction in Residential Historic Districts," in *Old and New Architecture: Design Relationship* (Washington D.C.: The Preservation Press, 1980).
Richard V. Francaviglia, *Main Street Revisited: Time, Space, and Image Building in Small-Town America* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1996).
David Hamer, *History in Urban Places: The Historic Districts of the United States* (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1998).

Gendered spaces? Kitchen cupboards and building sites

Bronwyn Hanna
PhD candidate
Faculty of the Built Environment
University of New South Wales
Sydney New South Wales

This paper forms part of a chapter of my forthcoming PhD entitled "A Historiography of Women Architects". The study proceeds from the observation that women are virtually absent from Australian architectural history and asks, why? The question is interrogated via a complexity of feminist approaches described as liberal feminist, critical feminist and postmodern feminist (Hanna 1995). Broadly speaking, my liberal feminist approach addresses the positivist issues: were there women architects in NSW before 1960, how many, who were they, and what did they do? My critical feminist approach draws on the oral histories of some twenty early women architects in exploring the ways that gender affected their opportunities and careers. My postmodern feminist approach offers an analysis of historic texts about women architects in NSW, with a focus on the extensive self-representations of Florence Taylor, Australia's first woman architect (who qualified in 1902).

This paper comes out of my critical feminist section which explores the proposition that gender has been an organising principle in the architecture profession, and by implication in the production of the built environment. I present a selection of stories mostly told to me by women architects who were practising in NSW before 1960 (there are also several accounts from other sources). One of themes discernible in these stories is that many informants were expected to be able to produce good domestic design - in particular that they could arrange kitchen cupboards much better than men - and that they were expected to encounter difficulties in supervising the erection of buildings "on site". This paper describes how these expectations were manifested and the ways in which women responded to them.

While such attitudes towards women architects probably hindered their careers by sexually segregating their work opportunities, I am also interested in the wider social implications. I suggest that kitchen cupboards and building sites were contested because they were understood to be primarily feminine or masculine spaces - because of their respectively close relationships with the traditional sexual division of labour, which was contradicted by the very existence of women architects. These spaces might also be seen as gendered body metaphors (boxes and erections). The stories provide evidence that, despite possibly good intentions, this built environment profession has not been gender-neutral - concerned only with merit and ability - but has been affected by wider societal presuppositions about what was considered appropriate for men and women in terms of their knowledges, capabilities, behaviours and their "place" in society more generally. How might such presuppositions have affected architectural design and practice in other ways? Such broader issues involve recognition of how the gendering of an institution or a space may have affected our understandings of the production of the built environment. This written paper lays an empirical basis for the more theoretical analysis which will be presented in my spoken conference paper.

Kitchen cupboards

As early as 1910, Florence Taylor was already busy rebutting the expectation that women architects had a special affinity for domestic architecture (Taylor 1910). She wrote a response to a "London journal" which had recently suggested that there was a place in the profession for "lady architects" - to design homes which might satisfy women clients' apparently insatiable desire for cupboards - and which had concluded,

> The woman's place is in the home, though she may be the most hardened, or rather ardent, suffragette. Her place is in the home, and we like to see her there; but we quite agree that she shall build the house according to her own sweet way.

Describing the article as "mere male philosophy", "to decry the woman who... is usurping the man's place", Taylor first asserted women's right to work:

> When women as well as men have to earn their living, why shouldn't they take up a genteel profession, provided they are capable?... [However] a woman who takes up a profession should devote her whole time to it.

She argued that a woman who has undergone years of training has by necessity experienced a "complete estrangement of home duties" such that "the home becomes to her as distant as to a man similarly situated". Apparently responding to the London article's trivialisation of the skills needed for domestic design, she went on to offer a professional outline of the architectural issues involved in designing a house, which concluded with a ringing denouncement of "lady clients" who,

> in their eagerness for cupboard room... cannot be convinced that cupboards are only meant for dirty people, a harbor for mice and vermin, and a collection of dirt and rubbish. The "cupboard crank" generally wants to cover up untidiness...

Taylor's early article suggests the many ways in which the (still ongoing) debate about whether women architects are better at domestic design is loaded. She alludes to the question of the proper "place" for women and men being respectively inside and outside the home; the question of whether women architects could or should maintain their domestic duties and expertise alongside their career duties; the inference that domestic design is somehow easier as well as more appropriate for women, for example by hinging on the arrangement of cupboards; and the entrenched hostility of the professional architect's (masculine) attitude towards housewife clients, which Taylor herself adopts without irony after admitting that she knows as little about the requirements of a home as a male architect.

The debate is also loaded because the proposition that women are better at domestic design assumes that they are not neutral professionals but bring to the profession already gendered knowledges - which exceeds that of men in just one instance, while it is presumably below that of men in all others. As Kathleen Moss commented, "people used to say women should be architects because they know about kitchen cupboards, as if that's all they know about". Judith Ambler noted her women architect friends saying,:

> ... people always used to say to us when we were starting off, "Oh that's good news. There should be more women architects. You know where to put the cupboards in the kitchen". That used to really get us.

And although Constance Crisp felt that "architecture was one profession where we weren't on the outer", still she says, "I used to get terribly sick of being told, 'women are good at designing kitchens' - because I designed very few".

One response to such expectations was Florence Taylor's strategy of arguing that women architects were as ignorant of domestic requirements as men architects, ie they were the same as men. Judy Macintosh and Janine Arundel spoke for many when they stated that they would like to be known simply as architects, not women architects. But weren't women architects affected by their womanliness? Eve Laron notes that all her women architect friends shouldered most of the burden of running family households on top of their careers, a point which has been demonstrated repeatedly in the literature of women in professions (for example, RAIA 1986). Thus the strategy of affirming women architects' sameness to men architects often involved denying that their domestic responsibilities affected their careers. For example, one woman explains that she chose to run a part-time architectural practice from home within school hours, and to turn down any jobs which conflicted with her family responsibilities (which she identified as her first priority) because it was her *individual choice* to have a "low-key" career.

In fact, many women architects in my survey who had children similarly chose to run part-time practices from home. These practices usually specialised in domestic work, both because that scale of design could be best accommodated to a small office and because client networks tended to operate through family, friends and neighbours rather than on a commercial or old-school-tie basis. In addition there probably *was* the added advantage that women architects who were also running their own homes might better understand the needs and requirements of domestic architecture by dint of their own experience. When explaining why she liked doing domestic alterations, Judy Ambler offered an apt metaphor, suggesting that the familiarity with domesticity might produce an expertise enriched by its processes as well as its content:

> It's almost like, I always think, like opening the fridge and finding a few little oddments in there and then turning it into something that's really nice. It's got the same sort of challenge.

Ellice Nosworthy's sister Cecily Gunz still lives in a house designed for her by Nosworthy in 1939. With great pride she showed me the intact kitchen which was deliberately small, designed with the housewife in mind to "be able to stand in the middle and reach everywhere" and with generous cupboard space reaching right to the ceiling: "It's wonderful". According to Gunz, Nosworthy would take great account of her clients' wishes and compromise aesthetic principles if necessary. Far from seeing women or indeed men clients as adversaries, they tended to become her very good friends (Hanna 1997). Thus Nosworthy seems to have incorporated her feminine life experiences of domesticity, such as respecting houswives' knowledges and accommodating a diversity of needs and wishes, into her architectural practice in a productive and professional manner.

The arrival of second wave feminism in the 1970s also contributed to the development of new ways to respond to this expectation that women were better at domestic design. Rather than resisting the suggestion that women were different from men, the group of women architects who founded Constructive Women in Sydney in 1984 actively embraced the notion. As founder Eve Laron explained,

All those people keep saying they are just as good as men. To my way of thinking, what you are saying then is "Well, if I can't get a man I would employ a women but otherwise of course I want the genuine article". Quite as good is not good enough. So as far as I'm concerned what we should go for and what we did go for [in Constructive Women], is, we are very different, we should go for and by implication very much better. Come and try us and see. It succeeded beyond and by implication very much better. Come and try us and see. It succeeded beyond expectations. I think it was without any doubt the smartest thing I've ever done in my life.

As a result of this strategy of proclaiming women's difference, Laron's career boomed and many other women in the group have benefited not only from regular publicity but also from meeting and helping each other. Yet it is perhaps not surprising that the group is avoided by many women architects who argue for women's complete equality in the profession with men. They perhaps would like to go to the office without having to face gendered assumptions about their potential and capabilities (which, quite frankly, are likely to be more often negative than positive).

The apparently trivial expectation that women architects would be good at designing kitchen cupboards is shown here to be entwined with several larger issues concerning women's proper place in society and how they should manage the combination of their public and private roles without detracting from their perceived professionalism. The positions outlined here can be seen to fall into the still unresolved feminist debate of the 1980s: should we argue for a feminism of equality or a feminism of difference? Calling for equality seems to entail denying femininity while foregrounding femininity risks denying all-round professional competence. Yet practitioners such as Ambler and Nosworthy offer a middle ground where both feminine knowledge and professional competence can coexist in a productive practice, to the benefit of both the profession and its clients.

Building Sites

Numerous women informants in my survey mentioned that they had encountered the expectation that they would experience difficulties on building sites (ie supervising contractors and builders in the physical construction of a project). Indeed many women architects had been largely prevented from doing site visits. Again it was Florence Taylor who complained as early as 1910 that,

> It is rarely a client will have confidence to put thousands of pounds under the spending judgement of a woman. He, or she, thinks a woman cannot combat with "the tricks of the trade" that architects should know so well. This particular knowledge comes with years of experience, and mostly from inspections under the architect by whom one is employed, but he invariably thinks "drafting" a more congenial occupation for a woman, and never gives her much chance of inspecting. (Taylor 1910 84)

So why were site visits considered uncongenial for a woman architect? Constance Crisp said that her architect uncle had advised her against becoming an architect "because there were no [women's] toilets on site". Zula Nittim remembers being informed at a job interview that the employer didn't like to employ women because "architecture was too heavy". An obvious problem in the early days women's clothing. Florence Taylor mentions "climbing up ladders, in skirts that practically swept the ground" (*Sun Herald* 1/6/1961). Eleanor Cullis-Hill remembers "being sent up ladders last and down first as a courtesy", noting that "Now you wouldn't dream of going on site in anything but trousers". Other women obviously decided early on that dresses simply wouldn't do: Angus Moir recalls that his mother Heather Sutherland wore tailored slacks to site meetings long before it was fashionable for women to wear pants. Several people remember that Ellison Harvie, who in 1946 became the first

Australian woman partner in a major architectural firm (Stephenson & Turner), habitually wore men's suits to work.

Another issue, apparently, was the sheer unexpectedness of finding a woman in authority on a building site. Florence Taylor tells a story of running into the client's friend on a site visit and being offered a tour of the house; she offered to guide him instead (*Orange Leader* 4/9/31). Moya Merrick found that this unexpectedness worked both against and for her. She recalled that with employer Clement Glancey she never made site visits - except on one occasion when she was sent out on her own to ask a foreman if he had any problems. As she remembers it, "The foreman was so flabbergasted to see a woman, I'm sure that was it, that he [said he] had no problems. He couldn't even look at me." The next day she reported back to the office that everything was fine and the foreman called to say that he needed help with the roof. On another occasion when Merrick was self-employed, she found that the builders had added an costly item to their bill which she had to query.

> the manager... was said to be a very difficult man to deal with. So I must tell you I was quaking in my shoes when I went up to Wellington to see him that morning... When he came in it was obvious he had been drinking, and I knew I'd won... We compromised a little but I won the main point. He couldn't cope with a woman so he'd had a few drinks.

There are further examples of the working culture of the building site being affected by women's presence. Margaret Pitt Morison told a story about completing a site visit then going back because she'd forgotten something.

> I heard a piercing whistle... Bill was the foreman, I said "What was that whistle all about?", and he said "Oh just to tell the boys that you were coming back through, so they could modify their language" (Matthews 1991, 113)

Eleanor Cullis-Hill remembers similarly that in the early days, her employer would call out on site, "Women present, women present" in order to warn workers to behave themselves. She didn't mind that or think it was a disadvantage.

The only issue that some of the women themselves seemed to see as a problem on site was managing how to give instructions to the workers (who were assumed by everyone to be men). The brother of Hilary aBeckett thought that she "had difficulties sometimes going out to site and giving orders". Angus Moir considered that it must have been hard for men to take directions from a woman earlier in the century. Ruth Mary felt that being a woman had affected her career insofar as she had had "difficulty in supervision of tradespeople, especially realising they knew more than me". Nina Walmsley found that "some builders tend to think they will do the job their way without consultation, but maybe they have the same attitude to men". Eleanor Cullis-Hill recalls that,

> ahead of my time, I heard of a bricklayer throwing down his trowel and saying "I'm not going to take any instruction from a such and such woman". I never had that done to me.

She said that "you had to have the workmen happy to work with you" but she learned to develop that over time. Margaret Harvey-Sutton used a "protocol, not to speak to the workers but to their supervisor and of course everything went very well. You're just polite to them, and they're polite to you." Margaret Pitt Morison found that things went better if "you don't try to order men around". She believed that,

you can get an awful lot of experience by asking the tradesmen their opinions about things... if they find out that you know what you want to do... and you can say that you want it done that way, you can get it done. (Matthews 1991, 112)

The expectation that women architects would have difficulties on building sites was apparently widespread in NSW and must have had a detrimental effect on many women architects' careers, insofar as they were inhibited from gaining supervision experience. It seems that most women were prepared to give it a go but were largely prevented by a paternal attitude on the part of their male colleagues - who probably feared that the traditional hierarchy of professionals over workers could be compromised by being in conflict with the traditional hierarchy of men over women. Yet women who did manage to get on site generally found that they performed well, especially if given sufficient opportunities to develop skills and protocols for communicating with builders. In fact women have the potential of using feminine skills of politeness, non-confrontationalism and negotiation which could improve the relationship between architects and builders, again to the benefit of the profession and its clients.

This qualitative research, based on the stories of early women architects, suggests as perhaps no other source could that the architecture profession in NSW often assumed that its practitioners brought already gendered knowledges and capabilities to the workplace in Australia, which was also assumed to be gendered in some aspects of its work and its spaces. I discuss the theoretical implications of this evidence when I deliver the second half of this paper in my spoken address to the conference.

References
Hanna, Bronwyn (1995) "Three feminist approaches to the built environment" *Architectural Theory Review* No.1, 1995.
Hanna, Bronwyn (1997) "Ellice Nosworthy" *Architecture Bulletin*, December 1997.
Foucault, Michel (c.1970, first published in French 1966) *The Order of Things* London, Tavistock.
Matthews, Leonie (1991) "An exploratory study of women in Western Australian architecture 1920-1960" B.Arch dissertation, Curtin University.
Royal Australian Institution of Architects (1986) "Women in the Architecture Profession", Report to the Human Rights Commission, November 1986.
Spain, Daphne (1992) *Gendered Spaces*, Chapel Hill & London, University of North Carolina Press.
Taylor, Florence (1910) "Should we have lady architects?" *Building* 12 August 1910, 83-84.

List of women architects quoted in this article:
Hilary aBeckett (nee Lawrence), qualified 1931, interviewed brother Max Lawrence 1997.
Judith Ambler (nee Hall), qualified 1951, interviewed 1994.
Janine Arundel (nee McPhillany), qualified 1963, telephone interview 1998.
Constance Crisp (nee Hughes), qualified 1952, telephone interview 1997.
Eleanor Cullis-Hill (nee Grant), qualified 1938, interviewed 1994.
Eve Laron (nee Biro), qualified 1966, interviewed 1998.
Judith Macintosh (nee Moreau), qualified 1944, interviewed 1998.
Ruth Mary (nee Harvey, married Lucas), qualified 1951, written response to questionnaire 1997.
Moya Merrick, qualified 1943, interviewed 1993.
Margaret Pitt Morison, qualified Western Australia 1924, all remarks from Matthews 1991.
Kathleen Moss (nee Rutherford), qualified 1935, interviewed 1997.
Zula Nittim (nee Goldinberg), qualified 1955, interviewed 1995.
Ellice Nosworthy, qualified 1922, interviewed sister Cecily Gunz 1994.
Irene Selecki (nee Kinal), qualified in Poland 1957, in NSW 1966, interviewed 1997.
Heather Sutherland (married Moir), qualified 1926, telephone interview with son Angus Moir 1997.
Florence Taylor (nee Parsons), qualified 1902, all references from her articles.
Walmsley, Nina (nee Anderson), qualified 1953, telephone interview 1997.

RE-SITING THEATRE

INSIDE-OUT : OUTSIDE-IN : UPSIDE-DOWN

Dorita Hannah
School of Architecture
Victoria University of Wellington
New Zealand

Performance is a public act. Schechner has defined it as *"behaviour heightened, if ever so slightly, and publically displayed; twice behaved behaviour."* [1]

This paper explores the notion of shifting sites for public performance. The Theatre is taken to the streets, the street is then brought back into the theatre and two venues are investigated to test the relationship between the city, the interior and performance.

The Theatre industry, as we have come to know it in New Zealand seems sadly redundant. Company Theatres continue to close their doors leaving practitioners without homes to house their weary hearts. Since Auckland's *Mercury Theatre* closed its doors in 1991 New Zealand has lost the *DownStage Theatre Company, Inside Out Theatre, Theatre at Large,* the *Watershed Theatre* and *Taki Rua Theatre*. Those remaining practitioners depend on available venues which are either highly conventional or highly adaptable. The conventional proscenium arch or end-stage continues to encourage the passivity which proliferates between performers and audience, whilst the adaptable venues lack either architectural character or concern.

Something has to change in order to realign the performing arts in New Zealand. Something has to shift. The shift is political, artistic, commercial and perceptual. Can it also be architectural?

Perhaps the Theatre no longer desires to be housed in the deep interiors of playhouses, with their polite, passive and, too often, deadly products. These are better served for the escapism of cinema, where the dominant screen can better frame and control the action. Rather it wishes to take to the streets where it can challenge not only the explicit frame of the proscenium arch but the multiple and subtle frames of urban architecture and urban culture.

The removal from the conventional stage and seeking of *'found space'* was a major premise behind Peter Brook's 1968 treatise on theatre *'The Empty Space'*. He wrote:

"I can take an empty space and call it a bare stage. A man walks across this empty space whilst someone else is watching him, and this is all we need for an act of theatre to be engaged." [2] The architect Daniel Libeskind suggests; *"a space which is not a space of theatre, but a space to be found , a space which has not been colonised by either planning, architecture or by the history of theatrical production."* [3]

Both these statements from theatre practitioner and architect seek to turn theatrical space inside-out, outside-in and upside-down.

INSIDE-OUT

To declare the Theatre *'redundant'* is to turn it *'out on the street'*. However for it to claim its place it should *'take to the streets'*. This dis-location from the *'proper'* *'property'* of performance re-calls the Carnival and the Riot, re-activating theatre as dangerous and difficult territory; *"where the dismembered body politic would be transformed from an amorphous silent mass into the vociferous equity of the crowd."* [4]

"Carnival! Carnival!" says the revolutionary plumber in Genet's Balcony. *"You know well enough, we ought to beware of it like the plague, since its logical conclusion is death. You know well enough that the carnival that goes to the limit is a suicide!"* [5]

Yet as Schechner points out; *"Festivals and Carnivals are comic theatrical events: comic in desire, even if sometimes tragic in outcome. When people go into the streets en masse they are celebrating life's fertile possibilities. They eat, drink, make theatre, make love, and enjoy each other's companies. They put on masks and costumes, erect and wave banners, not merely to disguise and embellish their ordinary selves, or to flaunt the outrageous, but also to act out the multiplicity that each human life is.* [6]

Tragic or comic, the city becomes utilised as a stage with the surroundings taking on the roles of *'silent characters'*. Spectacles, processions and pageants which move through a city claim the city as a setting and also make a claim for the involvement of all citizens in the theatrical event. This model of city-as-stage has its roots in medieval sacred and secular pageants but as *'found space theatre'* is a twentieth century phenomenon reacting against the passivity and control of conventional drama. As Carlson writes: *" Like the organizers of the passion plays or the royal entries, street theatre directors of the 1960s and 1970s often utilised specific urban elements symbolically relating to their performances."* [7] Theatre which took to the streets claimed the city and displaced conventional theatre. This form of theatrical revolt coincided with the 1968 riots which swept through Chicago, Paris and Tokyo

Like the carnival; the riot is a powerful form of displacement. The potential dis-order which arises from these disjunctions creates a conflict which is, in itself, *'dramatic'*. Dorgan sees the riot as *"the most effective way of reclaiming public space ...(where)...the public 'takes to the streets' to occupy space and more importantly to alter that space."* [8] As Sennett claims; *"When conflict is permitted in the public sphere, when the bureacratic routines become socialised, the product of the disorder will be a greater sensitivity in public life to the problems of connecting public services to the urban clientele."* [9]

OUTSIDE-IN

What then happens if we re-site the city-as-stage *'within'*, utilising interior sites as public arenas, testing grounds, stages for morality plays? The issue arises as to whether citizens can claim an interior in the same manner they claim a street. In the urban context the boundaries become blurred between architecture and setting, citizen and performer. The difficult, and less controlled, relationship between performer and spectator functions as an invitation to participate; to heckle, to improvise, to turn around and walk away. The spectator becomes an active consumer of performance.

In their introduction to *Consuming Architecture* Chaplin and Holding write *"it could be argued that any time somebody adapts or augments the built environment, they are in fact participating actively in the process of consuming architecture."* [10] If we relate this to the theatre then the manipulation and alteration of performance space suggests that the public can have a direct physical impact on an 'institutional' building. The playhouse becomes a shifting and dis-easy site.

The following case studies examine two venues which seek to bring the city into an interior performance environment. The first is a European model, built in 1986, whilst the second, designed in 1997, is a proposal and will remain paper architecture.

UPSIDE (Mile End: London: England)

Marvin Carlson cites London's Half-Moon Theatre as a striking case of contemporary theatre architecture which endeavours *"to bring the street into the theatre structure - not to control it,... but to incorporate its populist connotations into the assumed elitist space."* [11]

The Half Moon Theatre Company sought to appeal to the local inhabitants and schoolchildren within its immediate East End environs. The artistic director's brief to the architects was as follows:- *"We are a radical theatre and welcome radical solutions... Our specific aim is to draw new audiences into the theatre to give it a broad popular base. It should be a space where meetings can take place and newspapers bought and read, where to sit and have a beer or a discussion is as legitimate as it is to watch a play... It should be a free flowing space from pavement to auditorium."* [12]

In response the architects took their inspiration from historic performance models which thrived within the city; medieval mystery plays performed in public squares, commedia dell'arte played on boards in the street and the Elizabethan theatre which eventuated from the traveller's cart having come to rest in the courtyard of an Inn. As Breton writes: *"The aim is to bring the city - along with its houses and street fronts - right inside the theatre, thus taking the theatre itself out into the city."* [13]

This is achieved by winding the street with its facades and windows into the site. Mile End Road opens out into a court defined by two gate lodges. This court leads into a larger enclosed courtyard which forms the auditorium proper; an interior-exterior. The heavy breeze-block walls, floor patterning and window openings play on the archetypal image of a European courtyard. The skewed axis into the building establishes the promenade of unfolding spaces. Multiple entries into the auditorium, doorways leading off an interior ambulatory and openings from upper galleries allow for flexibility of staging and seating.

Carlson hails this attempt to blend the semiotics of the street with established, but experimental, theatre space as a unique phenomenon [14] and Forsyth sees it as one of the more *'radical'* of recent theatres because of its aim to recreate, more literally, the roots of popular theatre, in street and courtyard. [15] The reference to city and street is explicit in the architecture and the historic models used are well established. Although the artistic philosophy of the theatre company questions the relationship between city and performance, the resulting architecture is controlled and clear... safe and sound.

In the late 1970s Coop Himmelblau claimed that *"Expressions such as safe and sound are no longer applicable to architecture."* They advocated an urban reality which develops *"the desires, the self confidence and the courage to take and hold possession of the city and to alter it."* [16] Like Richard Sennett they were questioning the established notions of city and street. In his book *'The Uses of Disorder'* Sennett wrote: *" in extricating the city from preplanned control, men will become more in control of themselves and more aware of each other. That is the promise, and the justification, of disorder."*[17]

Our post-colonial context offers opportunities to claim new ground (or grounds), explore the *'difference'* in planning and performance space and to question established western models which don't necessarily support the complexity and plurality of our culture, sited as it is, on the fringes of the western world.

DOWN (Porirua: Wellington: New Zealand)

Rather than continue to develop theatres which replicate both the architecture and performative conventions of Europe and the United States of America, we can look closer to home for inspiration and challenge the established western paradigms of public performance space. In New Zealand / Aotearoa the performance traditions of Maori and Pacific Islanders tend to become either dispossessed within conventional theatre venues or alternative spaces are sought which have not been colonised by the euro-centric concept of performance space.

This proposal for the *'Porirua Centre for Art & Culture'*, designed by Athfield Architects (in association with Dorita Hannah), explored the relationship between the Centre and Porirua City with performance space as central mediator. The context, specific to the multi-cultural make-up of Porirua, allows for post-colonial planning concerns to be played out.

The proposed Centre gathers together Museum, Library, Art Gallery and Performing Arts/Multi Use Venue within a united Complex. The building to be expanded (in order to accommodate these cultural facilities) was an old industrial warehouse which currently houses gallery, library and performance space. Vital and conspicuously multicultural, Porirua's demography highlights the considerable Maori and Pacific Island population which plays an active role in the cultural life of the city.

A Performing Arts venue within the Complex was seen to offer the potential to address the varied performance traditions which overlap and intersect in New Zealand and, more specifically, within the Porirua community. Openings and functions at the existing gallery incorporated ceremonies, protocols, spontaneous and planned performances as well as feasts laid on for the public. The drumming, chanting and dancing did not only take place in the prescribed performance space. At times the numbers of performers would fill the gallery and rival the numbers of the guests. Already there was a tradition of siting performance throughout the building which became a 'found space'.

In this proposal performance is pivotal to the scheme; from public ceremony with its ritual paths and gathering spaces, through to spontaneous performance and more conventional theatre. A free street, connecting the rear car park and aquatic centre with the street frontage, bifurcates the building to meet with an outdoor gathering/performance space (in an attempt to make sense of the existing bus-turning-circle). The public is encouraged to pass through the building, a short-cut in the city, where they may encounter art, books, artifacts or theatre. This internal public street, with its stairs, galleries and platforms, acknowledges the possibilities for spontaneous and shifting sites of performance.

Here is the arts-shopping-mall ; a site for seducing the consumer... *"The journey as navigation...Within any urban environment there are those who wander like Baudelaire's flaneur and those who rush through consumed with the specific task at hand."* [18] Here also is the riotous street, where the public can occupy, alter and claim space. This is achieved through moveable architectural elements which undermine the clarity and stability of the various zones. As Dorgon contends: *"If one acknowledges that part of the richness of public space is its lack of clearly defined physical boundaries- that space 'bleeds' into other spaces, that sequences of spaces are woven together into an urban 'fabric'- then it is also important to acknowledge that spaces operate differently in other contexts, when inhabited by different events, and that weaving together these different spaces produces richer public space than those spaces which operate only at one time or for one set of functions."* [19]

A more conventional theatre space is achieved through roller doors and sliding walls which create a wide auditorium. This width of proscenium opening allows for the large numbers of performers to be accommodated in Maori and Pacific Island dance. Either side of the auditorium are storage walls with upper galleries which have access from the upper level dressing rooms. The storage walls accommodate bleacher seating which can be wheeled from space to space or stored away as required.

Watson suggests : *" The planning process has to allow for the unseen, the spontaneous and the unpredictable."*[20] Rather than a *'black-box'* studio theatre isolated within the Centre, the strategy was to establish a rich and articulated series of spaces and opportunities. Flexibility allows for performance spaces to shift and open out, without losing the character often forfeited in multi-purpose venues. The platform of ground is claimed like a mat spread on the earth. This emphasis on ground rather than the walls refers to Watson's argument for *"... creating spaces which are flexible with 'weak borders rather than strong walls'.* One way of approaching this is to reduce fixed zoning as much as possible, and to create spaces whose construction is simple enough to permit constant alteration. Much of the character of an urban space derives from its being a site of resistance and contestation- a site that matters to people."*[21]

In his conversation on *'The End of Space'* Libeskind said; *"Space is not one, but space is plural, space is a heterogeneity, a difference."*[22] Theatre, as we have come to know it in New Zealand, is safe and not so sound. The audiences no longer demand it and have turned elsewhere for drama and entertainment. If the audience is not coming to the theatre, take the theatre to the audience. Unlike the Half Moon Theatre which refers to well established European urban models for achieving this goal, the Porirua scheme attempts to question those models. Eurocentric notions of city and theatre have been displaced in order to create a venue for performance which finds itself only when claimed and, as the space transforms, celebrates its own difference.

Notes

1   Schechner, R: "The Future of Ritual" Routledge 1993, p1

2   Brook, P: "The Empty Space" Penguin 1968, p11

3   Daniel Libeskind, "The End Of Space" *Theaterschrift* (2/1992)

4   Blau, H: "The Unsurpassing Body", The Drama Review, #2, Summer 1991

5   Genet, J: "The Balcony" (ed: Fretchman) Grove Press, NY 1960

6   Schechner, R: "The Future of Ritual" Routledge 1993, p46

7   Carlson, M: "Places of Performance: The Semiotics of Theatre Architecture", Cornell Uni Press, 1989, p34

8   Robert Alan Dorgan, "Design a Riot: A Proposal for Cockatoo Island, Sydney, Australia." Proceedings of The Second International Symposium on Asia Pacific Architecture. (1997)

9   Sennett, R: "The Uses of Dis-order: Personal Identity and City Life", Penguin Press, 1970, p198

10 Chaplin,S & Holding,E: "Consuming Architecture", AD vol: 68 #1/2, p7

11 Carlson, M: "Places of Performance: The Semiotics of Theatre Architecture", Cornell Uni Press, 1989, p34

12 cited by Forsyth,M: "Auditoria", Mitchell, London 1987, p150

13 Breton, G: "Theaters": Princeton Architectrual Press, 1989, p40

14 Carlson, M: "Places of Performance: The Semiotics of Theatre Architecture", Cornell Uni Press, 1989, p34

15 Forsyth,M: "Auditoria", Mitchell, London 1987, p150

16 Coop Himmelblau: "Architecture is Now": Rizzolli, NY 1983, P75

17 Sennett, R: "The Uses of Dis-order: Personal Identity and City Life", Penguin Press, 1970, p198

18 Greenfield, S & Rollestone, G: "Urban Feedback", AD vol: 68 #1/2, p11

19 Robert Alan Dorgan, "Design a Riot: A Proposal for Cockatoo Island, Sydney, Australia."

20 Sophie Watson, "Spaces of the 'Other': Planning for cultural diversity in Western Sydney."

21 Ibid.

22 Ibid.

Quasi Utopias: Perfect Cities in an Imperfect World

Professor Dennis Hardy
Middlesex University
Trent Park Campus
Bramley Road
London N14 4YZ
UK

This paper is written with the benefit of *fin de siècle* hindsight: how successful, it asks, were early twentieth-century utopians in pointing the way to the ideal city in modern times?   Should we, at the end of this century, acknowledge a debt of gratitude or record an episode of lost opportunities? Does utopianism still have a role in modern town planning?

One thing is clear. At the end of this century, most, if not all, of the world's urban population is a long way from inhabiting the mythical 'cities in the sun', the eternal quest of utopians. Arguably, urban conditions are better now than they were at the beginning of the century, but surely noone could claim that they are anywhere near as good as they could be. Compared with parallel developments in, say, telecommunications or aircraft design, progress in town planning has been minimal; cities have failed to deliver more than a fraction of what is socially and technologically possible. We can, of course, hardly attribute such shortcomings to a previous generation of idealists, but what we can do is to review why ideas put forward at what proved to be a crucial phase in the development of urban planning fell, in practice, a long way short of perfection. More pertinently, we can ask whether such a shortfall between ideals and reality, in town planning generally, is not just inevitable but might also have some beneficial outcomes.

In the rest of this paper, the case is put that there was no shortage of good ideas for the reconstruction of cities. Some of these were *quasi* utopias, in the sense that their vision of the future city was utopian but their vagueness on what would happen to the rest of society rendered them incomplete; they envisioned perfect cities in an imperfect world. Examples are centred on the experience of England in the first quarter of the century: the archetypal garden city of Ebenezer Howard, and a variant on the garden city theme developed by a group of Quakers. A contrast is made with the fictional imagery of H.G Wells, which - in contemplating cities in a changed world context - fits more completely a conventional definition of utopianism.

Cities in the Countryside

The garden city movement, which originated in England and dates from the very end of the last century, is extensively documented. From the perspective of this paper it is the story of a search – part dream, part reality – for the idyll of a green and pleasant land. As such it is intimately bound in with a deep-flowing cultural tradition that recalls lost rural values and the virtues of a world that never in fact existed. Indeed, perhaps it could only have attracted so much interest in a country that had for centuries mourned the absence of a peasant proprietorship, and which perpetually dreamt of ways of 'returning' the

people to the land. Although an urban solution, garden cities offered the prospect of community ownership of holdings, in a countryside setting.

Ebenezer Howard, who first put forward the idea of garden cities, was wise enough not to present his proposal as utopian. He went to great trouble even before the publication (100 years ago this year) of his seminal book, *To-morrow: a peaceful path to real reform*, to ensure that it would appeal to middle opinion. Not only did the title itself undergo various drafts to remove any suggestion of extremism but he was always to stress the practical application of his ideas. He was ready to acknowledge a debt to earlier utopians, but he set his own ideas in a different mould.

In spite of his implicit denial of utopian tendencies, however, the actual text demonstrates far-reaching goals. Howard was not one to await an overturn of the political system, prior to reconstructing the cities; instead he believed that his own ideas could trigger changes in society at large. Each of his garden cities would be a building block in the reconstruction of society as a whole, and he saw his role, 'however small it might be, in helping to bring a new civilisation into being'. Metropolitan areas like London would contract in the face of more attractive locations in the countryside; the urban map would be redrawn. Lewis Mumford saw the scheme as 'transformative... Howard's ideas have laid the foundation for a new cycle in urban civilization'.

The scheme's utopianism was also acknowledged in critical reviews of his book, the term in this context used dismissively to describe it as dangerous in its implications as well as being merely fanciful. Thus, one critic wrote that 'Mr Howard is not content with half measures; like Sir Thomas More he builds a Utopia... The only difficulty is to create it, but that is a small matter to Utopians'. Others referred to the 'unpalatable dough of his Utopian scheming'.

And in due course the first garden city, Letchworth, attracted a utopian following, so much so that the settlement as a whole acquired a reputation for 'crankiness'. Spiritual and political explorers made their way to the pioneer settlement, in search of kindred souls and a chance to rebuild society. There they donned sandals and smocks, and contemplated an alternative future. The rest of the world looked on with amusement.

But garden cities in practice were, of course, far from being utopian in the true sense of the word. Howard was above all a pragmatist, and in order to get the first two (Letchworth and Welwyn) off the ground, he was forced to make one compromise after another. One recalls in this context the words of a contemporary of Howard, Nellie Shaw, who in connection with an attempt to live by the exacting doctrine of Leo Tolstoy, confessed that 'it was impossible to live in a capitalist world and not become mixed up in it'. The simple fact is that in order to raise sufficient capital, and to convince industrialists to locate in the new settlements, conventional procedures had to be followed. In the event, Letchworth and Welwyn evolved as pleasant enough settlements, and were certainly a marked improvement on what most of their population had experienced before, but utopian they were not.

City of Friends

Inspired by Howard's ideas, this period saw another practical experiment with utopian pretensions, and one that at least in theory was more radical in intent. Against a

backcloth, not only of prevalent urban problems but also of the horrors of the First World War, a group of Quakers envisioned plans for 'a new beginning'. One of their group, W.R.Hughes, took on the task of articulating these plans in a book, published in 1919 as *New Town: a proposal in agricultural, industrial, educational, civic and social reconstruction*.

The plan was (if not a contradiction of terms) a 'practical utopia'. It was rooted throughout in idealism, seeking as it did to outline how society could be reconstructed, yet at its heart were detailed specifications for building a new town. Much of the latter lent heavily on the garden city idea, but it went further in setting it within a new social structure in which a remodelled system of education was the key to lasting change. The rhetoric spoke of a new beginning made with high hope in the days that came after the war. Hughes acknowledged that they 'were aiming very high... our ultimate object is to provide the right conditions of life for the full development of human personality'.

Utopianism owes a significant debt to the Quaker movement, which from the time of its origins in the seventeenth century, as well as instilling a belief in the individual soon became associated with community ventures. In 1669, for instance, John Bellers proposed a national network of colleges of industry, organised on principles of primitive Christianity. New Town was part of this tradition.

What was proposed was a 'Country-Town in England in such a spirit as shall stir the hearts of all who are seeking after freedom and fellowship'. The formation of a new settlement was preferred as it was thought that this would allow all aspects of life to be remodelled. As for garden cities, it was proposed that land should be held for community benefit; at the same time the scheme avoided extremism, seeking instead 'the reconcilement of the complementary ideals that we label individualistic and socialistic'.

New Town was planned to embody many novel features, with radical changes to domestic life offered through a People's Kitchen and Restaurant and what was termed the Household Auxiliary Corps. The People's Kitchen was not only to provide restaurant meals and a 'take away' service, but was also to hold a stock of basic cooking utensils for use within the community. In turn, the Household Auxiliary Corps was to consist of 'experts in household arts, the majority being all-round people, others being specialists as cleaners or needlewomen, cooks or waitresses.' Both innovations were designed to free women from the home, but it has to be said that both appear to be based on an assumption that women were to continue to perform the same kind of work (albeit in a different setting) as they had previously done. Thus, 'the girl who would refuse "to go back into the home" [after the experience gained in the First World War] as drudge for her parents, or even for her "boy", would readily join the staff of a People's Kitchen working in shifts with regular hours, or enlist in a uniformed corps of Household Auxiliaries.'

But like garden cities, the high ideals of its founders were compromised by the realities of raising sufficient capital and by the practical obstacles to building a perfect city in an imperfect world. The proponents were determined, but failed to raise more than a quarter of the capital required. Instead of buying their own estate, they resorted instead to leasing a section of Welwyn, the second garden city. There they made progress on some fronts, especially with experiments in cooperative housing, agriculture and

industry, but these were, compared with the grand plan, piecemeal achievements. Probably the greatest contribution of those who carried the New Town banner was in injecting additional idealism into the life of Welwyn as a whole. The great hopes of social reconstruction were never entirely lost, and in critical areas like education, health and housing the New Town contingent became actively involved as local residents. Subsequently, in 1934, the experiment was formally merged into the general management of the garden city.

Cities of Modernity

The garden city movement (with its various variants) was the dominant influence in England in this period, and there were relatively few who addressed some of the alternatives that had become possible in a modern age. This was in contrast with the rest of Europe, where the urban imagination was altogether more vivid. Whereas English idealists looked back to an imaginary past for inspiration, in Europe the past was cast aside in a search for something totally new. Most notable were the Italian Futurists, with their dramatic interpretations of the future city, and the influential Le Corbusier. For these, the future lay in soaring skyscrapers and in systems of rapid transportation, and in the use of new construction materials and techniques to produce cities of steel, concrete and glass.

Coincidentally, in the year that *To-morrow* was published, the writer H.G.Wells was putting the finishing touches to his own vision of the future (some two hundred years hence) published in the following year as a novel, *When the Sleeper Awakes*. In this, far from disaggregating London into garden cities, most country towns and villages had disappeared and people lived in ever larger urban centres. 'The city had swallowed up humanity; man had entered upon a new stage in his development.' London itself had grown to a population of 33 million, with a skyline dominated by huge, curving 'Titanic buildings' and great iron wheels to generate wind power. At ground level in deep chasms, streets and squares were covered in, lit in a white light by powerful electric globes, and the main mode of transport was by moving platforms: three hundred feet across, with parallel platforms at different speeds. People were perpetually in a crowd, inhabiting sub-terranean worlds, ruled by a world leader called Ostrog; the modern world had arrived.

Wells wrote as many as one hundred books, social commentary as well as fiction, but consistently he returned to the theme of new technologies enabling the emergence of a world order as well as transforming town and country. In *The Modern Utopia*, published in 1905, he points again to large urban centres with efficient transport systems. But he spells out in more detail the global context, and the nature of a political world order. A huge data base in Paris contains personal details of the entire population, and social behaviour is strictly controlled; marriage, for instance, can occur only if the partners have appropriate qualities. The social structure is stratified on the basis of qualities of imagination and selection, and a select band of especially able and dedicated people, the *samurai*, provide unquestioned leadership. Planning and order are consistent themes in all of Wells's works. A fitting epitaph for Wells is to be found in the words of one his own fictional heroes: 'I meant to leave England and the empire better ordered than I found it, to organise and discipline, to build up a constructive and controlling State out of my world's confusions.'

The imagery evoked by Wells consistently attracted interest, but his ideas were not translated in this period into plans for the ideal city. In fact, as John Gold has shown in his comparative study of the development of modernism, at a time when modernity brought forward 'an astonishing array of ideas for future cities' the English preference continued to be for garden cities and their like. Not until the late 1920s does Gold detect the 'earliest stirrings' of interest in modernism in urban projects in Britain.

Utopian Conundrums

It is all too easy with hindsight to criticise earlier idealists either for seeking to impose their will unreasonably on society, or for making claims that could never be wholly fulfilled. That has not been the purpose of this paper. Instead, in the way that history can inform our own situation as well as shedding new light on the past, the prime purpose has been to use examples to point to some of the strengths and weaknesses of an association between utopianism and town planning. In this concluding section, four questions are asked of this association:

(i)   Why is there a link at all between utopianism and town planning?

On the face of it, utopianism and town planning are polar opposites; the one turning the world upside down, the other being essentially reformist and evolutionary. But, theoretically, utopianism can serve an essential function in encouraging town planning to adopt long-term goals. And, empirically, a link between the two is longstanding; Thomas More, Robert Owen, William Morris and Edward Bellamy are just a few of those who belong to this tradition.

The idea of contemplating the perfect city is understandable especially at times when the reality of urban life is soul-destroying, as indeed it was widely perceived to be during the nineteenth century. Industrial capitalism had created a monster, a city of Satan, a city of 'dreadful night'; it was the archetypal anti-Christ, in response to which utopian ideals (as in the preceding text) could be offered as salvation. This response has its own value but it is also a process with its own weaknesses.

(ii)   Is there still a case for a link in a postmodernist age?

While acknowledging an historical role, it might seem anachronistic to promote a continuing link at the end of the twentieth century. On the face of it, utopianism seems to be contradictory in every way with contemporary tendencies. The former is based characteristically on certainties and finite boundaries, with a presumption that the future can be shaped. In contrast, postmodernism represents a rejection of scientific prediction and regular patterns of events and outcomes. Flexibility is a key to contemporary change, and that might seem to be a quality missing from utopianism. It could follow from this that utopianism, in its traditional form, has become an outmoded concept that town planners would do well to avoid. However, it is argued below that much will depend on the form of utopia that is offered.

(iii)   If a link *is* sustained, what form of utopia is most useful?

Notwithstanding postmodernism, it might follow that, if utopias are useful at all, the most useful form is that which is most far-reaching in its assumptions and aspirations. While acknowledging that total utopias might have some value in encouraging lateral thinking, they also possess two fundamental weaknesses. One is that schemes for the total reconstruction of society, although purporting to perfection, are most likely to be flawed; the other is that blueprints are almost by definition impossible to implement in full. Moreover, this form of utopianism has been discredited if not vilified in the context of the collapse of international Marxism. There, it is popularly said, was the ultimate utopia, and look what happened to that.

(iv)   Surely a *quasi* utopia is, by definition, only partially useful?

If a total utopia were totally useful, it would indeed follow that a partial utopia would be less useful. But total utopias are not totally useful, and the argument is would be less useful. But total utopias are not totally useful, and the argument is put that partial utopias might be of greater value to society. In the preceding text, two sets of ideals were shown to be available: one leading to garden cities and the other to modernist alternatives. Almost by default the former won the day, not because the ideas were necessarily any better but because they were matched more closely to a dominant English cultural tradition which espoused rural imagery and political evolution rather than revolution. The fact that the garden city idea fell short of an abstract notion of utopianism is of no more than intellectual interest. What matters in practical terms is that garden cities succeeded in combining elements of idealism and realism.

Two lessons follow from this that might be of value to our own experience. The first is that society might, as a rule, be better advised to look to proposals that are idealistic but which also offer a practical chance of measured improvement, rather than await a panacea that promises everything but delivers nothing.. The second is that, no matter how good ideas are in the abstract, society has to feel comfortable about their basic assumptions; in other words, there has to be cultural compatibility. Garden cities matched both of these criteria. They were, in intellectual terms, merely *quasi* utopias, but in practical terms probably more beneficial than the fully-fledged version. They show that the goal of creating perfect cities in an imperfect world is by no means as misguided as it might at first seem.

The paper concludes with the paradoxical view that the very partiality of some schemes might at the same time be seen as a source of strength; they can offer society a realistic chance of progress. In other words, a *quasi* utopia is better than no utopia at all; but a *quasi* utopia is also better than utopia *in toto*.

Michael Harrison,
School of Theoretical and Historical Studies,
B.I.A.D.,
University of Central England,
Corporation Street,
Birmingham B4 7DX,
U.K.

Continuity and Change in the Model Village: Bournville 1895-1998

The history of the Bournville Estate is a story of continuity and change. George Cadbury first contemplated establishing a Quaker colony on the land he had bought next to his factory. He then considered a scheme aimed at making it easy 'for working men to own houses with large gardens' before he settled on leasehold development. Begun as a 'Model Village' in 1895, Bournville has grown into a large garden suburb.[1] The management of the Estate was handed over to a charitable trust in 1900. At that time there were 313 houses in the village. Since then the development of the Estate has been in the hands of the Bournville Village Trust. The Trustees (the majority of whom have been members of the extended Cadbury family) have carefully watched over the steady growth of the Estate, which now covers 1,000 acres and contains around 7,600 houses. From the beginning Bournville has been renowned for its good quality housing and excellent landscaping. 'The landscape of Bournville, the balance of buildings and open spaces, the presence of trees, grassed areas and hedges;' it was rightly claimed in 1986, 'these are the features of the Estate that distinguish Bournville from other suburbs.'[2]

The development of the Estate has taken place over more than one hundred years, but the basic aims of the Trust remain broadly similar to those established by George Cadbury in 1900. 'The Trustees are confident that in a rapidly changing world' Gordon Cherry, the first non-Cadbury Chairman of the Bournville Village Trust, claimed in 1993, 'it is possible, and very desirable, to keep faith with the Founder's aims.'[3] If the ends have remained broadly the same, the means by which the Trustees sought to achieve them have changed over the years. They have had to respond to the evolving social, economic, political and architectural context in which the Trust operated.

The original 'Model Village' was markedly different from the slums and bye-law terraces of later 19th century Birmingham. This attractive, low density development was soon characterised as 'a Modern Arcadia'.[4] Some saw it as a realisation of William Morris' dreams. It really could be argued that George Cadbury and the Trust had turned 'this land from a grimy back yard of a workdshop into a garden'.[5] Bournville was not an unattainable dream, it provided evidence of 'Utopia in practice'.[6] In large part this was because this exemplary scheme managed to combine 'art and economy'.[7] Bournville's significance lay in the fact that it was a compelling prototype for the economically sound, attractive, healthy planned settlements being called for by reformers of all political shades who were concerned about the degeneration of the urban population in Edwardian Britain. The fact that Bournville's buildings were based on traditional village architecture and its promoters were attempting to recreate the (imagined) stable relations of the pre-industrial world through social mix only added to its appeal.[8] The scheme was well publicised (by the Trust and others) and this meant it attracted visitors and had a wide impact at home and abroad. Some were moved to directly emulate the venture,

while many more were indirectly influenced by 'Beautiful Bournville'.[9] As David Eversley later noted, 'From Bournville...sprang the Garden Suburb Movement'.[10] Public policy followed in the wake of such private experiments. The officials who drew up the 1919 *Housing Manual* and the advocates of 'Homes for Heroes' drew on pre-war garden suburb models. 'Today,' it was claimed in 1924, 'the ideals embodied in Bournville are on the statute books.'[11]

The Bournville Estate continued to grow during the inter-war years.[12] The developing scheme was still regarded as being superior to most estates built by local authorities and private builders in the period, but it was not, as J.B. Priestley noted, 'the eye-opener' it had been at the beginning of the century.[13] Whilst the inter-war dwellings were generally simpler than their predecessors, increased attention was paid to the layout and fittings of the houses and to the site planning and landscaping. A particularly noticeable and important feature of the Estate was the parkway system, a series of open spaces and park-like walks linking the various parts of Bournville.[14]

The way in which the Estate was financed and developed began to change. In the first instance, various members of the Cadbury family and other individuals had built houses on long leases. After the formation of the Bournville Village Trust in 1900, the emphasis was on building houses for rent, although individuals were allowed to build properties on 99 year leases. In 1906, Bournville Tenants Ltd., a co-partnership society, leased land from the Trust and started to build an estate of 145 houses. The 1909 Housing and Town Planning Act made it easier for public utility societies to borrow money and build housing estates. Two such societies, Weoley Hill Ltd. and the Woodlands Housing Society Ltd., played an important part in the development of the Estate in the inter-war years. They erected houses for sale on 99 year leases, whilst another society erected a block of residential flats for professional women. Cadbury Brothers Ltd. made a more obvious contribution to the expansion of the Estate at this time. They funded a post-war housing experiment aimed at investigating the effectiveness of different building materials, paid for the construction of some houses and bungalows for their workers and ex-employees and supported, through their pension fund, the Bournville Works Housing Society. This society built houses, predominantly for rent, for Cadbury employees and their families. Despite the contribution of the Firm to the building of the Estate, Bournville never was, or became, a factory village.[15]

This has become even more obvious since the Second World War. The Bournville Village Trust has received funds from the local authority and the Housing Corporation to build (and modernise) rented properties. The receipt of public money has meant that an increasing number of tenants have been Council nominees, whilst the Trust has been required to select tenants according to housing need. Charitable and non-charitable housing societies have constructed various **forms** of accommodation on the Estate. A significant contribution to the development of the Estate was made by self-build groups in the 1950s and 1960s. Private builders have also leased plots from the Trust and built houses for sale. In exceptional circumstances, land has been sold to developers. Much of the Trust's income from rents goes on the maintenance of the Estate, so for new developments in recent years it has sometimes borrowed money from commercial banks to finance its own schemes (a pattern encouraged by Conservative governments).[16]

The housing stock at Bournville has altered over the years, as the Trust and other providers sought to meet the changing needs of the local population. In addition to the large number of two and three-bedroomed houses, bungalows and residential accommodation had been built for the retired and single female workers before 1939. After 1945 an increasing number of maisonettes and flats were built on the Estate. Housing densities have had to increase in this period too and gardens have tended to be smaller. From the earliest days provision had been made for groups with special needs, but this has expanded in response to demographic, social and economic changes.

Standards and styles have changed since the 1890s. The earliest cottages on the Estate were rather self-consciously varied. Later dwellings were often plainer. 'Though there have been no revolutionary changes,' a Trust publication noted, 'there has been an increasing

tendency towards simplicity and even severity. The houses have simpler, cleaner lines, and the Estate architects have aimed at planning comfortable houses, each good of its kind, in which household drudgery is reduced to a minimum.'[17] Because the Trust's architects (who have designed the vast majority of the dwellings on the Estate) have largely clung to traditional designs and used mainly brick and tile there is a greater degree of coherence at Bournville than one finds in other areas developed over such a long period. The visual impact of even the most austere post-war dwellings has been softened, in the vast majority of cases, by careful landscaping. Even here there have been changes, as large native trees have frequently been replaced by smaller flowering varieties and separate, hedged gardens have given way to open frontages.

The Trust has always prided itself on providing practical examples for others to follow. The original Village had a significant influence. Although the impact of later developments at Bournville was more muted, the Trustees have continued to sponsor practical experiments (in landscaping, building, furnishing and heating) as well as research in the fields of housing, town planning and landscaping. The results of much of this work have been published and have thus encouraged good practice elsewhere. Some of their best-known publications, like *When we build again* (1941), were significant contributions to ongoing debates about the shape of urban Britain.[18] By the third quarter of the century, the Estate, though well-planned and maintained, began to look less distinctive. 'Bournville is no longer a unique experiment,' the Trust's Secretary explained in 1960. 'Many larger estates have been built by local authorities and other bodies. Nevertheless, it continues to make its contribution to the solution of the housing problem, especially in the field of management.'[19] Besides encouraging the building of houses for rent or sale on the ever diminishing amount of building land on the Estate, the Trust has promoted the construction of accommodation (on a small scale) for varied groups with special needs. More recent larger-scale developments, like the Solar Village, have, once again, drawn visitors to Bournville. Certain schemes have been more controversial, especially when housing schemes were constructed on former open land, as at Woodbrooke Meadow. Such developments have been very carefully landscaped so as to try allay the fears of objectors.[20]

Throughout the years the Trust has maintained its commitment to building not only houses but communities. 'I cannot stress too strongly the fact that a housing scheme must be more than bricks and mortar,' Edward Cadbury proclaimed in 1944, 'it must have a life of its own.'[21] In the early years social mix and architectural variety were achieved by placing dwellings of different size and tenure together. Social integration was encouraged by the provision of communal facilities and the encouragement of residents' associations. While the latter policies were continued, from the 1920s onwards different tenure groups have, on the whole, been separated. So while the entire Estate could still be said to contain people of diferent class and status, different areas within it were likely to be more socially segregated. By the late 1970s scholars were suggesting that 'in determining housing mix class distinctions may be less relevant than social considerations such as the life styles of the residents.' Two Australian researchers concluded:

> Our research certainly suggests that homogeneity at Bournville is a result of a strong 'sense of belonging' to the Estate by residents who are aware of its 'history' and 'uniqueness'. These factors combine to create a community self-interest which, in turn, creates social and behavioural patterns which seem to be generally accepted by all residents.[22]

It is clear that over the years the residents on the Estate have appreciated the physical benefits of the Bournville and have sought to maintain the quality of the Estate. From the beginning, though, there have been occasional signs of tension caused by the Trust's desire to meet the needs of the working classes *and* create a socially mixed community. (As early as 1901, long leaseholders objected to the building of cheapre rented property in Bournville Lane.)[23] Because properties on the Estate were better-built and therefore more expensive to rent or purchase, Bournville tended to attract respectable working class and middle class residents. Few people from the bottom or top of the social scale lived there (especially when the older

members of the Cadbury family left or died and their large family homes were converted or demolished). More recently, because of agreements with the City Council, Housing Corporation rules and changes in their own lettings policy the Trust has begun to house some of the most needy people in the city: the poor, the unemployed, those from ethnic minorities, single parent families, the homeless, people with learning difficulties, the disabled, as well as the elderly and single women who they have catered for over a long period of time.

The number of new tenancies each year on the Estate is low. Bournville still has a stable, if ageing, population. Despite the relatively small number of 'newcomers' on the Estate, there is still potential for conflict between the old villagers and the newly arrived residents, especially if the latter do not seem to value their properties and surroundings or subscribe to the ethos of the place. There are signs of social tension on the Estate, although one of the most widely reported recent disputes (about large trees on a property boundary) was between long-established residents. Crime and anti-social behaviour are not unknown on the Estate. Bournville has not remained immune from the social problems of the large city of which it is a part.[24] These are issues with which the residents, the Trustees, the Community Officer and the Police continue to grapple. These problems should not be overstated, but security and anti-social behaviour remain areas of concern for the residents of Bournville.

Initially, Bournville was populated by leaseholders and tenants. Later members of co-partnership and public utility societies were welcomed onto the expanding estate. (Some purchased their properties on 99 year leases and others rented their homes.) In recent decades shared ownership schemes and special leasehold agreements have further extended the range of tenure groups. The 1967 Leasehold Reform Act allowed leaseholders to purchase their freeholds, and almost 1500 had done so by 1993. A Scheme of Management was introduced in 1972 which allowed the Trust to preserve the amenity of the Estate (although the level of the management charge has been a source of friction).[25]

In 1993 the Trustees approved a new Statement of Purpose for the Trust. It basically re-affirmed their commitment to the Founder's aims. Their intention was:

To provide high quality housing developments, distinctive in architecture, landscape and environment, in socially mixed communities, using best management practices to improve the quality of life for those living in such communities.[26]

There can be no doubt that some of the developments in the last 15 years, like the Solar Village, for example, have been successful, but many would argue that the architecture on the Estate is less distinctive than it was. The landscape of the Estate remains generally well maintained. Conservation has become a key item on the Trust's agenda as more and more residents have sought to 'improve' and 'privatise' their properties.[27] The Trustees have also made it clear that they intend to continue to provide 'social housing' for those with insufficient means to help themselves. They have also expressed their desire to encourage tenants, leaseholders and freeholders to share in the decisions affecting their community.

In conjunction with the new Statement of Purpose, an ambitious business plan, 'Towards 2000' was launched in 1993. The aim was to set objectives for the Trust, so as to put it in a position 'to make a positive contribution to the housing needs of 21st century'.[28] These involved organisational goals as well as a commitment to enhancing Bournville as a model estate. In addition, a target of 4,000 homes under the Trust's management by the year 2,000 was set. As there are virtually no building plots left in Bournville itself, this has meant that the Trust has become increasingly involved elsewhere, in Birmingham Heartlands and Shropshire.

'Towards 2000' highlighted the Trust's next big challenge, the decision to start building a second Bournville, 'a Mark 2 version for the 21st century'.[29] Discussions between the Trust and the Commission for New Towns and the Urban Villages Forum about a possible site for such a settlement followed. At the end of 1997 the Trustees confirmed they wanted to explore further the possibility of building the second Bournville at Lightmoor, Telford.[30] The area could be characterised as a brown field site, were it not for some of the natural features that have taken hold in this old industrial and mining area. The district also boasts a small experimental housing scheme, but is potentially ripe for development - mineworkings and

defenders of nature allowing. Some of the latter have signified their opposition to the scheme, but such a scheme, like the original Village, will no doubt have its critics. What is perhaps more surprising is that there are signs of distrust of the new venture in Bournville itself. A 1997 Survey confirmed that local residents remained highly satisfied with their homes and surroundings at Bournville, but there was little or no commitment to developments elsewhere.[31]

NOTES

1. Atkins, P., 'The architecture of Bournville 1879-1914', in Tilson, B. (ed.), *Made in Birmingham, Design and Industry 1889-1989* (1989); Bryson, J.R. and Lowe, P.A., 'Bournville: a hundred years of social housing in a model village', in Garrard, A.J. and Slater, T.R. (eds.), *Managing a conurbation: Birmingham and its region* (1996); Durman, M. and Harrison, M., *Bournville 1895-1914: The Model Village and its Cottages* (1995).
2. BVT *AR* (1986).
3. BVT *AR* (1993).
4. *Dewsbury.Reporter* 8 September 1902.
5. Morris, W., *Works Vol.XXII*, pp.170-3.
6. *Church Times* 8 August 1902.
7. See Harvey, W.A., *The Model Village and its Cottages: Bournville* (1906) p.6.
8. Durman and Harrison, *op.cit.* p.1; see Hoffman, J.L., 'Imaging the Industrial Village: Architecture, Art and Visual Culture in the Garden Community of Bournville, England' Ph.D. Thesis, Yale University (1993).
9. Durman and Harrison, *op.cit.* pp.25-7; GCA, *The Garden City Conference at Bournville:Report of Proceeding* (1901) p.45.
10. Eversley, D., *The Planner in Society: the changing role of a profession* (1973) p.38.
11. BVT Mins/AR 'Secretary's Report' (1924); Daunton, M.J.(ed.), *Councillors and Tenants* (1984); Swenarton, M., *Homes fit for Heroes* (1981).
12. BVT, *Bournville Village Trust 1900-1955* (1955); Harrison, M., 'Bournville 1918-39', *Planning History* vol.17, no.3 (1995); Henslowe, P. *Ninety Years on* (1985); Hillman, J., *The Bournville Hallmark: Housing People for 100 Years* (1994).
13. Priestley, J.B., *English Journey* (1977 edn.) p.90.
14. BVT, *Landscape and Housing Development* (1949).
15. Harrison, op.cit.; BVT, *Bournville Housing* (1928); BVT, *An Account of its Planning and Housing Schemes in Suburban and Rural Areas* (1938).
16. This section is based on archival research at BVT. See Henslowe, *op.cit.* and Hillman, *op.cit.* for brief accounts of Bournville in this period. See also Balchin, *Housing Policy: An Introduction* (1995 edn.); Best, R., 'Housing Association 1890-1990' in Lowe, S. and Hughes, D. (eds.), *A New Century of Social Housing* (1991).
17. BVT, *Sixty Years of Planning: The Bournville Experiment* (n.d.).
18. BVT, *When we build again* (1941).
19. BVT, *Bournville Village Trust* (1960) [Handbook} p.3.
20. Broomfield, P., *A Bournville assortment* (1995)
21. Cadbury, E., 'Factors in Town Planning', *Art and Industry* (April 1944).
22. Sarkissian, W. and Heine, W., *Social Mix: The Bournville Experience* (1978) p.96.
23. BVT Mins/AR May 1901.
24. See BVT Mins/AR 'Community Officer's Report' 1984.
25. Broomfield, *op.cit.*p.146.
26. BVT *AR* 1993.
27. BVT, *A Design Guide* (1985 and later editions). Two conservation areas were designated in the early 1970s.
28. BVT, *Towards 2000* (1993).
29. BVT, *AR* (1993).
30. Interview with James Wilson, Chief Executive of BVT and other officers and Trustees.
31. CWA (Consultancy) Ltd., *Bournville Village Trust: Findings from the Residents' Survey 1997*.

Japan and the transformation of planning ideas - some examples of colonial plans

Dr. Carola Hein
Visiting Researcher, Kogakuin University, Department of Architecture
Izumi 2-10-17-101
Suginami-Ku
Tokyo 168-0063
Tel.+Fax.: 81/3/3325 3996,
E-Mail: dq96001@ccs.kogakuin.ac.jp

PREFACE: In the course of the last century, Japan set up its own urban planning system, taking up and re-interpreting ideas of Western countries as well as mixing them with own traditional planning instruments. Almost simultaneously, Japan had the chance to apply or at least to propose this newly obtained knowledge to its colonies and occupied territories. On the mainland the policy was to " catch up and overtake" the West, and planning was seen as a means to insure the most important elements for economic development: especially creating the infrastructure and industrial sites, but also government and business centers. The Western ideas, however, were not fully applied. On the one hand, the legal and traditional background in Japan did not allow for expropriation and large-scale intervention and on the other hand, in order to proceed more quickly, Western ideas were stripped of "non-essential" elements - like architectural and urban design. In the colonies and occupied territories, however, the planners could ignore the local context, and what is more, they had special power to intervene and could therefore consider large-scale measures and apply new technologies. The projects prepared for the colonies thus give a comprehensive account of the knowledge, Japanese planners had of Western concepts and the interpretation they gave it.

The Japanese attitude towards the colonies differed in some regards from Western colonialism. Europeans and especially the French colonial government aimed at exporting their culture and tradition through architecture and urban signs. In Japan, however, there was no strong tradition of translating political power into the built environment and, apart from a major shrine which was erected in all occupied cities, there was no particular national form which offered itself for export. In regard to architectural style and urban design, the question, which form to use in the colonies was open. The Japanese planners used this chance to freely experiment with Western ideas and prepare large-scale, comprehensive projects which had no chance of realization on the mainland. Due to the particular planning powers in the colonies, several of these ideas were turned into built reality. The colonies thus became a free field for the application of newly learned theories and their authors hoped that after a test-run in the colonies, they might be reimported and applied on the mainland.

HISTORY OF IMPORT OF PLANNING IDEAS: When Japan ended its isolation in the middle of the 19. century, it happened under pressure from the United States of America. In order not to become a colony like most of its Asian neighbors, the country had to adopt a Western style political system and - generally speaking - try to blend in with Western ways. One way to do this was to import and apply Western architectural and planning concepts. In this context, numerous engineers and architects were called to Japan to "teach" technologies as well as design concepts. This lead, for example, to the creation of the Ginza boulevard by the English engineer Thomas J. Waters after 1872 and to the projects of a government district in Hibiya designed by the German planners Hermann Ende and Willhelm Böckmann in 1886. However,

these projects did not relate to the concrete needs and traditions of Japan and apart from leaving some Western style buildings as relics in the Japanese landscape they had only a restricted impact on Japanese cities. (Fujimori, 1982; Ishida, 1992)

Until 1919, when the urban planning law was decided upon, several contacts with the West had taken place. Japanese architects had studied in the West or had acquired profound knowledge of the most advanced Western planning discussions through intensive reading and Western concepts had filtered into Japanese realizations and visions. Seki Hajime and the proposals for the - later realized - Midosuji Boulevard in Osaka (1926-37), the Tokyo Master Plan by Fukuda Shigeyoshi proposing a large-scale decentralization on a ring around Tokyo (1918), the Beaux-Arts proposals for the rebuilding of Tokyo after the Great Kanto Earthquake by Nakamura Shinpei or the garden city Denenchôfu, founded in 1918, with its unique urban form of three radials reaching out from the station cut by half circle roads, being some examples. (Watanabe, 1980 and 1988, Ishida/Hein, 1998) However, following the 1923 Great Kanto Earthquake, the necessity for rapid rebuilding and the opposition of land owners in regard to large-scale changes, led to the rejection of comprehensive planning as much as of urban design and the fixation of land readjustment as the main Japanese planning technique.

PLANNING IN THE COLONIES: Japan deliberately chose to open itself to westernization and modernization. Colonialism was seen as one of its expressions and Japan therefore quickly tried to obtain its own colonies in Korea and Taiwan, semi-colonizing China, occupying Manchuria and entering Mongolia. The planning attitude to all of them was very different. (Ishida, 1998) The oldest colonies, Taiwan (1895-1945) and Korea (South-Korea 1910-45) were primarily seen as places to show the achievements of Japanese administrations and its capacity as a colonial power. One of Japan's leading authorities of planning, Gotô Shinpei, a major actor in the creation of a Japanese planning law, was, for example, head of the Taiwan Public Welfare Department from 1898 to 1906 and president of the Manchurian Railway Co. thereafter. During that period he was actively trying, as he called it, to bring civilization to the colonies and simultaneously acquired an experience which was to be helpful for his interventions on the Japanese mainland. (Myers, 1984; Ishida/Hein, 1998) Building laws were created and applied before they even existed in Japan. (Fujimori/Wan, 1996) The land readjustment technique, a particular Japanese planning instrument was implemented in the colonies already in the 1930's, however, without consultation or compensation of the landowners. Nevertheless, in both countries the land readjustment technique and the Urban Planning Laws were maintained after the war and applied especially from the 1960's on, as it was the most appropriate tool to deal with population growth. (Myers, 1984, Aveline, 1994)

In regard to urban planning, the Japanese planners tried to act like Western colonizers, who left their marks in the urban landscape of the occupied cities, the English in Hongkong, the French from the Bay of Guanghzhou to Yunnan and the Russians in Manchurian cities like Harbin or Dalian. Similar to the German intervention in Quingdao, they created in Seoul a monumental Government-General building in the axis of a large boulevard. The building was erected on the former place of the main palace gates, thus placing the monument of the new government in front of the traditional seat of power. Its architectural form, however, was Western and did not recall the Japanese colonizer. In Manchuria the Japanese also put a lot of energy into city-planning. In Dalian, they were confronted with earlier large-scale interventions by Russian planners, which feature especially a central round place. On six out of ten parcels bordering this place, monumental buildings for central institutions were realized by Japanese architects, who were thus faced with monumental urban layouts, typical for Europe and especially Haussmann's

Paris, forms which had transited through Russia. The most famous of the Japanese urban plans in Manchuria is probably the design of the capital city Shinkyô (now Changchun), which was in large parts realized. The urban plan also featured boulevards and monumental round places, including new sanitary techniques as well as telephones and electricity, all of them symbols of China's "modernization" the Japanese aimed at. (Fujimori, 1996)

The colonies also provided particular possibilities in regard to regional and large-scale city planning. One planner, who was particularly active in this field was Uchida Yoshikazu (1885 - 1972), a professor at Tokyo University from 1921 to 1945 and its president from 1943 to 1945. Already in 1922, Uchida had demonstrated his interest in city planning, when he proposed a garden city development, as an idea to counter the shortage of housing during that economically difficult period. Under the title: "Housing supply in big cities", he projected an S-shaped development of 3000 houses, somewhere in the West of Tokyo, organized around a monumental center which would also have been the crossing point of major traffic axis' and two large landscaped parks - one of which with public facilities. Several round places punctuate the parcellaire, which in itself is based on a somewhat rigid pattern. This preference for round places may be dated back to Eugène Hénard's research on urban traffic planning which was on several occasions presented in Japan. The systematic layout of the plots, however, determined by the overall form of the planning area is typical for Japanese housing districts. The scale of public areas and buildings as well as the monumental and landscape elements, however, are influenced by Beaux-Arts style urban layouts and Anglo-Saxon park design and seem to be superimposed on the general plan. The whole area is connected through three stations and Tokyo station can be joined after a one hour ride. Uchida even elaborates a financial proposal, proving the feasibility of his concept.

A similar approach to planning can be found in the project for creating villages and deviding the land for Japanese settlers in Manchuria prepared by a group including Uchida in 1933. A central figure of this group was Kishida Hideto (1900-1966) also a teacher at Tokyo University (in different positions between 1923 and 1955) and a major actor in the architectural field. In the same year as the publication of "Die zentralen Orte in Süddeutschland" by the German geographer Walter Christaller, who became a well-known figure in Japan and which concerns hierarchical regional planning, the group proposed a settlement pattern for villages of about 150 houses each. Three of these villages should have been combined, and one of them would have become the seat of major institutions, thus indicating a hierarchy. Probably in response to the traditional, walled Chinese cities, Uchida suggested a square city for 150 houses, each of which is attributed a 10 hectare area outside the village to be reached in 30-40 walking minutes at maximum. A major aim of Uchida in elaborating this proposal was to show that urban planning concepts could be applied to agricultural planning.

URBAN PLANNING FOR DATONG: The most elaborate urban proposal, however, is that for Datong prepared in 1939 by a group of young planners who went there under the leadership of Uchida, when the latter was called upon to set up planning and building rules. One member of the group was Takayama Eika, later founder of the first urban planning section in Japan at Tokyo University in 1962 and the first to treat an urban planning topic in his diploma: In fact, in 1934 he had designed a fishing village, stretching along the coast. In this project he had treated planning topics as much architectural ones, therewith reflecting the work of major French planners like Tony Garnier - whom he admired - and a desire for comprehensive planning, which in Japan generally remained unfulfilled. Prior to the trip Takayama had compiled a study of housing schemes which was published by the Dôjunkai in 1936 and which had a great influence on planners in Japan. (Takayama, 1936 and 1938) He is also known to have taken numerous books with him, the content of which is reflected in this study. The Datong project is thus a major example for the simultaneous export and import of planning ideas.

The proposal for Datong is remarkable in several regards. First of all, it is a project on a regional scale. In fact, in order to limit the city's growth, it should have been connected with other existing cities and satellites were suggested. Taking up ideas for the creation of new cities developed since the 1920's by planners like Paul Wolf or Raymond Unwin, which found large interest in Japan, the group proposed two decentralized industrial cities for 30.000 inhabitants: The first one being an industrial center, with the Southern part being used for industry and separated by a green plan and major traffic way from the housing areas in the North, and the second one, a mining town, with which it is connected by a major road, and which is also organized in a similar half circle around the station - a feature which could be found in many of the Russian planned cities occupied by the Japanese.

As to the overall city plan, which should house 180.000 people, it consists of similar rectangular elements which can be repeated ad infinitum. However, the planners seem to have thought of the design as a finished one, the actual form being limited by a green area along the railway on the Northern and the river on the Southern side. A green belt runs also through the city and is the site of railway and roads, separating them from the neighborhood. This idea can already be seen in the urban plan of Radburn from 1928, which is mentioned by the authors as a reference. At the same time, green belts and parks were also discussed in Japan itself. Their realization, however, was more related to military concepts than to social ideas. The rivers which border the area, are not connected with the urban plan, they mainly form the backdrop for industry and airports as well as a cemetery and a racing track. The housing areas are designed in the form of a half-moon and surround the administrative and commercial city center which consists of a new, Beaux-Arts style monumental area for the major administrative buildings and the old walled city. Among the Uchida group was an architectural historian, Sekino Musaru, who did research on old Chinese buildings and the planners thus respected the existing center. In fact they considered the maintenance of the old areas as a cultural mission and confronted it with the new development, therewith reflecting the French attitude opposing indigenous areas with urban districts realized by the colonizators. The only element in the whole plan reflecting the Japanese colonizers identity is the shrine on the North-Western side. This concentration on shrines as elements of urban representation is coherent with the development on the mainland as shown by the plan for the Ise shrine. (Koshizawa, 1997)

The utmost attention however was given to the design of the neighborhood unit. Groups of 859 families, that is about 5000 persons, are organized as one urban unit, corresponding to a rectangle 800 meters large and 1000 meters long which is further devided into 5 entities. In order not to disturb the life in the neighborhood, all through traffic is banned and most units are accessible only through dead end streets, which are themselves connected through green ways ending in a central park. On first sight, it seems that the architects created therewith a master-piece, worth other neighborhood plans elaborated during that period. A closer look on Takayama's collection of Western housing districts shows, however, that it is in fact a nearly identical copy of an American garden-city neighborhood realized in Detroit in 1931. Only some minor corrections were realized by the planners of Datong, like changing the orientation of some buildings, replacing apartment houses with courtyard buildings and especially taking out the churches, originally placed on the ends of the diagonal streets. (Takayama, 1936) The Uchida report insists on the necessity of building large houses for Japanese immigrants, referring to the housing policy

of the Western countries in their colonies. In regard to the housing design itself, the planners refer to the typical Chinese courthouse buildings of this area, as the most appropriate in regard to the climate.

The Datong project cannot be seen as an important achievement on the international scale. In fact, it seems to be more an exercise to apply Western ideas and a copy of earlier projects by Uchida like the garden city or the regional settlement plan. It is, however, interesting as a visionary concept designed by Japanese planners, which reflects major ideas of that period like the integration of the regional context as well as urban and neighborhood planning but also architectural design. Of particular interest in regard to urban planning on mainland Japan, however, is the financial concept prepared by Takayama. He was convinced that there should be no private profits from land amelioration and also tried to fight speculation. He therefore proposed a development in three steps, which would permit to finance the development of the outside areas through the sale of land in the inner part of the city.

RE-IMPORT OF COLONIAL CONCEPTS TO JAPAN: The attitude towards urban design displayed by the planners in Datong is very similar to projects prepared by architect-planners for the rebuilding after World War II. Sponsored by the then responsible of urban planning at the Tokyo government, Ishikawa Hideaki, several competitions were held for major urban areas as well as for central campuses in Tokyo. Under the participants were numerous planners who were active in the colonies before. Thus, Takayama participated in a group for the reconstruction of a larger area around the campus of Tokyo University. The resulting proposal also reflected major developments of the West. In fact buildings of Le Corbusier were used as marks for prominent construction in this plan. Another example was the proposal for Shinjuku, prepared by Uchida Shôbun, the son of Uchida Yoshikazu and another prominent member of the Datong planning group, which also features major elements of Le Corbusier's urban plans like for example the Antwerp proposal.

These proposals show a certain desire for design, an attitude which was possible only during the years after the defeat of Japan and the reconstruction of the administration. The main approach to planning was however a pragmatic one, which was in fact, definitely fixed following the rebuilding after World War II. During the war period, planning was seen as a military means and a technique for disaster prevention. It is therefore not surprising, that urban planning lectures by Takayama were held in Tokyo University in a new department created to strengthen Japan's war potential. No tradition of planning discussion existed and the administration quickly returned towards the pragmatic planning means centered around land readjustment, which had proved their value after the Great Kanto Earthquake.

IDEOLOGY AND THE EXPORT OF PLANNING IDEAS: Colonial planning in the West is generally discussed together with the problem of ideology. Takayama's ideas in this respect are very characteristic: For him, export is only a problem, if it is connected to ideology and the transmission of culture, like in the case of the Algiers project from Le Corbusier. The export of planning techniques, however, is seen as a simple merchant's work without ideological background. Pragmatic planning in contrast to urban design therewith becomes a technical means to be exported without hesitation. It needs however further analysis to determine whether this export of planning techniques does not give preference to Japanese companies in regard to construction as well as to later implantation.

ILLUSTRATIONS:

above: Uchida Yoshikazu,
garden city proposal, 1922

below left: Uchida Yoshikazu,
Takayama Eika, Uchida Shôbun a.o.
The urban plan for Datong, 1938

below right: idem
The neighborhood unit proposed
for Datong, 1938

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

- Aveline, Natacha, (1994) *The Japanese Land Readjustment System: a Model for Asian Countries? The cases of Seoul and Taipei*, paper given at the EAJS conference in Copenhagen
- Fujimori, Terunobu, (1982), *Meiji no Tôkyô keikaku*, Iwanami shoten
- Fujimori, Terunobu, Wan Tan (Ed.) (1996), *Zenchôsa Higashi Asia kindai no toshi to kenchiku, A Comprehensive Study of East Asian Architecture and Urban Planning: 1840-1945*, Chikumashobô
- Ishida, Yorifusa (Ed.), (1992) *Mikan no Tokyo keikaku*, Chikumashobô
- Ishida, Yorifusa; Hein, Carola, (1998), *Die Wurzeln der japanischen Stadtplanung*, conference at the OAG Tokyo
- Ishida, Yorifusa, (1998) *War, Military Affairs and Urban Planning*, Paper at the IPHS conference in Sydney
- Koshizawa, Akira, (1991) *Manshûkoku no shutokeikaku*, Nihonkeizaihyôronsha
- Koshizawa, Akira (1997), *Shinto keikaku: Jingû kankei shisetsu seibi jigyô no tokushoku to igi, Planning of the Shrine City in Ise: Its Characteristics and Significance*, Papers on City Planning, City Planning Special Review Issue
- Myers, Ramon H., Peattie, Mark R (1984), The Japanese Colonial Empire 1895-1945, Princeton University Press
- Takayama, (1936) *Gaikoku ni okeru jûtaku shikiji wari ruireisyû*, Dôjunkai
- Takayama, (1938) *Gaikoku ni okeru jûtaku shikiji wari ruireisyû, zoku*, Dôjunkai
- Watanabe, Shun'ichi (1988), Japanese vs. Western Urban Images. Western Influences on the Japanese Architectural Profession, 1910s-1920s, The Third International Planning History Conference - Proceedings of: The History of International Exchange of Planning Systems, 11-12.November 1988, Tokyo p. 568-599
- Watanabe, Shun'ichi, (1980) *Garden city Japanese style: the case of Den-en Toshi Company Ltd, 1918-1928*, in: Cherry, G.E. (Ed.), *Shaping an Urban World*, London, Mansell

A liberal town planner in Africa: L.W. Thornton White and the planning of an 'Indian Ocean Empire' 1939-1950

Elizabeth van Heyningen
Department of History
Private Bag, Rondebosch, 7700
University of Cape Town, South Africa

L.W. Thornton White, Professor of Architecture at the University of Cape Town, commented in 1947 on the number of South Africans currently acting as advisers to the Kenyan government including Thornton White himself. Together with his colleagues, P.R. Anderson and Leo Silberman, Thornton White had been contracted to design a town plan for Nairobi and, with Silberman, two more for Mombasa Old Town and Port Louis, Mauritius.

Such associations between South Africa and Kenya were longstanding. Apart from conservative Afrikaner immigrants, South Africa had provided the model for labour legislation controlling the movement of black labourers in the towns. (Curtin, 1985; Swanson, 1977; van Heyningen, 1984) South African expertise had already contributed to town planning in Nairobi. The 1926 Commission to examine Kenya's local government had been chaired by a South African, Chief Justice Richard Feetham, while F. Walton Jameson of Kimberley had worked with the architect Herbert Baker on a plan for Nairobi in 1927.

Under these circumstances, and in the context of global opposition to *apartheid*, it is easy to see why Peter Hall should comment that these advisers 'accepted and reinforced the existing racial divisions'; that Thornton-White's 1948 *Master Plan* for Nairobi took refuge in back-door segregation (Hall 1988: 190). At first glance such statements appear to have validity, but a closer examination of the records suggests a more complex process at work. This paper is an attempt to place these African and Mauritian town plans in their historical context and to explore the relationship between a planner and the planning process.

L.W. Thornton White, architect and town planner

Leonard William Thornton White (1901-1965) left school at the age of sixteen and was apprenticed as an architect to Dr John Bilson in Hull. Subsequently he attended a post-graduate course at the London University Bartlett School of Architecture. He was an outstanding student, coming first in the RIBA Intermediate and Final Examinations. He was awarded a number of prizes including the Henry Jarvis Studentship for the British School in Rome. On his return to England, Thornton White entered academic life, teaching at the Architectural Association School, rising to vice-principal, the position he held when he was appointed to the Chair of Architecture at the University of Cape Town in 1937. During this period, he later claimed, he had also been actively involved in the planning of the St Pancras area in London, and with the redevelopment of the areas round the Liverpool Street, Euston and Paddington Stations, possibly in association with the firm of Fry, Adams and Thompson.

Although he completed a number of commissions in England, Thornton White was not a prolific architect. His influence was far greater as a teacher. Revel Fox, later a leading Cape Town architect, wrote to him in 1951:

> you will understand when I say that it is only now against a background of other schools of thought that I can truly appreciate the fundamentals of the system of rational free thinking which you teach. Its beauty and strength lies in versatility for it can [be] applied to any problem. It's a system which at first seemed vague but now proves to be universal instead. It has stood me in such good stead that I feel no inadequacy in reasoning with men of far greater practical & technical experiences; and its merits are quickly recognised as being a new way of approaching problems.

The shadow of Herbert Baker hung low over Cape Town. At the School and in Cape Town Thornton White's major contribution was to extirpate this influence and to inculcate the philosophy of modernism into his students, the profession and the wider public - a system which was functional and utilitarian, based on the principles of economy and simplicity of style, forswearing the 'dilettante art of dressing carelessly devised and inappropriately planned buildings in the frills and fancies dictated by quickly passing whims of fashion'. Through his own work, and even more through that of his students, Thornton White reshaped the architectural face of Cape Town. (Thornton White 1937; Phillips 1993: 310-1)

Thornton White enjoyed the good life - wine, fast cars and a substantial home in a prosperous part of Cape Town. Politically he was a Smuts man. When the Afrikaner-dominated Nationalist Party came to power in 1948, dismayed by their *apartheid* policies, he withdrew from planning schemes imposing Groups Areas legislation (enforcing residential segregation); in effect he did no more planning. In the 1960s he joined the Progressive Party, the most left-wing of the surviving political parties, working fairly actively on their behalf.

All this was typical of the average white middle-class liberal Capetonian of the period. Certainly it would be unfair to associate Thornton White with the segregationist policies of many white South Africans, particularly since his ideas and values were moulded in Britain, well before he arrived in the country. Typical too, it might be argued however, was the superficiality of his opposition to *apartheid*. In the prosperous 1960s he wrote complacently to a relative:

> In spite of all the adverse comments, mostly completely ill-informed, southern Africa is flourishing; capital pouring in, all the major British firms establishing acres of factories out here; more immigrants than ever before, ... Compared with most countries we must be one of the really peaceful places. Difficult to believe perhaps, but true. We don't even lock our doors at night.

There were other unpleasing aspects of Thornton White's personality. He was greedily ambitious. His detractors described him as 'ruthless', that he 'took short cuts', that he treated his colleagues as 'minions' and considered many of those for whom he worked as 'fools'. At the end of his career the University persuaded him to resign from his chair in the now deeply-divided School, by offering him the position of architectural consultant to the University.

The Cape Town foreshore scheme, 1939-1945

The commission to plan the Cape Town foreshore on 234 acres of reclaimed land was Thornton White's first major project. He had been angling for the appointment when he emigrated to South Africa. In England he had cultivated the acquaintance of Charles Te Water, South African High Commissioner, and F.C. Sturrock, whose son was a student at the AA School in London and, by 1939, was teaching at the UCT School of Architecture. Sturrock had been a cabinet minister and in 1939 became Minister of Railways and Harbours, responsible for the selection of planners to the scheme. One example illustrates Thornton White's tactics. He described an episode to Norman Eaton, an important Pretoria architect who was influential in the South African Institute of Architects which was advising the Minister on the selection of planners,. On his way to work 'in the new Studebaker, which is running like velvet and very fast' he overtook and stopped Charles Te Water. 'We stood and talked on the heights overlooking Cape Town for half an hour or so, during which time I had enrolled the son in the School (instead of allowing him to escape to Wits.) and went on to discuss Cape Town and its planning.'

He had already had 'long Planning talks with te Water pere before leaving London and in letters since, so that he knows my interest in the matter'. The same day Thornton White contacted Sturrock, whom he knew 'fairly well' and wrote to the SA Institute of Architects, urging that the appointment be made not through competition but by a panel of

Institute experts (of whom he was one). A reason why he was so keen for the job, Thornton White told Eaton, was because 'I feel so keenly about the whole matter that I thought the time opportune to step in and let everyone know what "modern standards of planning" really means'. 'Your own letter puts additional heart into me, for I really believe that with my three senior staff we should make the strongest planning team at present in the Union. And we are on the spot down here, where most of the planning work must surely be done.' The upshot of Thornton White's efforts was that he was appointed planner along with F. Longstreth Thompson of the London firm of Fry, Adams and Thompson.

Thornton White's ideas were clearly derived from Britain. 'It is modern planning practice to undertake a very thorough practical analysis of conditions - to establish a real problem - before a solution in any form is attempted', he explained to the SA Institute of Architects. The foreshore scheme offered a rare opportunity since no existing structures impeded the plan. The main objectives were to create a monumental 'gateway to South Africa' and to solve problems of transport circulation into and through the city. The plan which the two men produced moved the main axis of the city east from Adderley Street to a 'Monumental Approach' from the harbour to provide a 'dignified city hall at the head of a 'Monumental Approach' from the harbour to provide a 'dignified civic welcome to distinguished visitors' (SAR&H 1940: 7-8).

It was not well received. The central problem related to the location of the railway station which the planners retained on Adderley Street, now the commercial centre of the town. This shortened the 'Monumental Approach' while railway lines impeded access to the area from the town. In response the municipality commissioned its own planner, the Frenchman E.E. Beaudouin, whose plan was more grandiose but which suggested that he was more sensitive to the dramatic possibilities of the site. The Railway planners were contemptuous of the result. 'I can honestly say I have never encountered a more pitiable effort,' Thompson remarked to Thornton White. A deadlock ensued, followed by further proposals. Ultimately Thornton White withdrew. The final result, completed after the Nationalist government was in power, satisfied no-one except the Railways who gained their point that the station should be centrally located. The monumental approach was abandoned, the main axis was returned to Adderley Street, and the new civic centre - described as "straddling the main arterial approach to the city like a giant cricket screen' created wind tunnels which blew over double-decker buses, while concrete freeways isolated the city from the harbour.

A turning point in Africa

Thornton White's prestige was considerably increased by the foreshore plan and, at the end of the war, he was invited to design a master plan for Nairobi. At a time when travel was difficult it made sense to utilise available experts and soon afterwards he was also commissioned to produce plans for Mombasa and for Port Louis in Mauritius, as well as for a number of schools and other buildings. By this time in partnership with colleagues from the School, the bulk of the detailed work was done by his 'minions' in Cape Town.

Thornton White's careful nurturing of useful contacts was an important element in gaining these contracts but other factors were at work. Reform was in the air, bringing the hope of a more equitable society to a war-torn world. In Britain the Beveridge Report and the Greater London Plan were landmarks of this era. In South Africa the consequences of the depression led the University of Cape Town to appoint Professor Edward Batson, previously of the London School of Economics, to its first chair in sociology. His Social Survey of Cape Town, published during the war, introduced the techniques of the statistical survey and the poverty datum line to Africa and was widely influential. Here too, the war brought promise of reform - a National Health Commission was established, national insurance was spoken of,

and new housing plans promised. For Africans there were even hints that the draconian regulations controlling urban life might be alleviated - that Africans had a right to the city.

Nor did the colonial world escape the promise of a more democratic future. During the war the British government had enunciated new colonial policies. Her considerations were somewhat different from those at home, arising from her weakness in the postwar world and a new dependence on her colonies, and were embodied in the Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1940 and related legislation (Porter 1987). Although there is a considerable literature on the subject, town planning as an aspect of development planning in Africa is rarely mentioned. Yet it was central to the process. If colonial industrialisation was to be promoted, decisions had to be made about the location of industries. More important was a major policy change in relation to labour. Until the war, like South Africa, Kenya had preferred migrant labour. A major strike in 1939 and wartime unrest, particularly amongst the dockworkers in Mombasa, led the colonial authorities to reconsider this policy. Mombasa, Frederick Cooper argues, was one of the great laboratories of British Africa 'for experiments with the transition from a rapidly circulating labour force to a stable one rooted in urban residence and an urban way of life. The decisions implied a fundamental break in the conceptions that colonial rulers had of African society' (Cooper 1987: 8-12). This, he suggests was a turning point in British colonial Africa.

Nairobi, Mombasa and Port Louis

While the Nairobi Master Plan of 1948 (Thornton White 1948) was published, the Mombasa plans were not, nor have they survived in the Thornton White papers. The result is that the Master Plan has been the subject of repeated analysis, while the Mombasa work has been ignored although Mombasa's problems were central to an understanding of the need for planning in Kenya. Most commentators have agreed that the Nairobi plan reinforced residential segregation or that it was planning in the imperial tradition for a colonial capital (Nevanlinna 1996: 179-80). This is partly true. Thornton White was commissioned by the colonial authorities and had, necessarily, to produce a plan which would be acceptable to his patrons. But Thornton White was no Herbert Baker, steeped in the imperial tradition, and he determinedly abjured the 'Appian Way' which Baker had intended for Nairobi. The most grandiose plan which he proposed for a capital city was the 'monumental approach' to Cape Town and he did not repeat it. Nairobi's administrative centre was relatively modest and that for Port Louis was largely intended to restructure administrative chaos. He identified himself rather with the British tradition which excelled in 'delightful suburbs and ample space for sport' in contrast to Latins who raised 'imposing buildings, avenues and statues'.

One of the innovative features of the Master Plan, Thornton White considered, was the use of a sociologist to conduct surveys, in advance of Britain where 'sociology as a discipline is hardly known'. His UCT colleague, Edward Batson, had probably influenced his views but he selected the Transvaal sociologist, Leo Silberman, who had a greater experience of tropical Africa, to co-operate with him.

> In a town plan of a new city the sociologist has an obvious place. Nothing is crystallised and the plan itself is destined to influence deeply the course of events. ... The sociological difficulties of a new and multi-racial urban area are too much in the forefront to be easily overlooked and so it has come that Kenya has in some way made town planning history by experimenting with a team of three planners.

As ever, Thornton White exaggerated his achievements, for the idea of a thorough survey to precede planning dated back to the beginning of the century (Hall, 1988: 140-2). More to the point, the survey was intended to identify the different urban traditions of Nairobi's multi-ethnic society and to provide planning solutions which would create a viable urban community. Thus, for instance, 'The low standard of the African entrepreneur and his

disregard to service are features of the urban scene'. Subsidised social services failed to develop the 'spirit of individual conscience and responsibility which alone will make schools, feeding schemes, community centres into social services'. Administrative devolution was the answer although it was neither easy nor efficient. 'Of all forms of apprenticeship that of democracy is the most time consuming, expensive and nerve wracking.' South Africa was contrasted with Kenya where the ethnic situation was more fluid. The planners did not deny 'colour feeling' which was 'the most natural thing in the world to those who have lived for any time in multiracial countries' but 'Kenya has managed to swing herself into the front rank of British Colonies, and with planning the emphasis on common human needs and a more rational outlook on economic affairs is bound to grow. It is the function of any Master Plan to increase the flexibility of Kenya society and to reduce any inconveniences which might absorb energies without pushing society forward'. Nairobi, the planners believed, would be more strongly assimilationist than any other East African town. 'It will go ahead as a European type town, European in architecture, a little frigid but efficient, tidy and progressive.'

Eurocentric and paternalist the *Master Plan* undoubtedly was. This was social engineering aided by planning. The solution, of which Thornton White was extremely proud, and which he claimed was his unique idea, was the 'neighbourhood unit'. Derived partly from the garden city concept and partly from Abercrombie's Greater London Plan, modified for Africa, the *Plan* spelled out a list of desiderata which were middle class in conception. Here were schools, playgrounds, community centres, libraries, clinics, pedestrian ways situated in open parkland. With his passion for cost efficiency Thornton White spelled out the economy of this proposal, particularly in the reduction of road space. His discussion of potential social services in the residential areas, including beer gardens rather than beer halls in Nairobi's temperate climate, implied that they were intended for Africans as well as Indians and whites. He waxed lyrical over the possibilities of these communities where recreation would recreate and welfare would become the lubricant of the social relationships 'which make for the good life'.

The collaboration between Thornton White and Leo Silberman worked well for the Nairobi plan but foundered on Mombasa mainly, Thornton White believed, because of Silberman's slipshod research. The plan and survey were, apparently, shelved and, although they had also intended to work together in Mauritius, the Port Louis plan was entirely Thornton White's work (Thornton White 1952). Here he spelt out his proposals in plain English, simple enough for everyone to understand. He also explained his views on the functions of a master plan which 'is not a detailed development plan, but a programme to which local constructive effort can apply itself'. It should be practical and effective without being inflexible. 'It should serve as a frame of reference, a datum line from which future changes may be measured and both immediate and future decisions be made.'

As in Kenya, his plan was designed at a critical political moment when power was being devolved on the Mauritian residents. Unlike Nairobi, in Port Louis Thornton White was confronted by an old town, predominantly Asian in its structure. Forced to compromise, he confined himself largely to rationalising the zoning of different activities and to providing a coherent road system. The Indian bazaar and Chinese godowns were not to his taste but he reluctantly conceded that, in order 'to meet the wishes expressed by the people of Port Louis' areas should be allowed to remain 'in which the Eastern pattern of life, and that of mediaeval Europe' prevailed, where people lived and worked on the same premises. The key to the realisation of the plan in this impoverished society, he urged, was the recognition of the fact it would only be executed gradually, as money for development became available. But participation in the process must be public. 'This spirit of co-operation, this new knowledge,

will fade and die if it is to become the reference of one or two officials ... The largest practicable number of individuals and groups took part in its preparation ... an even greater number must be interested in its realization.'

Conclusion

Thornton White's plans for Africa were not an example of South African racist imperialism. They were, rather, the expression of a spirit of reform which permeated the Western world in the immediate post-war era, at a point when Britain was attempting to secure the colonial empire to her by the means of modern welfare development and planning. His visions of functional, ordered colonial capitals were middle class and Eurocentric but they were no more misguided than plans being implemented in Britain and America in these critical years (Hall 1988: 223-7, 235-40).

References

Primary research is based on the Thornton White Papers, BC 353, University of Cape Town. My thanks go to Dr Howard Phillips who made his interviews with Professor Owen Pryce Lewis available to me.

Cooper, F (1987) *On the African Waterfront. Urban Disorder and the Transformation of Work in Colonial Mombasa*, Yale UP, New Haven.
Curtin, P (1985) 'Medical knowledge and urban planning in tropical Africa', *American Historical Review* 90, 594-613.
Hall, P (1988) *Cities of Tomorrow. An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design in the Twentieth Century*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford.
Nevanlinna, AK (1996) *Interpreting Nairobi. The cultural study of built forms*, Suomen Historiallinen Seura, Helsinki.
Phillips, H (1993) *The University of Cape Town 1918-1948. The Formative Years*, UCT Press, Cape Town.
Porter, AN and Stockwell, AJ (1987), *British Imperial Policy and Decolonization 1938-64* Vol. 1, Macmillan, London.
South African Railways and Harbours (1940), *Report of the Town Planning Advisers on the Cape Town Foreshore Scheme*, SAR&H, Pretoria.
Swanson, MW (1977) 'The sanitation syndrome: bubonic plague and urban native policy in the Cape Colony, 1900-1909', *Journal of African History*, 16(3), 387-410.
Thornton White, LW (1937) 'Inaugural lecture', *South African Architectural Record* Jan., 269.
Thornton White, LW (1952) *A Master Plan for Port Louis Mauritius. A Report*, Thornton White, Pryce Lewis & Sturrock, 1952.
Thornton White, LW, Silberman, L, Anderson, PR (1948) *Nairobi: Master Plan for a Colonial Capital. A Report Prepared for the Municipal Council of Nairobi* HMSO, London.
van Heyningen, EB (1984) 'Cape Town and the plague of 1901', *Studies in the History of Cape Town*, 4, 66-107.

Metropolitan Planning and Demography: Sydney as a case study

Sue Holliday, Director General,
Department of Urban Affairs and Planning, Sydney.

Introduction

In most countries, uncertainty about future population growth has been a longstanding feature of land-use planning, for the baby boom that followed the Second World War was unexpected, as was the sharp decline in fertility that began in the early 1970s. Large-scale immigration further complicates the issue in Australia especially as the federal system of government allocates the power to control this source of population growth to the Commonwealth while leaving responsibility for planning entirely to State and Local governments. As its largest city and one that has been especially attractive to immigrants, Sydney provides an excellent case study of how planning has responded to demographic influences. Sydney is also appropriate because its first metropolitan plan was prepared immediately after the war, before it was realised that the baby boom was more than a short-term reaction.

This paper will show how in its first 25 years, metropolitan planning first underestimated, then overestimated, population change. In the next 25 years after about 1970, the degree of uncertainty appears to have increased and fluctuations in population growth have taken place over very short time periods. The paper will argue that planning has responded by becoming more flexible. It will suggest that population change is but one aspect of a wider framework of uncertainty that requires statutory land-use planning to be supported by urban management to co-ordinate government expenditure and to allow quick response to the many external sources of change.

The County of Cumberland Planning Scheme, 1951

'Primarily, however, it is a plan for two million people'. This description of the first metropolitan plan for Sydney, made by the planning authority - the Cumberland County Council - in its *Planning Scheme Report*, indicates that it was not a plan for urban growth as Sydney already contained 1.7 million people. Rather, the aim was to improve living conditions by applying the accepted planning principles of the time (Winston, 1957 p.79).

Despite the known shortage of housing, additional capacity was not seen as the major problem. The *Planning Scheme Report* argued that the issues were that jobs were over-concentrated in the city centre and that people either had to live in soul-less dormitory suburbs (and suffer long journeys to work) or near the centre but then, often, in slums. There was a shortage of industrial sites, congestion on the roads and the harbour and the invasion of residential areas by industry with its pollution and traffic. If industry could be encouraged to disperse and if district centres could be established in the suburbs, there might be shorter journeys to work and less congestion.

The County Plan identified new transport routes, and defined areas which should be designated as public open spaces, district centres and new industrial areas, taking into account as far as possible the existing land use patterns. Zones for the region were mapped as Living Areas, Industrial Areas, Rural Areas, Open Space & Foreshores and Green Belt. Local councils were to control development within this zonal structure and were to make more detailed planning schemes within its framework. State authorities were to provide the infrastructure as part of their normal programs. In 1951, Parliament approved the County Plan, giving it its statutory authority and permitting development according to its map.

Two reasons can be suggested as to why the County Plan ignored early signs of the need for large new urban areas. One is connected with the availability of vacant residential land at the time, the other with demographic analysis.

Despite the housing shortage, there were considerable stocks of vacant residential land, which had been created by the speculative excesses of the 1920s (Spearritt, 1978, Ch. 3). The Cumberland County Council estimated that there were about a quarter of a million vacant residential lots – a huge stock, even if many lots had to be discounted because of difficulties in their development. A major objective of the County Plan was to facilitate the use of this land in order to increase the efficiency of public infrastructure and services.

A second reason why the Cumberland County Council did not plan for expansion was that its population projections were based on Australia's inter-war experience.

The County Plan contained two population projections. Both assumed that overseas migration to Australia would be 30,000 per annum for the whole period, which was double the rate that had occurred from 1920 to 1947. There were two assumptions about fertility; the higher level was thought likely to be a net reproduction rate of 0.925 from 1950. This assumption and the earlier mentioned migration rate of 30,000 per annum led to a prediction that the Australian population would reach a maximum of 8.2 million in 1980 and then begin to decline. The population of Sydney was assumed to be one quarter of the nation in 1972 and would then be 2.2 million. It would peak at 2.3 million in 1980 (Cumberland County Council, 1948, Ch. 6). These assumptions seriously underestimated both natural increase and immigration.

During the 1950s and 1960s, reviews of the population projections of the County Plan were made but underestimation of growth continued. In 1959, Sydney's population estimate for 1972 was revised from 2.2 million to 2.7 million. It was assumed that the high fertility rates of the time would not change but that there would be a decline in current national migration to 50,000 per annum in 1967 (County of Cumberland, 1959). As we now know, this much underestimated the 100,000 per annum who arrived in the latter half of the 1960s. In 1962, another review raised the projection for 1972 to 2.8 million because Sydney was then attracting an increasing share of the national population but it did not alter the assumed rate of immigration (County of Cumberland, 1962). In 1971 the actual outcome was that Sydney had a population of almost 3 million.

The practical effect of the failure to plan for population growth was that the provisions made for a Green Belt could not be sustained. In 1959, the Minister for Local Government, against the wishes of the County Council, allowed the suspension of much of the Green Belt zone because of the need for broadacres for subdivision and housing (Harrison, 1974, p.205).

In retrospect, it is unfortunate that the Green Belt had become identified in the public mind as the key element of the County Plan. Its failure became the Plan's failure and many real achievements were overlooked. The County Plan had paved the way for industry to relocate from the inner city. It had protected residential areas from invasion by industry and commerce and this in turn had encouraged private owners to rehabilitate the so-called slums of the inner areas (though the Plan had not foreseen this and had proposed slum clearance by public authorities). The Plan introduced the policy of promoting district centres in suburban areas, which has been maintained in all subsequent plans. And although it did not save the Green Belt, it did set up procedures and funding to buy a great deal of land for public uses. These achievements were, however, masked by its failure to plan for the level of population growth that occurred.

The Sydney Region Outline Plan 1968

In the second metropolitan plan - the Sydney Region Outline Plan – demographic projections were a main focus reflecting the view that it was the mistakes made in the projections of the County Plan which were its undoing, rather than its basic structure. New projections recognised the beginning of a trend of decline in natural increase, but still argued 'it is expected that Sydney's population will grow from its present level of 2.7 million to about 5.5 million in the year 2000'. (State Planning Authority of NSW, 1968, p.18)

The expected increase was to be accommodated by policies which would encourage 0.5 million decentralised growth outside of the Sydney region, by also extending the Region itself to the north to Gosford-Wyong and importantly, by the development of growth corridors and growth sectors within Sydney. There would be three growth corridors – to the north, the west and the south-west. A fourth direction for growth, the North-West sector was to be considered at a later stage.

The Plan focussed on the management as well as location of growth with phased land development to assist the co-ordination of infrastructure provision and limit the possibilities of premature development. While the County Plan had emphasised the aesthetic and health reasons for public reservations and open space, the Sydney Region Outline Plan added the more utilitarian approach of reserving 'movement corridors' for highways and for other public utilities. The Plan also identified the need for much higher levels of public investment in the future than had been undertaken in the past. In considering the metropolitan area as a whole, it was concerned with the same problem as the County Plan – the over-concentration of jobs in the centre. Both plans adopted the same solution - to encourage industrial growth in specified zones in the suburbs and to concentrate other forms of employment in regional or district centres (State Planning Authority of NSW, 1968).

Unlike the County Plan, the Sydney Region Outline Plan was not a statutory document. Rather it was to be implemented by local plans and the co-ordination of the expenditure programs of State authorities.

It is an irony of metropolitan planning in Sydney that while the second plan placed more emphasis on demographic issues than the first, it was eventually equally wrong in its predictions. This became apparent in the early 1970s when fertility rates dropped rapidly, from a female net reproduction rate of 1.36 in 1970/71 to 0.93 in 1977/78, and when migration policy was changed leading to the lowest postwar intake of only 21,000 in 1975/76. Whereas the County Plan had underestimated population growth, the Sydney Region Outline Plan overestimated it.

The fall in the population's growth rate was recognised in the Borrie Report (1975, Vol.1, p.449), which suggested that the likely maximum population of Sydney in 2001 would be 4 million. Five years later, the Review of the Sydney Region Outline Plan projected a population of 3.5 to 3.9 million in 2001. These projections now seem likely to be reasonably close. In 1996, the population was 3.9 million and in the previous five years it had increased by 0.2 million. During the 1980s however the was much uncertainty about the likely future trend of population growth and many revisions were made. The effects of such short-term changes will be described in the next section.

Despite its over-estimate of long-term growth, the Sydney Region Outline Plan was remarkably accurate as to the expansion of residential land. A map of today's urbanised areas is nearly the same as the SROP map. Much of the area that it was planned would accommodate five million people has been filled by four million. A reason is that the Sydney Region Outline Plan underestimated the extent of movement from the inner and middle suburbs of Sydney to the outer fringe. According to Carolyn Stone (1985, p.225) it is possible that the availability of land encouraged this movement so that the Plan became a self-fulfilling prophecy.

It seems therefore that the first two metropolitan plans provided at least two lessons for the future. First, projections of population are more likely to be inaccurate than accurate. Second, it is possible that planning for land-expansive growth will encourage the demand for more land.

Metropolitan Strategic Planning in the 1980s and 1990s

The changes in fertility and immigration in the 1970s, described above, were but one element in a broader framework of instability that emerged in that decade when, for instance, unemployment became a serious problem, inflation soared and the price of energy was subject to two oil crises. All types of planning had difficulty coping and an 'anti-planning' literature derided the confidence of plans made in the 1960s. The Review of the Sydney Region Outline Plan (1980) is harsh in its criticism but spare in solutions. Yet in major metropolitan areas strategic direction of urban growth and change is required – though not necessarily in the detail of the first two metropolitan plans – and that direction must respond to changing circumstances. In the last two decades, planning has become more flexible and better integrated with urban management to cope with the new level of uncertainty, including its demographic component.

Sydney's population changes reflect what is happening at the national level where from the mid 1970s, natural increase has been very stable. Immigration, overall, has added fewer people than in the first 25 postwar years but the annual intake has fluctuated widely. Consequently, rapid population growth has occurred when overseas migration has surged, from 1979 to 1982 and from 1987 to1991. During the immigration peak years 1987 to 1990, 'the annual rate of population growth in Australia was 1.8%, the highest in the industrialised world'. Immigrants have always been attracted to the major cities of Sydney and Melbourne and since the 1970s the more so to Sydney – perhaps because of its greater linkages with the global economy (Burnley, Murphy and Fagan, 1997).

Population growth was at its most rapid when the third metropolitan plan Sydney into its Third Century was published in 1988. Recognising the impossibility of making an accurate population projection, the strategy was designed to accommodate 4.5 million people whenever the number was reached. It emphasised the objective of urban consolidation and the need to concentrate commercial employment and consumer services in the CBDs of Sydney, North Sydney and Parramatta and in selected sub-regional centres. It was also a plan for growth, recommending that the corridor structure of the Sydney Region Outline Plan be extended to incorporate major new urban sectors in the North-West, Bringelly, Macarthur South and the Central Coast. Unlike its predecessor, Sydney into its Third Century did not set a timetable for sector development. However, planning for the North-West sector was already well advanced and it was partially rezoned in 1989.

While there were some advantages in the shift from a plan for a time period to a plan for 4.5 million people, uncertainty remained though with a shift of focus to when the land for this number would be required. Initially, the year was thought to be 2011, but after new projections incorporated the Commonwealth's high immigration policy, the date was estimated at 2006 (Department of Planning, 1989). The future need for urban land then appeared urgent and two Regional Environmental Studies for South Creek Valley and Macarthur South respectively were undertaken. They were important in emphasising the cumulative impacts of growth and the environmental constraints now facing urban development in Sydney. The effect of urbanisation on water quality in the Hawkesbury-Nepean river system was of concern since both areas, and the

North-West sector, are in its catchment. Air quality issues were emphasised by the results of a pilot study, which showed how air movements throughout Sydney could lead to a concentration of the precursors for photochemical smog in the south-west of the metropolitan region.

Environmental concerns led to a reconsideration of expansion. At the same time the Metropolitan Air Quality Study was established by the NSW Environment Protection Authority. Sydney's water supply authority renewed and expanded its research into the relationship between urban development and water quality. Metropolitan planning was evolving from an emphasis on plans per se to a continuous process of planning and review. Urban expansion was occupying an increasingly central role in the deliberations of government as a whole, not just those of planners.

All this happened during the early 1990s when, coincidentally, overseas migration declined. Whether there was a causal relationship between public concern with the environmental consequences of population growth and the Commonwealth's position on immigration is impossible to ascertain. The issue is complicated by, among other things, the severe recession of that time. Irrespective of the causes, the effects were highly relevant to planning for Sydney.

New demographic projections made in 1994, incorporating lower migration assumptions, suggested that Sydney's population would reach about 4.5 million in 2021 (Department of Planning, 1994). These results were included in the most recent strategy, *Cities for the 21st Century* and permitted it to build on the 1988 plan with an even stronger emphasis on containing the expansion of the major urban areas. It promoted three key principles for the growth of the region – more compact cities, an ecologically sustainable region and effective strategy implementation (Department of Planning, 1995).

The third principle illustrated the progression of planning from having a focus most strongly on plan making to increased involvement with urban management. As the *Integrated Transport Strategy for the Greater Metropolitan Region* was prepared at the same time, a broad, whole of government approach to the region was being developed (Department of Transport, 1995). This shift has been recently reinforced by the establishment of the Ministry of Urban Infrastructure Management in 1996 to support the Urban Management Committee of Cabinet in its co-ordination of infrastructure planning and expenditure in the region (Knowles, 1996). There was also increased monitoring of and consultation about metropolitan planning issues. These changes have been documented in *A Framework for Growth and Change* (Department of Urban Affairs and Planning, 1997).

Conclusions

This paper has shown significant differences in the response of planning to demographic uncertainty which, in part, reflect the changing nature of that uncertainty. In the first twenty-five years after the Second World War, changes took place over a relatively long period. Rapid population growth was unexpected at first but it lasted until the early 1970s. Consequently the second metropolitan plan was designed to correct the errors of the first. Whereas the first plan sought to restructure Sydney but did not envisage any major physical expansion, the second was concerned mainly with doubling its size.

In contrast, in the second half of the postwar period rapid growth has been a very short-term phenomenon - though we know this only in hindsight. In the late 1980s, continued rapid growth seemed likely in Sydney. It was not possible then to predict that the Commonwealth would shift from a high to low immigration policy; nor in the early 1980s, had the change from low to high intake been predictable. This level of uncertainty made necessary a marked increase in the flexibility of metropolitan planning processes and a requirement for careful

monitoring of trends. It is an irony that had planners ignored the Commonwealth's changes of policy, their population predictions would have turned out to be more accurate, as judged by today's information. However, we are still uncertain about tomorrow, when new growth pressures could arise. By responding to the different demographic projections, we are now confident of the elements of strategic planning that are invariant with population, such as the centres policy, the plans for open space and the necessity to integrate transport and land use planning. As a result of the studies for the 1988 Plan, we are better informed of the cumulative impact of extensive growth on the environment. This in turn has stimulated policies for urban consolidation, which now appear to be shifting the direction of demand for housing to higher densities and inner locations. In short, the projections have had real impacts because they stimulated detailed studies of future growth and led to new strategic plans and policies.

References on planning and demography

Borrie, W.D. (Chairman) (1975) *First Report of the National Population Inquiry*, A.G.P.S.
Burnley, I. Murphy, P. Fagan, R. (1997) *Immigration and Australian Cities*, The Federation Press, Sydney.
Cumberland County Council (1948) *Planning Scheme Report*, Sydney.
Cumberland County Council (1959) *Growth of Population in Australia and the County of Cumberland*, Sydney.
Cumberland County Council (1962) *Growth of Population in Australia and the County of Cumberland*, Sydney.
Department of Planning (1988) *Sydney into its Third Century*, Sydney.
Department of Planning (1989) *Sydney into its Third Century: 1989 Update*, Sydney.
Department of Planning (1994) *Population Projections for NSW, 1991 – 2021, 1994 Revision*, Sydney.
Department of Planning (1995) *Cities for the 21st Century*, Sydney.
Department of Transport (1995) *Integrated transport Strategy for the Greater Metropolitan Region*, Sydney.
Department of Urban Affairs and Planning (1997) *A Framework for Growth and Change: The Review of Strategic Planning*, Sydney.
Harrison, Peter (1974) 'Planning the metropolitan areas', in Burnley I. H. *Urbanization in Australia*, Cambridge University Press, Sydney.
Knowles, C. (1996) 'The NSW State Government's Urban Management,' *Australian Planner*, Vol.33 No.2 pp.67-69.
NSW Planning and Environment Commission, (1980) *Review: Sydney Region Outline Plan*, NSW, Sydney.
Spearritt, Peter (1978) *Sydney since the Twenties*, Hale and Iremonger, Sydney.
State Planning Authority of NSW, (1968) *Sydney Region Outline Plan 1970–2000AD*, Sydney.
Stone, Carolyn (1985) 'Planning the future of Sydney', in Burnley I. and Forrest, J. *Living in Cities*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney.
Winston, Denis (1957) *Sydney's Great Experiment*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney.

From Barracks to Cottages: Worker housing and planning in British Southern Africa

Robert Home
Reader in Planning
University of East London
London, UK

> 'Block-dwellings are not productive of good citizens... the author is no advocate of this type of housing, and much prefers single-family dwellings or cottage flats built on such suburban areas as are suitable.' (E.P.Richards in 1914, quoted in Home 1997a: 219-220)

This statement, made about the city of Calcutta but applicable all over the British empire, expressed a policy shift between two forms of worker housing, each with its own implicit strategy of social control. The earlier form, the barrack, hostel or block, put workers into single-sex dormitories, usually provided by the employer; the presumption was that the workers were employed on short-term, even daily, contracts, and were therefore only temporary sojourners in town, for whose dependents no provision was needed. The later form, increasingly adopted from the 1930s, was the cottage or family house, built at a lower density, and usually with its own plot on a peripheral housing estate; the presumption here was that the workers were in long-term employment, living with their dependents. As Robinson (1990 and 1996) has shown, family housing provided 'a perfect system of control' over African workers for the *apartheid* spatial system.

This paper explores the policy shift from barrack to family house in Southern Africa, which was a forcing ground for mining capitalism and for methods of managing African and Asian workers. It extends the author's earlier work on colonial worker housing (Home 1997a) through field and archival research on Natal and Zambia. Natal, strategically located on the sea routes between Africa and Asia, originated the 'Shepstonian' system of indirect rule, and the so-called 'Durban system', which was applied across Southern Africa, using the revenues from a municipal monopoly of beer sales to fund African worker housing (Swanson 1976). In the Zambian Copperbelt towns an improved form of worker housing was negotiated between the mining companies, the protectorate administration and an increasingly politicized African work-force. The shift in policy and housing form was a response by both local and central government to the discontents of employers and employees, and was reflected by a number of official reports into labour conditions. The influence of the contemporary British housing and planning movement can be traced through the influence of individuals, associations and professional techniques, which were officially perceived as offering a contribution to the burdens of colonial management.

The barrack and the hostel
The barrack was for over fifty years (from the 1860s to the 1930s) the commonest form of worker housing in the British empire (Home 1997: chapter 4). Its built form was typically a long single-storey structure, internally arranged as a single or double row of standard-sized rooms (10x10 or 10x12 feet square) Walls were either sawn timber, stone or brick, the roof usually corrugated zinc or iron roof, and the floor either earth or raised planking A cooking area might be provided at the front, a communicating veranda or corridor ran the length of the building, ventilation was provided by shuttered openings at high-level under the roof, washing and toilet facilities, where these existed at all, were communal and usually in a separate building

From their military application, barracks were adapted to accommodate indentured workers, several million of whom were transported after the abolition of slavery, particularly from India and China, to supply the labour needs of plantation economies The recruiting agents claimed that indentured workers would be provided with rent-free housing by their employer, 'with as much garden ground as they can cultivate in their leisure hours for their own benefit' (West Indian Immigration 1872). Criticism of conditions on the estates in the 1870s led to commissions of inquiry, notably in Natal and Guiana, and legislation set minimum space standards of 50 sq.ft. for an adult and 120 sq.ft. for 'three single men, or one man and one woman with not more than two children' (*ibid.*) The Natal inquiry found that:

> 'On a few estates, barracks built of stone, and roofed with zinc or iron, have been erected, but the plan most frequently adopted is to permit the Coolies to build houses for themselves, time and material being allowed for the purpose. The barracks are disliked by their occupants, and metal roofs are found unsuitable to their habits, from not permitting the escape of smoke; all seemed to agree that houses of their own construction were preferable' (Coolie Commission 1872: 6).

In spite of such criticisms, barracks, altered and improved, still survive on many of the Natal sugar estates.

Barracks also served as reception centres in the ports. New immigrants to Natal were transferred to the Durban railway depot, where the Magazine Barracks were completed in 1880. Condemned by successive investigations as overcrowded and insanitary, they remained in use for eighty years, accommodating at their peak in 1943 over 6000 people (including 2500 children) at densities of four to a room (Omar 1989).

In Durban and Natal one finds the built form of Indian labour barracks clearly linked to African single-sex hostels from an early date. Africans were dismissively regarded as 'vagrants' when they came to Durban in search of work, and in 1869 a 'Law for the Punishment of Idle and Disorderly Persons and Vagrants within the Colony of Natal' empowered the Durban Corporation to build a 'vagrant house' for the nightly reception of 'non-resident natives' (Atkins 1993) Shepstone introduced the *togt* (or day-labour) system in the 1870s, under which labourers paid a registration fee for their own policing and accommodation. In 1878, even as preparations were being made for the Zulu war of the following year, the first *togt* barracks for 200 workers were built by the Durban Corporation at Somtseu Road (Somtseu being the Zulu version of Shepstone), eventually growing to accommodate 18,000 workers by 1923 The building of the *togt* barracks also coincided in time with barracks for the reception of Indian indentured labourers, and a plan of 1876 shows the 'coolie barrack' alongside the *togt* labour reception offices. In the words of the Durban Police Superintendant, R.C.Alexander, in 1904:

> 'I would put my Natives in barracks and let them march into the town as they do with soldiers.' (quoted in Swanson 1976 and Robinson 1990: 139)

The terminology evolved. The term hostel was sometimes preferred to barrack for African workers, and appears in the African (Urban Areas) Act of 1923, while 'compound' (derived from the Malay *kampong*, or village) and 'location' were the terms used for the demarcated land parcel within which they were placed (Rex 1974, Robinson 1996: 57). According to a 1952 definition,

> 'Compounds may be divided into two main types, namely barracks and hostels. The term "barrack" covers accommodation owned and provided rent-free by employers such as (a) industrial and commercial concerns; (b) proprietors of hotels, boarding houses and nursing homes, and landlords of flats providing services for residents, and (c) Government, provincial and municipal departments.... The term "hostel", on the other hand, refers exclusively to municipal-owned premises which accommodate Native workers of all kinds, including employees of some concerns whose own barracks are already full. In some cases the rent is paid by the residents, in others by their employers' (Durban 1952: 315).

A notorious application of the barrack was in the closed mining compounds developed at Kimberley in the late 1880s and then replicated across Southern and Central Africa (Pearson and Mouchet 1923; Turrell 1987; Wasserfall 1990). In the Zambian Copperbelt, for example, African mine-workers were accommodated in barracks on mine compounds, supervised by a compound manager appointed under the Mine Townships Ordinance. The inquiry into the 1935 strike criticized this form of housing at Nkana-Kitwe: 'the barrack type in long rows, all shade trees having been cut down... an impression of overcrowding and lack of privacy... austere quarters rather than houses' (Russell 1935: 62-3 & 140).

Workers increasingly rejected barrack living through the labour disturbances that spread across the empire in the 1930s, notably in Northern Rhodesia (1935 and 1940) and the West Indies (1937-8). The Forster and Moyne Commissions in the West Indies found barrack housing that was 'indescribable in their lack of elementary needs of decency', and recommended that family life be encouraged by the building of more semi-detached cottages for family accommodation with gardens (Home 1993b). Absorbed into official Colonial Office thinking on colonial development and welfare during the Second World War, these new planning and housing approaches applied to colonial management the promise of postwar reconstruction (Johnson 1977). Meanwhile barracks and hostels were still being built, such as the S.J.Smith hostel in Durban for 4000 men (approved in 1940, and intended to be a model of its kind).

Family housing and the stabilization of labour

Family housing for African workers was promoted as part of a debate around the so-called 'stabilization' of labour: in the Zambian Copperbelt 'whether efforts shall be made to build up a permanent mining population, or whether the miners shall be encouraged to regard the village as their base and spend short periods in the mines' (Stabilisation 1944). An early example of the policy was the Durban 'Married Natives' Quarters', built at Baumannville, near the Magazine and Somtseu barracks, in 1916:

> 'significant in the history of the urbanization of Africans in Durban, for it shows that the City Fathers had accepted the facts that Africans were becoming permanent town-dwellers, that they were entitled to have their families living with them in town, and that the city was responsible for their proper housing' (Baumannville 1959: 3).

The physical form of that estate was an evolution from the barrack, and comprised houses in parallel rows, each with two living rooms (100 or 150 sq ft each), a rear verandah (or stoep), and backyard with outside toilet and water tap - 'as cheap and plain as possible compatible with decency'.

The mining companies resisted such family housing until the 1930s, preferring a turnover of labour, but representations to the inquiry into the 1940 strike from the London-based Aborigines Protection Society asserted that:

> 'the mines cannot be regarded as merely temporary ... an orderly and contented native community on the Copperbelt can be established only on a basis of stable family life' (Stabilisation 1944).

Even before the strikes the protectorate administration in Northern Rhodesia was pressing the mining companies to abandon barracks for bachelor or married huts, each with its own small plot. Costings were included in the Rhokana Corporation's 1935 proposals for a native location in the Nkana-Kitwe public township: married huts cost £22/10/- each, while single huts 'of the regulation Compound type' were £18 each. The colonial officials disapproved of 'the grim barracks which appear to be contemplated... nothing less than the creation of native slums', and Rhokana increased the proportion of married huts, agreeing that all should be 'of the individual type'. It claimed that barracks were more efficient, at a density of 53 units per acre (compared with 18 for the 'individual type huts'), and that the 'natives...are comfortably housed and seem to be quite satisfied and contented' in barracks - a statement made only a month before the 1935 strikes revealed the scale of African mine-workers' discontents (Rhokana 1935). Floor-plans of houses built at Nkana-Kitwe in the 1940s show the links with earlier barrack forms: mud brick walls rendered with cement, each dwelling enclosed by a hedge (kept below three feet in height, for ease of external surveillance), no windows, but only ventilation openings beneath the corrugated-iron roofs. Internally two rooms provided a total floorspace of under 200 sq.ft. on a plot of about 1000 sq.ft.

Council housing decentralized to peripheral locations

The shift towards families occurred, not only in employer-provided housing, but also by local authorities building peripheral estates or 'locations'. The origins of South African 'locations' lie in the Eastern Cape in the 19th century, and legislation for them was passed in the Cape and Natal in the early 1900s. In the years between the Wars British garden city and council housing practice reinforced the practice, with planners such as Albert Thompson and Charles Reade active in Southern Africa (Home 1997: 161-5). In Britain a million council houses on 'cottage estates' were built at that time, and the London County Council's Becontree estate afforded an example of moving workers out to 'one class' estates on the edge of major cities (Home 1997b; Swenarton 1981). In Southern Africa the Durban Corporation, for example, was building African locations outside the borough limits in the 1930s, although in 1952 barrack/ hostel bedspaces still outnumbered family housing by over three to one under the category 'sub-economic letting': 13,202 beds, 3,195 houses (Durban Housing Survey 1952).

In Central Africa the new housing was advocated in a government report in 1949, which asserted:

> 'The African is entitled to receive more of the advantages of town planning practice. There has been a regrettable tendency to plan African urban areas merely as dormitories, lacking in character and with no recognisable community centre. A completely self-contained community should be visualised when laying out a new

area... The old conception of planning an African area as a dormitory must be dropped' (African Housing 1949: 13).
The report set a minimum standard for family houses of two living rooms of 100 sq.ft minimum floorspace, on plots of 4000 sq ft. Bachelor homes, it said

' ... must await the more urgent need for family homes. Large two and three storey hostels are generally not advisable and the barrack type building should always be avoided... A family of more than four persons cannot be accommodated without overcrowding' in two-room family houses (*ibid*. 1 and 20)

In the Republic of South Africa peripheral 'one-class' housing estates were used as places to put non-whites forcibly displaced from towns by the doctrine of *apartheid* and the 1948 Group Areas Act (Calderwood 1953). Durban had a key role in implementing this policy (Maharaj 1992), and, with central Durban declared white, the Magazine Barracks and Baumannville were demolished, and their inhabitants moved out to African and Indian peripheral townships such as KwaMashu and Chatsworth. As expressed in the concluding words of the 1959 study of Baumannville:

'The location has done its work and amply repaid the council's original investment; it has provided Durban with the nucleus of a stable labour force and a precedent for family housing... Now it is time to move on, to hand over to the young, who are urban dwellers, city-born and bred, with different aspirations and different conflicts to be faced. As a householder who had lived in Baumannville for thirty years said rather wistfully, 'While Lamontville and Chesterville and Cato Manor are making history, Baumannville has a shining past.' (Baumannville 1959: 79)

Conclusions
Both barrack and cottage housing were building forms devised by the state to maintain control over labour, and were closely regulated by authority, whether the employer or the local authority. Frequent reports and investigations into labour conditions and political unrest led to a major change towards family housing, which has left a lasting imprint upon the urban landscapes of South African cities.

The locations and townships of Southern Africa hold obvious parallels with the mass council housing being built in Britain at the time under the influence of the garden cities and town planning movement: the family house on its own plot, with garden front and rear, built by the local authority outside the urban area, and tightly regulated and managed. In Africa such housing was meaner and cheaper, single-storey boxes at higher density and with fewer services. Whether on estates, townships or locations, authority sought to inculcate new habits among its tenants, and shape the behaviour of an emerging class of compliant suburban house-dwellers.

References
- African Housing 1949 *Report on African Housing* (copy in Public Record Office, Kew, file CO 859/164/4)
- Atkins, K E 1993 *'The Moon is Dead! Give Us Our Money!' The cultural origins of an African work ethic, Natal, South Africa, 1843-1900* (Portsmouth, New Hampshire, Heinemann)
- Baumannville 1959 *A Study of an Urban African Community* (Cape Town, Oxford University Press, 1959)
- Calderwood, D.M. 1953 *Native Housing in South Africa* (Johannesburg, University of Witwatersrand)
- Coolie Commission 1872 *Report of the Coolie Commission appointed to inquire into the condition of the Indian Immigrants in the Colony of Natal* (Pietermaritzburg, Legislative Council)
- Durban Housing Survey 1952 *A Study of Housing in a Multi-racial Community* (Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press)
- Home, R K 1993a 'Transferring British planning law to the colonies: The Case of the 1938 Trinidad Town and Regional Planning Ordinance', *Third World Planning Review*, 15 (4) 397-410
- Home, R.K. 1993b 'Barrack camps for unwanted people: a neglected planning tradition', *Planning History*, 15: 14-21
- Home 1997a *Of Planting and Planning: The making of the British colonial city* London: E.& F.N.Spon.
- Home, R.K. 1997b *'A Township Complete in Itself': A Planning History of the Becontree/Dagenham Estate*, (University of East London)
- Johnson, H. 1977 'The West Indies and the conversion of the British official classes to the development idea', *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, 15: 55-83
- Maharaj, B. 1992 'The Group Areas Act in Durban: Central-Local State Relations' (Ph.D., Geography, University of Durban Westville)
- Omar, R.H. 1989 'The Relationship between the Durban Corporation and the Magazine Barracks' (B.A., History, University of Durban Westville)
- Rex, J. 1974 'The compound, the reserve and the urban location: The eesential institutions of Southern Africa labour exploitation', *South African Labour Bulletin*, 1(4): 4-17
- Robinson, J.B. 1990 '"A Perfect System of Control?": State Power and Native Locations in South Africa', *Society and Space*, 8: 135-62
- Robinson, J.B. 1996 *The Power of Apartheid: State, power and space in South African cities* (Oxford, Butterworth-Heinemann)
- Swanson, M.W. 1976 '"The Durban System": Roots of Urban Apartheid in Colonial Natal', *African Studies* 35: 159-76
- Swenarton, M. 1981 *Homes Fit For Heroes: The Politics and Architecture of Early State Housing in Britain* (Oxford, Heinemann)
- Rhokana 1935 File SEC1/1535/II in Zambian National Archives, Lusaka
- Stabilisation 1944 File SEC1/1320 in Zambian National Archives, Lusaka
- Russell 1935 *Report of Commission appointed to enquire into the disturbances in the Copperbelt* (Lusaka: Government Printer)
- Turrell, R. 1987 *Capital and Labour on the Kimberley Diamond Fields 1871-1900* (Cambridge: University Press)
- Wasserfall, J 1990 'Early mine and railway housing in South Africa' (PhD, History, University of Cambridge)
- West Indian Immigration 1972 File CO 318/266 in Public Record Office, Kew

area... The old conception of planning an African area as a dormitory must be dropped' (African Housing 1949: 13)

The report set a minimum standard for family houses of two living rooms of 100 sq.ft minimum floorspace, on plots of 4000 sq.ft. Bachelor homes, it said:

'... must await the more urgent need for family homes. Large two and three storey hostels are generally not advisable and the barrack type building should always be avoided... A family of more than four persons cannot be accommodated without overcrowding' in two-room family houses (*ibid*: 1 and 20)

In the Republic of South Africa peripheral 'one-class' housing estates were used as places to put non-whites forcibly displaced from towns by the doctrine of *apartheid* and the 1948 Group Areas Act (Calderwood 1953). Durban had a key role in implementing this policy (Maharaj 1992), and, with central Durban declared white, the Magazine Barracks and Baumannville were demolished, and their inhabitants moved out to African and Indian peripheral townships such as KwaMashu and Chatsworth. As expressed in the concluding words of the 1959 study of Baumannville:

'The location has done its work and amply repaid the council's original investment, it has provided Durban with the nucleus of a stable labour force and a precedent for family housing... Now it is time to move on, to hand over to the young, who are urban dwellers, city-born and bred, with different aspirations and different conflicts to be faced. As a householder who had lived in Baumannville for thirty years said rather wistfully, 'While Lamontville and Chesterville and Cato Manor are making history, Baumannville has a shining past.' (Baumannville 1959: 79)

Conclusions
Both barrack and cottage housing were building forms devised by the state to maintain control over labour, and were closely regulated by authority, whether the employer or the local authority. Frequent reports and investigations into labour conditions and political unrest led to a major change towards family housing, which has left a lasting imprint upon the urban landscapes of South African cities.

The locations and townships of Southern Africa hold obvious parallels with the mass council housing being built in Britain at the time under the influence of the garden cities and town planning movement: the family house on its own plot, with garden front and rear, built by the local authority outside the urban area, and tightly regulated and managed. In Africa such housing was meaner and cheaper, single-storey boxes at higher density and with fewer services. Whether on estates, townships or locations, authority sought to inculcate new habits among its tenants, and shape the behaviour of an emerging class of compliant suburban house-dwellers.

References
- African Housing 1949 *Report on African Housing* (copy in Public Record Office, Kew, file CO 859/164/4)
- Atkins, K.E. 1993 *'The Moon is Dead! Give Us Our Money!' The cultural origins of an African work ethic, Natal, South Africa, 1843-1900* (Portsmouth, New Hampshire, Heinemann)
- Baumannville 1959 *A Study of an Urban African Community* (Cape Town, Oxford University Press, 1959)
- Calderwood, D.M. 1953 *Native Housing in South Africa* (Johannesburg, University of Witwatersrand)
- Coolie Commission 1872 *Report of the Coolie Commission appointed to inquire into the condition of the Indian Immigrants in the Colony of Natal* (Pietermaritzburg, Legislative Council)
- Durban Housing Survey 1952 *A Study of Housing in a Multi-racial Community* (Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press)
- Home, R.K. 1993a 'Transferring British planning law to the colonies: The Case of the 1938 Trinidad Town and Regional Planning Ordinance', *Third World Planning Review*, 15 (4): 397-410.
- Home, R.K. 1993b 'Barrack camps for unwanted people: a neglected planning tradition', *Planning History*, 15: 14-21
- Home 1997a *Of Planting and Planning: The making of the British colonial city* London: E.& F.N.Spon.
- Home, R.K 1997b *'A Township Complete in Itself': A Planning History of the Becontree/Dagenham Estate*, (University of East London)
- Johnson, H. 1977 'The West Indies and the conversion of the British official classes to the development idea', *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, 15: 55-83.
- Maharaj, B. 1992 'The Group Areas Act in Durban: Central-Local State Relations' (Ph.D., Geography, University of Durban Westville)
- Omar, R.H. 1989 'The Relationship between the Durban Corporation and the Magazine Barracks' (B.A., History, University of Durban Westville)
- Rex, J. 1974 'The compound, the reserve and the urban location: The eesential institutions of Southern Africa labour exploitation', *South African Labour Bulletin*, 1(4): 4-17
- Robinson, J.B. 1990. '"A Perfect System of Control?": State Power and Native Locations in South Africa', *Society and Space*, 8: 135-62
- Robinson, J.B. 1996 *The Power of Apartheid: State, power and space in South African cities* (Oxford, Butterworth-Heinemann)
- Swanson M.W. 1976. '"The Durban System" Roots of Urban Apartheid in Colonial Natal', *African Studies* 35: 159-76
- Swenarton, M. 1981. *Homes Fit For Heroes: The Politics and Architecture of Early State Housing in Britain* (Oxford, Heinemann)
- Rhokana 1935: File SEC1/1535/II in Zambian National Archives, Lusaka
- Stabilisation 1944: File SEC1/1320 in Zambian National Archives, Lusaka
- Russell 1935 *Report of Commission appointed to enquire into the disturbances in the Copperbelt* (Lusaka: Government Printer)
- Turrell, R. 1987 *Capital and Labour on the Kimberley Diamond Fields 1871-1900* (Cambridge: University Press)
- Wasserfall, J. 1990 'Early mine and railway housing in South Africa' (PhD, History, University of Cambridge)
- West Indian Immigration 1972: File CO 318/266 in Public Record Office, Kew

Heritage and Globalisation in Asian Cities

Renate Howe[1] and William S. Logan[2]
Deakin University, Geelong (Waurn Ponds) Campus, Victoria (1)
Deakin University, Burwood Campus, Melbourne, Victoria (2)

The rapid erosion of what many Asian commentators have regarded as the 'Asian' qualities, especially in the built form of cities, due to the impact of current processes of economic and cultural globalisation, raises complex issues for heritage protection. This paper identifies the most important of these issues and explores their significance in developing comprehensive heritage strategies. The analysis will draw on case study material from research being undertaken for a comparative project based at Deakin University that includes Nagasaki, Seoul, Shanghai, Manila, Hue, Vientiane, Penang, Bangkok, Semarang, Yangon, Dhaka and Calcutta. The project is being carried out by an international, interdisciplinary team of scholars with funding from the Australian Research Council, the United States Social Science Research Council and Deakin University. Our case studies are studies of friction between global culture and international markets and the cultural specificity and textuality of place.

The conflict between modernisation and heritage

The modernisation of Asian economies has been equated with large-scale, unfettered urban commercial, industrial and residential development. Urban heritage has not been a priority in the march of modernisation and few cities, especially not the 'mega-cities', have given a high priority to heritage issues in the desire for more modern urban development and improved residential accommodation; the 'Singapore solution' has been the dominant model. The role of global capital and global economic regulators such as the World Bank and the IMF in this process has been important but complex – even more so with the present Asian financial crisis. The need to re-think strategies at this time could make lending from these powerful bodies (the World Bank has projects in 7,000 cities and towns) more sensitive to cultural and heritage issues in development projects (Cohen 1998).

Looking around Asia, it can be seen that the many and varied national and city governments have differing priorities as between economic development and cultural heritage protection, making it difficult if not impossible to generalise about 'Asia'. In many Asian countries, standards of living are so low that it is understandable that economic development strategies would seem to be more important. Western investment and international leaders are only partly responsible, however, for the destruction of historic built environments. In most countries, investment from within the region – from Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan, South Korea – has been substantial and no more sympathetic to the historic built form of cities. On the other hand, most nations are also anxious not to lose their distinctiveness as a result of their economies being drawn into the global system. There is particular concern in many countries about cultural globalisation, which is seen as linked with Westernisation. Often this is regarded as no more than crass commercialisation and identified, rightly or wrongly, with Americanisation (or 'Coca-colonisation').

The problematic notion of 'Asian-ness' in built city heritage

The research for our project has underlined this highly problematic notion of 'Asian-ness' in cultural terms, particularly in terms of the built environment. The assumptions that the distinctiveness of 'Asian' cities is tied up with tradition and that modernisation is somehow 'un-Asian' need to be challenged. Much of the drive behind economic globalisation in the 1990s - and even cultural globalisation (Japanese *haute* couture and manga comics/cartoons, Hong Kong movies) – has come from within Asia. With regard to built form, many Asians can now argue that high-rise residential and commercial buildings are as Asian as they are Western.

Nevertheless, no matter whether the motors of change are Asian or non-Asian, the modernisation of Asian cities is leading to a sameness and blandness that denies the indigenous distinctiveness. (Of course, this charge can be laid against urban developers in other parts of the world where indigenous distinctiveness is under attack.) Paradoxically perhaps, while the importance of traditional 'Asian values' has been commonly promoted in the area of social policy, this has been lacking in urban development policy where there is resistance to the representation of the distinctiveness of Asian cities as lying in the traditional and of modernisation as 'un-Asian'.

Differing cultural constructions of heritage

In terms of townscape formation, most Asian nations have attempted to identify the significant features of their cultural heritage, both in tangible forms (buildings, monuments, artefacts) and intangible forms (songs, dance, legends). These registers have varying degrees of completeness and appear to show significant cultural differences in views of what the notion 'heritage' embrace. Some countries give greater emphasis to non-built elements in the environment: that is, they are more concerned to conserve 'traditional cultural values' - be they artistic styles, artisan skills or even behavioural patterns (such as rites of shrine attendance).

At the Nara Conference on Authenticity held in Japan in 1994 (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 1995), the participants came out with a strong statement on the cultural relativity of heritage judgements, stating that 'the Nara document reflects the fact that international heritage doctrine has moved from a Eurocentric approach to a post-modern position characterised by recognition of cultural relativism' (Nara 1994:xiii). In Japan it is argued that traditional flexible timber buildings were not meant to last and that it is the historic memory and oral and craft traditions, not the built environment, that is the heritage of the urban past. In the case of religious buildings it is regarded as a sign of respect to periodically renew the built fabric, an act which, in the West, undermines the authenticity and hence significance of the structure.

The issue of colonial heritage

Especially sensitive is the status of the colonial built heritage. Most Asian nations have experienced a colonial as well as an earlier feudal past; some have experienced post-colonial independence under the sway of the capitalist West, others under Soviet bloc or Chinese tutelage. As a consequence cultural layering is a common feature of

most Asian cities. Askew and Logan (1994:9) proposed that the urban history of Asian cities should be deconstructed in such a way that not only the 'indigenous', but also the layers of foreign, largely European colonial influences are revealed. All these layers have significance, but recognition of this has often been difficult for newly independent nations and they have tended to discount the colonial legacy. Today there is a wide range of attitudes towards the colonial heritage among Asian nations – from Vietnam, India and Indonesia, where colonial buildings and streetscapes are now being encompassed within official and popular definitions of the national heritage, to Myanmar and South Korea, where the impacts of the British and Japanese colonial regimes respectively are still ascribed little heritage value (Rii 1996). Over time changes take place in the content of official heritage definitions and, in particular, attitudes towards the colonial impact. This is clearly a complex process, with no simple correlation between years elapsed since the end of the colonial era and acceptance of the colonial legacy as part of official heritage definitions

The acceptance of diversity and a shared heritage is a major difficulty yet an important pre-requisite for effective heritage policies. An aim of our project is to identify inclusive rather than exclusive ways of looking at heritage that may be adopted more broadly among Asian nations. This will be developed with case study material in our presentation.

Impact of international tourism and heritage agencies

A major priority of our project is to investigate the ways in which international tourism, a major agency of cultural globalisation, distorts heritage values. Often international tourism gives prominence to the preservation of the colonial past or recreation of the indigenous past. Tourist agencies in France, for instance, play on colonial nostalgia when they seek to market Vietnam as a travel destination, usually sanitising the heritage by avoiding or minimising reference to the harsh side of the colonial story (Biles, Lloyd and Logan 1998). It should be noted that, at least until the recent 'Asian economic crisis', a growing proportion of international tourism was within Asia, while internal tourism was also expanding, again indicating that the motor for economic and cultural change is increasingly Asian rather than Western.

By giving economic value to cultural assets, tourism is emerging as one of the most problematic elements in developing a coordinated approach to heritage policy. Tourism development authorities are constantly searching for new heritage features from which to generate revenue, and many historic sites are threatened with excessive exploitation. In the case of theme parks from Shenzhen to Bangkok, new 'heritage sites' and 'cultural traditions' have been created, while, in other cases such as Singapore's Bugis Street (Kuah 1994) old ones are re-created. The influence of Anglo-American global heritage bodies such as the Asia Society and the World Monument Fund can also distort heritage priorities and need to be considered in an analysis of globalisation's impact on Asian built environment heritage.

While many Asian countries have adopted the 'Year of Tourism' concept, there appears to be little coordination of tourism and heritage in urban areas either during or after such events. Where tourism does identify heritage elements as income-generating assets, this has been very site specific and there is a need for attention to be given to the protection of whole areas as tourist attractions. Such attention needs to be central to the planning effort in Asian cities.

Heritage planning and administration

While development is modern and global, urban planning administration is not. The practice of most Asian governments of placing responsibility for urban planning functions in infrastructure portfolios has meant a separation of social and physical development policy. Although mayors and governors of cities can be powerful figures, city government has been subordinated to the national economic and infrastructure strategies defined by national governments. Generally there is a lack of planning controls to protect the built environment and of the countries we are studying only Japan seems to have a comprehensive heritage planning system in place. Plans for cities or parts of cities may include heritage planning controls, often very different within the same country. Differences between the planning for Shanghai and Beijing are evident – the city planning regulations in the latter city being blamed for the wholesale demolition of the *hutong*, the traditional lanes and quadrangle houses of the city (Howe 1996). In Vietnam, Hanoi has developed heritage plans with the support of UNESCO and the Australian Government while Ho Chi Minh has experienced almost unfettered development.

Asian countries demonstrate varying degrees of commitment to protecting heritage features and ability to do so in terms of skills for heritage identification and recording, restoration, display and interpretation. The disrepair and disregard into which many heritage features have fallen results from different pressures in each country. In many cities in the project where controls exist on paper, implementation is hampered by inefficiency and, frequently, by corruption. Our research will take as one focus the politics of heritage protection involving international agencies, NGOs, national and municipal governments, as well as local communities.

Integrated and collaborative heritage policies

As city cores are engulfed and peripheries transformed in Asian cities, heritage issues underline the conflict between globalisation and local identity and sense of place. Globalisation has been conceptualised around the inevitability of technological advance and powerful markets, a conceptualisation that creates both a diminished responsibility for increasing urban inequality and a homogenisation of culture. The social and cultural impact of large-scale redevelopment has not been considered in urban policy development. This project is focusing on ways of reasserting the importance of place and heritage in Asian cities – to document and develop appropriate heritage models and to de-emphasise the language of urban avalanche, crisis and the need for huge infrastructure development. In a recent paper, *From Virtual Reality to the Reality of Virtue*, Michael Cohen of the World Bank has argued that it is time to take stock of urban development in non-Western countries; to focus more on social capital than global capital, less on the future and more on existing capacity and resources; and to consider more carefully the positioning of individual cities in the global economy.

Of central importance is the integration of heritage planning into strategic planning for urban and regional areas; for social and cultural values to be prioritised in policy

development (Howe 1996). 'Heritage planning does not mean preservation of a few historic buildings or an historic area...[;] it is the totality of concept with culture and tradition as well as ecology and environment with adjustments in social and economic needs' (Ghosh 1996:5). Our project suggests that the only way that Asian cities can sustain heritage strategies is by an integrated approach to planning and the positioning of Asian cities in the global economy.

The title of the project – the 'Disappearing "Asian" City' , suggested by Santosh Ghosh at our initial planning meeting in Seoul in April 1996 – may seem alarmist, but, as a recent *New York Times* article recorded, most of central Beijing's *hutong* have been swept 'into the dumpster' with only some demonstration courtyard houses preserved (Eckholm 1998). In the words of a former resident, 'it's gone like a jar that's already broken. You can save a fragment but it's hardly worth it'. Yet, he observes, with a different planning spirit over the last decade, the character and social fabric of the area could have been saved, with social, environmental and tourism benefits to the city.

References

Askew, Marc and Logan, William S. (eds) (1994). *Cultural Identity and Urban Change in Southeast Asia: Interpretative Essays*. Deakin University Press: Geelong.

Biles, Annabel, Lloyd, Kate, and Logan, William S. (1998).). 'Romancing Vietnam: the formation and function of tourist images of Vietnam'. In Jill Forshee & Christina Fink (eds) *Converging Interests: Traders, Travelers and Tourists in Southeast Asia*. University of California Press: Berkeley, Calif.

Cohen, Michael (1995). 'Cities and prospects of nations'. In *Urban Futures*, No. 19. Department of Urban and Regional Development: Canberra, ACT.

Cohen, Michael (1998). *From Virtual Reality to the Virtue of Reality*. Paper presented at the Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ, Spring Semester.

Eckholm, Eric (1998). 'A burst of renewal sweeps old Beijing into the dumpsters'. *New York Times*, 1 March, page 1.

Ghosh, Santosh (1996). 'Colonial impact on the built form of Calcutta'. In Santosh Ghosh (ed.), *Architectural and Urban Conservation*. Centre for Built Environment: Calcutta.

Howe, Renate (1996). *Planning for Heritage: Australian Perspectives on the Disappearing Asian City*. Paper delivered at the Heritage Planning in Asian Cities research planning workshop, Dongguk University, Seoul, South Korea, 12-15 April.

Kuah Khun Eng (1994). 'Bugis Street in Singapore: development, conservation and the reinvention of cultural landscape'. In M. Askew and W. S. Logan (eds), *Cultural Identity and Urban Change in Southeast Asia: Interpretative Essays*, Deakin University Press, Geelong, Victoria, pp. 167-86.

UNESCO World Heritage Centre (1995). *Nara Conference on Authenticity, Nara, Japan, 1-6 November 1994. Proceedings*. Agency for Cultural Affairs, Tokyo.

Rii, Hae Un (1997). 'Foreign influences upon the townscape of Seoul, Korea'. In Brian J.Shaw and Roy Jones (eds*), Contested Urban Heritage: Voices from the Periphery*, Ashgate Publishing Ltd, Aldershot, U.K..

Planning and the industrial residential interface in Port Adelaide: A critical examination of the evolution of planning policies at the interface of industrial and residential zones from a social and environmental perspective

Simon Howes BA GDRUP MRAPI
10 Mabel Street
Rosewater
Adelaide SA 5013
Australia

The twentieth century urban planning experience for people living near industry in Port Adelaide is not one worth boasting about. In short, planning at the industrial residential interface this century has been non-existent or has simply provided for the continuation of urban development practices which existed prior to the advent of town planning in the area and has largely ignored issues caused by the proximity of heavy industry to housing. The origins of this lack of response to the industrial residential interface can be traced to inherent economic imperatives that drive town planning and social prejudices apparent in the work of earlier planners. This paper traces the history of town planning schemes affecting Port Adelaide and comments on the attitudes that influenced their application at the industrial residential interface. The paper concludes with some brief observations on how these same attitudes may yet influence possible future directions in planning

A brief review of some early town planning texts (Abercrombie, 1959; Brown and Sherrard, 1969; Keeble, 1969; Sulman, 1921) revealed a common theme of the prominence of the needs of business and industry and, where workers are referred to, it is usually in terms of their accessibility to the workplace. A class based approach to planning is evidenced in the texts by the discussions of living areas for 'workers' as distinct from today's consideration of the needs of the 'community'. Brown and Sherrard (1969 p.33) do at least offer some advice on dealing with the interface and provide some background in their discussion on the location of industry in Australian cities noting that, historically, land use controls in Australian cities were lacking and were, once implemented, often too late to save '...districts once covered with attractive homes...' from becoming '...invaded by industry and made hideous by the erection of unsightly factories, by discordant noises and unsavoury smells'. Brown and Sherrard's attitude to social issues is revealed when they state that, in reaction to this so called invasion of industry in Australian cities, '...those who could afford to withdrew to more pleasant surroundings...' and that '...less desirable elements came to take possession of vacant dwellings'. To some extent this is the case in Port Adelaide. Not only were land use controls, in the form of land use zones, late in coming but when they were finally introduced there was a decided lack of measures to address issues at the industrial residential interface.

Established in 1840 as the seaport for the capital of the colony of South Australia, Port Adelaide attracted large industries and activities dependent on direct access to the sea. Prior to the advent of mass transport, residential areas were established near the industries and wharves. Port Adelaide continued to develop after the turn of the century, mostly without the benefit of any planning and, although there were no land use controls, a general segregation of activities occurred with large industries concentrating on the waterfront. As Port Adelaide straddles the Port Adelaide River, an estuarine waterway giving access to the sea, and

industrial development has spread lengthways along its shores, the interface with adjoining residential development is elongated as a result of the lineal pattern of development.

The first planning schemes affecting Port Adelaide were those proposed by visiting British planner Charles Reade in 1917. Although praised for their thoroughness, Reade's plans and schemes were never actually implemented. Hutchings (1986, p.63) reports that political manoeuverings of the day undermined the best intentions of Reade and the *Town Planning and Development Act 1920-1929*, which resulted from his work, did not contain any land use controls. Instead the *Building Act, 1923-1953*, gave local councils in metropolitan Adelaide the power to make by-laws to zone land for the purpose of controlling land use. Port Adelaide, however, was unique among metropolitan councils in Adelaide and did not introduce any land use controls or zoning by-laws under that legislation (Town Planning Committee, 1962, p.126). It is reasonable to assume that the local population acquiesced in this laissez-faire approach to land use controls, or perhaps those that did care lacked the political clout to change the status quo.

Although the Port Adelaide Council did not promulgate any zoning by-laws under the *Building Act, 1923-1953*, two State Government agencies, the South Australian Housing Trust and the South Australian Harbors Board controlled and made plans for significant portions of vacant land in Port Adelaide. The South Australian Housing Trust was established in the 1936, as part of the industrialisation policies of the day, primarily to provide housing for workers (Forster & McCaskil, 1986, p.86). Housing estates for workers were sited near factories, quite deliberately, in the drive to meet the State's economic and industrialisation goals. This process led to the establishment of residential areas in the Port Adelaide suburbs of Taperoo and Osborne in close proximity to a soda ash producing chemical factory, acid works and a coal fired power station. The housing estates were built without any apparent regard to the impact on residents of the adjacent industries. Only a cynical observer would suggest that the politicians, industrialists and government officials responsible for such basic decisions as the location of factories and houses in Adelaide did not have to live in the workers' suburbs they created next to factories.

The first real plan for Port Adelaide, the *Greater Port Adelaide Development Plan 1949-1959*, was a joint effort between the Housing Trust and the Harbors Board and concentrates on setting aside the wharf front and adjacent land for industrial and commercial development and also shows areas set aside by the Housing Trust for further residential suburbs. The plan shows industrial and housing estates directly abutting, even though the South Australian Harbors Board (1959, p.40), in a publication extolling the virtues of the plan, considered the possible future development of nearby Torrens Island for a tourist resort to be subject to the '...abatement of the smoke haze from Osborne'. Thus, although it was considered unacceptable to subject tourists to unreasonable levels of air pollution, it was apparently acceptable to plan for more housing estates for workers in close proximity to what was then a major source of air pollution, the Osborne Power Station. Like Reade's schemes, the *Greater Port Adelaide Development Plan 1949-1959* never came to fruition and, instead of a tourist resort, another power station was built on Torrens Island.

A comprehensive review of the urban planning needs of Adelaide was conducted in the early 1960s by the Town Planning Committee for the State Government of South Australia. The findings and recommendations of their *Report on the metropolitan area of Adelaide* (1962) still underpin the planning and development control system in Adelaide today, albeit with some subsequent modifications. The report reflects and reiterates the economic imperative and class based approach to planning discussed in the texts reviewed above. In its classification of housing areas in Adelaide, in terms of their built and environmental qualities, the *Report on the metropolitan area of Adelaide* (p. 70) uses the presence or otherwise of industrial land uses as one of the main criteria. Needless to say, 'good class' areas contain practically no industrial or other non-residential uses and 'poor class' areas are where 'industrial and other incompatible land uses have created a poor environment'.

The *Report on the metropolitan area of Adelaide* (Town Planning Committee, 1962, p.151) goes on to consider the requirements for industry within the context of a comprehensive planning scheme for Adelaide. The use of performance standards in the United States in the assessment of proposed industrial development is discussed and rejected on the basis that such a system would be too difficult to administer. Instead it proposed an arbitrary system based on a four tier classification of industry zones. Special industry zones were proposed for noxious industries, extractive industry zones for mining and quarrying, light industry zones for 'light' industries and general industry zones for all other industrial uses. Light industries were defined as being '...smaller industries which can be carried on in a residential area without causing a nuisance'. Notwithstanding the recognition of the impact of industrial activities on the environment and amenity of residential areas and a whole chapter devoted to planning for industry, the *Report of the metropolitan area of Adelaide* (1962, p.151) contains only one sentence that refers directly to the industrial residential interface: '...where industrial zones abut onto residential areas, it is desirable that a light industry zone should be situated between the residential area and the general or special industry zone to minimize the nuisance to householders'. The planning controls that were introduced in Adelaide as a result of the recommendations of the *Report of the metropolitan area of Adelaide* sought to protect those 'good class' areas from any further 'invasion' by industry. What happened in existing areas where the residential environment was already degraded as a result of adjacent industry was of little consequence.

It was not until 1972, under the auspices of the *Planning and Development Act, 1966-1971*, that land use zones were finally established in Port Adelaide and, as with many urban areas that were in existence at the time land use zones were imposed, the boundaries were essentially drawn around existing uses. While the obvious difficulties of imposing a system of land use zones on already established urban areas is appreciated, the zoning of land to reflect its existing use is nonetheless disappointing as the opportunity to rectify problems when there is a change in use is lost because the continuation of similar uses is perpetuated by the zoning. Moreover, despite the suggestion in the *Report of the metropolitan area of Adelaide* that light industry zones be established as buffers, when land use zones were introduced in Port Adelaide, general industry zones were in fact established adjacent to residential zones for most of the interface. Furthermore, the zoning regulations promulgated for Port Adelaide under the *Planning and Development Act, 1966-1971*, actually discouraged the development of potentially lesser impact light industries in those general industry zones adjacent to residential areas, whereas general industries were permitted 'as a right' subject only to rudimentary requirements for parking, loading areas and building setbacks. Perhaps only the economic slowdown of 1970s prevented the establishment of any new heavy industries adjacent to residential areas in Port Adelaide.

Further changes to the planning and development control system occurred in 1982 with the introduction of the *Planning Act, 1982* and more detailed and comprehensive 'Development Plans'. However, the 1982 Development Plan for Port Adelaide essentially carried over the previous zoning regulations with general industry zones abutting residential zones for most of the interface and still providing for the establishment of general industries as a right. The 1982 legislation did, however, provide for reviews of and amendments to the Development Plan. Such a review was undertaken in 1986 and the *Review of Development Policies for the City of Port Adelaide* (Kinhill Stearns, 1986, p.32) finally officially admitted that the proximity of existing housing and industry was problematic and, some 24 years after the suggestion was made, proposed light industry zones as buffers for most of the industrial residential interface. In practice, however, as a result of the review, in only one area of Port Adelaide, the industrial suburb of Gillman, was a portion of the general industry zone rezoned to light industry to establish a buffer to adjacent residential suburbs. Other changes introduced at that time required all development in the general industry zone to be subject to the consent of the relevant planning authority. This had the effect of removing the ability for such developments to establish as a right with perhaps a corresponding decrease the level of certainty in the planning system in Port Adelaide for business and industry.

A further review of planning policies for the residential areas of Port Adelaide resulted in amendments to the Development Plan in the *City of Port Adelaide Residential Supplementary Development Plan* (1992) that imposed restrictions on new residential development in 'problem' areas near industry. The restricted residential policy area that was created prohibits any increase in the number or density of dwellings in a 300-500 metre wide strip of the residential zone adjacent to industry. People living at the interface who traditionally have been expected to accept the impact of adjacent industry are now further disadvantaged. While it is probably wise to not allow an increase in dwellings in those areas it seems somewhat unfair and inequitable that, to date, similar restrictions on the intensity of industrial development in the industry zones have not been applied, especially as it is the impacts of industrial activity that cause the fundamental incompatibility of the land uses in the first place.

Industrial development policies in Port Adelaide are once again under review. Performance standards for industrial development are now being mooted as a planning solution to interface issues, some 36 years after they were first considered and rejected for metropolitan Adelaide. It is interesting to note that the push for a performance based approach in the assessment of industrial development is not coming from people living near industrial zones but from the government and planners keen to re-establish certainty for industry in the planning system and to facilitate and foster economic development. In these circumstances, and given the historical background discussed above, it seems unlikely that a performance based assessment system will be of any real benefit to people living at the interface. Performance standards are likely to be set at levels to suit industry's ability to comply. Perhaps the current system of arbitrary distinctions between 'light' and 'general' industry based on subjective assessment, often with the benefit of experience, has some merit after all.

Recent moves towards 'mixed use' planning are also of concern given the history of Port Adelaide and its industrial residential interface. One influential writer, Calthorpe (1993), fails even to mention industrial land uses and dreams of a 'post-industrial' culture as if there were no industry. Australian writers Morris and Kaufman (1996) are more realistic and, while advocating mixed use developments, do so on the understanding that only compatible uses should be considered. They recognise that some uses will still need to be separated and that

zoning should be used to create a graduation of uses from general industry through light and home industry zones to residential. They also advocate fairly dense urban areas where spatial buffers between incompatible uses are discouraged and buildings are used to create 'shield' buffers for noise attenuation purposes. Unfortunately, however, issues relating to air emissions are not addressed in this approach.

While Morris and Kaufman (1996) offer some interesting design solutions in the search for compact, efficient and harmonious cities, this will not occur while the urban population is so mobile. Mixed use planning may ultimately facilitate the creation of more neighbourhoods, like the 'problem' areas of Port Adelaide, where the poor have to share their urban space with the industrial activities of others who, through the wealth created by those activities, can choose to live elsewhere.

Endnote

References throughout the paper to Port Adelaide refer to the former local government area of the City of Port Adelaide prior to amalgamation with the City of Enfield in March 1996 to form the new City of Port Adelaide Enfield. The author was employed as Planning Officer at the City of Port Adelaide from 1993 and currently holds the position of Development Officer - Planning at the City of Port Adelaide Enfield. Views expressed in the paper are those of the author and not the City of Port Adelaide Enfield.

References

Abercrombie, P (1959) *Town and country planning.* 3rd ed. London, Oxford University Press.

Brown, A & Sherrard, H (1969) *An introduction to town and country planning.* 2nd ed. Sydney, Angus & Robertson.

Calthorpe, P (1993) *The next American metropolis: ecology, community and the American dream.* New York, Princeton Architectural Press.

City of Port Adelaide development plan (1982) South Australian Planning Act 1982. [Adelaide]

City of Port Adelaide residential supplementary development plan (1993) South Australian Planning Act 1982, Amendment to the Development Plan. [Adelaide]

Corporation of the City of Port Adelaide (1971) *Metropolitan development plan: planning regulations - zoning.* Planning & Development Act 1966-1971. [Adelaide, Corporation of the City of Port Adelaide]

Forster, C & McCaskill, M (1986) 'The modern period: managing metropolitan Adelaide' in Hutchings, A & Bunker, R (eds) (1986) *With conscious purpose: a history of town planning in South Australia.* Netley, South Australia, Wakefield Press, pages 85-108.

Hutchings, A (1986) 'Comprehensive town planning comes to South Australia' in Hutchings, A & Bunker, R (eds) (1986) *With conscious purpose: a history of town planning in South Australia*. Netley, South Australia, Wakefield Press, pages 1-6.

Keeble, L (1969) *Principles and practice of town and country planning*. 4th ed. London, Estates Gazette.

Morris, W & Kaufman, JA (1996) *Mixed use developments: new designs for new livelihoods*. Brisbane, Queensland Department of Tourism, Small Business and Industry.

Review of development policies for the City of Port Adelaide stage I report: issues and possible directions. (1986) Prepared by Kinhill Stearns, April 1986. [Adelaide]

Sulman, J (1921) *An introduction to the study of town planning in Australia*. Sydney, Government Printer of New South Wales.

The South Australian Harbors Board (1959) *The Greater Port Adelaide plan: achievements 1949-59 and future programme*. Adelaide, Government Printer of South Australia.

Town Planning Committee (1962) *Report on the metropolitan area of Adelaide*. Adelaide, Government Printer of South Australia.

8th International Planning History Conference: Urban Design and Planning: A Partnership In Evolution.

Alan Hutchings
Commissioner
Environment Resources and Development Court
GPO Box 2465
Adelaide South Australia 5001

In recent decades, urban design has emerged as a distinct discipline in urban development. Its roots lie within a number of professions; architecture, landscape architecture and town planning being the most significant. As far as town planning is concerned, those roots go back to the earliest days and this paper traces how urban design has evolved as a major strand of planning theory and practice in the 20th Century Western World. It then goes on to show how it has become an integral part of official planning, ie, the formulation, expression and implementation of policies to guide urban change.

Early Associations of Urban Design and Planning

The design side of comprehensive town planning has a strong lineage. Indeed, design theorists were very much part of the beginning of modern planning in the decades around the turn of the century. Comprehensive town planning which has been defined as the *coordination* of the supply of public facilities, the *organisation* of urban elements into workable patterns and the *regulation* of individual land uses gave ample scope for designers, particularly with regard to organisation in its spatial sense (Hutchings and Bunker 1986, 4). Inevitably, they had much to say about public space, the street, the precinct and the locality.

In Europe, they were represented by Camillo Sitte and *Der Städtebau* (1889) gives him a strong claim as one of the founders of 'contemporary contextual urban design' (Shelton 1989). He argued the need for harmony between all of a city's elements at all scales. His analysis begins at a finite point - the position of a monument in a plaza; then progresses to the relationships between the monuments, nearby buildings and the plazas themselves; next to the configuration and size of plazas; and finally to the overall grouping of plazas. He then deals with the wider pattern set by the streets of a town and how plazas sit within this pattern. Throughout this analysis and in his examples drawn from the towns and cities of southern and central Europe, Sitte cleverly melds the second and the third dimensions to enunciate visual and functional principles. These then become the basis for discussion about the form and manner of growth of the city at large and how it should be planned. Thus Sitte's recipe for plan-making includes - as well as the usual Germanic identification of land use zones - the need for the plan (his 'preliminary sketch') to concentrate on the main spatial elements; ie the major 'garden complexes' (parks), major plazas, major lines of communication and the pattern of streets. This shows how, from the beginning, the urban designer was integrally involved in constructing planning theory.

In Britain, these design themes were further developed by Raymond Unwin and Barry Parker, represented particularly in the former's text, *Town Planning in Practice: An Introduction to the Art of Designing Cities and Suburbs* (1909). Similar to Sitte, Unwin observes towns and cities as they are and then draws out principles 'of formal and informal beauty'. His references and observations were wide ranging but with some emphasis on the towns of Britain and southern Germany. He then applies these principles of 'beauty' (or rather character) to a range of urban conditions; boundaries and approaches, enclosed places, roads, the

relationships of buildings and spaces and the harmony of the whole. Noteworthy in Unwin's approach is the way he filters his principles through the results of 'the city survey' like Patrick Geddes. He says, 'the designer's first duty, ... must be to study his town, his site, the people, and their requirements' (Unwin 1909, **140**). His thesis is strong because, in addition to the examples referred to **above**, he is able to demonstrate it by way of his own (and Parker's) designs for Letchworth and Hampstead Garden Suburb which have stood the test of time.

Across the Atlantic, a broader and more abstract approach was being taken. The City Beautiful movement as William Wilson's re-assessment has **shown**, was a broadly based political movement that sought, through the ballot box, **the lobbies** and bond issues to 'refashion (American) cities into beautiful functional entities'; an ideal which 'found physical realization in urban design' (Wilson 1989, 1). One of the leading theorists was Charles Mulford Robinson whose 1903 text, *Modern Civic Art or The City Made Beautiful*, covered similar ground to that of Sitte and Unwin and, like theirs, tied design into the wider picture. His chapter on 'comprehensive planning', one of the first recorded uses of the term, argues the need for the plan to be the design and the design to be the people's 'tangible goals'. Although Robinson's work is more systemic **and** theoretical than that of Sitte and Unwin, it inspired many 'municipal improvement manuals' across the United States which use examples and case studies **extensively**. For example, *Town Planning for Small Communities (National Municipal League Series)* produced in 1917 by the **Town** Planning Committee of Walpole in Massachusetts, concludes with plans for street improvements and parks in addition to the usual 'districting' (zoning) plan.

Similarly in Australia, thought had been given to planning and design. John Sulman was one such protagonist. From 1890 when he issued his paper, *The Laying Out of Towns* he was involved in practice, lecturing and controversy and his 1921 tome *An Introduction to the Study of Town Planning in Australia* is encyclopedic in its scope, with chapters covering survey topics and techniques, systems of transport and utilities, **the** functional elements of cities, housing improvements, regulations, forms of governance, costs and so forth. More to the point is the way that much of the book deals with how urban elements can be linked through a conscious design process to produce workable and pleasing results. For example, Chapter 7 demonstrates ways of arranging business and residential uses in conjunction with squares and parks; Chapter 8 with street spaces and their surrounds; and Chapter 13 how the principles derived could be applied to downtown Sydney. **All** of these analyses (in both the second and third dimensions) demonstrate the crucial importance of public places in the urban scheme of things. He also extended his analysis to Australian suburbia with its distinctive characteristics: some unique, some held in common with other western cities.

Some of his figures illustrate South Australian examples and in doing so he picks up the work of Charles Reade the State Government Town Planner during and immediately after World War I. Reade's work has been thoroughly analysed a number of times (Garnaut 1997; Hutchings & Bunker 1986) and it is sufficient to say here that Reade was also one who thought that the philosophical and technical dimensions of comprehensive town planning, as then emerging, would remain just notions unless they could be expressed as concrete proposals via the medium of design.

Some Parting of the Ways

In the decades after these pioneers had their say, the integration of town planning and design which they considered axiomatic, began to come **apart**. On the one hand many designers sought increasingly idealised solutions based upon personal visions of technical perfection. Le

Corbusier is seen as epitomising this approach through his own projects and through his influence on the charters of the International Congresses of Modern Architecture; ie, CIAM (Evenson 1969). On the other, were those who sought to establish universal truths from the quite sensible arrangements of land use and movement that the pioneers suggested as ways to mitigate the terrible conflicts between incompatible activities that plagued the Nineteenth Century city. They saw these arrangements as reflecting organising principles which could result in a variety of laudable outcomes. But these arrangements often became ends in themselves as "model zones" eventually to be solidified by generations of statutory plans, legitimised by processes of social survey and public administration but with little regard to the physical realities of towns and cities or the design opportunities these realities presented.

In Gordon Stephenson's *On a Human Scale; A Life in City Design*, concerns about this dichotomy seems to have arisen in Britain's post-war Ministry of Town and Country Planning (Stephenson 1992). Within a few years it was to be discussed more openly by Frederick Gibberd, one of Stephenson's contemporaries. His book *Town Design*, first published in 1953 with other editions until 1967, had a tremendous influence not only in the northern hemisphere but in Australia where, for example, it was a basic reference for the graduate diploma programs offered by the then new planning schools. While recognising the dichotomy, Gibberd underlined the need for planning and design to be synthesised so that an acceptable urban product is realised. He said:

> 'Town design .... is by no means the same thing as town planning. One the one hand, there are many engaged in town planning who are not town designers, and on the other hand, many town designers who know little about town planning. The three stages of town planning (survey, plan, implementation) involve the activities of many kinds of specialists, like the sociologist, the geographer, and the economist, who, although engaged in town planning, are never required to exercise aesthetic sensibility. When this point is reached, when someone has to show how the raw materials are to be actually arranged, has in fact to express his feelings about form, colour, texture, then town design begins.'

After these remarks, Gibberd embarks upon a thorough analysis of what makes (or should make) a city, as a designed product, tick. While many of his examples may seem quaint or out of fashion to today's readers, the principles he enunciates are as relevant now as in the post World War II era. *Inter alia,* given the importance of central areas as images of cities and the culture they represent, his examination of how public and private functions in a centre 'co-relate' to each other, should perhaps again be a standard text as should his emphasis on 'civic spaces' as the 'spatial climax'.

Planning and Design Become Specialised

Looking back over the half century from Sitte to Gibberd, *Town Design* was a successful commentary upon and development of, the design thought that had taken place until then. It was also an attempt to reconnect the diverging paths of those who saw the city as a socio-economic kaleidoscope and those who saw it as an artefact. But the kind of synthesis which Gibberd indicated was swamped in the increasing number of streams and specialities in urban studies which developed from the 1960s on. This was not unexpected given that scholars and practitioners, as they became more aware of the complexities of cities, would seek more and more ways to understand and serve them.

Urban design itself began to split into specialities. Simply put, these are: firstly, site planning or project design; secondly, city building; and thirdly, urban design as planning policy. Of

the first, urban design's role in the fashioning of individual projects on specific sites is the well known bread and butter of the designer's working day and elaboration is not necessary here except to note that it can be an arena in which clashes as well as compromises occur between site driven solutions and surrounding urban environs. Kevin Lynch's *Site Planning* (1984) remains seminal as the text for resolution in these circumstances. Of the second, from one viewpoint city building is but project design writ large. Unfortunately, it is a view that has pervaded city building and also obscured the importance of major projects in the wider context of city planning (Bunker & Hutchings 1993). City building, as Norma Evenson elicits in *Two Brazilian Capitals* (1973) can be defined as the creation of new urban settlements on virgin sites in line with an official planning and design brief. As such the designer's role is overt and leading, whether the task is an outback mining township, one of the myriad of public and private new towns of Britain or their counterparts in Europe and North America or the comprehensive development of large urban growth areas on the edges of expanding metropolises. While in many ways the technical task is similar to site planning, albeit far more complex at this larger scale, such cannot be said about the management task. In the latter, the designer must deal with political considerations, allocation of resources, the effective functioning of the newly created place and the comments and criticisms of interested citizens. The designer becomes a planner as well.

The Seaford comprehensive development project, a new district to the south of Adelaide, is an example. A joint venture between state instrumentalities and private interests to house 20,000 people, its planing is urban design driven inasmuch as there is a concentration on the physical result. The composition of the management team placed the city designer in a pivotal situation. The master plan is the basis of both the development brief and the statutory plan which, in turn, is the co-ordinating mechanism for public utilities and community facilities.

Urban Design as Planning Policy: One Kind of Integration

Seaford illustrates in both design and city building terms the important relationship between design and planning. It leads logically to the consideration of the more complex but crucial theme of urban design as planning policy where city building and city planning merge. The emphasis changes from the virgin site and the challenges it presents for the creation of the patterns which will *become* the urban future, to existing built up areas and the challenges they present where, by way of policy, the designer is able to *influence* the future. This is an arena where the designers' role is no longer leading. It is more subtle. It involves what has recently been described as 'second-order design' in that the urban designer is in the unique position of designing the policy environment within which other design professionals create tangible objects (George 1997).

There have been a number of recent commentaries in this field of urban design as planning policy. Some have taken a philosophical stance by suggesting what ought to be policy. Others have analysed official documents against various philosophical and practical templates. In the United States Jonathan Barnet's *An Introduction to Urban Design* (1982) approaches the "Urban Design Plan for San Francisco" in this way. In Britain and Europe similar schemes are emerging, with Barcelona's outstanding *Urban Planning in Barcelona: Plans with a View to 92*, subheaded 'Les Diferents Escales de la Projectacio, Urbanistica' (translated as 'The Different Levels of Urban Design') perhaps encapsulating the partnership ideal (Barcelona City Council 1988). In Australia, the early 1990s saw a valiant attempt to place urban design at the forefront of urban policy through a task force reporting to the then Prime Minister (Urban Design Task Force 1994). This reflected initiatives undertaken in the States in the preceding decades. In South Australia for example, after the promulgation of the seminal City of Adelaide Plan in 1977, statutory plans increasingly included policies seeking to enhance or

create a sense of place for urban and suburban precincts (Hutchings 1988). Refinements of the concept of desired character which synthesises land use, appearance of buildings and spaces and intensity of development, are used in these plans to set out what are in effect publicly endorsed urban design briefs. Complementing such statutory initiatives have been the drafting of professional references such as *AMCORD* - the Australian Model Code of Residential Development (Department of Housing and Regional Development 1995).

Prospect

To the pioneers, town planning and urban design were one and the same for all intents and purposes. Over the years as the complexities of cities became apparent, more and more specialisms arose - particularly in the social sciences and public administration - until planning and design could diverge so far as to almost lose sight of each other. Three design themes have been noted in this vein: project design; city building; and urban design as planning policy. Project design and planning can be mutually supportive but are often not. City building necessarily shows design and planning in congruence but on virgin sites. But it is in urban design as planning policy that the most supportive and strong associations rise; where 'urban design draws together the links between social, environmental and economic goals (and) integrate(s) inputs from diverse sources (for) function and appearance' (South Australian Government 1992).

Planning systems can be seen as dealing with: first, socio-economic contexts; second, statutory and administrative processes; and third, spatial and physical results. Looking at it this way, the urban designer's task is to translate, through the prism of the policy instrument, the surveys, the research, the procedures and so forth, into concrete reality. While in recent years urban designers have concentrated on detailed matters such as single streets, adjoining facades and furniture, in fact the scope of the urban design task - as Sitte, Unwin, Sulman and others wrote - is as wide as the city itself and encompasses not just the street but the locality, the neighbourhood, the district; ie, whatever spatial scale the policy instrument demands. The urban designer has to ensure that the efforts of the others in the planning team are turned into high quality urban products which work well, look good and have a durable character which citizens are comfortable with over a long period (Hutchings 1988).

There is no doubt that this is a professional challenge of some magnitude. But it means that upon its mastery, urban design can be as acceptable in the planning mainstream as are resource distribution, economic development, environmental management and the like. With confidence, its practitioners can confront the nature of design itself and use the knowledge gained to improve the partnership, to improve the policy process and ultimately the *urban product* for the citizen.

References

Barcelona City Council, Urban Planning and Public Works Department (1988), *Urban Planning in Barcelona: Plan with a View to 92.*

Barnet, Jonathan (1982) *An Introduction to Urban Design*, Harper & Row, New York, 129-136.

Bunker, Raymond and Hutchings, Alan (1993) *Strategic Planning and Major Projects*, Planning Education Foundation Working Paper 3, Adelaide.

Commonwealth Department of Housing and Regional Development (1995) *AMCORD.*

Corporation of the City of Adelaide, (1977), *The City of Adelaide Plan*

Evenson, Norma (1969), *Le Corbusier: The Machine and The Grand Design*, George Braziller, New York.

Evenson, Norma (1973), *Two Brazillian Capitals: Architecture and Urbanism in Rio De Janeiro and Brazilia*, Yale UP, New Haven.

Federal Department of Health , Housing and Community Services, *Australian Model Code for Residential Development* (1992), AGPS, Canberra.

Garnaut, Christine, (1997) 'Of Passion, Publicity and Planning', *Australian Planner*, V.32, N.4

George, R Varkki, A Procedural Exploration for Contemporary Urban Design, *Journal of Urban Design* V2, N2, 1997, 150.

Gibberd, Frederick (1967), *Town Design*, The Architectural Press, London.

Hutchings, Alan and Bunker, Raymond (1986), *With Conscious Purpose: A History of Town Planning in South Australia*, Wakefield Press, Adelaide, 4.

Hutchings, Alan (1989), 'The evolution of urban design as planning policy: the South Australian experience', *Planning Perspectives* 4, (1989) 167-186.

Hutchings, Alan (1988), "Overseas Observations", *S.A. Planner*, July/August 1988.

Lynch, Kevin, *Site Planning* (1984), M.I.T. Press, Cambridge, Mass.

Prime Minister's Urban Design Task Force (1994) *Urban Design in Australia*, AGPS, Canberra.

Robinson, Charles Mulford (1903), *Modern Civic Art or, The City Made Beautiful*, Arno Press and The New York Times, New York, (1970 re-issue).

Shelton, Barrie (1989), 'A Centennium of Sitte', *Australian Planner*, V.27, N.4.

Sitte, Camillo (1889), *City Planning According to Artistic Principles* (translated from the German by George R Collins and Christiane Crasemann Collins), Phaidon Press, London, 1965.

South Australian Government (1992), Planning Review, *2020 Vision: Planning Strategy for Metropolitan Adelaide*, 81.

Stephenson, Gordon with DeMarco, Christina (1992), *On a Human Scale: A Life in City Design*, Fremantle Arts Centre Press, Perth.

Sulman, John (1921), *An Introduction to the Study of Town Planning in Australia*, Government Printer of New South Wales.

Unwin, Raymond (1909), *Town Planning in Practice: An Introduction To The Art of Designing Cities and Suburbs*, T. Fisher Unwin, London, 140.

Walpole Town Planning Committee (1917), *Town Planning for Small Communities National Municipal League Services*, D Appleton & Company, New York.

Wilson, William H (1989). *The City Beautiful Movement*, The John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1.

War, Military Affairs and Urban Planning

Dr. Yorifusa ISHIDA
Department of Architecture
Kogakuin University
Tokyo 163-8677
Japan

Preface: Throughout the first half of the 20th century, from the Russo-Japanese War to World War II, Japan was continuously in the state of war. Urban and regional planning, was consequently influenced by these wars and the military affairs. Military officers often took part in making and deciding regional and urban plans. Military bases and munitions factories, as well as the railways and principal roads connecting them, were often regarded as the most important and decisive elements of urban and regional structures and were given priority over the citizens' daily life.

In Chinese 'Chéngshi' refers to the city. 'Chéng' has the meaning of a town wall and 'Shi' of a market. Accordingly the Chinese concept of the city is a settlement defended by town walls. It has been often said that the Japanese city had no wall to defend itself. However, in the feudal period, all Japanese cities, even religious towns, were planned and developed considering their defense in wartime. In a sense, war and town planning in the feudal age were inseparable.

Modern Japan, especially 20th century Japan, has had no civil wars but only wars with foreign countries – all of which it started for selfish reasons. The relation between war or the military affairs and urban planning in modern Japan may be discussed from many viewpoints : for example, city defense and urban planning, planning cities for military function or the munition industry, occupation and urban planning, war damage and reconstruction, military bases as obstacles for urban planning, the reuse of military bases after their release for urban development etc..

Japan has renounced armaments and belligerent rights in 1947 as is clearly written in the 9th article of the constitution. Consequently, Japanese planning should be utterly indifferent to military affairs. This, however, is not true. The most important relation between Japanese urban and regional planning and military affairs is the existence of military bases of the Self-Defence Forces – which is, beyond doubt, a military force existing in contradiction with the constitution – and those of the U.S. Forces which have been stationed in Japan for more than half a century.

Here, I would like to outline the Japanese case reflecting on the planners' responsibility.

Air defense and urban planning: In 1937 the Air Defense Act (Boukú-hou) was enforced, and the 1940 revision of the Town Planning Act made 'air defense' one of the main purposes of urban planning [1]. Since then Japanese urban planning gradually changed its characteristics.

A comprehensive green space plan for greater Tokyo had been studied since 1932, the initial purpose of which was to ensure that Tokyoites can enjoy green spaces. However, military officers in the planning committee pushed for a change in the purpose. Thus, the plan of small parks in Tokyo's wards area in the finalized Greater Tokyo Green Space Plan (Tokyo Ryokuchi Keikaku) of 1939 were decided on in order to create appropriate space for of antiaircraft guns. The Air Defense Act was revised in 1942 and provided very strong land use control powers in order to prohibit building activities in the designated areas. In 1943, the Greater Tokyo Green Space Plan was replaced by the Tokyo Air Defense Open Space Plan (Tokyo Boukū Kūchi Keikaku) of 1943 which advocated the creation of open spaces for air defense such as air bases for interceptors as well as the creation of free areas around munition factories. [Fig-1].

Japanese urban planning in the final stage of World War II, was nothing more than a forcible evacuation of urban areas. In 1943, the use zoning system was stripped of its powers by an

exceptional wartime order, therewith it became possible to evacuate industries from industrial areas and to disperse them to any place in the suburban area. Thus, 'air defense' as the most important purpose of urban planning in the 1940s killed the zoning system, one of the most important measures of urban planning.

Planning of military cities (Gun-to): Before 1945 almost all Japanese cities included military installations to some extent. Cities for which military was the main function were called 'Gun-to'. One example is Kure in Hiroshima prefecture, a city with a naval port and shipyard. Its development plan is said to have been guided by naval officers. In the center of Kanagawa prefecture, the consolidation of several municipalities was promoted in the 1930s under the pressure of the military force and resulted in the creation of Sagamihara, a large town with many military installations including the military academy. In 1943, Sagamihara started a land readjustment project, the purpose of which was to reorganize the scattered military installations and develop new housing areas for military officers and workers of munitions factories. Those plans, that is the urban planning of military cities (Gun-to toshi keikaku) had a strong influence on the present urban structure [Fig-2].

Occupation, colonization and urban planning: Many planners followed the Japanese armed forces into newly colonized and occupied territories and prepared urban plans. The famous urban and regional planning of the City of Datong (Daidô Toyû Keikaku) in Inner Mongolia, which was designed in 1938, is only one example among many. After the colonization of Taiwan at the end of the Sino-Japanese War 1984-85, Japan extended its colonies and occupied territories until the end of World War II. In these territories, Japan performed urban planning in many ways: In Taiwan and Korea, although with more powers than at home, it applied nearly the same laws and techniques as on the mainland, in Manchuria experimental urban planning occurred and in Inner Mongolia and China urban planning was executed with close relation to military operations.

The planning system enforced during Japanese colonization in Korea has been used until the 1960s. In Manchuria, compulsory purchase was applied to most of the land which was designated as urbanized area during the Japanese colonization. Thus, planners could freely conceive their project without worrying about land ownership. [Fig-3] The Manchurian Town and Country Planning Act of 1942 had an advanced land use planning system, including a technique of area demarcation and floor area ratio regulations. Such a system could only be institutionalized in Japan in 1968. In Mongolia and China, Japanese planners arrived immediately after the military occupation. They worked in a hurry and most of the plans they sketched out are lost today. The above mentioned famous urban and regional plan for the City of Datong, was an exceptional case, prepared by a group of young architects under the leadership of Uchida Yoshikazu, professor of Tokyo University. Among the members of the group were Uchida Yoshifumi, a capable architect who died young, and Takayama Eika, who later became a very influential and important figure in Japanese urban planning. Although the plan of Datong appears mainly as a drawing exercise based on imported planning concepts, it was partly realized. [Fig-4]

In this context, I also have to refer to urban planning by the Allied Forces in occupied Japan after World War II, that is in Okinawa, Ogasawara but also on the Japan mainland. In most cases the Allied Forces and the U.S. Army limited their interventions to taking over land and buildings for military uses. They remained more or less indifferent to Japanese urban planning, and that even in Okinawa, where the occupation continued until 1972. Only one major intervention has to be mentioned: the GHQ and local military administration ruled that the area reduction or contribution system (Genbu-seido) was unconstitutional. In fact, this system, which was part of the land readjustment applied during reconstruction period, stipulated that only area reductions which excess 15% should be compensated. This intervention of the Allied Forces resulted in the creation of the 'compensation for decreased value'.

Reconstruction of war damaged cities: In 1945, Japan was defeated and many cities on the Japanese mainland were destroyed by air raids of the U.S. Air Force. Towns and villages in Okinawa were completely erased and the islands later on occupied by the U.S. Forces.

More than 200 cities on the Japanese mainland suffered war damage during World War II. Of these, the 115 most seriously damaged cities were included in a special rebuilding programme. Their reconstruction was promoted through the Ad-hoc Town Planning Act enacted in 1946. Japanese planners had to grapple with the reconstruction plans and projects during economically and politically difficult days.

Here, I won't go into details of the reconstruction in Japan, because it may be discussed in another paper at this meeting and is the object of a longer research [2].

Evacuated and converted military bases and change of urban structures: At any time and in urban regions - often becoming an obstacle for urban development. If the warrior districts place, armies have been a major urban land owner and military bases have occupied large areas (Buke-chi) in the Japanese feudal age are regarded as areas of military use, then 70% of Edo was used by military. After the Meiji Restoration some of them, mainly those in central Tokyo, were transformed into real military sites. However, army barracks and drilling fields in the central areas rapidly became obstacles to modernized Tokyo and were removed to the then suburban areas. The evacuated land was used for new urban functions. Examples are the Marunouchi district, which was acquired by Mitsubishi Co. and developed into the CBD, as well as the Hibiya park which is a former drilling field. As Tokyo's urbanized area extended and swallowed former suburban zones, the relocation of military sites became necessary once again. The conversion in land use of these large evacuated areas was an important opportunity to change the urban structure.

After World War II when Japan renounced armaments, it was expected that all land used for military purpose would be evacuated and converted to peaceful use. However, the release of the former military bases, which had been taken over by the Allied Forces, was subject to long and complicated procedure and many of them are still used today by the U.S. Forces and the Self Defence Forces. There is, for example, the Narimasu area in Nerima Ward, which has been expropriated by the Japanese Army in 1943 and was used as an air base for interceptor fighters. After the war, the U.S. Force took over the whole area and used it for residential purpose. Since its release in the 1970s, the site was developed into a high-rise and high density housing estate and a city park.

Military bases in a country which has renounced war: Japan has renounced armaments and belligerent rights in 1947, nevertheless Japanese and U.S. American military bases are spread out all over the country. They even exist in densely populated areas where they obstruct urban and regional planning.

In 1978, the U.S. Forces had 119 bases of 33,994 hectares and the Self Defence Forces 2,687 bases of 101,974 hectares. In 1996, they had 91 bases of 31,420 hectares and 2,904 bases of 107,383 hectares respectively. In total, there were 2,806 bases of 135,968 hectares in 1978 and 2,995 bases of 138,803 hectares in 1996 [3]. As a whole, there is no important change in numbers and areas during these twenty years. However, the numbers of bases that the U.S. Forces temporally shared with the Self Defence Forces have remarkably increased from 6 bases of 14,717 hectares in 1978 to 42 bases of 67,067 hectares in 1996.

Military bases that the U.S. Forces used are spread out all over the country. They are located in 26 prefectures out of 47. However, the bases under U.S. Forces' administration are concentrated in few prefectures, such as Okinawa, Aomori, Kanagawa, Tokyo, Yamaguchi, Hokkaidou and Nagasaki. In Okinawa, 45 U.S. bases with 24,373 hectares, that is 75% of the area of all U.S. bases in Japan, occupied 11.1% of the total prefectural land. In some

municipalities, especially in the middle of the main island, bases occupy more than half of the land. Kadena Town, the biggest U.S. military air base in the Pacific occupies 83% of the total land of the city.

Military bases in the Tokyo Metropolitan Region: Some military bases in Japan – of the Self Defence Forces as well as of the U.S. Forces – are located very close to and some times even in densely populated urban areas. Such location is rare in other countries.

The zone which extends from Yokosuka U.S. Naval Port in Kanagawa prefecture to Yokota U.S. Air Base in the Metropolis of Tokyo is a typical example. Kanagawa prefecture, which is part of the most densely populated Greater Tokyo, is second to Okinawa in regard to the concentration of military bases. The naval port of Yokosuka, which is home to the 7th U.S. fleet, including the aircraft carrier "Independence", is located at the mouth of Tokyo Bay and thus situated right on the most frequent sea route to the ports of Yokohama and Tokyo. Many warships, including nuclear powered submarines and gigantic aircraft carriers, come and go and mingle with other kinds of ships like freighters, gigantic oil tankers, passenger ships, pleasure boats and small fishing boats.

Most of the U.S. military bases in Kanagawa prefecture have close relationship with the Yokosuka naval port. One of them is Atsugi Air Station, which is famous as the place where General MacArthur made his first steps in occupied Japan. It is actually located right in the middle of a suburban residential area of the Tokyo metropolitan region [Fig-5b], and has been used for touch and go exercises as well as night landing practices (NLP) of U.S. carrier-borne fighters and attack bombers. For example, besides numerous daytime touch and go exercises, 303 NLPs were carried out on January 9 and 10, 1998 until as late as 11:59 pm, in spite of an agreement between local governments and the U.S. bases, which bans flying after 10:00 pm [4]. According to Yamato City, the highest noise level recorded during the above mentioned days in the residential area one kilometer north of the runway was 119 decibels, and almost all exercises recorded more than 70 decibels [5]. Moreover, on top of numerous incidents involving lost aircraft parts, two out of several crashes killed citizens on the ground [6]. It is understandable that residents complain about such noisy and dangerous NLPs. The surrounding municipalities repeatedly protested and requested the Japanese government as well as the U.S. Forces to stop touch and go exercises and NLPs in order to ensure a calm and safety life to the citizens.

Atsugi was first completed as a Japanese naval air base in 1943, that is only two years before the end of World War II. The zone from Yokosuka naval port to Yokota army air base, which includes the military city of Sagamihara, was developed by the Japanese government in the 1930s and the first half of the 1940 as a zone containing numerous military installations which are connected by a highway (present Route 16) and railroads encircling greater Tokyo. This plan was often discussed in relation to the regional plans for Greater Tokyo. A comparison between Atsugi and its surrounding areas in 1952 [Fig-5a] – two years after it became a U.S. naval air base – and the same area in 1995 [Fig-5b], shows that most of the urbanization took place after the establishment of the U.S. air base in Atsugi. If the existence and operation of Atsugi air base was inevitable, the Japanese government should have restricted urbanization of the surrounding area severely granting compensation.

We, as Japanese urban planners have to acknowledge our responsibilities in the present situation of the Yokosuka–Atsugi–Yokota zone.

Okinawa, citizens' life in midst of military bases: As mentioned above, Okinawa has the most important concentration of military bases in Japan, apart from Iôjima island where all land is used for military functions since its occupation in 1945 and where the inhabitants have not yet been allowed to return. Almost all military bases in Okinawa are managed and used by the U.S. Forces. However, the history of the U.S. bases in Okinawa is not easy to explain. Two facts have

Fig-1: **Tokyo** Air Defense Open Space Plan (1943)

Fig-2: Sagamihara 'Gun-to' Urban Plan (1939)
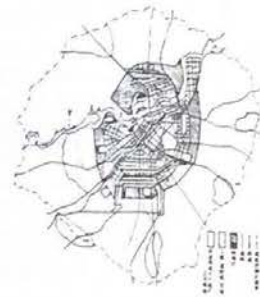
Fig-3: Urban Plan of Harbin (1936)
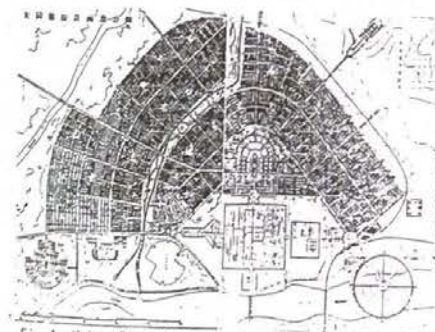
Fig-4: Urban Plan of Datong (1938)

Fig-5: Atsugi Air Station and Surrounding Area

to be mentioned here. Firstly, during and immediately after the battle of Okinawa, in other words, while landowners were running to escape the battle and while they were housed in camps, the U.S. Forces took over about 18,000 hectares of land for military use. Some of the landowners and the lawyers supporting them, regarded this actions as illegal according to international law. Secondly, after 1953 when the peace treaty between Japan and most of Allied Powers was concluded, more than 19,000 hectares of land were forcibly expropriated using bayonets and bulldozers [7].

In the central part of the main island of Okinawa, old villages were pushed aside by the U.S. bases and the Okinawaite have been living in the gaps between the gigantic bases, enduring various nuisances and unlawful acts by the U.S. troops. Urban and regional plans in Okinawa, as well as the revitalization programs for Okinawa's economy can not be conceived without release of the U.S. bases. However, a programme to return the land and reduce the military bases which has been prepared by the United State and the Japanese government, primarily incites a transfer of bases and results in a reinforcement of the U.S. presence. Thus, the proposal to return the Futemma Marines' Helicopter Base and build an on-sea base off the coast of Nago city, even strengthens the military presence and the nuisance for the Okinawaites and, what is more threatens the habitat of sea cows, which are close to extinction.

Conclusion: It is extremely difficult for densely populated Japan to house military bases – not only of the U.S. Forces which have been deployed according to the U.S. world wide strategy but also of the Self Defense Forces. In September 1997, the U.S. and Japan agreed on the new 'Guidelines for the Japan-U.S. Defence cooperation'. Opposition campaigns blame this agreement for providing a mechanism, which makes Japan automatically enter wars, anywhere in the world, on the side of the U.S.. Thus, in January 1998, the U.S. aircraft carrier 'Independence' was deployed in the Persian Gulf – far away from its homeport Yokosuka – to prepare the attack on Iraq. Many Japanese believe that almost all of U.S. bases are not necessary in densely populated Japan. Even U.S. scholars issued a statement calling for the withdrawal of the U.S. Marines from Okinawa [8].

We have learnt from history that it is impossible for Japanese planners to make urban and regional plans which are convenient for military bases and citizens' daily life at the same time. Under the Japanese constitution which aims of the maintenance of peace, urban and regional planning should break with military affairs and this should be made a world wide paradigm for the 21 century.

Notes and References:
1. This military purpose remained in the Act even after Japan renounced armaments. It stayed there until 1968 when the old Act was replace by the new Town Planning Act.
2. On the Tokyo's reconstruction plan refer to Ishida, Y.,(1990) *Mikan no Tokyo Keikaku* (unfinished Tokyo plans), Chikuma Shobou, Tokyo.
3. Editorial office of Shinonome Shinbun, ed (1997) *Heisei 9-nen Bouei handobukku* (Defence handbook 1997), Shinonome Shinbun, Tokyo.
4. *Japan Press Weekly*, January 17, 1998, No.2072, p.21.
5. *Japan Press Weekly*, January 24, 1998, No.2073, p.11.
6. On September 27, 1977, RF4b fighter crashed into the residential area of Aoba-ku Yokohama city, and two infants were killed and their mother was seriously injured and afterward died.
7. Group of JCP Diet Members ed. (1996) *Okinawa no Beigun Kichi Higai* (Damage by the U.S. bases in Okinawa), Shin Nihon Shuppan, Tokyo.
8. *Japan Press Weekly*, January 24, 1998, No.2073, p.6.

Historical Evolution of Environmental Planning On Modern City Planning in Japan

Mikiko Ishikawa
Faculty of the Department of Architecture
The Kogakuin University
1-24-2 Nishi-Shinjyuku Shinjyuku-Ku
Tokyo, Japan, 163-8677

Abstract

This paper discusses about the historical evolution of environmental planning in Japan from 1873 to 1997. In 1868, Japan had Meiji Revolution. The rapid modernization took place , and the theory of modern city planning was introduced. I have clarified the process of the acceptance of western theories of parks and open spaces planning, and analyzed how it was modified to our cultural heritage. Overviewing 130 years of environmental planning, I have identified six periods. The first era was 1873-1918, and its characteristics was the intoduction of modern parks. However, the concept of modern parks in Japan was completely diffrent from western ones. The second era was 1918-1932. characterised by park system. The third era was 1933-1945, regional planning theory was introduced. The fourth era was 1945-1960, the reconstruction projects after the World War II were implemented. The fifth era was 1960-1993, Green Master Plan was started in all city planning areas in Japan. The sixth era was from 1994 to present. Based on Urban Green Space Preservation Law, Green Structure Plan was legally established. promoting citizen participation.

1. The Birth of Modern Park

In Japan, to admire natural sceneries consisted of the important role in people's daily life. In Edo era (1603-1868), fuderal governers built many Japanese gardens, and some of them were opened to the public. Shrines and temples were allowed to own wide precincts within the urbanized area ,and those areas acted as people's recreational space.

After Meiji Revolution, the government forced to modernize old fuderal cities. The modern parks were designated as an essential infra-structure of the city, based on the research of western cities, such as Paris, London, New York. The first law for modern parks was established in 1873, and by 1890's, the number of parks became 67 (1890ha). Considering the political, social, economical difficulties of this era, the increase of the number of parks is rather misterious, and it is important to analize the reasons why many parks were established. There existed two major factors.

The first was the reformation of the land ownership. Meiji Government started to change the fuderal land ownership system. The lands owned by fuderal lords, shrines and temples once returned to the

government, then, new landuse system was introduced. The area designated as parks were mostly precincts, which had been used as a kind of common over centuries. Therefore, the government didn't pay any cost to establish modern parks. However, this rapid, compulsive solution swelled another basic problems, which finally caused a catastrophe of modern parks originated from precincts. Soon after this designation, shrines and temples faced to the economic difficulties, because they lost major incomes from the tenants and free-markets within precincts . They began to take into the courts in order to return lands, and gradually, the religious rights were admited. Based on the result of suits, the park areas were decreased one by one. Finally, after the World War II, the law to separate religious matters from politics was implemented, and mix-used areas of parks and religious spaces were returned to shrines and temples. Unfortunatly, there existed no law to prohibit the transformation of religious spaces, many historical openspaces within the center of cities were sold out, and became hotels, buildings, movie theaters.

The second was the first movement of city planning, influenced by the reconstruction of Paris. Tokyo City Improvement Law was established in 1888, and the fundamental structure of capital was decided. The plan includes landuse (civic center, industrial, commercial, port), traffic, water, sewage, and parks. As for parks, 49 parks (330ha) were planned.[1][2] Although most of them were originated from precincts, it was the first attempt of comprehensive planning, and new concept of parks was emerged, such as the public garden in civic center, river-side promenade, squares in down-town. The plan was revised and the number of parks were decreased by the budjet constraints, but this plan aroused the necessity of parks and accellated modern park movements to many cities in Japan. This movement gave a big influence not only to urban parks, but many traditional landscape areas, such as Ohnuma (Hokkaido, 1289ha), Matsushima (Miyagi Pfef., 680ha), Unzen (Nagasaki Pref., 138ha) were designated as parks by 1890, which led National Park Movement in 1930's.

2. Park System As A Prevention Of Disasters

In 1919, the first City Planning Law (CPL) was established. The Characteristics of this law from environmental planning was summaried as follows.

(1) It became legally possible to build new urban parks in major cities in Japan.

(2) Senic District was introduced to preserve natural and historical sceneries in urban fringe area.

(3) As a tool of development for new urban aresa, Land Adjustment Project (LAP) was created, influeced by German planning (ex. the Lex Adickes). Basic system to create small daily parks was produced by LAP.

In a process to create CPL, officers of Ministry of Interior carried out a comprehensive research of up-to-date western city planning theories. Garden city movement in England, zoning system in Germany, city beautiful movement and park system in America gave a fundamental structure to our environmental planning.

Although CPL was established, few projects were started because of financial deficiencies. Ironically, the first comprehensive city planning was carried out through the reconstruction project after Kanto Big Earthquake Disasters, which occured in 1923. About 1,484,000 people got dameged, whereas the total number of population in Tokyo at that time was 2,309,000. The method of LAP was introduced not for new urban developments, but for the reconstruction of totally burned area. The most important goal of this reconstruction was how to build fire-proof city. But it was almost impossible to build stone or brick houses both from economic and cultural standards. The shortest way to approach to this goal was to separate dense urban areas by open space system. People knew the fact that trees and open spaces prevented the expansion of fires, since 1,570,000 people escaped into parks and saved thier lives. Thus, the parks, parkways and boulevards system (park system) was adopted as a structure of the reconstruction, influenced by the American city planning, such as Chicago, Kansas City, Boston and Minneapolis park system.

The plan was again reduced by financial deficiencies, but LAP was carried out over 3,119 ha, which covers 90 % of the burned area. As for park system, 3 parks, 52 children's play grounds and 52 streets (22-73m, total length 117,065m) were implemented in Tokyo. It could be said that the first wave of urban design took place through this reconstruction, and new concept of environmental design such as water-front park, neighbourhood park, river-side and cliff-side green spaces , parkways were helped to stimulate the formation of city planning of other cities.[3]

3. Regiomal Planning and Metropolitan Tokyo Green Space Plan

In 1932, Tokyo City united with surrounding 82 towns and villages. The city area expanded 6.5 times and the total population became 4,970,000. Soon after, the Committee of Metropolitan Tokyo Green Space Planning was organized. Members were consisted of officers from Ministry of Interior, Tokyo City, Kanagawa Pref., Chiba Pref., Saitama Pref., Japan Railroad Authority, Ministry of Defense, Metropolitan Police.

The purpose of this committee was to make a comprehensive plan of parks and open spaces. The new term, " green space", was created influenced by the German term "grünflachen". The background of this movement was the rapid expansion of Tokyo. After Kanto Big Earthquake Disasters, urbanization took place surrounding rural areas, but no comprehansive land use plan existed. Many beautiful pastoral sceneries, forests and streams were disappeared. The Committee was organized to make plan first, then consider the appropriate laws and financial resources.

The planning area was designated within 50km radius from Tokyo Station, covering 962,059ha. This plan was greatly influenced the regional planning thoery in 1930's, which was introdued to Japan in 1924, as "Seven Rules of Regional Plannning" proposed at the 8th conference of IFHP in Amsterdam. Since then, Japanese government conducted precise researches and collected up-to-date examples of western regional planning, such as Boston Metropolitan Park System, New York Regional Planning. Greater London Plan by Raimond Unwin, Freiflächenschema in Berlin by Martin Wagner.

The Committee held 76 workshops and 26 conferences, finally, it took 7 years to make Metropolitan Tokyo Green Space Plan. In 1939, 37 Senic Area (289,143ha), 180 parkways (3,884km), Green Girdle along the fringe area of Tokyo City, 40 big parks (1,681ha) were designated.[4] However, it was only plan and there existed severe difficulties for its implementation, because the era was facing to the World War II .

As for Senic Area, main parts were designated as National Park, based on the National Park Act which was established in 1931. National Park System in Japan was quite different from American one, Within National Park there existed many privately owned lands, and the preservation was controlled by zoning system. Although the system had a weakness, it has been succeeded up to the present, and other wide range areas planned as Senic Area were gradually designated as prefectural parks.

Parkways were planned along rivers, followed the example Westchester Park System in New York, Kansas City and Washington D.C. But the World War II had occured, few of them were implemented.

Green Girdle along the fringe area of Tokyo City was a grand plan. Its total length was 78 km with 1-2km width of green spaces and it covered 13,623ha. Within 13,623ha, existing village and housing area were 2,046ha, rivers and flood plains were 3,300ha, roads were 561ha, forests and agricultural lands were 7,716ha.[5] Government intended to buy these forests and agricultural lands to create Green Girdle, but obviously it was impossible to spend huge amount of money on green spaces. They decided to buy most important areas of Green Girdle, and in 1940, seven areas (825ha) designated as Green Spaces by City Planning Law and purchaised by using the funds from Air Defense.

Thus, the structure of Metropolitan Tokyo Green Space System was established. Its influence had spread out nation-wide, until 1943, 161 Green Spaces (4,485ha) in 48 cities were designated and purchaised.
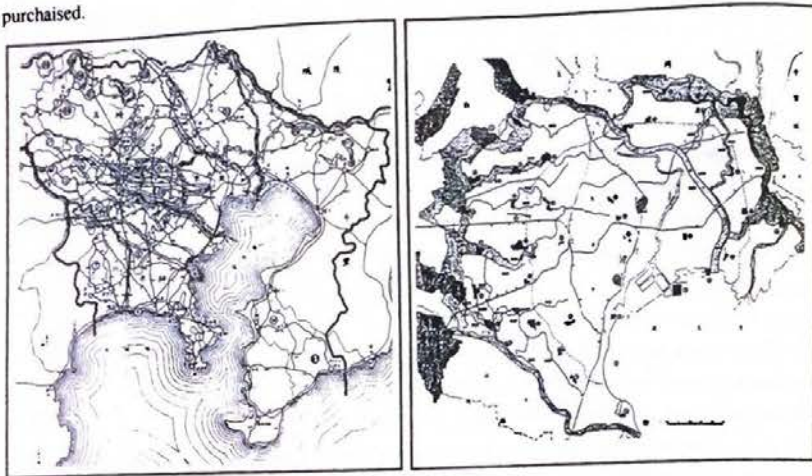
Figure 1 : Metropolitan Tokyo Green Space Plan (1938)   Source : ref. 4)

Figure2 : Green Girdle Plan in Tokyo (1939)   Source : ref. 5)

4.The Reconstruction After the World War II

Most of the cities in Japan were destroyed by the World War II . In 1946, Special City Planning Law for the reconstruction was issued and 115 cities were designated. Characteristics of this law was to establish basic land use plan. City planning Areas were divided into three zones, urban zone, green belt zone, and urbanization pending zone. Within urban zone, to build a fire-proof city was main theme, therefore the park system and LAP were adopted as the method of the reconstruction.

As for Tokyo, the population forecast was 4,000,000. By dispersing 500,000 to the satelite cities, it was intended to decrease the population within the Wards to 3,500,000. Based on this assumption, the reconstruction plan was decided. LAP area (20,130ha), 34 radius major streets, 9 circular major streets, 23 parks, 34 green spaces, and Green Belt (18,010ha) were designated

However rapid urbanization took place, in 1947 the population became 3,820,000. The assumption had collapsed easily, and in addition to this, the government decided to cut off the budget of reconstruction projects drastically. LAP area decreased to 4,958ha, and the final implemented areas were only 1,652ha. The rest of areas became the dense wooden house area which still had a severe problems in safety. Most of parks and parkways were also not implemented. Worse than ever, the policy to separate religious space to public space was decided, the traditional parks originated from precincts were disappeared. As for Green Belt, no compensation was paid to the landowners, nor the policies to promote the agriculture in Green Belt areas were conducted. Illegal constructions took place, Green Belt Zone was decreased gradually. After 29 times modifications, in 1969, the Green Belt in Tokyo was finally disappeared.[6] In the same year, New City Planning Law was establised. The principle of Green Belt was succeeded to Urbanization Controlled Area, and it consists of the fundamental structure of city planning in Japan. The reconstruction in Tokyo was, thus, failed, but other cities, such as Nagoya, Sendai, Hiroshima succeeged steady efforts until 1970's, which composed of the present infrastructure of each city.
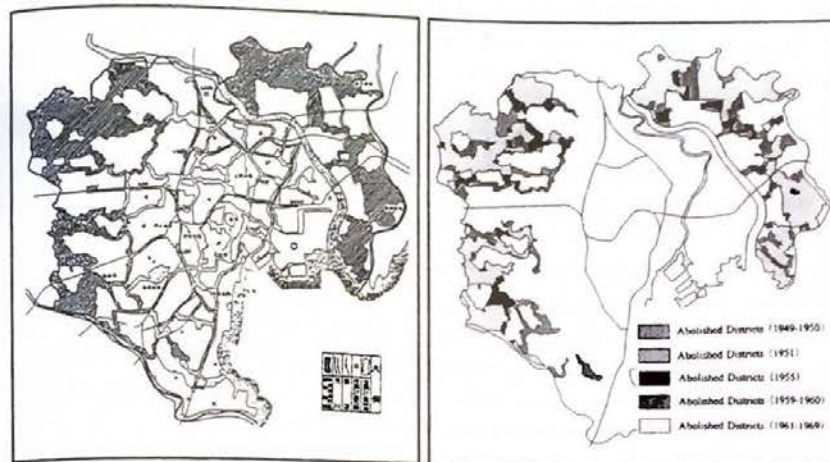
Figure 3   Green Belt in The Reconstruction Plan of Tokyo (1948)

Figure 4   Retreat of Green Belt in Tokyo
Source : ref. 6)

5.Green Master Plan

During 1960-70's, Japan experienced rapid economic growth and nation-wide urbanization took place. Natural environments in fringe areas of existing cities were attacked severely. Since laws to preserve those suburban environments, which used to be found everywhere, were very weak, citizen movements for natural preservation had occured. Basic laws, such as Historic Environment Preservation Law (1966), Metropolitan Green Space Preservation Law (1973) were born as a result of this movement. It was (1972), Urban Green Space Preservation Law (1973) were born as a result of this movement. It was pointed out the lack of master plan for environmental planning, in 1977, the Ministry of Construction informed that each city planning area should make a long range Green Master Plan(GMP). Since the target of GMP was mainly public open space, in 1985 City Greening Promoting Plan was added to create a comprehensive policy.

6.Green Structure Plan

In 1994, according to the reformation of Urban Green Space Preservation Law, the above two plans were synthesised, and the comprehensive plan for creating and preserving green space in city planning area was legally established. It is called Green Structure Plan (GSP)."

The characteristics of GSP is as follows. First, the ecological planning is emphasized to preserve and enrich diversities of wild-lives, and to lighten environmental loads. Second, mayors became decision-makers of GSP, whereas in former system it belonged to prefectural governors. Third, citizen participation is encouraged in planning process.

Conclusion

In Japan, it is often said that modern city planning didn't care about environmental planning. But, I have clarified that there existed 6 main waves of environmental planning since 1873. Planning thoeries were greatly influenced from western city planning, but each thought, modern parks, park system, regional planning, green belt were modified, reflecting the historical, social, and economic conditions of Japan. One of the most difficult problems in environmental planning in Japan was a lack of citizen participation system. At last, it is legally attained in GSP, and each city is now in a process of trial and error, to find their own ways of citizen participation.

References

1) Sato, Akira. 1977 : The Historical Evolution of Parks and Open Spaces Planning in Japan. City Planning Associates Inc., pp.158-167.

2) Maejima, Yasuhiko. 1989 : The Historical Talks on Parks in Tokyo. Tokyo Park Association, pp.82-108.

3) Ishikawa, Mikiko. 1996 : The Park System and Its Role as A Preventing Disasters Planning. 31st Japan City Planning Conference, pp.133-138.

4) Tokyo Metropolitan Government. 1938 : Outline of Tokyo Green Space Plan, pp.1-83.

5) Takahashi, Toichi. 1939 : Plan toward the Actualization of Green Girle in Tokyo. Parks and Open Spaces Vol.3, No.3, Japan Parks and Open Spaces Association, pp.62-67.

6) Tokyo Metropolitan Government. 1961 : Regional Planning of Tokyo, pp.21-22.

7) Ishikawa, Mikiko. 1996 : Characteristics of Green Structure Plan as An Urban Strategy for Sustainable Development. Taiwan- Korea- Japan, International Symposium on City Planning 1996, Part I , pp.32-44.

On the Progress and the Present Phase of Policy for Preserving Atomic-Bombed Buildings in Hiroshima

Norioki ISHIMARU
Department of Architecture, Faculty of Engineering
Hiroshima University
Higashi-Hiroshima 739-8527
Japan

1. Purpose of this Paper and Method of Examine

It is said that Hiroshima was almost destroyed and reduced to ashes by one single atomic bomb over Hiroshima at 8.15 a.m on August 6, 1945. However, if you look in detail at the photos of post-strike Hiroshima, you can find out several buildings here and there in the burnt-out area. Many reinforced buildings were partially destroyed, or burnt inside almost completely, or, more rarely, they remained with their own skeletons. Many brick-built buildings and a few reinforced buildings were destroyed completely and burnt out, then their remains were left exposed to the weather. I have called these "atomic-bombed buildings", and also "war remains in Hiroshima".

In a sense, many or several buildings remained after the atomic bombing and played an important role after they were repaired. And now, a few atomic-bomed buildings are reserved, some of them are remained under original form and function. Therefore we can point out that each building can be put into some category of burning or destruction by distance from hypo-center, kind of structure, type of construction level, type of function or role and so on.

After the war, much energetic discussion took place concerning whether the Atomic-Bomb Dome which was built as the Hiroshima Prefectural Industry Promotion Hall, should be preserved or not. Now the Atomic-Bomb Dome is a famous symbol of Hiroshima and was designated as a World Cultural Heritage Site in December, 1996. But the progress towards a policy for preserving Atomic-Bomb Dome (Genbaku-Domu in Japanese) was not smooth, Not to speak of other atomic-bombed buildings. Finally the policy for preserving other atomic-bombed buildings has not been settled, but this policy is very negative and not always successful.

Now this paper examines 1) how these buildings in pre-strike were constructed, 2) how they were damaged by the atomic-bomb, 3) how these atomic-bombed buildings were treated and played some role, 4) how was the policy established for selecting the A-Bomb Dome for preservation and 5) how was the policy for preserving other atomic-bombed buildings argued and settled. Those are the themes of this paper.

As for the method, there are many materials in relation to atomic-bombed casualties and building in Hiroshima. In particular, there is the report titled "The Effects of the Atomic Bomb on Hiroshima, Japan" which the United States Strategic Bombing Survey Party issued after a survey on the effect of the atomic-bombing, and which was part of a general survey concerning bomb damage in Japan. By this survey and other materials, we can

analyze several problems, for example which buildings were removed immediately, which buildings were repaired, used for a while and removed after and which buildings are now in use.

2. Definition of "Atomic-Bombed Buildings"

"Atomic-bombed buildings" are the buildings in Hiroshima which were atomic-bombed on August 6, 1945. Therefore "atomic-bombed building" were all those buildings which had existed in Hiroshima on August 6, 1945. However the vast majority of those buildings were destroyed and burnt immediately after the bombing. Thus all the buildings which had been atomic-bombed are called " (atomic-bombed) buildings existing before the bombing" (A Group) and the buildings which were demolished immediately after bombing are called "atomic-bombed buildings demolished at the atomic-bombing" (B Group). Therefore A Group minus B Group consist of "atomic-bombed buildings existing after the bombing" (C Group). Existing atomic-bombed buildings are called "atomic-bombed buildings at present" (E Group), C Group minus E Group leaves "atomic-bombed buildings existing for a while and demolished after the bombing" (D Group) (Figure 1).

Before the Meiji Restoration (1868), wooden buildings in Japan were the norm and after the Restoration non-wooden buildings began to increasing in number. Wooden buildings near the hypo-center were burnt down completely. Even in areas fairly far from the hypo-center, wooden houses were largely destroyed. About sixty thousands wooden buildings, constituting more than eighty percent of all buildings within the city, were destroyed or burnt. Thus this paper does not focus on all atomic-bombed buildings, but only the non-wooden buildings that were situated within 5 kilometers from the hypo-center.

Figure 1 Relation Between Each Group of Atomic-Bombed Buildings

(Atomic-Bombed) Buildings Existing before the Bombing (A Group)

Atomic-Bombed Buildings Demolished at the Bombing (B Group)

Atomic-Bombed Buildings Existing after the Bombing (C Group)

Atomic-Bombed Buildings Existing for a While and Demolished after the Bombing (D Group)

Atomic-Bombed Buildings Existing at Present (E Group)

3. Buildings existing before the Bombing and Atomic-Bombed Buildings demolished at the Bombing

In Hiroshima, non-wooden buildings were built in the course of modernizing the old social organization and city after the Meiji Restoration (1868). At first, brick-built buildings appeared and then an increasing number of reinforced buildings. The reason for this is that brick buildings offered no defense against earthquakes. These buildings were built at first in the course of militarizing Hiroshima, secondarily in the course of modernizing industry and thirdly in the course of modernizing city. By accumulating those buildings, the citizen's life style and city landscape in Hiroshima gradually were changed.

From about 1889, water supply facilities for mainly military use and attendantly citizen use had been built of brick, and in 1911 a large bricking building was constructed as the

cannery for the military. As for industrial facilities, some electric power plants and factories were built of brick at first, and spinning factories and facilities were built of reinforced concrete during the next stage. As for the construction of modern city, in 1899 some banks were built of brick and then many more brick buildings gradually appeared. Hiroshima Prefectural Exhibit Hall for Products (later Hiroshima Prefectural Industrial Exhibition Hall), which became the Atomic-Bomb Dome, was built of brick 1915. Since 1920s, commercial buildings, especially bank buildings, were built of reinforced concrete.

These movements towards modernizing city were restrained by the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War and the Pacific Ocean War. After approximately 1935, the construction of reinforced concrete buildings diminished, due to the short supply of building materials.

In prewar Hiroshima, more than 100 non-wooden buildings were constructed and these within a radius of two kilometers of the hypo-center were seriously damaged by the bomb blast and heat. Steel frame buildings were deformed because of the blast and heat from fires. The buildings which "The United States Strategic Bombing Survey" surveyed were 135 items (173 houses), 124 items (144 houses) of which were non-wooden buildings. At the present stage, we supposed that non-wooden atomic-bomed buildings had been 157 items within a radius of five kilometers.

As for atomic-bombed buildings demolished after the bombing, they can be divided into "atomic-bombed buildings totally demolished at the bombing" (B-1 Group), which were destroyed instantly by atomic-bombing and "atomic-bombed buildings partially demolished at the bombing" (B-2 Group), which remained in a ruined state and out of use, for 2 or 3 years. Examples of the former are Shima Surgical Hospital and Odamasa Store (Warehouse) etc. Examples of the latter ones are Hiroshima Gas Company Head Office and Shimomura Watchmaker etc. Many other buildings are included in those two categories (Table 1).

Table 1 Demolished Atomic-Bombed Buildings

Group Name	Example
Atomic-Bombed Buildings Demolished at the Bombing (E Group)	
Atomic-Bombed Buildings Totally Demolished at the Bombing (B-1 Group)	Shima Surgical Hospital, Odamasa Store (Warehouse)
Atomic-Bombed Buildings Demolished Later at the Bombing (B-2 Group)	Hirosima Gas Company Head Office, Shimomura Watchmaker
Atomic-Bombed Buildings Remained for a While and Demolished after the Bombing (D Group)	
Atomic-Bombed Buildings Repaired after the Bombing, Utilized for a Short-Time and then Demolished (D-1 Group)	Asano Library, Nippon Fire Insurance Company, Yasuda Bank
Atomic-Bombed Buildings Repaired after the Bombing, Utilized for a Longer Period and then Demolished (D-2 Group)	Japan Christianity Nagarekawa Church, The Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Geibi Bank Head Office, Sumitomo Bank, Bank Assembly Hall, Hiroshima Station
Atomic-Bombed Buildings, Repaired after the Bombing, Utilized for a Much Longer Period and then Demolished (D-3 Group)	Honkawa Elementary School, Hiroshima Telephone Company, Hiroshima Postal Savings Office, Hiroshima City Office, Chugoku Electric Power Head Office, Hiroshima Bank Kanayama Branch, Hiroshima Red Cross & Atomic-Bomb Hospital

Reconstruction planning for war-damaged areas in Japan put great emphasis on the arrangement of the city's infrastructure, after which repairing or rebuilding the buildings was left to landowners. Thus, buildings that survived the war and the bombing have gradually been torn down to make way for new buildings. Old buildings that have been repaired and maintained are wearing out. Generally, it is natural that decrepit building

should be torn down to make way for new ones

We can classify D Group into three smaller groups, that is, "atomic-bombed building repaired after the bombing, utilized for a short-time and then demolished" (D-1 Group), "atomic-bombed buildings repaired after the bombing, utilized for a longer period and then demolished" (D-2 Group), and "atomic-bombed buildings repaired after the bombing, utilized for a much longer period and then demolished" (D-3 Group). Examples of each group are given is Table 1. For example, in D-1 Group there is the Asano Library and Yasuda Bank. In D-2 Group there are the Japan Christianity Nagarekawa Church and Hiroshima Station, and in D-3 Group there is the Honkawa Elementary School and Hiroshima City Office. They have already been demolished and replaced by new buildings.

4. Atomic-Bombed Buildings existing at Present

The atomic-bombed buildings which exist at present still are "existing atomic-bombed buildings, repaired after the bombing and utilized for a much longer period", named in brief "atomic-bombed buildings existing at present. Now, more than fifty-three years after the atomic-bomed bombing, many atomic-bomed buildings are thought to number forty-three items. Some of those are in positive use and others are waiting to be pulled down.

If we classify atomic-bombed buildings existing at present into more types, some groups and each examples are shown in Table 2. One type is "atomic-bombed buildings preserved as ruins" (E-1 Group), and another type is "atomic-bombed buildings, repaired after the bombing, and improved for re-use or preserved" (E-2 Group).

Table 2 Atomic-bombed buildings existing at present

Group Name	Example
Atomic-Bombed Buildings Preserved as Ruins (E-1)	Atomic-Bomb Dome
Atomic-Bombed Buildings Repaired after the Bombing and Improved for Preservation (E-2)	
Atomic-Bombed Buildings Preserved as an Entire Building (E-2-1)	Waterworks Material Museum, Weather Material Museum, Hiroshima Local Material Museum, Hiroshima University Medical Material Museum
Atomic-Bombed Buildings Preserved in Part (E-2-2)	Honkawa Elementary School, Hiroshima City Office
Atomic-Bombed Buildings Repaired after Bombing and Utilized for a Long-Time (E-3)	
Atomic-Bombed Buildings Utilized for a Long-Time in Positive Use or Negative Use (E-3-1)	Hirosima Andersen Bakery, Fukuya Department Store, NTT Telephone Company West Branch
Atomic-Bombed Buildings Utilized for a Long-Time, Scheduled to be Reused (E-3-1-1)	Old Hiroshima Military Clothes Arsenal, Old Nippon Bank Hiroshima Branch
Atomic-Bombed Buildings Utilized for a Long-Time, Scheduled not to be Reused (E-3-2)	Taniguchi Textile Store, Nittsu Warehouse
Atomic-Bombed Buildings Utilized for a Long-Time not yet Scheduled to be Demolished (E-3-3)	Hiroshima City Resthouse, Old Department of Science, Hiroshima University
Atomic-Bombed Buildings Repaired after the Bombing, Utilized for a Long-Time, Demolished or Preserved as a Monument (D-3-1)	Kirin Beer Hall, Hiroshima Bank Kanayama-cho Branch, Hiroshima Shinyo-kinko Bank Yokogawa Branch, Hiroshima Red Cross & Atomic-Bomb Hospital

We can classify E-2 Group into two smaller groups. One more type is "atomic-bombed buildings preserved after the bombing, utilized for a long-time" (E-3 Group). Also E-3 Group can be classified into three smaller group and one more smaller group. There is one more type among the demolished Atomic-bombed buildings (D Group), that is "atomic-bombed buildings repaired after bombing, utilized for a long time, demolished or preserved as a monument" (D-3-1 Group).

Only one example of E-1 Group is the Atomic-Bomb Dome. Examples of E-2-1 are Waterworks Material Museum and Hiroshima Local Materials Museum. Examples of E-2-2 are Honkawa Elementary School. Examples of E-3 Group are Hiroshima Andersen Bakery (E-3-1), the old Hiroshima Military Clothes Arsenal and old Bank of Japan, Hiroshima Branch (E-3-1-1), the Taniguchi Textile Store (E-3-2), Hiroshima City Rest house old Department of Science, Hiroshima University (E-3-3). The examples of preserved monument (D-3-1) are Kirin Beer Hall, Hiroshima Bank Kanayama-cyo Branch and the Hiroshima Red Cross & Atomic-Bomb Hospital.

5. Policy for Preserving Atomic-Bombed Buildings — in stead of Summary

Let us first consider the process of determining the policy to preserve Atomic Bomb Dome and then the process of discussing and determining the policy to preserve other Atomic-Bombed buildings.

In Hiroshima, the policy to preserve the now famous atomic-bombed Dome had not always been regarded as straightforward. As for public opinion in the 1950's, exemplified by the opinion of Mayor Hamai and Hiroshima University President Morito, opinions in favor of preserving the Atomic-Bomb Dome were not beautiful, or was downright ugly, or that the ruins just gave an unpleasant impression to people (Table 3).

Table 3 Public Opinion Poll from Atomic-Bombed Person (so called Hibakusya) on whether the Old Industry Promotion Hall should be preserved or not

Sould be preserved	persons	ratio	persons	ratio
For a Memorial	134	50.4%		
As Warning of War	106	40.0%	266	62.1%
Symbol of Peace	26	9.6%		
Sould not be preserved	persons	ratio		
Would not Like to Remember the Disaster	92	60.9%		
Ruins do not Fit Peace City	not clear	not clear	151	35.2%
Should be Adapted to Useful Facilities	not clear	not clear		
No idea			11	2.6%
Total			428	99.6%

In 1949, the Peace Memorial Park Designing Competition was held and the plan designed by Kenzo Tange Team won the first prize. The plan called for an axis from the Peace Memorial Museum to the Cenotaph at right angles to the Peace Boulevard. The axis would lead to the ruins of the Atomic-Bomb Dome, and thus preserving the Dome was indispensable to Tange plan. But the policy to preserve the Dome was not Decided for a long time after the competition.

After the 1960's on the one hand, the opinion that the ruins spoiled the city beauty remained. On the other hand, the opinion was expressed that the Atomic-Bomb Dome was itself a sightseeing spot itself. Many opinions regarding the problem for preserving the Atomic-Bomb Dome were brought up (see Table 4), and among them the most basic concept of preserving the Atomic-Bomb Dome was formed. In particular, the concept that the Dome was the symbol of peace and against nuclear weapons grew stronger step by step and a primitive preservation movement began. In the 1960's, the conceptual idea became more developed and the agenda in the Hiroshima Municipal Assembly that the Dome

should be preserved eternally was decided unanimousely in July 1966. At the same time public opinion was gradually converging on the idea of preserving the Dome. The movement of collecting money which had been appropriated for the cost of preserving the Dome started and in April, 1967, the preservation enterprise began. In 1989, the second eternal pre-serving enterprise was carried out. For the time being, the Dome will be maintained as it is.

Next, we will explain the policy for preserving other atomic-bombed buildings in addition to the Atomic-Bomb Dome. Many atomic-bombed buildings were scrapped and rebuilt after the end of their building life, but special significance is attached to atomic-bombed buildings in Hiroshima. For each atomic-bombed building gives warning that another nuclear war might lead us to the annihilation of mankind, and represents itself the way of citizen's life and the culture of Hiroshima in each era.

Table 4 Ideas Brought up in Deliberation whether Atomic-Bombed Dome should be preserved or not

Idea of Removing or Demolishing	① should not like to remember the unpleasant memory ② spoiling the beauty of city ③ it is wrong to commeriahse the tragedy ④ it causess misunderstanding that the atomic-bomb had only so ability as Dome is ⑤ the idea which should be preserved atomic-bomb do me as the ruins is a European thought and without dome we feel more peace-loving ⑥ it is better to remove Atomic-Bombed Dome and to build a neat facility which symbolizes peace
Idea of Preserving or Anti-Removing	① should be preserved as symbol of peace ② should be preserves so not to forget the disaster of war ③ the worth of Atomic-Bombed Dome is quit apart from this world ④ Atomic-Bombed Dome already belongs not only to Hiroshima, but also to the world

The idea that these atomic-bombed buildings should be preserved or used by remodeling them is growing stronger. However, the owners of buildings do not necessarily agree with the policy for preserving, so the problem will have to be dealt with administratively. Now, a new policy for preserving the atomic-bombed buildings has been developed, but is not satisfactory. There is little subsidy available to compensate the building owner for preserving some atomic-bombed building, and Hiroshima City itself has decided to demolish Hiroshima City Rest-House. Regarding this later example, a citizen's movement for preserving Rest-House has arisen and arguments for and against preservation have become more intense. That is the present phase of policy for preserving atomic-bombed buildings in Hiroshima.

The above is an outline on the problem of preservation of war remains in Hiroshima.

References

The United States Strategic Bombing Survey,ed.. (1947) *The Effects of the Atomic Bomb on Hiroshima, Japan*, WashingtonD.C.

Ishimaru,N. and et.al.,ed. (1996) *Architectural Witnesses Atomic Bombing- A Record fot the Future*,The City of Hiroshima

Ishimaru,N. and et.al.,ed. (1985) *Pictorial History of Forty Years since Atomic Bombing - Reconstruction of Hiroshima*, The City of Hiroshima

The City of Hiroshima , (1981 ~ 1986) *The New History of Hiroshima vol.1 ~ 13*, The City of Hiroshima

International Competition, Urban Governance and Planning Projects: a comparison of Glasgow's, Melbourne's and Toronto's Industrial Waterfront Developments

John T. Jackson and Darren Camilleri
Department of Landscape, Environment and Planning
The Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology
Box 2476V, Melbourne, Victoria 3001
Australia

Peter Booth
Department of Environmental Planning
University of Strathclyde
50 Richmond Street
Glasgow G1 1XN
Scotland

Mitch Kosny
School of Urban and Regional Planning
Ryerson Polytechnic University
350 Victoria Street
Toronto M5B 2K3
Canada

The work reported here is very much work in progress. It draws its inspiration from Kalltorp (1997). He argues "(T)he research problem of the constitution and distribution of power in urban change projects relates to a number of long debated theoretical questions of power and social theory" and "(B)y investigating urban development projects as a focal point of this whole complex it should be possible to analyse how system power and actor influence merge or conflict and how local power configurations develop" (p.381). He goes on: "(T)he research method proposed here is qualitative and comparative. It is based on a modified 'grounded-theory' approach aiming at interpretation of empirical data from concrete case studies of urban development and renewal" (p.385).

Using Kalltorp's approach as a guide, this paper seeks to describe the histories, geographies and institutional settings of three on-going urban renewal projects in three cities in different continents: Glasgow, Scotland; Melbourne, Australia; and Toronto, Canada. These are cities with common cultural, political and industrial histories and which have recently undergone major industrial restructuring. They now all seek to improve their status as important regional cities, if not world cities. The projects described in the paper all involve proposals to convert large derelict industrial waterfront areas, close to the city centres' commercial cores, to new commercial, residential and recreational usages: Pacific Quay in Govan, Glasgow; Docklands in Melbourne; and Harbourfront in Toronto.

Through the use of documentary evidence and through interviews with key players, the intention is to write three 'factually-based' accounts of the planning processes involved in the proposed renewals with particular emphasis on the power relationships between the interested players. These will then be compared and contrasted, and generalisations made.

The geographies of the three waterfronts are shown on the three maps overpage.

Glasgow

CBD

Govan

Old Town

cific Quay

River Clyde

Prince's Dock

River Clyde

300m

0   2km

Scale

N

Melbourne

N

Metropolitan Area

CBD

Yarra River

Port Phillip Bay

Docklands

CBD

Docklands Stadium

Victoria Dock

Yarra River

Bass Strait

West Gate Fwy

0   1km

0   20 km

Scale

Toronto

City of Toronto

CBD

N

0   5km

Scale

Lake Ontario

Skydome

Gardiner Expressway

Toronto Inner Harbour

H a r b o u r f r o n t

0   500m

Sca;e

The maps show the close proximity of the three industrial waterfronts to the nineteenth-century, grid-patterned CBDs of Glasgow, Melbourne and Toronto so suggesting the potential for business and/or tourism-related redevelopment. But these central locations also suggest the civic as well as commercial importance of the sites. (Civic in the sense that while no local residents would be directly affected by redevelopment, citizens have a legitimate interest in how key sites in their city, such as these, are changed.) Their large size is indicated by the scales on the maps and this further suggests the massive amounts of investment necessary to convert them from industrial to other land uses, that is the commercial risks to either government agencies or private developers acting alone would be high. Their large size and central location also suggest the need for a planning strategy that is both internally integrative and tied back to overall metropolitan planning objectives.

To demonstrate the research approach - an interpretation of empirical data from concrete case studies of urban development and renewal - the bare bones of the Glasgow case study will be laid out. The Melbourne and Toronto case studies will be described in the conference paper itself.

Glasgow's Pacific Quay site (previously known as Prince's Dock) is located on the south bank of the River Clyde in Govan, two kilometres from the City Centre. The site is approximately 100 acres or 28 hectares. It was used for ship building and repairs. A dry dock has been infilled.

Pacific Quay was regarded by the Strathclyde Regional Authority (defunct since 1996) and Glasgow District Council (replaced by Glasgow City Council in 1996) as an important strategic site linking Govan with the city centre and as one of a number of riverside sites which required integrated planning.

The site was reclaimed in 1980-83 and sold by the Glasgow District Council to a private house builder. In 1985 it was leased back by the Scottish Development Agency for an international Garden Festival, to be returned in 1988. Some 25 acres were sold on for business use but in 1989 there was a property market collapse. By 1991-92 the Glasgow Development Agency (GDA which had replaced the Scottish Development Agency) bought the site back as a potential prime business location as part of its wider strategy to attract inward investment into central Glasgow, inward investment having gone to new towns outside Glasgow.

This was against the grain of Thatcher government policy which was to emphasise privatisation and to support partnerships. Thus tight conditions were placed on the purchase: a development agreement had to be entered into with a private developer within 12 months and the site had to be developed as a joint venture within 24 months. The venture must create new jobs and net additional benefits for Scotland. None of these conditions were met.

In 1993-94 with the property market continuing to be flat, the GDA went to the market place with a mixed use development brief. Four companies were short-listed, three forming a consortia for offices, a science centre and a multiplex cinema. Permission, however, was given in 1995 by Glasgow District Council to a rival company to develop a multiplex cinema on the opposite river bank; the deal therefore fell through.

In 1995-96 the Clyde Maritime Trust, a non-profit making charity, proposed to develop the site as a maritime museum and a Tivoli Garden theme park; detailed planning permission was secured. The GDA board liked the proposal but the GDA executive was firmly against it. The official line taken by the GDA was that the proposal was a high risk venture with no

private investment and that the original 1991-92 intention for a business park was still the preferred option.

In 1997, however, the GDA changed tack. It sought Millennium funding (Millenium Fund: money from the national lottery distributed by a panel commissioned by central government according to prescribed criteria) to build a 'millenium tower' and an IMAX cinema. The initial bid was unsuccessful. The GDA in conjunction with Scottish Enterprise then sought the support of the Scottish Office for a bid to build the proposed Scottish National Science Centre on Pacific Quay. This time the GDA was successful being awarded 35 million pounds of Millenium funding. This was supported by 12 million pounds from the GDA/European Partnership and 4 million pounds from Glasgow City Council who agreed to address any operating losses if these arose. Total development costs for the science centre, etc. were estimated at 71 million pounds, the balance to come from the private sector for the leisure and tower elements and from the development of 12 acres of the total site for business use. But the private developers of the business element were not prepared to start before the commencement of the Science Centre. Indeed Glasgow City Council was reluctant to give planning permission insisting office development on the river front had to be of high architectural merit.

However, by 1998 the first phase of office space had been built but not let. Meanwhile the GDA anticipates the Science Centre to be open in 2000 but there is still no site start date.

What initial conclusions can be drawn? Enterprise agency project-led development has proven to be less than successful. The GDA appears to be pursuing its own aims without reference to the two relevant elected planning authorities. Strategic or integrated planning goals have been ignored. The private sector companies involved have not taken the initiative in the joint venture arrangements, rather they hold sites until they think they are ripe for development, in funding and/or political terms. The internal workings of the GDA require further investigation. There appears to be mileage in theoretical terms to explore network/power elite theory.

The conference paper itself will fill out this sketch of the Pacific Quay saga and will provide similar accounts of Melbourne's Docklands and Toronto's Harbourfront. More inquiring academic questions can then be asked: what comparisons and contrasts between the cases can be drawn out? what generalisations can be made? what theoretical approach provides the best framework to understand what has been happening?

References

Kalltorp, O. (1997) 'Comparative analysis of power and transformation in cities: concluding notes and a research agenda' in O. Kalltorp *et al.* (eds.) *Cities in Transformation - Transformation in Cities: social and symbolic change of urban space,* Avebury, Aldershot, England.

Jakartan Kampungs under Siege 1980s-1990s

Dr. Lea Jellinek1 ,
Faculty of Architecture, Building and Planning,
The University of Melbourne, Parkville, Victoria 3052

1. Introduction

In the early 1970s and 1980s, Jakarta was highly praised for its Kampung Improvement Program. It was one of the few developing cities to recognised the value of its traditional urban communities and invest World Bank loans in their rehabilitation. In the 1990s, many of the kampungs (urban villages) which had been renovated only fifteen years early are being destroyed.

Most central city kampung areas of Jakarta are earmarked for demolition. An estimated 2.5 million people[2] and possibly many of those who originally benefited from kampung Improvement have already lost or are about to lose their homes. Entire communities are being turned into rubble.

In North Jakarta a giant land reclamation project will create a modern city of 32 kilometres length and one kilometre width out to sea. It may provide new accommodation for one million richer people but will displace even more poorer people who currently work and live along that coastline. Many of them live in fishing communities which have already been forced to move several times over the past twenty years. Australian consultants from Sydney working with the Jakarta City Government, top Indonesian politicians and private investors from Jakarta and the major cities of South East Asia are involved in this huge project.

A competing investment to create an International City within Jakarta on 450 hectares of land at the former airport of Kemayoran is currently displacing 20,000 people. This project has financial backing from the Japanese Overseas Development Fund and high levels of the Indonesian government plus private investors.

Another project in Central Jakarta to build the largest Integrated Transport Terminal in Southeast Asia is of similar design, with similar backers and is likely to displace a similarly large number of people. Throughout Central Jakarta, there is hardly a community that remains unscathed. As you walk through these urban communities there are gaps of rubble, tiles and brick lying in between the houses that remain.

I have consciously chosen to emphasise the positive features of kampungs because these are the very features that are overlooked by Indonesian policy makers. Government authorities only notice the less important, highly visible negative physical features and totally fail to notice the kampung's much less tangible but more important positive social values. Official documents describe kampungs as congestion, unsightly, lacking in amenities, disordered, dangerous to health, fire hazard and crime and illegally occupying precious inner city land[3]. By clearing them away and replacing them with multistorey flats, officials argue that they will be able to create neater, cleaner, legal, organised, highrise, high density settlements complete with modern amenities on precious central city space. Officials focus too much on the all too tangible symbols of economic growth - tall buildings, cars, highways and megamalls and forget the more important social values - the social glue which has helped to hold Indonesian society together for generations.

Paradoxically just as Indonesia is trying to copy Singapore and getting rid of its kampungs, Singapore is trying to get back what it has lost - a sense of community,

intimacy, the human face of society. If the central city area is transformed into highways, office blocks, megamalls, supermarkets, apartments and condominiums, nothing Indonesian will remain. It will become a boring city, much like any other in the world. People visiting Jakarta will think they have just landed in Kuala Lumpur, Hong Kong, Sydney or Singapore. The government may then start to look for the heritage of its own indigenous people but perhaps it will be too late.

Jakarta's population is expected to grow to 25,000,000 over the next fifteen years and kampungs will be the main home for most of these people. If the government imagines that it and the private sector will build flats for them, it is mistaken. Governments and the private sector cannot hope to provide the number of houses required by the rapid growth in urban populations.

About 80% of the urban population have always built their own homes in kampungs and will continue to do so in the future. The kampung areas of the city not only provide most of the housing for the urban poor but also most of the labour needed by the city. They provide the humanity and warmth. Ultimately, they provide the social mesh - the neighbourliness - that holds the city together. The earlier government officials recognise this the better, for it is much easier to destroy kampungs than to rebuild them.

2. Kampung Life

What is being lost?

It is not only the improved pathways, drains, mortar and attractive little homes that are being lost but a whole way of life, work, income, social networks, memories, attachments and accommodation for millions of people. For the past 100 years, the "kampung" has epitomised urban life for most lower middle class and poor Indonesians. It preserves the familiarity and intimacy of the village, but places them in close proximity - often walking distance - to lucrative income-earning activities in the city. For many, it has represented the stepping stone to a better life, a means of climbing out of rural poverty.

Togetherness

"Gotong royong" - mutual self-help and exchange - is at the heart of the kampung (village). From politicians and policy makers to poor kampung dwellers, gotong royong is espoused as one of the most positive aspects of Indonesian culture. It means that neighbours know, care for and help one another. Both the urban and rural kampungs have been constructed around the same basic principles which lie at the heart of Indonesian culture - "makan, tidak makan asal kumpul" (whether we eat or not does not matter, the important thing is that we are together), "bagi, bagi rejeki" (share our good fortune), "rukun" (togetherness), "terima kasih" (mutual exchange). These values have enabled millions of people to live close to one another and avoid the excessive inequalities and injustices of other societies. This uniquely indigenous welfare system has enabled the redistribution of resources from those who have to those who haven't without government intervention by the people themselves through their own efforts and culture.

Evolved Organically

Until the early 1980s, housing in urban areas was not viewed as a major problem by most kampung dwellers . With Indonesia's gentle climate and the availability of homes in the village, the key problem was living close to income-earning activities in the city. Until the beginning of the 1970s, land and housing was still readily available in Jakarta. There were many vacant or swamp areas in the city which the new migrants could occupy. In the 1940s and 1950s, they were even encouraged to do so by the city's authorities. They moved to the city with village neighbours or relatives and clustered together in certain parts of the city. They lived together in simple homes, sharing facilities and learned new trades. When individual breadwinners or couples had accumulated enough resources, they bought a plot of land near their kinsfolk, friends and work and built themselves a house. Families in the city had children and the population multiplied. Although many maintained their links with the village, their ties to Jakarta grew stronger until their primary attachment was to the city. By the 1990s, two generations of kampung dwellers had been born in the city, spent most of their lives there and knew little of their parents and grandparents' village.

High Densities and Economic Diversity

By the early 1980s, densities had increased to over 1000 people per hectare[4]. One person occupied an average space of only 3 to 4 square metres. The remarkable feature of the kampung was its harmony - so many people packed together so closely. Spaces were divided, redivided and subdivided, creating a honeycomb and a diversity of odd shaped houses, each with its own personality. Some houses were more prosperous and stood proudly above the rest. Others were modest, little shacks or hovels barely above the ground. A neighbouring household could earn ten to thirty times that of a neighbour. This created a network of dependencies with the poor relying on the rich for work and the rich relying on the poor for goods and services[5].

Economic Activities

A mesh of economic ties and obligations existed with labour, goods, services and income running in all directions. These ties were manifest in the pathways and streets which were a constant bustle of activity. The horizontal physical appearance of the kampung reflected the way life was conducted within it. Each person had an economic niche. There was an intense division of labour - a multiplicity of economic ties running in all directions for each of the goods and services that were required. Resources ran from one household to the another. No one household or agency had a monopoly.

Traders moved from house to house delivering fresh vegetables, fruit, ice creams, cakes, kerosene and water. Women washed and sewed clothes for neighbours, prepared cooked food for stalls, cared for their own and neighbouring children. Men rebuilt and upgraded kampung houses with women still living and working inside them. They also carted all types of goods in and out of the community. Within an hour, whatever was needed - a bed, mattress, television, sideboard - was delivered by brokers who operated throughout the community. Other services were provided by a variety of people - massage, hair cut, the repair of shoes, watches or kitchen utensils, dresses were made, food was prepared for festivities, bridal gowns and decorations prepared for marriages. All types of cooked food - porridge, noddle soups, coconuts cakes, rice and vegetables could be obtained within minutes. There was a buzz of activity, an excitement that kept everybody busy[6]. Those who went out into the neighbouring city brought income back which again circulated within the kampung community.

Redistribution of Resources

Kampungs have also provided a refuge for poor migrants from the village. They have been able to come to the city with barely anything, find work and accommodation with relatives and friends and send money back to the resource-starved village. During the growing season and dry months, the kampungs have provided a refuge for those in the countryside who could not find work and needed to temporarily work in the city. During the 1970s, 80s and 90s it was estimated that much money was being redistributed by circular migrants from the city to the countryside[7]. The process of movement between city and countryside was expected to increase, especially in times of economic hardship. Such a safety-valve in times of economic hardship should not be underestimated.

Social Ties

Beyond this market exchange and yet closely related to it, were very important social bonds. Especially the poorest relied on their neighbours for help in times of hardship. They could not rely on a regular income and there was no government social security system to pull them through, but they could rely on neighbourly help. If a neighbour lacked food, she could ask her neighbours for assistance. If her child was sick, neighbours visited and tried to help. Kampung mothers talk of growing up together, playing, going to school, raising children, preparing joint festivities (marriages, birth, circumcisions and funerals) and sharing food, resources and worries together. Those who were not related, felt related after having lived for 40 years in such close proximity. People adopted one another's children and formed marital bonds with neighbouring households. Wells, toilets, playing spaces for children, pathways and Mosques were built together for communal use.

Sense of Place

Members of these communities had a sense of belonging. Everybody knew and greeted each other in the pathways. Any stranger entering the community was immediately recognised and asked where he was going and what he wanted or who he was looking for. Not to ask and not to respond was seen as a sign of arrogance ("sombong"). This familiarity with every face and recognition of every stranger was the best protection against crime.

Pride of place was evident from the way the kampung dwellers upgrade and improve their homes and decorate the pathways with greenery and pot plants. Work was regularly done to repair houses - a little improvement here and a little improvement there. The builders in the community were constantly making renovations. As household economies improved, a second storey was added. Glass replaced chicken wire windows. Tiles and cement took the place of earthen floors. Temporary walls gave way to brick. Many houses were whitewashed and repainted each year. If left to develop naturally, the kampung was a community in the making. With time, it evolves from a rustic village to a shanty town and eventually improved inner-city community.

3. Limitations

Kampungs can be seen as ranging from good quality, mixed, lower to middle class districts to squatter settlements of make-shift houses with few amenities along rivers or railways tracks. Kampungs in the worst condition are usually the poorest, in the most vulnerable position. They have been demolished numerous times and never had a chance to rehabilitate themselves.

Differences between kampungs relate to their location (on higher ground or in a swamp), history, legality, nature of leadership and organisation, social and economic ties between inhabitants and the confidence and level of education of their people. Some have a good environment, organisation and leadership and this influences their inhabitants. Others are poorly lead and organised. Some are wonderful to walk through with beautifully decorated pathways - pot plants, shaded trees, pretty houses full of variety and character. Others look dirty and dark, with narrow, muddy pathways, small windowless boxes where people can barely move and where there is limited light, air or space for trees and flowers.

Limitations arise because the kampungs evolved as settlements without prior physical planning. People originally came for work. They were not thinking of carefully designing a community where they would live for many years. Makeshift houses were quickly constructed ways before the pathways, drains and sewerage canals. With houses built so closely together, later it became more difficult to lay the improved public

amenities that were required as the population grew. With a lack of proper water, sanitation, privacy and playing space, health problems arose.

With overcrowding and people living in such close proximity, disputes also occurred. Disputes between husbands and wives, between first and second wives, between neighbouring children which involved parents. Scarce resources and the growing individualism of modern society, placed limits on how much neighbours were willing to help one another and share. Parents spoke of the kampung environment having a bad influence on their young - causing them to drop out of school and attracting them into premarital sex, crime, youth gangs and drug taking.

Despite these hardships, it was remarkable how people managed to live with one another and survive together. A test of whether kampung life is good must ultimately be decided upon by those who live in them and not by outsiders who only look at surface appearances and never really understand what these communities are like.

4. Preserving Kampungs

This paper has argued that the government should prevent the destruction of so many inner-city kampungs. This won't be easy and few governments have the political will to go against the interests of international and domestic capital and current trends. With the skyrocketing land price in Jakarta, every multinational and conglomerate wants to get its hands on Jakarta's central city land and the government itself is involved. Land speculation is rampant. Kampungs are seen as developments of the future and it will be very difficult, if not impossible to apartments as a thing of the past and condominiums and reverse these trends. The problem for Jakarta is that not just poor communities living in bad conditions but good communities are currently threatened with demolition. A decision needs to be made by the National and City governments about preserving these communities - placing a moratorium on the take-over of kampung land.

This paper has argued that the intangible values of the kampungs (urban villages) make them most suitable for Indonesian urban living. They have evolved out of Indonesian culture and are the most appropriate urban form. They provide adequate housing for many millions of people at a price that the poor can afford. Because of their poor, dense, predominantly pedestrian population, they stimulate many informal sector income-earning activities from which most of the population can earn some livelihood. Because of the intense division of labour within the community where every inhabitant provides different goods and services, people do not have to travel long distances throughout the city and endure traffic jams, to get whatever they need. Instead, their needs are met within minutes from a next door neighbour. The kampung provide a cheap and readily available labour force for the many formal sector jobs that need to be performed in the city.

In the absence of any Government welfare system, the kampung provide a much needed social welfare net which helps the poor survive in times of difficult. Its inhabitants have that most important sense of belonging, identity and meaning in a rapidly changing, impersonal and overly alienated world. This encourages their sense of pride of place and determination, with time and resources, to improve, maintain and look after their community. This in turn accounts for the visual variety, charm and constant beehive of activity of many kampungs. Because the kampung is a community where everybody knows or is in some way related to everybody else, it acts as a barrier to crime.

(High population densities of central city kampung may limit the suburban sprawl which is gobbling up much of Java's precious farmland. Kampungs keep the heart of the city alive. Because kampungs provide cheap accommodation, they serve the poorest and enable a redistribution of resources from richer urban areas to poorer villages. For the sake of fairness, equity and poverty alleviation, kampungs need to be preserved.

Allowing the kampungs to remain avoids the disaster of multistorey rehousing projects which have been expensive to build and priced the poor out of the urban housing market.

5. Questions

1. Is it unrealistic to talk of preserving or restoring the Indonesian urban kampung and/or its communal values?

2. Can large-scale , centralised capitalist modes of production, distribution and exchange be reconciled / combined with the more decentralised, human-scale and integrated nature of kampung society? How can cities such as Jakarta combine the best of these worlds - the efficiency and economy of modern capitalist production with the humanity, meaning, identity and social security of kampungs?

3. How can the low-cost kampung neighbourhood be maintained in the central city area where land prices skyrocket as a consequence of commercial exploitation?

4. Can the basic urban requirements of water, sanitation, transport, communication and recreation space be provided in a kampung setting? If so, how?

5. How can policy makers be made aware of the value of kampungs and be persuaded to include them into national and local policies and plans.?

6. Have communities such as the kampungs of Jakarta be been preserved elsewhere - where did this occur, how was it done, with what results?

7. What are the alternatives to kampungs for dense urban living - how and where have these alternatives succeeded/

8. What is the role of planners in encouraging the survival of the kampung and its communitarian values?

---

[1] Dr. Lea Jellinek is Senior Lecturer in the Faculty of Architecture, Building and Planning at Melbourne University teaching a course on Comparative Cities of Asia. She is the author of "The Wheel of Fortune" (translated into Indonesian as "Seperti Roda Berputar") - the study of the impact of urban change on an inner-city kampung in Jakarta. She has worked in Indonesia as a consultant anthropologist for the past 25 years for the World Bank, United Nations, Asian Development Bank, Ausaid and GTZ. Her main interest is "the view from below -the voice of the people both in urban and rural areas " - how they are experiencing rapid socio-economic change, what they think about it, how it affects them, what they are capable of and need and how government and international agencies might best respond.

[2] Kompas 13th Oct. 1994 p.1 Kasus Pembongkaran di Bendungan hilir, Sebuah Proses Kemunduran.

[3] Pedoman Peremajaan PerumahanKota - Konsep Ke Dua- Jakarta, Kelompok Studi Peremajaan Kota, Direktorat Perumahan, Direktorat Jenderal Cipta Karya, Departemen Pekerjaan Umum, Indonesia, Februari 1992 p.4

[4] Bianpoen, Research and Development for Urban Management. Case Jakarta, 1983 p.59. 111

[5] Jellinek.L "The Wheel of Fortune" Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1991, pp.82-88

[6] It was estimated that about 60 to 70 percent of the population earned most or part of their income in these various informal ways in or near the community.

[7] Hugo, G Population Mobility in West Java. Yogyakarta:Gadjah Mada University Press, 1978

A Case Study of Historic Preservation in Japan: City of Kanazawa's Komachinami Preservation

Yuji Jinnouchi
1-7-20-402
Hosai, Kanazawa-shi
Ishikawa-ken
Japan 920-0862

INTRODUCTION

The City of Kanazawa is situated in the central part of Honshu, the main island of Japan. It is an old city facing the Japan Sea. Among those which escaped bombing during the World War II, Kanazawa is the second largest city after Kyoto. Because of that, Kanazawa, in company with Kyoto and Nara, is renowned as an ancient classic city which preserves Japanese traditions, and it boasts many places of historic and aesthetic interests. As part of the vision of the city for the 21st century, effort is being put into the development of the city's central axis. Preserving open spaces and the historical aspect of the city is also a priority.

In speaking of historic preservation, a new bylaw was created in 1989 (enacted in 1990). This bylaw laid out sepcifications for the preservation of tratitional aspects of the landscape aimed to create a beautiful city environment. In order to implement the bylaw, the various needs of the landscape have to be considered, so to facilitate the "Kanazawa City Landscape Planning Policy" has since been established. Within Kanazawa's city landscape, the historical narrow winding streets and old houses are known as "Komachinami" and in order to maintain this unique atmosphere the "Kanazawa Komachinami Preservation Bylaw" was established in 1994. This paper introduces the performance of the Komachinami Preservation Bylaw in preserving historic sites, difficulties that the Bylaw has encuntered, and residents' reactions to the Bylaw.

1. BRIEF REVIEW OF HISTORIC ENVIRONMENT PRESERVATION IN KANAZAWA
(1) Historic Environment Preservation Bylaw (enforced in 1968)

Kanazawa Municipal Government(KMG) started work on the preservation of historic landscapes in April 1968, when the "Historic Environment Preservation Bylaw" the first bylaw for the preservation of historic environmens started by a local government, was estalished. According to this bylaw, four zones were designated (76.56ha, increased to 13 zones, 422.89ha by 1982). A system of notification was put into place, and restrictions regarding height, color and design have been imposed on newly const-ructed buildings. As well, greenery zones was

Water Canal (Yosui)

establised. and water canals have been reconstructed. In order to preserve the appearance of individual buildings, KMG designated "buildings to preserve" and "model city zones", for which it provides financial support.

(2) "Kanazawa City Historic Environment Preservation and Creatin of Beautiful Landscapes Bylaw" (enforced in 1990)

Since the number of high-rise buildings and condominiums increased in the central area of the city in the mid 1980's, a guideline only for the specified zones had become insufficient to meet such changes. In order to cover the entire area of the city and to further the landscaping policy, the previous bylaw was modifed and a new bylaw "Kanazawa City Historic Environment Preservation and Creation of Beautiful Landscape Bylaw" (hereafter called "Landscape Bylaw") was enforced in 1990. According to this bylaw, the number of "historic environment preservation zones" was increased to 32, 1,558.5ha and some areas were newly designated as "modern city landscaping zones" (13 zones, 153.8ha), and in addition to this . lanadscaping standards ware set for each zone. In the entire 1,712.3ha of specified zones, building height was regulated into 10 levels(8 - 60m) and notification was required.

(3) Kanazawa City Landscaping Plan (established in 1992)/Kanazawa *Komachinami* Preservation Bylaw (enforced in 1994)

KMG has been working hard to create a new landscape based on its own distinctive structure taking into consideration not only the preservation of traditional environments but also the creation of a modern city. The "Kanazawa City Landscaping Plan" (1992) shows the fundamental landscaping policy of hte city, which takes the local features, such as geographic characteristics, natural environment, histoy, traditional culture and characteristics of city activities into consideration. This plan incorporates a comprehensive idea of "landscape context."
KMG has been preserving and landscaping the city with multiple and diversified measures on three levele; a large scale of nature, culture and history by "landscape context", an intermediate scale of "taradditional environment preservation zones" and "modern city landscaping zones" and small scale of "*komachinami* preservation zones" based on the "Kanazawa City *Komachinami* Preservation Law."

2. CONCRETE ACTIVITIES

(1) Preservation of Nagamachi Samurai Houses

A policy to preserve clusters of temples in Teramachi and at the foot of Mt. Utatsuyama and earthen walls ("Dobei") of a cluster of samurai houses in Nagamachi was implemented in the early stage of the historic environment preservation efforts. These three areas and Nodayama graveyard zone were designated as preservation zones for the first time in Kanazawa according to the "Historic Environment Preservation Bylaw" in 1968.

Earthen Walls in Nagamachi

424
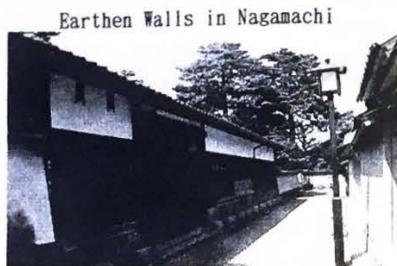
In the Nagamachi area, repair of the earthen walls has been conducted by KMG since 1964. It has been recommended not only to repair existing walls but also to reconstruct the walls wich were broken due to division of the premises of samurai families after the Meiji period. 129 walls have been repaired so far in the Nagamachi area and electric cables have been mounted in an underground duct along the streets.

(2) Preservatin of Gay Quarters

Among the three gay quarters in Kanazawa, historical houses have been preserved best in the east gay quarter. When an ivestigation based on the Cultural Assets Preservation Law was conducted for the designation of "Preservation District for Groups of Historic Buildings" in the 1970's, residents did not agree to have the area designated as a preservation district. Subsequently, this area has been preserved by the residents' own efforts with KMG's support. However, since this area is designated as a semi fire-resistant construction zone where buildings are required to use fireproof material, it is difficult to reconstruct wooden walls or grilled doors. This is a common problem faced by historical cities trying to keep historic landscapes. However, there have been some efforts, such as the use of fire-resistent material under wooden siding board and netted glass under the wooden grilles to keep out fire. KMG has endeavored to preserve and reconstruct housing in harmony with the landscape in that area by providing technical and financial support. In addition to repair work, sprinklers have been installed under eaves of a few historic houses. This was admitted by the Minister of Construction for the firs time n Japan. As a result, this area succeeded in reconstruction in harmony with the traditional arhitecture. However, it takes a lot of time to apply to the admission by the Minister of Construction for permisssion, antd it is very costly to install fire-resistent equipment such as sprinklers and an undergorund water tank.

(3) "*Komachinami*"

KMG established and enforced the "*Komachinami* Preservation Bylaw" in April 1994 to preseve and landscape histroical rows of houses.
Although KMG has been endeavoring to landscape and preserve historical buildings based on past "Historic Environment Preservatin Laws" . the city has been gradually losing its rows of historical samurai houses and merchant houses. In order to investigae the situation and find a solution to this probelm, 14 zones of samurai houses, 27 zones of merchant houses, historical buiildings and streets were investigated. The resulte were compiled into a report entitled "Kanazawa Historical Builddings and Rows of Houses" which proposes the preservation of *Komachinami*. The *Komachinami* preservation system is a way to preserve historic residential houese in the former urban area, and should be included in city planning policies for the center of the city.

425

"What is *Komachinami*?"

① It is not as big a zone as that which includes a cluster of traditional buil-
dings designated by the "Landscaping Bylaw", nor does it have as strict stan-
dards. Literally it means rows of houses.

② Even if the number of the houses in a row is under 10, it is acceptable if it
forms a whole.

③ It is important that the traditional houses have a "lived-in" atmosphere.

④ It is acceptable if the area includes buildings of Edo, Meiji or Taisho periods
and if the quality is good, modern buildins are also acceptable.

Accordingly, *Komachinami* is said to be old and small rows of houses. According to
the "*Komachnami* Preservation Bylaw", as a measure to preserve the *komachinami*, the
komachinami preservatin zones are designated, and the main building is registered as
the core of the zone which will be preserved with the greatest care. In addition,
if the owner of the house enters a contract for preservation with KMG, it may be
purchased by KMG, if necessary.

In addition to financial support for
reparis and loans for reconstruiton,
support isprovided for residents'
activities related to preservatin of
komanichmai.

Zones are designated upon consent by
the residents. So far, in five zones,
preservatin zones and preservation stan-
dards were determined through discussions
with the residents. Such efforts have
started to prove effective.

A Row of Historic Merchant Houses

3. ISSUES IN PRESERVING *KOMACHINAMI*

(1) Citizens' Reaction

The citizens' reaction to an area being designated as a *komachinami* zone seems good.
This is because citizens and city officers had discussions to exchange ideas, and
investigations including surveys were carried out in advance. Financial support for
activities to preserve *komachinami* by local residents helped to obtain positive
reaction from the residents. Consequently, in the preservatin zones which have been
designated so far, residents have of their own will formed organizations to preserve
komachinami and symposiums on related issues have been held.

(2) Issues

Although the citizens in the preservation zones highly approved of the preservation
system for *kmachinami*, there were some areas which could not be designated as pre-
seration zones. One of the reasons was that some residents did not agree to having
a system which prohibits free constructin of buildings, and another reason was that
residents are getting old. If there is no successor for the house, financial
support to reconstruct the buildings is not attractive for them and they are not

426

Model Plan for Komachinami's Landscaping – Kannonmachi District –

The following is an illustration of landscaping of historic merchant district in a
komachinami preservation zone.

keen on repairing their houses.
In addition, a depopulation of the central area of the city has been causing a
serious probelem. and the "*Komachinami* system" is expected to play an important role
in solving this problem. In order to solve this problem. further financial support
is required. However. KMG is suffering from the economic recession like other local
governments. and the situation will become difficult becasue it is presumed that a
large budget will be required for the welfare sysetem in near future.

References:

Kanazawa Municipal Government(1992) *Kanazawa City Historic Environment Preservation
    and Creation of Beautiful Landscape Bylaw -Standards-*
_____ (1994) *Outline of Komachinami Preservation Bylaw*
_____ (1995) *City Planning of Kanazawa*
_____ (1996) *Preservation of Komachinami -District of Kannonmachi-*
_____ (1997) *Urban Landscape Policies of Kanazawa*

Origins of the Neighbourhood Unit

Donald Leslie Johnson
Adjunct Associate Professor, University of South Australia
Box 75, Kangarilla
South Australia 5157

The concept of a Neighbourhood Unit keeps recurring, perhaps because of
its logic and correctness or because it is something desirable. Seldom
realized, at least not as a preconceived, consolidated fabric, the idea is
so sufficiently coherent and universal that it has endured few fundamental
changes in contemporary evaluations and applications. This can also be
attributed its genesis as a direct, curative response to horrific urban
social and political problems.

The Unit's conceptual origins are found in the general progressive
milieu in Chicago after the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition where
congresses attracted thousands of people from within North America and from
overseas to events that discussed and evaluated housing, woman's issues,
and so much more. From that local momentum, unresolved issues dominated
urban agendas. Progressive minds set about finding corrective measures for
the social ills afflicting not industry and commerce but people. Many
were designed to change the political atmosphere or directed at by-passing
the self interests of politicians.

Cries (often quit openly) for clean streets, smoke abatement, political
reform (especially as managed local government), and more if not better
housing were paralleled by, for example, playground and clean air
associations or the encouragement of schools to be community recreational
and social centers. This latter effort fostered the more formalized
community center movement that was inspired by the practical work of Jane
Addams at Hull-House in Chicago and other settlement houses. Together with
those seeking to quantify and resolve problems such as those technological
like sanitation, water, and rail and road, and the new study of scientific
management (Taylorism to some), the collective effort was soon
rationalized. When mixed with a growing influence of the Garden City
movement from England, a justification seemed inevitable.

It took form in the promotions of many urban improvement groups, but
relative to neighbourhoods it was the Chicago City Club and in particular
their national competitions of 1912 and 1914. These were designed to
search out the theoretical and practical parameters of a neighbourhood: the
first focused on housing; the second on a social center. The prefer-able
elements of a neighborhood were set out by the City Club, architects
associated with the American Institute of Architects, and landscape
architects, in the two jointly prepared competition programs that, it needs
be noted, took exception to much of Daniel Burnham's Chicago Plan of 1909.
They were further examined and rationalized by the competitors' visual
designs and textual answers. Of these the most notable and prophetic was a
proposal of architect William E. Drummond who precisely defined and then
coined the term Neighborhood Unit. Importantly, he explored how it could
coexist in a city's physical and social fabric (see figure verso) by
identifying its relationship to transport, industry, park lands,
recreational centers, housing and so much more.

When Clarence Perry wrote about the Unit in 1929 he merely—and without
acknowledgement—summarized and perhaps more formally diagrammed those
initiatives of 17 years earlier.
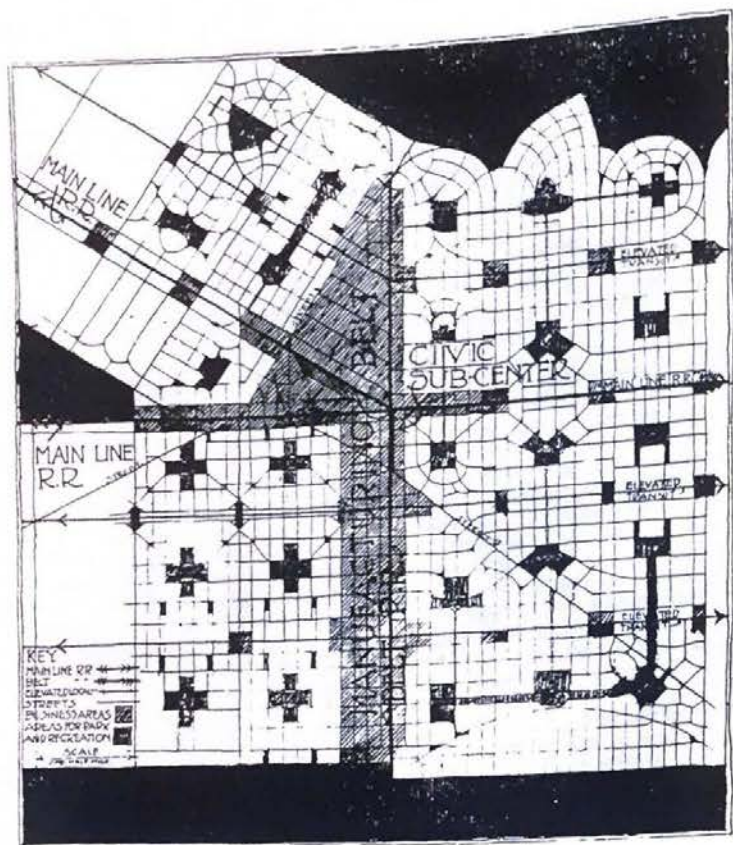
A City Area Developed on the "Neighborhood Unit" Plan.

Continuity and Change in Metropolitan Planning: Preparing Metropolitan Chicago for the 21st Century

Elmer W. Johnson
Kirkland and Ellis
Chicago, Illinois
United States

Several months from now The Commercial Club of Chicago will issue a report based on a study conducted by its members over the past three years. I am serving as the director of this project. The report will set forth a set of recommended strategies for enhancing the economic vibrancy of the Chicago region and for providing the best possible conditions of living for all the residents of this metropolis. Some of the recommendations will call for new incentives and reformed rules of the game at the federal and state governmental levels. These will help provide the foundation for strategies at the regional and local levels and in the private sector. In the second phase, stretching out over the next decade or more, the Club will engage in the even tougher task of implementation, working in cooperation with many other civic organizations throughout the region.

The central thesis of the project is that all parts of the region, from the richest to the poorest, are bound together by an intricate web of interdependencies. The recommendations to be presented in the document are driven by a dream of what our region can become in the 21st century if these interdependencies are widely recognized and if the region's leaders muster the political will to implement the report's recommended strategies.

Much of the inspiration for this effort derives from an earlier project of this Club under the guidance of one of its most distinguished members, Daniel H. Burnham. The result of that three-year project was the *Plan of Chicago* (the "Burnham Plan"), written by Burnham and Edward H. Bennett. Published by the Club in 1909, it is one of the most famous city plans in world history.

Burnham was moved to write his great plan by the plight of the working masses living in the high density industrial city of his time, with its narrow, congested streets, its noise and smells and ugliness, and its lack of recreational amenities. Residences, factories, shops and offices all crowded around a dynamic core. Outlying neighborhoods were focused by the radial lines of railroads and trolleys on a single downtown center.

Among other things, the Burnham plan called for a comprehensive park system: a stretch of lakefront parks; a system of small neighborhood parks; and a group of large forest preserves on the perimeter. The plan also called for a system of roads radiating out from the center in all directions for 60 miles, together with a system of encircling highways. He was fascinated by the possibilities of the automobile for promoting out-of-door life and bringing the pleasures of suburban life within the reach of multitudes of people "who formerly were condemned to pass their entire time in the city."

One of the things that distinguishes Chicago from most other large U.S. cities and accounts for many of its unique strengths is the kind of public sector intervention that occurred in the second and third decades of this century as many of the recommendations of the Burnham **Plan** were implemented. It is naive to think that the private market, by itself, could have created a city of such beauty and vibrancy.

Today we face a set of challenges very different from those confronting our region 90 years ago. They arise out of three fundamental developments that have occurred over the last few decades:

1. The changing technological and economic order of the world. This has entailed the decentralization of economic activity throughout the region and a vital new role for the center city. It has created a new competition among regions for employers and people. It has placed an unprecedented premium on educated work skills, and it has led to a restructuring of corporate America and the rising importance of the entrepreneur;

2. The dispersal of the region's population over an ever-widening metropolitan area with nearly 1,300 units of local government. Much of the dispersal is accounted for by technological, market, and demographic factors that are beyond our control. But our badly flawed public policies have played a major role in creating costly sprawl instead of smart growth.

3. The changed social conditions of the modern metropolis. Many residents across the economic spectrum sense a loss of community in today's sprawling, auto-dependent metropolis. They play out their compartmentalized roles in dispersed areas of the region. But a special burden falls on the 15 or 20 percent of the metropolitan population who experience high levels of concentrated poverty and racial and social segregation and who live lives of desparation. Our major metropolitan areas have come close to creating the ultimate nurturing environment for every social pathology known to man.

Our report will consist of strategies for addressing the challenges posed by these fundamental developments. They will aim at:

1. Facilitating public/private sector efforts to attain educational exellence throughout the region and to build strong neighborhoods and communities so that parents are enabled to nurture the intellectual, moral, and social development of children. Given the increasing importance of educated skills in the workplace, and given the disastrous record of the public school system, particularly in Chicago, over the last few decades, this is the highest priority goal we have.

2. Attracting and retaining as residents, people of the highest entrepreneurial, managerial, professional, and technical skills –people whose presence serves as a powerful magnet in inducing enterprises and other employers to locate and keep their headquarters and key facilities in the region. Our strategies will also aim at improved job training programs involving joint efforts between employers and community colleges.

3. Improving the region's transportation system. The residential dispersal and segregation of the metropolitan population and the decentralization of the region's economic activity in recent decades have given rise to an unprecedented level of personal dependence on the motor vehicle. We must develop intermodal systems of transportation and pricing strategies that improve economic efficiency, reduce environmental harm, and improve the personal mobility of those who are too old, young, poor, or disabled to drive. As concerns travel to and from the region, the airplane has long since replaced the train as the principal mode of transportation. In this age of global markets, the challenge is to maintain O'Hare as a world class international air terminal and as the nation's most important hub. This is crucial to the economic vitality of the entire region. Midway and any third airport should serve as subsidiary terminals for point-to-point trips. The key issues in this connection are how best to increase the capacities of O'Hare and Midway Airports to facilitate the region's economic growth and whether, when, and where the region should begin planning a third

airport. Finally, Chicago's great competitive advantage over other cities has long depended importantly on its position as the most important freight transportation hub in the nation. Today, with the increasing importance of truck/rail intermodal centers, the challenge is to build on this historic advantage.

4. Channelling metropolitan growth in ways that curb costly, unconstrained sprawl, that encourage the growth of vibrant, compact regional centers with mixed commercial and residential uses around intermodal transportation hubs, and that encourage the recycling of brownfield sites and the greater use of existing infrastructures in older parts of the region;

5. Enhancing housing choices and access to jobs throughout the region for all residents, thereby ameliorating the locational mismatch between jobs and housing;

6. Enabling the center city to adapt to its new roles in this era of global markets and information technologies, to build on its legacy as the nation's intermodal transportation hub, and to extend its diverse and exciting array of cultural, recreational, and intellectual offerings; and

7. Bringing about a tax system for the region that better ensures equality of educational opportunity, that minimizes the distortionary effect of taxes on business location decisions, and that dampens destructive competition among localities; and

8. Creating public decision-making units and processes that facilitate effective policies in a metropolitan context.

Consider the analgous framework that has gradually been put in place over the last century respecting the business corporation. That framework requires the enterprise, in the course of pursuing its profit objectives, to take into account an extensive array of social interests on which its operations impinge: e.g., competitive markets, product safety, safety in the workplace, rights of employees and retirees, and the integrity of the environment. No one today could well argue that we do not need this regulatory web of social protection. Indeed, it is this framework, despite all its blemishes, that has made capitalism sustainable over the long term.

Unfortunately, we do not have a comparable kind of framework for the municipal corporation that operates within today's metropolitan region. Instead, hundreds of municipalities and other units of local government have strong structural incentives to pursue their local objectives without regard to the effects of their decisions in undermining important social interests of the larger region, including that of a free market in housing and land development. Some of our most important strategies will call for new legislative constructs at the state level: the creation or consolidation of regional authorities and the establishment of new policy frameworks within which local governments must operate.

Thus, we will continue to place a high priority on the continued value of local responsibility for local functions, but our strategies will also call for new unifying structures that recognize and build on the economic and social interdependence of the wider regional community and facilitate the pursuit, in both public and private sectors, of our shared goals.

The report will set forth detailed recommendations for achieving the aims stated above. Our communications and outreach strategies will be aimed at convincing the region's leaders, in every sphere of influence, of the compelling reasons why all the region's residents should support these

recommendations. The task is formidable. First, we must deal with the bias toward excessive localism that is embedded in our tax and governance framework, as described above. Second, we must contend with the mistaken but widely held notion that those of us in the better-off suburbs can live in a bucolic setting devoid of any meaningful connection with the city and the worse-off suburbs. Yet, unless we overcome these hurdles and drive home the case for regional cooperation, our recommendations will come to nothing. That case comprises both a political-economic argument and a moral-social argument.

The Political-Economic Argument

1. Given today's inter-regional competition, described earlier, it is incumbent on city and suburban leaders to forge coalitions in support of the forthcoming report's strategies for strengthening the appeal of metropolitan Chicago as a place in which to work and live and do business.

2. The productivity of the workforce and thereby the prosperity of every resident in the region will be enhanced by the report's strategies for educational excellence and improved job training programs, for improvements in personal mobility, and for changes in land use and housing policies.

3. New political constitutiencies are likely to evolve in the nation. The growing Rocky Mountain West and the Southwest, more conservative than the rest of the country, are becoming more powerful. If the old cities and their suburbs want to keep pace, they will have to recognize that they need each other.

4. The economic well-being of one part of the region is very much dependent on that of the other parts.

The Moral-Social Argument

We are more than economic ants busily working on an ever-growing ant hill. Economic growth cannot be the only criterion governing our strategies for the region. There are issues as to human dignity and equality of opportunity, as to community and the common good, as to the integrity of the environment, and as to the ideals and civilizing purposes of a great metropolitan region, and only when all those issues are considered will our region be healthy.

We all depend on a common base of natural and man-made resources: land, air, water, and the built environment. Yet we have pursued a vision of unlimited low-density development with such singleness of purpose that we have neglected our moral responsibilities to be good stewards of these resources which we hold in trust for future generations.

Finally, the dispersion and segregation of the region's residents among 270 municipalities and 289 school districts based on racial and income factors has led to the creation of two societies: one poor and living mainly in the central city and inner suburbs, the other more affluent and living chiefly in the central core of the city and in the outer suburbs. When a substantial minority of the population is shut out, isolated, voiceless, and without hope, the moral and social well-being of the whole region is diminished and suffers. On the one hand, the disadvantaged are denied the conditions for human fluorishing. On the other hand, it becomes extremely difficult to educate children in more privileged neighborhoods in justice, sympathy, and ethical citizenship if they have little or no contact with persons who are significantly worse off than themselves.

The fate and future of everyone in this region is inherently connected. There is a common interest, a common good, and it cuts across municipal boundaries and binds us all into one metropolitan community. We can create a new kind of region, one in which people of different incomes, races and cultures live together and are enriched by each others' presence. We can maintain a vigorous economy and also build a sustainable environment for those who come after. We can build new communities where children live in decent homes, have sufficient food, and receive an education that will prepare them for meaningful employment and richly satisfying lives. We can build a region that is known world-wide for its vital centers with their parks and promenades, the fitness of their streets for strolling, the diversity of their neighborhoods and restaurants, the excellence of their colleges and cultural facilities, and the way in which urban amenities are enjoyed by a broad spectrum of society.

Jeff Kennett's Melbourne: Postmodern city, planning and politics

Louise Johnson[1], William S. Logan[1] and Colin Long[3]
Deakin University, Burwood Campus, Melbourne (1)
Department of History, University of Melbourne (2)
Victoria

Jeff Kennett became the Premier of the State of Victoria in 1992 in an election that saw the Australian Labor Party opposition reduced to a powerless rump. Since then the Kennett Liberal (read 'conservative') Government claims to have led to economic recovery in Victoria and its capital, Melbourne. Many of Kennett's critics have argued that too much power is concentrated in hands of a ruthless premier; the situation is more complex and certainly paradoxical – on many counts, he is an imaginative leader and certainly he has changed the face of Victoria, at least superficially. Kennett's policies are frequently praised as thoroughly modern – indeed, perhaps even 'post-modern'.

This paper outlines a larger research project that sets out not only to track the shift of planning policy in Victoria under Kennett but also to canvass some of the theoretical issues that seem to flow from this. The paper's intention is to provoke; we hope to raise more questions than we answer. It commences by summarising the key characteristics of the so-called 'post-modern city', as it appears in the humanities and social science (including urban studies) literature. One of these is fragmentation – the emergence of a loosely structured city of separate(d) communities. We argue that this fragmentation has been encouraged under Kennett by the planning process with its emphasis on 'big events' and 'major projects'. There is a political parallel in his cleaving of the usual vote patterns along 'postmodern' lines; that is, a pattern in which voters respond in much more narrowly ego-driven ways rather than along more traditional class divisions. The fragmentation of communities and the weakening of class-based electoral behaviour is effectively privatising concern for the environment. The paper concludes by highlighting another sinister parallel affecting the life of scholars and the university – the postmodernist undermining of the development/progress meta-narrative as a fundamental construct in the social sciences and humanities and as the basis of planning and international aid interventions. We suggest that the rejection of this and other meta-narratives in favour of postmodern relativism leads to the neutering of critics. Further, without 'modernist' universal values to fall back on, such a postmodernist approach colludes with the less-than-democratic management of cities that we are seeing emerge in Jeff Kennett's Melbourne.

The postmodern city

The postmodern is a term that claims to signal a new way of organising economic activity; a new style and a crisis of representation. Each of these elements means different things for the conceptualisation and planning of cities. They will be discussed in turn.

Post-Fordism - New times for capitalism

For Frederic Jameson (1984), the 'cultural logic of late capitalism' involved the prodigious expansion of multinational finance capital into hitherto uncommodified areas of activity. This economy has also been variously described as post-industrial,

disorganised capitalism, post-Fordist. It provides the economic foundation for the postmodern city and era. Whether there is a sharp break and a substantial rejection of what went before, as the term 'postmodern' implies, is a subject of continuing debate – indeed the authors of this paper are divided on the point. In these various formulations, however, the focus is on the increased globalisation of corporate capital, on the way it is organised, what is produced and where. The contrast is between the mass production of standardised items by a masculine and unionised workforce and electronically mediated batch production for niche markets overseen by a flexible, multi-skilled, non-unionised and subcontracted workforce. The postmodern city is built on globalised service and finance capital and a highly differentiated workforce.

The electronics that make batch production and business services possible also allow the physical separation of production stages - so that management, design, component manufacture and assembly can be scattered across cities, regions and countries - while also supporting a whole new information technology industry and a media- and leisure-centred consumer. As a result, globally there has been a differentiation of cities into so-called 'world cities' and second order cities. The former (New York, London, Paris, Tokyo, Los Angeles, Singapore) house the international and regional headquarters of multinational manufacturing, trading and financial corporations as well as the many business and producer services needed by these firms - law, accountancy, advertising, freight, finance, research and development, real estate and insurance. The second order cities (Vancouver, Sydney, Osaka, Munich, Rome) compete to support the production, national marketing or co-ordination activities of international firms. Within the cities locked into this global economy there is also occurring greater social and spatial polarisation. Thus the burgeoning class of technologically literate, skilled and well-paid service workers occupy the desirable suburbs, inner city apartments and regenerated historical precincts. Their lifestyles generate demands for recreational, tourist and personal services. These symbolic analysts of the technological age are increasingly protected by elaborate security measures from the growing numbers of unemployed manufacturing workers and marginal or part time service workers - often racialised and feminised - who live in decaying inner city areas or suburbs. These dual elements of urban wealth and decay further typify the postmodern city. It is the products created by and for the new middle classes that generate the style of these cities.

Postmodern style

If the postmodern city is one of social polarisation, finance capital, manufacturing decline and service sector expansion; it is also one where spectacle and commodification are an increasingly important part of the urban economy. Thus Harvey (1989) notes how cities in the United States desperately compete against each other for new investment as well as for ways to generate and hold capital through such things as neighbourhood redevelopment, mass retailing, city festivals and spectacles. These events involve new definitions of and mobilisations of symbolic capital - around things like old houses, horse races, art shows and car races. The scale of such an exercise as well as the way in which it is done differs from the past. As cities and precincts within them compete for hypermobile capital and as the urban environment itself becomes commodified, distinctions between high art and popular culture, between shopping and recreation, tourism, residing and browsing are eroded.

The international hotel - a place which accommodates the fleeting visits of the multinational investor and manager as well as the tourist - is one site that typifies much

of the new economic and symbolic order. While the International School of modern architecture produced a global proliferation of remarkably similar steel and glass office towers, high rise housing blocks and hotels. In contrast, the Postmodern building is double coded, grounded in its locality and embellished with pastiche, metaphor, humour and whimsy (Jencks 1986). The Bonaventure Hotel has been taken as the defining architectural postmodern icon (Jameson 1984; Soja 1986, 1989; Davis 1990).

On a broader scale, the city of Los Angeles is often portrayed as the postmodern city par excellence - the model to which all other cities are aspiring and evolving. This arises primarily from the location within the city of an array of well published academics - such as Soja, Davis, Dear and Jameson - who have been critical to the creation of the postmodern urban discourse. It is ironical that within such a discourse - which has as one of its objectives the destabilising of theoretical verities - that such a place and its theorisation as postmodern has become so dominant within urban studies. Indeed the process by which the acceptance of Los Angeles as a role model is in itself worthy of study; it would tell us something about the wider process of cultural globalisation and the place in that of the public relations and media industries and of the academy. (Kennett's link with the PR industry is noted and his attempts to 'sell Melbourne' are discussed below). More serious is the relatively uncritical acceptance of the Los Angeles model, such that the trends described for this city have been so readily applied to others with very different histories, demographics and political economies. There is an argument as to whether their analysis is in fact applicable to Los Angeles and, further, whether it is relevant to other cities of the world. There is no inevitable logic being marked out that means that Melbourne and Sydney are moving inexorably towards Los Angeles in form, layout, politics and economy. This is unlikely for a host of reasons. The loss of cultural identity resulting from globalisation may provoke a localist - or even 'glocalist' (Robertson1995) – reaction. Moreover, not the least of reasons is the final aspect of the postmodern - the crisis of certainty in representation.

The crisis of representation
Associated with the changing economic foundations of Western societies and their cities there has also been fundamental alterations in the ways people live in and understand these places. For Wilson (1989, 1991), the contemporary city is a place of contradictions - between sameness and difference, excitement and fear, pleasure and danger - mediated and fragmented by media and computer technologies. In such a place, individuals become decentred and disoriented yet potentially free to explore the many possibilities now open to them. For Wilson, the notion of a fixed, genderless person buffeted by structural forces is replaced by a gendered and sexualised woman who is constantly open to new identity formations and makeovers. This woman is also located in time and space such that any theorisation or representation of her has to acknowledge that fluidity and specificity. Such a view of women derives from feminism as much as from postmodernism.

Feminism was critical in exposing many of the dominant world views of the 1960s and before as partial and masculine. Subsequent work has further recognised that feminism itself was generated by particular groups - in general, white, middle class, heterosexual North American and European women - who tended to universalise their own experience while also marginalising that of others. Women of colour and from the Third World argued that not only were their voices ignored by mainstream feminism, but that in constituting the unified white Western woman as its subject and norm, their position

was rendered marginal and invisible. This deconstruction of a fixed identity - derived from an emancipatory politics - was part of the postmodern move to refigure the individual as a fragmented, discursively constituted subject.

Despite its origin in liberatory politics however, such a view of the subject has raised serious dilemmas for those long committed to a politics grounded in collective identities and agreed ethical stances. While there is ongoing debate whether a conservative politics inevitably flows from postmodern analysis, there is an argument to be made that the turn towards fractured identities and relativism has made a collective politics of resistance grounded on a unified 'public interest' all but impossible – both theoretically and politically. Again this does not flow inevitably from analysis of the postmodern city. On the contrary, the conceptualisation of the contemporary city in postmodern terms offers real insights.

To summarise, this paper argues that Melbourne is enmeshed within such a new globalised finance system and is restructuring away from manufacturing activity towards a service economy in which there are new classes of symbolic analysts and lower level service workers. This produces a newly polarised and increasingly fragmented city of high consuming middle class inner city dwellers and suburban regions awash with low paid, part time service workers and redundant manufacturing workers, all of whom avidly consume the recreational and commodified cultural resources of the city of spectacle. However, whether all of these economic, social and spatial changes are also predicated upon an array of new and fluid identities that deny - or render unlikely and unjustifiable - a collective sense of responsibility and action is debatable. The answer to such a question will ultimately determine the fate of the postmodern city as a civic space - one either devoted to the logic of postmodern capital or one serving all of its residents.

The circus comes to town: Special Events Melbourne

The Kennett Government's years have been marked by enormous investment in civic building projects and a concerted effort to establish Melbourne as the 'events' capital of the nation. Under the grand but misleading rubric of 'Agenda 21', major projects like the Casino, Museum redevelopment, Federation Square and Docklands serve not only (supposedly) to boost economic activity, but also as physical manifestations of the entrepreneurial 'can do' state - symbols of a new dawn and a new ideology aimed at 'cultivating an image of a certain sort of place with certain sorts of attributes' (Kearns and Philo 1993:20-1). Complementing these physical expressions of the new Melbourne is an extensive program of major events. From fashion shows to the Grand Prix, from international rugby matches to blockbuster art exhibitions, the aim is to host at least one significant event every month of the year, thus, so the argument goes, opening opportunities for long-term business, employment and repeat visits.

These strategies are not, of course, unique to the present Victorian Government. The idea that 'a successful, spruce downtown is a sine qua non for economic' has become a virtual orthodoxy amongst planners, city marketers and politicians. International examples include Glasgow's transformative efforts as the 1990 Cultural Capital of Europe, the reconstruction of Les Halles in Paris or Covent Garden in Paris, and the numerous 'Festival Market' or waterfront developments in US cities, such as Boston, Baltimore and New York. Other Australian cities have been busy, too, Brisbane using

its hosting of Expo in 1988 to refurbish parts of its riverfront and Sydney revamping Darling Harbour as a leisure-shopping and tourism precinct. Moreover, previous Victorian governments have also demonstrated their commitment to this orthodoxy.

But rather than seeing this merely as sibling rivalry between Australian state capitals, the underlying intention seems to be to win for Melbourne a place in the second city order of the newly-emerging global hierarchy. What may also be qualitatively different in the current Victorian case is the way in which the Kennett Government has sought to transform a whole city – or at least its central area – rather than just certain precincts, to fashion Melbourne after its own image, and to imprint its slogan – 'on the move' – onto the city's physical fabric. The slogan is strangely apt for the Kennett Government, suggesting as it does a certain restless energy and action for action's sake; it conjures up images of a kind of frontier free-market capitalism reminiscent of the city's glorious days in the 1880s, a time also subject to sloganeering chiefly in the form of the popular descriptor 'Marvellous Melbourne'. But portraying the city as 'on the move' invites the inevitable question, 'movement to where?'. One could sometimes be forgiven for thinking that the destination is no further than the doors of Moody's or Standard and Poors. But there are more serious and important aims, even if they are, in many ways, problematic and the strategies adopted to reach them questionable. Chiefly, the re-imaging of Melbourne as a city of spectacle – in terms of its built form and its events – is designed not only to stimulate economic activity but to position it in the global competition between cities for investment and tourism. Major events and major projects are meant to be marketable symbols of a vital and wealth-creating economy.

Fragmentation of Melbourne Politics

Inevitably, however, such large scale restructuring of the urban fabric must excite disquiet amongst those who do not share the Government's vision, or who have grown attached to that which already exists. Among other things, considerable disquiet exists about its relationship with the Casino's operators and about the State's growing reliance on revenue from gambling. Potentially more politically damaging is the burgeoning revolt in the leafier suburbs of the inner and middle rings over multi-unit development and the perceived loss of urban amenity and heritage. The Government has counter-attacked critics as being disloyal to their State and it has sought to stifle opposition to its vision and policies. This has involved attempting to close down the independent office of the Auditor-General and put pressure on the courts and legal profession. Municipal government has been totally restructured and its functions and overall character redefined, making it more like business corporations and much more clearly subservient to the wishes of the State Government. In the urban planning sphere, the Government has sought, especially through the Victoria Planning Provisions – part of the new planning framework – to shift decision-making power away from elected representatives of the community towards Council officers. Some cases are 'called in' by the Minister for Planning and Local Government, these often being controversial cases where developer interests have been favoured over and above those of local residents or the general public.

There are dangers for democracy and urban management in this reshaping of the decision-making scene. Ironically, the attempt to impose a unified image on the city has contributed to the fragmentation of politics and the fracturing of allegiances. Emblematic of this remarkable new trend was the conflict over the Government's

decision to hold the Australian Formula One Grand Prix in inner suburban Albert Park. Although resistance was strong and extremely well organised, the Government pushed ahead, ignoring civil liberties and normal accountability mechanisms, and transgressing traditional class and political boundaries to mobilise considerable working class and young male support. Thus the fragmentation of Melbourne into a collection of increasingly self-absorbed communities (not necessarily geographically based) has enabled Kennett to play off one against another over issues touching on their personal interests and local amenities. Environmental politics has been effectively privatised and voting patterns appear to have shown a distinct move away from the traditional class-based division between blue collar/Labor and wealthy/conservative/Liberal.

Reclaiming the City: Dilemmas of Resistance

The neutering of critics has been noted. This includes academics in Melbourne's seven universities, who, in previous decades, frequently took the lead in public campaigns on planning issues. Part of the neutering results from the rapid transformation of universities throughout Australia from places where public comment was encouraged and protected to businesses with efficiency performance standards, no effective tenure and subservience to government for funding. But, we argue, it also represents one impact of the postmodern questioning meta-narratives – here the undermining of the development-progress meta-narrative employed in the social sciences, including urban studies, and accepted previously as the basis of planning and international aid interventions. The appeal to universal values has now been cut away. Thus the current postmodern intellectual foundation for dispassionate criticism, effectively supports the less than democratic management of cities typified Jeff Kennett's Melbourne. This has forced some social scientists to fall back on to a 'critical postmodernism', which only raises more conceptual difficulties. The paper suggests that there is a need for a critical engagement with 'postmodernism'. We conclude that there is a need to restore faith in notions such as the 'public good' or 'public interest' which, however much we recognise their frailty in conceptual terms and their exploitation in practice, remain the essential universal basis for the public allocation of resources through the planning process.

References

Davis, Mike (1990). *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles*. Vintage, London.

Harvey, David (1989) *The Condition of Postmodernity*. Basil Blackwell, Oxford.

Jameson, Frederic (1984). The cultural logic of late capitalism. *New Left Review*, vol. 146, 53-92.

Jencks, Charles (1986). *What is post-modernism?* Paper given to Post-Modernism Conference, North Western University, Evanston, Illinois.

Kearns, Gerry and Philo, Chris (eds) (1993). *Selling Places: The City as Cultural Capital, Past and Present*. Pergamon, Oxford.

Robertson, Roland (1995).'Glocalisation: time-space and homogeneity-heterogeneity'. In M. Featherstone et al (eds), *Global Modernity*, Sage, London, pp. 24-44.

Soja, Edward W. (1986). 'Taking Los Angeles apart: a postmodern geography'. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 4, 255-72.

Soja, Edward W. (1989). *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory*, Verso, London.

Wilson, Elizabeth (1989). Hallucinations. Life in the post-modern city. Radius, London.

Wilson, Elizabeth (1991). *The sphinx in the city. Urban life, the control of disorder and women*, Virago, London.

Building on a Theme: The Gold Coast Imaginatively Reconstructed

Tory Jones
Gold Coast City Council
P O Box 5042
Gold Coast Mail Centre QLD 9729
AUSTRALIA

Preconceived notions of what constitutes valid urban expression deny many professionals the opportunity to understand and accept the post modern city. Not so our clients who increasingly embrace the themed environments that are proliferating throughout the Western world and make no distinction between historically derived and artificially constructed urban form and imagery.

The invalidation of thematic environments by professionals is unjust. Town planning history is rife with romanticism and the artificially created. Although town planning is founded on a genuine concern for order and for social well being, there has been a sense of the retro-utopian, of the romantic and the reconstruction of an idealised past in many early civic planning schemes and in town planning practice. Settlements such as Ebenezer Howard's Garden City, Welwyn, drew on models of village life that were already at odds with the reality of industrial urban function.

Since at least the 1930s, town planners and architects have, however, derided suburban life and its popular physical expression which owes much to fantasy and imagery. They see suburbia as having an unauthentic, manufactured quality as opposed to the supposedly more meaningful rural image and culture it has supplanted.

Many would scoff at the superficiality of an entire suburb based around the principles of theatrical design, as were the Kings Point Estates of New York. The Home Section of the New York Times in 1949 mentioned how the architects incorporated 'many of the unusual features of the homes of Hollywood stars ... in a colony of theatrical and ranch style residences'. [1]

It is paradoxical that the rise of modernism as a style which eschewed fantasy and imagery, occurred at the same time as Hollywood promoted the supremacy of image, and through technological advances in mass communication projected that notion internationally.

'Modern' cities such as Brasilia and Chandigarh or even Le Corbusier's conceptual radiant city were the exceptions. Designed by architects they shunned romanticism for strict functionalism without thematic reference to the past. Like so much of 'modernism' they deliberately ignored context and denied the inhabitants of these places any opportunity to find meaning in the visual, the historic or the romantic. Some of the more brutal functionalist expressions of these places have found their way to other cities and there is no doubt a social dislocation and dysfunction in places that have grown without concern for human needs and self expression.

As a reaction to these failings, planners throughout the western world have begun to adopt New Urbanism or Neo-traditional town planning. Planners in North America, Europe and Australia are talking again about creating human habitats with small town qualities, based on a compact, human-scaled civic centre, where land uses are mixed and public transport is integrated, where pedestrians rule and harmony and good taste are adjudicated with regard to historic character. While ostensibly having its objectives in sustainability and human behaviour, there is undoubtedly a thread of nostalgia in the concept, looking back to times when life was slower, things were simpler and places grew and came alive organically over time.

The reality is quite different. While the urban qualities of many central locations in major cities are being improved through a renewal consistent with these Neo-traditional planning principles, this is usually a result of bringing back or enhancing "small town" qualities in defined or limited locations where the general fabric, human scale and local infrastructure is already in place - a legacy from pre-war or more precisely the pre-automobile era. These places exist as islands within broader city infrastructure in which these more human qualities are noticeably absent. In these isolated pockets which fortuitously possess these qualities, planners are free to focus on the visual shaping of urban form and identity. In this, urban design initiatives such as Main Street Programs and Integrated Local Area Planning programs have had a close relationship with the development of New Urbanism in town planning.

New Urbanists' vision of authenticity, urban identity and a vital civic life draws on romantic images of European cities where maturity is the result of steady and incremental growth over many years, sometimes centuries. It is hard to visualise, even in the long term, that the rapidly developing outer suburban areas of Australian cities, with totally different infrastructure and forces, will ever achieve ideals espoused by the New Urbanism. While many of the New Urbanism principles are being promulgated in current practice in parts of these newer areas, it is difficult to implement them holistically. These places do not have the luxury of time needed to achieve identity and authenticity through age and organic growth and indeed do not have the underlying structure to accommodate it. Rather, they express identity through themes.

The new suburban expression in search of these neo-traditional qualities can be found in north American towns of Seaside and Celebration, and their Australian counterparts such as Forrest Lakes in Brisbane and Roxburgh Park in Melbourne. These places are, despite their village centres, no more than thematic outposts with their broader urban context. In order to better understand this phenomenon it is necessary to look to cities in which infrastructure and popular urban expression, have emerged together within the last few decades. In this the Gold Coast is a worthwhile case study.

Several characteristics set the Gold Coast apart from conventional urban settlements in Australia. Firstly, it is a city in which growth has been recent and dramatic. It is almost inconceivable that just fifty years ago, following the end of the Second World War, the population of the Gold Coast, including the hinterland townships and Beenleigh, was around 20,000. Today permanent residents number almost 370,000. [2] This represents an average of 6.15% growth per annum over that time. It remains one of the fastest growing cities in Australia. Importantly, the city's growth coincides with that period of architectural and planning practice in which image has been paramount. Added to which, without a long history, the city has been unfettered by stylistic traditions that usually restrict popular expression in conventional cities. The Gold Coast has thus been constructed in an image of itself. Much like Baudrillard's description of America, the Gold Coast "*ducks the question of its origins; it cultivates no original or mythical authenticity; it has no past and no founding truth. Having known no primitive accumulation of time, it lives in the perpetual present.*

Having seen no slow, centuries-long accumulation of a principle of truth, it lives in perpetual simulation, in a perpetual present of signs." [3]

Secondly, it is a city whose topography has dictated a linear form. Founded on a coastal dune it was, until recently, isolated from its hinterland by low lying swampland. Its 'industry' of tourism has reinforced that form demanding that prime land is located, not at a centre, but within reasonable distance of the beach that is its *raison d'etre*.

Thirdly and most importantly it is a city of tourism, of fantasy and seduction. It is a city which from its founding in 1874 as a resort town, has seen itself as a place where the more conventional standards are set aside in favour of holiday experiences in a themed or artificial expression.

Colin Symes, in the Gold Coast Urban Heritage and Character Study, says *"With no industrial or cultural sites (not at least of a conventional kind) that ordinarily justify the existence of a city, the Gold Coast's raison d'etre rests primarily on the attractions it offers as a leisure city. It is a place of escape, a space constructed around the beach and associated attractions. It is a place of escape, a refuge from more conventional cities and environments. ... demarcations between work and play have been abandoned, and the city exists for the sake of play rather than work."* [4]

Far from being a city whose expression is at odds with other cities, however, the Gold Coast represents in a distilled or refined form the qualities or characteristics of most, if not all, late twentieth century cities in its unashamed capacity to embrace the image and to build upon a theme.

It is a city that takes its town planning seriously and looks to those qualities of sustainability, equity and access as central planning objectives. Town planning has traditionally taken responsibility for the general disposition of land uses through zoning. More recently however it has become involved in the detailed regulation of individual building projects through the operation of development control systems in which aesthetic preference and historical precedents become part of policy. Under this regime, free expression is not easily accommodated.

The Gold Coast overcomes this stricture. Popular expression has been a recurring theme in its development. To understand how this occurred it is necessary to understand the city's history.

The Gold Coast was different from the beginning. Founded in 1874 as a "Marine Township" there has since that time been a sense of fantasy and escapism directly related to its role as a holiday destination. The new settlement, had no industry and no permanent population to speak of. Its population ebbed and flowed according to the seasons and stayed or not according to the pleasure offered. Like English models of holiday towns, the focus of the Gold Coast was its social life. Its guest houses and hotels which offered managed activity and packaged experience. The architectural expression of the early settlement reflected this. By the time the Grand Hotel was built for holiday makers in 1886 the newspapers of the day were frankly critical of Southport as a place of luxury and excess. [5] Constructed in the style of a French chateau complete with mansard roofs it was in every respect a resort hotel, isolated, self contained and built upon a theme.

Early newspaper reports were equally critical of other places at the coast, especially of Coolangatta where holiday makers apparently abandoned not only 'good taste' but social standards as well. [6]

With construction of the highway and the bridging of rivers along the coastal dune in the 1930s, the small beach settlements between Southport and Coolangatta were linked. The land boom that followed consolidated development along the coast, and it became an urban entity in its own right.

In 1933 the settlement of Elston was renamed Surfers Paradise at the behest of the publican of a hotel of the same name. Around this time, everything American was the rage. The naming of new settlements such as Mermaid Beach, Miami and Palm Beach were drawing on the imagery of overseas resorts. Even before then, entrepreneurs such as Jim Cavill, who had built the Surfers Paradise hotel in 1925 complete with its own zoo and camel rides to the beach, had a fantastic vision for the city.

It was not until after the Second World War, however, that this entrepreneurial spirit and thematic development gathered momentum.

Stanley Korman, who bought the Surfers Paradise hotel in 1957 is best known for the development of the Chevron Hotel famous for its Skyline Room. He is also credited with pioneering reclamation of swampy land and introducing the Gold Coast to canal estate development. Land reclamation began with the development of Chevron Island and Paradise Island in 1958. Canal Estates like the Isle of Capri, Miami Keys and Florida Gardens soon followed.

Bernie Elsey who conducted pyjama parties around the pool at his Beachcomber resort in Cavill Avenue during the 1960s, was one of the entrepreneurs who saw entertainment and fantasy as part of the holiday experience. The fantastic nightlife of that era helped to make the Gold Coast the centre for tourism for which it is still known today.

These men understood that the beach and the sunshine were an important part of the Gold Coast's attraction but the people who came to holiday and later to live here, wanted something more. From the very beginning that "something" was escapism and fantasy. Thematic development gave them that additional dimension.

From the late 1950s the architectural expression became ever more fantastic. Developments became larger and more self contained. Holiday makers were able to experience the full range of holiday activity without necessarily having to leave the premises. International standard hotels such as Lennon's at Broadbeach and The Chevron at Surfers Paradise were early icons.

The Gold Coast's first tall building, Kinkabool (eleven stories) was constructed in 1960. Most visitors to the Gold Coast spend their everyday lives in suburban homes. It was a definite thrill to holiday in a high rise apartment with ocean views. Even the phenomenon of highrise development followed the trend established earlier in Waikiki, Miami Beach, Biarritz and on the Mediterranean coasts of Spain, France and Italy. [7]

Early names were Paradise Towers, The Dunes, The Chateau and Shangri-la. Over time have come greater provision of ancillary facilities such as restaurants and recreational

areas, and the theming has become more and more exuberant. The distinctive thirty-five storey Belle Maison is topped with a decorative roof of mansards and minarets. The recently opened Calypso Beach "brings a touch of the Caribbean" to Coolangatta, complete with its own themed water slides.

Tracing the development path of one notable Gold Coast entrepreneur, Jim Raptis who began constructing tall buildings in Surfers Paradise in the mid 1970s, demonstrates this evolution and hybridisation of themes. Raptis' repertoire of building names includes St Tropez, Monte Carlo, Biarritz, The Aegean, Acapulco and Paros. It is not only the names, but also the architecture and landscaping that evoke the atmosphere of the Riviera or the Greek Isles. In recent years Raptis' developments have adopted a Moroccan theme. It could be said that the buildings and gardens of the Surfers Paradise Moroccan complex, completed in 1996, are more Moroccan than Morocco. Raptis has since replicated that style and re-packaged it in similar resort developments named The Phoenician and The Mediterranean. Another hybrid of this style, named The Marrakesh (sic), is presently under construction.

Thematic expression, however, has not been confined to luxury accommodation. Guest houses in the 1950s and motels in the 1960s became centres in their own right and took to themselves, names which portrayed a sense of the exotic. Many were based on American resort names with places such as the El Dorado Motel, Florida Car-o-tel and El Rancho Restel.

Even the names of residential estates reflect this pursuit of imaginative other. Early subdivisions with names such as Pacific View, Sparkling Waves Estate and Miami Shores have given way to more fantastic names such as places now like Adelphi Springs, Portofino and The Palladian, estates in which architectural expression reflects the imagery evoked in the name. In 1985, Brian Orr had a vision for the entire 500 acre Hope Island project. It was to be "Aegean or Mediterranean, with the white painted dwellings laid out in Greek village style, featuring narrow winding streets and lanes. Carefully sited tavernas and sidewalk coffee shops will help create the atmosphere of Greek island communities. ... remarkably, Orr is no Grecophile. He has never visited Greece, although his hope island resort architect has designed projects on the Greek Islands. Orr's enthusiasm for Aegean architecture springs from the realisation that the style works well and has done so for centuries. It should work equally well in a climatically similar area like the Gold Coast. He asserts that there will be nothing "pseudo" about the Hope Island concept. He is merely transplanting a proven architectural style."[8]

In recent years fantastic 'entry statements' to estates have become popular. They provide a structural frame for escape, marking a dividing point between the ordinary and extraordinary, a packaging mechanism to mark a special place.

This near fantasy has been popular all along, and set the scene for the establishment of Gold Coast theme parks which have, since Magic Mountain and its chairlift was constructed in 1963, proliferated. Not only have theme parks become a dominant icon of the City, but they also represent the city's culture of leisure and the dividing line between resorts and entertainment has been blurred.

Indeed the City itself may be seen as a themed environment. It has built upon its particular characteristics of rapid growth, topography and tourism to create an 'urban theatre'.

This is a valid urban expression, and to enable it to continue to flourish, planning for the city needs to accommodate rather than regulate those qualities.

The Gold Coast is a city which, rather than allow pockets of thematic or new urbanist expression, works hard to integrate the principles of thematic development into its urban fabric and expression.

Matthew Condon writes about the Gold Coast in *A Night at the Pink Poodle*:

"They indulged in the fantasy without thinking how silly it was. That's what I liked about the Gold Coast, the blossoming of all these different fantasies, how they all merged together, got mixed up and became strange new hybrids."[9]

Those who see the Gold Coast as tawdry and insubstantial fail to understand the context in which the urban form and imagery of this city have been shaped. They also fail to acknowledge the preference of 370,000 people to live there and express themselves in this way. In fact the citizens of world cities in the twentieth century, express themselves in this way so the Gold Coast is not outside the mainstream of popular urban expression, but at the forefront.

"We drift away from deep meanings and galvanic ideas towards seductive surfaces and personal gratification. We may sing the praises of opera and poetry, but when we vote with our feet we are far more likely to find ourselves standing in Disney World or Las Vegas, than in Lincoln or Kennedy Centre."[10]

[1] Spigel, L, *From Theatre to Spaceship: Metaphors of Suburban Domesticity in Postwar America*, in *Visions of Suburbia* (1997) (ed) Roger Silverstone, Routledge, London, p 220
[2] ABS Census data
[3] Baudrillard, J (1988) *America* Translated by Chris Turner, Verso, London, p 76
[4] Symes, C, in *Gold Coast Urban Heritage & Character Study*, Allom Lovell Architects & others, for Gold Coast City Council 1998, p 33
[5] Longhurst, R (1994) *Southport: Images of Yesteryear 1880 - 1955*, Gold Coast City Council, p 12
[6] Longhurst, R (1994) *From Tallebudgera to the Tweed*, Gold Coast City Council, p 94
[7] McRobbie, A (1984) *The Fabulous Gold Coast*, Pan News, Surfers Paradise, p 327
[8] McRobbie, A (1984) *The Fabulous Gold Coast*, Pan News, Surfers Paradise, p 282
[9] Condon, Matthew (1995) *A Night at the Pink Poodle*, Arrow Books, Sydney, p 41
[10] Pastier, John *The Architecture of Escapism* in AIA Journal December 1978, quoted in Sheehan, G, (1982) Theme Parks: architecture and fantasy, QIT dissertation, p 66

A Historical Review of the Problems Associated with Narrow Streets in Residential Districts

Dr. Hitomi KATO
Depertment of Architecture
Tokai University
Kanagawa 259-1292
Japan

1. The Problem of Narrow Streets in Densely Built-up Urban Areas

The relationship between housing lots and roads could have a major negative impact on planned urban development. The standards for and formation of roads in residential districts differ according to the timing of urbanization, the laws in effect at that time, and the methods of development. In Japan, roads in residential districts consist of: (1) roads due to the conversion of arable land and land readjustment; (2) roads due to the designation of building lines, (3) roads due to the designation of road position, (4) roads due to residential development by private developers, etc., and (5) roads which have naturally been converted from village roads and farms roads.

The current Building Standard Law of Japan stipulates that housing lots must border roads having a width of 4m or more with road frontage of at least 2m. However, approximately 40% of residential plots nationwide front onto narrow roads of less than 4m in width. Most of these roads were constructed in areas where urbanization developed haphazardly before the road regulations were established within the Building Standard Law.

For lots that front onto roads of less than 4m in width, a building may be constructed if its lot boundary line is set 2m back from the center line of the existing road. Nevertheless, despite administrative guidance over the years, very few roads have been widened in densely built-up urban areas.

Damage in the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake was particularly serious in built-up urban districts where streets were narrow. In the Kanto area as well, such districts present the greatest danger in terms of disaster prevention, and improvement are needed urgently.

This paper studies the origins of narrow streets in large cities and the historical rationale for standards regarding the minimum width of roads in residential districts.

2. Historical Origins of Narrow Roads

In 1919, the Urban Area Building Low, the precursor of the current Building Standard Law, established the first minimum road width of nine shaku (2.7m) in residential districts. An amendment in 1938 to the Urban Area Building Law changed the minimum required width to 4m and this was carried over in the Building Standard Law. In 1934, a provision was added to stipulate that building lots must have at least 2m of road frontage. As a result, during the rapid urbanization after the Great Kanto Earthquake , much urban development was carried out in many parts of Tokyo according to those old provisions that simply required building lots to have a small amount of road frontage as long as they fronted onto a road that was at least

9 shaku (2.7m). The densely built-up urban areas outside the present JR Yamanote Line are examples of this development. [Fig-1]

When road regulations were established or revised, transitional measures were also established for owners of building lots not meeting standards in existing urban areas. For buildings on lots fronting onto roads of less than 4m in width, reconstruction was approved on the condition that the buildings would be set 2m back from the center line of the road. [Fig-2]

3. History of Road Regulations in Residential Districts

When considering the optimal road configuration in residential districts and improvement of narrow streets and densely built-up urban areas, it is worth reviewing road conditions prior to the enactment of the Urban Area Building Law and changes in road regulations from a historical perspective.

In the late Edo period, urban districts were basically arranged in square blocks measuring 1 cho (109m) on each side, surrounded by a street measuring 3 to 6 ken (5.4m to 10.8m), and traversed by new roads and side streets with many alleys measuring 3 shaku (0.9m) in width. Construction regulations in the mid-Meiji period thus made a clear distinction between roads which formed the block and were intended for carriage traffic and public thoroughfare, and the passageways and alleys that led to houses in the rear within the block. The minimum width of a road was 5 ken (5.4 to 9.0m), the standard used since the Edo period. In large cities such as Tokyo and Osaka, the standard width of a passageway was 6 shaku (1.8m). [Fig-3]

In an early Meiji-era ordinance, the minimum width of private roads allowing carriage traffic was set at 3 ken (5.4m). And efforts were made to exempt them from taxation as privately-owned roads. This was added to existing categories ranging from the City Replanning Route Class 1, Type 1 (20 ken (36m) or more) to a Class 5 road (6 ken (10.8m) or more) that had been established in the City Replanning Notification of 1889. This scheme was designed to divide an Edo-period square block measuring 1 cho (109m) on each side into three equal sub-blocks.

In the building regulations in force at the end of the Meiji period, the standard width for passageways was raised to 9 shaku (2.7m) to prevent the spread of fire, ensure safe evacuation and out of other fire prevention concerns and to meet the public desire for sufficient sunlight and ventilation. For passageways, two-way connections to roads were considered important. Also, the above-mentioned approval process for private roads was automatically applied to passageways or even alleys that were privately constructed without meeting the width standards. At that time, no distinction was made between roads and passageways or alleys in the regulatory system or in practice.

In the process of drafting the Urban Area Building Law, attempts were made to distinguish conceptually between a road and a passageway, but these were unsuccessful. Furthermore, since the law also approve construction on back lots with frontage only on passageways and alleys, the distinction between roads and passageways became blurred and so the two were considered together. A standard calling for a target width of 9 shaku (2.7m) in the late Meiji perod was employed for passageways and alleys. Assuming the construction of wooden one-story houses

on lots front onto road, this requirement helped achieve an approximate 1:1 proportion of building height to front-road width and to meet public health concerns, such as sufficient sunshine, air circulation, and ventilation. At the same time, the eaves of a roof were not allowed to project over the road boundary line into the road, thus effectively classifying existing passageways and alleys as road spaces.

4. Issues Regarding the Improvement of Narrow Streets

In view of the historical background above, the issues regarding the improvement of narrow roads may be summarized as follows.

1) From uniform minimum standards to systematic guidance

The roads that make up a block and roads in front of housing lots within the block should be controlled by different width standards and functions. Nevertheless, they have been adopted the same minimum width standard, regardless of these differences. The present Building Standard Law as the successor of the previous Urban Area Building Law uniformly sets the minimum width at 4m. This uniform standard only guarantees a minimum standard to protect the residential environment and has no systematic basis for forming a network of such roads.

At present, this is particularly true for individual, small-scale developments and housing developments where there is no system to ensure the planned formation of a district road network. Therefore, it is necessary to improve narrow streets based on hierarchical and network considerations. In Adachi-ku Tokyo, narrow streets network scheme was formed, which placed important route that should be improved in 100m mesh. [Fig-4]

2) Loss and revival of semi-public spaces

Densely built-up urban areas with narrow roads are inferior residential environments compared to modern urban planning because they are crowded, old, and susceptible to fire hazards. Nevertheless, in some districts, alleys that are too narrow for car access serve as communal living spaces for residents where children play and adults can stand outside talking, thus creating areas for interaction between people. Passageways and alleys that were originally semi-public spaces have been categorized as roads that are public spaces, leading to the loss of community spaces in residential areas.

In the land readjustment projects following the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake, there has been opposition to building wide and uniform roads by the residents. And in some districts, the roads in human scale were constructed by widening the existing roads that have a regional history. [Fig-5]

3) From control for lot to incentive for block or group of lots

One factor that prevents the widening of narrow roads is land ownership of small, subdivided building lots. This is because the Building Standard Law regulates each building lot, and it is not possible to renovate illegally constructed buildings or existing buildings that do not meet standards.

The land unit subject to residential environmental regulation needs to be changed from the individual lot to group of lots or even block. This will entail evaluating the residential environment in terms of its performance at the district level rather than for an individual lot. Since the minimum width standards for roads that have been uniformly established nationwide were originally based on passageways and alleys

between tenement houses in blocks, a collection of small lots can be treated as one housing complex.

In reconstruction and replanning projects of the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake, densely built-up areas are being reconstructed through land exchange and sharing and in cooperation, the relaxation of various land regulations will be necessary to devise approaches which allow freedom in the arrangement of passageways and vacant lots in relation to buildings, as semi-public spaces within blocks. [Fig-6]

5. Conclusion

This paper discussed the problem of narrow roads in densely built-up urban areas and the living environment from a historical viewpoint. To help improve the living environment, it is necessary to shift from a model of uniform standards to site-specific and practical planning methods. This view has also attracted a great deal of attention in areas that were devastated in the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake and reconstruction is gradually making progress in some districts. I hope that these experiments and lessons were applied in densely built-up urban areas.

References

Housing Reseach Foundation(1996) *Kwaru Jutaku Machizukuri* (Turning in housing and community planning), Maruzen, Tokyo

K. Takamizawa, S. Kobayashi, ed. (1996) *Kyoai-doro to Machizukuri* (Narrow streets and Community planning), Chiiki-kagaku Kenkyukai, Tokyo

Figure 1
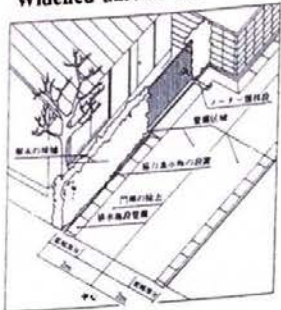**Districts with dense wooden houses in Tokyo**

Figure 2
Widened narrow road

Figure 3
Streets in Edo

Figure 4
Narrow streets network scheme in Adachi-ku Tokyo

Figure 5
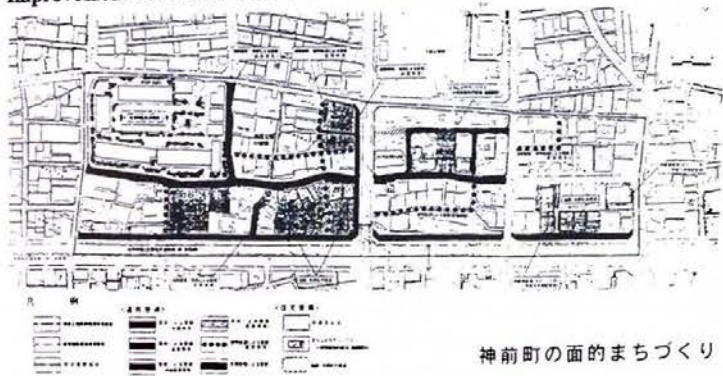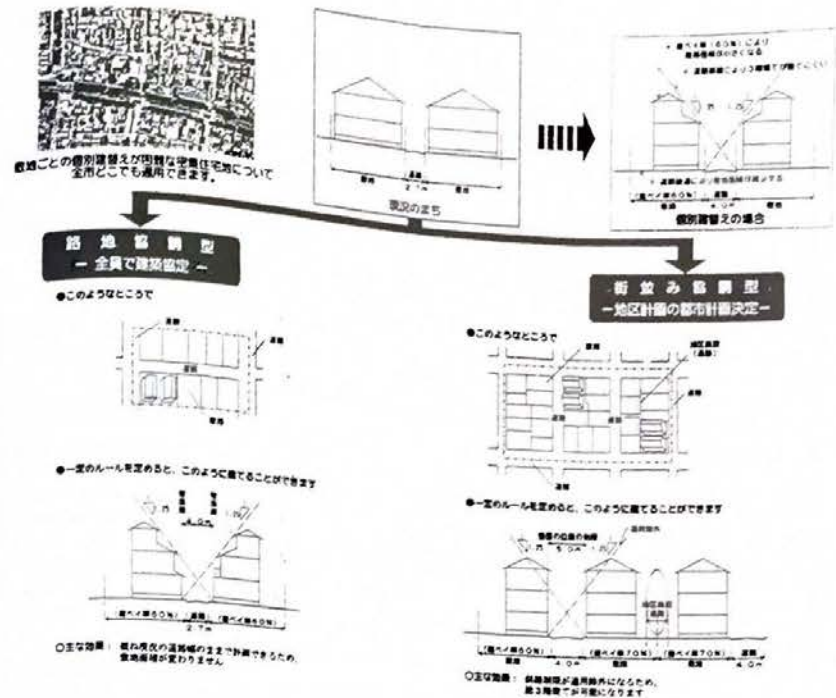Improvement of narrow streets in Shinzen-cho Kobe-shi

神前町の面的まちづくり

Figure 6
Inner nagaya kaizen seido in Kobe-shi

Cost and Infrastructural Efficiency of Planned Urban Layouts for Low Income Houses in Maracaibo-Venezuela

Arq. M. Sc. Marina González de Kauffman
Research Institute of The School of Architecture-IFA-University of Zulia
Apartado postal 198 Maracaibo 4001-A
Maracaibo, Venezuela
email: magonzal@luz.ve

1. Abstract

The proposed Urban Plan for Maracaibo considered the need to densify and fill the city vacancies, to control the inminent dispersion and changes of the perimetral boundaries, which results in high cost of investment and disfunctional performance of the infrastructural nets (PDUL, 1993). The rational growth of planned urban areas is the principal reason to support this work, which intends to compare, in equivalent conditions, two types of city layouts for low income housing areas of Maracaibo. The types of layout studied are: the traditional reticular net (based on the spanish colonial layout); and a model constituted by independent cells structurally organized in the form of a "tree", which after beeing analized through a special process made up for both cases, has more advantages than the other.

2. Introduction

Maracaibo is the second city of Venzuela by its population, but the biggest in extension and the center of the petroleum and coal industry, the most important economical resources of the country. It is the focus for poor population from Venezuela and other neighboring countries, most of all from Colombia. As a result, its unplanned growth has been very anarchic showing great slums areas located in the interstitial and peripherical areas of the "formal" city. The local government, to solve the problem and considering the high cost of urbanization and infrastructural services, tries to develop city areas rationalizing the use of the land. But, the waste of land had been one of the features of most of the residential areas built for low income sectors during the last couple of years, specially on those built by the government.

Yet, its been realized about the importance of land efficiency due to different aspects and considerations at many levels: the PDUL (Local Urban Development Plan of Maracaibo) diagnosis; the importance of the municipality investment which comes from its own resources; and that local governments shall be able to obtain resources from MINDUR, (Ministry of Urban Development) for residential sectors, if such governments have the lots among the city polygonal. These conditions added to the constant need of low income housing offer, plus the interest of local governments of stimulating the private investment, imply that the available regional resources must be maximized in order to purchase residential land and provide the greater amount of surface with infrastructure services; this shall be feasible through an urban design taking into account the social conditions and the operational cost of services offer.

Works such as those of Caminos and Goether and Caminos and Caminos, similar to this one regarding the scope, take into consideration a limited magnitude and analysis scale for the study cases, those of which are different more by the typology of housing than by model of (Caminos H. y Caminos C., 1977). This work is concentrated upon the behavioral observation of quantitative variables, taking into consideration two models of "construction of a city" for low income residential areas of Maracaibo - Level I of the Political Housing Law (Congreso de la República de Venezuela, 1993), in order to modify the formal layout, highlighting the performance conditions of the infrastructure net and the social and economical aspects of the family reflected through their investment capacity to affort urbanistic and service level. The models studied are based on the reticular and the structurally organized form ("tree"), made up of blocks and condominiums, respectively. (Fig 1.)

Fig. 1: The layouts and fundamental units: The block and the condominium.

reticular   "tree"
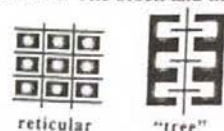
3. Choosing the Typologies.

The election of the layouts of this study resulted from different nature reasons:

a. The formal differences between patterns.

b. The tradition of the layout models in the urban organization of Maracaibo (The "tree" is a remake of the macro-block concept of the 70's).

c. Formal induction of the layout as of municipal laws approved (City of Maracaibo Municipal Council, 1988) and in force (PDUL, 1993) and the LPH Operation Standards (Congress of the Republic of Venezuela, 1994).

d. The possibility of studying the social and urban effect and relevance of the layouts into the Maracaibo's urban reality, regarding: the geographical location; the social and economical features of the population; and the housing (lot and itself).

Fig. 2: "Nueva Democracia" (1995) and Sector I of "Ciudad Lossada"(1996)-(School of Architecture University of Zulia)

4. Analysis Process.

The start of the work was the production of referential abstract models, in the context of construction market costs of Maracaibo, which allowed the objective study of the efficiency conditions of the two types of layout not having to take into consideration the effect of adaptation to the place.

The models were produced programming AUTOCAD (V-12, in order to make detailed drawings on a real scale,to obtain information to be stored on a data base linked to another containing construction costs, to allow the variable calculation. Afterwards, variable statistics graphics were made up, based on the formal modifications of the layout which were called *developments*, in order to establish two forms of comparison: intra-layout and inter-layouts (the control was the reticular layout). The *developments* are: *dynamic*, which means they may be expanded by adding new units; *growth of the unit*, modification of the number of houses per unit with a fix number of units; *static*: the number of houses per unit and units is variable, keeping fixed the total number of houses in the layout. The addition of units (in sextets), was made as illustrated in Fig. 3 for the reticular case.

Fig. 3. Way of adding units in a reticular layout.
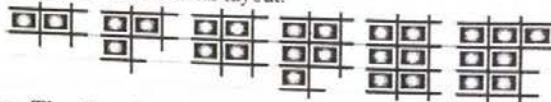
5. The Results: The "tree" the most efficient.

It is important to point out that this study corresponds to a determined historical moment (June-December 1996). Yet, the results may be taken as a reference for urban design.

We shall now present, comparing the types of layout, the effect of *developments* in the studied variables:

5.1. City Urban Costs.

Whereas the city urban total costs presents an increase which, naturally, responds to the addition of units or houses, the investment-housing lot shows a tendency to remain the same when the number of units in the layout is modified. When the number of houses is encreased, the result is a polynomial decrease in costs for both layout models.

In any way, the better layout is the "tree", both in total investment as well as in the particular which shall carry out each family. It is showed, in addition, an increase in the cost differences between the layouts, for both variables.

In relation to the total costs, the tendency is a linear one for both patterns (Fig. 4 and Fig. 5), observing a difference in the "tree": a cyclic response in unit sextets when modifying the amount of units, which evidences that the growth form chosen and the effect of "border condition" (not sharing the services with adjacent areas).

The road construction costs represent the highest part of the investment in urbanization (approximately 70% in the reticular net and between 59% and 55% in the"tree" type). A constant relation is also observed between these and the services costs in the reticular, which is not completely fulfilled in the "tree", since the electricity net investment requirement disproportionally increases when the number of houses per unit is proportionally modified.

On the other hand, for the reticular model the most expensive between services nets is obtained from sewage (aprox. 17% and 16%). But, for the "tree", the sewage and electricity nets are both expensive (between 18% and 15% aprox.); being gas the most economical (reticular: 6% approximately and "tree": 3% approximately).

Fig. 4. and Fig. 5 Urbanization costs for dynamic development and by unit growth

sm: 1996 minimun wage (Bs. 15.000=$150)
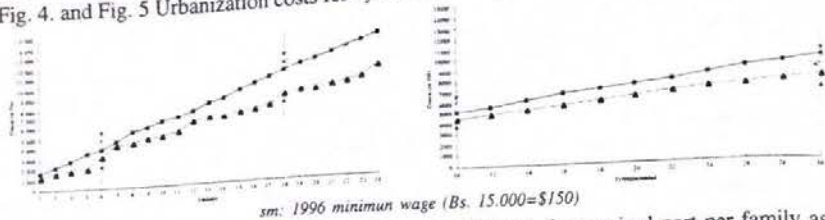
On the other hand, at the moment such study was carried out, the required part per family as an urbanization investment, in the reticular case exceeds 30% (Gonzalez de Kauffman M., 1996) of the maximum low income housing cost of the established limit by the Political Housing Law of 105 minimum wages (Housing National Council, 1996); while the investment on the "tree" case, varies between 20 and 12 minimum wages (Fig. 6 and Fig. 7).

Fig. 6. y Fig. 7 Family Investment for urbanization of dynamic development and by unit growth

sm: 1996 minimun wage (Bs. 15.000=$150)
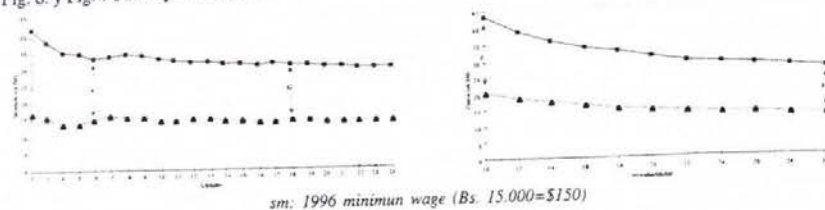
5.2. Infrastructure costs per lot.

When applying the dynamic development the cost of gas net is not affected. Road construction, drinking water and sewage costs undergo polynomial variations, in both cases, with a tendency to decrease, with the exception of the cost for drinking water for the"tree" type, in which a minor increase is observed. Yet, the cost of the "tree" is always lower than the reticular, which is expressed in an average difference with respect to this last one as follows: 62% road construction, 7,65% drinking water, 45% sewage and 47% gas. Electricity net is a an exception: average 3,06% higher than the reticular.

In electricity costs the effect for the "tree" model is similar to that related to gas costs, which reverses the favored condition to this respect to the reticular, since an important decrease as well as a polynomial is produced, which places them underneath, from the tenth unit added.

It is important to observe that in the cost-service variation curves for road construction and sewage, the addition of the seven first units has a drastic influence, which may be related to the "implantation" of the layout since the models have been conceived leaving aside the environmental planning of the city.

The influence of the development by *growth of the unit*, implies variations similar in cost for all services, being the general tendency the logarithmic decrease. From this group, the drinking water cost curves are excluded for the "tree" and the electricity net (for both layouts) since they are polynomial. In the same manner, the "tree" cost are less than those of the reticular, which expressed in average difference form is as follows: 59% in road construction, 44% for sewage, 11% for drinking water, 48% for gas and 10% electricity.

5.3. Performance indexes for the infrastructure net

The indexes analyzed below, pretend to establish the effectiveness of the infra structure nets, relating requirement and coverage distance needed in order to produce the availability of the service.

In relation to the *dynamic development*: the consumption index for drinking waters, gas and sewage evacuation net, are determined by polynomial variation with a positive tendency. The consumption index for drinking water in the reticular shows an increase of more significance than in the "tree", which is almost constant. In any manner, the "tree" keeps a superior tendency above the reticular in all cases, having the following differences: 83% sewage, 21% drinking water, 40% gas and 74% in electricity.

Under the effect of the *growth of the unit*, the variations produced in the consumption/length indexes (gas and drinking water) and evacuation/length, have a tendency to increase in a logarithmic form. Yet, it must be specified that in what is related to drinking water and gas the effectiveness of the service, for the reticular model, responds in a positive and in a more drastic manner than in the "tree", even though the values on the last one are higher. In the case of sewage, the increase in both curves is totally proportional. In the same manner than in the dynamic development, the performance levels shown by the nets in the "tree" case are higher to the reference case, being the relative differences as follows: 77% sewage, 28% drinking water, 39% gas, and 43% electricity.

The behavior of the electricity demand index is totally different in both analysis situations. When the modified condition is the number of units, the tendency is to generate polynomial curves, with an increase for the reticular and a decrease for the "tree". When related to the number of houses, the effect is similar to the previous one in the reticular, but in the "tree" the favorable condition is inverted; and as of 16 houses, the performance decreases drastically in almost 200%. This is the only case in which the"tree"layout is more inefficient than the reticular.

6. Conclusions.

- This study shows that the design of the formal structure of the layout, unmistakable, has an important incidence in the investment costs required to carry out urbanism.

- The most efficient city layout results to be the "tree" type, with the exception of the variables related to the electricity nets (net costs, demand index). Probably, modifying for the "tree" the electricity net design or making it different from the traditional, the conditions may improve, thus decreasing the investment total costs.

- A direct relation between the layout growth manner (linear, focal etc.) towards the adjacent areas (dynamic development), and the different variables studied was proven.

- For the *dynamic development*, the addition of units (sextets groups in linear form) is shown in the variables statistic graphication as "evolution cycles" of the layout, with less intermediate values than the extremes, observing more influence in the "tree" model, and a greater importance in the urbanization total costs. This suggests that, in order to decrease even more the total costs of urbanization, the extremes of this "cycles" should be separated making up the

number of added units groups, in a horizontal line, trying not to excessively increase the length of the roads.

- For all variables studied and for both models of layout, when comparing situations with the same total number of houses on the layout, it may be observed that the one with less number of units is the one favored (See Figs. 4 and 5 points *a -a'* and points *a2-a2'*) This is more significant in the reticular than in the "tree".

- In general terms, the modification on the number of houses in the layout has a "multiplying" effect in the variables (increase or decrease), whereas with the number of units, a tendency towards constant values is generated.

- The amount of roads and infrastructure nets are directly proportional to the number of units in the layout, and since the road construction costs are of greater influence in the total investment in urbanism, a wise manipulation of that number is important in the design, so that no redundant costs are generated.

- This study enabled to identify individually the behavior of all variables related to cost, partial results that may allow to establish norms for an "efficient planning" of the constructive processes of the urban areas of Maracaibo and the definition of investment stages.

- The adjustment, during previous stages to the design process, of variables related to the costs and operation of the infrastructural nets in abstract models of layout, guarantees in a way, that the condition is kept when transforming the abstraction into a project in the context of a real urban situation.

- The social and quality effect of the two types of layout shall be evaluated once it is introduced on a determined place and the social-urban model is guaranteed.

- Given the economical conditions of the social sector living in such layouts it is necessary to carry out an evaluation, in both cases, in terms of time investment stages defined by a qualitative increase in the layout (progressive urbanism).

References

Caminos, H. and Caminos, C. (1977). *The price of urban dispersion*. School of Architecture of Los Andes University. Mérida, Venezuela (text in spanish).

Caminos, H. and Goether, T. (1984) *Urbanization Methods*. México: Ediciones Gustavo Gili, S.A. (text in spanish).

Consejo Municipal del Distrito Maracaibo (1988). *Ordinance about the Zone Partial Reformation in the City of Maracaibo.*. Year XCIII. Extraordinary Number 137. Maracaibo: Imprenta del Zulia, Venezuela (text in spanish).

Congreso de la República de Venezuela (1993). *Reformation to the Political Housing Law.* Extraordinary Official Gazette No. 4659. in *Legislación Económica* Volume 33. No. 387, January 1996, pp.29-38 (text in spanish).

Consejo Nacional de la Vivienda -CONAVI- (1996). *Applicable Rates to the Political Housing Law.* in Legislación Económica, Volume 33 No. 387, January 1996, pp. 29-38 (text in spanish).

González de Kauffman, M. (1996) *Economic and Quantitative Evaluation of Urban Layouts for Residential Areas of Maracaibo-Venezuela*. In Proceedings of the XXIVth IAHSS World Housinga Congress. Volume 2. Ankara Turkey May 27-31, pp.477-488.

Instituto de Investigaciones de Arquitectura y Sistemas Ambientales (ISA) School of Architecture University of Zulia. (1993). *Local Urban Development Plan of Maracaibo (PDUL). Ordinances for Urban Design and Urbanism.*. Maracaibo, Venezuela. Document under governmental revision (text in spanish).

Moving Toward Sustainability – Integrating Strategic Environmental Assessment and Urban Planning

Meg Keen
Human Ecology Program
Geography Department, Australian National University
Canberra, ACT 0200, AUSTRALIA
e-mail: meg.keen@anu.edu.au

INTRODUCTION

Conventional environmental impact assessment (EIA) processes focus on assessing the environmental impacts of individual projects, however they are powerless to affect the planning frameworks within which projects are designed, and fail to address the cumulative impacts of projects. This failure of EIA has lead to considerable public frustration, as is apparent from public participation processes where often it is not the impacts narrowly defined by the scope of the EIA of the individual development which are of concern. Rather, impacts related to the substance of urban plans and complex interactions between variables are raised. A practical solution is to apply EIA techniques to the assessment of urban programmes, plans and policies - an approach widely referred to as Strategic Environmental Assessment (SEA).

However, the SEA approach draws little from the long history of urban planning theory which directly addresses the complex *interactions, over time and space,* between ecological, social and economic variables within the urban environment and its surrounds. Few of the core principles of sustainable cities, the culmination of critical urban planning thinking on cities and their environments, are also incorporated. The attempts to conduct SEA of plans using project based methods have not been satisfactory in terms of addressing public concerns as exemplified by the EIA of Gungahlin, a new town development in Canberra.

What is needed is a different approach to the assessment of urban plans which draws on principles derived from the urban planning literature of the 20th century. This planning literature exhibits a trend toward *systems* management of urban areas in order to achieve sustainable cities. A *systems perspective* could more easily incorporate citizen concerns about cumulative and regional impacts, urban design, and the interrelationships between urban variables such as ecosystems, land-use, transport, culture, and economic activities.

STRATEGIC ASSESSMENT AND URBAN PLANNING

The new vogue in policy and planning these days is the 'strategic' approach. EIA needs to be strategic to be sustainable; plans need to be strategic to be sustainable … indeed we all need to think strategically. But what does the jargon mean? Environmental assessment aims to predict and evaluate an action's impacts on the environment, the conclusions to be used as a tool in decision-making (Therivel *et al.* 1994:13). Environment is broadly defined in the Commonwealth environmental impact legislation to mean "All aspects of the surrounds of people whether affecting them as individuals, or in their social groupings". Or, in lay terms, anything and everything potentially that affects the well being of people.

Strategic environmental assessment (SEA) considers the ecological, social and economic impacts of policies, plans, and programmes within a formalised, systematic and comprehensive process (Therivel *et al.* 1994: 19-20). This can be interpreted as follows:

- **Formalised**: part of an established process of assessment which is applied consistently and fairly over time
- **Systematic**: a process which follows a logical sequence of steps such as those common to EIA, i.e. description of existing environment and the proposed development, consideration of viable alternatives, assessment of likely impacts of different development actions, consideration of possible mitigation measures, and establishment of a rigorous system of monitoring and evaluation
- **Comprehensive**: includes consideration of all aspects of the human environment including ecological, social and economic ones.

The rationale for introducing SEA is that when EIA is applied at the project level, as is conventionally the case, it fails to deal with significant impacts. These include:

- **cumulative impacts**, for example these occur when a number of factories within one geographic area all deposit waste matter into a river, *jointly* causing an increase in phosphate and/or nitrogen levels which result in algal blooms
- **synergistic impacts**, for example those caused by industries which emit air pollutants, the combination of which can be more ecologically damaging than the impacts of the individual pollutant, well exemplified by acid rain which is caused by the combination of sulphur dioxide (SO_2), nitrogen oxides (NO_x), ammonia (NH_3) and ozone (O_3)
- **temporally and spatially dispersed impacts** also well exemplified by acid rain and other air pollutants, the impacts often do not occur until some time after emissions and often in places distance from the place of emissions
- **indirect impacts** such as the flow on effects of a large shopping which impacts on demand for public transport links, parking, small retail outlets in the areas, and housing values (Bardecki 1989, Cooper and Canter 1997, Dietz and von Straaten 1992, Smit and Spoling. 1995).

While these are very real concerns about the failings of project based EIA, they are not new to planning. Indeed effective planning should address these issues, and indeed has in theory (as discussed in the next section). In practice, however, such tools as EIA, zoning, planning and building permits, land reserves and so on, have not been able to mitigate against these impacts.

As noted by Forster (1996) part of the problem is that "during the nineteenth century, the growth of all the capital cities [in Australia] took place with very little planning or control" (p. 15), later urban planning was dominated by servicing the needs of automobiles and corporations, rather than the functions of urban systems. When environmental difficulties (or dislocations) occur, we assume we need a new tool, but the concept of 'strategic planning assessments', is a tautology. Planning done well should be strategic. Before developing, or accepting, a new tool, it is valuable to very briefly review the core concepts driving urban planning in the past and consider how they can be better incorporated into future plans, and the assessment processes which ensure their quality.

PLANNING AND SUSTAINABLE CITIES

Urban planning has a long history. Given the space constraints of this paper, some of the theories and ideas most applicable to the achievement of sustainable cities are only very briefly reviewed here. To begin, Howard's concept of the Garden City was a response to ecologically and socially dysfunctional urbanisation processes resulting from the industrial revolution (Basiago 1996). The Garden City plan directly addressed regional and localised impacts within an urban system framework. Industrial developments were located close to transport networks and away from residential areas; biological waste products were returned to agricultural lands; economic returns to development where to be used for public goods and services; and, population growth was to be managed and dispersed before significant impacts accrued. Fundamental to Howard's Garden Cities was the maintenance of ecological and social systems needed for human well being and development.

Similar comments are applicable to the planning theories espoused by others such as Geddes (*Neotechnic Cities*, 1915) who argued for seeing the city as a whole and developing city spaces which did not produce pollutants which impacted on the urban environment by exceeding social or ecological thresholds. His concerns are exemplified by the use of plans to try and maintain urban water catchments, reduce the use of non-renewable energy, and ensure that a human scale of development was achieved. Similarly, Mumford also promoted a vision of regional planning which was systems based. Recently these sentiments have been well captured in Girardet's *Gaia's Atlas of Cities* (1996), which promotes the idea of circular metabolism within cities, i.e. the maximum recycling of materials and the minimum use of energy. Sentiments which are also echoed in the on-going debate concerning the merits of compact cities with respect to energy and material consumption, social cohesion, and pollution emissions.

One could elaborate further, but the conclusion would be the same - there is a dominant school of thought throughout the 20th century that urban planning should be based on sound systems concepts, and thus each urban plan can be fairly assessed on its merits with respect to the maintenance and enhancement of urban systems' functions, broadly interpreted to include ecological, social and economic systems. But can SEA provide the framework and assessment processes adequate to such a task?

ATTEMPTS AT INTEGRATING STRATEGIC ASSESSMENTS AND PLANNING

In the ACT, like in all other state and territory jurisdictions in Australia (Thomas 1996), new developments expected to have significant impacts on the environment are required to prepare an environmental impact statement (EIS). When the new town of Gungahlin was being planned it was decided that given the significant impacts that the plan, an EIA should be conducted. Such a study was not, strictly speaking required, as Gungahlin is part of the larger settlement plan for Canberra. By developing the plan for Gungahlin and conducting an EIS concurrently, it was hoped that a rigorous assessment of potential impacts could be conducted and the plan could mitigate against these impacts.

The process exemplifies a strategic approach to planning according to the definition provided above. The EIS was comprehensive in its coverage, although public

submissions did note that weaknesses were evident still in the coverage of more systemic issues such as:

- air quality impacts in the Canberra region which would be affected by increases in solid fuel open fires. Gungahlin home fires are likely to exasperate the problem of air pollution in North Canberra given the direction of air flows and the likelihood of cumulative and spatially dispersed impacts
- transportation impacts for the Canberra region arising from the external road linkages and their subsequent impacts related to noise, traffic flows, adjacent land values, access between residential and open space areas outside of the Gungahlin new town
- natural and cultural heritage impact assessments, some argued that natural features and Aboriginal sites were not given equal consideration as European sites and buildings.

The responses to the concerns above, and a number of others, demonstrated that the current process lacked the scope necessary to deal with these types of issues (*Gungahlin EIS Final Statement 1989, Part B Supplement: Responses to Public Comments on Draft EIS).* In most of the examples given above the response was that "This will be a matter for the ACT Administration to undertake". In other cases responses reflected an inability of the planning process to deal directly with the concerns, e.g. this matter will have to be dealt with under the "Air Pollution Ordinance", the matter will need to be considered by a separate EIS or separate study (in the case of transport concerns), and that the European bias in the case of natural and cultural heritage was a product of the "EIS documentation (which specifically excluded detailed attention to sites of Aboriginal origin)" . Thus, in Canberra, and for that matter in most of Australia, the analyses of, and the formal structures for, SEA do not appear adequate for assessing, and responding to, urban planning issues. The process of assessment leaves out a number of concerns relevant to the social and ecological functions of urban systems.

This makes the public participation process seem tokenistic because real and substantive concerns cannot be adequately dealt with in any one forum. Furthermore there are few, if any, public forums in which systemic concerns about planning can be raised. This has been particularly evident in Canberra during the public consultations about the external road linkage, John Dedman Drive, from Gungahlin to Canberra's central region. The public consultations have raised issues about transport planning in Canberra including the need for better public transportation and the desire to have light rail ... issues beyond the scope of the Gungahlin EIS and the John Dedman Drive EIS, and yet fundamental to the strategic planning of Canberra.

The Gungahlin EIS is a fairly good example of the content and analysis expected by the formalised EIA system. However, is the logic and the product which results adequate for strategic and sound planning? It appears not, as many fundamental public concerns which should be of interest to the planning of Gungahlin and Canberra were outside the scope of the analysis and the process. The end result in the Gungahlin case is a suburb which was shaped as much by economic efficiency and developer needs, as by good planning principles. In short it is very similar to the new towns which have preceded it in Canberra.

Planners and their associations need to become more involved in the development of environmental assessment processes which are applicable to planning, rather than

accept that a process developed to assess individual developments is appropriate for the task of assessing urban plans.

MOVING FORWARD: ASSESSING PLANS BASED ON SUSTAINABLE URBAN PLANNING PRINCIPLES

As argued by Basiago (1996) and at the beginning of this paper, urban planning does have a history of ideas which are relevant to the creation of sustainable urban living environments and their assessment. Furthermore, this history is one which extends into the present and has been developed by contemporary writers under various banners, perhaps the most commonly used is 'sustainable cities'. Planners involved in the planning of sustainable cities need to adhere to some basic principles as outlined in Box 1. Those presented are hardly comprehensive, but they are directly derived from planning concepts which have developed over time, and are likely to be richer in meaning than those being applied to planning based on strategic environmental assessment.

These principles could be used to develop an assessment tool specific to urban planning which could assess 'strategically' urban plans and would also be compatible with the now dominant sustainable development concept underlying sustainable cities. Like SEA, the urban planning assessment process would address impacts but, more importantly, it would also directly deal with the interrelationships between variables within the urban environment and address issues related to urban systems' management.

Box 1:
Selected Principles of Sustainable Cities

The urban plan, and subsequent amendments, should:

- be compatible with pre-existing ecological processes such as air flows, watersheds and biogeochemical cycles
- be consistent with concepts of circular metabolism, i.e. the recycling of biological matter and reduction of energy flows
- be developed with public participation to ensure public priorities and concerns are integral to the plan, and local knowledge is used
- ensure that human health and any affects on it are mitigated
- consider the equity implications of all aspects of the plan, and whenever possible, minimise any regressive impacts
- ensure rapid communication flows and systems feedback
- integrate bureaucratic planning and control functions to avoid unnecessary fragmentation of responsibilities
- develop planning systems which are adaptive and able to respond to systems feedback over time.

Sources: Basiago 1996; Girardet 1996; Haughton and Hunter 1994; Van der Ryn and Cowan 1996

More creative planning responses to urban planning needs in the 21st century could evolve through the development of assessment techniques compatible with soft systems analyses. This would mean a greater role for public participatory processes in the development of, and regular review of, urban plans. It would also mean a significant paradigm shift so that :

problems are defined within the socio-ecological context, not defined predominantly by bureaucratic or economic process

• organisational roles and responsibilities change over time in respond to the needs of a maturing urban environment

• urban systems and subsystems (i.e. flows into, through, and out of, the system) are defined and monitored to improve system feedback (raising the need for both community based and scientific monitoring, and their integration)

• community/human perceptions of the urban environment and the services it provides would need to be integrated with urban plans given social, ecological and economic constraints

• recognition that planning needs to define the functions, roles and values of humans in the urban system before it designs the urban plan ... this process of definition and design is iterative.

Thus, the process of sustainable cities' planning assessment is likely to be very different to the EIA process, because underlying it would be a commitment to urban *systems* analysis and to adaptive management over time. Specific methods and procedures to support these types of assessments would need to evolve, but first more work needs to be put into developing appropriate frameworks. If urban planning is to be assessed "strategically", we need to be clearer about what we want to achieve for our "sustainable cities". In the words of Albert Einstein:

"A perfection of means and a confusion of aims seems to be our main problem."

REFERENCES

Bardecki, M. 1989. "Coping with cumulative impacts: an assessment of legislative and administrative mechanisms." *Impact Assessment Bulletin* 8(1,2): 319-346.

Basiago, A. D. 1996. "The Search for the Sustainable City in 20th Century Urban Planning." *The Environmentalist* 16(2): 135-155.

Cooper, T. and L. Canter. 1997. "Substantive Issues in Cumulative Impact Assessment: A State-of-Practice Survey." *Impact Assessment* 15(1): 15-31.

Dietz, F. J. and J. Straaten. 1992. "Rethinking environmental economics: missing links between economic theory and environmental policy." *Journal of Economic Issues* 26(1): 27-51.

Forster, C. 1996. *Australian Cities: Continuity and Change*. Melbourne, Oxford University Press.

Girardet, H. 1992. *The Gaia Atlas of Cities: New directions for sustainable urban living*. London, Gaia Books.

Haughton, G. and C. Hunter. 1994. *Sustainable Cities*. London, Jessica Kingsley Publishers.

Smit, B. and H. Spoling. 1995. "Methods for cumulative effects assessment." *Environmental Impact Assessment Review* 15(1): 81-106.

Therivel, R., E. Wilson, S. Thompson, D. Heaney, and D. Pritchard. 1992. *Strategic Environmental Assessment*. London, Earthscan Publications.

Thomas, I. 1996. EIA procedures in Australia. *EIA in Australia: Theory and Practice*. Sydney, Federation Press.

Van der Ryn, S. and S. Cowan. 1996. *Ecological Design*. Washington, Island Press.

REMAKING ASIAN CITIES: THE SECOND CYCLE

Liu, Thai-Ker
Director
RSP Architects Planners & Engineers (Pte) Ltd
15 Scotts Road
#07-00 Thong Teck Building
Singapore 228218

The phenomenal economic growth in Asia in the last three decades has brought about rapid urbanisation. Unfortunately, the economic upgrading has not been matched by environmental improvement. In fact, the haphazard urbanisation process has generated many environmental problems such as pollution, traffic congestion, insufficient infrastructure provision and even urban ugliness. This paper attempts to trace the causes of this unhappy situation and explore alternatives.

The main thrust of argument is demonstrated in diagram 1. It shows that economic growth has given rise to powerful forces for rapid urban development. However, governments were ill-prepared to manage the situation. The unplanned and poorly controlled rapid urbanisation in turn aggravated problems in the cities. The resultant Asian cities are products of mixed blessings: better materialistic life; poorer living environment. If one considers this round of urbanisation as the first cycle of urban redevelopment, then there is a dire need for a costly second cycle of redevelopment to make cities more livable. Hence the title of my paper.

Let us now look at the Asian urbanisation phenomenon in greater detail, as shown in diagram 2. There is a historical reason for the powerful forces of rapid urban development. Urbanisation was slow in the past due to poverty and weak governments. However, the population in urban centres continued to grow. With the momentum generated by rapid economic growth, the hunger for development became clearly evident and resulted in a huge rush for construction.

The city governments were ill-prepared for this avalanche for a number of reasons.

Defective planning systems could not cope with the speed of change. The oscillating political strength and willpower led to inconsistent planning decisions. Interference by high officials and poorly and hastily prepared master plans affected the credibility of these plans. In most cases, developers could deviate quite substantially from the planning parameters of a given site.

The unsatisfactory political direction has not been helped by a generally poor understanding of what makes a healthy city. In other words, the technocrats, at best, use blunt planning tools to solve complex urban problems. This situation is further aggravated by the tyranny of commercialism. It is not uncommon that developments take place before planning. Instead of paying attention to critical urban issues, many city officials show more interest in monument

building. There is a race for giantism and skyward expansion. There is a predilection for the thrills offered by Las Vegas and Disneyland.

The impact of these circumstances on rapid urbanisation can be seen in several ways. Land prices rise rapidly. This, in turn, generates pressure on rapid and high density development. As land in the heart of old cities becomes particularly valuable, irreplaceable monuments and architectural heritage often give way to redevelopment. Even important civic spaces and parks within a city, or scenic spots in outlying areas are not spared from this fate. Such rapid urbanisation also generates pressure on rail and road transportation and on facilities development.

Further, the relatively unplanned growth aggravates other urban problems. The cities experience uncoordinated multimodal developments. There is environmental and visual pollution. The cities function poorly, and the buildings are mostly substandard and poorly assembled.

The resultant cities bring to their people mixed blessings, in both positive and negative ways. There are some positive results nevertheless. For example, in these cities, one experiences the excitement of a tremendous outburst of energy. The city is clearly seen as a catalyst for economic growth. Intercity linkages improve noticeably, through rail, road and telecommunications. There is massive increase of floor space to generate employment. And in some wealthy cities, one can even expect sporadically world class projects to inspire citizens and set new standards for other developers.

The negative results are: principally traffic jams aggravated by high density development; Infrastructure is generally inadequate and of poor quality; Pollution control is ineffective; The inconsistent land usage leads to wasteful use of land and unnecessarily expensive infrastructure investment costs, and there is random growth of high rise towers, coupled with an irreversible loss of heritage, nature and agricultural land.

Thus cities which have gone through the first round of urban redevelopment need a costly second cycle to make them attractive for new investment and to provide their citizens with a more livable environment. Hopefully, people realise that there are lessons to be learnt. Fundamentally, one should do the right thing from the start. City officials should have the mind set to keep urban redevelopment to one cycle as the second cycle of redevelopment is costly. In these cases, city governments have to purchase expensive land for roads, rails and public housing, if traffic and housing problems are to be tackled seriously. Many cities have to resort to expensive and ugly elevated expressways cutting through towns and city centres. Pollutive factories and plants will have to be pulled down and relocated in specially designated zones. Obsolete or poorly built buildings have to be demolished.

The Singapore experience shows that it is not necessary to follow the route of second cycle of urban redevelopment, even though in the last three decades the pace of change in the small city-island state of 3.5 million people has been rapid. There are obviously many reasons for the successful, smooth and low wastage urbanisation of Singapore.

However, in the context of this paper, I would like to suggest four critical factors. The first is the presence of a workable administration system supported by respect for objective analyses and logical reasoning. Second, there is a workable master plan, supported by a transparent and relatively efficient planning system. Third, the scope of physical development has gone beyond just master planning. There is a very effective public-private partnership in the following areas:

Planning - this involves land use distribution, transportation network and environmental quality assurance

Imaging - this refers to broad mapping of environmental and visual variation from district to district

Conservation - this means the protection of heritage from the past

Urban Design and Architecture - This has to do with creating heritage of the future

Urban Decorate and Incidental Design - This refers to shopfront design, urban furniture, banners and so on which enrich the visual environment

In addition to all of the above, a city may be physically well-planned and beautiful, but it can only come to life with appropriate activities everywhere, like drama on the stage of life. Whether the physical development will be well executed or not depends on the professional skills of the planners and designers, as well as shared values. The quality of a master plan is profoundly influenced by the vision of the city fathers, the planning goals of the planners, the common social & environment values of the people and the relative priority of people's aspiration from and for the city.

By handling the planning and development of Singapore in the way outlined earlier, Singapore has become an attractive place environmentally for international business. This brings about the beginning of a virtuous cycle.

As to the goals for a city, one can quite safely assume that it is the wish of most people and their city officials to guide their own cities towards being both healthy and beautiful. Diagrams 3 and 4 suggest an approach towards a healthy city. This demands commitment from the top men in the city government. Only then, can one expect sound policies and critical strategies to be evolved from the city government. These can, in turn, be translated into effective regulations for implementation, enforcement and maintenance.

To have a healthy city is the fundamental right of its inhabitants. But all of us aspire to live in a beautiful city as well. To begin with, the core planning value should give equal emphasis on people, economic and environmental improvements.

Second, we should move into the mindset that "economic miracles" and environmental improvements enhance, rather than negate, each other. In moving towards environmental improvement, obviously there are many factors to be considered. Let me mention a few key principles which would at least steer us away from causing harm and destruction to our own

cities in the process of carrying out redevelopment. One should plan from big to small areas, from ultimate target dates to present target dates. One should remember to demarcate beautiful natural scenic spots and irreplaceable heritage, and then move on to planning new development on the remainder of the urban land. The planners should endeavor to plan for all the space needed for all people in the city to meet all their functional needs. The planners should endeavor to plan for mass transit as the principal form of people mover for large cities. Pollution control should begin on day one of urban development. And remember the logical sequence of developmental activities: from planning to urban design to architecture.

Finally to create beautiful cities, besides skills, a city needs to have shared urbanscape values among its people. Whether a city turns out to be ugly or beautiful, can ultimately be traced to the value system of inhabitants of the city. For example, do they want their city to have an urbanscape with variety in unity? There is a strong case to be made for fine tuning building heights so that the buildings are in scale with the size and density of a city. Some mayors want their buildings to be: big, tall, hi-tech, unique. Would they agree to prescribe small, short, traditional, harmonious buildings for small old towns? Many cities have lost control of the corners, edges and the continuity of buildings in relation to street blocks. Remember to plant trees and grass. Above all, consider the urbanscape issue in context with the size of the city and the sites on which buildings stand.

ASIAN URBANISATION PHENOMENON

Diagram 1

Diagram 2
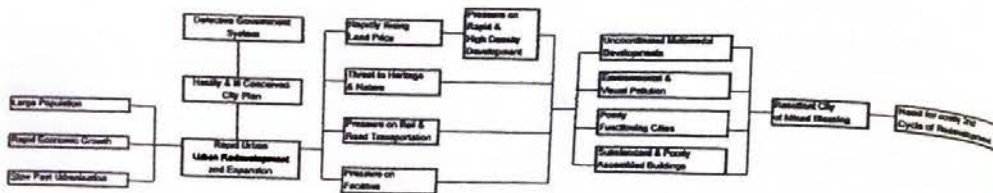
TOWARDS A HEALTHY CITY

Diagram 3

Diagram 4
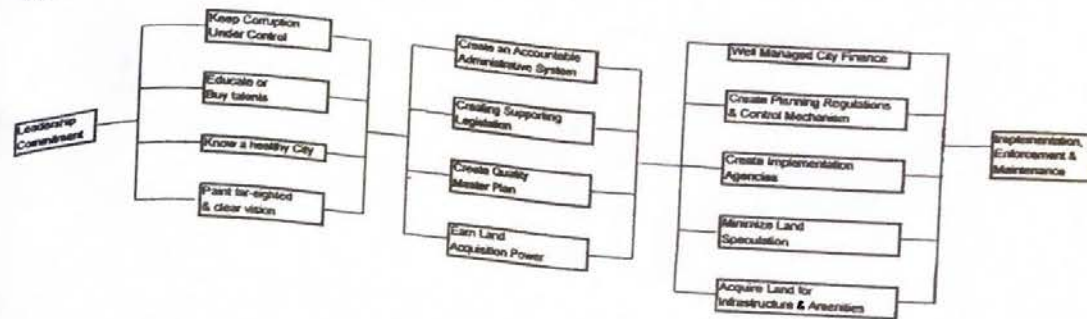
Making Space: A study of the social impacts of urban design

Kate Kerkin
Department of Landscape, Environment and Planning
RMIT University GPO Box 2476V
Melbourne, Victoria

Introduction

Urban design guidelines and projects are playing an increasingly important role in the design and planning of streetscapes, local precincts and other public spaces in Australia. The focus on the 'public realm' places urban design practice directly within debates that have traditionally been the concern of urban planning, i.e. debates about 'public need', 'competing publics', and 'social equity'. Through the example of one urban design project, this paper will explore the impact of urban design on the public space uses of different social groups and the ways in which 'difference' is negotiated through urban design. The final paper will draw on a series of in-depth interviews conducted with urban designers, policy makers and other individuals involved in a 'best practice urban design project' in St Kilda, Melbourne. The outline provided here includes: a brief overview of project; the theoretical debates that inform the research; an introduction to the context of the site; and preliminary analysis of the design and development briefs

Planning, Designing, Dealmaking – Negotiating Difference

Planning and design has been widely criticised as supporting the interests of capital over the interests of different social groups. David Harvey has championed such criticisms with his analysis of planning and design as '...accentuating the banes of capitalist urban development rather than checking its excesses' (Harvey 1989: 51). The 'typology of the marketplace', the 'invention of histories', 'production of hyperreal environments', and the '...so-called search for urbanity' have all been criticised as 'smokescreen[s] for the growing gap between the rich and the poor' (see Ellin 1996: 159-160). 'Postmodern architecture' is seen as providing a '...'warm', 'comfortable' and 'friendly' built environment - one which manipulates the known design features of particular urban locations...to...give an accommodating face to grand urban redevelopment schemes' (Kearns and Philo 1993: 23). This trend in planning and design is seen as an '...indifference to the public realm', a 'new realism' amongst planners and designers who are now 'scene-makers not social reformers' (Boyer 1993: 112). Urban design, then, follows '...formulas established by advertising...invented models of reality' where styles are '...divorced from their social context...[and] become cool...' (Boyer 1994: 119; Zukin 1995:9).

Accompanying such critiques of planning and design is a growing awareness of a '...wide range of temporary or provisional claims on urban areas...[such as]...teen-age cruising...temporary street vendors; demonstrations, marches and parades; block parties and other urban and suburban festivals'. These spatial practices do not depend for their

'...success upon well designed public spaces. On the contrary, often the less hospitable and more bleak a setting, the more successful the ephemeral event' (Ghirardo 1996:44). Such spaces have been interpreted as '...'sites of insurgent citizenship' (Holston), spaces of dialogue (Gilbert 1995) 'experimental settings' (Friedmann), 'mediating sites' (Rocco), or 'stubborn spaces' (De Certeau)' (Gilbert 1995: 2). Such a public realm becomes '[i]nscribed in a changing economy of space...mediating...between ideological institutions and everyday practices' (Gilbert 1995: 2). They become spaces '...based on contestation rather than unity...created through competing interests and violent demands as much as by reasoned debate. Demonstrations, strikes, and riots, as well as struggles over issues such as temperance or suffrage...arenas where multiple publics with inevitably competing concerns struggle and where conflict takes many forms' (Crawford 1995:4 – 5). Kearns and Philo argue that '...here, in this discussion of the 'other side' of the city's human geography that squidges out from beneath the economic and social logics isolated above, we have found the key to why the city's cultural capital can never be manipulated as consensually as the place marketeers would like' (Kearns and Philo 1993: 17).

The ways in which such 'other sides' of the city are constructed and negotiated by planners, policy makers and designers is of increasing interest to urban research (see for example Anderson 1991: 1998; Jacobs 1998). Such work draws on continuing debates about the role of 'place' in constructing identity and negotiating urban change (see for example Massey 1994; Hayden 1995; Hanson et al 1995; Keith et al. 1995). One of the strongest arguments emerging within this literature is the need to focus on a 'located politics of difference' which recognises the 'entanglement between identity, power, and place' (Fincher and Jacobs 1998).

St Kilda, Melbourne

As a bayside suburb of Melbourne, Australia, St Kilda has a long history of social groups from the 'other side' of the human geography of the city. Historically, St Kilda is known as an area of mixed social groups. Prior to European settlement it was a meeting and corroboree area for local Aboriginal communities in the Port Phillip Bay area. From the turn of the century until the 1930s St Kilda became a popular beach retreat for Melbourne's elite and witnessed the construction of a number of beach side accommodation places. St Kilda slipped into notorious decline in the 1970s and 1980s when it became known as the principle area of drug exchange and prostitution in Melbourne. With this decline came the refurbishment of many of the beach hostels into low income boarding hostels, and crisis and accommodation support services began to locate in the area. St Kilda today remains widely recognised as an area offering emergency support to low income and homeless people. St Kilda also represents an area of continued development pressure since it is a beachside location. St Kilda is increasingly becoming gentrified as boarding houses are sold and strata titled, and the diversity of the area is sold as an attraction for inner city living. In a recent edition of Vogue Australia St Kilda was pitched as 'St Kilda 3182...Melbourne's cosmopolitan party precinct, where bikers meet yentas, and the bars are snakepits....it even has a Melrose Place' (Vogue Australia May 1997:148).

Many local historians have explored the role of different social groups in contributing to St Kilda's identity. Longmire's two volume history, for example, traces street prostitution in St Kilda, noting the 1970s as a time* when '....demoralised youths resorted to prostitution and drug use...[since]...there was more money to be made from gutter crawlers in a few hours than the dole would yield in a few weeks' (Longmire 1989: 256). More recently, Craig Bird has researched media debates about street prostitution in an exploration of the ways in which 'discourses of prostitution and the category of the prostitute are 'produced' ...' within existing power structures (Bird 1997: 6). Through a deconstructive analysis of discourses of street prostitution Bird shows that street prostitutes 'are central to the construction of St Kilda identity' (Bird 1997:2). He argues that '[l]ike the figure of the 'deviant' woman working the streets, St Kilda, at least since the 1960s, has been used as a social and moral yardstick. It is the geographical and discursive space against which other Melbourne suburbs have been measured in terms of social cohesion and ethical standards...' (Bird 1997: 1).

Bird focuses on community groups and their stated views on street prostitution to illustrate the 'historically shifting spatial construction of a St Kilda identity' (Bird 1997:6). 'As early as 1974 residents...were complaining about 'gutter crawlers' in the area...' (Bird 1997: 21-23). In the 1990s, however, residents groups presented different perceptions of street prostitution. Bird argues that '[s]hifts in public thinking towards the preservation of a local identity...and the acknowledgement that sex workers should be accorded the same rights as any other citizen, were echoed in campaigns by a group of St Kilda residents in 1994' (Bird 1997: 41). He argues that the notion of street prostitution presented by the 1990s residents group '...can be seen as a kind of nostalgic employment of prostitution. It is used as an identificatory marker of resistance in order to reiterate a pre- and anti-gentrification St Kilda citizen...' (Bird 1997: 42).

Notions of a 'diverse' local community saturate current statements formulated by the Local Council. The 'Community's Vision', prepared through community consultations by the City of Port Phillip, explains 'Our Vision...[is]...for a City where diversity is sustained and harmony promoted, a Community where there is a high degree of civic pride and a shared responsibility for people. It is a City where a sense of Community is powerfully experienced by all - residents, businesses and visitors alike. People of all ages, cultural and socio-economic backgrounds work, live and play together in a Community where there are no pockets of economically disadvantaged (CoPP 1997: 11).

More specific policies, such as the Housing Strategy, also base their proposals on the notion of 'diversity'. The fundamental purpose of the Housing Strategy is stated as: 'provid[ing] housing diversity which contributes to the maintenance of social diversity, and to achieve this by the provision and facilitation of affordable, accessible and suitable housing which meets the needs of all groups within the community, in particular those which are disadvantaged within or unable to adequately access the private housing market...' (Spivak 1997: 16). The Cultural Strategy addresses the importance of 'local cultural diversity: 'By ensuring a vibrant arts culture and service delivery which engages with, is implanted in and arises from the local community, the Cultural Plan will contribute to the development, celebration and promotion of the concept of the urban village and the City of Port Phillip's identity' (Wallace 1997: 3). Urban design is implicated with such cultural traditions since the '...traditional arts based definition of culture will need to be augmented in order to realise the principles of cultural development in all Council services. Urban design, heritage, tourism, environment and human services are key service areas that have a significant contribution to make to the enrichment of the city's cultural fabric' (Wallace 1997: 4). Negotiations around the identity of the place, then, are closely integrated with notions of a diverse social identity and a range of council strategic plans explicitly aim to protect and enhance different social groups within the municipality.

Negotiating Difference on the Ground - The St Kilda Depot Site

The St Kilda Depot site provides a rich case study for an exploration of the social impact of design and the ways in which 'diversity' is negotiated through design processes. The aim of the project is: 'to become a demonstration project to the private and public sector in relation to housing mix, architecture and urban design. The total project or elements of this project are hoped to become a benchmark for future, private residential developments...' (CoPP 1998: 5). The brief for the site also states that architects and landscape architects must be committed to full community consultation as part of the development and implementation of the project.

The St Kilda Depot site is a 1.2 hectare site which was previously used as a municipal depot for the former City of St. Kilda and then City of Port Phillip. Former uses included '...municipal vehicle servicing, a waste materials transfer station, materials stockpiling and, at an earlier stage, a municipal incinerator...' (CoPP 1998: 1). The zoning for the site will be changed from Light Industrial 1 to either Mixed Use or residential 2A, as part of the redesign process. The redesign project has an explicit social justice agenda. It is the '...10th project under the City of Port Phillip Housing Program...these projects respond to the housing needs of local residents which have been created or exacerbated by the process of rising property values and subsequent gentrification. By the completion of this project the Program will have provided 299 rental housing units for low income family, older person and single persons within the City of Port Phillip' (CoPP 1998: 2).

Key features of the project include the following: '...a mix of market and needs-based social and private housing...50% of the social housing will be cross-subsidised by the private housing; there will be high quality architectural and urban design standards so that the built form will act as a demonstration project; and best practice passive and active environmental design so that the development is ecologically sustainable and a model for medium density projects elsewhere' (CoPP 1998: 1)

Descriptions of the location of the site begin to point out the contrasting social groups in the area: 'The site is located in the heart of the densely populated...St. Kilda area, which has the highest residential density in Melbourne...The site also lies within an area which has a high concentration of low income flats and rooming houses and social services for low income and disadvantaged persons...The area is well services by public transport...The area is used for street prostitution...(CoPP 1998: 2).

While the project brief identifies a range of types of public spaces in the proposed redevelopment, it makes no connection between the siting and design of these spaces and the existing diverse social uses of the public spaces in the area: 'The master plan will set the design framework and will involve housing which will address two existing streets and possibly two, newly created, internal roads. There are proposed to be open public spaces and a network of pedestrian paths through the site which link with the surrounding area. Appropriate landscaping will soften the buildings and roof tops. Architecturally integrated art will feature prominently in the built form and important view lines will be protected or created...Other features may include a convenience shop and community facilities' (CoPP 1998: 3).

Indeed, the factors that are identified as responsible for the 'nature' of the public spaces are architectural. It is argued that the site should have '...a human scale and...[create]... positive public or communal spaces through the provision of building heights, set backs, open spaces, entry points and vistas; [engender] a sense of neighbourhood identity without appearing to be an exclusive enclave which inhibits the surrounding to use the networks of streets and paths or public open space; [Value] the interface of buildings with the network of existing and new external and internal streets and paths and the importance of street level activity and design detail' (CoPP 1998a: 5).

While the urban design brief argues that the design of the site should '...encourage active streetscapes which foster activity through...provision of interaction points....the absence of blank walls...visible car parking...attractive and functional street furniture' it also proposes that such design features should limit 'unwanted' social/economic activity. With some inherent contradictions it is argued that the site should inhibit '...street prostitution and illegal or undesirable drug activity in internal streets, pathways and common/public spaces...[and that]...design means to achieve this should include adequate street lighting and elimination of blind corners and secluded places. Street design is not to aim at eliminating street prostitution in the surrounding area as this only pushes the problem to other areas...' (CoPP 1998a: 8).

Research interviews

In order to explore the impact of urban design on different social groups and the way in which 'difference' is negotiated, material from in-depth interviews with key players involved in the St Kilda Depot site will be presented at the conference. Interview respondents will include local government policy-makers, architects and landscape architects for the site, street sex workers, and representatives of the Prostitutes Collective of Victoria. These interviews will explore the current uses and meanings of the site, the perceived uses and meanings of the site, consultation processes undertaken and the anticipated impact of redesign on the use and 'identity' of the area.

References

1. Anderson, K. 1991 *Vancouver's Chinatown: Racial Discourse in Canada, 1875-1980* McGill-Queen's: Quebec.
2. Anderson, K. 1998 'Sites of Difference: Beyond a Cultural Politics of Race Polarity' in Fincher, R. & Jacobs, J.M. (eds.) *Cities of Difference* Guilford: London.
3. Bird, C. 1997 ' "No Longer the Place It Used to Be": Prostitution and Negotiations of St Kilda Identity 1970-1995' Honours Thesis: University of Melbourne.
4. Boyer, M. C. 1993 The City of Illusion: New York's Public Places in Knox, P. ed. *The Restless Urban Landscape* Prentice Hall: New Jersey.
5. Boyer, M.C. 1994 *The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments* The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts
6. Crawford, M. 1995 'Contesting the Public realm: Struggles over Public Space in Los Angeles' *Journal of Architectural Education* Vol. 49, No. 1, pp. 4-9.
7. Ellin, N. 1996 *Postmodern Urbanism* Blackwell:Oxford
8. Fincher, R. & Jacobs, J.M. (eds.) 1998 *Cities of Difference* Guilford: London.
9. Ghirardo, D. 1996 *Architecture after Modernism* Thames and Hudson: London
10. Gilbert, L. 1995 Decolonizing the City: the construction of social and spatial consciousness of Mexicans in Los Angeles PhD Thesis UCLA Los Angeles
11. Hanson, S. and Pratt, G. 1995 *Gender, Work and Space* Routledge: London.
12. Harvey, D. 1989 *The Condition of Postmodernity* Blackwell:Oxford.
13. Hayden, D. 1995 *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History* MIT Press: Cambridge.
14. Jacobs, J.M. 1998 'Staging Difference: Aestheticization and the Politics of Difference in Contemporary Cities' in Fincher, R. & Jacobs, J.M. (eds.) *Cities of Difference* Guilford: London.
15. Kearns, G. & Philo, C. 1993 *Selling Places: the city as cultural capital, past and present* Pergamon: New York
16. Keith, M. and Pile, S. 1993 *Place and the Politics of Identity* Routledge: London
17. Longmire, A. 1989 *St Kilda The Show Goes On: The History of St Kilda*, Vol. III, 1930-1983 Hudson:Melbourne.
18. Massey, D. 1994 *Space, Place and Gender* Polity: Cambridge.
19. Zukin, S. 1995 *The Culture of Cities* Blackwell: Oxford.

Reports

1. City of Port Phillip [CoPP] 1997 'The City of Port Phillip Community Plan – A Statement of Community Aspirations'.
2. City of Port Phillip [CoPP] 1998 'The St Kilda Depot Housing Project – Project Description'
3. City of Port Phillip [CoPP] 1988a 'The St Kilda Depot Housing Project – Urban Design and Architecture Brief'
4. This is a preliminary working paper only and provides the context for the work to be presented at the conference.
5. St Kilda was amalgamated with other Bayside Councils in 1994 to form the City of Port Phillip

The Israeli Land Use Planning Policy in East Jerusalem

Rassem Khamaisi
Department of Geography
Haifa University,
Mount Carmel, Haifa 31905
Israel

Introduction

The aim of this paper is to discuss the Israeli land use planning policy in East Jerusalem and its consequences on shaping their urban structure. This paper claims that the planning policy in East Jerusalem is a tool in the hands of the Israelis to fulfill two main objectives: confine the Palestinian development by the use of a restrictive planning policy and to expand the Israeli presence in Jerusalem. The implementation of this planning policy serves to maintain the spatial segregation and the developmental disparity between the Israelis and the Palestinians in Jerusalem.

Conflict in Jerusalem

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, a conflict has existed between the Zionist movement and the Arabs concerning domination in Palestine, including Jerusalem. Until the 1920s the Zionist movement did not give real attention to Jerusalem. Its attitude to Jerusalem and the Jewish population was negative, derisive, estranged and neglectful (Katz, 1995,279). Until the 1920s the relationship between the Arabs and Jews in Jerusalem was mostly one of co-operation. Lately, this relationship has become one of conflict. Jerusalem has suffered from local conflict between the different ethnic national groups, which is part of the national and international-religious conflict.

Yet, there have been two main turning points in the conflict over Jerusalem during the last five decades, which came as a result of catastrophic events. The first was the war of 1948 and the second was the war of 1967 between Israel and the Arab states. After the first war, the city was divided into two parts. The western part has included in the new state of Israel and declared its capital. The Palestinians who lived in this part were evacuated and their houses populated by Jews or demolished (Morris, 1987). The other part, namely East Jerusalem, was annexed together with the West Bank to the state of Jordan. After the war of 1967, Israel occupied East Jerusalem as part of the Arab lands which were occupied during the war. Since then, Israel has declared unification of the two parts of Jerusalem under Israeli sovereignty and has begun to determine the development according to its planning policy to secure Israeli objectives.

Emergence of statutory planning in Jerusalem

The first land-use plan for Jerusalem was prepared in 1918 by the British engineer William Mclean. Mclean's plan, which was considered the basis for statutory planning in Jerusalem, was followed by four further plans which were also prepared by British planners (Patrick Geddes' plan in 1919; Clifford Ashby's in 1922; Clifford Holliday's in 1930 and Henry Kendall's in 1944) (Hyman, 1994). According to these plans the municipality of Jerusalem was authorized to issue building permits.

During the British mandate, Jerusalem was the administrative centre of Palestine. The planners were aware of this, and allocated land for administrative purposes to facilitate the centrality of Jerusalem (Efrat, 1993). However, they adopted restrictive planning still in use in Jerusalem today. When Jerusalem was divided in 1948, two municipalities were established and each used the mandate planning legacy. The Israelis prepared an outline plan in 1949 which was amended in 1959 to develop the west part of Jerusalem, which included about 33,000 dunams. The Jordanians also prepared an outline plan for East Jerusalem in 1966, which included some of the villages around it in an area of about 70,000 dunams, while the municipal area of East Jerusalem was about 6,500 dunams. Immediately after Israel occupied East Jerusalem and the West Bank in 1967, Israel announced the annexation of East Jerusalem and some of the nearby villages and declared a reunited Jerusalem by expanding their boundary. Within the new municipal boundary, Israel prepared a new land-use master plan in 1968 to control the development under full Israeli sovereignty, which is still the basis for the development in Jerusalem. The Israelis have strived to control development in and around Jerusalem by determining the boundary for the regional plan 1/82 (Coon, 1992) or metropolitan plans which included a major part of the West Bank .

Israeli planning objectives in Jerusalem

The Israeli planning policy in Jerusalem strives to achieve the following objectives. First, to gain international recognition of a united Jerusalem as the Israeli capital. Second, at the national tier, to transform Jerusalem to be the political administrative core and the largest metropolitan area in the Israeli state, with a large Jewish hinterland. Third, at the regional-local tier, the Israel objective has been to change the demographic and the national-ethnic structure of the Jerusalem area to create a Jewish majority. Fourth, to preserve the Israeli demographic objective which seeks to restrict the Palestinian population in Jerusalem to less than a third of that of the Israelis. Finally, at the local tier, the Israeli objective seeks to secure a united Jerusalem as one urban unit and to prevent any possible future territorial division along national or ethnic lines. The following part of this paper attempts to show the use of the statutory land-use planning to achieve regional and local Israeli objectives.

Instrument of the detailed plan

The Israeli planning policy in East Jerusalem was derived from the aforementioned objectives. The detailed town planning scheme has been used as an instrument in the hands of the municipality to determine the land-use planning for issuing building permits for every development. The annexation of East Jerusalem and the surrounding villages to Israel have included the dissolution of the municipality of East Jerusalem and the village councils and the suspension of all their authorities. The west Jerusalem municipality was bestowed with all the authority in the new, expanding jurisdiction under the Israeli law. Under the Israeli Planning and Building Law of 1965, the municipality is a local planning committee which has the authority and the duty to prepare outline and detailed plans which have to be approved by the district and the national planning committees (Government of Israel, 1966). The approval of detailed plans is a precondition for the developer to obtain a building permit according to the detailed plan. The three tiers of the planning-committees, the local municipality, the district and national committees have no Palestinian representation. Thus, the planning mechanism of outline and detailed plans has been used to direct or restrict land-use development. The decision when to prepare detailed plans and the area and suggested land-use are determined by the municipality or the district planning committee. Indeed, the Palestinians as individuals can appeal against the detailed

plans to the local and district committees, but these committees have the authority to decide the fate of the appeals.

The implementation of the planning policy began immediately after the annexation in 1967, through the preparation of a master plan for the expansion of the boundaries of Jerusalem (Hashimshoni, Schwied and Hashimshoni, 1974). This plan had been preceded by several detailed plans which were prepared by the municipality or the Ministry of Housing. The detailed plans prepared for the settlement of Palestinians and Israelis in East Jerusalem. Examination of these plans show duality in the use of this planning mechanism for Palestinians and Israelis. The Israelis produced detailed plans to build and develop new neighbourhoods, which were initiated and financed by the government for building high density housing with new services and infrastructure. These new neighbourhoods were to be built on vacant public land; land which has been expropriated from Palestinians or had been state owned land since the Ottoman era (Baskin and Twite, 1993; Cattan, 1981). The detailed plans prepared for the Palestinian neighbourhoods were used to restrict development on their private land in the existing built-up area by planning low density housing. The implementation of the detailed plans for the Palestinians have not been accompanied by the allocation of financial resources by the government or the municipality to develop services and infrastructure as occurred in Israeli nighbourhoods.

Indeed, the detailed plans prepared by Jerusalem municipality were according to the Israeli Planning and Building law 1965 for the Israelis and the Palestinians. However, the detailed plans for the Israeli neighbourhood were prepared using the developmental planning approach, while those for the Palestinians were regulatory and restrictive. The municipality or government has used the mechanism of detailed plans to achieve their objectives by deciding on the area of the plan, the time for preparing it and how long it will take until the plan is approved and what the plan contains, in terms of building rights, housing density and land-use allocation. An attempt is made below to show how the technical planning, used in the process of preparing detailed plans, benefits the Israelis in East Jerusalem and allows them to realize their policies and achieve their objectives.

One technique relies on the plan's capacity for residential units, by placing a ceiling on the number of flats which are allowed to be built in the plan area in the target year of the plan. The determination of planning capacity forms an effective instrument for preserving what is called the 'demography balance' in Jerusalem, by determining the percent of building allowed in a fixed plot (Kaminker, 1995). The planning capacity technique demonstrates duality by striving for maximum capacity in the plans prepared for the Israeli neighbourhoods and minimum for the Palestinians.

A second technique is the designation of land for 'green zones', which means preventing any building on it. The available data point to about 46,500 dunams in East Jerusalem as yet not expropriated by the Israelis (B'tselem, 1995) (private and Waqf). About a fifth of this land is allocated for development, the rest is classified as 'green zone' land. The Palestinian experience shows that most of the Israeli neighbourhoods in East Jerusalem have been established in areas which were classified as 'public open spaces' or 'nature reserves' in the Jerusalem master plan of 1968, but these classifications were later changed by detailed plans to establish new Israeli neighbourhoods such as Ramot, Neve Ya'acove, Pisgat Ze'ev.

The third technique is simply to delay the preparation of outline or detailed plans and to protract the process of approving plans. The responsibility of preparing outline plan as a basis for detailed plans lies with the municipality and local planning committee. In fact, both did not fulfill their duties according to the law by delaying the preparation and approval of plans for the Palestinians in Jerusalem. For example, the process of preparing plan no. 2317 for Beit Safafa began in 1977 but final approval was not until December 1990; the planning process of preparing plan no.2683a for Arab es-Sawahreh began in 1979, and is not approved as yet.

The fourth technique is identifying built-up areas as special sites, which are designated for conservation because of historical, architectural and cultural considerations. Some Palestinian neighbourhoods, such as Silwan, Wady el-Jouz, Al-tur, el-Souane and the old city, have been classified by detailed plans as special sites, which means that the addition or expansion of any existing building can be prevented. Limitations on building in these areas were introduced in the first plan for Jerusalem in 1918 during the British mandate and adopted in full by the Israelis for the Palestinians.

The fifth technique used involves the granting (or non-granting) of the required building permits for every physical development. The Planning and Building Law determines whether development permits are issued, according to approved outline or detailed plans. The absence of approved plans prevents the obtaining of building permits. Moreover, the process of obtaining building permits is both protracted and costly, thus setting obstacles for families with limited resources. In addition, the requirement for land ownership affirmation as a precondition for obtaining a building permit often delays or even prevents the issuing of the permit. The affirmation of land ownership in the name of those who require a building permit presents a difficult task, particularly if the parcel of land is owned by too many registered owners (Mosha'a), some of whom are deceased or absentee. So, in many cases Palestinians are unable to obtain building permits because of difficulties in achieving the requirements of the detailed plan, listed in the legislation.

The Palestinians see the Israelis detailed plans for their areas as just another method of expropriating their land. Palestinian efforts to change the situation by preparing different plans articulating their desires and ambitions are limited. Their protests are mainly via complaints and rejections. The inertia of Palestinians stems from several factors, such as the absence of local organizations able to deal with this complicated issue. Moreover, the active agencies in the field will generally not cooperate with the municipality, because they do not want to create a situation of normalization with the occupation. In addition, most of the empty land was concentrated in the villages which were annexed to Jerusalem. Here people refused to initiate plans for many different reasons: political, traditional, fear of possible expropriation, taxation and the desire to reserve the land for their children.

The spatial planning policy: surrounding, penetration and continuity

The existing spatial delineation of the entanglement of Israeli and Palestinian residential areas is a direct result of the Israeli planning policy and the implementation of detailed plans to achieve the Israeli objective. Therefore, the demographic changes aim to strengthen the existing Israeli situation and secure the annexation of East Jerusalem.

The 'Israelization' of the Jerusalem area has been realized via the adoption of a planning strategy consisting of three steps: surrounding, penetration and continuity. Another name for this strategy, coined by Teddy Kollek, (1988/89) Jerusalem's mayor from 1965 to 1993, is creating a "cultural mosaic". This planning strategy has created an urban jigsaw puzzle (Hasson, 1996) of national, cultural neighbourhoods. The

implementation of this planning strategy began with the building of new neighbourhoods inside the annexed area of East Jerusalem immediately after 1967. These neighbourhoods formed the first Israeli semi-ring surrounding Jordanian Jerusalem prior to 1967, and isolated it from any continuity with other Palestinian villages in the north. Moreover, this semi-ring joined the zone of Mount Scopus and the Hebrew university with Israeli Jerusalem. In the early 1970s, the second step began with the planning and building of the second semi-ring of Israeli neighbourhoods, which included Neve Ya'acov, Ramot, East Talpiot, Gilo and Pisgat Ze'ev. These neighbourhoods formed new, internal satellite towns, despite being inside Jerusalem's municipal boundaries. The third step began in the early 1980s, with the development of external Israeli satellite settlements, such as Givat Ze'ev, Bet El, Abir Ya'acov, Ma'le Adumim and Beitar. These Israeli external settlements formed a semi-ring round the Jerusalem municipality, have planned and developed in the West Bank.

The Israeli policy of planning and building new neighbourhoods or settlements inside and outside Jerusalem's municipal boundaries, has been accompanied by plans for strengthening existing Israeli neighbourhoods, striving to create residential Israeli continuity between those neighbourhoods which surround and penetrate the Palestinian neighbourhoods.

Consequences of the planning policy

An attempt is made below to list a few of these consequences in brief. One outcome of the implementation the planning policy was that fifteen Israeli neighbourhoods were built in East Jerusalem. For the Palestinians, the consequences of this limitation of Palestinian obtaining building permits has been increased housing hardship. The limitation of planned residential zones for the Palestinian has led to increased land prices which increase the housing hardship. This hardship reduces the Palestinian emigration from the West Bank to the Jerusalem area and from Jerusalem to the towns and villages nearby. This immigration has led to the emergence of satellite towns close to the boundaries of Jerusalem, such as a-Ram, al-Azzaria and Abu Dees, which besides strengthening the twin urban centres, Ramallah-al-Bireh in north Jerusalem and Bethlehem-Beit Jala in the south, absorb immigration from Jerusalem.

The land-use planning policy also contributed by confiscating land or freezing Palestinian development. These expropriated lands have been used to establish Israeli neighbourhoods. Another indirect method of freezing land to prevent Palestinian development, is to allocate this land as 'green area' and for the planting of forests (Cohen, 1993). In 1995, about 33 percent of the area of East Jerusalem has been confiscated, and about 40 percent is considered as 'green area' by planning schemes (Tufakaji, 1995). The Palestinians have lost faith in the planning policy and consider it as a tool to limit their development and confiscate their land, so they reject it.

The planning strategy of surrounding, penetration and continuity create a national fragmented and segregated residential area. The Israelis and the Palestinians in East Jerusalem live together separately (Romann and Weingrod, 1991).

Conclusion

The Israeli planning policy has endeavoured to prevent the re-dividing of the city. The existing reality in East Jerusalem is segregation and fragmentation of the various residential zones by national, cultural, economic, building style and disparities in existing services and infrastructure. In general, planning is both a legitimate and rational method of intervention by the public, i.e. government or municipality, to shape and reorganize the spatial order and environment to benefit the people (Blowers, 1980; Faludi, 1973). Yet, the Israeli government and the municipality of Jerusalem have used statutory land-use planning as an effective tool to limit Palestinian expansion and to facilitate Israeli development.

Planning is also mechanism which can be used to classify and categorize techniques for implementing public objectives and policies. Determining planning zones via outline and detailed plans provide the means for this mechanism. So, if some dispute exists and non-acceptance of the objectives and policies, then the output of implementation policies leads to confined development.

Physical planning in Jerusalem has contradictory objectives according to the national affiliation groups, and thus follows contradictory policies. These policies use the same mechanisms: outline plans, detailed plans and building permits. The contradiction does not stem from the mechanisms, which are generally accepted by both national groups, but from their configuration, content, timing and implementation, the agencies which control and enforce them, and the unawareness of the reality of those people affected by the plans.

References

Baskin, G. and Twite, R. (1993) *The Future of Jerusalem*, Israel/Palestine Center for Research and Information, Jerusalem.

Blowers, A. (1980) *The limits of power: The politics of local planning policy*, Pergamon Press, Oxford.

B'tselem (The Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories) (1995) *A Policy of Discrimination: Land expropriation, Planning and Building in East Jerusalem* (Draft), Jerusalem

Cattan, H. (1981) *Jerusalem*, Croom Helm, London.

Cohen, S. E. (1993) *The politics of planting: Israeli-Palestinian competition for control of land in the Jerusalem periphery*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Coon, A. (1992) *Town planning under military occupation*, Dartmouth, England.

Efrat, E. (1993) British town planning perspectives of Jerusalem in transition, *Planning Perspectives*, 8, 377 - 393.

Faludi, A. (1973) *A reading in planning theory*, Pergamon Press, Oxford.

Government of Israel, (1966) *The Planning and Building Law*, Government Press, Jerusalem (in Hebrew).

Hashimshoni, Y. Schwied, Y. and Hashimshoni, Z. (1974) *Master Plan of Jerusalem 1968*, Jerusalem (in Hebrew).

Hasson, S. (1996) Local Politics and Split Citizenship in Jerusalem, International *Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 20 (1), 116-133.

Hyman, B. (1994) *British Planners in Palestine, 1918-1936*, Ph. D. thesis, LSE, London.

Kaminker, S. (1995) East Jerusalem: a Case Study in Political Planning, *Palestine-Israel Journal*, II (2), 59-66.

Katz, Y. (1995) The re-emergence of Jerusalem: new Zionist approaches in attaining political goals prior to the First World War, *Political Geography*, 14 (3) 279-293.

Morris, B. (1987) *The Birth of the Palestinian Reffugee Problem 1947- 1949*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Romann, R. and Weingrod, A. (1991) *Living Together Separately; Arabs and Jews in contemporary Jerusalem*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey.

Tufakaji, K. (1995) Jerusalem Judaisation: Facts and Data, *Majallat al-Dirasat al-Filastiniyah*, 22, 121-127 (in Arabic).

The Transformation of Consumption Space in the Planning of Ilsan New Town in South Korea

Sung Hong Kim
Department of Architecture
The University of Seoul
Seoul, 130-743, Korea

The Emergence of a New Retail Architecture

The year of 1996 witnessed a new form of retail architecture in Korea when the foreign retail chain stores appeared in the new towns outside Seoul. This new type of retail architecture is not a shopping center, nor is it a super market of the type that would be familiar to most Americans. It is the "hypermarket" where one can buy everything from food and clothes to cameras, appliances, and stationery. In November of 1996, France's Carrefour Group, the sixth largest retail chain in the world, opened its country's second store in the Ilsan new town, located halfway between Seoul and the Demilitarized Zone, the world's most heavily armed area (Fig. 1; Fig. 2). It was reported one month after the new store's opening that Carrefour dominated the existing domestic competitors in this town. In December, Dutch-based Makro opened its second hyper-market at the fringe of Ilsan new town. This European type of shopping facility was grafted onto the new town and adapted for physical constraints and local zoning climate. Given the vertical spread profile of the building, the need for large built-in parking area and the necessarily low budget, the stores have many spatial and visual features distinct from the existing domestic discount stores as well as the conventional department stores. This retail design experiment represents not only the changes in shopping patterns of the middle-class, but also their aspirations for a new style of domesticity with the potential to merge with the urban workplace and the suburban home. The financial success of Carrefour makes the hyper-market to be considered the most promising retail format. This paper is a brief summary of the critical examination of the planning and design of the large-scale retail architecture in the context of the South Korean urban landscape. The intent of the paper is three-fold: first, to examine the visual and spatial features of the European hyper-market in comparison with the competing domestic discount stores and department stores, in Ilsan new town; second, to discuss a fundamental shift in the planning and design principles employed in these stores; and finally, to conjecture on the impact of these stores on the present and probable future form of the city.

Two European Hypermarkets Compared

From the highway that stretches from Seoul to the Demilitarized Zone between South and North Korea, the first glimpse of Carrefour is an undistinguished appearance with the background setting of high-rise apartment complexes and large-scale commercial buildings. Exiting off the highway and entering the road leading to the center of the new town, the second view from a local interaction changes to a box-like dull building with undeveloped parcels of land around it. The store's exterior is composed of the vertical slits on the facade of the lower levels and a piling up of layers on the upper levels giving an impression of little character to the first-time visitor (Fig. 3). It is only from the sign on the top that the visitor gets any indication of a retail facility. It is however apparent from such the isolated location that the building is intended to be a destination itself rather than something in-between. At the edge of the property, the visitor is a little perplexed, first, because there is no conspicuous frontal element and, second, the building does not allow space between the street and itself to serve as a walkway space. The visitor then must drive along the building's perimeter roads and discover the sign for the automobile entrance and exit, and finally the pedestrian entrance; if he approaches from the opposite direction, this sequence is reversed. Once inside the store by car, the visitor is forced to drive all the way up to the fifth, sixth or seventh floor of built-in parking along a single ramp curving around the corner of the building. The building's overall spatial arrangements are still unintelligible to the visitor from the parking lot, and only the visual signs of the entrance halls announce arrival at the store.

Carrefour is a retail store designed, developed, operated and controlled by a single ownership. These characteristics distinguish it from the domestic discount store and department store, which are miscellaneous collections of individual tenants. It is a 7-story, 47,297 square-meter building on the 8,140 square-meter block. It has three levels of sales area on the second, third and fourth floor. A 12,562 square-meter gross sales area (GSA) is 27% of the total floor area. Other than the sales area, the store has only a few fast food bars within the sales areas and a banking machine on the first floor. The store offers 556 on-site customer parking spaces on the fifth, six, and seventh floors; access for trucks and employees is provided on the first and underground floors. In commercial buildings in most Korean cities, it is conventional that parking space occupies underground levels whereas leasing space occupies the floors above the ground. In this way, owners or developers maximize leasing space above the ground, and minimize parking provision below the ground. Thus the spans of upper levels are governed by the module of underground parking; for example, 10 by 8 meter module is commonly used by commercial buildings. Carrefour also adopts this module, but its vertical arrangement is revolutionary. For the first time, acceptable walking distances from the parked car to the store is considered to be a key to success. This leads to a radical shift from the development of maximum floor areas within the limits of zoning regulations to that of the optimal size based on market evaluation and feasibility analysis. In fact, 256% of Carrefour's ratio of total floor area to site is far below than that the allowance of the local building ordinance, but its 12,562 square-meter GSA is larger than that of any of its competitors in the same town, for example, the 4,958 square-meter E-mart discount store and the 6,612 square-meter Kim's discount store. If when Carrefour's construction cost per square meter is compared to its competitors, its development strategy becomes clearer. Carrefour's alleged construction cost per square meter is about $400 (1 US$ = 900 Korean Won), which is lower than that of its competitors and far below than the average construction costs of shopping and retail facilities in Korea.

Carrefour is neither a place to expect fine materials and details nor a cheap cliche of the quality of Disney's buildings as the shopper can find in other retail architecture. However, because of the convenience of shopping - the ample sales space, quantities and varieties of merchandise, the numbers of cashiers, but most of all its advanced marketing - Carrefour attracts more shoppers and captures more sales moneys than its competitors

do. A sales turnover in Carrefour's stores in Korea ranks the third among the 14 countries in the world where Carrefour Group operates 279 outlets. It is interesting that its competitors provide various service facilities but they are considered to be less pleasant places to shop. This means that shopping itself becomes a part of leisure activity. On weekends, the shoppers crowd into this store not only from this town but from Seoul, which is thirty miles away from it. The shopper attains a high degree of mobility and geographic freedom and access to a wide choice of consumer goods, services, and pseudo-suburban amenities. In this automobile setting, architectural treatments also refer to the scale of the highway. A dull facade is a mere cladding of the precisely calculated internal arrangement. This unified architectural treatment, however, is rather distinguishable in the context of the undeveloped parcels around it and the background of commercial buildings, whose facades are full of signs. Carrefour seems successful in creating a strong image of a new retail environment. Including the Ilsan outlet, the Carrefour Group currently operates 6 outlets in Korea and plans to open more than 20 by 2000.

Makro has similar features; the store is a 3 story building with 11,812 square-meter of sales areas on the underground and first floors. The second and third floors are assigned to 664 built-in parking spaces similar to the vertical layout of Carrefour. Its construction costs of $570 per square meter, are also lower than the average. The ratio of total floor area to the site of 65%, is even lower than that of Carrefour. However, there is a crucial distinction. Makro is not located on a grid-plan parcel; it only faces the street in one direction, therefore, it negotiates between vehicular and foot traffic and allows the front as pedestrian space. As a result, the building has clear frontal and rear distinction visually and spatially, in contrast to the Carrefour's identical treatment of all four sides (Fig. 4). Although the Dutch group SHV Holdings plans to open more than 10 outlets in Korea by 1999, its financial success is uncertain so far. The reasons may be due to the amount of capital and the company's management and operation strategies. Yet, its site selection in the current location is inherently problematic. It has been reported that Makro creates constant traffic jams and the city plans to build a detour between the old and the new town. Ironically, Makro's sympathetic attitude towards the existing urban fabric appears problematic whereas Carrefour's rather anti-urban attitude so far evades criticism from the publics.

Transformation of Consumption Space and Its Background

From the experience of Carrefour and Makro in Ilsan new town, it seems evident that the replication of these models in other cities may accelerate the tension between the existing old urban fabric and motor transportation. This problem would be more critical in the cities, which do not have total urban planning ideology and policies in place. In fact, most of the Korean cities have strict zoning regulations, but they do not have appropriate architectural and urban agendas. Under this situation, the large-scale retail industry makes continuous and aggressive appeals to the government to loosen zoning restrictions. In 1995, the government changed the zoning regulations to allow the construction of the large-scale discount stores in "natural green zones." After the "economic crisis" in 1997, these requests come more from foreign retailers than from domestic competitors. A recent report from the management consulting firm McKenzie Consulting said that the

government must loosen zoning restrictions and approval processes to allow the construction of discount stores, specifically addressing Carrefour. Furthermore, it was reported that a US-based Wal-Mart, the world's largest retail chain, is preparing to set up its stores in Korea.

While the competition of the large-scale foreign retail chains against the domestic retail groups has been seen as an issue by economists and marketing analysts; yet their impact on the urban landscape has not been a rigorous subject for architects and planners. Whether the hypermarket or discount store is an appropriate model for retail type may be an outdated question in the culture of consumption. Architecture for retail is perhaps the only building type that gets voted on by the marketplace daily. Yet, to examine the way in which these new forms of retail building play in the creation of future city form is still valid and critical question. The hypermarket in Korea began as a new-town operation. The large-scale retailers opt for the fringe of big cities rather than the heat of downtown; they avoid the existing commercial corridors and prefer isolated and one-piece sites surrounded by streets. The primacy of vehicular accessibility and convenience is a more important factor than spatial proximity. The hypermarket can be seen as a fusion of a European retail type with the American suburb. It attempts to create a consumption space that offers middle-class a paradoxical experience, suburban life within urbanity: the virtually unreachable exotic climes. In this respect, Carrefour and Makro in the new towns at the outskirts of Seoul will not be a model for other cities. They will remain an extreme interpretation of the ideas that the emergence of the new town, the rise of automobiles and a new form of retail building are part of a single phenomenon. The new town in Korea is inherently different from the American suburb. Ilsan new town is one of the satellite towns developed by the Korean government after 1989 as an attempt to solve the housing shortage of the metropolitan Seoul. The town serves the 276,000 inhabitants that live within 1,573 hectares. Its gross density is 175/ha and residential density is 530/ha. These figures can be compared to Milton Keynes in England that covers 8,800 ha with a population of 250,000. Yet, the density of Ilsan is the lowest among those of all the new towns developed outside Seoul; the residential density of other new towns goes up to 640/ha. Further, The densities of new towns are substantially lower than those of the redeveloped residential areas within Seoul; the residential density ranges between 1,300/ha and 1,900/ha. In contrast, a study reported that the residential density of the typical American suburb does not reach 40/ha (Park, 1995). The experience of new towns in Korea has shown that the idea of the suburb - the integration of living and nature - is an unattainable dream.

Whereas the American suburban shopping center compensates for the lack of urbanity, the hypermarket in Korea challenges urbanity. Yet, neither the new towns nor the existing cities are prepared for the spatial and cultural transformation of consumption space. It seems that this issue will get the attentions of the public only when the idea of a fast-moving and mobile society begins to conflict with the idea of convenience in the Korean urban landscape. But, by that time, entrepreneurs will find a new retail format to ensure constant turnover, and the experience of the old consumption space will serve as a lesson for retailers, but it will be remembered just as an ephemeral building type by architects and planners.

References

Baek, I K (1998) *A Study on the Development of Indexes to Evaluate Livability of Open Space in Multi-Family Housing.* Master Thesis University of Seoul Seoul

Korea Land Corporation (1990) *The Development of Ilsan New Town: Preliminary Studies.* Seoul Korea Land Corporation

Korea Land Corporation (1997). *The History of the Development of Ilsan New Town.* Seoul Korea Land Corporation

McConville, J.G. (1996). *The 1996 International Construction Costs and Reference Data Yearbook.* New York: A Wiley-Interscience Publication.

Park, K.J. (1995) *A Study on the Spatial Planning in New Towns.* Ph.D. Thesis, Hongik University Seoul

Figure 2: Land Use Plan,
Ilsan New Town, 1995

Figure 1
Aerial View, Ilsan New Town, Rendering, 1990
(Source: Korea Land Corporation. *The Development of Ilsan New Town: Preliminary Studies.* Seoul: Korea Land Corporation, 1990)

Figure 3: Exterior View,
Carrefour Hypermarket,
1998

Figure 4: Exterior View,
Makro Hypermarket, 1998

Living in Public Housing

Denise King
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences
UWS, Macarthur
PO Box 555
Campbelltown NSW 2560
Australia

In the 1970s, in response to the lengthy waiting lists for housing, the NSW Department of Housing built five large estates around Campbelltown, southwest of Sydney. A large proportion of dwellings on these estates were built to the Radburn design with the aim of fostering a sense of community among tenants. In reality the design has presented a number of problems for residents, chief among them being concerns with security, vandalism, lack of privacy and poor maintenance of open spaces. The Department is now moving to address these problems and has engaged in a program of renovation on these estates.

This paper is based on the research I am doing for my PhD which focuses on the experiences of residents living on one of these large estates. My research covers a number of areas, looking in particular on conceptions of community and neighbourhood, and resident responses to the changes taking place on the estate as part of the Neighbourhood Improvement Program. As a resident of public housing myself since 1990, and because I am actually living in research area, there is a personal aspect to my research which has challenged my identity as a researcher, and I have written elsewhere about the issues confronting those who research 'at home' (King 1997). I use the terms 'tenant' and 'resident' interchangeably throughout this and other papers to reflect the dual identity of all those who live in public housing whose lives are often affected more by their form of tenure than by the place in which they live.

My research is being carried out in Airds which is a NSW Housing Department suburb situated within the Campbelltown area approximately 50 kms southwest from the centre of Sydney. The estate was built in the mid-70s and there are still many of the original tenants on the estate. There is a small pocket of private housing, otherwise 90% of the housing is public. Approximately 5000 people live in the 1309 dwellings in Airds. They are a disadvantaged population by any criterion one might care to use. This is partly due to the fact that of those (approximately) 3020 who are 15 years and older nearly half are reliant on some sort of pension and benefit (Stubbs & Storer 1996:37).

Half the dwellings in Airds are townhouses - many of these built close together with small yards. The housing in Airds was built to the Radburn design with the idea of fostering a sense of community and a 'village' type of lifestyle where pedestrians and vehicles are segregated. These designs were considered "progressive in terms of town planning principles and urban design" (Woodward 1994:3). However a number of difficulties have arisen with the Radburn design over time including lack of privacy, common space that is not practicable and is underused, unsafe common areas, poor maintenance of common areas, and problems with vandalism (ibid:6).

The Neighbourhood Improvement Program (NIP) is an attempt to address these problems through altering the Radburn design - changing the built environment and through this changing the lives of the people living in it. This was begun in 1995 in Airds and is still continuing. The NIP alters the original Radburn design of the estate by turning common space into backyards, turning what are now backyards into front yards with a lower, more attractive fence. Other changes/improvements include: extensive painting; building verandahs and pergolas; landscaping; renewing fencing where necessary; putting through roads in places; some demolition of townhouses, and the sale of Department of Housing land to developers for private housing. The NIP also endeavours to incorporate community and stakeholder input and includes tenants, local council, transport services, other services in the planning program.

The NIP has twin objectives: to address both the physical and the social problems on the estates. Some of the hoped for outcomes of the NIP include encouraging tenant responsibility for their immediate environment, fostering a sense of belonging among residents, and increasing neighbour interaction (Hassell 1997). However, many of the plans for freestanding houses (and indeed for townhouses) involve delineating fences and boundaries so that there is a clear separation between neighbours and the chances of casual interactions are in fact reduced. Although this contradicts the aims of both the NIP and the original Radburn designs, the residents themselves are quite happy with the increased level of privacy the new boundaries afford.

It seems the NIP has competing aims: to make the housing more like private housing where people aren't close to their neighbours, yet encourage a sense of ownership of the neighbourhood area and a sense of belonging. Through the NIP the Department of Housing also hopes to change social mix of neighbourhoods through: the sale of developed housing to occupiers; redevelopment of vacant land for private housing; identification of redeveloped housing with market potential; and encouraging tenants to stay in their housing for longer.

The tenant response to the program has overall been very positive, however there have been complaints regarding the quality of work - especially for those whose houses were done in 1995 - which have not been properly resolved. Reflecting on the program tenants have also commented that they see the program as limited by the population, that is: that you can change the houses but you can't change the people and the NIP will not alter how some people live. This was clearly articulated by one tenant who commented: "It's the pride in themselves, its not the pride in this area, or any area of Housing Commission ... it's the pride within yourself." (Interview notes).

The Department of Housing, the NIP and other bodies often define Airds as a community and my research has been concerned with exploring whether tenants also define themselves in this way. In the course of my research I have found that the environment and quality of social relations in the neighbourhood have a great deal of impact on the lives of tenants - neighbourhood meaning not just the immediate physical environment but also the relationships and social networks which criss-cross the suburb and give meaning to peoples' experiences of living there. There are the positive aspects of neighbourhood, including what I term 'neighbourship' - the loose friendship that develops between people who share a proximate physical environment - and the negative, where people attribute the insecurity they feel within their own homes to the people and places in their immediate area.

According to the experience of those living there, Airds is neither one thing nor the other, neither all bad nor all good. It is sometimes one, sometimes the other, and sometimes both together. Even those people who are adamant that living in Airds has been an overwhelmingly positive experience often also tell stories of times when it hasn't been - stories of siege and threat, of difficult neighbours, of burglary and theft, of fires, and of problems with their landlord - the Department of Housing. The conflictual nature of the personal stories of residents can make it difficult for the researcher to come up with a single conception of what life in public housing is like, so the aim of this research has been to present these conflicting stories as they are told, to write the conflict in as a key aspect of the experience of living in Airds. There is no easy and straightforward interpretation of the experiences of residents, but a number of competing interpretations, one of which is my own and based on my own experience as a tenant.

References:

Hassell Pty Ltd. 1997. *Campbelltown Neighbourhood Improvement Program Strategic Plan*. Prepared for the NSW Department of Housing.

King, D. 1997. Not Just a Tourist with a Typewriter. In Tony Dingle (ed) *The Australian City - Future Past, the Third Australian Planning History/Urban History Conference, 11-14 December 1996, Melbourne*. Monash University: Melbourne.

Stubbs, Judy & Storer, John. 1996. *Social Cost Benefit Analysis of NSW Dept of Housing's Neighbourhood Improvement Program: Case Study Area: Airds*. NSW Dept of Housing. Liverpool.

Woodward, R. 1994. *Campbelltown Public Housing Estate Improvement Plans*. NSW Department of Housing Position Paper, South Western Sydney Region.

Water, Sewerage and Transport System Programs in Rio de Janeiro (1938-1996): The building of one segmented town

Professor Mauro Kleiman
IPPUR
Federal University of Rio de Janeiro
Rio de Janeiro CEP 21910-240
BRAZIL

We intend to present an evaluation of the implementation the modern water, sewerage and transport systems programmes in Rio from 1938 to 1996, which contribute to social-spacial struturing process of the city. It was through a research focusing a historic re-constitution, that we managed to study about 4700 networks which allowed for analisys of spacial-distribution, showing an unequal and discriminatory allocation by means of social-spacial.

1. Introduction - "Real network city" and "Off network city"
At the end of 1930's, modern water, sewerage and transport systems programmes are executed in Rio. That new systems intend to answer the necessities of urban-industrial accumulation pattern in linking of the elements that will be important to urban space (industry, trade, residential areas) through technics that allow to relate these elements, conveyling in a homogeneous way, the flux necessary to live (water and sewerage) and permit circulation by means transport system for people and goods.

By analyzing the implementation of sectorial programmes of water, sewerage, transport modern system in Rio, from 1938-1996, it was possible to reveal their unequal and discriminatory allocation that express into social-spacial segregation. In the parts of the city that correspond to high income segments and business center the adoption of the modern systems and in "favelas" and outskirt settlements were left with lack and/or deficiency of its systems and services. The gap between both parts is very wide, so that we can see an excludent urbanization pattern.

We could identify two main moments: the process of urbanization from urban infrastructure: the first correspond to the period of 1938 to 1965 and the second from 1966 to 1995. The first moment should be described as the period of implementation modern system, where allocates only these systems in areas of high and middle incomes, but the groups of low incomes, people that live in "favelas" and outlaw settlements are excluded when considered the point of view of the urbanistic regulamentation.

The second is characterized by consolidation, renovation, creation of new systems and technical improvements in areas that had already had a foundation, mainly in transport sector, but also in water supplying, widening the gap between poor and rich areas without supporting. So, inhabitants of these areas are left with no more than self building as alternatives through outlaw links, official water system, and the flow of sewerga by air ditches, or being supplied by left-over through water network manoeuvers. This situation start changing in the middle of 80's. But only by 1995 that consolidates one "bidirectional" movement. Following applications of resources that will be invested with high income but consolidate a new directions in different transport programmes and sanitation to low income segments, mainly to "favelas".

2. From 1938 to 1965 - Period of implementation the modern transport, water, sewerage: enclosure and unequality

This period is characterized by readjustment of urban structure faced changes in acumulation pattern in economy agrarian exporter to industrial. The city that has been supplied by partial and deficient systems, without capacity to answer the demand and absorb its growing, and reaching only some parts of the urban tissue, that will have a building of completed systems, with new technologies that come out a crack in the urban structure inherited from the ancient productive pattern. That networks will link with higher efficiency a large number of households and elements of the city, so attending not only areas that have already been served but also incorporating new areas that have not been reached. Therefore, the effort of adoption new systems only will cover the deficit that have already existed, but this effort can not follow the demographic growing and urban spread.

The implementation of new networks consist, in all moments, in solving questions of circulation through the building of transport systems that base on 55,7% of the total investments, instead of that essential to water network - 36% of the total - and sewerage network, with only 5,1% of the resources, with the rest 7,6% distributed in macro and micro drainage.

The news were brought from works will be a crack in city which has grown without articulation with areas that has been urbanized. This process show a single movement, intending to reach rich areas, but also middle and low incomes. As a result confirm, as all periods of urban history of Rio de Janeiro, larger investments in rich areas, South Zone and one part of North Zone, with 39,5% of the investments; and 27,9% in CBD. But notice that a spread of infrastructure in poor areas (traditional suburbs) correspond to 21,2%. However, the spread of the networks doesn't reach the lowest segments that live in "favelas", showing lack of infrastructure. Besides a large part of the outskirt settlements that explode into a higher growing in Baixada Fluminense and West Zone, where only some nucleus, surround train stations, have deficient attending.

In this period is adopted higher technics and advanced equipment related to lack resource that has already existed and to income pattern of the population of an underdeveloped country. This pattern between 1938-1965, only left to be a project and become works and networks in the second half of 1950's, but only at the end of the period 1960-1965 it is possible to see one structured city. The pattern show visible results in water systems (three high capacity ditches are built, where Guandu is dug in rock); while transport system, although the works that have been great impact in a city, considering its size and complexity, were partially executed.

3. From 1965 to 1996 - The statement of "Real network city" from the enclosure to spread urbanized space.

In the period 1965-1996, Rio passed through a new readjustment accumulation pattern based on the production of durable consumption goods, leaded by automobile industry, making the cities sites of reproduction and consumption of these goods. This period marks the strong government intervention to urban question, by means housing, sanitation, transport policies over its traditional and regulation actions with

effects in the cities, which the form of subsidized service was replaced by another worthier one.

The goals of the investments were related to solve difficulties in circulation, as the period 1938-1965, proceeding the building of high capacity transport systems with investments of 69% of the total. However, with a constitution of the Sanitation Financing System articulated to the Housing Financing System, the water and sewerage systems that had started a movement of implementation, now present increase in investments - 21% for water and 9% for sewer - although this difference of increasing, both have a pattern of sophisticated and complex techniques.

The change of direction of the implementations of completed networks in poor areas will replace the network manoeuvres. The water system will reach at the first time, in this new way to Baixada Fluminense, with 34% of the invested total and improve the suburbs supply that received 50% of the resources, although the sewerage system reach the suburbs with 21,4% of the total; but still rarely Baixada Fluminense received 12,5% of the resources, and the South Zone with 29% do total and a new extension of the city - Barra da Tijuca - that is benefitted wiht 26,5% of the total. The transport system are mainly directed to west and suburbs with 54,8% of the total and West Zone with 18,7%, being Baixada benefitted by the building of an express way that increases its acessibility - the Linha Vermelha that attend to South Zone interests that keep in some moments with expressive investments (9,9% do total in this period), so as another area of the spread of rich segments - Jacarepaguá - with 9,1% of the total.

4. Conclusion - the spread of networks to poors: displacement and re-interpretation of budgets and interests.

Since 1995, the phenomenon of the urban infrastructure networks spread to poor areas tend to consolidate. Our hipothesis is that occurs a single movement in the relationships between urban ifrastructure systems and urbanization. That movement has a double simultaneous character: Keeping the pattern of circle causes with spread, renovation and sophisticated networks in rich areas, but now, with a tendency of intensification in its spread areas - new transport systems and, mainly water and sewerage systems for Barra and Recreio but there is also the single emergency of integrated policies of the network spread - transport, water, sewerage networks articulated to the garbage service - to the low income segments, reaching excluded areas such as "favelas" and outskirt areas in Baixada Fluminense where there was a lack and/or deficiency of its systems and services.

We believe that the spread of water sewerage and transport networks to popular areas don't relate to expressed attending of its demand-lack, but a displacement and re-interpretation that intend to get three issues of urban infrastructure network policies: the reproduction of the productive system promoting the accumulation process through banishment of difficulties to production and circulation; and capital reproduction link to urban accumulation - real-estate and constructors and only in last case the reproduction of workforce through attend to living necessities.

In an intra-urban level, these displacement and re-interpretation intend to take over some territories by the State in different plans, as economic, trying to integrate areas

and populations to formal-tributary economy, social control and drug traffic; in a politic plan try to get electoral colleges for proposals that are identificated with neoliberal ideas, reconquering from left-populist parties (Brizolismo) and left-modernized (Workers Party); and in the real-estate plan spreading surrounding areas. As we can see, this situation reveal a governmental interventation in a spread of urbanized areas, considering that the infrastructure is the motion of some gratuitousness that will be appropriated by the market.

So we face a deviation from the "circle causes pattern" that characterizes the brazilian urbanization pattern, that was expressed in Rio de Janeiro where the investments "pushed" new investments becoming rich areas more richer. The urbanization pattern seems to modify its design adding a "double-hand", but not its content, that when is displaced to poor areas, and so, re-interpreted this logic and interests comented above.re-interpreted this logic and interests comented above.

References

AMAR, G. (1987) "Concept de réseaux, concept de système", *Methamorphoses de la ville*, Economica, Paris.

COING, H. (1982) "Les services urbains revisités", *Servicios Urbano en America Latina*, Ed. Redes, Santiago.

DUPUY, G. (1985) *Systèmes, réseaux et territoires*, Press d'Ecole Nationale des Pontes et Chaussées, Paris.

_____ (1981) "Pour un génie urbain problematique", *Les Annales de la recherche urbain*, n° 13, Dunod, Paris.

_____ (1984) "Ville, systèmes et réseaux le role historique des techniques urbaines", *Les Annales de la recherche urbaine*, n° 23/24, Dunod, Paris.

KLEIMAM, Mauro. (1994) *De Getúlio a Lacerda: um "rio-de-obras" transforma a cidade do Rio de Janeiro. As obras públicas de infra-estrutura urbana na construção do "Novo Rio" no período de 1938-1965*, Tese de doutoramento, FAU/USP, São Paulo.

The role of boundaries in Louis Kahn's theory of architecture and the city

Dr Peter Kohane
Faculty of the Built Environment
University of New South Wales
Sydney NSW 2052
Australia

The paper analyses drawings made by Louis Kahn for an exhibition on cities, titled "City/2", held at the Philadelphia Museum of Art between June 1971 and January 1972. The exhibition demonstrated ways of improving the public environment. While I will refer to two of Kahn's drawings of cities, my focus is an interior view. This was Kahn's most significant statement of the role of boundaries in all built forms, from an intimate room, to the streets of a city, to the city in its totality. It is therefore worthy of consideration as a key to understanding his theory of architectural and urban space.

In Kahn's drawing of 1971, 'The Room', two people are conversing while seated beside a fire and a window. The fire contained by the hearth is a symbol of human gathering and interaction, its warmth and inward focus emphasised by the contrast with a view of trees in the cold outside. The human figures are clothed, not only by their garments but by a room with a thick wall and a vaulted roof supported by ribs forming a robust frame. The surrounding trees have a further protective function: they delimit external space, providing another boundary to enhance the sense of enclosure. By closing distant views through the window, Kahn re-directs attention to the seated conversants.

Such an emphasis on the figures sheltered by their medieval-like interior reveals hitherto little understood dimensions of his work. The most important is the analogy between the human body and architecture. This topic was introduced by Kahn in 'The Room' as a fresh insight, a necessary complement to his well-known lectures, essays and didactic drawings which, since the early 1950's, spoke of a Platonic order represented in the geometric purity of the plan and unadorned surfaces defined by light. In 'The Room', the underlying order persists but forms like the window, columns and ribs of the vault exhibit a scale, plasticity and even complexity that derive quite explicitly from the presence of the human figures.

The human presence imparts a vitality to 'The Room' which has captivated scholars and architects, ensuring that it is the best known, if not the best understood, of the various drawings Kahn made during his career specifially to explain his theory. The earliest of such didactic illustrations was the 1944 *esquisse* for a modern cathedral in welded tubular steel. Medieval architecture was reinterpreted to defend a majestic structural solution, but one unrelated to themes of delimited space or the body. Kahn's defense of the room was outlined in the drawings of the First Unitarian Church which he published in a 1959 issue of *Progressive Architecture*. A diagram of the idea of the church and clearly delineated plans composed of discete rooms were all that Kahn required to annunciate his alternative to modern conceps of the free-plan and universal space. This key argument was restated at different scales in several didactic drawings combining image and text from around 1971. These varied from the intimacy of 'The

Room' to the grandeur of a walled town, 'The City'. In another, streets defined by the facades of buildings are external rooms enjoyed by citizens. Figures are included but are picturesque additions to an empty space when compared to the way the conversants are situated beside the simarlarly scaled and configured built forms of 'The Room'.

Thus, 'The Room' reiterates the well-established concept of bounded space by introducing the topic of the body. The text notes that 'Architecture comes from the Making of a Room' and a plan is '[a] society of rooms...' While this had been established in the First Unitarian Church drawings, 'The Room' fleshes out the argument: the interior is theatrical, full of life, its inhabitants shown at ease by the fire. Kahn chose the perspective to demonstrate what now emerges as central to his theory, the human body.

Although not at centre stage, the conversants are nonetheless the focus of attention: we first look to them and then their surroundings. This accords with a design strategy where the body is represented in several facets of the interior, most significantly, the window and the thick wall into which it is cut, the robust ribs and columns, overall proportions and even evocations of warmth and cold.

The body is defined in 'The Room' through a textual and visual rendering of the figures. The former introduces two human faculties. The interior is deemed 'the place of the mind' prior to the statement that '[i]n a small room one does not say what one would in a large room'. A particular room is therefore the setting for a distinct human presence conceived initially in terms of the powers of the intellect and then the voice. For Kahn, the inner mental activity motivates the physical articulation of speech. Another dimension of action is then depicted in visual form, through the gestures and postures of the two figures. The conversants are clearly individualised. The one to the left is sketched in a more vigorous manner and sits erect with arm outstretched to suggest that he or she is forcefully speaking. This animated person is closest to the hearth, an appropriate spatial relationship given Kahn's interpretation of fire as a source of inspiration. The other figure leans forward, resting an arm on the cool window cill, to intently listen or add comment.

Having characterised these two people by their unique powers of mind, voice and bodily movement, Kahn addressed the activity which unites them, conversation. This takes place between two participants where, as he notes on the drawing, ' [t]he vectors of each meet'.

Kahn most vividly conveys this difference and the unity that results from interaction in the complex form of the window. The two figures are embraced by the zone of the window. He effects this with the outline of the window and, more directly, with a pervasive plasticity of form. Regarding the latter, the seats and the deep reveals and cill of the window together make a comfortable setting that is experienced in a direct, tactile manner. This intimate involvement is emphasised by the way the figures touch the cill, feeling the space of the window frame and concomitantly, the surrounding thickness of the wall and vault. The body's understanding and appreciation of the wall stems from the fact that both carry weight.

With the body related to the chairs and window frame through the sharing of the qualities of solidity and weight, Kahn further binds the conversants to one another. While they sit face to face, he carefully encloses them within the over-arching outline of the window. To appreciate this, one must first note that although the left conversant appears in perspective to the left of the opening, he or she is actually seated like the other figure, in front of and by the edge of the window. The left person's erect back is echoed in the left side of the opening, while the curved back as well as the head of the other figure are restated in the way the window frame curves up to the head-like top. The visual language of bodily gesture and posture has been transposed into the more abstract language of the window's shape, all the while preserving the underlying individuality of the two conversants. The distinct personal characteristics were surely important to Kahn who, no doubt aware of Robert Venturi's concept of the 'difficult whole', felt that the bringing together of dissimilar, rather than equal parts, would effect a more complex and profound unity. Because the window not only exhibits the forms of the two bodies but has a single form that links them, it is an apt and compelling symbol of that interpersonal and unifying activity, conversation.

The overall room is like the window in that it embraces the two figures and can be seen as another, albeit more general, symbol of conversation. The connection between the window and room is developed quite literally out of the right conversant's curved back-bone. The curve links the body to the window as well as the rib which rises to its right to help support and articulate the vault. This repetition sets up a relationship with the conversants, the space where they sit beside the opening in the thick wall and the larger domain of the room. The intimate space of the window frame is thus linked to, and set within, the larger space articulated by the frame of structural ribs. Both frames represent the body. The robust, sculptural ribs even seem to embody the vigour and strength of the back-bone of the right figure. They arch upwards to define the vault's hemispherical shape, the perfect classical form appropriate to the ideal order of the mind, the physical form of the body and Kahn's account of conversation. 'The Room' therefore represents the human body, its strength as well as its form and powers of mind, speech and conversation.

The body's presence can also be identified in the column or columns to the left which support the load of a rib. Although the drawing is difficult to decipher here, it is possible to distinguish the outline of one stocky, tapered column where the line of the shaft continues virtually unbroken into first one projection and then another, suggesting a strange overscaled capital. With this, Kahn betrays a greater sympathy with the ancient Vitruvian anthropomorhised orders than modern structural principles. Kahn's strategy, however, does not involve the imitation of of classicism's canonic works but rather a free interpretation of various buildings including the so-called primitive Greek buildings like the Temple of Apollo at Corinth which he drew in 1951. The drawing focuses on the robust order, a quality conveyed in the powerful breadth and animated profile of the capital. It is this perception of a life-like energy in the ancient example that informs 'The Rooms' column with its equally dynamic capital.

Kahn's understanding of the body and space can be related to Vitruvius and ancient architecture as well as their interpretation in the Renaissance. He studied Roman buildings and knew of Vitruvius and Renaissance theorists through their treatises or current books recommended to him, including Rudolf Wittkower's *Architectural*

principles in the age of humanism (1949). This book was surely important to Kahn for its inclusion of Renaissance illustrations, including Leonardo's centrally planned church designs and the 'Vitruvian man', which inscribed the ideal human figure within the circle and square. Along with his knowledge of the geometric order of the Pantheon, such drawings influenced 'The Room' and Kahn's designs, most obviously the use of the circle and square in the central hall of the Phillips Exeter Academy Library (Exeter, 1965-72). Here the geometric forms invoke their source, the human figure.

Kahn may also have been intrigued by the classical analogy between the body and the orders, reworking this when imaginatively interpreting a column as a cylinder of congealed light and perhaps even a light-filled room sheltering an inhabitant. While critical of the Roman and later applications of a non-structural order to a structural wall, Kahn valued the free-standing Greek column as a logical structural member which paradoxically could also be a source of light. Indebted to occult ideas like those outlined in theosophical writings, his drawing of the Temple of Apollo at Corinth has columns which are solid yet also vessels of light. The light is a source of energy which plays havoc with the columns, transforming their once precise, elegant contours into expressionist, flame-like jagged lines. This dematerialization of the column can be related to a parallel, but more prosaic, notion of Kahn's, the modern technological capacity to construct a hollow column. His 1959 sketches of Albi Cathedral in France reconfigured the heavy columnar buttresses as open light-filled ones.

Hollow columns were also important to Kahn's design work. The Mikveh Israel Synagogue project (Philadelphia, 1961-72) has columns filled with light, while at the Bathhouse for the Jewish Community Center (Trenton, ca. 1957) , square columns functioned as the four 'servant spaces'. Perceived in accordance with Kahn's hierarchy of rooms, the hollow, light-filled column could also be a 'served space' dedicated to an array of important human activities. In this sense, his room drawing can be likened to the classical conception of the column, particularly as vividly encapsulated in Francesco di Giogio's sixteenth century drawing of a female figure standing inside an open ionic column. Kahn would have known this illustration of the proportions of the body determining those of the column because it appeared in Wittkower's *Architectural principles*. In both 'The Room' and the Renaissance hollow column, a human presence is located within its ideal container. While the analogy between body and column is less explicit in Kahn's sketch, his two people are nevertheless engaged in a distinct activity which could be deemed to have a 'qualitative proportion', one represented in the proportions of the containing room.

Kahn was continuing a theoretical tradition where the human body is conceived as a type worthy of representation in built form. For theoreticians like Vitruvius, Leoni Battista Alberti and Antoine Chrysostome Quatremère de Quincy, the body was most significantly impressed upon a building through its classical order. Kahn chose to transform their column and employ his version, the room, as the equivalent fundamental element in design. Like the solid column, Kahn's hollow one is an order, a distillation of the human body or its action.

His philosophy of 'form' and 'design', later recast as 'Silence' and 'Light', is relevant to such an interpretation of the body and the room. 'Silence' comprised the idea, that is, the type of the human body in action. Although Kahn did not use the word action, it

can be seen as the outcome of what he termed the human desires to meet, learn and attain a state of well-being. 'Design', which devised the appropriate setting for a human desire or action, involved making both structure and light. The interrelationship between these was addressed in the text of 'The Room' which concludes a discussion of light entering a room by stating that 'the sun never knew how great it was until it struck the side of a building'. In the interior, the wall often disappears with the result that light reveals and is revealed by the vault and, more obviously, the frame of ribs and columns. As the primary source of light, the frame best represents the idea of the room, that is, the body in action.

Kahn brought together distinct strands of theory in this drawing. The two figures engaged in conversation were situated in an ideal setting, the room. While the emphasis on human action as a type derived from ancient and Renaissance treatises, he reinterpreted medieval frame work structure to shape and articulate space. 'The Room' addressed the complex relationships between human action, structural systems and bounded space. It illustrates Kahn's refusal to abstract structure from space, and both from the human body, a theoretical position still relevant to our present debates.

HISTORIOGRAPHY OF URBAN PLANNING IN INDIA

Dr. ASHOK KUMAR
Department of Physical Planning, School of Planning and Architecture, New Delhi - 110002, India.

1. INTRODUCTION

India completes a century of modern town planning in 1998. It was exactly a hundred years ago that the first town planning authority, then known as the Bombay Improvement Trust, was established under the Bombay Improvement Act 1898. What was the need to establish another local authority in Bombay just in three years after the establishment of the Municipal Corporation of Bombay in 1885? An answer to this question forms the first part of this paper. It is argued that the creation of improvement trusts, like everything else during those days, consolidated the power of the British Government of India.

One of the major impacts of the colonial town planning movement is not the building of Civil Lines, Cantonments and new capital towns such as New Delhi, but the establishment of an unique and enduring town planning system. This system primarily manifested itself in centralised command and control system of institutions and discriminatory statutes. This is the second theme of this paper. In the third part of this paper, it is contended that the town planning system created as a part of the colonial project has been perpetuated by the successive sovereign Indian governments which has resulted in the creation of identical statutes, institutions, planning instruments and planning outcomes.

2. THE COLONIAL PLANNING MOVEMENT

The first town planning authority namely the Bombay Improvement Trust came into existence exactly hundred year ago under the Bombay Improvement Act 1898 (Sivaramakrishnan, 1978 : 103). The next fifty years leading upto the birth of the sovereign Indian state witnessed a large number of improvement trusts in major towns and cities (Government of India, 1988 : 245, also see Table 1). Since after the local elections, Indians became members of the municipal corporations, land development works could not be entrusted to municipalities. Thus a newly created Municipal Corporation of Bombay was deprived of its legitimate function of development works. The British Government of India obviously did not trust the Indian councillors and officials. Bishop Lifroy, for example, noted that Indians "make bad use of [authority], employ their authority to annoy their personal enemies, and use the staff of the municipality to carry out their private affairs" (Gupta, 1981 : 121). Therefore, "capital development works could not be entrusted to the local self government ... which they handed over to Indian politicians (Rosser 1971: 80). As the Bombay Improvement Trust ran into financial difficulties after the First World War due to decrease in demand of developed plots, it was abolished and merged with the Bombay Municipal Corporation in 1933 (Town Planning and Valuation Department of Maharashtra , 1965 : 11). While the Bombay Improvement Trust was abolished in 1933, two years later two new trusts for Delhi and Nagpur were created. According to Balachandaran (1993 : 35) out of 14 improvement trust acts enacted in the country before and after independence, six statutes have

been repealed. This clearly suggests that a major part of the legislative machinery still remains intact and there is every likelihood of its future use.

Table 1. Improvement Trusts, 1898 - 1949

Serial Number	Name of Improvement Trust	Year of Establishment
1.	Bombay Improvement Trust	1898
2.	Mysore Improvement Trust	1903
3.	Calcutta Improvement Trust	1911
4.	Kanpur Improvement Trust	1911
5.	Nagpur Improvement Trust	1937
6.	Delhi Improvement Trust	1937
7.	Bangalore Improvement Trust	1945
8.	Madras Improvement Trust	1949

Source : Raj (1978 : 322 - 340); Meshram and Bansal (1993 : 1).

The colonial town planning movement in India which started during the period between 1898 and 1915 as a colonial government led civic design exercise, became an integral part of the British colonial project. This project led to the division of India into two distinct parts "Anglostan, the land especially ruled by the English, in which English investments have been made and Hindustan, practically all India fifty miles from each side of the railway lines" (Digby, 1901 : 291-292). Whereas India represented new technology, economic well being, planned physical spaces and above all dominance, the Hindustan was believed to be primitive, chaotic and dependent on India. The colonial city in India was used to perpetuate this dichotomy (Nehru, 1962). The exclusive areas such as the cantonments and civil lines were created in the various cities and towns for the White and Brown Babus. In Delhi Civil Lines "Indians were not allowed to own land" (Gupta, 1981 : 59). Nonetheless, the new global colonial capital movement, which also resulted in the building of New Delhi in the early parts of this century, further established the desired authority and order needed to rule the natives. All in all "British civil servants commissioned plans that would express dominance and racial exclusiveness" (Hall, 1988 : 175, also see Said, 1993). Implications of the colonial town planning movement are aptly noted by Jawaharlal Nehru in his autobiography :

> Most Indian cities can be divided into two parts : the densely crowded city proper and the widespread area with bungalows and cottages, each with a fairly extensive compound or garden usually referred to by the English as the "Civil Lines". It is in these Civil Lines that the English officials and businessmen, as well as many upper middle class Indians, professional men, officials etc. live. The income of the municipality from the city proper is greater than that from the civil lines, but expenditure on the latter far exceeds the city expenditure. For the far wider area covered by the Civil Lines requires more roads, and they have to be repaired, cleaned up, watered, and lighted; and the drainage, the water supply and the sanitation system have to be more widespread. The city part is always grossly neglected, and, of course, the poorer parts of the city are almost ignored and it has few good roads, and most of the narrow lanes are ill-lit and have no proper drainage or sanitation system (Nehru, 1962 : 143 - 144).

On the other hand, Bradnock argues that the physical spaces in the colonial cities were not created for mere segregation of the colonised and colonisers but they were "organised according to the principles of mid-nineteenth century medical science and architectural technology and fashion. Buildings were widely spaced and set in open grounds to avoid the risk of disease spreading" (Bradnock, 1984 : 26). One could further argue that the construction of New Delhi was not so much an attempt at segregation as it was an effort at separating the colonial masters from

unhealthy areas. Plague epidemic was rather common in Old Delhi during those days particularly in Shahzahanabad area. If this were to be an attempt at segregating the British from the natives, the British could have segregated themselves from the south of Delhi and villages as well. That did not happen. On the contrary, some of the villages were included in New Delhi. Eminent historian noted that "The site around the village of Raisina was suitable for reasons of health, for its proximity to the river, for its undulating land and the many sites of archaeological interest. It was near the area chosen for the cantonment, the cost of land was low and there were no business interests who would have to be displaced" (Gupta, 1981 : 178 - 179).

In the second phase of the colonial town planning movement : 1915 - 1948, major pieces of town planning legislation were adopted in India. For example the Bombay Town Planning Act 1915, United Provinces Town Planning Act 1919, Madras Town Planning Act 1920 and the Punjab Town Planning Act 1922 were enacted (Meshram and Bansal, 1997 : 40). Further, the Central Urban and Regional Planning Organisation (now known as TCPO) in the Ministry of Health was established on the recommendations of the Health Survey and Development Committee led by Sir Joseph Bhore (Rame Gowda, 1997; also see Government of India, 1946). Nonetheless, these planning laws gave birth to planning organisations including improvement trusts which were not accountable to the people.

What began as government led civic design exercise resulted in the making of a grand political statement of colonial authority and order. The main reason for this to happen was that political processes of decision making formed integral part of town building. Products of these planning instruments were able to establish authority and order in contrast to Indian cities which were apparently the result of chaotic urbanisation process. The colonial consolidation of 1857-1914 created "several physically imposing buildings [which] were constructed as institutional symbols of power" (Drakakis-Smith, 1987 : 21). The people of India, however, simply could not relate to these physical forms (King, 1976).

3. AUTHORITY FOR DEVELOPMENT AND IMPROVEMENT

Even today colonial practices prevail in Indian planning practice and management of cities. Let us take the case of New Delhi to illustrate the point. Anti aircraft guns protect the important buildings of New Delhi. Most of the Rashtrapati Bhawan is out of bounds for the public. Although, King contends that India has been able to develop her institutions which are more or less independent of colonial interpretations (King, 1976 : 279), evidence points to the contrary. Appointed planning institutions have sprung up in almost all the cities. Out of 300 cities of population 100,000 and more, India has been able to establish development authorities in 150 cities (Gupta, 1997a : 45 - 46). Effectively every second city has a development authority in urban India. Whereas Delhi became the first city to get a development authority (see Table 2), development authorities in other mega cities were established during the first half of 1970s.

Development authorities can be classified into four broad categories (Balachandaran, 1993 : 38). Single city development authorities such as Chennai Metropolitan Development Authority. These authorities are city -centred development authorities. The second set of development authorities is called areawide authorities. There is another form of development authorities which are established under the existing town and country planning legislation. Fourthly, those development authorities such as the Haryana Urban Development Authority which have statewide jurisdiction. These could be called state development authorities. These authorities provide most centralised

organisational structure for development. This trend of centralised planning regimes continues. For example, the Punjab Urban Planning and Development Authority was established by the state of government as recently as 1995 (Gupta, 1997b : 124). Madhya Pradesh has also established a similar centralised planning authority at state level (Meshram and Bansal, 1995). Strangely this is happening at a time when Government of India has made 73rd and 74th amendment to the Constitution of India in 1992 in order to decentralise decision making processes through the establishment of elected local governments in urban and rural areas.

Table 2. Mega Development Authorities for Mega Cities of India

Name of the City	Name of the Development Authority	Year of Establishment	Executive Head	Jurisdiction	Area (sq. km)	Functions of a Development Authority	Main Planning Instrument
Delhi	Delhi Development Authority	1957	Vice - Chairperson (IAS officer)	Union Territory of Delhi	1,483	Planning and Development	Master Plan
Calcutta	Calcutta Metropolitan Development Authority	1970	Chairperson (IAS Officer)	Calcutta Metropolitan District	1,413	Planning and Development	Master Plan
Chennai (Madras)	Chennai Metropolitan Development Authority	1973	Vice - Chairperson (IAS officer)	Chennai Metropolitan Region	1,162	Planning and Development	Master Plan
Mumbai (Bombay)	Mumbai Metropolitan Regional Development Authority	1975	Chairperson (IAS Officer)	Mumbai Metropolitan Region	4,400	Planning and Development	Master Plan

Source : Sivaramakrishnan and Green (1986 : 119 - 170 and 220 - 244); Datta and Chakravarty (1981 : 15 - 27 and 30 - 38).

Like improvement trusts, most of the development authorities are appointed bodies managed by the senior officers of the Indian Administrative Service (IAS). The internal environment including organisational structures, planning instruments and processes of these planning organisations are such that public participation is impossible. Let us elaborate on this point. A township called Papankala, designed to accommodate one million people in an area of 5,650 hectare, was developed between mid 1980s and mid 1990s by the Delhi Development Authority without any public participation whatsoever (Singh, 1989 : 79). Further, according to a noted civil servant who himself worked for many years in development authorities noted that the jurisdiction of these authorities is often wider than the municipality and they also perform certain municipal functions. "Authorities control large areas vested in them through land acquisition. Development authorities are not funded through local taxes but sale of land and properties" (Buch, 1989 : 46). If there is any difference between the improvement trusts and development authorities, it is the fact that development authorities cover much larger geographical areas and population than improvement trusts. This difference only underscores the fact that the present planning institutions which are similar in character to colonial institutions have become more widespread. Thus development authorities represent an extension of colonialism.

Furthermore, the view that the elected civic bodies such as municipal corporations could not perform well has been held strongly by state as well as central government after independence. Establishment of appointed development authorities both by centre as well as state governments clearly underscores the belief in centralised planning. Speaking on the golden jubilee of the Town Planning and Valuation Department of Maharashtra, the Minister of Urban Development noted :

The existing civic bodies like the municipal committees or corporations elected on democratic basis often find it difficult to tackle all the problems in an efficient and firm manner. It therefore becomes necessary to think of other agencies ... [such as] improvement trusts - free from political controversies and popular pressures ... (Town Planning and Evaluation Department of Maharashtra, 1965 4 - 5).

4. MASTER TOOLS OF MASTER CRAFTSMEN : a post - colonial scenario

In India, the process of master plan making was preceded by town planning schemes. Town planning schemes were generally prepared by the improvement trusts. A shift from town planning schemes to master plan making began after 1947. The first exercise in master planning was carried out in late 1950s leading to the enforcement of the Master Plan for Delhi in 1962 (Kambo, 1983 : 21). The Master Plan for the City of Bombay was taken up in 1956. But the plan could be only approved in 1967 (Ansari, 1994 : 13). The whole process of preparing the Master Plan for the City of Bombay took more than 10 years. More particularly, the period between 1961 and 1980 has been marked as the period of master plan making when the work to prepare master plans for Madras, Allahabad, Hyderabad, Kanpur, Lucknow and Pune also started (Kulshrestha, 1997 : 58). However, it took some 15 years before these plans could be prepared and enforced. Government of India gave another big push during the Third Five Year Plan when it offered "100 percent assistance to the states for the preparation of master plans of selected cities" (Nagpaul, 1988 : 275). At present 1,200 cities and towns have master plans which still leaves more than 2,000 urban settlements without master plans.

Like town planning schemes master plans also have colonial roots. The philosophy of dominance, order and authority has been the hallmark of these instruments. Public involvement is found wanting. Although the master plans were prepared by Indian planning authorities these plans invariably involved international donors such as the World Bank, the Ford Foundation etc. For example, in the preparation of the Master Plan for Delhi, the Ford Foundation and many American planners were closely involved. The Basic Development Plan for Calcutta (1966-86, published in 1966) was prepared jointly by the Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Organisation, the World Health Organisation and the United Nations Technical Development Programme (Calcutta Metropolitan Planning organisation 1966, Chatterjee, 1981). Similarly, Structure Plan for Madras (submitted in 1971 and approved in 1973) was prepared entirely by the British private company Allen Turner and Associates. Qadeer views this process of post - colonial plan making as "a case of supply creating its own demand" (Qadeer, 1988 : 65) whereby dependence on imperial techniques and expertise is maintained in the long run. This process of dependence continues unabated. For example, more recently the National Commission on Urbanisation (1988) has recommended a three tier system of plans similar to the now defunct English system of urban structure, local and action area plans in spite of the fact that the development plan making system has some inherent limitations which need to be overcome. For example, how to keep long policy perspectives of 15-20 years upto date since periodic modifications have failed to update them. Further, plans often become to broad based and sketchy at best as far as the formulation of policies is concerned. Then the system of plan making remains incomplete as the lower level plans such as the Zonal Plans (as in the case of Delhi) and Functional Plans (as in the case of Calcutta) are not prepared for a majority of the geographical area of a city. The system of constant monitoring, feedback and redirection and, modifications are few and piecemeal as long procedural delays discourage substantive modifications. Plans pretend to create (read manufacture) consensus when none exists in real life situations.

One wonders whether an historic opportunity has been lost. After 1947 two responses were possible : extension of colonial structures or development of participatory mechanisms. Government of India chose to perpetuate colonial structures. In order to continue to imitate the imperial powers, Government of India is now beginning to propose decentralised structures for local governance including town and country planning.

REFERENCES

Ansari, J.H. (1994) Evolution of Planning in India, an unpublished paper, SPA, New Delhi.

Balachandran, M.K. (1993) The Pattern and Progress of Town Planning Legislation in India, a critical review, Journal of the Institute of Town Planners, India, Vol.11, No.4(154), pp.33-42

Bradnock, R.W. (1984) Urbanisation in India, John Murray Publishers Limited, London.

Buch, M.N. (1989) 'Rationalising Management of Urban India', in Singh, P. and Dhamija, R. (eds.) Delhi the Deepening Urban Crisis, Sterling Publishers Private Limited, New Delhi.

Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Organisation (1966) Basic Development Plan for the Calcutta Metropolitan District, 1966 - 1986, CMPO, Calcutta.

Chatterjee, M. (1981) Calcutta Development - why is it divorced from planning process, SPA Journal, Vol.3, pp.18-32.

Digby, W. (1901) "Prosperous" British India, London.

Drakakis - Smith, D. (1987) The Third World City, Methuen, London.

Datta, A. and Chakravarty, B. (1981) Organising Metropolitan Development, Centre for Urban Studies, IIPA, New Delhi.

Government of India (1946) Report of the Health Survey and Development Committee, Government of India Press, New Delhi.

Government of India (1962) Town and Country Planning in India, Ministry of Health, New Delhi.

Government of India (1988) Report on the National Comission on Urbanisation, Vol. V, Government of India Press, New Delhi.

Gupta, N. (1981) Delhi between Two Empires 1803 - 1931, society, government and urban growth, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

Gupta, R.C. (1997a) Management of Urban Development Issues and Imperatives, 46th NTCP Congress Mysore, ITPI, New Delhi.

Gupta, J.K. (1997b) Overview of Planning Laws and its Implications for Urban Development, 46th NTCP Congress Mysore, ITPI, New Delhi.

Hall, P. (1988) Cities of Tomorrow, An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design in the Twentieth Century, Basil Blackwell, London.

Kambo, B. (1983) Planning Education Research and Urban Development, A paper presented at the 31st annual seminar, ITPI, New Delhi.

King, A.D. (1976) Colonial Urban Development, Routledge and Kegaon Paul, London.

Kulshreshtha, S.K. (1997) Urban and Regional Planning Practice in Independent India : retrospect and prospects, 46th NTCP Congress Mysore, ITPI, New Delhi.

Meshram, D.S. and Bansal, R.P. (1993) Town and Country Planning Legislation - some basic issues, Journal of the Institute of town Planners, India, Vol.11, No.4(154), pp.1-9.

Meshram, D.S. and Bansal, R.P. (1995) Planning Legislation in the Context of 73rd and 74th Constitution Amendments - some thoughts, 73rd ATCP Seminar Hyderabad, ITPI, New Delhi.

Meshram, D.S. (1997) Urban Development Planning : agenda for action, 46th NTCP Congress Mysore, ITPI, New Delhi.

Nagpaul, H. (1988) 'India's Giant Cities', in Dogan, M. and Kasarda, J.D. (eds.) The Metropolis Era, Volume 1, a world of giant cities, Sage, London.

Nehru, J.L. (1962) An Autobiography, Allied Publishers, New Delhi.

Qadeer, M. (1988) "Planning in the Third World" in Western Universities, Ekistics, Vol.328-330, pp.64-68.

Raj, D. (1978) 'Million Cities of India : planning and administration', in Misra, R.P. (ed.) Million Cities of India, Vikas Publishers, New Delhi.

Rame Gowda, K.S. (1997) Urban and Regional Planning since Independence of India, 46th NTCP Congress, Mysore, New Delhi.

Rosser, C. (1971) Urbanisation in India, Ford Foundation, New Delhi.

Said, E. (1993) Culture and Imperialism, Vintage, London.

Singh, P. (1989) Delhi's Papankala Project : another urban tragedy in the making', in Singh, P. and Dhamija, R. (eds.) Delhi : the Deepening Urban Crisis, Sterling Publishers Private Limited, New Delhi.

Sivaramakrishnan, K.C. (1978) Indian Urban Scene, Indian, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla.

Sivaramakrishnan, K.C. and Green (1986) Metropolitan Management, the Asian Experience, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

Town Planning and Valuation Department of Maharashtra (1965) Town Planning in Maharashtra, 1914-1964 with special reference to new trends and future development, Government of Maharashtra, Bombay.

Learning from Twentieth Century Urban Design Paradigms: Lessons for the Early Twenty-first Century

Jon Lang
Faculty of the Built Environment
University of New South Wales
Sydney NSW 2052
Australia

Many academics, including myself, have argued strongly for urban designers to base their work on the accumulating abstract theoretical knowledge that the systematic research of the last five decades has yielded. Property developers, urban planners and architects, however, rely heavily on a relatively restricted set of design paradigms as the basis for urban design. These paradigms are regarded as exemplars of good practice. All indications are that most professionals will continue to eschew coming to an understanding of the field's emerging theoretical base and will continue to adapt the paradigms they know to the solving of urban design problems in specific contexts.

Two types of urban design paradigms can be identified: those that deal with the nature of good urban design patterns – substantive paradigms – and those that deal with the design process – procedural paradigms. This paper focuses explicitly on the former and implicitly on the latter. The use of paradigms has many implications for the design process but such an analysis falls outside the primary domain of concern here. This paper examines the nature of the set of substantive urban design paradigms that continue to hold sway in professional practice, their utility and limitations and suggests what needs to be done to make the set more user-friendly. They need to be user-friendly both in the sense of enhancing the professional's work and in the sense of providing more habitable environments for their inhabitants.

TWENTIETH CENTURY URBAN DESIGN PARADIGMS

Two major sets of substantive urban design paradigms were developed during the twentieth century. Those in the first set were consciously designed, primarily by architect-planners, in response to the conditions of the city they saw around them and/or predictions of how technological and social changes would, in turn, change the character of the world. Those in the second set have emerged as paradigms rather than being consciously designed as such. They have resulted from the simultaneous working of the market and the entrepreneurial skills of property developers. Often they are paradigms that professional urban designers and academic critics alike deride. They tend to be based on a different set of values than those espoused by architects and planners although, as time has progressed, the utility of these paradigms has now often been embraced by urban designers!

Professionally-designed paradigms

Calling a group of design paradigms 'professionally-designed' is a little misleading because a number have been proposed by people outside the traditional design disciplines. The set, nevertheless, has been developed by people with a major focus on design concerns. The paradigms in the set can be further divided into those that stem from the Empiricist intellectual tradition and those that stem from the Rationalist. One way to categorise all substantive paradigms is into three spatial groups: 1) models of city organisation and

transportation forms, 2) models of central city and/or small town centres, and 3) residential area designs. A fourth set can be added. Its members focus on single issues such as designing for climate, for transportation, for energy efficiency, for reducing the reliance on cars, environments for the elderly, etc. . . . . Each is considered independently with little attempt to synthesise them into wholes.

Almost all the paradigms of city form divide the city in an hierarchical manner. There are generally three or four levels in the hierarchy and the vocabulary tends to differ from model to model. One set of levels is city centre, districts, communities and neighbourhoods. This taxonomy fails to recognise that communities are social rather than geographic units. What distinguishes the Rationalist from the Empiricist paradigms is that they focus most clearly on the future based on assumptions and/or proposals for new technologies and new social orders. These orders are rationally argued for based on certain idealistic assumptions rather than on life experiences – on how the world *should* function rather than how it actually does. In developing their paradigms the Rationalists focused on eliminating problems they saw in the world around them. Often the baby was thrown out with the bath water. The Empiricists have relied heavily on past experiences and have focused on what has worked (or what they believe to have worked) in the past and the belief that if it was good in that past it should be repeated. As they replicate existing patterns, Empiricist paradigms have been more multi-dimensional than Rationalist, but this richness is not an inherent difference between the two.

The Rationalist tradition has provided two major analogies for the city and its development: 1) the city as a machine, and 2) the city as an organic living form. The former is explicit in the work of Le Corbusier and implicit in the Bauhaus models; the latter is exemplified by the thinking of the Metabolists in Japan. The Metabolists claim a higher moral integrity for their paradigms on the grounds that their analogy is more humane but their attitudes towards life and people's lives deviate little from other Rationalist thought. The Empiricists, from the Garden City movement of the first decades of the century to the New Urbanists of today have favoured the small country town as their ideal. The Rationalists have embraced modern technology including the automobile; the Empiricists have been drawn along.

A number of Rationalist city form models were developed during the century (see Broadbent 1990 and Lang 1994, amongst many other commentaries). They include the City for Three Million, and the Radiant City of Le Corbusier (Le Corbusier 1960). Rush City, designed by Richard Neutra, and Ludwig Hilbersheimer's work can be considered to be examples of Bauhaus thinking. Le Corbusier's schema received their application in Brasilia and, to a lesser, extent in the design of Chandigarh with which he himself was closely associated. The Metabolist line of thought is, perhaps, most closely associated with Kenzo Tange's proposal for Tokyo Bay. It has seen its greatest application at an architectural rather than an urban scale.

Empiricist and Rationalist concepts for city centres have much in common. The basic paradigm is that of the centre being a superblock surrounded by a ring road with structured carparks feeding off it and 'the streets' in the central area being only for pedestrians. The difference between the two lines of thought has to do with the scale of the built environment. The Empiricists proposed considerably lower buildings and a traditional (even revivalist) approach to architecture while the Rationalists had no fear of – indeed they embraced – high-rise buildings harnessing the latest in building technology. The basic paradigm has been widely used although, what might be regarded as the most ambitious plan – Victor Gruen's scheme for Fort Worth – has remained on the drawing board (Gruen 1964).

The advantages and disadvantages of the use and nature of twentieth century paradigms are very much inter-related. Indeed, the same characteristics of the paradigms have both advantages and limitations. Understanding these factors provides the basis for reconstruing the nature of any paradigms created for use in the first decades of the twentieth century.

Procedural concerns

At the outset of the paper, it was noted that the concern here is with substantive not procedural urban design paradigms. Nevertheless, the use of paradigms very much affects the way the design process is conducted. In the obverse, the nature of the design process very much affects the nature of the paradigms. It can be argued that the significant twentieth century paradigms have not been truly tested because they have been whittled away when applied. The various adaptations of Le Corbusier's Unité are spatially tighter and have fewer communal facilities than those in the Unité in Marseilles (Marmot 1981).

A generic procedural problem is fundamental. Designers tend to look at the existing world in terms of the paradigms. Problems are seen or remain unseen in terms of the paradigm. In doing this, both the brief writing/design and the built environment design phases of decision making are heavily truncated. This danger is not intrinsic to substantive paradigms but it does indicate that we have to rethink the manner in which their use during the design process is advocated.

For many professionals, design paradigms provide ready-made solutions to problems which they poorly understand and which they do not have time to fully explore. Paradigms enable them to make design decisions which they can hold up as being based on exemplars of good practice. In disputing the utility of paradigms, this aspect of their application needs to be considered. Their usefulness in practice, despite the up-and-down experience of their applications during the twentieth century, lends paradigms their continuing importance.

Substantive concerns

Both those paradigms that have been consciously designed and those that have emerged have proven to be successful in some applications and not in others. Many have met their users' needs very well and been economically viable in some applications while in other cases they have failed on one or other dimension. They have been viable when the problems addressed match those of the context in which they were applied. They have been considerably less successful when applied in cultural and climatic contexts for which they were not developed. This observation is particularly, but by no means uniquely, true of those paradigms proposed in the developed world and then imported into developing countries. More generally, what has seldom been understood is the social and political side-effects they have on the world around them.

This mixture of success and failure enables some generalisations to be made about all the paradigms developed during the twentieth century. No paradigm deals with the full richness of life for the variety of people that might inhabit a place. The model of the human being that has been adopted is, universally, a limited one. No paradigm is explicit about the circumstances in which it applies. We have simply expected too much of the paradigms when they are applied, perhaps because most have a strongly deterministic quality. They were supposed to shape the social behaviour of the people. Their authors (often highly esteemed)

In Europe, the Lijnbaan in Rotterdam and the Coventry city centre are mid-century examples of the application of the idea as those cities were rebuilt after the devastations of World War II. On a smaller scale, a widely used paradigm is that of the main street of a small town and suburban shopping district as a pedestrian mall. The two parallel streets on each side become one-way streets with the parking located off them. Passages then link parking lots to the mall. One estimate has been that there over two hundred applications of the paradigm in the United States alone. A considerable number of these malls have now been returned to vehicular traffic.

It is at the residential area scale that the ideas of the Empiricists and the Rationalists have diverged the most widely. The Neighbourhood Unit concept, as exemplified in the design of Radburn, New Jersey, is the Empiricist paradigm (revised into the pedestrian pocket concept in the 1980s) while the Unité d'Habitation is that of the Rationalists. Both have been widely applied across the world in adapted forms. The Radburn plan has been adopted in diverse environments, both socially and climatically. They include the British new towns, particularly the first generation, many post-independence company towns in India, and suburban development in Australia. Adaptations of Le Corbusier's Unité include many social housing schemes in France, the British Isles and the United States. Perhaps, the design is best exemplified by the housing in Brasilia and, even more so by the 23 De Enero development in Caracas. These schemes owe as much to Le Corbusier's Radiant City as his Unité.

Economically-determined paradigms

The second set of urban design paradigms consists of the urban and suburban forms that have resulted from the perceptions of entrepreneurs of how to seize on the property development opportunities provided by the flexibility of automobile transportation. The enclosed shopping mall of dumbbell design with its anchor stores at each end, the drive-in strip shopping street and the sprawling suburb itself exemplify the type. The argument for them is that they have been tested in the market place; people have chosen to use and/or inhabit them. The need is, however, also to understand the opportunity costs they have incurred.

These types of paradigms tend to evolve as market demands, including the cost of land in many locations, change. Major suburban shopping centres such as Newport Centre in Orange County, California are evolving into types not unlike that proposed in the Fort Worth plan of Victor Gruen. Old suburban downtowns in the United States, at least, are evolving into city centres, popularised under the title 'edge cities'. It is important for urban designers to understand how these paradigms have evolved because urban development, unless subsidised by governments or philanthropy, has to be profitable for developers.

THE UTILITY AND LIMITATIONS OF PARADIGMS

The application of existing paradigms has resulted in built environments which have been regarded by those who inhabit them as wonderful places in some cases and as miserable in others. For example, the Neighbourhood Unit, as exemplified in Radburn, has resulted in some environments which have been loved by their inhabitants and some which have proven to be culturally inappropriate (Brolin 1976). The Australian experience is especially salutary. Neighbourhoods based on the Radburn principles worked well for their original inhabitants but now inhabited by new comers, the once hospitable environments have become inhospitable without their layouts being changed. The same pattern affords both social and anti-social behaviour very well.

have been strong advocates for the paradigms they had developed and have often argued for them on social engineering grounds.

LOOKING AHEAD: PARADIGMS FOR THE EARLY TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

As long as urban designers are reluctant to draw their design solutions out of general empirical theoretical findings and a problem-oriented approach to the process of designing, paradigms will be an important part of their repertoire. Experiences with the application of paradigms during the twentieth century enables us to make two contradictory observations about the early part of the next. Firstly, changes in ways of life have, for the middle classes in the so-called western world, have had fewer consequences for the design of the environment than we are often wont to think, and secondly, that making predictions about future changes is fraught with difficulties. Ever since the development of ENIAC, predictions have been made about how new information technology will transform life styles. The changes, as Isaac Asimov recognised shortly before his death, have come much more slowly than observers predicted in the 1960s. It would, however, be foolhardy to think that the prolonged *status quo* will continue for ever. Any statement about the nature of the design paradigms needed for future practice must recognise the need for them to be robust – tolerant of change. Even if this is done, any claim for their utility beyond a generation ahead must constantly be challenged.

Rethinking the nature of the next-generation of paradigms

As the century comes to a close, the perception of the problems that should be addressed by urban designers has changed. If their goals at the beginning of the century were to bring a more salubrious life to the inhabitants of the cites of the 'dark satanic mills', and those at mid-century of how to improve transportation systems, they are now often narrowly to create a salubrious bio-genic environment. No existing paradigm deals with the full complexity of life nor can it, but we can do better than we have. While it is important to understand what each existing paradigm offers (i.e., to understand its affordances) in specific contexts, it is also important to heed the lessons of how to use paradigms in the designing process.

The substantive models need, in particular, to deal with cultural and climatic diversity – life as it is led in specific terrestrial environments. Procedural models need to be specific about how designers should recognise problems and the nature of urban development processes and the diversity of actors engaged in them. The normative procedural models which advocate empirical theory based, problem-solving modes of thought need to be reshaped to recognise that few design professionals have the desire or the confidence to work that way nor the ability to keep apace of current research. Substantive models therefore must keep apace.

There are two characteristics that all urban design paradigms for the future must possess. They must be multi-dimensional and it must be made clear what the problems and issues are that they do and do not address in what socio-cultural and terrestrial contexts. In this sense, the purposes they serve must be transparent in much the same way that Christopher Alexander has made the statements in his pattern language transparent – the problems they address and the logic of the pattern is fully expounded (Alexander, Ishakawa and Silverstein 1977).

What is needed is not only a greater range of paradigms on which urban designers can draw but richer paradigms. They must be multi-layered, following the morphological analysis approach developed by Fritz Zwicky in the 1940s (Zwicky 1948) and in much the way Bernard Tschumi used in the design of Parc de La Villette in Paris. What are required are more layers, each dealing with a specific issue/problem. Tschumi used three. Three may be sufficient for a park, but not for a city. Each layer would represent the interests of a particular segment of the population of concern and would be designed with a particular climatic and cultural environment in mind. Synthesising them into wholes is the creative task. With how many such layers can the human mind cope? Inevitably, putting the layers together into a single paradigm will lead to trade-offs between solving one problem well and another problem well. The trade-offs need to be made clear to those who use the paradigms. If we can achieve that end we shall have achieved much.

Conclusion

There is a tendency, when design ideas are perceived not to work well when applied to throw them out *in toto*. This action is foolhardy because the twentieth century paradigms, for all their warts, offer designers much. We need to recognise the problems they address and the nature and reasons for their successes. Where they have been unsuccessful, they need to be altered or refined or added on to based on the empirical evidence for their performance. Most professionals are on the firing line and have little time in which to redevelop the paradigms with which they work. It really is for the academic community to rework old paradigms and to generate and test new ones in the symbolic world prior to testing them in the 'real' world. What paradigms do and do not afford politicians, developers and users alike, needs to be clearly based on knowledge not hopes.

References

Alexander, Christopher, Sara Ishakawa and Murray Silverstein (1997). *A Pattern Language: Towns, Building, Construction*. New York: Oxford University Press,

Broadbent, Geoffrey (1990). *Emerging Concepts in Urban Space Design*. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold International.

Brolin, Brent (1976). *The Failure of Modern Architecture*. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold.

Gruen, Victor (1964). *The Heart of Our Cities*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Lang, Jon (1985). Problems, paradigms, architecture, city planning and urban design. *Journal of Planning Education 5, no 1: 26-27*.

---------- (1994). *Urban Design: The American Experience*. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold.

Le Corbusier (1960). *My Work*. London: The Architectural Press.

Marmot, Alexi (1981). 'The legacy of Le Corbusier and high rise housing.' *Built Environment 7, no. 2: 82-95*.

Zwicky, Fritz (1948). 'A morphological method of analysis and **construction**'. *Studies and Essays*. New York: Interscience.

The New Jersey State Plan: Exemplar of European Influence on Contemporary American Urban and Regional Planning?

Michael H. Lang and Michael Scheffler
Department of Urban Studies and Community Planning
Rutgers University
Camden, New Jersey 08102
USA

Recently, one of the most notable American examples of comprehensive regional planning occurred in this country's most densely populated state, New Jersey. This planning process yielded the new state development and redevelopment plan that was the product of many years of intensive professional effort informed by extensive community participation and outreach. Recently adopted, this plan is widely considered by many planning authorities to be one of the best state plans in the country. This paper will provide a broad look at the history of land use development and control in New Jersey. It will then outline the history of the development of the state plan and will make a close assessment of its overall goals and objectives. The European associations of the plans broad goals and objectives will be stressed.

New Jersey is one of most urbanized states in the United States and the most densely populated. While it has no cities of the first rank, it sits between New York City to the north and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania to the south. It does possess several old mid sized industrial cities such as Newark, Hoboken, Weehawken, New Brunswick, Paterson, Trenton and Camden. To this must be added an array of smaller industrial settlements that occur along old water based trade routes; settlements such as Riverside, Salem, Gloucester, Kearny and Shellpile. Of course these centers still exist and many have enjoyed something of a renaissance of late. But many such as Camden experienced the well known process of urban decline in the post W.W.II war era. As a result, they had to watch helplessly as the middle classes fled beyond their borders to the growing suburban communities which as a result of America's adherence to the doctrine of "home rule" used local zoning authority to develop as they liked, free of any regional land use planning controls.

The development of these suburban communities put New Jersey on the American planners map because, in many important respects, New Jersey led the way in modern suburban and eventually Edge city style development. It was just outside the city of Camden that James Rouse built his first covered mall in newly christened Cherry Hill, a community that today proudly boasts of its Edge city status as it seeks further investment. For many people, correctly or not, New Jersey invented suburban sprawl.[1].

As long as there was still enough open land left in the state, this approach worked tolerably well. Perrin, for instance, found considerable satisfaction with suburban low density development practices.[2] But it is also true that New Jerseyans are very concerned about the loss of farm land and rural areas to development. As a result, perhaps it is not surprising to learn that this most suburban of states has produced some of the most forward looking state and regional planning in the United States.

Two of these efforts, the New Jersey State Plan and the Pinelands Management Plan are germane to this analysis. This is because in different ways these two plans rely on traditional, European style, town and country planning practices: the former by establishing a clear policy of growth management based on the preservation of existing urban centers and the latter by providing a workable program of regional land use controls that supersede local zoning controls in a small but significant portion of the state's undeveloped lands.

In seeking an answer to the question regarding the inspiration for the thrust of the state plan, a two fold methodology was used. The first component was a content analysis of the state plan itself. The second component was a series of interviews with members of the original state planning committee who drew up the plan. They were asked a series of questions related to how the initial direction of the plan was established and the role played by the various committee members, outside consultants as well as other influences such as related planning initiatives in other states.

Perhaps the most important result of these interviews was the finding that there was a clear appreciation of the European underpinnings to the plan's primary feature; its call for the constraint of suburban sprawl and the maintenance of a clear hierarchy of hamlets, villages, towns and cities set in a protected natural environment. The plan refers to this hierarchy as "Communities of Place", a term that has come to be recognized as a shorthand name for the plan itself. Many of the respondents spoke of their feelings for European land use planning in general and for elements such as garden cities and green belts in particular.[3].

At present the state planning commission has no authority to impose its views on any locality, though it is urging localities to bring their local plans into some form of compliance with state wide goals. It was the experience of interwar sprawl that to a large degree prompted the British public to support strong planning legislation after W.W.II. It will be interesting to see if as the pressure mounts on New Jersey's fast disappearing undeveloped land, there will be sufficient public support to enable politicians to support a resort to Pinelands style regional land use controls on a statewide basis.

Notes

1 Garreau, J. 1991 *Edge city: Life on the New Frontier* New York: Doubleday

2. Perin, C. 1977 *Everything in its Place: Social Order and Land Use in America* Princeton: Princeton University Press

3. The New Jersey Planning Commission, 1991 Communities of Place: the Interim State Development and Redevelopment Plan for the State of New Jersey.

Making City Plan – Melbourne's Municipal Strategic Statement

Geoff Lawler
Manager Economic and Strategic Planning, City of Melbourne
200 Lt Collins St Melbourne 3001

Penelope Coombes
Managing Director, The People for Places and Spaces
Suite 12/Level 10 428 George St Sydney 2000

April 1998

The City of Melbourne has benefited from 25 years of comprehensive and creative municipal strategic planning for the city centre and its neighbourhoods. This planning has helped to create the Melbourne we enjoy today - a City which has been described as one of the world's most livable and which has received major awards, such as the 1996 Australian Award for Urban Design.

Plans have evolved over the last three decades to meet changing community needs and aspirations while maintaining the essence of the City. Previously influential strategic plans prepared by the Melbourne City Council include:

- The 1974 and 1985 Melbourne Strategy Plans; and
- Creating Prosperity – Victoria's Capital City Policy 1994 – a joint Council and State Government strategy for the capital city role of the City of Melbourne.

In December 1996, Melbourne City Council commenced the preparation of City Plan, its Municipal Strategic Statement, currently in draft, which documents Council's major urban policy directions for the coming three years. City Plan is a local extension and elaboration of the Capital City Policy, and has grown out of current issues identified by the Council, community and targeted research.

City Plan is designed to:

- provide strategic directions for the economic, social and environmental, development of the City of Melbourne over the next 3-5 years
- provide a framework for Council's policy and actions in regulation, service provision, promotion, partnerships and marketing so as to achieve integrated urban management
- guide the administration of planning controls over land use and development in the City consistent with those directions and actions.

City Plan builds on the City's strengths and contains policy statements designed to capitalise on emerging opportunities.

It is divided into six themes covering key aspects of the City's activities, outlining where the municipality is now and where it should be in the future. These themes are Prosperous City, Innovative City, Culturally Vital City, People City, Attractive City and Sustainable City. Each theme has aims and desired outcomes and specific Council actions that will aim to achieve these outcomes. City Plan acknowledges that most

outcomes will not be achieved without the participation of others, including other levels of government, the private sector and the community.

The Need for a City Plan

The need for City Plan arose partly out of the requirements of the Victorian State Government's planning reform program. Under legislation introduced in 1996, all Victorian Councils must produce a Municipal Strategic Statement to document their strategic planning, land use and development objectives and strategies for the municipality so as to form the basis for a new planning scheme.

City Plan also provides the policy positions for the new Council elected in 1996, after a three-year term of Commissioners appointed by the State Government.

City Plan builds on the enduring themes of earlier strategies for Melbourne. It is an incremental plan, designed to foster change addressing today's issues and includes a three-year action plan set within a long-term vision.

Consultative Issues

Throughout this history of integrated long term planning, consultation has featured prominently. The current Council, early in its term of office, adopted a community consultation framework for all of its public activity and is committed to "fostering a consultative environment which maximises the opportunities for all Melburnians to participate in the life and development of their city". The challenge for a Capital City council is embrace the wide variety of stakeholders concerned, often with disparate interests. 40,000 people live in the City of Melbourne, 400,000 visit and use it on a daily basis. The challenge for holistic strategies like City Plan is to effectively consult with and be relevant to this wide cross-section of interests and to do it efficiently and in a timely way so that implementation follows closely on the heels of policy development. The benefit of a history of continuous strategic planning is that the issues can be curtailed to those of the day, accepting that certain aspects of the city should not be changed and avoiding "reinventing the wheel".

A particular complexity always present in urban strategies of this sort is the coordination of State and Local Government responsibilities in the central City. This has achieved with varying degrees of success over time and has not always been easy. A benefit of the new legislation is that it obliges both spheres of government to participate in the Municipal Strategic Statement. Through statutory linkage with the planning scheme, it will require the approval of both Council and the Victorian Minister for Planning.

The importance of effective and efficient consultation in urban policy has grown in importance as resources for urban improvement have shifted from the public to the private sector. The implementation of planning policy increasingly depends upon partnerships with the private/corporate sector and between that sector and the broader community.

New approaches

City Plan had to be prepared in a much shorter time span than previous strategies. It was signed off to go the printer only 8 months after its commencement. And this relatively short time included a lengthy and comprehensive consultation process and a number of pieces of research work.

The time horizon of the plan is also different, being much shorter than the ten-year horizon of previous strategies. Legislation requires the City of Melbourne to review the municipal strategic statement within three years. So, the actions proposed in City Plan concentrate on outcomes that are achievable within this period, although they are based on a long-term vision for the City that extends well into the next century.

The spread of topics is also much broader than earlier plans. For instance, City Plan addresses environmental sustainability, cultural development and the arts, and focuses on emerging growth sectors based around innovation. None of these topics were covered in the 1985 Plan, although they were emerging in the Capital City Policy.

Perhaps the most significant difference with this plan is that it is more operationally focussed than the earlier strategies. This is possible because of the shorter time horizon and creates a closer link between policy development and implementation. Unlike earlier strategies it has been directly incorporated into corporate budget and business planning and will become part of the Planning Scheme itself. Through these two processes, City Link will be directly link city management and land use and development regulation.

City Plan Process

In preparing City Plan the challenge was to develop it within the required timelines and at the same time engage the community-at-large to gain meaningful input and to generate ownership.

This was done by accepting the fundamentals of earlier strategies as given and by concentrating on incremental change to accommodate current issues. Importantly, the process was also designed to ask the community to nominate what those issues were and to nominate possible solutions. These were then synthesised to form the basis of the Plan. To generate community input to the Plan's agenda, an issues outline around 6 themes was firstly prepared and promulgated by mail and the Internet. This was followed by a comprehensive series of workshops with both the general public and special interest groups following the same themes. Penny Coombes, as consultant to the Council, was pivotal to this process in that she designed the workshops and acted as the "honest broker" to ensure that the information generated was reflected in the development of the Plan. Penny will discuss her role in more detail. In outline, input to City Plan included:

- 70 submissions received in response to the issues outline
- the ideas of 450 people who attended 6 workshops
- the attitudes of 600 metropolitan residents surveyed by telephone on various aspects of the central city
- the ideas of more than 100 people who attended a think tank arranged by the Property Council of Australia and facilitated by Dr Edward DeBono

- focus groups held with representatives of the real estate industry, teachers of town planning, housing groups and employer groups
- Ward meetings with local residents

Research projects to inform policy development included ones on environmental issues, student housing, affordable housing, economic development, a land use survey and a survey of metropolitan residents' attitudes to the City. All of these provided considerable input to the direction of policy.

For some sections of the community there has been a need to build trust that the strategy will be implemented via the scheme. This has been complicated by community concern about the increased use of discretion in planning controls and a shift away from a prescriptive approach.

Monitoring

Monitoring of the effectiveness of City Plan will be critical to this notion of continuous strategic planning. Council's Benchmarking Melbourne project will measure the performance of Melbourne in terms of its competitiveness and livability by learning from the experience of other capital cities in the region and through the use of indicators keyed to the desired outcomes for the City nominated in City Plan.

Where we are now

At the time of writing, Council was awaiting the recommendations of an independent panel established to review City Plan and new planning scheme. This review follows a public exhibition late in 1997, and a hearing of submissions. Once the report is received, Council will prepare a response and submit the Planning Scheme to the Minister for Planning for approval. It is expected that this will occur at mid-year, 18 months after commencement.

Frontier Town: Jabiru and the Aborigines of the Kakadu Region[1]

John Lea, (Department of Architecture, Planning and Allied Arts, University of Sydney, NSW 2006, Australia)

In 1969 uranium was discovered in commercial quantities in the northern parts of the region now known as the Kakadu National Park and several mining proposals followed soon after. From that moment new and increased pressures of many kinds were brought to bear on the groups of permanent Aboriginal people resident in an area stretching from the Wildman River in the west to the East Alligator River and the Arnhem Land escarpment in the east (Figure 1). The declaration of a national park over part of the area in 1978 served to bring some control over development to a region that had already began to experience serious damage to its natural and human environment since the opening of an all-weather road from Darwin and the bridging of the South Alligator River. Allowing mining to continue in one of Australia's most important natural and human heritage sites was controversial, as was the likely introduction of substantial new residential and other developments in a region that had seen only two or three pastoral dwellings in its long history of human occupation. After the Commonwealth government's Ranger Uranium Environmental Inquiry which was held between 1975 and 1978 (Fox et al. 1977), the construction of a new town to service the needs of the three largest mineral prospects was permitted (Lea and Zehner 1986). That town, now known as Jabiru, received its first residents in 1980.

Reconciling Mixed Land Uses in the Park

The new town site of 13 sq km was retained under Commonwealth government ownership and leased to the Jabiru Town Development Authority for 42 years. Aboriginal traditional owners acquired title to the surrounding lands which were leased back to the nation for 99 years for use as a national park. Only one mining company, ERA Ltd, the operators of the Ranger prospect, received a license to export its ore and the town of Jabiru, though designed for a population of 6,000, became a 'closed' mining town with fewer than 1,500 residents. It was built to high physical standards and soon acquired a form of elected local government in 1984. Following the provisions of the Ranger Uranium Environmental Inquiry, the town was not designed as a centre which could cater for and service the needs of the regional Aboriginal population effectively. This anomaly became progressively more obvious as the town opened up to general tourism uses in the late 1980s, and the purchase of alcohol by indigenous people and visitors became easier. Kakadu National Park authorities were soon obliged to reconcile their primary environmental objectives with the emerging effects of multi-land use activity throughout the park. Initially this task was accomplished with considerable success through the preparation of plans of management, as was the monitoring of uranium mining activity through the Office of the Supervising Scientist, but understanding and dealing with a growing list of negative impacts on the indigenous population received much less attention.

Aborigines and the Town

Aborigines have had a permanent presence in Jabiru since its establishment, even though their residence there was originally assumed to be temporary. There is an
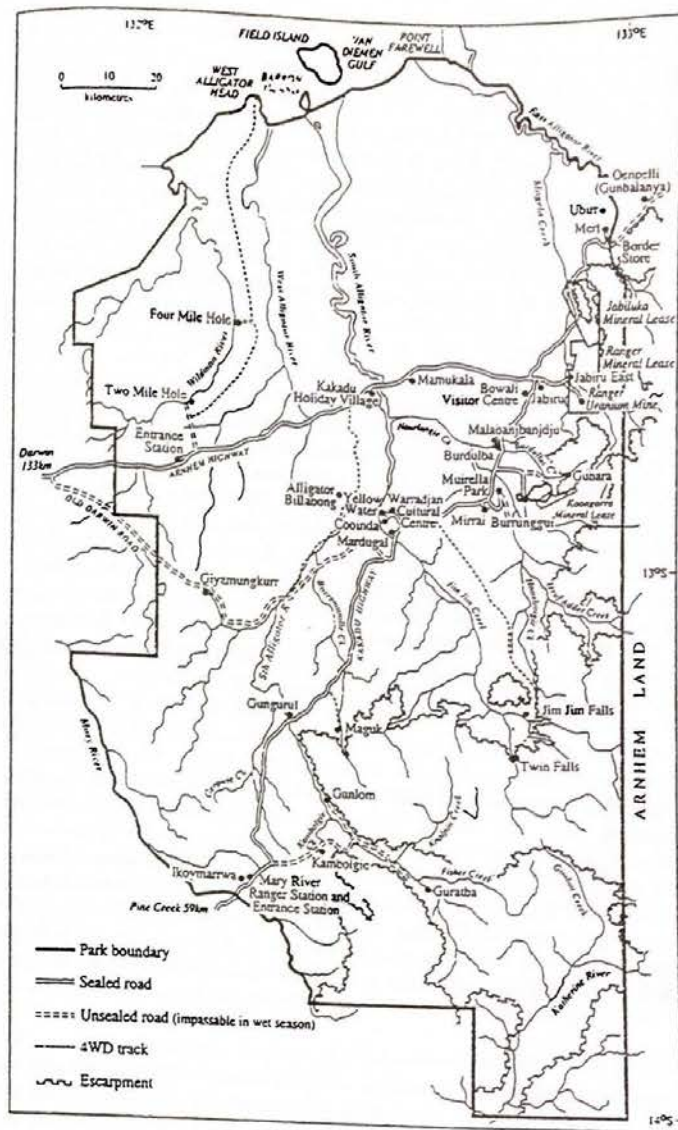
Map: General map of Kakadu National Park showing Jabiru, roads, mineral leases and outstations
Source: Kakadu National Park Draft Plan of Management 1996. p. 9

Aboriginal population of some 530 resident in the park as a whole, with 150 living in Jabiru in conventional dwellings and in the Manaburduma living area. Mobility within Kakadu has implications for service delivery provided by both government and indigenous organisations. As in many other parts of Australia, social indicators of Aboriginal welfare in Kakadu show little improvement in the past decade (Taylor 1996). Average age of death for Aboriginal males was 48.3 and 52.5 years for females, and the Darwin rural region had the second highest infant mortality rate in the Northern Territory in 1985-91 (Supervising Scientist 1997b). Such figures sit uncomfortably with the receipt in recent times of many millions of mining royalty dollars by traditional land owners in the region and expenditure of considerable sums by Territory health services.

Complex Planning Instruments

Kakadu has been the focus for several of the most detailed and expensive development impact investigations in Australian history. Besides the Ranger Uranium Environmental Inquiry of the late 1970s, there have been successive environmental impact statements for Ranger, Jabiluka and Coronation Hill mining proposals, a major Senate investigation (Commonwealth of Australia 1986), the Coronation Hill Inquiry by the Resource Assessment Commission in 1991 (Knapman, Stanley and Lea 1991) and, most recently, the Kakadu Region Social Impact Study (Supervising Scientist 1997a; 1997b). Jabiru did not figure prominently in the earlier studies because of its closed status but pressures have been mounting in NT government circles in particular to see a 'normalisation' of the town. This controversial eventuality would imply an extension of the headlease to allow businesses to invest in the town, together with moves to establish community government under the NT Local Government Act and a revised urban plan.

However, though it was never planned as bi-cultural community capable of meeting the needs of permanent Aboriginal people, Jabiru has acted in this role by default. In addition, operation of various local urban planning instruments is exceedingly complex and restrictive, with the Jabiru Town Plan being jointly administered by Commonwealth, Territory and local government entities. Indeed, the town plan forms a part of the park plan of management and contains 'consent only' provisions (Phillips 1996). A new plan incorporating 'performance-based' provisions has been prepared under provisions of the NT Planning Act but is unlikely to be approved by the Commonwealth and park authorities until the question of mining at Jabiluka is finally resolved and in the absence of agreement on future directions for the town.

The Future

In their report on Jabiru to the Kakadu Region Social Impact Study, Kesteven and Lea (1997: 53) demonstrate that it was not planned and constructed as a place that welcomed and provided for Aboriginal residence and employment. For 16 years Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal residents have co-existed peacefully but have enjoyed little community interaction, reflecting the very different lifestyles and priorities of the dominant but generally temporary mining workforce and a small community of visiting and permanent Aborigines. When considering the future it is necessary to realise that the permanent population of the region (that is, those people who are born in the area, live there and die there) are in the main Aboriginal people, whereas the transient population are non-Aboriginal or non-local Aboriginal people.

A consequence of their historical marginalisation in Jabiru has left a widespread lack of understanding on the part of Aborigines about the urban development situation and anticipated future needs. Effective dialogue about the future among current stakeholders will not occur under conditions of unequal knowledge and understanding. Thus a special challenge exists to create an environment and a process where collective decision-making can take place without unequal prejudice to the interests of main stakeholders.

From an Aboriginal perspective essential prerequisites are the ability to make an informed choice, and to participate in the outcome of the decisions that are made. Current planning and managerial arrangements for Jabiru have been reviewed by the Northern Territory Government in the absence of an overall and fully participative examination of the needs of the region. Planning is thus reactionary rather than forward looking and set against an uncertain development context where the wishes of Kakadu Aboriginal people have generally not been known or understood. Similarly, few Aborigines have understood the nature of the urban development processes involved, the range of possible options for change, or their likely impacts.

References

Commonwealth of Australia (1986) *Senate Standing Committee on National Resources Inquiry into the Potential of the Kakadu National Park Region*, Canberra, Commonwealth Government Printer.

Fox, RW et al. (1977) *Ranger uranium Environmental Inquiry Second Report*, Canberra, AGPS.

Kesteven, S. and JP Lea (1997) *Jabiru and the Aborigines of the Kakadu Region*, Darwin, ANU North Australia Research Unit.

Knapman, B., O Stanley and JP Lea (1991) *Tourism and Gold in Kakadu: the Impact of Current and Potential Natural Resource use on the Northern Territory Economy*, Darwin, ANU North Australia Research Unit.

Lea, JP and RB Zehner (1986) *Yellowcake and Crocodiles: Town Planning, Government and Society in Northern Australia*, Sydney, Allen and Unwin.

Office of the Supervising Scientist (1997a) *Kakadu Region Social Impact Study: Community Action Plan 1997. Report of the Study Advisory Group. July 1997*, Canberra, Supervising Scientist.

--- (1997b) *Kakadu Region Social Impact Study 1997. Report of the Aboriginal Project Committee, June 1997*, Canberra, Supervising Scientist.

Phillips, J (1996) 'Planning in Kakadu', *Territory Planner*, April 1996, pp.1, 8-9.

Resource Assessment Commission (1991) *Kakadu Conservation Zone*, Canberra, AGPS.

Taylor, J (1996) *Aboriginal People in the Kakadu Region: An Analysis of Social Indicators*, Canberra: Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research, Australian National University (report to the KRSIS)

The City in Context

Hee Limin / Wong Yunn Chii
School of Architecture
The National University of Singapore
10 Kent Ridge Crescent
Singapore 119260

Introduction: In the Civic and Cultural District of Singapore, multiple frames of reference influence the re-shaping of the cityscape. Urban conservation and redevelopment are inextricably locked into the wider political framework. The need to create a sense of civic pride and national identity through the built environment, the government's agenda for the private sector to be involved in the conservation process and the tourism value of the projects exert competing and complementary forces to the morphology and content of the urban space. The efforts to revitalise and (re)create the built-heritage as well as people's perceptions to these efforts will be discussed in this paper. We also seek to understand some of the forces that have played a part in shaping the district since the post-colonial years and with the implementation of the 1988 Masterplan of the Civic and Cultural District by the Urban Redevelopment Authority (URA).

The Civic and Cultural District (CCD) basically referred to the area of urban intervention spelt out in the 1988 Masterplan drawn up by the URA. The district had been described in the Masterplan as a 'rich historical area' containing a 'valuable collection of architecturally and historically significant buildings' such as the National Museum, City Hall and Supreme Court, Victoria Theatre and Memorial Hall, Raffles Hotel and St. Joseph's Institution. At the same time, due to the 'absence of crowd drawing activities and the 'rival' development of nearby Orchard Road and Marina Centre, the district had been described as a 'missing link' between the 2 commercial hubs. The 1988 Masterplan had 4 stated aims: (1) to revitalise the district as a key cultural and retail magnet of the city (2) to establish and enhance the distinctive qualities of the district so as to reinforce the identity of the district as the historical colonial hub of the city (3) to accentuate the special function of the district as a venue of national celebrations and ceremonies and (4) to provide a physical framework for drawing up Singapore's Cultural Masterplan[1].

Birth and Development of the CCD: Rapid modernization efforts, stepped up under the auspices of self-government in 1959 and Independence in 1965 meant that the district underwent a series of radical changes. Urban renewal in the early post-colonial years was marked by the demolition of old buildings and replacement with modernist structures. The move towards the end of colonial rule and the creation of a new nation-state represented a radical discontinuity rather than a smooth progress. Some felt that the 'demolish and rebuild' concept as practised during the time disrupted livelihoods and destroyed small retail establishments as well as accentuated racial rifts among the people[2]. Two separate studies carried out by United Nations consultancy teams in the early 60s recommended that the old city should be rehabilitated rather than demolished.[3]. Some of the more outstanding buildings, including Coleman's House, the Law Courts and the Adelphi Hotel, as well as many shophouses, were demolished during this period. Educational institutions also began

their exodus from the district, and the demolition of the Raffles Institution made room for the mega hotel/office/retail complex of Raffles City.

In the late 80s, there were signs that new thinking regarding the growth and redevelopment of the city was taking place. With growing confidence that the immediate problems and issues had been resolved, new issues such as national identity and heritage, conserving the old and harnessing the city's legacy became prominent on the planning agenda. The idea of creating a modern but distinctively Asian city benefitting a 'culturally vibrant society with people living a more gracious life'[4] was crystallized with the Masterplan of the Civic and Cultural District (1988).

To understand the context of the shaping of the CCD, it would be useful to conceive of the district as interpenetrating fields of cultural and symbolic fragments, which are the construct of history and the contestations of various political and programmatic concerns.

Field of Symbols: As a field of symbols, the legacy of the colonial town plan continues to influence the ongoing development of the CCD. When Sir Stamford Raffles implemented the Town Plan of Singapore in 1822, his vision was that of a new trading settlement that would fulfil the promise of being the 'emporium and pride of the East' and 'a place of considerable magnitude and importance'[5]. The town was modelled to facilitate administration and maximise mercantile interest as well as ensuring public order and also to cater for the accommodation of the principal races in separate quarters. Central to the plan was a public open space on the north bank of the Singapore River around which stood the colonial edifices of Government offices, church and Court House. These symbols of British governance were flanked on the east by the expansive European Town. In panning for the increasing numbers of Asian immigrants, Raffles demarcated the town into divisions or 'kampungs' for the different racial and occupational groups, each 'kampung' with its own chiefs or 'kapitans'. In effect, the plan specified the spatial configuration of the town's urban development and the fields of influence of the various repositories of power and governance.

In many post-colonial cities, colonial structures were often appropriated for new uses and re-invented with new meanings. In the CCD, these buildings were perhaps seen as being the most neutral repositories of governance in the context of an ethnically diverse population. In fact, in the CCD Masterplan, the buildings in the district, especially City Hall and the Supreme Court, formed the backdrop for national celebrations and pageantry and historic and heritage trails (National Heritage Board) were planned as routes to bring visitors around the historical setting. Hence, for the government, political legitimacy did not come with the wholesale removal of the colonial legacy, but that buildings and the built environments inherited from the colonial era could be divested of association with imperial glory and re-invented with new significance [6]. Images of national and civic pride, e.g. the setting of the Padang as the place where the struggle for independence took place during the 50s and early 60s, and that the country's National Day celebrations were held for many years at the Padang (and still are) had reinforced the national significance of the place. In fact, many Singaporeans felt that many colonial buildings merit a place in the cityscape due to their fine architectural qualities, without associating them with any negative connotations of a colonial past [7].

On the issue of national symbolism, one might perhaps look at the design of the Parliament House complex. Originally designed as a private residence of a British magistrate, it was built at the north bank of the Singapore River by George Drumgolde Coleman, a prominent colonial architect. The building was rented to the Government and used as the first Court House until 1865, when a new court building was completed. It was described as :

"...a large graceful building with a fine display of pillars and porticoes, and by its size and elegance...foreshadowed the greatness to which Singapore would rise."[8]

In 1953, the building was restored with great pains to its pre-20th century condition, albeit with modern features incorporated to meet contemporary needs. Re-opened in 1954 as the Assembly House (Parliament House) it was the seat of government to date. A new Parliament Complex is currently under construction. The new complex, to be ready in 1998 (at a cost of S$80M) is designed to 'blend with the other buildings in the Civic and Cultural District'[9]. The image of the new building is grand and imposing and has a symmetrical front façade. The architectural style of the building is one of a rationalist approach, deriving a stylistic form analogous to its predecessor (which is now subsumed as part of the complex) but yet set in its contemporary setting and "...the Parliament Complex will meet the demands of the public to know more about Parliament...to interest young people...in democratic practices so that they understand history and its making."[10] The complex would inevitably be seen as a purveyor of national identity since it is built to serve and symbolise the nation state[11]. The design then had to occur within multiple frames of reference – its place in history, the context of its colonial predecessor, the national and international identity aspired to by the government and its role in expressing the needs and aspirations of an ethnically diverse population. The success of the complex in fulfilling such roles (whether consciously or unconsciously) remains to be seen.

A further investment of symbolic significance in the CCD occurred in 1995, the 50th anniversary of the end of WWII. . The National Heritage Board erected commemorative plaques around the island, 3 of which were sited in the CCD. The plaques, in the form of a man-height open-book design, had text depicting the events which occurred at the particular site during the war. The 3 sites in the CCD so marked included the Cathay Building, the old YMCA building (demolished in 1981) and the Esplanade. These public symbols of remembrance point back to experiences shared by the people in the locality, in other words, collective experience, and served to invest deeper and more fundamental historical significance to the physical context. These gestures of re-kindling public memories (though not always appreciated by the building owners) demonstrated the need to take into account the lived experience of the wider spectrum of the populace – perhaps in line with post-modern thinking which reconsiders the need to focus attention on the place[12]. Other recently erected plaques included 2 which marked the former locations of the Raffles Institution (1997) at Bras Basah Road (formerly College Street in colonial times) and the Raffles Girls' School (1998) at Queen Street – occasions which were celebrated by old boys and girls of the schools amidst pomp and nostalgia for a collective past.

Field of Culture: The conservation efforts in the district were aimed primarily at revitalising the district as a key cultural and retail magnet of the city, establishing and enhancing the distinctive qualities of the district as the colonial hub of the city, and

accentuating the special function of the city as a venue for national celebration and ceremonies [13]. Also, there was a need to address what was deemed a lamentable lack of awareness of Singapore's past – particularly 'the struggle for independence and against the communists, the building of a nation-state, the values that were taught, the society that was formed, and the nation that was built' – among the younger generation [14]. Perhaps as the more basic problems of a new nation-state were solved, there emerged the need to grapple with cultural anxieties and the need to find roots which would help consolidate such an evolved migrant society. Culture had been given a wider definition to include heritage and there was a flurry of efforts in the museumization of the district. More repositories of heritage were to be added to the heritage network, including the Philatelic Museum(1995,converted from the former Methodist Book Room at Coleman St.), the Singapore Art Museum(1995, occupying the former St. Joseph's Institution), the Asian Civilisation Museum(1991, at the former Tao Nan School), the Central Fire Station Museum(1998) as well as the renovation of the existing National Museum as the Singapore History Museum (1999). These developments formed the basis of the Museum Planning Area, which covered approximately half of the CCD, and was prepared in 1997 to safeguard and enhance the area's history and develop it into an institutional hub [15]. These repositories would be packaged to appeal to as wide an audience as possible, but the dilemma of conservation continued – was the conservation of the CCD serving the interest of the locals or tourists[16], as the character of the area changed and traditional ways of life disappeared?

A place would comprise both the material built environment and the activities and lifestyles of its users and inhabitants. In the CCD, the former criteria included architectural merit and aesthetic values as historical significance of the built environment. The URA had issued meticulous guidelines for the conservation of the physical fabric of the buildings to ensure authenticity, and the stance taken by the authorities had often been to restore a building to its original built condition, or at least to the intention of the original architect. The government also took the stand that conservation should not entail the fossilization of traditional trades and lifestyles that existed before conservation and that conservation should be economically viable, if not profitable. The URA strongly believed in the 'adaptive re-use' of historic buildings, making them relevant to the needs and uses of modern times.

In the case of the conservation of the Convent of Our Holy Infant Jesus (CHIJ) site in the CCD, the economic justification behind the adaptive re-use of the building had not always been accepted by the public, from which many requests came to keep the premises from commercial uses[17] and maintain it as 'a haven of peace and quiet in the heart of town'. The authorities conceded only to retain the chapel for dignified activities (incl. Cultural and social activities. 'Commercial uses will be allowed...to make the restored complex economically viable in view of its prime location[18]. Across the street, the Singapore Art Museum, converted from the old St. Joseph's Institution, also supported social functions which could be held in its function Hall, as well as a trendy café which had a prominent street frontage.

The newest addition to the CCD would be the Singapore Arts Centre at the Esplanade, to be completed in 2000:

"The Arts Centre will be located between the historic/civic districts and the modern city, at the crossroads of the past and present, the old and the new. This inspires a design of spaces which combine the philosophical heritage of both the east and west, traditional and contemporary arts forms and their differing technology requirements." [19]

The design of the Centre was seen as an important step in the quest for an Asian identity [20] and that "this arts centre should not be the last of the great western arts centres but be the first of a series of new Asian ones"[21]. It became clear that this was a building that was to leave a mark of our Asian identity in the CCD, but at the unveiling of the preliminary design proposal for the centre in 1994, the general perception was that the 3 monolithic and amorphous masses that form the skin of the 3 main theatres were merely 'veils' concealing the functional forms of the theatre, failing to capture the essence of an Asian theatre complex. However, that such a vision was stated and attempts made to involve public opinion in a complex designated to become a national symbol underlined the awareness and urgency that a national identity could be formed by physical structures in this important historic district.

The Post-modern City: The development of the CCD could be viewed as continual contestations of power among various players: the professional planners, the programmatic concerns of various statutory boards implementing diverse programmes like the Cultural Masterplan for Singapore and Tourism 21[22] as well as opinion and perceptions of the public. A survey conducted in 1995[23] had found that the average Singaporean expressed deep-rooted attachment to the built heritage of the district and that the development of the area had added to the citizen's pride regarding the district – embodying the transformation of Singapore from colonial city to global city – representing shared historical experiences culminating in nationhood and economic prosperity. The study also found that there was a need to share the power of defining landscapes and the need to recognize and capture the actual meanings and values that people invested in place. While there was a trend towards paving the way for public participation in the shaping of the cityscape, it was felt that feedback was sought only after major urban planning issues had been decided.

The renewed interest in place and tradition could be seen in the framework of what had been called the 'post-modern' - that if modernism was driven by universalizing forces, then post-modernism was about the return to differences and particularity[24]. The argument was that as cities became increasingly global and homogenous due to commercialization, it had become necessary to 're-image' the city and 'manufacture' distinctions. Images become the means of manipulating perceptions. Restoring identities to local culture, the revival of collective memories and the re-enchantment of place were then the thrust of urban planning in post-modern cities. Also, the studies cited in this paper had shown that there was renewed interest in the 'soft architecture' of the CCD – "its feel and atmosphere" and its "sense of community and citizenship". The examples of newly erected symbols and markers in the CCD had shown the need to re-establish personal and collective roots in the city. Also, the very idea of marking ceremonial routes as well as heritage and historical trails in the CCD showed the renewed concern in the post-colonial era with the spectacle and imagery and the idea of commodification of cultural form. The orchestrated route in the CCD was an important means of establishing a sense of civic pride and identity of the nation without the negative connotations of a colonial

past. New experiences of the city are created in the CCD through museums, performing arts centres and other cultural repositories in a process of cultural enhancement and differentiation from other places of mass consumption and commercialization. Indeed, changes in the urban landscape of the CCD, as well as the usage of spectacle and display (like the experimental plays held in the open on Fort Canning Hill and recent open-air 'wayangs' at Bras Basah Park) serve to open up the CCD and make it available for the consumption of all and confirm its relevance in particular in the Singaporean urban landscape.

[1] In 1988, the Ministry of Community Development drew up the Cultural Masterplan for Singapore, including the adaptive re-use of many existing buildings within the CCD.
[2] Robert E. Gamer (1972) *The Politics of Urban Development in Singapore*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca.
[3] The first study was conducted by Erik Lorange in 1962. A second study, led by Charles Abrams, Susumu Kobe and Otto Koenigsberger culminated in a report, "Growth and Urban Renewal in Singapore" – report to the UN 1963.
[4] URA Annual Report 1987-88
[5] Charles Burton Buckley (1984), *Anecdotal History of Old Times in Singapore*, Oxford University Press, Singapore
[6] Martin Perry, Lily Kong & Brenda Yeoh (1997) *Singapore:A Development City State*, John Wiley,New York.
[7] Brenda Yeoh & Lily Kong (1995) *Portraits of Places*, Times Editions, Singapore,.
[8] John Cameron (1865) *Our Tropical Possession in Malayan India*, London,.
[9] Internet web page, http://www.gov.sg/parliament/ph.htm
[10] Speaker of the House, Tan Soo Khoon, as quoted in ST Mar 98.
[11] Lawrence Vale (1992) *Architecture, Power and National Identity*, Yale University Press, New Haven
[12] Huang, Teo and Heng (1995) "Conserving the Civic and Cultural District: State Policies and Public Opinion" in *Portraits of Places*
[13] URA,1988.
[14] The Straits Times (ST), 1980.
[15] URA (1997) *Museum Planning Area*
[16] The Tourism 21 plan aims to turn Singapore into a Tourism Capital in the 21st century.
[17] ST Mar/Apr 1990.
[18] ST Apr 1990
[19] Singapore Arts Centre Company (1994) *Taking Shape*
[20] Tay Kheng Soon (April 1994) "A Response to the Singapore Arts Centre (SAC) Presentation", *Singapore Institute of Architects Journal no. 184*.
[21] Kuo Pao Kun, 1993.
[22] Tourism 21 is an ambitious plan drawn up by the Singapore Tourist Promotion Board which seeks to re-package historic areas like the CCD along thematic lines to enhance tourism .
[23] Huang, Teo and Heng (1995)
[24] Kevin Robins, "Prisoners of the City", in *Space and Place – Theories of Identity and Location*, eds. Erica Carter, James Donald and Judith Squires (1993) Lawrence & Wishart, London.

Adoption and Rejection: Re-appraising the Soviet Influence on Townscape Formation in Indochina

William S. Logan
Faculty of Arts
Deakin University
Burwood, Victoria 3125
Australia

The collapse of international communism around 1990 ended an era in which the Soviet Union and especially its capital city, Moscow, had a significant impact on townscape formation internationally. R. A. French (1995:195) argues that, because no other country had such a long period under the direct influence of Marxist ideology, the Soviet Union had been regarded for many years as 'the prime exemplar of Marxist socialist planning in all its aspects'. In the field of urban planning it was indeed held that city formation in that country was moving along a new path in line with Marxist ideology; that is, towards the creation of a distinctive socialist city type. This view was steadily but drastically altered as the increased influence of globalising economic, technological and cultural forces, and as Western scholars gained a better understanding of the actual situation within the country. In fact, by the mid-1980s it was already becoming clear that the so-called 'socialist city' was an amalgam of features. On the one hand, it derived some characteristics, from Marxist theory, such as high levels of centralised state power and economic and social control. On the other hand, capitalist elements had clearly survived from the Tsarist period or belonged to a 'rediscovered capitalism'. Added to this, the Soviet cities were experiencing the impact of 'those uncontrolled and surely ideologically uncontrollable elements, the individual and technology'.

This socialist form of urban development was implanted in countries which came under Soviet Union influence, especially in the Cold War period - Vietnam, Laos, post-Pol Pot Cambodia, Cuba, Angola and, of course, the former satellites in Eastern Europe. Despite great cultural and environmental variation between these countries, the socialist influence imposed a common pattern of residential, commercial and industrial development. A similar socialist imprint was felt in China and countries coming under Beijing's sway. Frequently, this influence has left a heritage of poorly designed and constructed buildings and infrastructure – one aspect of the economic and cultural globalisation that flowed from Soviet power over the last 40 years. These environmental impacts were not only out of tune with traditional cultural patterns when first built, but they now add to the hurdles of urban readjustment facing these countries as they struggle to prepare themselves for the twenty-first century. However, this is not to say that the Soviet townscape impact was entirely negative, and this paper will argue that some features represent part of the desirable 'heritage', worthy of protection or, at least, of detailed recording as part of the cultural history of the Indochinese cities affected. The paper discusses the shifts in heritage definitions in Vietnam and Laos making use of Russian and Indochinese interviews and documents.

The Soviet impact on Vietnamese and Laotian townscapes

I have previously described in detail the Soviet impact on one Vietnamese city – Hanoi, capital of the French Indochinese Union and of the post-independence

Democratic Republic of Vietnam (1955-1975) and Socialist Republic of Vietnam (1976-) (Logan 1994, 1995). That impact was felt particularly in the central city where a new set of icons were created demonstrating to the citizenry that the country had entered a new era of socialist greatness. Streets were given the names of revolutionary heroes, Ho was laid to rest in a mausoleum that completely dominated the re-designed monumental Ba Dinh district, revolutionary museums were opened, a statue was raised to Lenin in a park where previously the statuary invoked the grandeur of *la belle France*.

Further out, new housing followed the *microrayon* or micro-district approach developed in the USSR – an approach, incidentally, that had the same Western capitalist origins in the work of Clarence Perry and others as the post-World War 2 public housing estates of the United States, Western Europe and Australia (Han Tat Ngan 1994). Using a formula that related accommodation space, facilities and infrastructure to population size, these largely self-contained 'living quarters', as the Vietnamese called them, attempted to put into practice the notion of equality that was at the heart of socialist ideology. In Vietnam, the formula was based on 60-70,000 people; that is, the number of residents an area would require to support a viable senior high school. Once the formula was calculated, the living quarters were replicated about suburban Hanoi and other Vietnamese towns and cities. Further out again, the Hanoi authorities created new industrial areas with factories constructed, like the new housing estates, with pre-fabricated parts and minimal attention to environmental or aesthetic niceties.

At least, though, these new areas were part of a concerted effort under the socialist national and municipal governments to provide shelter and jobs for the majority of Vietnamese who did not belong to the French-educated Vietnamese elite. They were also part of the immensely difficult struggle to construct and to re-construct both during and after the Second Indochinese War (1955-1975), much of which was marked by intensive aerial bombardment by the Americans and their allies. Again, I have dealt with this struggle in detail elsewhere, notably in the 'Hanoi after the bombs: postwar reconstruction of a Vietnamese city under socialism' (Logan, in Calame & Charlesworth, in press). Other cities and towns in northern Vietnam suffered heavy losses of life and injuries as well as great damage to buildings and infrastructure. The main port of Haiphong was an obvious wartime target and its quays, bridges, oil and petrol installations, electricity power stations and factories were destroyed. Like Hanoi, the people's committees in these devastated urban areas quickly moved into action during each lull in the bombing to keep basic activities going, to clear destroyed building sites and to construct new shelters as best they could. After the war, these cities had major tasks of reconstruction. Again, such redevelopment occurred in the Soviet pattern and some noteworthy examples of Soviet-style planning and architecture are found in these northern towns and cities.

Osborn and Reiner (1962:239) point out that the Soviet planner's standard attack on urban problems focused on two programs: the design of *microrayon* and the reduction of centre-city concentration through the construction of satellite cities. Vietnamese planners followed suit: in addition to the new residential development in and around existing urban areas, the Vietnamese constructed a number of new towns in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Two near Hanoi stand out – Xuan Hoa and Xuan Mai – built by the Ministry of Construction at the time when Do Muoi, Chairman of the

Vietnamese Communist Party (1991-7), was minister in charge. These were laid out with geometrical street patterns, broad central axes and abundant open space. The housing was in long five-storey residential buildings, an expansion on the architectural ideas used in Hanoi's living quarters. Unfortunately, budgetary problems meant that the infrastructure plans were never fully realised and the people selected to live there felt abandoned in their sterile dormitories and cut off from the bustling life they had known previously. By the mid-1990s Xuan Mai had become empty and was being demolished; Xuan Hoa was still partly occupied. The Prime Minister of the day, Vo Van Kiet, published a plan to turn Xuan Hoa into a university town making the most of its attractive hilly terrain close to Dai Lai Lake. This appears to be meeting resistance from the educational institutions and the town has been partly vacated. By contrast, surrounding the new town is a linear private enterprise village whose houses and shops seem to be flourishing. A similar plan was put forward for Xuan Mai, with an outdoor architectural park displaying typical houses of Vietnam's ethnic minorities alongside a National University campus.

After the fall/liberation of Saigon in 1975 and Vietnam's reunification, the southern urban areas of the defeated Republic of Vietnam also came under socialist town-forming influences. Even though this influence did not last long – it was only a decade before the Sixth Party Congress was to usher in the *doi moi* policies that brought Vietnam back into the global economy and 15 years to the collapse of international communism – there were, nevertheless, many significant buildings and precincts constructed in the Soviet style. Nha Trang's circular market building and surrounding block house is an excellent example; the Truong Bo Tuc Van Hoa T.P. School and Hai Son Hotel, with its jester hat roof, are also notable. In Saigon, there was little built during the period 1975-1990 and the impact here is minimal.

Neighbouring Cambodia and Laos, whose indianised cultures are fundamentally different from that of sinicised Vietnam, had been drawn into the Indochinese geopolitical entity first by French colonial ambitions and then by their common involvement in and suffering from the American adventures in the region during the Vietnam War. After that war Vietnam was able to impose its Soviet-based model of socialism on Laos. Following the brief but catastrophic Maoist period under Pol Pot (1975-1979), in which cities were dismantled rather than constructed or reconstructed, Cambodia also came under Soviet influence via the invading Vietnamese and the puppet government they installed. Consequently the same linkage between socialist ideology, Soviet architectural and planning approaches and the development of urban centres occurred in Laos and Cambodia as in Vietnam. Examples can be found in the Lao capital, Vientiane, particularly - the People's Committee Building, the Russian Cultural Centre and the now-derelict office building facing Nam Phou fountain. Again, as with the southern half of Vietnam, this new cultural layer had little time to establish itself before economic liberalisation commenced and new sources of urban investment and new design inspirations began to replace the Soviet socialist ones.

Rejection of Soviet architecture and planning

With the economic liberalisation policies introduced in those countries in the late 1980s and the failure of Soviet socialism, there has been a wholesale rejection of the town planning and architecture of the period by politicians, planners and, probably, the public. The general feeling seems to be that Soviet-style buildings and precincts

should be replaced. The process of rejection is a complex one and appears to be not entirely a function of ideological changes; rather, there seems to be an intergenerational element involved in which new groups of professionals seek to find jobs by ousting the incumbents on grounds of changing design paradigms.

Of course, Moscow's decision in 1990 to cease giving aid to Vietnam meant that the now well established practice of Soviet specialists working in Vietnam also came to a halt. For example, Garonii Grigorievich Isakovich (1931-92) was one of the most influential figures in Hanoi, responsible many of the most prominent buildings of the Soviet period. He made many trips to the Vietnamese capital between 1970 and 1975 in relation to the construction of the Ho Chi Minh mausoleum, which he designed in conjunction with B. S. Mezentsev (who never visited Vietnam). He designed the Soviet-Vietnamese Friendship Cultural Palace, the Ho Chi Minh Museum and the Lenin monument, with sculptor A. A. Tyurenkov (Isakovich n.d.). These design and construction projects were carried out by mixed Soviet-Vietnamese teams under Isakovich's direction and his studios provided a major forum for the exchange of ideas. Mostly this meant the transfer of Soviet design concepts to Vietnam, although at times the Vietnamese were able to force the Russians to modify their ideas to incorporate more local elements (Logan 1995:450).

The education system responsible for preparing Vietnamese, Lao and Cambodian architects and civil engineers to develop cities and towns has much to do with the way that Soviet ideas were transplanted in Indochina. Throughout the 1955-1990 period students went in large numbers to be educated in Soviet and East European universities and technical colleges and graduating architects and engineers brought back to Indochina an urbanistic language that was in line with the needs of the socialist state (Logan 1995:446-7). But sometimes the Soviet influence was experienced indirectly, through Indochinese professionals receiving their education in China where the Soviet ideas were often given a Chinese and Maoist interpretation. This was more common in the 1960s when the USSR appeared to be undergoing revisionism and the Maoist line seemed to be purer. As a consequence, those professionals trained in the USSR and Eastern Europe in the 1950s could not get good jobs in Vietnam in the 1960s because they were suspected of holding tainted ideas (Hoang Dao Kinh 1995). Increased numbers of scholars and technocrats went to China for training, although many continued to be trained in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. With China lapsing into the chaos of the Cultural Revolution, the Soviet dominance on Vietnam's political, scientific and cultural life reasserted itself in the 1970s.

Throughout the socialist period, according to Kinh, Western design ideas were largely in the imagination. This parallels, perhaps, the imaginary 'European style' that is prevalent in Hanoi and other cities today. Another parallel lies in the current intergenerational jockeying to which I have alluded. With *doi moi* having freed up Vietnam's public management systems, many bureaucrats and technocrats with Soviet training are now being pushed aside as younger and ambitious professionals jockey for the best positions. Much of the criticism directed against the Chief Architects of Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City, for instance, appears to represent this association of educational background with imputed ideological influences on their professional work. Ho Chi Minh City's Chief Architect, Le Van Nam, was educated in Poland, while Nguyen Lan, Hanoi's equivalent, was trained in Shanghai and has postgraduate

qualifications from Hungary. Despite frequent forays into the West on fact-finding missions, they are both seen as men of the socialist path; Lan has the additional disadvantage of being from 'feudal Hue' and not even a Hanoian!

Lan is one of the Vietnamese architects now critical of the Soviet planning approach (Nguyen Lan 1990). However, his attack suggests practical weaknesses to be remedied and fails to target the fundamental flaws – the top-down decision-making and lack of concern for the views of residents and workers, the inflexibility of master planning and the architectural bias of the plans. Other critics have focused on the failings of the 'living quarters'; yet others on the lack of cultural sensitivity represented by the reinforced concrete 'brutalist' and the glass curtain-wall buildings - structures belonging to 1970s and 1980s Modern Internationalism as mediated by professionals in the Soviet Union (Logan 1995:462). By the mid-1990s, most Vietnamese architects and planners were adopting a more flexible professional outlook and were prepared to strike a balance between indigenous and imported forms in order to develop a distinctive Vietnamese style. But most had turned their backs on Moscow, Russia and Eastern Europe as the source of design inspiration.

The 'heritage' value of Soviet townscapes

A total rejection of the Soviet influence on Indochinese cities will be unfortunate from a heritage point of view because the Soviet impacts are a reflection of an important stage in the move by the three countries towards post-colonial independence and post-war rehabilitation. Some monuments, buildings and precincts also have heritage value as excellent examples of the various architectural and planning styles of the time, while many have a continuing usefulness, especially given the shortage of funds for new building construction. However, 'heritage' value is not generally attributed in such a rational and even-handed manner. It is the symbolic meaning given to buildings, monuments and sites that effectively defines their urban heritage value, and symbolic value depends on subjective, emotive and often plainly ideological considerations. It depends, too, on the highly complex process of societal 'remembering' – a process characterised by instability of memory (fading with temporal distance from the circumstance being remembered) as well as of meaning (shifting with the evolving value systems of the society and individuals within it). In post-colonial Hanoi, Haiphong or Vientiane, memories of past events and environments are imperfect, being selective, fraught with misconceptions and prejudices. How do such cities deal with the painful memories of their colonial past and attribute value to the places that remind people of it?

Commonly positive values are given to places in order to elevate certain memories for ideological ends – that is, to serve the needs of the political and social elite. Robertson (1992:146) calls this deliberate distortion of memories to achieve ideological ends 'wilful nostalgia'. But increasingly histories are being re-invented to serve the needs of the tourism industry. In Vietnam and Laos, international tourism becomes a major agency of cultural globalisation, placing a 'heritage value' – really an economic value – on certain memories relating particularly to the pre-colonial and colonial past. Both forms of distortion, ideological and economic, generate a significant landscape impact – a thoroughly contemporary, 1990s impact that selects certain environmental features for respect and preservation and others for neglect and demolition. In the case of the Soviet places, however, the latter, negative process is

operative: any positive values are swept away and the buildings, monuments and sites from the Soviet period are denigrated. Perhaps it is simply too soon for Vietnamese and Laotians to see the merits of protecting selected Soviet places. It is, after all, less than a decade since the official view of the built heritage of Vietnamese cities excluded the French colonial impacts – the villas, streetscapes and town plans that, today, are clearly recognised as part of the heritage and not just because of their attractiveness to international tourists.

Of course, it is for the Vietnamese and Laotians themselves to decide how they wish their cities to develop and it is impossible not to sympathise with their overwhelming concern to improve environmental and housing standards. But good government entails developing and implementing policies in many different fields and the pursuit of improved standards of living does not necessarily conflict with maintenance of cultural heritage. Indeed, many would argue that retaining links with a society's past by, among other things, protecting the local cultural heritage is an indispensable part of that pursuit. This is an argument increasingly heard by residents in cities around the world who dislike and fear the cultural uniformity and insensitivity that is being created by forces of globalisation beyond their control. Whether the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia have the resolve to protect their urban heritage, and whether townscape features from the Soviet period will be included in the heritage protection campaign, only time will tell. In the meantime, further local effort backed by international advice and funds is needed to record, if not protect, some of the better designed and most useful Soviet buildings and precincts so that there will remain some tangible evidence of the Soviet townscape impact for a time when views of the heritage may become more embracing.

References

French, R. Antony (1995). *Plans, Pragmatism & People. The Legacy of Soviet Planning for Today's Cities*. UCL Press, London.

Han Tat Ngan (1994). 'The residential quarter reconsidered'. *Kien Truc*, no. 2, 22-3 (in Vietnamese).

Hoang Dao Kinh (1995). Personal communication, Hanoi, 4 December.

Isakovich, Garonii Grigorievich (n.d.). *Curriculum Vitae*. Unpublished document', Moscow (in Russian).

Logan, William S. (1994). 'Hanoi townscape: symbolic imagery in Vietnam's capital', ch. 2 in Marc Askew & William Logan (eds). *Cultural Identity and Urban Change in Southeast Asia: Interpretative Essays*, Deakin University Press, Geelong; pp. 43-70.

Logan, William S. (1995). 'Russians on the Red River: the Soviet Impact on Hanoi's Townscape, 1955-1990', *Europe-Asia Studies* (formerly *Soviet Studies*), v. 43, no. 3, 443-468.

Logan, William S. (in press). 'Hanoi after the bombs: postwar reconstruction of a Vietnamese city under socialism'. In Jon Calame & Esther Charlesworth (eds). *Urban Triumph or Urban Disaster? The Reconstruction of Cities After War*. University of York Press: York, U.K.

Nguyen Lan (1990). 'On improving urban planning'. *Kien Truc*, no. 4, 29-30 (in Vietnamese).

Nguyen Ngoc Khoi (1992). 'Building management in Hanoi'. *Kien Truc*, no. 1, 17-8 (in Vietnamese).

Osborn, Robert J. & Reiner, Thomas A. (1962). 'Soviet city planning: current issues and future perspectives'. *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 27, 239-50.

Of edifice complexes, credit card consumers, sports stadia and marinas: Melbourne's Docklands as symbol of late 20th Century urban development

Colin Long
Department of History,
University of Melbourne, Parkville, 3052.

My purpose in this paper is not to trace the rather long and chequered history of redevelopment plans for Melbourne Docklands. Rather I want to examine Docklands as an example of the Victorian Government's urban development strategy and as a symbol of urban development policy and practice at the end of the 20th Century. There are three main questions that I want to pose:

1. Why Docklands?
2. What is the role of planning and government in the Docklands redevelopment? and
3. What are the ramifications of market-driven urban development for social and spatial equity and the future of the city?

1. WHY DOCKLANDS?

Since the end of the long post war boom in the 1970s, governments of all persuasions have increasingly sought to harness the urban development process to the task of restructuring and stimulating economic activity. During this time a number of orthodoxies regarding the role and purpose of planning have developed. Governments have come to believe that urban development is a vital sector of the economy in its own right and that to encourage real estate development is to encourage economic growth. Planners and politicians argue that restructuring of urban space is essential to economic restructuring, to shift the economy from a predominantly industrial focus to an emphasis on services, consumption and tourism, the supposed growth areas of the new global economy. In order to facilitate growth and change in urban development, it is argued, planning controls need to be freed up, with much greater emphasis on facilitation rather than control. Further, as competition between cities and regions intensifies, city managers have sought to attract capital by adopting place marketing strategies, offering packages of inducements or fashioning city images such as the Kennett Government's major events strategy.

These planning orthodoxies are clearly driving the Kennett Government's plans for Docklands. Specifically,

1. The development of the Docklands is expected to bring economic and employment benefits to the city;
2. Docklands is part of the process of spatial restructuring to facilitate broader economic restructuring in a context of declining manufacturing industry and global economic integration and change: the emphasis here is on high-tech industry and leisure and tourism developments; and, finally,
3. Docklands is intended as a major place marketing tool, seeking to attract investment, footloose capital, corporate personnel and tourists to Melbourne.

2. THE ROLE OF PLANNING AND THE STATE

My critique of the Docklands planning process can be broken down into three essential elements:

1. Public involvement in the planning process;
2. The growing private control over planning and urban design processes; and
3. The role of the state.

2.1 Public Involvement in the Planning Process for Docklands

An amendment to the Planning Scheme was made to facilitate the Docklands redevelopment. While the amendment process was flawed (the exhibition period was announced just before Christmas when it was likely to get minimal attention, and expressions of interest for developers were required before the amendment process was completed) the reality is that the statutory planning framework is really just a diversion from the main game anyway.

The *real* planning process takes place in the negotiation process between developers and the Authority. The Planning Scheme sets out preferred uses and there is a framework and urban design guidelines for developers to consider, but, as the Authority has been keen to broadcast, these are not intended to be prescriptive.

As I have commented elsewhere (Long, 1997a: vi), "the really important decisions about what is built in the Docklands are made in the Authority's process of tendering and shortlisting developers and by panels of 'experts' whose identities remain concealed to the public". No bidders, as far as I have been able to ascertain, made any attempts to involve the broader public in developing their bids, nor was there any community involvement in the shortlisting of the 250-odd expressions of interest. Similarly, the actual assessment process will most definitely not be a public one. Indeed, the Docklands Authority's "Preferred Precincts Proposals" document describes the assessment process in the following terms: "Assessment of the bids has been undertaken by the Docklands Authority, with the assistance of specialist analysts, independent review panels and a steering committee".

The effort to exclude the public – for that is what it seems – led to the exclusion of other levels of government through which democratic pressure might be exerted. Although the Docklands area has never been subject to the control of the Melbourne City Council (State authorities, chiefly the Port of Melbourne Authority, have been the responsible bodies until the Docklands Authority assumed the land), it would seem to have been appropriate that the Council be given some meaningful input into the redevelopment process, given the obvious ramifications of such a major project for the rest of the City of Melbourne and given that the completed Docklands will become part of the City. However, the only involvement of the Council has been at a planning officer level, and this only on the condition that the officer not discuss deliberations with other members of Council staff or Councillors. This is urban development purely as business transaction, in which the awkward notions of public scrutiny and involvement have no place, despite the massive impacts that such development will have on the public's city.

Public participation and scrutiny have further been impeded by the Authority's selective revelation of information. A number of reports, such as the "Site Conditions, Services and Options Report" (which deals with public spaces, roads, water edges, waterfront promenades etc.) and the "Trunk Infrastructure Plan and Costings" were not readily available to the public. None of this suggests that the Authority aims to create an atmosphere of participatory openness.

One of the defining aspects of contemporary urban development is the extent to which capital is able to influence urban planning policy. Indeed, in the case of Docklands, both the State Government and the Authority appear to believe that, in Kim Dovey's words, "the public interest is fully served by private interests" (Dovey, 1996). In fact the tendency to confuse private with public interests is one of the real problems of neo-liberal ideology and is

inherent in the belief that markets are objective and fair means of distributing all resources. This has led the Docklands Authority to confuse corporate consultation with public participation. John Tabart has admitted that, besides work undertaken by the Docklands Taskforce in the early 1990s and besides the Planning Scheme Amendment process – the inadequacies of which I have already discussed – the main groups consulted have been "business groups associated with the development process", including "Prahran Rotary Club, the Brighton Rotary Club, the Master Builders Association, an international retail conference at the Regent Hotel" (Long, 1997a: 73). In addition, capital lobby groups and development interests are heavily represented on the Authority's board.

2.2 Private Control Over Planning and Design

The heavy emphasis on market-driven development at Docklands has meant that although there is a planning framework (consisting of the Planning Scheme and associated documents such as the Urban Design Guidelines), it is not intended to proscribe private sector initiatives. Indeed, so long as developers roughly fulfil basic criteria, it is clear that the actual planning and design of precincts and, importantly, their infrastructure, will be up to them as the "people with the ideas". The criteria, however, are so flexible that proposals such as the 600 metre Grollo Tower, which bears no resemblance to anything envisioned in the Authority's Framework and Visions, can readily be accommodated. Although the concept of master planning appears anathema to planning authorities and governments these days, the reality is that it is actually *public* master planning that is considered flawed. As Dovey (1996) points out, "Docklands will be master planned within each precinct, in accord with private strategies".

One of the crucial questions that must be asked when the planning system is so thoroughly subject to private control is how the public interest is to be protected. Of course, for the Government this question may not even arise, given its propensity, as we have seen, to conflate private and public good. What appears likely to be the case in Docklands is that a distinguishable category of "public interest" will simply whither under the sustained implementation of an ideology of privatism, so that all services, from child care, to health care, from roads to public transport will be provided on a user-pays basis by private businesses. And on a higher level, the whole Docklands redevelopment will be justified – is being justified - on the grounds that the development opportunities being provided for the private sector mean more investment, jobs and growth for the benefit of the wider community. It's an old argument: the public good is best satisfied by individuals seeking to maximise their own interests in market relationships. The only problem is that the history of urban development demonstrates that it simply is not true.

The privatisation of the planning process is likely to have significant impacts on the coordination of development within Docklands. The competitive nature of the bidding process, as well as the flexibility of the planning framework mean that developers do not know in detail what bidders for neighbouring precincts have proposed, or, indeed, how infrastructure will make transitions between precincts. "We've released the names, the track records, and the proposal descriptions of the bidders", John Tabart has said. "We couldn't have done more without giving away to developer A what developer B was doing in great detail" (quoted in Millar, 1996).

2.3 The Role of the State

There are clear ideological and policy similarities between the Melbourne Docklands and its British forerunner, London Docklands. Melbourne Docklands attempts to emulate the

flexible control and private dominance that were hallmarks of the London project. There has been considerable criticism of the outcomes of London Docklands, much of which has focussed on the neglect of social issues such as public housing, employment creation for the original occupants of the area and so on. The redevelopment strategy for London Docklands is often deemed a failure because it has tended to create enclaves of wealth and privilege. Others have lauded the way the London Docklands Development Corporation managed to leverage large amounts of private investment while rehabilitating a huge area of inner London. Two widely divergent poles of opinion have developed because different criteria by which success or failure can be judged have been used by their proponents. It is quite true that London Docklands led to the displacement of long-established working class communities by yuppies and dinkies and other beneficiaries of the post-industrial economy. But could we have expected anything different from a process that emphasised market-driven development? The proponents of the development never intended it to be a spatial manifestation of the social democratic welfare state. Their criteria for success were based on the level of return on investment, the escalation of land prices and rents and the extent to which "development opportunities" could be created for the private sector. Benefits to the wider community would accrue from allowing the "wealth creators" to create wealth, some of which would eventually trickle down to the rest of us. Critics must question *these* assumptions as valid means of justifying urban development projects.

It seems strange to many that the Victorian Government would set out to sail much the same course as the British did some years before, when, they argue, that course has been proved to be littered with reefs. But to the shallow-draft ideological vessel of the Kennett Government the reefs of social provision and spatial equity are of little consequence. Their goals, like those of the Thatcher regime, are the imposition of market processes in all aspects of social space and, in this sense, Melbourne Docklands is intended as the spatial manifestation of neo-liberal economics or economic rationalism.

One of the crucial roles of the state in all this, therefore, is the protection of the market process and its private beneficiaries. Hence, as I have shown in this paper, the extent to which the planning process has been designed and managed to exclude it from the messy and too awkward realm of democratic involvement.

3. MARKET-DRIVEN URBAN DEVELOPMENT, SOCIAL AND SPATIAL EQUITY AND THE FUTURE OF THE CITY

The Kennett Government and the Docklands Authority have placed extraordinary emphasis on the involvement of "the market" in the redevelopment of the Docklands. Being market-driven, or so the argument goes, ensures that there is a real demand for what is built. There are a couple of problems with such an approach.

The first is that the history of market-driven development, particularly in the commercial property sector, demonstrates a rather tenuous connection between demand and supply. The regular booms and busts in the commercial property market and the frequently high vacancy rates suggest that market mechanisms are often a quite inefficient means of allocating urban development resources.

The second problem is that, when considering the city in its entirety – in its social as well as economic context - it becomes clear that there is a very real difference between marketable demand and demonstrable need. We know that all free-market capitalist societies are spatially divided according to wealth and opportunity. Recognising this, one of the main justifications for urban planning has been to reduce the impact of such divisions. We may debate the extent to which planning and other state interventions have been effective in reducing inequality, but it is generally agreed that state intervention of some kind is necessary

to its mitigation. We also cannot deny the fact that the inequalities between individuals and classes that are inherent to capitalism have spatial manifestations. It is therefore hard to understand why further spatial segregation of an already divided Melbourne should be encouraged by leaving the major land use and planning decisions in Docklands to the market. Unless, of course, spatial segregation is considered either inevitable, benign or useful, and, in fact, in a market-driven system it is exactly that – useful – because variation in commodities and price competition are essential to the functioning of markets, including housing markets.

In the absence of governmental action to ameliorate spatial segregation, we are already beginning to see that Docklands will create an enclave of the post-industrial bourgeoisie and the leisured rich. The Authority, using JLW Advisory's demographic research, reckons that residential demand will come from executives, professionals with high incomes and no children, empty nesters, Asian and other overseas residents and investors. The Authority has steadfastly refused to intervene to ensure either that some affordable housing is built in the Docklands or that the development process (perhaps through some form of levy) leads to its construction somewhere else. This despite the fact that waiting lists for public housing are at record levels as Federal and State Governments abandon their responsibilities for such housing, as homelessness levels continue to increase, and unemployment – a key determinant of housing status – persists at near double-digit levels. Of course, no shortlisted developer has offered to build affordable housing and the first precinct to be finalised, the predominantly residential Yarra Waters, with its 2000 homes at an average price of $460,000, gives a truer indication of the kind of housing we can expect throughout Docklands. The attitude appears to be that if the market does not provide for affordable housing then there is no market for it. No clearer example could there be of the gulf between marketable demand and demonstrable need, nor of the failings of the market to provide for all of the requirements of a decent and just city.

Just as there has been very little critical analysis of the ideology of market-driven development and its ramifications for social and spatial equity, high-tech industries and investment are trumpeted with the kind of unthinking zeal usually reserved for cargo cults. High-tech industry, we are told, will provide untold benefits to the State in terms of investment and employment. But what kinds of jobs are likely to be created in Docklands? As one of the prime proponents of the Docklands redevelopment and of its high-tech emphasis, the Committee For Melbourne argued that Docklands would provide expanded job opportunities "across a wide range of skills and occupations" (CFM, 1990: 20). Yet in its "Indicative Employment Projections" it talked mainly about information and telecommunications industries (including advanced computing, opto-electronics research), media and entertainment, advanced transport services, health medical and agricultural research, environmental management and education and training (*Ibid*, p.27). Hardly, one would have thought, a diverse range of skill levels, and certainly no unskilled or semi-skilled work, which is so badly needed to tackle the real problem of long-term structural unemployment in Victoria and Australia. The Docklands Authority itself believes that most employment will be in the "computer, business support, communications, education, hospitality and service industries". Once again, apart from a few – no doubt casual and tenuous – jobs in hotels and bars, employment opportunities look likely to reinforce divisions along educational and income lines with the already well-off sure to benefit.

In this section I have tried to emphasise the ramifications of market-driven development for the future of the city. Docklands, I believe, is a rather disturbing sign of things to come. Despite the Authority's protestations, the likelihood of the development becoming a luxury enclave for the rich, which the rest of the population is only welcome to visit and marvel at, is becoming increasingly real.

Ultimately, however, the Authority's own words betray its real intentions. This sounds conspiratorial. I do not mean it to be. There really is no secret that the redevelopment of the Docklands is based on the attitude that the city is a commodity to be manipulated, and marketed, or a market place itself, where inhabitants are consumers rather than citizens, or targets for advertisers in what is essentially one great big advertisement for the 21ˢᵗ Century city of capital and spectacle:

> The residents, tourists, both domestic and international; and those who work in the Docklands, most probably from the computer, business support, communications, education, hospitality and service industries, *will provide an attractive demographic* to businesses operating within Melbourne Docklands. (MDA, undated: 7; my emphasis)

I suspect that the Authority and the Government may be right when they claim that Docklands represents the urban future. If so, the private city is the future, as the Authority has made it clear that Docklands is to be a privately run and built city, where private companies make all the decisions about what sort of infrastructure is built, who has access to it and how much will be charged. Once again, however, this ideology of privatism is blind to questions about access and equity, coordination with other services, control over service standards and so on.

So we approach the end of the 20ᵗʰ Century, the century in which urban planning has played such a major role, to find that it all amounts to this: the city of spectacle, a shining Oz of footloose global capital, of waterfront showpieces inhabited by the post-industrial bourgeoisie and frequented by credit-card consumers, a central city citadel of security apartments and boutique cafes. Meanwhile, the ranks of the poor swell as the gap between rich and poor widens; homelessness grows and housing poverty in the face of rising rents and house prices increases; unemployment, especially among the young, persists at soul-destroying levels and wages for those who have jobs stagnate while unionists are persecuted. Urban planning cannot solve all of these problems, but once some planners used to think it could help ameliorate some of the ravages of the free market. Now politicians, planning bureaucrats and their underlings aren't even interested. Planning is about facilitating development, with a bit of urban design thrown in to keep things nice: ethics sacrificed for aesthetics in the global competition between cities.

REFERENCES

Committee for Melbourne (CFM) (1990), *Melbourne Docklands*, Melbourne: CFM.

Dovey, K. (1996), 'Trouble on the waterfront", *The Age*, 17 September.

Long, C. (ed.) (1997), *Private Planning...Private Cities: Melbourne's Docklands*, Melbourne, People's Committee for Melbourne.

Melbourne Docklands Authority (MDA) (undated), *Melbourne Docklands: Melbourne's Millennium Mark*, Melbourne: MDA.

Millar, R. (1996), "There's trouble brewing down in the boom docks", *The Age*, 25ᵗʰ November, p. B5.

Theme Parks: new/old patterns in postindustrial urban development

Dr. Tamás Lukovich
vice president
Hungarian Society for Urban Planning
Budapest, Gellérthegy u. 30-32.
H - 1116 Hungary

INTRODUCTION

Postindustrial cities of the developed world are competing with each other as major financial, entertainment and consumption centres. Manipulation of the *urban spectacle* has become a means to attract capital and new "desired" classes to consume. One way of gaining international reference is to prove that a city can attract major international events such as Olympic games, world expos, fashion shows, grand prixs, political summits, or art festivals. Through permanently reinventing the image of a place, *urban design* has been rediscovered for business, with fundamentally new, *PR* type definition. This economic dimension was almost totally absent in the urban design projects of the 1950-70's.

Meanwhile, using the swiftly developing new information technologies, the rising *global criminal economy* is more and more becoming a shaping force behind some urban developments. One of the most common means of world wide money laundering, involving gigantic sums, is speculative real estate development, that may result in the instability of property markets and in the sudden change of urban structures, disregarding local social and economic interests and traditions.

As a side effect, social and spatial segregation (displacement of uses and people), gentrification and the development of gigantic *theme parks* have become a trend. Parallel with vanishing traditional communities and values, a new cultural heterotopia is emerging. Confrontation with the complexity of contemporary cities may generate a mixture of respect and dismay. The postmodern city continues to remain the rich stage of experience, excitement, opportunity and innovation, often accompanied with a magic mood of a hedonistic theatre, but it also remains the symbol of inequality, danger, pollution, deprivation, exploitation and segregation. The new world which always offers new opportunities but new dangers as well, is more and more characterised by contradictions, ambiguity, frictions, fragmentation, cultural pluralism and eclecticism in a dynamic relationship.

THEME PARKS

The informational mode of late capitalism is organised in *space of flows* which connect valuable (local) nodes of different global networks and detach them from their social and local context. As a result, postmodern architecture focuses on these spaces: airport terminals, convention centres, hotel chains and major office buildings. The reaction of urban design is organised/controlled spectacle with inward looking micro worlds and pseudo public spaces. Their common features are the simulation of the rich atmosphere of the traditional main street, variety without centrality, manipulated flows, and the desperate effort to create memorable spaces with various spectacles and references. The antecedent of these micro-environments is the Rockefeller Center in New York, which first attempted to condense the almost entire scale of urban functions into one complex more than 60 years ago.

Hedonistic aspirations for the pleasurable, aiming entertainment and consumption, lead to the *manipulation* of the familiar and known elements of the historic city. As a result, urban design patterns have been complemented with increasingly abstract new forms, traditional local activities and communities, however, move out. The post-modern city is loosing its traditional urban structure, and is gradually becoming a collection of theme parks, with such themes as:

- entertainment parks
- business and industrial parks
- private communities (protected residential enclaves)
- retirement settlements
- shopping centres/malls
- commercial strips
- recycled (food oriented) waterfront developments
- campus like developments
- megaprojects

Entertainment/recreational parks

The archetypes are the *luna park* (Disneyland, Marineland) and the *skanzen* (open air museum/collection of traditional buildings such as Old Sydney Town, Sovereign Hill, Vic., New Lanark, Scotland or Little China in Shenzen) offering the experience of virtual reality. They provide a special instant pill like extract of *space-time adventure* to be consumed in a comfortable way.
Disneyland, for example, is a perfect simulation (at a reduced scale) of the American small town nostalgia; the whole of Las Vegas, however, is a big and spectacular adult playground. The original Disneyland idea has been copied in Florida, Japan and near Paris, but the reproduction of a 100 % simulation is strictly forbidden(!).

Business and industrial parks

In postindustrial economies the classical pattern is turning upside down: it is not the workforce that follows the location of industries any more, but these new parks seek the location of the well trained workforce. The emphasis is on *image, accessibility* and *environmental quality*. A possible typology of the increasingly diverse and complex cases is based on the nature of their core activities, the services they offer, and the way they are organised:

PRE-INDUSTRIAL PARKS	planned industrial areas
	upgraded industrial districts
INDUSTRIAL PARKS	high technology parks
	science parks
	research parks
	innovation/incubator centres
POST-INDUSTRIAL PARKS	office/corporate parks
	commercial/business parks
	planned multi-use developments
	technology precincts
	technopolis parks

Industrial and postindustrial parks are all developed according to a master plan, and most have some close links with a university/research institution. In the last category, due to the scale and the development concept, the residential component is also present besides the various services and recreational facilities. Industrial parks are increasingly seen in Hungary as a means of attracting investment and employment (largely by multinational companies) and as a consequence, a drive behind local economic development.

Private residential communities

They are protected and guarded exclusive high standard "ivory tower" living environments with some common services, typically developed for the upper middle-class. They are either symbolically, or virtually fenced off private fortress enclaves. *Exclusion* and *escape* from the social realities contribute to even more severe social decay of some urban streets. They are becoming popular in Hungary as well, particularly in some affluent green parts of the greater metropolitan area of Budapest.

Retirement villages

They are the theme park of some middle class elderly, who seek to retire into a controlled and high standard living environment that offer *special services* (health and recreational). The classic examples are located in the sun belt zone of the US (Florida and Arizona), but the first proposals are being shaped on the drawing boards of developers in Central and Eastern Europe, too.

Shopping malls

It is often forgotten that they are the conception of a single individual (Victor Gruen) who, in the 1950's, first successfully *combined shopping with recreation* in a stimulating, but controlled and safe environment. Their controlled pseudo public spaces try to simulate the varied street life of historic cites. Shopping centres are

always organised around an attractive central space which accommodates some features, reminiscent of the sacred *tabernaculum* (a glass/marble structure with fountain, palm trees, stage for shows, ice-skating ring). Representing a tamed utopia, they offer the illusion of the conflict and class free *consumopolis*, the reincarnation of the "garden of delights", the transcendent heavenly city with the promise of safety, comfort, peace, beauty, completeness, eternity and abundance.

In Budapest, the first three megacentres (Pólus Center, Duna Plaza and EuroPark) have been opened recently. Pólus Center is, at the moment, the biggest shopping mall in Central Europe; a virtual (western!) city. There are about 25 more (!) similar developments in the pipeline in the greater metropolitan area mainly by foreign developers for the next 3-5 years. If all realised against the warning of planners, citizens of Budapest might have more shopping centres per person than most areas of the US.

Another phenomenon of the 80-90's is the spread of the so called *"big box"* discount shopping chains (e.g. the Price Club in the US, or the Swiss Metro in Central Europe/Hungary), where one can buy everything from cat-food to hi-fi gadgets in one trolley. Their trick is smart: dodging zoning regulations they can be located on cheap industrial land on the metropolitan edge, because of their claim that their activity is primarily warehousing, and retailing is secondary only with a limited number of customers (with membership card only). The latest type of big boxes is the so called *"category killer"* giant warehouse stores focusing on one type of merchandise (e.g. electronics).

The suburban shopping string

The archetype is the main thoroughfare of Las Vegas, The Strip. It is a distinct development pattern, where the busy skeletal road system is continuously lined with one parcel deep shops and services. They are among the most visible elements (and perhaps the most "polluted" man-made environments) of many cities, a product of economic and subsequent urban development (tram era, motor car, private land speculation) of (late) capitalism. The linear form offers high level of accessibility and good visual exposure for passing trade, and brings services within walking distance of many local residents behind.

The essence of the ribbon shopping centres is that the traffic they carry and the abutting land use functions are equally important. Therefore the key to keep their conflicts at a tolerable level is *integrated corridor management*.

Recycled (food oriented) waterfront developments

Due to the development of world trade and transportation technology, large inner city land parcels of formerly significant port cities (e.g. London, Bristol, Boston, Baltimore, San Francisco, or Sydney), such as docks, ports, markets or warehouses, became redundant, awaiting redevelopment/reuse. The new functions, in a particularly attractive and *trendy* new environment, typically aim (international) *tourism*, and relate to entertainment and catering.

Campus type developments

This category primarily includes pavilion type hospitals (e.g. Prince of Wales), universities (e.g. UNSW), industrial plants (Warragamba Dam), military bases (e.g. IFOR) and holiday resorts (e.g. Club Med). They are, without exception, developed and operated by a *single organisation*, and have their special internal micro environment with various services (e.g. sport, recreation, shops and restaurants, library).

Megaprojects

Prime examples of these theme parks are World Expositions and Olympic Games. The common and single most challenging issue associated with their development is *"after use"*, as the required massive capital expenditure is for an ephemeral (usually a few weeks duration) event. Due to their scale and novelty, another potential they may offer, provided that they are carefully integrated both into the long term strategic plan of the particular urban region and spatially into their immediate local environment, is the generation of further revitalisation/redevelopment of larger urban areas in chronic need of investment.

A current notable phenomenon in this category is the development of "Celebration", an entire new community of 20 thousand in Orlando, Florida by the Disney Development Company. One of the largest corporate empires of the world, originally specialised for the entertainment industry and theme parks, is now building an entire city! The shaping of the new town follows neo-traditional urban design concepts.

CONCLUSIONS

It has been apparent that there is quite a variety of theme parks: from the small to the big, from the pre-planned to the organically grown. Their essence is an inward turning, more or less closed, and privatised micro world with a distinct and (especially in the case of planned parks) memorable character. If one carries on to apply this particular approach in the analysis of contemporary urban fabric/phenomena, the definition, and consequently the collection of theme parks, *broaden*: the City of historic Venice ("a once upon a time trade superpower's extravagant water stage"), typical American white middle class suburbia ("the hotbed of racism"), slums of Sowetho, Harlem, Budapest or Sydney ("home of the permanent underclass"), London Docklands ("the gigantic playground of global commercial dominance), Manhattan ("the masculine ring of megabucks"), or even a former concentration camp (horror, humiliation and shame) can be all exclusively labelled as particular theme parks.

Most contemporary theme parks are intensively wired and networked with telecommunication and transport infrastructure. The result is the fragmented *collage city* with cultural pluralism, contradictions and ambiguity, respectively, the mosaics of which are connected by various networks of infrastructure. The best laboratory to observe this process is the US, particularly the Los Angeles region in California, but the first elements of this development pattern have started to appear in Budapest from the early 1990's already. It is an intriguing irony in the history of urban development,

that monofunctionalism, the embarassing fiasco of modernist planning, is revisiting some parts of our cities in the form of various theme parks.

However, it is interesting to discover in the rich heritage of Budapest that the theme park phenomenon is *not new* at all. The Capital has got some outstanding and positive archetype examples to offer, such as the Wekerle residential estate (residential park - the literal equivalent of Sydney's Daceyville), or the Millennium ensemble in City Park (entertainment park, developed together with the first underground of the Continent, among others, to commemorate in 1896 the foundation of the Hungarian State), but even the pedestrianized Váci street in the heart of the Centre, with its exclusive special boutiques, is in fact becoming a (not necessarily desirable) kind of a theme park.

Good news is that *exchange* (of goods and ideas) and *creativity*, the fundamental essence of cities over centuries, will continue to be dominating in the 21st century only in those places which are intensively networked, not only globally but locally as well (see for example the urban villages of the Silicon Valley). Besides being integral part of various global (telecommunication, financial) networks, strong local systems (such as cafes, corso, art galleries) are also essential to provide people with opportunity for face-to-face encounters. Despite the new organisational systems and spatial logic, we should not forget that personal experience, historical memory and cultural identity are all spatially rooted still.

REFERENCES

Cuthbert, A. R. (1992) "Flexible Production - Flexible Education?" (unpublished paper), School of Town Planning, University of NSW.

Cuthbert, A. (1995) "Manuel Castells Interview", POLIS, No. 3.

Hankiss E. (1997) Az emberi kaland ('The human adventure', in Hungarian), Helikon, Budapest.

Harvey, D. (1992) The Condition of Postmodernity, Blackwell, Oxford.

Knack, R. E. (1996) "Once Upon a Town", Planning, March.

Lukovich, T. (1994) *Postmodern Streets: An urban design perspective*, Ch 9 in R. Freestone (ed), Spirited Cities, Federation Press, Sydney.

Lukovich T. (1997) A posztmodern kor kihívásai ('Challenges for Urban Design in the Postmodern Era', in Hungarian), Szószabó Stúdió, Budapest.

Lukovich, T. and B. Colman (1992) Industrial Parks, An overview of site planning and design, School of Town Planning, University of NSW, Environmental Planning and Management Series, Vol. 92/3.

Lynch, K., M. Southworth (1990) *Designing and Managing the Strip*, in M. Southworth (ed), City Sense and City Design, MIT Press, Cambridge.

Sorkin, M. ed (1991) Variations on a Theme Park, The new American city and the end of public space, The Noonday Press, New York.

Southworth, M. (1989) "Theory and Practice of Contemporary Urban Design", Town Planning Review, Vol. 60, No. 4.

Westerman, H. L., J. A. Black, T. Lukovich and A. Allan (1989) Environmental Adaptation of Suburban Shopping Strings: Towards preliminary guidelines, School of Town Planning, University of NSW, Environmental Planning and Management Series, Vol. 90/3.

The Great Divide in the 2020 Mega City

Sonja Lyneham
Chair, Planning Workshop International
Infrastructure Procurement International Pty Ltd
Sydney, New South Wales

Urbanisation Trends and Implications

The rate of urbanisation world wide is increasing exponentially and by the year 2020 migration coupled with natural increase, will have had an unprecedented impact; transforming major metropolitan cities within the APEC region into mega-cities, located primarily along coastal areas and waterways. The size, distribution and composition of these new mega-cities will be substantially different to the "world cities" cited by Peter Hall in 1966.

- By the year 2020 world population will have increased from the Malthusian one billion at the beginning of the 19th Century, to 8 billion.

- In 2020 approximately 1.6 billion of these people will be in the developed regions while 6.4 billion will be in the developing regions of the world;

- Between 1996 and 2020 approximately 95% of the global population increase is expected to take place in developing regions with Africa growing to 1.58 billion, China to approximately 1.5 billion, India 1.5 billion, Pakistan 267 million, Indonesia 263 million, Brazil 245 million, Mexico 150 million and Iran 122 million. Australia, by comparison, is expected to increase from its 1990 population of 16.7 million to 22.7 million by 2025.

- External forces and trends within the APEC and ASEAN region will pose increasing pressure upon Australian governments and politicians to review and vary, either as a matter of policy or as a result of strategic circumstances within the region, the low levels of projected population growth, which are driven primarily by forecast natural growth and minimal in-migration from the surrounding region.

- Recent currency devaluation including Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand and Korea will have a negative impact. The global economy would be likely to be experienced more immediately in those countries physically closes to and economically more interdependent with such economies.

- Malthusian apocalyptic pronunciations have, as yet, been averted by technological innovation. However, indicators such as deteriorating environmental conditions; depletion of the ozone layer of our atmosphere; the destruction of our forests as a result of uncontrolled deforestation (20% loss of tropical forest in the last 40 years); the loss of top soil from cropland (50% loss in the last 50 years); increasing salinisation of vast areas of continents including **Australia** and the contamination of aquifers and pollution of river systems in such cities as **Jakarta, Bangkok** and the other putative mega-cities; rising air pollution and CO_2 levels as a function of the ever increasing use of motorised vehicles, particularly with 2-stroke engines

which, in cities such as **Taipei** account for approximately 60% of urban air pollution (indicative of the levels of air pollution resulting from 2-stroke and other vehicle emissions in our exploding mega-cities), all illustrate both the scale and the nature of the environmental consequences of failure to design, construct and operate transportation, water supply systems and sewage infrastructure, at levels capable of accommodating existing population and the projected growth in these cities;

It has variously been predicted in writings of authors including John Naisbitt "Megatrends Asia", "The Global Paradox", Samuel P Huntington "The Clash of Civilisations and the Remaking of World Order", Bill Emmott "Japan's Global reach" that population growth, urbanisation and technology will pose major challenges to institutions endeavouring to manage such change. Predictions are combinations of "art and science." However, the general direction of the various predictions generally contemplate that:

- Moreover, regional and sub-regional disparities and inequities will increase significantly prior to any substantive re-distribution of wealth occurring in the large emerging economies and mega-cities. These will be particularly exacerbated in mega-cities with high levels of population growth and the consequent growth in numbers of the urban poor, frequently located in ghettos within and around historic centres of cities, as well as located in shanty towns and at high densities on the periphery of cities. This is already evident in cities in Africa and India, as well as in countries within the APEC region;

- Over fifty percent of the increase in population projected by the year 2020 will be located in mega-cities, those which today have a population of approximately 1 million people;

- Yet over 1 billion people, the equivalent of Malthusian global population and the population of China today, are already living in poverty in an environment which, in many instances, is itself exacerbating the distribution of wealth in favour of coastal cities as opposed to inland cities and, within these coastal cities, in favour of affluent areas, as compared to around historic city centres and industrial zones ghettos with deteriorating physical conditions, poor transportation, and in high density shanty towns on the outskirts of cities, remote from transportation and jobs;

- The world cities of 1954 which accommodated more than 10 million were confined to New York and Greater London. Today only four cities of over 10 million are in developed countries - Tokyo, New York, Los Angeles, and Osaka. On the other hand, ten cities over 10 million are in developing countries.

- By 2015/2020 there are predicted to be over 22 cities with over 10 million people in developing countries.

- Africa today does not have any mega-cities of over 10 million. By the year 2020, it will be the most populous continent on the globe and will also continue to restructure into an urbanised society, with Lagos emerging as the third largest city in the world.

- The existing problem of the **urban poor** will eclipse the historical plight of poverty in rural areas with squatter housing already evident as a highly significant component of urban shelter in such cities as in Dar es Salaam, Lusaka, Istanbul, Karachi, Kingston and Johannesburg.

- Technological innovations resulting in increased agricultural productivity, will take place in response to techniques of invitrio fertilisation and genetic splicing. Robotics will increase industrial efficiency and capital substitution for labour at the lower end of the skill scale. Depending upon the alternative opportunities available to rural and industrial communities, the transformation brought about by these technological advices could heighten the plight of the rural and urban poor;

- Large multi-national corporations, increasingly detached from their country of origin, compete globally, to ensure an even larger increase in market share. Capital flow is facilitated through deregulation, and technology now allows transfer, not only of information, but also of capital between countries. By comparison, population migration remains tightly regulated and, unlike the flow of other factors of production such as capital, technology and information, people are bound to place and country and the feast or famine characteristic of their place in the city, in the country and in society;

- Globally, distribution networks of nations have been increasingly transferred to private companies, who build, own and operate and, in some instances, will eventually transfer to governments, such infrastructure. Telecommunications, public transport and water supply unable to be centrally funded to the exponentially increasing urban populations against a background of diminishing public sector resources, are being funded through various complexions and structures, of principally private sector arrangements guaranteed by government;

- The transaction costs of any such private sector participation in infrastructure is generally higher with private sector rather than government funding. However, various regulations restricting the level of government borrowing and the desire in some countries to remove such a debt of obligation from public sector balance sheets, has resulted in an increased rate of transfer of what were previously considered "natural monopolies", to private sector interests;

- The ability of government legislation and institutions to both exact terms and conditions which protect the public interest in such transactions, and furthermore, the capacity of institutions to enforce and make good such obligations/conditions is problematic particularly in developing nations;

- The transfer of major distribution networks (telecommunications, transport, water and power) which, in the long term, will determine the accessibility of individuals and households to jobs and will directly affect the redistribution of wealth within a society. These require an institutional and regulatory structure which will ensure that any such essential distribution systems will be delivered to the specified standard and quality of service, at the most efficient price. It is the role of government to ensure that particular locations or income growths are not precluded from access to essential services ;

- Transparency and institutional strengthening are fundamental prerequisites to public, private sector and community participation in delivery and management of urban infrastructure and services.

The Challenge - Funding and institutional strengthening

The Asian Development Bank forecast that Asia will need one trillion dollars (US) to be spent on infrastructure between 1994 and 2000, in order to merely keep pace with the demands of the region's booming economies. Hence, on average, the level of infrastructure spending will need to increase from 5% of regional GDP to 7% over this period. Telecommunications alone will require a hundred and fifty billion dollars US, power and transport approximately 350 billion in each case, and water supply and sanitation approximately 100 billion. A significant proportion of these funds will be allocated to infrastructure investment in the People's Republic of China.

The public-private sector dialogue organised under the APEC Co-operation and Infrastructure Conference in Jakarta in September 1995 reiterated statistics such as the growth of population in the Asia-Pacific region surpassing 3 billion, growing by a quarter of a million each day. The countries of developing Asia spend, on average, approximately 5% of GDP on infrastructure each year. Furthermore, if supply is to keep pace with demand this figure will need to rise to 7-8% of GDP over the next decade. The report prepared by ADB outlined various structures by which the private sector could participate in infrastructure development through BOT, BOO and other such structures. However, it is stressed that governments must take the leadership in setting industry standards for private entities and, furthermore, that governments must be prepared to provide limited or full guarantees to cover both political and financial risk.

A major issue in any such public-private sector structure is that of "allocation of risk". Various mechanisms and structures are developed to distribute this risk to various parties, by way of mechanisms such as "partial credit guarantee" or "later maturity guarantee". Government may be required not only to provide such part guarantees, but may also be required to provide additional "sweeteners" in the form of tax incentives, depreciation allowances and provision of land in the vicinity of such proposed infrastructure projects, and at a zero or nominal value.

Governments in developed countries such as the UK, and Australia, as well as in developing nations, are relieved to be able to move major projects "off the government balance sheet". However, in Australia auditors-general in states such as NSW, and Victoria, have queried whether the risks taken and guarantees offered variously by governments have been made transparent and whether, indeed, the risk has been taken off the government balance sheet or whether it has been merely hidden from existing and future voters.

The World Bank has identified, in a report prepared by Mr Harinderk Kohli, a number of major constraints to private sector participation in infrastructure provision. These include:

"existence of a wide gap between the expectations of governments and the private sector on what is reasonable and acceptable;"

"lack of clarity about government objectives and commitment and complex decision making;"

"need for more conducive sector policies (pricing, competition, public monopolies) and regulatory policies including investment codes and dispute resolution mechanisms;" and inadequate legal

"need to unbundle and manage risks and to increase credibility of government policies;"

"underdeveloped domestic capital markets;"

"need for new mechanisms to provide from private sources large amounts of long term finance at affordable terms;" and,

"need for greater transparency and competition to reduce costs, assure equity and improve public support".

The transfer of debt to the world's biggest banks also raises significant issues. According to the Economist in a survey of international banking in May 1996, this trend raised massive issue of reckless and corrupt practices.

In December 1995, nine of the world's top ten banks were Japanese and one German. Each had assets varying in a scale between $371 billion US to $819 billion. Asset prices in Japan, Britain, United States and France had risen from 1974 to peak in 1990, dropping significantly between 1990 and 1993. Questions were raised as to over-exposure of major US banks to derivatives and loans in 1994, when compared as a percentage of their equity. Furthermore, over the period 1985-1994 interbank fund transfers were either stable or increased in each of the developed countries as a percentage of GDP. The spectre of banks as big lenders with outstanding non-bank interests and property in countries such as Japan, put to question the checks, controls and the risks within the banking sector.

Questions were raised in the Economist as early as May 1996 regarding the under-capitalisation of banks and the need for prompt corrective action under regulatory requirements. Various cross-guarantee indications and other mechanisms to spread risk are under scrutiny.

The events of mid to late 1997 and the "Asian currency crisis" are widely recognised in the public press as constituting a global problem. "Country risk", "political risk" are directly related to the strength or weaknesses of public sector institutions to negotiate and manage the major components of national economies and societies. Associated "political turmoil" is a response by societies to a mal-distribution of wealth and perceived mismanagement. Nowhere is the breakdown of a government's ability to manage and deliver facilities and services more evident than in its cities. The larger the city, the greater the number of urban poor concentrated in "shanty" communities in environmentally degraded and transport poor areas.

Major infrastructure and development initiatives require institutional support in the development, implementation, management and monitoring of projects. The demand for funding for major infrastructure within the ASEAN or APEC region has not contracted. The probability of such projects proceeding particularly in countries subject to major currency devaluation and political risk in the foreseeable future is

significantly reduced. It requires all the more a major strengthening of institutions, legal systems and more open and transparent procedures to minimise length of the decline.

The deterioration of the physical environment and the continued growth of mega-cities with demand outstripping the supply of transport, water supply and sanitation infrastructure, demonstrates the level of competition amongst sectors for both government and private sector capital. However, determining policies and priorities which will both yield the greatest efficiency and meet the social objectives of both government and the private sector relies on the strengthening of planning and management skills within government institutions in particular.

The most populous nations typically have the lowest level of per capita GDP and a comparatively high proportion of population under 25 years of age. Yet, funds spent on research and development, as a percentage of GDP, when compared with developed nations such as the United States and Japan, are relatively low in the case of Singapore, India, China, Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand, China and Africa.

In various international projects undertaken in Indonesia, (Jakarta Waterfront, The Ciliwung River) and Vietnam (Mass Rapid Transit), by Planning Workshop International and associated companies, their successful implementation has been dependant on institutional strengthening and reform and the introduction of more open and transparent practices. Leadership and skilled professionalism is as fundamental to successful implementation as funding. It is vital that the planning and management of the mega-cities of the future and their attendant infrastructure is not the exclusive domain of the private sector, but is coupled with strong and effective institutions and legal systems. While relying in part on private sector participation, it is governments who should take the lead in determining policies and priorities, standards and the terms and conditions upon which the private sector competes and offers solutions.

The present economic crisis is in part a consequence of a failure to sufficiently strengthen reform institutions and practices towards greater openness and transparency. The consequences in the mega-cities of today and the new millennium are already evident in Jakarta and the effects on the urban poor are all the more devastative as these groups are typically located in flood liable, unserviced and polluted localities.

References

1. *"Confronting the Future"*, Charles Birch, Penguin Books, Victoria, 1976.
2. *"Japan's Global Reach"*, Bill Emmott Random House, London, 1992.
3. *"The End of History and the Last Man"*, Francis Fukayama, Penguin Books, London, 1992.
4. *"The World Cities"*, Peter Hall, World University Library, London, 1966.
5. *"The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order"*, Samuel P. Huntington, Simon and Shcuster, New York, 1996
6. *"Global Paradox"*, John Naisbitt, William Morrow and Company Inc., New York, 1994.
7. *"Megatrends Asia"*, John Naisbitt, Nicholas Brealey, London, 1995.
8. *"International Banking Survey"* by Martin Giles, The Economist, April 27 - May 3 1996, Vol. 339.
9. *"Urban Planning in Curitiba"* by Jonas Rabinovitch and Joseph Leitman, Scientific American, March 1996

Beach Buoy: Reyner Banham rescues the modern city

Chris McConville

Sunshine Coast University College

Locked Bag 4 Maroochydore South Q 4558 Australia

In 1968, somewhere between San Francisco and Los Angeles, a bus broke down. Amongst the travellers stranded by the surf was Reyner Banham, architectural historian, growing increasingly anxious about his delayed induction into the great sprawl of Southern California. Would he miss his meeting with the UCLA professor? If he ever got back on the road, ought he get off in Santa Monica or wait for downtown? Eventually, when the jump-started bus rolled on through Malibu and into Santa Monica, Banham, found his stop, made his meeting, immediately embraced this dazzling City of the Angels, and, in so doing, helped us see all cities anew [Banham 1968].

Banham's unexpected beachside stop may not have constituted a roadside conversion. It, nonetheless, enabled him to discover a progressive and populist modernism, at a moment when others were about to jettison the entire movement. Reyner Banham went on from his writings about Los Angeles [Banham 1971], and in his book on the Megastructure [Banham 1976], almost a farewell to his pop-art and New Brutalist ventures, the urbanising desert [Banham 1982] and industrial construction [Banham 1986], he sought to rescue modernism from both historians and from the design academy [Whiteley 1997]. Of planners, he had despaired years before [Banham 1971:137-141]. How seriously ought we now take the later writings of Reyner Banham, especially since they are so unlike the dystopic conventions of contemporary urban critique?

When Banham wrote at length about Los Angeles, his enthusiasms failed to convince most critics [Banham 1971]. Banham's commentary on the city seemed lightweight, especially when set alongside his earlier reflections on consumer culture and his role in the London pop-art scene over the previous ten years [Whiteley 1997]. This grand tour too overtly stamped him as the Britisher goes Californian, his book, an effete collage depicting the nice and white, was emptied of the black, the poor and the old [Sergeant 1971]. To those more worried by design than by the disadvantaged, Banham had

retreated. Just when Robert Venturi was brilliantly announcing the triumph of symbol over form, Banham had turned to resurrect the works of Wright [from his most unfashionable years] and the undecorated crystalline cubes of Koenig. While Jane Jacobs sought to rescue the dense, historic and virtuously genteel urban core, Banham celebrated freeways and crass drive-in diners.

Banham implanted his architectural sites within loose cultural settings, ultimately concluding that the metropolis sustained a 'sympathetic ecology for architectural design' [Banham 1971:244]. Today, some of these ecologies are more convincing than others. In Surfurbia he traced a coherent ecology bounded by the beach, curving southwards from Malibu to Newport. Beach culture, claimed Banham, constituted a 'symbolic rejection of consumer society' [Banham 1971:38] and throughout his surfside ramble he noted the 'freemasonry' of the sand, embracing two-yacht families in Newport, as entirely as hippies in Venice, or the nascent star-set of Malibu.

Banham leads us to suppose that his beach strip could nurture an exotic modernism, seen most obviously in the houses of Irving Gill, whose bald surfaces he distinguishes as 'quietly affirmative' [Banham 1971: ch 3] It is the Spanish Colonial Revival, unavoidable in the world's greatest City-by-the-Shore, which guides the design of these populist and overlooked (at least by the critics) modernists. And yet, if the Surfurban ecology could be stretched to include two-yacht families, as well as hippies camped out besides junk-strewn canals, if there was, as Banham insisted, a viable folk art in surf board design and decoration, how did these fit with the cool geometrics of Craig Ellwood's Hunt House [Banham 1971:39], the stilted shacks of Malibu or Frank Lloyd Wright's Mayanised Pasadena house? [Banham. 1971: 65]

The ecological joinery by which Banham attached Surfurbia to exotic modernism does become lightweight, and it is only in the autotopic that his 'sympathetic ecology' sounds more sweetly attuned. Reyner Banham, had long before, signalled his fascination with the car in *New Society* and *The Listener*, where he wrote in thrall to each curving line of the Ford Mustang and wondered about the iconography of power in the Jaguar grille, before condemning the VW beetle as 'objectionable' [Sparke. 1981]. He had once praised the Futurists for introducing the car crash to European literature, a seemingly bizarre fascination with the motor car, for a man who remained a dedicated cyclist:- the best-known photograph of Banham has him pedalling through an English High Street, decked out in tweed cap and sports jacket, astride his trademark fold-up bike. In Southern California the bicycling British critic took out a driver's license:- just as other Anglophone academics learned Italian to study art history, he

joked that he obtained a driving license to study Los Angeles. With the zeal of the convert, an automobilised Banham now paid homage to the ecology of the freeway. Angelinos stuck in a snarl were no more inconvenienced that strap-hangers on British rail's south-eastern services wrote the apprentice wheelman [Banham 1971:215]. There were fatal collisions on freeways but our ex-cyclist circumnavigated them all. The freeway system worked 'uncommonly well' he reflected [Banham: 1971:215]. For, far more than simply existing as a transport technology, the freeway bestowed on motorised Angelinos that 'coherent frame of mind' signifying sympathetic ecology. In the participant-observer tradition of the Chicago School, the Britisher had found his natural habitat - on the freeway interchanges.

Having discovered this concrete and coherent psychospatial zone, Banham now sought to celebrate the freeway through those customized auto-bodies of Ed Roth, the splendour of the Miracle Mile and most of all through the fantastic architecture of the roadside. The Jack-in-the-Box hamburger house allowed Banham to analogise architecture to the symbolic and functional [or dysfunctional] arrangement of beetroot, beef and buns on the plate of an upmarket hamburger order. Most directly reflective of these roadside aesthetics, and the most exaggeratedly symbolic of all, was the 'Polynesian' genre [Banham;1971:122-123]. The 'Polynesian' typified, not by cuisine, but by protruding gabled roof (owing more to Saarinen's Hockey Rink, he mused, than to the South Seas) represented 'the convulsions of building style which follow when traditional social and cultural restraints have been overthrown and replaced by the preferences of a mobile, affluent, consumer-oriented society'. In such a society, cultural values had become means of claiming status. [Banham:1971:125]

Banham's crush on the car lasted beyond his time in Los Angeles. He frequently returned to a view of the modern as mobility valued over monumentalism. When he turned to industrial architecture and Europe's debt to America, he could do no more than end his book with a paean to Lingotto, quoting extensively from Edoardo Persico, the inter-war Italian architect, who likened Fiat's famous rooftop test track to a crown which could 'symbolise some essential and dominating idea...here the car and its speed are celebrated in a form that presides over the work of the factory below'. [Banham:1986: 250] For Banham, Persico's accolade demonstrated that a large, complex modern object could engage the spirit, the logic and the imagination, as could the freeway system and its ecology, where symbolism in the modern presided over technological function, and did so without recourse to the subtopic of Las Vegas. Lingotto, an American factory in Europe, towering over the Italian townscape and set

beneath a narrow and curving mini-freeway, marked the unacknowledged debt which European modernism owed to America. And like the Polynesian restaurant, it stood as an autotopic monument, in tribute to the modernism of popular enthusiasm rather than of academic manners.

Banham ventured beyond Surfurbia and the freeways, until, like those flatlands of the city, his Plains of Id, he confronted and embraced the desert. He resisted imagining it as 'that other-wilderness', preferring 'the real desert that we mortals actually visit' [Misrach 1987]. His was the 'man-mauled' Mojave Desert, not so much a sadly-disintegrating wilderness region, but a naturally-divided human ecology [Banham 1982:204-205]. Just as in the modelled Mousehold desert of his native Norfolk, Reyner Banham saw the desert maintained by constant human usage [Banham:1982:13-15]. If the desert was a wilderness, he queried, why did we not see any intrusion, including that of the lone backpacker, as a destruction of its pure alterity? Roadside truck stops, small islands of architectural perfection, like the railway town of Kelso, and the drag scenes photographed by Misrach, all told him about the custodianship of the desert. For Banham saw no logical nor moral reason to begin an account of the desert by privileging dehumanised wilderness. His desert was used by competing groups, who roughly sorted themselves out over its terrain, and who kept their space, through constant usage, a desert, a humanised place and playground. In the greatest irony of all, the human destructiveness of military firing ranges sequestered ecosystems from the intervention of park rangers, wilderness enthusiasts and ecologists. The U.S. military, just like the gold-panners, railwaymen and gem-collectors, had made a purposeful human habitat, in which the natural order was preserved [Banham 1982].

When Banham's bus had broken down on the road from San Francisco, he wondered at the scene around him, later writing in *The Listener*,

> we passengers sat on the rocks between the road and the surf, with the sun shining in our eyes and reflecting on the ocean in front of us and off the aluminium flank of the bus behind us. We watched the perfect waves, each as marked line, from headland to headland, roll glittering towards us and break...on the rocks below [Banham: 1968]

To these three natural elements, the surf, the desert-rocks and the roadway, Banham constantly returned. Like the inter-war modernists, he was constructing a history of the modern movement, out of natural elements, a history lost to other architectural historians. In the humanised nature of the Pacific Coast, his modernism had escaped

from mannered European critique. Even in the United States, Banham increasingly distanced himself from his academic colleagues, and in a posthumous article, charged architectural faculties with destroying design and reducing architecture to drawing [Banham 1990: 22-25]. At the same time he insisted that the favoured counter to high modernism - the vernacular- was inadequate. On one occasion he took the failure of south-facing Sydney terrace houses to protect from the sun, as proof that even in their regional context, local traditions were not enough [Banham 1969:302-307]. Faith in technology, sympathy in ecological setting, the mobility of an unplanned urban sprawl and a folksy decoration on functional form, were all techniques by which urban design could be rescued from the architects.

In the last third of the twentieth century, high modernism came under sustained assault, and Banham was one of its deadliest assailants, even if a critic who wrote in hope of a more populist and less monumental modern movement. One of Banham's obituary-writers noted his 'rare capability for phenomenon-missing' and as Banham wrote to broaden modernism, others were happy to pronounce an end to the modern. In their unreflective meta-narrative, his Los Angeles came to mark the transition from one historical era to another. The City-by-the-Shore had become prototypical of the postmodern [Morris 1997:110]. Its ecology was fragmented, its public space carceral, and its social areas diffracted [Soja 1996]

If set against this dehumanised postmodern prototype, Banham's portrait of a populist, progressive and modern Los Angeles, can be derided as hopelessly optimistic. He held Los Angeles to be 'uncloneable', rather than prototypical [Banham 1988]. He saw it as the city of 'all our pasts' rather than as a window on the future. In that past he presents us with a flourishing rather than disintegrating modernism, one which incorporates the industrial as designed and symbolic, and which structures the populist into architecture. His picture of the modern city reroutes architectural history away from Europe and in the individualised expanse of urban sprawl, along the beach and in the humanised desert itself, he found hope. His ecology was sketchy but he never wavered from making critical judgements. What one writer called his 'highly-nuanced position' allowed him to both see the populist, judge the designs of the professional; and return to the technological processes of the modern, whatever outer shell encased them.

For Banham, as a former colleague recalled, 'retained that post-war optimism when all around had lost it' [*Architectural Review* 1997]. The bicycling critic continued in the hope that urbanists would rise to the 'thoughts and aspirations of the human race [and move] beyond the little private world' of profession [Banham 1971:244]. All the while

sensed that an 'indifferent dystopia' was emerging as the organising principle of urban writing, and this he rejected. At the same time, he dismissed Le Corbusier's modernist complaint that suburban and mobile cities like Los Angeles meant chaos. Of Le Corbusier he wrote, 'unfortunately the chaos was in his mind', and not in the city. Banham had wanted to make modernism different, all the while realising, as seen most typically in the failure of megastructure, that the architectural profession had left the movement behind. Hence his enthusiasm for Los Angeles, for the desert and for the industrial landscape, and hence his quest for a sympathetic ecology. And so, now that the real city has become prisoner to the chaotic and dystopic imagination of mannered academic critics, we can ask the question, is it time to renew his search for a sympathetic ecology, for an urban design subordinated to populist aspirations?

References

Architectural Review [1988] vol 183 May : 9-10

Architectural Review [1997] vol 201, no 1203 May:101

Banham P Reyner [1968] 'Encounter with Sunset Boulevarde', *Listener*, 22 August

Banham, Peter Reyner [1982 &1989] *Scenes in America Deserta*, Peregrine Smith 1982 and MIT Press Cambridge Mass.1989

Banham, Reyner [1986] *A concrete Atlantis: U.S.Industrial Building and European Modern Architecture, 1900-1925*, MIT Press

Banham, Reyner [1976] *Megastructure: urban futures of the recent past*, Thames and Hudson

Banham, Reyner [1990] 'A black box: the secret profession of architecture', *New Statestman and Society*, vol 3 no 122 October 1990: 22-25.

Misrach, Richard (1987) *Desert Cantos*, with introduction by P Reyner Banham

Morris, Brian [1997] 'Memory's footfalls: Images of the city in Falling Down' in L Finch and C McConville, eds, *Images of the Urban Conference Proceedings*, Sunshine Coast University College :110

Soja, Edward (1996) *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places*, Oxford: Blackwell

Sparke, Penny ed [1981] *Reyner Banham: Design by Choice*, Rizzoli: New York

Seargeant, J.F.H.*[1971] Town Planning Review*, vol 42 3 July: 314-316

Whiteley, Nigel [1997]'Olympus and the marketplace: Reyner Banham and Design Criticism', *Design Issues*, vol 13 no 2: 24- 35

Whiteley, Nigel [1990] 'Banham and otherness, Banham, Reyner (1922-1988) and his quest for an architecture autre', *Architectural History*, vol 33: 188-221

THE MOVE TOWARDS OUTCOMES BASED PLANNING CASE STUDIES IN SYDNEY

JAN MCCREDIE
Divisional Manager - PP&E,
Hurstville City Council
PO Box 205, HURSTVILLE BC 2481

"We are in a period defined, in large measure I think, by the search for new, improved processes and mechanisms through which to design, develop, and deliver the complex range of services and opportunities that make communities work." Martin Stewart-Weeks, "People, Places & Priorities" 1998.

The issue I wish to put on the agenda at this conference, is outcome based planning. Outcome based planning is a major departure from current planning practices. What is it? How does it differ from present practices and why the change?

Using Pyrmont Point and Hurstville as case studies this paper examines the shift to outcome based planning. It outlines the process, control methods and examines the potential for better outcomes.

What is Outcome Based Planning?

Outcome based planning as the name implies is planning to achieve a particular defined outcome. An outcome which is quite unique to a particular place. An outcome which meets the objectives for the area but which is derived from the history, the topography, climate and the community.

Outcome based planning is not a new idea. Except for the recent past, it is the way cities and towns have been created for centuries.

For over 2000 years cities and towns have been designed to achieve a particular outcome. Many may have started in a small undirected way, a road, a church, some houses, some shops; later the introduction of major infrastructure, a railway or a processional route. In this long process (and cities are about a long timeframe) there were many decisions made about where streets, buildings and parks were placed, and what form they took, what buildings were retained and what removed. It is not by chance that the capital in Rome or the Arc De Triumph Paris, are on the top of a hill; it is not by chance that main streets are wide, affording long vistas and fronted by the best building stock, leaving the lane ways lined by less ostentatious buildings. In Australia such an outcome would be considered to be "lucky". These decisions varied throughout the world and resulted from the cultural economic and social conditions prevailing at the time. What however is consistent is that they were all directed to achieving a particular outcome for a particular place.

How do you do it?

OK, history may be on our side. But how do you determine an outcome? How do you organise the myriads of individual elements each competing in isolation for space or economic gain to achieve a good outcome. It is an overwhelming picture in which the overall quality of the urban area and the place itself have no spokesperson.

Firstly it is necessary to separate those elements of an urban area which are about the structure of the city from the resolution of its individual elements. In other words it separates "the city" from "the architecture".

Having done this it is then possible and indeed necessary to apply a design process to the structure independently from the architecture.

An examination of the physical form of a town reveals that it consists of the following:

1. The Structure: street pattern and proportion, spatial network, topography and disposition of uses.
2. The Public Domain: paving, lighting, vegetation, etc.
3. The Architecture: the design of a the buildings.

The achievement of an optimum urban outcome depends on the successful resolution of all three aspects - the structure, the public domain and the architecture. However, in the present planning system, the structure of an urban area is often confused with architecture, ignored and left to chance.

So to define an outcome it is necessary to separate out the structure and to apply a design process to it. It is then possible to select the various planning controls needed to achieve the desired three dimensional outcome.

What is the Structure?

The structure of a city comprises its street pattern, street widths and the heights and shape of the buildings lining the streets, the relationship of one building to another, the open space, view corridors, the vegetation and the uses. The way in which these all relate to each other and that all important but sadly neglected topography is the structure of an urban area.

The structure identifies building envelopes but it does not deal with their resolution into architecture. It identifies the proportions of streets and hence the spatial hierarchy but it does not deal with the paving. It establishes the context and the role of each building and each space. The structure determines the grain, the block sizes and figure ground of a city. It reflects the culture.

Why is it so Important?

The importance of the structure lies in the fact that it determines the spatial system. The spatial system in turn is the way in which people experience urban areas. Mental mapping exercises clearly illustrate how the community relate to the spatial system of a city - a laneway, a park, a boulevard, a long street and wide street, a curving street.

This is an expression of the technical fact that space is the primary organising element of urban morpholog.

Because of this it is the structure which in large part determines the legibility of the area, the identify, the variety, the feasibility of ESD objectives, the scale and complexity of the street system, the enhancement of the heritage and ultimately the enjoyment of the place.

Whether it is an existing or new area, it is the structure which is fundamental to the human experience of that place. If the structure is poor, no amount of great architecture and street furniture will redeem it. In fact without a clear structure and hence a context, it is I would argue, not possible to produce great architecture.

The Need to Design the Structure.

Like the methodologies of old (and those currently used in parts of Europe) a design process based on tested town making principles is used to determine the structure. This is the key to better urban areas and the major difference to current practice.

To develop the structure of an urban area without a design process, when one considers the thousands of competing objectives and influences in a modern city, gives an almost non-existent chance of achieving a satisfactory outcome. The chaotic confusion of many modern urban environments bears testimony to this.

The Pyrmont Urban Design Strategy and the Hurstville Town Centre Development Control Plan are projects which designed the structure as the long term basis for development.

City West - Pyrmont/Ultimo

The Background

The objective of the CityWest project is to create an urban centre on 300 hectares of land, much of it bordering Sydney Harbour. It has a valuable architectural heritage; a location right next to all of the city's attractions and close to educational, cultural and recreational resources.

Pyrmont Ultimo is the first precinct being redeveloped. It played a pivotal role in Sydney life during the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century as a shopping port, rail interchange and industrial centre. The precinct was also a residential area of distinctive architectural and community character.

The CityWest Development Corporation was established by the New South Wales Government on 4 September 1992. Its specific responsibilities in the CityWest region are to manage Government land holdings, provide essential infrastructure and to promote and encourage development and investment in the area.

The Planning Process

After preliminary planning investigation, the then Development of Planning prepared Regional Environmental Plan (REP) 26 and the accompanying Urban Development Plan (UDP) as the planning framework for the development of CityWest.

These goals were translated into conventional planning controls which encouraged increased population mixed use and a block edge form of development of a high-quality mixed living and working environment".

Urban Form Issues

Following the exhibition of some of the masterplans and receipt by Sydney City Council of Development Applications in the CityWest area.

Sydney City Council expressed concern that Pyrmont Ultimo would be developed as a series of unrelated large blocks which did not provide a human scale at street level conducive to pedestrian activity and interest.

In order to resolve these issues the CityWest Development Corporation undertook a detailed study of the urban form by establishing detailed criteria for the fine grain block edge urban form originally envisaged and developing block by block studies based on this criteria. The objective was to define the building envelopes and a spatial hierarchy which met the demands of the market, defined human scale complex urban spaces, reinforced the street typologies, respected the heritage and built on its tradition to create the basis for an exciting successful waterfront environment.

Outcome

This process was in fact the design of the structure and resulted in the Urban Design Strategy for Pyrmont. This strategy was based on a detail analysis of Pyrmont. It took into consideration environmental, historical, physical, social, legal and market factors. The objectives were overlayed and an interactive design process was then undertaken in order to establish the urban form which met the stated objectives.

It introduced the process of design to the urban area as a whole rather than the present system in which a two dimensional planning process establishes the parameters for the structure and a design process occurs only at the individual building stage. It "designed" the structure ie the building form and the spatial system.

Applying this process to the peninsula, the individual opportunities were identified literally street by street with block by block studies.

While this may sound an onerous task it enabled the planning codes to become simpler and more explicit - defining what was wanted, and not trying to cover an infinite range of things which were not wanted, not possible and not appropriate.

Anyone visiting City West to see the outcomes should note that this process only applied to part of the government owned land and not the bulk of Ultimo or the CSR site.

Pyrmont Point

Key aspects of the design for Pyrmont are:

Establishing the built form envelopes by height, setback and shape so that they define:

i.   a spatial hierarchy which builds on the existing spatial system and which is composed of streets, view corridors, private courtyards and open space.
ii.   the proportion of the streets, the solar access, the enhancement of the heritage buildings, the reflection of topography;
iii.   the capacity and population.

At CityWest there were no issues of private equity. Because the land was government owned it was possible to organise the building envelopes and hence distribute the capacity to suit the overall design.

It was a different matter at Hurstville.

Hurstville

Hurstville is a regional centre 16 kilometres from Sydney CBD. Physically it exhibits all the qualities and weaknesses of a suburb which has grown very quickly without a clear direction. Its strengths are its main street Forest Road, its grid street pattern and hilltop location. Its weaknesses are the overscaled ad hoc development such as Meriton Towers, Westfield Shoppingtown etc, indispersed with a traditional building stock, confusing the legibility of the town and weakening its identify. A Development Control Plan was developed for Hurstville using a similar design methodology.

The single most important aspect of the DCP is that it too uses a design process to define a three dimensional outcome. The design process is based on rigorous and accurate analysis of Hurstville. Like Pyrmont, it traced the historical development, documented the existing heritage buildings and the topographical setting. The DCP determined an appropriate building envelope for each individual site based on the requirements of the site, the overall concept of the whole town and the relationship of one building to another. As a primary concern, it established a clear outcome for the spatial system throughout Hurstville CBD.

The building envelopes were documented as three dimensional blocks, thereby defining the spatial system and controls to achieve the desired outcome were then selected.

How Does this Differ from Current Planning Practice?

Currently the structure of an urban area is a result of the planning controls and is determined without a design process. Because there is no design process, there is no defined and tested outcome. The outcome is left to chance. A two dimensional process together with heights, floor space capacities and setbacks. The controls are rarely site specific, have a limited relationship to their context, the street system and topography, and are only connected by the zoning. They are not bound by any principles of town making.

Each "building" is regulated as a separate entity. It is not regulated in reference to the space it defines or its position in the hierarchy of buildings and spaces but as a piece of architecture.

The process does not consider the urban area as a whole. It does not even consider the street as a whole. Consideration of topography is minimal and every site in a similar zone is allocated a similar capacity.

By contrast when the structure is derived using a design process, all elements - buildings, topography and most importantly space, are considered together in three dimensions and it is the design process which determines the final relationships of built form and space. The spatial system can therefore be manipulated to create a range of spaces which enhance and inform the experience of the city.

Issues

Undoubtedly, the most controversial aspect of the process is that it challenges accepted norms of equity. Currently each site in a particular zone achieves (at least on paper) the same amount of floor space. The divisions between zones is usually down the centre of the street so sites opposite each other with different floor spaces are acceptable. Those side by side are not acceptable. With the design based process the capacity will vary with each site related to the overall outcome.

Corner sites often achieve a pro rata higher capacity; small sites usually higher than large sites which require space for light and air.

In the Hurstville CBD the achievable densities on most sites is greater under this detailed design method. This is because the design deals with what is, rather than what might be. Another advantage it . The floor space can be adjusted to accommodate different uses.

The community expectation however, is based on zoning and the concept of the design of the town as an entity flies in the face of current expectations.

Potential for Better Outcomes

Given that the spatial system is the way in which people experience the city, it is essential to embrace a process which understands the role of space and defines it. And given the longevity of the city, it is essential to ensure that the process reflects the appropriate timeframe.

The major benefits of this approach are:

1. the quality of the overall outcome: it deals with space and buildings related to topography and history;
2. the need for less interference in detail because the structural issues of the town have been determined;
3. the certainty for the community and the developer;
4. the longevity of the plan.

While this method is not uncommon in some countries, it is the first time this process has been used in Local Government in Australia.

It creates a heavier "up front" work load in establishing the design parameters but minimises work at the approval stage. At the moment, work loads at the end of the planning process, where the country is fought over site by site, prevent earlier input. This alternative approach also enables the community to be involved at an early stage, and not when they feel threatened. They are part of the process.

In many councils the sort of skills required are limited. Town planners have lost their "town making" skills - architects never had them. A transition period would not be without difficulties. Ultimately, however, as overseas examples show in terms of methodology, the only way to consistently produce good urban areas is by the use of a design process based on sound town making principles, to determine the desired outcome. Then it will be possible for Australia to explore its own spatial hierarchies, its unique qualities of light and shade and to develop meaningful forms of architecture.

To determine an outcome for a place, it is necessary to firstly separate those elements of an urban area which are about the structure of the urban area from the resolution of the individual elements. In other words, it separates the city (the long term) from the architectures (the short term).

"I believe in the city of the future .... it is a place where the fragments of something once broken are recomposed." Aldo Rossi.

Sulman and the City Beautiful in Sydney

John McIntyre
Potts Point, Sydney
New South Wales

Sir John Sulman was one of the most articulate and influential advocates of planning in Australia, from his arrival in 1885 till his death in 1934. Robert Freestone has provided a good grounding in Sulman's planning discourse, which encompassed a range of planning paradigms, including both Garden City and City Beautiful ideas, often in a diluted or hybrid form. This paper examines and analyses Sulman's interest in the City Beautiful, and his proposals for Sydney.

Sulman's interest in the City Beautiful can be seen as a means of interpreting, representing and mediating the considerable changes, (or to use Sulman's more value-laden term, "progress") that cities were experiencing. To ensure that the citizens were appreciative of the benefits of progress, it was necessary to engender civic pride. In *The Federal Capital*, Sulman observes that "In the United States during the last 15 or 20 years ... a very wholesome form of city pride has developed, that bids fair to secure for American cities the first place in all that makes for stateliness and convenience." (Sulman, 1909, p.6)

It appears that for Sulman, civic pride served to establish or reinforce moral and social cohesion and a consensus on the goals of progress. It was essential therefore to "keep up". Sulman reminds us that " the modern city spirit is stirring in conservative Britain, ... and far distant quarters of the world," including South America, Japan, South Africa, and admonishes us that "we in Australia can not afford to lag behind" (Sulman, 1909, p.6)

Like Burnham, Sulman's vision of the City Beautiful was predicated on relatively uniform heights, such as in Paris, which he cites as an ideal. In Australia, whilst acknowledging the existence of a more individualistic ethos to development, he argued that "if the buildings are of different heights, blank flank walls are too much in evidence" ... therefore ... "some kind of regulation is required in matters of taste as well as construction." (Sulman, 1921, p. 156)

Although it may play some part, the civic pride that Sulman sought was not easily achieved by regulation. It was to be created primarily by the grand spectacles of the City Beautiful which, like Haussman's boulevards, were to be built as public works. Sulman, like Burnham, argued that the works could be undertaken with little real public cost and could be justified on the basis of improving the whole functioning and efficiency of the economy - a sort of "trickle-down" effect.

Among the public works to beautify the city, monuments played an important didactic role. "No town or city can be considered complete without the expression of the ideal in concrete form. The civic centre and the city portal may be highly dignified; but the finishing touch given by monuments or groups of sculpture, recording some event, or embodying some aspiration, is needed to lift it from the realm of material life into that of the ideal" (Sulman, 1921, p. 158).

Sulman's idea of the monument was as a didactic artifice, a jewel placed in a scenographic arrangement to educate and elevate. It would mythologise the benevolent state and its scientific and technological advances and the nation's shared customs and goals.

Sulman saw the Victor Emmanuel monument in Rome as "ordered, complex and refined thus typifying modern life and thought" (Sulman, 1921, p. 161). In similar vein, he proposed his own design of "Australia facing the Dawn", a monument suggested by Sir Henry Parkes. Sulman's proposal is a grandiose and overblown neo-classical installation, completely oblivious to its spectacular harbour setting near Lady Macquarie's Chair. The design of such monuments required an architectural backdrop "in order that the observer is compelled to view it from the front" (Sulman, 1921, p. 173). Such orchestration, like the monumental public buildings composed to terminate visual axes, was intended to effectively recall and reinforce the nation's triumphs and heroic lessons

In terms of road layouts, Sulman's proposed straight avenues, radiating from the civic center and intersected by circumferential roads to form a "spider's web plan". Whilst this model was justified mainly by the efficiency of directness, Sulman saw in it an aesthetic advantage: "The spiders web plan possesses not only the advantage of convenience, but also of variety, and we all know that "variety is charming". Scarcely any two of the blocks would be exactly the same size, the angles made by the streets with each other would differ and these, together with the trapezoidal allotments, would call for special treatment." (Sulman, 1921, p. 215).

The spider web model is shown as a tight geometrical layout in Sulman's early Canberra proposal. Such a road layout may result in an optimisation of directness, but surely at the cost of confusion and loss of orientation, resulting from the superimposition of circumferential, radial, and diagonal roads all offering choices of different directions at slight angles). Whilst ideally, the avenues are perfectly straight, Sulman recognises that "it is so desirable to avoid monotony that, in straight avenues of considerable length, an occasional setting back of the frontage line to form a recess or public garden is to be commended." (Sulman, 1921, p. 51). The circumferential roads would be gently curving, an aesthetic as well as a circulatory advantage since " "nature abhors a straight" line and so does art unless relieved by curved." (Sulman, 1890, p. 7).

Sulman supports the spiders web plan of the City Beautiful, with its formal straight avenues and gently curving ring roads, primarily on grounds of efficiency. He does however, concede that his model may require slight modification by the introduction of picturesque elements, though this must not diminish the legibility of an overall order, or the image of modernity, with its emphasis on efficiency.

Sulman's most compelling City Beautiful proposals are found in his evidence to the 1908-9 Royal Commission into the Improvement of Sydney and its Suburbs. These bold proposals represent a radical intervention to the history and pattern of Sydney's development and demonstrate a strong affinity to the monumental gestures found in cities such as Paris and Vienna, both of which he mentions. It was however, clear to Sulman that the massive scope of works in European cities over the previous decades was simply not possible in Sydney.

Sulman therefore proposed more minor surgery by the judicious insertion of some Haussmannesque diagonals and rond points to accommodate the increasing traffic and alleviate the acute congestion. A key component of Sulman's efficient city was an east-west link by a viaduct across Darling Harbour from Druitt St to Fig Street, connecting to William Street which was to be tunneled under Kings Cross. Likewise a major north-south access was required. Elizabeth Street, widened to 100 feet, could perform this role, linking the transport gateways of Circular Quay and Central railway station to the areas to the south of the city.

In his evidence to the 1908-9 Royal Commission, Sulman put forward proposals for Circular Quay and Central Railway Station. Such entrances to the city were important visual markers and should be designed as distinct and memorable units.

To improve access and provide a more dignified treatment of the areas adjoining areas Central station, Sulman proposed that the widened Elizabeth Street be brought as close as possible to the station and that, between Goulborn and Cooper Streets, it be raised on a viaduct to the level of the platforms. A connection to the tram network would be established by a circular raised viaduct surrounding Belmore Park carrying trams on two levels, the upper level connecting to the portico of the station at the same level. The viaduct would be connected to, and surrounded by, a six or seven story circular building, an italianate version of Bath's Royal Crescent.

The central area would be leveled and laid out as a garden with a fine statue or a monument in its center, from which paths would radiate. It was intended that this be achieved at practically no cost to rate-payers by the land being leased for development and occupation, to be returned to the city after fifty years. It would be a decisive boost to civic pride, since in Sulman's word's, "the effect would be all that the most patriotic citizen can desire, and that would hold its own as a specimen of city planning against the cities of America or the Old World" (NSW Govt. p. 234).

For the waterfront entrance, Sulman proposed a major reconfiguration of Circular Quay, creating a vast formal civic space. The central feature of this space would be a broad avenue, providing a carriageway of 90 feet wide, flanked by rows of trees in a "parkway", beyond which would be Young and Loftus Streets. This grand avenue leading into the city would be visually terminated by a building surmounting a broad arch, under which the avenue would pass to link, via a quadrant, to the widened Elizabeth Street. The existing Customs House would be replaced by a new building, of a larger and more dignified scale to match the woolstore building placed symmetrically across the new avenue. At the Quay itself, an additional 150 feet of land would be reclaimed to permit a larger civic space.

A continuous single storied structure at the water's edge would accommodate ticket offices, cloak rooms and conveniences with a series of wide spreading arches marking the regular rhythm of the wharves, with "a monumental archway, a great watergate", aligning with the center of the new avenue. Within this great space are four tram waiting rooms neatly aligned, their form and colonnades suggesting classical temples. Between each pair, are formal gardens and fountains. Sulman argued strongly that the proposed railway station at the Quay be underground, as opposed to on the surface, proposed by some of the other witnesses, (and as eventually built).

The idea of a civic center comprising a formal grouping of significant public buildings was, like the radiating avenues and grand vistas, one of the key ideas of the City Beautiful. The essence of Sulman's idea of a civic center is the formal grouping of monumental public buildings, usually around an open space that may be either a garden like Wynyard Park, or hard paved. Formal compositions of buildings might be aligned with axes or vistas, and should be composed to form "one harmonious whole, as compared with the usual method of scattering them over a city".

Ideally, such buildings would be isolated by streets all around, with a moderate setback from the street line providing an open area with grass and sculpture. The composition of a group of public buildings should ensure that the principal element is the focus of converging view points.

In considering an ideal location of a civic center for Sydney, Sulman argued that the existing civic center at the Town Hall was "too cramped to accommodate the municipal offices of the Greater Sydney of the future, and its relationship to St Andrews too awkward" (Sulman, 1921, p. 79). He therefore proposed a formal setting of new municipal offices at the southern end of Hyde Park with the Houses of Parliament at the northern end, adjacent an enlarged Queens Square. Interestingly, he fails to mention that this would result in a significant reduction in the area of Hyde Park. As part of this scheme, new law courts would provide a formal termination of Martin Place, which at its top end, has been widened out as a square.

Sulman justified the grouping of buildings of the civic center on the basis of efficiency in communication, but like most City Beautiful reasoning the didactic aesthetic was an essential component. "... as to their inspiring effect in fostering civic pride there can be no question at all, while it cannot be too strongly enforced that civic pride is the basis for all civic progress" (Sulman, 1921, p. 80).

The City Beautiful was primarily concerned with efficiency of traffic movement and the visual ordering of the city. The sum of Sulman's proposals would amount to a city unified by an overarching visual order, reinforcing and focusing the citizen's gaze down the broad avenues onto the buildings of the great public and private institutions and the monuments celebrating the nation's achievements.

Intrinsic to Sulman's vision of the city, was the use of the stripped-down classicism of the City Beautiful, although this was never clearly stated, except in vague terms such as "dignity" and "harmony". This classicism would be understood, as just another historical style, stripped of the ahistorical and universal status it held in previous centuries.

Although devoid of its previous semiotic richness, classicism was still able to evoke a reassuring sense of stability, security and faith in the achievements of the nation's established institutions and a commitment to ongoing progress. It also served to forge a link with the older European architectural tradition as an attempt to expunge any sense of colonial inferiority.

Although often seen as simply "conservative", the City Beautiful can accommodate a range of interpretations, particularly as opposing reactions to modernism. On one hand, Sulman's frequent citing of classical European exemplars, suggests that his use of the

City Beautiful was nostalgic and backward looking, endorsing the established order by seeking legitimation by (tenuous) links to a classical past. On the other hand, his rhetoric on efficiency and progress suggests a desire to embrace change. Yet whilst he advocated cutting through the city's fabric to increase the efficient movement of traffic, as required by a "modern city", he was uncomfortable with its direct expression. He saw New York's Brooklyn Bridge as an example of "civic detriment to an eye trained to appreciate the beauty of form and composition". He also remained adamantly opposed to Sydney's then proposed Harbour bridge, "which can never be anything but an eyesore." (Sulman, 1921, p.154)

Thus the City Beautiful contained a contradiction between an underlying imperative of modernism towards efficiency and its masking by a representation that sought to smooth over its rougher edges by the composition of the city as a series of vistas of its monuments and fine public buildings draped in classical garb

However much as the City Beautiful reassured citizens that the future was just a natural extension of a glorious past, modernism embraced an opposing view that held that architecture must be salvaged from the tyranny of the past. This view, propagated by the pioneers of architectural modernism was most memorably seen at the scale of the city in Le Corbusier's 1925 *Plan Voisin* for Paris. As the city fragmented into isolated and conflicting views, the modern architect and planner sought to impose a utopian functional order, emptied of historic reference.

Australian cities, distant from such revolutionary ideas and untouched by the great war, saw little influence of this early heroic period of modernist thinking. However, just the possibility of tall buildings clearly offered quite different images of the city to those of the City Beautiful. For example, Norman Weekes 1929 vision for the Sydney of 1979, showed a city of relatively low scaled buildings of the 1920's, from which widely spaced towers sprang.

Such a marked change in the ideas of what a city could or should be was perhaps inevitable given the advent of tall buildings. In order to achieve its controlled vistas, the City Beautiful required buildings of moderate and uniform height, as in Paris. Yet with the introduction of the elevator and steel frame, the tall building could vastly increase floor areas beyond the walk-up building, permitting a direct expression of underlying land values. The mobility brought about by the increasing ownership of private motor vehicles allowed development to leapfrog from one area to another, based on such relatively random factors as the availability of property and the permission of authorities.

The use of the City Beautiful as an instrument of American and British imperialism in cities such as New Delhi and Manila (and later the monumentalism of Hitler and Mussolini) led to a loss in confidence in representing civic ideals. Any attempt or pretence at representation would be viewed as either cynical or ironic. And further, as Sydney's 1948 County of Cumberland Plan seems to suggest, there were simply more pressing real problems for planners to deal with. The 1948 Plan was very critical of Sydney's previous planning, especially the 1908-9 Royal Commission's preoccupation with civic beauty.

"Earlier attempts to plan Sydney had failed because the task implied only a new layout of streets and of monumental buildings, imposing vistas and decorative parks. Like Haussmann's Paris, Sydney was to look magnificent while the problems of economic and efficient grouping were all untouched ... Most plans were too ambitious or related to the demands of commerce and the glorification of the city and its setting rather than to the needs of the people" (County of Cumberland Planning Scheme, cited in Spearitt, 1988, p.7)

From the perspective of the post war period, the proposals of Sulman appear naive in the confidence they invested in "beautification". Yet it is clear, from the report of the 1908-9 Royal Commission, that such views were widely and uncritically accepted at the time.

Sulman can be regarded as an important conduit for ideas transmitted to Australia from the cultural centers of the northern hemisphere. He was also perhaps Australia's most influential advocate of an urban aesthetic that sought to represent lofty and exemplary ideals in solid material. It was an aesthetic that reflected the idea of a privileged place in history, the intersection of an exemplary past with a great future, a point on the inexorable march of progress and evolution. It was a position increasingly difficult to sustain, eclipsed not only by a loss of faith in an exemplary past, but by the loss of confidence in the means of its representation.

List of References

Freestone, R. (1989) *Model Communities The Garden City Movement in Australia*, Nelson Melbourne

Freestone, R. (1996) "Sulman of Sydney Model planning in theory and practice 1890-1930", *Town Planning Review, 67(1)*

Freestone, R. (1995) "Sunlight, space and suburbs: the physical planning ideas of Sir John Sulman". *Journal of the Royal History Society, 67(1)*

NSW Govt. (1909) *Report of the Royal Commission for the Improvement of the City of Sydney and its Suburbs* ,NSW Govt Printer, Sydney.

Spearritt, P. & De Marco, C. (1988) *Planning Sydney's Future*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney.

Sulman, J. (1890) "The Laying out of Towns", Paper presented to the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science at Melbourne University Jan 1890

Sulman, J. (1907) *The Improvement of Sydney* App. B to Sulman (1921)

Sulman, J. (1909) *The Federal Capital*, John Sands, Sydney

Sulman, J. (1921) *An Introduction to the Study of Town Planning in Australia*, NSW Govt. Printer

Order, Nature and Power: Asian Global Cities and the Modern Architecture of Singapore and Hong Kong.

Dr. James McQuillan, RIBA, Lecturer,
School of Architecture, National University of Singapore,
10 Kent Ridge Crescent, Singapore 119260.
Republic of Singapore.

A. Introduction
In a world of disenchantment, it is probable that the most disenchanted feature of all in the life we call modern, is urbanism. Modern urbanism can with much validity claim to be the embodiment of utopianism in so far as it has participated in the modern projective techniques of design and planning, brought to maturity from their beginnings in the heat of the High Renaissance leading on to the triumphant march of Western mores throughout the whole world. Yet no activity has occasioned such deep-felt misgiving from the expert and the uninitiated alike, as the condition of the modern city in its many guises. In any litany of contemporary success, the two Asian cities of Hong Kong and Singapore are pre-eminent exemplars of the Chinese philosophy of hard work and good fortune, as well as being global cities (Sassen, 1991) in the same rank as London, New York and Tokyo (Gerondelis, 1997)(Fig.1).

B. From City-State to Global City.
These two great post-colonial entrepôts have been and still are rivals as well as having learned one from another. Despite their historic differences, i.e. Singapore's foundation as a free port by a far-sighted Raffles against the establishment of Hong Kong as an opium post after the Chinese defeat of 1841, at present both are in time-worn parlance 'Pearls of the Orient'[1] in strictly modern terms - 'Pearls' in a global necklace of financial primacy. Such a position as global cities gives them a status of power far in excess of their relative positions as regional centres - for Hong Kong a commercial foothold for the Chinese mainland guaranteed by its S. A. R. arrangement to the People's Republic; - for Singapore, the beacon ahead for its ASEAN partners as a multicultural success story in a hinterland of religious and ethnic diversity hard to equal anywhere else. Both relish their status as city-states in a world of powerful national states now seeming to falter (Castells, 1997, 27-51), and appear to have rediscovered the genius of the pre-industrial city state not seen since Napoleon's curtailment of the European spirit residing in Venice and Genoa - the spirit of particular geographical, political and mercantile hegemony linked to an outstanding synthesis of power and art - what Jacob Burkhardt called the art of the state - in the Italian Renaissance. The sixteenth-century doctrines of mathematics and Palladianism (Cosgrove, 1993) and the less systematic palaces, urban and suburban of Genoa of the next century,

---

[1] Hong Kong has been called such due to its position near the mouth of the Pearl River, an epithet then transferred to Singapore - there is a novel about Singapore by Christopher Nicole, *Pearl of the Orient*, (London; Century, 1988).

Fig. 1. Newest Singapore, with Millenia Tower by Kevin Roche of Kevin Roche,
John Dinkledoo and Associates, and behind, Suntec City Gateway Towers by I. M. Pei.
Courtesy Ann Gerondelis, (Singapore Architect, No. 194/97, p. 28).

were remarkable cultural and architectural achievements still studied in terms of order - placement in the world, nature - the rationale of its interpretation, and power - application of artistic sensibilities, that were built self-consciously on ancient models confronted by new opportunities and problems. Such paradigms are still available (if unused or abused) today for Singapore and Hong Kong, in a world not just of world navigation, which Venice and Genoa eventually missed out on, but of the electronic network and the unique role of **being** 'compradors' or cultural mediators of Chinese culture to the rest of the world.

Despite the differences that intervene between older and younger city-states, Western culture is highly constitutive of our contemporary 'Pearls', not hard to demonstrate in every area of activity. In urbanism it is the artistic universality of Western building methods and models that have followed from the British legacy of the building professions through Beaux-Arts architectural education, British town-and-country planning, and European/American civil engineering. Therefore in response to unprecedented economic growth in the post-War II era with the State as landlord, both cities have been enabled to envisage and sustain elaborate make-overs, usually called 'urban renewal' even if no building ever was there before.

Many **of the** trophy buildings of both centres are products of non-Asian architects - in concert with the real authors - real estate developers backed by international finance, that mark the heart of any global city. Thus techniques of industrially standardised building sourced from anywhere in the world have been harnessed, and are emulated in turn by local architects. However there is no apparent agreement in terms of 'civic constraint' **or** any other ethical aim in the design of such trophy building - each seems to wish to **be** different from the next, leading to witty and even insulting labels for some of these imposing monuments. Even more pervasive has been the gigantic progress of public

housing, first attempted in Hong Kong as an emergency measure, then modified and augmented as perhaps the essential ingredient of the Singaporean achievement in the newly independent Republic after 1965, and with a measure of social success unthinkable in N. Europe or N. America. Perhaps nowhere else in the world have the lessons of purist modernism - the sole dependence on unadorned elemental forms apparently justified by a reading of neoclassicism and industrial standardisation, been applied with such dirigist ubiquity in a spirit of nation-building tempered by communal mixing, acquirable property rights and social movement upwards to other types of residence, as found in Singapore today. Two vital considerations must be confronted - what does such an achievement mean in artistic terms? and who are they for? It goes almost without saying that the answers to both are profoundly Western, owing little in their formation to any indigenous forces - but more of this later. At this point we turn to answers to our questions just posed.

C. Nature Constructed

The nexus of order, nature and power is here appreciable in the clear terms of the built urban experience, but what is the 'aesthetics' that underpins the enterprise, if indeed any? Here the *understanding of or relationship to nature* becomes critical to understanding the whole of modern architectural production, apart for a few egregious exceptions. The West's change in attitude towards nature has motivated the process of architecture in a deeper way than most commentators and needless to add, practitioners can realise. This is so due to the proposition that modern design has accepted a socially constructed 'nature' as the elements of composition, a process that began in the Renaissance (once again) with the geometrisation of nature itself (Evernden, 1992). For Galileo, nature was not just a field of investigation through experiment but also investigable because it was a 'language' or 'book' written in the exclusively mathematical characters of point, line and plane, relegating everything else to 'secondary qualities' (Burtt, 1980). Previously the understanding of nature remained as a realm intermediate between the transcendence of God and His immanence in his creation Man, who in certain circumstances, could read nature as signatures or signs in a process of interpretation (imitation or mimesis) leading to an always transcendent meaning - Christian or Neoplatonic. Such artistic readings were incorporated in a broader and inclusive expression of plastic art socially recognisible and not just individually invented. Even Michelangelo tended to obey such strictures, intent as he was on affirming his own gifts, though always in conformity with a higher order.

Fig. 2. Singapore's 'landscape of power' between the other elements of sky and water.
Courtesy the Ministry of Information and the Arts, Republic of Singapore.

A period of ambivalence in this transformation of attitudes arose in the Romantic movement, which laid bare the challenge of the artist faced with the terrible loneliness of a totally geometrical and boundless nature-become-cosmos. Romantic attachment to tradition was eventually vanquished by twentieth-century movements, avant-gardist in tendency. Apart from the preciosity associated with the odd individual, architecture is now an autonomous activity (not related to any other visual art if it can help it) and happy to conceive of itself as an instrument of efficiency in technological and managerial terms, or in terms of passing fads and stylistic turn-arounds. The ambiguous landscape of Romanticism - thoroughly explored in the English landscape garden and its eclectic appurtenances, has become without any irony or sense of metaphor the 'landscape of design' itself, a design of elemental fragments, so that cities can be understood as 'townscapes' and 'landscapes of power', not with any distance from nature as before, but as nature assumed as a mathematical instrument geometrically and elementally - the elements of nature have become the elements of design (Fig. 3). A measure of this among many others is the virtual silence of architecture to the ecological crisis in philosophical terms; Asian regionalism and neo-traditional urbanism is tolerated but the high pundits of architecture shun eco-philosophy almost as a modern heresy. Our notions of 'nature' are culturally formed and are mostly unquestioned either as absolute moral standards implicitly available as the geometry of design, or as something to be transcended or overcome, through the brute application of technological force.
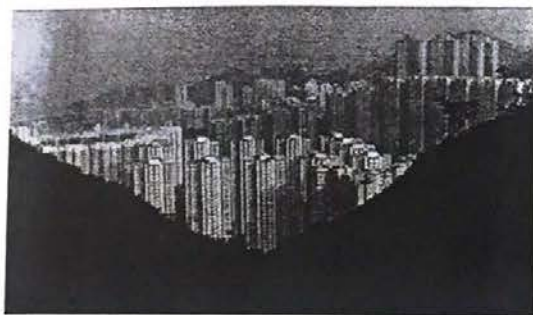
Fig. 3. Hong Kong housing-scape and landscape. *Courtesy Jamil Ismail,* (Abbas, 93).

D. The 'Civil Savage'

To answer the second of my questions - who is it for? - or who lives in the global city? - requires a consideration of modern man himself. He is also the inhabitant of the modern 'landscape of power', and is, apart from highly prescribed roles in vast corporations, paradoxically powerless - the modern citizen having now surrendered his rights in central authority, no less true of N. America than anywhere else. And the anthropology of this 'new man' has been persuasively established by the American philosopher Michael A. Weinstein as the 'civil savage', a pampered, blinkered 'individual' for whom privacy has replaced community, and special interests, such as art appreciation even, have replaced religion (1995). The 'civil savage' aspires to be convinced of the efficacy of the global city, no doubt thankful to have escaped the cultural marginalisation and economic exclusion that the global city inevitably brings to less fortunate instances of bypassed or exhausted urbanism, all rejected in the rush to relocation and the maximization of whatever is current ideologically at any cost.

E. Flawed 'Pearls'

The great symbol of modern architecture in the global city must be Norman Forster's Hong Kong Shanghai Bank. The bank wished to build its new Statue Square HQ in the shortest time to maximise its usage before Handover, and so this was achieved by farming-out of portions of the accommodation to Japanese factories and shipping them in. The gargantuan structural emphasis of the design needs little comment, having a scale reminiscent of temporary engineering magnified unnecessarily, rather than due to any refinement of customary architectural consideration. The 'skin' of the building has a dull uniform finish without the slightest variation - even the seams are flush - from ground to crest, in contrast to the insistence on variety that all great architecture celebrated before Neoclassicism. That the aforementioned 'qualities' have been repeated so often since, is remarkable in that few if any have objected to their use, denoting a dumbing down of architectural criticism that is worthy of the 'civil savage' himself.

The uniformity of endless regularity in hyperdense housing design has been continued recently in Sha Tin in the Northern Territories of Hong Kong, as has been the equal result in Singaporean housing in its new towns, despite a strenuous policy of greening and planting, encouraged by Lee Kuan Yew himself. Singapore has recognised this uniformity and has adopted 'upgrading' - a sometimes witty revision of colours and other features of the housing blocks, usually added and combined with sheltered ways. The most negative aspect of recent Singapore is the isolation of grand office blocks on traffic islands, their desperate condition only emphasised by more vegetation. Another planning no-man's land has resulted in Marina City, where an east-west dual carriage way appears going nowhere, and only marks up the lack of placement and orientation that the great islands of development engender. To remark on such unhappy results is not to cavil unduly - any great city built today can exhibit similar solecisms of equal impact.

F. Places: Lucky for Some

It is remarkable that in cities with hardly any pre-War II building left, that the urban successes of both, which means the provision of enjoyable *places*, have little to do with the aims of the professional experts. The same Statue Square in Hong Kong, focus of power with the Bank of China nearby and the threatened old Courts of Justice now retained, has been taken over on the weekend by exuberant Philipino workers (Abbas, 1997, 86-87), the government having to close the area to traffic at those times. So too in Singapore, where in a vacant site opposite Orchard Road's Lucky Plaza, Philipinos temporarily 'colonise' the grass of Orchard Park (Nalbantoglu, 1997, 75-6) and patronise the upper floors of the Plaza with its ethnic businesses).

This active intrusion in Singapore has been immediately accompanied by the recent social success of the Orchard Road/Wheelock Place junction, where a block from Wheelock Place to Liat Towers have been favoured by very attractive tenants, a large American bookshop and a coffee shop, plus a German *bierhaus* and an outlet of Planet Hollywood, creating a honey pot of international activity in contrast to the apparently more standardised commercial attractions of the rest of Orchard Road's multifarious shopping centres. The term 'colonisation' is used above not in any imperial sense, but as an

indicator of the strength of social choice and cultural diversity that have marked all great cities in the past, pointing up an alternative to the 'air-conditioned nightmare' that a future of consumer conformity and excess seems to proffer, for most people.

G: Conclusion: the Creative City of Tomorrow
To conclude with an instance of developmental excess in Hong Kong where almost everything old has perished - the old Repulse Hotel, a famous landmark of the 1920's, was demolished only to be rebuilt on a different site! Only here can preservation and disappearance go hand in hand (Abbas, 1997, 68-69), as many would claim was the fate of the famous Raffles Hotel in Singapore after its recent 'restoration'. The demand that modern cities be centres of creativity (like the city-states of old) (Hall, 1998, 162-64) will certainly inform the futures of the two 'Pearls', when the significant multiculturism of Singapore may enrich the undoubted superiority of its East Asian rival, specially in film (Abbas, 1997, 16-62). Beyond the 'constructed nature' of the post-War II urbanism and the maladroit character of preservation where it has occurred at all, the creative city will set the goals for the 'Pearls' in the new millennium, when Chinese philosophy and culture will have to encounter the global order as never before. The final paradox is that even more certainly, appeals to the past will animate everything that will be done whether in terms of approval or disapproval (Said, 1994, 1: White, 1996, xi-xviii). Criticism, i.e. judgment on order, nature and power will endure, just like the Repulse and Raffles Hotels in their own ways. But can enchantment ever return?

References

Abbas, Ackbar. 1997 *Hong Kong: Culture and the Politics of Disappearance*, Hong Kong University Press.

Burtt, E. A., 1980 *The Metaphysical Foundations of Modern Physical Science*, Revised Edition, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London and Henley, first pub. in 1924.

Castells, Manuel, 1997 *The Power of Identity*, Blackwells, Cambridge, MA.

Cosgrove, Denis E., 1993 *The Palladian landscape: geographical change and its cultural representations in sixteenth-century Italy*, Leicester University Press, Leicester, England.

Evernden, Neil, 1992 *The Social Creation of Nature*, The John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.

Gerondelis, Ann, 1997 'Big Business: Millenia Tower', *Singapore Architect*, no. 194/97, (published quarterly by the Singapore Institute of Architects), 26-35.

Hall, Tim, 1998 *Urban Geography*, Routledge, New York.

Nalbantoglu, Gülsüm, 1997 'Where do the Maids dwell? Migrant thoughts on architecture, identity and desire,' *Singapore Architect*, no. 194/97, (Singapore Institute of Architects), 72-77.

Said, Edward, W., 1994 *Culture and Imperialism*, Vintage, London.

Sassen, Saskia, 1991 *The global city: New York, London, Tokyo*, Princeton University Press, Princeton.

Weinstein, Michael A., 1995 *Culture/flesh: explorations of postcivilized modernity*, Rowman & Littlefield, Lanham, Md..

White, Barbara-Sue, 1996 *Hong Kong, Somewhere Between Heaven and Earth: An Anthology Selected and Edited by Barbara-Sue White*, Oxford University Press, Hong Kong.

Reconstructing a Socialist Capital: Moscow and the General Plan of 1935

Alessandro De Magistris
Faculty of Architecture, DIPRA
Polythecnic of Turin,
Turin
Italy

From the late 20's to the mid 30's, Moscow, the capital of the new Soviet State, became the object, of an intense debate which culminated in the elaboration of the *Genplan rekonstrukcii* and in a series of interventions - the most important of which was the construction of the first *Metro* line - meant to upgrade the urban territory . The General Plan of Moscow, approved in 1935, as well as the major urban projects linked with the reconstruction process of the Soviet capital during the 30s, are interpreted as the direct result of the Stalin's revolution, as the coherent product of the reaction against the avant-garde movements, materializing clearly defined principles of design both in the sphere of architecture and urban planning. Furthermore, this project is seen in its decision-making aspects and implementation, as the embodiment of a planned strategy, which was achieved by a high level of control of the socio-economic and territorial processes. In fact, for a long time, among eastern and western scholars, a schematic vision prevailed that emphasized the idelogical aspects of soviet planning, and opposed the "golden" period of the "progressive" avant-garde against the reactionary tendencies and "dark" 30's (Kopp, 1979).

By dealing with the history of architecture, urban history and urban planning, the aim of this paper, focused on the debates, the projects, and the new trends in Soviet architecture during the '30s, is to stress, and demonstate the complexities of that period, and the difficulty to absorbe or reduce these trends within the superficial opposition between "avant-garde" and " academism", between "technics" and "politics"; finally, the need for a strong re-interpretation of these crucial pages of the urban and planning history of Twentieth century in connection with urban policies. The access of the former-USSR archives, in particular RGAE, GARF, TsGAORSS, RTsKhIDNI[1], and the possibility to analyse complete sets of documents, do allow historians to formulate a new and more complete vision of these facts by connecting different events of the urban reconstruction like the Moscow Plan, the Competitions for the Soviet Palace and the Commissariat for the Heavy Industry (NKTP -Narkomtjazhprom) and the Moscow Metro.

As it is well-known, the elaboration of the General Plan was preceded by a period of great instability characterised by a number of "town planning" schemes and proposals, aimed at the radical transformation of Moscow, without suggesting any timetable whatsoever, and assimilating , to quote F. Starr (1977), the "concretized utopia" of the Party's "super-industrializers". Before and far beyond the influence of the cultural U-turn and the political decisions, the rejection of these projects and the circumstances

---

[1] RGAE (Rossijskij Gosudarstvennyj Arkhiv Ekonimiki - Russian State Archive of Economy)
GARF, (Gosudarstvennyj arkhiv Rossiiskoj Federacii - State Archive of the the Russian Federation)
TsGAORSS g Moskvy, (Tsentral' nyj Gosudarstvennyj arkhiv Oktjabr'skoj Revolucii i socialistichesko stroitel'stvo goroda Moskvy - Central State Archive of the October revolution and Socialist development of the city of Moscow)
RTsKHIDNI (Rossiiskij Tsentr khranienija i izucenija dokumentov noveishej istorii -Russian Center for Preservation and Study of Documents of Contemporary History

around the new Plan must be ascribed to the collapse of the illusion, encouraged by many economists and urban planners, of a more or less natural "centrifugal" or anti-urban trend connected with the "socialist development" (Starr, 1977; Khazanova, 1980; De Magistris 1985) . Already in 1930 this hypothesis diverged from the situation and the reality of the Moscow area, in a state of total decay, already overcrowded and invaded by hundreds of thousands of new "citizens", many of whom sought to escape from hardships and repressions of the collectivization campaign. Since well before the revolution, a well known fact, peasants used to journey to Moscow in order to perform seasonal labor and had worked several months or years before returning to their native villages. In fact, beginning from 1929, not only did the number of peasants seeking jobs increase dramatically, but the character of immigration changed in connection with the widespread coercion that accompanied collectivisation and the industrialisation drive, forcing many people to abandon their fields and to remain in the city permanently. Simultaneously, the tremendous demand for labour required by factories and plants provided permanent employment opportunities in the capital, as well as in other cities, for all peasants who either were forced or chose to leave the village, in an effort to improve their standard of living on collective farms.

If one considers the unpredictable effects of forced-industrialisation up until 1929 , it is quite easy to understand why, in a very short period, the acknowledgement of the crisis and the reaffirmation of central importance of the existing Moscow, as a "laboratory-city" of "socialist edification" prevailed against the widely supported projects of settlement decentralisation , based on a regional vision of socio-economic and territorial transformation (*planirovanie*). The turning point was announced in July 1931 by Central Committee's resolution " *O moskovskom gorodskom khozyaystve i o razvitii gorodskogo khozyaystva SSSR* " (*On the urban economy of Moscow and the development of the urban economy of the USSR)* , which laid the political and legislative groundwork for the New Plan and the *socialisticheskaya rekonstrukciya* of the capital, the territorial strategies of which were strengthened by the approval of the general scheme (1932) and by the construction the first line of the underground (1932-1935) from the Central Park of Culture and Repose (TsPKiO), to Sokol'niki (De Magistris 1991b; 1995; Bouvard 1997) . At the political level, the decision-making process was marked by the appointment of Lazar' M. Kaganovic as Moscow First Secretary of the Moscow VKPb (the Communist party) and the deep reorganisation of the institutional bodies responsible for planning, stressing the power of Moscow municipality vs that of the Moscow Region (*oblast'*),which supported all the planning experiences up until 1930-31 through one of its branches (MOKKh - Moskovskij Oblastnoj Otdel Kommunal'nogo Khozjajstva).

The *Generalnyj Plan*, coordinated by the great russian planner Vladimir Semenov (1874-1960), one of the first supportes of the garden-city movement in Russia, was elaborated in four years (1932-35) , under the control of the Arplan or Arkhplan - a special tecnical-political Commission set up in 1933 - and represents one of the most interesting pages of urban planning culture. A sort of concentrated expression of disciplinary experiences at the end of 19th century and at the beginnig of the 20th century, from Haussmann's Paris and Otto Wagner's Wien to Burnhum's Chicago, offered surprising anticipations of the Abercrombie's Plan for London in the idea of the Green Belt. It was presented with extraordinary emphasis in the specialised press. "The ten-year plan for the reconstruction - wrote the magazine *Architektura SSSR* (n.10-11, 1935, 1) , in the issue entirely dedicated to the project - opens a new phase in the history of architecture and urban planning, and in the history of the city ... " .

There was no exaggeration in these words. In fact, the need to concentrate attention on a symbolic reality, which assumed the task of representing the validity of the choises made by the regime, called into play the multiple aspects and problems of the municipal economy and the complexity of the urban design. It should be remembered that this took place at a time in which the standard of living of the majority of the Soviet Union inhabitants had reached a new tragic low point, during the years of the terrible famine which killed over six million people . Coherent with the goals formulated in 1931-1932, and the constraints in terms of economic and material resources, the fundamental choice involved, was that of *discovery* in the historical structure of the nucleus of Moscow - instead of destroying o deconstructing it as proposed by Le Corbusier and other avangardists (Khazanova 1980, Cohen 1987, De Magistris 1995) - the morphological premises for modernising the urban environment. Therefore, the compact radial-ring scheme was accepted and emphasised, as the "intangible" matrix upon which the future city would be based. The urban area, increased from 30 to 60 thousand hectares, giving rise to a system of zoning based on the concentration of industry in the western quadrant, and residential expansion toward the northeast, northwest and southwest, a zone added to the city for its healthier climate. The overall reorganization of the principal street network (in russian, *magistraly*) that was expanded and regularised, would make it possible to connect the centre of the city and the peripheral areas, and to create a functional and formal link between the historical zones and the new parts of Moscow. Beginnig with the "*magistraly* ", general projects were formulated for single sectors, defined in planovolumetric terms, into which the residential units (*kvarlaty*) were inserted.

By examing projects, documents and debates, in particular those developed on the pages of "*Architektura SSSR* " (De Magistris 1993) the organ of architects' Union (SSA- Soyuz sovetskikh arkhitektorov), or *Stroitel'stvo Moskvy* , *Akademya Arkhitektury* and *Arkhitektura za rubezhom* , it results clear that up to the second half of the thirties, no stylistic *diktat* was imposed. The term of *socialist realism* in architecture and urban design, was not associated to a particular style picked up from the Tradition and the past , as it is still pointed out in the contemporary historiographical literature, but with a search for a timeless flexible language, selected from the entire history of architecture, that could adapt itself to the multi -faceted requirements of the urban image and its transformation , a basic problem of which was to reflect and epitomize, through the formal differentiation of buldings and urban sectors, the social strategies of the regime, adressed, from 1931 on, to struggle against the egualitarian social trends (*uravlilovka*) of the twenties (De Magistris, 1991a; 1995).

In no way, can the General Plan be interpreted in terms of preordinated "recipies" and approaches. Instead, it was the outcome of a complex process, a sort of "competition" between different tendencies. The up-to-date research makes it more clear in its cultural, socio-economic, ideological, political and institutional aspects. One of most important was the creation in september 1933 of new design agencies (*arkhitekturnye* and *planirovochnye masterskie*), which worked at the bidding of municipal and governmental institutions, and contained the leading expressions of Soviet architecture, representatives of the great variety of "creative" tendencies, from the "academic" Ivan Zholtovkij to Konstantin Mel'nikov and the former "constructivist" I. Golosov. Of course, the thirties were years in which there was a return of the academic approach, a retracing of links to pre-revolutionary architectural culture. But the crystallisation, the

СХЕМА ПЛАНИРОВКИ МОСКВЫ

МОССОВЕТ
ОТДЕЛ ПЛАНИРОВКИ
1935 г.
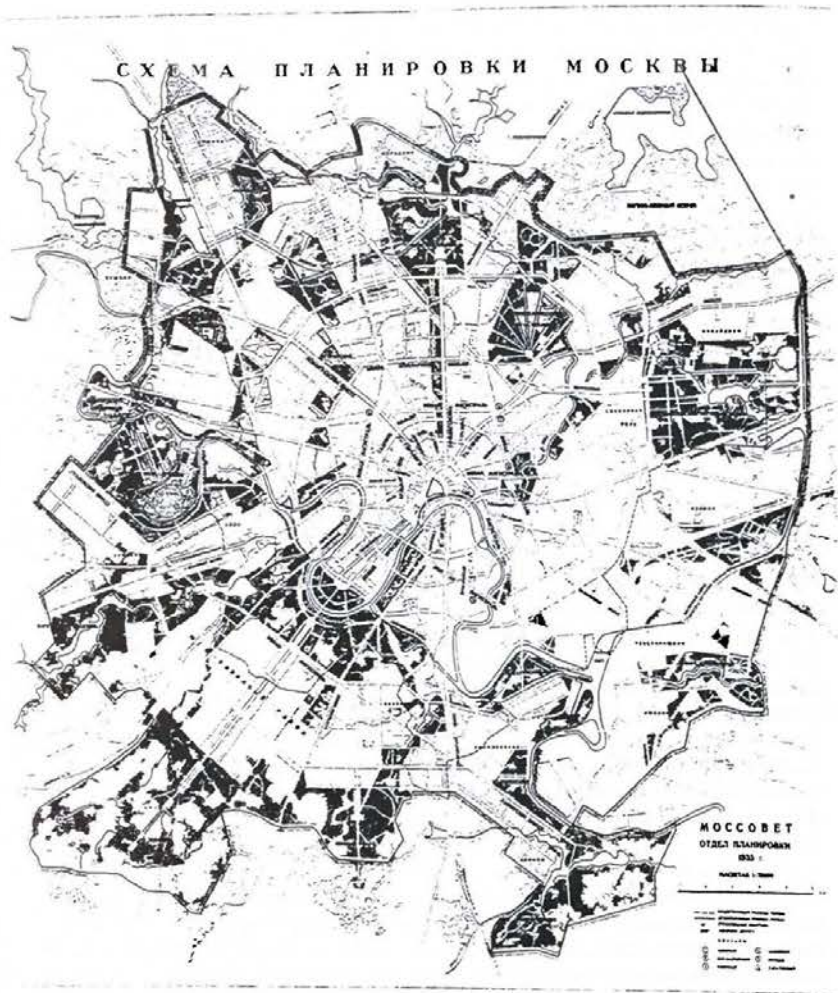
actual sclerosis, only took place at the end of the decade, relating with the repressions and purges. This phase was preceded by an "open" period of intense discussions and debates regarding the actual crisis of the values, methods and dominant paradigms in urban design of the earlier decade. Although it is undoubtedly true that, in the urban history of that period, forms of control over urban and social tranformation became progressively more rigid, with the substantial dismantling of dialectics established during the NEP era - change in nature of co-operatives, the predominance of industrial 'strategies" on the urban ones, and so on (De Magistris 1988) , on the level of urban design, there was also an almost antithetical tendency. The variety and concentration of the problems raised by the reconstruction of the capital brought about an "open field" exploration of the legacy of historical and contemporary experiences. It does not seem to have overlooked any of the factors and cultural tracings which made up the theory and the practice of the Russo-soviet architects and urban planners between the 18th century and the first decades of the 20th century. This is demonstrated in the analysis of the activities of the Academy of architecture (Opochinskaja 1997), which was the most important soviet scientific institution, in the field of architecture and planning of that time. While political caesurae, the consolidation of the totalitarian state and the changing social and economic conditions linked to forced industrialization had definitely played a decisive role in determining the turn towards " new" orientations. The documents of early 1930s emphasise just how substantial the strictly disciplinary reflections were in actual fact, within the practical process of designing the city.

References

Bliznakov M. (1976), 'Urban Planning in URSS: integrative theories' : M.F. Hamm,ed. *The City in Russian History*, Lexington, 243-256.

Borsevsij M.V. ed. (1980) *Sosial'nye problemy architekturnogo-gradostroitel'nogo raznitija Moskvy*, Moskva

Bouvard J. (1997) ' La città del futuro: la metropolitana di Mosca': A. De Magistris, ed. *URSS anni '30-'50. Paesaggi dell'utopia staliniana*, Milano, 47-61

Cohen, J.-L. (1987) *Le Corbusier et la mysthique de l'URSS*, Bruxelles-Liège

_____ (1997) *Les années Trente*, Paris

Colton, T.J. (1995) *Moscow. Governing the Socialist Metropolis*, Cambridge Mass., London

De Magistris, A. (1988) *La città di transizione. Politiche urbane e ricerche tipologiche nell'URSS degli anni Venti* , Torino

_____ (1991a) 'Culture architecturale et projet urbain dans les années 30", *Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique* , XXXII (4), 609-626.

_____ (1991b) ' La metropolitana di Mosca. Un laboratorio del realismo socialista, *Urbanistica* 100, 23-35

_____ (1993) ' Il dibattito architettonico degli anni '30-'50 nelle pagine di 'Arkhitektura SSSR', *Casabella* 602, 46-53

_____ (1995) *La costruzione della città totalitaria. Il piano di Mosca e il dibattito sulla città sovietica tra gli anni venti e Cinquanta*, Milano

De Magistris, A. ed. (1997) *URSS anni '30-'50. Paesaggi dell'utopia staliniana*, Milano

Fitzpatrick, S. ed. (1978) *Cultural Revolution in Russia, 1928-1931*, Indianapolis

Hoffmann, D.L. (1994) *Peasant Metropolis: Social Identities in Moscow 1929-1941*, Ithaca

Khazanova, V. (1980) *Sovetskaja architektura pervoj pjatiletki*, Moskva

Kopp A. (1979) *L'architecture de la periode staliniene*, Grenoble

Lewin M. (1985) *The Making of Soveit System. Essays on the Social History of Interwar Russia*, London

Opochinskaja A. (1997), 'Per una storia dell'Accademia di architettura pansovietica':
A. De Magistris, ed. *URSS anni '30-'50. Paesaggi dell'utopia staliniana*, Milano, 63-78

Sosnovy T. (1954) *The Housing Problem in Soviet Union*, Research Program on the USSR, New York

Starr S.F. (1977) 'L'urbanisme utopique pendant la révolution culturelle sovietique', *Annales ESC*, 1, 87-105

The Olympic Games and Economic Development - Hopes, Myths and Realities: The Cape Town 2004 Bid

Brij Maharaj
Department of Geography
University of Durban-Westville
Private Bag X54001, Durban, 4000
South Africa

Introduction

Sport, which was once a form of entertainment, has now emerged as an important political, social and economic force. A good example in this regard is the competition to host the Olympic Games (Law, 1994; Cochrane, et al 1996; Loftman and Nevin, 1996; De Lange, 1998). A common argument is that the Olympic Games provides opportunities for development to take place through the attraction of foreign investment.

The success of the Los Angeles in 1984 has created a vague belief that staging the Games is the same as "having a licence to print money, as well as offering many beneficial social spin offs in areas such as housing, tourism and transport" (The Financial Mail, 23/07/93). However, the Olympic Games is a short-term event which often has long term consequences. Los Angeles, and more recently Atlanta, did make a profit - but remain the only Games since the modern Olympics began in 1896 to break even without government subsidy. The Los Angeles profits were marginal when measured against total expenditure. The general experience is that in

> most countries the taxpayer picks up a heavy bill for the Olympics. Canada's Montreal, for instance, is still battling with debts run up in the 1976 Games. Moscow lost US $310 million in 1980; Seoul in 1988 was the most financially successful on paper, earning $541 million - but about $3 billion of construction was underwritten by government and hidden in other budgets; Barcelona ... had to raise loans to cover its costs (The Financial Mail, 23/07/93:18).

This paper examines the attempts to host the Olympics in South Africa with specific reference to the Cape Town 2004 bid, and evaluates whether this strategy would have succeeded in promoting local economic development. The focus will be on the economic, social and political implications of the bid. At different stages it was argued that the Cape Town bid would contribute to the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP); promote national reconciliation; contribute to the training and empowerment of the previously disadvantaged; and impact on development across the African sub-continent. Although the Cape Town bid was unsuccessful, these claims will be subjected to critical scrutiny in this paper in order to determine whether the benefits of growth and development would have materialised.

'Place Wars' - Competition for the Bid

Three cities - Durban, Cape Town and Johannesburg - submitted bids to the National Olympic Committee of South Africa (NOCSA) to host the Olympic Games in the year 2004. The three cities had similar objectives in motivating their bids to host the Games:

Putting South Africa on the map as the first African country to host the Games; the socio-economic and sporting benefits; and the potential for job creation and income generation (The Financial Mail, 23/07/93:19).

Attention was also drawn to the role of the Olympics in serving as a catalyst for urban renewal (Drew, 1994). The role of the Games in promoting non-racialism, peace and unity in South Africa was also stressed. Raymond Ackerman, who initially chaired Cape Town's bid committee, saw the "Olympics in South Africa as a greater unifying influence on a divided nation than any new government or constitution" (The Financial Mail, 23/7/93:19).

The competition to host the games was understandable given the obvious short term economic benefits:

Whichever city is chosen to represent South Africa, the construction of facilities for 15 000 athletes and officials, 15 000 media representatives and officials, a main stadium, 25 other competition facilities, practice facilities, a press and broadcast centre, accommodation for visitors, airport facilities and a press and broadcast centre, accommodation for visitors, airport facilities and transport systems would mean a major boost for local industry - even if many of the big contracts are won by foreign firms. Thousands of jobs would be created - but not many would be sustained (The Financial Mail, 23/07/93:19).

In spite of the unified support for the Olympic bid amongst local governments, big business and the media, in July 1993 The Financial Mail (23/07/93:19) posed some sober questions about South Africa's ability to host the Games:

Do we, with our volatile politics and punch drunk economy, have the resources to risk on an enterprise that has been unprofitable just about everywhere? Can we afford to be locked into a project that will be at the mercy of foreign sponsorships? ... the impression so far is that the campaigns of competing South African cities are characterised more by liberation enthusiasm than calculated risk analysis.

Many considered Durban to be ideally suited to host the Games compared to Johannesburg and Cape Town, but its marketing campaign was seen to be low key and less aggressive. In fact the Durban proposal was seen to be similar to that of Sydney's, which won the bid for the year 2000. Johannesburg, South Africa's largest urban centre, generated 60 percent of the country's economic activity, and could host the Games with the least capital outlay. Cape Town was the first South African city to consider making a bid for the Games. On 29 January 1994 NOCSA nominated Cape Town as South Africa's bid city for the 2004 Olympic Games because the city had the "best potential to be marketed internationally"(Lemke and Gowans, 1994:1).

Developmental Games
Cape Town's bid was successful because it came closest to producing a plan which would enable the Games to pay for itself. The Cape Town Bid Company functioned as a private business initiative. Mr Raymond Ackerman, a supermarket magnate, initiated and directed Cape Town's bid for four years. He resigned in March 1995 as a result of conflict with the City Council and NOCSA about who should control the bid, and was replaced by Chris Ball. The cost of the bid (about R95 million) was funded by the private sector. The Cape Town 2004 Olympic Bid committed South Africa to a "developmental games":

While the Olympics has three pillars - sport, culture and environment - we see

a fourth for South Africa's bid: development. The Olympic charter refers specifically to the developmental nature of the Olympics movement and we are putting forward a proposal that enables it to give real meaning to this element of its principles. Our proposal is aimed at improving the long term quality of life of people in the region, particularly the most marginalised sector, in a manner that is environmentally, socially and economically sustainable. The impact will be felt throughout the sub-continent (Ball, 1996:6a).

In order to host the Games, Cape Town needed to improve its transport infrastructure and provide sporting facilities and accommodation. The creation of world class sports facilities would enhance the capacity of a city to attract world class events. The infrastructural improvements associated with the Games were designed to benefit disadvantaged communities (Howa, 1995). The Bid Company requested the government to accelerate the expenditure of R969 million of its transport budget for the Cape Town metropolitan area which would have extended up to the year 2010. About R288 million worth of facilities would be provided by the private sector. An additional R504 million generated from the Games will be spent on the provision of facilities. To summarise, out of this total of R1,7 billion, R843 million would be spent on transport infrastructure and R918 million on facilities. Forty percent of the contracts would be awarded to those from previously disadvantaged communities (Ball, 1996b:20).

It was estimated that the Games would create 110 000 sustainable jobs, of which 85 000 would be outside the Western Cape region. Between 1998 and 2010 there would be an estimated increase of R7 billion in the taxation income of the national government. The overall impact on the country's GDP was calculated to be in excess of R23 billion. The Games were expected to generate an income of R4,25 billion at current rates, with a profit of R1,3 billion. The organisers believed that they were presenting a 'realistic and modest' bid (Ball, 1996b:20). It was estimated that on average Olympic host cities generate 336 000 jobs and about R30 billion in economic activity (Davie, 1993:1).

Critique of the Bid
There was concern that while there was a great deal of publicity about the advantages of the Games, the possible negative consequences were being ignored. An implicit assumption by the Olympic Bid Committee was that "economic empowerment will be achieved through top down development. This is neither part of South Africa's RDP policy nor developmentally viable" (Roaf, 1995:6). Sustainable development could only be achieved by community participation rather than through corporate business interests (Development Action Group, 1996:4). An important question was "not only who can make the bid profitable, but for whom will the bid be profitable?" (Roaf, 1995:6). The experience of previous host cities was that the poor did not benefit directly from the Games. Hence, the economic regeneration claims of the bid company was questionable (Roaf, 1995). An important question was whether "the Olympic Games a real chance for economic development or a golden opportunity for greedy capitalists to line their pockets"? (Nxumalo, 1997:2).

There were criticisms that Cape Town's Bid Company paid "lip service to transparency and accountability to the public, but was structured to exclude them from real participation" (Rossouw, 1996:2). The Coalition for Sustainable Cities (CSC), representing 35 trade union, political, environmental and development organisations maintained that it had "no faith in the Olympic Bid Company's ability to deliver Games that will benefit the people of Cape Town

and their environment" (Rossouw, 1995:5). The CSC was particularly concerned that the Bid Company

i) had reneged on an agreement to draw up an Olympic Charter which would have determined the conditions under which the bid would have advanced;
ii) the 'developmental' nature of the bid was a 'sham' as there was almost no community participation, especially from the marginalised sector, hence the legitimacy of the process was questioned:
iii) there was no guarantee that the poor would benefit from the bid, and no resources had been allocated for this process (Rossouw, 1995).

There were two organisation which actively opposed the bid: Stop the 2004 Olympics Forum and the Concerned Citizens Against the Olympic Games. People Against Gangsterism and Drugs (Pagad) condemned the bid as no Olympic event could take place unless society was rid of criminal elements. While the government agreed to support the bid, it was aware of the political dangers of pledging enormous amounts of money on a project which could not guaranteed to succeed. In May 1996 anti-bid activists damaged billboards on the highway between the airport and the city with slogans such as 'Stop the bid' and 'Houses before jobs' (Bryden, 1996:20).

The Olympic Assessment Team, an independent body analysing the impact of the Games, argued that it would be unable to make any significant impact in addressing the inequalities facing the country. Low income families would not be able to afford to buy the Olympic housing after the event. About R940 million would be spent on the housing project, and individual units would cost between R90 000 and R140 000. Concern was also expressed that the bulk of the investment in sport facilities (seventy percent) would go to 'previously advantaged areas'. Other risks included the government's ability to keep to its deficit reduction and growth targets, and cost overruns which would increase state expenditure (Sunday Tribune, 31/8/97).

The IOC's evaluation report identified crime as a serious challenge to Cape Town's bid. Other weaknesses of the bid included transport, environment, questionable public support, budget and a shortage of accommodation (Daily News, 21/2/97). A major problem with the bid was that it was not Africanised or even South Africanised (Haffajee, 1997).

An African Renaissance?
There was concern that the management committee of the bid was primarily white. Related criticism included the "appointment of white 'peers' to priority jobs and a lack of commitment to black empowerment" which suggested "a lingering Eurocentrism" (Drew, 1997:7). Such concerns were damaging, especially when the bid was seen as 'clarion call' to unite a divided country, and a catalyst for an "African renaissance" (Drew, 1997).

There was a view that Africa had never hosted the games, and South Africa was the only country on the continent which could host the event. A successful Cape bid would symbolically represent world acknowledgement of the struggles and triumphs of the country and sub-continent in recent years (Daily News, 3/9/97).
Eight weeks before the final vote in Lausanne, there was an attempt to align African support to host the Games in cape Town. While such an alliance would not guarantee a victory, "without a strong African identity and the support of the whole continent the bid is doomed to failure" (Drew, 1997:7). Ball subsequently maintained that the bid was

on behalf of the people of Africa (Daily News, 5/9/97). In his address to the IOC President Mandela similarly emphasised the African theme:

We are in Lausanne and appear before you today to request that you enable Africa to host the first Olympic Games of the new century, to give the African march to the new future the great and unequalled impetus it needs and deserves ... (Morris and Khan, 1997:1).

However, questions were posed about whether not having the Games in Africa had any significance, economic or otherwise, for the people of the continent. There was concern that "too many times in the past Africans have had their names unscrupulously used for the economic gain of others" (Nxumalo, 1997:2). In fact, "Africa can safely give hosting the Games a miss, and it will miss very little. On the contrary, it will gain everything by not landing itself in unnecessary and crippling debt" (Mail and Guardian, 19-25/9/97).

Conclusion: The Failed Bid - A Blessing?
Bidding to host global events like the Olympics has become an important local economic development strategy and has forced cities to compete nationally and internationally. Although such events do produce benefits, the international experience suggests that the privileged tend to benefit at the expense of the poor, and that socio-economic inequalities tend to be exacerbated (Rutheiser, 1996).

Cape Town made a political, emotional appeal and relied heavily on sentiment and the IOC's sense of fair play. The role of the Games in nation-building and uniting a divided society was stressed. However, the Cape bid was "long on aspirations but short on content", and basically represented a promise of what might be delivered if the bid was successful (Accone, 1997:10). There is a view that the Cape Town bid did not have a chance of succeeding. Rather, it was included in the final five cities as an indication by the IOC that it may soon be appropriate for the Games to be hosted in Africa (Gillingham, 1997).

The attempt by Cape Town to use Mandela as a trump card failed. Also, most African delegates on the IOC did not support the South African bid. A number of flaws were identified in the Cape bid: it had the wrong leadership; there were few blacks involved in the bid at a executive level; NOCSA had played an obscure role in the bid; lobbying with IOC members was ineffective; and the government should have been more directly involved (Martin, 1997).

There were too many uncertainties associated with the Cape bid with serious financial consequences. Compared to Athens, the winning city, Cape Town did not offer a stable economic and political environment, nor did it have the existing facilities (Gillingham, 1997). Given the emerging democracy which appeared to be overwhelmed by rampant crime, widespread socio-economic inequalities and high levels of unemployment, an important concern was whether South Africa should have "made a bid for an event whose economic spin off is by no means certain" (Jaggernath, 1997:8). There would have been some short term job opportunities, but these would have been unsustainable in the long term. There are many examples of cities still paying off crippling debts after hosting the Games.

While Cape Town lost the bid, there were suggestions that it could 'still reap global benefits'. In spite of the flaws of the bid, it played a vital role in marketing Cape Town and South Africa internationally. The most immediate was that Cape Town was marketed on the

global stage. There was a view that Cape Town was becoming an international city and that the bid had accelerated this process. Moreover, the bid provided South Africa with the best 'opportunity for scenario planning' in the post-apartheid era and forced the public and private sectors to think about urban reconstruction and future needs.

References
Accone, D. 1997. Our response to losing the Olympics shows we have a lot of growing up to do. The Sunday Independent, 14 September 1997, p. 10.
Ball, C. 1996a. Olympic mauling must stop. Mercury, 25 April 1996, p. 6.
Ball, C. 1996b. Going for gold in bid for Olympics. Sunday Times, 3 March 1996, p. 20.
Bryden, C. 1996. Games bid has flickers of doubt. Sunday Times, 19 May 1996, p. 20.
Cochrane, A. et al 1996. Manchester plays games: Exploring the local politics of Globalisation. Urban Studies, 33: 1319-1336.
Davie, K. 1993. Big Push for Olympics. Business Times, 7 November 1993, p. 1.
De Lange, P. 1998. The Games Cities Play. Pretoria: Sigma Press.
Development Action Group 1996. The Olympics and Development: Lessons and suggestions. Observatory, Cape Town.
Drew, J. 1994. Three Olympic Cities. Weekly Mail and Guardian, 21-27 January, pp. 39-44.
Drew, J. 1997. It's time for Africa's games. Mail and Guardian, 11-17 July 1997, p. 9.
Gillingham, M. 1997. South Africa must learn from its mistakes before its next Olympic bid. The Sunday Independent, 7 September 1997, p. 3.
Haffejee, F. 1997. The Cape of good hype. Mail and Guardian, 5-11 September, 1997.
Howa, N. 1995. Yes, Cape Town has a plan. Sunday Times, 12 March 1995:3.
Jaggernath, S. 1997. Has the expense of the 2004 Olympic bid been worth it? Post, 3-6 September 1997, p. 8.
Lamont, J. 1997. Cape Town lost the bid but can still reap global rewards. Business Report, 8 September 1997, p. 2.
Law, C. 1994. Manchester's bid for the millennium Olympic Games. Geography, 79:222-231.
Lemke, G. and Gowans, J. 1994. It's a Cape coup! Sunday Tribune, 30 January 1994, p. 1.
Loftman, P. and Nevin, B. 1996. Going for growth: Prestige projects in three British cities. Urban Studies, 33: 991-1019.
Martin, P. 1997. Why Africa turned its back on us. Mail and Guardian, 12-18 September 1997, p. 10.
Morris, M. and Khan, F. 1997. Madiba's African march. Daily News, 5 September 1997, p. 1.
Nxumalo, F. 1997. Cape Town 2004: The rich will win gold at the Games. Business Report, 22 August 1997, p. 1.
Roaf, V. 1995. Who profits from the Olympics? Mail and Guardian, 7-12 April 1995, p. 6.
Rossouw, R. 1995. Olympic bid is 'just big business'. Mail and Guardian, 8-14 September 1995, p. 5.

Categorising Fascist planning: a hybrid approach to planning theories

Flavia Marcello
Faculty of the Built Environment
University of New South Wales
Sydney, New South Wales

Urban design during the Fascist era in Italy can be classified in a number of ways: 'Grand', 'neo-Classicist', 'Imperial', 'City Beautiful' etc. This is based on a set of known criteria and is carried out through a mental process akin to 'ticking boxes'. The problem with these categories is that they don't allow their boundaries to be crossed nor do they address what constitutes them and can therefore become almost arbitrary.[1] When documenting architecture and planning in Italy between the wars, a common approach of historians writing in the immediate post-war period was to take advantage of the nature of these categories by over-simplifying and swiftly classing the urban ideals of the Fascist period as necessarily expressing centralised power. What this paper will attempt to do is to place the planning approaches of the Fascist party and its architects into a different analytical framework based on the Progressist and Culturalist models developed by Françoise Choay in order to articulate the political and ideological complexities of this period.

In her book, *The modern city: urban planning in the 19th century*, Choay defines urbanism as a questioning or contesting of existing urban or social order.[2] Rather than place various planning approaches into categories, she discusses how they might fit into two different models and acknowledges that these models can co-exist. The Progressist model looked to the future and was inspired by a vision of social progress. The Culturalist model was more nostalgic and found its inspiration in the notion of a cultural community.[3] The dialectic relationship that Choay sets up between these two models makes this model useful for the discussion of the approaches to city planning during the Fascist era in Italy (1922-1943). Because of the political complexities of this era, a situation arose where a wilful categorisation of planning ideals was tied in with Rome's representational and political functions. Secondly, it became difficult to find a set of known criteria that urban ideals could fulfil because of the constant conflict between design aims and the city's politico-representational aims.

Rome is important and interesting because of its different uses as a paradigm for both the Progressist and Culturalist models. Rome became the basis (and the justification) for a set of planning approaches through its physical form, through its identity as an imperial and colonial power and through the myth or idea of the 'Eternal City'. These aspects of Rome fed political rhetoric and were stressed depending on what propaganda aims were to be acheived.

Notions of Progressist planning were taken up both by the groups of Rationalist architects and by the more academic classicists working at this time but with one major difference. The latter group referred to a nostalgic past which, when resurrected and re-worked, would constitute a Fascist vision of the future.[4] The Rationalist view was, ironically, more Culturalist in its approach to a sense of community but held the

modernist conviction in the ability of architecture and urbanism to realise a new world and a better and more ordered life.[5]

The more directly Culturalist approach developed at this time can be found in the architect and urbanist Gustavo Giovannoni's *Vecchie città ed edilizia nuova* of 1931. In this book he puts forward his theory of *diradamento* (literally, to make sparse) which is a synthesis of Sitte's hypotheses and the more 'engineer-based' approaches from England and the United States.[6] His theories were put into practice in the garden city developments of Garbatella and Monte Sacro and in the *Rinascimento* quarter of Rome as part of the 1931 master plan. The approach was tied to the city's historical and aesthetic qualities which could give form to economic needs. The underlying idea was that the compact and monocentric typology of Italian cities could be retained.[7] The problem in implementing these policies was tied in with different value structures concerning which nostalgic past the new Fascist city would arise from. This was dictated not by economic or functional concerns but from the formal and representational aspects of architecture and urban form which would contribute to a largely rhetorical version of a Fascist capital.

The specific nostalgic past to which the party referred was that of the ancient Roman empire and this is where the ideals of Progressist urbanism come in. Notions of axis, grandeur and vistas (the criteria used to classify plans as neo-classicist and the like) answered to the glory and grandeur that the new Fascist empire would re-create. This is evident both in the 1931 master plan for Rome (PR31) and in the plan for the never-realised Rome World's Fair of 1942 (E42).

The PR31 developed from a number of projects for how Rome could be transformed into what was variously envisioned as a truly Fascist city. Fascist rhetoric of the early twenties declared that in order for Italy to become the world's leading nation it would have to be permeated by "Rome's immortal spirit".[8]

A common characteristic of these projects were the *sventramenti*. Literally, the 'gutting' of the Medieval and Renaissance urban fabric in order to create long straight avenues connecting important monuments to each other. This approach has been described as the 'Haussmannization'[9] of Rome, its "savage" and "demential" "devastation".[10] Such an approach in the name of "traffic, beauty and hygiene" can be readily categorised as a Progressist one but then how does this correlate with its nostalgic aspects? With the destruction of the architectural and urban expression of an 'unworthy' past in order to bring to light what had been defined as a 'glorious' one. Again, the rhetoric of the time places the planning of this era as responding to both models. In a newspaper article Mussolini qualifies that his vision of Rome "is not a nostalgic contemplation of the past, but hard preparation for the future".[11] This use of the past informing the future is not unlike Giovannoni's economic re-evaluation of cities using his Sittean *diradamento* theory.

Categorising the E42 becomes more complex. This is because the plan for the Fair underwent several transformations and secondly because it served a dual purpose. In charting the plan's development it becomes evident that what was initially a Fair plan that exhibited a synthesis between axial organisation and a Rationalist notion of a cultural community progressively became an exercise in representation. The later plans proclaim once more the recreation of a glorious past with the *cardus* of the Via

Imperiale being crossed by four *decumanus* each representing an aspect of Fascist society.[12]

By looking at different planning approaches to Rome during the Fascist period it becomes clear their categorisation into particular models served a number of political and rhetorical purposes. These served both the regime and its historians. The former with the aim to exalt, the latter with the desire to condemn.

Notes

1 In his preface to The order of things, Foucault describes a passage by Borges where he cites a Chinese encyclopaedia's classification of animals. The categories are: a) belonging to the Emperor, b) embalmed, c) tame, d) sucking pigs, e) sirens, f) fabulous, g) stray dogs, h) included in the present classification, i) frenzied, j) innumerable, k) drawn with a very fine camelhair brush, l) et cetera, m) having just broken the water pitcher, n) that from a very long way off look like flies.", M. Foucault, *The order of things*, London and New York: Tavistock/Routledge, 1989, xv.
2 F. Choay, *The Modern City: Planning in the Nineteenth Century*. Trans. M. Hugo & G. R. Collins. New York: Braziller, 1970, 31.
3 Ibid.
4 General Commissariat EUR, *L'esposizione universale di Roma*, Rome: EUR Commission, 1939, 25.
5 A. Bruschi, "L'E42" in *La casa*, no. 6 (c. 1959), 306.
6 G. Ciucci, *Gli architetti e il fascismo. Architettura e cittàa', 1922-1944*, Turin: Einaudi, 1989, 14-5.
7 Ciucci, 16.
8 From a speech for the inauguration of the Corridoni circle, 6 April 1921. From B. Mussolini, *Opera Omnia*, XVIII, 144, quoted in A. Cederna, *Mussolini urbanista. Lo sventramento di Rome negli anni del consenso*, Bari: Laterza, 1979, 34.
9 I. Insolera, *Roma moderna. Un secolo di storia urbanistica*, Bari: Laterza, 1976.
10 Terms used by Cederna throughout his book.
11 From *Il popolo d'Italia*, 21 April 1922, Mussolini, *Opera Omnia*, XVIII, 160, quoted in Cederna, 34.
12 These were: The first is the entry axis or Ôcivilisation axisÕ and this boasts as its culmination the Italian Civilisation Building a Òmonumental construction [...] dominant over the whole regionÕ (General commissariat, 32) and is answered by the Congress Building suitably ÔclassicisedÕ by Piacentini with a row of column shafts over the entrance. The second is the Ômonumental axisÕ: that of the Piazza Imperiale intended as the Òmost significant architectural page of the ExpositionÕ (ibid.) and the heart of the monumental zone. Around it are the Cities of Science and Technology on the eastern side and the City of Arts to the west. The third axis could be nominated the Ôsociety axisÕ since it links the Church and the Housing and Christianity Exhibitions to the City of Corporatism and Autarky. The fourth is the Ôamusements axisÕ constituted by the geometrical lake and the entertainment structures surrounding it.

Contested space: Defining heritage in the postwar city centre in Australia

Susan Marsden
National Conservation Manager
Australian Council of National Trusts
PO Box 1002 Civic Square ACT 2608
Australia

How do we research and assess the heritage of the city centre? Which historical changes are imprinted in the contemporary Australian city centre? These questions have real meaning when we try to determine which places reflecting superseded historical processes should be preserved in the city centre. For this is a contested ground between historical, modernist and post-modernist architecture and between competing social, political and economic uses.

Since World War Two the pressures of redevelopment and modernisation have accelerated. These pressures are focused most intensely in Australia on the State capitals. As a result, much of their central heritage has been obliterated, not only buildings dating from before the war but also many of the post-war structures which replaced them. Significant buildings have been identified and heritage-listed by Commonwealth, State or local government but few of them date from later than the 1920s and fewer still from after 1945. This lack of recognition adds to the threat presented by intensive redevelopment, especially as most post-war buildings are privately-owned and located on expensive central sites. What is important and what should we try to preserve of the city's post-war heritage?

This paper explores these questions, drawing on my study: *Historical identification and assessment of main themes associated with the development of Australia's capital city centres since World War Two.* This was funded by the National Estate Grants Program as a report to the Australian Heritage Commission (AHC). I completed the study in 1997 as a Visiting Fellow at the Urban Research Program at the Australian National University.[1]

Heritage attempts to preserve buildings is often vehemently opposed by developers in the city centres. They also question the supposed historical significance of these buildings as each has been treated as an isolated case in the absence of any overall historical context for the post-war city centres. My study supplied that contextual history and established a thematic framework to assist the AHC and other heritage organisations in assessing significant places. The study delineated themes common to the cities, which have resulted in comparable heritage as well as themes which have contributed to the differences between them.

DEFINITIONS AND METHODS

What is the *post-war city centre* and how do we research its heritage? Cities considered are the State capitals: Adelaide, Brisbane, Hobart, Melbourne, Perth and Sydney, as well as Darwin, capital of the Northern Territory. Canberra is excluded as it is the seat of federal government with little opportunity until recently for the growth of local administrative functions housed in the city centre. Also, Canberra was created as a city without a city centre although a CBD has since been attempted. The term *central business district* (CBD) is replaced by *city centre*. The city centre is a concentration of mainly non-residential activities in great variety in one small area. *CBD*, coined by North American researchers, reflected the greater functional specialisation of big American cities around 1930 than their counterparts in other countries. Since World War Two business has also

become the dominating concern of Australian city centres but they also accommodate a multitude of cultural activities and public administration. The city centre also includes the *frame*, a transition zone of mixed-use between the vertical scale and intensive uses of the core and the horizontal and homogeneous residential or industrial inner suburbs.

City centre boundaries are defined in terms of city council areas (although some have been altered and some include large suburban districts) and by geography and morphology. Adelaide city centre lies within its original framework of Park Lands; Brisbane is in a loop of the Brisbane River; Perth is bounded by the Swan River and Mount Eliza and the railway; Sydney is contained by Sydney Harbour, parks and Central Station. Darwin is built on a peninsula with an airport separating the centre from post-war suburbs. Melbourne is bounded by public gardens, parliament and government buildings and railway stations. The term *post-war* covers from 1945 until the 1990s.

Study methodology involved preparing a literature review and bibliography, and field visits to each city, which included consulting with other scholars and heritage professionals. The best relevant database is HERA, the AHC's database. Then the contextual histories and thematic framework were prepared.

HISTORIES AND HERITAGE

Which historical changes are imprinted in the contemporary city centre, and how do we describe and assess the post-war heritage? I shall compress the contextual histories in the study into a brief overview history of the capital cities to 1945 with reference to features which shaped and are still evident in the city centres. The main geographical influences on the capital cities have been distance and the resources of each city's hinterland. The shape and character of the city centres have also been influenced by the physical features of their original sites. The main historical influences relate to the international context in which the cities were founded and developed; changing functions of the city centres; relationships between the capital cities, and local influences. The built heritage illustrates responses to the physical attributes of the sites and both persisting and changing activities.

British settlement began as a series of towns (the colonial and later State capitals), located at widely separated sites along the Australian coast. Each was the nucleus from which colonisation spread out. This was a characteristic shared by other new world cities, especially those founded in the nineteenth century around the Pacific, including Auckland, San Francisco, Seattle and Vancouver. Major differences between the Australian capitals developed as a result of the relationship between the cities and their hinterlands.

Common geographical criteria were used in determining each capital city site - a coastal location near deep anchorage, fresh water, moderate elevation, good soils and building materials.[2] Yet these same criteria were satisfied by very different physical features. One defining characteristic of each city centre is the difference in types of local stone used in the colonial buildings. Natural features have also greatly influenced the form of each centre's development. Due to the size of the continent there are wide differences between cities in climate, landscape and local resources and yet every city expresses a fundamental cultural homogeneity deriving from British occupation and influences. Their similarities also reflect the period in which they were founded. All except Darwin were established within 50 years, and as part of an expanding British Empire in a context of industrial revolution, mass-emigration and the global spread of capitalism. The influence of the first settlement (Sydney, 1788) and designation of eastern Australia as the first colony of NSW, is

reflected in the concentration of other capitals in the east: Hobart (1804), Brisbane (1825) and Melbourne (1835) were once *out-stations* of Sydney. Distance from *convict* Sydney partly explains the choice of sites in western and central-southern Australia by free colonists who founded Perth (1829) and Adelaide (1836). Darwin (1869) administered Adelaide's *northern territory*.

Major difference between the convict and the free settler towns was expressed in their plans. Scant concern with urban expansion was shown in the selection of sites for convict Sydney, Hobart and Brisbane, and limited plans were adopted only after the towns began to develop. Their city centres (on the original town sites) are cramped, with narrow streets and small public spaces. Adelaide, Melbourne and Perth were placed in the tradition of free settler frontier towns in North America with plans which were vast grids based on expectations that all the delineated spaces would eventually be filled.[3]

Each Australian city centre stands on the original city site and is defined by the morphology established by the first surveyors, the location of the port and the colonial pattern of streets, plots and public spaces. Each city centre was also defined in relation to its region by a radial network of roads, rails and telegraph lines. This helped to concentrate business, cultural institutions and public administration in each city centre with the largest and most prominent public transport buildings and structures located there. Many sites have persisted in their nineteenth century uses.

Shipping links were crucial. Each State capital is a maritime city, strongly influenced by the port function. From the perspective of tangible heritage there are significant differences between cities stemming from the precise location of the port. The cities divide into three groups: where the centre is also a port (Sydney, Darwin and Hobart); where the centre was formerly a port, which has been moved downstream but has left a legacy of structures and uses (Melbourne and Brisbane) and where the centre was never a port which was built at some distance away (Perth and Adelaide).

The capital city centre's port function is an example of an important changing function whereas its function as the centre of public administration has persisted. In the modern world, colonial systems have facilitated the growth of primate cities by centralising administration in them and focusing transport and communications links upon them to make regions easier to administer.[4] The Australian capitals soon developed complex administrative, cultural and economic functions. In effect, each colony was an independent city-state. Centralisation of administration and business also made the capital cities the leading cultural centres, and each city centre gained its own *national* galleries, libraries, universities and museums.

By the late nineteenth century the Australian population was one of the most highly urbanised in the world and concentrated into the six capitals. This metropolitan primacy has persisted. The cities were marked by economic growth cycles, booms and busts. In each boom, as land prices rose in the central city, *obsolete* structures - houses, workshops, buildings of small scale and primitive building materials - were replaced by new commercial and administrative offices and warehouses. After the 1890s Sydney regained its lead (from Melbourne) as the largest city. The other cities, in order of size, Adelaide, Brisbane, Perth, Hobart and Darwin, were much smaller. From the late nineteenth century the most evident impact of population growth was in the suburbs, not the city centres. By the 1950s, a century of suburban development had shifted residents and factories from the centres but far from reducing central business activity suburban growth had helped to increase central commercial, cultural and administrative activities.

The city centre's post-war history will be presented in summary form in a series of major themes and sub-themes developed in the heritage report, with examples of significant buildings and other

places. A historical theme is defined as a way of describing a major force or process which has contributed to our history ... The relative significance of items can be assessed by using the framework set up by the historical themes.[5] The AHC's Principal Australian Historic Themes were developed in 1995.[6] I adapted these AHC themes, creating a thematic framework relating specifically to the post-war city centres.[7] There are four major thematic headings (more broadly they may be described as political economy, built form, and culture, or *city building* and city life).

Thematic framework for the post-war city centre

1. Constructing capital city economies
1.1 Economic cycles
1.2 National and international economic links
1.3 Dealing with remoteness, hardship and disasters
1.4 Transport and communications
1.5 Business, finance and speculation
1.6 Manufacturing
1.7 Marketing and retailing
1.8 Entertaining and tourism
1.9 Housing and lodging
1.10 Professional services, institutions and associations

2. Building and remaking the city centre
2.1 Development and redevelopment phases
2.2 City planning
2.3 Architecture, engineering and construction
2.4 Urban services
2.5 Image-making
2.6 Reviving and preserving the centre

3. Governing the city
3.1 Extending the city-state
3.2 Federalism
3.3 State government and the central city
3.4 City councils
3.5 Officials, politicians and interest groups
3.6 Making and changing laws and regulations
3.7 Conflict and protest

4. City life
4.1 City people
4.2 Immigrants
4.3 Working life and unemployment
4.4 Responding to urban and natural environments
4.5 Cultural sites, arts, crafts and sciences
4.6 Health, welfare and education
4.7 Activism, organisations and associations
4.8 City pleasures
4.9 Worship and commemoration
4.10 Living in the city

SOME CONCLUSIONS

One purpose of this project was to test and extend the draft Principal Australian Historic Themes which omitted specific reference to Creating capital cities and Developing city centres despite their crucial role in the development of Australia since 1788. However, the purpose of such a thematic framework is to provide a base from which more specific frameworks can be derived. Heritage studies should take heed of the limitations of thematic frameworks. Arranging the contextual history in themes rather than chronologically or by individual city gives prominence to themes significant in the post-war history of every centre but does not highlight important differences between them. These differences make the heritage of each city centre distinctive and worth preserving in its own right. Thematic divisions also downplay the interaction of many factors in shaping the centre and its structures.

What are we trying to identify and preserve in the city centres? As the contextual history reveals, despite intense pressures from state and capital since the war to redefine city centres in terms of a single use - office space - they retain, and should retain, a complex of uses and an overlapping set of economic, political and cultural spaces. The concept of overlapping spatial arrangements pulls together many of the themes listed separately above and links the centre's history to its heritage. At the same time, the diversity of use in city centres overall does not obscure their internal division into distinct precincts: every suburban shopper knows to head for Rundle Mall in Adelaide or Queen Street Mall in Brisbane. Not listed because they are all-encompassing are those other major themes of the city centre: spatial and historical change in central city function, within a context of local, national and global political-economic restructuring.

Writing this contextual history threw up several dilemmas. History – above all, recent, urban, Australian history - is a matter of constant change. How do we respect that heritage without acceding to the destruction of places reflecting earlier periods of change? Should we simply accept all change in the city centres; or strive to keep examples of all the main forms change has taken; or become actors ourselves by reserving some places from change or permitting only small changes. The answer will involve the usual mix of all three approaches, despite the potential for endless conflict.

I recommend an approach to heritage assessment which aims to keep traces of all development, making them explicable and accessible: whether good, bad or ugly, intimate or overpowering. Further, as suburbs are rendered ever more private and their public sites are reduced, sold, and subdivided, the public functions of the city centre and its ownership by all of those who live and work in the city and State become more important.

The study itself should help to establish which functions are important in the city centre, those features we value and want to keep. It is vital that we identify the historical themes and heritage which have gained most prominence since World War Two but we should also identify the structures, landuses and cultural activities carried over from earlier times. Residential occupation of *CBDs* is a good example. This aspect of modern city centres is important not simply to historians but has been demonstrated by popular choice and government and business response to be of real significance.

Cities are not simply agglomerations of concrete and bitumen. They are human communities. Community may be defined as the space in which the relationship between the public and the private is negotiated. Public spaces are the domain where these relations are negotiated. Defining community as space brings the concept into direct relationship with contemporary research into urban spatial arrangements.[8] Community as public space will always be contested as well as celebrated in the city centres.

Maybe the inner city has always been under pressure, always breaking down, crystallising out and reforming ... The positive side of this is the way people move in and rebuild - rooms, communities, ideas.[9]

Notes

1. The contextual histories which form a major part of that report were revised, condensed and published as Susan Marsden, *A history of Australian capital city centres since 1945*, Urban Research Program Working Paper no 61, URP, ANU, Canberra, October 1997.
2. P Statham, 'Patterns and perspectives', in P Statham, ed, *The origins of Australia's capital cities*, CUP, Cambridge 1989, pp 12-13.
3. D Hamer, *New towns in the new world. Images and perceptions of the nineteenth-century urban frontier*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1990, p 178.
4. AS Linsky, 'Some generalizations concerning primate cities', in G Breese, ed, *The city in newly developing countries: readings on urbanism and urbanization*, Prentice-Hall, London, 1972, pp 285, 287-288, 291-292.
5. 'Historical context reports and historical themes', *NSW Heritage Manual*, NSW Department of Urban Affairs & Planning, Heritage Council of NSW (draft, 1996), pp 1, 3.
6. Centre for Western Australian History with Jane Lennon and Associates, *Principal Australian Historic Themes project: volume 1. presentation and discussion of a thematic framework*, Australian Heritage Commission May 1995, p 43.
7. Other frameworks used included: Brian McDonald + Associates - Wendy Thorp, 'Review of heritage inventory for central Sydney stage 1' (Sydney 1995); thematic lists provided in J Lennon, 'Principal Australian historic themes project, Stage one: identification and assessment of previous work about themes at state level', Jane Lennon and Associates, Hamilton, Queensland 1993; 'Historical context reports and historical themes', NSW Heritage Manual 1996.
8. Freeman Wyllie, URP seminar, ANU 13 May 1996.
9. B Brooks, 'Maps', in D Modjeska, ed, *Inner cities: Australian women's memory of place*, Penguin Books, Melbourne 1989, p 33.

The Evolution of Transport Networks with Urban Structure and Possibilities for Postmodern Settlement Design

Stephen Marshall
Bartlett School of Planning
University College London
22 Gordon St, London, WC1H 0QB
United Kingdom
Email s.marshall@ucl.ac.uk

ABSTRACT

This paper addresses the evolution of the relationship between transport and urban structure, illustrating this by means of a structural analogy. Through this it is possible to characterise different types of urban structure with reference to building structure, and hence explore current and possible future settlement forms, including postmodern urban structure. The paper concludes by speculating on the possibility of telecommunications eclipsing transport's influence on urban structure and hence the implications for the future design of settlements.

1. Introduction

The relationship between transport provision and settlement form is a key element required for the understanding of existing settlements and hence the planning and design of future forms. This paper aims to assist the understanding of this relationship by means of an analogy between urban structure and building structure. From this it is possible to characterise various settlement forms and hence speculate on future directions of settlement form.

A note on scope: this paper deals primarily with the physical aspects of settlements and urban structure in its spatial manifestation. Secondly, "urban structure" here is taken to equate to the structure of movement space and hence that of the transport network, as discussed elsewhere (Marshall, 1998b).

Finally, the term 'postmodern' is used in the sense that it is applied to architecture, and does not address the wider debate on the qualities of postmodernism.

2. The Evolution of the Relationship between Transport Modes and Urban Structure

Given the correlation between transport network and urban structure, it would be differences in transport modes and technology which would lead to a differentiation in type of urban structure and hence settlement form.

Settlements shaped by movement on foot and horseback have grown up over a long historical period. These tend to be compact in scale, with routes forming a close mesh of lanes and alleys, often in a haphazard or labyrinthine pattern. The mode of transport would thus influence both shape and size of settlement (Kostof, 1992, p59).

Kostof (1992) also relates an exceptional example of an ancient settlement which is not based on the street, at Catal Hüyük in Turkey. Here, it is inferred that all circulation was made on the roofs of the buildings. Interestingly, this suggests that the settlement is indeed an agglomeration of buildings incorporating a contiguous movement network, albeit not at ground level. Incidentally, this form also calls to mind the 'Motopia' proposal (Jellicoe, 1961)[1]. At any rate, it is tempting to speculate that Catal Hüyük could represent a form - assuming that horses did not use the roofs - that is 'purely' pedestrian.

The kind of settlement based on buildings fronting streets accessed by non-motorised modes could best be depicted by a densely packed figure-ground, where there is a close correspondence between shape of building footprint and shape of movement space: one is effectively the negative image of the other.

It is possible to suggest that subsequent changes in settlement layout were precipitated by the introduction and proliferation of new, faster means of movement (as well as being enabled by the technological requirements of setting out). We can thus observe an increased tendency towards straighter, wider streets and more formal layouts, which may be associated with the arrival of the carriage (Barnett, 1986, p 10). As manifested in this 'classical' form, both buildings and streets became more regularly laid out: building footprints and movement spaces might still be the negative image of one another, but this time in the form of terraces or even crescents.

As we move into the age of mechanised transport, two things happen: firstly, the growth of a completely separate transport system - the railway - and secondly the motorisation of vehicles using the public streets. This mechanisation enabled increases in the speed of movement and the capacity of the infrastructure.

With the railway, the form of the infrastructure could immediately be geared to its own internal geometry: narrow, linear rights of way, shallow gradients and smooth curves allowing fast travel. The railways also immediately created a new 'accessibility field' in and around the settlement.

For motorised road transport the changes in form would be less immediate, although in time the potential of the new technology and possibilities for use of the motor car would ultimately lead towards the dissolution of the traditional street, and transformation of settlement form itself: soon whole settlements could be conceived on the basis of free-flowing highways and the segregation of the swift moving motor vehicles from other slower modes and, crucially, from direct access to buildings.

Idealised settlement patterns on this basis were proposed by Le Corbusier (1935) and Hilberseimer (1944). These ideas also eventually made their way into modern town planning in the form of new settlements whose geometry owed much to the car, for example, Cumbernauld in Scotland.

Similar ideas could be applied to existing settlements, including the conversion of arterial streets into segregated highways (Tripp, 1950). Later, *Traffic in Towns* (MoT, 1963) demonstrated how motorways could be introduced into urban areas, including the segregation of distributor roads primarily for movement from 'environmental areas' where traffic and access functions would mix. These ideas paved the way for proposals for vast and complex motorway systems to be retrofitted to existing urban areas, some of which were implemented in part.

Incidentally, the way in which these highways were introduced into urban areas, with their smooth flowing curves often set amidst landscaped contours of greenery, seems to evoke the sense of importing a rural highway into the urban area,

---

[1] Catal Hüyük and Motopia would satisfy the movement requirements for systems of courtyards as described by Martin & March (1972), which otherwise have no apparent space for circulation.

echoing somewhat the way in which the French boulevard, whose origin was also ex-urban, had been introduced into cities in earlier times (Kostof, 1992, p228).

Following this era of urban motorways, there has been a revived interest in public transport and more environmentally friendly modes of transport in general. However, any effect on future urban form is as yet unclear: there are no universally accepted models representing the vanguard of contemporary planning to give clues, in the way that previously could be traced through the evolution of the new towns. Such exemplars as may exist might include neo-traditional forms and public transport oriented settlements (Marshall, 1998a), or some form of collage, then again, it could be argued that 'no model' *is* the model.

In order to investigate what transport considerations may currently be shaping the urban structure, we can now look in more detail at the kinds of structure associated with the existence of different transport modes, to see if any underlying patterns are revealed. This will be attempted by means of a structural analogy.

3. A structural analogy between building structure and urban structure

Just as it is possible to recognise and describe different forms of building structure (or styles of architecture) it should be possible to recognise and describe different forms of urban structure (or settlement pattern). Four characterisations are proposed here: these are detailed in Figure 1 and discussed in the remainder of this section.

Organic structures: These are characterised by incremental and irregular growth, both in buildings and in settlements.
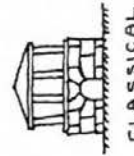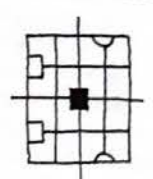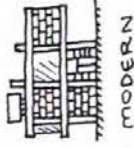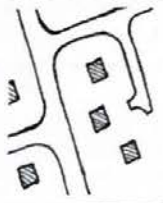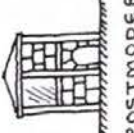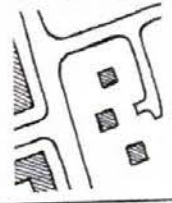
Classical structures: Here, whole buildings or settlements set out in a consistent fashion, forming a deliberate composition. The use of standard size and consistency of materials in buildings is echoed in the emergence of regular street specifications in settlements. 'Classical' urban structure would also include 'cosmic' models of settlement design (Lynch, 1981).

Modern structures: At the 'modern' stage we see great advances in technology. In the case of building structure, the use of new materials - firstly iron, later steel and reinforced concrete - not only led to greater technical performance, allowing the creation of much taller buildings and greater spans, but also led to a liberation of form which stimulated new means of architectural expression (Barnett, 1986, p110; Holgate, 1986, p 122).

With 'modern' settlement design, we see both an increase in the number of available modes - analogous to building materials - and the speed and capacity of these modes and their arteries - analogous to the strength of members in buildings. The increase in speed allows bigger, more dispersed settlements as well as generating new settlement forms. There is also simultaneously a distinction between different modes, and between arteries of different capacity within modes, and a separation of urban functions. This tendency towards articulation has also had implications for the central functions of settlements, as the 'town centre' could now be conceived of as a single entity, and sometimes built as a single building, not necessarily at the geographical centre of the town.

Postmodern structures: In architecture, postmodern buildings will take advantage of modern structural technology, even if hidden by a traditional style facade. As for any 'postmodern' settlement design, this is likely to be diffuse and mixed-use, including neo-traditional forms and other forms in some sort of collage (Ellin, 1996).

Figure 1: Characterisations of Urban Structure with reference to Building Structure

Characterisation	Manifestation in architecture (building structure)	Manifestation in settlements (urban structure)		
Organic. Irregular, incremental, no unity of composition	Informal and vernacular buildings — ORGANIC			No overall 'plan'. On left, notional settlement of contiguous buildings (circulation inside buildings or on roof). On right, more typical settlement; note that building footprints and movement space are basically complementary.
Classical. Regular, deliberate expression preconceived as a composition.	Symmetrical elevation; columns regularly spaced to balance forces; walls are load-bearing. — CLASSICAL			May now have overall plan, a deliberate composition. Streets regularly spaced to balance flows; minor 'infill' streets commonly flow-bearing. Building footprints and movement space still correspond.
Modern. Articulation of functions where convenient, but overall composition commonly asymmetric.	Strength of members allows formation of overall skeletal structure (with brick or glass curtain wall); also allows indirect transmission of forces (cantilevers). — MODERN			Speed and capacity of main routes allows indirect and unbalanced flows; minor 'infill' routes carry only local traffic. Buildings and 'pods' of development are discrete; town centre can 'plug in' to the urban structure like any other component.
Postmodern. Retains the main structural elements and configuration of the modern, but typically formed into a more 'traditional' composition.	A diversity of styles of facade can be 'hung' on what is basically a retained 'modern' structure. Styles often recall traditional forms and acknowledge context. — POSTMODERN			Settlement less master-planned and more of a collage; less bounded, with a diffusion of functions, no longer necessarily 'a' town centre. Grids and neo-traditional forms may be 'hung' on what is basically a retained 'modern' urban structure.

While modernist settlement design 'liberated' urban structure from traditional forms of streets and squares, replacing them with free-flowing highways and plugged-in pods of development, then, postmodern settlement design might be said to have 'liberated' urban structure from the need to be so expressive about the technological possibilities of fast movement and segregation.

Postmodern settlement design may thus be manifested by means of recreating favoured features of organic settlements (compact forms and not too programmed), albeit with deliberate (ie planned) intent. It might also be commensurate with a 'neo-functional' approach (Lang, 1994) which could include urban-scale 'ornament' or urban design as function.

A further development of this kind of approach could be to take modern transport forms and use these creatively (as objects of architecture or landscape) in the way that traditional boulevards and circuses made urban design statements out of traditional transport artefacts. Thus, it is possible to imagine expressive buildings projecting up from the interstices of urban motorway sliproads like 'Flatiron' buildings rising from angular street intersections, or railway arches being devised consciously as 'gateways' or expressive backdrops (Marshall, 1998c).

Future directions: It is further possible to speculate what kind of future forms might arise: this will now be done by turning attention to other technological trends.

5. Beyond Transport: Telecommunications and Urban Structure

The growth of telecommunications technology has occurred almost in parallel with that of mechanised transport, both temporally and spatially (Graham & Marvin, 1997), and has thus played a part in influencing the evolution of the spatial layouts of settlements.

Just as the emergence of the skyscraper required not only the structural feasibility of skeletal construction but the invention of the lift, the telephone also had a role to play (Graham & Marvin, 1997). Without this, the concentration of people located many dozens of storeys above the ground would not have been practicable. Telecommunications can thus be seen at least to keep step with the advances in movement technology, even while amplifying their effects.

Graham and Marvin also explicitly point to the possible role of telecommunications in the transition from modernism to postmodernism, referring to Jameson's 'post-modern hyperspace' superseding the friction of distance (Graham & Marvin, 1997, p66). This will inevitably have an effect on the spatial organisation of urban settlements - and everywhere else besides.

While there have been no significant new modes of urban transport since early in this century, in telecommunications the advances are occurring at a staggering pace, which make the current speed and capacity increases of transport technology appear distinctly marginal (Coveney and Highfield, 1995, p68). It is possible to speculate that telecommunications technology will be the driving force behind the current evolution of urban structure into a new phase.

What then might the future hold, in a hypothetical case where telecommunications were sufficiently dominant that they somehow removed the 'friction of distance' altogether?

A possible pointer to this may be found in cyberspace, eg 'Alphaworld' (Batty et al, 1998). This artificial settlement, represented in Figure 2, is constructed incrementally by its members, who can effectively 'teleport' within the site.

The site structure is determined rather arbitrarily by the co-ordinate system and by (somewhat spurious) adjacency to existing 'built form', resulting in a shape which looks almost, but not quite, urban.

The implication is that if telecommunications were to sufficiently eclipse transportation as a generator of urban structure, then this could remove any spatial constraints on urban structure, at the scale of the settlement at least (buildings and streets would remain 'human scale'). This could create the

Figure 2: Alphaworld

freedom to *compose* urban structure into any contrived shape - like an Alphaworld, or even a reversion to some ancient 'cosmic' or symbolic form. Alternatively, we could end up with a completely organic or anarchic form reminiscent of the more haphazard urban sprawl or squatter settlements of today.

Either way, the currently unfolding stage of evolution of the relationship between transport and telecommunications technologies and urban form appears likely to offer as many creative opportunities for new urban structures as in previous eras.
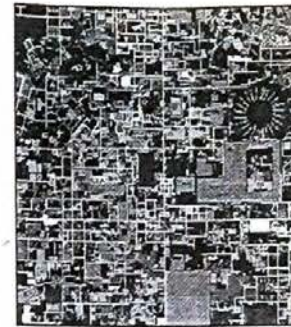
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Barnett, J (1986). The Elusive City. New York: Harper & Row.
Batty, M, Dodge, M; Doyle, S & Smith, A (1998). Modelling Virtual Urban Environments. CASA (Centre for Advanced Spatial Analysis), University College London, January 1998.
Le Corbusier (1935). La Ville Radieuse. Boulogne (Seine).
Coveney, P and Highfield, R (1995). Frontiers of Complexity: The Search for Order in a Chaotic World, London: Faber and Faber.
Ellin, N (1996) Postmodern Urbanism, Cambridge (Mass): Blackwell.
Graham, S and Marvin, S (1997). Telecommunications and the City. London: Routledge.
Hilberseimer, L (1944). The New City, Principles of Planning. Chicago: Paul Theobold.
Holgate, A (1986). The Art in Structural Design. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Jellicoe, G A (1961). Motopia; A Study in the Evolution of Urban Landscape. London: Studio Books.
Kostof, S (1992). The City Assembled: The Elements of Urban Form Throughout History. London: Thames and Hudson.
Lang, J (1994). Urban Design, The American Experience. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold.
Lynch, K (1981). A Theory of Good City Form. Cambridge (Mass): MIT Press.
Martin, L & March, L (1972) Urban Space and Structures, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Marshall, S (1998a). Public Transport Orientation and Settlement Design: Plans and Possibilities. Paper presented to UTSG 30th Annual Conference, Dublin, January 1998.
Marshall, S (1998b). Defining the Dimensions of Urban Design, unpublished research note, Bartlett School of Planning, University College London.
Marshall, S (1998c). Towards the Integration of Transport and Urban Design, PhD thesis, Bartlett School of Planning, University College London (forthcoming).
MoT (Ministry of Transport) (1963) Traffic in Towns (The Buchanan Report). London: HMSO
Tripp, A (1950). Road Traffic and its Control (2nd Edition). London: Edward Arnold.

Sustainability of the Compact city: Can it be a new Paradigm for Urban planning in the New Millennium?

A Historical approach to the Social and Economical Background of the Sustainable Development School of Thought

Mohammad. R. Masnavi
University of Glasgow
The Mackintosh School of Architecture
177 Renfrew Street, Glasgow G3 6RQ
Scotland - UK

1. INTRODUCTION

It is argued that the building blocks of town planning in Britain were put in place during the last decade of 19th, and the first decades of the 20th, centuries(Cherry, 1996) when, it was last decade of 19th, and the first decades of the 20th, centuries(Cherry, 1996) when, it was regarded as a multi-facet concept, covering a wide range of activities. It was an activity which promoted housing development of a particular type; it was a social movement in capturing the reformists' aspirations in regard to city life; a university discipline, for the first time, a function of government, and a professional organisation, founded to advance the arts and science of a new activity; resulted in the term 'town planning' first came to usage in 1906(Cherry, 1996). Since then, there were many different urban planning theories that were examined in this century. Yet, not many common solutions were found to be appropriate. On the contrary, the outcomes of modern planning theories and socio-economic urban development was observed to be attached with the common socio-environmental problems in the end decades of 20th century in almost every part of the planet. One of the major reason for this situation is said to be the overgrowth of population, particularly in the cities.

This paper seeks to examine the origins of sustainability in this century; and tries to explore the two predominant theories: the Compact city, and the urban dispersal; in the light of their historical context through a content analysis method.

2. THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT, THE COMPACT CITY, AND THE ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENTS

It is said that when this century began, only 14 percent of us lived in cities (Girardet, 1992); whereas, by the year 2000, half of humanity will be living in urban areas and by 2030, urban population will be twice the size of rural population; the opposite is today (World Urbanisation trends, 1996). As population grow, it increases the demands for resources, and more products that pollute more water, soil, and air. This process consequently makes more waste than can be disposed of, takes up more and more suburban space, and puts impossible demands on overextended cities(Wagner, 1974). The importance of the problems can be identified through the alarming signs such as the global warming, Ozone layer depletion, greenhouse effect, and energy and resources crisis (CEC, 1990; Earth Summit, 1992; Talbot, 1993, 1996; Cooper, 1993). As a result, there is a little doubt remaining about the unsustainability of present urban development, amongst the academics and governments. whereas, social and political changes in many countries are raising many questions connected with the future development of architecture, and urbanism, the advent of new technologies is offering new approaches to the architecture, urban design and planning, in order to harmonise the human needs, with reduction of energy consumption and higher standards of environmental protection.

Despite the clarity of the problematic outcome, there is no common grounds on the alternative urban design and planning as a solution (Breheny, 1992; Jenks, et al., 1996;). Yet, the two major and contradictory arguments in the late twenty century were found to be: i) 'the compact city theory' - with a vision of European cities (Jenks, et al. 1996) - on the basis of sustainable urban development; and ii) 'the low density urban development'. Strong arguments exist in favour of the compact city theory; that is based on a strategy aimed at making the places themselves more compact, busy, convenient and attractive, and supporting and improving the public transport which serves them, and therefore improving the quality of life of the cities' residents(CEC, 1990; Elkin, et at., 1991; Newman et al, 1992; Hillman, 1996; Scoffham, & Vale, 1996; Masnavi et al. 1997, 1998; Masnavi, 1998). On the other hand, there is a counter-argument(comes with advocators from Australia, and the United State), that suggest the urban dispersal and low density development(Gordon, et al. 1989; Troy, 1996). It was thought that analysing the historical context of these two theories, might be helpful in the identification of the alternative urban planning/design theory for the future urban development. Since the 'nature' is a central focus to the environmental issues, therefore it is necessary to analyse the views and the attitudes of those theories towards the 'nature'.

2.1. The Historical Context

Although the man-nature relationship has long been argued throughout history, by philosophers, politicians, scientists and poets, in fact it has never been seen as such a serious problem as it is today. This is because of forces of development of industry, agriculture, urbanisation and population growth, that have already had alarmingly negative effects on the environment. Some of the major effects include: air pollution, deforestation, decrease of non-renewable resources, depletion of ozone layer, and global warming; suggesting that present forms and scales of human development will not be sustainable in the long term(Our Common Future, 1987; CEC, , 1990; Elkin, et al., 1991). Consequently trends must be changed to the "Sustainable Development" path, which emerged from the United Nation conference in Rio.(Earth Summit,1992; Girardet, 1992; Cooper, 1993; Talbot, 1993). Yet one of the main questions has to be answered is: how by adapting our paths of urban development to promote sustainable development, can we improve the quality of life of city dwellers? One way to overcome to the complexity of the sustainability, is to refer to the historical background and ideology of the environmental movement, that ultimately was led to the sustainable development school of thought.

2.2. The Environmental Movement: historical background

In studying the man-nature relationship which in its evolution has been called "environmental theory", two main schools of thought may be distinguished: Ecological and Technological environmentalism or 'Ecocentrism' and 'Technocentrism'(O'Riordan, 1981). 'Ecocentrism' was defined by Pepper(1984) as "a mode of thought viewing man as a part of a global ecosystem and subject to ecological laws... there is a strong sense of respect for nature in its own right as well as for pragmatic reasons"; whereas 'Technocentrism' takes a more rational view of the man-nature relationship. 'Technocentrism' admires the power of technology and believes that man's ability to develop techniques controlling the use of nature overshadows any negative effects.

Technocentrism was described also as "a mode of thought which recognises environmental problems but believes unrestrainedly that man will always solve them and achieve unlimited growth or more cautiously, that by careful economic and environmental management, they can be negotiated"(Pepper,1984).

2.2.1. Technocentrism

Although some argue that roots of Technocentrism in western culture go back to biblical times (Al-Gilani, 1994), the focus of this paper is from the 16 century onwards. The period which makes the start of the scientific revolution, was a time in which many ideas were based on the certainty of scientific knowledge, and its power to explain the natural phenomena. This is a period that consequently had most influence in the formation of man's point of view towards the world, including his natural environment.

Johannes Kepler(1571-1630)used the word "Machine" as a metaphor to describe nature, which initiated the "Mechanistic conception of nature". The idea of mathematical order was also expressed by Galileo Galilei(1564-1642) who believed that the book of nature was written in the language of mathematics and therefore had to be read and understood via mathematics(ibid). Considering nature as a machine and believe in "Scientific knowledge" as "Power over nature" was developed by Francis Bacon(1561-1626). Bacon saw natural science as a means of empirical discovery, and a method of increasing human power over nature(The Hutchinson Dictionary of Arts, 1994). In the New Atlantis(1626) he describes a utopian state in which scientific knowledge is systematically sought and exploited(ibid). He claimed that "The end of our foundation is the knowledge of cause and secret motions of things and the enlarging of bounds of the human empire to the effecting of all things possible."(Al-Gilani, 1994). This allowed nature to be seen totally subjected to the power of mankind, while represented a good example of man's wish for supremacy and to dominate nature entirely. Later, Rene Descartes(1596-1650) placed emphasis on the power of scientific knowledge and extended the concepts of nature as a machine. He sought the certainty of knowledge in the explanation of natural phenomena by the application of reason through the extension of the logic of mathematics to every question(The Hutchinson Dictionary of Arts, 1994).

In the evolution of Technocentrism, it has to be mentioned the important role of Auguste Comte(1798-1857). By defining science as the study of "real", that is empirically-observed phenomena, Comte propagated the supremacy of science in seeking natural laws. He advocated positivism which strongly influenced the Technocentrists and led them to accept only positive facts and observable phenomena. The continuity of Technocentrism can be seen in the modern schools of thought in the twentieth century, in the forms of the movements such as: Rationalism, Boomsters, Hi-tech, and Grey culture (Johnson, 1991).

2.2.2. Ecocentrism

Pepper (1984) suggests that modern ecological environmentalism (Ecocentrism) has particular affinities with 19th-century romanticism. One of the basic theories which influenced Ecocentrism was the ideas of "Great Chain of Being" and plenitude. The ideas originated with the Greeks and they constitute a neo-platonic cosmology. The concept of continuous link between all creatures including man, and the strong dependence on nature(Al-Gilani, 1994). These ideas are said to forge a link between romanticism and ecocentrism. The ideas of Great Chain of Being and plenitude, superficially resemble some of the ideas of romanticism and modern biology, and are thereby linked with Ecocentrism(Pepper, 1984).

2.2.3. Romanticism and its view towards Nature

Romanticism is defined as: the quality of admiring feeling rather than thought, and natural beauty rather than things made by people(Longman Dictionary of contemporary English,1991). Romanticism, also sometimes is described as an artistic and intellectual movement, commonly finding expression in literature, music, painting and drama(Pepper, 1984). Though the term 'romanticism' has a complexity of meaning and nuance, here it is used to denote the 'content and character of the 'Romantic movement' of 18th and 19th centuries (Williams 1983). Since it was also mediated particularly by the romantic transcendentalists of mid-19th-century America(Pepper, 1984), however it should not be seen as sets of ideas unrelated to what was happening in the material world. As a result, some argue that it was a reaction to the complex of social conditions of the 18th century(ibid.).

The eighteenth century was the age of industrial revolution and the growth of capital system, which caused a rapid change in social structure and morals. According to Pepper(1984) it can be clearly seen that the romantic movement was a reaction against material changes in society and the mode of production, which can be regarded as part of the emergence of industrial capitalism in the 18th century, following on the establishment of mercantile and agricultural capitalism. These processes caused cities and towns to become the centre of production. As a result, the factories' growth and mass production accelerated a process that needed more and more raw materials and resources. These both unleashed and controlled violent natural forces, and consequently it began, as some saw it, exploitation and degradation of the environment. The concentration of political power, economical activities and centralised production in cities, and immigration of labour forces from the villages caused a rapid growth in sizes of urban centres. They grew at unprecedented rates and soon became centres of squalor and deprivation. Pepper(1984)explains that movement of population from the land, and the essence of industrialisation, established new conditions in the cities including, division of labour, time keeping and mechanisation, which led to a spiritual alienation of a mass of people from the land and from each other(ibid.P.76). The main aim in the new era was production, so inevitably the people became units of the mechanical production system. Human values were reduced to become a commodity in the newly capitalistic and materialistic society(Al-Gilani, 1994); moreover the dominant class of land owning aristocrats found themselves challenged by a new bourgeoisie resulting in a clash of classes.

It was under these circumstances and shifts of power, that the romantic movement developed. It was a resistance, against a new and increasingly materialistic order. It rejected the utilitarian standards and tended to replace it with more aesthetic standards. As Russell(1946, cited in Pepper, 1984) put it 'the romantic movement is characterised, as a whole, by the substitution of aesthetics for the utilitarian standards'. Romanticism was and is the antithesis of everything 'scientific', logical behaviour, order and authority. It was against rationalism, and maintained that science was inadequate to explain all the phenomena. Romantics hated the way that industrialisation made previously beautiful places ugly, and opposed the application of rationalism to nature and man to produce the industrial, 'civilised' society as a mark of progress. Since such a society was complex and sophisticated, romantics admired primitive and naturalistic simplicity of form, action and ideas(Pepper, 1984). Simplicity was equated with honesty, and nature was beautiful because it was simple and honest. Thus there was an interest in the folk societies of the past, because they were closer to nature, simpler and more honest than modern corrupt society. Jean Jaques Rousseau (1712-78, cited in Pepper, 1984), in discourse on equality wrote: 'man is born free but is everywhere in chains'. He admired the primitive simplicity of savage man, life and its values and called for living according to nature. These tendencies, later formed in the idealisation of the past, in the works of many philosophers, thinkers and artists such as Keats, Walter Scott, and William Morris (ibid. p. 79). The continuum of the romantic movement in Ecocentrism in 19th and 20th century, led to the new environmental movements and attitudes such as: the Garden Cities, Doomsters, and the Green movement(Johnson, 1991).

2.3. Modern environmentalism, and the issue of sustainability

With tracing the historical roots of environmentalism, it might well be said that, the idea of "sustainable development", is raised under the influence of Ecocentrism, and the green development. With much respect for the GAIA(the mother earth), the nature and its ecosystems, (Girardet,1992). Which in turn infers a new way of life and the new scales in the growth, production, consumption and attitude towards the nature and its resources. These, in turn, will fortify all aspects of urban life of societies; and at the same time will resulted in a harmonised development with the nature, with minimum environmental impact.

3. CONCLUSION

In reviewing the issues of urban planning/design, it was found that the last decades of the 20th century are characterised by various global environmental problems. Whereas, many different ideas in the urban planning/design were examined, the outcomes of such development planning were observed mostly to be attached with some social and environmental problems, in the end of 20th century. As a reaction to the recent environmental-ecological crisis, the sustainable urban development was found to be a generally agreed framework for the alternative urban planning/development.

The two contradictory and dominant theories were identified: the compact city, and the dispersal urban development. In identifying the alternative model for urban planning, it was found necessary to refer to their social economical background. Therefore a historical approach was employed to trace the origins of the two theories with regarding to their attitudes and views towards the 'nature'.

The two main schools of thought may be identified as: Ecological and Technological environmentalism or 'Ecocentrism' and 'Technocentrism'. Technocentrism - with the roots in the 16th century's certainty of scientific knowledge - was observed to be "a more rational view of the man-nature relationship, admiring the power of technology and believing in the man's ability to develop techniques controlling the use of nature overshadows any negative effects. Ecocentrism which was found to be in connection with 19th-century romanticism, On the contrary, was characterised with "viewing man as a part of a global ecosystem and subject to ecological laws... and a strong sense of respect for nature in its own right".

The Evolution of Technocentrism throughout the history then led to modern movements in the twentieth century, in the forms of: Rationalism, Modernism, Boomsters, Hi-tech, and Grey culture; whereas the continuum of Ecocentrism in 19th and 20th century led to the new environmental movements and attitudes such as: Garden Cities, Doomsters, and green movement. It might well be concluded that the latter is the movement that consequently was led to the sustainable development school of thought in the end decades of 20th century.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

REFERENCES
Adams, W. M.(1990), Green Development, London: Routledge.
Al-Gilani, A.(1994), Ecocentrism versus Technocentrism; EAR 21, University of Edinburgh.
Breheny, M. (1992) The Compact City: an introduction, Built Environment, 18,(4).

Breheny, M. (1996) Centrists, Decentrists, and Compromisers; in Jenks, M. Et al. (eds.), The Compact city - A Sustainable Urban Form? Great Britain: E & FN Spon.
CEC, Commission of European Communities (1990), Green Paper on the Urban Environment, COM 90 218, CEC, Brussels.
Cherry, G. E.(1996), Town planning in Britain since 1900, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.
Cooper, Ian, 1993 'The Challenge of Sustainability', A Conference for Teachers of Architectural Design, The University of Edinburgh, 15 September 1993, Edinburgh.
Earth Summit - Agenda 21 (1992), Rio declaration on environment and development, Conference on Environment and Development(UNCED) 3-14 June 1992, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.
Elkin, T., McLaren, D., and Hillman, M (1991) Reviving the City: Towards Sustainable Urban Development, London: Friends of the Earth.
Girardet, Herbert, 1992 'The Gaia atlas of cities, New direction for sustainable urban living', London. Gaia Books Limited.
Gordon, P. Kumar, A. and Richardson, H.W. (1989)The influence of metropolitan spatial structure on commuting times. Journal of Urban Economics, 26, pp.138-149.
Hillman, M.(1996), In favour of the Compact City, in Jenks M. et al.(eds.) The Compact city - A Sustainable Urban Form? Great Britain: E & FN Spon.
Jenks, M. Williams, K. and Burton, E.(eds.) 1996; The Compact City - A Sustainable Urban Form? Great Britain: E & FN Spon.
Johnson, C.(1991), the Green Dictionary, Keywords, Ideas, and relationships for the future, London: Macdonald & Co. Ltd.
Masnavi, M.R., Porteous C., Lever, W.F.(1997), The Relationship between Urban Form and the Pattern of Transportation, case of West of Scotland, in Buildings and the Environment, the second international conference, June 9-12, 1997 Paris, France. Centre Scientifique et Tech.Batiment
Masnavi, M.R.(1988) Sustainable Development, the Compact city and the Sprawl city; in the Proceedings of the First International Conference on Buildings and Environment in Asia; cib, TG8 - Environmental Assessment Methods International Council for Building Research Studies & Documentation, February 1998, Singapore.
Masnavi, M.R., Porteous Colin, and Lever, William F.(1998) 'Quality of life'(QoL) and the Sustainable development - Will the Compact city improve the QoL? In the Proceedings of the First International Conference on Quality of Life in Cities - issues and perspectives; March 1998, Singapore: National University of Singapore.
Meadows, D.H., Meadows, D.L., Randers, J. And Behrens III, W.(1972).The Limits to Growth, A report for the Club of Rome, London: Pan Books.
Newman, P. W. and Kenworthy, J. R. (1992) Is there a role for physical planners? Journal of American planning association, 58, (3) pp. 353-361.
O'Riordan, T.(1981), Environmentalism; London: Pion; cited Pepper, D.(1984), Roots of Modern Environmentalism; London: Croom Helm.
Our Common Future - report of the World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987, Oxford UP.
Patrick N. Troy(1996) Urban consolidation and the family, in: The Compact city - A sustainable urban form? in PP.134-142, Mike Jenks et al.,(eds.), pp.279, Great Britain: E & FN Spon.
Pepper, D.(1984), Roots of Modern Environmentalism, London: Croom Helm.
Ruskin, J., (1849) The Seven Lamp of Architecture(first edition), London: George Allen.
Russell, B.(1946), History of Western Philosophy, London: Unwin(1979 ed.) Cited in Pepper(1984), Roots of Modern Environmentalism; London: Croom Helm.
Scoffham, E. And Vale, B.(1996), How Compact is Sustainable - How Sustainable is Compact? in Jenks, M. et. al. The Compact city - A Sustainable Urban Form? Great Britain: E & FN Spon.
Talbot, R.(1993)Challenge to a Sustainable Future, University of Edinburgh: Edinburgh
Talbot, R.(1996), Alternative future or future shock? In: alt'ing - Scottish journal of Architectural Research, March 1996.
The Hutchinson Dictionary of Arts(1994), Oxford: Helicon Publication Ltd.
Wagner, R., 1974, Environment and man, New York: W.W. Norton & Co.
Williams, K. Jenks, M. and Burton, E.(eds.1996) Achieving the compact city through intensification - an acceptable approach? in Jenks et al. The Compact city - A Sustainable Urban Form? Great Britain: E & FN Spon.
Talbot, R.(1996b), Architecture for a Sustainable Future - Propositions, Paradoxes, Principles, and Practice. Edinburgh Sustainable Architecture Unit, Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh.

Planning in the Perth Metropolitan Region 1900-1970

Barrie Melotte
School of Architecture, Construction and Planning
Curtin University of Technology
Perth, Western Australia

THE DAWN OF TOWN AND METROPOLITAN PLANNING IN PERTH

Early growth in Population and Development
The population of Western Australia nearly quadrupled in the last decade of the nineteenth century, increasing from 50,000 in 1890 to 184,178 in 1901. This large increase was due to immigrants attracted by the the goldfields of Western Australia. The City of Perth population also grew from 16,000 to 61,000 persons in the same ten years. The 1901 Census also recorded nearly thirty seven percent of the 50,475 dwellings in Western Australia were of canvas, or hessian wall materials. The number of canvas dwellings at this time was associated with the gold rush, but large numbers of families lived under canvas in Perth and Fremantle. The demand for building sites resulted in the subdivision of old land grants without any overall town planning, very little co-ordination of roads and very few services. [1] Thus by 1900, the living conditions and civic amenities were considered unsuitable for a capital city of a State in the new Commonwealth of Australia. [2].

Brookman's Brief Ideas and Bold's Expansionary Plans
Expression of the need for a "city plan" and an "ideal city and a model municipality" resulted in Brookman being elected Mayor of Perth in 1900. His election platform listed 15 goals for Perth to aim for as a "settled policy" for the future. However, due to irregularities over the appointment of the new Town Clerk, W. H. Bold, Brookman was Mayor for only 6 months. Bold survived the challenge and remained the Town Clerk for forty-three years. Bold prepared several influential reports on planning matters and drafted the first town planning Act for the State. One of his earlier reports, "Perth Improvement", was prepared for the Joint Committee of local government Councils considering amalgamation in 1911. Another important report presented to the City of Perth, gave details of Bold's professional tour of United Kingdom and North America in 1914. A third report in 1915, was accompanied by a ".. Draft of a Town Planning Bill ..", which is believed to be the first draft of planning legislation for Western Australia [3].

The "Town Planning Movement" and Overseas Influences
Bold's 1911 Report to the Joint Committee of Councils advised the preparation of a plan "...upon the lines of which the Metropolitan area shall be developed and improved during the next 25 years". "If such a scheme be not prepared, improvements will be carried out from time to time without any relation to the fulfilment of a comprehensive and definite plan" [4]. Clarke noted overseas influences on the Town Planning Movement in Perth were from the American City Beautiful movement and the English Garden City movement [5]. However, Bold noted in his 1911 Report to the Joint Committee of Councils "...the resolution passed in Perth is more on the American method ...". [6].

Political Resolution, Representation and Renege
The Joint Committee of Councils had decided to conduct their enquiry on the lines suggested in Bold's 1911 Report. Nothing was done until June 23, 1913 when Cr. F. R. Rea moved in Perth City Council that a metropolitan plan be prepared and statutory

authority for implementation be obtained. [7] A deputation from Perth City Council with representatives from the professional and building societies, asked Premier Scaddan to appoint a Royal Commission to enquire into the remodelling of Perth. The Premier agreed with the aims of the deputation and proposed to instruct the Crown Law Authorities and appoint a Royal Commission. "Unfortunately, no action was taken by the Government in this matter."[8].

1914 : Bold's Report and Reade's Lecture Tour
In 1914, Bold was instructed by the City of Perth "...to proceed to England to obtain information on Town Planning matters and report his impressions thereon." [14]. Bold heard Raymond Unwin and Ebenezer Howard at conferences. He visited Garden Cities and Suburbs,, saw Geddes' Civic Exhibition in Dublin and "studied the town planning exhibits under the guidance of Professor Geddes." [9] In a comprehensive 1914 Report to Perth City Council, Bold applied what he had seen and heard to Perth and gave priority to the need for a city plan [10]. Bold also noted his 1914 report, "...I have obtained resumes of legislation in force in other countries, and the whole matter will require careful consideration when drafting the Statute". [11]. Charles Reade, arrived in Perth in October 1914 on a lecture tour of Australia on behalf of the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association of Great Britain.[12]. Reade and Bold had were reported to have attended a meeting to discuss the likely content of a Town Planning Bill. This significant meeting was also attended by the Government Architect, the President of the Institute of Architects, the Surveyor General and the Mayor of Perth. [13] It is believed that this meeting was an important influence on Bold's initial drafting of a Town Planning Bill.

PLANNING LEGISLATION

A Town Planning Conference, a Bill, and an Association
A "Town Planning Conference" was formed with City Council, professional and business representatives. The Conference, with Bold as Secretary, revised the Town Planning Bill he had drafted. "This Bill largely followed the lines of the Town Planning Bill prepared by the Commission of Conservation, Canada, and which, in turn was based upon the then English Town Planning Act" [14]. It was submitted to the Premier in 1915, with a request that it be introduced in Parliament. The government did not introduce the legislation, so the Town Planning Association of Western Australia was formalised, "On March 31st, 1916, its main object being the pressing of a Town Planning Act for the State".[15].

The Numbers : Seven Drafts and Four Political Promises
Bold wrote to Boas, "The first work of the Legislative Committee of the Association was the drafting of a Town Planning Bill suited to the needs of Western Australia. Mr. Bold's Draft Bill (founded on English and Canadian Acts) was made available and over a course of years it was redrafted seven times". Bold added, "The Premiers of four successive governments were appealed to by the Association to introduce the Town Planning Bill to Parliament. ... Many promises were given but were not fulfilled. Finally the Hon. A. C. McCallum, Minister for Works in the Collier Government, visited England and Canada and returned fully convinced that Town Planning was not a fad but a public necessity and it was principally through him that the long desired legislation was attained" [16].

The Metropolitan Town Planning Commission Bill, 1927
Bold's Draft Bill provided for general town planning and development in the State. The earlier idea of metropolitan planning was raised again at another conference of Perth

metropolitan local governments in 1926, where it was resolved that a development plan for the metropolitan area was necessary [17]. Another meeting in January 1927, resolved there was a need for a Metropolitan Town Planning Commission to enquire into and report on "... urban development in the Metropolitan **area** with recommendations with respect to the better guidance **and** control of such development...." [18] A Metropolitan Act was passed without amendment in 1927 and it was gazetted in 1928.[19] Ironically this preceded the much **desired** State planning Act.

The Town Planning and Development Bill, 1927

The Town Planning and Development Bill 1927, drafted by Bold and the Town Planning Association, "was passed with a few small amendments and without opposition by Parliament..." [20]. However, it was not finally assented to until December 1928, and was not gazetted until November, 1929. It provided for; Local Authorities to prepare planning schemes, a Town Planning Board to control the subdivision of land in the State, and a Commissioner of Town Planning, who also chaired the Town Planning Board.[21].

Commission, Depression and War

The Metropolitan Region Town Planning Commission was inspired by the similar Commission already operating in Melbourne. The Commission's objects were: "The enquiring into and reporting on the present conditions and tendencies of urban development in the Metropolitan Area with recommendations with respect to the better guidance and control of such development and other varying broad and more detailed matters related [there] to" [22]. The Western Australian economy, based on primary production, suffered the most severe recession in the States history with the 1929 collapse of world prices. Government relief for the unemployed drew workers away from the depressed metropolitan region [23]. Premier Willock took over in 1936, and Labour remained in power until the end of World War II. During this time, the planning portfolio was held by different Ministers in a variety of Departments. John Curtin, the Member for Fremantle became the Australian Labour Prime Minister during the War.

PHOENIX RISING

Post-War population increase and industrial expansion

After the war, rising wheat and wool prices brought prosperity. Western Australia's population had grown to 649.360 by December 1954, and by then nearly two thirds of the people were living in the urban areas. The new markets and larger labour force were attractive to Western Australian secondary industrial development. Centralisation policies by State government had supported residential and industrial expansion in the Metropolitan region

Revival of Metropolitan Regional Planning

Planners of the Post-war reconstruction looked to regional planning and immigration to overcome low population growth and to stimulate economic demand. The Australian National Policy concentrated on full employment, housing, immigration, and industrial development [24]. Western Australian State policy gave particular attention to adequate infrastructure and public works, suburban expansion, and industrial development, in the first instance; and with the prospect of significant development and expansion of the largest urban area, the importance of metropolitan regional planning was to be revived in Western Australia.

Commonwealth Housing and "Regionalism"

Commonwealth Post War Housing and Regionalism policies contributed to a review of the provisions for planning throughout Australia. Even though Western Australia had the advantage of being one of the few states with planning legislation, it missed the opportunity to provide more modern planning legislation needed at this time. The existing Western Australian planning legislation did not provide adequately for the regional planning necessary to implement the Commonwealth "Regionalism' initiative. The consideration of subdivision in Western Australia on a regional basis originated at the Premiers Conference of October 1944, when it was agreed the States which had not already done so "... will aim at defining regional subdivisions for purposes of development and decentralisation" [25].

"THE HISTORICAL, THE ACTUAL AND THE POSSIBLE"

The Arrival of Stephenson and Hepburn, 1953

The first step was to persuade the Government that a small team was required to prepare the regional plan and restart the planning department. Fortunately, our proposals were fully supported by the two most powerful public servants, the Under Treasurer and the Director of Works". "We had welcome access to heads of government departments, agencies and local governments. Their cooperation was essential. With mutual trust we acted as a catalyst in the planning process.. " [26].

Metropolitan Planning Bills, 1953

The two Metropolitan Planning Bills presented in 1953 demonstrated the growing support for regional planning which was being consolidated by good professional contributions, a community need and a receptive government. This support was in contrast with the preceding period which had created some considerable confusion for the people, politicians, and professionals.

"Advisory Plan": Stephenson & Hepburn Atlas & Report, 1955

The Stephenson and Hepburn, "Atlas & Report" was an advisory study, and had no statutory provision, due to the then lack of legislation to support regional planning. But at the time, the "Advisory Plan" had wide recognition and public acceptance as a Statement of intentions for the future Metropolitan Region. Even thirty years later it continued to be praised for its technical contribution. Webb said "Gordon's 1955 Plan represented that method and that mode of portrayal at its best; the atlas which accompanied the report set the region, past and present and future, the report itself was, in many respects, a manual of how to plan according to the principles current at the time" [27].

All-Party Advisory Committee Examination of the 1955 Report

An All-Party Advisory Committee was set up to study the "Advisory Plan" and make recommendations. The Advisory Committee examination was "... chaired by the Deputy Premier, Mr. John Tonkin, and comprised three Ministers, their opposite numbers from the other side of the House, and representatives from industry, commerce and local government" [28]. This Committee considered the various social, economic and technical factors involved and the "Advisory Plan" was specifically "adopted in principle". Although this method of adoption did not give legislative enactment, the tacit acceptance by an important Parliamentary Committee gave sufficient authority for subsequent planning for the Region.

Metropolitan Planning Bills 1955-59

Four more Metropolitan Planning Bills were presented in the Western Australian Parliament before comprehensive statutory provisions for regional planning were finally assented to in 1959. The relevant Town Planning and Development Act Amendment Bill 1955 was introduced by Hon. H. Graham, Minister for Housing in November. The amendment was intended to enable the Minister to prepare an Interim Development Order for the Designated areas in the Metropolitan Region ".. considered vital in the plan" [29]. The Town Planning Board was nominated to determine development applications in the Designated area. It was intended that compensation or land acquisition would be available if a development application was refused; appeal provisions were also proposed. There was no compensation for zoning refusal matters; nor was there any financial provision for an additional source of funds for the Town Planning Board. An Opposition amendment ensured non-conforming uses were allowed to continue.

Metropolitan Region Town Planning Scheme Act 1959

"In 1959, its sixth year in office, the Hawke Government steered the Metropolitan Region Town Planning Scheme Act through Parliament. There was little dissent"[30]. This Act made several landmark provisions for planning and development of land within the Metropolitan Region, even though it was required to be read in conjunction with the existing Town Planning and Development Act, which applied to the whole State.

Metropolitan Region Improvement Tax Act 1959

The "Advisory Plan" had suggested a State Land Tax to raise the additional finance for the land proposed to be Reserved. It was intended that the tax be assessed on the same basis, and collected in the same way as the Commonwealth Tax. This was seen as an advantageous method of raising finance because: "a) it is directly related to the land and automatically reflects any fluctuation in values; b) it would affect the average property holder only very slightly; and c) it would not affect the improved agricultural holdings in the proposed rural zones, but mainly the urban property holders who can be expected to derive most benefits from the plan" [31]. The All Party Advisory Committee had recognised the need for administrative support and a permanent supply of funds to implement the Advisory Plan. Thus, the Committee recommended the formation of Metropolitan Region Planning Authority and drafted a Finance Bill which was to be finally legislated as the Metropolitan Region Improvement Tax Act

Metropolitan Region Scheme 1963 and the Corridor Plan, 1970

The gazettal of the Metropolitan Region Town Planning Scheme Act 1959 created the Metropolitan Region Planning Authority and enabled the preparation of a statutory regional plan for the Perth Metropolitan Area. The members of the Metropolitan Region Planning Authority, who were appointed in April 1960, had a primary obligation to prepare a Planning Scheme for the Metropolitan Region. The consequential Metropolitan Region Scheme went on exhibition in 1962. Following the consideration of objections, tabling the Scheme in Parliament and approval by the Governor, the Metropolitan Region Scheme came into operation in October, 1963 [32]. Following a Review of the Metropolitan Region Scheme, the Metropolitan Region Planning Authority resolved early in 1969 that extensions of urban development would be in Corridor form. Subsequently, the 1970 Annual Report of the Metropolitan Region Planning Authority reviewed their previous ten years of operation and made a firm future commitment to Corridor planning. The 1970 Corridor Plan for Perth [33] set down the objectives for Corridor growth to open a new era for planning in the Perth Metropolitan Region which deserves separate detail consideration. [34]

References

1 M. Pitt-Morrison, Settlement and Development: The Historical Context, in M. Pitt-Morrison & J. White (eds), *Western Towns and Buildings*, UWA Press, Nedlands 1979, pp. 1-73

2 M. Webb, Urban Expansion, Town Improvement and the Beginning of Town Planning in Metropolitan Perth, in J. Gentilli (Ed) *Western Landscapes*, UWA Press, Nedlands, 1979, pp 359 - 382

3 W. Bold, *Reply Letter to H. Boas, Chairman, Metropolitan Town Planning Commission*, Battye Library File, Perth, 1930

4 M. Webb, "The Evolution of Regional Planning in Metropolitan Perth, 1911-1981", *Paper presented to the 18th Biennial Congress, Royal Australian Planning Institute*, Perth, 1983

5 C. Clarke, The Garden City Movement in Western Australia, *The Architect*, (1969), 10, 2:25-32; and The City Beautiful: Promise and Reality, *The Architect*, (1969), 10, 2 : 40-44

6 W. Bold, *Perth Improvement*, Report to Joint Committee of Councils, Battye Library File, Perth, 1911

7 H. Boas, *Report of the City of Perth Town Planning Committee*, Perth, W.A. 1935, p.2

8 Boas *op cit*, 1935

9 W. Bold, *Report on Tour around the World*, Perth City Council, Battye Library File, Perth, WA 1914

10 Bold, *op cit.* 1914

11 Bold, *ibid*, 1914

12 J. Battye, Accession Number 641A, *C. Reade, Publicity for the Town Planning Tour, 1914*, Battye Library, Perth WA

13 T. Stannage, *The People of Perth*, Perth City Council, Perth, W.A., 1979

14 H. Boas, "The Plan For The Metropolitan Region, Perth and Fremantle", *Paper read before The Fourth Australian Planning Congress, Perth, WA*, 1956

15 Bold, *op cit*, 1930

16 Bold, *ibid*, 1930

17 Boas, *ibid*, 1935

18 Boas, *op cit*, 1956, p2

19 Parliament of Western Australia Hansard 1927: 2034, referred to in D. Neglie, *Planning and Politics: A History of Metropolitan Planning for the Perth Region*, Western Australian Institute of Technology Planning Report, unpublished Perth, 1984

20 Bold, *ibid.* 1930

21 Western Australia, *Town Planning and Development Act 1928*, Government Printer, Perth, 1929

22 Boas, *ibid*, 1956

23 F. Crowley, "A Short History of Western Australia", *Paper read at the Fourth Australian Planning Congress, Perth, WA*, 1956.

24 D. Wilmoth, Post-War Development of Urban and Regional Policy in Australia, *Australian Planner*, 26, (1988), 3

25 G. Stephenson and A. Hepburn, *Plan For The Metropolitan Region Perth and Fremantle, 1955 Report*, Government Printer, Perth, WA 1955, p.25

26 Stephenson, *op cit*, 1986, pp..2-3

27 Neglie, *op cit*, 1984

28 Stephenson, *ibid*, 1986, p. 4

29 D. Collins, "Legislation for and Organisation of Regional Planning 1955-1967", *Paper presented to the Tenth Congress of The Australian Planning Institute, Perth*, 1968.

30 Stephenson, *op cit*, 1986 footnote 7, p. iii

31 A. Hepburn, "The Plan for the Metropolitan Region Perth and Fremantle', *Paper read before The Fourth Australian Planning Congress, Perth*, 3rd September, 1956, , p.11

32 B. Melotte and J. Gilchrist, *A Review of the Corridor Plan for the Perth Metropolitan Region*, Western Australian Institute of Technology, Perth, 1981, 1.4

33 Metropolitan Region Planning Authority, *Corridor Plan For Perth*, Government Printer, Perth, 1970

34 considered in Melotte and Gilchrist, *op cit*, 1981.

The Origins and Merits of the 'Effects-based Approach' to Urban Planning: A New Zealand Perspective

Ali Memon[1], Jenny Dixon[2] & Tom Fookes[3]
Department of Geography, University of Otago, Dunedin (1)
Resource & Environmental Planning, Massey University, Palmerston North (2)
Department of Planning, University of Auckland, Auckland (3)
New Zealand

1. INTRODUCTION

The effects-based approach to environmental management has recently come to dominate the ideology and practice of urban planning in many market based societies. Never before in the recent history of planning has there been such a strong universal convergence towards this approach. The statutory planning regimes in many states have been recently reformed to fit in within the straight jacket of the New right technocentric physical planning paradigm. In order to understand the architecture of the effects-based charter, this paper traces the historical and recent antecedents of this approach to planning in New Zealand. New Zealand provides an appropriate setting for this exercise because the effects-based ideology of environmental management has been adopted most fervently here. We take the opportunity to share current experiences in New Zealand in implementing this approach and reflect on the possible implications of the "effects-based" paradigm as a vehicle for promoting urban sustainability.

The strength of the attraction of the effects-based approach to environmental management lies in the apparent simplicity of its rationale. The gist of this model is that the scope of state intervention in the development process should be essentially limited to preventing, remedying or mitigating detrimental environmental impacts, particularly impacts on the bio-physical and the built environment. Concerns about managing human impacts on the natural environment can be traced back to the last Century and have become formalised during last twenty five years in many countries with the enactment of environmental impact assessment procedures. The earliest roots of this approach in urban planning can be traced back to the origins and evolution of the colonial garden cities and town planning movement during the last Century. The concerns of the early town planning advocates focused predominantly on the built environment within the framework of a deterministic world view. As we demonstrate by drawing on the New Zealand experience, these views were enshrined within the statutory planning systems that came into being following the enactment of the town and country planning statutes administered by local government and the more recent adoption of environmental impact assessment procedures administered by central government.

The effects-based approach has been redefined and accorded a much higher profile in the Resource Management Act 1991 (the RMA) which provides a new statutory framework for environmental planning in New Zealand. The long title to the Act reflects its wide scope: "an act to restate and reform the law relating to the use of land, air and water". The new planning legislation is the product of two quite distinct, and somewhat contradictory, socio-political forces, notably the New Right and the environmental movement. The new Act signals a paradigmatic shift in planning ideology and practice from a 'town and country' mode, which was embedded in the wider political economy of the welfare state to a new bio-physical and technocentric planning paradigm. This paradigmatic shift symbolizes a dilution of social and economic equity considerations which, in our opinion, should be concerns for urban planning.

2. THE TOWN AND COUNTRY PLANNING REGIME

Planning in New Zealand has traditionally been a close derivative of the British 'town and country approach'. Broadly speaking, the approach involves the regulation and control of urban development and the protection of valued rural landscapes. The main instrument of town and country planning has been the land use plan, usually administered by local authorities. Such plans have normally been based around prescriptive zoning schemes which have attempted to direct the spatial pattern of rural and urban land uses.

From a social perspective, town and country planning may be viewed as an historical form of state regulation which was concerned with managing the arrangement of the human environment. In the post-War period, town and country planning emerged as an important instrument of state intervention within mixed capitalist economies like Britain, Australia and New Zealand. Overall, the state sought to guarantee a minimum level of well-being for all citizens by legislating for employment conditions and through the provision of welfare infrastructure. Town and country planning contributed to the broader welfare state project by mitigating the contradictions of the capitalist land economy, including the problems of uneven development between regions, environmental externalities and inequitable housing allocations. The evolution of town and country planning in New Zealand has followed a pattern comparable to that in other British Commonwealth states. Consequently, its potential effectiveness has been compromised by the ideological bias inherent in the statutory framework for planning in a capitalist society. Despite the relatively wide scope of the recent town planning legislation (especially the 1977 Act), in practice the local government planning role was largely restricted to regulating the process of land use change in the built environment and to related concerns of promoting functional efficiency and conserving amenities.

3. PLANNING LEGISLATION REFORMS

In order to appreciate the significance of the new environmental legislation in New Zealand, it is important to emphasise the common ideological underpinnings of the wide range of the recent reform initiatives. Restructuring of the welfare state provided the overall contextual environment for the review of the environmental planning and local government legislation. The dominance of the ideology of the market place, a search for efficiency in the use of resources and the influence of senior neo-liberal Treasury and Commerce officials have been the hallmarks of these fundamental changes in policy direction. Underpinning the pressure for a fundamental review of the environmental planning legislation was a desire to ensure compliance of the planning statutes with the rapidly changing direction of the relationship between the state and New Zealand society.

Thus, even though sustainable resource management is the central purpose of the Resource Management Act, its structure reflects a determination on the part of the government for a more open and competitive economy, a move away from state participation in promoting economic growth or directing the nature of development (the "command and control approach"), and towards a decentralised administration of regulatory systems. The use of the term sustainable management, rather than development, is intended to cover the concepts of use, development and protection. This is seen to be in accord with the government's apparently neutral stance with respect to resource allocation decisions and rejection of the social engineering role of the state. The RMA streamlines procedures for decision-making in environmental planning and provides an integrated focus on natural resources (land, air, water and geothermal) and the built environment. While central government's principal role is to oversee and monitor the Act, most

of the responsibility for identifying issues, developing policy responses and implementing and monitoring these responses has been delegated to regional and local authorities. This is based on the assumption that decisions should be made as close as possible to the appropriate level of the community of interest where the effects and benefits accrue. The Act is neutral with respect to competition between economic and environmental goals. It is primarily a law designed to control externalities. In this respect, the Act marks a significant change from preceding legislation, in that decision-makers are not expected to make the trade-offs in promoting the wise or beneficial use of resources that were formerly required.

The effects-based approach embedded in the RMA builds on the long established tradition of statutory planning with 25 years experience of project-based EIA under the Environmental Protection and Enhancement Procedures (1974). These EIA procedures were mandatory for central government-funded projects only and did not have a statutory base. Features of environmental impact assessment are now integrated with the statutory planning system as a broader process of environmental assessment. The adoption of the term 'effect' in place of 'impact' indicates that the reformers sought a fresh approach to plan-making and the assessment of development proposals. Central to this approach is the way the assessment of effects forms a key part of the framework of the RMA. Several definitions provide a context for environmental assessment. Section 5(2)c which provides that avoiding, remedying, or mitigating any adverse effects of activities on the environment" forms one of three subsections qualifying the definition of sustainable management. The definition of effects (section 3) is significant because it makes reference to cumulative effects which practitioners have not previously been required to consider. The definition of "environment" is broad, encompassing ecosystems, people and communities, plus physical and natural resources.

Essentially, the effects-based approach provides for environmental assessment of both projects and policies in plans. First, the consent process requires applicants to provide an assessment of environmental effects. To assist applicants, the Fourth Schedule in the Act outlines matters to be considered in the preparation of these assessments. Sections 104 and 105 establish a framework for decision-making on applications, along of course with reference to matters in Part Two of the Act. Section 104 outlines matters to be considered by councils in assessing the applications while section 105(2)b requires that adverse effects will be minor, or that granting consent is not contrary to the objectives and policies of the Plan. Second, while the RMA is clear about the requirements for the assessment of effects at the project level, it is less direct about policy. Provisions are included which, when taken together, provide for environmental assessment of policy when councils are preparing plans or changes to plans. Section 32 requires councils to undertake an explicit process of policy analysis, including the consideration of objectives, policies and rules which have been adopted and the justification for them. An additional reference to environmental assessment is provided in the provisions on the contents of policy statements and plans where councils shall state the environmental results anticipated (sections 62, 67 and 75). The inclusion of section 35 requires that local government not only monitor consent compliance but also policy outcomes and adopt state of environment reporting.

4. IMPLEMENTATION

New Style Plans

At a broader level, the RMA provides many of the elements required for strategic environmental assessment (SEA) of policies and plans with its focus on sustainable management, links between levels of governance, heavy emphasis on consultation, consideration of cumulative effects and reference to management plans and strategies prepared under other legislation However, we would note that terms such as SEA and policy impact assessment are not mentioned specifically in the Act and are not widely used by practitioners, suggesting that the application of environmental assessment principles to policy analysis is still in its infancy.

Preparation of plans has been accompanied by extensive rhetoric about what these new plans should contain and look like, or more importantly not look like. For example, land use zones were considered to be by some as relics of the Town and Country Planning era, and therefore inappropriate in the new plans. The reality of course is that old style zones were also implicitly based on effects, even though they contained list of activities rather than performance standards and assessment criteria which are expected to be a feature of the new district plans. The distinction between activities and effects has signalled an important transition period for practitioners who have sought to develop plans in a different style. It has, however, not been easy to develop plans which meet the spirit of the legislation, pass legal scrutiny, accommodate community demands for certainty and achieve an appropriate community fit.

The definition of sustainable management has proven to be a difficult task for councils. Few district plans provide clearly worked through definitions which demonstrate a community consensus on what sustainable management means in terms of desired environmental futures (Berke et al, 1998). A failing of both regional policy statements and district plans is that identification of issues and desired environmental outcomes are poorly articulated and the meaning of sustainable management has been interpreted in the limited context of managing adverse human impacts on the bio-physical and the built environment, significantly as a consequence of central government pressure. Important social planning concerns in urban and rural communities have been largely eschewed even by those Councils which have sought to interpret Section 5 quite broadly.

The Act contains two important presumptions. First, on land anyone can do what they like, unless it is regulated in a plan. Second, on water and coastal areas, activities require consent unless provided for in a plan. The approach to land use reveals an important tradition about the respect for private property rights and reflects views consistent with the current ideology that land development should not be unduly fettered. Consequently, as councils attempt to anticipate likely effects of development in their districts, plans are more complex, particularly those in urban areas. This complexity and increased sophistication has meant that plans are less user-friendly for lay people to use and provide less certainty for users. On the other hand, if plans are able to define environmental standards or environmental bottom lines with greater clarity, it may be possible to determine whether desired environmental qualities are being achieved. However, this is fraught with difficulties about which qualities of the environment are important, the degree of risk involved, and the level of degradation acceptable.

Many commentators advocate environmental bottom lines in relation to sustainable management of natural and physical resources. These have been defined as the boundary of limit beyond which there is a high risk that the quality of the environment will be unacceptably degraded. One of the challenge for councils and planners has been to define standards for acceptable environmental quality or "environmental bottom lines". While it is relatively straightforward to develop numeric standards or minimum thresholds for water and air quality, it is more difficult to use a similar approach in dealing with issues of landscape or amenity. Hence, for these more subjective topics, councils have used narrative standards as constituting bottom lines". A key method of dealing with adverse effects is by means of rules. Rules can prohibit, regulate or allow activities and have the force and effect of regulations (Sections 68(2) and 76(2). There has been

considerable debate about the use of rules in plans. The prevailing rhetoric at the time the Act was introduced was that councils should use a mix of 'light-handed' regulation to achieve environmental outcomes, that is rules along with alternative methods, such as education programmes, incentives, and economic instruments. In practical terms, rules provide certainty for resource users. The transaction costs associated with rules are often cheaper than those associated with more sophisticated methods. It is, for example, difficult to evaluate the effectiveness of long term education programmes. However, one reason that a wider range of methods have not been used in plans is that practitioners have been unable to invest the necessary time in developing new approaches, and in many cases, there are few workable alternatives. A study of the changes in hazard management from the old to the new planning regimes in 1993/94 showed that innovation in plans was hampered by legal formalism, pressures to meet political deadlines to notify plans, and inadequate investment in the necessary research to develop new methods.

The quality of regional policy statements and district plans has generally been weak to average. Policy statements and plans have tended to suffer from poor identification of issues and environmental outcomes, a weak fact base, and variable internal consistency of issues-objectives-policies -methods (Berke et al, 1998). There is, however, no question that significant contextual factors have influenced the preparation of council plans. These include: the lack of national policy to guide their development, restructuring of local government, a shortage of highly-skilled practitioners, unrealistic deadlines, poor political leadership and limited council budgets. As a consequence of these pressures, robust policy analysis has suffered frequently as a result of preoccupation with process and consultation. Unfortunately and unwisely in such a small country, much effort has been duplicated as practitioners have had to come to grips with how effects-based plans should be prepared in the context of the Resource Management Act.

Consent administration

It is highly unlikely that reformers in the mid 1980s envisaged the new changes which would take place in local government by the late 1990s. There is no question that the implementation of the Act has been compounded by the parallel implementation of a managerial regime in local government. Indeed, it could be argued that the introduction of a user-pays regime with its focus on short term cost efficiencies has the potential to undermine longer term environmental quality, and ultimately, the goal of sustainable management. A monitoring report by the Ministry for the Environment (1996) showed that 90% of resource consents were processed within the time frames as specified by the Act. However, the quality of environmental assessments prepared by applicants has been shown to be quite variable, particularly for small projects. This in turn places pressure on council staff to seek further information from applicants to supplement the assessments which can then lead to criticisms of unnecessary delays. At a national level, efforts are being directed towards developing good practice guides on improving the consent process, the quality of environmental assessments, and their evaluation by council staff.

There have also been strident criticisms of the costs imposed by local government on applicants as the costs of resource development are transferred from the public sector to resource users. Currently, there is a proposal that consent processing be contracted out on a competitive basis. This is perceived by some critics as dealing with some of the implementation problems of the Act. However, there are many practical difficulties likely to be encountered in setting up such a system. Further, it raises fundamental issues such as the relevance of local political representation in decision-making, the potential for distancing councils from their communities, and ultimately the future of local democracy, however imperfect it might be.

6. CONCLUSION

The Resource Management Act gives primacy to physical environment (natural resources and the built environment). Indeed, the 'urban environment' survives as only an implied landscape in the new legislation. Unlike the earlier town and country planning legislation, in which the city appears as a distinct rhetorical artefact, the new resource management framework appears to eschew an explicitly urban focus. The Act's purpose, as stated in Section 5, is 'to promote the sustainable management of natural and physical resources'. One must assume that the city is a 'physical resource' which must be sustainably managed, albeit within a planning framework which emphasises the (built and natural) environment as a bio-physical phenomenon (Memon and Gleeson, 1995).

In essence, the 'urban' is present in the new Act only to the extent that it represents a spatial concentration of externalities which must be managed in order to ensure sustainability. The focus is very much on managing externalities ('effects') arising from resource use, with the 'environment' seemingly conceived as a material surface upon which these are inscribed. Overall, the effect is to diminish the city as a complex socio-political locus of human relations. In the Act's view, the city is simply a particular environmental surface upon which externalities are registered, and, thus, by implication, the urban-rural distinction is merely a question of externality incidence.

Even the narrow mandate of the Resource Management Act as an effects based physical planning instrument has proved difficult to operationalise and has led almost inevitably to strident criticisms by various development sector groups in the last few years. The Minister for the Environment is now conducting a partial review of the Act, in order to respond to these concerns. However, amending the Act will only further suppress land use conflicts, particularly if the definition of sustainable management is limited to bio-physical concerns. The Act in the context of a market based economy brings the tensions between public benefit and private rights into sharp focus. The latest review represents one of the most significant challenges to the rationale for land use planning in the history of statutory planning in New Zealand. In one sense, it remains unfinished business from the reforms of the 1980s. In another, it represents a repetition of age-old tensions over the extent of intervention on private property rights for the benefit of the wider community as the state attempts to have resource users internalise the environmental and social costs of their developments. To what extent the effects-based approach survives this largely political debate remains to be seen.

References

Berke, P., Crawford, J.L., Dixon, J.E. and Ericksen, N.J. 1998. Planning Under a Co-operative Manadate: Research in Progress. A FRST-PGSF funded project, MAU604;UOW606 (Palmerston North and Hamilton, Massey University, Department of Resource and Environmental Planning and the University of Waikato, the International Global Change Institute).

Memon, P.A. and Gleeson, B. 1995. "Towards a new planning paradigm? Reflections on New Zealand's Resource Management Act." Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design, Vol. 22, pp. 109-124.

City of Prosperity: New Deal New York and the Transformation of American Urbanism

Andrew A. Meyers
382 Central Park West, Apt 11P
NYC, NY   10025
USA

Time is the basic dimension of history, but the basic dimension of the American imagination is space.
-Richard Hofstadter, The Progressive Historians (1968)

"Americans sense that something is wrong with the places where we live and work and go about our daily business." So begins a recent jeremiad on the "environmental calamity" we call the suburbs by author James Howard Kunstler. The view from the inner city is more desperate, but the diagnosis, from sociologist William Julius Wilson is surprisingly similar: jobs are too far form residence, neighborhoods segregated by race, income and use are creating a permanent underclass, and the structure of the post-war city is largely to blame. Both men point to fundamental aspects of post-war planning, such as zoning, public housing, highway dependence and decentralization, as the source of the current dilemma. What did we do to our cities after World War II to produce an urban-suburban landscape that is "economically catastrophic... socially devastating, and spiritually degrading"?[1]

By the end of World War II a coherent prescription for the ills of the American city already dominated popular, professional, and political discourse. The American city had undergone intensive scrutiny by reformers for at least a century. From slum missions, through tenement reform, slum clearance, "City Beautiful" boulevards and Progressive Era "comprehensive plans," to the regional planning of the 1920s, the industrial metropolis was the object of vigorous and almost constant attempts at reform. But the Great Depression, the New Deal and World War II would fundamentally changed the nature and goals of environmental reform in the city. While pre-war plans and rhetoric, suspended, diverted or eclipsed by the war effort, returned with the end of hostilities, the motivations and means for re-designing the city had been transformed. While this post war ideal would have to wait for the federal highway and housing legislation of the 1950s to become a national reality, several large cities, New York foremost among them, had already begun to be transformed in accordance with a vision formed during the inter-war decades. This new urban ideal was not merely a natural extrapolation of existing trends in city growth, but a significant departure spurred by contestations over space in the modern metropolis, and a new understanding of the role of cities in the political economy.

In contrast to the laissez-faire industrial city of the nineteenth century, the new ideal that would emerge during the New Deal period projected a rationally planned and zoned city which segregated residential, industrial and commercial uses, as well as social classes. The new city would be ordered according to a comprehensive plan at a regional scale, anchored by a concentrated central business district (CBD) of towers with highways connecting to concentric, low density residential and industrial suburban rings. Most importantly, what might be called the "New Deal City" would be designed to maximize economic expansion and employment through government fiscal stimulus and increased consumption. To a remarkable degree this New Deal City became the reality in which we live today, but it was by no means inevitable. The keynesian policies developed during the New Deal and implemented with World War II transformed the Regional City of the 1920s into the City of Consumption of the 1950s. The crucible of this transformation was the New Deal New York of Fiorello La Guardia and Robert Moses, where politicians and planner applied regionalist strategies in the service of first relief and later fiscal stimulus. The result would be to turn both city and suburb into a "landscape of liberalism" designed to sustain economic growth and prosperity not through efficiency or rational planning, as the progressive planners had envisioned, but through *inefficiency* and *consumption*.

The post-war urban ideal finds its roots in the regionalist planning philosophies of the 1920s. In 1929, the Regional Plan Association (RPA), sponsored by the Russell Sage Foundation, published its twelve volume plan for metropolitan New York, while Lewis Mumford's Regional Planning Association of America was constructing its prophetic version of the suburb in Radburn, New Jersey, both grounded in the regionalist philosophy of Hooverian New Era Progressivism. The regionalism of the 1920s established an ideological framework for re-ordering the city grounded in decentralization and the segregation of uses. In the New York City region the new planning ideal produced privately sponsored housing experiments, the early parkway system (including Robert Moses early efforts on Long Island), and the fist projects of the Port of New York Authority. Regionalists tentatively embraced the concept of government sponsored planning, while operating within the Hooverian model of an "associational" partnership between the government and private sector, with business at the helm. The Great Depression temporarily discredited this model and the regionalist ideal lay dormant until re-awakened later in the 1930s.

There were as many "New Deal Cities" as there were "New Deals," each phase of the transformation in planning mirroring a change in New Deal policy. Historians have posited three stages of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's administrations. The "First New Deal," running from 1933 to 1935, embraced a wide spectrum of Progressive perspectives, from Hooverian associationalism, in the form of the National Recovery Administration (NRA), to planning in the New Nationalist manner, such as the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) and the National Resources Planning Board (NRPB), to relief in the form of both direct payments (FERA) and work programs (PWA). In New York, Hoover's Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC), continued and expanded by Roosevelt, supported both private and public efforts to provide affordable housing, such as Knickerbocker Village , a limited dividend project on the Lower East Side, or First Houses, a renovation project by the New York City Housing Authority (NYCHA). The Housing Division of Roosevelt's Public Works Administration (PWA) would take over and expand the RFC loan program as a means of providing both public housing and employment, but avoided direct intervention in project construction until 1935 when, with the newly formed NYCHA, it began the

Williamsburg and Harlem River Houses. Top-down, government planning found a voice in the National Planning Board, later the National Resources Planning Board (NRPB). Led by Roosevelt's uncle, Frederic Delano, a veteran of the RPA, the NRPB tentatively embraced the full-scale regionalism of the TVA, but neither sought nor received a mandate to extend this model beyond a few early projects in the South and West. Turning to economic planning, the NRPB would figure prominently in the transformation of regional ideology just before the Board's demise in 1943. The tentative expansion of relief efforts during the First New Deal produced an explosion of public work activity in New York, under Mayor Fiorello La Guardia and Parks Commissioner Robert Moses, often implementing plans created in the 20s by the RPA. But the most dramatic impact of the emerging federal policy toward cities was Moses' creation of the Triborough Bridge Authority, later Triborough Bridge and Tunnel Authority (TBTA), to sell bonds to the RFC and PWA, leveraging federal support for public works into his infamous transportation empire. Moses' vision was one of political entrepreneurialism and bureaucratic opportunism, but the planning vision he would implement was inherited from the regionalists and transformed by the New Deal.

After the Supreme Court's *Schecter* decision declared the NRA, unconstitutional in 1935, Roosevelt and his advisors constructed a "Second New Deal," from 1935 to 1937, which turned away from both associationalism and planning and instead began providing extensive work relief and welfare mechanisms. This is the period of the National Labor Relations Act (Wagner Act), the Works Progress Administration and the Social Security Act . In 1936 First Houses, the first wholly government built project, was completed by the NYCHA. In the same year Robert Moses restructured the Triborough Bridge Authority so that it might be permanent. Perhaps the most significant evidence of the shift in federal policy was the creation of the Works Progress Administration (or Work Projects Administration after 1939), which spent up to 15% of its total national budget in New York City, employing over 700,000 city residents, and contributing to the construction of both LaGuardia and Idlewild (Kennedy) Airports, the FDR Drive, numerous hospitals, schools, parks, and playgrounds, as well as to many slum clearance projects. The WPA represented the first long-term commitment to public works as a means of creating employment and was the first step toward viewing urban reconstruction as a means of potentially continuous economic stimulus. At the same time, the range and types of projects that the WPA supported, from transportation infrastructure to the visual arts, suggest that beyond creating jobs, the WPA sought to fashion the city into a center of culture, exchange and consumption, at the expense of manufacturing and production. Although not explicit in the WPA's original mandate, the agency selected projects that would create what we now call the "service city." For this new city, the **NYCHA** was at the same moment inventing a new form, the "high-rise" project, to house the urban working class, while the FHA promoted middle class home ownership in the suburbs.

A "Third New Deal," stretching from 1937 to the beginning of World War II, began when Roosevelt's failed "court-packing scheme" and the "Roosevelt Recession" of 1937 combined to produce Republican victories in the 1938 congressional elections. Re-evaluating the administration's policies, Roosevelt's advisors began to espouse Keynesian ideas of fiscal stimulus, even as the Congress became more opposed to government spending. As early as 1933, New Dealers such as Marriner Eccles had proposed using housing construction to end the

Depression, and Keynes himself made the case for direct government subsidy of home construction just after Roosevelt's move toward a balanced budget seemed to have caused the '37 slump.[2] New Dealers in Washington, DC and New York finally became aware of the ways in which urban restructuring could support increased employment and consumption. But the Keynesian city could not be realized in the political climate following the "Roosevelt Recession," thus remaining a "City of Tomorrow." The 1937 New York Home Show, sponsored by real estate interests and the *Ladies Home Journal*, presented the "House of Tomorrow," a modern update of the traditional cottage including a panoply of suburban amenities and consumer devices. That same year, the United States Housing Act began the construction of federally subsidized, low-rental housing on a permanent basis. As before, New York dominated this program, the NYCHA constructing five USHA financed projects from 1939 to '41. Meanwhile, FHA guidelines for mortgage eligibility "red-lined" inner city areas favoring suburban construction. By the 1939 World's Fair, the utopian visions of the pre-Depression regionalists were already becoming part of a coherent ideology of liberal urban reform, driven by profit, politics and economic policy. World War II finally ended the Depression, simultaneously legitimizing government deficit spending and re-establishing the publics faith in the private sector. Terminating the WPA and NRPB, Roosevelt's advisors turned from ideas of intervention and planning toward the more easily justified model of what would come to be called "military Keynesianism."

The distance that the regional ideal had traveled was evident in the 1947 *New Yorker* debate between Robert Moses and Lewis Mumford, where Moses heralded the construction of the city of tomorrow and Mumford decried sprawl and the loss of community. The regionalism of the 1920s, while still present in the rhetoric of planners and politicians, had become unrecognizable in its new incarnation. By war's end the fear of the Depression's return became condensed with concerns over the defensibility of American cities to add a new rationale to the regionalist arguments for decentralization. Not only could highways, suburbs and cars supply an economic engine to stave off depression, but the decentralized model could protect the public from aerial attack. The atom bomb quickly became an authoritative city planner. With residence and production safely ensconced in the suburbs (and the sunbelt) the central city would be free to become a locus for consumption and exchange, a "service city." The Wagner- Ellender-Taft Bill, the Housing Act of 1949, would, after several revisions to satisfy real estate developers and builders, would facilitate this transformation of the urban core by permitting government funds to subsidize uses other than residential buildings. The City of Prosperity was complete.

Federal Housing legislation, the rise of automobility and the growth of the suburbs were results , as much as they were causes, of a transformation of the urban ideal that began during the 20s and accelerated during the New Deal. What was the nature of this shift and what brought it about? Public policy shifts at the federal level on the implementation of housing, highway and redevelopment schemes in New York drove the transformation of progressive planning ideas into a prescription for the post-war city. As the reform agenda of the New Deal moved toward a reliance on Keynesian fiscal management, the city envisioned by New York's planners and politicians

evolved from the regionalist vision of RPA to the decentralized city of Robert Moses and William Levitt. What drove this transformation was the recognition that planning could produce a "Keynesian City" designed to stimulate economic growth. By 1949, New Deal liberalism had produced not only a model for a new post-war political consensus, but the outlines for a new regionalism which turned the metropolitan region into an engine for staving off economic depression and sustaining employment through urban renewal and growth through increased consumption.

1 James Howard Kunstler, "Home From Nowhere," *Atlantic Monthly* (Sept. 1996) p. 43. William Julius Wilson, "Work," *New York Times Magazine* (August 18, 1996) pp. 27-31, 48-51

2 John Maynard Keynes, letter to Franklin Roosevelt, 1 February 1938, as quoted in Diane Ghirardo, *Building New Communities, New Deal America and Fascist Italy.* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989) p. 15

3 The term 'urban renewal' is most often employed in the narrow sense of slum clearance for low-income housing provision. in actuality, the preponderance of urban renewal activities enacted under federal and state legislation resulted in the demolition of many kinds of neighborhoods for the construction of highways, civic institutions, speculative office buildings and middle income housing. I use the term here in the broader sense of any large scale effort to redesign the city using the powers of the state.

4 I would like to thank Professor Marcuse for permitting me to read excerpts from this work in progress

5 David Harvey, *The Urbanization of Capital: Studies in the History of Capitalist Urbanization* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University press, 1983), p. xi

6 The consensus view of the New Deal placed Roosevelt firmly in the Progressive tradition, defending the interests of the public against those of the economic elite. In *The Age of Roosevelt* Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. established the traditional view of Roosevelt as liberal innovator, pushing forward reform by increasing federal power to rein in the worst excesses of capitalism. William Leuchtenberg challenged this view in *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal* , seeing in the New Deal only a "halfway revolution" which failed to change the underlying causes of inequality due to both political constraints and Roosevelt's own limitations. While critics from the left, such as Ronald Radosh and Barton Bernstein, have attacked the New Deal as a sell out to corporate interests, more recent scholarship has, in a sense, returned to Leuchtenberg's formulation, identifying the successes of the New Deal within the constraints placed upon it. Steven Fraser, Nelson Lichtenstein and Ira Katznelson have argued that the narrow political space available for reform, doomed any "revolutionary" aspects of New Deal reform from the start.

Regional Planning in New Zealand 1929-1946 : An Exercise in Frustration

Caroline L Miller
Department of Resource and Environmental Planning
Massey University , Private Bag 11-222
Palmerston North
New Zealand

Introduction

In examining the development of regional planning in New Zealand in the period from 1929 to 1946, one is immediately struck by the realisation that despite the expenditure of much time and energy, there is little evidence that it had any real practical effect. It was not until the Resource Management Act (RMA) was passed in 1991 that regional planning became an effective part of the New Zealand planning system.

This paper uses two episodes of regional planning to explore the nature of that planning particularly how far it was adapted from overseas models, and to assess why regional planning failed to establish itself as a viable form of planning in New Zealand

The First Attempt 1929 -1930

New Zealand's commitment to systematic town planning through legislation come rather late with the first Town-planning Act being passed in 1926. The original Act contained limited provision for regional planning, basically as a form of rural planning, and this was immediately identified by J. W. Mawson, who was appointed Director of Town Planning in 1928, as a matter requiring remedying.[1] Mawson who replaced R. B. Hammond had an impeccable town planning pedigree as the son of Thomas Mawson and he was described at the time of his appointment as "one of the leading lights of the town planning world whose organising and administrative ability is considered to be exceptional.[2] He certainly did not lack for experience and was likely to have been well grounded in the current theories and practice of regional planning. Mawson quickly got his way and in 1929 an Amendment was passed to the Town-planning Act which inserted provisions for voluntary regional planning schemes, and set up the administrative structures to produce them.

From the outset it was not totally clear what issues regional planning would deal with. The 1929 Amendment contained in Section 2 a rather odd, in legislative terms, discussion of what was meant by the term "regional planning scheme".[3] In rather convoluted language it indicates that the previous term regional planning which was being used "not in accordance with technical usage" would be replaced by the term extra-urban planning while new provisions would be inserted allowing for "regional planning schemes in the proper sense of the term."[4] Mawson had defined the 'proper sense of the term' in an address to the Municipal Conference in March of that year as "the co-ordination and correlation of all matters of interest common to the separate local authorities within the region in order to secure the economic use and development of the land for the purpose for which it is best suited."[5] In the same speech he defined a region as "an area of land having natural geographical boundaries and united by common social or economic interest, disregarding the boundaries of separate local authorities within that area".[6]

The Origins of the Model

This model of regional planning was clearly one of regional development and this was confirmed by Mawson when he told an Auckland audience that "the object of all planning in relation to development of our national resources, is to improve the social and economic welfare of the people."[7] These benefits were to be achieved by the writing of non-statutory and non-binding regional plans by Regional Committees made up of members of the constituent local bodies and assisted by co-opted members with special skills and expertise. The Schemes which were to be based on regional surveys of all physical ,infrastructural and land use characteristics of the area , mapped on a scale of 1 inch to 1 mile, and showing the "allocation of those areas best suited for agricultural, industry, commerce and residential purposes"[8] as well as establishing standardised approaches to development control standards.

The model of regional planning that Mawson was creating was largely derived from British precedents of which the "origin lay in the theoretical prescriptions of Geddes, in Howard's seminal work and the subsequent propagators of the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association."[9] The emphasis on the need for a detailed regional survey is pure Geddesism. However to say that Mawson was merely perpetuating the British model is too simplistic. As Wannop and Cherry observe the commissioning of regional planning in the period 1920 to 1939 followed the creation of town plans and was inspired by the need to redistribute population, meet post-war housing needs and protect the countryside.[10] They were in essence plans to relieve urban congestion, and as such did not equate withthe issues that faced New Zealand. While Auckland and to a lesser extent Wellington and Christchurch were experiencing rapid growth, most of the rest of the country was coping with much more modest growth and towns in 1929 had an average population of 7000 people. Mawson quite correctly saw the issue in New Zealand as one of the town becoming the focus of social and economic activity which spread over a substantial surrounding area to become "some dominating force, some powerful source of attraction, some economic and social community of interest."[11] In such a system regional planning would identify and direct economic and resource development with town plans being subordinate to them. In this regard it probably borrows from the concepts which underlie Adam's Regional Plan of New York in "which detailed local plans would fit with the precision of pieces in a jigsaw."[12]

The Failure of the First Attempt

It is perhaps the comprehensiveness of this concept that ensured it never worked in practice. Establishing the boundaries of the various regions took time as they were determined through a series of local inquiries, which to reflect local sensitivities created 29 regions for a population of 1.3million. However the value of regional planning to the constituent local authorities was slow to take root. Mawson clearly saw regional planning as overcoming the rather chaotic nature of local authority administration and in 1930 he wrote that in undertaking regional planning "what we are aiming for is a scheme for the rationalisation of local body activities throughout the Dominion."[13] The local authorities concerned were quick to recognise this and Ohimemuri County wrote to Internal Affairs in 1930 to convey a resolution "that the time is not ripe for the introduction of such far-reaching interference with the functions of Local Bodies."[14] Equally to work well the constituent local authority had to co-operate, something they had always found difficult particularly in Auckland where regional planning was most needed and most appropriate. Prophetically Mawson had recognised this potential danger in 1929 when he stated "Regional planning, however, to be

successful, must be approached in the right spirit. Any suggestion of parochialism as self interest on the part of any local authority as section of the community will cripple it from the outset.[16]

There was however a range of other reasons which explain why no regional surveys were undertaken or plans made. Clearly the time was not ideal. New Zealand with its export dependent economy was slipping rapidly into the worst of the Depression which would not start to lift until 1934-35, and most local authorities had few spare funds to dedicate to any planning activity. The country also lacked trained staff to undertake the most basic planning work. Mawson expressed concern in 1929 at "the dearth of men in the Dominion who are qualified to undertake town planning work".[16] In fact there were at the time only seven TPI members in the country, of whom only two had training to prepare the town plans for 120 boroughs who must prepare them and the 40 other boroughs and 129 counties that might choose to prepare them. Further there was no active constituency for planning at the local or national level and in frustration in July 1932 Mawson wrote to the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr de la Perrelle, whose approach he later described as "indolent inefficiency"[17], that "unless there is a reasonable prospect of the Government embarking on an active policy of regional planning and town planning in the near future... I be granted leave of absence.... for the remainder of my term of office."[18] Without the commitment of government to regional planning Mawson was quick to realise that despite his strenuous efforts to promote the concept that it was effectively doomed. Mawson himself is not however without blame. An energetic, well-trained and experienced he might have been, but this often lead him to take an interest in too many issues, to become side-tracked when the dearth of trained planners made his active involvement in planning work essential. In 1933 on the eve of his departure he stated that in the first two years of his appointment he travelled some 30,000 miles around the country addressing various groups.[19] It left little time for giving practical assistance to local authorities and regional councils.

Finally there must also be some doubt as to whether the regional plans would have worked as well as Mawson envisaged they would. As non-statutory plans the regional plans in each case were in the words of the Act to "serve as a model"[20] and there was no obligation on local authorities to adhere to the regional plans provisions when the wrote their town plans. Mawson seemed to suggest that the Town Planning Board would put this right when town plans came before them. He clearly was not appraised of the fine legal principle of `ultra vires'. Moreover given the timeframes involved, the resources and the experience available to the Town Planning Board, it is difficult to see how they would have managed to undertake such a complex task let alone enforce their outcomes.

The Interregnum

By 1931 regional planning had effectively been abandoned In 1933 Mawson's contract as Director of Town Planning concluded and was not renewed. He spent the next three years variously in Britain and as a private consultant in New Zealand. Despite the clear animosity in the conclusion of his relationship with the New Zealand Government he rejoined it's services in 1937 but this time as Town Planning Adviser, the position of Director effectively being left unfilled. In that position he still attempted to promote regional planning and did exploit some of its features in the Christchurch Metropolitan Scheme which commenced in 1941. That was not however, as its name suggests, a full regional scheme but was rather a

very good co-ordinated urban plan based on the local authorities making up Christchurch city

The Creation of the OND

The next concerted attempt to undertake regional planning in New Zealand occurred through the establishment and work of the Organisation for National Development (OND). Information on the OND and its work is difficult to obtain as the files are incomplete. The OND was established in April 1944 as a small group within the Prime Minister's Department. It's role was to deal with the issues which would face post-war New Zealand, particularly in terms of returning the economy to full and stable production and re-employed and redeploying the large number of ex-service people. The OND role was "not to perform all these complex duties itself but to co-ordinate the work of bodies responsible for their procuration."[20] At the outset the OND was given the power to procure a vast range of information with the intention of planning a better post-war New Zealand. Central to that development and reflecting the experience of the Depression was an emphasis on full employment combined with industrial decentralisation. The latter reflecting the growing concern with the dominance of Auckland and to a lesser extent Wellington.

Regional Planning Under the OND

Regional planning was to play its part and Mawson, who with the small Town Planning Unit, had been transferred to the OND, seized the opportunity with rabid enthusiasm. The intention was to use the original definition of regional planning, the slightly modified regional boundaries of 1929-1930, and the administrative mechanisms of the 1929 Amendment. However while local authorities were again to come together in regional conferences to commence the regional plans, they were now to be joined by "recognised business organisations"[21] which in effect meant organisations such as Chamber of Commerce and Labour Councils. The Regional Councils were to institute a stocktake of resources through the proposed regional surveys, assist in developing "economic employment during the `transitional perio'"[22] (i.e. from war to peace) and undertake long range planning for development particularly of new export industries, secondary industry and decentralisation. With regard to the latter more work in this area was to be achieved through the Industry Plans which were developed by another arm of the OND.

By July 1945 J S Hunter, Director of the OND reported that "all Regional Conferences have endorsed the principles of Regional Planning and have either established their permanent Councils as have set up Provincial Committees."[23] Some Regional Councils such as the one in North Canterbury set up an array of technical committees to start the regional survey work. Some assistance in terms of mapping was forthcoming from the Government but most of the costs, except for a small subsidy for the Secretary of each Regional Council was met from contributions levied on the constituent local authorities. Generally comments and press reports of the time seemed positive about regional planning and it's potential.

New Models of Regional Planning

So what models inspired this vision of regional planning ? An insight to this is given through the *Regional Review*, a chatty newsletter produced monthly by the OND between May and October 1945, to keep the various Regional Councils in contract and to transmit news and

views to them. The Regional Reviews carried news on regional development plans in the USA, particularly the TVA Scheme, Canada, Australia, Britain and even the Soviet Union. A generous benefactor, Mr H Valder purchased 1,000 copies of David Lillenthal's book on the TVA for distribution to Regional Councils.[24] What was envisaged was large scale regional economic development planning which built on the models of 1929 but going far beyond them. There are similarities to the intentions which underlay the work of the Ministry of Reconstruction in Britain and in Australia. Under a Labour dominated Government in New Zealand the path was one of economic growth and diversification to produce a social outcome of full employment. To achieve that New Zealand looked to model in Australia or the United States where the objectives where more concerned with developing a post-war economy rather than recovering from war damage.

The Demise of the OND and Regional Planning

What this style of regional planning might have achieved we will never know. Almost as quickly as it was established the OND was dissolved in November 1945. The regional planning work gave way to 10 years public works plans guided and generally undertaken by the restructured Ministry of Works. The same department also took over town planning functions, a role it was to maintain until 1990. Mawson writing years later to the Prime Minister of the time Peter Fraser, laid the blame for the demise of regional planning at the feet of Bob Semple the then very powerful Minister of Works - "Regional Planning was deliberately killed by the Public Works Department with the knowledge and approval of Mr Semple.... in order to clear the way for Mr Semple's so called ten year plans."[25]

Fraser disavowed any knowledge of the demise of regional planning but agreed "that the ill-fated organisation for National Development should be discontinued because everything was being tripped up by it."[26] Clearly the OND had come potentially, to exert too much power and to intrude into areas which were traditionally the responsibility of other established departments. It's demise, however, took with it the opportunity to make regional planning a part of post-war development.

Conclusion

So ended yet another frustrating scene in the development of regional planning. From that point onward there was until 1991, no real attempts made at concerted regional planning except in Auckland and to a lesser extent in Christchurch and Wellington. In 1991 when compulsory regional planning was introduced through the RMA and Regional Councils were in place to undertake the work , their focus was firmly on natural resource planning primarily for water and air. Mawson would undoubtedly have been appalled while at the same time investigating ways to extend their brief. He would however have welcomed the reform of local government which finally made regional planning and government a possibility.

NOTES

1. Memo G . Newton to Minister of Internal Affairs IA Series 1 File 34/5 Part 6
2. Memo G. Newton to Minister of Internal Affairs 25 /6/28 IA Series 1 File 34/10
3. Section 2 Town-planning Amendment Act 1929
4. Ibid.
5. Address by Director of Town Planning to Municipal Conference, Wanganui 6/3/29 IA Series 1 File 34/4 Part 7
6. Ibid
7. Address by Director of Town Planning to Meeting of Auckland Regional Authorities 21/11/29 IA Series 1 File 34/5 Part 7
8. Schedule II Town-planning Amendment Act 1929
9. Miller, M 1989, The Elusive Green Background:Raymond Unwin and the Greater London Regional Plan , *Planning Perspectives* 4 , p.15
10. Wannop,V & Cherry, G E 1994 , The Development of Regional Planning in the United Kingdom, *Planning Perspectives* 9 , p.29-30
11. Op cit. 5
12. Simpson, M 1985 , Thomas Adams and The Modern Planning Movement , Alexandrine Press Book , Oxford , p. 144
13. Letter from Mawson to Cook 8/9/30 IA Series 1 File 34/5 Part 7
14. Letter from Ohinemuri County to Minister of Internal Affairs 8/5/30 IA Series1 File 34/5 Pt 7
15. Op. cit 7
16. Letter from Mawson to Hammond 8/2/29 IA Series 1 File 34/204
17. Address to Civil Service Institute 6/2/33 Mawson Papers, Town Planning Library University of Auckland
18. Letter Mawson to Minister of Internal affairs 13/7/32 Mawson Papers,Town Plannning Library , University of Auckland
19. Op.cit 17
20. Address by Director of OND to Representatives of Local Government 22/9/44 PM Series 12 File 1/4/1/Box 1
21. Evidence to Parliamentary Committee on Local Government by J W Mawson on behalf of the OND , PM Series 12 File 1/4/1 Box 3
22. Notes of Address by J W Mawson to Annual Conference of South Island Local Bodies 15/11/44 , PM Series 12 File 1/4/36 Box 1
23. Memo to Member of the Executive Committee , 4/7/45 , PM Series 12 File 1/5/7 Pt3 Box 2
24. Regional Review Vol 1 No 4 , August 1945 , p.4
25. Letter from Mawson to Peter Fraser 10 April 1950 , Mawson Papers, Town Planning Library , University of Auckland
26. Letter from Peter Fraser to Mawson 4 March 1950 , Mawson Papers, Town Planning Library , University of Auckland

HAMPSTEAD GARDEN SUBURB : Paradigm or Paradox?

Dr Mervyn Miller
11 Silver Street
Ashwell
Baldock HERTS SG7 5QJ
United Kingdom

Hampstead Garden Suburb, north-west of central London, was founded in 1907, by (Dame) Henrietta Barnett (1851-1936). The layout, by (Sir) Raymond Unwin (1863-1940), the grouping of housing, and landscaping of roads and public spaces, including the central 80 acre Hampstead Heath Extension, became a model for statutory town planning, introduced in Britain through the Housing and Town Planning Act of 1909. The centrepiece of twin churches and institute, designed by Edwin Lutyens (1869-1944), was a milestone of formal civic design. Its influence was publicised, not least, through Unwin's seminal book, *Town Planning in Practice* (1909). International approbation, particularly in Germany, brought international emulation. The ultimate accolade came in 1957, the Suburb's Golden Jubilee year, when (Sir) Nikolaus Pevsner referred to it as 'the most nearly perfect example of the unique English invention and speciality, the garden suburb'.

Emphasis on design and layout, which are indeed outstanding, obscures the intent that built form should reflect Mrs Barnett's social objectives, honed during long years in Whitechapel, one of the most notorious East End slums. Her husband, the Reverend (later Canon) Samuel Augustus Barnett (1844-1913), was Vicar of St Jude's, Whitechapel, and a leader of the University Settlement Movement at Toynbee Hall, Whitechapel, founded in 1885. Before her marriage, Henrietta Barnett had assisted Octavia Hill (1838-1912), a pioneer housing reformer, and, in 1895, one of the co-founders of The National Trust. The concept of environmental determinism gained ground during the late 19th century. The causes of a degraded lifestyle were assumed to stem from the physical decay of the slums: provide a healthy home and spiritual and moral improvement would be secured. Mrs Barnett attempted to transfer this objective from the bleak tenements of the housing trusts, to the rural outer fringe of north London. Social reform underlay her initial announcement of the scheme for Hampstead Garden Suburb in 1903, with a more detailed specification presented in *Contemporary Review* in February 1905, and her handwritten comments on Unwin's preliminary plan, published the same month. This paper will examine the original social objectives, and how the initial development process attempted to address them.

Parliamentary sanction for the construction of the underground line from Charing Cross to Hampstead and Golders Green, revealed the development potential of the rural land east of the Finchley Road. The Barnetts, whose weekend retreat, Heath End House, stood above the summit of Hampstead Heath, were alarmed. A campaign was launched to preserve 80 acres of farmland running north-west down towards Temple Fortune. Henrietta Barnett approached Eton College, owners of Wyldes Farm, and negotiated an option to purchase. In November 1903, in a letter to the *Hampstead and Highgate Express* she announced 'A Garden Suburb for the Working Classes' on the remaining 243 acres of Wyldes. Nationwide publicity about the opening of the First Garden City Estate at Letchworth in October 1903 probably influenced her new

concept. The London County Council (LCC) had also adopted cottage housing for its suburban estates at Totterdown Fields, Tooting and White **Hart Lane**, Tottenham, using the 1900-amended Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1893.

Hampstead Garden Suburb was to be developed by a trust company, raising share capital and voluntary contributions, but paying limited dividends. Development leases would be sold, under strict Trust control. The model was 'five per cent philanthropy', a characteristically Victorian blend of entrepreneurship and altruism. Similar organisations had built 'improved' inner city tenements since the 1850s. A similar constitution was adopted by First Garden City Ltd., developers of Letchworth. **The** requirement of financial viability, given the absence of substantial **private donations or** contributions from the LCC and other local authorities caused **modification of the** objectives. By December 1903, the garden suburb would be

> not for one class only, but to include people of all degrees; in which the houses of the industrial classes will be beautiful ... The seclusion of the poor in less desirable districts, and the monopoly by the rich of the more favoured portions of the suburb is not righteous ... Society is impoverished by class divisions. The hope of the syndicate [the 'proto-Trust'] is to develop the estate ... so that the rich may live in kindly neighbourliness with the poor; the dwellings of both attractive ... as are the cottage and the manor house of the English village.

Mrs Barnett's formidable powers of persuasion enabled her to organise her 'veritable showman's happy family; two Earls, two Lawyers, two Free Churchmen, a Bishop, **and** a woman [herself]' to advance the project. Late in 1904, her appointment of Raymond Unwin (1863-1940) as architect had a ring of inevitability. In the 1880s he had consulted Canon Barnett about taking up a religious vocation; on learning of Unwin's greater concern for human unhappiness rather than sinfulness, Barnett advised against the Church. In the intervening years Unwin, in partnership with his brother-in-law Barry Parker (1867-1947) had pioneered enlightened housing design, culminating in Joseph Rowntree's Model Village at New Earswick and Howard's Garden City at Letchworth.

In February, 1905 Henrietta Barnett described her aims in detail in the *Contemporary Review*. She envisaged an ingenious method of cross-subsidy to enable construction of housing for 'the industrial classes'.

> Under strict building covenants some of the most attractive portions of this land, many of which have extensive prospects ... will be leased (not sold) to the rich in 1, 2, 3 acre plots ... it is hoped that these ... will produce a large ground rent. Beyond ... smaller plots should be set apart for people of humbler means ... always providing that the fundamental principle is complied with that the part should not spoil the whole, nor that individual rights should be assumed to carry the power of working communal or individual wrongs ... Every acre which fetches a large price will release, as it were, further acres to be devoted to the erection of cottages for the industrial classes.

Spiralling land costs - already £5,000 per acre nearby - would rule out extensive provision of such housing, but Mrs Barnett reckoned that 70 acres of the 243 might be developed at a notional land cost of £150 per acre.

The Garden Suburb would have the great advantage of 'being planned, not in piecemeal as plots are taken by different builders, but as a whole', with tree-lined roads and the avoidance of spoiling outlook by poor layout. Communal needs would be met by 'shops, baths and wash-houses, bakehouse, refreshment rooms and arbours, co-operative stores', few of which came to pass. Higher aspirations would be satisfied by 'houses of prayer, a library, schools, a lecture hall and club houses', most of which were provided. Local recreation areas and playgrounds were also needed. To cater for 'all kinds and conditions' of society, she advocated a 'convalescent home', 'training-school', 'working lads' hostel' and 'tenements for the elderly and infirm'.

Philosophically and physically Hampstead Garden Suburb compromised Garden City ideals: an outward spread of the metropolis notwithstanding its sensitive planning and goal of social inclusion. Unwin had attacked suburbs in *The Art of Building a Home* (1901).

> ... When a modern town begins to sprawl its squalor or its suburban quality out into the fields what desecration of scenery follows ... we shall find that modern suburbs specially offend in coming between; so that however the city may be fitted to beautify the landscape, we cannot see it from the fields; nor can we catch a refreshing glimpse of the cool green hillside from amongst our busy streets.

Preservation of the Heath Extension gave 'a refreshing glimpse of the cool green **hillside**' from within, and beyond, the boundaries; clearly this was one of the most creative compromises.

Unwin's plan of 22 February 1905 showed a much looser concept than Letchworth, but contained many elements developed in greater detail before the formal inauguration in May 1907. The 80-acre Heath Extension ending in the 'Great Wall', the Central Square on the hillock where Mrs Barnett herself had determined the site of the churches and institute, and 'gateways' from North End Road, Hoop Lane and Finchley Road were prime determinants of the layout. The plan had been prepared in close collaboration with Henrietta Barnett, and graphically mirrored her *Contemporary Review* article. Unwin's zeal in fulfilling her requirements was rewarded by her approving handwritten comments. Choice sites, east and north of the Heath Extension, were reserved for large houses 'where the rich will build their homes'. Unwin criss-crossed their gardens with view lines to indicate distant prospects from less favoured areas. The narrow tract south-west of the Heath Extension introduced culs-de-sac and quadrangles: 'here will be a quadrangle of villas around a green or Associated Homes for working ladies'. Along the Finchley Road a dominant 'gateway' led into the '70 acres allotted for the homes of the industrial classes', at 10 to the acre', with schools, baths and wash-houses, a recreation ground with a boating-pond and 'tenements for the old'. Informal housing groups, similar to those at New Earswick and Letchworth were shown. The concept of a planned neighbourhood unit was very close. The five acres 'set aside for the church, the chapel, institute and the club', the central citadel of religion and knowledge, was loose-knit, with the church forming the only significant focal point, visible along an axis to the Heath Extension, which would be finalised as Heathgate. North-east were 'villas for clerks', and also 'Associated Homes for young men'. The original notion of houses of different sizes for different classes in close juxtaposition had been modified. Although the aim of including 'all kinds and conditions' of society remained, they were now to be allocated specific areas

within the overall suburb: a place for everyone was matched by the corollary of everyone in their place.

On 2 May 1907 Henrietta Barnett ceremonially inaugurated Hampstead Garden Suburb by turning the sod for the foundations of the first artisans' cottages, designed by Barry Parker and Raymond Unwin, and developed by Hampstead Tenants Ltd., a limited dividend company, and an offshoot of Copartnership Tenants, founded by the Liberal MP, Henry Vivian (1868-1930). **Profits** were distributed to shareholders as additional shares, and it was claimed that by setting the accrued interest against the rent paid that the tenant-member would be housed virtually **rent-free**. Tenant membership of the company was compulsory, and the £5 minimum subscription effectively limited residence to skilled workmen, who could also afford the 6s. 6d. weekly rental. The Suburb's relative remoteness and even the modest 2d workmen's return fare from Golders Green to central London were further deterrents. Physically, the 'artisans' quarter' was perhaps Unwin's masterpiece of layout planning, with cottage groups designed by his most talented assistants. The varied groups, and articulation of the building lines in Hampstead Way, Asmuns Hill and Temple Fortune Hill, were widely emulated, while Asmuns Place indicated that a cul-de-sac provided a verdant enclave, in contrast to the Victorian blind alleys. Included by Unwin in his *Town Planning in Practice*, the 'artisans' quarter became a model for enlightened housing design.

North of Willifield Green, and east of Willifield Way to Erskine Hill, further development of small grouped houses took place between 1911 and 1914, promoted by Second Hampstead Tenants Ltd. Unwin provided the layout, but other architects, including Courtenay Crickmer from Letchworth, and Herbert Welch, a former Unwin assistant, also contributed designs. Within the blocks defined by the principal roads were culs-de-sac and connecting footpaths - features which impressed the American planners Henry Wright and Clarence Stein in the early 1920s. Hampstead Heath Extension Tenants Ltd. formed in 1912 was largely involved with middle-class grouped housing in Central Square, Erskine Hill, Meadway, Heathgate and Corringham Road - the latter including twin quadrangles of Lutyens-influenced houses designed by Unwin in 1912. In 1913, Oakwood Tenants began operation in the 'new suburb', 300 acres added on the east of the original development, for which Unwin prepared the initial layout at sea *en route* to Boston in May 1911. The Copartners architect, George Lister Sutcliffe (1864-1915) designed the first tranche of cottages built in Denman Drive and Oakwood Road, which are among the best of their type.

Housing for the elderly and disabled was provided in small enclaves, beginning with 'The Orchard', a quadrangle of flats for the early beneficiaries of the 1908 Old Age Pensions Act, tucked into the backland behind Asmuns Hill and Temple Fortune Hill. Designed by Unwin, this scheme opened in October 1909. The Improved Industrial Dwellings Company was one of the Victorian housing trusts, and constructed 65 cottages in Willifield Way and Erskine Hill. Their most renowned development was Waterlow Court, designed by M H Baillie Scott in 1909. This provided flats for businesswomen, in a quadrangle layout, with a communal common room, dining hall, and individual allotment plots, and tennis courts in the grounds. In 1912, Henrietta Barnett collaborated with Unwin on the design of Homesfield, a cul-de-sac off Erskine

Hill, where five houses were built to accommodate disadvantaged groups. Ursula and Henrietta cottages were funded by George Cadbury and Canon Barnett, and provided dormitories for Poor Law children under the supervision of a 'house mother'. Orphans under Salvation Army care lived in Rosemary Cottage, and Emma Cottage provided a rest home for servants between jobs. After the First World War, both were purchased by the Church of England Waifs and Strays Society, and jointly run as an orphanage. Finally, Adelaide Cottage, named after Commissioner Adelaide Cox of the Salvation Army, and run as an elderly persons home, for, in Henrietta Barnett's words '16 old dears weary and worn'. The designs of the buildings, by Unwin in his Lutyens-influenced vein, was sensitive and domestic. However, nearby residents complained of noisy and unruly children, and even of the propensity of the elderly ladies to sing hymns too loudly and too often!

The First World War profoundly altered the social **and** financial context for the provision of working-class housing. It was recognised by politicians that massive state intervention would be necessary if the backlog of unfit housing was to be cleared, and replaced by an adequate supply of healthy, affordable homes. After supervising the state-aided Ministry of Munitions housing programme, Raymond Unwin was appointed to the Tudor Walters Committee of Inquiry into the provision of Working Class Housing, and dominated its discussions. The Report, published in 1918 set the agenda for 'homes fit for heroes', through generous state subsidies to local authorities, who would construct and administer the housing, under the supervision of a new Ministry of Health, created in 1919. The same year also saw a comprehensive Housing and Town Planning Act to ratify the proposals and set the seal upon the municipalisation of the Garden City. Alongside this initiative, which eventually promoted the construction of over 1 million council houses by 1932, the reform-inspired and Co-partnership developed housing at Hampstead Garden Suburb, Letchworth Garden City, and a host of smaller ventures, appeared limited, and products of patronising Victorian concern for social welfare. A damning report on *Public Utility Societies and Housing* had been written by Bryce Leicester during the war, and presented a scathing attack on Hampstead Tenants

> no society has had such a unique opportunity for success ... The results must be deemed as distinctly poor ... rents and tenancy are a barrier against working class residents for very few of whom it provides housing.

This possibly tipped the balance in favour of local authorities as recipients of subsidies; housing societies continued to operate, but on much less generous terms, throughout the interwar period, and **were** not cushioned against sharply rising building costs. Periodic reorganisation of the Co-partners Hampstead subsidiaries removed the dividend limitation, terminated the policy of setting off dividends against tenant-members' rent, neglected maintenance and began to sell off properties. By 1936 it was conceded that

> Socially the well-to-do side has gone ahead more rapidly than the working-class end, and since the [First World] War a good many of the cheaper houses have had to be let to people with reduced incomes but of a type for which the houses were not intended.

The rise of home ownership among the middle-classes was a further factor, and mortgages on the extensive housing built in the 'new suburb', for example in Maurice Walk, Gurney Drive or Devon Rise, all developed in the mid 1930s, began to compare

favourably with the rental of earlier housing. Nevertheless, Henrietta Barnett continued to press the cause of working-class or specialised housing. In 1916 during the war, Sir Alfred Yarrow had paid for Barnett Homesteads, off Erskine Hill, as a memorial to Canon Barnett, which provided 12 flatlets for war widows. Southwood Court, built in the early 1920s housed officers' families. Queen's Court, 1927, built in Hampstead Way where Unwin had originally located a public garden, and Emmott Close, 1928, were promoted by the United Women's Homes Association for 'thrifty working women'. Mrs Barnett attempted to block the Trust Board leasing a prime Finchley Road site for building a cinema, and proposed that it be let to the London Labourers Dwelling Society. After court action the cinema was eventually built. In 1934 she obtained an option on land in Holyoake Walk for development with two storey flats, but this was rejected by her fellow Directors on the grounds that the Trust would be required to underwrite a financial loss. After her death in 1936 they proposed to carry out her wishes, only to find that the site had been sold. Since 1945, the inflationary workings of the property market have completed transformation into an affluent middle-class enclave, increasing pressure for change, particularly on the smaller 'artisans' cottages', and lining the roads with automobiles. Physically, the fabric of Hampstead Garden Suburb is now cherished as a conservation area, with several hundred listed buildings. As original ground landlord, the Hampstead Garden Suburb Trust controls alterations to properties through a scheme of management, in addition to the statutory planning process administered by the London Borough of Barnet. 'Utopia NW11' remains as both substance and shadow of Henrietta's Dream.

References

Unwin R (1901) 'Building and Natural Beauty' 83-89 in Parker B and Unwin R *The Art of Building a Home*, Longmans, London.

Barnett H (1905) 'A Garden Suburb at Hampstead', *Contemporary Review* LXXXII (470) 231-237.

Garden City Association (1907) *Cottages with Gardens for Londoners*, London.

Unwin R (1909) *Town Planning in Practice*, Fisher Unwin, London.

Berlepsch-Valendas BDA (1912) *Die Gartenstadtwegung in England*, Oldenburg, Munich and Berlin.

Leicester B (1917) 'Public Utility Societies and Housing', RECO1/482, Public Record Office, London.

Barnett H (1928) *The Story of the Growth of Hampstead Garden Suburb*, HGS Trust Ltd., London.

Pevsner N (1957) 'A Master Plan', 35-46 in *Hampstead Garden Suburb Jubilee*, HGS Jubilee Committee, London.

Grafton Green B (1977) *Hampstead Garden Suburb 1907-1977*, HGS Residents Association, London.

Beattie S (1980) *A Revolution in London Housing*, Architectural Press, London.

Slack KM (1982) *Henrietta's Dream*, New HGS Trust Ltd., London.

Miller M and Gray AS (1992) *Hampstead Garden Suburb*, Phillimore, Chichester.

Miller M (1992) *Raymond Unwin: Garden Cities and Town Planning*, Leicester University Press.

Miller M (1995) *Hampstead Garden Suburb*, Archive Photograph Series, Chalford.

Superman or Public Servant: The Changing Role and Influence of the Queensland Co-ordinator-General

John Minnery
School of Planning, Landscape Architecture and Surveying
Queensland University of Technology,
GPO Box 2434,
Brisbane, 4001
Australia

The Bill provides for the appointment of a Co-ordinator-General of Public Works. The title is a very long one, but I would give him a more suitable one - superman. He will have to be a superman (QPD, 1938, Vol. CLXXXII, p. 256).

Introduction

There are many forms of planning. Even if we deal only with land use planning and development this often occurs outside the 'town planning' system.

Since January 1st, 1939, Queensland has had a public office which is 'unique in the Australian states for its scope and influence' (Hughes, 1980: 220) in coordinating and planning state development. The office was established under Premier William Forgan Smith through the *State Development and Public Works Organisation Act 1938* as the Co-ordinator-General of Public Works.[1] Wiltshire describes the policies of the 1930s as 'characterised by the post-depression coordination of public works' (1992: 261). Similarly, the 1940s, when the first COG was establishing the shape of the office, the approach was 'dominated by the war time arrangements and the Australian machinery for post-war reconstruction and development' (1992: 261).

The office exists still in 1998, but its form and roles are remarkably different to those it had in its early days. The changes which have occurred over the intervening sixty years provide a fascinating commentary on the changing policy environment within which planning exists.

The early years

In the period of mainly Labor administrations from 1915 to 1957 Queensland established a tradition of strong premiers with an autocratic leadership style. Halligan and Power (1992: 168) claim that the Co-ordinator-General's Department was one of the mechanisms the premiers (including Forgan Smith) used to maintain central administrative control. There was a proclivity then for rationalised public sector organisation, with coordination being a central concern.

---

[1] The name was officially shortened to Co-ordinator General in 1971. The abbreviation COG is used in this paper.

Davis (1995:7-8) summarise these early years thus: 'the premiership of Forgan Smith, from 1932 to 1942, was indeed characterised by an ambitious program of economic development initiated and coordinated by the state. Large public works were designed to alleviate unemployment and depression. To manage the program, Cabinet established a Department of the Co-ordinator-General in 1938. The Co-ordinator-General became a key player in major government infrastructure projects, and an important adviser on public and private investment proposals.'

In creating the Department Forgan Smith was trying to find systems which could focus the public sector on public works and economic infrastructure. The early shape of the office and its role were probably influenced by German and Swedish precedents. The first COG, John Kemp, when he was Main Roads Commissioner, undertook an extensive tour of Western Europe and the United States in 1937-38. He visited Sweden and Germany and visited Robert Moses in New York. In Kemp's second Annual Report (DCOG, 1940) he also referred to the International Labour Conference in Geneva in 1937 which identified a need for advanced planning of public works to flatten out the employment fluctuations resulting from economic booms and downturns. The *State Development and Public Works Organisation Act 1938* was 'the first real step in providing a co-ordinated works plan for the State as a whole' (DCOG, 1940). Both state government departments and local authorities had to fit their public works proposals within the plan. The first departmental Annual Report (DCOG, 1939) set out the allocation of State Loan, Debenture Loan and Income (State Development) Tax funds between the various departments and local authorities in the state in a plan for the following year. The COG's role was to evaluate and coordinate state-wide proposals for public works, and recommend to Treasury a submission to the Australian Loans Council. As Hughes (1980: 220) comments, 'by virtue of the fundamental role state public works play in the advancement of state development and the emotive power of the idea in state politics' this gave considerable influence to the COG.

A department which is technically proficient and which controls development funds can also be used as an effective counter-balance to parochial electoral and political pressures (Minnery, 1988a: 69). This was also one of the early roles in the COG's department.

The changing roles

The legislation gives the COG enormous powers. His initial tasks were to coordinate public works across the state, so as to create additional avenues of employment, to maintain continuity of employment throughout the state, to proportion expenditure equitably, the gain maximum public benefit from public expenditure, to coordinate departmental and local government activities, to prevent overlapping of functions, and to cooperate with industry (DCOG, 1940: 1-2). In 1940, with the first amendment of the Act, the department was also made a construction authority so it could design and construct works of high priority. During World War II (which started only months after the office came into existence) the COG's role was one of reducing expenditure on everything except defence and the war effort. John Kemp was appointed Chairman of the Board of Munitions in 1941 and in 1942 became Deputy Director-General of Allied Works as well as being COG (Wheeler, 1974).

The powers are enormous but have been used selectively. The actual practice in fulfilling the functions reflects the philosophy of the incumbent. The first four Co-ordinator-Generals illustrate this well. John Kemp (COG from 1939-1953) gave great attention to technical coordination of a state-wide program of works for social and economic objectives; James Holt (1954-1968) focused on the role of implementer through the power to act as a construction authority; Charles Barton (1969-1976) emphasised the new regional and environmental coordination role; and Sydney Schubert (1977-1988) focused on administrative 'fire fighting' and the negotiation of special projects (Minnery, 1988a: 124).

The COG's power stems from Section 16 the *State Development and Public Works Organisation Act*. This required almost everyone subject to state legislation, including other Permanent Heads, 'to co-operate with the Co-ordinator-General in the performance by him of the functions and duties of the Co-ordinator-General.' The functions and duties set out in Section 13 of the Act are very wide. In 1981 this included all the things necessary for the 'proper planning, preparation, execution, co-ordination, control and enforcement of a programme of works, planned developments, and environmental co-ordination for the State.' It became a powerful and proficient agency. Troy (1978:106) in his analysis of the work of Land Commission in the 1970s, claimed that the Commission, in Queensland, preferred dealing through the COG's office, 'which was generally much more organised and professional, fulfilling the role of a state planning agency more closely than any other department.'

The potential for the COG to expand the role of the office can be shown through the issue of regional planning. In 1943 Prime Minister Curtin suggested regional authorities for post-war planning. In 1944 a Queensland committee, consisting of the COG, the Director of the Bureau of Industry and the Director of Local Government, investigated the idea. The overt objectives were to increase efficiency (DCOG, 1944: 10-11) but a covert agenda was the replacement of local authorities. The Committee's 1945 report was not accepted by the state government because of pressures from local government. Regional planning languished in Queensland until 1971, when the *State and Regional Planning, Public Works Organisation and Environmental Control Act*, containing substantial amendments to the original Act, created a mechanism for Regional Coordination Councils to be set up through the COG's department. In 1969 Charles Barton had replaced James Holt as COG. Barton had a strong interest in regional planning and environmental issues. The first Regional Council was set up in 1973 and all Regional Councils were in place by 1974. Fear of the Whitlam national Labor government and its efforts to circumvent state influence, boosted the speed with which the Councils were established (Fogg and Skeates, 1978: 66). However, the influence was not to last. Barton was replaced as COG on 1 January 1977 by Sydney Schubert. The Regional Coordination Councils were abolished in April, 1977. It is worth noting that the Whitlam government was no longer in power by that time.

Similarly, the legislative changes in 1971 made the COG's department the central coordinating agency for environmental protection, and especially for the setting and evaluation of environmental impact assessments. The department produced the first (and amongst the very few) explanations of the EIA process in the state. But that role also diminished considerably after Schubert replaced Barton as COG.

The department has, over the years, played a number of roles in state development which are important but easily overlooked. Commentators from within the department have, for example, emphasised its pioneering role. Schubert (1982) while COG claimed the original role as a major construction authority was reduced when other line departments increased their expertise. At that time, Schubert saw the need to concentrate on effective coordination of state activities in complex interdepartmental initiatives, competing land use proposals and environmental management. Note that in the same year, Parkin (1982: 94) estimated the COG had clear primacy within the Queensland Public Service, 'even above the Treasury'.

The COG also commonly played a 'seed bed' role in creating agencies, setting their direction and then when they developed their own expertise, handing over power. For example, the COG was chair of the Queensland Housing Commission when it was set up in 1944; he chaired the Queensland Film Corporation at its start in 1977; and he has been involved in the Brisbane Forest Park Authority, the Great Barrier Reef Marine Park Authority, the Brisbane and Area Water Board, and many other similar agencies. The Moreton Region Growth Strategy of the mid-1970s was carried out jointly by the COG's department and the federal Cities Commission. In the early 1970s, when a coordinated metropolitan transport authority was proposed for Brisbane (where the public buses and ferries are the responsibility of the Brisbane City Council and the suburban trains of the state government) the COG was involved. When the federal government required monies for metropolitan transport to go through a specific agency at arms length from the state, an expert sub-committee of the Metropolitan Transit Project Policy Committee (on which the COG was represented) was formed under the COG's Act as the Metropolitan Transit Project Board (Minnery, 1988b).

The COG has also played a major 'fire fighting' and trouble shooting role, particularly where line departments are unable to agree or where complex issues are not clearly the responsibility of any one department. For example, in the 1977 Annual Report the COG listed 75 technical, professional, coordinating and inter-governmental committees on which he was represented (Minnery, 1988a: 77). Similarly the COG's department with a high complement of engineers, was seen as a good avenue for pursuing technical investigations, such as flooding and beach erosion control. The department has also supported the concerns of local authorities (when these did not conflict with state government intentions) in negotiations with major private developers such as for coal mine developments.

Some of the influence of the COG's department stems from the stature of the people who have been COG. Lack (1961?: 775), speaking of the first COG, John Kemp, claimed he was the 'chief adviser' to the Queensland government for over 15 years, and there was 'scarcely a board in existence relating to construction or development of one type or another of which he was not a member.'

From do-er to facilitator

Between 1969 and 1971 with departmental reorganisations and two changes to the Act the role as a construction agency was substantially reduced (DCOG, 1972). The emphasis was shifted to the overall works, environmental control and regional coordination roles, although there were still effective powers to deal with special projects. In 1981 the Act was amended to allow for the designation of 'prescribed developments' relating to the state's mineral and energy resources. All relevant negotiations over infrastructure plans for prescribed developments were carried out by the COG or Treasury - local authorities lost their direct responsibility to negotiate but normally were consulted by the COG (Minnery, 1983).

Until 1982 the COG's department, although responsible to the Premier, was separate from the Premier's Department. In December 1982, the two were combined, and the COG became the Director-General of the expanded Premier's Department. This was a watershed, but the change was reinforced when in 1983 the National Party won government in its own right and Joh Bjelke-Petersen became both Premier and Treasurer. With the election of the Goss Labor government in 1989 the central coordination emphasis shifted towards the Office of Cabinet. Goss separated the Ministerial roles of Premier and Treasurer. Davis (1995: 8) describes the change this way: '(a) 1982 merger with the Department of the Premier brought the Co-ordinator-General's expertise to bear on wider policy questions, though in practice its influence rapidly diminished.'

In recent years the COG has had a reduced public profile leading to confusion over the office's role. Halligan and Power (1992:168) claimed the office 'existed from 1938 until very recently', incorrectly implying it then no longer existed. Premier Goss in 1992 saw the need for clarification of the function but through a specific office within the Premier's Department. He proposed to 'reshape (government's) administrative machinery including the establishment of the Office of Co-ordinator General in the Premier's Department to facilitate major projects.' The Office's role was 'direct carriage of all major economic development projects' but for other projects it essentially determined who would be the sponsoring government department. Goss claimed the 'concept of the Co-ordinator General fell into disuse over the last decade.... The Office will not assume the public works management responsibilities of the former Co-ordinator General's Department which now rest with line Departments (1992: 52).

The shift in central agency coordination powers in state government has tended to down-play the role of the COG. Commentators such as Davis (1995) and Head (1993), writing from experience within the state central agencies, emphasise the principal coordinating roles of the Office of Cabinet, or Treasury, or the Premier's Department as a whole rather than the COG. To some extent this reflects the reduced importance of the contribution of funds over which the COG has an influence in the total state capital works program. Most funding is now from private sources, or from funds within the ambit of Treasury, not from loans funds as they were in the early years.

Conclusions

In the sixty years of its existence the office of the Queensland Co-ordinator-General has had a substantial impact on the land use, development and planning of the state. In its early days it had a heroic role in directing and controlling public expenditure on a wide range of

public works undertaken by state and local governments. All of this was totally outside the normal town planning and land use control system.

The changes in the department's role have reflected the personalities and preferences of the COG of the time. They have also reflected the changing politics of the state and of federal-state inter-governmental relations.

More recently the Co-ordinator-General plays a less direct role in the overall affairs of the state as a public servant controlling only one of the central coordinating agencies (see, for example, Queensland Office of Cabinet, 1996). A land use planning system has grown up within the jurisdiction of the Department of Local Government and Planning about which the COG has little interest and little direct involvement. The COG's interests now lie with unusual major projects of direct state interest, or in which the Premier has an interest. The COG has, since 1939, changed from being superman to senior public servant, from an heroic do-er to an influential facilitator.

References

Davis, Glyn (1995) *A Government of Routines: Executive Coordination in an Australian State,* Macmillan, Melbourne

Department of the Co-ordinator-General (1939) *Annual Report*

Department of the Co-ordinator-General (1940) *Annual Report*

Department of the Co-ordinator-General (1944) *Annual Report*

Department of the Co-ordinator-General (1972) *Annual Report*

Fogg, A. A. and Skeates, R. S. (1978) Queensland, pp. 59-73 in Ryan, P. F. (Ed) *Urban Management Processes,* Proceedings of an Australian National Commission for UNESCO seminar, AGPS, Canberra

Goss, Wayne (1992) *Queensland Leading State,* GoPrint, Brisbane

Halligan, John and John Power (1992) *Political management in the 1990s,* Oxford University Press, Melbourne

Head, Brian (1993) Central Agency Policy Co-ordination, pp. 159-171 in Hede, Andrew and Scott Prasser (Eds) *Policy-making in Volatile Times,* Hale and Iremonger, Sydney

Hughes, Colin A. (1980) *The government of Queensland,* University of Queensland Press, St Lucia

Lack, C. (n.d., 1961?) *Three Decades of Queensland Political History, 1929-1960,* Government Printer, Brisbane

Minnery, J. (1983) Planning Joh's way via 'prescribed developments', *Australian Planner,* August/September: 100-101

Minnery, J. (1988a) *Coordination and the Queensland Co-ordinator General,* MPubAdmin dissertation, University of Queensland, Brisbane (unpublished)

Minnery, J. (1988b) Myth and reality in public transport coordination: the case of the Metropolitan Transit Authority, *Queensland Planner,* 28(3): 3-6

Queensland Office of the Cabinet (1996) *Queensland Policy Handbook,* The Office, Brisbane

Schubert, S. (1980) The role of the Co-ordinator-General, pp. 167-173 in Hielscher, L. A. (Ed) *Guide to Public Financial Administration in Queensland,* Government Printer, Brisbane

Wheeler, A. J. (1974) *To be a superman: Intergovernmental relations respecting Queensland local bodies and loan works co-ordination, 1938-1945,* Master of Urban Studies (Government Option), University of Queensland, Brisbane (unpublished)

Wiltshire, Kenneth (1992) 'Reform of the Bureaucracy: An Assessment', pp. 261-275 in Hede, Andrew, Scott Prasser and Mark Neylan (Eds) *Keeping Them Honest: Democratic Reform in Queensland,* University of Queensland Press, St Lucia

---

'The Miserable Monster': The East Circular Quay Project and the Social Duty of Building Workers.*

Dr Glenn Mitchell
Science and Technology Studies
University of Wollongong
Wollongong NSW 2522
Australia

The construction of a block of apartments at East Circular Quay has developed into an international controversy. Its critics have produced an impressive catalogue of descriptions; the 'architecture of this intrusive block is dinosaurish and totally alien to the demands of such a sensitive location'; it is a 'monstrosity', 'a big blot on the landscape', 'a repulsive sprawling multi-storey apartment block for the very rich' and a 'desecration' of the environment which includes the Sydney Opera House.[1]

East Circular Quay not only has the Opera House - rated by a poll in the *London Times* as one of the seven modern wonders of the world - it also has a significant environmental and historical heritage. It has immense significance for Aboriginal Australians; it is the site of European settlement in 1788 and Circular Quay was one of the principal ports of arrival for post-war migrants. Given the sensitivity of any building and construction work which may intrude onto or distort the architectural and aesthetic qualities of the Sydney Opera House, what processes and decisions have led to the construction of this building?

Australian building workers and resident action groups have a proud history of contributing to urban and environmental planning. In the 1970s, building unions and residents, opposed to the ripping down of structures deemed to have utility, environmental heritage or both, imposed green bans to prevent what many saw as unacceptable planning and construction.

Put simply, groups traditionally excluded from the making and implementation of planning and building decisions - workers, residents and trade unions - began processes which demanded that their views and opinions be taken into consideration. It led to trade unions expanding their vision for their members to issues beyond the traditional ones of wages and conditions. Two unions of building workers, the NSW Building Workers Industrial Union and in particular, NSW Builders Labourers Federation, were responsible for holding up more $3000 million of 'development' in the 1970s.

The construction of the East Circular Quay apartments raises questions about the ethical, moral and social responsibilities of building workers in the 1990s. John Short, an urban analyst, in an address to a meeting of building union representatives at a trade union training seminar, asked the question: 'what types of city are you building?'[2] He strongly ascribed a social and moral responsibilty to building workers when he said;

As building workers you have a legitimate concern with the types of building that you construct. Your working experience allows you to identify safe and unsafe dwellings, desirable and undesirable buildings, good and bad environments. Construction workers need to consider the social implications of buildings. Rather than seeing a building project as just so many jobs, you have to ask who gains and who loses; construction jobs at any price is too high a price to pay. I am asking you to consider the social consequences of your labour. Construction workers have a duty and a right to be concerned with the types of city they are building. You and your families have to live in the cities you build.[3]

Short's question remains fundamental to urban planning and development. In the light of a history of environmental action by building unions, and their contribution to public debates about the social, ethical and moral responsibilities of unions, unionists and 'ordinary citizens' and how they might comment on, contribute to and influence urban planning, how have building unions responded to this particular project? The paper attempts to answer this central question. In addressing this question, the paper asks other questions; have building unions contributed to the public debate about this project? if so, in what ways? if not, why not?

The paper has four parts. The first part revisits the history of the green bans in Sydney and the reasons for their demise. The seond part traces the history of the East Circular Quay project. The third section looks at Short's 'moral duty' argument, while the final section looks at the implications for urban planning, industrial action and resident action in the light of the project proceeding.

The paper draws on archival material and interviews with building workers, the critics, government and council officers as well as the developers.

---

* The reference to the monster in the title of this paper comes from Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein or The Modern Prometheous*, Konemann, Koln, 1995. Shelley's work has more value in my analysis of this controversy than the many ready-made descriptions she gave her creation. Her novel is one of the great explorations in literature about the boundaries and responsibilities of science and how an appalling creature, which craved affection, is rejected by its maker. The complete sentence which contains the phrase in the paper's title is:'By the dim and yellow light of the moon, as it forced its way through the window shutters, I beheld the wretch - the miserable monster which I had created'. The resonances between the novel and the building are more than obvious.

[1] The Save East Circular Quay Committee, one of the major opponents of the project, has a site on the Internet. These quotations are taken from that site: http://www.savethequay.org.au/update5.htm

[2] J Short, *The Humane City. Cities as if People Mattered*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1989. Appendix 3 - A Note to Building Workers, p.140.

[3] Ibid.

Decentralization, containment and green corridors: Compact city strategies in Spanish cities

Francisco Javier Monclús
Prof. of Town Planning
Polytechnic University of Catalonia
Barcelona, Spain

1. Suburbanization and urban sprawl in Latin European cities. How different?

The traditional dual vision of two opposite models of urban growth -the Anglo Saxon vs. the Latin one- is not very useful anymore. Like North Americans long ago and some Europeans earlier, many Southern European cities, and Spanish cities among them, are carrying out important processes of suburbanization, dispersion of the urban activities and sprawl as well. Obviously, these processes are not so developed in "Latin European cities" as there are in North American ones. Nevertheless, the case of Spanish cities show that urban sprawl is a constant process along the 20th century even though it is changing its nature and it is also growing faster in the last years, especially in the large cities and metropolitan areas.

Indeed, the most dominant urban culture of the Mediterranean world is still reflected on several important aspects of the physical structure of their cities: a relative higher density and vitality of urban Centres, but also higher population densities in the suburbs (WHITE, 1984:212-232). Somehow, things can be a bit more complex if we accept a wider meaning to the concept of suburbanization as a generic "decentralization" of urban activities, either industrial or residential ones, first or second home residences (when they are in easy reach and tend to become first residences). K.T. Jackson, for instance, uses the terms "suburbanization" and "deconcentration" interchangeably (JACKSON, 1985). It is true that the highest socioeconomic residential areas in cities like Lisbon, Milan, Madrid or Barcelona are not suburban like the ones in London, Boston or Chicago. Suburbs have been mainly working class and industrial in Latin European urban growth, the "flight to the suburb" was firstly an Anglo Saxon phenomenon (WAGENAAR, 1992). However, there are other ways of deconcentration (besides the classical residential suburb), such as the processes of "seasonal suburbanization", which are more important than it seem in Mediterranean cities. And we can understand this as an early way of deconcentration or suburbanization which characterizes the dispersion of urban areas into the countryside.

Almost 25 years ago, H.D. Clout looked at the different phenomena of the growth of Second-Home Ownership as "an example of Seasonal Suburbanization" (CLOUT, 1974). This additional "category" of suburbanization can be seen in every large European city, Anglosaxon or Latin, North or South. In the last ones, the pattern has been working as a variation of the "classical" English suburb and an early form of suburbanization. Moreover, the processes of changing from secondary to first residence have been very important in cities like Barcelona or Madrid in the last decades. The result of that is the proliferation of an open form of land use on the edge of the city which is actually working as part of our present day "dispersed cities", even in the Latin European ones (MONCLUS, 1998).

In Latin European cities, the most important changes from a compact to a more dispersed urban pattern began with the explosive urban growth which took place from the 1950's to the mids 1970's. Eventhough if the traditional peripheries were being densified with the new housing projects and some areas were occupied by squatter settlements, the second residence promotions occupied the outskirts of metropolitan territories with low densities. Up until then, there were just a few second homes around almost all large cities all over Europe. However, it was a highly restricted phenomenon, and the popularization and proliferation of second homes were related to rising incomes and growing motorization of middle classes, mainly since the end of the 1960's.

It is true that during the explosive growth of the 1950-70's, the modalities in the urban forms related to that process were very different in each country, so that, we can see strong contrasts still among the different European cities. Thus, meanwhile in the most part of the English Nordic or German cities the decentralization processes advanced, Italian or Spanish cities experienced a strong process of general densification of city centres and peripheries. The suburban landscape of those years is that of the densification, with the housing projects as a proof of that process of intensificacion of the urban occupation. The general perception of the problem -until the 70's- focused on those highly densifed urban and surbuban areas of those cities.

Despite there are some important specificities in every city and country, many similarities can be found among French, Italian or Spanish peripheral growths. So, it is likely that piecemeal sprawl was less anarchic in France than in Itlay or Spain, or that the nature of suburbanization was so different there than it would be neccessary to name them differently in every country. But there are several studies which show that "periurbanisation" or "rurbanisation" are only an other way to refer to the suburban experience which reached French cities with some decades of delay regarding the Anglo Saxon ones (DEZERT, METTON, STEINBERG, 1991). The idea of the "time lag", between the American cities and the Europeans doesn't fancy many people, above all, when it is exposed as a way and a model which, inevitably, would be met by all Western cities. In fact, it is not difficult to recognize the different stages which European cities have been undergoing. Because of it, threre is an obvious time lag -several decades- among the cities of the "south" and the ones of the "north" of Europe. Some differences on pace and nature of the peripheral growth that have to do with the possibilities and the different real degree of mobility. Nevertheless, as the 70's were passing by, there was a progressive convergence on the processes of suburbanization and diversification of the peripheries among European cities.

The traditional images of the Mediterranean urban nuclei as "compact cities" have been changing quickly. As in other cities earlier, greater level of motorización combined the new common conditions to different cultural and urban contexts -demographic transition, new lifestyles, increase in the mobility, decentralization of the companies, etc. - have been responsible of all that. The urban structure and the "periurban" landscapes of the Southern European cities had suffered a transformation of such a nature that already makes no sense some be referred to them as paradigm of the compact European city .

2. Spanish cities and suburbs: Barcelona as a testing case

2.1. Traditional and new decentralization

Spanish cities urban growth during the last 20 years provides a good example for this "Latin way of suburbanization". And Barcelona can be a good case-study of these proccesses. In demographic terms, from the end of the1970's, a remarcable decentralization process is observed. As in others large European cities, the metropolitan region of Barcelona experienced an intensive process of suburbanization as a consequence of the different factors' confluence: generalized increase of the familiar revenues, takeoff of car ownership, increase of the housing prices in the central area, need of more space for housing and industry, etc., all this facilitated by the improvements in the accessibility. From 1980 onwards, the metropolitan region, started a new stage of decentralization, this time without meaningful population growth: only 0.6% between 1981 and 1991, keeping the figure of 4,2 million inhabitants for the whole period. Between1950's and 1960's the municipality of Barcelona increased from 1,276,675 to 1,526,550 inhabitants reaching 1,741,979 inhab.in 1970's; having the maximum of 1,752,617 inhab. in 1981, and it started losing inhabitants undergoing a remarcable decrease already in 1991 with 1,651,024 hab. that was accelerated strongly in the last years (1,508,000 hab. according to data of 1996) (MANCOMUNITAT DE M., 1995).

However the phenomenon of demographic decentralization is also associated with different occupation processes of the peripheral land which are related to different sectoral logic: progressive predominance of the lower densities in residential areas, single family homes and also collective housing; character increasingly extensive and the demand of more space for the new industrial areas, office-supply parks,sports and many other facilities, universities, commercial centers, etc.; proliferation, finally, of intersticials and empty spaces ("terrain-vague") of various nature. Though the phenomena of urban activities decentralization had been important also in Barcelona, the most spectacular change is the increasing occupation of rural land by urban land uses, if it is admitted the available data for the metropolitan region: more than 20,000 hectares of land have been occupied between1972-1992 (from 21.482 to 45.036 ha) and the trend continues to a pace somewhat slower of some 1.000 has every year (SERRATOSA, 1994:37-47). The residential component is a key one: the single family homes which were just 22% in 1985, represented a 39,5% of the total housing built in the metropolitan region of Barcelona in 1993 (MANCOMUNITAT M., 1995). It is not easy to measure the extent of every land use, but we can get an idea if we consider just the "first metropolitan ring" which grew at a similar pace to the whole metropolitan region: the urbanized area doubled between 1974-1992 (from 11.085 to 21.293 ha), with residential use representing 1/3 of total land urbanized (FERRER, 1997:280-281). Indeed, in addition to this key residential component, we find industries, office-supply parks, shopping centres, thematic parks, Universities, spaces for sports, etc.; all this without considering the unbuilt but strongly transformed spaces among these suburban activities (lots awaiting development, periurban uses, wasteland...).

2.2. New metropolitan peripheries

This second suburbanization wave (which forms "second metropolitan belt") relates to the last boom in the car ownership and the highways, and it is characterized by a much greater dispersion than the traditional peripheral growth (MONCLUS, OYON, 1996). A

phenomenon which correspond to the most accepted notion of "sprawl": not only a process defined by the demographic decentralization, but by the physical dispersion of almost every activity and land use. Such proccesses of sprawl are not so different in other large Spanish cities, Madrid being a similar case (with 41,2% of single family homes in new development areas, and similar figures of land consuption in the metropolitan region; LOPEZ LUCIO, 1995). And it would be meaningful to compare these figures with cities in other countries with more tradition in suburban growth and which "started earlier". For example, the urbanized area of Washington which grew from 181 to 523 square miles between 1950 and 1970 (JACKSON, 1985:7).

Analysis of census data shows that in the Barcelona metropolitan region, densities are inversely proportional to socioeconomic level. The less dense, the more likely to find middle and upper middle classes in "metropolitan towns" which had already a tradition of second home villages and are becoming a new kind of suburbs with a high proportion of single family homes (Castelldefels, Sant Just, Sant Cugat-Bellaterra, Tiana, Vilassar, L´Ametlla del Vallès, etc.) (MANCOMUNITAT DE M., 1995). It is in these metropolitan peripheries where the shift of population from Barcelona has been stronger and where the increasing piecemeal sprawl is transforming the landscape into a new one not very different from the suburbia and "ex-urbs" of other American or European cities (FISHMAN, 1987).

It is worth to bear in mind besides this process, another esential aspect of metropolitan change: the trend towards the decentralization of economic activities. The shift of many industries and other productive spaces (including tertiary, with some offices and especially, whith the proliferation of shopping centres, has been on of the main processes of the last years. However, it is also important to stress that decentralization in a Mediterranean and Spanish urban context , doesn´t mean a parallel decay of inner cities. Actually, densities followed their increasing trend up until the beginning of the 1970´s in many central and extension areas ("ensanches"), when they started a slow proccess of decreasing parallel to the new cycle of suburbanization. Again, Barcelona reflects well this trend, whith the maintenance of high building densities in the old city and central "Ensanche" (around 400 inhab./ha (BUSQUETS, 1992: 274)

3. The failure of Planning and the impact of sectoral strategies: decentralization, containment and green corridor strategies

Despite some differences among Spanish and other Southern European cities, several planning strategies have been conceived everywhere against the phenomenon of suburbanization and sprawl: decentralization, containment with specific zoning, open spaces and green corridors. These strategies were somehow part of several "generations" of town plans: "organicist" plans of the 1950´s, "structural" plans of the 60´s and the first 70´s, and the new fragmentary projects of the 80´s and 90´s .

Plannned decentralization doesn´t means just decongestion. The idea of regional decentralization and recentralization was thought as the alternative to urban congestion and metropolitan sprwal. This was part of almost every town plan since the 1950´s, specially of the structure plans of the 1960´s. In the "Madrid Metropolitan Area Plan" (1964) and - much more- in the "Director Plan for the Barcelona Metropolitan Area" (1968), but also in other metropolitan plans, the idea of "poles of impulsion" and "secondary poles" was based on the concept of a multinuclear metropolis as a system of decentralized but "compact" settlements (WYNN, 1984).

Containment with zoning techniques, was also a traditional planning tool aimed to establish limits to urban areas (but also to set some standards which involved lower densities). In the later local plans which were more sophisticated, zoning of the urban fringe was thought as the main way to controlling land use and proposing densities and typologies fit for the transiction between town and countryside. In this fringe areas, densities varied between 70 and 30 houses per hectare up until the 1970´s, although with very low occupation (HERCE, 1975; EZQUIAGA, 1982). Then, lower gross densities were the norm. For instance, in the Barcelona metropolitant region, new planned developments have 30 houses to the hectare (MANCOMUNITAT DE M., 1995:64). Not far from other European cities (a little higher and not so uniform as in Irish or British suburbs: McGRATH, 1992).

Open spaces, greenbelts and green corridors, was the third way. In fact, this was the most classical way and one of the main measures since the beginning of the 20th century. For instance, the Jaussely Plan for Barcelona (1905-7) was already based on this idea, and each of the postwar plans (1953, 1968, 1976) included proposals for a system of open spaces which should have work as barriers to urban and suburban growth (MONCLUS, 1996, 1998). The policy of "protecting" parks and other open spaces was thought as a way of "structuring" the city, besides the more powerful way of laying roads and highways. Somehow, a mesure which is the main concern in the last generation of Town and Territorial Planning (SERRATOSA, 1993, AA.VV., 1994)

All these strategies have been combined in different ways in Spanish Town Planning. In practice, these plans played a week direct role on the effective coordination and control of suburban development and sprwal. It is admitted that the general failure of these traditional attempts to control the "first outskirts" (now inner suburbs) (TERAN, 1978). The weekness of the planning system, like has been explained, was coherent with a cultural, economic context that was more important than the political one, as comparisons between Italy and Spain show (CAMPOS VENUTI, 1994). In the Barcelona case, the absence of Regional Planning and the limitation of "Metropolitan Planning" (the 1976 Metropolitan Plan for Barcelona only included 27 councils around Barcelona), were responsible of this general planning failure (FERRER, 1997, MARSHALL, 1995). Even if, paradoxically, real decentralization processes were stronger than the proposed by the metropolitan plans.

Nevertheles, some plans did have an indirect but meaningful role. It can be said that they acted as general guidelines which inspired different sectoral policies. These sectoral policies were somehow a "translation" of the planning concepts, and they were responsible for the main changes in urban structure and urban form along the 1970-90´s period. This was the case of the main roads and highway systems which were built according to the general proposal of those plans. But this was also the case with some valuable parks and open spaces, which were partially preserved from development. Therefore, even if the strategy of containment with zoning ordinances and other land use regulations have not been able to prevent the sprawl, sectoral policies such as open spaces preservation, have been and are more and more relevant in giving some structure to the new decentralized

urban regions which have became the large Spanish and other Latin European cities.

4. The Compact City: from models to strategies

The principles of the controversial and basic European Commission "Green Paper" can be analysed in this context (COMMISSION OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES, 1990). First, even if it is true that the Compact City idea can act as an important aim of new strategies, it is not realistic to think about the "Mediterranean city" as a paradigm of the Compact City. At least, the current Mediterranean cities are not longer the way they used to be: high densities, use mixture, diversity, which have always been up till today the basic aspects of such cities, can only be found now in the city centres of their metropolitan areas, not so much in the "real" and decentralized city. Large Spanish cities are a clear proof of this.

Second, the Green Paper is probably right when criticizing Functionalism and Garden Cities as factor of promoting more dispersion ("roots of urban degradation"). But it is important to look at the Planning tradition in order to know better what sometimes seems to be latest ideas. Centrists and decentrists are part of one of the most important debates inside the Planning culture (JENKS,M., BURTON,E., WILLIAMS,K. (eds.), 1996). Decentralization, containment and green corridors were strategies which belong to both traditions -City Fonctional and Garden City. And if this failed more in Latin European cities than in their Northern counterparts, it has not so much to do with the validity of these ideas, as it is with the weakness of the urban policies (or non existence of the metropolitan strategies at all) in the last decades.

The problem of suburban dispersion and sprawl has been a constant concern in Planning tradition and "Compact city strategies" started long ago, eventhough if their implementation has failed in general terms. Anyway, it is neccesary to insist much more on the strategic projects that on the abstract models (the "old European city" philosophy: COMMISSION OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES, 1990:3.4). More than in the generic aspiration to the Compact city, it is basic to focus on the goals, tools and projects of urban intensification. To "lower the pressure" on near rural and suburban areas might seem a poor objective, but perhaps that will be the most ambitious strategy to face the problem of the suburban dispersion, looking to the improvement of habitability of our cities in the next years.

Due to space restrictions, a bibliography has not been included. Details of references can be obtained from the author.

Here today, but not all gone tomorrow. Socio-economic change and the shaping of the urban landscape. An example from inner Melbourne.

Max Nankervis,
Urban & Social Policy
Victoria University,
PO Box 14428MCMC
Melbourne VIC 8001.
AUSTRALIA.

Introduction.

Hoskins (1967) in his important work, *The making of he English landscape*" suggested that there was barely any part of the English terrain which was still in its original state. Over centuries human activity had all but obliterated what might be called the "original" landscape, substituting it with a one formed by human activity. If that is true of the "natural" landscape, it is all the more true of the urban landscape; for that landscape is totally the result of human activity. The urban landscape is the result of a complex *social* process; it is the sum total of social, economic and political processes.

But not only is the urban landscape the result of a social process, it is a landscape almost constantly in *flux*. However, often the changes are imperceptible, or at least so gradual that they go unnoticed until several small actions impact enough, *in toto*, as to be recognised. But sometimes, and this is perhaps more the case in the late 20th century, changes to the urban landscape come as mega bites. The scale of late 20th century urban redevelopments is often massive with whole sectors of cities rehabilitated in a process of "urban renewal". In particular, there has been a significant rehabilitation of urban maritime industrial areas in many major cities.

Yet while these mega developments may grab the attention of urbanists, more subtle changes taking place in landscapes often go unnoticed. Nevertheless, the long term effect of an allotment-by-allotment change can, ultimately, be almost as significant, though perhaps show less evidence of the thematic unity of the mega developments. To the untrained eye these development appear simply as urban chaos.

Physical change and the dominant economic paradigm.

Yet it can be argued that there is a political economy thematic "unity" in these longer term changes. In a way, the urban or architectural "chaos" is linked by an economic context or paradigm. This paper takes as its theoretical basis a thesis (see, eg, Berry, 1974;) of three distinctive changes in the dominant economic paradigms which have affected and effected Melbourne's urban landscape; firstly a period in the second half of the 19th century of "colonial *commercial*" economic activity which was dominated by the process of exporting raw materials to the "mother country" (and the import of the finished goods for local consumption), a period in the first half of the 20th century of expanding local *industrial production* (albeit on a minor scale in

comparison with Britain and some European giants), and the current dominant paradigm of the post industrial or *service city* of the late 20th century which particularly affects Melbourne and Sydney.

The urban results of these economic paradigms are complex, but in brief they produced a physical landscape of the necessary production features, including facilities for the reproduction of labour power. In the first period, it engendered considerable physical infrastructure such as wharves, woolstores, etc, and a wealthy (as well as poor) urban class anxious to display their wealth through "conspicuous consumption" often evidenced in domestic building. The second period put more emphasis on factories, and induced a growing shift to the city of the population needing to be housed (in new forms such as flats), as well as a more educated, service-industry based middle class. The third, current period is more dominated by a service industries related to international industrial corporations and thus focus is on office space and the facilities demanded by a highly educated and mobile workforce.

INVESTIGATION OF AN AREA.

As part of exploring and understanding this process of urban change, the built environment changes taking place in a significant section of the inner Melbourne landscape, St Kilda and Queens Roads have been traced (see Fig 1) The allotments which comprise the area under consideration were originally part of Albert and Fawkner Parks, but excised for sale by the government as prime residential allotments in the 19th The eastern allotments were auctioned in 1865, while the western ones were subdivided and sold a decade later in 1875 as allotments destined for high class residential development.

This paper focuses on five selected "blocks' of the larger area surveyed and details the changes both in development and site use of 46 allotments (out of the 123 allotments in the total area surveyed). Details of the *physical form* of site development at nine points in time are depicted in Figure 2.

While the area under consideration is not "typical" of urban (or suburban) Melbourne in that it has probably changed more dramatically, its transformation over the last century or so does highlight many of the *elements*, somewhat more obscured, but nevertheless present, in the changes to the wider metropolitan landscape.

EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF THE AREA.

Gradually, following the land sales, the allotments were developed with large mansion type houses for the newly emerging bourgeoisie whose wealth was generally derived from the long economic boom following the Victorian gold rushes of 1850s. As fig 2a shows, while development activity began as early as 1865, many of the allotments were still vacant in the 1890s, though some vacant allotments were in fact either gardens of adjoining houses, or agistment allotments, presumably also for adjoining residents. Interestingly, despite the severe depression of the 1890s, private residential development appears to have steadily continued until the First World War when almost all allotments had undergone at least one stage of development.

Nevertheless development was "uneven". For example one allotment (n. 14 Queens Rd) remained vacant until 1935 when it was developed as a block of flats (demolished in 1971), while another was developed as the last private house at a time when many other blocks were being developed as apartments (Site 28 in Fig 2c).

Early change of use.

In general the original developments on the allotments remained in their original *form*, though not necessarily their original *use* until after the second World War, and some later developments even into the 1960s. However, as Figures 2 b,c show, as early as the 1920 some allotments underwent a *second generation* of development, in this case generally as blocks of purpose-built flats. During the 1930s this form of development made a significant impact on the 19th century urban middle class. Multi-use of sites satisfied both the need to house the (working class) urban influx, but also provided for the middle class an inexpensive way of experiencing the latest in domestic technology as the better flats were equipped with such features as central heating, refrigerators and even domestic service staff

Despite the inroads of purpose-built flats, the majority of the original built form remained basically intact, However, the *site use* underwent significant change. In particular, between the wars, many of the old mansions went out of private hands and became commercial boarding houses, or what might be termed, with some apologies, self-contained flats. Nevertheless, despite the ad hoc-ness of some of these flats and boarding houses, the area generally retained a degree of social cachet.

Thus by 1945 the general landuse of the area had shifted from private residential, single family housing (albeit large and accommodating family sub-units by way of staff, etc), to multi home unit or shared accommodation use. Also, some sites had become clubs and even "welfare" facilities such as private hospitals as part of the emerging service industry associated with an industrial city.

Changes post world war 2.

While it can be seen that the area was somewhat "mixed" in use by the end of world War 2, the changes in the next five decades have all but obliterated any vestiges of the original physical developments. By 1998 only eleven (of 123 allotments of the *total* area surveyed) have their 19th century houses largely intact, though some other later original buildings are more or less intact.

However, by 1965 there were significant encroachments on the original physical form, eight allotments having been converted to purpose-built offices, and three others being vacant following demolition and awaiting redevelopment. Four others had been developed into purpose-built flats. Thus, over the decade, 33% of the allotments had been affected.

More significant, but less obvious was the shift in use. While the primary residential use of a decade earlier was still dominant, many of the residential units in houses or purpose-built flats had been converted to commercial (office) use, thus emphasising the shifting nature of the overall land use.

This shift to commercial office space is consistent with the ambient economic development in Australia as the apotheosis of the earlier industrial age began to be superseded by a shift to service economy consistent with global economic re-ordering.

By 1975 the shift towards commercial use had been reinforced with five additional allotments developed as purpose-built offices. Additionally there were four new vacant allotments and one purpose-built flat block. Taking 1955 as a base, over 50% (24/46 detailed) allotments had been affected by physical redevelopment.

But, as this study contends, the visual changes are only part of the story. Almost every extant 19th century residence was in use for purposes other than its original use. The major use change to these buildings was towards commercial office space with even some purpose-built flat blocks being turned-over to commercial use. By 1986 only eleven of the allotments retained their 1955 physical form, with 23/46 developed as purpose-built offices. At this stage six allotments still retained their original 19th century (and in one case ,1935) house, though all were in various stages of obliteration brought about by their changed use.

One of the features of the commercial development of this time is not readily apparent from the maps is the *scale* of the new developments. Something of the increased scale can be detected in the commercial developments on the double allotments of Nos 4 & 5, 13 & 14, 18 & 19, and 41, 42,& 43 (these three allotments were, oddly, always smaller). But not only were the allotments larger in footprint, they were considerably *higher*.

By 1998, using 1955 as a base only 9/46 allotments (including allotment 12) are in the same basic physical form, though only five (12%) of allotments were physically developed over the decade. More significantly, only two are in the same use as the base year, 1955.

But what is more notable over the last decade is the change in allotment use. The most significant shift is a move to use the allotments for high class residential development. For example, sites 6& 7 have been developed as a huge residential complex, while its 19th century neighbour to the south has been converted back from offices (it was for some time a private hospital) to luxury flats. Similarly the student hostel on site 3 has been converted back to flats (the front section was originally built as flats). Conversely, on St Kilda Rd, the main thoroughfare, allotments 35 & 36 (formerly flats) have been amalgamated to build a massive office development. The other notable addition is an exclusive Japanese restaurant on site 30.

This shift in site use of the last decade is consistent with broader patterns of urban development in the city, and other western cities which are attempting to be part of the "global" circuit of administrative cities. In these cities there is a new emphasis on high quality, inner urban location apartments for the new "footloose" professional employees of the multi-national corporations. Thus, while some of the development has been directed towards providing offices for these service personnel, a considerable proportion of the development has gone into housing them.

CONCLUSION.

The 46 sites detailed are only approximately 30% of the larger area (which itself forms part of a larger similar area). Nevertheless, the activity on these sites is generally indicative of what has happened to the area as a whole. The original developments both of the built form and of the gardens and thus general ambience has been almost , but not absolutely, obliterated.

This process of change is indicative of the phenomenon of the urban landscape. The patterning reflects the ambient social changes. Social change is both a catalyst and a result of other economic and political changes at both a local, and, increasingly, global level. For, not only are St Kilda and Queens Roads a reflection of local socio-economic change; the luxurious apartments and (now) architecturally sculptured office blocks are a key factor in the mode of operation of the global economy, and an element in the city's success (or otherwise) in the global stakes.

There are perhaps particular reasons why this particular section of the Melbourne urban landscape reacted in the way it did; the area was always attractive, surrounded as it is by parks, and had easy access to the central downtown area. However, a closer examination of almost any section of the urban landscape will expose a similar pattern of change, generally less flamboyant, but nevertheless generally reflecting the ambient social changes.

It is this subtle change in the urban landscape which planners need to be aware of in creating planning controls. Either they may determine to retain some essential qualities of an area, and thus perhaps impose conservation controls, or they may seek to enable interpretative design into the area while generally letting the market respond to the current pressure. But, most of all, what is needed is a sense of history.

Bibliography.

Berry, M J, 1984, The political econmy of Australian Urbanisation, *Progress in Planning*, 22(1).
Hoskins, W G, 1967, *The making of the English landscape*, Pelican, Harmondsworth

Figure 1. Site location: St Kilda & Queens Rds.

656

657

Figure 2: Detail of site development, 1890-1998, selected sites, St **Kilda &** Queens Rd.
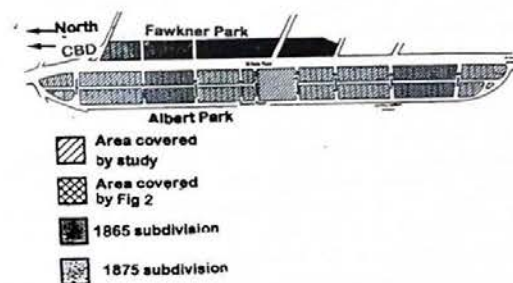
Urban Heroism in Western Australia

Donald Newman
National Trust of Australia (Western Australia)
Perth, Western Australia

Introduction

Western Australia possesses a legacy of 100 years of planning activity which has revealed outstanding commitment by activists to the cause of town planning. Some are well known and internationally acclaimed while others have suffered public acrimony or endured anonymity to all but a few urban historians. It is timely for these urban heroes to be revealed and given their due or be the subject of greater scrutiny. These activists include Town Planners, Surveyors, Architects, Public Servants and even Politicians. They have provided inspiration or controversy in their time and often been central interest bearers in "urban friction".

This paper looks at the human dimension of a century of town planning in Western Australia. As is often the case in many aspects of society, there are people who have made outstanding contributions either through sustained leadership or emerging to public attention because of an event. In the urban debate we need leadership and challengers of conventional approaches or the existing condition who will stimulate thinking and invigorate others to action. William Bold, Carl Klem, Harold Boas, Margaret Pitt Morison, Margaret Feilman, Paul Ritter and Gordon Stephenson are such people.

They exhibited a nobility of purpose in their work and public endeavour in the improving the Western Australian urban environment. They all looked to the future and understood that in the field of planning, their efforts would take time to come to fruition and therefore were embarking on their journey with the knowledge that they would not necessarily live to receive any benefit. In the context of the twentieth century in Western Australia, these heroes were aware of the emerging international influences. They were absorbed the innovative approaches and applied them to the Western Australian conditions. Almost all of these heroes have been pilloried for their stand on urban issues or for who they were. Most of the more recent activists have been marginalised/emasculated by the system they confronted and their contribution minimised or completely discredited.

This paper sets out to identify and acknowledge these heroes and indicate very briefly why they **are** the important human landmarks in the course of urban history in Western Australia. Their individual stories are not analysed here as they are far more complex and deserve greater and more sustained research.

William Bold

William Bold is the most significant figure in the movement to establish town planning in Western Australia. He was the first to publicly make a stand for planning and sustained that energy over fifty years. Not only was he an advocate for town planning but he also promoted the best practices of the time in the emerging profession together with the implementation of those principles. Most of his lifetime, indeed for the whole of his time as Town Clerk to the Perth City Council, he dedicated to this cause.
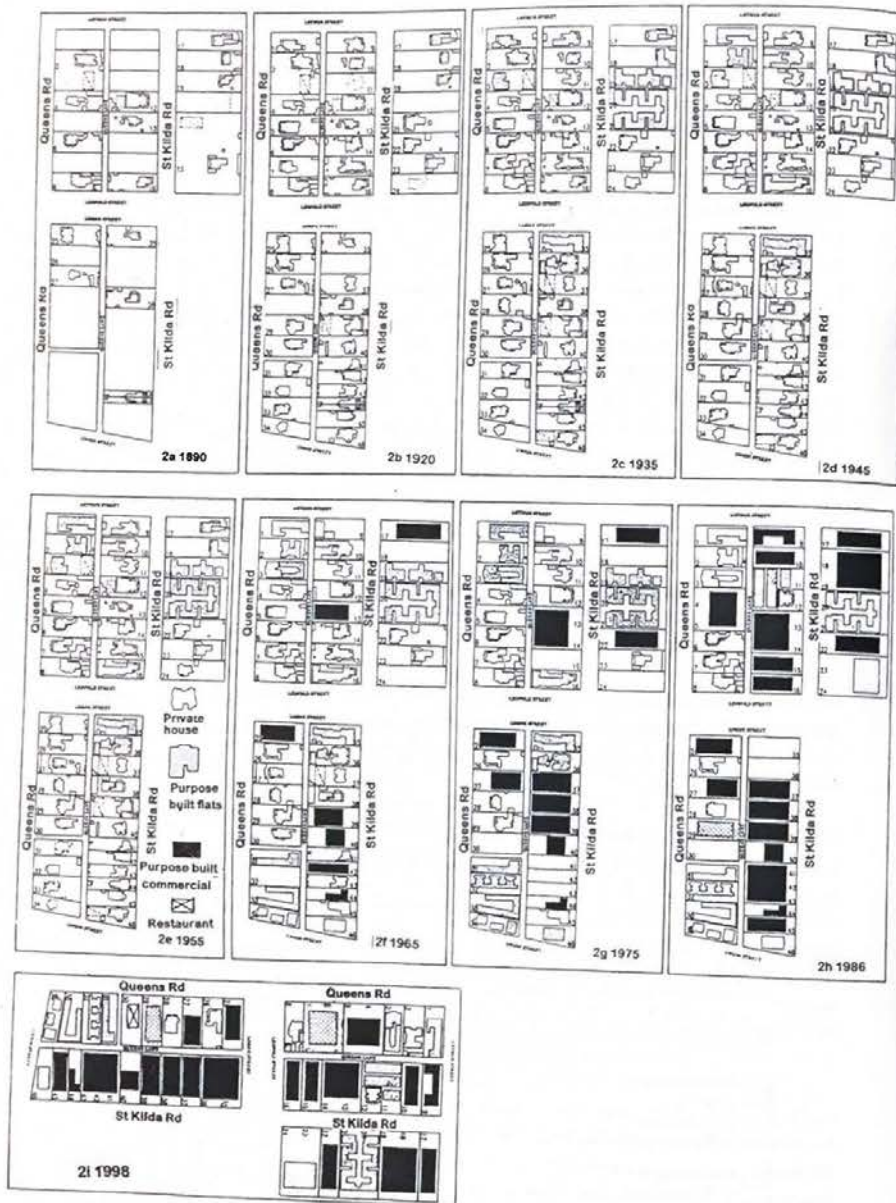
No short address can express the strength of his resolve nor effectively present his great contribution to the planning movement in Western Australia. What can be said is that he used his position of influence as the most senior municipal manager in the state to introduce and implement a new approach to the development of cities. He saw the need for town and regional planning, researched the best practices and philosophy of the time throughout the world, visited the examples and then set down his knowledge for others to see the vision which could be achieved through this new profession.

William Bold's unabated advocacy lasted from his appointment to the Perth City Council as Town Clerk in 1900 till after his retirement in 1944. His contribution encompassed the era of the horse and cart to the nuclear age. He died on the eve of the space age. For all his work with not just the city council, but also the professional community, he still suffered stinging criticism and was the subject of an investigation into his management of the council brought against him by an opponent of his work. He was completely exonerated by the commission and even received praise in the findings. It was small recompense for the stress and worry that must have been his lot in those hard times.

For all his public spirited endeavour, there are few reminders of his pioneering work. Bold Park and Reabold Hill (Rea was Mayor of Perth and the inaugural president of the TPA in 1916) are the two memorials to his lifelong commitment to public service.

Carl Klem

Another member of the 'First Four' was Carl Klem. Carl Klem was a partner in the firm of Hope and Klem who designed most of the early subdivisions based on the Garden City principles. A brief study of metropolitan Perth would reveal over a dozen recognisable areas of his which demonstrate Garden City design principles.

These are arguably Klem's legacy. However, his relatively short but productive career in Perth (he departed for Sydney in the 1930's) resulted in the icons of this era and were examples of his advocacy and activism for the best town planning approach of the day. Klem was a significant contributor to the town planning movement in Perth as he articulated Garden City design principles and left examples of how best practice town planning was being implemented in the 1920's - 1930's. The bulk of his design work remains in suburbs and street/subdivision layouts such as the Third Estate of Mount Lawley (now known as Menora and Coolbinia) and Floreat Park/City Beach. There is support for an argument that his design is a value adding element to these suburbs as they are now quite high priced suburbs.

There are moves however, to obliterate his designs through gentrification and redevelopment. In 1997 the State Government moved to redevelop the former Ascot Gardens Estate (already mauled by highway construction) and the resultant modifications will lose the remaining gestures of Garden City planning. The earlier Victoria Park Station Estate is now only recognisable by the street names. The curved avenues and parks have all been eliminated.

It is disappointing to record that not one local authority in WA has moved to protect any of Carl Klem's pioneering subdivisions through town planning scheme provisions. It may be a case of 'Physician heal thyself' for conservation of some of these historical urban forms should be a matter of priority as they under great threat from ad hoc gentrification and the redevelopment process.

Harold Boas

Harold Boas was a young architect who joined the early advocates for town planning. He was an office holder of the Town Planning Association of 1916 and acted as a link between the early activists and the post war modernists. It is through his long association with town planning that we can interpret the spirit and determination of these early heroes.

Boas is the bridging link between Bold and the new energy of the Stephenson era. Boas practiced architecture and town planning. His firm became one of the largest practices in Perth and left many landmarks within the urban form. His contribution is significant for not just his continued advocacy in the private arena, but he also adopted a strong public ethic of serving on influential public committees. He was a very influential player at high level of the profession, business and government. It is very clear that he recognised the need for structural and individual approaches to be implemented for success of their cause.

By participating in processes at this level, Boas was able to persuade key players and interest bearers of the merit of town planning and civic beautification. More research into his role in civic beautification of the city through sustenance work projects may reveal a deep concern for the unemployed during the depression years.

Margaret Pitt Morison

Margaret Pitt Morison was the first female registered architect in WA whose contribution was through her early practice between the wars and her considerable influence on post war architects through the only School of Architecture in those immediate post war years.

Her ability to instil an appreciation for urban form and respect for the social and physical environment was of the highest order. Many of her students continued on from architectural study at the Perth Technical College to take post graduate town planning degrees. In the 1964 class, for example, one quarter of the students became architect/town planners. It was perhaps her comprehensive knowledge of European cities that influenced those young undergraduates. She was an early advocate of travelling overseas for work experience and what is termed today as 'professional development'. Post war architects were not considered 'blooded' unless they had 'done Europe'. Margaret Pitt Morison 'had indeed been there and done that'. The enriching experience she enjoyed she willingly shared with her charges. No other lecturer was more evident at student meetings and she stimulated debate with her wisdom and experience.

As Perth is a relatively small city of 1.25m population, her influence on the future developers of urban form was significant as she continued her academic research work until her death in the 1980's. Thirty years of architectural students were enriched by her knowledge and her monuments will be the minds she shaped over that period.

Margaret Feilman

Margaret Feilman was the next generation on from Margaret Pitt Morison and a complete contrast in her approach. An outstanding role model for architect/town

planners of either gender, Margaret Feilman not only qualified as an architect (the last WA architect under the indenture system) but was also the first West Australian to qualify as a town planner.

She was a scholarship winner and a multi skilled professional. Her town planning work pioneered many new approaches in both metropolitan and rural local authority town planning schemes. She <u>designed</u> Medina, the post war new town for Kwinana and in so doing set a standard of completeness of planning that is rare even today. Margaret Feilman also emulated Harold Boas as taking up public service duties to promote her planning approach. She was Chairman of the Town Planning Board in 1984 and at the same time, Chairman of the National Trust of Australia (WA).

She was a founder member of the National Trust in WA and her advocacy for cultural and natural heritage was an integral part of her planning approach. She was the first town planner to introduce heritage provisions into local authority town planning schemes and at the same time include natural environment protection measures. Her public profile and achievements attracted opposition and at the end of her career she was the subject of unfair criticism which she did not deserve. As a consequence, she left the movement and retired from participation in planning or heritage matters. It is a sad loss to the promotion of planning and heritage.

Paul Ritter
Migrant architect/town planner Paul Ritter is perhaps the most tragic story of repressed contribution. His ability and understanding covered the range of the detail of civic design to the strategies and policy formulation of regional planning. He was another outstanding professional who possessed great talent and yet his career was cut short in Western Australia by opponents and decision makers who did not perceive his vision.

Paul Ritter was appointed City Architect to the Perth City Council and within a short time had excited the public about architecture and city planning. He put town planning on the leading pages of the daily press, he had media coverage on issues of design, he drove projects that were jewels of the public realm and was sought out for comment on issues of the day. His staff at the council were staunchly loyal and matched his zest for all things urban. He was ENERGY. He made enemies. It was too good to last and what some would call his political naivety led to a traumatic and very public dismissal. Paul Ritter had a manner which did not fit well with his council and the state bureaucrats. His approach was very European in that he utilised systems and people to promote his views and ideas. He pushed too hard for changes in a small community that was conservative and just entering a post war boom. His demise was keenly felt by the public and the profession.

His contribution was the verve and frisson of ideas which flowed from his mind. He was not only a creative spirit but he also challenged established thought. Convention was not a reason for continuation. Paul Ritter suffered for his principles and Western Australia is poorer without his continued contribution.

Gordon Stephenson
The last hero is the closest challenger to William Bold for outstanding work. Gordon Stephenson came to post war Perth in 1955 as an eminent international consultant, laid out a regional plan of great vision, set the basis for innovative legislation and

then departed. He returned shortly afterwards to act as planning consultant for the Perth City Council and the State Government, become foundation professor of the School of Architecture at UWA and carry out various town planning commissions.

Stephenson needs little introduction to Australians and Britons. After an outstanding early career with the great planners and architects of the thirties, he returned to wartime Britain and became a valued member of the postwar reconstruction team. Working with all of the most talented planners of the day on urgent town planning issues which were endeavouring to cope with the pressure of postwar socio-economic revival. He was head of the School of Civic Design at Liverpool before he went to the US where he was prevented from taking up the chair of planning at MIT supposedly for his political beliefs. Western Australia was the beneficiary for this piece of political blindness.

His contribution was the 1955 'Stephenson Hepburn Report' on the regional planning for Perth, the creation of the Metropolitan Regional Planning Scheme and its associated legislation and administrative instrument. He carried out smaller commissions on the design for Perth, designed the Joondalup Regional Centre in 1977, prepared planning studies for the Shire of Swan on Guildford, Midland and the Swan Valley plus other smaller projects. It was a seemingly substantial portfolio of work. However, it is my view that the system in Western Australia prevented this outstanding practitioner from making a contribution that matched his talent. A man who prepares the great vision for a city and then is never invited to implement the vision except for some smaller exercises on the periphery of the development front is a vote of no confidence. It is a situation of great opportunity lost. Stephenson was an outstanding practitioner by world standards and yet a small city in the antipodes ignored his abilities after sampling his work (and benefiting from it for many years) and relegated his commissions to semi rural projects or allowed substantial city studies to gather dust on the shelves of planning departments.

The poor treatment of Stephenson demands greater attention and it is hoped some student will take up the challenge of this issue. This paper is to identify heroes and Stephenson is one of the major figures of Western Australian planning. Second only to Bold, he has left a legacy of the metropolitan Region Scheme, a notional plan for Joondalup and his writings. Like Margaret Pitt Morison, one of his contributions would be the minds of young architectural and town planning students he educated. Their impact on the urban form of Perth is emerging today and we are culturally enriched by the products of those years.

Conclusion
I return to the question of urban heroism and observe that we can now appreciate to some degree, the costs of adhering to principles and not seeking popular acclaim. We learn that one must have the integrity to carry through whatever needs to be done to present the views we believe in. In the 1980's and 1990's there has been a rise in dishonourable conduct in public affairs and a decline in professional ethics. One can be critical of these attitudes but unless we are vigilant and identify them, we are part of the problem.

The need to recognise outstanding contributions is often overlooked and it is only when a later retrospective analysis reveals the error that the urban interests should make good the oversight. Urban historians are now filling this role and it is heartening

to see the results of their research bringing to our attention, the issues we should have noted in our own domain. Why should we examine the lives of outstanding contributors to urban development? Because throughout history we have recognised the role of city form as an inspiration to those fortunate to experience their 'firmness, commodity and delight'. The creators of those places are the heroes of urban history and from their work we can draw lessons and inspiration to apply to our own urban endeavours and professional development. As urban planners we are involved in one of the great public cultural endeavours - the creation and development of cities. As we approach the third millennium we need to look to our heroes and their achievements for we are charged with the trust to hold the present for the generations that follow.

References
Bold, William, 1911 *Planning Report*, Battye Library Accession 955, File 84, Location BC 328-331, also General papers in Accession 638A, PR 2073.

Boas, Harold, General and planning papers, 'Bricks and Mortar', Battye Library Accession 588A, 881A, 881/41.

Foley, Neil, Unpublished collected papers on the development of town planning in Western Australia, 1992.

Fourth Australian Planning Congress – Proceedings, Perth Town Hall, Perth WA, 1956.

Freestone, Robert, *Model Communities*, Nelson, Melbourne 1989.

Hedgcock, David and Yiftachel, Oren, *Planning and Planners in Western Australia : An Historical Perspective*, Centre for Architecture and Planning Research. Curtin University of Technology, 1993.

Hiller, Stephen, The First 70 Years 1900 to 1970, A brief history of the Division Royal Australian Planning Institute WA Division, April 1997.

Matthews, Leonie, An exploratory study of women in Western Australian architecture 1920 –1960, B.Arch dissertation, Curtin University of Technology 1991.

Melotte, Barrie, Planning History Bulletin, Vol 19, No.2/3, 1997 , International Planning History Society, Birmingham, UK.

Report of the Metropolitan Town Planning Commission, Perth, Western Australia, Government Printer 1931.

Webb, Martyn, in *Western Landscapes*, Gentilli, Joseph – Editor, UWA Press 1979.

Saxil Tuxen Goes to America: US influences on Melbourne planning and housing reform in the 1920s

David Nichols (dgnichol@deakin.edu.au)
Deakin University (Burwood) 221 Burwood Highway Burwood Vic 3125 Australia

In viewing the photographs taken by Saxil Tuxen in the U.S. in the second half of 1925, we have not only to account for what D. W. Meinig calls 'the landscape in our heads'[1] but also to factor in Tuxen's own personal 'landscape'. The key to this lies in the many and varied uses he intended for the photographs he took, and there were as many different applications for the photographs as there were roles open to Tuxen in the town planning world in 1920s Melbourne. These contexts often overlapped and also, occasionally, conflicted.

While the photographs are a visual record of certain streetscapes, homes, and building developments of American urban areas, and can be viewed as nothing more, I believe they are also particularly relevatory as a document of the ideas Tuxen funnelled to the MTPC, his propaganda for the Commission and his own private work, most specifically his design for the Park Orchards Country Club Estate.

1. Tuxen as a Public Figure
However much is made of the typical Australian's mistrust of authority, the books, magazines and newspapers of early twentieth century Australia give the impression that most people put their faith in public spirited men. Such men may have been businessmen, but they were also men of principal and logic. Saxil Tuxen fitted this description perfectly. Of Danish descent, he was Australian-born and his father, August, had been responsible for many small subdivisions in and around Melbourne in the 1880s.

Saxil Tuxen was a surveyor by training, but a town planner and a social engineer by inclination. Like many figures who would describe themselves as 'town planners' at the time, he appears to have made little distinction between design for aesthetic beauty (the 'city beautiful') and 'scientific' planning and zoning for health (the 'garden city' concept), although by the end of the 1930s he had become a vocal campaigner for both the anti-slum movement and employment schemes, of his own devising, for those affected by the Depression. He moved with ease between the roles of technically competent and successful surveyor, hydraulic engineer and subdivider, staunch garden city advocate, and anti-slum crusader. In the way of the times, the 'garden city' ideal and its more practical relation, the 'garden suburb' was the perfect forum for a technically-minded man to put his moral and aesthetic convictions (themselves connected to his highly intellectual, but heartfelt, Christianity) into action.

2. Tuxen's Previous Town Planning Works
(Tuxen worked as surveyor on a number of projects generally credited to Walter Burley Griffin. Using Griffin's name alone excludes Marion Mahony Griffin, who almost certainly had as much of a role in such projects as Griffin himself. Therefore, I will use the term 'the Griffins' when referring to such work.)

By the time he began serving as a member of the MTPC, Tuxen had already worked on a number of subdivisions, most notable of which was the Griffins' Mont Eagle Estate in Heidelberg, sold by T. M. Burke. Following his Griffin experience, Tuxen was employed by Burke to subdivide the Merrilands estate in Reservoir, in Melbourne's

northern suburbs, to a plan which, if it did not directly have input from the Griffins, was definitely influenced by their Canberra concept. Tuxen returned to the Preston/Reservoir area in 1923 to create the Leslie Estate, which was heralded as laid out on 'the most modern town planning lines... a properly and artistically devised garden suburb'[2]. Tuxen also worked with the Griffins again in this year, constructing the Ranelagh estate, a holiday resort cum country club settlement near Frankston. This was a project initiated by two timber merchants, Australias Sharp and John Taylor.[3] The following year, Tuxen planned a few small streets of the Heart of Rosebud Estate in Rosebud, also on the Mornington Peninsula, for the Melbourne Subdivision Company under C. J. de Garis. This estate was plainly intended to be an upper or upper-middle class retreat; de Garis and his wife lived there, and advertising for the Estate boasted: 'Splendid place for sport. Superb fishing. Good Quail shooting'.[4]

Thus, Tuxen spent his 1920s in the town planning limelight, with activities in both commercial and government spheres: he also found himself planning 'garden suburbs' for both the perceived upper- and lower-class sectors of Melbourne.

3. The Metropolitan Town Planning Commission
The Metropolitan Town Planning Commission operated between 1923 and 1929. It produced a First Report in 1925 and a Final Report in 1929. Its recommendations were not directly acted upon by the Victorian Government; firstly because of an unsympathetic (and unsettled) political climate, and secondly because of the 1930s Depression. However, it did identify a number of problems in the development of Melbourne, for instance in the flow of road traffic, the need for an underground railway, and the desirability of a city square, just a few of its central points which have been addressed in the subsequent 70 years. While it might be assumed that much of the MTPC's work was, essentially, fruitless, it had a distinct influence on the development of Melbourne while it existed, especially as it did so with the expectation that, at the end of its inquiry, it would be converted into a more permanent and powerful body. Thus, while its word did not become law, its pronouncements on planning and the future development of Melbourne were certainly heeded by those who expected their projects to be affected by its decisions.

In *Shaping Melbourne's Future?*, J. B. McLoughlin tells us that 'The overwhelmingly intellectual (or professional) influence on [the MTPC] was US planning practice.'[5] Both he and Max Grubb, who devoted a paper specifically to the US influence on the MTPC,[6] tell us that this was largely a result of a tour of the USA undertaken by the Commission's chairman, Alderman Frank Stapley. Tuxen's trip is, however, of equal if not greater importance, because he was in a position to note the practicability of the works the Commission admired, and to work from a position of technological authority which would have been unavailable to Stapley .

The MTPC had perhaps already recognised that Tuxen was not as much of a team player as the rest of them; he would come to meetings with alternative schemes to those already approved by the other eight members and argue vociferously. It was also clear, though no-one would suggest any impropriety, that his interests were divided between the interests of the Commission as a whole, and his own business interests during the boom time of the 1920s, when land was being subdivided with haste and to extremes.

However, while Tuxen may have argued privately at Commission meetings, he was eager for its men to be seen publicly as being in firm agreement on all points of the Commission's recommendations. It was clear, therefore, that he could be of use to the Commission as a propagandist, and his status as 'expert adviser' could only lend credence to his support of the Commission's promotion of town planning. Thus, when

Tuxen went to North America and visited 65 different towns and cities in five and a half months, he made sure he took his camera (he also made, by his own estimation, a huge amount of notes which he later burnt, although small remnants exist in the files of the MTPC).

Tuxen discussed his American findings and conclusions publicly for the next two years. Most of this publicity—which took the form of newspaper articles, radio lectures and public lectures —used American examples contrasted with the possibilities of the future growth of Melbourne. This move to build a greater public profile for Commission opinions *per se* was probably linked to the MTPC's desire to have its tenure extended by a year.

Tuxen attempted to surprise and excite his audiences with the notion that Melbourne, though flawed, had greater potential for planning along City Beautiful lines than any city in America.

In 1927, he was invited to contribute to a series in the Melbourne *Herald* in which professional men wrote on topics related to civic improvement. 'Many Australians go abroad,' he wrote in an essay entitled 'What We Might Do With the Yarra', 'to see for themselves the famed beauty of which poets have raved... [reaching] the much-advertised place, they have discovered the inhabitants just about to set off to inspect the beauty in their own despised land'.[7] Similarly, he broadcast a lecture on parks in which he informed his audience that the beaches of Melbourne were 'better than anything in the United States', adding that 'it would be an evil day for Melbourne when the ugly face of commercialism obtruded itself over the beaches, as it had done in America'.[8]

Tuxen hoped that the Commission would be able to draw from America's good examples without falling prey to what he perceived as its many faults, the most notable of which to him was its relatively laissez-faire organisation of utilities and, indeed, its lack of governmental control of business at all levels.

4. The Idea of the USA
The USA and its urban culture held particular fascination for Australians, perhaps even more in the 1920s than now. American films and its touring entertainers brought America into daily life. Similar fears—for instance, 'coloured' immigrants and the threat of 'race pollution'—permeated both cultures. The identification most Australians felt with their idea of America was in part due to the expectation, often expressed in newspapers of the time, that Australian cities and perhaps the nation as a whole were on the verge of entering the kind of rapid growth that the US had undergone in the previous century.

This assumption was typified by land developer T. M. Burke, who advertised weekly in the Melbourne *Evening Sun* under the title 'T. M. Burke's Column'. One week, Burke created a 'Boston cabbie', reasoning with his wife over his decision to invest in Australian real estate:

> 'Waal, looking back to our little villages in U.S.A., and comparing them with this little ranch called Melbourne, I should say there ain't such a vast difference between them in the way they are built up. Noo Yark wasn't always as big as it is now; neither was Chicago, or even our own little Boston... I know Australia's on the move, and it doesn't seem likely to slow down. So I guess the main villages out here will grow just like our own did... unless the whole population dies all of a sudden, or migrates to Siberia or somewhere.'[9]

In choosing the places he would visit in the USA, Tuxen was apparently advised by the Griffins; he would also have perused the journal *The American City*, which the MTPC subscribed to from 1923 onwards.

5. Tuxen and Miller
In 1924, Tuxen went into partnership with another surveyor, George Miller. Miller's role in the firm seemed to be much more 'at the coalface' than Tuxen's (it was he, for instance, who prepared the final Ranelagh plans); Tuxen was, of course, obliged to be on call for the regular 'field trips' (to problem spots around Melbourne) which were undertaken by the MTPC, and also to attend weekly (and often more than weekly) meetings of the Commission. Miller's role as partner also allowed Tuxen to make his trip overseas; whatever the status of his partner, Tuxen must surely have felt it necessary to justify this journey in terms of its value to their surveying and engineering business.

The members of the MTPC gave their time voluntarily, and the Victorian government refused to fund large-scale projects of any kind. Tuxen paid for his trip to the US from money bequeathed him several years before by a Danish relative. This initial hurdle of money dealt with, Tuxen was actually in the best of both worlds. He was both MTPC official and private citizen, a qualified surveyor and engineer investigating new building and planning processes and technology, and he was accumulating ideas for another project he was working on at the time, the Park Orchards Country Club Estate.

Park Orchards, a private development north of the burgeoning outer suburb of Ringwood, was a Country Club Estate intended to be used as a holiday retreat by the wealthy. Its design—only the bare bones of which remain between what is now an affluent outer suburb—seems to reflect Tuxen's experience of new 'City Beautiful' estate designs in the US. Photographs taken in the USA of gracefully curving street designs in San Francisco (the Forest Hills Estate), Minneapolis roads ('an avenue of original timber on County Club District') or Spokane ('Hillside Subdivision')[10] were surely meant to be shown to prospective clients and provide inspiration for, or even retrospective justification for, works such as Park Orchards. Perhaps, when the Doncaster Shire Council engineer rejected the original plans of Park Orchards because 'the grades of the roads are too steep, and cross falls too great for the road widths provided'[11], Tuxen showed him these photographs to explain his intention. The central feature of Park Orchards—a large circle of parkland within two circuits, which are themselves connected by walkways—were perhaps inspired by Forest Hills (Brooklyn) or Roland Park (Baltimore), of which there are photographs in the Tuxen album.

It could also be surmised that 1925 was a year which, for Tuxen and Miller, business might have seemed to be in a lull. Attempts by T. M. Burke, in his weekly column, to convince the public that the 1920s were not seeing a land boom in the style of the 1880s but a natural expansion which was, for all intents and purposes, never-ending, are themselves revealing of the hesitant mood of the times. Certainly the extraordinary events surrounding the rapid rise and fall of C. J. de Garis, of the Melbourne Subdivisions Company, must have appeared somewhat portentous to even the most optimistic of those involved in land speculations and subdivision. Within only a few months of executing grandiose gestures such as the spontaneous provision of supper for over a thousand prospective buyers at the launch of his Corio Garden Suburb, the 'modern [John] Batman'[12] was to fake his own suicide in an attempt to evade creditors. Tuxen, who had worked for de Garis, might well have considered the de Garis episode a time to be 'ridden out'. As well as this, he might have felt, not without justification,

that a fact-finding trip overseas might broaden his value in the eyes of new prospective clients.

6. The Meaning of the Photographs
Tuxen's lectures and writings suggest a clearly ambivalent attitude to the USA, both as a culture and in its physical appearance; while he might have made certain he was informed on US planning, he was not in favour of its wholesale adoption.

Without Tuxen's notes, it is ultimately very difficult to imagine what he had intended for the photographs. That he arranged them thematically (with sections on particular treatments for trams, bridges, parks and so on) in his album suggests they were for private reference, or to illustrate ideas for new schemes for Melbourne. He does not seem to have used them in his public lectures (presumably this would have necessitated re-photographing them as slides) or even in magazine or newspaper articles.

They are ultimately only photographs of cities of the USA in late 1925. They come filtered through the 'landscape' of Tuxen's mind, buzzing with new City Beautiful and Garden City ideas for his beloved home town: a Melbourne that almost was.

Selected Events in the Professional Life of Saxil Tuxen in the 1920s
1920: 4 November: Tuxen lodges plans for Merrilands (commissioned by T. M. Burke).
1923: Griffins/Tuxen worked on Ranelagh Estate (commissioned by Taylor & Sharp) near Frankston.
27 March: Tuxen appointed to MTPC as one of four 'expert advisers'.
13 June: Tuxen proposes scheme for by-pass parkway to eastern suburbs through Studley Park to MTPC.
22 June: Tuxen speaks to MTPC on necessity for Parkway from Port Melbourne to Beaumaris, requiring new section of road along foreshore in Brighton.
July-August: Tuxen in ongoing battle with Commission over their rejection of his Studley Park roadway in favour of the widening of Victoria Street, Richmond.
4 July : MTPC publicly proposes 'a new suburban boulevard' along Merri and Darebin creeks.
October 23: Land on Tuxen-designed Leslie Estate, Preston on market (by T. M. Burke)
30 November: Tuxen initiates MTPC discussion 'as to the advisability of public propaganda in favour of Town Planning schemes'.[13]
29 December: Auction by C. J. de Garis's Melbourne Subdivision Company of Tuxen-designed Heart of Rosebud Estate.
1924: 1 April: *Evening Sun* condemns Tuxen's Brighton foreshore road plan. 'Town Planners want to throw money into the Sea'.[14]
June 27: Ranelagh allotments on the market.
1925: Tuxen begins work on Park Orchards plan (for Taylor & Sharp).
January: C. J. de Garis of Melbourne Subdivisions Company fakes own suicide in attempt to avoid debtors; arrested in Auckland a week later.
February: MTPC preliminary report on Melbourne's traffic problems completed.
29 May: Tuxen lectures on MTPC's first report at Vic Institute of Surveyors.
June: Tuxen leaves for USA.
4 September: Tuxen calls at Australian Commissioner's Office, New York.
17 November: Tuxen arrives back in Melbourne.
1926: March-May: Final plans for Park Orchards lodged.

20 May: Tuxen addresses Toorak branch of Australian Women's National League on 'The Trams and Buses Question'.
7 June: *Argus*, Tuxen 'Garden City Planning'.
1927: 22 March: Tuxen broadcasts lecture, 'Metropolitan Zoning' on 3LO.
13 May: Tuxen gives address on Town Planning in Melbourne suburb of Bentleigh; the Bentleigh Progress Association is inspired to ask the MTPC to devise a scheme for the development of Bentleigh 'on Town Planning lines'.[15]
8 July: Tuxen broadcasts lecture 'Melbourne Subdivisions', on 3LO.
12 August: Tuxen first Australian to be elected Member of Institute of City Planning of America.
30 August: Tuxen broadcasts lecture, 'Are Subways Necessary?' on 3LO.
September: *Aust Home Beautiful* Tuxen: 'Town Planning and the Working Man'.
26 October: Tuxen broadcasts lecture, 'The Need for Parks'. on 3LO.
27 November: Melbourne *Herald*: S. Tuxen: 'What We Might Do With the Yarra'.
1928: 27 February: Tuxen proposed overhead passageway to over Flinders Street, to Flinders Street Station at Degraves Street (later site of pedestrian subway).
May: Tuxen becomes certified Water Supply Engineer.
19 October: Tuxen addresses Amalgamated Progress Associations at Coburg.
1929: 3 April: Tuxen speaks on 3AR on 'Subdivisional Design'.
December: Release of MTPC's final report.

NOTES

[1] Meinig, D. W. *'The Beholding Eye: Ten Versions of the Same Scene' in Meinig (Ed.) The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscape: Geographical Essays* New York, OUP, 1979
[2] 'Progressive Preston/Garden Suburb/Town Planning Scheme' Melbourne *Evening Sun*, 5 October 1923, 13
[3] See Nichols, 'Footsteps: Saxil Tuxen' in Finch, L. and McConville, C. *Images of the Urban: Conference Proceedings*, Maroochydore South, Sunshine Coast University College, 1998, 302-304
[4] 'Heart of Rosebud Estate', Melbourne *Evening Sun*, 14 December 1923, 13
[5] McLoughlin, J. B., *Shaping Melbourne's Future? Town Planning, the State and Civil Society* New York, CUP , 1992, 33
[6] Grubb, M. 'Planning in Melbourne During the 1920s: The Operation and Work of the Metropolitan Town Planning Commission 1922-1930' in R. Freestone, ed. *The Australian Planner* Kensington, UNSW Press, 1993
[7] Tuxen, S. 'What We Might Do With the Yarra', Melbourne *Herald*, 27 November, 1926, 17
[8] 'The Need For Parks/Systematic Planning Required/Melbourne's Great Possibilities' Melbourne *Age*, 27 October 1926, 14
[9] Burke, T. M. 'What the Cabman Saw/A Story With a Moral/T. M. Burke's Column' *Evening Sun*, 11 October 1924, 14
[10] Captions by S. Tuxen from Photograph Album in possession of Mrs P. Tuxen.
[11] Shire of Doncaster Minute Book 1920-25, p. 117, 16 Feb 1926 Manningham Council Records
[12] 'Garden Suburb/Ambitious Plans at Corio/Dynamic De Garis' Melbourne *Evening Sun*, 25 September 1924, 12
[13] Extract from Minutes of MTPC in 'Propaganda' folder, MTPC files, Box 14, Victorian State Archives.
[14] 'Town Planners Want to Throw Money Into the Sea/Committee Outdone/Shifting a Beach to Make a Boulevard' Melbourne *Evening Sun*, 1 April 1924, 1.
[15] Melbourne *Age*, 13 May 1927

ANALYSIS OF PLANNING DESIGNS ACCORDING TO THE PRINCIPLES OF CHRISTOPHER ALEXANDER

Hernán Nottoli
4433, Rivadavia Av.
Buenos Aires 1205
Argentina
fax 54-1 921 3385
e-mail: postmaster@matydi.fadu.uba.ar

The cave was, as it is known, the first shelter the man had to protect himself from different aggressions, such as the rigors of the extreme temperatures and the inclemency of the whether, or from the depredator animals, etc.

And that natural shelter suitably fulfilled its function. The great covering mass prevented rain water from passing, its thermic inertia generated inside a warm winter and a cool summer. Its only entrance offered safety and control of access, and the constructive system was already embodied by nature itself. Of course there was not even the least problem of acoustic contamination in the paleolithic area.

As time went by, new ways of life appeared, especially urban life, that required in turn more sophisticated resources to solve the same problems.

Little by little, the prime homo sapiens, settled down in a specific region, he left his nomad life of gregarious hunter and with the arrival of agricultural and cattle raising development he started his period of urban settlement.

Naturally, this process was gradual, and from the social point of view, it began to be conceived with the composition of the family as a pristine group which, for centuries, set up the unique model of society organized as a community.

By those remote times, the families were structured in principal and secondary branches, where there were also slaves who carried out functions of servility, since they had been subdued; there were also other persons who passed by a familiar conglomerate due to a family exchange or diverse transactions, as well as some others who occasionally joined. So that really numerous groups were formed, which could surpass several thousands of human beings.

Obviously this number of individuals generated in their settlement the necessity of multiple housing, which had to fulfil certain regulations for their establishment and interrelation, so as to make it possible living together. There were also included the community spaces and constructions, such as cultivated fields, stockyards, storerooms for food, warehouses for tools, arms depots, and others. With this, we already have the source of what would be in due course modern town planning

It is known that the first family structures used to be very closed, so much so that their members were not allowed to mix with other similar groups. However, it is thought that for the sake of strengthening their safety, for compatibility in moral patterns of life that started to consolidate, which, in turn, were generating social norms of common use, and above all, for the conception of common religious beliefs, the fact is that certain groups of families began to form greater groups, becoming what " the Greeks called *fratia* and the Latins *curia* " [1]

Within the evolution of social structures, the union of several curias or fratias would become tribes. The original names of those tribes were based on the "hero's name", who had his entity from a man deified by his epic enterprises. That hero was qualified as "eponymous", just for giving his name to the land where he had been enthroned as divinity. Along with that peculiarity of worshipping the hero, the tribe strongly included the cult for the ancestors and gave preponderance to the home as symbol. From those facts the family was formally constituted and consolidated and the first laws were established. That would be the basis of further legislation on the use of land and public or private spaces by the community; what could be called the genesis of the urban codes.

Several historians agree with the idea that the constitution of the city as it is known nowadays, except for the megalopolis, which is another more complex type, starts from the association of tribes.

These associations emerged caustically in certain cases perhaps due to the imposition of a more powerful tribe which dominated the weaker ones or may be because of the will of a more powerful man, which gave origin to the feudal order and to dominance in the territory which, according to its expansion and preponderance, determined the aristocratic ranks: kingdom, county, shire, marquisate, etc.

However, it is also valid the planning of cities, in use nowadays, based on the decision of an appointed chief in an already established city. The chief decides to found another city with the support of a group of citizens who are determined to emigrate, and establish in a different settlement.

Somehow, starting from the basic urban modules originated by human assemblies, such as house, shrine, cistern, public way, agora and markets, the first villages are consolidated, which have constituted the embryonic organization of the city.

On the other hand, it can be seen that these urban components start to arise accompanied by socio - cultural changes, which give way to a new organization of human habitat.

"Public moral, government, law and regulation on communal spaces are indispensable in these concentrations of families in a sole and stable place predetermined to live" [2].

Apart from all these determining socio-cultural factors, it must be remarked that the safety that a city provides to its inhabitants becomes the principal condition to encourage community life.

The defensive walls, a characteristic of all fortified cities, of which there are only remains in almost all modern metropolis, remind us of the importance of this peculiarity of the cities.

It is interesting to point out, at this stage, how the urban morphology of old fortified citadels does not occur by sheer chance, but it is always conditioned to military strategy, to the environment and to the period.

An example of this idea are the medieval citadels. One of them designed by Leonardo da Vinci, had a pentagonal plan and pointed bastions, both characteristics efficiently met the demand for protection against the arrow or cannon shots. They were all meticulously studied based on precise geometrical tracings.

It must be taken into consideration that despite the incipient regulations that governed the tracing of the first cities, these ones grew informally inside the minor areas of its common land.

The streets were irregular and tortuous, of various widths and lengths, with parcels of different measures. All this was a sample of the lack of strict planning regulations, especially remarkable in minor units of urban scale.

Many European cities maintain even today a tracing which had its origin in such peculiar way of urban growth.

Rome, Seville, Pireo, to mention a few, keep these characteristics.

The idea of consolidation of regulated planning as unique or repetitive models is far away in the history of mankind. One of the most repetitive and known examples has been the reticulated tracing (checkerboard) of the Spanish colonial cities.

Buenos Aires, capital of Argentina, and La Plata, capital of the most important province in the country, are examples of this urban model. However, La Plata has the particularity of having been one of the first city planning designed in the American continent, and drawn on the paper, before being built in reality. The diagonals that section the grid, "that cut off the square" [3], and its system of numbered streets, show that the design preceded the implantation.

It is precisely at this stage when it is brought up the theory developed by Arch. Christopher Alexander in his book "The Environment Structure".

Alexander distinguishes between *natural cities*, the ones created in rather spontaneous way in the course of years, and the so called *artificial cities*, which have been created deliberately by designers and planners.

They are analyzed through two abstract models that belong to the Graph Theory, which are called *tree* and *semirreticle* (figure 1).
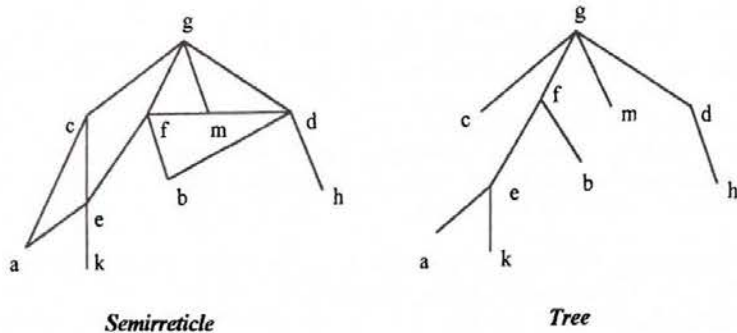
Semirreticle   **Tree**

Figure 1

"A *tree* is, in actual fact, a flowchart composed by points (vertices) and lines (edges), in which there exists an only path that links each par of its constitutive points"[4] , whereas in a *semirreticle*, multiple possible paths can be found among intermediate or extreme points of its whole organization.

These characteristics identify the diverse planning designs with the analogous abstract models[5] . In these models, the points or vertices of that flowchart, which is in fact a graph, are integrating elements of the city, and the segments indicate the existence of an interrelation among them.

Professor Alexander outlines the theory that the *natural cities* are organized as *semirreticles*, whereas the *artificial cities* have been structured as *trees*.

As examples of *natural cities* Alexander mentions Siena, Liverpool, Kyoto, Manhattan and Cambridge. The last one has been chosen as an example to represent graphically here (figure 2).

Figure 2

674
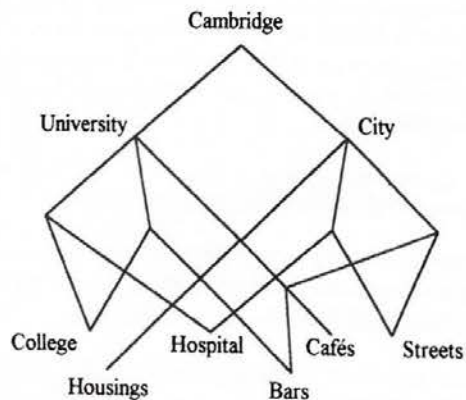
As examples of *artificial cities* he mentions Levitown, Chandigarh, the English New Towns, Kenzo Tange's design for Tokyo's bay, and Brasilia. The last one will be transcribed in a graph for being one of the best known and particularly most related to the origin of this paper, as the city is situated in South America (figure 3).
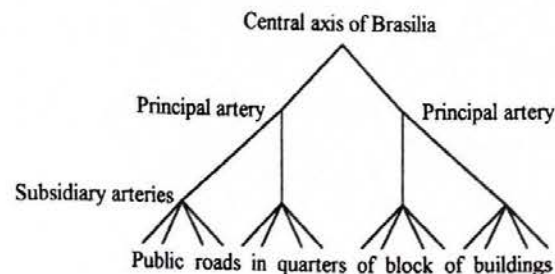
Figure 3

But the Graph Theory has explored new sources as time goes by. Computer sciences, which Prof. Alexander considered a limited contribution to the area of design in the 60's, has nowadays shot up so tremendously, that it has become a valuable component in the process of design, not a mere supporting tool.

To draw an example of application in the urban field and in a reduced scale, we will take a very well known place of Paris. In that site where it is implanted the Arch of Triumph a complex encounter of traffic lines occurs (figure 4).

It is possible to generate an abstract model of that urban plot and to transform it into a graph (figure 5). From this graph and by means of computers, it is possible to determine: traffic flows, distances to travel on foot or by car, quantity of existing corners (there are 92!), etc., etc.

PLAN

Figure 4

675
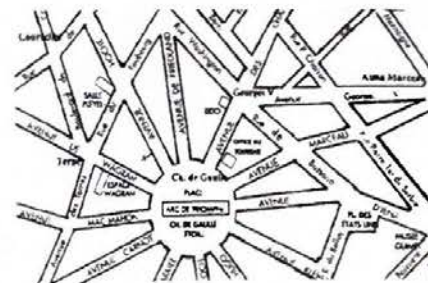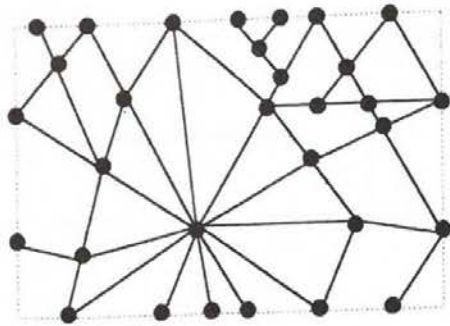
GRAPH

Figure 5

Finally, as this paper comes to an end, we hope that these concepts and the abstract models that are so helpful to science in general and to planners and designers in particular, turns out to be useful to those who have the responsibility of projecting, in the forthcoming third millennium, the general outlining to achieve the best functions of the great urban centers.

[1] de Coulanges, F., ed.(1931) *"La Ciudad Antigua"*, Biblioteca Científico Filosófica, Buenos Aires.

[2] Mumford, L., ed.(1961) *"The City in History"*, Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., New York.

[3] Garnier, A., ed.(1990) *"Le Carré Rompu"*, IREC, Université de Lausanne.

[4] Nottoli, H., ed.(1997) *"Grafos"*, Editorial de Belgrano, Buenos Aires.

[5] Alexander, C., ed.(1971) *"The Environment Structure"*, Tusquet Editor, Buenos Aires.

Buenos Aires, March 1998

Planning as a Cultural Achievement

Ab Oskam
Adjunct Professor
Faculty of the Built Environment
University of New South Wales
Sydney, New South Wales

"The art of town planning has been defined as the art of creating the kind of environment needed to produce and maintain human values, which means, inter alia, the balancing and harmonizing of public and private needs so that one shall not be sacrificed to the other. If any urban activity can be said to have approached that ideal, it was the making of Dutch towns". (G.L.Burke)[1]

"In every phase of the world economy since the Middle Ages, a few cities have produced new lifestyles that have become widely diffused, and new spatial and architectonic forms that have defined contemporary trends. From Tokyo in the 1980s to fifteenth century Venice, with Los Angeles, Chicago, New York, Paris, London and Amsterdam in between, the list of key world cities associated with such innovations forms the chapter headings for many work on urban history". (Josef Konvitz)[2]

Since 1981, I have been responsible for Spatial Management of the city of Amsterdam, as Director and Chief Planner. I deliberately use the term "Spatial Management" as, in Dutch, German and French, it has a meaning that differs from the Anglo-Saxon "planning". "Planning" refers to a once-only activity, well defined in time, whereas "Ordening", "Raumordnog" or "Aménagement du Territoir" refers to an ever-necessary, continuous care and attention. "Ordening". or Management, is cyclic in character: observation and research, analysis, development, consolidation, evaluation, management and redevelopment. In other words, "management" is the recycling machine for our physical environment.

Cities, human settlements, are made by man and reflect the views people have about their society. Space and time are the dimensions shaping these views and all possible human emotions can be recognized, such as: safety, hope, confidence, solidarity and comfort. And, fortunately, in all times and all cultures people have a desire for beauty and want to experience the sensation of beauty. But other qualities are recognizable also. Throughout history greed, fear, perverted exercise of power, sadism, vanity, opportunism and indifference can be found in the traces of our presence.

Whoever visits Sienna or Florence can still sense the utopian atmosphere from the Renaissance. Utopias as visions of a better life: a society freed from material and mental poverty and pressure, and its repercussions on the design for the ideal city, reflect a clear expression of life-conditions of that time. It is mainly within the socio-economic context and the arena of technological knowledge - two different but nevertheless very interwoven

dimensions - that the utopian urban picture is determined.

In 1516 Thomas Moore describes his island Utopia, where all inhabitants live in freedom and are equal. First of all the baleful influences of property and profit are banned and the people, freed from corrupted justice and illegal concentration of power and wealth, live in fifty spacious, identically laid-out cities, all with identical language and administrative structures. He describes the layout of these cities in a detail, because their actual structure expresses the utopic ideas of the society itself. He describes basic form: the width of the streets, the height of the buildings and the size of the whole city. He describes everything that forms the underpinning of his utopian urban dream.

But utopias are rarely sustainable, and at best, only random indications of lost dreams are left behind: reproductions in stone of whatever used to be a common social spirit. It is the nostalgia for lost ideals that induces us to watch, with bated breath, these artifacts from the past, these monuments to short periods of hope: beautiful cities, their significance reduced to places of touristic interest. Places of interest dating from before the time of the great European potentates. Popes and secular tyrants who reshaped cities like Rome, Paris, Vienna and Berlin as monuments to their own pathetic glory.

Amsterdam has not experienced the intervention of such powers. Amsterdam has always been a city of burghers and that civic society always has set great store by consciously shaping its own environment. The most remarkable aspect of that Amsterdam attitude, is its sustainability. It has survived many centuries, and it was - and is - the continuous inspiration for its development. It would almost seem that a sense for urban planning, urban development, urban management and urban care is part of the DNA patterning of the Amsterdammer.

Evidence for this is obviously to be found in the Amsterdammer's natural environment. Life with water has forced the Dutch into a highly sophisticated pattern of planned and organized behavior. Dikes need to be constructed and maintained. And for agrarian use as well as for the preservation of buildings a punctilious management of water levels is of vital importance. That is only achieved by cooperation and organization, based on common interest.

The result is not only a fully man-made landscape dating from the 13th century, but, most importantly, a social culture and organization which has formed the basis of Dutch society and the very way that, even today, society deals with its physical environment.

From the 13th century on small scale landowners and peasants were forced to engage collectively in the maintenance of dikes, canals, sluices and mills. These collective organizations, the waterboards, still exist. They are the basis of our democratic organization. In Holland democracy did not emerge from a political philosophy but just from practical necessity.

Barnouw wrote[3]:

> "The Dutch learned by bitter experience that their strength lay in planning, organization and cooperation",

and Lambert added that as a result of that:

"Few countries exist where the hand of man has exerted a greater formative influence in the shaping of the landscape".[4].

Compared to many other European cities, Amsterdam is not particularly old. It was not until the 13th century that the low countries were adequately protected against flooding and it was only then that the political situation was sufficiently stable to allow towns to be founded.

The fact that Amsterdam was built on marshy ground continues to pose specific problems for builders. The surface soil usually consists of layers of soft peat, several meters thick. At an average depth of 11 to 12 meters there is a layer of maritime sand, 3 to 3.5 meters thick. In construction, builders make us of long piles, made from Scandinavian pine, which are driven straight through the soft upper layer of soil into the first sand layer. The walls are then mounted on wooden piles below ground water level , to prevent rotting of the pile heads. A great part of the total building stock and most of the buildings in the historic center are built on wooden piles, and these piles, which have been in the ground for centuries will suddenly fall apart if no longer submerged. Thus it is evident that sophisticated control over the water level is a matter of life and death for this city.

It is unimaginable that, through inattention, the water level in the urbanized area of Amsterdam would sink too low. This would cause an apocalyptic vision of horror with the whole historic inner city crumbling - not unlike the tumbling walls of biblical Jericho. So, if Amsterdammers speak of canals they are speaking of part of what we call - the "water-machinery"; the artificial mechanisms that enable us to live in peaceful coexistence with the water.

Indeed, by the 17th century - when the fishing village had become a city - it was an act of unimaginable vision to develop a scheme such as the canal-belt: a reasonably simple concentric grid, based on practical basic assumptions for transportation, water management and - for the time - hygiene. The unit is the building block, but minus monumentality: the design is not based on a desire for decorum or dramatization, but is simple, functional, clear and has, most importantly, a superb refinement in measure and proportion.

However sophisticated it may be, it is not the scheme itself that causes wonder. The most fascinating aspect is that this scheme was gradually realized over a period of two centuries and remains fully intact today. Obviously no-one has felt the need for change or modification; thus this scheme has survived changes in functions, in political regimes, in economic circumstances and - the most dangerous - fashions in architecture.

Amsterdam: the burghers, the administration, the technicians were obviously so satisfied with, and proud of, their city that they were immune to diversions or the temptations of new trends and fashions. They adhered to the essentials of the plan - a plan for the unbuilt area, the public space; the profiles for the canals and the secondary roads; the length of a profile, to a bend, and the angle of the bend. And, possibly the most crucial, the regulations for building on those canals: in an unobstructed alignment with strictly regulated height and parceling. For more than two centuries Amsterdammers have shown a sense of good taste, inventiveness, flexibility and, most importantly, concern for their city.

Because the emphasis was so much on public space the plan became a plan of - and for - the people of the city. The city could be experienced from a humane, understandable and pleasant public space. The city was defined by the quality of space that belonged to everyone, not by the splendor of individual buildings , which are to be looked at but not entered.

People enjoyed a special relationship with their city, regarded it as something of their own; were proud of it and cared for it. It defined that specific attitude towards planning which has been referred to as genetically programmed in the Amsterdammer. This mentality is still present, sometimes in a very manifest way.

The map of Amsterdam can be read like a history book, with events and opinions dating from different periods being immediately obvious. Most striking, however, is the consistency of a few main principles; a consistency that, depending on time, place, circumstances and current fashion, allows an interpretive freedom in functional, architectural and technical matters,

More than two centuries elapsed before the canal-belt was completed. During that period, opinions and needs sometimes altered quite dramatically. For example, totally different functions have been required of buildings that were originally trade houses for merchants, and building techniques and architecture have altered through time. Change is still occurring, with the building, replacement of buildings, and reconstruction continuing.

Yet the concept itself survives it all. It can adapt to all these changes without difficulty. It represents a remarkable synergy between the strength of the concept and the mentality of the Amsterdammer. He or she does not even wish to discuss the value of the concept!

There certainly was in the history of Amsterdam a recession in the continuum of planned urban development. The 19th century brought a period of extreme liberalism and little governmental power. It was in Europe an era of absolute cultural stagnation. But this changed at the end of the century and in the Netherlands in 1901 the Housing Act went into effect, which obliged municipal councils to develop strategies for further growth and development.

At that time the City Council of Amsterdam decided to take urban development actively into its own hands again. Two far-reaching decisions were taken. In 1897 it was decided that the city would no longer sell land but would simply lease it out. This land policy had been frequently discussed during the previous hundred years. As a result, the municipality owns more than 85% of all the land in its territory. This farsighted land policy has been the most powerful planning instrument and has formed the basis of the city's prosperity.

The other decision, in 1905, was the commission, to the young architect Berlage, for a plan for a comprehensive urban extension. In this commission the City Council stated explicitly that Berlage should draw up "a beautiful urban area".

While the realization of Berlage's Southern extension was still in full progress the city again decided to take its future in its own hands. It wanted an overall strategic plan to envisage possible long term urban development for the entire municipal territory. For that reason it decided to add a new Department of Urban Planning to its Public Works Department. The city again chose a representative of the avant-garde as its chief planner: Cor-

nelis van Eesteren .

The plan was ready in 1932 and approved by City Council in 1935. It proved a milestone in international planning practice; one of the first plans where scientific research was combined with physical planning. It was based on estimated population increase up to the year of 2000.

That General Extension Plan of 1935 was largely realized in the years before 1970 and at that time the post-war reconstruction period was completed. New acts of urban planning policy were the construction of the "Bijlmermeer", the supposed "city of the future" and the urban renewal program. The Bijlmermeer was mainly a planners-dream which, in spite of its beauty, was not such a success.

The urban renewal program however represented an incredible example of planning by the people. While the planners dreamt of total reconstruction of the depressing 19th century neighborhoods according to the CIAM standards of "light, air and space", the people opted for the preservation of the existing. And their choice was not based on romantic heritage-nostalgia but on practical rationale: the optimization of technical improvement with as little nuisance, cost and disturbance of social patterns as possible. Although almost 100% of the houses were social, rented houses, those people loved their environment and were prepared to demonstrate their attachment in very outspoken ways. All pre-war neighborhoods with 25 % of the total Amsterdam housing stock were renewed, reconstructed or renovated, with strict regulations that existing street patterns, existing alignments and existing building-heights were to be respected.

Finally, in the recent nineties, the people were back at the barricades. Demographic development asks for a production of at least 4000 new houses a year; and for reasons of sustainability these houses have to be built in or adjacent to the city. 65% will be realized by intensifying and densifying the urban body; for 35% the only solution is a new extension.

Again, discussions relating to the site and the type of plan were very public. Almost no Amsterdammer refrained from participating in that debate, in meetings, in the newspapers and on television. The outcome at the and was a choice for IJburg, east of Amsterdam, in the waters of the IJ-lake, the former Zuiderzee. As during the period of urban renewal, the people again placed conditions on the development. As it would take place in an ecologically sensitive area with great emotional significance to many Amsterdammers, the harm done to the natural environment had to be minimized by building in high densities and using as little space as possible. Plus the new area had to meet the highest technical standards relating to the natural environment and the use of energy and other resources.

The most encouraging outcome of the discussion was that the people, via a referendum, chose an extension "in the best tradition of Amsterdam planning".

Even in our modern, somewhat over-organized times, people still care and fight for the qualities of their environment. Mobilizing that potential power is the essential task of everyone involved in planning for, and management of, our urban and rural areas. It is no use to talk about sustainability as long as we refrain from that task. Sustainability is merely an intellectual fantasy if we do not achieve the commitment of those who will

actually use the space, the land, the waters, the air and the soil. And that is not so difficult. They have only to be taken seriously.

I am not trying to say that Amsterdam has got everything right. On the contrary, many things happen in an unsatisfactory way and after frustrating discussions. My point is that planning is not merely a professional or intellectual activity but a cultural achievement of a society. As a professional I have fought many fights with politicians, community groups, investors and activists. Sometimes I convinced them, sometimes they convinced me. But I was - as a professional - lucky to find an atmosphere where all those groups and individuals were concerned and willing to invest much of their emotion, creativity and energy in such discussions.

Like I said, a collective, cultural responsibility for our common environment is the achievement of every society. It is there, it only has to be activated.

Notes

[1] Burke, Gerald L., "The making of Dutch Towns", a study in Urban Development from the tenth to the seventeenth centuries, London 1956
[2] Josef Konvitz, OECD, Paris, cited in "Design Australia, skills for 2010, Faculty of Architecture, The University of Sydney, 1996.
[3] A.J.Barnouw, "The making of Modern Holland", London, 1968.
[4] A.M.Lambert, "The making of the Dutch Landscape", an historical geography of the Netherlands. London/New York, 1971.

A Historic Account for Urbanization in the United Arab Emirates: links to the future

Ahmed M Salah Ouf
Faculty of Engineering
University of the United Arab Ameriates
UAE[1]

1- Introduction: historic accounts of the UAE cities

Cities of the United Arab Emirates are the gift of their suitable locations on the Gulf as safe havens for fishing and pearl-hunting ships which made the livelihood of the small population since the 1500's when the origins of the existing population moved in[2]. Cities on the Gulf never attained a very high urban status prior to the discovery of oil because their environmental settings were poor compared to the neighboring wall-established urban centers in Oman, Iraq, Iran, and India. Stopping for food supplies, fuel, and water was more plausible on the shores of Oman Sultanate which had better natural resources and a stable independent government as early as the 1300's. Settlements on the southern shores of the Gulf were only catering for the local population and spontaneous stops of ships crossing the gulf to the major port city of Basra at the times of the Muslim Khaliphate which ended by the 1500 s when its capital moved to Istanbul in Turkey. Pearl hunting was the only craft indigenous to the area that gave it a good name up to the 1900 s.

Economy of the area was feudal depending on fishing, animal husbandry, and trade and could only expand into the hinterlands depending on the availability of pastures after a good rainy season. This feudal economy was only capable of supporting small settlements that were left isolated due to the natural difficulty of land transportation through the salty shallows which made most of the landscape close to the Gulf shores. Distribution of settlements was consequently dispersed, independent, and never dominated under one rule as it was difficult for a single feudal economy to provide security and peace for the whole area. In areas where the population was capable of depending on agriculture and animal husbandry with better land transportation; more stable and unified government was attained[3].

2- Western interest in the Gulf area

Western interest in the area began as early as the 1500 s when the Portuguese expedition of Magellan discovered the route to India with the help of a local Gulf sailor (Ibn Majid). By the year 1509 local war ships were united to stop the spread of Portuguese power in the Gulf area but were defeated in "Diwo" naval battle off the shores of India (Al-Kasimi, 1993, p.30). The same period of time witnessed the rise of the Ottomans as a major power that overthrew the wall-established Muslim Khaliphate in Bagdad and shifted the capital of the Muslim World to Istanbul. Small emirates on the Gulf shores were out of the reach of the Istanbul government which was trying to make a stronghold on other Muslim states in North Africa, Egypt, Iraq, and the holy lands in the Arab Peninsula.

---

[1] Associate professor at the department of Architecture, Faculty of Engineering, University of the United Arab Emirates.

[2] See Al-Kasimi 93 p.46 and Rashid 89, p18-25.

[3] Emirate of Abu-Dhabi (the largest of the seven Emirates further west) is a good example because of its vast pastures deep in the hinterlands and better land transportation into the Arabian Peninsula.

Various ruling tribes in the Gulf region thus became independent from Istanbul while having control over small parts of Africa (Zanzibar, Mauritius, and parts of Tanzania), Northern side of the Gulf (Lingah, Gasham, ..etc.)[4] and even locations on the Western side of the Indian Peninsula with which they had strong trade connections. Intrusion of the western powers in the area was threatening the local interest in having their own independent, stable and strong governments which lead to military friction and hostilities.

Figure 1 1522 map of the Gulf[5]

It was not till 1622 that the British forces were able to expel the Portuguese from their strong hold of Hermosa on the tip of the Gulf, as the East Indian Company became a major interest to the British empire. An interest which turned bloody at 1809 and 1819 when the British navy destroyed and put the whole city of Ras al-Khaimah on fire to assure their full control over the Gulf. The Kasimi tribes who had their livelihood centered around sea-life were ruling the area extending from nowadays Sharjah (South-west) up to Ras Musandam (North-East) with their Capital located in the city of Ras al-Khaimah. Their nautical power (not yet an organized navy) of the Kasimi was up to 63 large war ships and 810 small ships as projected by the British sources at 1806 to the extent that the Eastern India Company signed a treaty with them to allow the British ships to sail into and near the Gulf and at the same time giving the Kasimi full right of trade in the Indian sea[6]. However, the treaty was not respected and there was a bloody clash between the British navy raided the Kasimi in there capital city of Ras al-Khaimah at 1809 in which the city was completely gunned down from the navy ships. The Kasimi were strong enough to rebuild their naval ships within five years and recall there ships which were sailing the Indian and African waters to have another clash with the British navy at 1816 in which the British navy had to retreat (Rashid, p. 56). Clashes between the British navy and the Kasimi were based on alleged piracy claims by British ships, an image accentuated by British maps of that time which referred to the area

dwelled by the Kasimi as the "The Pirate Coast'". Clashes between the two sides continued in the Gulf and off the shores of India till 1819 when a final and a ferocious confrontation took place and the Kasimi capital city of Ras al-Khaimah was completely destroyed.

Figure 2 Battles inside Ras al-Khaimah city 1809[8]

Kasimi naval power was estimated at 1819 by the British as composed of 89 large ships with canons and 161 small ships with a total of 10300 worrier men (Rashid, p.77). Starting 1820 a peace treaty was signed and the presence of the British navy in the Gulf became permanent and having the upper hand with a special provision of the treaty that ended the Kasimi presence on the Iranian coast of the Gulf[9].

3- Description of old settlements on the gulf

Description of the urban structure of any UAE city is only available through old maps and sketches drafted by the early explorers and adventurers since no written (not to mention sketched or drawn) account of the urbanization is available. Main Arabic references to old settlements like that of Yakot al Hamawy, al-Maqrizi, and Al-Tabary, up to the sixteenth century do not mention any major settlement in the area. The only available reference to the urban mass of an UAE city is that of Ras al-Khaimah as described by the British navy officers who drew the battle of 1819 in which a watch tower or two can be seen in the landscape. However, if we consider the sheer number of worriers and ships participating in Ras al-Khaimah battle from the side of the Kasimi (as defined by the British navy) we might speculate the number of their general population to be around fifty to sixty thousand distributed among the city of Ras al-Khaimah and its environs. Such a high population figure would definitely require some sizable urban development that for some reason was ignored by most travelers to the area. The only historic material available for researchers about the history of existing UAE cities is that related to aerial photography during the 1930's which were done for the purpose of oil exploration. History of

---

[4] The issue of having control over colonies on the Iranian side of the Gulf and on the Eastern shores of Africa is a fact however most references do not point out the Kasimis in particular.
[5] Map by Fries/Servetus 1522/1523 Arabia, Heritage Map Museum, Middle East and Africa, Internet source: www. Carto.com

[6] See Rashid 1989, p.43-51, and Hanzal 1995 for the detailed documents of 1806.

[7] Most British maps of the area e.g. map 120.01,in Records of Oman, originally published 1837 for the Royal Geographic Society in London.

[8] The Picture adapted from Al-Kasimi p.50

[9] See Rashid p.83-87 and Hanzal 1989 for the treaty document.

urbanization prior to that might only have references in oral history and undocumented resources.

4- City structure and city components

All major UAE cities –which make the original seven emirates confederation-- are built on a or around a Creek[10] in order to ensure their inhabitants a safe haven for their fishing and pearl-hunting ships from possible extreme weather conditions and the gulf tide. This internal location was a necessary measure for the good keeping of the fishing, pearl-hunting, and trade vessels which made the livelihood of the population. Cities' location on double water fronts also increased the possibility of fish catching from the Gulf and the creek in all sorts of climates and tide conditions, especially so when we consider the small number of population till the 1900s. However, the main explanation for that island-like location is the protection from any possible land invasions and raids by other tribesmen within the region. Sometimes the location was a real island as that of Abu-Dhabi were it can be reached only through the shallow waters when the tide is low. Adding to the defensive locations; land transportation was already difficult along the shores because of the many salty shallows (Sabkha fields in Arabic) that restrained caravan movement. Hostilities against such settlements was only possible from the sea-side; for which the existence of the Creek was a second defense line. As a result of the above discussion the creek became a general city component in all major UAE cities.

Figure 3   al-Sharjah map at 1935 showing the Gulf and Creek

This feeling of safety on the creek shore lead to the creation of the Urban mass right on the creek front while watchtowers and forts were created either on the Gulf shore or on the desert fringes of the city.

Another general city component of old UAE cities is its defensive system which included the fort, the watch towers, and the walls, either as an integrated system containing all aliments or as separate items dispersed all over the landscape. All cities had forts of some kind; at

---

[10] Creek is "Khor" in Arabic = a small body of water branching off the Arabian Gulf that might be linear or taking the shape of a small inland lake

least one for the ruler's residence. Forts some times were reduced to the size of a watchtower with a small space inside only at strategic locations for early alarm before any defense might be necessary. However, during the 1800's most of the watchtowers and forts on the shores of the UAE east of Abu-Dhabi were destroyed and the erection of new ones was banned by the British as a means of controlling hostilities within the area.

Figure 4   Fort of Ajman 1950

In most of the UAE cities the ruler's palace was integrated within the fort which was a symbol on the emirate status and might. Limited economic resources for many emirates made the term "palace" unattainable in reality depending on each emirate's wealth , surplus revenue and number of people. The heart of any city was not the fort, nor the palace, nor the city harbor on the creek but rather the mosque and its surrounding markets (suqs or bazaars) which made the center for daily civil activities. Based on the feudal economic system and the limited resources of the population, the goods exchanged in those markets were limited in value and volume.

4- Epilogue: A look into the future

Modern urbanization in the UAE is only three decades old and has already altered the lifestyle of the people, and caused a redistribution of the population among the seven emirates depending on the newly provided employment potentials and services and not on the traditional distribution of tribes across the land. In order to achieve that much change during a very short period of time; UAE cities turned to the international planning standards which paid no (or very little) attention to the traditional city structure and its basic components. A close monitor was applied on all new city plans which were prepared by foreign consulting offices to ensure the basic services such as: a mosque for each residential quarter, adequate number of schools and a suitably located health center for each city district. However, the traditional intimate pedestrian movement systems through out the community, distribution of properly scaled urban spaces for outdoor activities within the residential areas, and the traditional integration among urban activities were not observed. Efficient as they are; modern urban developments in the UAE – as they are in most other countries with fast track urbanization – lost a great deal of their local identity and urban character. In business

and commercial districts of UAE cities such a loss of identity might be understood within the context of "globalization" of businesses across international boundaries. In residential quarters, modern layout of the buildings is not resisted as the traditional settings of narrow and winding streets do not fulfill the desired ease of access to the dwelling door step in response to the high car ownership rates prevailing in the community. However, such a loss of identity in residential areas might be considered curable and temporary as a great number of the population still have their personal recollection of how life looked like less than thirty years ago.

Under such circumstance a strong trend for historic preservation and conservation of whole urban sites is only a need by the community at large to defend **its** roots and demonstrate to the younger generations the older life style in the city before it is for-ever gone. A dichotomy between traditional and modern urbanization is not a case in UAE cities since the traditional urban settings are only kept for festivities and recreational cultural activities and is not developed for normal day-to-day functioning.

Figure 5 Urban fabric of Dubai city at 1951

With air conditioning becoming **a** basic need easily provided for all segments of the population; traditional layout and design of buildings which had their virtues in providing better environmental conditions might not even be fully **desirable as** they cannot provide modern life luxuries that is becoming a standard for newer developments.

To sum up on the issue of "what is the urban future of UAE cities is going to look like", thorough research in the fields of architecture, urban design, and building environment need to be carried out un-biased by **any** sentimental image stereotypes about the past. A somehow culturally appropriate urban development codes that does not conflict with the country's economic ambitions while conforming to modern life styles is yet to be developed so that a new urban character might be defined. In a world of harsh and fast moving economic realities; on the long run; urbanization is definitely going to be strongly affected by the laws of economic profitability more than by its fulfillment of "cultural desires" that are not backed by strong economic capabilities as proved to be true in most cities of the world since the turn of the century. **The look into the future needs to be realistic, culturally responsive, dynamic, and yet fulfilling to the "sentimental" needs of the community to feel unique and deeply rooted into history.**

References

1- Hanzal, Faleh; (Arabic) United Arab Emirates Annotated History,Committee on History and Heritage, 1995
2- Rashid, Ali; (Arabic) Political and economic treaties had between the Emirates of Oman Shore and Britain 1806-1971, Emirates Writers Union, 1989
5- Ronald Codry, The Arabian Album: Abu-Dhabi, Motivate Publishing, 1996
6- Ronald Codry, The Arabian Album: Dubai, Motivate Publishing, 1993
7- R.W. Balley, Records of Oman 1867-1947 (archive edition), Cook, Hammond &Kell Ltd. 1988
8- Al-Kasimi, Khaled Bin Mubarak, (in Arabic) Sharjah, Dar Al-Thakafah Al-Arabiah, 1993
9- Heritage Map Museum, an Internet source @ www.Carto.com, last updated 12/1997

Modernity in Colonial Urban Planning: Korea's Urban Planning Experience at the Turn of 20th Century

Sehoon Park (Ph.D. candidate)
Graduate School of Environmental Studies
Seoul National University
Kwanak-gu, Sinlim-dong
Seoul, South Korea
151-742

It is not easy to discern continuity between the pre-modern and the modern of a nation which has experienced colonization. In general, there is a distinctive rupture between the pre-modern and the modern around the starting point of colonial occupancy due to the enforcement of the modern laws, institutes, way of life and way of thinking through colonization. Modernization through colonization, that is, *colonial modernization* is pervasive in Third World countries.

Modern urban planning in Korea is also a part of colonial modernization. The Choson Street Planning Act (CSPA), introduced by Japan in 1934, is commonly considered as the beginning of modern urban planning in Korea. The CSPA became the first modern urban planning law enacted in Korea and, after the nation's liberation, became the basis for the development of planning law. The CSPA had, however, some colonial characteristics as well as modern ones. The main focus of the CSPA was the effective colonial domination of Korea, rather than a response to Korea's urban problems. In other words, the CSPA was aimed at colonial modernization of cities in Korea.

The following questions arise: Were there any endogenous efforts towards modern urban form in Korea? Before the CSPA, were there any urban problems and were there any social responses to them? In order to answer these questions, we have to rethink the concept of modern urban planning. The important point here is that urban planning cannot be reduced to specific laws; rather, urban planning should be considered as *a unique social phenomenon in modern society*. World planning history shows us that urban planning started with social efforts to cope with urban problems caused by the industrial revolution and rapid urbanization (Hall, 1994). That is, the genesis of urban planning is founded not on some techniques or tools for urban development but on the movements and efforts of a society moving towards a hopeful and possible future. It is only from this perspective that Korea's experience can be more fruitfully located in world urban planning history.

Planning movements before the CSPA

This paper deals with the three major planning movements which occurred before the CSPA in Korea. The *Urban Improvement Project* in Seoul took place before the colonization of Korea (1910) in the Teahan Cheguk period; *Street improvement* and *Study Movement* on urban planning occurred after that. These sequential movements, even if they had different contents and characteristics, show the early forms of modern

urban planning and their distorted trajectory in Korea.

Around 1860, the Choson Dynasty (the previous name for Korea) faced difficult external and internal problems. Internally, people's demand and rebellion for a modern and self-reliant nation were ceaseless; externally, the aggressions of Western powers including Japan were about to begin. In 1897, in the middle of a power-balance among those powers surrounding the Choson, King Kojong renamed the country Taehan Cheguk and proclaimed to the world that Taehan Cheguk was a self-reliant nation. Furthermore, he enforced various reforms in politics and set about to establish a powerful and wealthy country.

The *Urban Improvement Project* in Seoul was implemented as a part of those reforms in 1896. This project was designed to physically modernize the spatial structure of Seoul. The government widened the main streets of Seoul that had been overrun by commercial activity and built a new radial avenue starting from Kyoung'un Palace, the residence of the King. In addition, the government created several public gardens in the center of the city, built a few symbolic monuments, and introduced modern facilities such as the telephone system as well as railways. These improvements resulted in a tremendous change in the appearance of Seoul and had two main purposes (Lee, 1994). One goal was to heighten the status of the new nation; Seoul, as the capital of the new nation, required a grand and authoritative spatial structure. The other purpose was to cope with the development of commercial activity and foreigners' residences in Seoul. The problem of foreigners' residences caused by the opening of ports and the development of trade with foreign countries inevitably forced this improvement project.

In 1910, having a firm grip on Korea, Japan started to imprint its colonial spatial structure on Korea by using the Street Improvement Act of 1912. The *Street Improvement*, as a basic concept of urban planning meant improving the urban infrastructure such as streets, streams and bridges in order to modernize a city in block units. The key improvements included widening the main streets of the city and making them straight. However, Seoul had widened streets already under the Urban Improvement project in Taehan Cheguk. The only thing changed in Seoul during this period was the street structure. Especially, the radial avenue connoting for the power of King was substituted for a linear street structure centering around the building of the Governments-General of Choson (Kim, 1994). It was the first time for colonial urban planning to take root in Korea.

Around the 1920's, the Street Improvement Act became insufficient to accommodate the complexities of Korea's urban problems such as a housing shortage and the need for public health. In Japan, where the Urban Planning Act (1919) was already established, professional knowledge about urban planning was imported from the West and actively discussed. It was natural that Korea also had a great demand to establish an urban planning act. In consequence, the informal study group on urban planning comprised of Japanese officers and business persons was organized in Korea (Sohn, 1994). It was from then on that urban planning gained acceptance as a professional field in Korea.

This positive concern about urban planning was followed by making some real city

plans. Even if this study arose from urgent urban problems, it was no surprise that the city plans were strongly influenced by the interests of the Japanese who took control of many cities in Korea. The plan for Teagu, a city in Korea, which demonstrated the conflict between urban planning and private capital was typically constructed to meet the interests of Japanese private capital. The plan for Seoul utilized state-of-the-art techniques of the time such as estimation of population, zoning, and land adjustment. However, the plan was also designed for the Japanese, and such as, these *study movements* to establish the urban planning act were later to fail (Sohn, 1994).

The CSPA (1934) was introduced abruptly with a completely different intention from the one already discussed. Colonizing Manchuria (the northeastern part of China), Japan urgently needed this act to develop Najin (a city in Korea) as a intermediate base for the efficient transportation of goods and people. Even if based on Japan's Urban Planning Act, the CSPA had some colonial characteristics that the corresponding Japanese act did not have. The CSPA focused on developing and expanding new streets rather than improving the old streets of a city. In addition, it gave extraordinary powers to the Governments-General without approval of the private sector or local authorities. All these were just because the CSPA was designed to facilitate Japanese interests in developing Najin rather than to cope with urban problems.

Urban planning as a history

Modernity in urban planning corresponds with the awareness of urban problems as social problems and the development of a modern state apparatus managing the problems (Benevolo, 1967). Korea's urban planning was molded through colonization just like her modern state. The various planning movements dating back to the period of Teahan Cheguk disclose clearly the endogenous roots of modern urban planning and its attendant colonial characteristics in Korea. The unfolding process of modernity in urban planning in Korea had coincided with the reinforcement of colonial characteristics. Getting rid of the colonial features in urban planning became possible only after Liberation; nevertheless, there is no doubt that those features had an effect on Korea's urban planning up to now.

The term urban planning itself is the product of history. We named as *urban planning* the social efforts to manage urban problems caused by the industrial revolution (Cherry, 1996). The garden city movement in Britain was one classical example. This historical perspective is very important in clarifying the nature of modern urban planning and understanding its internationalization process. This process was closely interrelated to the expansion of colonization, and more importantly, is continuing under the name of culture and the economy up to now. In this sense, reflections on the roots of modern urban planning are significant especially, today when the limits of modernity are more salient.

References

Benevolo, L. (1967) *The Origin of Modern Town Planning*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Cherry, G.E. (1996) *Town Planning in Britain Since 1900: The Rise and Fall of the Planning Ideal*, Cambridge: Blackwell.

Hall, P. (1996) *Cities of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design in the Twentieth Century*, Cambridge: Blackwell.

Kim, G.W. (1994) 'Urbanization of Kwangju at the beginning of 20th century: A history of the Modern Town Planning in Korea', *The Journal of Korea Planners Association*, 30(5), pp. 125-146 (in Korean).

Lee, T.J. (1995) 'The beginning of Modern City in Korea: the Urban Improvements of Seoul in 1896', Paper presented at the 2nd Korea Center for City and Environment Research Symposium, *Reflection on the Modern City in Korea*. (in Korean).

Sohn, J.M. (1994) *The Study on Urban Planning in Korea in the Colonial Period*, Seoul: Iljisa (in Korean).

Exporting Urban Perceptions: The Colonial Origins of Urban problems and Planning in Colombo

Nihal Perera
Assistant Professor of Urban Planning
Ball State University
Muncie, IN 47306

From the early sixteenth century, Colombo had been the capital of colonial Ceylon, under the Portuguese, Dutch, and British. Colombo was not only built according to contemporary European norms, but the colonial community also evolved with this colonial port city. In the teens and twenties of the twentieth century, however, the British municipal authorities of Colombo began reporting that the city was plagued by urban problems and turned to town planning to solve these problems. These reports represent an abrupt change in the municipality's perception of the city and its conditions during this period.

Despite its materiality, the city we talk about, act upon, and plan is a perception. It is principally made of particular sets of processes classified as "urban" and a territory on which these are believed to be concentrated.[1] The city therefore differs from one group of observers to the other depending on the time and place from which it is observed and the knowledge employed by each in constructing its own image of the city. Urban and housing problems, if any, and how these can be solved constitute parts of this perception. Yet knowledge is not independent of societies, cultures, and spaces, but constructed along with them. In this context, what I want to examine in this paper is how particular urban and housing problems in Colombo, the former capital of Sri Lanka, were constructed by its colonial municipal authorities in the second and third decades of the twentieth century and their implications on postcolonial perceptions of the city.

I shall argue that there were two principal factors instrumental in the production of these particular urban problems in Colombo. The first is the expansion of British colonial involvement in the city, from the original colonial base of the fort area to a larger municipal area in the 1860s. Even if the conditions identified by the municipal authorities in the 1920s had existed previously, without the extension of the British sector in the city, these would have lain outside their compound in Colombo. The second and more crucial factor, however, is what I might call the exporting of specifically "town planning" discourses within the British Empire, from the metropole to the colonies, beginning in the early twentieth century. Whatever conditions and problems Colombo might have presented, planning knowledge developed in the metropole made the municipal authorities perceive the same urban ills in Colombo as were being observed in Manchester or London half a century ago.[2]

As the Ceylonese political elite and administrators grew up within colonial political and economic spaces, Ceylonese town planners also emerged within metropolitan discourses of the Western industrial city. Hence, this colonial perception of the city was carried on after independence (1948) by post-colonial politicians, administrators, and urban planners. In doing so, they institutionalized the forms and norms of the city, including urban inequalities, produced under colonialism. In short, the British not only built and expanded the city but also taught the Ceylonese how to perceive the city and its problems as well as how to take care of urban ills.

The Expansion and Restructuring of Colombo

Until the 1860s, Colombo consisted of three principal zones, the fort, the Pettah, and outer Pettah. (see figure 1) Since the British conquest of the Dutch territories in Ceylon in 1796, the fort had been the principal domain of the British colonial authorities. As they were pushed out of the fort by the British, the descendants of the Portuguese and Dutch took over the area immediately adjacent to it, the Pettah. This moved the Ceylonese further away, from the previous indigenous town, the Pettah, to what was occasionally called the outer Pettah. During this period, not only a large part of Colombo, but also of Ceylon, lay outside the domain of the

Figure 1: The principal zones of early nineteenth century Colombo. From: Cordiner 41.

colonial regime. Ruling Ceylon from the restricted area of the fort and extracting profits from an enclave of plantations located in the central highlands of Ceylon externalized a significant proportion of the costs of running the colonial administration and economy. It was only in the late nineteenth century that the size and scope of the city expanded beyond the fort for its British authorities.

The late nineteenth century restructuring of Colombo was principally the reorganizing of a Colombo as the colonial capital, in place of the fort. Most crucial changes in this respect were the establishment of Colombo Municipal Council in 1865 and the demolition of the fortifications in 1869. In short, this period was marked by the expansion and reinforcement of British cultural space in Colombo. The municipal area of the 1880s was about fourteen times as large as the fort area, and the former fort area became simply Fort within it. (see figure 2) Yet this expansion of Colombo did not make its colonial authorities find the urban problems which they found in the 1920s.

Adding to the transformation in the colonial perception of Colombo, the quantification of social problems and their "scientific" exploration also took root during the late nineteenth century. Record keeping through quantified statistical registers had been institutionalized in the British Empire in the 1820s, and censuses were taken regularly throughout the Empire from 1891.[3] Still, it was only in the second decade of the twentieth century that this Council employed these figures to identify urban and housing problems in the city.

Since the density of Colombo had less than doubled between the 1880s and 1920s, these problems were not created by the increase of population as was often implied. Colombo's size had not drastically changed either. The new position taken by the municipality, therefore,

amounts to an invention of urban and housing problems, and this lay within the export of "town planning" discourses from Britain to Ceylon in the early twentieth century within the conditions locally created in the restructuring of Colombo in the 1860s and 1870s.

Exporting Planning

It was the exporting of planning discourses in the early twentieth century that produced this extra vision for the municipal authorities. This is evident in the language they used; *the problems of disease, poverty, overcrowding, bad housing, and the absence of sanitation.*[4] This resonates very much what the authorities in Manchester and Leeds had discovered half a century ago in their own cities. Most significantly, the measure used to identify these problems was the standards laid down by the Housing Ordinance of 1915.

Besides the increase in criticisms of housing and living conditions of the poor in the cities of Britain, such as Birmingham and Manchester, in the nineteenth century, housing, social, and land reform movements had become very prominent

Figure 2: The late nineteenth century Colombo and its principal zones.
Sources: Cave, *The Book of Ceylon*; Turner, *Handbook of Ceylon.*

there by the end of the century.[5] It was within the discourses of sanitary reformers, garden city idealists, would-be conservers of Britain's countryside and architectural heritage, and landowners and politicians who were worried about the loss of agricultural land that town planning movements were established.[6] The town planning discourse produced in response to the ills of the nineteenth century industrial city was characterized by the primacy of health, light, and air, that was combined with a set of social and aesthetic beliefs. In a broader sense, planners assumed that they were capable, and desired, to arrest and regulate urbanization and urban growth. The creation of the Royal Town Planners Institute in Britain in 1914 institutionalized this planning discourse.[7]

It was precisely within these metropolitan discourses, that had the least to do with Colombo, that the urban problems of that city were constructed. Town planning ideas and ideology were constructed and developed in a particular location, by particular social groups, within a particular culture.[8] Yet planning was seen as a "science" of making particular decisions, and "science" is neutral, contextless, abstract, and therefore generalizable.

As produced in the center of the Empire, this discourse was generalized and exported to colonies, subordinating any alternative form of knowledge that might have existed in those societies.

At this level, planning within the Empire was a uniform practice carried out across the boundaries of the colonies. Colonialism was invariably the vehicle by which both the idea and practice of urban planning were exported to many non-European countries,[9] including Ceylon. As argued above, the turning point in the production of urban problems of Colombo was the enactment of the Housing Ordinance of 1915, which directly followed the British Town Planning Act of 1909.[10] The export of town planning ordinances were not limited to Ceylon, but was a wide ranging process represented in the Calcutta Improvement Trust, the Bombay Town Planning Act, and the Madras Planning Act enacted in 1909, 1915, and 1920 respectively. The overlay of the urban perceptions in the colonies through new planning discourse is further evident in the extension of similar legislation to Rangoon, Singapore, and Lagos in 1920, 1927, and 1928 respectively.[11]

The relevance of this discourse produced in Britain, to socially, politically, economically, and culturally different Ceylon was never raised. As argued above, it was within the framework of the Housing Ordinance that the vital statistics of industrial metropolitan societies were employed as a point of reference to measure the status of health and housing of the colonial Ceylonese population. This measure inevitably precipitated the need for metropolitan legislation to ensure that the city was maintained in the way it was perceived, and to plan it accordingly.[12] And there was no one else to plan these cities within this British discourse except the British town planners who also produced their own professional knowledge as part of it. It was this need that provided conditions for the rise of colonial planners such as Patrick Geddes, Clifford Holliday, and Patrick Abercrombie, and the internationalization of the planning profession across the Empire, principally within the town planning discourse of the metropole.

In Colombo, while Municipal Chairman, T. Reid, institutionalized the problems, his successor, H.E. Newnham (1924-1931), began carrying out "solutions". The first was the usual slum clearance program, beginning from a working class neighborhood near the harbor. The municipality, however, faced the difficulty of enforcing the Housing Ordinance of 1915 right at the beginning. To a large degree, the cross cultural nature of the transfer of metropolitan discourse was central to this situation. Nevertheless, relying on British experts, the Colombo municipality invited Patrick Geddes to submit a report in 1920.

As often noted, Geddes took a conservative approach to changing the extant spatial organizations of the cities that he was involved in. To the surprise of the municipal authorities, post World War I Colombo, the port of which was the third largest in the Empire and the fifth in the world at that time, was --according to Geddes-- very much a "successful" city. And, although the "people largely crowd[ed] inward towards the bazaars" in India, the Ceylonese "seem to [have] preserve[d] their rural spirit." Yet none of these observations would prevent him from recommending the carrying out of metropolitan legislation in Colombo, or "planning" the city. Despite noting that large-scale slum clearance would be harmful, and suggesting that it should not be carried out on too sweeping a scale, Geddes recommended the *gradual execution* of the legislation.[13]

In line with the planning discourse, Geddes proposed to develop the "garden city" he saw in Colombo on a much grander scale. In proposing a plan for Greater Colombo in the 1920s, he also ignored the jurisdiction of the Municipal Council. The proposal for the development of Greater Colombo created the need for a planning institution with a jurisdiction over a larger area than the municipality. To avoid the possibility of subjecting the Colombo Municipal Council to the control of a regional authority, the Municipal Commissioner urged the government to set up a separate board under the central government. This contributed to the establishment of the Town Planning Department.[14] In this way town planning came to stay in Ceylon.

The Implications

The perception of Colombo advanced through this colonial discourse remained predominant until the 1960s. In 1940, another British expert, Clifford Holliday, claimed that a "quarter of the entire population of Colombo is living in slum areas and another [quarter] in houses under conditions which fell below accepted modern standards."[15] He also recommended the same procedure, rules, objectives, and methods of town planning, and these were later incorporated into the Town and Country Planning Ordinance of 1946.[16] This perception of the city was carried on after independence by post-colonial politicians and urban planners. As the Ceylonese political elite grew up within these colonial political and economic spaces, Ceylonese town planners emerged within metropolitan discourses of the industrial city. They continued the urban-centric, metropolitan way in which urban ills were perceived and professed that those could be remedied through planning. In doing so, they institutionalized the urban inequalities in the city produced under colonialism. The dominance of this discourse is explicit in the Mayor, V. A. Sugathadasa, submitting a plan for slum clearance --accompanied by a housing scheme-- in 1956.[17]

By the 1970s, however, planning was no longer seen simply as a technical expertise, but a highly politicized, value-laden activity.[18] Moreover, development theories of the 1960s had also been replaced by far more radical views of the world power structure. Hence, the way Sri Lankan as well as many other post-colonial leaders view colonial planning discourses has become far more critical. Yet despite extending the sympathy towards the urban poor, even after the "nationalist revolution" of 1956, the changes in the urban perception has not represented any cultural unpacking of this colonial discourse.

Conclusion

In short, Colombo's (modern) urban and housing problems emerged only in the 1920s. Most crucial contributions to such problems were the expansion of Colombo beyond the fort for the British authorities and the exporting of town planning knowledge to the colonies, along with a set of attitudes towards the city and legislation produced in the metropole. It is within this knowledge that the colonial government enacted the Housing Ordinance of 1915, and adopted the criteria it proposes to view certain urban and housing conditions of the city as urban ills. This produced a particular discourse of the urban that was dominant until the 1950s. This way, the British not only created colonial cities but also taught their subjects how to understand and reproduce these cities. Despite the radical changes in the political environment after 1956, cultural unpacking of this discourse is yet to be seen.

Notes

1. Seymour Mandelbaum, "Thinking about Cities as Systems: Reflections on the History of an Idea," *Journal of Urban History* 2 (1985): 139-150; Nihal Perera, "Exploring Colombo: The Relevance of a Knowledge of New York," in Anthony D. King, ed. *Re-Presenting the City: Ethnicity, Capital, and Culture in the 21st Century Metropolis*: 137-157 (London: Macmillan, 1997).

2. For the broader context of this argument, see Nihal Perera, *Society and Space: Colonialism, Nationalism, and Postcolonial Identity in Sri Lanka* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1998), which focuses on the European colonial construction of urban and territorial spatial structures and systems in Sri Lanka and indigenous responses to these.

3. A.J. Christopher, *The British Empire at Its Zenith*. London: Croom Helm, 1988, 11.

4. H.A.J. Hulugalle, *Centenary Volume of the Colombo Municipal Council 1865-1965* (Colombo: Colombo Municipal Council, 1965), 167.

5. Gordon E. Cherry, The Town Planning Movement and the Late Victorian City, Trans *IBG* New Series 4 (1979): 307.

6. Paul Knox, *Urban Social Geography. An Introduction* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1987), 302.

7. Cliff Hague, *The Development of Planning Thought: A Critical Perspective* (London: Hutchinson, 1984), 98.

8. See Hague, 49.

9. Anthony D. King, *Urbanism, Colonialism and the World-Economy: Cultural and Spatial Foundations of the World Urban System* (London: Routledge, 1990), 48.

10. Hulugalle, 170-1.

11. R.K. Home, Town Planning and Garden Cities in the British Colonial Empire 1910-1940, *Planning Perspectives* 5 (1990): 2-4.

12. See King (54, 56) for a similar argument.

13. Patrick Geddes, *Town Planning in Colombo: A Preliminary Report* (Colombo: H.R. Cottle, Government Printer, 1921); Hulugalle, 171-2.

14. Hulugalle, 108, 167-9.

15. In Hulugalle, 172.

16. Urbanization and Metropolitan Development, *Economic Review* 3 (April 1977): 13.

17. Hulugalle, 174.

18. King, 65.

Planning for the State: Moves Towards Co-ordinated Planning in Tasmania 1944-1970

Stefan Petrow
Law Library
University of Tasmania
GPO BOX 252-62
Hobart, Tasmania 7001
Australia

The first step towards achieving planning schemes is to secure appropriate legislation. Often the initial statute is a compromise designed to placate antagonistic interests. As the structures established to implement the legislation often lack crucial powers or seem inadequate to the task, planning proponents strive to strengthen the legislation and establish new planning authorities. This paper will examine the struggle in Tasmania to secure greater State involvement in planning between 1944 and 1970.

The Tasmanian *Town and Country Planning Act* 1944, the first major planning statute, was passed in the glow of optimism for a better post-war world, and was seen as essential for economic and social development. Although the framers of the legislation originally intended to grant the State Government wide powers, this was resisted by local councils and responsibility for planning devolved to local government. The Town and Country Planning Commissioner, R. A. McInnis (1945-1956) worked tirelessly with local authorities, persuading then of the virtues of planning. When McInnis retired in March 1956, he had recorded some major achievements. Local authorities gradually began to involve him in their planning projects and 41 of the 49 municipalities had adopted the *Town and Country Planning Acts*. They exercised much tighter control over subdivisions than in 1945, many had initiated surveys and zoning schemes, and the two largest urban centres, Hobart and Launceston, took tentative steps towards metropolitan planning.

But a fundamental problem remained. The 1944 Act was based on the English *Town and Country Planning Act* 1932 and in England local authorities performed functions, such as housing, traffic planning, and education that were carried out by State governments in Australia. Tasmanian municipal councils were unaccustomed and ill-equipped to deal with large policy issues and were preoccupied with concerns of interest to local ratepayers, and not the strategic interests of the State. As their opposition to a Municipal Commission appointed to redraw municipal boundaries showed,

local authorities resented central interference with their powers. In the following decade, therefore, legislative weakness combined with other factors held back planning.

Constraints on planning

i) the approach of the Town and Country Planning Commissioner Neil Abercrombie and his relations with local authorities.

ii) new issues neglected by government - foreshores, poluution, conservation.

iii) weaknesses of local authorities - money, qualified staff, and lack of vision. Opposition to sealed planning schemes. No social or economic planning.

iv) failure of voluntary co-ordination by neighbouring councils eg Southern Metropolitan Master Planning Authority.

v) the uncooperative stance of State government departments and instrumentalities, marine boards, and the Commonwealth government.

vi) limited public participation

Joint Committee of Parliament 1969-70

In the 1960s arguments were advanced for greater co-ordination in planning between government departments and instrumentalities, municipal councils, master planning authorities, and commercial developers, and it was rare for any of these bodies to be sensitive to public needs. The Tasmanian planning legislation, outmoded, dealing only with 'development control', and lacking crucial powers, clearly needed to be reviewed. In 1969 and 1970 a Joint Committee of both Houses of Parliament sought evidence from a cross-section of interests on the legislative changes and administrative structure needed to secure more co-ordinated economic and social planning on a regional or State-wide basis. The committee accepted verbal or written evidence from representatives of city councils and municipalities; marine boards; government departments and instrumentalities; special interest, progress, and ratepayer bodies; professional associations; town planners; chambers of commerce; and private citizens.

The main themes emerging from the committee's deliberations were:

i) local authorities were unwilling to give up their powers but did see a need for regional planning authorities, as did most witnesses.

ii) government departments agreed, albeit reluctantly, that they should co-ordinate their developmental work.

iii) planning experts, professional bodies, and special interest groups wanted to establish a State Planning Authority similar to authorities established in other States.

Under probing by the committee, most witnesses saw sense in having a State co-ordinating body, laying down planning principles, using its staff of specialists to research and advise on planning projects, containing representatives from regional planning authorities, and being financed by the State. In effect, this summarises the recommendations of the committee, which erred on the side of caution. It did not invest the SPA with executive or land acquisition powers, and favoured an Appeals Board to hear appeals against the decisions of regions and the SPA, but more positively gave ministerial control to the Premier, required government departments and the Hydro-Electric Commission to be bound by planning legislation, and suggested that greater attention be given to historic buildings and foreshores. Regrettably, the committee recommended that local authorities remain 'responsible for the preparation of detailed development plans', and ensured their pre-eminence in the planning structure. In the 1970s some attempt was made to co-ordinate government departments but few of the commitee's recommendations were enshrined in legislation. In short, therefore, the 1970 committee report was mainly significant for drawing more sharply the battle lines of the political struggle for greater State co-ordinated planning that continued for the remainder of the twentieth century.

References

McNeill, B (1988) 'State Planning and the Planning Profession', *Australian Planner*, 26, 11-12.

Minutes of Evidence given to the Joint Committee of both Houses of Parliament on Town and Country Planning 1969-70. These minutes are in the custody of the Tasmanian Parliamentary Library.

Nolan, R and Wilde, P D, eds. (1981) *Designing a Planning System for the 1980s*, University of Tasmania, Hobart.

Petrow, S (1995) 'Against the Spirit of Local Government: The Making of Town and Country Planning Legislation', *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, 54, 205-18.

_____ (1995-6) 'A City in Search of a Plan: Hobart 1945-62', *Tasmanian Historical Studies*, 5, 132-53.

_____ (1997) 'Planning Pioneer: R A McInnis and Town Planning in Queensland and Tasmania 1922-1956' in T Dingle (ed), *The Australian City - Future/Past: The Third Australian Planning History/Urban History Conference Proceedings*, Monash University, Clayton, 43-52.

Report of the Joint Committee of both Houses of Parliament on Town and Country Planning (1970) Journals and Printed Papers of Parliament, Paper 103.

Wilde, P D and Chapman, R K, eds. (1977), *Strategy Planning for Tasmania*, University of Tasmania, Hobart.

Historic Centres: Experts' versus Common Knowledge

Giorgio Piccinato
Università di Roma 3
Facoltà di Architettura
via Madonna dei Monti 40
00184 Roma, Italy
e-mail: piccinat@uniroma3.it

Although the fight for conservation still goes on, one should admit that in many parts of the world some success has been achieved in preserving the historic building stock. However, its terms seem questionable: tourist floods, commercial monoculture, petty urban furniture are homogenising Europe's (or world's?) historic centres. Administrators appear satisfied with it, experts and academics are busy pushing forward protective legal measures wherever they can, people find increasingly difficult to accept such reductive policies. A basic lack of communication (ending in poor identification of goals and methods) among the actors is producing an artificial environment that is far away from what one would like to protect. The paper, relating both to the history of conservation ideals and to recent trends in planning research, intends to examine the way historic values are perceived by the citizen. The main assumption is that such values can be saved only through a process of social recognition and interpretation. Taking into consideration people attitudes towards their own past, instead of teaching them how to think, could help in designing more effective policies. This could also have the disturbing effect of showing the amount of useless research produced by some academics in search of power.

Lights and shadows

Once the idea had been accepted that conservation of past memories was not necessarily contradictory with social and economic progress, its boundaries developed and enlarged at a pace largely unexpected. Our society has become aware that all the physical environment incorporates some degree of historic significance: this is true for the peripheries and the countryside, the mountains, the rivers and the shores. Everywhere in our densely inhabited world there are signs of the past which have influenced later spatial arrangements: agricultural patterns, trading routes. A few decades ago it would have been unthinkable to call "historic" what was built in the XIX and XX centuries in Europe; today so called *industrial archaeology or modern architecture of the '20 and the '30* are being given protection in many places, and objects industrially made in the 50's and 60's are back in the market, what makes us to think of an approaching new fashion wave. It seems that the historic dimension has eventually become part of our daily life, after having been removed during the tough years of development.

Things are not that easy in developing countries or in so called societies in transition (the way former socialist countries like to be defined): here all the threats linked to the overwhelming power of modernistic stereotypes are quite alive. This is particularly worrying when we think of the extraordinary heritage still existing in Central and Eastern Europe, Middle East, Latin America, Asia. But the same is true even within an advanced country, where the protection of the heritage proves hard to be to accepted by citizen in the less developed areas.

Great results have been achieved: conservation of the built heritage is to be found in most local building codes today, municipalities install pedestrian areas in the city core, demolition of historic fabrics have almost disappeared. However, who goes around visiting Europe's protected historic centres is hit by the feeling of reiterating the same journey many times. This happens because everywhere the same recipe is being adopted: keep off automobiles, turn homes into shops, sell the same items and brands (are or aren't we in a global market?) including mass produced souvenirs. The point here is that historic centres tend to be turned into thematic parks, where history isn't but a tool to increase commercial trade. The result is the transformation of what was a city, with all its complex intertwined network of uses and activities, into a single mono-functional zone. This is actually what modern planning has been for during the last century, but it is also the main reason that makes us rejecting modern developments and longing for old cities.

Contemporary planing is indeed rejecting sharp land uses segregation in favour of a richer overlapping of different uses and users as well: strangely enough, this is not true for too many historic centres, remaining confined to their instrumental fate. There are obvious reasons for such choice. One is tourism, that seems unable to grow without a strong shopping side: development of tourism goes together with increased shopping expenditure, as they reinforce each other. The other one is the failure of the modern city in providing attractive open spaces: the success of the historic centres is not but the mirror of such poor performance. But isn't that performance linked to modern land use practice?

How many actors?

We must therefore recognise that if people grant the "success" of an area, it is both fair and reasonable to take into account people behaviour in using urban spaces. This leads us to consider how many actors are playing on the stage, and suggests that, in order to devise strategies to overcome the problems, we must identify different goals put forward by different groups. It is also a matter of rights, since participation in planning can be more than a simple word, as it implies identifying who participate and when. If we give a close look we see that a number of different groups, each of them with specific goals, can be considered as having a vested interest in historic centres.

First come the natives who, like most of us, are struggling to ameliorate their living conditions, in terms of housing, transport and job opportunities. The residents form a second group overlapping but not necessarily identifying with the first one, since they have chosen to be there: they might love the slower path of life induced by the absence of modern facilities and nuisances as well. As a third group come the users, people who take a direct advantage of the historic centre, like trendy shopkeepers or professionals. Then come the tourists: they even pay to visit the historic centre and, quite often, pilgrims come, since religious tourism in historic places is a relevant share of overall tourism. Experts and art lovers are the final group, although possibly the most visible of all in many circles.

These groups are often in conflict, but they all share some right to have a say: in many circumstances, but particularly under conditions of social change, group objectives can be very different. Conservation vs. development is the mother of all conflicts, but one can identify many others, like élite vs. mass tourism, modernism vs. traditionalism in functional choices, etc. All these group develop their own strategies, and use their power, be it electoral (the residents) or economic (the shopkeepers and all those involved in the tourist trade). Alliances among different groups are possible but rare. The most obvious can develop

between tourists and art lovers, although not all tourists can be considered art lovers since they are rather used to build mass tourism: visiting Venice isn't but a journey within a "week on the seaside" package.

What do the experts (usually academics or public officials) do? They have no power in quantitative or economic terms, yet they enjoy a large audience, due to social prestige. They insist that their main weapon is scientific research: knowing the past in depth and protecting it even when it is little known (as for many underground remains) is often turned into indisputable evidence of experts' primacy in the decision process. Moreover, experts, for their social role, have easy access to public policies, and tend to impose their view through law enforcement. Such approach proves actually ineffective in many cases. In isolated cities there might be insufficient awareness of its heritage, particularly when it lacks major monuments and is constituted only by the old urban fabric; in great, dynamic centres enthusiasm for economic exploitation can obscure the boundaries of admissible change, and everywhere, more simply. Particular greed can overcome public interest. In all circumstances law is ignored, bypassed or misinterpreted, and police enforcement arrives when it is too late, nor it is possible to use it on a large scale.

Experts claim that more research is needed, in order to identify and evaluate all possible heritage (and to impress recalcitrant people): on the ground that social attitude can change thanks to cultural arguments. But is it really so? Historic environments are really better protected when they are covered by extensive research? One can certainly find, as we said at the beginning, places where a conservative approach was adopted successfully, where life flows gracefully (as we like to think it was in the past, before the machine age) and old buildings are carefully maintained and restored. However, it is hard to think of all this as an output of scientific research instead of wise real estate policies. The fact is that market came in supporting conservative policies when the customers started to appreciate its value: where this does not happen, and those policies are supported only by norms and laws, as in many former socialist countries today, the result is much less commendable.

Social success of conservation ideals are reflected (and indeed granted) by the market: there is very little push towards renewal in the historic centre of Rome or Venice, where real estate values are among the highest in the world: this is not the case of Cracow or Lvov, where modern buildings would enjoy a much larger demand. Market values can hamper or support conservation policies: they certainly are not neutral, leaving to scholars or experts to implement one or the other program. They respond in fact to a social demand, not to the intellectual élite: to modify those values implies coming to an understanding with the society.

The point here is that the public sector alone has much less power in a market society than in a planned one. The market operates for protection when the item becomes marketable: living in the centre of Rome, beside being pleasant for many people, is also a status symbol. The two factors combine in increasing living (and housing) expenditures there. As a consequence, nobody would even think of demolishing an ancient building, so valuable it has become, and public spaces are taken care of (although sometimes in a questionable way) since the overall physical environment is the main component of that value. In other places, or under different historical conditions, threats to the built heritage are more common, independently of legal constraints and intellectual blame.

Looking for power, looking for consensus

It all leads to the conclusion that more research or rigid laws is not what is needed, but rather a wider common approach. Values can be better shared than superimposed, and through this way they can also last longer, with less burden on public administrations. In western countries (that is in most economically advanced areas) what were once élite values have won the battle, because they were eventually shared by the majority, as the market proves. Earlier, in so called socialist countries, central powers appeared winning through legal measures, in a situation where no free market existed in the real estate field. Today, those countries are much more in danger, since new market trends don't seem to privilege conservation vs. renewal: the appeal of modernistic icons is still much too strong. But is it what we call the experts' approach the correct one? Such kind of old-fashioned problem solving attitude is grounded on the idea that in the society a single cause brings a single effect. Within this framework, thorough analysis is needed in order to forecast the way the system will work. This means, *in primis*, analysing resources, since their value cannot be discussed, only better appreciated. Knowing more about the resources will support more detailed measures for their protection. The whole process is based on the assumption that the knowledge of the experts wins over any other, and that the main problem is to explain and articulate that same knowledge. The preferences of other social groups, biased toward different goals, are not taken into account, as the experts' strategy is argumentative and uninterested in negotiating any of its objectives.

However, this is the approach that characterised planing in the '50s and '60s, while today it is widely objected. From many sides, system planning and system modelling went under attack, on the ground that any automatic cause-effect linkage was necessarily based on a poor representation of the real world and alternatives were based on limited knowledge. Most of all, when the new welfare economists tried to evaluate choices in terms of collective interest, they actually showed that such a thing as the general interest was actually impossible to define. Since few decades, planners seem having adopted an advisory role, rather than a more official (and enforcing) one. They emphasise cognitive and political limits of planning, the changing configuration of the general interest through the time, and planning as a learning process. They insist on offering small solutions today to great permanent problems, linking advice to specific local conditions, choosing different "planning styles" for different problems. Terms such as incrementalism, local rationality, dialogue have become key words of the planning debate today. Case studies are summing up to demonstrate that it is possible to use common knowledge as a tremendous planning tool. Not only it helps enlarging experts' knowledge of what is not documented in the archives, what comes from oral history, but helps also spreading awareness of the issue, changing the very terms of the problem. This requires an attitude from the planner that is at the same time humble and curious, in order to gain support or to adapt his early objectives. In the field of conservation, this support was gained through a long process, but now in many cases the market helps. Understanding and using the reasons of the market (that reflects people attitude) is possibly the best way to build effective policies also in our field. Social interaction is crucial to the process of building shared values: it is dialogue, and eventually alliance with other groups that will help winning the battle for conservation.

Spending less, getting more

If we accept this line, the main problem becomes how to involve the stakeholders. It is indeed unlikely that institutionalised approaches, like the World Heritage list of UNESCO, can change the status of a historic centre. However, societal attitudes change through many paths, and none should be discarded, once they lead to the desired goal.

A more articulated approach was once experimented in a small but peculiar historic centre of Argentina, Luján. Place of worship since the 17th century, it was also, from the very beginning, a crossroad towards the west and the surrounding region. In the 19th century the city became a place were settled many thousands of migrants from Italy, Spain and Portugal and was transformed in a major industrial and transportation centre. From there, a number of railways carried the products of the *pampa* region to the harbour of Buenos Aires. In the meantime, the old sanctuary was demolished and a new, impressive gothic cathedral was built. Then, in the thirties, a huge avenue in neo-colonial style was built in front of the *basilica*, what constitutes today the true image of the city for everybody except its citizens.

Here, in order to identify what was actually considered the historic centre, citizens were asked to collaborate. This was done in two ways: a) interviewing a large number of city users (professionals, tradesmen, students, employees, consumers) on their perception of the city centre and its problems and b) asking a small number of privileged witnesses to relate their life history to the urban space. In doing so, a great number of citizens were directly or indirectly involved, what aroused a long needed discussion on urban issues like the upgrading of old housing, the revitalisation of the commercial district, the betterment of the river banks, the reorganisation of the museums. All this was a great help for the experts, who came to a better understanding of the urban form today and its relationship with history. And the experts came to realise that the whole city history developed along two parallel lines, that even now get in touch only occasionally both in economic and social terms: the working city and the sanctuary. It was not by accident that the experts' survey hit a wall when it tried to investigate various aspects of the activities related to the basilica. Each domain had tried to ignore the other, despite the obvious impact they had on each other in terms of economics, environment, social behaviour. Citizens seemed looking for changes, the church appeared more cautious.

All this information, obviously relevant when designing a conservation policy, could not be obtained without direct involvement of the citizens. Nor it would have helped a deeper research into the archives, at least for this purpose. History of building types, stratigraphy of urban change, detailed reconstruction of past forms they all certainly help building what we call a cultural heritage and that is the reason to work on it. However, as far as they remain within an experts' milieu or, at worse, are used to force decisions upon the citizens, do not contribute to conservation goals. Such kind of short circuit between experts' knowledge and standard practices can actually result into absurd prohibitions or painful replicas. And this is the best way to widen the gap between social life and physical form of the city.

References

Alexander, E., (1992) *Approaches to Planning*, 2nd, Gordon & Breach, Lausanne
Burchell, R., Mandelbaum, S., Mazza, L., eds., (1996) *Explorations in Planning Theory*, Centre for Urban Policy Research, Rutgers, N.J.
Choay, F., (1992) *L'allégorie du patrimoine*, Seuil, Paris
Friedmann, J., (1987) *Planning in the Public Domain*, Princeton UP, Princeton
International cultural Centre, (1992) *Managing Tourism in Historic Cities*, CityProf, Krakow
Piccinato, G., ed., (1996) *Alla ricerca del centro storico*, FrancoAngeli, Milano

Chinese Settlement in the North-eastern Coast of Central Java, Indonesia

Pratiwo
The Department of Architecture
Soegijapranata Catholic University
Jl Pawiyatan Luhur IV/1
Semarang 50261 - Indonesia

Abstract

The Chinese have developed a strong settlement tradition in the North-eastern coast of Central Java with a unique characteristic different to its origin in South China. It grew among the tension of the island authority in which the Chinese should make a strategy so that their settlement survive.

The discussion will present Chinese settlement in both big and small towns. In a big city, such as Semarang - the capital of central Java, in which the Chinese settlement has developed from a small and well-defined quarter into a number of neighborhoods spread over a large part of town. The Chinese shop-houses that formerly were to be found only in the old Chinese quarter, at present are located at every strategic - that is to say, commercially important - street. On the other hand, in a small town such as Lasem, the Chinese settlement comprises the whole urbanised area surrounded by the native settlements of the periphery. Most of the Chinese in small towns live in courtyard-houses while a few of them live in shop-houses.

Semarang

The Chinese settlement of Semarang had been moved twice since the first Chinese had settled in the area called Simongan at the West bank of Garang river.

The basic structural feature or "backbone" of the Chinese settlement in Simongan was the Garang river, where the Chinese could dock their boats. They built a linear settlement near the quay at the west bank of the river. The orientation of their houses, which backed the hill and faced the river, is ideal according to the Chinese geomancy.

In the beginning of the 17th century, the Dutch came to Semarang and built their military post near the estuary of the Semarang river - the lower course of Garang river -, on its east bank. In the middle of the 17th century, they issued a toll for every ship entering the river. This regulation became a burden for the Chinese who lived in Simongan, which was further upstream. As a reaction to this regulation, the Chinese attacked the Dutch military post but the Dutch troops equipped with cannons could beat them. After that, the Dutch moved the Chinese from Simongan northwards, to the east bank of Semarang river near the Dutch military post (LIEM, 1933: 4-6). The new site was on a low land far away from the hills. However, the settlement structure was still the river as the source of transportation

Because of the Chinese rebellion in Batavia in 1740, the Dutch, who were afraid of a new rebellion in Semarang, burned down the Chinese quarter and captured several prominent Chinese. They changed the flow of the Semarang river 200 meters to the East of the settlement and moved the Chinese to the open field at the west bank of the river. Hence, the Dutch and the Chinese quarters were separated by the river.

In 1740 the Dutch moved the Chinese to a field at the other side of the river. Fortunately it was in a curve of the river - an ideal place to catch the Qi (the breath of nature). The Chinese built row houses along a dust road to the south that was called Gang Baru or "new alley", and additional houses along two roads at the riverbank that were called Gang Warung and Gang Pinggir. They oriented their houses to the middle of the field, where a pond, which was believed to be the centre of Semarang, was located. For the Chinese this pond was an important factor contributing to the continuing prosperity of their community. Subsequently there were no house oriented to the river, although it was still the settlement structure, the only source of transportation, with a quay.

After migration to this basin of the Semarang river at the end of the 18th century, people built other houses in the middle of the site, and new streets of north - south direction, called Gang Belakang, Gang Gambiran, Gang Tengah and Gang Besen, were opened. The previous streets became primary streets and the new streets became secondary streets. Tertiary streets, called Gang Cilik, Gang Mangkok and Gang Pasar Baru, emerged as a division of large blocks connecting one primary street to a secondary street or two secondary streets. The densification increased further after the *Wijkenstelsel* (settlement restriction act issued by the Dutch colonial government) when the quarter was extended at its northern edge.

Since the end of the 19th century the river has become shallow so that boats could not explore it any more. Instead of the river, which became a canal, the streets: Gang Pekojan, Gang Petudungan and Gang Kranggan, became the source of transportation and the structure of further settlement development. After the *Wijkenstelsel* had been abolished, along with the development of other streets, the Chinese quarter developed to Ambengan street and gradually was integrated with other parts of the city.

Irrespective of the change of transportation from the river to the street, however, the Chinese preserved the pond as an important place in the quarter. That the pond was very important for them, we can see from an event in 1924. By that time the municipality saw the pond as a mosquito nest that caused disease. They planned to fill it for a park or a public washing place. However this plan was strongly opposed by the Chinese who believed that filling it would bring misery to their society. Hence they sent a letter to the Governor general in Batavia proposing that the municipality clean it regularly instead of filling it. In 1926 the Governor general granted their request. Furthermore, in 1930, the municipality built a gutter from the pond to Gang Warung so that it was not stagnant any more (LIEM, 1933: 264, 272 and WILLMOTT, 1960: 141). After a lot of Chinese in Semarang converted to Christianity in more recent

years, gradually the belief that the pond is an important factor to the continuing prosperity of the community has gone. In 1966, when the gutter did not work and the pond became stagnant again, the municipality filled it. There was no protest from the Chinese.

In the 80's, to overcome the problem of floods in Semarang, the municipality widened the Semarang river and constructed two inspection roads on its sides. This project, called Semarang River Normalisation, took a large toll from the point of view of the preservation of historical architecture, for hundreds of houses had to be demolished - including many of those in the Chinese quarter area. In Gang Petudungan there were 22 Chinese houses that were demolished and 11 were cut in size, of which 3 of them were left with only 3-4 meters remaining. In Gang Warung there were 24 Chinese shop-houses which backed the river, of which nineteen in all, according to the plan, should have been demolished. After a long negotiation between the inhabitants of Gang Warung and the municipality, the 24 houses were not totally demolished but cut several meters.

Lasem

The first Chinese arrived in Lasem probably in the 13th century, long before the Dutch occupied Java and even several centuries before The Chinese anchored his boat at the Garang river - Semarang. In the 15th century they had built their settlement on the low-land of the eastern bank of Lasem river where a quay as the trading place of the region was located (SANTI, 1966: 18-19). North of the settlement - reaching up to the coast line - were fishponds. In the East, across dry lands, there was a steep bare hill as a kind of wall securing the settlement from the east. In the South were rice fields backed by a teakwood forest deep in the interior of the island. In the West, across the river, there were salt manufacturing fields.

In ancient times there were two settlement structures in Lasem. The first structure was Jalan Jatirogo connecting the regent's palace and its *Alun-alun* with settlements in the interior of Central-Java. The second settlement structure was the river where the quay was located. The Chinese built their settlement on the eastern riverbank along the quay.

The Chinese settlement consisted of two parallel dust roads, united at their southern end and then called Jalan Dasun. This dust road was continued southward along the east bank of the river and then turned to the East, connecting this settlement to the *Alun-alun*. Unlike the Chinese settlement in Simongan which was backed directly by a hill, in Lasem the hill was about 2 km to the east of the Chinese Settlement and in between was an empty dry land so that from this site one could see directly the foot of the hill.

Along the two parallel roads the Chinese oriented their houses towards the river. In connection with the Chinese cosmology, this position could be interpreted as follows: The river in front of the houses can be interpreted as the Red Phoenix; the hill to the east of the settlement was the Black Tortoise; the sea to the North was the White Tiger; the temple of Thian Siang Sing Bo, to the South, was the Blue Dragon.

The structure of the present settlement is determined by the Jalan Raya -- the artery road -- built in the beginning of the 19th century. This artery street has replaced the function of the river as a source of transportation and it has connected the eastern and western settlement which were separated previously. Together with the Jalan Jatirogo, a road to the south, the Jalan Raya determines the pattern of the settlement. The meeting point of the two streets, which was previously a market but was transformed into a square after Independence Day, is the centre of the town.

In the context of the present settlement pattern, the Jalan Raya is the primary street; the Jalan Jatirogo and other streets in north - south direction are functioning as secondary streets connecting to the tertiary streets inside the settlement which were laid out in east - west direction. The orientation of houses is either towards the north or the south following the street pattern. No house is oriented to the mountain in the East because it is believed to be the location of the black tortoise. The dualistic orientation between the river and the hill, as found in the earliest settlement, has gone.

Conclusion

Semarang and Lasem are two settlements that are different in term of political and cultural constellations. The Chinese quarter in Semarang was segregated from the indigenous population until the end of the last century. Lasem is a Chinese settlement that was more integrated into the area inhabited by the indigenous population because it was less subject to control by the colonial government. The similarity between Lasem and Semarang is that these cities are formed by an urban centre that controls the web of socio-economic transaction taking place in a market dominated by indigenous traders and the Chinese shop-houses. Both Chinese communities have received indigenous influences - though to a different degree.

The historical development of Lasem can be said to comprise a stage of evolution before Independence Day, and a stage of decline after Independence Day. There exists a dichotomy between densification as part of the urbanisation in the Southern and Eastern periphery, and dissolution as part of ruralisation in the North. The periphery extending to the East and the South of Lasem, which ten years ago still consisted of vacant lands, is being transformed into a dense urban settlement with the *Alun-alun* as the urban centre. On the other hand, North Lasem which decades ago was an important area bristling with economic activity, is now declining. The large dwellings of rich Lasem Chinese have become vacant and partly derelict buildings that house swallow's nests. Dasun street which was an important street, functioning as a connection between Jalan Raya and the harbour in the North, has deteriorated as ruralisation occurred.

While in Semarang - an important metropolis of more than one million inhabitants - the population is still increasing, in Lasem the population has decreased just as steadily, from 50,972 inhabitants in 1815 (RAFFLES, 1988: 64) to 24,065 inhabitants

in 1983. However, present plans for Lasem appear to be in contradiction to these facts. It seems that the government is planning a small town with a metropolis image. In the context of these plans, an inter-city bus terminal, a regional market, and other facilities have already been built far to the West of the actual urban centre. For a metropolis it is sound to reduce traffic in the city. But in the case of Lasem, the strategy chosen may strike us as rather exaggerated. In fact, most buses and minibuses still prefer to stop at the *Alun-alun* as a logical cross-road of routes running in the East-West and North-South directions, rather than at the terminal.

At present, the dominant view among historians in Indonesia is that the earliest urban areas in Java evolved in the context of the Javanese kingdom and that the Chinese had no part in the building of the towns. It is assumed that the core of the early towns and cities both in the interior and coastal area is the Javanese palace. The Chinese settlements, according to this view, were only a complement of the urban structure. As a minority, did the Chinese really have no role in the formation of towns and cities?

From the two case studies, it can be demonstrated that the Chinese played an important role in the development of an urban area. Without the Chinese traders, an urban area would begin to stagnate. The legal provisions of 1959, for instance, which pushed the Chinese out of the retail sector in small towns, resulted in an exodus of most of the small-town Chinese, and towns like Lasem went into a state of decline. In marked contrast to this, the big cities, where the Chinese were allowed to trade, have developed and expanded to the surrounding villages. All main streets in such cities have become strategic locations, largely occupied by the Chinese business community.

At present, the Chinese have changed the city centre gradually from a residential to a business area. Despite the anti-Chinese riots, the Chinese never stopped to develop their trading activities which finally contributed massively to the development of the city itself.

References

LIEM, Thiam Joe
  1933   *Riwayat Semarang (The history of Semarang)*, Boekhandel Ho Kim Yoe, Semarang-Batavia.

PRATIWO
  1987   "Revolusi Ruang di Kali Semarang" (Spatial Revolution at Semarang River), In *SUARA MERDEKA*, 12 January

  1987   *Space Changing Along Kali Semarang As A Result of Normalization*, Department of Architecture Soegijapranata Catholic University, Semarang. Unpublished research paper.

  1996   *The Transformation of Traditional Chinese Architecture, A Way to Interpret Issues on Modernisation and Urban Development on The North-eastern Coast of Central Java - Indonesia*, Phd Thesis, Technische Hochschule Aachen.

RAFFLES, Thomas Stamford
  1988   (reprint edition) *The History of Java*, Oxford University Press, Singapore.

SANTI, Badra Mpu
  1966   *Sabda Badra Santi*, UP Ramadharma-S Reksowardoyo, Kudus.

WILLMOTT, Donald Earl
  1960   *The Chinese of Semarang: A Changing Minority Community in Indonesia*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York.

Conflicts in Urban Waterfront Renewal: Official Controls on Environmental Issues

Peter R. Proudfoot
Faculty of the Built Environment
University of New South Wales
Sydney NSW 2052
Australia

The waterfront of every major seaport city experienced intense conflict from the 1960s with the impact of new methods of cargo handling: bulk cargoes, roll-on-roll-off facilities and containerisation. Large areas of land accommodating storage and services, warehousing, goods railway yards, ancillary industrial and manufacturing installations, and transportation networks abutting obsolete piers and wharfage were, within a decade, disused and decaying - in many cities on land contiguous to the Central Business District. As new bulk cargo and container ports began construction all over the world during the 1970s pressures for renewal in the older port areas mounted. City and state economies needing rejuvenation, changed residential and recreational trends, the decline of inner city markets and wholesaing areas, burgeoning environmental lobbies expressing popular concern over public health and quality of life, government controls and developer avarice all contributed to the movement for urban waterfront renewal during the 1980s, and they have created unprecedented conflicts yet to be resolved.

Can the prevailing processes of planning and design be sufficiently refined to integrate comprehensively inner city land-uses with waterfronts? Already, there are major problems emerging.

In London Docklands some renewal of the 1980s was demolished for more appropriate forms of development by the early 1990s; in Liverpool Docklands constant re-evaluation of the master plan was required at all stages of renewal; in Toronto and Vancouver redeveloped waterfronts, despite the prime objective of public accessibility, remain isolated from city dwellers; in San Francisco's Mission Bay and New York's Battery Park City public and professional acclaim for planning and design process only resulted after the abandonment of initial plans; and in Sydney's Darling Harbour and Walsh Bay renewal 'commercial viability' can only be achieved through the building of large hotels and a casino which compromise the recreational and institutional development of the 1980s.

This paper will elucidate the role of government in the process waterfront renewal and arrive at a suggestion as to its most effective role as mediator and controller.

Variables in Urban Waterfront Renewal

The conflict between private (commercial) interest and public (recreational and institutional) interest is the most complex and intractable problem for governments promoting waterfront renewal. From the early 1980s, as the notion of public amenity developed, consistently, government has had to mediate between competing manifold interests, acting in some cases as controlling authority, but more commonly in the form of 'public authority' or 'development corporation', a role which usually prejudices its implied position as impartial mediator and arbitrator.

Major variables which influence urban waterfront renewal are:

* The area of land for renewal
* The nature of the land (original or reclaimed).
* The nature of the water site (harbour bed structure, water depths) and the land/water interface.
* The topography of the land (most zones are flat)
* The ownership of the land; whether public or private, and the number and size of the parcels.
* The previous management of the water site and land site (usually port authority).
* Historic structures designated for preservation (wharves and warehouses etc.).
* The pattern of previous era of development (lineal quayage, finger-pier wharves, bulk loading and the extent and nature of industrial decay).
* The form and nature of concomitant industrial areas abutting the land for renewal.
* The structure of nearby residential and commercial areas, and infrastructure.
* The effect of any existing master plan, urban plan or waterfront planning strategy on the renewal program.
* The extent of the powers of public authorities and private vested interests having influence or control over the land site and water site for redevelopment.

Some indirect and less tangible factors that might be encountered in any particular renewal program are:

* The nature of national, state or local government commitment to the idea of urban waterfront renewal in the light of the broad political agenda (economic or environmental factors).
* The overall needs of the city in terms of housing, employment and transport infrastructure.
* The viability of development opportunities that depend upon the stability of government and the economic situation of the city.
* The potential of commercial demand for the particular site in terms of local private developer interest.
* Availability of funding sources from abroad.

* The interest of expert planners and architects and their expected degree of autonomy in the development process.
* The existence of special catalysts such as political elections, centenery celebrations and expositions.
* The nature of the relationship between developers and their commerceal minions with architects; in their resolution of aesthetic, qualitative and environmental matters.
* Regional changes in social structure (the shift from suburban neighbourhoods, for example, by people seeking new life-style opportunities in urban areas).

Conclusion

The interaction of official controls on environmental issues, heritage and preservation ideals, recreational uses and commercial profit has led to delays and even the cancellation of entire programs. Renewal often succumbs to the deleterious effects of spurious financial deals rather than being enhanced by high quality environmental design. Governments themselves are seldom free of political bias nor developers of avarice. However, in the laudable attempt to reconcile conflicts between the private and public interest, at least at the outset, governments have endeavoured to:

* Encourage imaginative vision and a willingness to participate.
* Enable public participation in the review of proposals before they are advanced (America rather than elsewhere).
* Provide for environmental impact statements independent of developers' statements.
* Utilise the highest levels of expertise for planning and design guidelines, and for review processes.
* Ensure developments are appropriate to the particular waterfront sites (mechanistic modern architecture tends to proliferate globally homogeneous developments but this tendency has been resisted by most heritage guidelines).
* Avoid bias for either political or financial reasons.
* Avoid a waste of time and money on preparation of competing proposals, reviews and approvals.
* Resolve conflicts between commercial objectives, public benefits and environmental impact.

Considering these as the major objectives of any contemporary waterfront renewal program, and in the light of the case studies summarised above, it is suggested that the following process could be successful in eliminating the most negative aspects of previous developments.

1. Government to utilise existing relevant government subsidiaries to form special project teams having control over master plan and development guidelines.
2. Government body determines private planning and architectural guidelines.

3. Government body openly canvasses public responses from organisations and individuals; analyses responses and commissions private consulting firm, having wide-ranging expertise, to incorporate recommendations into development master control plan.
4. Master plan widely advertised seeking comment and evaluation from both private and public spheres; master plan reviewed by private consulting firm and necessary modifications integrated.
5. Development offers openly advertised: tenders to indicate clearly if any departure from development and planning guidelines in master control plan is required or implied.
6. Developers and consortia shortlisted on grounds of compliance with planning and architectural guidelines established by government body (2. above) and on financial and technical capability appropriate to the task.
7. Shortlisted developers and consortia prepare development proposals and financial bids, and submit: developer selected.
8. Selected developer required to promote, at own cost, a limited architectural competition between nationally recognised firms experienced in working within specific constraints.
9. This competition to be judged by a panel consisting of representatives of government body, subsidiary authorities, private consulting firm preparing master control plan and selected developer.
10. Planner/architect selected prepares detailed design and contract documents.
11. Government's private consulting firm prepares Environmental Impact Statement. Developer's consultant incorporates required changes to brief and selected planner/architect modifies design and contract documents.
12. Proposal re-advertised for public comment: work proceeds with government body having quality control over construction.

This process applies to urban waterfront renewal where the land is primarily government-owned and is to be developed by private enterprise. Where waterfront land is to be owner-developed by government or privately, the following process could be directly applied.

* Landowner seeks City Council assistance.
* City Council selects and appoints private planning and architectural consultants to prepare new master plan and development guidelines - funded by landowner.
* Development scope established and agreement made with City Council.
* Alternative plans and strategies prepared by City Planning Department and all options presented to public in 'Proposal for Citizen Review'.
* City Council establishes organisation to facilate public review and response.
* City Council prepares Environmental Impact Statement for each approach based on public comment and review.

* EIS issued for public response and preferred proposal identified.
* Consultants to City Council develop preferred master plan and development guidelines using existing zoning regulations - for agreement between landowner and City Council.
* City Council establishes cumulative environmental, social and economic impact assessment program for duration of project.

THE VISION SPLENDID?
Prime Minister Paul Keating's Urban Ideology: 1986 - 1996

Caroline Puntillo
Town Planner
67 Ligar Street
Fairfield Heights NSW 2165

> A great city above all else has a soul ... A great city nourishes one's sense of self, gives one a peace and communion with the built environment ... It creates a milieu which encourages endeavour and creativity, achievement and peace ... Ugly cities ... affront one's eyes and dull one's faith in the enlightened progress of our civilisation (Paul Keating, The Australian Financial Review, 22 November 1994).

INTRODUCTION

Paul Keating has a passion for the cities. His interests became most apparent in his years as Treasurer and particularly obvious while he was Prime Minister (1991-1996). His ideas and interventions did not go unnoticed. On the 28 June 1995 at the Royal Australian Institute of Architects Annual Awards, Keating received the President's Award for his outstanding contribution to the architectural profession, particularly to urban design. However, in espousing an interest in urban affairs Keating is not alone. Like many of his contemporaries in politics, academia and the professions, he followed the precedents set by both world and Australian leaders. Nevertheless, he pursued a distinctly unique course of action.

Keating became Prime Minister at a time when urban issues were a significant part of the National Urban Policy Agenda. The Hawke Government had implemented various programs, policies and documents related to the cities. The most significant of these were: the Green Street Program; the Building Code of Australia; the Review of Residential Regulations Program; the Australian Model Code for Residential Development; the Local Government Approvals Review Program; a National Housing Strategy; a strategy for sustainable development; and, the Better Cities Program. It also held a Housing Summit and an Urban Futures Conference. Keating's Government continued several of the previous government's programs. Guidelines for Urban Housing (AMCORD:Urban) and AMCORD 95 were produced, and the National Housing Strategy was continued. The Better Cities Program was refocused, renamed Building Better Cities (BBC), and funding for it was substantially increased.

The emphasis of the Keating Government's own urban program was to create productive cities - economically efficient cities with denser urban development, and better integration of housing with public transport and other infrastructure. It aimed to achieve these goals through micro-economic reform, urban management and modernisation of road, rail and port facilities. Interestingly, the Keating Government only established three major initiatives related to urban planning. These are the Task Force on Regional Development, the Australian Urban and Regional Development Review, and the Task Force on Urban Design, none of which have had any tangible impact.

Thus, unlike previous Australian prime ministers, Keating did not initiate substantial programs or policies to implement his visions. Instead, he embarked upon a personal crusade to save the cities, speaking on several occasions about the plight of Australian cities, the need for better urban design, more compact urban forms, better housing and infrastructure, for sustainable development and for a heritage that reflects Australia's cultural identity. Keating focussed on Sydney in particular, becoming involved in major development issues facing his home town - Australia's premier global city, in the lead up to the year 2000 Olympics. The obvious question is why?

It is the aim of this paper to put forward an examination and evaluation of Keating's intervention in urban issues and the cities. The paper is based primarily on my unpublished undergraduate thesis prepared in 1995. The thesis itself drew heavily on information from Keating's speeches, interviews with some of his contemporaries, and leading newspaper reports. This information has been updated to reflect recent events, including the formation of the Howard Government, which incidentally, has had little input into urban issues. It should be noted that although Keating is no longer Prime Minister, his interests in urban affairs and the cities still endure.

DREAMS OF A BEAUTIFUL URBAN FUTURE

There is nothing in Paul Keating's formative years to suggest an interest in urban issues and architecture. He has no formal training in urban planning, design, architecture or related fields, although he is interested in these matters, with his favourite cities being European ones, particularly Berlin, Paris and Leningrad. Apart from his personal interests in the creative arts of the neo-classical period, especially its architecture and design principles, his passions for the arts, antiques, beauty, image, design and aesthetics, and his experience of living forty years in the low-density Sydney suburb of Bankstown, there is very little is his life that has influenced his interest in cities.

However, Keating has been interested in the urban environment at least since he entered Federal Parliament in 1969, by which time he already had an immense understanding of and respect for beauty and aesthetics (Uren 1995). Keating has stated that his passion for visual beauty has affected his view of urban development and is the reason why any non aesthetically pleasing urban forms depress him (Aubin 1990/1991:58).

Since the mid-1980s, Paul Keating's views on urban affairs have become public knowledge, largely through media interest. Keating has publicly announced his vision for Sydney, discussed his ideas for redesigning Berlin with German leaders, and urban planning and design with Prince Charles.

As Treasurer in the Hawke Government, Keating would often initiate both formal and informal discussions on urban issues (Mant 1995). He became heavily involved in investment projects that required the approval of the Foreign Investment Review Board of which he was Head, including the redevelopment of the historic Haymarket Precinct where he granted approval to the redevelopment of the market place and the construction of a 26 metre tower above the market building, without consideration of the site's heritage significance.

He initiated the Hawke Government's Housing Summit of 1989, to investigate ways of improving housing affordability. During his challenge for the leadership, Paul Keating spoke about the cities on several occasions. He gave several strategically organised public appearances at which he spoke about the future design of Australian cities, aimed to broaden his image and illustrate his leadership credentials.

During his time as Prime Minister, Keating said a great deal about the urban environment. He put forward personal views relating to aspects of the Australian cities including urban design; urban form and housing; heritage; and, environmentally sustainable development - all of which are major contemporary issues. He has discussed infrastructure in the context of its relation to urban form. He is passionate about Australia's image and that of its cities, particularly Sydney in the lead up to the year 2000 Olympics. He also believes that projecting the correct image as a nation is essential for economic well-being and competitiveness.

Keating has become involved in a number of major development issues in Sydney, putting forward his own vision for the redevelopment of its centre (this is discussed later in more detail), and graciously handing Sydney Showground to Rupert Murdoch for Fox Film Studios, despite legislation stating the land would revert to public ownership, and without public consultation.

Keating spoke about the cities in the campaign for the federal election in March 1996. Unfortunately, on this occasion, the cities could not save Keating. Interestingly, of the several biographies and books on Keating published since his fall from power, none give more than anecdotal treatment to his interests and interventions in the cities. So, the question remains - could Keating, in his role as Town Planner, have saved the cities?

MAJOR FEATURES OF KEATING'S URBAN VISION

Paul Keating's interests in Australian cities have focussed on four main issues. These are, in order of their importance to Keating, urban design, urban consolidation, heritage, and environmentally sustainable development. Each of these issues is discussed in turn.

Good **urban design** is of great importance to Paul Keating. He is obsessed with the ugliness of the Australian suburb. He understands urban design as a discipline concerned with the physical arrangement and functioning of urban activities, the physical appearance of the built environment and its relationship to the natural environment, and with the way in which people experience their surroundings. He recognises that social and economic factors influence the quality of urban design.

The Prime Minister's Urban Design Task Force, which Keating established on his own initiative in 1993 to back his call for a more coherent approach to urban development, is the most tangible evidence of Keating's interest in urban design. The Task Force undertook the first Australia-wide review of the quality of urban areas, with the aim of improving the quality of urban design. It proposed an unprecedented level of Federal Government involvement in urban management, and greater co-ordination between the bodies ultimately responsible for urban design outcomes. It focused on fundamental changes that are required to allow a higher quality of urban design in the future. In 1995, Keating established the Australia Award for Urban Design based on a recommendation by the Task Force.

Keating is a passionate advocate of **urban consolidation.** He is particularly concerned with urban sprawl and the fact that many Australians are forced into the outer suburbs without adequate facilities and services. He understands the need for providing good quality, attractive, medium-density housing that is affordable, and the need to promote higher densities in the cities and thus revitalise their centres, while preventing urban sprawl. He acknowledges the need to offer more diverse environments than the conventional suburb and promote choices in housing and living environments.

Keating believes that to achieve both higher densities and more attractive environments, developers should create whole precincts rather than single houses on large detached blocks, respecting the aesthetics of the entire streetscape. He believes that precinct developments involving Federal, state and local government, funded through a system of Commonwealth grants, could be used as models against which private sector developments could be judged (Keating 10/7/91:1,14).

Keating's interest in urban consolidation is fuelled by his obsession with the evils of the quarter-acre block, over which he sparked a fierce debate in 1989. He not only believes that this form of development is unsustainable and inefficient, but that it is ugly because he does not like the appearance of mass detached housing.

Keating has discussed **heritage** on several occasions, and sees it as a means through which Australia can express its social and cultural identity, and acknowledges the link between physical structures and identity. However, he is very subjective about what constitutes Australia's heritage, and the types of structures that are worth saving. Keating has a personal dislike of much of Australia's built heritage, particularly of items in Sydney. His personal opinions have been the basis for deciding whether or not particular items are significant and whether or not they should be retained.

Paul Keating has mentioned **environmentally sustainable development** on several occasions, but in reality he has said very little about it. He understands the links between the cities (or the built environment), and the natural environment. Keating sees urban form, and particularly the current form of low-density suburban development, as the main factor reducing the sustainability of Australia's cities.

A VISION FOR CENTRAL SYDNEY

Keating believes that a vision and a plan are required for Sydney. On several occasions he has put forward his visions for the city's redevelopment. The major themes that are evident throughout this vision are:

- providing public open space along the foreshores of Sydney Harbour;
- providing a variety of affordable housing in inner-city Sydney;
- improving the aesthetic appearance of Sydney; and,
- determining which items of Sydney's cultural heritage are worthy of retention.

The media made several attempts to put forward an overall strategy for Sydney based on Keating's ideas. However, these did not encompass all of his views, and it is unclear as to whether these were based on a plan put forward by Keating himself. The following 10 point plan is a culmination of Keating's ideas for central Sydney:

1. Relocate the Navy from **Garden Island** further inside the Harbour, perhaps to White Bay or to Jervis Bay on the NSW South Coast. Then, after removing the cranes, buildings and structures, convert Garden Island to public open space, a possible Commonwealth reception area, and perhaps some high density, high quality, world class housing, in time for the Sydney Olympics.

2. Remove the **Woolloomooloo Bay Finger Wharf** to open up the Bay's vista, provide public open space along the foreshore, and create a continuous strip of public foreshore land from Potts Point to the Opera House.

3. Obtain World Heritage Listing for the **Opera House** and its immediate surrounds to protect it from further development in its immediate vicinity.

4. After redirecting traffic coming off the Sydney Harbour Bridge into Grosvenor Street, demolish the **Cahill Expressway** to open up Sydney's CBD to the harbour and restore the **Domain** to its original state, in time for the Sydney Olympics.

5. After removing the **Cahill Expressway**, sell the areas made vacant at either end and use the profits to finance the **redevelopment of Circular Quay**, and possible relocation of the railway underground.

6. Terminate the **City Circle Railway** at each end of the Quay, opening up a vast space in front of **Customs House**. Build two low-rise buildings of suitable colonial style architecture in front of, but slightly to the east and west of Customs House, and demolish **Wharf Four** to enhance the view.

7. Ensure low-rise development at **East Circular Quay**, which better complements the Opera House and respects the significance of the site.

8. Create quality, affordable housing for **Hickson Road** and the western side of the Harbour.

9. Relocate the **Pyrmont Casino** project from the Pyrmont Power Station site to another part of the city, continue the development of **Pyrmont** as a residential area by extending the Building Better Cities program to the **Pyrmont Power Station** site, and locate the **Sydney Olympics Athletes Village** in the area.

10. Ensure better planning for the **Ultimo-Pyrmont** area to prevent the development of further eyesores like the Glebe Island Bridge.

THE CRITICS

Many people, particularly journalists and professionals, have been critical of Paul Keating's intervention in the cities. He has been accused of imposing his own preferences on a public with quite different tastes, sparking concern over greater government involvement in urban development, and attacking state rights.

His intervention in Sydney has also been criticised. While his involvement was seen as useful in furthering the debate on Sydney's appearance, he was criticised for focussing so intently on Sydney's development while effectively neglecting that of other major cities. Others believe that his visions for Sydney have been blurred because he has been away from the city for too long and has become besotted by other cities. He was criticised for planning through private deals rather than through the established planning process, and for trying to have his visions prevail over those of everyone else.

Paul Keating has also been criticised for not taking a personal stand in the debate on several important matters, including the Monorail, mobile telephone towers and cables, the Third Runway at Kingsford Smith Airport or a second airport for Sydney, and the proposed sale of Cockatoo Island and North Head in Sydney Harbour, which John Howard and the NSW Carr Government have now become involved in.

EVALUATION

There are several reasons why Paul Keating has spoken about and tried to intervene in the planning and development of Australian cities, and particularly Sydney. Firstly, Keating has a genuine desire to foster a better quality of life for all Australians and to promote Australia as an attractive place to live, visit, do business and invest. Secondly, he has a strong personal interest in urban planning, design, architecture and aesthetics. Thirdly, he has the experience of living in low-density Australian suburbs, which he obviously does not like. Fourthly, there have been political motivations be it to criticise the opposition, to prove his leadership capabilities, or to increase his standing in political polls.

There are two additional reasons for his specific interest in Sydney. First is his desire to make Circular Quay the gateway to Australia in time for the year 2000 Olympics. While Prime Minister, he believed that the Commonwealth Government should play a much greater role in this matter. Second, he has a strong personal affiliation for the city, because it is his home town.

IMPACT AND LEGACY

The most significant impact of Paul Keating's involvement in urban affairs is that he has raised consciousness and awareness of the issues he has discussed. He has re-ignited an interest in urban development in Australia, particularly as it relates to Sydney. His often contentious and contradictory views have fuelled the fires of urban debate and through press coverage, have brought the issues to the fore of public discussion. The problem is that he has defined what is good in aesthetic terms in a subjective way based on visual appearances, valuing aesthetics over functional and economic considerations.

In essence, Keating wants Australian cities to be attractive, aesthetically pleasing places, that reflect the attached higher density form of European cities, with a variety of housing types. He has a passionate dislike for the low-density sprawling suburbs that characterise Australian cities, and believes that this urban form is making them unsustainable. Keating also despises the fact that the environment is exploited for short-term profit, without consideration of the larger picture or of longer term implications. While wanting Australian cities to reflect the nation's cultural identity, Keating wants to impose a European vision and his own version of Australia's cultural heritage on the cities. He also has very strong opinions about items of heritage that are worth saving and those that are not.

Keating wants architects and planners to create beautiful solutions to urban problems and to be more accountable for their actions and decisions. He also wants government bodies to be more responsible for the design of the buildings that they impose on society, and to create buildings that reflect the importance of public things. Keating would like to see developers given less freedom, so that the public interest can prevail. He also wants the Commonwealth to have a much greater role in the design and development of Australia's cities, particularly in Sydney in the lead up to the Olympics.

However, apart from establishing the Prime Minister's Task Force on Urban Design and the Australia Award for Urban Design, Keating has done very little in urban planning terms for Australian cities. Keating did not generate any policies or programs for urban consolidation, heritage, environmentally sustainable development or infrastructure provision. Furthermore, his urban design initiatives have not had a substantial impact on urban design in Australia to date.

In Sydney, only several of Keating's ideas have had any significant effect. His initiative to have the Sydney Opera House nominated for World Heritage Listing is under way, but it may be jeopardised by the development at East Circular Quay. The height of the proposed CML Building has been substantially reduced, but the new design still obscures views of the Harbour and the Opera House. The Market City development at Haymarket will be a perpetual reminder of his disregard for some items of cultural heritage. Keating's secret deal with Rupert Murdoch for the film studio at Sydney Showground will result in the loss of substantial public open space. Garden Island is likely to be transformed into public open space, but not in the immediate future, while the Woolloomooloo Finger Wharf is to be restored and the Bay redeveloped. The Cahill Expressway and Circular Quay Railway are unlikely to be demolished in the foreseeable future. The Casino has opened in Pyrmont, and the Athletes Village will remain in Homebush.

Thus, while Keating was a Prime Minister with a substantial interest in the cities, he has not left any significant legacies, except for the Australia Award and a possible World Heritage Listing for the Sydney Opera House. In the long term, it is likely that Paul John Keating will be remembered as the leader with the cities and their well-being firmly etched in his mind, but not in his policies.

REFERENCES
General
Aubin, Tracey (1990/91) "Elegant Entertainer Looking for a Buzz: At Home With Paul Keating, The Bulletin, Sydney, 25 December 1990/1 January 1991:56-58.

Keating, Paul (1991) Housing Choice and the Future of the Australian City, address by the Honourable P.J. Keating, M.P., to the ANU's Public Policy Seminar, ANU - Coombs Lecture Theatre, Wednesday, 10 July 1991, 12.30pm.

Puntillo, Caroline (1995) Paul Keating and the Cities: Power, Personality and Place, unpublished thesis for the Bachelor of Town Planning Degree, University of New South Wales.

Newspaper Articles
PM goes to town on urban design, The Australian Financial Review, 22 November 1994:5

The Australian - various articles (1983 - 1996)

The Australian Financial Review - various articles (1983 - 1996)

The Sydney Morning Herald - various articles (1983 - 1996)

Interviews
Mant, John (1995) Telephone Interview , 5 September 1995.

Uren, Tom (1995) Interview, Balmain, 13 September 1995.

MORPHOLOGICAL CHANGE IN THE URBAN STRUCTURE OF BELGRADE

Ana Radivojević–Mićanović
Faculty of Architecture, University of Belgrade
Bulevar revolucije 73
11 000 Belgrade, Yugoslavia

Introduction – Historical background

Belgrade is a town which had a long and tempestuous history. In its historical and urban development it experienced numerous changes and destruction, each representing a new beginning of the town. This means that nowadays there are not many traces of its ancient urban history.

The history of Belgrade as a modern European city began in the XIXth century. The historical and social conditions of that period were convenient for a beginning of a continual urban development, based on a model of other European cities of that time. It also meant a gradual urban transformation from the past oriental model to the western–european one. Urban structure that was established at that time underwent different changes till nowadays.

From the end of the XVth century, Belgrade was a part of an Ottoman Empire and had been developed on a model of oriental cities. At the beginning of the XVIIIth century it experienced the thirty years invasion of Austrians, who tried, for the first time, to reconstruct and transform it into the western–european city. Re–invasion of the Turks in 1739. brought the re–establishment of an oriental town that lasted until the second half of the XIXth century. However, after the success of the rebellion of the Serbs in 1815., Belgrade was under the double, Serbian–Turkish control. In those parts of the town, known as a "Serbian Belgrade", began the transformation of the city into a western–european model, while those that were still under the Turkish control kept the previous oriental model.

The complete liberation from Turks in 1864. was the real beginning of a modern Belgrade. The first proposal of a regulation of the Belgrade was made in 1867. by Emilijan Josimović, who can be considered as a first Belgrade urban–planner. His ideas were a base for all further plans and reconstruction of the city.

Methodology

The aim of this paper is to present the results of a research of morphological changes of Belgrade, analyzed on its typical segments. The model for the study was the essay of Marek Koter who investigated the urban development of Polish town Lodz. His approach to the problem of an urban development of the city was particular and focused on the morphological changes of urban blocks, with regard to the degree of the repletion and the transformation of blocks. The coincidence that urban development of "modern" Lodz began at the same time as urban development of "modern" Belgrade, as well as the fact that this kind of research has never been applied to Belgrade, determined the choice of this particular methodology.

The chosen methodology demanded the use of plans that clearly presented the complete structure of the town, meaning not only city blocks, but also their division into plots. Two particular segments of Belgrade urban structure were analyzed in five temporal cross-sections, each representing an important phase in its urban history.

Typical temporal cross–sections, important for the urban history of Belgrade are fixed by the date of plans used as a base of the study and they are:
1) –the beginning of the regulation – 1878.

1a) – time before the First World War – 1910. (this cross – section could not been analyzed since there were no appropriate plans dating from this period)

2) – time immediately after the First World War, before the first General urban plan of Belgrade – 1921.

3) – time between the two Wars, but after the first General urban plan of Belgrade – 1936.

4) – time after the Second World War – 1955

5) – contemporary moment in Belgrade's urban development – 1985.

Today the selected segments are both located in the very center of Belgrade, but at the time of the first temporal cross–section, they had different positions and characters. Segment 1 was a part of the oriental town, located in the center of Belgrade, while segment 2 was located on the edge of the town in a new–established part of Belgrade. Each of them covers almost the same surface of the city (segment 1 – 0,44 km^2, and segment 2 – 0,41 km^2) and contains one block organized as a park.

Parameters that were defined and compared for each segment and each temporal cross–section are:

– number of blocks

– number of plots in each block

– ratio of building coverage of each segment, each block, as well as the minimum and maximum value of individual plots

– transformative process related to the beginning of the research

– transformative process related to the previous cross–section

Cross–section one: 1878

This cross–section represents a situation at the beginning of the regulation of Belgrade. In the segment 1, regulation is partly put into effect, which means that there are still untransformed parts with oriental urban model. Regulated block have rather small area (4000 to 8000 m^2) containing plots that are 15 to 25m wide. The relation between the width and length of these plots is approximately 1: 2. Certain number of plots has not been built yet.

Figure 1 – First temporal cross–section, based on the plan dated from 1878

The other segment of the city has urban structure that is more likely a structure of a great city which Belgrade wished to become. It means that it consisted form bigger and regularly shaped blocks (15 000 –30 000 m^2). Plots in these blocks are 10 to 25m wide and elongated (width:length = 1:6). In this segment there are also some unbuilt plots.

Cross–section two: 1921

During the First World War Belgrade suffered from a huge destruction. The second cross–section represents the situation immediately after this period. It is particular by the great need for dwellings which often resulted with building that was not supported with regulation plans.

These circumstances led to the almost complete regulation of segment 1, made on the same principles as in 1878. This means creating large number of small blocks, some still containing some unbuilt plots. However, certain number of blocks still kept the shape dated from the time of oriental Belgrade. The ratio of building coverage in this cross–section was slightly raised in comparison to the 1878.

In the same time, elongated plots in segment 2 provoked the problem in using some internal plots, which was a signal to divide some large blocks into smaller parts. The ratio of building coverage in this part of Belgrade also raised.

Figure 2 – Second temporal cross–section, based on the plan dated from 1921
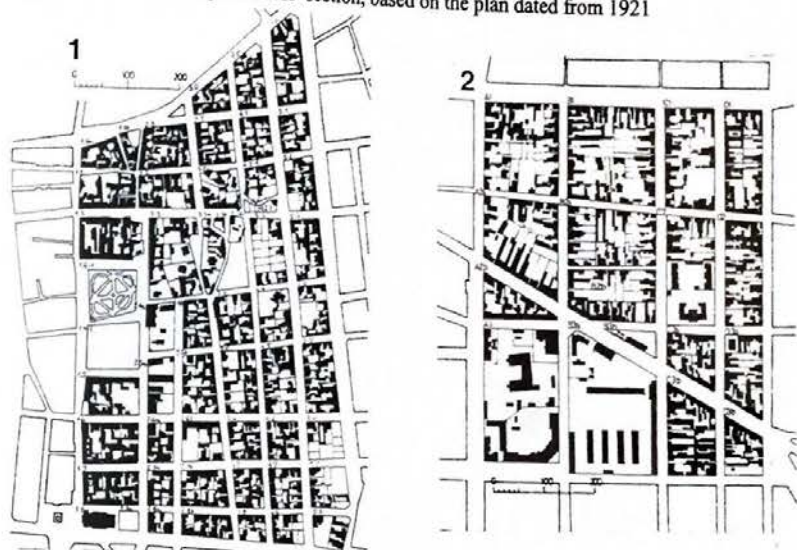
Cross–section three: 1936.

The period between two World Wars is typical by the effort that was made in order to create the General regulation plan of Belgrade, as well as to create the legislative base of construction. The lack of the law which should define the relation between the size of the plot and the building coverage often resulted with over–built plots (more then 90% of building coverage). This resulted into the further growth of building coverage in both selected segments. At the same time, there are intensive transformative processes in both segments, resulting with the rise of number of the plots in them.
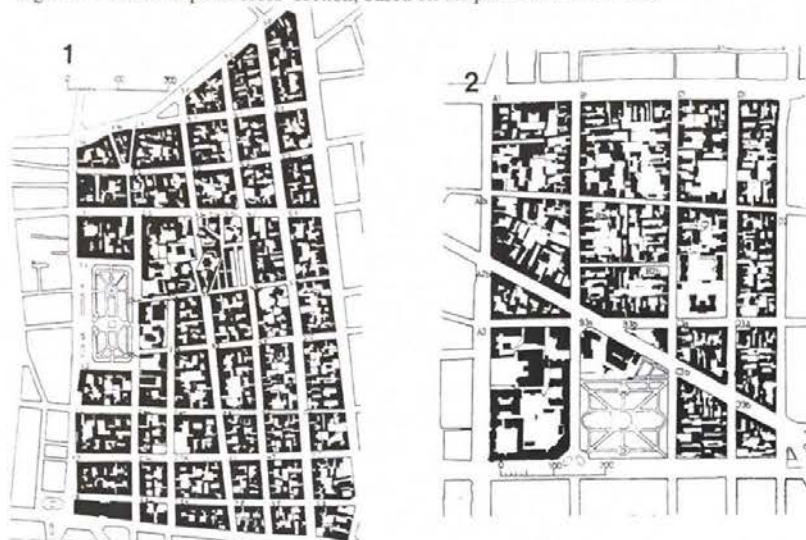
Cross–section four: 1955

Figure 4 – Forth temporal cross–section, based on the plan dated from 1955
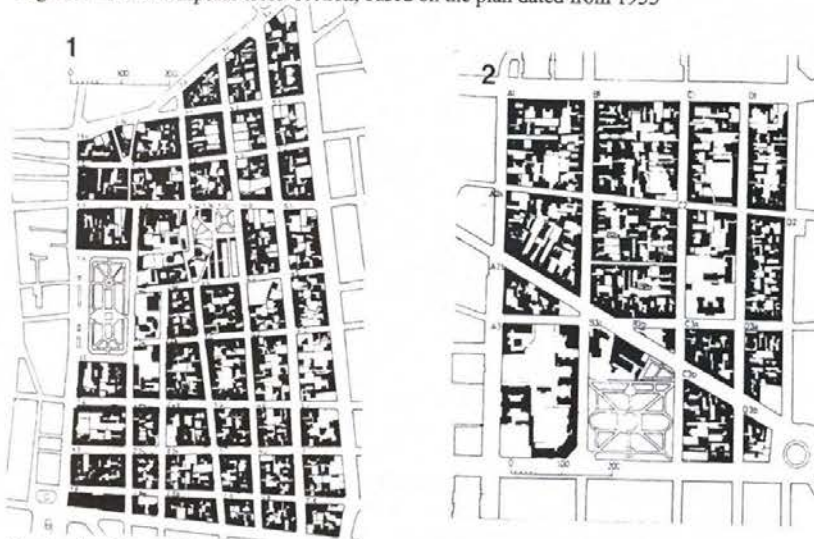
During the Second World War, Belgrade has suffered again from the huge destruction. This fact created the need for the intensive rebuilding and enlargement of the town, which made both selected segments a part of the very center of Belgrade. General regulation plan of Belgrade, dated from 1950., defined that the center of the town (including segments 1 and 2) was not planned to be reconstructed. It kept the regulation of the blocks as it was defined in

the previous time and suggested erection on the edge of them with the reconstruction of their central areas.

The described situation resulted with the fact that in 1955. there were still many unbuilt plots in both segments. On the other hand, the reconstruction of the internal parts of blocks was not yet done, so there were many overbuilt plots at the same time. The transformative processes are still very intensive, but in this time they are present in a form of a joining of plots.

Cross–section five: 1985

The last cross–section chosen to be analyzed is defined by the plan dated from 1985., which is the latest plan representing the urban structure of Belgrade. Generally speaking, the period between the two cross–sections is specific by the fact that there were numerous plans for the reconstruction of the blocks that did not include their re–shaping, but only the change of their inner structure. Some of these plans were realized.

Described reconstruction is present in both selected segments and it is followed by the intensive process of joining plots. The last cross–section brought significant changes to segment 2. The great part of it was meant to be transformed into the important business center of Belgrade. Therefore some of its blocks have been emptied from the buildings, in a purpose to build large and important administration buildings and offices. Unfortunately, the lack of finance had often stopped the planned intentions immediately after the destruction of previous buildings in blocks. This situation resulted in inevitable changes in urban planning, but some of the blocks are still unbuilt.

Figure 5 – Fifth temporal cross–section, based on the plan dated from 1985

Conclusion

Transformative processes that happened in the selected segments of Belgrade were mostly of the same kind and nature. However, certain differences were present, and they can be primarily considered as a consequence of different size of the blocks, as well as of a difference

of the size and shape of their plots. The result of more than one hundred years of changes is presented in following tables:

Table 1 – The change of building coverage and tansformative processes in segment 1

		1878	1921	1936	1955	1985
BUILDING COVERAGE (%)		17,1	48,0	63,8	60,8	65,35
ORIGINAL PLOTS	BEFORE THE MODERN REGULATION	242	51	30	27	17
(UNCHANGED)	MODERN REGULATION 1878 – 1921. god.	133	380	319	291	243
TRANSFORMATIVE	JOINING	–	38	23	11	44
PROCESS OF	DIVISION	–	60	90	19	13
ORIGINAL PLOTS	NEW REGULATION OF THE BLOCK	–	5	8	–	2
FURTHER	UNCHANGED BETWEEN TWO CROSS–SECTIONS	–	–	84	219	200
TRANSFORMATIVE	JOINING	–	–	6	6	13
PROCESSES	DIVISION	–	–	19	13	5
	NEW REGULATION OF THE BLOCK	–	–	2	1	–
	TOTAL:	375	534	580	589	537

Table 2 – The change of building coverage and transformative processes in segment 2

		1878	1921	1936	1955	1985
BUILDING COVERAGE (%)		22,0	36,2	46,2	48,3	46,3
ORIGINAL PLOTS (UNCHANGED)		267	122	101	96	70
TRANSFORMATIVE	JOINING	–	71	2	1	15
PROCESS OF	DIVISION	–	98	29	2	4
ORIGINAL PLOTS	NEW REGULATION OF THE BLOCK	–	5	3	2	–
FURTHER	UNCHANGED BETWEEN THE TWO CROSS–SECTIONS	–	–	142	186	162
TRANSFORMATIVE	JOINING	–	–	8	13	24
PROCESSES	DIVISION	–	–	39	18	8
	NEW REGULATION OF THE BLOCK	–	–	–	–	–
	TOTAL:	267	283	324	318	283

Described morphological changes of the urban structure of Belgrade are not final. What we can expect in the future is the end of all already planned activities and entering into the new phase of transformation of the city.

References

Koter, M, (1990) "The morphological evolution of a nineteenth–century city centre: Lodz, Poland", *The Built Form of Western Cities*, Leicester University Press, Leicester and London.

Macura, V, (1983) *Urbano planiranje u Srbiji 19. i 20. veka*, Beograd projekt i CEP, Beograd.

Minić, O, (1954) "Razvoj Beograda i njegova arhitektura izmedu dva rata", *GMGB* I, 177–88.

Pajević, B. M., (1923) *Regulacija Beograda 1867.–1923*, Narodna misao, Beograd.

Perović, M., ed., (1985) *Iskustva prošlosti*, Zavod za planiranje razvoja grada, Beograd.

Urban Housing and Political Tension: Some Insights from the Psychology of Culture, with Special Reference to Muslim Housing Ideals

A.A. Rahman
Senior Research Fellow
Institute of Asian Languages and Societies
The University of Melbourne

The home - or, rather, the house "housing" the home - as the prime genre of built environment, is not just a space. It is the very embodiment of specific - if often unsaid and even coconscious - "architectural logic" by which its inhabitants like to, or are forced to, live. The home – or the house - is also the crucible where the basic attitudes, including those of political relevance, are formed through the interplay of the triadic forces of the father-figure, the mother-figure and the evolving child.

Home, Health and Political Perversion

When there is a conflict between the unsaid architectural logic one likes to live by, and that by which he is forced to live, because of the design of the house where he is living - this results in a chronic tension in the person's inner life. Such chronic tension may result in various kinds of neurotic and psychotic behaviour, which, given the 'right' impetus and context, can degenerate into political violence, aggression, witch-hunt, xenophobia, fascism, mass hysteria - all of which contribute to political instability and disorder. One most dreaded contemporary form of such political release of aggression is terrorism. Substantial literature has already been produced in political science on the manipulation, use and abuse of pent-up psychological tension and resultant aggression for political purposes.

This is neither mere theoretical conjecture, nor a conclusion arrived at by deductive logic alone. "The importance of environmental factors in the etiology of chronic illness ... has been clearly demonstrated" in reports from empirical clinical work.. For example, "environmental stressors ... clearly have causal significance in the development of the two major chronic illnesses in [the US] ..., coronary heart disease and cancer". If environment-related psychological stresses can evidently cause major chronic physical illnesses like coronary heart diseases and cancer, then one can hardly too much emphasise the possibility of chronic psychological diseases resulting from such stressors, e.g. the tension between "architectural logic" by which one unconsciously likes to live, and that by which he is forced to live by simply for being trapped into a house built by the "architectural logic" of architects and designers unaware of, or unsympathetic to the house-dwellers' conscious or unconscious requirements of his own living quarters. Allowing for such chronic psychological unwellness in crowded cities is potential source of political agitation and instability, of which we already see much in the rapidly westernising traditional societies, e.g. in Asia and the Middle East.

I would forward the hypothesis that, much of the extraordinary levels of urban political agitation we see today in the fast westernising societies, e.g. those in the Middle East, and South and Southeast Asia, might have to do in part, with the conflict between the

architectural logic of the modern housing designs which are fast becoming in vogue in these societies, and the traditional architectural logic yearned for – albeit unconsciously- by their inhabitants of the houses built by such modern designs. To clarify the matter, and to bring some of its aspects to sharper relief, we might focus here on the culturally conditioned psychological requirements regarding the living space of one particular set of such westernising but still tradition-bound societies: those of the Muslims. I hope to later do a similar study of Chinese and Hindu societies. Findings and insights from the study these various sets of societies, put in a comparative framework, should help clarify the matter even further. More studies of other societies in similar situations - e.g., various African and Oceanian societies - might be carried out to further supplement this rather preliminary, groundbreaking beginnings of a study.

Proliferation of Western-style Housing

The fastest growing areas of urban development in the housing sector, globally speaking, seems to lie at present in predominantly Muslim countries of Southeast Asia and the Middle East - at the two horizontal extremities of the Asian continent. In this housing construction boom, architectural designing expertise employed, almost always, is derived from Western sources. In some cases, western architects and designers are employed. In other, local architects with western education make the designs. In both cases, the end result is a rapid proliferation of 'western-style' dwellings in basically predominantly traditional Muslim societies.

My own work at the Harvard University , some time back, had found among other things that, such rapid superficial restructuring of the living space of tradition-bound Muslims might create psychological tensions, and resultant mental health problems - whose impact, while yet not fully understood, could be seriously harmful. Despite wide varieties of living practices , Muslims from varied societies still seem to have generally experienced certain common elements of living-space structuring and housing designs, throughout history until the recent changes. This commonality is rooted in there common adherence to certain religious requirements, applied to all Muslims irrespective of cultural variation . A violation of such 'sacrosanct' requirements in housing situation may result in unconscious psychological sense of guilt, dread, discomfort or a general sense of unwellness. On the other hand, adherence to such requirements would need to modify current housing designing in culturally sensitive ways. The visible result would be the evolution of what might be called Islamicised Western - or modernised Islamic - housing patterns.

Ihram : The Core of the Muslim's Being

As Van Nieuwenhuijze says, "post-modern West and contemporary Islam ...find ....several points of converging." Laroui enumerates many such points of convergence. One such points of convergence between post-modern West and Islam, is the phenomenon of 'witnessing' . Perhaps, this might be a good starting point for an Western audience to start understanding the deep psychological needs of Muslims which require to be taken care of when building a 'built environment' for their daily living. This, not only because it is a point of convergence between most-modern West and Islam, but also because it is one which is the central point in the Muslims' daily living consciousness:

"[In Islam,] man's [i.e. Man's] posture in life as reflecting his basic orientation, is summed up in the centrally important notion of shahid: witness. Perhaps there is no concept ... is more symptomatic of the Islamic lifestyle. The Muslim is [: is supposed to be, he constantly feels,] witness in proper conduct of life, consciously and purposively. This shows... in the pervasive practical ... significance of niya [i.e.] intention . ... [and] the requirement of a state of ritual purity" known as "ihram" . By being an extension of the phenomenon of shahadah - or the condition of being shahid - ihram itself, too, becomes a central aspect of the Muslims' being: "Another notion, or rather practice, deserving to be mentioned as a descriptor [in Islam] of human posture is purity [:ihram]Islam ... is quite explicit about man's need to condition himself properly for occasions of ... addressing the divine" , which is required to be at all times - "standing, sitting [and even when] on their sides [i.e. laying down or sleeping", in the words of the Qur'an . For such a constantly maintained ihram's "rules and provisions are remarkably detailed and meticulous" , though differing in form for different times and circumstances.

"One may trace here ... in the term haram [derived from the same word-root as ihram - hrm,] ... sacred in the sense of sacrosanct, forbidden. It is used [in a number of contexts, ranging from] the Meccan sanctum, ... to woman's special status. Ihram is the state of ritual consecration, by purity and dress, of the Mecca pilgrim" , harim is the distinguishing word for "woman', seen as specially sacred and sacrosanct by purity and hence forbidden for the very sight, let alone touch, of anyone who is not in one of the enumerated possibilities of a ritually consecrated pure relationship with her, e.g. husband-wife, mother-child, sibling, mother-in-law, sister-in-law etc. These ritually sanctified relationships are called "mahram " - that which has been bestowed with ihram, elevating the woman to the sacramental status of harim.

Harem: The Core of the Muslim Home

We have seen that the ritually sanctified sanctum of Mecca is called haram This is so, because, the sanctum - the Ka'ba [: literally, "Cube" - perhaps because of its cubical shape] - was built as "the first house for Man", and ritually consecrated by Abraham and his first-born, Ishmael, who were then ordered by God to keep it pure for those who come to circumbulate it, and to stay: "Indeed, the first house/ home built for the people is the one at Mecca, the blessed and guidance for the worlds" , ... and I commanded Abraham and Ishmael to purify and keep pure my House for those who circumbulate it and stay [there] and bow and prostrate [in God's worship]".

Not without significance, the inner quarters of the Islamic home - or house - also is called haram., the very term used to designate and distinguish the Meccan sanctum, the Ka'bah. The English word harem - to denote the inner quarters of the Muslim home, and later, much more from the world of fantasy - is actually the same as this Arabic "haram". This practice is very significant for the Muslims' psyche, and seems to originate from two lines of unconscious reasoning.

First, if the Meccan sanctum was "first house built for Man ", which was to be kept pure for those who came to "stay" at it, then this seems to mean that the Meccan sanctum is

the original home which God permitted man to stay at - and as such, is the model par-excellence for any other, lesser houses/homes which might be felt as ritually consecrated enough for Man to stay at. As such, any other house/ home is but an extension, or reflection of the Mecaan sanctum, the haram al-sharif, the "Noble" or "Notable" haram. The less notable of the harams ought to be like, as much as possible, the Notable haram at Mecca: an abode of life - "stay" –dedicated to the worship of God at all times in all acts, kept in purity, i.e. ihram for such a stay and such constant continuum of divinely condoned acts which ought to make up in sum total the whole of the Muslim's life. Less notable though it is, it too, is a haram, as an extension and reflection of the purer and the more notable original and ideal haram at Mecca.

Secondly, the inner quarters of the Muslim home is specially centred on the Muslim women of the home. The Muslim home is more a woman's domain, rather than a family home where both men and women have equal or balanced shares of domination. This might come as a shock to many Western observers with only little or superficial knowledge of the intricacies of the workings of gender-relationships in the Muslim society. I have discussed this in greater detail elsewhere , and Myron Weiner and other have discussed partially similar situation in Hindu society . As such this the world centred on the harim - protected out of the anxieties of earning a livelihood in the hostile world outside, into her sanctum by the network of mahram relationships. As such this domain is the very embodiment of ihram - sanctified purity: it is the haram, sanctuary, for the harim like the sanctuary of Mary, the ideal woman by Islam, who was provided her livelihood in abundance at her sanctum where she engaged in a life of worship, shielded in from the anxieties and distractions of the world outside the sanctum.

A Sacred Geography: Layout and the Law

Now that we have had a brief understanding of the notion of haram as embodying the very centre of the Muslim understanding of his/ her 'home' - we may proceed on to what are his religiously conditioned expectations of the layout of this home. The haram, or the inner quarter is not only the central but also the predominant aspect of the Muslim home. The rest, for example the diwan - the outer quarters - is but only peripheral adjunct to that predominant aspect of the home. This is clear even from the nomenclature: the term diwan originally referred to a verandah outside the door. The English term "divan" comes from this diwan - the couch the host would recline on or offer the visitor to sit on at the verandah. The shape and size of the divan may give some idea of what the Muslim home's outer quarters, the diwan, might ought to be in comparison to the rest of the home, the harem, which, among other things, would include a whole courtyard and ideally at least one spacious garden - the hidden garden, somewhat in the image of the heavenly Garden of Paradise, the jannah [literally "hidden"].

Muslims, both individually and collectively, have to both live by, and enforce a "religiously ordained social control. Every Muslim has an obligation towards any fellow Muslim, to help him/ her stay on the right path, known as al-amr bi'l ma'ruf wa 'l-nahy 'an al-munkar: adhortation to what is proper, and dissuasion from what is objectionable. This duty implies at once a rationale of and an inducement to social control ...

intentionally of a benevolent kind. ...it suggests clear limits to privacy in the sense of individualistic idiosyncracies and freedoms." One such "religiously ordained ... obligation to ... [a] fellow Muslim, to help him/ her to stay on the right path" is to provide for and respect "limits of privacy" - limits beyond which none other than those permitted, are to ever violate the privacy of the person concerned. This is to help the Muslim man and the Muslim woman to observe and help each other observe various detailed rules of modesty, enjoined in the canonical scriptures - the Qur'an and the Hadith..

One aspect of setting and guarding the limits of one's private domain is to provide for a house, or a portion of a house where the husband and the wife can freely carry on their daily activities, including those of conjugal relationship, in complete privacy - a house or portion of a house where not even the husband's, who in Islam is regarded the worthiest of a man's best company , is to normally enter . Neither is the wife's mother to normally enter there either : "Description of the Wife's Home .... "... It also is obligatory for the husband to provide the wife with a separate home. That is, such a house or [even just] an apartment must be provided for [the wife], where not [even] the husband's father [or] mother, brothers or sisters or any other relatives or near ones may stay .... " ... or [even] enter ... In [this] wife's home no relatives or near ones of the wife, not even her mother or father may enter or stay either" . The home so provided for the wife shall be such that, therein, "the husband and the wife may live, carry on their activities [of daily living and conjugal relationship], and relax in complete freedom" from any of the religiously ordained restrictions which a man or a woman has to observe when in the presence of others in successive degrees of ihram (sacrosanctity) of relationship, bestowing differing levels of mahram (sacrosanct) Status upon other people vis-a-vis a man or a woman. This, then bars virtually everyone else, except the husband, the wife, their children below the age of any consciousness of sexuality, and any servants without such consciousness - from such a house or portion of house. This house, or portion of a house is the haram - or harem, to use the English term - without which a Muslim house loses the very rationale and essence of its existence.

Further extensions to this basic home - or house - with decreasing layers of restrictivity, may make the world of the Muslim's home more accessible to visitors from outside the nuclear family. Thus, an extension to the core haram may be corollary of a secondary haram where such women relatives – or perhaps even male relatives of the couple, who are mahram to both the partners, may live: the husband's mother, the wife's mother etc. Generally this too would be regarded as a part of the haram, and would not be visited or violated by anyone who is not mahram to all its inhabitants. Together, the inner haram and the outer haram will constitute The haram - the total harem - of the Muslim home. A further extension, the Diwan - or the outer quarters, often called the "Reception Room" (Istqbal), or the "Sitting Room" (Baithak) - will be a corollary to the harem. If possible, outer gardens, surrounding the entire complex, will complete the totality of a Muslim's home. One may remember, there will be an inner garden, most likely much richer and wider than the outer gardens, at the very heart of the harem itself. The richness and width of the inner garden and courtyard would compensate the women - the harim - for their virtue of "not going out about like the going out about of Ignorance", in Qur'anic terms - and of staying in the "innermost quarter of their homes", in those of the Hadith.. The Diwan itself might have a private portion assigned for such female visitors as are permissible to visit the home.

Conclusion: Healthier Homes, Happier Politics

One can not emphasise too much the need for modifying the housing designs currently translated into actual houses for Muslims to live in - even if for the very health of its occupiers and inhabitants. This, I suspect, would apply to many other situations where western-style housing is rapidly proliferating in non-western tradition-bound societies, e.g. that of the Hindus, or rural Chinese, African, or the indigenous peoples of Oceania. The concept of sick building syndrome is already well-known in the West - and measure are being suggested and taken to rectify the problems in housing designs which, unbeknown to its dwellers - and often, even its designers and builders - cause chronic health problems. However the concern with the sick building syndrome has been so far limited to mainly problems caused by building designs to physical health of its inhabitants. But, problems caused to the mental health could be arguably a greater matter for concern. In the case of the Muslim homes, a substantial alleviation of the mental problems caused by the housing design could be brought about by simple modifications of the design by providing for the basic religiously ordained habitat-related requirements in the designing of housing projects. This will further the rewards by helping minimise the sources of political tension and all its multifarious fallouts, including terrorism and mass disorder in these societies, to the relief of the whole world at large.

8th International Planning History Conference.
Russian Garden-Cities in the Epoch of Art Nouveau.

Professor of the Department of History of Architecture and Townplanning
Leonid Rapoutov.

Moscow Architectural Institute.
Rozhdestvenka street 11.
Moscow 103754.
Russia.

Now, when the 20-th century is coming to its end we cannot help appreciating to a full degree the role of the garden-cities ideas in the development of the modern urbanism and new forms of human settlements. Under the influence of those ideas several generations of architects have changed their townplanning mentality, troubled by the urbanization of whole geographical regions which increased during the last decades.

The idea of breaking cities into smaller units by way of building modest size settlements of semi-urban and semi-rural types simultaneously which had appeared even before the publication of Sir Ebenizer Howard's book «Tomorrow» in Russian in 1911 aroused a profound interest of numerous theoreticians and practical architects in Russia. Among them was Vladimir Semyonov who staying at that time in London for five years from 1908 to 1912 had an opportunity to observe the construction of the first garden-city of Letchworth. In his book «Improvement of Cities» published after his return from London to Moscow in 1912 Vladimir Semyonov wrote: «His (E.Howard's) merit is that for the first time he solves the problem of the elastic plan, i.e. the plan adapted to the city's gradual development. He is the first to consider the city as a constantly developing organism and adapts its plan to its evolution».

Beginning in 1912 to plan the first Russian garden-city of Prozorovka, situated not far from Moscow on the land belonging to the Moscow-Kazan Railway Vladimir Semyonov decided to use the plan of Letchworth, well studied by him with its three-ray system of the main streets directed towards a vast public garden. The three-ray system of course was known in the world townplanning already due to the plans of St.Petersburg, the ensemble in Versailles and Piaza Del Popolo in Rime, but now it was used in the artistically carried out planning of the small settlement of Prozorovka. There three radial streets converged at the city's entrance square, where the building of the railway station was placed.

But it was not only Vladimir Semyonov who tried to repeat the three-ray system in the composition of the Prozorovka garden-city plan whose size together with its parks and boulevards did not exceed an area of 680 hectares. Simultaneously with him also in 1912 Walter Broumley Griffin entered an original plan of Canberra for an architectural competition, whose winner he became. This plan was conceived by Walter Broumly Griffin as a plan of an ideal city with a complicated three-ray system of avenues designed as axial avenues and in whose concept philosophical and religious opinions of the author of the project were reflected.

Designing settlements of a new type in various countries architects tried nevertheless to employ already known compositional devices, among them the three-ray system which had served as a base of the picturesque planning of Letchworth. It is this reason that explains the appearance of garden-cities with traditional planning systems in Russia before the Revolution.

Besides philanthropic societies and individual Maecenases the Ministry of Railway paid a special interest to their construction. As early as the First World War in 1916 the Ministry decided to lay out a number of garden-cities mostly for the families of its employees with the financial help of the state on the rail-road lines near Moscow and Petrograd, as well as along the Great Siberian Railway.

On the land belonging to the Ministry along the world longest railway line a garden-city was founded which was one of the first in Siberia, it was established in 1916 near the station of Kuznetsk. Its plan resembled the three-ray system of Letchworth, and its focal point was formed by the railway station area, where there were buildings of the station, the railway administration, school and People's House. From this public, cultural and enlightening city centre three rays radiated - the main streets with trade buildings. The central ray in the form of the central street was oriented to an extensive landscape park, where there was a small river. The residential areas consist of plots, equal in size, with cottage buildings. However after the Revolution the garden-city was reconstructed and turned into one of residential districts of this Siberian industrial giant, where a huge metallurgical group of enterprises appeared in the 20s.

The construction of one more Siberian garden-city began in 1917 to the north from the city of Barnaul in one of whose buildings there was the department of Russian Society of Garden-Cities headed by the manager of the Altai Railway A.Larionov who repeatedly met Ebenizer Howard. The new garden-city adjoined a birch wood near the railway line and later was incorporated into northern outskirts of the old city. The area round in plan with six radial streets, running from it, was the focal point of the settlement. These streets were connected with the main thoroughfare which skirted from two sides round the residential development regular in plan and consisting of 1640 sites of the garden-city.

With the beginning of the Revolution in 1917 and the civil war which followed it the idea of constructing garden-cities in Siberia did not expire and they again returned to it after a short time. As early as 1921 immediately after the end of the civil war new authorities held in Siberia an open competition for the project of the garden-city of Shcheglovsk in which many architects took part, including P.Paramonov from Tomsk who was awarded the first prize. He planned the area rectangular in plan from which 14 radial streets ran to the railway station, to the wharf on the bank of the Tom-river, to the residential development and industrial zones as the focal point of a new settlement near Tomsk. This square with the adjoining development was surrounded with a ribbon park oval in plan, in which it was supposed to place public buildings, schools, kindergartens and sports grounds.

The nucleus of the settlement had a certain similarity to the literary description of the ideal city centre given in the book «Tomorrow» by Ebenizer Howard, whereas the regular plan of other areas of Shcheglovsk represented a rigid grid of rectangular blocks of buildings dissected by radial streets. Shcheglovsk was build up not by cottages, but by multi-storey buildings, and its regular plan, like that of other garden-cities, would not have left an appreciable trace in the history of urbanism in Siberia of the end of the 19-th - beginning of the 20-th centuries, if not for one circumstance: in them were applied new compositional

devices in the form of ribbon parks and extended public gardens along the roads which were to receive a further development in townplanning investigations of Russian Avantgarde of the 20s - 30s.

When Siberia was becoming a testing ground for the construction of new type settlements recognized by authorities, Maecenases acting as social reformers undertook attempts to found garden-cities on the sites belonging to private owners, mainly in the vicinity of St.-Petersburg renamed Petrograd at that time. According to the conditions of an open competition announced in the autumn of 1916 in Petrograd for a project of the garden-city of «Elitsa-park» it was planned to lay out a new settlement in a private estate situated between two stations of the Warsaw Railway. The blocks of cottage development adjoining these railway station were supposed to be connected by a wide boulevard extending by a woodside along the river bank where a cultural- enlightening centre including primary and secondary educational institutions, the People's Houses, a church, as well as a market with trade buildings was projected.

The garden-city designed on the eve of the Revolution in the vicinities of industrial giants, inhabited by poor layers of population, were considered first of all to be centres of culture and educational activity of Avantgarde whose role in enlightening at that time the well-known English historian Arnold I.Toinby defined as a duty of the educated minority to serve the people by way of their true education. Not being fascinated by symbolics like Walter B.Griffin in the plan of Canberra or Claude N.Ledou in the plan of an ideal city in the second half of the 18-th century architects of Russia preferred in each settlement of a new type to project a cultural-enlightening centre including educational institutions, People's House with an auditorium and a church.

One of such centres has become Vvedenskaya Square trapeziform in plan surrounded by one- and two- storey boxy houses in an environment of gardens and kitchen gardens on a far outskirt of Moscow where in 1904 architect Illarion Ivanov-Shits constructed a People's House with an auditorium seating 400, modest in appearance, but in the artistic Art Nouveau forms. It was erected near the Vvedenskaya Church in the upper part of the square turned into a public garden and gently sloping to the Yauza-River.

Unlike the centre of the London garden-suburb of Hampstead where on the opposite sides of a wide lawn there were buildings of Anglican and Catholic churches built of red bricks the centre of Vvedenskaya Square was the People's House, whose enlightening work in 1905 began to be headed by a well-known Moscow Maecenas and public figure, the founder of a famous theatrical museum Alexei Bakhrushin.

Up to the beginning of the Revolution the enlightening work of the People's House aroused a profound interest of various circles of the society due to a high level of musical performances and literary evenings, lectures by scientists and presentation of plays of world and Russian classical repertoir by its constant theatrical troupe, one of the best in Moscow of that time. Estimating highly the public recognition of the cultural-enlightening Centre activity in Vvedenskay Square the urban authorities decided to construct 24 People's Houses in the suburbs of Moscow by 1918, but due to the beginning of the Revolution this plan had to be given up.

The Plan of the Garden City of Prozorovka.
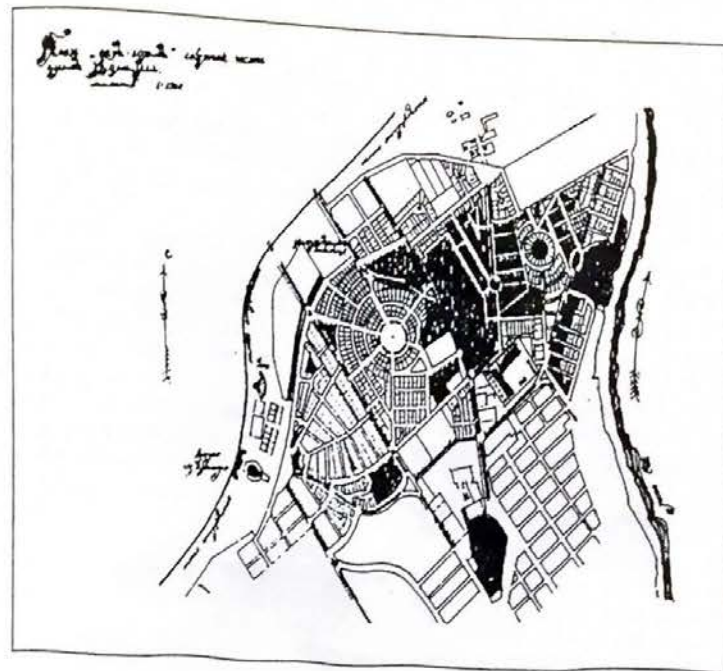
The Plan of the Garden City near Barnaul.

740
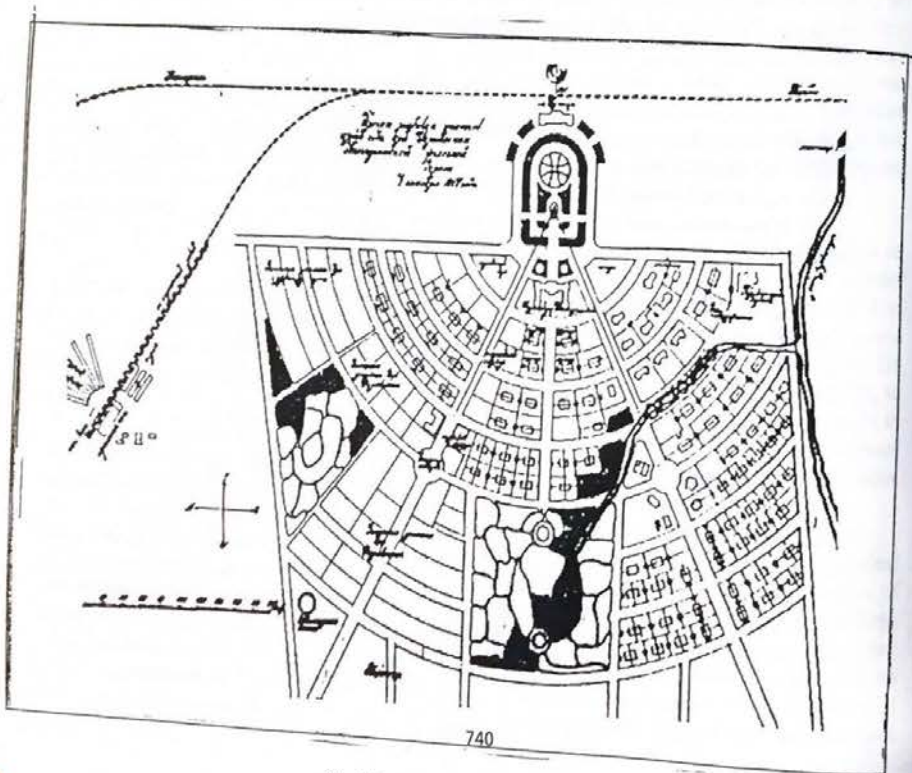
The Plan of the Garden City near Kuznetsk.
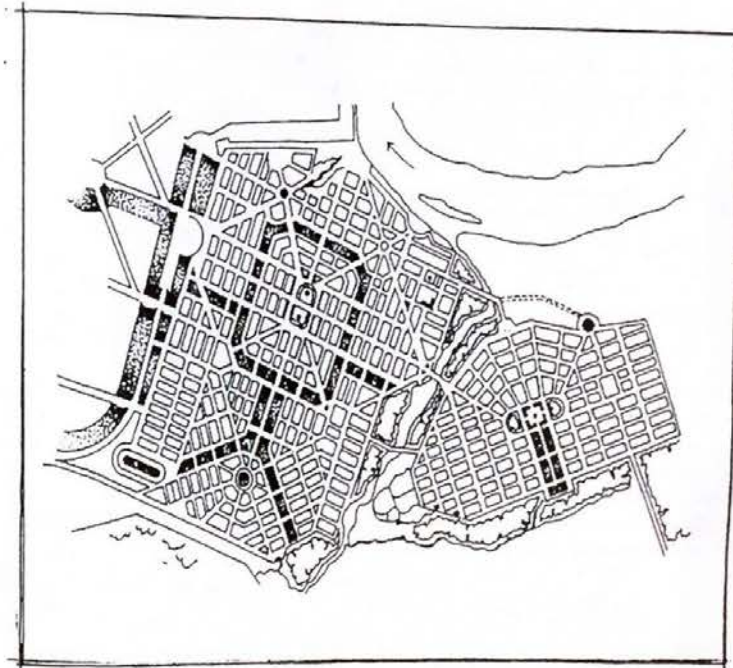
The Plan of the Garden City of Shcheglovsk.

The People's House in Vvedenskaya Square as well as in other garden-cities has remained an example of a cultural-enlightening centre in whose activity high ethical ideals of Russian intelligentsia of the end of the 19-th - beginning of the 20-th centuries have been reflected.

With the appearance after the Revolution of other social conditions as well as of romantic perception of the new life the idea of creating centers of culture in the workers' outskirts found an unexpected interpretation. There appeared a need for a new type of public building named at first People's House, and then Workers' Club, Palace of Culture and Palace of Labour and in general reproducing the structure of the earlier People's Houses. At the same time competitions held in 1920-1924 for the project of the People's House, and later Workers' Club demonstrated unusual expressiveness of the new forms of architecture, due to a contrast combination of various geometrically regular elements, glazed surfaces and blind walls which became known as architecture of Russian Avantgarde of the 20s - the 30s which exerted a great influence on the development of world architecture of the following decades.

History in the Making: The Changing Role of Local Government in the 20th Century - Integrated Planning and State of the Environment Reporting

Lyndal-Joy Redman
Centre for Water Policy Research,
University of New England
Armidale NSW 2351
Australia

It is undeniable during the last century that the role of local governments around the world has changed. This change has been especially evident in the Australian State of New South Wales (NSW) in the last 20 years. Local government in NSW has moved from simply being a provider of essential services, such as water, sewage and roads, to taking on, amongst many others, the role of environmental manager and regulator and general custodian of the community. These roles have been assigned to local government, in part, due to the recognition that this level of government is that closest to the people and is therefore the most influential in the day-to-day lives of their communities (Farthing 1997). In Australia, where the concept and rhetoric of Ecologically Sustainable Development (ESD) has been taken up enthusiastically, the outcomes of the Rio Earth Summit, in particular Agenda 21, are starting to be implemented. Chapter 28 of Agenda 21 'calls upon local governments, working with their communities, to create their own local action plans' (Grubb et al 1993, ICLEI 1996), this Chapter of the international agreement has effectively created a 'Local Agenda 21'.

One component of 'Local Agenda 21' is State of the Environment Reporting (SoE). SoE has the potential to incorporate the 5 key elements to addressing Local Agenda 21 outlined by the International Commission for Local Environment Initiatives. These 5 components are (ICLEI 1997):

1. Multi-sectoral engagement in the planning process.
2. Consultation with community groups, NGOs, business, religious organisations, governments etc.
3. Participatory assessment of local social, economic and environmental conditions and needs.
4. Participatory target-setting.
5. Monitoring and reporting procedures.

SoE reporting is an important avenue for encouraging these elements, particularly when it occurs as part of a broader planning and management strategy or 'Action Plan'.

NSW Local Governments (or councils) have been required to produce a SoE report for their local government area (LGA) since 1993. Unfortunately, SoE reporting was not introduced as part of a broader strategy for environmental planning and management, nor was consideration given to the resources that councils had at their disposal to complete comprehensive and meaningful SoE reports (Redman 1998). Mostly councils view SoE reporting as another form of bureaucratic paperwork required by State legislation. This view is substantiated by the content, professional quality of many reports and the use or integration (or lack thereof) of SoE report information into councils' normal planning and management processes.

A survey I conducted of NSW councils in 1997 revealed that most councils do not use the information gathered for SoE reports in any meaningful way (if at all) (Redman 1998). This survey also revealed that very few councils had any knowledge of Agenda 21 (or Local Agenda 21). This lack of knowledge further translated into a lack of understanding about the importance of the 5 key elements mentioned above. This means that councils do not appreciate a 'partnership' approach to governance (partnerships with State government bodies such as the Environment Protection Authority and the Department of Land and Water Conservation), nor do they appreciate a 'participatory' approach to governance. This means the way councils encourage and practice 'public participation' in their planning and management processes is often limited to superficial and half-hearted attempts (ie a preference for advertisement, council displays and sometimes postal surveys rather than community meetings and consultations) (Redman 1988).

Despite the above appearing to paint councils black, it is not my intention to engage in council-bashing. Rather the aim of my research is to find ways of aiding local government to overcome the institutional and attitudinal (and perhaps knowledge) barriers that are blocking the meaningful implementation of Agenda 21 and SoE reporting. This includes within councils themselves and between councils and other sectors with which they work. Many of the recommendations stemming from the survey I conducted actually required action on the part of State and Federal governments. Such action mainly involved training and education for council employees, Councillors and the community alike about Agenda 21 and the framework within which SoE reporting occurs. My recommendations also focussed on the introduction of regional reporting, an extended time frame for reporting, legislation incorporating Agenda 21, and institutional arrangements. Some of these recommendations are currently being addressed by new legislation.

Integrated Development

The *Local Government Amendment (Ecologically Sustainable Development) Act 1997* and to a lesser extent the *Environmental Planning and Assessment (Amendment) Act 1997* both add new dimensions to council environmental planning and management. The former Act is a means 'to ensure that councils consciously adopt a fully ecologically sustainable development focus when carrying out their functions' (Department of Local Government 1997). Hence:

"Councils are now expected to adopt a strategic "whole of council" approach toward the recognition of ecologically sustainable development and to respond positively to environmental problems in their areas." (Department of Local Government 1997).

The Act has also expanded the statement of principal activities for councils' Management Plans to include:

" activities in response to, and to address priorities identified in, the council's current comprehensive report as to the SoE and any other relevant reports." (Section 403(2)).

The reporting time frame has also been amended and regional reporting is now formally encouraged (Department of Local Government 1997).

The latter Act, the *Environmental Planning and Assessment (Amendment) Act*, streamlines the development application process within councils, and between councils and State Government Agencies where these are involved for licensing etc. It also strengthens provisions relating to endangered species and critical habitat - especially in relation to exempt and complying development.

Councils are now being encouraged to make their decision-making processes more transparent and participatory through the *Local Government Amendment (Open Meetings) Act 1997* which attempts to enhance public access to council meetings and improve public access to council-held information. Some State Government Agencies are also subject to this idea of transparency through new legislation requiring documentation to be placed on a 'Public Register' (eg the Environment Protection Authority's *Protection of the Environment Operations Act 1997*).

New legislation for State Agencies (in particular the Environment Protection Authority) will also have a large effect on council responsibilities and ultimately their awareness of environmental issues. The *Protection of the Environment Operations Act 1997*, an Act consolidating the legislation administered by the NSW Environment Protection Authority (EPA), has the effect of turning councils into EPA-like environmental regulators. It does this by bringing some industries that were previously regulated by councils into the area of EPA operations, but most importantly by divesting other areas to councils. Of particular mention are water licences, some of which are now passed to councils. Designated council Officers (Authorised Officers) will now, like Authorised EPA Officers, have the authority to issue Pollution Infringement Notices (PINs) for waste disposal, and noise, air and water pollution. They will also have powers relating to the requiring of information about pollution incidents, answers to questions and the power of arrest. Hence, councils are being pushed more firmly into a role they are unfamiliar with - pollution regulation. It is unfamiliar because although councils have previously been required to regulate development the recent passing over, and sharing, of the responsibility for pollution control suggests a regulation and monitoring role for councils that extends beyond the development application and building approval stage of their regulation processes. It extends also beyond the environmental health aspect of council functions, which I do not believe in its current form addresses 'environmental pollution' in a similar context to the EPA.

This brief summary of the status of environmental knowledge and legislation should hopefully have highlighted the rapidly changing role of local government. Today, not only is local government expected to conduct itself with corporation-like efficiency and productivity, but it is also expected to be custodian and regulator of the environment, and be more open and involved with the community. I think these roles are befitting of local government, and provided that Councillors, council employees and the public are made aware of and educated about the new roles and responsibilities I believe, in time, local governments could transform the way people impact on their local environment and also respond (rather than react) to the decrease in environmental health and amenity currently threatening our communities. We are in fact witnessing the process of 'history in the making' and should take every opportunity open to us to inform this process with the knowledge we have gained over the last century. Particularly vital to the process of change is the development of councils that anticipate and embrace the changes occurring now and those still to come.

References

DLG (1997) *Discussion Paper: Reform of the State of the Environment Reporting Provisions of the Local Government Act 1993* New South Wales Government publishing.

Farthing, S.M. 1997 Introduction. In Farthing, S.M. (ed) *Evaluating Local Environmental Policy*, Avebury Studies in Green Research, Avebury Ashgate Publishing Ltd, England, pp. 1-17.

Grubb, M., Koch, M., Munsen, A., Sullivan, F. and Thomson, K. 1993 *The Earth Summit Agreements: A Guide and Assessment*, Earthscan Publications Ltd, London.

ICLEI 1997 Local Agenda 21 Survey: A study of Responses by Local Authorities and Their National and International Associations to Agenda 21 *http://www.iclei.org/la21/la21rep.htm.*

ICLEI (1996) *The Local Agenda 21 Planning Guide: An Introduction to Sustainable Development Planning*, ICLEI and IDRC, Canada.

Redman, L.J. (1998) Local Government State of Environment reporting: the Integration of Information into Local Government Planning and Management. Report to the NSW EPA, February 1998. University of New England: Institute for Bioregional Resource Management.

Framing a site (Aotearoa / New Zealand) of Tourist Architecture

Jon Rennie
Schools of Architecture and Design
Victoria University of Wellington
New Zealand

The impact of Tourists on cities, and thus urban planning, is a relatively new phenomenon within this century. The complexities of this new paradigm are many and varied. The city becomes inhabited not only by local residents but also by a new subject that has a new functional connection to the city - the function of Tourism.

Through an understanding and framing of this new subject, their impact on the city could be better understood and planned for. American Sociologist Dean MacCannell [*The Tourist: a new theory of the Leisure class* (1976), *Empty Meeting Grounds* (1991)] sees the tourist as a model for the modern-man-in-general - in the company of Benjamin's 'flaneur', Kristiva's 'stranger' and Deleuze's 'nomad' - a link to a broader sociological theory of modernism.

MacCannell frames Tourism as a paradox: presenting a unified whole through differentiation. Distinguishing between Industrial Society as:

> "...that kind of society that develops in a cumulative, unidimensional, growth sequence, by simply adding on new elements - a new factory, population growth, a new social class." (MacCannell, 1976)

and Post-Industrial or Modern Society as:

> "[T]he coming to consciousness of Industrial society, the result of Industrial society's turning in on itself.....elaborating itself internally. The growth of Tourism is the central index of modernization so defined." (MacCannell, 1976)

Cities that evolved a distinctive "image" during the Industrial Revolution, have since struggled with changing economic circumstance. Tourism is seen as one method of economic rejuvenation. These Post Industrial cities have looked for ways to attract Tourists through developments that have not necessarily served a purpose or fulfilled a need of the local inhabitants. For example, the Carnegie Melon in Pittsburgh exists in a city that has no private galleries or art community beyond its institutional walls.

City Planners and Architects are thus confronted with designing and planning for a heterogeneous group, consisting of the resident local population with a particular knowledge and desires of the city, and a group of "others", whose knowledge of the city is mediated by re-presentations.

"The Postcard image of London is very different on the ground" wrote Sir Norman Foster in an article promoting possible re-planning of Times Square. There is a danger that Tourist ghettos become parts of the urban fabric - inhabited not by local residents, but by transient aliens, on a quest for an authentic experience of the site/sight.

Manchester, along with other Post-Industrial Cities such as Bilbao (Spain) and Frankfurt (Germany) have used Architectural commissions to attempt to re-present themselves and attract Tourists.

Manchester, the focus of Schinkel's studies in the 19th Century has rebranded itself through the successful exporting of its distinctive music industry. The bombing of its central city area by the IRA has, ironically, enabled a re-planning of the city. Derelict industrial buildings and institutions have been renovated by "event centres", theatres, concert halls and apartments. These commissions have often been given to architects from outside the respective cities - further reflecting the embracement of "others". Architect Santiago Calatrava has built a bridge over the "rediscovered" Manchester canal system, as well as over rivers in the Basque city of Bilbao, and his "home" city of Valencia.

The public and private sectors of the Bilbao have planned major projects to transform the city and make it a centre for 'European trade, tourism and culture'. The main attraction which has set Bilbao on the international cultural map is the new Guggenheim Museum designed by American architect Frank Gehry. This US$120 million, titanium clad, sculptural architecture has been built on disused railway land adjacent to the river- its image is now synonymous with Bilbao, as is the Opera House "sails" with Sydney and their success has lead other cities to seek similar results.

New Zealand has recently completed the construction of a national museum: The Museum of New Zealand - Te Papa Tongarewa (Te Papa). Its reception has been mixed and its inadequacy has been contrasted with the success of Bilbao's Guggenheim. Te Papas architectural failure is seen by many as a missed opportunity to place New Zealand on the architectural global map.

But, it is contended that the comparisons between these two institutions is questionable, specifically with regard to their differences in objectives and programs, and more generally, in their divergent histories and relationship to tourism, and the theoretical discourse that frames it.

The issues of tourism in New Zealand are complicated by the reputation of its "naturalness" drawing tourists, rather than its cities. Tourist representations "frame out" the built environment, focussing instead on the cultural, natural and sporting aspects of the country. Architecture is merely a framer of, and supplement to, the sights of New Zealand Tourism.

While it might be possible to frame tourists visiting New Zealand within MacCannell's "modern society", there is resistance to grounding it within Post-Industrial planning discourse. The internal relationships of New Zealand's bi-cultural population, and in turn, their relationship to the "other" of tourists, and the ground upon which they meet is complicated and shifting.

Through both the site and sight of Te Papa, it is suggested that to frame New Zealand tourist planning on a Post-Industrial site is not necessarily appropriate.

References:

Architecture New Zealand: Te Papa special issue, edited by S Bohling. Auckland, 1998.

Bossley, Pete. *Te Papa: an architectural* adventure. Wellington: Te Papa Press, 1998.

MacCannell, Dean. *Empty Meeting Grounds: The Tourist Papers*. London: Routledge, 1991.

MacCannell, Dean. *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. New York: MacMillan Press Ltd, 1976.

Urban Planning in Brazil: Paradigms and Experiences

Luiz César de Queiroz Ribeiro and Adauto Lúcio Cardoso
IPPUR
Universidade Federal de Rio de Janeiro
Rio De Janeiro
Brazil

Introduction

The purpose of this study is to identify the main urban planning standards in Brazil, as they were historically formulated, and also their utilization in given experiences. We define an urban planning *standard* as a set of principles orienting both the "diagnosis of urban reality" and the definition of the form, object, and objectives of the proposed intervention. The analysis we propose here seeks to avoid the risks of studies focusing exclusively on the internal logic of urban planning, dealing with urban planning ideas on the basis of its relationship with the fundamental dynamics and orientation of "social thought" in Brazil.

One recurrent aspect in the ideas and practices of the urban planning in Third World countries is the importation of models developed in Europe and USA. Still, the presence of "foreign" ideas does not occur without certain adaptations. These are what allow for adjustment of such forms of discourse to the prevailing issues and representations in social thought, locally.

The social history of the emergence of urban planning, in Europe and the United States, shows that the "social issue" there appeared as the axis and objective of knowledge and intervention. Urban planning thought thus appeared early in the century in clear association with social reform ideas. In the Brazilian case, however, this relationship has not been so clear, and urban planning has thus acquired a certain ambiguity. An adjustment wass thus needed for this discourse to serve the country's "real" needs. The notions of *modernization, development,* and *nation-building* are the main themes subsumed under the social issue and that give a distinctive character to the discussion on urban issues in Brazil.

The urban issue within the social issue: representations of "urban problems" in Brazil and the resulting planning standards

Some trends of social thought have marked the concepts of the city and how such concepts oriented the planning models adopted at various moments in Brazilian history. They characterize the presence - and particularly the absence - of the urban issue in debates on the social issue. This absence - which is quite significant in itself - appears to reflect the fact that our reformers have organized around different themes from those of their First World counterparts.

The general setting of our argument comes from Touraine's analysis of Latin America (Touraine, 1989), which pointed to the difficulties in establishing a political discourse and collective action for class interests, as occurred in Europe. In Latin America, a sharp division between the elites and the masses, the social exclusion of broad sectors of society, and the restricted citizenship originating from late, narrow, and dependent industrial development have characterized the continent's social and political segmentation. Collective action is thus marked by three different and even contradictory dimensions: class struggle, modernization, and nationalism. To integrate

these three themes, one thus turns to "integrating myths", among which two are more important to the Brazilian case: *nationality*, a populist ideology with both exclusive and integrative effects; *developmentalism*, a style of modernization characterizing national unity when the state increases it capacity for integration and initiative.(Touraine, 1989:158-159). Nationalist and developmentalist ideologies, backed frequently by authoritarian regimes, responded at least in part to the needs for integration that tended to superimpose on class interests.

Based on these considerations, we can see how in given "theoretical/political" contexts the integrating myths of "nation" and "development" imposed themselves as both the central themes in social thought and the motor for reform action. For the issue that interests us, we will further stress how such myths were frequently associated with an anti-urban bias.

The urban issue in the First Republic (1880-1930): philanthropy, hygienism, and technocratic objectivism

The legacy of slavery appears to have left deep marks on social thought in Brazil throughout the Old Republic. It was slavery that determined the "racist" tendency in the concepts pointing to both our people's supposedly atavic inferiority and "whitening" as a task for civilizing the country. In was in this sense, and to meet the needs raised by expansion of the coffee-growing sector, that immigration policies were implemented aiming primarily at improvement of the [Brazilian] race. This discussion concerning the formation of our "people" in fact shows the kind of displacement affecting the social sphere, the true object of which was the nation. To a greater or lesser degree, all of the various discourses of the time tended to present a nation "without a people", or rather, without an organized, organically constituted society, capable of establishing nation-building dynamics on its own.

In the search for alternatives, intellectuals assumed the self-ascribed role of society-organizers and nation-builders (Pécaut, 1990). Still, this intellectual mission was only to materialize through state action. In was in this sense that a "state ideology" was established (Lamounier, 1985), the hallmark of which was "technocratic objectivism", the organizing principle for the enunciation of national problems and the state's rationalizing action. "Ruralism", in turn, sought to build the Brazilian nation through its "rural essence". This was a line of thinking that ascribed to the countryside the fundamental bases for nation-building: nature and man. Such concepts were to lead (mainly in the thinking of Alberto Torres) to state intervention aimed at restoring the land tenure structure, with emphasis on small farms and orienting non-predatory use of nature. As its counterpoint, the city was seen as a harbor to artificialism and often corruption.

While cities were seen as the "*locus* of disorder", it was also common to view them as an expression of national backwardness in comparison to the modernity of international metropolises. Such concepts were reinforced by the country's adherence to international trade (Cardoso, 1972). More extensive exchange with modern products and civilization led to a denial of the past, mainly slavery, but also indigenous images, together with a desire to identify with a European model (Sevcencko, 1983). In this context, urban interventions aimed mainly at creating a new image of the city, in accordance with European aesthetic models, allowing the elites to materialize their distinctive symbols relating to their new condition. Modernization thus became the organizing principle for urban intervention. Still, such modernization had a kind of non-universalness as its main characteristic. In fact, the new elites sought desperately to remove the illiterate, uncivilized, mestizo

populace from sight - both their own and that of foreigners. Urban reform created a city just for show, or as the Brazilian saying goes, *"for the English to see"*.

Throughout the period of the First Republic, interventions in cities occurred through the so-called "plans from improvements, beautification, and expansion", which did not consider the city as a whole, concentrating rather on either focused interventions (as in the Pereira Passos Administration, in Rio de Janeiro) or sectoral ones (as in the "Plan of the Avenues", in Sao Paulo). It was only in the 1920s that debate began on the need for urban planning in Brazil, particularly in the specialized press, culminating in the invitation to Agache to draft a plan for Rio de Janeiro. In Rio de Janeiro, the urban reform promoted by the Pereira Passos Administration aimed at producing a new image of the city, which would also mean a new image of both the nation and the new elites (Sevcencko, 1983). The latter considered the city a strategic place for their political and social proposal and needed to create new mechanisms for representation and social distinction at the symbolic level. This kind of urban intervention, oriented towards a project (and image) of modernity based on imported models, led to a tacit acceptance of exclusion. The Pereira Passos Reform in Rio de Janeiro completely ignored a huge area, occupied by the masses, a territory marked by exclusion, informality, and lack of norms.

Urban affairs in the Vargas Period (1930-1950)
During the Vargas period, politically identified with populism, one observes two shifts in the conceptualization of the social issue, at society and state level. Poverty was seen as an obstacle to modernization and nation-building (Gomes, 1982) and the liberal state was seen as anachronous, since the nation to be built needed rational intervention by [public] power, reinforcing the belief in technocratic objectivism. The state would have to confront poverty, through a policy of valuing labor as both a way to social climbing and a duty for citizens. Labor was seen as a means to serve the fatherland and build citizenship.

In the representations expressed by the *Estado Novo* elites, the development of social policies in the field of housing had a strategic meaning, because it both increased labor capacity and produced social peace and preservation of the family. It seems strange that at the time the city was not approached thematically as the object of intervention to shape behavior, particularly if one considers that the basis for legitimating the Vargas regime had a strong urban slant. This ambiguity can be explained by the persistence of an anti-urban bias in the intellectual and technical circles that were drafting new ideas for social policies, since new representations are slow to spread. The weight of anti-urbanism can also be explained by the fact that the regime persisted for years through a pact between sectors of the dominant classes where regional oligarchies carried considerable weight.

In general, the standard of urban planning that prevailed in this period developed upon American and French influences. Briefly, their main characteristics were the following:

1. An organicist conception in formulating their diagnosis. The category of natural and social environment structured a discourse condemning reality and sustaining a concept of the ideal city.
2. Beautification, monumentalism, and social control over the use of the central areas orienting intervention in cities. Major operations including renewal/construction and standardization of social practices.

Such characteristics of the standard underwent a transformation in Brazil, not in terms of their basic categories, but in the ultimate goal of their utilization. This meant that the nature of discourse on hygiene and functionality was much more to support modernization and affirm Brazilian nationality than to propose social control per se. It was a matter of reproducing urban ideas, practices, and morphologies that synthesized modernity, as expressed in the "civilized" countries. The opposition between "past and future" thus assumed a fundamental importance in the expression of this standard.

Modernization as a possibility was generally expressed in the various plans in a [socially] inclusive way. Taking the city as a whole as the object of intervention, the plans expressed regulatory mechanisms that were expected to decisively influence the masses' living conditions, even considering the emphasis on reform in urban centers. Still, the relationship between the plans and actual public regulation did not come about. The plans produced norms that were doomed to not being obeyed, thus creating an abyss between the "real" and the "legal" city. We could say that this was a characteristic of the standard, producing plans that created standardized spaces, but that tacitly "accepted" spaces outside their sphere of regulation.

During this period, the hygienic-functional standard described above was mainly developed through Rio de Janeiro's master plan, drafted by Alfred Agache. The influence of Agache's visit extended over a broader field, since there is mention of his indirect participation in drafting the master plans for Porto Alegre and Curitiba, among other Brazilian cities. São Paulo implemented its "Plan of the Avenues", and Recife also developed its urban master plan. We should point out that all these initiatives occurred under the aegis of intervenors named by the Vargas Administration.

The urban issue in the era of developmentalism (1950-....)
Technocratic objectivism predominated now in the formulation of the urban issue, at the service of national-developmentalism. The nation-building proposal shifted to the economic sphere. This ideology further succeeded in articulating this project with a practice of accelerated modernization based on internationalization of the economy.

Sociology was to become one of the most important fields for the development of such ideas. First, through the "sociology of development", which soon led to "theories on marginality". In this line of thinking, a dualistic concept of society was consolidated; in addition to the opposition between the countryside and city, referring to the duality between tradition and modernity, there was another opposition within cities, between the "integrated" and the "marginalized". Such theories tended to stress the inability of the new urban-industrial standards to absorb labor, in addition to the inability of new migrants to adopt the "urban way of life", thus forming a vicious circle reproducing marginality. This phenomenon was referred to as "sociopathic urbanization". In addition, it was assumed that nation-building would never again be pursued through a "rural essence", but rather through an industrializing and modernizing perspective, seen as the country's "redemption", the formula for overcoming our backwardness, etc. Nation-building thus hinged on modernization, which implied urbanization. The latter would allow the country to break with the parochial views persisting in small rural villages, counterposing them with a social perception identified with nationalism.

During this period the city became an issue, first as an economic problem, i.e., as one of the aspects to be faced under development policy. The issues of "nation" and "modernization" subsumed the "social issue", leading our reformers to approach the urban issue as a development issue. Still, at the end of this period, and beginning mainly with the emergence of social movements in the city, the social sphere began to predominate in the approach to the urban issue. Throughout this period, various concepts identified possible parameters for intervening in the urban panorama. To the extent that the urbanization process became one of the fundamental elements in modernization - either in the positive sense or because of its "perverse effects" - urban planning was implemented as an important tool in the formulation of diagnoses concerning urban problems. Together with the hygienic-functional standard, which was requalified with the adoption of principles from the Athens Charter and a functionalism based on the "city-machine" concept, new models emerged, shaping into a dispute for intellectual hegemony in the field, as we will see below.

The standard that prevailed during this period was also built on the basis of imported ideas, no longer the organicist and functionalist principles, but proposals for administrative rationalization. In Brazil, this standard assumed the urban sphere as an economic development problem to be given rationalizing administrative handling. It was no longer a matter of creating the ideal city, but of managing existing cities with efficiency, eliminating "distorted" foci resulting from "dysfunctional" economic growth. It implied a shift from architecture to economy. The basic characteristics of this approach were the following:

1. A developmentalist conception in formulating the diagnosis [of the urban issue]. "Urban problems" were seen as growth dysfunctions. The concept of "city" was replaced by that of "urban" and "urbanization", whereby one conceived of "urban problems" on a regional or national scale.
2. The object of intervention became state power at local level, to the extent that the causes of "urban problems" were seen political obstacles to public management of the city or either insufficient economic development. Administrative modernization were the fundamental objectives of urban planning action. The plan and the planning process played the role of organizing and rationalizing public action vis-à-vis cities. Urban policy was centralized, and the notion of a national planning system was established.

These ideas became widely prevalent in Brazil in the post-war period through the systematic activity of Federal agencies like SERFHAU and CNDU. However, they had already been discussed previously in some institutions like IBAM (the Brazilian Institute for Municipal Administration), IBGE (the Brazilian Census Bureau), and IAB (the Institute of Brazilian Architects). This standard gained hegemony at a moment when "urban contradictions" were already clearly emerging and shaping into a conflict of interests over the appropriation of the benefits of urbanization and state action. In the heavily authoritarian political context following the military *coup d'etat* in 1964, this standard produced a "technification" of urban problems, thereby "de-politicizing" them.

Conclusion
Beginning in the late 1970s, a new theoretical/political situation began to take shape, the developments of which still affect us Brazilians today. On the one hand, we find a certain decadence in national-developmentalism, the result of the failure of conservative modernization (beginning in 1964) to implement an inclusive development model along the lines of European or American

Fordism. In addition, the kind of modernization actually promoted in Brazil led to serious conflicts in the field of trade union organization and living conditions, fueling a hot dispute over the benefits generated by state action.

In the field of social thought, the critique of national-developmentalist ideology consolidated with the emerging social issue as its thrust - with the workers' issue in the field of production and the urban issue in the field of collective consumption. Handling the social issue came to be understood in its specificity and not as the necessary result of economic growth. As a result, the *urban reform movement*, that emerged during the constitucional making period, gained strong legitimacy and promoted a new concept of *urban master plans*, where the redistributive instruments were central. However, recent trends in city management, founded on neoliberal ideas are challenging *urban reform* ideas.

References

ABREU, Mauricio. "Da habitação ao habitat". Seminário "Habitação Popular na Primeira República". RJ, FCRB, mimeo, 1984.
_____. Os bestializados. O Rio de Janeiro e a República que não foi. SP, Cia. das Letras, 1987.
GAUDIN, Jean-Pierre. *L'Avenir en Plan: technique et politique dans la prévision urbaine - 1900/1930*. Paris, Ed. Champ Vallon, 1985.
GOMES, Angela de C. "O redescobrindo o Brasil". GOMES, A. M. de C. et allii. Estado Novo: ideologia e poder. RJ, ZAHAR, 1982.
_____. A invenção do trabalhismo. RJ, Vértice, IUPERJ, 1988.
GOMES, Eduardo R. "Campo contra cidade - a reação ruralista à crise oligárquica no pensamento politico social bradileiro". Tese de mestrado. RJ, IUPERJ, 1980.
KOWARICK, Lucio (org.). As lutas sociais e a cidade. RJ, Paz e Terra, 1988.
LAMOUNIER, B. "Formação do pensamento político autoritário na Primeira República: uma interpretação". FAUSTO, B. (org.) História geral da civilização brasileira. SP, Difel, 1985.
MAGRI, S. "La rationalisation urbaine dans les projets des reformateurs en France, 1900/1925". Trabalho apresentado na conferência "Reestruturação Urbana: tendências e desafios", organisada pela International Sociological Association. RJ, mimeo, 1988.
PÉCAUT, D. Os intelectuais e a política no Brasil. RJ, Atica, 1990.
SANTOS, Wanderlei G. Cidadania e justiça: a política social na ordem brasileira. RJ, Campus, 1979.
SEVCENKO, Nicolau. Literatura como missão. SP, Brasiliense, 1983.
SUTTCLIFFE, Anthony. "La naissance de l'urbanisme officiel en Grande Bretagne - 1910/1911". In Extenso, n° 11. Paris, 1985.
TOPALOV, C. "De la question sociale aux problemes urbaines: reformateurs et travailleurs a Londres, Paris et New York au début du XXeme siécle". Trabalho apresentado na conferência "Reestruturação Urbana: tendencias e desafios", organizada pela ISA. RJ, mimeo, 1988.
_____. "De la planification à l'écologie. Naissance d'un nouveau paradigme de l'action sur la ville et l'habitat?". Anais da 5a. Conferencia Internacional de Investigação sobre a Moradia. Montreal, julho de 1992.
TOPALOV, C. e MAGRI, S. "De la cité-jardin à la ville rationalisée. Un tournant du projet réformateur, 1905/1925". Revue Française de Sociologie, XXVIII. Paris, 1987.

BOLSHOI VLADIVOSTOK: REALIZING COMMUNIST URBANIST GOALS IN THE LATE SOVIET ERA

William Richardson
Liberal Studies Program
University of Washington Tacoma
1900 Commerce Street
Tacoma, WA 98402
USA

Introduction

Founded in 1860 as a naval post, today Vladivostok is Russia's largest city located on the Pacific Ocean. It owes its existence to its excellent natural harbor and its position at the far south-eastern extremity of the Russian land mass, which made it the logical terminus for the national Russian railroad, the Trans-Siberian. From a population of only a few dozen sailors inhabiting primitive barracks during its early years, the city now has a population of over 700,000 and is the center of an urban region of more than a million. The city's early growth was haphazard, and only over time did it develop in a more rational way. The military, bureaucratic, and capitalist city of the early years of this century was changed only superficially by the Bolshevik Revolution, but with the advent of the Five Year Plans, and the consolidation of power into the hands of Joseph Stalin, the city began preparing to transform itself into a model Soviet urban center.

Vladivostok was altered substantially during the Stalinist era, though it did not experience the wholesale transformation called for in the centrally-approved master plans of the 1930s until the post-war, indeed post-Stalin era. None the less, the city experienced a fundamental transformation during the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s. Vladivostok's economic and industrial infrastructure was changed substantially, providing opportunities for greater economic expansion and the realization of some of the long-standing dreams of the city's population which dated back more than half a century. Vladivostok's inhabitants, from the beginning among the most cosmopolitan in the country, were subjected to significant social and political engineering during the Stalinist era. Chinese and Korean inhabitants were gathered up and expelled from the city. Ethnic Russians and Ukrainians were arrested and executed for potential treason, and the city's principal cultural institutions were purged of anyone suspected of less than perfect loyalty to the Revolution and to Stalin. Ironically, at the same time, plans were drawn up for the complete transformation of the city into a model of socialist urban planning in the Russian Far East, and the preeminent example in East Asia and along the Pacific Rim of what was seen to be superior Soviet urban planning. The architectural and planning legacy of the Tsarist past was to be modified, adaptively reused, and in many cases completely ignored in the process of creating a new Soviet city. Older buildings were destroyed or remodeled, new streets and avenues planned, and at least some new Stalinist buildings were constructed. Overall, however, these plans were thwarted by the Second World War, especially threatening because of the city's exposed position so distant from the center of Soviet military, economic, and political power, and only in the 1950s did the hopes of the 1930s again begin to be discussed seriously. In the decade following the end of the war, the country had to recover economically and militarily. Improving urban amenities was given little attention. It was only in the late 1950s that ambitious plans for the city's expansion and reconstruction would begin to be discussed, planned and implemented.

"Vladivostok's Second Birth" -- Khrushchev's New Initiatives

By the end of the fourth decade of Soviet rule, it was recognized that while the Soviet Union had recovered in many ways from the dislocations and destruction of World War II, the quality of life of Soviet citizens had not kept pace with the country's tremendous economic, technological, and military growth. In many cities throughout the USSR, impressive plans were laid for a significant improvement in the lives of the nation's urban population. Vladivostok was one of those cities.

Many of the changes taking place in the city during the decade of the 1950s resulted from the visit by Nikita Khrushchev and other members of the Central Committee in 1954, after which significant investment was made in building and rebuilding the city and its suburbs. When Khrushchev returned in 1959, on his way home from the United States, however, he found a city of almost three hundred thousand residents that had not yet reached its full potential as a model Soviet urban center. Having looked around the city once again, Khrushchev spoke to a crowd of fifty thousand in Avangard Stadium, telling them that "Vladivostok is a fine and beautiful city, but it can and must be made better, more beautiful, more comfortable." It was his comments that made possible preparations for the entire reconstruction of the city, a project that would prove in reality to be the most ambitious plan for the city's rebuilding in Vladivostok's history.

The preliminary plan that resulted from initial meetings called for the construction of a million square meters of living space in the city, part of which was to be made possible through the introduction of newly-perfected mass-produced pre-fabricated housing in the city suburbs. Enormous new housing estates with apartment buildings of five to nine stories were to be created in the Second River District (on the site of the city's old airfield, made redundant with the construction of a new airport considerably farther to the north) and along the streets reaching up to the twenty-eighth kilometer mark on the Trans-Siberian Railway. These were to be the city's first genuine *mikroraiony*, and fishing villages and outlying settlements found themselves surrounded and given new economic orientations by this all-encompassing construction. Most impressive to the city's inhabitants, probably, were the first sixteen-story apartment buildings in the entire Soviet Far East, built on the site of the old Korean *sloboda*, along 100th Anniversary of Vladivostok Street, now the main boulevard entering the city from the north. Similar housing projects appeared in eastern and southern parts of the city: new though smaller housing estates were built on the Shkot and Goldobin peninsulas; *Minnyi gorodok*, the old military settlement originating in the 1860s, became a new *mikroraion* in the eastern part of the city, along Patrice Lumumba Street, and included what was to become the largest park in Vladivostok. Within the city as a whole, the plan called for a large number of new schools and kindergartens, eleven new motion picture theaters, 227 kilometers of new water lines, 115 kilometers of new asphalt roads (only three or four main streets in the city were paved with asphalt before 1955), and a capital investment of 312 million rubles for the reconstruction of the port. Beyond the city limits, a new investment of 312 million rubles for the reconstruction of the port.

academic city was to be built at the thirtieth kilometer mark on the railway in the north, and a series of Young Pioneer settlements would be established in ecologically pristine forest and seashore zones. Finally, it was agreed that with all these projects, the city itself would reestablish its connections with the sea, which it had ignored for decades, and that it would find some way of dealing with the city's ubiquitous and constantly frustrating hills. All these preliminary ideas would be combined into the master plan for building what was to be called "Bolshoi Vladivostok," or Great Vladivostok.

"Great Vladivostok" -- The Ideal Communist City

These draft plans began to be realized as the 1960s passed. Housing was given the highest priority. The officially-stated goal was to double the amount of living space in the city within six years and eventually to provide every citizen with a legally-designated number of meters of living space. Central sections of the old city would be subjected to urban renewal, with multi-story apartment and office blocks scattered about in the midst of historic structures from the past. The greatest investment in new housing was to be made in the suburbs, however, utilizing almost exclusively the new technique of mass-produced pre-fabricated materials. These new residential complexes extended even beyond what was called for in the initial plans: to the south, new housing was to reach to the very end of the Shkot Peninsula and to the east it would stretch to the edge of the Ussuri Gulf. Great attention was given to the "greening" of the city as well, and recreation areas were given special attention by planners and inhabitants alike. The most important project was the new stadium to be built on the site of the old Semenovskii Market, where the first civilian landholding in the city had been located. Dynamo Stadium would replace what had become a dirty and insalubrious part of town with what was to be the city's principal sports facility.

Development of the city's basic infrastructure kept pace with these more highly-visible projects. More buses with expanded routes were added to the forty that operated in 1955. The tram system was extended out to the Goldobin Peninsula after 1960, and eventually reached Diomed Bay (the older system, which carried eleven million passengers a year in 1931, was carrying fifty two million by 1959, and was in serious need of expansion). The city sewage treatment system was expanded, the new airport was improved, and by 1965 the first trolley buses in the Soviet Far East appeared on the city's streets. The central railroad station was refurbished, and an impressive new *Morskoi vokzal*, or Sea Station was built between 1959 and 1964. Immediately across the tracks from the historic station, the new sea terminal was built in the simple stripped-down design typical of so much Soviet architecture of the early 1960s. Its glass facade along the waterfront was broken with fourteen columns, while its three stories facing the railway lines were broken into clearly identifiable floors, offices, hotel rooms, and work areas.

Housing remained the focus of these years of the project, however, and while there came to be some criticism of the poor quality of construction of the new apartment buildings, none the less people were provided new housing with toilets, electricity, and running water that they were not compelled to share with anyone but their immediate families. For the importance of all this to be appreciated, it must be remembered that housing in Vladivostok, most of it communal, had been deplorable at best from the early years of Soviet power. These projects meant that by the 1960s,

Vladivostok was becoming genuinely modern in many ways. By 1968 the first pre-fabricated twelve-story apartment buildings were being constructed in the former Korea Town, in the central parts of the city. It was a striking transformation of the city that had confirmed its position as the most important Soviet urban center on the Pacific.

The Realization of Great Vladivostok under Brezhnev

Nikita Khrushchev's forced retirement had no significant impact on the central government's commitment to the expansion of Vladivostok. The city's development continued at a brisk pace throughout the next two decades. Much that had been planned under Khrushchev was ultimately completed under Brezhnev and his successors, and Vladivostok was transformed. No project symbolized this improvement better than the development of the Sports Harbor to the west and south of the new Dynamo Stadium. The stadium itself had first been built by Japanese prisoners of war, but was rebuilt twice afterward by Soviet laborers. Nearby there was to be a new oceanarium (opened only in 1991, it was the first one in the Soviet Far East) and to the north up the bay, a floating "Delfinarium" for beluga whales and dolphins. A new yacht club was built on a breakwater stretching out into the bay, and an enormous Olympic sports complex was constructed adjacent to the stadium itself. The Sports Harbor was made the city's principal beach, and on warm weekends the area was crowded with citizens swimming, watching sports competitions, sailing, listening to music, or simply enjoying the view or the sunshine. The beach itself was expanded to the south, and a new seashore swimming complex served the entire city as well as the residents of the new *mikroraiony* being constructed above the beach.

Vladivostok was changing in other ways as well during these years. The infrastructure continued to improve. The rebuilding of entire neighborhoods continued at a rapid pace. The Goldobin Peninsula was designated as a region for the city's fishermen, for example, and the Egersheld Peninsula was defined as a residential neighborhood for the sailors of Vladivostok's merchant marine. The Goldobin region was to have new housing and shops constructed, as well as parks and a stadium to join the movie theater, hotel and House of Culture already there. By 1981 architects were planning for the city's fifty-sixth *mikroraion*, a new home for ten thousand residents, and the city's growth demanded the addition of a fourth district to the city's previous three.

Vladivostok was becoming a large and important city, and from a distance the new housing complexes were impressive and ambitious. Up close, they suffered from careful examination, however. The quality of construction was never high, and the need to fulfill the "plan" in record time meant that quality was always less important than quantity, and the first residents of the new high-rise apartment complexes paid the price for the inadequacies of the Soviet planned economy. The five-story apartment buildings of the 1950s and 1960s (commonly known as *Khrushchoby*, a combination of Khrushchev and *trushchoba*, slum) often had to be repaired shortly after construction, and all of them needed substantial repair (*kapitalnyi remont*) within a decade of their completion. The new apartments were located in anonymous apartment blocks with no individual character. Behind them were derelict courtyards and in front of them landscaping was never completed. Stores and other communal facilities were years behind schedule, and residents had to travel to older sections of the city to make even the most basic

everyday purchases. Stairways and elevators soon came to be used as garbage dumps and public urinals. Pride of ownership was lacking everywhere but in people's private apartments. The neighborhoods had no real soul, and the alienation produced by the ubiquitous massive apartment complexes was the same to be found in most other Soviet cities of the time. For all their successes, the planners and architects of "Bolshoi Vladivostok" had not been able to give real life to the *mikroraiony* they had created any more than many of their compatriots designing public housing in the West had done. Ironically, it was those residents of the city who lived in the old historic center who were most satisfied with their living situations, not because of the comfort of their sometimes older apartments, but because of the vitality, variety, and convenience of the central city that surrounded them.

Late Communist Gigantomania

Context and size relationships were always a problem for architectural projects in the former USSR, and the ambitious plans for Vladivostok resulted in as many grandiose and out of scale structures and spaces as they did in other Soviet cities. Monuments and memorial complexes were particular temptations, and Lugovaia Square, with its memorial to Admiral S.O. Makarov, was typical of the enormous and often poorly-maintained urban spaces to be found throughout the Soviet Union on its fiftieth anniversary in 1967. The functionalist addition to the old pre-Revolutionary, Siberian *moderne* Churin and Company store on Leninskaia Street, executed in the early 1970s, was a deliberate affront to the architecture of the past in much the same way the Palace of Congresses in the center of Moscow's Kremlin had been. They both were intended to mark the divide between the world of the past and the idealized, scientifically rational world of the future, and they both ended up looking out of place. The decision to build in such a modernist style in Vladivostok was a significant one because of plans to redesign entirely the city's main street, Leninskaia, by connecting it more effectively to the hillside and the bay, to open it up to the water, to widen it, and to plant trees that were to give it a more pleasant, "natural" feel. It was a project that did not bode well for other sections of the city's historic center, and the new ten-story city administration building of 1977, located on Okeanskaia Street only a few blocks from Leninskaia, suggested that other larger-scale projects were in preparation.

For decades, writers and politicians had lamented the city's lack of a large open assembly space. A 1970 book about Vladivostok argued that the city needed a central open space such as that provided by Red Square in Moscow. Without it, the author concluded, the city seemed unfinished. The result was that the pleasant, park-like plaza to the south of Leninskaia, facing the harbor, was converted to a large paved square lacking any vegetation. It was dominated by a large monument to the heroes of the Civil War, dedicated in 1961, but expanded significantly later when statues were added to make the previously understated memorial far more impressive within the context of the empty openness of the city's new central square.

It was this square that was to be the new center of the city, and an ensemble of huge new buildings were to be built around it. On the east side of the square a modern functionalist administrative structure for the city's shipping industry would be built. To the west would be the House of Soviets, the central administrative tower for the Primorskii Krai government, with a large meeting hall adjacent to it. Designed by Moscow architect E.G. Rozanov in a typical late-

Brezhnev style, and completed in 1983, this building would come to dominate the center of the city. Dehumanizing and intimidating, with security befitting Soviet bureaucracy, the building became a symbol of the overweening power of the Soviet state in the late communist era, and remains to this day an example of the worst of Soviet architecture and urban planning. These buildings all originated with the Khrushchev plans of 1960-61, and while the designs of the nineteen sixties were somewhat different from those of the nineteen eighties, the spirit behind them was the same. If anything, the Brezhnev plans for the overall reconstruction of the city were more restrained than those adopted during the time of Khrushchev, probably because the later planners had a more realistic understanding of budgets and financial realities.

Conclusions

When Mikhail Gorbachev visited Vladivostok in 1986, he found a city that had been fundamentally changed by communist rule. It had more and better housing than at any time in its history: thirty new *mikroraiony* had been built since the 1950s, with more than seven million meters of living space. The city's infrastructure, public utilities, and transportation system were much improved from what they had been in the past; a new hotel nearing completion, the "Amur Bay," would be one of the largest in the Soviet Far East, and a new Pioneer Camp to the north of the city along the Ussuri Gulf was as extensive as any elsewhere in the Soviet Union. *Perestroika* meant that it would soon be possible for foreign firms to be hired to remodel the Sea Station (a project of the Italian firm Tegola Canadeze), and the former outpost and military fortress was becoming a window to Asia and the booming economies of the Pacific Basin. Warships of the United States navy made an official visit to the city in 1990. Yet at the same time as all these positive developments were taking place, as John Stephan has pointed out, there was extensive prostitution because of the large number of sailors with hard currency in the city; it could take longer waiting in line to buy an Aeroflot ticket to Moscow than the flight itself took; fresh fruits and vegetables were frustratingly difficult to find in winter; families were living on ships in the Bay of the Golden Horn because there was not enough housing for them on shore; citizens could wait decades for an apartment; and the city's sewage treatment consisted of pouring raw sewage into Peter the Great Bay. Unfortunately, conditions did not improve with the collapse of communism in 1991.

In the final analysis, the legacy of Soviet planning in Vladivostok was mixed, then. Its successes were apparent and striking, as were its failures. Much was done, but much was done poorly. Planning was often imaginative and thoughtful, but execution rarely realized the goals of the architects, landscape planners, and engineers who envisioned a city that would overcome the inadequacies of planning in capitalist society. In the end, Vladivostok did become a *Soviet* city during the last thirty years of communist rule, with all the benefits and drawbacks that implies. And it is with that legacy that the city lives today.

Origins of Green Cities: an applied planning historical study

Dr Maurits van Rooijen
International Education Office
University of Westminster
309 Regent Street
London W1
United Kingdom

As an example to illustrate both the risks and the rewards of applied planning historical research, I will use my own research into the origins of the planning of the 'Green City'. Being by origin a historian, my research into the planning of green open spaces in (European) cities was executed according to the academic rules of the historical discipline. However, the intention behind it was quite different from conventional historical research. The aim has been not to illuminate the past, but to clarify issues of the present discussions about the future of, and the future planning for, such open space. Historical studies which explicitly aim to support the debate concerning present policies and issues , in other words, with a focus on the future rather than purely on the past, can be referred to as applied historical studies.

Often in planning history elementary mistakes arer made regarding retrospective interpretations and the selective accumulation of evidence. At the same time, pure historical research into planning issues tend to have limited relevance for the present or, if it does, this sometimes seems to be nearly accidental. In this contribution, I will demonstrate how one might treat past and present as equals.

Background

My research about the origins of green city planning started in the late seventies, and continued into the eighties. At that time, the green open spaces in most major European cities were suffering from an economic recession forcing urban authorities to rethink the post-war town planning which had dictated a certain amount of green open space. The parks, the squares, the stretches of nature along roads and in between housing blocks, suffered in silence by having had maintenance budgets slashed. The labour-intensive rose features disappeared rapidly, the neat-cut lawns were transformed into wild flower fields. Soft ecological ideas and hard economic reality were allies and forced planners to reconsider the traditional shape of our green cities. At the same time, town planners started to question the space-consuming creation of suburbs and new towns, which depended so much on transport (the energy crisis having showed the weakness of this policy) and deprived the inhabitants of urban cultural excitement (the family and its 'boring' life-style was no longer the dominant norm).

It is obvious that a discussion about the future of green town planning, a discussion which was clearly looking for a new direction, had to be linked to the very origins of this planning. What were the original motives and intentions? Gaining insight in the past would help the present discussion about the future. And this might be considered as the very essence of any applied (planning) historical study: its starting point is not in the past, as with conventional historical studies, but is firmly rooted in the present. One could argue that implicitly many, if not almost all, historical studies are in a similar situation, but an applied historical study could be considered different because it explicitly seeks to be so. Such a study does not consider it as an evil, though it should recognise the risks, as I will describe later. *Its prime drive is not so much*

to gain a better understanding of the past, but to gain a better understanding of the present, thus the study of the past is a means, not an aim.

However, doing academic research is quite different from writing a political manifesto. My purpose was not to defend the interests of green spaces in the city. There was no implied conservative urge to stop the current ideas and concepts of green town planning from being pushed aside by new concepts, I only wanted to set these new concepts into a time perspective, possibly even give inspiration for fresh ideas. At the same time, change was not an aim either. The study tried to influence the discussion, but only in order to making it a more informed discussion, rather than trying to influence the outcome of the discussion. Being open-minded about the present, allow the researcher to be open-minded about the past. And this is the second, sometimes extremely difficult, feature of applied historical studies: *The applied historical study is to be a historical study in its own right, executed according to good academic-historical practice.*

In truth, there are many bad examples of studies in which history is only used to support a vision of, or an argument about, the future. The role of history is then to supply 'evidence' in a nearly random fashion. Or, in a non-political sense, history is analysed with the final outcome (the present) already firmly in mind, so all the lines lead straight to the perceived destiny as determined trends. It should be obvious that this approach might seriously distort the historical reality. In the words of H.Butterfield: 'The study of the past with one eye on the present is the source of all sins and sophistries in history' (Butterfield, *op.cit.*, pp 51-52). Such a study is of no academic value and will fail to' add really new or sound insights to the discussion about contemporary issues, the very aim of the study. It is therefore crucial that anyone who attempts applied historical research is aware of the risks involved in such a study, and is cautious about possible examples of 'interpretation with hindsight' (*hineininterpretierung*, as Burckhardt called it). To summarise the two key features of applied historical research into one simple statement, I argue that in such a study *one should consider the present and the past as equals, treating them both with appropriate academic respect, and integrate them purposefully into one study, rather than attempting to keep them separate.*

Though I accept that one might opt for a more normative than positivistic approach (to which I am personally more inclined), I do think that in such a case this should be stated explicitly at the outset of the study, to clarify viewpoints and to avoid any possibility of misleading the reader.

The basics of green town planning

My study had a strong focus on the Dutch town planning history, though I have tried to enrich the study with results of more or less comparable research in other countries such as United Kingdom, Germany and France. I cannot claim any direct relevance of my views for green town planning world-wide, except that in a simplified form it could be used as a reference for similar studies.

The purpose of this article is not to prove that my analysis of green town planning is academically solid, but merely to indicate what potential and limitations such an applied historical approach might have. for this purpose, I will limit myself to just two themes which emerged during my studies. I will present the case for identifying long term trends. But first, I present briefly the results of the 'ad fontes' approach: the identification of the historical basics. I consider that one of the elementary forms of applied history is to seek a confrontation of the

present-day situation with the original intentions. So, what might be, from a purely historic perspective, the main fundamental motives behind green town planning?

My research made it clear to me that each basic motive in green town planning has its own past and they can be listed, therefore, according to the lengths of their historical roots. For the sake of clarity, I have identified what are arguably the main historical roots, with suitable labels.

I *Open Space*

Obviously the oldest form of nature is the very absence of cities: common ownership and the absence of planning. Such forms of 'green' are not designed, but merely exist. Elements, such as the commons in England, have survived. They are rough, lack sophistication and do not really fit urban civilisation. Yet the concept of community ownership has never disappeared. During the twentieth century, revivals of the concept, though not very successful, took place in the 1920s and 1970s. The origin has remained with us over the centuries, in the opinion that green open spaces in or around cities are to be respected as left-over nature. The view is still present in the idea that green space really belongs to us all.

II. *Public Garden*

The gradual opening up of enclosed private parks to the wider public, as happened in the 17th to 20th century in cities such as London, Paris, Berlin, Vienna, and basically all over Europe, was a political phenomenon, illustrating the changes in power in society and the recognition by the ancien regime of the need for concessions to maintain or recover some social harmony. Yet the physical form of the public park retained the features of the private garden and the design was still very much a high culture based art form. 'Ownership' remained with the King, the State, the Authority. The public park was a gift to the people (ie those who were willing to adjust to higher class norms) and offered respectability for socialisation, for conspicuous leisure, a compromise of higher and lower cultures and classes.

III. *(Villa) Park : Beautification*

The creation of villa parks and green suburbs was initially the triumph of the middle classes. The park offered the wealthy a setting for desirable villas and creating a park could be a profitable enterprise. The green environment was the environment for high rate tax payers and the economic value was evident in more than one respect. Many were therefore not created by business but resulted from direct involvement of local authorities. Squares, avenue, boulevards, all could be considered an economically sound investment. At the same time, these green forms of beautification supported the civic pride, particularly of the middle classes, who considered such forms of green spaces very much their own. They harmonised with the well-designed, well-maintained gardens, with indoor plant collections, with holidays in the mountains or on beaches and outings to the countryside.

IV. *Garden City and Suburb*

It was people like Haussmann who integrated green spaces in all forms and shapes in a total concept of town planning. It took someone like Ebenezer Howard to give green design an ideological dimension as 'a peaceful path to real reform'. Green town planning and societal values became closely linked during the twentieth century. Green was not an option, but it

came to be considered as an important means in creating a healthy society. All people should be stimulated in using green spaces. The people's parks were born. Parks offered popular, not elitist sports. Scientific evidence was supplied to reach quantitative norms. In an urban planning blue print, green spaces were integral and well-defined elements in proper proportion to housing, work and traffic. Different types of green space were identified as part of a total package. Achieving balance between stone and nature, separated at ground level, yet part of the whole at the higher level, was the modern assignment of the town planner. Under influence of improved transportation and communications, this higher level went continuously higher: town extension, city, greater city agglomeration, region, nation, continent/globe region.

V. *Green Cities?*

The green town planning of the moment seems to have started to move in the direction of ecological sound 'green' cities. Urban environment and ecological values are becoming intertwined. We seem to have witnessed the birth of a more holistic vision on the role of open spaces within the city, not so much as counterpoise offering areas for escape from city life but rather as an integral part with a less clear or even absent distinction between 'stone' and 'green'.

The questions which are behind the origins mentioned very briefly above, are amongst other: Who decides? And for which purpose, on which basis? Who are the target groups? What is the intention of the design? How is the creating financed? How is maintenance financially ensured? How does it function in practice? How adaptable is it over time to new demands and uses? Unfortunately, in this brief contribution I cannot discuss such questions in much depth.

The five historical origins of green town planning mentioned here, combine a possible explanation of the values or motives of why we plan and create green cities with their actual shape. The historical origins are still with us and explain the diversity of green open spaces in cities and also explain our mid set when it comes to discussing the green town planning. They show continuity, yet paradoxically, also illustrate the changes which have and will occur over time when it comes to green town planning at all levels. In my study I have tried to consider the function with the form, the purpose with practice. The study seeks to illuminate the debate about future direction of green town planning by showing the dynamics and by stressing the time-dimension, which is extremely important for infra-structural development. It clarifies, by simplification, the complexity of this particular facet of the planning process. It helps to identify how truly 'new' certain arguments or ideas are, or how radically different. The key issue is that this approach allows for a confrontation between the contemporary discussion and what might be considered the original intentions or origins. It should inspire but cannot determine the outcome of the debate.

Long term trends in green town planning

One of the weaknesses of policy discussions is the involvement of politicians who are rarely exited by time-dimensional aspects which reach further than one term of office. But most planners will agree that in the case of infra-structural works, there is a clear argument for considering an investment-span of up to a century. The very long term trends, spanning centuries, are often ignored, not just by politicians, but also by planners and equally by historians who are nowadays inclined towards studies of very short periods in time.

It is impossible to summarise here, in just a few lines, a rather complicated analysis of long term trends which have shaped the European green cities from medieval times. One line of argument

concerns the process of suburbanisation, normally considered as a typical twentieth century phenomenon. In my study I argue that suburbanisation developed very gradually over the centuries, initially affecting only the happy few; and importantly, that because of the feared economic implications of this, city fathers had, quite early, a reactive policy which helped the birth of the modern green city. Besides considering the actual numbers and distances involved in the suburbanisation process, I included specifically the economic dimension.

Initially (15th-16th and 18th centuries) only the very rich - the economic cream - would leave the city. This process developed in stages, first with summer/weekend residences, which later became homes for those who took retirement away from the city, and finally lead to a permanent escape from city life. This process can be understood in terms of pull and push factors as well as in stimulating and restrictive conditions. An example of a pull factor is the low cost of living in the countryside. An example of a push factor is the perceived high risk in terms of criminality, fire, ill health associated with living in large towns. An important example of stimulating conditions is the technical development of modes of transport.

An important example of restrictive conditions is what I have referred to as *anti-skimming* policies of the large cities: policies to re-address the pull and push factors, e.g. by creating quite open, green areas for settlement within the city boundaries for those with higher incomes. I also demonstrated that initially cities would not just create such 'green' town planning in order to retain their own inhabitants but, because they already had a certain attraction in this respect and by strengthening the spacious features, they would have an opportunity to attract residents with higher incomes from other, larger cities. Thus as early as the beginning of the 19th century (in The Netherlands from 1820s) the (villa) parks were important in attracting higher income residents with the aim of stimulating the local economy. Green town planning became a key element of the anti-skimming policy, which primarily intended to retain relatively wealthy inhabitants.

In the 20th century an emphasis had to be placed on 'relatively', since the exodus from the city started to affect lower and lower income groups, causing a serious economic crisis in some of the large European cities. Not only did the economic scale become larger, but also the geographical scale. The possible emergence of a European sunbelt could be placed within this long-term trend. At the same time the old green cities are having to face increasing levels of maintenance costs and in the long term might be at risk of an economic implosion, possibly contributing to the creation of a European rustbelt.

Despite this very brief and simplistic summary, I hope it is clear that one could argue that such an approach, with a focus on very long term trends, could lead to fresh views and offer an original framework to contemporary discussions by showing possible consequences of (planning) policies not yet foreseen. But at the same time, one should balance such a positive conclusion with a summary of the main risks associated with the presentation of long term trends, as attempted in this example. The study

- might be suspected of supporting a (hidden) political agenda:
- could be conceived as having a limited relevance to the contemporary debate
- might be inclined to a speculative nature and therefore of lower academic credibility
- could be at risk that the description of such trends is interpreted as a prediction of the future.

References

Butterfield, H (1951) *The Whig Interpretation of History*, New York.

van Rooijen, M. (1984) *De Groene Stad* (The Green City); The Hague.

_____ (1990) *De Wortels van het Stedelijk Groen* (The Roots of urban green spaces), University of Utrecht.

_____ ed., (1994) *Geschiedenis in de Praktijk* (History in Practice), The Hague.

_____ (1990) 'Garden City versus Green Town : the case of Amsterdam 1910-1935', *Planning Perspectives* 5: 285-293

Economic, Social and Symbolic Strategies behind a National Law: Italy, 1942

Michela Rosso
Facolta di Architettura
Politecnico di Torino
Torino
Italy

The paper intends to highlight how a national town planning law (the Italian law of 1942) concludes lengthy period, begun in the 1880s, of cultural debate and professional rivalry. The protagonists of these debates and rivalries were sanitary and civil engineers, sociologists, reformers, economists, town council officials, archaeologists, art collectors, and lastly, architects. This process underlines how alliances between elite urban groups with different interests in the land and property market were formed and defined on the evaluation of the historical heritage and on possible morphological innovations.

This was, however, not just a cultural process. The law came to be written by means of a series of approximations, especially by means of a series of detailed plans that mainly involved the reconstruction of the historical centres of some Italian cities: from Turin to Naples, from Bergamo to Rome. A 'new law' was therefore experimented not in the development areas, but in the reconstruction of those parts of the cities that put at stake the most important symbolic values. These situations make it easier to understand the reasons for the close connections between symbolic and economic strategies, between the unlikely protagonists of the urban stage (such as art collectors or archaeologists) and the definition of the rules that were to govern the construction of contemporary Italian cities.

The town planning law of 1942 is therefore advanced both as regards the cultures that brought it about (giving rise to an internal hierarchy over the years), and the operators and the market. The plans for the reconstruction of Italian historical centres caused collective groups to be formed, such as the Association of Small Owners, capable of organising demand, or economic groups, such as insurance companies, capable of operating at least at block level. These groups were carriers of often incompatible ideologies and concepts of modernity that the law was not able to reconcile and that were to clash when post-war construction took place.

This law of 1942 that defined town planning as a 'machine' organising knowledge and professions, interests and symbolic values, is also the law that originated the general town planning scheme as an essential instrument for the control of urban growth almost as a necessity. Born from a rich and contradictory series of procedures, the law was not to transform the knowledge of the rules that is constructed over time into an idea of a law that becomes an everlasting truth over the years. For these reasons, the law emphasised the contradictions it was formed from: it was modern as regards the way it was created, but conservative as regards the principles it wished to guarantee. It supported liberal rules but delineated procedures for putting it into practice that entailed the impersonal regulation of the albeit imperfect land and property market, it was also juridically defined in a corporative state (the Italian Fascist regime), but it basically disregarded the practical role of the professions.

This law substantially adopted the 'winning' theorists of the long decision-making process (architects and polytechnic cultures) who were defeated in the end when, during the reconstruction period, the law was used to govern a market where the place, the family, the heritage, the symbolic value of a building or even just a part of it, was to distort the competition.

The paper intends to underline how town planning, even when the rules that govern it are the result of a long decision-making process, are constructed around the conflicts of the protagonists, are partially experimented, does not necessarily reduce the distance between the representation of the actions contained in the law and the procedures followed for the construction of the city. The reconstruction of the succession of events that led to the Italian town planning law of 1942 drives home the fragility of historiographical and theoretical formulations that limit themselves to proffering complexity (of society and spaces that no longer respond to quantitatively measurable behaviour, but that can also be easily narrated in the form of more or less consolatory parables) as the key to interpreting the successes or failures of contemporary town planning.

This succession of events that safeguarded town planning procedures saw, as in the case of Italy, the different detailed plans on which the law was constructed, that should have ensured that close attention was paid to the various protagonists and the different times of formation of the constructed city, become, in reality, the stage that allowed some promoters to construct an independent position (both political and economic) that was to allow them to put their hands on post-war reconstruction and carry it out outside the framework of regulations that had been so arduously defined.

The case study proposed for discussion in the final part of the paper, the reconstruction of via Roma in Turin, is intended to be an attempt to highlight how in more than thirty years (a long time before the Fascist state proposed reconstruction) consent was constructed around the operation, how the protagonists acted and defined themselves during the reconstruction of via Roma, how the symbolic plan determined the formation of alliances that did not just concern the elite groups of Turin.

The paper also intends to show how those alliances, those actors on the stage before the Second World War, become the protagonists of the reconstruction of Turin, even when the construction of the city was to involve new development areas and no longer the city centre. The symbolic strategies had to change, but not all the figurative languages, in substance other designers were called to give shape to industrial Turin, even if the strategists of the more sizeable building operations were to remain the same.

The most important Italian industrial city, the city with the largest land and property market and therefore closer to that imagined by those who had, when writing the law of 1942, thought of it in terms of almost perfect competition, that city where it should have been easier to apply a law of general principles and therefore more likely to be successful where values (both economic and symbolic) tended to separate themselves from social and cultural contexts, was to define its own general town planning scheme, as will be illustrated by another speaker at the conference, outside the framework of the cultures and principles contained in the town planning law of 1942.

In fact, the case study of Turin opens up a whole debate on town planning as a process that creates, and not only regulates, market, culture, techniques and professions.

References

F. Ventura, Le premesse alla legge urbanistica italiana, in Dossier,l,1982,p.192segg.

G. Zucconi, La città contesa, dagli ingegneri sanitari agli urbanisti, Jaca Book, Milan 1989

F. Choay, L'allegorie du patrimoine, Ed du Seuil 1992

C. Olmo and B. Lepetit, La città e le sue storie, Einaudi, Turin 1994

L. Mazza, Trasformazioni del piano, Franco Angeli, Milan 1997

M. Rosso, Torino 1918-1945, in Storia di Torino, Einaudi, Turin 1998

Millennium Paradigms and *fin de siecle* Urban Climate

Robert Samuels
School of the Built Environment
University of New South Wales
Sydney, New South Wales

Urban Climate and Global Climate Disruption

The ubiquitous *thermally-polluted* city is an emergent phenomenon of the 20th century, yet the livability and sustainability consequences of our urban thermo-genic lifestyles are still little appreciated. At the turn of the millennium, awareness amongst urban ecologists seems to be centred on energy and greenhouse gas or $CO_{2\text{-equivalent}}$ emissions consequent on the burning of fossil fuels. However vital this energy-environment equation, it is *heat* which is the essential, active component of climate change - the importance of the greenhouse gases being their *heat absorbing* capacity. The relationship between energy and heat has a covert cosmic agenda: the consumption of energy inevitably resulting in the production of waste heat – even from 'cool' renewable energy use. Once deposited in the urban atmosphere, thermal pollution rises synchronously with the rising greenhouse gases, impacting, thus, on both urban and global climate.

Urban thermal pollution in modern cities can be traced to a few powerful *in-built* factors, namely: thermal embodiment in the urban mass - the heat island effect, and the exclusion of cool islands *ie* of natural evaporative coolers (trees) and heat sinks (water). Exacerbating factors include urban design which ignores the ingenious geometry of ancestral urban shadowing and ventilation configurations, morphology dominated by car-friendly orthogonal (right-angle) street grids, and climate-rejecting, air-conditioned tower buildings - where the 'urban canyon' effect distorts air circulation patterns and traps solar radiation. Yet, these cities are creatures of this century alone, while self-evident in the urban form of 'old cities' - despite their differing climatic and socio-cultural realities - is frequently an organic streetform and always a human-scale builtform which seem to embody millennium–old notions of habitability and sustainability, as valid in the 21st as the 12th century.

When evaluating old cities as possible models for new urban neighbourhoods it is vital to take a detached view, to consider: their design as *generic potential* rather than as prescriptive, the climatic congruency inherent in the street geometry, the socio-spatial coherence of the superimposed urban activities, and the sense of place - not the dark, fetid alleys and dank, sun-starved buildings. Contemporary technology and solar efficient design can largely overcome these primitive health and amenity compromising aspects.

Urban Climate and Habitability

Heat Stress and Thermal Discomfort

'Sensible heat' is influenced by urbanisation since impervious surfaces limit evaporative cooling, heat is stored in the urban mass, and albedo reflections bounce around urban canyons, all resulting in a diminished heat exchange capacity in cities, and hence an increase in thermal discomfort (Oke, 1982). Night-sky flushing, a natural cooling strategy, is further compromised in tropical cities with small diurnal variations in temperature and, moreover, by global warming, which is most evident at night. Heat-stroke currently kills about 4,000 people in the USA alone during an average year (www.tdh.texas.gov).

Thermal Pollution and Air Pollution

On a *warm* summer day evaporative emissions of volatile organic compounds (VOCs) from motor vehicles are about three times higher than on an average winter day; and the probability of photochemical ozone-smog increases by 5% for every 0.5°F rise in temperature (www.LBL.gov). Respiratory infection (from all causes) causes 4 million deaths worldwide with 250 million new cases being reported annually (Platt, 1996); while increased respiratory-mortality rates, attributed to urban air pollution, have been specifically observed in large tropical (hot) cities (Jauregui, 1990). Asthma pandemics seem to be prevalent in cities everywhere now, from London to Sydney.

Urban Climate and Urban Form

The design philosophy proffered here, as a theoretically sustainable and habitable re-solution for thermally-polluted cities, accepts the millennium-city paradigm as an appropriate generic model for 21st century urban neighbourhoods. Insolation and ventilation at the metropolitan scale are two fundamental principles requiring resolution, but the complexity of their interactions can be daunting (Samuels, 1998).

Street Geometry

Organic Grids

The climatic and human advantages of organic streetform cities have been attested to by urban theorists over the centuries. Vitruvius suggested directing streets away from prevailing winds; Alberti observed that winding narrow streets minimise the effects of climatic extremes; Cornelius commented that Nero enlarged the streets of Rome and it became hotter; and Palladio recommended that streets be broad in cities with cool climates, but narrow with high houses providing shade in cities with hot climates.

> .... medieval townsmen, seeking protection against winter winds, avoided creating wind-tunnels (broad, straight streets). In the south, the narrow street with broad overhangs protected pedestrians against both rain and sun...(Mumford, 1961/91)

In contrast, modern cities world-wide have taken on a 20th century form immensely influenced by Le Corbusier. Although he later recanted some of his more extreme views, in his *City of Tomorrow* (1924) the foundations for the climate-rejecting, culturally-indifferent, energy-profligate and car-polluting city were laid:-

> ...a modern city lives by the straight line...the curve is ruinous...we should view the rectilinear cities of America with admiration...where the orthogonal [grid] is supreme, there we can read the height of civilisation...we must de-congest the centres of cities in order to provide for the demands of traffic...

Urban Canyons

High-rise towers, particularly those forming a contiguous streetscape, deflect winds downwards towards the side-walk, rain is driven laterally, dust is raised, and turbulent winds accelerate along the artificial canyon. An organic or cellular streetform, however, naturally breaks up the wind-tunnel canyon. Theoretically, where streetscape height and setback and façade-angle are varied, and buildings are interspersed with shaded, air-cooled and water-cooled spaces, tunnel effects should be minimised as thermal-chimney effects are maximised.

Heat Islands, Cool Islands, and Heat Sinks

Cities are heat islands. Determining national Heat Inventories, indexed by city, is vital future research that should be required by Rio Climate Change Convention signatories currently generating greenhouse gas source-and-sink inventories – since heat emissions are no less critical to regulate. The temperature of the urban air dome can be from 5 to 10°C higher than surrounding countryside (www.NASA.gov). Trees provide shading against solar radiation, and are natural air-conditioners, transpiring and evaporatively cooling the air around them – and besides their fundamental roles of sequestering carbon from CO_2 and oxygenating the atmosphere they purify the air by absorbing odours and dust (Bernatzky, 1966), and smoke, SO_2 and NO_2 (Robinette, 1972). Vegetated areas also double as heat sinks, and all water bodies are both coolers and sinks.

The temperature measured on a sun-drenched black tarred road and on the grass in the shade of an adjacent tree can vary by 14.5°C (author); Givoni (1991) observed a 15°C reduction in the temperature of walls shaded by trees. Multiplied tens of thousands of times, by integrating water and vegetation into buildings, streets and throughout cities, these impacts <u>cannot</u> be negligible.

Cool Buildings, Hot Cities

Inadvertently, refrigerative air-conditioning of buildings warms the urban domain. Heat is pumped from a building's interior (which is a heat sink, having thermal inertia) to the outdoor-air heat sink (Lechner, 1991) - raising its temperature by the amount cooled indoors, where it rises to the greenhouse mantle. It should be feasible to direct this waste-heat to sinks other than the urban air mass – to water stored inside buildings, for instance, which can then be usefully employed.

Mixed-Use Urban Domains

Separation of land-uses automatically involves travel, suiting the motorised-vehicle based 20th century city, but air-and-heat pollution are endemic consequences, besides the inherent socio-economic irony: the grid-iron inevitably becoming grid-locked.

The decentralised nature of the [old] organic city prevented needless circulation - it kept the whole town in scale (Mumford, 1961/91);

All streets within the medieval town were markets of some kind (Saalman, 1968)

The Heart of Paris: 500 years ago, or tomorrow? (Source: Rudofsky, 1969, *Streets for People*)
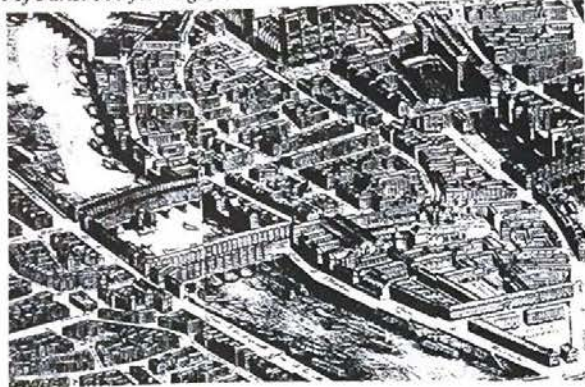
It seems conceivable to re-create pedestrian-domain, cellular urban neighbourhoods (with 'living' bridges, and earth-cooled, cyclone-proof underground buildings *a la* Toronto) serviced by subterranean mass transit and surface light-rail and bus systems powered by hydrogen-fuel-cells or hybrid solar energy. Old cities for new climates?

From yet another perspective, a mixed-use **urban** domain with a dense network of pedestrian-oriented streets naturally populates an area, resulting in heightened animation and natural surveillability opportunities, especially 'afterdark', thus potentially reducing crime and victimisation opportunities and fear experiences. The climatically-appropriate narrow **and** curved street need not conflict with *sightline* requirements for safe places, **since a** relative widening of the street form (also advantageous for daylight penetration), in combination with a multiplication of urban nodes - where streets intersect and 'dilate' – could readily accommodate lines-of-sight (Samuels, 1995 & forthcoming).

'Cool' Renewable Energy and Urban Ventilation

21st century cities will enjoy the advantages of cool power: solar power stations, and solar cells (photo-voltaic and photo-synthetic) and wind-turbines integrated into the building and urban fabric itself. Renewable power thus generated throughout a city could be stored on the electricity-grid, with a power station ultimately becoming *the battery*. Moreover, it could be used to power wind-turbines which, if strategically located in air-cooled parks and at the water's-edge would not only generate more power themselves, but could, theoretically, help semi-naturally ventilate hot (especially tropical) cities.

There is, however, **an** ecological fallacy hidden in the apparent renewable energy panacea. Give humans clean and abundant energy and will we not use as much as we

can? thus inadvertently destabilising the global thermal balance. The El Nino oscillation, arising from a periodic warming of Pacific Ocean water, already shows signs of being out of kilter, with widespread ramifications – exceptional droughts and forest fires (Indonesia and Brazil), towns engulfed by flooding rivers and mud-slides, cyclones and hurricanes wreaking havoc – and consequent huge displacements of eco-refugees. Not to mention the Antarctic ice shelf in melt-down mode…

Climate-*Change* Cities

For the first time in human history, millennium-paradigm climate-appropriate design is about to be superceded by climate-change imperatives. The only reasonable logic at this point in time, in response to our unique 20th century urban planning experience, is to practice precaution (pre-empt where possible), and to consciously inseminate and disseminate an ecological ethic. Because energy and heat emissions lead independently and synergistically to global warming, the emergence of a *sufficiency* ethic must parallel the pursuit of *efficiency* as long-term goals. We are part of nature, not apart from it; whatever we do to nature we do to ourselves.

Given that population numbers, energy and resource consumption, and greenhouse gas and heat emissions continue to increase exponentially, will renewable energy cities, carbon-heat sink cities, naturally-cooled cities, and climate-change appropriate cities emerge rapidly enough to avoid melt-down? Little matter that the 'millennium' is a Christian, Western myth (only starting in 2001), the magic of the number 2000 and the potency of this once-in-a-thousand-year opportunity does seem able to mobilise planetary consciousness. It is our special responsibility to ensure that it does: the United Nations Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (the IPCC) now acknowledges that we are having a *discernible anthropogenic effect* on the climate.

> In the end the crucial change is attitudinal
> (David Suzuki, *The Sacred Balance*, 1997)

References

Bernatzky, A. (1966), *Climatic Influences of Greens and City Planning*, Anthos, No. 1: 23.

Givoni, B. (1991), *Impact of Planted Areas on Urban Environmental Quality: A review*, Atmospheric Environment, Vol 25B, No.3: 289-99.

Hiller, B. and Hanson, J. (1984), *Social Logic of Space*, Cambridge Univ. Press, NY.

Jauregui, E. (1990), *Tropical Urban Climatology and the TRUCE Project*, African Urban Quarterly, Vol 5, Nos. 1&2: 126.

Lechner, N. (1991), *Heating, Cooling, Lighting: Design methods for architects*, Wiley, NY.

Morris, A.E.J. (1972/94), *History of Urban Form: Before the Industrial Revolutions*, Longman Scientific & Technical, NY.

Mumford, L. (1961/91), *The City in History: Its Origins, its Transformations and its Prospects*, Penguin.

Oke, T.R. (1982), *The Energetic Basis of the Urban Heat Island*, Quarterly Journal of the Royal Meteorological Society, Vol 108, No. 455: 1-25.

Platt, A.E. (1996), *Confronting Infectious Diseases*, in: L.R. Brown et al, State of the World, Earthscan Publ, London.

Robinette, G.O. (1972), *Plants/People/and Environmental Quality*, US Dept. of the Interior and American Society for Landscape Architects Foundation, Wash DC.

Saalman, H. (1968), *Medieval Cities*, George Braziller, NY.

Samuels, R. (1995), *Defensible Design and Security – University Campuses*, DEET, AGPS.

Samuels, R. (1998), *Urban Climate and Urban Pollution: Sustainability and Habitability in Urban Environments*, Proceedings of the First 'Quality of Life in Cities' Conference, Singapore.

Samuels, R. (forthcoming), *Afterdark Design and Night Animation: A community-security approach to CPTED*, Journal Arch. & Planning Research (JAPR) Special CPTED Issue.

The Twentieth Century Planning Experience: The Official Story versus Insurgent Representations

Leonie Sandercock
Department of Landscape, Environment and Planning
RMIT
GPO Box 2476V
Melbourne
Australia 3001

This paper sets out to revise planning history, to offer not one 'official history', but many histories, to diversify both the themes and the subjects of these histories. If diversity, or difference, is a defining characteristic of multicultural cities, why is that not reflected in our accounts of city-building? For planners there is a further challenge. There are several senses in which history has power and bestows power. In constructing histories of itself, the planning profession is moulding its members' understanding of past struggles and triumphs, and simultaneously creating a contemporary professional culture around those memories, those stories. And in choosing to tell some stories rather than others, invested with meaning, and then defended, a professional identity is shaped, process of forging a professional identity? What are the erasures and exclusions implicit in the of planning, its *noir* face? What are some of the hidden meanings and practices

I begin with 'the official story' of planning history, the story that we desire to believe about ourselves. It is a heroic story. But is it a true story? Or is it a myth, a legend? At the very least, there is a *noir* side to this story, which also needs to be told. Further, the official story is the story of planning by and through the state, part of a particular tradition of city-building and nation-building. But there are, and always have been, alternative traditions of planning, existing outside the state and sometimes in opposition to it. These *insurgent planning histories* (Sandercock 1998) challenge our very definition of what constitutes planning. They also provide a foundation for an emerging alternative (to the modernist) paradigm for planning in multicultural cities. In that sense, they provide us with a 'future imaginary'.

The Official Story

In most countries a course in planning history is a required part of any professionally accredited planning program. But what is it that students read in such courses? The sub-field of planning history has emerged as part of the discipline of planning (rather than as a sub-field of history, like urban history) only in the last thirty years. Since the first major works in the 1960's - J.W. Reps' *The Making of Urban America: A History of City Planning in the United States* (1965) and Mel Scott's *American City Planning since 1890* (1969) - interest in the field has grown and its scope has broadened. There are now many volumes of essays on the subject - the best known and most widely used of which are those edited by Donald Krueckeberg, *The American Planner: Biographies and Recollections* (1983) and *Introduction to Planning History in the United States* (1983), and Daniel Schaffer, *Two Centuries of American Planning* (1988). There is a more recent

best-seller by Peter Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow. An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design in the Twentieth Century* (1988), the scope of which goes well beyond US planning history. And there are a host of historical case studies of particular pieces of planning history, covering an era, an agency, a city, or a theme. Almost without exception these studies come from within planning, and are unabashedly modernist in their orientation. What does this mean?

What is planning history? What constitutes its proper field of inquiry? The answer given by the historians identified above is a fairly simple one:- to chronicle the rise of the planning profession, its institutionalisation, and its achievements. There are various strands to these histories: from the emergence of the profession itself, to accounts of the key ideas and/or people (always great men) shaping the emergence of planning, to histories of specific policies within the field, housing, transportation, garden cities, and so on. All of these works employ a descriptive approach in which the rise of planning is presented as a heroic, progressive narrative, part of the rise of liberal democracy with its belief in progress through science and technology and faith that 'the rational planning of ideal social orders' can achieve equality, liberty and justice (Harvey 1989:11-13). The choice of individual hero or heroes in these narratives may seem to be quite eclectic, with some championing Ebenezer Howard, others Patrick Geddes or Le Corbusier, as the founding fathers of the profession, and most giving prominence to such local heroes as Daniel Burnham, Frederick Olmsted and Robert Moses. But beyond these individuals, planning itself is the real hero, battling foes from left and right, slaying the dragons of greed and irrationality and, if not always triumphing, at least always noble, on the side of the angels.

In these modernist portraits of planning, which I refer to as mainstream planning history, planning has no fatal flaws. If battles are sometimes, or even often, lost, it is not the fault of the hero but of the evil world in which he must operate. Common to these mainstream histories are the following characteristics. The role of planning and of planners is unproblematic. It is assumed that planning is 'a good thing', a progressive practice, and that its opponents are reactionary, irrational, or just plain greedy. It is assumed that planners know what is good for people and possess an expertise that ought to prevail (in a 'rational' society, at least) over politics. It is taken for granted that planners have agency - that what they do and think has autonomy and power. It is seen as natural and right that planning should be 'solution-driven', rather than attentive to the social construction of what are held to be 'urban problems'. There is no scrutiny of the ideology, the class or gender, race or ethnic origins or biases of planners, or of the class, gender, or ethnic effects of their work. The rise of the profession is a cause for celebration rather than critical scrutiny.

For example, Mel Scott's *American City Planning Since 1890* outlines what have become the traditional themes of US planning historiography:- beginning with the attempts to grapple with issues of urban sanitation, slum housing, and population concentration on the part of late nineteenth century reformers and settlement house workers, followed by transformations in the city's built environment according to the standards of the City Beautiful campaign in the early part of the twentieth century; the development of a 'scientific' foundation for the profession under the crusade of the City Functional movement; the emergence of planning at regional and national scales by mid-century; and finally, a call for a renewed human-centered comprehensiveness. In this sweeping narrative, Scott offers the history of urban planning practice as an almost seamless evolutionary continuum in which ideas take root, mature into legislative

proposals, which in turn give birth to planning agencies and institutions, which must then develop procedures of policy implementation. Along the way there are many obstacles, which the hero, with his 'will to plan', must overcome. My own history of Australian city planning from the 1890's to the 1970's, *Cities for Sale. Property, Politics and Urban Planning* (1975), followed this same pattern and adopted more or less the same sets of assumptions, which I subsequently critiqued in the Introduction to the second edition (Sandercock 1990).

Peter Hall's *Cities of Tomorrow* chooses a dozen major themes, rounding up all the usual suspects -- slum and sanitation reform, the garden city, the City Beautiful, the birth of regional planning, the Corbusian city of towers, the automobile city, and more -- and devotes a chapter to each. His method is to trace these themes to the ideas of a few 'visionaries', most of whom lived and wrote in the decades straddling the turn of the twentieth century, and then to follow the fate of these grand ideas and visions as others (implicitly lesser mortals) seek to implement them. Hall's main theme, which he describes as 'the real interest in history', is individual human agency. He wants to show, in the face of what he calls the economic reductionism of Marxist historians, that individuals can and do make a difference, 'especially the most intelligent and most original among them' (Hall 1988:4-5). Hall's heroes are Ebenezer Howard and Patrick Geddes, the 'fathers' of modern city planning - 'there were, alas, almost no founding mothers' (Hall 1988:7) - and their interpreters in the New World like Lewis Mumford, Clarence Stein, Stuart Chase, Benton MacKaye, Rexford Tugwell, and Frank Lloyd Wright. But there is an elegaic note to his narrative in his lament over the gap between the visionary quality of the ideas and their diluted impacts 'on the ground', where sometimes these grand ideas are 'almost unrecognisably distorted', and indeed, after a hundred years of planning practice, 'after repeated attempts to put ideas into practice, we find we are almost back to where we started' (Hall 1988:11). What begins as an evolutionary tale then, ends in a kind of circular finale and lament. But Hall seems unable to offer any satisfactory explanation for this gap between vision and reality, perhaps precisely because he chooses to focus on individuals rather than on social forces. In his story, therefore, it is the *idea* of planning which is the true hero, rather than the practice.

What is missing from these mainstream/modernist histories? At the most fundamental level - ontological and epistemological - there has been a failure to address two basic questions. What is the object of planning history? And who are its subjects? The boundaries of planning history are not a given. These boundaries shift in relation to the definition of planning (as both ideas and practices) and in relation to the historian's purpose. If we define planning as bounded by the profession, and its objective as city-building, then we generate one set of histories. If we define planning as community-building, we generate another. If we define planning as the regulation of the physicality, sociality, and spatiality of the city, then we produce planning histories that try to make sense of those regulatory practices over time and space. But in emphasising planning as a regulatory or disciplinary practice, we may miss its *transformative possibilities*, which in turn may be connected to histories of resistance to specific planning practices and regulatory regimes. The writing of histories is not simply a matter of holding a mirror up to the past and reporting on what is reflected back. It is always a representation, a textual reconstruction of the past rather than a direct reflection of it.

Mainstream planning historians have typically seen their subject as the profession, and their object as describing (and celebrating) its emergence. There have been two significant

consequences of this approach. One is the absence of diversity in these texts. The other is the absence of any critical/theoretical perspective. These sins of omission are the *noir* side of planning.

The rest of this paper will provide concrete examples of alternative planning histories which, hopefully, also provide us with an alternative 'future imaginary' with which to confront current urban regimes of privatisation and globalisation.

REFERENCES

Sandercock, Leonie (1998). ed. *Making the Invisible Visible. A Multicultural Planning History.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

_____ (1990) *Property, Politics, and Urban Planning. A History of Australian City Planning, 1890-1990.* New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Press.

Paris or New York?: Contesting Melbourne's Twentieth Century Skyline[1]

Ben Schrader
Postgraduate Student
History Department
University of Melbourne
Parkville, Victoria

In 1997 the Melbourne City Council released a new strategic plan which has the potential to dramatically change the face of central Melbourne. In line with the State Government's pro-development objectives, the plan is designed to promote rebuilding in the city by introducing more flexibility and less regulation into the municipality's planning controls. Among other things, the plan recommends the lifting of mandatory height limits throughout much of the Central Business District and increasing the base 'plot ratio' from 6:1 to 12:1, a measure which could allow the doubling of the height or bulk of city buildings.[2] Public reaction to the plan has generally split between those who support the status quo and those who advocate reform. Concerned that more liberal height restriction could lead to the overshadowing of the Yarra River and Southbank Precinct, the National Trust has come out in favour of retaining the existing height limits, arguing that the "city needs more, not less, sunlight".[3] This perspective is supported by the architect Nigel Lewis, an advocate of more low and medium density developments in the city. He suggests that Melbourne should emulate central Paris, where buildings are subject to strict height controls and individual structures are seen as less important than the streetscape as a whole. Lewis argues that "Melbourne, in many ways, is possibly the most European city in Australia. We should be looking to Europe for inspiration and not to the mid-West of the US".[4] On the other hand, Lewis's colleague Norman Day supports a high rise central city, declaring that "The argument that Melbourne should limit itself to low-rise buildings is bunkum. Our model is Manhattan, not Paris."[5]

As the strategic plan is yet to be adopted it is still too early to say whether the Paris or the New York model will win the day. More certain is the fact that neither model will win outright. After all, the prospect of a central city made up of sixty-plus storey buildings is as absurd as the notion that Melbourne should turn its back on the skyscraper altogether. With this in mind, it is apparent that the present debate is more a battle of ideas than material outcomes. At issue is what city, New York or Paris, will exert the greatest symbolic power over the future shape of Melbourne. For those involved in the debate New York and Paris represent ideal cultural landscapes. Among other things, the soaring skyscrapers of New York arouse images of bustling streets, brazen corporate power, and 'life in the fast lane'. On the other hand, the street cafes of Paris offer a less hectic and more sophisticated image of urban life, a place to watch the world go by or debate the meaning of life. Those on either side of the debate believe that reform of the building height limits in the central Melbourne - whether it be further restrictions or greater liberalisation - will contribute to the creation of their ideal cultural landscape in the city.

The present debate is fascinating because it echoes a similar debate that occurred in the city during the 1920s and 1930s. Then, as now, the debate was generally confined to the architectural and planning community in the city. Then, as now, it involved those who

looked to American cities as models for Melbourne's development and those who looked to Europe for inspiration. In turn, the roots of this discussion can be traced to nineteenth century booster material which spoke of Melbourne as the 'Paris of the Antipodes' and the 'Chicago of the South'.[6] The coinage and use of such hyperbolical expressions were designed to increase the international and domestic profile of Melbourne and show that, as with Paris and Chicago, it was, or would become, a city of world significance. By the 1880s, due to the riches created from such commodities as gold and wool, this objective had been realised. In terms of wealth, trade and size, Melbourne had become a city of international significance in its own right.[7] Melbourne's high standing in the hierarchy of world cities was a source of pride to its citizens and served to increase their faith in material progress. This confidence was expressed in the city's built environment, where, during the 1880s and early 1890s, some of the world's tallest office buildings were constructed.[8] However, faith in the city's future was weakened during the 1890s depression, when the fortunes of many of Melbourne's largest, and smallest, companies were lost as the speculative bubble that had supported the city's long boom burst. Confidence was further eroded when, in the middle of the decade, Sydney overtook Melbourne as the continent's largest city.[9] No longer the 'Metropolis of Australia', the city found itself, by century's end, in the humiliating position of (once again) playing second fiddle to its northern competitor.

Subsequently Melbourne entered the twentieth century less assured of itself than it had been a decade before. Festivities such as Federation in 1901 and the visit of the American Fleet in 1908 helped to restore confidence in the city but it was not until the 1910s that this assurance was represented in its built environment, when several large scale buildings were constructed in the Central Business District.[10] While rebuilding was certainly a sign of renewed economic vigour in Melbourne the clouds of self doubt that descended upon the city during the depression had still not fully dissipated. There remained a feeling that Melbourne had much to do in order to regain its former position as a city of world significance. This feeling of self doubt is evident in the interwar debate on building heights in the city.

The debate arose in response to a paper presented to the Royal Victorian Institute of Architects (RVIA) in 1925 by a local architect Marcus Barlow, who called for a revision in the building regulations to provide for the construction of 300 foot, or even higher, buildings in the city. According to Barlow, the high price of city land justified such a measure. Taller buildings, he stated, would enable business to be concentrated into a smaller area, an arrangement which saved valuable space and suited the efficiency demands of modern business. Further, construction costs were cheaper in a tall building, allowing for reduced rentals and lower overhead expenses for the tenant.[11] As Barlow saw it, from a financial and spatial point of view it was "absurd" to continue to limit the height of Melbourne's buildings.[12]

The existing limit of 132 feet had been laid down in 1916 and had aroused little public debate at the time. To most concerned it had seemed a sensible measure and followed in the wake of such cities as Boston, which had banned skyscrapers in 1891.[13] Opponents of tall buildings had convinced the Melbourne City Council that such structures would have a detrimental impact on the city. Not only did they 'steal' light and air from neighbouring structures - a vital consideration at a time when sunshine was the main light source in workplaces - their greater size resulted in increased urban congestion. More frightening was the fire hazard posed by ever-higher buildings.[14] In the words of the historian Michael Holleran, tall buildings "were a terrifying addition to a flammable

landscape."[15] Such reasoning led to many other cities around the world, with the notable exception of New York, to institute similar bans.[16]

Anticipating such criticisms, Barlow pointed out, in this and later addresses, that modern building construction afforded "protection against fire" and cited New York's Woolworth Building which, due to its modern materials and construction, was considered a low fire risk by its insurance assessors. Respecting light and air, he stated that Melbourne's wide thoroughfares could support higher buildings without a deleterious impact on existing natural light levels. He pointed out that "Sydney, with narrow streets, has a higher limit." Concerning congestion, he suggested that improvements to the city's transport infrastructure, such as more central city train stations, would resolve this question.[17]

Central to Barlow's case was his conviction that "absurd restrictions" discouraged investment and inhibited progress, a situation which if not checked would lead to Melbourne's, and Australia's, decline. Issuing a challenge to his colleagues, Barlow asked: "This is a young country, on the verge of intensive development; are we going to stand aside, and see such development retarded? It is the interest of the community that all byelaws are brought up to date, in order that we are allowed to take advantage of this development, and to hold our place among nations."[18] The prospect that Melbourne might slip further down the world urban hierarchy and be reduced to the level of a "Victorian provincial city" was a constant concern of Barlow and his supporters.[19] They looked to the high-growth cities of Chicago and New York, where building construction was less restricted, as blueprints for their own city. Conceding that regulations were necessary to guarantee public safety, the reformers remained adamant that such constraints should not unduly interfere with individual rights or obstruct the development of civilisation.

Prominent among Barlow's supporters was Herbert Brookes, a successful businessman and former Australian diplomat to the United States. In a 1931 address to RVIA, Brookes praised the progressive spirit that drove Americans in "everything" and argued that skyscrapers exemplified the "face of modern urban civilisation". He agreed with Barlow that limiting the height of buildings would interfere "with the development of future civilisation as compared to what is happening in other countries."[20] Brookes is overstating his case here because at the time of his address the United States was unique among Western nations in having an unrestricted building height limit, and that was only in New York. However, this does not mean that all the assertions of the height reformers should be characterised as hyperbole. For the likes of Barlow and Brookes there was a sincere belief that if Melbourne was going to take its place among the 'civilised' cities of the world then it would need to modernise along the lines of New York and Chicago, in their minds, the foremost exemplars twentieth century modernity and civilisation.

Also expressing the desire to forge a civilised, twentieth century metropolis were those who opposed height liberalisation. While agreeing that Melbourne needed to modernise to stave off decline, the defenders of the status quo argued that this could be best achieved through lateral, not vertical expansion. As a former Lord Mayor of Melbourne, Frank Stapley, explained: "there was, in Melbourne, no necessity for extremely high buildings, such as had been erected in New York, because Melbourne, unlike New York, could practically expand in all directions"[21] Although historians such as Thomas van Leeuwen have since shown that spatial restrictions were not a significant

consideration in the creation of New York's high-rise landscape (the Hudson River was not a insurmountable barrier to lateral growth) most people at this time believed otherwise. [22]

Rejecting the notion that the skyscraper symbolised twentieth century civilisation, the opponents of height reform argued that civilisation was to be found, not in the canyon-like and congested streets of New York or Chicago, but along the expansive boulevards and genteel crescents of Paris and London. Inspired by the regular skyline of Paris, the established Melbourne architect Nahum Barnet pondered whether Melbourne should have a minimum, as well as a maximum, building height limit in the city. "This", he stated, "would give to the streets a skyline of grace and beauty." He recommended London's Regent Street as a model for Melbourne believing it to be "the most dignified boulevard of any city in Europe, possibly in the world."[23] Barnet's suggestion for reconstructing Melbourne along the lines of Regent Street was an exercise in fantasy. Nonetheless, his idea that the city should aim for a regular skyline suggests that the critics of height reform were guided by nineteenth century Beaux Arts urban design principles, which stressed the importance of the human scale in city building. As they saw it, the development of a concentrated skyscraper district in the Central Business District would dehumanise the city and make it an unpleasant place to work and live in. It was on these grounds that Kingsley Henderson - the doyen of Melbourne's interwar architects - attacked the reformers. He chastised Barlow for only seeing the issue from a "economic" point of view and ignoring the "humanitarian standpoint". According to Henderson, the abolition of height limits would simply amount to substantial gift of unearned increment to landowners and compel "hundreds of people" to work and live under (inefficient) electric lighting. Such a situation, he suggested, was far from humanitarian.[24] For Henderson and the other anti-reformers the advance of civilisation in Melbourne meant adhering to human scale principles in city building and making sure that the public interest was served alongside those of the property owner.[25]

It appears that the Melbourne City Council was in agreement with this latter view because despite a 1929 submission by the Royal Victorian Institute of Architects to the council to raise the height limit to 150 feet (the same as Sydney's) the council refused to agree, believing that the existing limit was more than adequate for the future growth of the city.[26] The council's decision effectively ended the interwar debate, the issue lying latent until the construction of the multi-storey ICI Building in late 1950s, the appearance of which led to the abandonment of the old 132 foot limit in the city.[27]

The high-rise skyline which arose in Melbourne as a consequence of the abandonment of the height limit shows that Brookes' assertion that the skyscraper was the face of modern urban civilisation was eventually taken-up by Melbourne's city builders. However, the idea that tall buildings epitomise modernity and civilisation is still not accepted by all. As in the interwar debate, those who today support a lower-rise skyline worry that the city will be dehumanised if an open-ended building height limit is instituted in Melbourne. As in the interwar debate, those on the other side are just as worried that Melbourne will slip further down the international urban hierarchy unless such a open limit is achieved. A prime example of this is the planned construction of the world's tallest building in the Docklands area of Melbourne, the so-called Landmark (Grollo) Tower. In a consultant's report prepared for the developers of this project, the writer declared that:

The landmark tower proposal reflects a vision to assign Melbourne the landmark she has so desperately craved for so long....There has been much debate and the search for an image or landmark that symbolises Melbourne...to compete with Sydney's Opera House, bridge and harbour....[The] tower provides the ultimate elegant "bigness" for a global presence that Melbourne seeks to symbolise in the top league of competing world cities.[28]

This is to say that Grollo's tower will provide Melbourne with a 'brand image' that will prove that it is up there with the big players on the world stage. I do not want to sound unduly sceptical, but it seems a rather 'big ask' for one building. Moreover, as the historian Anthony D. King correctly identifies, although the construction of tall and spectacular buildings are designed to present a positive image of a city to other places, in effect, "the public display of size serves less to demonstrate [a city's] superiority than to confirm the consciousness of its inferiority."[29] Buildings such as the proposed Grollo Tower show that the sense of insecurity that Melbourne felt concerning its place in the world at the beginning of the twentieth century still exists at the century's end. That most of Melbourne's city builders continue to use overseas cities as templates for their city's growth suggests that they are largely oblivious to what lies around them. Rather than dreaming of Paris or New York, more of them should search for cultural landscapes and symbols closer to home to confirm their city's identity. Only then, will Melbourne shed its feelings of self doubt and come to terms with its place in the world urban hierarchy.

References

[1] This is a work-in-progress paper drawn from my Ph.D research into the rebuilding of Melbourne's Central Business District between 1910-40.

[2] *The Age*, (3 November 1997) p. C1.

[3] ibid, p. C3

[4] *The Age*, (15 January 1998) p. B3.

[5] *The Age*, (21 June 1997) p. 11.

[6] Briggs, A (1963) *Victorian Cities*, University of California Press, Berkeley, p. 278. The context in which these expressions were made are not stated but it is likely that, among other things, the Paris analogy referred to Melbourne's vibrant street life, whereas the Chicago analogy referred to its rapid growth.

[7] As Briggs points out, in 1891, Melbourne was the third highest rateable city in the British Empire. ibid; Until the 1890s, Melbourne was the largest trading port in Oceania. Davison, G (1978) *The Rise and Fall of Marvellous Melbourne*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, pp. 24-25 and 36-37.

[8] Storey, R and Stuckley, H (1995) 'Gone but not forgotton: the sweet sentiment of remembrance', *Transition*, 47, p. 76

[9] Davison, p. 36.

[10] *The Argus*, (22 June 1912) p. 4. These included the State Savings Bank, Elizabeth Street; the Commercial Travellers' Club, Flinders Street; and the Centreway Arcade, Collins Street.

[11] This was due to their greater height and larger floor area,

[12] Barlow, M (1925) 'Discussion on "Taller Buildings for Melbourne"', *Journal of the Royal Victorian Institute of Architects (JRVIA)*, September, pp. 97-98.

[13] Holleran, M (1996) 'Boston's "Sacred Sky Line": From Prohibiting the Sculpting Skyscrapers, 1891-1928', *Journal of Urban History*, 22:5, p. 55

[14] *The Argus*, (7 September 1915) p. 9; (10 June 1921) p. 8.

[15] Holleran, p. 557.

[16] In 1916, New York introduced an open height limit based on the 'setback' principle. See Weiss, MA (1992) 'Skyscraper Zoning: New York's Pioneering Role', *American Planning Association Journal*, Spring, pp. 201-205

[17] Barlow, M (1925), p. 98.

[18] ibid

[19] Barlow, M (1931) 'Building regulations and the Desirability of Increasing the Heights of Buildings in Melbourne', *JRVIA*, 24:9, p. 17.
[20] Brookes, H (1931) 'Tall Buildings for Melbourne', *JRVIA*, May, p. 44
[21] Stapley, F (1924) 'Abstract of an Address on Zoning and Building Regulations', *JRVIA*, May, p. 4.
[22] van Leeuwen, TAP (1986) *The Skyward Trend of Thought. the Metaphysics of the American Skyscraper*, AHA Books, Amsterdam, p. 92; Sydney's restricted site was similarly used to explain its more liberal (than Melbourne's) building height limit. *The Argus*, (22 February 1929), p. 18.
[23] *The Argus*, 22 February 1929, p. 18. Barnet failed to recognise that Melbourne's rolling topography precluded the city from ever having a uniform skyline.
[24] Henderson, K (1925) 'Discussion on "Taller Buildings for Melbourne"', *JRVIA*, September, pp. 102-03. Barlow admitted that he only looked at the issue from the financial side. ibid. p. 107.
[25] The desire to maintain the human scale and visual harmony of the streetscape led Henderson, and others in the RVIA, to institute an annual medal for best contribution of an individual building to the Melbourne street architecture It was first awarded in 1929. Lewis, M (1994)*Melbourne: The City's History and Development*, Melbourne City Council, Melbourne, p. 120.
[26] *The Argus* (2 June 1928) p. 30 and 12 July 1928, p. 5; Royal Victorian Institute of Architects Minute Books 1906-30 (15 April 1929) MS 9454, La Trobe Collection, State Library of Victoria.
[27] Lewis, p. 124.
[28] Whitney, DG (1998) 'Melbourne Planning Scheme: Amendment L296: Town Planning Assessment', Perrott Lyon Mathieson: St Kilda
[29] King, AD (1996) 'Worlds in the city: Manhattan Transfer and the Ascendance of Spectacular Space', *Planning Perspectives*, 11, p. 104.

From Garden Cities to New Housing Estates and Gated Communities: The Neighborhood Paradigm - Origins - Past - Present - Future

Dirk Schubert
Technical University of Hamburg-Harburg
21075 Hamburg, Woellmerstrasse
Germany

The idea of the neighborhood is experiencing a renaissance. This sixty year old vision is now meant to offer solutions to social, housing and urban development problems of the twenty-first century. Stripped of its meaning and often used as an empty phrase, the term now (again) is finding its way into urban development and planning literature and is rarely left out of real estate brochures. Currently, the rich in the USA surround their neighborhoods with high fences in order to protect their wealth. According to inhabitants and real estate agents the 'gated communities' give their owners a feeling of stronger social control and create (anew) the feeling of neighborliness. T.C. Boyle describes this paranoia impressively in his recent novel "America" in which he sketches out the contradictory wishful thinking of a peaceful neighborhood in a globalized world. Hopes have always been raised by the idea of the neighborhood, that by manipulation of the built environment social processes and relationships could be altered. We are speaking here mainly of the contextual history of ideas and projects in London, New York and Hamburg.

Decentralization, urban development models and the search for a synthesis between city and countryside

Since around the turn of the century processes of amassing and the phenomena of "losing ones roots" have been being identified, mainly by social scientists. Urbanization in this sense was seen to tear humans from the land and was interpreted as a dangerous mass of disconnected individuals in large cities. In this context decentralization, lower-densities and structuring of the urban configuration were standard arguments of urban planners and urban scientists of the late nineteenth century. Decentralization ideas remained mainly on paper, though. Concrete examples, such as the founding of new Garden Cities, were seldom carried out and were often philanthropically motivated, as in the cases of the factory housing estates of the "gentlemen reformers" like Lever in Liverpool (Port Sunlight) and Cadbury in Birmingham (Bournville). The magnetic large city as envisioned by Ebenezer Howard, the English founder of the Garden City idea, seemed in short to predominate. One example which served widely as a model was the London Hampstead Garden Suburb (1906) planned by Raymond Unwin and Barry Parker. In detail it appears to borrow from middle-age German towns such as Rothenburg. The founding of Lechworth (1903) and later Welwyn Garden City (1919) documents that the idea of the Garden City was not only a theoretic construction but could also be carried out in reality.

The right model at the right time: Radburn

Whereas the English Garden Cities form case studies of developed neighborhood settlement conceptions based on urban planning visions, the USA produced no projects

which represent the ideas of a settlement created as a whole until the 1920s. In the **same** year Letchworth was opened (1906) the Garden Cities Association of America was founded. Beginning in 1909 urban designers and planners in the USA held National Conferences on City Planning (NCCP) **and** in 1917 the American City Planning Institute (ACPI) was founded to address the necessity of planned urban expansion. The Russel Sage Foundation formed the Sage Foundation Homes Company to implement a model development project and built the Forest Hills Gardens estate in Queens from 1908 to 1917. Frederick Law Olmsted Jr., who was responsible for planning, replaced the originally conceived rectangular grid with curving streets, following the Letchworth ideas. The relatively high land costs led to the building of more expensive residential buildings and the idea of a socially mixed Garden City had to be relinquished for economic reasons. In contrast to pre-war England the post-war USA experienced two important developments key to planning. The increase in real income made it possible for a larger segment of the population to finance a home and growing mobility by car made it possible to fulfill the dream of the "American way of life" on the urban periphery.

Many planners in the USA had gathered experience during the first world **war in** planning and development in the framework of war induced government **housing** programs. They then searched to continue this form of unitary planned development programs. They then searched to continue this form of unitary planned development motivated by housing and social reform. In 1923 the Regional Planning Association was formed in New York through the driving force of Henry Wright. In a rather informal setting an interdisciplinary think tank of no more than a dozen housing and urban planing experts including Catherine Bauer, Lewis Mumford and Clarence S. **Stein** discussed concepts and the chance of building a settlement which would represent their goals. In 1923 Clarence S. Stein, Henry Wright and the real estate agent and developer Alexander M. Bing along with other RPAA members visited Ebenezer Howard and Raymond Unwin and viewed British Garden City areas. They returned as converted followers of Howard's and decided to create an American version with the financial support of Bing.

In 1924 the RPAA founded the City Housing Corporation (CHC) which, with a limited dividend, was to manage the synthesis of theory and practice and produce a model settlement. The corporation bought a piece of land in Queens in 1924 and Clarence S. Stein and Henry Wright began to plan and build Sunnyside Gardens. Because the pre-existing street system was in grid form the possibility of Garden City style parceling was impossible. Inhabitants of this first planned garden community include Lewis Mumford, Perry Como, Bix Beiderbecke and a number of other intellectuals and artists.

Clarence Perry, a member of the RPAA as well as employee for the Regional Plan of New York and its Environs, formulated in the "Regional Survey of New York and its Environs" the basic principles of a neighborhood unit with a separation of the different modes of mobility **and** entitled their synthesis "The City for the Automobile Age". Perry's general principles include setting a population ceiling at 5,000 for an area surrounding an elementary school, placing daily services on the edge of the estate along streets, especially at nodes between neighborhoods, the ability to reach central facilities by foot, rerouting through-traffic, separating the modes of transportation, cul-de-sacs and a green belt around the estate unit, thus a separation from other settlements. Perry developed a positive contrast, a blue print for urban development planning, meant to avoid the negative aspects of the large city. A number of technical planning principles

which had been an integral element of urban design textbooks since the late nineteenth century were effectively combined here.

In 1928 after completion of Sunnyside Gardens the City Housing Corporation bought a site in Fair Lawn, New Jersey to translate Perry's theoretical framework into built reality. Two RPAA members, Clarence S. Stein and Henry Wright, were responsible for the architecture and design planning of the estate which was expected to rise to the status of a dominant model internationally. Thomas Adams, Raymond Unwin, Frederick Ackermann and Robert D. Kohn were to serve as advisors. In May 1929 the first owners moved to Radburn and in Autumn Wall Street crashed. Many Radburn inhabitants lost their positions and incomes and had to move away again. Radburn was never finished and became a victim of the global recession. The urban planning ideal became a financial disaster. No one element of the Radburn plan was truly new. It was a (sub-)urban model which promoted communitarian life styles though and was meant to meet modern demands such as that of private transportation. Although the planners had high hopes for the new sense of community, its inhabitants held predominantly conventional and conservative values. Radburn became a Mecca for planners while the daily lives of the "Radburnites" conformed on the whole with those of other American suburban housing estates.

From idea to plan and into reality: neighborhoods in England

One could in mild exaggeration say that in the nineteen-thirties an urban design model become dominant which envisioned low densities, decentralization and structuring of the urban conglomerate with neighborhood units. Differences manifested themselves only in the (ideological) founding contexts and in building and architectural form.

The Radburn plan was published in England in 1933 and corresponded with another line of argumentation gaining acceptance in Great Britain. Critics in England complained of the absence of a social mix in new public housing estates. Neighborhoods with flats only for lower income groups were seen to promote youth crime and vandalism. For this reason estates with a uniform social structure were meant to be avoided. New estates **were** to be developed with neighborhood units containing social facilities such as schools and other common facilities. They were to serve to minimize crime and act positively against forms of deviant behavior.

In the MARS plan of London (1942) and in the London County Council Plan (1943) the neighborhood unit formed the central planning element. The plan prescribed massive action even in areas which had escaped destruction by the war. It foresaw a rebuilding of destroyed areas in new dimensions according to the ideal of the neighborhood unit. The planning goals were played through using a neighborhood unit in the East End in Shoreditch-Bethnal Green as an example. The rebuilding areas were to be similar in size **to the New** Towns developed in the framework of massive resettlement projects. They were to have 60,000-100,000 inhabitants in neighborhood units of 6,000-10,000 **persons.** The neighborhood units were envisioned as having open space and all necessary common facilities.

At nearly the same time as the war began discussions grew on how post-war England should look. It appeared unanimous that a large-scale redesigning of the cities was necessary. It was evident that urban planning would not only play an important role but

that it would receive a central position in creating post-war England. Because of his preliminary work for the County of London 1943 plan Patrick Abercrombie of the Ministry of Country and Town Planning was entrusted with the creation of a plan for the greater London area. Whereas the 1943 plan had concentrated on the administration of the LCC, a zone with a radius of 30 miles from the city center was included. One area element in the plan of 1943, the idea of organic communities, was to be developed further. Not the neighborhood concept but the community concept was to serve as the basis for the new plan.

From Neighborhood to the "local group as neighborhood cell"

In Germany a discussion developed in the nineteen-thirties with a much stronger ideological taint. The National Socialists drew a direct connection between urban planning, physical planning and finally to the "Volk without place". The urban design concepts drew upon the above described critic of large cities in the nineteenth century and postulated "de-densification". "The city as the seat of Judaism" and "place of Marxism", in the words of the leading National Socialist ideologist Gottfried Feder, was to be thinned out and brought to order. Feder as well suggested Volk-schools as a basis for creating order. By means of urban development the "health of the body of citizens" was to be achieved.

The American and English plans with neighborhood units had been presented at international conferences and had led to discussion among German planners. Clarence S. Stein's partner Henry Wright had in 1932 described his vision of the neighborhood idea to the German planning community in the journal "die neue stadt". In 1934 Bruno Schwan also published a map and photos of Radburn. It was not the Anglo-American visions which raised critique but instead, the main shortcoming of western democratic planning was seen in the "backward world views" which prohibited carrying them out. But how was one to develop this principle of bringing orderliness to the city, to fulfill its large scale urban tasks of redesigning of the Fuehrer-cities and equally "developing the East", without imitating the "decadent" western democracies?

The idea of the "local group as neighborhood cell" took up the neighborhood idea and managed to use it to connote something completely different, something national-socialistic. Within this basic context Germanic-national origins could be stressed which constituted community with kinship, neighborhood and camaraderie. Expanded for use in principles of urban design, the idea of the NSDAP local group was drawn upon during preliminary work for a general development plan for Hamburg in 1941. The organizational principle of the urban landscape was to follow the political structure of the party. The local group unit with 6,000 to 8,000 persons presented itself and the resulting concept was appropriately named: "local group as neighborhood cell."

In the wake of destruction inflicted during the war a further general plan was created for Hamburg in 1944. It took up the goal of reducing density with the concept "local group as neighborhood cell" and developed it aggressively. In plans for destroyed areas this concept was tested and was meant to form the basis for spacious rebuilding of residential areas. As a structural principle the local group was to be used not only in Hamburg and other cities but also in conquered eastern zones. The "local group as neighborhood cell" was never built in its pure form but there are many plans in which one could observe how one was meant to imagine them. Heinrich Himmler, the Reichsfuehrer of the SS, planned to use this principle to "secure German national tradition in the new east."

Neighborhoods as an urban structuring model for post-war reconstruction

Because the concept of the "local group as neighborhood cell" was discredited because of its national-socialistic origin it was transformed into the terms "cell", "node" and "estate unit" after 1945. The goals appear similar though to pre-1945 visions despite the quasi denazification of the terminology. Because Gutschow was familiar with the London plans his presentation of and claim to the "invention of the neighborhood unit" could be deemed false. Thus the "ideological ballast" of urban planning in Germany was shed after 1945 and the national-socialistic "local groups as neighborhood cell" idea was transformed to a western, democratically envisioned neighborhood unit, called "estate node" in Hamburg. The German post-war reconstruction thus carried on goals of the national-socialistic phase, as well as the goals of previous phases, even if racial-political reasoning was dropped and replaced by other arguments. The depolitisized neighborhoods were then grounded in biological analogies such as "organic" organizational units.

H.B. Reichow above others, having propagated the "local group as neighborhood cell" in Germany before 1945, later used biological metaphors and attempted to plan "organic neighborhoods". Once employed by Konstanty Gutschow in national-socialistic Germany, he had no trouble mutating NS-terminology into an apparently depolitisized terminology which derived from examples in nature. He used the concept of branching for creating streets in post-war housing estates and the idea of separation of modes of transportation borrowed from Radburn. Reichow was often mocked as the "Prince Bernard of Oranien". His projects are considered some of the most influential in post-war Germany, though, and his (commonly misunderstood) book "Autogerechte Stadt" (The Automobile City) in which he primarily propagates the "Radburn principle" was a bestseller. Similar, if not more technocratic and free of biologic analogies, the influential work "The Structured, Low-Density City" followed a similar line of thought. Its authors did not try to hide the fact that it was produced during the national-socialistic era and thus make no attempt to change the terminology. One of the authors, Roland Rainer, pointed to the neighborhood idea as early as 1948 and published the plans of Clarence Perry and of Radburn for German speaking readers.

In post-war Great Britain lowering density, decentralization, slum renewal, housing construction and spatial (re)structuring were fused into an integrated concept. The term of choice for the areas to be created according to this model was "New Towns". This would document the societal shift and genesis of the post-war era. In 1946 the New Town Act was passed.

The most influential planners in England propagated the neighborhood idea. Gordon Stephenson had visited Radburn in 1929. He had held various positions in the Ministry of Town and Country Planning and was later a professor in Liverpool. Thomas Sharps saw the neighborhoods as part of city expansion rings around the city thus carrying on the idea of the MARS plan for London. Frederick Gibberd, one of the most important urban planners in post-war England, stressed the meaning of neighborhoods for structuring but pointed out in his textbook style work that its significance lie in relation to the development of a sense of community.

The New Towns in Great Britain represented a large scale experimental field for carrying out the neighborhood idea. The root question here as well was how the social structure of the estate could be planned. Peter M. Mann suggested "socially balanced neighborhood units" each as a small scale copy of the social structure of the complete city. An empirical study in 1970 concluded that planning according to the principle of the neighborhood unit with transportation mode separation ("Radburn Planning") was practiced in most local planning departments.

In England too, though, the concept of neighborhood planning was limited to municipal housing construction and New Towns. The private housing market operated according to other principles. In the USA in contrast, were government subsidized housing construction was nearly non-existent compared to Germany and England, the clever propaganda machinery for the neighborhood idea allowed real estate speculators to adopt selective elements and empty terms from the concept. The dominance of market forces was in no way effected by the fact that the neighborhood concept was propagated by the government. The preamble of the US Housing Act of 1949 required that the homes of citizens be integrated into neighborhoods.

Seldom has there been such international consensus among planners as there was on the vision of urban structuring and neighborhoods. The goal of structuring the city was internationally accepted. The method of achieving this goal through smaller urban units and school units was widely consensus. Only in the question of what form the city should take did the opinions drift apart. The world-wide planning euphoria of the nineteen-sixties produced technocratic models which reduced and constricted the neighborhood idea to technical, organizational norms of infrastructure planning. Even representatives of the modern movement such as Walter Gropius supported the neighborhood idea and the goals it denoted. Lower density, not complete diffusion of the city, according to Gropius was the goal of organic neighborhood planning. Jane Jacobs in contrast strongly criticized the myth of the neighborhood in her book "The Death and Life of Great American Cities". The "doctrine of salvation by bricks" was a worn out ideal of planning.

Many empirical studies since the nineteen-sixties, including examples in Germany, have demystified the neighborhood myth. The anticipated strengthening of community rarely came about. It progressively became more apparent that social behavior, social integration and political consensus could not or could only marginally be induced, steered, changed or affected by spatial concepts. The practice of trying to produce social behavior change, class mixture and political harmony proved to be deceptive in its context of false premises. Increasingly the concept of the neighborhood is instrumentalized as an empty formula in advertising brochures. Stripped of its original content it is used as an inflationary marketing gag along with Garden Cities and Park Living. It reacts to the longing for a small-scale, transparent peaceful world with a promise of being able to create it at a local level.

Global City-Regions: Economic Planning and Policy Dilemmas in a Neoliberal World

Allen J. Scott
Department of Policy Studies and Department of Geography,
University of California - Los Angeles,
California, USA

Contrary to many recent predictions, the ever increasing openness of national economic and political systems in the world at large is not leading to the evanescence of geography but rather to a reassertion of the role of selected cities and regions as privileged sites of production, employment, consumption, and social life. The persistent vigorous growth of the huge cosmopolitan agglomerations of capital and labor scattered across the world that I identify later in this paper as *global city-regions* represents perhaps the most striking illustration of this proposition.

In the advanced capitalist societies over the immediate post-War decades, a tight functional relationship between the national economy and the sovereign state over a definite territorial expanse was the invariable order of the day. In each case, this relationship was consolidated by the central role of fordist mass-production industries as the champion propulsive sectors of the national economy, and by the enactment of national keynesian welfare-statist policies designed to provide the essential stabilizing mechanisms for these industries and to maintain their essential social bases. To be sure, international trade was expanding greatly in absolute terms during the classical fordist mass-production period over the 1950s and 1960s, though it was only toward the end of the 1960s that it began to grow at a pace that significantly outstripped the rate of growth of gross domestic product (Dicken, 1992; Scott, 1998). The period of the long post-War boom in North America and Western Europe can thus be seen as a sort of apogee of national capitalisms, even as it was also a period in which an international economic system was coming once again (as in the late 19th century) to be a major but nevertheless subservient element of the world-wide economic order. Much of this order was presided over by the United States in a *Pax Americana* opposed on virtually all fronts to the communist bloc.

This was also a period marked by distinctive intra-national patterns of urban and regional development in North America and Western Europe. In the great manufacturing belts of these parts of the world, swarms of overgrown industrial cities flourished apace, their economies based on growth pole industries such as car production, machinery, domestic appliances, and so on. With few exceptions, the major cities of the fordist mass-production era were remarkably successful in economic terms, and all the more so as their industrial underpinnings were well protected from internal malfunctions and from foreign competition by activist national policies and administrative arrangements. The central problems of the industrial cities of this era took the form, rather, of a succession of locational upheavals and associated forms of social contestation generated by continual dramatic urban growth and internal spatial re-organization (Scott, 1980).

The symbolic and practical manifestation of the end of keynesian welfare-statism is expressed in the late 1970s and early 1980s by the accession to political power of the Thatcher government in Britain and the Reagan administration in the United States. In retrospect, the historic mission of these two political regimes was perhaps less to inaugurate a new positive system of regulation -- a new New Deal as it were -- than it was to dismantle the old policy arrangements and to open up economic and social life in Britain and the United States to ever-intensifying market forces. While these two countries are still today probably the most advanced cases of the official neoliberalism that was thus unleashed in the contemporary world, this general shift in the political winds has tended steadily to spread to other areas, and most recently has figured prominently in the IMF's program of fiscal reform for East and South-east Asia.

In a first wave of reaction to the critical situation that developed after the second half of the 1970s, many local governments in different parts of the world began to shift away from planning interventions that yielded little or no immediate financial return and into more narrowly focussed entrepreneurial approaches directed to enlarging the municipal business base. Urged on by local growth coalitions and booster groups, urban officials turned more and more to the tasks of persuading new investors to locate within their jurisdictions and of building up good local business climates (Eisinger, 1988; Mayer, 1994). New urban and regional economic development programs thus expanded apace in the guise of public relations efforts, incentive packages for in-coming firms (tax reductions, financial subsidies, special land deals, and so on), municipal brokering of labor relations arrangements in favor of new investors, and attempts at urban re-imaging (cf. Amin and Thrift, 1995; Bartik, 1991; Fainstein, 1991; Gittell et al., 1996; Hall and Hubbard, 1996). Much was made, too, of the alleged growth potential of high-technology industry, and many localities poured enormous resources and energy into efforts to emulate the experience of Silicon Valley (Miller and Côte, 1987) though with almost universally unsatisfactory results. With the increasingly widespread and aggressive adoption of local economic development programs of these sorts over the 1980s, the predictable result was that regions became ever more embroiled in wasteful bidding wars with one another in the race for scarce investments. These unregulated and predatory tournaments have often tended in practice to provide more benefits to distant corporate shareholders than they have to local residents, and when they result in the diversion of firms away from locations where they would have operated more efficiently, they actually have a negative-sum effect.

The emerging system of global city-regions can be viewed in geographic terms as a complex mosaic or archipelago spread out across the entire world (cf., Amin and Thrift, 1992; Scott, 1998; Storper, 1992; Veltz, 1997), with each individual city-region comprising a central urbanized mass encircled by an indefinite stretch of dependent hinterland. The mosaic is linked up across national boundaries to form a dense global network of economic, social, and cultural exchanges. Over the last decade or so, this burgeoning spatial structure has begun to override (though not to supplant entirely) the older pattern of core-periphery interdependency that was such a salient feature of the geography of fordism in both the national and international arenas.

This evolving situation is in large degree being propelled forward by the massive growth and innovation effects unleashed by new rounds of post-fordist industrialization in the world economy together with the revitalization that has occurred in more traditional industries by means of neo-fordist reforms. There can be no clear-cut demarcation between these two types of economic activity, and the terms are in any case extremely unsatisfactory. Roughly, the first type is made up of sectors like much high-technology manufacturing (advanced semiconductor devices, robotics, biotechnology, etc.), neo-artisanal and cultural-products industries (fashion clothing, designer furniture, film, multimedia, etc.), and a wide assortment of business, financial and other services. The second type includes a notable variety of industries in assembly, process, and packaging sectors (along with dependent networks of subcontractors) that were very much part of the landscape of fordism, but which have restructured over the last couple of decades in ways that allow for considerably more flexibility, discretionary performance on the part of workers, and product variety. Post-fordist and neo-fordist industries are typically made up of large phalanxes of small- and medium-sized producers, but they almost always comprise large producers too, often enough branch plants of multinational corporations.

For present purposes, the significance of the historic shift beyond a dominant fordist paradigm of industrialization and economic growth is that the crisis of the great classic industrial cities over much of the 1970s and part of the 1980s has now been succeeded by strong new rounds of concentrated regional expansion (Saxenian, 1994; Scott, 1993; Storper and Walker, 1989). Such expansion has been especially pronounced in the ascending system of global city-regions, some of which are located in parts of the world that were once sometimes thought of as development-resistant Third World peripheries. The resurgence of city-regions in the contemporary period is due above all to the renewed **proclivity** of many types of productive activities to agglomerate intensely together in geographic space, while the spatial clusters thus formed also come to function as staging posts and consumption points in world-wide commodity chains.

If the production complexes that form the economic base of major city-regions are tightly anchored in geographic space, recent changes in the technologies of transportation and communication also make it possible for rising portions of their output to be sold on world markets (Lipsey, 1997). Specialized multinational companies often play a decisive role in this process of global distribution (Scott, 1997). Moreover, city-regions that are successful in the international commercialization of their products are liable to experience a strengthening of their intra-regional scale economies, and a widening of their economies of scope as the local division of labor responds to concomitant extensions of the market, (Cooke, 1997). The net result will be the formation of a yet more robust system of local competitive advantages, and a propensity for the economic bases of global city-regions (though not necessarily their non-basic activities) to become more specialized relative to one another (Krugman and Venables, 1995; Leamer, 1995).

Many novel questions about urban planning and policy have come to the fore as global city-regions have become more self-assertive and as nation states have found themselves less and less capable of providing a protective umbrella for all the geographic and sectional interests within their dominion. This is not to say that traditional urban planning issues have disappeared -- to the contrary, they are as alive as ever -- but that an entirely new and

unexpected set of problems must now be dealt with, and nowhere more so than in the economic structures of large city-regions. Moreover, the remedial tasks that can be identified in relation to these problems entail vastly more complex forms of collective action than the stop-gap entrepreneurial approaches that so many urban administrations have favored in the recent past.

Global city-regions represent constellations of interdependent local interests locked increasingly into competitive (but also collaborative) relationships with one another across national boundaries. They are made up of unique and immobile agglomerations of industrial and service activities that jointly generate increasing returns for all as an effect of the social division of labor, learning and innovation mechanisms, labor market processes, and the cultural norms that often materialize in local production complexes and that help to guide business behavior and interaction. The economies of these regions, then, are structured in such a way that the destiny of any single producer is almost always intertwined with the destiny of all other producers located in the same region. Because of this inherently communal nature of production, and the further circumstance that markets alone cannot guarantee the optimal production and allocation of all the complex externalities that run through these agglomerations, there is of necessity a positive role to be played by institutions of collective order able to provide critical coordination and temporal steering services. Such institutions may assume a variety of forms, ranging from agencies of local government, through hybrid arrangements like quangos or private-public partnerships, to purely civil organizations like manufacturers' associations, chambers of commerce, labor unions, community groups, and so on (cf., Clarke and Gaile, 1997; Scott, 1998).

Several theorists have recently pointed out that the deepening trend to globalization seems to have brought with it a certain abridgment -- though by no means a vanishing away -- of the regulatory powers of the nation state. This abridgment is perhaps most evident in declining levels of national economic sovereignty (cf., Amin and Thrift, 1995; Peck and Tickell, 1994), and in the early signs of an erosion of the legitimacy of the state as the privileged fountainhead of citizenship and democratic order in the contemporary world (cf., Holston and Appadurai, 1996; Mouffe, 1992; Sullivan, 1995).

One further symptom of this condition is the definite (if still indistinct) appearance of new forums of social regulation that are beginning to complement and to substitute for the traditional nation state. Some of these forums (such as many kinds of civil associations) have a purely sectoral expression, and operate only contingently in the geographic domain; others have an explicitly and necessarily geographic or territorial identity. Three of these are of special concern here. The first is definable as the global level itself, in the guise of international organizations, contractual regimes, formal and informal diplomatic encounters, and so on, though it still has an entirely provisional and inchoate presence. The second is constituted by plurinational blocs, the European Union being the most advanced specimen of the type. The third is made up of a multitude of localities, with the global city-region epitomizing, in prospect, the most conspicuous case. Together with the existing -- but restructuring -- system of nation states, this quadripartite administrative structure may well present a foretaste of the basic scaffolding of a new regulatory regime that seems to be coming into being as globalization continues to work its course.

Yet other symptomatic signs of the changing socio-political order under globalization may be read into the evidently increasing alienation of the electorates in major democratic societies from national politics and political institutions. In a number of respects, the classical republican ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity within a common national framework of citizenship no longer seem to have quite the same mobilizing force that they once had, not just because those who find that they enjoy less of these blessings than others are no longer much inclined to remain silent about it, but also because exclusive loyalty to the idea of the nation is no longer as compelling and integrating as it once was, even among national elites (Sullivan, 1995). In today's world, our loyalties, and with them our sense of citizenship, are being pulled in many different directions, so that they are no longer centered overwhelmingly on a single sovereign unit of social organization. In tentative and yet in tangible ways, we can think of our political affiliations as now beginning to disperse throughout the quadripartite system alluded to above (cf., Albrow et al., 1997). In this dawning scheme of things, global city-regions will presumably play a particularly important role, for not only are they constituted by vital assemblages of productive activity, but they also represent concentrated common milieux of daily life and experience for large groups of individuals.

The city-region thus has special meaning as a community of interest, even in a globalizing world, although it must be stressed at once that this remark has nothing to do with romantic visions of a pre-modern civic republicanism or Tocquevillian communitarianism. What is implied by the remark is a conception of the city-region as an actual and -- more importantly -- as a potential domain of citizenship distinct from other levels of political organization, and especially from the sovereign state. The notion of citizenship that I am seeking to convey here stands in contrast to the usual meaning that it carries as a birthright granted by the national state. Programmatically, we might think of it in addition as a civil attribute obtainable by residence in a particular place, and bearing with it substantive rights and obligations specific to that place (Holston and Appadurai, 1996). In this sense, it would now be possible to acquire citizenships many times over as individuals move -- even across national boundaries -- from one city-region to another in the course of their lives, thus voiding the disabling and disfunctional effects of outsider status on participation in local political affairs. One important consequence of any real reform in this direction would be the enfranchisement of the large marginalized immigrant populations that exist in many global city-regions, thus opening the way for their more formal incorporation into the life of the community, and hence for a more democratic organization of local politics.

Notwithstanding the triumphalism of Anglo-American neoliberal capitalism in the present conjuncture, and its aggressive self-assertion as a model for the rest of the world to follow, there are actually many reasons for supposing that this framework of economic and political organization may well reach exhaustion in the not too distant future as it runs up against its own intrinsic outer limits. I have suggested in the present paper that there is a real alternative to neoliberalism in the guise of a reconstructed social democratic model, one that builds on current trends in global city-regions but that seeks to mold them in politically progressive ways. In addition, barring a major global catastrophe, the quadripartite

regulatory system identified in previous pages will doubtless become a more clearly delineated feature of world political geography in future years. We face many puzzles about the emerging shape of things at each tier in this system, as well as about the interrelations between the different tiers. The tier that is primarily made up by global city-regions is particularly puzzling because as a new "city-centric capitalism" crystallizes out on the international landscape (Brenner, 1998, p. 8), these regions come to function as the fundamental geographic ossature of the whole edifice. They can also possibly be viewed as a base for a renewal of political life in a neoliberal era where the substantive content of politics is being pervasively evacuated in favor of increasingly detached and distant symbolic representations.

The Plan for Turin (1956-59): Theory and Practice

Paolo Scrivano
Dipartimento di Progettazione Architettonica
Politecnico di Torino
10125 Turin
Italy

The debate over the post-war Plan for Turin (1956-59) is emblematic of the problematic relationship between theory and practice. Prior to and following the proposal for the Plan for Turin an intense political and professional debate evolved between Giorgio Rigotti, the author of the Plan, and Giovanni Astengo, the founding member of the Istituto Nazionale di Urbanistica (INU - National Institute of Town-Planning). Rigotti and Astengo were unquestioningly two key protagonists in post World War II Italian urban planning scene.

In 1943, the city of Turin was seriously damaged by allied bombings. Both this destruction and the expiration of an earlier city plan prompted city officials to commission Rigotti to design a new Plan (1944). However, this appointment was revoked by a Civic Committee after the Liberation and at the end of 1946 the municipality organized a competition for a new General Plan. Due to interruptions in political and economic processes the announcement for a competition was delayed and only became official in 1948. The idea that Turin should manifest its historic vocation as an industrial city was an idea at the core of the competition. Although planning for the district or region was not seen as essential to the city Plan, the announcement did request that some consideration be given to the "zone of influence" of the expanding metropolis.

Astengo's proposal for the competition was a continuation of an earlier work. In fact, in a 1947 issue of *Metron* and with Nello Renacco, Aldo Rizzotti and Mario Bianco (ABRR), he had presented a project for a Regional Plan of Piedmont. The basis of the ABRR proposal was decentralization and to this end he proposed a North-South thoroughfare - a system of highways - that efficiently traversed the city [____ (1947 a); ____ (1947 b); Serra, E. (1991)]. This was not merely a proposal for a "functional" system of circulation for. ABRR's goal was to define external or peripheral development while avoiding direct confrontation with the fabric of the existing city.

The competition of 1948 was without positive results, for neither was a first prize awarded nor did any of ideas generated by the entries have any operative effect. Studies for a Pian for Turin ceased for several years and were only resumed six years later. Although the results were

inoperative, they are significant since they acknowledge a certain consensus among the participants. Rather than confronting or attempting to redefine real-estate and market conditions, the projects - including one by Rigotti - focused for the most part on the problem of circulation and a revision of the existing system of roads as the solution to the problem of development. This consensus might be attributable to what has been called "persuasive and normative force" of the Plan for Turin of 1913 [Mazza, L. (1991)]. The 1913 Plan had defined Turin's urban order through a reaffirmation of both the baroque and neo-classical orthogonal grid of the city center and the radio-centric structure of the periphery. However we might also find an alternative explanation by looking at the discipline of town-planning and examining a problem which has and continues to fetter implementation of progressive planning practices: the problem of "theory and practice".

It's on this uncertain field that the contest between Rigotti and Astengo - who was assigned the task to design a new Plan for Turin in 1955 - revealed itself. Given that Rigotti and Astengo were of different ideological stances, they necessarily held contrary notions of the role and profile of the town-planner. Their ideological positions were not ephemeral attachments but colored by active political affiliations. Rigotti was committed to the center right of Turin's city administration while Astengo was a City Council member for the socialist-communist alliance and closely associated with Olivetti's *Comunità* movement [Olmo, C. (1992)].

In the introduction to the first of the two volumes of *Urbanistica* - published in 1948 and 1952 - , Rigotti describes his conception of town-planning as a "complex of arts and sciences". Two areas of study are designated as composition, that "materializes the creative idea", and technique, that gives the town-planner "his tools of the trade" [Rigotti, G. (1947)]. For Astengo, "town-planning science" was a "social discipline" whose sub-specialization of "analytical town-planning" was "definitively a branch of statistics" [____ (1947 a)]. Despite the obvious incongruency of their beliefs, Rigotti and Astengo shared similar ideas about the right approach to practice. For both the plan was technically constituted by zoning, technical models and images garnered from examples such as garden- and linear-cities. They also shared the same set of references but disagreed on which references were appropriate for a given situation. For instance, Astengo directly or indirectly quoted Walter Gropius's CIAM contributions, Ascoral's *Les trois établissements humains* and Patrick Abercrombie's County of London Plan, while Rigotti referenced a more traditional lexicon of town-planning (like, for instance, the XIX century town-planning). However, in both cases it might be argued that the alignment of theory with the reference was sometimes questionable.

Both Astengo and Rigotti insisted that analysis and hard knowledge proceed any attempt to design. Here the difference between the two lay in the specifics aims of analysis and knowledge. Astengo insisted that the point of departure had to be a "knowledge of facts'

reality". This "reality" was accomplished through statistical surveys and "scientific" observations. On the contrary, Rigotti based his analysis on knowledge of the real-estate market and his stated goal was the mediation of "market's expectations" and "good town-planning's canons" [Mazza, L. (1991)]. And while Rigotti favored technical regulation, such as zoning, Astengo responded to the issue with some scepticism. But the real differences in their positions become evident when one examines their opinions on questions such as building standards.

The polemical confrontation between Rigotti and Astengo elicits some clues for a fresh interpretation of the Plan for Turin. As difficult as it is to find a direct relation between Rigotti's "theory of urbanism" as found in *Urbanistica* and the preliminary methodological statements of 1956's Plan, it is still more difficult to relate the Plan with the statements made in 1956 [____ (1956); ____ (1960 a); ____ (1960 b)]. In fact, Rigotti's urbanism apparently takes place on three seemingly unrelated levels: first there is town-planning as the demonstration of text-book theory; secondly there is "theory" as precursor to actual implementation of technical and political imperatives of town-planning, that is, theory as merely a preliminary procedure in the planning process; thirdly, there is the notion of the plan itself as theory, or theory into practice. [Scrivano, P. (1991)]. This disconnectedness points to the fact that despite the acknowlegement that confrontations between practice and professional interests were defined by technical parameters such as zoning, decentralization, road systems and standards accompanied by legal and normative procedures, they were often forgotten on a theoretical level by even the most committed architects. On this accord it is of some interest to note that the word "zoning" only appears once in Rigotti's Urbanistica [Rigotti, G. (1947)].

Although Rigotti and Astengo figure as key players in a debate which frequently bordered on the polemical, they do not represent the full spectrum of political controversy which divided Turin's City Council in the post war years. But the Rigotti-Astengo polemics is instructive. It was facilitated by a shared professional vocabulary, and a common field of discussion: that of the technique. However familiar these issues may seem to urban planning, the Rigotti and Astengo debate signals not only a paradox in post World War II town-planning but a problem which continues to confront planners. For despite the ostensibly oppositional polemics, the debate remained ideological and never addressed what might be arguably the most significant problem in planning: the technical implementation of theory. In fact, in theory and practice, technique seemed to have been considered neutral for both Rigotti and Astengo.

Zoning scheme of Turin in Rigotti's Plan of 1956

Zoning scheme of Turin in ABRR's Regional Plan of Piedmont (1947)

References

____ (1947 a) *Metron*, n° 14.

____ (1947 b) "Arteria di attraversamento Nord-Sud di Torino. Progetto Astengo, Bianco, Renacco, Rizzotti", *Atti e Rassegna Tecnica della Società degli Ingegneri e degli Architetti in Torino*, n° 8.

Rigotti, G. (1947), *Urbanistica. La tecnica*, UTET, Turin.

____ (1956) *Atti e Rassegna Tecnica della Società degli Ingegneri e degli Architetti in Torino*, n° 7.

____ (1960 a) *Atti e Rassegna Tecnica della Società degli Ingegneri e degli Architetti in Torino*, n° 3.

____ (1960 b) *Atti e Rassegna Tecnica della Società degli Ingegneri e degli Architetti in Torino*, n° 4.

Mazza, L. (1991) *Trasformazioni del piano*, in Mazza, L., Olmo, C. (eds.), *Architettura e Urbanistica a Torino 1945/1990*, Allemandi, Turin.

Serra, E. (1991), "Un asse per la metropoli. La rifondazione dell'urbanistica italiana nel dopoguerra", *Controspazio*, n° 6.

Olmo, C. (1992) *Urbanistica e società civile. Esperienza e conoscenza 1845-1960*, Bollati Boringhieri, Turin.

Scrivano, P. (1997) *Torino*, in Dal Co, F. (ed.), *Storia dell'architettura italiana. Il secondo Novecento*, Electa, Milan.

REGIME, REGULATION, AND TWO DECADES OF CENTRAL SYDNEY DEVELOPMENT

Glen H Searle
Faculty of Design, Architecture & Building, University of Technology Sydney

This paper surveys central Sydney's planning and development since 1975 within a framework informed by notions of urban regimes and mode of regulation (of capitalist accumulation).

The notion of urban regimes has been increasingly used to explore variations over time and between cities in urban politics, planning and development (DeLeon, 1992; Fainstein, 1994; Lauria, Whelan and Young, 1995; Whelan, 1995). Fainstein and Fainstein (1983, p. 251) see the character of urban regimes as deriving from two structural features: dependence of local government on property taxes, and the necessity of the (local) state to facilitate accumulation. Kantor, Savitch and Haddock (1997) show how the bargaining context influences regimes, particularly in regard to the city's competitive market position and the intergovernmental system. This paper shows these two aspects are critical forces in determining central Sydney outcomes.

At the same time, city planning and development cannot be understood without considering the wider institutional political economy context, that is, considering the conditions of regulation of production and accumulation (Fainstein, 1995; Feldman, 1995). For Sydney as elsewhere, the global organisation of late capitalism, its associated global financial sector, and the increasing centrality of tourism and other experiential consumption under postmodernism are regulation dimensions which have significantly influenced the possibilities for development in central Sydney.

Favourable global conditions for central city construction and property speculation in the early 1970s and mid and late 1980s, 'boom' cycles in the rapidly expanding and deregulating global financial system, were intensified in Sydney by local capital regulation conditions. These effects were intensified by a pro-development state ideology on both political sides, seeking to boost state growth in the aftermath of deregulation, lowering of tariffs and consequent restructuring and downsizing of manufacturing. This development ideology sought to build on the opportunities for Sydney in financial services, tourism and regional administration given by the rapid expansion of the Asia Pacific region. The effects of central Sydney development on heritage and local amenity produced attempts to moderate or stop new development by City Council regimes centred on local residents. This in turn produced interventions by the state government, as a pro-development regime, to reduce council obstruction to growth.

Developers ascendant: the 1980s boom

By the time the Labor party won the state election in 1976, the planning foundations of central Sydney's development beyond the next decade had been firmly set. The 1971 City Plan was produced when the City Council had a pro-business Civic Reform majority. Its use of floor space ratios rather than building height as the central control mechanism reflected the realities of the disappearance of the old 100 or 150 feet height limits (the Height of Buildings Act 1912 was repealed in 1957) as American skyscraper technologies found a profitable locus with Sydney's gradual emergence as Australia's commercial capital from the early 1960s. The planner's vision was of a city of wide boulevards bordered by modernist, freestanding high rise offices surrounded by public plazas, inspired by le Corbusier.

The floor space ratios allowed under the 1971 Plan were intended to allow developments equivalent in floor area to the earlier limit of around 12 storeys, but with more flexibility in building height and shape. Space bonuses were given to encourage provision of desired features such as public plazas and retailing. The result, as the late 60s-early 70s building boom peaked, was a skyline sprouting with new buildings usually 15 to 20 storeys or more whose bulk, scale and design ignored their immediate built form context,

and which were often fronted by bleak, windswept plazas. The boom had peaked by the time Labor won state government in 1976, but some major projects with long lead times - such as the MLC Centre in Castlereagh Street - were still being completed in the late 70s.

The new state government encouraged these new developments as the state's manufacturing sector wilted under a flood of imports following tariff reductions in 1973. Although the Premier saw the City Council as relatively powerless (Ashton, 1993, p.111) given the state's powers to have the final say in urban development, the government's aspirations for the city were nevertheless seen as being assisted by a Labor-controlled council. In 1977 the government made new boundaries for the City Council and in 1980 the voting system for the Council was changed to exclude property lessees (nearly all of these being business people). Consequently Labor gained control of the council in **1980**. The new council, however, was strongly left wing. Though there was a right wing Labor Lord Mayor, the situation was unsatisfactory to the right wing state Labor government (Hanson, cited in Ashton, 1992, p.97). The way out for the government was to re-amalgamate the City Council with the financially non-viable South Sydney Council (having been split off by a Liberal government in 1967). However, a backlash against Labor at the 1984 council elections, in part generated by rising gentrification around the city fringe, resulted in independent councillors becoming the major group on the council. The Lord Mayor was not an independent, though: the direct election for the mayoralty resulted in Labor retaining the position (Hanson, cited in Ashton, 1992, p.97). To retain some power, Labor made an arrangement in 1985 with Liberal Party councillors that they vote together, to shut out the independents.

Such an unstable situation might have put at risk council approval for Premier Wran's proposed tourist-based redevelopment of the Darling Harbour railway goods yard, announced in 1984 as a bicentennial project. In addition, provisions for environmental impact assessment in the government's own planning act passed in 1979 posed a potential obstacle to completing the various shopping, exhibition, and entertainment and other facilities by the bicentennial year of 1988. Consequently the government passed a special act of parliament to give planning and development control to a new Darling Harbour Authority, which would not be subject to council controls or even the requirements of the planning act. When the council, reflecting concerted professional and community opposition, threatened to refuse consent for a privately developed monorail to provide a necessary transport service from Darling Harbour to the city, the government repeated the ploy. It legislated to exempt the monorail from the provisions of the planning act and a number of other acts (Ashton, 1993, p.112), removing it from the possibility of council refusal or any legal challenge. Even after this, the council, professional bodies and a prominent community opposition group kept fighting the monorail, culminating in a street rally with at least 7,000 protesters, all to no avail (Ashton, 1993, p.113).

In the meantime the City Council itself could hardly be accused of being anti-development. The de facto alliance of Liberal and Labor councillors - the latter subordinate to the development push of the state Labor government - let the growing 1980s office boom roll on unfettered except for some concordance with maximum floor space allowances. Off street parking, which increased the rental value of buildings, was allowed to expand 'much beyond' the provisions of the 1971 City Plan policy (McDonnell, 1992).

The council's greatest difficulties were generated by proposals to demolish buildings with high heritage value. The state government generally sided with the developers, failing to use its powers to place conservation orders. The 1971 City Plan had sought to provide a solution to heritage preservation by allowing developers to transfer the unused floor space allowance from heritage sites to add to their allowance on other sites. But this provision was little used: the heritage allowance formula was too complex to apply, it required costs of conservation to be calculated at the time of development application, and other bonus provisions of the Plan could more easily be used to achieve the maximum floor space permitted under the Plan (Harrison M, pers. comm. April 1998). The destruction of the

historic Australia Hotel to allow construction of the MLC Centre caused much regret among professionals. A similar reaction was produced when proposals for the demolition of the art deco State Bank in Martin Place for a new 32 storey bank headquarters were considered by the council in 1982. The head of the government-owned State Bank, Nicholas Whitlam, had been appointed by the Premier to lead the bank into a new era. Whitlam wanted a new head office to symbolise his vision for the bank as a major player in the finance sector. Whitlam's strong Labor connections meant that the Labor councillors were under pressure to toe the line. The National Trust and the Institute of Architects strongly opposed the demolition, as the building formed a key element in Martin Place's distinctive inter-war streetscape. The state Heritage Council, on the other hand, unexpectedly supported demolition: a planner on the Council later stated that he believed directions 'came down' to all government members of the Council to vote for the bank's demolition (Chesterman, cited in Ashton, 1992, p.183). The Institute organised a protest rally outside the bank, but the issue failed to generate wide community concern. A special meeting of the City Council approved the application for the new building in April 1982 (Council of the City of Sydney, 1982, p.297).

Two more heritage-related development controversies, with development the victor each time, occurred in the mid 80s as the office construction boom raced toward its peak. The first concerned the site of the old Anthony Hordern department store, which spread over most of a city block in the southern CBD. By the mid 80s the store had been closed for some time, and a miscellany of users occupied the old building. In 1986 a Malaysian property developer, Ipoh Gardens, proposed Sydney's largest private property development on the block: a $1 billion complex of a podium of five levels surmounted by four towers ranging from 22 storeys to 50 storeys, with offices in the tallest two towers and a five star hotel and serviced apartments in the other two (*Sun-Herald* 1 February 1987). The National Trust and the state Heritage Council both opposed demolition of the old store building. The heritage value in purely architectural terms was not insubstantial, but when the historical importance of the building as the home of the state's major retailer at the centre of a long-gone shopping era was also considered, the loss of the building would indeed be significant.

The potential loss of a heritage building was not been the major concern of the council, however. A serious problem with the proposal was that its size exceeded City Plan controls for the site. The proposal included 2,500 car parking spaces, which greatly exceeded the parking code allowance of a maximum of 438 spaces, but which the developer claimed were 'essential to the project's viability' (*Sun-Herald* 1 February 1987). The government's NSW Traffic Authority said it could not support a car park bigger than 950 spaces because of its policy of restricting city parking to support public transport. For the council, the large number of public parking spaces created would have conflicted with its policy of keeping public car parks to the city fringes, while there were already 3,000 public spaces within 400 metres of the site which were only three quarters full on weekdays (*Sun-Herald* 1 February 1987). The developer's calculations also claimed a floor space bonus for the provision of all this parking space. The council's code set a maximum floor space ratio of 13.2:1 on the site, but the parking bonus would take the development from a ratio of 13.4:1, already in excess of the maximum, to close to 18:1, well beyond the code (*SMH* 19 February 1987). The state government had other concerns. It saw council approval holdups as having delayed a number of hotel developments, which was of particular concern with 'millions' of visitors expected in 1988 for the bicentennial celebrations (Ashton, 1993, pp. 113 and 115). The government refused to contemplate another delay involving a huge project which included a major hotel (Brereton, cited in Ashton, 1993, p.115). The Minister for Planning and Environment proceeded to exercise his powers under the planning act and approved the development, including the 2,500 car spaces. Demolition of the Anthony Hordern's building followed quickly. But the developers struck financing problems as the office boom drew to an end, and these were exacerbated by on-site industrial relations problems. The site remained as a hole in the ground for a decade. Construction restarted

after new approval to build to the originally approved height was given in 1996, even though this contravened the new draft City Plan (*The Australian*, 1 March 1996).

A second major heritage loss occurred several years later. The owner of the Regent Theatre, whose facade and foyer had a permanent conservation order (PCO) under the state's heritage act, wished to demolish it and erect a 19 storey office building. But the state Heritage Council, supported by the National Trust, wished to extend the PCO to cover the whole theatre. The Minister for Planning and Environment appointed a Commission of Inquiry to make recommendations concerning the theatre. Commissioner Simpson concluded that the theatre should be conserved as a total entity: 'To lose a building which as a complete entity is part of the city's historic architectural fabric as well as part of its social and cultural record would, in my view, be most unfortunate' (Simpson, 1986, p.4). He added that Sydney's lack of a 2,000 seat lyric theatre, which was causing major stage productions to by-pass the city, could be met by renovating the Regent, although renovation of the City Council-owned Capitol Theatre might also achieve this. As the evidence suggested a need for only one large lyric theatre in Sydney then, this question would have to be answered before determining the Regent's fate (Simpson, 1986, p.4). Simpson's recommendation that the government should acquire and redevelop the theatre at a cost of $17m was rejected by the government, hard-pressed for capital spending funds as Darling Harbour project construction reached its zenith. Renovation of the Capitol and redevelopment of the rest of the council-owned street block on which it stood appeared to have the potential to provide more developer bonuses and thus lower net public cost than renovation of the Regent. The Heritage Council removed the conservation order and the theatre was quickly demolished.

The fight over development of the Anthony Hordern's site was the culmination, for the state government, of a series of development delays caused by the council. As Ashton (1993, p.113) commented: 'With an economy in recession and arrangements well in hand for Australia's Bicentennial celebrations - which were to centre in Sydney - the state government was keen to allow maximum development in the City'. As noted, hotel (and motel) proposals were particularly affected as the independents held up development applications (Ashton, 1993, pp. 113, 115). It was all too much for the government, and in March 1987 it dismissed the City Council and appointed three commissioners to run its affairs, with the Premier citing the need to overcome delays to hotel and other development in the CBD (*SMH* 27 March 1987).

Under the City Commissioners, development applications were processed with alacrity (*SMH* 7 August 1993). The government set up a mechanism to involve itself in decisions on major development proposals: representatives of the Department of Planning, the state's Traffic Authority and the City Council made up a pre-application advisory panel to advise developers before the formal submission of development applications (Department of Planning, 1988). The government's Department of Planning was directly involved in determination of a proposal for construction of Bond Tower of 97 levels, which was refused because of adverse overshadowing and other effects.

The rule of the independents
In the March 1988 state elections, Labor was defeated and a Liberal-National government voted in. Later that year the new government passed the City of Sydney Act. This re-established separate councils for South Sydney and the City of Sydney. This time the City boundary was tightly drawn to exclude all but the CBD and the potential development area of Pyrmont-Ultimo, the underlying rationale being to permit the election of a council with a Civic Reform majority. The act also established a Central Sydney Planning Committee (CSPC) which would exercise control over all developments with a value over $50m, and over the making of plans for the City. State appointees on the CSPC would have a majority over local government representatives. This gave the government a potential stranglehold over development outcomes in the City. The new City boundaries indeed produced a Civic Reform-led council. However, in the 1991

council elections the independents gained control under their main goal of re-establishing the city centre 'as a place people wanted to be in' (Farrelly and Walton, 1993).

In the meantime the need to revise the 1971 City Plan led in 1987 to an agreement between the Department of Planning and the council to review the Plan, which led to the Central Sydney Strategy of 1988 (Holliday, in Ashton, 1992, p. 110). The Strategy led to a new draft City Plan which was exhibited in July 1991, just prior to the election of the independent-controlled council. The independents disagreed with fundamental aspects of the draft plan, including floor space ratios, transport, heritage and the lack of encouragement of residential uses (McInerney, cited in Ashton, 1992, pp. 128-129). To fix these difficulties, the council appointed an independent panel of experts. After considering its recommendations, the independents reworked the draft plan with the new chief planner from Melbourne. One of the results was an emphasis on city form and streetscape, with the final plan, approved in 1996, requiring buildings to have podiums built to the street frontage at the height of older buildings. This and the revised plan's emphasis on retention of lanes and the provision of midblock connections, was intended to produce a built form which complemented Sydney's traditional streetscape structure. The final plan generally retained maximum floor space ratios at those already prevailing, but allowed these to increase if equivalent heritage floor space were purchased. This would increase the value of heritage buildings; this and a simplified heritage allowance formula could thus avoid the problems of the 1971 plan.

The 1996 plan's concern with good urban design was a response to similar concerns incorporated into Melbourne's city plan a decade earlier: 'Until the election of Lord Mayor frank Sartor..., and the development of his Living City blueprint, Sydney did not have a champion of urban design as Melbourne did' (Roberts, n.d.). The plan's design provisions were supplemented by a major increase in spending on public spaces by the council, in association with the state government, in readiness for the year 2000 Olympic Games. Nevertheless the Lord Mayor has shown flexibility in the pursuit of the city beautiful, shepherding a nonconforming Renzo Piano-designed development through the approval process. At the same time, Sartor saw developers as a 'necessary evil' who were generally 'not into quality' (*AFR* 15 January 1998). The independent councillors could thus be viewed as a genuine civics grouping, with civic quality as their leitmotiv.

Two significant groups, in particular, opposed the new plan. The first were the business and commercial development community, which objected to the draft and final plan's encouragement of residential construction in the city (the final plan gave residential uses a 3:1 floor space bonus((*SMH* 18 November 1992; *AFR* 16 June 1995; Quinlan, 1998). The second were property owners in Chinatown. They objected to the lower floor space allowances on their land, which had been imposed to stop new development from overwhelming the existing character of the area (*SMH* 10 October 1996; *AFR* 6 March 1998). The council has so far stood firm on the plan's controls in each case.

The first part of the new city plan, covering heritage buildings and streetscapes, had been approved in 1992. The starting point for the heritage plan was the 1989 draft Central Sydney Heritage Inventory, but under pressure from BOMA the CSPC struck nearly 300 buildings from the inventory. One of these was George Patterson House, which had high architectural and historic significance. Along with its draft listing, it was given a temporary protection order under the state Heritage Act, but this was revoked by the Planning Minister because of 'economic hardship' to the owners. In 1995, developers proposed demolishing the back section except for external walls, and adding seven stories (*SMH* 29 August 1995). This had not been resolved when a fire gutted the building in early 1996 (*SMH* 3 January 1996): arson was suspected (*SMH* 4 January 1996). This caused the government to be condemned by heritage professionals and the media (*SMH* 6 January 1996). In 1997 the CSPC was restructured to increase the influence of the council while plan-making powers were given back to the council (*AFR* 25 June 1997), a reflection of a Labor Planning Minister more sympathetic to local government, and of the Lord Mayor's growing credibility. The transfer of powers enabled the council to produce

a new heritage plan which added 43 buildings to the protected list, and introduced five conditions for approving major alterations to heritage sites (*SMH* 2 may 1998).

The reign of the independent councillors since 1991 has been shadowed by the most controversial development of all, that of East Circular Quay (ECQ). In 1986 and 1988, Ministers for Planning from both sides consented to redevelopment along ECQ which would increase building heights by around 25 metres (Fitzgerald, 1998). In 1991 the CSPC exhibited draft height guidelines for ECQ, which were exceeded by an application by CML for a new building. The proposal was strongly rejected by the public. But because of uncertainty whether the 1986 and 1988 approvals were still in force, the City and CSPC felt obliged to try and negotiate the proposed height down. In 1991 the new Lord mayor and the Minister announced a joint consultation strategy with the developers and an ideas competition which resulted in adoption of a maximum height even below that of previous buildings. To ensure the new developments along ECQ conformed to the new maximum, the council sold the developers road space so that the building volume was the same, but wider and longer. When the old buildings were demolished, views of the Opera House which had never been seen before emerged. As a result there was mass opposition to the new development, supported by the Sydney Morning Herald, with major rallies and a 45,000 signature petition (*SMH* 8 August 1997), all to no avail.

Conclusion
Central Sydney's planning and development since 1975 has seen a strong pro-development attitude at both state and local government levels mediated since 1991, by a regime of resident-supported intervention at council level to change the direction and quality of development. This is a reflection of postmodern tendencies for community groups to become more active in the protection of local amenity. Nevertheless such activity has its limits, set by Sydney's possibilities for capturing global investment, and by the continuing legal subordination of local government by the state government. Sydney's attractions for global office and tourism investments, consequent on late capitalism's globalisation, have increased the possibilities of modifying their urban impact. The state has continued to intervene to the extent necessary to ensure that legitimate levels of development in central Sydney are captured.

References
Ashton P 1992 *Planning Sydney: Nine Planners Remember*. Council of the City of Sydney, Sydney.
Ashton P 1993 *The Accidental City: Planning Sydney since 1788*. Hale and Iremonger, Sydney.
Council of the City of Sydney 1982 *Proceedings of the Council of the City of Sydney*. The Council, Sydney.
DeLeon R E 1992 *Left Coast City: Progressive Politics in San Francisco, 1975-1991*. University of Kansas Press, Lawreance, Kansas.
Department of Planning 1988 *Annual Report 1988*. The Department, Sydney.
Fainstein S S 1994 *The City Builders: Property, Politics and Planning in London and New York*. Blackwell, Cambridge MA.
Fainstein S S 1995 Politics, economics and planning: why regimes matter. *Planning Theory*, Vol. 14, pp. 34-43.
Fainstein S S and Fainstein N I 1983 Regime strategies, communal resistance, and economic forces. In Fainstein S S et al *Restructuring the City: The Political Economy of Urban Redevelopment*. Longman, New York, pp. 245-282.
Farrelly E and Walton J 1993 The heavy burden of a living city. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 May.
Feldman M M A 1995 Regime and regulation in substantive planning theory. *Planning Theory*, Vol. 14, pp. 65-96.
Fitzgerald S 1998 *East Circular Quay 1788-1998*. Council of the City of Sydney, Sydney.
Kantor P, Savitch H V and Haddock S V 1997 The political economy of urban regimes. *Urban Affairs Review*, Vol. 32, pp. 348-377.
Lauria M, Whelan R K and Young A H 1995 The revitalisation of New Orleans. In Wagner F W , Joder T E and Mumphrey A J Jr *Urban Revitalisation: Policies and Programs*. Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA.
McDonnell G 1992 City of Sydney Planning Review: Report on Transport and Related Matters. Processed. Council of the City of Sydney, Sydney.
Quinlan M 1998 Caution on the 'Living City'. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 May.
Roberts P n.d. Street smart. *Australian Financial Review Magazine*.
Simpson W 1986 *An Inquiry under the Heritage Act 1977 into the Regent Theatre George St, Sydney*. Office of the Commission of Inquiry for Environment and Planning, Sydney.

New areas for local development

Elisabetta Serra
Politecnico di Torino
Dipartimento di Progettazione
Viale Mattioli 29
10125 Torino
Italy

Introduction

Setting up of the first eco-museums in Piedmont in 1995 aroused considerable discussion regarding the roles and tasks of what was then a new institution for Italy. Eco-museum can be seen as half-way between historical research tied to material culture and that regarding definition of strategic guidelines for drafting of development policies.

According to town-planning literature, the main aim of a strategic approach to promoting an area and inclusion of this in macro-economic development policies is not so much and not only definition of strategies but rather the need to establish a coalition of interests that is relatively stable in time, to be responsible for drafting and applying possible strategies. Area strategic planning, intended to prevent isolation of rural areas, can therefore represent a means of supporting a locally-conceived cultural proposal designed to promote a project directed principally toward establishing a stable consensus around an objective shared by a high number of local players involved in a process of territorial requalification that promotes rediscovery of their own history, the well-being of the population, a balanced environment and development opportunities for companies. It is a question, therefore, of initiating a process of territorial promotion that expresses the joint interest of the public and private players involved, linking these to their historical matrixes. The fact that it is not, in the strictest meaning, a regulatory approach means that the *strategic risk* improves coalition of interests around a strategy. Strategies do not, in fact, stem from a void; the memory of the territory is full of passions and strategic projects, of persons and things, of interests and opportunities that emerge every now and again but which are unable to condense in a univocal, rational project.

Political sensitivity consists in seizing the right passions at the right moment

With their village-based structure and different network of interpersonal contacts from that of the towns, Italian rural areas can become, where this has not already happened, the cultural, social, pedagogical, historical and economic design laboratory for which the entire macro-system feels the need, in order to formulate new solutions to the problems of isolation that are now becoming old.

The historical process of development of a society in its entirety also gives rise to the fear, in certain social categories or sections of the area, of being in some way excluded from this process. Some areas are unable to modify their systems in order to keep step with change. Very often, certain areas are no longer able to meet the demands of the society in which they are inserted and the externalities of these areas are unable to find markets that appreciate them. This results in a gradual loss of historical identity, of the local community which leads to downgrading of the structure of the area and a certain loss of edge in the employment market, with the well-known repercussions on that of housing and services, on the quality of life and of the environment.

Stimulate passions

Historically speaking, exclusion of the rural milieu at local level is tied to the change in the industrial society. Development of industry has led to abandonment or uncontrolled, indiscriminate urbanization of the countryside according to whether this is far from or close to major industrial settlements. Areas distant from the large cities have often experienced industrialization of the valleys close to the main roads, with a clear division between the old structure of the villages and the new settlements in the valley. The villages perched on the hills sold their valley areas to anyone proposing to set up production sites: this was a just price to pay in order to maintain jobs in the village even at the risk of downgrading the environment. But, when the classical industrial model was hit by a crisis, even these makeshift solutions started to show signs of wear.

However, there is a risk that the rural environment will once again be unprepared to cope with a new evolution of society in which the demands of production overlap with those of rediscovering the values of quality and of the environment with medium level anthropic characteristics.

However, any idea of rural revenge on the city would be an illusion. The frequently propounded increase in potential tied to tourism and cultural type leisure activities - according to which the better-off classes of society advocate a return to the simple country life - has only a theoretical impact on the social structuring of the rural populations to whom this type of high quality tourism is supposed to bring work and well-being.

The requirements of these consumers are only apparently simple; they are in fact extremely demanding and require a professional quality on the part of the operators that is not compatible with the current level of unemployment in rural areas. Also, the importance attributed to the fixed, permanent job is still, today, the main sign of social integration but nothing could be further from what tourism-induced development has to offer in that this envisages, in particular, forms of enterprise based on North European type self-employment, cooperatives, part-time, seasonal work, a structural dynamism and flexibility of

employment and also wide-scale use of initial capital to launch mixed production and services companies.

Application of stereotyped, generalized solutions to the rural phenomenon entails far-reaching risks. To claim that the crisis in agriculture and the problem of an industrial structure without the right externalities to take root in the country can be solved by boosting tourism and reconverting agricultural workers into tourist operators is both incorrect and damaging.

If the rural phenomenon can be interpreted at macro level, this is because the relatively recent phenomenon of exclusion and discrimination of the rural world of a large portion of the population is one aspect of a much vaster system that affects all of our society and which can be recognized in all of society.

However, if the causes and implications of this unease can be ascribed to a global social system, solutions can be found only in the local context and the effects, at local level, are those which determine the probability of sliding ever lower in a slow spiral of downgrading and exclusion, or of re-establishing an identity in the specific historical, cultural and economic context of that particular territory.

Although rural areas are a classical example of a slow but apparently inexorable process of exclusion, some key factors for an inversion of trend have been identified and are now widely acknowledged.

The rural villages, in particular those in which the local authorities have drafted local development and animation projects, have solid historical bases on which to launch territorial requalification policies (social, economic and symbolic).

These historical bases are:

1. Closeness to people's every day problems;

2. A good - empirical or not - knowledge of the limits and potential of the territory;

3. A well-ingrained habit of territorial solidarity;

4. The legitimate and representative nature of the administrations.

The first enemy to be defeated is the feeling of exclusion from macro-economic type historical development. This feeling of being excluded from the main lines of regional or national development could be classified according to three factors:

1. The crisis of the local employment market and loss of identify and pride of belonging in particularly as regards the younger generations.

2. An increasingly marginal population in relation to current standards (the elderly, pensioners, low income, low schooling, little importance to the cultural heritage of the rural civilization)

3. Restricted economic, social, symbolic visibility (paradoxically, not having dramatic levels of unease accentuates the feeling of being excluded from development processes: not poor enough to deserve attention and obviously never important enough to capture this).

The struggle at these three levels of exclusion is therefore first and foremost a struggle inside the territory rather than a dispute with the major external powers of the State and of the macro-economy and initial actions must be directed towards internal mobilization, partnership, invigoration of the forms of life present in the territory and recovery of one's own historical and cultural roots.

The effectiveness of a global measure stems from mobilization of local factors

Stimulating enthusiasm is the first step. Organizing this in a structured network on the basis of serious historical research is the next.

Local experience has demonstrated that steps taken at national level to reduce employment pressure do not have the effects hoped for because solidarity policies based on temporary employment and short-term contracts simply accentuate the feeling of exclusion and of loss of the desire to be included by right in the global development process.

It is clear therefore that, although global measures are necessary, it is the principles and procedures that must be re-examined and replaced with local objectives.

In this context, forms of territorial partnership have gradually provided a major contribution to the theoretical construction of a development model that exploits and capitalizes on the potential of the rural world and which eliminates the feeling of being excluded, replacing this with pride in having constructed suitable models and responses for the context in which these are located.

The Need for a Gender Approach to Urban Development

Rubina N. Shaikh & Dr. Raid Hanna
Postgraduate Studies
Mackintosh School of Architecture
University of Glasgow
177 Renfrew Street
Glasgow G3 6RQ
Scotland, UK

Abstract

This paper presents a study of twentieth century planning practices in developing countries. It indicates that most planned urban settlements are based on male-dominated perceptions. These perceptions and attitudes discourage the 'other half' of the population from formulating solutions to emerging urban development issues. During policy making, a gender approach plays an important role in making urban settlements more sustainable by addressing the needs and priorities of women.

Current urban settlement forecasts for developing countries indicate that more than half the absolute poor of Africa, Asia and Latin America will soon be living in cities. Consequently, the burden of poverty will increase in urban areas and yet urban policy makers and planners are often poorly equipped to meet this challenge. A gender perspective is essential not only to understand the characteristics and process of urban poverty, but also to reduce poverty in a sustainable and effective way.

This paper discusses the factors, which can be considered for a sustainable development policy. Sustainable and effective development can be achieved by recognition of the fact, that gender is a key variable in understanding and responding to the different needs of poor women and men of society.

Introduction

This paper examines the role of women in human settlement and urban policy in developing countries. Gender aware planning is a recent tradition in the planning and development sector. Its goal is to ensure that woman, through empowering themselves, achieve equality and equity with men in developing societies. This planning approach and development explores the relationship between gender and development, and provides an extensive preface to developing country's gender policy and planning practice. It also describes the conceptual explanation for a new planning tradition based on gender roles and needs, and identifies methodological procedures, tools and techniques to integrate gender into planning processes. The fact that the position of women in today's society tends to be ignored by those who are involved in human settlement by provision of housing and infrastructure. The increasing concern during the past decade of both government and international agencies with provisions of shelter for low-income populations of the developing countries has firmly placed the issue on the political agenda. This has resulted in large-scale investment in a diversity of housing projects, particularly site and service and squatter upgrading. These developments make it

critical to examine how far the needs of women are being addressed in the planning of human settlements and housing.

Understanding the role of women in the household

The development policy process usually lacks the thorough investigation of basic requirements of each gender of the society. First, the policy process fails to recognise the various roles of women. These roles include reproducing, managing households, and often earning incomes. In most low-income households women's work includes not only reproductive work (the child bearing and rearing responsibilities) required to guarantee the maintenance and reproduction of the labour force, but also productive work, as primary or secondary income-earners. In rural areas most women are also involved in agriculture; in urban areas, they work in informal sectors and as minimum wage works. (Moser 1981; Roldan 1985; Afshar 1985). For instance in rural Sindh, Pakistan, except for a few women in rich feudal households, all adult women, in addition to their household maintenance, either work as wage labourers or seek wage work to supplement household incomes. While husbands often agree to loan conditions wives have balance household budgets to potential disposable income within the household, but women do not usually control this. Where the household is committed to self-build their house to certain standards in certain times this can have an impact on other aspects of household finance. If house finance is made available at the expense of the domestic budget, women may end up cutting back on food and working much harder in the home to compensate for the drop in resources and to save money.

One problem arising from the necessity of working at home and outside the in urban areas is the increased difficulty women face in maintaining the household. Usually in urban planning work places are located far from the housing, which also increases the women's burden deal with both responsibilities. The lack of child care centres and near shopping areas and work places also restrict women from using their ability to contribute fully in the development process. For this reason, today planners are effectively utilising only a half of the population of the world.

The second problem which policy making process fails to recognise is the nature of low-income households, i.e. there are many households which are heterogeneous in structure. The most important type of household, apart from nuclear families, is women-headed households in which the male partner is absent, either temporarily (for instance because of migration or refugee status) or permanently (because of separation or death). It is estimated that one-third of the world's households are now headed by women (Buvinic, Youssef, with von Elm 1978). In urban areas, especially in Latin America and some parts of Africa, the figure exceeds 50 percent, while in the refugee camps of Central America, it is nearer 90 percent. Globally it is a growing rather than a declining phenomenon.

The economic condition of these households varies considerably, depending on the women's work status. If women are educated and involved in the wage earning sector the household's condition may be better but again, in some cases of developing countries there has been discrimination against women regarding the opportunities of employment. If two applicants are applying for a job and one of them is a woman and other is man, then job will be given to man due to the dominant society values. The context of female leadership, her access to productive resources and income, and lastly the composition of the house hold should all be

taken into account by the policy-making process. In addition, it is important to recognise the fact that while women who head the households do not constitute a separate category, nevertheless because they are also the primary income earners, the triple burden is likely to be intensified for them.

Women as Primary user of the space

Women equal users of the space both in their houses and in the local community; in fact in some cases women are the primary users of the residential spaces. However, their particular needs are often ignored or not recognised in both settlements planning and house design, and they are rarely consulted at this stage of human settlement projects. In settlement planning the most critical issue for all women rights to tenure. The tenure right is usually given to the men on the assumption that the men are the in charge of the household. And this is a very important issue that without the right of the own the land women cannot protect themselves and their children from an unstable or violent domestic situation. The right of owning the property limited to only men reinforces the idea that men are the sole as primary earners and family supporters which, in point of fact is not correct. Therefore, where women have no title to land they may end up without capital in the event of marital separation. Mostly the decisions regarding land are made with reference to the technical and financial criteria, and often without consideration of the culture and life style of future residents, especially women. In many countries women are restricted by the physical boundaries of the house or the community, and therefore the settlement lay out affects them profoundly. Their needs in terms of plot arrangements may be quite different from those of men. For example they may prefer plots to be grouped around services so that domestic work can be increasingly communal (Moser; 1987).

The study of traditional pattern of settlements of different cultures in developing countries defines where plots are arranged with communal orientation: mutual aid and co-operation can ease the work of women. However, since it is most often cheaper and more efficient to lay out services on a grid basis, the communal oriented type of pattern is not often implemented. For example at Hyderabad, new housing projects for low-income people in Sindh, Pakistan, roads and plots were laid out on a grid pattern. Another example can be seen in the settlement planning of George, Lusaka, Zambia, an up grading project, new layout forced them to work in more isolated conditions; again based on the strict grid system. The traditional layout had been circular with women able to carry out housework within sight of each other. With the new strict grid system they were no longer able to leave their houses unlocked or their children playing under the watchful eye of neighbour hood (Schlyter 1984).

Design Consideration and planning

In some countries the provision of sanitation is a low priority issue because men, unlike women, do not require the same privacy to perform ablutions. For example in many Middle Eastern countries, because of the *purdah (using veil to not show her to male)*, women can defecate only on rooftops. A case study from Bangladesh, India, Pakistan has shown that without adequate private toilets, women can relieve themselves only before the sunrise or after sunset, causing severe medical problems. In the slums of Bombay and Karachi, women without private toilets have to perform their ablution in isolated locations where they are particularly vulnerable to rape and molestation (Agrwal and Anand 1982; Moser 1987).

In low cost housing projects, because of their low- paying capacity residents can generally afford only limited provisions of services: public water pipes, latrines, simple roads, and open drains. The projects that do not consider the priorities of women are not taking into account how this can cause severe problems for several reasons. First, women would be better able to select the provision of the services necessary because the women have first hand experience of domestic labour without services. Secondly, the improper provision of services without consultation of the frequent user can adversely affect the work (Moser 1987). This is frequently the case in the design and planning of community facilities. For example water pumps, introduced to provide clean water, have broken down because handles were designed for use by men, and women and children (the principle water bearers in the community) broke them through their inability to operate them correctly (IWTC 1982).

Follow up of rapid development and modernisation in planning and policy making may also causes the uncomfortable situations for women. As previously mentioned, although women are the primary users of the space within the house they are infrequently consulted in house design. The cultures in which household used to be planned according to gender segregation are now being planned according to modern ways of design in which traditional women's autonomy is undermined by defining them as dependants by mixing the spaces for both genders. For instance in Tanzania, the 'Better Housing Campaign' was initiated to persuade people to replace traditional houses, built with local materials, with more durable dwellings. This threatened tradition because it prevented the normal practice of separate accommodation for different family members (Caplan 1981).

In Islamic societies, Muslim women are especially affected by insensitive house design, because their life is confined to the home only and considered the space in which all social and communal activity take place. Therefore the design for internal space of the house needs special consideration. The concepts of *extroverted* space and *introverted* space in the Muslim settlement are ignored in planning process. This changes affect women's freedom, and, as the same time, the imposition of modern planning adds women's suffering in the sense that they have to keep hidden or prevent themselves from entering the extroverted spaces. The segregation between extroverted and introverted spaces is not planned, but women living within this must still 'respect' such demarcations. For instance in two low-income settlements in Tunis, Mellassine, a squatter up grading project, and Ibn Khalkdun, a planned community (with a wide range of units from basic core-housing to comparatively elaborate three-bedroom dwellings), women were dissatisfied with house design, because of the small size of the inner courtyard. Most houses were designed as cross between the traditional dwelling with several rooms around a spacious internal courtyard, and a modern European-style house, with a space around the outer walls.

According to traditional custom women accept primary responsibility for household budgeting, the financing of housing and repayment of loans is often also their responsibility. The gender aware approach is an approach capable of acknowledging that women have different housing needs. The distinction between practical and strategic gender needs may be useful in the clarification of this issue (Moser 1987). Practical gender needs are those needs, which arise from concrete conditions of women's positioning, by morality of their gender, within the sexual division of labour. According to these positions, needs are formulated by women themselves, in response to living conditions which they face daily. Therefore in many

contexts needs such as adequate housing, clean water supply, or community facilities are identified as the practical gender needs of low-income women, both by planners as well as by women themselves. In reality practical needs such as these are required by all family, especially children, and their identification as 'women's needs' serves to preserve and reinforce the sexual division of labour. At the same time it is important to recognise that such needs are in no sense 'feminist' in content (Moser 1987).

Conclusion

The study of the relationship, responsibilities, and status of men and women in society can generate the formulation of strategies for gender sensitive house planning. A diversity of ethical and theoretical criteria that are culturally specific may also assist the strategies. The planning criteria and solution to the problems depends on the particular socio-political context. The strategic needs may include the discontinuance of the sexual division of labour, the decrease of the burden of domestic labour and childcare. The consideration of right for land tenure to women's and housing loans in policy making may also increase the security of low-income women. Gender interests are those that women (or men for that matter) may develop by virtue of their social positioning through gender attributes. Gender interests can be either strategic or practical each being derived in a different way and involving different implications for women's subjectivity.

The fact that women, because of their triple role, have particular needs in housing that differ from those of men, or low income families generally, indicates that women's needs will not be achieved by simply 'grafting' on 'women' as a category to existing housing policy. Not only housing planning but whole urban policies is needed to generate the strategies, which also takes into account the women's role in society and their responsibilities. These changes also need a radical shift in the social set-up and the conceptualisation of women as important part of the society and contributors to the development of the nation. Actually any fundamental changes in attitude towards traditional stereotypes are required before a gender aware approach can be reached for any change in planning. The sustainability of the urban settlement an policy can be achieved by studying the gender's needs and their positions in today's world where women are not only bound to households or child bearers but also contribute towards development. The upgrades which women have thus far achieved in this century are due to their own effort and struggle, rather than any planned policy. This is because policy makers despite the fact that women represent half the user of mother earth have thus far ignored women's concerns for development.

References

1. Afshar, H. ed. (1985) *Women, Work and Ideology in the Third World*, London, Tavistock.
2. Agarwal, A. and Anand, A. (1982) *Ask Women Who Do the Work*, A new Scientist (November) 4: 302-4
3. Buvinic, M, Youssef, N., with von Elm, B. (1978), Women-Headed Households: The Ignored Factor in Development Planning, report submitted to the Office of Women Development Planning, AID, Washington, DC: International Centre for Research on Women.
4. Caplan, P. (1981) Development Policies in Tanzania: Some Implications for Women', Journal OF Development Studies, 17, No. 3: 98-108.

5. IWTC (International Women's Tribune Centre) (1981), *NewsLetter: Women, Money and Credit*, 15, New York: IWTC.

6. Moser, C.O.N. (1977) *The Dual economy and marginality debate and the contribution of micro analysis: market sellers in Bogata*, Development and Change 8, 4

7. Moser, C.O.N. (1993), *Gender Planning and Development: Theory, Practice & Training*, Routledge Publications, London.

8. Moser, C.O.N., and Peake, L. ed. (1987) *Women, Human Settlements and Housing*, Tavistock Publications, London.

9. Hayden, D., (1981), *Re designing the American Dream: The Future of Housing, Work, and Family Life*, W. W. Norton & Company, New York.

10. Momsen, J. H., & Kinnaird, V. ed., (1993), *Different Places, Different Voices: Gender and Development in Africa, Asia and Latin American*, Routledge, New York.

11. Momsen, J. H. (1991) *Women and development in the Third World*, Routledge, New York.

12. Roldan, M. (1985) *'Industrial outworking, struggles for reproduction of working-class families and gender subordination'*, in N. Redclift and E. Mingione, ed. Beyond Employment: Household, Gender and Subsistence, Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

13. Schlyter, A. (1984) 'Upgrading Reconsidered: The George Studies in Retrospect', Bulletin of the National Swedish Institute of Building Research M84: 4, Lund, Sweden.

14. Young, K. (1994) *Planing Development with Women: Making World Difference, Development studies*, Macmillan, Hong Kong.

15. Organisation for Economic Co-operation and development, Conference on *"Women in the City: Housing and the Urban Environment"*, Paris, 4-6 October 1994.

The Significance of Genius Loci in Historical Conservation and Urban Planning: A Tasmanian Experience

Gwenda Sheridan
Kingston, Tasmania

What can we learn from the past?

This paper seeks to explore ideas and invite response. Essentially it tries to grapple with meaning in landscape, both past and present. Our relationships to existential space and place is a fundamental part of the collective psyche but how can this be linked to deeper insights into what "dwelling" and "place" really mean? I do not believe that we can discuss "place" without some deep insight into "Nature", gender balance, inner/outer resolution and how internalized beliefs about these have changed across time. How we orientate ourselves in, or identify with, "place" is governed by archetypal forces at work within the psyche.[1]

Across the millennia of human habitation, three distinct phases can be recognized in which the meaning of "place" or "dwelling" has markedly shifted ground. In the pantheistic and animistic mythology of earliest time, the hunter/gatherer psyche *was immersed within Nature and the Life-world. "The earth does not belong to Man, Man belongs to the earth .... man did not weave the web of life, he is merely a strand in it."*[2,3] Here a balanced, holistic meaning was given to "place". Masculine and feminine attributes and intuition could be accommodated.[4] Such mythologies commanded respect, reverence, and a sacred dimension towards "forces" that were intangible and mysterious. Genius Loci - the spirit of the place - was a naturally occurring phenomenon.

With a change to a sedentary, agrarian existence, orientation to, and identification with, space and "place" altered. It took hundreds of years for ideas of Nature and the Life-World to shift as archetypal tensions, often linked to changing religious mythology within the collective psyche, emerged. While a whole world of structures and built form reflecting meaning in the landscape and the ancient beliefs of geomancy can still be found[5], this stage saw a growing separation of Mankind from the Life-World, a more paternalistic, "masculine" prevailing energy though Genius Loci was still well incorporated within the collective archetypal beliefs. According to Roman thought every place had its "being" - *its Genius or guardian spirit."* The spirit gave life to the place, determined its character and had the ability to "gather" unto itself.[6]

Industrialization over the previous 300 years or so marks the third major phase in change of orientation and identification and expressed meaning of "place". The Cartesian model with its emphasis on the scientific, fragmented, analytical, and mechanistic is well documented.[7] Such methods necessitated a considerable loss. *"What is lost is the everyday life-world, which ought to be the real concern of man in general and architects and planners in particular."*[8] The split in the collective psyche, widened. The internalized Nature and Life-World essence of the hunting/gathering psyche became instead an essentially separated "place" momentum elsewhere, but not one immediately associated with city-space or urban-place built form.[9] Masculine and

feminine were less balanced than previously, inner and outer resolution less easily resolved. Genius-Loci, at least in settled areas, had all but disappeared.

What exactly did a "sense of place" often referred to, now mean? In 1960 Lawrence Durrell gave us a clue: *"As you get to know Europe slowly tasting the wines, cheeses and characters of the different countries you begin to realize that the important determinant of any culture is after all the spirit of place."*[10] It was this Life-World approach that Alexander and cohorts at Berkeley[11] sought to pin-point, and re-introduce when they identified a series of archetypal patterns in the landscape; patterns which gave rise to landscape language(s). The interconnectivity of Alexander's language structure was vital. *"The structure of the language is created by the network of connections among individual patterns, - the language lives or not as a totality to the degree that these patterns form a whole. We can destroy these patterns very easily if we do not understand what they are."*[12] With Alexander's work there is a return to a recognised need for intuition, feeling, harmony and the intangible – an appreciation for *"a central quality which is the root criterion of life and spirit in a man, a town, a building, or a wilderness".*[13] Alexander's key point is that this central quality is alive and self-sustaining.

A Landscape Tapestry

Sullivans Cove and Salamanca Place form a large core section of Hobart's waterfront. It is this "place" which I have taken as my landscape tapestry. Hobart is Australia's second oldest city and a history of the Cove is the history of Hobart. The Cove is both the natural front door and back door to the city, one which sustains a most dramatic setting.[14] For centuries if not millennia, the Aboriginal population had lived with this small cove, encircled by hills covered in Eucalypt trees, a number of rivulets emptying into it, a sandy beach at the head of the cove while on its northern side a small island joined to land by a sandy spit.[15] The lower hills around the Cove, were in turn backed by higher hills, between 300-500m, then mountain foothills, and finally the vertical presence of dolerite topped and often snow capped Mt. Wellington, (1270m).

The colony under Capt. David Collins got off to a slow start in 1804. The Cove had been perceived as a multi-faceted "place", -as a convict penal settlement- but importantly as a site having commercial, strategic, naval and other advantages.[16] A grid pattern of streets was imposed on the hilly terrain by Macquarie in 1811.[17] The waterfront was the "place" of greatest activity. Over decades the Cove boundary became straightened, infilled, and altered. From 1828 onwards a series of Georgian style, stone warehouse buildings was constructed on the northern side, Hunter Island now having been permanently joined to the shore. After 1833, another line of warehouses emerged on the southern side of the Cove. Here the hillside had to be quarried out and the built form was set back hugging the cliff line, a good 120' from the wharf[18], such that the Land Commissioners of 1826 saw the wide expanse of public land in front as suitable for *" mercantile and Government Stores and Batteries"* as well for *"a delightful Walk and Drive"* [19]. The Salamanca warehouses have been described as the *"best group of Georgian warehouses remaining in Australia."*[20]

At the head of the Cove too, other buildings were erected, notably a Customs House and the Old Bond Store. The Georgian built form which encircled the Cove displayed unity, symmetry and preciseness of detail. Yet there are notable textural differences with each group of buildings. Later Victorian buildings appeared as well, but in size and bulk, height and construction material, they also blended with their earlier counterparts. In recent studies the line of buildings which encircle Sullivans Cove has been referred to as the "wall edge".[21]

It is surprising that so many of the old buildings remain in the Cove and surrounding area. It is certainly not due to any government recognition of their importance, but more due to Hobart's slow growth. As with so much of Tasmanian history, inertia, procrastination and lack of vision at government level prevented a Town Planning Act until 1944[22] and by the 1960s *"Hobart was still a city without a plan"*[23]. Up until 1977 with the then formulation of the non statutory Sullivans Cove Development Authority, jurisdiction of the Cove was very fragmentary, resulting in some disastrous building. Government organizations were most at fault. An official heritage body, the Heritage Council, had to wait until 1997 to eventuate. The Council consists of 15 persons but arguably its balance may not be absolutely weighted towards heritage conservation. Persons representing "the building industry", "the Australian tourism industry," "community interests" for example may not be the best equipped representatives to fight for historic preservation. The Council has few full time staff and has yet to be really tested in respect of Tasmania's cultural heritage.

Interpreting the Landscape: Its Meaning and Life-World

Delving thus briefly back through nearly two hundred years of white settlement history and built form, and with the earlier thoughts in mind, some assessment and re-discovery of the meanings and Genius Loci in this landscape is now possible. The natural Genius Loci of the "place" incorporated the Cove, a connection to the hills, Mountain and sky above. In simplest geometrical terms the four directions were represented and presented a natural balance, to which could be added other forms.[24] The horizontal glassy plane of the River Derwent, the natural curve of the sandy bay, the hills, and foothills (each with rounded form and crowns of vegetation), the dramatic vertical lines of the Mountain "organ pipes", the massive vertical bulk of the Mountain itself, the horizontal plane of the sky above, but often with rounded cumulus clouds hanging on the Mountain - all can be interpreted as a wonderful balance of geometric forms. The atmospheric conditions about the Mountain must be added since they create a certain special feel that cannot be ignored. Such an interpretation allows for Man-in-Nature balance, Masculine and Feminine energy harmony, inner enclosure and outer extension. The lighting conditions which play on the diverse geomorphic mountain forms create at times a wonderful feeling of mystery, wildness, and a strong sense of spirit which has been the subject of art, literature, poetry and other creative works from the time of white settlement.[25] At times the Mountain presents like a Turner painting[26] in its contrast of diversity, colour, depth and richness of form; *the whole* can be a truly sublime landscape. And the strong boundary edges are particularly significant; here is evident the greatest tension.

When the 19th century built form was grafted on to this landscape with its natural meanings and Genius Loci, what effect did it have? In the 1850s-1890s without the 20th century development, what more of an impact the "wall-edge" must have presented. It was this "wall edge", this *front-edge face of buildings*, which colonial travelers first encountered. Here was a horizontal yet very symmetrical geometry in

building line matching that of the water, yet of a scale enclosed, and small enough not to compete with the Mountain. And yet the connection to the vertical lines of the Mountain was there in the precise and symmetrical detailing of windows and doors which, dark in colour, matched the "organ pipes" so far above. The buff colours of the sandstone too, contrasted with the sombre dark browns/olive greens of natural geomorphic and vegetative forms. The insignificance of the buildings juxtaposed against the majesty of Nature was a subject for more than one early artist.[27] Behind, the town nestled into its amphitheatre enclosure, surely as a place of refuge and security[28] against what lay beyond but less able to embrace a belief in being at peace in a protected place.[29] In fact the very solidarity and relative lack of void space in the building form emphasized the opposite feeling - a sense of inner retreat from an outer world. But there was a sense of the buildings really "gathering" the original "enclosure" quality of the place.[30] Thus most of the original Genius Loci still remained intact and could be respected in this landscape.

The Life-World of this 19th century "place" needs further research to be assessed accurately but insightful work has commenced[31] and some clear patterns emerge. *Essentially the Life-World patterns created in the place, reflected its natural spiritual qualities. They gathered.* The waterfront was always a *meeting place*. A departure and arrival place for families, and ships and people as 19th century Hobart and Tasmania came and went. As such, it was an incredibly *dynamic place*, busy, chaotic, full of energy and life, the warp and weft of existence. All classes of people could be found here, from upper class gentry to working class and convict, so it developed always as a very *public place for everybody*. It was a *working place too, with multi-use activity*. Commercial, industrial, mercantile, and recreation uses, and as well, mixed residential use, could all be found intermingled in this "place", though more precise patterns of specific use to the particular locality could be discerned. It was a *recreation place* and a *market place*, the latter at times utilizing part of the large area of open-space in Salamanca. It was always an *eating/drinking place* from earliest times - waterfront pubs being particularly popular. It was partly this very interconnected multi-use, diverse, subtle, yet apparently ordinary series of patterns in the Life-world landscape that gave it so much life and sustainability and which added to the natural Genius Loci.

The last half of this century has changed the original sense of enclosure, the small-in-scale built form, its regular symmetry, its horizontal line of "wall edge", the intimate linkage to Nature, the hills and Mountain, the original balanced geometry of form and shape. The tall, vertical shapes of modern-built-form compete very definitely now with the Mountain, shifting the original harmonic balance. But not irretrievably; original Genius Loci can still be discerned, - albeit with fragility. The Life-World of the "place" has changed too. Sullivans Cove and Salamanca went through a very depressed time, waterfront use changed, and the CBD claimed a greater share of commercial and service activity.[32] It was necessary for the Cove and Salamanca to re-invent itself, or else lose all original sense of place. This has in fact happened, not with the lead of the government, but rather concerned citizens, the SCDA, Hobart City Council, the National Trust and the Battery Point Progress Association.[33] The fascinating fact is that in the re-invention, the archetypal patterns of the past Life-World, have persisted, differently clothed but everywhere very evident. The Cove is still very much a *people's place*. Rich, poor, old, young, tourist, local, gather there. Now more than ever it is a *market place* - Salamanca Market is known Australia wide.

Then too, it is a *meeting place, - a shared place*, and a *public face-place* of Tasmania. Still we find a *multi-use place* (fishing, recreation, mercantile, commercial, service, education and residential activity) all very much present. The *eating/drinking, outdoors use-place* is well patronized, for on the pavement one can observe the world at work and play. It has become an *events/happening* place - finishes of triathlon and motor sports, the Hobart-Yacht classic, rallies on the Parliamentary lawns, The "Taste of Tasmania" festival - all an integral part of this Life-world. It is a *pedestrian place*, for people movement takes precedence over vehicle movement. Above all the *place is dynamic* and alive, busy full of activity, still reflecting the warp and weft of life. A sense of spontaneity, the romantic and unusual, the mysterious and novel can and do take place against the backdrop diverse tapestry of historical time.

This may change. A projected $150m proposed development on the waterfront at Salamanca is with the government. News of the proposed development burst into print in late 1997.[34] On almost the entire length of the southern wharf, encompassing much open space area, the project would include a 200 suite luxury hotel, 120 strata title apartments, concert hall, convention centre and other "add-ons"[35] including a fanciful submarine car park. The public has only been privy to a computer artist's impression, but *"what disappoints about Oceanport is that it is so ordinary."*[36] Quickly the government moved to declare the Project of "State Significance", thus bypassing normal planning processes and appeal rights. The independence of the body left to review and pass judgement - the Resource Planning and Development Commission – itself reconstituted over the 1997/98 Christmas period - remains to be tested. However, the Commission immediately issued a set of Guidelines for a developer Integrated Impact Statement[37] inviting public submissions. Meanwhile, the government may have signed an agreement with the developer particularly in respect of the sale of the land, even before the public has seen any details. And trying to obtain relevant government information via the FOI process has proved to be tedious and difficult.[38]

In conclusion it must be said that it is not only the "ordinary" about Oceanport which upsets, rankles and dismays; it is the total denial that there has been a past, that the past carries a meaning in its natural form and whole Life-world; a meaning in which diverse archetypal pattern languages can be uncovered, of which natural Genius Loci, intact, is significant. All of this so far has been ignored, not comprehended, nor understood. In its presently constituted form, the entire language, and meaning of the "place" will change irretrievably, the ability to "gather" will be largely foregone, the link to the Mountain further weakened. *Hobart, Sullivans Cove and Salamanca will lose its heart and soul and what after all is a "place" without its people and its spirit?*

[1] See Jung Carl G. *Man and his Symbols*. Aldus, London, 1964. and C.G. Jung. *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*. Fontana 1967.
[2] Campbell J. *The Power of Myth*. Doubleday, N.Y. 1988. pp. 34-35. Part of a now famous letter by Chief Seattle, written about 1852 to the United States Government in respect of selling Indian land.
[3] Rose, D.B. *Nourishing Terrains, The Australian Aboriginal View of Landscape & Wilderness*. Aust. Heritage Commission. Canberra. 1996
[4] Pennick N. *The Ancient Science of Geomancy: Man in Harmony with the Earth*. Thames & Hudson. 1979. p 12
[5] Pennick N. Op. cit.
[6] Norberg-Schulz C. *Genius Loci: Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture*. Rizzoli, N.Y. 1980. p. 22

[7] See for example Capra F. *The Turning Point, Science, Society and the Rising Culture,* Flamingo 1983, and Theodore Roszak, *Where the Wasteland Ends.* Faber & Faber. Three Square London. 1972 but there are innumerable texts on the subject.

[8] Norberg-Schulz C. Op. cit. p.

[9] See Jeans D.N. *Wilderness, Nature and Society: Contributions to the history of an environmental attitude.* Australian Geographical Studies, Vol. 21., No. 2., Oct. 1983. pp. 170-182

[10] Durrell Lawrence. *Spirit of Place.* London. 1969. p. 156

[11] Alexander C et al: *The Timeless Way of Building* and *The Pattern Language.* Oxford University Press, 1979

[12] Alexander C. *The Timeless Way,* p. 306,

[13] Ibid. p 19

[14] Hepper Marriott & Associates, Scott & Furphy Engineers P/L, Woolley L: *Sullivans Cove, Urban Detail & Bicentennial Walking Trail Study.* Unpublished report, 1987 prepared for Sullivans Cove Development Authority. p15

[15] Hudspeth A. & Scripps L. *Sullivans Cove Historical Research.* Unpublished report for the Sullivans Cove Development Authority and Hobart City Council. 1987.

[16] Hudspeth A. & Scripps L. Op. cit.

[17] Solomon R.J. *Urbanisation: The Evolution of an Australian Capital.* Sydney 1976 and Robson L. *A Short History of Tasmania.* Oxford Uni Press. Melbourne, 1977

[18] Rowntree A. *Battery Point: Today & Yesterday.* Education Dept. Tasmania. Date unknown..

[19] McKay A. *Journals of the Land Commissioners for Van Diemen's Land.* 1826-28 Hobart. Uni. of Tasmania & THRA. 1962. p 104,

[20] *The Heritage of Australia. The Illustrated Register of the National Estate.* MacMillan. Aust. 1981, p. 7/34

[21] *Sullivans Cove Urban Design Study,* 1983; *Sullivans Cove Urban Detail & Bicentennial Walking Trail Study,* 1987: *Sullivans Cove Planning Review* 1991, *Draft Sullivans Cove Planning Scheme,* 1997

[22] Petrow S. *Making the City beautiful: Town Planning in Hobart, 1915-1926.* Tas. Historical Research Association, Papers & Proceedings. Vol. 36. No. 3, 1989 pp. 99-112

[23] Petrow S. *A City in Search of a Plan: Hobart, 1945-1962.* Tasmanian Historical Studies. Vol. 5.1 1995-6 p. 149

[24] *"Roundedness has always had a sacred quality and is the most natural shape in nature."* Cooper J.C. *Yin and Yang: The Taoist Harmony of Opposites.* Aquarian press, 1981, p. 24

[25] See for example Barnes A. *Mt. Wellington and the Sense of Place.* Grad. Dip. Env. Studies University of Tasmania, Jan. 1992. See also DeQuincey E. *The History of Mt. Wellington. A Tasmanian Sketchbook,* Mercury-Walch, Hobart, 1987

[26] Refers to the work of J.M.W. Turner, See Lloyd M. (ed) *J.M.W. Turner,* National Gallery of Australia, Canberra, 1996

[27] Kolenberg J. & H. *Tasmanian vision: The art of nineteenth century Tasmania.* Tas. Museum & Art Gallery, Hobart, 1987.

[28] Appleton Jay. *The Experience of Landscape.* John Wiley & Sons Ltd. London, 1975

[29] Norberg-Schulz C. Op. cit. pp. 22-23..

[30] This ability of the concretized built form to "gather" the original properties of the place is well explored in Norberg-Schulz C. Op. cit. pp. 11-48

[31] Hudspeth A. & Scripps L. Op cit. and Hudspeth A. & Scripps L. *Battery Point: Historical Research,* National Estate Grant and Hobart City Council. Unpublished report. 1990.

[32] See studies of the Cove, already cited. For example SCUDS, 1983, SCUDBWTS, 1987, SCPR, 1991 and as well even earlier studies, *Sullivans Cove Study:* Unpublished report, for Sullivans Cove Development Committee, 1979.

[33] Hudspeth A. & Scripps L.

[34] A *"$150million vision for Salamanca"* ran the headlines of the Mercury newspaper, November 15. 1997

[35] Thompson J. Letters to the Editor, Mercury, March 21, 1998

[36] Wegman C. Letters to the Editor, mercury, March 21, 1998

[37] Two sets of Guidelines have been issued by RPDC. One in November, 1997 made little or no mention of the possible cultural Heritage or landscape impact of the proposal, likewise the Life-world impact was also ignored. Submissions and a new set of Guidelines, (issued February, 1998) only partly rectified the first two omissions, but still ignored the Life-world impact.

[38] As of 30.3.1998, the matter is with the state Ombudsman.

Must We Tear Down the Walls? The Cultural Dimensions of Urban Planning in Twentieth-Century China

Mingzheng Shi
Department of History
University of Hawaii at Manoa
Honolulu, Hawaii 96822, USA

The city walls of Beijing, an architectural wonder of Chinese history and culture, were demolished in this century to make way for modern urban planning and design. Having survived numerous natural disasters, peasant rebellions and foreign invasions, the centuries-old walls finally fell victim to the modernist forces of urban renewal early in this century and to the destructive forces of Maoist socialism in the mid-century. Must the walls be torn down? Long after the walls vanished decades ago, debates about the decision to raze them continue to this very day in China. Some denounce the authoritarian Communist regime for its criminal assault on a landmark of Chinese civilization. Others harbor a postmodernist nostalgia for historical and cultural artifact and criticize the failures of modernist city planning. Whatever the case may be, as a monument and symbol of a bygone era, Beijing's city walls still figure prominently in the collective memories of urban Chinese.

This paper will use Beijing's planning history in general and the dismantling of the city's walls in particular as case studies to explore the cultural dimensions of Chinese urban planning in the twentieth century. Based on the theoretical premise that urban planning ultimately reflects cultural visions, political ideologies and power relations, this article argues that modern city planning in China is a product of the interaction between foreign concepts of city development and Chinese indigenous urban traditions. Chinese urban planning reflects tensions, conflicts, and accommodations between impulses of global forces to reduce Chinese cities into decontextualized uniformity or ideological/political monuments and the heightened appreciation for Chinese cultural and local sensibilities in spatial arrangements and preservation. This essay concludes that the transformation of China's urban environment must transcend both the age of modernism driven by the pursuit of rationality and functionality and the age of rigidified socialist politics and be based on a pluralistic and multidimensional sense of Chinese history and culture.

Imperial Urban Planning

China entered the twentieth century with a tremendous historical baggage: it has had about four thousand years of urban and planning history. To a large extent, traditional Chinese city planning and design grew out of the heartland of Chinese culture and history. The uniqueness of premodern Chinese city planning lies in the fact that the buildings and their locations within the city were "preestablished by age-old traditions set forth in revered literature or documents of the classical age" (Steinhardt 1990). According to the Rites of Zhou (*Zhouli*), a city should be built in a square with three gates on each side. Preferably surrounded by hills in the distance and definitely enclosed with walls and moats at the periphery, a city should have an area about seven square mile, a good size for a pedestrian city. Inside the city, there should be thoroughfares running North-South intersecting with other East-West thoroughfares. Major buildings in the city should face south, the best of the four cardinal directions. One the east side of city an ancestral temple should be built, while on the west side there should an a state shrine. The market place is usually situated in the north, while the

imperial palaces lie in the southern part of the city. These guidelines for a city with four-sided enclosure by city walls and moats were all based on traditional Chinese cosmology, the yin-yang and five-element theories, and *fengshui* geomancy. Organization of space also reflected Confucian ideas about social order and hierarchy.

City walls and walled fortifications are the most distinctive elements identified with the Chinese city. Nearly all traditional Chinese cities were walled to protect imperial palaces, temples, granaries, residences from barbarian invasions, tribal uprisings, and peasant rebellions. Walls were so important to Chinese cities that the characters for city and wall are in fact identical. Huge gates were usually constructed through the walls, connecting between different parts of the walled city and between the city and the outside world. For centuries the towering walls and gates not only defined the skylines of Chinese cities, but they became part of the cultural ethos of urban China. Traditional Chinese cities were planned and designed to reinforce the cultural hegemony and dominance of imperial monarchs. City planners in the imperial times were determined to uphold imperial power through shaping and configuration of the built environment. The urban spatial hierarchy represented powerful testimony to and physical proof of the imperial order. Maintaining a highly structured and carefully planned city form was just of the many means the imperial monarchs used to display their legitimized position as both rulers and guardians of tradition. The alteration of an accepted design was therefore considered a challenge to the imperial order. Imperial power, therefore, was the most culturally conservative force shaping the urban milieu of pre-twentieth century China.

Modernist Urban Planning
China's modern planning experience is primarily a twentieth century phenomenon; it has undergone three important phases of development: the modernist (1900-50), socialist (1950-78) and global capitalist (1978-1998). The principles of imperial urban planning came under attack in the 19th century, when Western imperialists transformed a number of coastal Chinese cities into treaty ports which were enclaves of Western trade and investment and centers of colonial rule in China. Chinese cities elsewhere were also pressured to adopt Western ways (Dong 1985). The early twentieth century witnessed a massive urban renewal movement in almost every Chinese city. A variety of political, intellectual, and commercial leaders sought to "modernize" their cities according to their understanding of what modernity meant. The quest for modernity took a number of different forms, but there was also a number of common elements. Many of the urban changes were direct results of political changes in early twentieth century China, such as the New Policy reform of 1903-08 and the Republican Revolution of 1911. The desire to change the urban form was the result of the transfer of power from the imperial dynasty to a new Republic. Politically it represented a shift in ideological discourse from emphasizing the supremacy of the imperial power to one that stressed the primacy of people's rights.

The need to revitalize China and the newly created Chinese republic required new types of public spaces--parks, public squares and meeting halls. Municipal governments also sought to improve public health, with such measures as building modern waterworks an sewer systems. Many cities sought to improve urban transportation with streetcars and railroads, and this effort inevitably involved widening streets and tearing down city walls. Through both public and private efforts, the architecture of Chinese cities was transformed, with new-classical Western architecture in the treaty ports and a variety of attempts to blend modern materials and Chinese styles. One striking aspect of this effort at urban renewal is the extent to which the old Chinese cities, often viewed as the

prototype of the preindustrial city, were now subjected to a new generation of planning and new attempts to restore order and discipline to the urban population (Esherick).

The changes made to the city walls of Beijing by the modernist municipal government is a classic example of the modernist reorganization of urban space in early twentieth century China. Proponents for tearing down the city walls argued that since the introduction of modern methods of warfare, the ancient city walls gates as a defense utility became useless. Moreover, the traditional city walls blocked mobility and flow of traffic, and prevented the city from growing spatially to meet the need of population increase and economic development. Based on the modernist ideology of rationality, the republican government began its efforts on the dismantling of the city walls. This was in sharp contrast to the late Qing government who sought to restore city walls and gates to their original state after they had been destroyed by fire or vandalism of invading foreign troops or peasant rebellions for fear of the ill luck that might overtake the city if there were any change. The Republican government was bent on tearing down parts of the city walls, remodeling city gates, and constructing roads to allow passage of railroads, streetcars and general traffic. These changes amounted to the first major modern revamping of the city walls in hundreds of years.

As Beijing's monumental buildings and landscapes, the city walls and gates served to anchor the collective memory of the entire city, perhaps even the nation. As works of art they reminded residents and visitors of the cultural power of tradition. Because they had such a wide and symbolic appeal, they were the first elements in the city to inspire protest when modernist development threatened to destroy them. Movements in Beijing's urban design have focused on this monumental legacy and the extent to which it should be replaced by new monuments that intentionally express a "modern" society. Opposing the Republican government's inclination to demolish and modernize, a Chinese cultural conservatism emerged, arguing against the "mentality of tearing down walls." Deeply skeptical of plans made by those so called "the new men of purpose and principle", Leng Wangu, a columnist for a Beijing newspaper, attacked the government for failing to "grasp the true nature of China." He also pleaded for "preservation of ancient relics" (Strand, 1996).

The conflict between a foreign modernity and a Chinese conservatism also marked the debate over the redesign and rebuilding of Zhengyang Gate in 1915 in order to improve traffic flow between the Inner City and the Outer City's busiest commercial district. The municipal government employed a Westerner, the German architect Rothkegel, to direct the demolition of the gate's barbican wall, and the city wall on either side of the tower, and to design a new European-style plaza inside the old gate and four new gates with broad avenues passing through them. Despite its apparent success in relieving traffic congestion, the project was severely criticized by foreign observers who valued the picturesqueness of the old design, and by Chinese who feared to tamper with the city's good fengshui and claim that a foreign architect could know nothing about the cultural consequences of such dramatic revamping.

The development of Beijing's streetcar system, which required the demolition of city walls, met with even more resistance when it threatened to remove the landmark memorial arches that straddle the major streets throughout the city. Much of the resistance to the construction and expansion of the streetcar system came from conservative elements of the society, who desire to maintain Beijing's traditional beauty and charm. Many considered streetcars, with their ugly overhead wires and annoying

tracks, as an unwanted intrusion into urban life. They argued that modern technology would damage the aesthetic beauty and the imperial serenity of the ancient capital. Some even maintained, based on the idea of fengshui, that the coming of streetcars could bring bad luck to perhaps even disaster to city people.

Socialist Urban Planning

The second phase covers the first thirty years of the People's Republic of China. Swayed by radicalism and the utopian revolution of Mao Zedong, Soviet style planning and design dominated Chinese cities. Shortly after the Chinese Communists took over power in China in 1949, they embarked on a course of urban reconstruction based on a socialist agenda. Deeply influenced by the Soviet Union, Chinese cities were transformed into industrial centers. At the same time, the government cleaned out old teahouses and pleasure zones, and line major streets with official monuments, government officers, standardized state-run stores, and plain apartment buildings.

The Beijing envisioned by Mao was to be a symbol of Chinese socialist state, a role to be enforced with the building of soviet-style gigantic public structures and squares. Tiananmen Square was expanded into the world's largest square and used to stage political rallies and parades in support of Mao's utopian idea of continuous revolution. In a symbolic break with the past, Tiananmen square replaced the former embodiment of imperial power--the Forbidden City--to become the new political center of the nation. The most ambitious public works campaign of this period was the 1958 Big Ten Projects, giant buildings such as the Great Hall of the People and the Cultural Palace for Minority Nationalities conceived primarily as symbolic monuments to the socialist state. Ignoring the old city's cultural roots and sophistication, these socialist monuments tossed together ingredients of Soviet, classical Chinese, and modernist architectures to create a new socialist identity for revolutionary China.

The communist government also decided that the remaining city walls and towers in Beijing must be demolished because they were a symbol of feudalism incompatible with the socialist nature of the city. "In Europe one is, alas, used to seeing the beauty of historic cities destroyed to make room for cars. In Peking, it is more original; the city has been destroyed not under the pressure of existing traffic, but in the prevision of traffic yet to come" (Leys, 1977). The fate of Beijing's city walls had already been sealed early as the 1950s, but the actual demolition was not completed until the 1960s, when Mao become so paranoid about Soviet invasions that he threw every Chinese city into frantic preparations for war. For a while, tunnel-digging became a national campaign. People from wall walks of life picked bricks and stones from the rubble of city walls and used them for the air-raid tunnels. Mao inadvertently transformed the ancient defense system of the city walls rendered obsolete by modern aerial warfare to create a more up-to-date defense. The centuries-old walls vanished from the skylines of Beijing during the heady days of the Cultural Revolution.

It appears that at the beginning of the century, the advocates of demolition and reconstruction in the name of modernity were a cosmopolitan class of Western-trained reformers, and the advocates of preservation in the name of cultural integrity and traditional Chinese folk belief were an almost xenophobic alliance of local interests. However, during Mao's China, the cause of modern destruction and reconstruction had been appropriated by an equally xenophobic, nativist ultra-leftist force, and the ostracized, marginalized class of Western-trained cosmopolitans had become the silenced proponents of preservation (Abramson, 1997).

Liang Sicheng represented a group of architectural experts and city planners who became cultural advocates during the radical years of Maoism. Unlike the early 20th century when opposition was out of geomantic considerations, Liang's opposition was out of concern of cultural preservation. Liang came from a legendary elite family and his father, Liang Qichao, was an prominent reformer in the late Qing dynasty. Liang himself was an architectural historian who had been trained at the University of Pennsylvania in the 1920s. Liang had every reason to love the old city of Beijing. No only was it his home; he had studied all its architectural charms in the course of his career. To him, to save the Forbidden City was not enough; The great walled city itself must be preserved. As early as 1950, he drafted a plan to keep all of old Beijing enclosed into city walls, turning it into a great museum and cultural center, and to build a new, modern city next to it. As for the city walls, he had an idea of lining the route atop the city with flowers, benches, transforming the ring of walls into an elevated park. He pointed out that the flat tops of the walls ten meters or more wide could become a continuous public park with flower beds and garden seats. The gate towers with their upswept double roofs could become museums, exhibition halls, refreshment kiosks and teahouses. The moat surrounding the walls at their base and the strip of land between the two could make a beautiful green belt and provide boating, fishing, and skating the city people. These strategies, he believed, would allow Beijing to leapfrog through time while avoiding all the mistakes Western cities had made: a modernization that would contain the explosive effects of rapid development and keep an ancient masterpiece for aesthetic appreciation (Zha, 1995).

To be sure, Liang's proposal bore striking parallel to what Eric Hobsbawm calls "the invention of tradition" (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983). He sought to restore and recreate an older urban fabric and rehabilitate it to new uses, and respond to novel situation by taking advantage of an old one. He attempted to repackage the old infrastructure for new style recreation and entertainment. To him, tradition and urban space could go together, and modern transformation and cultural preservation modernity could go together, and modern transformation and cultural preservation caused no apparent conflict. He was sensitive to both the homogenizing force of modernity and the deep-rooted nuances of Chinese culture. He discovered that Beijing's overall street grid and structure of spatial definition is itself a landmark in the world's history of urban planning. The large structures of Beijing's street grid, its system of enclosures and its axial symmetry must all be preserved to maintain the identity of cultural Beijing. However, Liang's alternative vision for Beijing was beat out by Mao's politically-charged utopian vision of socialism. His dissenting voice was drowned in the political zeal of planning a new Chinese city: a forward-looking one with no historical baggage to slow its victorious march toward communism.

Urban Planning--Global Capitalist Style

In China today, people are no longer concerned with the revolutionary and political ideology of Maoist urban planning, but become preoccupied with modernization along Western lines. While urban planning is still largely controlled by the government, what becomes increasingly evident is the participation of global, profit-driven, capitalist forces from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and overseas. It is partly in this sense that conflict between global and local cultures and the problem of modern development vis-à-vis cultural preservation are at the heart of the debate over the future of the Chinese city.

Global capitalistic forces are competing with localized cultural traditions. Chinese cities are in the middle of an identity crisis. "A Burst of Renewal Sweeps Away Old Beijing," "Stop Bulldozing Beijing History, delegates [to the National People's Congress] urge."

These newspaper headlines all point to an almost daily ritual: Beijing is being quickly stripped of their character as ancient buildings are torn down for office buildings, apartment blocks and freeways and shopping centers, which are seen by city officials and real estate developers as a symbol of modernization. The former sites of the city walls are now built with Los Angeles-style freeways above the ground and the Beijing's rapid transit system under the ground, all part of the trappings of an urban modernity.

While feverishly trying to become a world city, Beijing is also struggling to come to terms with its own past. What many people lament about not only the radically altered face of the capital, but also the loss of the old urban fabric of alleyways and courtyard residential houses and especially its close-knit community atmosphere and neighborly connectedness. There is growing complexity in Chinese popular attitudes toward cultural heritage and local identity. To a large extent, debates about the shape of urban development are often debates between differing cultural visions. When development takes the form of redevelopment, it is seen as posing a threat to at least a part of the city's cultural identity (Abramson 1997).

The question of urban development vis-à-vis historical preservation is not unique to China; it faces all countries. Given symbols of repositories of Chinese civilizations, Chinese planner experience provides an important case study about how different cultures react to the onslaught of modernist global forces. An essential cultural goal of any urban conservation policy is to maintain and continue the city's identity in the face of ever-stronger global forces for homogenization. The crux of identity is that it defines the difference between places. This difference naturally emerges from each city's special geographical location, its landscape, the characteristics of its population, and the activities of its inhabitants. However, through technological change, increased mobility and improved communication, nature is less of a determining factor in a city's character than before and the populations of cities are also less differentiated (Abramson 1997). Thus to an ever higher degree, the difference between cities is derived from each city's past. For this reason, culturally essential features of the city's past must be retained.

References

Abramson, DB (1997) "Neighborhood Redevelopment as a Cultural Problem: A Western Perspective on Current Plans for the Old City of Beijing," Doctoral dissertation, Tsinghua University.

Dong, J (1989) *Zhongguo chengshi jianshe shi* (A history of urban construction in China), Beijing, Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe.

Esherick, J ed. (forthcoming) *Constructing the Modern in Chinese Cities, 1900-1950*, Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press.

Hobsbawm E & Ranger T eds. (1983) *The Invention of Tradition*, New York: Cambridge UP.

Leys, S (1977) *Chinese Shadows*, New York, Viking.

Shi, M (1998) "Rebuilding the Chinese Capital: Beijing in the Early Twentieth Century," *Urban History* 25:1, 62:83.

Steinhardt, NS (1990) *Chinese Imperial City Planning*, University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu.

Strand, D (1996) "Beyond Coast and Capital: Pressures and Previsions in the Making of the Modern Chinese City," *Wall and Market: Chinese Urban History News* 1:1.

Zha, J (1995) *China Pop*, New York, The New Press.

Prospects of Public-Private Partnerships in Community-Based Planning: A Case Study of Movements in Yokohama City, Japan

Dr Sumie Shoji
Civil Engineering Dept
Kanto-Gakuin University
Yokohama 2368501
Japan

Introduction

There had been little room for citizen's participation in city planning in Japan until the amendment of the City Planning Act in 1992. However, already before the amendment, some progressive municipalities had adopted the systems of citizen's participation in community-based planning, of which Yokohama City was a typical example. Yokohama is situated about 30km to the south of Tokyo and has total area of 433sq.km. With a population of about 3.3 million, it is Japan's second largest city next to Tokyo.

Kanazawa Ward, the place to be reported on in this study, is located in the southern part of this city. Today, there are many civic groups engaged in the improvement of community in this ward. This paper will report on the activities in this area based on public-private partnerships as a new wave of community- building in Japan.

A Short History of Yokohama City

Yokohama was established as Japan's first treaty port in 1859 and the construction of Yokohama's foreign settlement was the first example of modern city planning in Japan. Although she has experienced the tumultuous times, such as the Great Kanto Earthquake in 1923, war damage in 1945, and the requisition of major facilities by the Allied Forces in the postwar period, today Yokohama City ranks among the leading cities in Japan.

The rapid economic growth that began in the 1960s soon had its influence on the city, first by setting off a population explosion. Among the major problems caused by the overpopulation were misguided development and tremendous social burdens following such wide variety of urban infrastructural investment as the investment in roads, sewerage system, water supply, and garbage disposal, or the investment in cultural and educational facilities. The City of Yokohama executed six major development projects- e.g. the renewal of the city's central section, the reclamation of the coast along the Kanazawa District, the development of Kohoku New Town- all designed since 1965 to support the major industrial, economic and social roles that Yokohama City plays within the national capital region.

From industrialization and urbanization emerged issues of pollution, and the growth of the problem called for immediate solutions. Efforts to reduce the emission of smoke and effluents from factories at the source of rivers resulted in a certain measure of success. As the wave of suburban development began to subside in the 1980's, cities in Japan finally reached the stage where people began to consider the creation of residential environments which are of the quality higher than ever for the citizens.

At the New Stage of Municipal Administration

Now that the urban infrastructure, such as paved roads, running water, and sewerage systems, is almost completely built throughout Yokohama City, the interest of the public is beginning to shift from further amplification of the infrastructure to enhancement of local community's consciousness of their residential environments and to characterization of the city with its own urban landscape and history. With the overall aim of making the environment of Yokohama City more human and more responsive to the outside world, a number of specific goals have been proposed: promotion of solidarity among citizens and establishment of a more user-friendly municipal administration both aimed to make Yokohama a more pleasant place to live in; coexistence with nature and accomplishment of disaster prevention programs aimed to make the city life safer and more enjoyable: and execution of measures to enliven the city in terms of its culture and economy.

It goes without saying that the city's administrative capability is not without limits. Rather the general public are most directly responsible for the city's individuality and culture. In order to achieve this goal, community-wide initiatives taken by local groups that function as subordinate organizations of the municipal government will be more significant than the roles played by the existing organizations.

The vast majority of residents now living in Yokohama City have moved into this city since the beginning of 1970s, and many of them work in Tokyo. With much of their time consumed for working and community, people living in Yokohama City are not very deeply attached to their hometowns, or to their local culture. But many groups are already active, though on a smaller scale. From the very early stages onward, the City of Yokohama has taken seriously internal teamwork and partnership with citizens and the business community.

In 1996, the city started the public-private partnership in community-based planning in every ward. It called upon every citizen to play an active role in the creation of self-government through the promotion of grass-root democracy within the community. Though these attempts are still in a developing stage, Kanazawa Ward is said to be the most advanced ward to accomplish the attempts of all the wards in Yokohama City.

The Public-Private Partnership Movements in Kanazawa Ward

Though Kanazawa Ward had already appeared on the stage of history since the medieval times, its urbanization advanced only after the World War 2. The rapid progress in urbanization during 1970's has alienated people's lives from natural environment.

The coastal zone of this area was built in the Kanazawa Reclamation Project during 1970's. This project was aimed to build sites for housing and modern small-sized factories. Especially, the project was aimed to relocate collectively the factories, which were randomly located in the urban area before the project, for the purpose of both the renewal of the city and the improvement of its environment. A complex of apartments, Kanazawa Seaside Town which is separated from the business district by a greenbelt, was built in 1978. With nearly twenty years having passed since then, the new movement of communication between residents and industries arose from the industrial festival in Kanazawa 1996.

In the 1980s, with the recognition that nature was in danger of irremediable destruction, people realized that they had new tasks of saving life from extinction and of restoring nature. The Dragonfly Pond, a sort of biotop, made in a primary school is a result of such efforts. Parents and teachers in the school worked voluntarily to make a pond which restored nature in a pristine state.

Now the same group cooperates with a community-organization in an activity of cleaning a small river, the Jijuh River, and the group also cooperates with another citizen group in protecting a beach at the ebb tide, the Hirakata Bay in an attempt to foster natural ecosystems based on community planning.

The Kanazawa Yokohama Area Total Study (KYATS) or Yokohama Kanazawa Chiiki Sogo Kenkyu Shudan which was established in 1996, is a unique multipurpose organization which supports numerous activities based on the public-private partnership in community-based planning. This organization consists of students and teachers of Yokohama City University and Kanto-Gakuin University, citizens, corporations and public officers who are interested in the issues. The duties of KYATS include the accumulation of various surveys on Kanazawa Ward, formation of plans for community, enlightening of local groups on the issues they have, and the provision of information. KYATS has realized the lectures, events and workshops for the purpose of fostering natural ecosystems and social welfare programs. It also plans to achieve its projects in cooperation with local and national governments, universities and institutions, local industries and civic groups in and out of Kanazawa Ward.

Conclusion

The following points are analyzed:

(1) Movements based on the public-private partnership in Kanazawa Ward are still in a developing stage. The range of the movements is restricted, for the present, chiefly to providing opportunities to discuss local problems.
(2) The subjects confronting KYATS, which holds the key for the establishment of the partnership, are to increase its members and to form networks with the individuals and the organizations concerned with the issues.
(3) It is necessary to have more occasions to discuss public projects in local areas, especially within the government sectors or between public sectors and private sectors.

References

1. Yokohama City University: *Yokohama Past and Present.* Yokohama:1990

2. Yokohama City Office, *Chosa Kihou* (Quarterly Report on the Municipal Administration in Yokohama City), 1990, No.120.
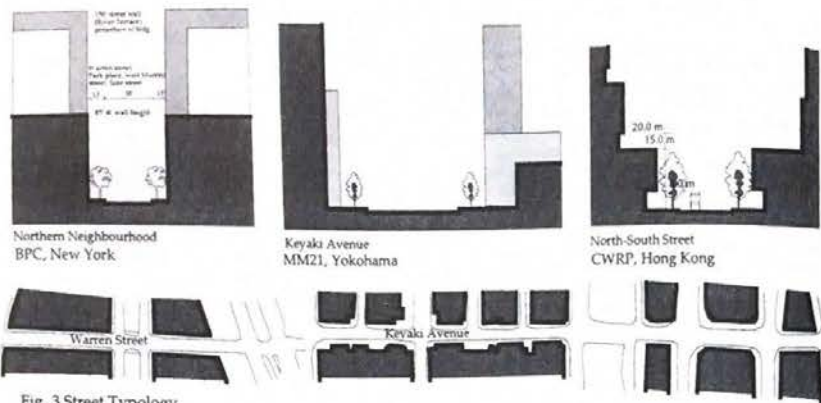
Bijaya K. SHRESTHA
Urban Design Laboratory, University of Tokyo, Japan

Urban Waterfront Development Patterns: An Integrated Design Structure

Same forces of technological change in maritime industry, realization of environmental and ecological values in city design and change in urban society have resulted urban waterfront transformations around the world. In Asian land hungry cities like Yokohama and Hong Kong, waterfront transformation is mainly due to the government policy on restructuring the urban spaces to accommodate new economic activities. Unlike cities of Western countries, these Asian cities do not possess 'inner city' problems. Systematic displacement of port activity take place before they become redundant. Waterfront change has been analyzed and described by Charlier (1992) based on 'life cycle' model of port growth, by Hoyle (Hoyle et al 1988) based on port city evolution from the primitive stage to redevelopment stages (four/five stages) and by Van Der Knaap and Pinder (1992) based on urban policy changed. Waterfront change from planning and urban design aspects need yet to be explored. This paper examines the waterfront development through comparison of three prominent case study in different cities namely Battery Park City (BPC) of New York, Minato Mirai 21 (MM21) of Yokohama and Central Wan Chai Reclamation Project (CWRP) of Hong Kong. The objectives of this paper is four folds. Firstly, it develops a 'theoretical framework' to analysis waterfront planning and development. Secondly, it compares and contrasts the case studies on design and development issues. Thirdly it identifies weaknesses on them. Finally conclusion is drawn and some recommendations are proposed for future waterfront development.

Theoretical Framework

There are few completed waterfront development projects. The selected projects for case study have different track of development and are still under implementation stages. Some changes have been sought in remaining parts in each case study. In such situation, the best way to analyze waterfront planning and design is to compare and contrast similar cross national case study. Located adjacent to CBD they are characterized by land reclamations and have a similar land use distribution of offices, retails, conventional and cultural facilities including significant amount of open spaces, parks and promenades (Table 1). Water has played the same role-used for recreational and aesthetic purposes. Moreover many planning and design problems including socio-economic issues are similar in these post industrial cities during the process of economic structuring. Cross national responses on similar issues shows the uniqueness of the society, illustrates an alternative solution and help to form a framework for future program.

Table 1 Comparison of Land Use Distribution

Project	Totoal Area (ha)	Bldgs. (commer. resid., offic. etc)	Roads and railways (ha)	Parks & open spaces (ha)	Port facilities/ water basin (ha)	Development period (yr)	Budget
Battery Park City	37.40 (100%)	18.9 (51%)	7.2 (19%)	11.3 (30%)	-	1979-	$ 4 Billion
Minato Mirai 21	186.00 (100%)	87.0 (46.8%)	42.0 (22.6%)	46.0 (24.7%)	11 (1.4%)	1983-2000	2 Trillion Yan (1983 based)
Central Wan Chai Reclamation Project	122.70 (100%) Central, Tamar & Exhib. cells)	37.9 (30.8%)	54.1 (44.2%)	29.0 (23.6%)	1.7 water basin (1.4%)	1993-2011	HK$ 18,500 Million (mid 1988 based)

Source: (BPCA 1979, Yokohama MM21 1997 and Maunsell 1993)

Fig. 1 Urban Design (product+process) on Waterfronts

Fig. 2 c Central Wan Chai Reclamation Project (CWRP), Hong Kong

The unique quality of water to influence built form and human being and the flexibility in land shape and shoreline configuration in reclamation process make waterfront development unique and special from planning and urban design view point. Urban design is both 'process' and 'product' and works at 'micro' as well as 'macro' level (Figure 1). It is a 'public policy' and an 'implementing tool'. Design of public realm such as waterfront promenade, streets, open spaces etc. as a 'product' is influenced by design guidelines and at a wider framework as out come of socio-economic phenomenon. The basic framework for analysis is the comparative study of three cross-national cases (Figure 2 a,b,c). Comparison is carried out at three different scales. At site level, it examines the various urban design solutions for similar physical design issues such as leading people to water's edge, conflict between vehicular and pedestrian traffic, design of waterfront promenade and inner waterbody space etc. Design of such urban design components are analyzed with respect to operational tools. At city level, each project is studied with respect to its integration into the surrounding areas and also in terms of each city's planning framework. Projects objectives and aims are analyzed against development control, planning approval system and implementation mechanism to draw a comparative basis. At a wider framework, cross national development process within various socio-economic and political dimensions are compared.

Fig. 2 a Battery Park City (BPC), New York

Fig. 2 b Minato Mirai 21 (MM21), Yokohama

At Site Level

Design of Waterfront Promenades: In Battery Park City continuous double lining of trees , triple rows of benches and street posts of uniform materials and colors coupled with almost constant width of promenade give the sense of 'continuity' of promenade. It allows to perform various activities for different age groups. Continuous tree lining on upper promenade give the feeling of enclosure, human scale and also protect visitors from the Sun, wind and rain. Though MM21 and CWRP allow spatial views along promenades due to their irregular shorelines, they lack the proper furnitures and landscape treatments. Promenade design does not directly lead visitors along the water's edge nor protect them from the Sun, wind and rain. Sitting arrangement on the concrete steps is not convenient. Promenade running parallel to 'Sakura Avenue' is narrow and inconvenient for visitors. Location of 'Pacifico Yokohama' obstructs the view of 'Rinko Park'. Lack of ground level activity psychologically restrict visitors leading towards that side of promenade. However, the stepping down towards the water at some part of promenades offer direct physical contact with waterbody. Concrete steps covered from the top and constrained on both sides by floor bed provided in CWRP are not convenient for relaxation.

Street Patterns: All the streets leading to the water's edge end as 'cul-de-sac' permitting the view of parks , promenades and water in BPC. The public art and sculpture located at the end of streets act as a gateway' towards waterfront promenade. Moreover the continuous street walls, stone bases, masonry buildings with controlled architecture detailing articulate public towards the water's edge (Figure 3). Such physical quality coupled with ground floor activity on both sides of streets lead people to promenade from hinterlands. Discontinuity of ground level activity on both sides of streets, non-uniform building setbacks and poor views of waterbody in MM 21 all dilute the 'perceptual access' towards the water's edge though despite of physical access. Open space created with building setbacks needs clear integration with surrounding areas. Streets in CWRP dominated by vehicular traffic do not allow water's view. Continuous open space system at different level integrating with retail activity draw people towards the waterfront promenade and also provide a good view. People walks at podium level in CWRP whereas a separate pedestrian network independent from vehicular streets link various activities in MM21. Such design solution may reduce vitality along streets.

Northern Neighbourhood
BPC, New York

Keyaki Avenue
MM21, Yokohama

North-South Street
CWRP, Hong Kong

Warren Street

Keyaki Avenue

Fig. 3 Street Typology

Inner waterbody: North Cove in BPC, easily accessible/visible from the surrounding areas combines retails, restaurants, offices and ferry and marina activities to provide liveliness and vitality (Figure 4). Winter garden (enclosed public space) directly open towards the 'North Cove'. Building setback around the cove after a certain height provide the sense of enclosure and human scale. In MM 21, though the public oriented activities at lower floors of the office blocks provide liveliness and vitality, integration of such activity to the inner waterbody is physically separated by 'Sakura Avenue'. Moreover the space around the 'Nippon-Maru Park' is not well interwoven with surrounding areas. Statue Square Space Corridor in CWRP offer a different typology of inner waterbody, as it is connected to hinterlands through open space corridor (uplifted from the streets) at different level. Different modes of transportation connects this corridor from below at street level and the ferry service at the water's edge.

Battery Park City

Minato Mirai 21

Central Wan Chai Reclamation

North cove, BPC (New York)

Nippon Maru, MM 21 (Yokohama)

Statue square space corridor, CWRP
(Hong Kong)

Fig. 4 Inner waterbody Typology

Pedestrian and vehicular traffic interface: Conflict between vehicular traffics and pedestrian paths particularly near the water's edge and at the interface between the existing area and reclaimed land is very crucial from urban design point of view. Being a residential precinct, vehicular traffic in BPC is less compare to other two cases. Design of 'cul-de-sac' further reduce speed and vehicular traffic in this precinct. In MM21, the heavy vehicular traffic road (Kokusai Boulevard) is divided into two, one underground for through fast traffic and another on the ground level for local traffics. Again at the ground level street lanes are diverted by greenery. Such problem in CWRP is solved by uplifting the open space system and by providing pedestrian network at podium level. However in all cases the pedestrian network from the reclaimed land towards the existing surrounding areas are obstructed by highway and railways as Westside highway in BPC, National Route 16, Shuto Expressway and railway lines in MM21 and highways in CWRP.

At District Level

Physical design concept in Battery Park City (1979 master plan) was based on eight design principles such as extension of the existing streets and building blocks, recognizable and understandable form as a part of lower Manhattan improving the existing best neighborhood. MM21 aims to be developed as a cultural cosmopolis operating around the clock, an information city of the 21st century and a city with a superior environment , surrounded by water, green and history. Design objectives in CWRP aim to optimize the potential for CBD expansion, to extend the visual and physical linkages and land use continuity between the existing urban area and reclamation development area, to regulate the building form, urban mass and open space that give the distinct cell identity and sense of place. Furthermore, it

aims to exploit the potential of water for various recreational purposes. Compare to BPC, MM21 and CWRP lack clear cut design principles to draw master plans. Quantitative aspects get more attention than the qualitative aspects in planning process. However, it is not to deny that each project has allocated sufficient amount of open space , parks and promenades and some cultural facilities. The preservation of historic waterfront edges and images at 'Nippon Maru Museum' and below the 'Landmark' building (Dock 2) is a bold concept not apparent in other cases. The upliftment of open spaces system over various urban blocks and integrating them with retail, restaurants and landscape system in CWRP is a bold concept in waterfront planning and design in high density city like Hong Kong.

Design principles of BPC are translated into ground through the regulation of detailed design guidelines (urban design and architectural features) for each block controlling the height, bulk, massing, building materials and detailing including the ground floor use, entrance and parking etc. To achieve project goals in MM21, minimum guidelines on land use, public facility and buildings have been agreed among the various concerned parities. Town Development Council confirms and examines the development plans and implements the agreement. Except from such general rules, the whole development is guided by the existing city planning and building laws. Urban design parameters in CWRP provide a design framework for future developments framework describing site specific guidelines for comprehensive development sites. Urban design vocabulary applied in BPC is just the continuity of various legislations already applied at different parts of the city. Uniform building line and set back, separation of incompatible land use and control of buildings by the width of street, size of land parcel rather that height alone are some of the urban design aspects addressed by the first city Zoning Ordinance of 1916. The 1961 Zoning amendment with introduction of 'plaza bonus' and replacement of setback with FAR has resulted random location of plazas and interpreted shopping continuity and also has produced bulkier and bigger building volumes. Later 'Special District Zoning' applied at various sections of the city. What is new in BPC is the abolition of the lengthy planning approval system. Detail design guidelines and the design review system have replaced it. As the 1979 Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with New York City exempted BPC from the normal planning process. BPCA has constructed public infrastructures. Developers need to take only building permit. Development legislations regulating urban design is weak in Yokohama and Hong Kong. The 1919 City Planning at and Urban Building Act in Japan, the 1963 Building Standard Law and amendments of Building Standard Law in 1968, 1980 and in 1992 intended to attend the minimum standard of buildings and site layout rather than addressing the complex urban design issues. The 1903 Town Planning and Public Health Ordinance of Hong Kong was amended in 1935 and in 1939. Further amendment on Town Planning Ordinance in 1969, in 1974 and in 1991 added minor changes which are insufficient to address the complex urban design problems. In fact design control is applied on individual site and building through lease system. The Town Planning Ordinance controls only type and intensity of land use. Lack of clear urban design vocabulary in terms of concept and in legislations also suggest the built outcome of MM21 and CWRP.

Development Process

The forces that initiate waterfront change and its outcome in early phase vary in each project with distinct difference between Western and Asian context. Battery Park City has long history of development compare with the other two. Many official and non official plans were proposed, each different not only in terms of land use scale but also with respect to planning and design concept in the early 1960's. Finally two powerful actors namely the City of New York and the Sate negotiated each other on various issues such as financial, physical design, city's participation on developments and low income housing provision. Battery Park City created in 1968 had an approved plan, site and political consensus but still nothing was constructed for about one decade. The rigid nature of 1969 master development plan , fiscal crisis, world wide economic recession due to 1973 oil crisis and slowdown of office and residential markets in the early 70's all made the 1969 master development plan stand still. The governor, the State, the Urban Development Corporation and the new management of BPCA on 1979 negotiated on Memorandum of Understanding (MOU), according to which the approval process was abandoned and the city would give tax incentives to office development for 10 yr.; the State would provide $8 million in loans to guarantee the bond. The 1979 new master plan allows incremental implementation, based on simple traditional concept of streets and open space at grade level. Instead of time consuming planning and design approval system, it rely on detailed design guidelines and design review system checked by BPCA.

The pace of waterfront development and displacement of port activity are intense and systematic in Yokohama and Hong Kong. The comprehensive program called 'Plan for Yokohama in the 21st century' aims the overall coordinated developments of port industry, urban infrastructure and transportation and better living and working environment of the city. The present reclamation program of Hong Kong is the outcome of various feasibility study such as Territory Development Study (1980-84), Study on Harbor Reclamation and Urban Growth (SHRUG), Port and Airport Development Strategy (PADS, 1988, 1989) and Metroplan (1988 -1990). These projects were launched for the betterment of the whole city and thus have a wider implication beyond the project boundaries. Both MM21 and CWRP have marked with smooth 'start up' at the initial phase of development. Instead of political rivalries they constitute a negotiations and cooperation among the various parties.

Interaction among development coalition-government, developers and citizens in waterfront development process shows different patterns (Table 2). Cross cultural difference on planning and development system also shape the waterfront change in a broader context. With the legislative power of development system, New York City has been depending on tax revenue generated within its own making its own zoning. Coupled with lack of regional policy and uncoordination between the neighbor cities despite boundaries.

of close proximity each city competes with each other. Hence the office and residential market in New York is volatile. Development programs are pro economic in Japan and in Hong Kong. Regional planning plays a major role in shaping city level projects in Japanese context. Planning system and implementation mechanism are based on cooperation and consensus among land owners and other development coalitions. Land is a scarce and high priced commodity. Hong Kong exhibits differently. It is a Chinese society ruled by British legislative system. All the land belongs to the Crown and are leased to public and private developers.

Table 2 Development Colitions (Government, Developer and Public) Patterns

Battery Park City, New York

Minato Mirai 21, Yokohama
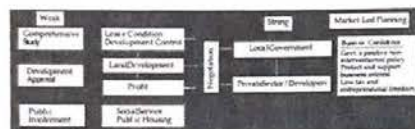
Central Wan Chai Reclamation Project, Hong Kong
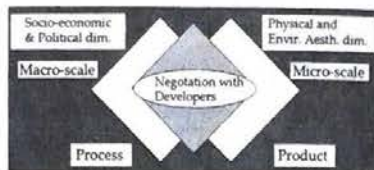
Fig. 5 Crucial stage in Waterfront Development

City Council and Community Board play a crucial role to shape land use and other parameters of the proposed projects in New York. Public participation acts as a 'third force' in negotiation between City government and developers. Such participation helps to avoid the negative externality of the projects but at the same time may delay the **project**. Planning mechanism in Yokohama and Hong Kong allow minimum public involvement in development approval system. However, private sectors or business elites are powerful in shaping the urban development in these societies as they participate in the city growth process in various ways including in policy formations tasks.

Developers are provided various tax incentives, financing and even lease space to attract private investment in New York which is not so common in Yokohama and Hong Kong. Government intervenes minimum in urban development works, provides an environment of entrepreneur freedom to stimulate investment on waterfronts in Asian context. Involvement of land owners and consensus building among development coalitions make the project less risky in Japanese society. Hong Kong offers many advantages for private sector investment: government's positive noninterventionist policy and balanced fiscal policy, free market economy, **low tax** rates, relative stability of domestic prices etc. Moreover development controls such as site converge, plot ratio, FAR, density etc., are embedded in land lease provide more certainty for developers. Lease can be seen as a 'development right' for its purchasers. Developers can change or modify the land use after paying a certain 'premium' to the government.

Weakness in Current Waterfront Planning and Urban Design

Comparative study clearly shows that the water has not been fully exploited. Land reclamation pushes the earlier shoreline further away thus making the public access and water view from the existing urban areas difficult. Instead of using water as a 'special land use', it has been treated for the aesthetic purposes only. The potential of integrating waterbody with the inner existing urban areas at the time of reclamation to enhance of the real estate value of the properties on both existing and reclaimed lands is not realized. Shape of the land and shoreline configuration in land reclamation process is addressed by quantitative aspects such as engineering and hydrological requirements rather than the qualitative aspects such as view, legibility, accessibility, etc.

Physical present of highways and railways have divided the existing urban lands and the reclaimed lands physically, visually and perceptually. Lack of land use integration and hence the continuity of ground floor activity further make the waterfront development isolated from the surrounding districts. Extension of the urban blocks and the street pattern towards the water's edge are not enough. Continuity in street level activity, pedestrian network and open space system are also essential to integrate waterfront sites with the existing urban areas.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Based on the comparative analysis of three waterfront cases, it is clear that waterfront development in Asian cities and in New York are contrasts. At site level, urban design as a 'product', design of public realm such as open space, parks and promenades etc. in BPC is more successful against the Asian counterparts. The success accounts not only the innovative urban design concept but also due to the implementing mechanism. Such success is the outcome of the continuity of planning and development

control adjusted to address urban design context of waterfronts. On the other hand, MM21 and CWRP though realize the importance of public realm lack the clear urban design goals and operational tools. Legislative measures are rather weak towards the urban design.

Nonetheless the key stage in waterfront development in each case is the negotiation between developers and City government (and with public participation) (Fig. 5). Such negotiation influences both parts of urban design - development process and design as a product. The negotiation between the New York City and the State has changed the development direction of BPC projects both in 1969 and in 1979. The Memorandum of Understanding between the City and the State accelerates the planning and approval process, shaves cost and time for developers. Detail design guidelines prepared by BPCA provide 'certainty' for all concerned parties as the nature of development is clear. BPCA's fast design review process future enhance the 'flexibility' for developers to adjust development according to market conditions. Public involvement in program formation and implementation particularly in design of park and playground put the urban development in right track. Thus cooperation and negotiation among 'development coalitions' coupled with innovation design concept lead the BPC into a success which was in a state of crisis till late 1970's. Such negotiation in MM21 and CWRP tends to dominate on quantitative aspects rather than qualitative one. Lack of clear urban design vocabulary in concept and in legislation, nature of the project (to fulfill the strategic goals such as transportation improvement, job creation and economic improvement etc.) and low level of public advocacy on planning and urban design all are responsible for built physical environments.

Both in MM21 and CWRP various government and private organizations are coordinated to address the complex nature of the projects under normal planning and implementation mechanism whereas in BPC, the development strategy and the planning approach had to be revised to direct the development at right track. New strategy aims to change the negative image of waterfront site. High quality of public realm construction by BPCA had not only changed the image of waterfront but also stimulated private investments. Division of lands into small parcels allows many developers to participate and also possible for incremental implementation based on market condition. Developers are given tax incentives and exempted from lengthy approval process in lieu of BPCA's design review process. Such strategy is not apparent in MM21 and CWRP as neither image of waterfront is poor nor need to give tax incentives to stimulate private investment. However, an environment of entrepreneur freedom, minimum government intervention in terms of planning approval process and development control system provide development certainty and flexibility for developers. These projects being a part of comprehensive study and supported by all levels of governments enhance the further development certainty. They are highly successful in term of real estate development or to fulfill the strategic goals.

Land reclamation, at the early stage of development is carried out based on engineering aspects rather than the urban design criteria, as in the early stage the development coalitions are mainly concern with cost benefit analysis. The common problems facing in all case study - lack of water view from hinterland, highway and railway obstruction, pedestrian pathway discontinuity etc. can be solved only if such issues are addressed in the early stage of development while shaping the landform and shoreline during the reclamation process. Conservation of a significant part of earlier shoreline (or public place) can help to lead people to the reclaimed lands- as Nippon -Maru Museum and land mark building in MM21, Battery Park (and Pier A) in BPC and the 'Status Complex' in CWRP.

Waterfront site has become a laboratory to testify the urban design concept under public private partnership in city growth process. Public realm 'certainty' and development 'flexibility' at the key stage of negotiation between the developers and City government coupled with cooperation and consensus among 'development coalition' constitute the key elements for success of waterfront development. Waterfront being a special site requires 'site specific guidelines". Existing planning legislations are not sufficient. Detailed design guidelines tailored within city's urban design vocabulary benefits all parties. It is the basis- for developers to calculate cost benefit analysis; for architects to understand site context; for City government to use as a tool for negotiation and for general public to realize the nature of development. Moreover, such guidelines have saved time, cost and have accelerated development process in New York context. It can enhance the desirable built environment at site level in Yokohama and Hong Kong context. In both cases, developers are concerned with incentives offered, real estate market and timing required for development permit rather than the physical shape of the buildings.

Key References

Battery **Park** City Authority (1979) *Battery Park City Draft Summary Report and 1979 Master Plan*, New York:BPCA

Charlier, J. (1992) The regeneration of old port areas for new port uses, in Hoyle B. and Pinder D (Eds) *European Port Cities in Transition*, London: Belhaven Press

Hoyle, B. Pinder, D. and Hussian, M. (Eds) (1988) *Revitalizing the Waterfront* London: Belhaven Press

Maunsell consultants Asia Ltd. with Urbis Travers Morgan Ltd.,(Oct. 1993) *Central and Wan Chai Reclamation - Development of Urban Design Parameters*

Van Der Knapp, G.A. and Pinder, D. (1992) Revitalizing the European Waterfront:policy evaluation and planning issues, in Hoyle, B. and Pinder, D. (Eds) *European Port Cities in Transition*, London: Belhaven Press

Yokohama Minato Mirai 21, (Jan. 1997) 'Yokohama Minato Mirai 21', *Overview of Minato Mirai 21*, Planning and individual operation

The Urban Periphery in Developing Countries: The case of Yaounde(Cameroon) in Tropical Africa

Remy Sietchiping
PhD. Student, Department of Geography
The University of Yaounde
P.O. Box 8201 Yaounde-CAMEROON
E-Mail: sietchiping@hotmail.com

Introduction

Yaounde, Cameroon's political capital since 1921 under French colonial rule, was chosen more for strategic and climatic considerations than for its site (relief). The town is situated on plateau and hills with steep slopes and areas unsuitable for construction (31% according to ASSAKO, 1997) and large and flooded valleys (12%). The city is blessed with a mild climate (19 to 24° C.) and high rainfall (1600 mm/year) unevenly distributed over the year.

In 1920, Yaounde was just a large village. The urban area has steadily evolved and extended as its population increased. From about 5,800 inhabitants in 1926, Yaounde is presently a metropolis with more than 1,5 million inhabitants (the second biggest town after Douala, the economical capital) with a high growth rate(6,5%). Where and how the Yaounde inhabitants who will hit 2 million in the year 2000 live? is a burning issue, pregnant with implications. This cumulated and uncontrolled growth, coupled with other urban crises produce many ills and metamorphoses which have become and should be causes for concern to the various stakeholders involved.

This new development, applied to the periurban space of tropical Africa metropolises makes for another perception of the roles and strategic and sensitive functions that this space should henceforth perform. This changes are surprisingly taking place with grassroots initiatives which precede over government action.

Yaounde: Sustained population growth and spatial expansion.

Urbanisation, the development pattern of the third millennium, is taking on a staggering dimension in developing countries, with an increasingly high urban growth rate. Cameroon, a tropical African country, best illustrates this new development.

Table 1: A comparison of the evolution of urban growth rate (%) in some areas

	Cameroon	sub-Saharan Africa	Developing Countries	Australia	World
1960	14	15	22	81	34
1994	44	31	37	85	45
2000	49	35	41	85	47

Source: UNDP World report, 1994.

Although the urban phenomenon is recent in sub-Saharan Africa (the sixties), the region is witnessing a real boom within a few decades, while the pace of growth is slower as a whole. Cameroon, for example, which had only 14 % city dwellers in 1960 (the year it gained independence) as against 22% for the group of Developing Countries (is a gap of -8%), will feature in 2000 as one of the most rapidly urbanising countries in sub-

Saharan Africa, with 49% , as against 35% for the region (i.e. a surplus of +14%). This rate will be above the world average (47%), but below Australia's stagnating urbanisation rate (85%).This rapid urbanisation growth for the case of Yaounde, has taken the form of an exponential population increase, with high annual growth rates.

Table 2: Yaounde population increase and annual growth rate

Year	Population	Annual population growth rate(%)	Year	Population	Annual population growth rate(%)
1926	5865	-	1964	105985	9,0
1933	6500	-	1967	144723	8,7
1939	9080	-	1976	313706	9,5
1945	17311	9,9	1980	443000	9,0
1952	31783	9,9	1985	681000	8,5
1953	36786	9,9	1990	1024000	7,5
1957	58099	9,5	1995	1471000	6,5
1962	89969	9,0	2000	2015000	6,0

Source: A. FRANQUEVILLE, Yaoundé, construire une capitale, PP. 12 and 27

From some 5865 inhabitants in 1926, this large village has grown into a city of about 2 million inhabitants within three quarters of a century. Immigration (especially rural-urban migration) and the higher number of births compared to deaths are the underlying factors of this development. Until as recently as the 70's, the spatial growth of the town was concentric. However, under the pressure of rapid urban growth, the town spread, encroaching on and invading surrounding territories. Two factors can explain this reversal in the urbanisation process. The saturation of the initial site of the town, which can not cope with the population pressure on the one hand, and the action taken by council authorities under the Yaounde Urban Development Master Plan of 1972, which made it possible to plan and develop peripheral zones that are today integrated into the town (such as Essos and Omnisport, situated north-east of Yaounde), on the other hand. However, since the 80's there is an overall wanton and uncontrolled territorial expansion of the town led by grassroots initiatives. This conceals an uncomfortable situation that the 1982 Urban Planning and Development Scheme of Yaounde (the latest to date) could not take in account.

Yaounde's periphery: A grassroots initiative

Cameroon's political capital is witnessing a staggering population growth and territorial expansion, which has conspicuously spanned out of the control and management of policy and council makers. Yaounde's landscape is now mainly shaped by its citizens. Land needs outweigh available land, and action taken by public authorities is not much responsive.

Table 3: Evolution of urban surface area needs in Yaounde

	Residential density (inhab/ha)	Residential surface area (ha)	Urban density (inhab/ha)	Urban surface area (ha)
1978	164	2500	83	4900
1985	184	3700	107	6400
1995	223	6600	130	11300
2000	250	8100	144	14000

Source: A. FRANQUEVILLE, Opcit, P.60

Thus, the ongoing change in Yaounde's urban and periurban territory is taking place specifically along three patterns: "densification"(tightly packed), replacement or expansion, and changes of status.

Densification

Given the lack of accurate and up-to-date studies, only projections can be relied on. Within two decades, the residential density is reported to have moved from 16400 inhabitants per km² in 1978 to about 25000 presently. Within the same period, the urban density is reported to have more than doubled, rising from 83 inhab/ha, to about 140 today. On the field, this is translated by the densification of built structures, settlement on interstices and hitherto marginalised areas (such as swamps, hills slopes and other risk-prone areas), and protected areas (parks). This systematic land occupation and "squatterisation" of the urban and periurban territory trigger changes in the landscape and bring about sheer imbalances between what was planned in the 1982 Yaounde Master Plan and what exists on the field. Thus, there are cases of flood in quarters located on swamps (12% of the actual urban space) and landslides are frequent. To cope with this situation, there is need to be more prospective, by developing and equipping these areas with basic infrastructures (water, power and telephone networks, roads, amusement parks, socials services, etc..), by channelling and effectively ensuring safety to human settlements. As it now obtains, human settlements precede basic infrastructures and decision of policies makers. When infrastructures have to be set up subsequently, it results in destruction, damage or superposition of structures.

Replacement or expansion

Some expanse of land hitherto devoted to intra-urban or periurban agriculture are now occupied by built structures (about 75%), especially by wantonly and spontaneously self-built dwellings on risk-prone or supposedly protected areas (50%). Likewise, the residential surface area is reported to have trebled within two decades, climbing from 2500 ha in 1978 to about 8000 presently. As concerns the urban surface area, it has considerably swollen and, according to estimate, now stands at about 1400 ha. This means a territorial conquest and expansion of the city to the detriment of periphery territories. [Available maps or air photographs on Yaounde are unfortunately outdated and cannot show these trends. Satellite and radar images taken at different times and from different sources shall be used to substantiate these pattern of changes].

Changes of status

Changes are taking place especially on periurban and pericentral territories where urban dynamics is more felt. The main feature of this trend is that Yaounde city dwellers, rich or poor, hailing from the locality or elsewhere, working there or not, are in for a "scramble" .for periurban land. Viewed from the angle of land occupation, the resulting landscape is really peculiar. Modern and sumptuous mansions rub shoulders with traditional huts and semi-modern houses. According to a survey carried out by this researcher between 1996 and 1997, 5% of occupants of periurban Yaounde could be considered as wealthy, against 25% for the middle class , and 70% for the poor (from Cameroon standard).This social mixing expresses a glaring change in ownership hence land use and occupation [land use in this area is presently under study by this researcher]. Contrary to the town where there is a clear-cut distinction between well-planned and equipped quarters (such as "Bastos") and popular quarters (such as "Briquetterie"), periurban settlements are now a synthesis of many social classes. Although there are few initiatives coming from the private sector to develop plots, the bulk is dominated by grassroots initiatives (such as the "Odza" neighbourhood, south of Yaounde). There are many reasons for this rush on periurban land: the saturation of urban land (95% in the CBD), the high cost and difficult access to plot developed (or managed) by the Urban and Rural Land Development and Equipment Authority (MAETUR), the relative availability and lower cost of periurban land (CFA Frs. 500 to 1000/m², against CFA Frs. 8000 to 15000/m² in downtown Yaounde), the low interest of some natives (the Ewondo group of Beti tribe) in land (compared to the Eton or the Bamileke groups), the proximity and the availability, the high cost and small supply of State social houses through the National Real Estate Corporation (SIC), the poor income of Yaounde dwellers (a University Lecturer earns about $450 per month), etc..

It is now evident that the city is spreading steadily and systematically on its periurban territory with the impetus from the people. The ongoing trend is that the development of the town will more than ever before, rest on the periurban space which will become the residential area of preference for the majority of city dwellers. The process of developing or creating new outskirts territories has indeed been unleashed. This new urban life setting of the future, which is emerging trough assimilation, absorption and integration, performs many functions.

Features and Functions of the Periurban area of such Tropical Cities as Yaounde

Periurban Yaounde, this semirural, semiurban territory in tune or out of tune with the downtown shows at the same time a strange complexity and antagonism, which are its main features. Based on these features and on the role it plays, this space can be delimited to a radius of 50 km from the city's downtown, with understandably some slight differences with regard to the interior, which is peculiar when one looks at how the town presently spreads (about a radius of 10 km) and at the interaction taking place there in.

Some indicative features of tropical Africa periurban space

Ongoing studies carried out by this researcher have made it possible to come out with the essential features of what can be taken to be the outskirts territory in tropical Africa. These characteristics cut across one another and integrate aspects which are interdependent : level of direct reliance on the town (from 50% of inhabitants) for goods and services from or to the town, the rate of visits to the town, traffic, proximity and availability, kinds of activities, density and continuity of the built-on land and inhabitants, composition of the population, attitudes and perceptions of the residents, the presence of "cities services" (PMUC, FM broadcasting,), etc.. These variables are interdependent and have led to the delimitation of periurban Yaounde and later on, made it possible to proceed to a spatio-temporal analysis. In a context of a multifaceted crisis, periurban Yaounde performs many functions.

The periurban territory: a disputed and unorganised setting

Periphery Yaounde is under pressure arising from everywhere. Here, takes for land ownership are extremely high. A case study of Yaounde carried out between 1996 and 1997 reveals that 80% (of the 250 respondents) of the surveyed land owners in the neighbourhoods of Yaounde were involved in land disputes; out of which 45% reached an amicable settlement and 30% found a settlement in customary or modern courts. The upsurge and widespread cases of land disputes can be attributed to: saturation of space in downtown Yaounde, high cost and scarcity of plots in the city centre, the lack of

houses in town and the increasingly high building cost since the devaluation of the CFA franc (before February 1994, 1FF=0,02F CFA, and presently, 1FF=0,01F CFA), the market value of periurban plots, urban poverty in the city (in 1993, 30% of the city dwellers of Yaounde were extremely poor, according to the World Bank, 1995), urban problems and crises, the relative proximity and accessibility. However, this rapid split of land and the town's expansion are taking place in a wanton manner, (50% ASSAKO, Opcit, 1997) and this results in a chaotic, underequiped and haphazardly developed landscape, which is a source of nuisance. These plots appear as living spaces, showing the traits of what will be Yaounde's future shanty towns, facing serious ecological problems.

A dumping and experimental ground for environmental crises

Yaounde, located in the humid equatorial area, is blessed with many assets (water, soil, green vegetative cover, temperature, climate,..) which unfortunately have turned out to be sources of nuisance. The hitherto luxuriant forest is undergoing accelerated degradation all around the town (less than 5% of urban land cover). There are some remnants of the forest, but how long will they survive? The degradation process of the forest has occurred in two ways: industrial logging up to the 70's, and there after cutting of trees for domestic and commercial needs (agriculture, charcoal, firewood, timber,..). The gradual replacement of cocoa farms (due to the cocoa crises of 1986 to 1995, and the pressure on lad) by seasonal crops (maize, cassava, banana, vegetables, etc..) without fallow and the use of manure expose these fragile forest soils to erosion, depletion and other hazards. This deforestation and clearing of lands could be, with various forms of pollution, the likely causes of the (micro-)climatic changes (cyclical?) that every Yaounde city dweller is feeling and talking about. (This year especially, peaks of 35°C. in the month of January where recorded!). In a parallel development, all the refuse produced in Yaounde is dumped in the town's neighbourhood without due processing. This is done in two ways: naturally and man-made. Yaounde is located on one of the high altitudes of the southern "cameroonian plateau" (1000m). The main rivers found in the area spring from the slopes of the town's hills (Mfoundi, Abiergue, Mefou) and carry along all sorts of refuse. Given that water supply networks are non-existent in the town and in the neighbourhoods of Yaounde, water from river which is polluted upstream is used downstream for various purposes (drinking, cooking, household, washing, growing of crops, fish farming, etc..) one can easily grasp the high prevalence of water-borne diseases in these neighbourhoods. Man-made pollution mainly consists in carrying household or industrial refuse, emptying cesspools. And dumping their contents in the surrounding rivers or in hastily arranged rubbish dumps, but very often, this is done clandestinely. This was the case for Nkolfulu1(located 7 km north-west Yaounde), or for Mbankomo now (situated at 10 km south-west the town). These refuse are sometimes burnt up, which causes air and water pollution, and threatens the surrounding greenery; the rubbish also attracts flies, mice, and other animals which are potential vectors of numerous diseases. In some instances, people settle on sites which were formerly refuse dumps, and this causes landslides (it happened some years ago at Oyomabang, located 5 km west of the city).

A refuge and compartmentalised setting

The neighbourhoods of tropical Africa towns were the first to be hit by the rural-urban migration phenomenon during the establishment of modern cities. To date, this area appears to be a laboratory for the reversal of trends: urban-rural migration (U-turn migration). The reasons for the departure having become these of return. However, it should be noted in the case of Yaounde that, since periurban land has been gaining more and more value, this is a fundamental factor in opting for the "tactical withdrawal" strategy. The outskirts setting is a new refuge for disillusioned city dwellers who, for various reasons, are unwilling to move away from the town. The behaviour of residents is ambivalent, and this can be easily identified when one analyses their perception vis-à-vis their living space. Thus, the way of life here is mid-way between the town and the village which is extremely difficult to differentiate. This shows a original and new pattern which is taking shape. In terms of activities carried out for example, rural and urban activities, adapted to the context and environment, coexist here in a perfect symbiosis and integration. Compartmentalisation cannot be done easily. The fact that activities are complementary is based on initial considerations, since it is a place shaped by its residents, with their rationale, their perception, ambiguities which are sometimes at variance with pre-established conceptions. This is a genuine living space, contrary to the suburbs of western countries which are well designed dormitories. This grassroots initiative which is gaining ground, draws its "strength" and "weakness" from the Urban Development Master Plan. Indeed, the latest Urban Planning and Development Scheme of Yaounde, dating from 1982, was never followed by an implementation decree, thus remains unenforceable. Moreover, data and projections are outdated and even contradictory on many issues. For instance, a park was planned to be established on a private property having a land deed! The other flaws of the Master Plan are that , it was haphazardly designed and that it does not take into account what exits on the field. All these loopholes open the way for the settlement of squatters and the development of shanty towns.

Conclusion

The Yaounde urban area is becoming increasingly dense and sprawling by encroaching on surrounding territories. The majority of Yaounde city dwellers, hard hit by various crises, rush in these territories to seek refuge, hence the high stakes for land ownership. Unfortunately, these squatter settlements derive from the grassroots and are already plagued by ills which will become even serious in future, if the various stakeholders do not anticipate on current trends. The absence of public authorities in this area is quite astonishing and should urgently be filled. The functions that tropical Africa periurban territories will assume in future call for more awareness by the various actors involved (State, local councils, private sector, researchers,..). Here, the challenges are many: planning, developing, insuring social and territorial integration, combating pollution, poverty and social inequalities, providing safety, etc..). Is it not right now, to consider the dictum that "a stitch in time saves nine"?

References

1- ASSAKO ASSAKO R-J, 1997, Yaoundé: Eléments pour un SIG urbain. Rapport de stage. 67 P.

2- FRANQUEVILLE A., 1984, Yaoundé: Construire une capitale. Ed. ORSTOM, Collection Mémoires N°104, Paris, 192 P.

3- SIETCHIPING R. , 1994, "Crise cacaoyère. Quelles alternatives chez les planteurs des villages de Soa dans la proche campagne de Yaoundé (Cameroun). Master thesis, 136 P."

4- SIETCHIPING R. , 1995, "Migration de retour et mutations socio-économique et écologique dans les campagnes proches de Yaoundé (Cameroun)". Communication Aux Premières Journées Géographiques Internationales du Cameroun, Novembre 1996, 6 P.

5- UNDP WORLD REPORT, 1997, Human Development, 268 P.

6- WORLD BANK, 1995, Cameroon. Diversity, growth and poverty reduction

An ambiguous enterprise: the short, unhappy life of Canadian regional planning

P.J. Smith
Department of Earth and Atmospheric Sciences
University of Alberta
Edmonton AB T6G 2E3
Canada

In many respects, Canada would seem to be a most natural arena for regional planning. Not only is it a large and diverse country, where regional differences are deeply engrained in the national consciousness, but regional issues have long been the stuff of Canadian politics, and the rhetoric of regionalism — of regional divisions and regional disparities — has permeated national discourse since before Confederation in 1867. Indeed, the strength of regional sentiment is manifest in the very structure of Confederation, in the way that powers are divided between the federal and provincial governments and in the jurisdictional disputes that are one of the great constants of Canadian political life. But it is here that the dilemma for regional planning arises — the dilemma and the inescapable ambiguity. To a very large extent, regionalism in Canada is subsumed in the provinces, the most powerfully entrenched institutions of decentralization. It is the provinces that identify themselves with the country's most significant regional divisions and so claim to represent the true regional interests, the real regional communities. And while these attitudes do not necessarily negate regional planning, certainly not in theory, they do cloud it in the public perception. Above all, they have the effect of diminishing regional planning as a separate enterprise, over and above what provinces already do in the broader provincial-cum-regional interest.

In practice, although regional planning has been held out as a desirable ideal since at least the 1920s, and although it was received with genuine enthusiasm for a time, chiefly in the 1960s and 1970s, it has not been able to secure a permanent place in Canada's planning establishment, let alone win wide popular support. The 'Cinderella discipline' it has been tagged by one Canadian scholar (Hodge 1994), except that when this Cinderella left the ball the prince showed little interest in pursuing the romance. In 1980, the plan for the Toronto-centred region, the most ambitious regional planning exercise ever mounted in Canada, was officially pronounced dead, so beginning what another scholar refers to as the 'retreat from regional planning' (Frisken 1982). Through the 1980s the retreat became a rout, as regional planning activities were abandoned by all levels of government in all parts of the country. This process culminated in 1994 when Alberta's regional planning system, which was the most highly developed in Canada and probably the most successful, was disbanded by order of the provincial government. As a formal institution, regional planning had lasted 44 years in Alberta, and in Canada just over 50.

A short life then, and not a particularly glorious one. A close assessment of Canada's regional planning achievements has yet to be written, but the available record is largely one of failed dreams and wasted effort. Forty years ago, the noted American planner, Harvey Perloff (1957), described regional planning as a 'remarkably elusive' concept and Canadian experience bears that out. For one thing, regional planning has been taken to mean so many different things in so many different situations, in part because of the widely differing kinds of regions it has been applied to, and in part — a not altogether related part — because of the diverse needs and problems it has been used to address. For another thing, it has never really been clear where regional planning stands in relation to the established institutions of government, including the established — and generally well accepted — institutions of planning. The retreat from regional planning was not so much an attack on planning per se as a mark of disenchantment with a particular style or philosophy of planning — what we have now become used to thinking of as the modernist paradigm. Regional planning, it turned out, was particularly vulnerable, certainly in the style in which it had traditionally been practised.

In theory, as planners have conceived it since quite early in this century, Canadian regional planning has three distinct strands to it (Gertler 1972; Robinson and Webster 1985; Cullingworth 1987): a resource conservation strand, to which we can add, as a relatively recent development, a concern for environmental protection; a regional development strand which, in the Canadian context, has chiefly meant trying to overcome the economic and social problems of disadvantaged or 'lagging' regions, and a physical development strand focused mainly on settlement patterns and growth problems in rapidly-urbanizing regions. It was also to be expected, again in theory, that the three strands would be thoroughly integrated in actual planning situations, and to a limited extent that was indeed achieved. Regional development plans, for example, invariably depended on a variety of physical development projects, while plans for urban expansion in metropolitan regions usually took some account of impacts on agricultural land, natural ecosystems and so on. For the most part, though, each of the strands of regional planning was acted on independently. Each had its own distinct territorial framework, its own administrative structures, financial arrangements and the like, all under the jurisdiction of quite separate public authorities. Even when the value of an integrated approach was recognized, as it often was in specific situations, it proved difficult to establish effective connections, let alone sustain them over extended periods. This is not surprising, of course. Inter-organization relations are notoriously problematic, and it was one of the inherent weaknesses of regional planning, as it was practised in Canada, that it typically required the collaboration of a variety of agencies from different levels of government. At the very least, several provincial and municipal agencies would be involved, since planning regions were usually conceived at a sub-provincial scale. Federal agencies were sometimes involved as well, especially through regional development programmes, with all the extra jurisdictional difficulties that were then entailed. Not only did special agreements have to be negotiated so that the federal government could act on matters that properly lay within provincial jurisdiction, but programmes that were essentially concerned with the allocation of resources *between* regions that were highly unequal, when viewed at the national scale, did not necessarily fit well with development needs *within* individual regions, as viewed from the regions themselves. In some provinces, the mix was further complicated by the existence of regional municipalities, an upper tier of municipal government which cut across other regional divisions more often than not.

Regional planning thus had to operate in an extremely complex administrative environment. The surprise, really, is not that it ultimately failed but that it survived as long as it did, sometimes with a fair measure of success. The statutory regional planning authorities, in particular — by which I mean those authorities created under provincial planning legislation — managed to carve out a valuable coordinating function in a welter of disjointed responsibilities. What ultimately doomed them was not the complexity of their operating environment so much as the impossible position in which they found themselves when they became caught up in the deep-seated tensions between central and local interests. If the provinces represent the centre, as they normally do for planning purposes in Canada, and the

municipalities are the accepted representatives of local interests, how should regional planning be perceived? — as a local activity or a central one? — an expression of local wishes or of central will?

In some instances, the answer was crystal clear. The Toronto-centred region plan, for example, was unequivocally a central plan. It was conceived as the key element in a province-wide programme of regional planning and development, and was largely the work of a central planning agency operating outside the statutory framework of urban and regional planning institutions. The plan had strong political support as well, at least at the provincial level. At the municipal level it was a very different story. With the sole exception of the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto, the many municipalities in the region were not consulted during the preparation of the plan and had no stake in its success. Most, in fact, were hostile to it, because of its implications for their particular communities. Municipal resistance was not the only reason that the plan was eventually abandoned, but it was the most significant for the regional planning concept. Above all, it demonstrated that a centralized, technocratic, top-down style of planning, which had seemed the most rational way to proceed in the 1960s, when Ontario's regional planning programme was initiated, had become unacceptable a mere decade later. Moreover, in a triumph of incrementalism over long-range comprehensive planning, even as the plan was being refined by the Government's left hand, its right hand was taking decisions that ran counter to the plan's intentions. These were ad hoc decisions, made in response to local demands and reflecting the political pressure that development interests and municipal governments were able to apply.

There is a most revealing irony in these outcomes. On the one hand, municipal government is highly valued in Canada, and provincial governments, which have sole constitutional authority over municipal institutions, generally profess to believe in the need for a strong system of self-governing local authorities. On the other hand, provincial governments do not hesitate to impose their will on municipalities when they consider it in their interest to do so. Why, then, did this not happen in the case of the Toronto-centred region plan? At first, when the plan was promulgated in 1970, the Government simply assumed that the municipalities would do whatever the plan required them to do. When it became clear that they would not be willing collaborators, the Government came to fear that there was too much to be lost, in terms of political credibility and partisan support, for too uncertain a gain, if the municipalities were forced to bend to the plan's prescriptions. In this particular confrontation between provincial might and municipal desires, regional planning was readily sacrificed, which suggests that its constituency was not all that strong to begin with; it conflicted with too many entrenched interests, provincial as well as local.

Perhaps more surprisingly, the same can be said of those situations where the responsibility for regional planning was vested directly in the municipalities themselves. This is best exemplified by Alberta's experience and can be explained by referring to a diagram constructed by a Canadian political scientist, Warren Magnusson (1985), to describe his conception of the local state (Fig 1). The issue of immediate relevance is whether regional planning organizations were constituted as genuine local governments or as local agencies of the central state. In the Alberta case, they were clearly intended to be the former. As far as the Alberta Planning Act was concerned, regional planning commissions were special-purpose local authorities. Their 'special purpose', obviously, was regional planning, and a region, in this context, was simply a set of adjoining municipalities, usually centred on a city. The municipalities were officially 'members' of their respective commissions and were represented on their governing boards by

municipal councillors appointed to that position by their respective councils. The underlying purpose of this arrangement was clear as well. in the Alberta planning system, planning was primarily a municipal government responsibility and that included regional planning.

Figure 1
The organization of the state for local purposes: Magnusson's scheme (Magnusson 1985)
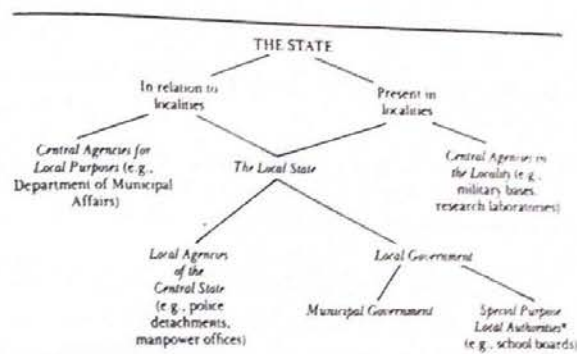
* The reality is more complex than this diagram suggests, for special-purpose local authorities vary greatly in character and degrees of autonomy. The reference here is to authorities "independent" of other governments. What is sufficient for independence varies with the context, but separately elected authorities with the ability to raise their own funds would normally qualify.

In reality, the situation was never this straightforward. All too often, especially in matters of critical local importance, individual municipalities found themselves in open conflict with their regional planning commissions. The position of the commissioners was also inherently contradictory. They were being asked to wear two hats, one regional, the other local. But it was a rare commissioner who could put the local hat aside when local interests were in play. Most often, it was left to professional staff, the regional planners, to represent the regional interest, if necessary against the interests of individual municipalities. From this perspective, regional planning came to look more like a central activity than a local one, carried on, in Magnusson's terms, by local agencies of the central state. Not only was regional planning imposed on the municipalities by the provincial government, but in cases of conflict (and they were many) it was all-too-easily interpreted as an unwarranted constraint on municipal autonomy — the autonomy that the Planning Act was supposed to grant. The disputes raged on for 40 years, but in the end this was the rock on which Alberta's regional planning system foundered.

Once again, then, regional planning was readily sacrificed. And once again, most fundamentally, it was because of the ambiguous and therefore weak position that it occupied in the existing power structure. As planning became increasingly politicized, localized and fragmented, as it did everywhere in Canada from the late 1960s on, it was regional planning, of all the institutions of modernist planning, that was particularly exposed. Any move to strengthen municipal autonomy, as the accepted institutional expression of localism, was automatically at the expense of regional planning organizations, whose authority was never

that great to begin with. At the same time, needless to say, the circumstances that once made regional planning seem such a necessary procedure had not miraculously disappeared. Already there is evidence, from various parts of Canada, that new forms of regional planning organization are struggling into life. We might think of them as postmodern forms, perhaps, in the sense that they represent deliberate adaptations to the highly political environment in which planning now has to operate. Making these new organizations work is one of the greatest challenges that Canadian planning faces as it looks ahead to the 21st century.

References

Cullingworth, JB (1987) *Urban and Regional Planning in Canada*, Transaction Books, New Brunswick NJ

Frisken, F (1982) 'Old problems, new priorities: changing perspectives on governmental needs in an expanding region' in F Frisken ed. *Conflict or Cooperation? The Toronto-Centred Region in the 1980s*, York University, Downsview ON

Gertler, LO (1972) *Regional Planning in Canada: A Planner's Testament*, Harvest House, Montreal

Hodge, G (1994) 'Regional planning: the Cinderella discipline', *Plan Canada* 35 (4), 35-49

Magnusson, W (1985) 'The local state in Canada: theoretical perspectives', *Canadian Public Administration* 28, 575-599

Perloff, HS (1957) *Education for Planning: City, State and Regional*, The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore

Robinson, IM and Webster, DR (1985) 'Regional planning in Canada: history, practice, issues and prospects', *Journal of the American Planning Association* 51, 23-33.

Canberra 1912:
The Representation of Democracy in the Age of Imperialism

Wolfgang Sonne
Geschichte des Städtebaus
ETH Zürich
HIL C 65.1
ETH-Hönggerberg
CH-8093 Zürich
Switzerland

In the politics of the competing empires the planning of the entire city became an important strategy. The replanning of the capital city Washington in 1902 set up the international standard for the expression of national claims. Other famous examples are the competition of Greater Berlin in 1910 and its attempt to form a centre for a future empire, and the planning of New Delhi in 1913 as a demonstration of colonial power. Also in the case of Canberra the ideas of unification of the nation and the expression of its grandeur played an important role. But in a country which was considered at the time as "one of the most democratic in the world" another more specific question became important: How could democracy be expressed in the design of the city?

Investigating the plans and the reports which were submitted for the competition of the new Australian capital in 1912 we find no consensus regarding the appropiate form for a capital of a democratic state. Nearly all kinds of international city planning, related to the origins of the planners, were submitted to address this question. Concerning the layout of the entire city the prefered strategy seemed to be that of radio-concentric arrangements with the obvious symbolic accentuation of a centre, but also grids and other geometrical webs and even totally informal designs were considered as applicable. Regarding the arrangement of the government buildings several types were presented, but there was a common tendency towards monumentality combined with a certain symbolic meaning.

One of these types was the radio-concentric layout with the parliament in the centre and the ministry departments around it, as it was already proposed by the Australian commissioner Alexander Oliver in 1901 and elaborated by John Sulman in 1909. A second type was the alignment on an urban axis, as it was proposed for example by André Bérard or Alfred

Agache. A third type, exemplified by the entries of Ole Jacob Holme or Alexander Forbes, was that of grouping of the government buildings around an urban place suggesting the idea of a forum with its especially republican meaning. A forth type used the strategy of combining the governmental functions into one big building complex appearing as a dominating castle or palace. This kind of expression of the general values of a democratic government can be found in the plans of Ernest Gimson or Eliel Saarinen. And a fifth type was the arrangement around a green mall, which was obviously adopted from Washington as an existing model for a democratic capital. Sometimes it was simply copied as in the design by Herbert Kellaway, sometimes it was modified as in the plans by Harold van Buren Magonigle or Bernard Maybeck, sometimes it was more elaborated as in the plans by Walter Burley Griffin.

But also on the level of architectural style the authors reflected the problem of democratic meaning. An exuberant classical Beaux-Arts style was mostly used to express the general importance of the government, the state or the nation and its high level of culture. Some architects like Agache or Walter Scott Griffiths/Robert Coulter/Charles Henry Caswell proposed diverse historical styles to express the different functions of the buildings. Finally some others like Saarinen or Griffin were searching for a new harmonious and uniform style to express on one hand the dignity of a capital and on the other the values of democracy. Especially the latter expressed in his writings and plans a double search for introducing democracy in city planning: First on the level of satisfaction of the needs of the greatest number of people, and second on the level of symbolic expression of democratic order in the layout of the city and the style of architecture. Thus realisation and representation of democracy were two ways of introducing political ideas in city planning which did not exclude each other.

Altogether the plans adopt in an astonishing way monumental forms which often derived from autocratic regimes for the new purpose of expressing democracy. Together with the fact that architectural and urban monumentality not only was possible but even desirable to illustrate the values of democracy - an idea which seemed to have been lost in the course of the century when often dictatorships of all kinds used monumentality for their purposes - the competition for Canberra 1912 is a striking lesson that meaning in architecture does not depend on the form itself but on its use.

Land Readjustment, Urban Planning and Urban Sprawl in Metropolitan Tokyo

Andre Sorensen
Postdoctoral Research Fellow
University of Tokyo
Tokyo, Japan

Introduction

Land Readjustment (LR) is a land development technique used in many countries around the world including Germany, Sweden, Japan, Taiwan and Korea. In essence it is a method whereby an irregular pattern of agricultural land holdings is re-arranged into regular building plots and equipped with basic urban infrastructure such as roads and sewers. A percentage of each landowner's holding is contributed to provide land for roads and parks, and for some plots to sell to pay the costs of the project. Its use has been particularly widespread in Japan where it is commonly referred to as 'The Mother of City Planning.' This paper outlines the approach and key findings of a research project designed to evaluate the role of LR in the development and planning of the Tokyo suburbs in the post-war period.

LR is a method whereby a group of landowners can join forces to develop or redevelop land. In essence, LR is a process whereby landowners pool ownership of scattered and irregular plots of agricultural land, build roads and main infrastructure, and then subdivide the land into urban plots. Each landowner must contribute a portion of their land holding (usually about 30% of the total) to provide space for roads, parks and other public space, and for reserve land. The reserve land is sold at the end of the project to pay the costs of planning, administration and construction. The attractiveness of the method for landowners is based on the fact that substantial increases in the value of land can be achieved by the process, so that the value of the individual land holdings can be greatly increased, even though the remaining area is smaller. The attraction for planning authorities is that projects provide land for public facilities, and build needed urban infrastructure.

There are two main reasons for wishing to understand better Land Readjustment as used in Japan. The first is that LR is a key part of the Japanese urban planning system, about 30 per cent of the current urban area having been developed with LR projects. Thus to be able to understand urbanisation and urban planning in Japan it is absolutely necessary to understand the role of LR. However despite considerable interest in the Japanese urban planning system and techniques since the middle 1980s (e.g. Alden 1986, Hebbert 1986, 1989, 1994, Hebbert and Nakai 1988, Karan 1997, OECD 1986, Shapira et al 1994), there has been no detailed examination of the effects of the widespread use of LR for land development in Japan.

Japan is one of the biggest economies in the world, with similar levels of wealth and urbanisation as the developed western countries, yet with a vastly different tradition of land use and land planning. Japan shares a heritage of rice-based agriculture and land tenure patterns with many of other Asian countries. As Ginsberg (1991) has argued, the land ownership structure of rice agriculture areas can have profound effects on patterns of urbanisation. In this respect Japan may be closer in its basic conditions to some of the currently urbanising countries among the rapidly developing countries of South and Southeast Asia, which also have rural land holding and settlement patterns structured by

rice agriculture, than to western countries. Since Japan is also much farther advanced in the process of urbanisation than most of the other rapidly developing countries of Asia, a better understanding of the Japanese case may be of special interest to planners in those countries.

The second factor that gives relevance to the current study is that LR has been the subject of substantial international interest as a possible land development technique for developing countries. In part because of Japan's extensive experience with LR and also because of their enthusiastic response to the opportunity to share their expertise, Japanese experts, with substantial government backing, have played a central role in the resulting technology transfer project designed to enable other countries to make use of the LR method.

Since 1979 nine international conferences have been held to discuss the transfer of the LR technique to developing countries, especially those in Southeast Asia. A large literature in English has thus accumulated on how to design, finance and implement LR projects. As Japan has been the Asian country which has most extensively used the technique Japanese planners have played a prominent role in sharing their experience and expertise. The Japanese contributions to the debate set out a persuasive case that LR is a suitable land planning and development technique for developing countries, particularly those in Asia. The interpretation of the Japanese experience included: a critique of the failure of western planning methods in developing countries and an outline of the parallels between the Japanese experience and that of Asian developing countries; an analysis of the Japanese urban development process, approach to city planning and the role of LR; a description of LR as an effective way of allowing landowners to bear some of the burden of providing urban infrastructure; a portrayal of LR as a consensus based co-operative land development technique; and a positive assessment of the applicability of LR in developing countries in Asia.

However, apparently as a result of the fact that the literature is focused on the transfer of the LR technique, existing case studies have focused on projects themselves. Thus while questions of how to design and carry out projects have been extensively examined, there has been little examination of the overall effects of the use of LR in Japan. More surprising, there has also been almost no research of this sort published in Japan. It appears that in Japan, LR projects are so common, and their direct public and private benefits are seen to be so self-evident, that they have ceased to attract very much academic attention, and the main focus of study is how to ensure that they are applied more widely.

Because LR projects have been used to develop a third of all urban areas in Japan it is reasonable to expect that to some extent the nature of Japanese urbanisation as a whole has been influenced by this reliance on LR for land development. It seems reasonable to suggest that while case studies for the technology transfer project are appropriately at the individual project scale, in order to study the role and outcomes of LR as an urban planning method the study area should be at the city or regional scale. Because urban planning interventions can result in a range of effects, both anticipated and unanticipated, it seems important to examine the overall impact of LR projects.

Research Questions

The hypothesis examined was that due to several aspects characteristic of the way LR projects are used in Japan, it is reasonable to expect that they will tend to promote an extensive pattern of urban development or sprawl. Because LR projects are a particular way of organising a range of interests in the urban development process, including landowners, local and central governments, and the development industry, they may be expected to have predictable impacts on development patterns. In particular, certain aspects of how LR projects are organised seem likely to have profound effects on which areas are developed, the ways in which areas are developed, and when.

First, the fact that in Association projects (responsible for 54% of all projects since 1954), a majority of the landowners in the project area must agree to participate before a project can be begun can be expected to result in a range of effects. It seems likely that in urban and partly urban areas it will be more difficult to organise LR projects than in areas farther from existing development. This is partly because for a given area more people must be convinced, but is also critically due to the fact that larger landowners tend to receive substantial benefits from projects due to increases in land value, while those who own only their own house benefit less, if at all. In areas where there has already been significant urban development, there will be more landowners who own smaller plots, therefore more people who will gain little from the project. Further, where significant amounts of urban infrastructure are already available, particularly in the form of roads, even larger landowners may find it unattractive to join the project, as their land would already be ripe for development without the significant costs of the land contribution and time associated with project development. Thus LR projects will be more likely started in areas away from existing built up areas and commuter rail stations, and will therefore contribute to the creation of extensive patterns of urban development.

Second, it seems likely that the policy of re-zoning from Urbanisation Control Area (UCA) to Urbanisation Promotion Area (UPA) status on project commencement as an incentive for LR implementation will tend to undermine Senbiki, the main land use control system, by encouraging large scale land developments in areas zoned UCA. It therefore seems likely that it will be easier to gain consent for projects in areas outside the current UPA than within it, as the zoning bonus will provide a major incentive for landowners within UCA areas to join projects which is not available to landowners within UPA areas.

Third, projects typically take a very long time from initial conception to completion, and 30 years not unusual. Because of the fact that most development is restricted within project areas until the replotting is completed, it seems likely that the long development period required for the projects will mean that some development activity will be forced to leapfrog over current LR projects into previously undeveloped areas while the project is in process. Further, if these other areas are non-LR, then they may become more difficult to organise in future. Therefore if LR projects are not developed comprehensively in urban fringe areas, long project development times within LR areas will tend to delay urbanisation within LR projects and will result in increased rates of development in other nearby, non LR locations. This seems likely to encourage haphazard sprawl development in those areas.

For the above reasons it seems reasonable to suggest that the widespread use of LR is likely to significantly contribute to the development of an extensive urban form, and the spread of scattered development over a much wider area than would otherwise have been the case. In other words the use of LR will tend to increase urban sprawl rather than prevent it as is commonly claimed by Japanese planners.

Case Studies

In order to determine the effects of the widespread use of Land Readjustment for land development on the patterns of urban growth, case studies were designed to find out how LR affects what land gets developed, where, and when. The case studies examined these questions at two spatial scales. The approach at the metropolitan scale was to examine the location of all LR projects in Saitama, the suburban prefecture immediately north of Tokyo, and ask whether projects tend to encourage scattered development, or tend to reinforce compact patterns of development. The case study examined the impact of projects on patterns of development by examining the relationship of new project location to existing urban development and to commuter rail stations. The assumption was that new projects that are within or adjacent to built up areas, or are within walking distance of a railway station will tend to promote compact efficient development, whereas projects which are neither within or adjacent to existing developed areas, nor close to railway stations will be more likely to promote extensive forms of urban development, or urban sprawl. All projects initiated from 1960 to 1994 were analysed to determine how patterns of LR project locations have changed over the last 35 years.

In the Japanese context however, equally important is the way in which LR projects affect development at the local scale. Therefore it was also necessary to examine the relationship between LR and local patterns of land development and infrastructure provision. It seemed important to understand the factors influencing location of new LR projects and to gain a better understanding of the relationships of the different actors involved in the process. Who are the key actors in initiating new LR projects, local government planners, or local landowners? Where are the key decisions about timing of development, size and location of project, urban design, etc. taken? Why are there areas with many projects, and other areas with few? Where are the key locational decisions made? How is LR project location related to broader development and urban planning objectives? Is LR initiation mainly determined by planning processes, or mainly by local landowners making decisions based on their own development strategies? What are the key factors that affect the initiation of LR projects, and which limit its applicability in different circumstances?

To answer these questions interviews were carried out with the local government departments responsible for supervising and initiating LR projects. The goal of the interviews was to determine the planning framework for new residential areas, priorities for LR use, strategies to encourage LR use including organisational frameworks, resources devoted to LR, regulatory techniques employed, and the criteria for local government initiated projects. Clearly these factors will have a big effect on how development occurs, with important long-term impacts on urban growth patterns, and on the built form of new urban areas.

It was also thought necessary to determine what the impacts of project implementation on the rate and nature of land development activity have been. It is conceivable that the locational patterns of LR projects discovered at the metropolitan scale could be quite striking, at the same time that they had little overall impact on actual development patterns if similar kinds and rates of development were also taking place in non-LR areas. To examine the effects of LR projects on urbanisation at the local scale large-scale GIS mapping of land development patterns during 30 years inside and outside LR project areas in three suburban case study cities was carried out.

Conclusions

The evidence of the case studies suggests that LR does promote more extensive patterns of development at the metropolitan scale. Some 44 per cent of all projects (7,300 ha) since 1960 have been in locations which seem likely to promote an extensive, scattered urban settlement pattern, or sprawl. Of that area 20 per cent was in the sort of location deemed highly likely to promote sprawl. Thus there has been large areas of new development in places where urban development should probably have been prevented, and which would probably have remained less developed without the projects. These projects are important because they will have effects on the location of new residential development for many years to come. This pattern of development seems likely to result in higher long term infrastructure costs, and a greater reliance on private automobiles for daily trips.

The effects of LR on urban form at the local level are more complex. Although build up in the long run is faster within LR areas, it does seem that long project times can result in delayed build up within project areas, and much development occurring outside them. It therefore seems that where it has been impossible to develop LR projects in a comprehensive manner, the main problems of sprawl have continued.

LR projects clearly do not prevent scatteration. In all the case study areas the process of urbanisation continues with a very high degree of scatteration, both inside and outside LR project areas. Development has thus been spread rather evenly throughout each of the three case study areas. Although LR projects do in the long run build up more quickly than non LR areas, for much of the case study period rates of build-up were comparable between the two areas. Further, much active agricultural land remains throughout the areas under study, even in areas which were already partly built up thirty years ago, and within LR project areas. Projects do not seem to encourage scatteration either, however, so it may be that the extreme degree of scatteration seen in Japanese suburban areas is essentially unrelated to LR projects, resulting more from the fragmentation of land ownership and the lack of controls over land subdivision and development.

It seems clear that within LR projects the worst kinds of haphazard growth along existing rural roads is prevented. By reorganising land holdings into regular plots and by providing roads and public space, LR projects provide the infrastructural framework within which urbanisation can proceed in an orderly and structured manner. Thus the problem of haphazard unserviced development is eliminated within project areas. This is clearly much more efficient than constructing these basic urban services after fringe areas are already built up. However, basic urban facilities such as roads, sewerage and parks are found almost exclusively in the LR areas. In non LR areas urbanisation has proceeded along existing rural lanes, frequently by building a short dead-end lane from the existing road. This is the typical sprawl style development the 1968 planning system was designed to prevent. Because urban facilities have only been built within the LR areas, larger scale network infrastructure such as the arterial road system remains largely non-functional.

The fact that haphazard development has continued outside the LR projects underlines a serious problem with LR as an urban planning instrument. It is very hard to get projects started, and they are easy to oppose, even in Japan where there has been a long tradition of LR. It seems to be extremely difficult to develop LR projects in a comprehensive manner, particularly in places where urbanisation pressure is strong. Because projects

also need to be kept relatively small for practical reasons, it is quite common to end up with a scattering of LR projects surrounded by a general sea of sprawl. Thus while it is clear that within LR areas the problems of haphazard sprawl are decisively avoided, it is the fact that LR projects themselves have been rather haphazardly scattered throughout the newly urbanising areas of UPA that has been most problematic.

All the case study areas have seen an extremely slow process of development. While much development has taken place, in each case study area over half the buildable land remains unbuilt. Within the three case study areas from 1968 to 1991-2 some 28 per cent of the buildable land was built up, about 1.2 per cent per year, totalling 52 per cent by the end of the period. If that rate of build-up continues, it will take another 40 years for the case study areas to be fully built up. In comparative planning terms this is an extremely long time for such relatively small areas of suburban fringe land to be developed. These long development periods seem likely to produce a range of effects, both negative and positive. However the uncertainty that this is likely to produce in residential areas provides a great contrast with suburban residential areas in other developed countries.

The effects of the widespread use of LR for land development are therefore complex, and difficult to neatly summarise. At the metropolitan scale, it appears that LR projects have had some positive impact because many projects have been developed along the radial rail corridors. However there has also been a significant tendency to develop LR projects in locations which will be likely to promote metropolitan sprawl. The impacts of these developments could be very great over the long run. At the local scale it has been difficult to develop LR projects comprehensively, and so local governments could not prevent continued sprawl within the UPA areas where LR was intended to play the main development role.

References

Alden, J.D. (1986) "Some strengths and weaknesses of Japanese urban planning" *Town Planning Review* Vol.57 no. 2 pp. 127-134

Ginsberg, N. (1991) "Extended Metropolitan Regions in Asia: A New Spatial Paradigm" in Ginsberg, N. Koppel,B. and McGee, T.G. eds., *The Extended Metropolis: Settlement Transition in Asia* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press pp. 27-46

Hebbert, M. (1986) *Urban sprawl and urban planning in Japan*, in Town Planning Review, Vol. 57 no. 2 pp. 141-158

Hebbert, M. (1994) "Sen-biki amidst Desakota: Urban Sprawl and Urban Planning in Japan" in Shapira, P. et al eds. *Planning for Cities and Regions in Japan*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press pp. 70-91

Hebbert, M. and Nakai, N. (1988a) *How Tokyo Grows*, London: STICERD

Hebbert, M. and Nakai, N. (1988b) "Deregulation of Japanese Planning" *Town Planning Review* Vol. 59 no. 4 pp. 383-395

Karan, P.P. and Stapleton, K. eds. (1997) *The Japanese City* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky

OECD (1986) *Urban Policies in Japan*. Paris: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

Shapira, P. Masser, I. and Edgington, D.W. eds. (1994) *Planning for cities and Regions in Japan* Liverpool: Liverpool University Press

Theory and practice in planning: further apart than ever?

Tony Sorensen and Martin Auster
School of Geography, Planning, Archaeology and Palaeoanthropology
University of New England
Armidale, New South Wales

Leonie Sandercock's recent book *Towards Cosmopolis* has been hailed as "the most important book on planning practice of the late 20th century". However, the book's analysis of, and prescriptions for, the ends and means of urban planning bear little resemblance to either current professional practice or the logic that underpins it. Thus there is a sizeable gulf between what Sandercock understands as planning practice and what planners actually do. Moreover, there appears to be little to justify the extravagant claim made about the book's practical importance since it is difficult to see how the its ivory tower prescriptions might be incorporated into some future mainstream urban planning.

Accordingly, this paper seeks to understand the nature and origin of the discordance between normative academic and the reality of urban management using *Towards Cosmopolis* as a platform to hang our arguments. Incidentally, this is hardly an original theme since discordance between theory and practice has endured for much of the twentieth century.

Our analysis starts with a discussion of urban planning's current ends and means. It differs markedly from that understood by Sandercock by tracing planning's development as an essentially conservative and market support mechanism limited to five main problems:

1. The management of negative externalities. Since, however, such externalities are endemic to urban living, we can only focus on the major ones.

2. The efficient supply of private and public infrastructure. This means minimising the cost of such services relative to quality and quantity goals. Where infrastructure is constructed using public capital or has implications for other public investments, the state has a direct interest to protect.

3. Society has a vested interest in preserving historic buildings that provide a link to the past and in creating aesthetic public spaces. Moreover, the public owns a large area of our cities for ceremonial events, public buildings, parks and recreational areas which need protection from insensitive development in just the same way that private owners seek to avoid negative externalities.

4. In our capacity as individual residents, communities or businesses we are generally interested in living, working or operating in cities whose myriad of developments are aesthetically harmonious and function efficiently. The private sector usually, but not always, finds it difficult to coordinate sympathetic,

effective and efficient development at the same place and time, partly because of the transactions costs involved and private schedules. Public planning is more able to perform this difficult coordination role.

5.   The built environment has a long life-span and, if poor development (by whatever definition) proceeds, the outcome may be with us for a long time. At the very least every private development could benefit from a second opinion so that it could be improved in some way.

Whatever academic planners might wish otherwise, these are essentially the functions that planners perform. In so doing, they are fundamentally acting at the margins of a basically market system of resource allocation. There is a justification for this focus that is largely ignored by Sandercock. She sees planning in largely social welfare terms, whereas, in practice, mainstream planning primarily seeks its justification in economic terms. Indeed, *Towards Cosmopolis* barely mentions questions of economic efficiency, which is, in our opinion, a fatal omission. Thus we sketch an economic theory of planning which is also ideologically based in a defence of private property. Viewed from this perspective, planning is also very much a conservative task, a contention that is borne out by a brief survey of the immediate reasons why planning has been introduced by states during the twentieth century.

This brings us to a second important theme. Sandercock characterises mainstream planning somewhat insultingly as *modernist*, and advocates post-modernist thinking. While the relativism of the latter is a problem in its own right for the agenda that I have advocated, the former assessment is plain wrong. Contemporary development control planning has long out-grown the rationalist ideal that she disparages. Rather, market oriented planning of the kind we describe is more concerned with arriving at negotiated outcomes between planners, community groups, and developers. Moreover, the best planning of this type no longer works within rigid zoning provision, but rather uses performance standards to generate, flexibly, a wide variety of acceptable outcomes. Maybe we are missing something, but it is difficult to see discussion and compromise among diverse participants seeking the best solution possible rather than the best possible solution, and within a framework of fixed rules, as scientific rationalism.

In short, we see major flaws in the analysis of the ends and means of planning contained in Sandercock's book. These are mainly errors of omission. However, there are also problems of commission. It is surprising in this day and age to see perpetuated the idea that planning should and can be about rectifying social welfare issues. Much as many of us might be concerned with poverty, gender inequality, and discrimination against racial or sexual minorities, it seems bizarre to think that these constitute a significant agenda for professional urban planners employed in the local or state government arena. We argue that these problems are best tackled through the state social security system, through community advocacy groups, or through hiring storefront professionals to represent the relevant interests. Those professionals might receive their training in urban sociology and not in urban land-use planning. This will avoid the complaint that if planning is about everything, maybe it's about nothing. It is also paradoxical, that the trend towards flexible planning we identified earlier is likely to provide more rather than less opportunity for such interest groups to argue their case in the public arena.

This leads us to speculate, finally, on the source of the chasm between academic theorising and the world of practice, both in the case of Sandercock's book, and more generally over past decades. We think that the answer in both cases lies in a well-developed sense of social justice that assumes much higher priority in their personal agenda than in society at large. While we have no problem with this condition, nor with advocating remedies to the problems such analysts perceive, there has been typically, in the case of planning, a major difference between what is fervently wished and what is likely to happen now and in the future. In our view, the gulf is so great to render the arguments curiosities rather than anything to be taken seriously. In the meantime there is major work to do firming up both positive and normative theories of planning in a deregulated market economy. Sandercock's book misses this target by a long way.

The Rise and Decline of Urban Design: The case of Jakarta's Old Town

Felia Srinaga
Faculty of Civil Engineering and Planning
University of Pelita Harapan
Karawaci - Tangerang
Indonesia

Abstract

Jakarta's Old Town has a specific history. Colonial and Chinese buildings and spaces, along with their commercial activities and settlement, shaped the identity of Jakarta's Old Town. Each building in this area has its own individual concept of space and represents a different culture. On the other hand, the systematic development of Jakarta as a city caused the role of urban space to change. Activities in the area now known as Jakarta's Old Town have developed, with part of the district becoming more livable by revitalization. Old museums and many buildings (shops, offices etc.) were added to or changed their activities. Many urban spaces redesigned in such a way that they had good streetscape, but they were redesigned as spaces, not as places where people can go for enjoyment and for a whole range of activities. As the city expanded, rising population made people move to the suburbs, leaving Old Town as a death town. In response, steps were taken to make this district more livable. Now we can see increases in the design of urban space. Chinese shopping areas and settlements, Colonial offices and entertainment buildings all went through many changes in the big city, and now this district is in need of integrated and good spatial design. The partial and praxis design make the declining of this area and of course their urban space.

Background: Overview

Urban Design in Jakarta developed along with the planned development of Jakarta City. Urban design itself was attractive and developed during this past 20 years, and especially over just the past 10 years. Until this time, preservation-- which is one element of urban design--had been an interest of Indonesia's architects and planners rather than the broader area of urban design as a discipline. Because of this, Jakarta has been strong in preservation, but this did not result in an integrated urban design. Planned development of the city of Jakarta started with the development of the high-rise buildings (i.e., offices, apartments, mixed-used buildings) which sprang up during the economic boom of the 1970's as the "new town" rapidly emerged. It was not until the middle of the 1980s that urban design as such started gaining favor in Jakarta. This movement included the conservation and preservation of old areas as well as giving more systematic planning to the development of space. Thus, spontaneous growth and development were gradually combined with more thoughtful, broad-scale urban planning.

Jakarta's Old Town itself has a specific identity with its own area, buildings, and even its own activities, although the activities have changed a lot since the 17th century when this area was first built. In this enclave, Colonial and Dutch influences, along with Chinese culture, combined to shape something which is specific and unique to Jakarta.

Modernization has changed this area, along with its buildings and activities. These changes have influenced how it uses its urban space. The role of urban design should be considered in such changes. One aspects of urban design deals with pedestrianization and streetscape, and this can be applied to Jakarta's Old Town. Such work has already begun. During recent years, many urban design projects have been undertaken, but such urban design projects have not always paid adequate attention to factors related to society, culture, and lifestyle

Urban space at Jakarta's Old Town

- Culture background that is shaping the type of urban space

In the early 16th century, Jakarta's Old Town, which was called Batavia by the Dutch, began to be influenced by the Dutch. Batavia, or Jakarta, was close to the harbor and thus because an important area for many reasons-- physically, socially, culturally, politically, and economically. Jakarta was one of the important harbor cities that developed along with the rise of government and commercial / economic buildings. The civic centre was built in a square shape , originally with the government buildings ringing the square. Some of these building, though, became converted to commercial purposes, and some of them began to be modified into a Chinese style. The urban spatial design from one place flowed into Chinese commercial areas that were called " China towns. " This communities had strip patterns of development which spread to follow each community's development along streets or sometimes entire areas. These Chinatowns became unique communities within Jakarta.

Steeped in hundreds of years of history, such areas have also flourished as locations for culture and history. In addition, as such areas flourished, they were coveted as places for business, recreation, shopping, and tourism. Hence, the historic and cultural districts merged with the commercial and social activities in places such as Fatahillah Park and Glodok's Chinatown, where spaces were used for many different human activities.

- Types and changes of urban spaces

The dynamic planning and development of Jakarta was caused by urbanization and the population increase in Jakarta. Acculturation of several cultures and values from different regions and ethnic groups has influenced the use of space both physically and socially. Consequently, out of this complicated cultural system emerged a complex community social behavior, and this in turn has had considerable influence on the general people's perception and evaluation of the objectives of urban spatial planning and also on the development of urban space itself. The changing function of the buildings over time was caused by changing activities and shows the complexity of the relationship between social and physical space.

In Jakarta 's Old Town, urban space as a civic centre became a usual public space with some commercial activities. The buildings surrounding it became commercial

and spread out along Chinese commercial areas with shopping streets and communities.

The types of urban spaces (physical space) here remained almost unchanged, but their activities, functions, cultural values and some identities have changed a lot. Changing activities are following by changing identities, and of course the loss of the spirit of the place. That is when the problems began.

The rise of urban design

- Case study : Elements of aesthetics which were used, circulation/spatial design, connections with the building/ enclosures, vista, axis, sequence, symbol, focal points, a glimpse toward an objective view, planning etc.

The social and economic changes within the community of Jakarta have in the last decade greatly accelerated. Progress and development in many fields have been instrumental for the emergence of new community classes in Jakarta, especially in Jakarta's Old Town as the heart of where the development started. All these social and economic changes have no doubt played a determinative role in shaping and establishing the way people--e.g., planner, designer, government and private sector-- view and evaluate each component of urban planning. Members of the private sector, supported by the government's regulations and plans, have changed the face of Jakarta's Old Town area. (Focus on Glodok " China Town " and its surrounding area as a case study).

The developmental activities of Jakarta rest on the following principles and references, such as: (Jakarta, p. 10 & 36)

1. Jakarta is geared to become a service city, including improvement of public services.
2. Jakarta has a strategic plan, such as: Integration of social community development, environmental cleanliness and greening etc.
3. The development of waterfront City at Jakarta's Northern Coastal areas is an integrated continuity of the development of other places and areas, including the surrounding of Jakarta's historic city centre.

In this case, Jakarta's Old Places (i.e., historic city centre) include: Glodok " China town" with Chinese residential and commercial area, Fatahillah park with its Colonial buildings, and the surrounding district with modern building and examples of urban designing.

1. Glodok "Chinatown"

Glodok "Chinatown" was a business area that was dominated by retail stores and shops. There are many changes of activities and elements of urban space which can be found: the functions, streetscape and pedestrian with their aesthetic elements, buildings enclosures, vista, symbols, focal points and sequence, all with spatial design and circulation.

Economic grown made this area change from residential and retail into

commercial activities with many shops, hotels, restaurants, and an altered pedestrian area. Society's growth also made this area have a different social space. Social space has allowed movement to occur, but such space still provides a pause from one place to another. Hence, there is not always a good connection.

2. Fatahillah Park

Fatahillah Park is an old Jakarta's central park. It was a civic centre with some Colonial and government building. Now, since the government has shifted to the south, the functions of the buildings at Fatahillah Park have been changed to commercial office buildings, museums, cafes/restaurants, and other sorts of buildings. The activities in this urban space have become open to the public, with some identities still appearing such as square shape, ornaments of some buildings and the plaza.

3. The Waterfront Area

This is a Northern of Jakarta city centre/old town. In this part of Jakarta's Old Town area, one can see that--since 1994--initiative has been taken to coordinate the management of the Northern coastal area through a waterfront development project which has as its aim to integrate all parties involved in coastal area development. This involves a public-private partnership.

All this area has been developed through a Public-Private Partnership. During this period (about 10 years) become the rising of urban design period. All the public space gets more attention, especially in physically. Pedestrianisation, greening, facilitation for public services etc. have increased tremendously. The return of aesthetics to this area is leading to visual improvement schemes.

The declining of urban design

- Changes of Life style.

To see how the urban design grew in Jakarta's Old Town, we see physical development or building development has occurred along with some aesthetic factors. Urbanization and the increase in Jakarta's population have affected the City's community structures, and this in turn has also affected certain cultural values and changes in life style.

Urban designers have tried hard to see urban space in terms of its physical and social structures. Parallel with this, urban planners and designers think of ways of structuring this space in order to turn it into a manageable collection of space with has its own order. The space where people go for a social life changes into the place where people go just for shopping, eating and passing through, which can be like an any place anywhere.

- Historical preservation.

This area as a historical area needs preservation not only for the buildings but also for the spirit of the place. Many cultures that influence this area should not make multiple identities and separate or partial spatial design.

Conclusion

The role of urban design in planning is very important. The whole urban planning system makes for a better place design with all identities that are reflected by the people, the history, and the environment.

Some suggestion for this area are:

- Design should be as a mirror of community,
- Design should reflect the history or people can include nostalgia,
- Urban space can express the perspective of everyday life,
- Design should consider the whole area as an environment, including classifying buildings, forms and street patterns according to their history, styles, diversity, disorder and so forth.

References

Kostov, Spiro, ed. (1992) *The City Assembled*, Thames and Hudson, London.

Laurence Garnham, Harry, ed. (1985) *Maintaining the Spirit of Place: A process for preservation of town character*, PDA Publishers Corporation, Arizona.

Madanipour, Ali, ed. (1996) *Design of Urban Space*, John Wiley & Sons, New York.

Moughtin, Cliff, ed. (1992) *Urban Design, Street & Square*, British Library Cataloguing in publication data, London.

Norberg-schulz, C., ed (1979) *Genius Loci: Towards a phenomenology of architecture*, Rizzolli, New York.

Rahman, Erlita, ed. (1994) *Jakarta: A dynamic world city at the threshold of the 21st century*, City Planning Service, Jakarta.

Whyte, William H., ed (1980) *Urban Social Life of Small Public Places*, The Conservation Foundation, Washington DC

Rethinking the Significance of the City Beautiful Movement

Gilbert A. Stelter
Department of History
University of Guelph
Guelph, Ontario, Canada

This paper is based on a ongoing examination of the City Beautiful movement in Canada, but my concerns go beyond national boundaries to the larger body of international ideals and practises that made up the first major planning movement of the Twentieth Century. The City Beautiful movement is usually dismissed by academics, with some notable exceptions such as William Wilson (Wilson, 1989); Canadian historians tend to use terms such as "failure", "grandiose fantasy", or suggest that it was essentially boosterism (Van Nus, 1975; Smith, 1979; Weaver, 1977). Much of this negative approach mirrors the contemporary views of Garden City advocates like Thomas Adams who was imported into Canada to serve as the Town Planning Advisor to the Federal Government's Commission of Conservation in 1914 (Artibise and Stelter, 1981; Simpson, 1985). Recent work on the planning of specific Canadian cities, however, has indicated that some of this criticism may be unjustified.

I have begun to look at the ideals and proposals of the Canadian movement both at the national and at the local levels. I am concentrating on six selected cities: Halifax, Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, Calgary, and Vancouver. This has led me to ask the following questions. Did the City Beautiful movement really represent a very narrow approach to planning by concentrating only on beautification to the exclusion of other issues? Was it regarded as incompatible with the objectives of its rival, the Garden City movement? Was it basically a failure, with no or few examples of completed projects?

I am finding that the movement looks quite different when viewed from the contemporary perspectives of proposals, newspaper and periodical coverage, and public involvement of various kinds. The movement was very complex, making it difficult to generalize about motivations and goals, or about the leadership structures, the degree of public support, and the extent of outside "expert" advice. At this stage, it seems to me that the movement represented some very positive aspects of urban planning, in spite of its obvious and well-documented weaknesses. I will outline four of these positive characteristics in the following pages.

First, the Canadian City Beautiful movement emphasized the possibility of the city as a work of art. Beautification proposals usually included a combination of three features- a civic centre complex in the currently fashionable Beaux Arts style, grand diagonal avenues, and a system of connected parks. Canada's largest cities grew quickly at the end of the 19th century, with Montreal and Toronto four or five times as large as their nearest regional competitors; during the first two decades of the 20th century Montreal grew from 267,000 to over 600,000, and Toronto from about 200,000 to almost 500,000. But this growth seemed uncoordinated; these cities obviously lacked the coherence and grandeur of some of Europe's great cities. When Canadian elites gathered to discuss suggestions for reforming the physical environment, Paris was invariably the model, as it was to those in the United States, in Latin America, and even in non-Western places like Istanbul. But Canadian leaders

did not look to Paris directly, although they would have appreciated Baron Haussmann's radical surgery on a medieval city. Rather, they looked to Paris through the screen of the American experience, beginning with the Chicago World's Fair of 1893. William Langton, a leader among Toronto architects, concluded that "the point of departure was, without doubt, the Chicago Exhibition, which gave the public a new idea of the possibilities in the building of cities... It is since then that the wave of civic improvement has swept over the country." (Langton, 1905). Subsequent developments in Washington, Chicago, San Francisco and Cleveland were reported on regularly, often by those architects directly involved in the process (Rettig, 1912). Canadian architects like Langton regularly visited American cities and reported back to their colleagues in some detail. Any architect associated with the superstar of the movement, Daniel Burnham, was greatly in demand in Canada, as was the case with E.H. Bennett who was hired to do a City Beautiful style plan for Ottawa just before World War One. Bennett relied heavily on Canadian associates for detailed local information about Ottawa, and even incorporated ideas from a vocal local opponent, Noulon Cauchon, into his report (Bennett, 1914).

Second, the City Beautiful movement proposed *urban* solutions to the problems of the big city. The city was thought of as an entity, an organic whole that could be made more healthy by concerted action involving the entire community in a physical sense. In contrast, Garden City thinking often considered the downtown cores of cities as unredeemable and concentrated instead on what they felt they could control - new suburban and satellite city development. In this respect, Jane Jacobs' charge that Lewis Mumford and other Garden City advocates were basically anti-urban had a good deal of merit. It could certainly be argued that the Garden City approach involved a kind of countrification of the city, while City Beautiful principles were based on traditional European urbanism which owed little if anything to a nostalgia for the rural way of life. City Beautiful proposals were much more comprehensive than its critics would have us believe. The various Toronto schemes all emphasized improving traffic circulation by the creation of diagonal avenues that focussed in on the core (Langton, 1906). Bennett's Ottawa plan is known for its stress on improving the ceremonial centre of a national capital but it also provided detailed plans for railway rationalization and other traffic flow. And it also proposed a detailed system of zoning to protect residential areas, although like most City Beautiful plans, it did not address the problems of housing directly (Federal Plan Commission, 1915).

Third, the City Beautiful movement involved a wide spectrum of the city's leadership and captured the imagination of the public. It was led by amateurs in planning - architects primarily, but also the business elites, municipal politicians and bureaucrats, and reformers of various stripes. William Langton noted that "Plan making is in the air; we have caught it from our generation."(Langton, 1906). In most cities, the local elites gathered in Canadian Clubs to hear the latest ideas. Proposals received wide press coverage and informed discussions took place in national periodicals. In Toronto, leadership was provided by the local architectural association and by the Civic Guild; in Vancouver, by the Vancouver Beautiful Association. In Montreal, two separate schemes were conceived and actually built by groups of businessmen and by a major corporation. The Garden City movement, on the other hand, was usually led by professional planners. After the complete professionalization of the planning process by the 1920s, planning literature became highly technical and unaccessible to the public. Judging by the coverage of planning questions in the local press and in periodicals, the public apparently had lost interest, and control as well.

Fourth, the City Beautiful movement was more successful than its critics suggest. This becomes more evident when we divide the history of development into two phases, the first ending with World War one, the second beginning in the 1920s and continuing on into the 1950s and beyond. In the first phase, the most ambitious schemes in Toronto, Ottawa, Calgary, and Regina ground to a halt when the war changed the country's priorities considerably (Lemon, 1989 ; Brennan, 1994). But two more limited endeavors in Montreal were essentially completed - the Mount Royal "Model Town" development of the Canadian Northern Railway, and the larger development of Maisonneuve, a new industrial city located on Montreal's east side. Both of these Montreal projects combined City Beautiful principles in their overall design with at least the rhetoric of Garden City ideas in the details of residential development (McCann, 1996; Linteau, 1985).

In a second phase, a comprehensive plan by Harlan Bartholomew for Vancouver in 1928 became the basis for most subsequent planning. The City Beautiful elements most apparent were the focus on a new, dramatic civic centre and the alignment of several of the major traffic arteries (Bartholomew, 1928; Perks, 1985). But the most obvious example of the continuing life of the movement was in the nation's capital, where earlier proposals were revived and revised and brought to fruition in the Greber plan in the 1950s (Greber, 1950). By their very nature, capital cities lend themselves to planning schemes that emphasize the monumental and symbolic quality of the governmental core, but in Ottawa's case, the added emphasis on a series of parks and of a surrounding green belt helped transform a relatively non-descript industrial city into an attractive symbol of the country (Taylor, 1989; Hillis, 1992).

In summary, I argue that the legacy of the City Beautiful Movement is far more important than is usually recognized by planners and academics. In reality, it represented some of the most positive aspects of the urban planning tradition, including a respect for hierarchical relationships in the physical organization of the city and an understanding of the necessity of enhancing a city's identity by the construction of centres with symbolic meaning.

References

Artibise, A. and Stelter, G.A.(1981) 'Conservation Planning and Urban Planning: The Canadian Commission of Conservation in Historical Perspective,' in Roger Kain, ed., *Planning for Conservation,* Mansell, London, pp. 17-36.

Bartholomew, Harlan (1928) *A Plan for the City of Vancouver, British Columbia*, Vancouver.

Bennett, E.H.(1914) Letter to A.E. K. Bunnell, Nov. 7, E.H.Bennett Collection, Ryerson and Burnham Archives, Art Institute, Chicago.

Brennan, William (1994) 'Visions of a City Beautiful: The Origin and Impact of the Mawson Plans for Regina,' *Saskatchewan History* 46, Fall, pp. 19-33.

Federal Plan Commission (1915)*Report of the Federal Plan Commission on a General Plan for the Cities of Ottawa and Hull*, Ottawa.

Greber, Jacques (1950) *Plan for the National Capital: General Report*, National Capital Planning Service, Ottawa.

Hillis, Ken (1992) 'A History of Commissions: Threads of an Ottawa Planning History,' *Urban History Review*, 21, pp. 46-60.

Langton, William (1905) 'Editorial,' *Canadian Architect and Builder*, 18, p. 18.

-------- (1906) 'The Plan of Improvements to Toronto,' *Canadian Architect and Builder* 19, 26.

Linteau, Paul-André (1985) *The Promoter's City: Building the Industrial Town of Maisonneauve, 1883-1918*, Lorimer, Toronto.

McCann, L.D.(1996) 'Planning and Building the Corporate Suburb of Mount Royal,' *Planning Perspectives*, 11, pp. 127-153.

Perks, William (1985) 'Idealism, Orchestration and Science in Early Canadian Planning: Calgary and Vancouver Re-Visited, 1914\1928,'*Environments*, 17, no. 2.

Rettig, George (1912) 'Civic Improvement and Beautification,' *Canadian Club, Proceedings*, Toronto, p. 123.

Simpson, Michael (1985) *Thomas Adams and the Modern Planning Movement: Britain, Canada, and the United States, 1900-1940*, Mansell, London.

Smith, P.J. (1979) 'The Principle of Utility and the Origins of Planning Legislation in Alberta, 1912-1975,' in A. Artibise and G.A.Stelter, eds., *The Usable Urban Past: Planning and Politics in the Modern Canadian City*, Carleton University press, Ottawa, pp. 196-225.

Taylor, John (1989) 'City Form and Capital Culture: Remaking Ottawa,' *Planning Perspectives*, 4, pp. 79-105.

Van Nus, Walter (1975) 'The Fate of City Beautiful Thought in Canada, 1893-1930,' Canadian Historical Association, *Historical Papers*, reprinted in G.A.Stelter and A. Artibise, *The Canadian City: Essays in Urban and Social History*(1984), pp. 167-186.

Weaver, John (1977) *Shaping the Canadian City: Essays on Urban Politics and Policy, 1890-1920*, Institute of Public Administration of Canada, Toronto.

Wilson, William (1989) *The City Beautiful Movement*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.

'Betrayed by Mammon? : A Century of Conflict over Development at Queensland's Sunshine Coast 1888-1997'

Chrys Stevenson
1/16 Baldwin Street
Golden Beach Q 4551
Australia

In 1915, the Queensland government's failure to respond to a large public protest over the sale of a public camping ground at the Sunshine Coast prompted one local resident to complain:

> ... man in brief authority is soulless, and when we thought, poor silly fools, our title deeds would ever be sacred, we awoke, betrayed again by Mammon. ... private ownership has powerful friends, e'en in the People's Party, and soon the stillness, natural, undefiled will hear the raucous shouts of salesmen, bartering the people's heritage for money. (The 'People's Poet', *Nambour Chronicle*, 24 December 1915)

This paper will consider the extent to which the public has been able to influence planning decisions at the Sunshine Coast over the past 100 years of development. Since the earliest days of white settlement, the Sunshine Coast region of Queensland has been the site of bitter debates over the sale and development of land. Looking at the Sunshine Coast today, it may seem that private developers have won the battle against those who sought to preserve the natural beauty and unsophisticated charm of the region. Those who have supported development have argued that it is vital to the region's economy. However, community and environmental groups have also had some resounding wins against the forces of government, business and private interests. They, too, claim to be working for the benefit of the community.

Now, after more than a century of pitched battles between opposing forces on the Sunshine Coast it appears that a more conciliatory relationship is developing between government, developers, business people and the local community. One aspect of this new relationship is an enthusiastic commitment by both local and state governments toward community consultation. Today, Sunshine Coast residents are regularly invited to participate in consultation meetings. These are purported to assist planners and government to more adequately represent the needs and wants of the local community.

The commitment to community consultation appears to represent a positive move towards a more equitable distribution of decision-making power. However, I will argue that, community consultation as it is currently practiced at the Sunshine Coast, is more effective in reinforcing and protecting the power of the status quo than empowering the public. I will argue that the process of community consultation is ritualistic and symbolic. The idea that community consultation provides more power to the community is illusory.

I will present several examples - both historical and contemporary - to support this argument. My aim is not to criticise the individuals involved in community consultation at the Sunshine Coast, but rather to provide a critical analysis of the process in which they are involved and to challenge some of the assumptions which are inherent in that process. In this paper I will question the openness of government and bureaucrats to be influenced by public opinion. However, I will also question the extent to which the views which are represented as public opinion truly represent the community as a whole or, indeed, the community's best interests. I will argue that the process as it stands virtually guarantees that planning decisions will continue to be made for the benefit of vested interests rather than the ordinary residents of the Sunshine Coast.

For more than a century, both sides of the development debate at the Sunshine Coast have claimed to represent the best interests of the community. In this paper, I will show that, in fact, the people of the Sunshine Coast have paid dearly for the wins and losses of both sides of the development debate. After a century of debates over the sale and development of land at the Sunshine Coast, Mammon still prevails.

Public Places, Urban Youth and Local Government: the Skateboard Culture in Hobart's Franklin Square[1]

Elaine Stratford
Department of Geography and Environmental Studies
University of Tasmania, Hobart, Tasmania

Introduction

Hobart's Franklin Square is a site of European cultural heritage, and a verdant haven of lawns, elms and oaks, in the heart of the central business district. It is a venue for the 'People in the Parks' entertainment program, a significant summer tourist event. It has also been claimed by significant numbers of youths, particularly skateboarders who use park fittings and fixtures on which to perform their tricks. Since the early 1990s, there have been numerous attempts by Hobart City Council and State Government to improve planning for youths in Hobart and Tasmania more generally. The skateboarding sub-culture[1] has been especially vocal in requesting a centrally located, purpose built facility, which might minimise the damage to Franklin Square. Until recently, Hobart's skating facilities were restricted to areas away from the CBD, and street skating remains an illegal act. However, there is growing official recognition that skating can be a tourist drawcard (Annabel Geddes, pers.comm., 7 April 1998). There is also a growing understanding that many youths use skateboarding as their main form of transport.

In this paper, I examine the history of some of the interrelationships among government, youth, and public space, focusing on Franklin Square. I use literature about planning, youth in cities, Hobart's civic history, and perceptions of multiple use conflict in Franklin Square (Wood and Williamson 1996). I also draw on primary sources on Hobart's youth and urban planning, research I started in July 1997: (1) over 300 interviews conducted by students at the University of Tasmania in and around the Square (2) in-depth interviews with six key informants from state and local government, and from the community and (3) six taped interviews with skateboarders.

The paper establishes the ground for further comparative work on youth and planning strategies in other cities. The reform of South Australia's road rules to accommodate skateboarding, in-line skating, and scooters (SA Department of Transport 1995) exemplifies the potential for this comparative work, especially since Tasmania's new bicycle code may be expanded to recognise other small wheeled vehicles as legitimate transport (Robert Valentine, pers.comm., 7 April 1998). The launch of Melbourne's skate plan has also been hailed as nothing short of 'brilliant' in Hobart's local press (Waterhouse 1997, 5), also receiving considerable promotion around Glenorchy in Hobart's north, where a facility known as Skate Central was opened in December 1997 (Anon 1997). Skate Central is noteworthy because youths were involved in the planning process from the beginning.

Franklin Square, Urban Governance and Youth

In 1811, Governor Lachlan Macquarie laid out George's Square in the place of the original (1804) Government House (Hobart City Council 1988). The Square was part of

---

[1] This phrase 'skateboarding sub-culture' is used here with caution, since there are several groups of skateboarders in Hobart. Subtleties of style, demeanour, and argot are hard for 'outsiders' to pick. Even so, Greg Stewart and John Williamson, skaters since the mid 1980s, and critical to skateboarders being heard by government, note that the needs of ramp and street skaters are different, inferring the need for flexible planning strategies.

a larger area designated for various civic functions. Following the end of transportation in 1853, part of that area was turned into a park. A photograph from 1863 shows a statue of the one time Governor, Rear Admiral Sir John Franklin. The photograph does not show the oak trees that were planted that year, commemorating the marriage of HRH Edward The Prince of Wales and HRH Princess Alexandra of Denmark. One oak is still marked by a small dark plaque recording that event. In 1898, the park's care was enshrined in Government Notice No.57, and was given to the community through provisions in the Crown Lands Act of 1890 (54 Victoria 8). That Notice regulated visitation to the park and banned animals. It also prohibited any offensive acts that would disturb the peace or that would lead to damage.

Since 1923, though, Franklin Square has been managed by Hobart City Council. It is currently maintained by the Parks and Landscape Unit (Hobart City Council 1997a). Planning and maintenance of the park occurs within a framework that includes economic development, environmental management, community well-being, quality management and customer service, and urban enhancement (Hobart City Council 1997b). Council must provide statutory planning in line with legal and corporate requirements, managing its properties efficiently, and undertaking urban design projects to enhance the character of the city and maintain high standards of amenity. It must also promote community awareness of heritage and conservation, in accordance with the Land Use Planning and Approvals Act 1993, and the Historic Cultural Heritage Act 1995. As part of this brief, Council is to "Establish appropriate mechanisms for the conservation and management of all culturally significant Council property" (1997b, no page), and that includes Franklin Square.

The State Government's Office of Youth Affairs is responsible for the development of policy on youth in Tasmania. Building on the plans set down in the Youth Ministers' Council from 1992, the State's youth policies are designed to enhancing equity, participation and access for people aged between 12 and 25, 'youths' as defined by the United Nations (Office of Youth Affairs 1995). The Office recognises that youths are often defined as *in trouble* – and thus as victims, or as *being trouble* – and thus as problematic to the rest of society. In policy documents, the positive attributes and the potential of youths are emphasised, and a series of issues that have traditionally required the attention of planners (among others) are discussed. These issues include accommodation, transport, housing, family and community support and services, and the provision of education, training and employment.

The Office of Sport and Recreation has also acknowledged that there is a probable strong positive correlation between higher levels of un- and under-employment among youths, and levels of boredom and delinquency. It also notes that 'Lifestyle and cultural trends have led to a changing pattern of sport and recreation in which social sport and unstructured recreation is more popular' (http://www.tased.edu.au/osr/industry.htm, accessed 14 May 1998, no page). Skateboarding is one such activity, and the State Government is aware that centrally located facilities are warranted to accommodate the needs of this sub-population of youths. Indeed, there are several references to this issue in Parliament (Hansard: 31 August 1995, 1 September 1995, 20 September 1995, 7 May 1996, 4 September 1996, 1 October 1997, 15 October 1997). Some of these discussions include calls for the provision of a central skate place for youths.

Youth and Public Space

Gill Valentine (1996) reminds us that childhood is a cultural construction, and that modern childhood is a set of circumstances inferring incompetence, dependence, segregation, and delayed responsibility. Valentine argues that planning is part of a series of regulatory regimes in which public space is repeatedly reinforced as adult space, to the point where that limitation seems natural (hegemonic). Her assertions are not isolated, with Australian commentators such as Ken Polk (1997), Leonie Sandercock (1997), Brian Simpson (1997) or Rob White (1997) having published work on the interrelationships between youth 'problems' and changes to the ways in which spaces and places are produced, 'owned', and contested.

Valentine also suggests that research on children and youth has increased dramatically since the publication of various articles in Britain and the United States in the mid-1970s. Based around perceptions of place, mapping exercises, and cognitive studies, these early projects linked children's 'levels of spatial awareness to the ways that adults control and restrict their use of space' (Valentine 1996, 205). There is also an expanding literature on geographies of fear and crime, and on planning responses to these, a 'local' example of this being Andrew Paterson's (1992) Adelaide central business district Crime Prevention Plan.

Franklin Square has been territorialised by youth, then, and their presence there and around the city centre is reflected in community debate about safety in the city and damage to various sites. Hobart's *The Mercury* newspaper has reported on the issue of youth in the city in dozens of articles and letters to the editor. One letter from M. Wallace of Battery Point notes:

> The Hobart City Heart organisation [to market the CBD] is trying to entice people into the city with free parking and large amounts of money in advertising ... But what can be done to make the central city area safe so as [sic] people can be sure they will not be harassed as they walk about the central city? If you take time to speak to the general public many have had nasty experiences by being harassed for money or pushed about by young adolescents who have taken over the city streets and the mall to the detriment of business, shopowners [sic] and the public. The police have limited resources and must be frustrated by all the paper work generated reporting these assaults, and with little success in apprehending the perpetrators. Can't we reclaim the city and move these people on -- or else business in the city will gradually slow down and close down (*The Mercury*, Tuesday 8 July 1997, 18)

Appeals such as this infer a need for policing and planning remedies that uphold normative views of the city as an economic arena, and that reinforce the negative stereotype of youths as incompetent and without value. They also disenfranchise youths, eliding them from 'the general public' and from citizenship. Eleven days after Wallace's letter, Lisa Hankey of North Hobart wrote:

> I am always glad to see kids waiting around in Franklin Square for buses or socialising rather than in the mall or around the shops. I think it is an excellent use of a park which is otherwise generally only used as a thoroughfare. One side of the park which is almost never used could be transformed into a skating ramp area with no real inconvenience to most park users. This would encourage the kids to be physically active and keep them from the Government buildings end of the park (*The Saturday Mercury*, 19 July 1997, 18).

Hankey also sees merit in 'zoning' youthful activities away from precincts of economic activity. Her comments might also be seen to reflect an ignorance (albeit innocently based) of the cultural heritage of Franklin Square and the considerable public and policy

pressures on the municipality and the state to protect that heritage. Finally, like many Hobartians, Hankey is conflating skaters into another category of youths who are known locally as the Mallies". This mistake supports Gill Valentine's claims that all youths are considered deviant and that their claims for space in public places are considered illegitimate and dangerous.

Youth and the Public Space of Franklin Square

So what is the recent conflict about the uses of the public space that is Franklin Square and what have been the planning responses to it? Clearly, the park is a busy central place, in which multiple use conflicts occur. At times there can be as many as one hundred youths in the park. In March 1998 I observed approximately this number on a fine Friday afternoon, one skater informing me that everyone was hanging out before a rave party later than night. As well as college kids, skaters, and Mallies, the Square is a pedestrian zone for office workers, and around its edges, commuters wait for Metro buses. Parents bring children to the park, and several elderly people often feed the pigeons.

According to another skater, more and more youths have been coming to the park because it is central, pleasant, and has features that make for good – but not great – skating. He also acknowledged that skating has damaged those features. Evidence for his observations is apparent throughout the park. The sandstones that surround the fountain and statue of Franklin are chipped and covered in wax and paint residue from the bottom of boards. Park benches, which are regularly painted by Council maintenance crews, are just as regularly scuffed and splintered as skaters slide across them. The marble and granite edging to the speaker's corner is chipped, as is the stone and metal edging to the giant chess board. Street lights in the park have been broken, there is graffiti on bus shelters, and the extensive area of paving around the fountain (which provides the flat surface on which to skate with speed) is broken in several places. However, to a question of mine about the alleged conflict between Council and skaters, the skater responded:

> Yeah, I don't understand a lot of it ... I think there are a few bad eggs ... who maybe ... damage some of the sandstone lining out of the fountain ... but I don't really see how it can cause so much trouble really ... I can understand that they have to respect other people's space ... and they are a bit noisy ... but I mean it doesn't really harm that many people and I don't know, where else can they go?

This same Friday afternoon, I also interviewed a group of six young women. Skaters are almost always young men, and these women did suggest that one reason for this is because they get 'bagged' or teased by the young men when trying to skate. (This gender differential is being planned for in State Government as evident in policy from the Office of Sport and Recreation, which recognises that girls and women tend to avoid male dominated sports for this reason. For example, the Office is working to provide opportunities for females to become proficient at particular forms of recreation away from the gaze of their male peers.)

" According to Wood and Williamson (1996, 2) Mallies is a term used in Hobart to 'refer to a group of social 'misfits', some of whom engage in socially disruptive behaviour [such as drinking alcohol in one small area of Franklin Square and interacting negatively with skaters and others]. The members of the group are usually unemployed or unemployable [sic], socially alienated from the general community and have low standards of living.'

When asked about their perceptions of the historical features of the park, the young women admitted to being in the Square almost daily, and noted that they had never examined the statues and plaques. When queried about the role of history in our lives, one said:

> Yeah, it's the roots ... We need to know where we are coming from to know where we are going. We ... have to know where we come from in order to know why we have to do stuff. When you look through history you see so many mistakes, we can improve each generation.

Prospect

Evidence from observations and interviews with skaters suggests that many of them do recognise the value of Franklin Square, particularly as a park. However, they also have certain and immediate imperatives for space. These needs – to perform and produce their own spaces and places - outweigh any consideration they may otherwise have for the cultural and historical heritage of the Square. Some have also suggested that even if Council provides a purpose built facility, some skaters will continue to use Franklin Square. Perhaps this is because members of the sub-culture tends to reject control and the regulation of their travels through the urban.

Furthermore, conversations with local and state government employees in youth affairs, and with one Alderman involved in youth issues, lead me to conclude that Hobart City Council has been cognisant of the need for youth spaces for some time. Indeed, my preliminary assessment is that Council's recent planning history is characterised by a generally proactive approach to youths, although this approach is usually constrained by an awareness of the power of business and rate payers, and the need for political expedience. Even so, two outreach workers have been employed by Council since the mid-1990s, and both are on the streets helping youths with various issues of concern, including organising special skate events on Council properties around the CBD, or three-on-three basketball in Franklin Square on Saturday afternoons. In April 1998, a youth centre was opened just down from the park, and that facility is to be used for a range of programs dealing with health, welfare, education, training, and community. And critically – at least in relation to Franklin Square - Council has been planning mechanisms by which to provide a skate facility. In 1997, it commissioned Greg Stewart, a graphic artist and skater, to find appropriate sites around Hobart that might fit the needs of both skaters and Council. An estimated $35 000 will likely be used to advance this plan to fruition.

State Government's history of involvement in planning for youth can also be seen as positive although, again, much of this work is occurring in a climate of declining resources and increasing demand (Judy Hebblethwaite, pers.comm. April 1998). These issues are too complex to deal with here, beyond noting that policy and planning have been drafted in the past with an understanding that lean times are here for a while yet. Even so, the State Government does fund numerous programs for youth across a range of portfolios (Office of Youth Affairs and Family 1998).

However, it appears to me that even if the recent planning history of youth in Hobart results in positive outcomes for Franklin Square and for youth, and even if skaters are able to secure a purpose built facility in the CBD, several underlying issues about youth, public space, and urban governance remain. These issues include the hegemony of adult public space in the city; the tendency for planning and urban governance to protect this space in the city; the tendency for planning and urban governance to protect this hegemony; the view that youths should be monitored, controlled, and disciplined; and

the desire among youths to resist adult scripts about acceptable and unacceptable behaviours, and to claim spaces and places like Franklin Square for themselves. To conclude with a story, the irony of which cannot be escaped:

> Mr Hidding: ... my mate and I, out of an old floorboard, manufactured a skateboard with the steel wheels off a roller-skate, and we were sensational on these things ... and we would be going down ignoring the traffic totally, and ... we would duck between the traffic and jump onto the footpath, just like they do these days ... and disappear behind some trees. One day my father came out at tea time. He was complaining to my mother about these idiot kids on these funny looking boards with wheels under them playing chicken with the motor cars and, of course, I just agreed that they must have been complete idiots. Here we are 30 years later and we are still talking about 'terrible skateboards'. It really is a bit of a joke. The other thing is having raised four children and being from a large family myself, as other Members of this house are, and being fathers [sic] of young people, we are very careful not to make judgmental comments about a lot of young people because there but for the Grace of God go each one of us. Every parent in the house knows that feeling.
>
> Mr Lennon: And they'll vote one day, too (Hansard 15 October 1997, no page available online).

References

Anon (1997) Skate centre a community achievement, *Glenorchy Star*, Thursday 11 December 1997, 12.
Hankey, Lisa (1997) Letter to the editor: skateboards, *The Saturday Mercury*, 19 July, 18.
Hansard (1997) 1 October, Part 1, 1-40. Specific page unavailable online. Various other dates.
Hobart City Council (1988) *Historic Parks of Hobart*, HCC, Hobart.
Hobart City Council (1997a) *Business Plan: Parks and Landscape Unit*, Parks and Customer Services Division, HCC, Hobart.
Hobart City Council (1997b) *Annual Report 1997*, http://www.203.16.7.7/annrep97. Accessed May 1998.
Office of Youth Affairs (1995) *Tasmania's Youth Policy Statement 1995*, Department of Education and the Arts, Hobart.
Office of Youth Affairs and Family (1998) *Tasmanian Youth Budget Statement 1997/1998*, Department of Education, Community and Cultural Development, Hobart.
Paterson, Andrew (1992) Adelaide central business district crime prevention plan, in Sandra Mackillop and Julia Vernon, editors, *National Overview of Crime Prevention: Proceedings of a Conference held 4-6 June 1991*, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra, 263-267.
Polk, Ken (1997) A community and youth development approach to youth crime prevention, in Pat O'Malley and Adam Sutton, editors, *Crime Prevention in Australia: Issues in Policy and Research*, Federation Press, Sydney, 185-199.
Sandercock, Leonie (1997) From Main Street to fortress: the future of malls as public spaces, or 'shut up and shop', *Just Policy* No.9, 9 March, 27-34.
Simpson, Brian (1997) Towards the participation of children and young people in urban planning and design, *Urban Studies* 34(5-6), 907-925.
South Australia Department of Transport (1995) *Code of Conduct for Small-Wheeled Vehicle Users*, Department of Transport, Adelaide.
Valentine, Gill (1996) Children should be seen and not heard: the production and transgression of adults' public space, *Urban Geography* 17(3), 205-220.
Wallace, M. (1997) Letter to the editor: CBD safety, *The Mercury*, Tuesday 8 July, 18.
Waterhouse, Charles (1997) Melbourne skate plan 'brilliant': Alderman believes strategy would work here, *The Mercury*, 10 September, 5.
White, Robert (1997) The business of youth crime prevention, in Pat O'Malley and Adam Sutton, editors, *Crime Prevention in Australia: Issues in Policy and Research*, Federation Press, Sydney, 164-184.
Wood, Les and Sandra Williamson (1996) *Franklin Square: Users, Activities and Conflicts, Report for the Hobart City Council*, UNITAS Consulting, Hobart.

The Cumberland County Council Planning Scheme, Sydney's Green Belt and the Anti-Urbanist Imperative.

Richard Strauss,
Department of History, Philosophy and Politics,
Macquarie University.

This is a ghost story, a story of a short lived council and its stillborn Green Belt; of the forces of anti-urbanism which both engendered the council's vision and hastened its demise.

The Cumberland County Council was convened in 1945 as an amendment to the Planning Bill of that year. Its ten members were to be elected by the sixty-nine constituent councils of the region, and were given three years to produce a planning scheme for the Sydney region.[1] The council had a turbulent career lasting a little over a decade, involving such planners John P. Tate, Sidney L. Luker, and Rod Fraser. In its third year the council produced the Cumberland County Council Planning Scheme Report, and a special act of parliament was passed to extend its life. In 1951 the Cumberland County Council Ordinance was passed, conferring planning powers on the council. These powers are still in force, although the council itself was superseded by the State Planning Authority in 1962!

The council approached its task in the spirit of post-war reconstruction. William C. Andrews, then Senior Planner, remembers:

> Professional men after the 1939-45 war were anxious to improve the cities and the countryside towns..... All the chiefs.... were men looking ahead - endeavouring to see that better things were done in a better way than previously.[2]

Geoffrey Faithfull, who had been Deputy Chief Planner for the council has similar recollections:

> In the early days it was a bit of brave new world stuff; we were all learning and there was a feeling, a spirit, that you were trying to do something to improve the situation, and in fact doing it in spite of adversity.[3]

Urban growth was anticipated, although not in the volume in which it would come. The Council sought to manage urban development and the undesirable effects of urbanisation and industrialisation. The methods they used were peculiar to the time, and to a planning tradition.

When the Cumberland County Council Planning Scheme was reported to the minister for Local Government, the Hon. J. J. Cahill, on the 27th of July, 1948, rurality was central to its agenda. It was undoubtedly an optimistic scheme, declaring that:

> This is a planning scheme for a vital and prosperous region, for the second white city of the British Empire, for the other towns of the region and the broad acres between them.[4]

The first of Sydney's regional plans, it was also the last to owe so much to British utopianism. It hinted at the danger of a looming urban disaster:

> Densely populated countries, even the more primitive ones, are naturally conscious of the importance of rural areas. In countries like Australia, however, where there is an abundance of land, there is a tendency to regard the countryside as limitless, an attitude which leads to neglect of its proper care and preservation. This is nowhere so noticeable as in the cities, where the populations fail to appreciate the value of the rural background either to the whole country or to the cities themselves.[5]

The Green Belt was integral to an urban plan which provided for rural work as well as 'natural' play.

The Green Belt was, in principle if not in eventuality, a broad belt of agricultural land forming a semi-circle around Sydney: from Hornsby, through Prospect to the military lands at

Hollsworthy. Lot sizes were set at five acre minimum, as indeed were lot sizes in areas zoned 'rural'. The five acre minimum had been arrived at after consultation with the Department of Agriculture, who advised that this was the minimum area required for horticulture around Griffith! The Green Belt was to be contiguous with other open space. It would divert urban expansion to satellite cities, give urbanites access to open space, and preserve or recreate a certain type of agricultural production. The latter is quite a unique approach, in that it intended to preserve a mode of production; urbanites would have an opportunity to work in rural industry as well as play in a rural atmosphere.

Although Peter Spearritt has noted that the Green Belt 'caught the public's imagination' [6] , it is not certain that it was received with total comprehension. Residents affected by the Green Belt zoning wrote to the Council to point out extensive park land and open space which already existed in their localities.[7] Evidently, the Scheme was not as well understood as the Council would claim.[8] The function of the Green Belt was to be quite distinct from other open space. The land uses were complimentary but not interchangeable.

This is not to suggest that The Green Belt was an entirely indigenous product. Whatever the local popularity for anti-urbanism, ours was a sideshow on a larger stage. The Green Belt, predictably, was imported from Britain. To some extent, it was a case of pure immitation:

> ....when visiting the CCC (sic) we saw progress maps of the Scheme ... one ......
> showing the existing residential development (Scheme pink). Beyond was the buff area for
> rural. These were little more than existing development. Jack can recall vividly Howard
> Sherrard asking questions one day - a very topical question at the time for Sir Patrick
> Abercrombie's Scheme for metropolitan London with the famous Green Belt around
> London. Howard Sherrard asked the question - Has the CCC given any thought to the
> creation of a Green Belt around Sydney. Well, on our next visit to the CCC they had given
> thought to the Green Belt. It took exactly one month....... to put stippled green spots
> around the perimeters of the pink areas over the buff colour for the rural zones. And that is
> how the Green Belt was originally formed.[9]

The language of the Cumberland Plan echoes that of the Greater London Plan of 1944; the typesetting, binding and illustration are of a kind. The Green Belt of London, the first 'white city' of the British Empire, was intended to preserve the Britishness of the region against the progress of the industrial city, warding off the evils of modernity and healing the wounds of war. The plan's architect, Sir Patrick Abercrombie, was well versed in anti-urbanism and drew on a fine pastoral tradition.

The assumption of the importance of agriculture to cultural identity and to the mental health of the metropolitan population predated the Second World War. At the turn of the century, Ebenezer Howard had opposed rurality to urban ills in founding the Garden City movement.[10] The concept had not lost currency; due to an anticipated growth in population, planners saw the need for the infusion of sylvan beauty into the metropolis of the future:

> ...the pent-up population will inevitably avail themselves of the country, though in decreasing
> intensity as their centrifugal dispersion increases the ratio of openness.[11]

Nature was also to be valued in its primal state[12] , while the Green Belt proper was to be projected into the city.[13] While the Green Belt was in part an attempt to preserve prime agricultural land[14] , it was an attempt to conserve in Britons that attachment to the land which made them great.

What other ideological traditions underpinned the Green Belt? Marx had made a clear claim on anti urbanism in the Communist Manifesto, citing the "Combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries; gradual abolition of all the distinction between town and country by a more equable distribution of the populace over the country" as an indicator of progress towards socialist goals.(Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, 1848) Planner George Clarke describes the philosophical stance of the Cumberland as being quite radical:

> ..... we dissembled, but in our hearts, we were utopian crusaders out to change the
> urbanising world.(Clarke in Ashton, *Planning Sydney*)

The 'crusade' was being waged all over the world, and crusaders could look elsewhere than the British empire for anti-urban inspiration.

While the Green Belt was a strategy borrowed from Britain. Britain was not alone in seeking to change the built form dictated by urban capital. A Green Belt was attempted at Moscow, presumably by a planning body quite different in form from the Cumberland County Council. In the 1960s there was debate in the Second and Third International regarding the relationship of cities and the countryside to the transition to socialism, the conclusions of which had an anti-urban flavour.[15]

In the United States planners had developed an agrarian ideal of distinctive American tone. Lewis Mumford pointed to the desirability of rural 'bands', which defined communities. Mumford even identified these as Green Belts, pointing to their 'natural' occurrence in the development of salubrious 19th Century residential railway suburbs. Indeed, to this ideologue the suburb itself was a good and natural 'counter-attack' to over-urbanisation; the problem with the modern suburb was that mass production and private transport had spoiled an exclusive success.[16] Emphasising family, community and efficiency, Mumford's argument for the planning of America's cities and suburbs was carefully non-communist. In *The Living City* Architect Frank Lloyd Wright went further, calling for a modern Jeffersonian democracy of part-time farmers. In this American Jerimiad Lloyd Wright proposes a utopian society, 'Usonia', where modern technology has reunited humanity and nature:

> ....true simplicity by way of simples growing out of the free democratic citizen's own
> devotion to life on is own ground; the citizen himself something of a farmer here, free of all
> unfair transactions.[17]

Stirring stuff! Lloyd Wright had arrived at his own version of what Abercrombie had called 'Feng Shui'.

We can at least conclude that anti-urbanism has occurred to thinkers from diverse political backgrounds. It is a romantic, reactionary after-effect of the Industrial Revolution.

The last of the Green Belt was released in 1958, although the ideology underpinning it had passed out of the planning discourse well before this. The Chief County Planner, Counsellor Luke had declared in his 1956 report that there was nothing more important to the functioning of the County Plan than the Green Belt:

> The Green Belt, ... is *in my firm conviction* (italics struck from draft), one of the vital
> components of the County Scheme, the preservation of which must be maintained at all costs.
> Without it, the indescribable sprawl and indiscriminate development of the metropolis cannot
> be controlled, nor can decentralisation be brought about. Indeed, it is the very foundation of
> the county scheme.[18]

During the following year the Green Belt, in the original sense of the term, was abolished, and a new Chief County Planner appeared. At the end of 1959, in a nice irony, the only power Council retained was the power to sanction variations to zoning in the remaining rural areas of the region according to Clause 52 of the scheme ordinance. Hill had used section 242Y of the Local Government Act to suspend the rest of the scheme. In 1962 the Local Government (Town and Country Planning) Amendment Act ushered in the State Planning Authority, which supplanted the Cumberland County Council entirely. The Cumberland County Council survived as an administrator of rural lands, however. In these diminished circumstances, protection of rural lands would amount to a defence of its very shaky tenure, and its definition of 'rurality' loosened accordingly.

Of the Cumberland County Council's undoubted weaknesses, the three most pertinent are a lack of funds; competition with State utilities and Government portfolios[19] ; and a significant underestimation of population growth. It is difficult to determine whether the latter is cause or effect, or both.

Certainly, the Cumberland County Council and its Green Belt principle held no attraction for

the dominant ALP right wing, which favoured robust suburbanism. The minister, P.D. Hill had reportedly declared:

> "Fuck the Green Belt, I want to get rid of it; its a bloody nuisance, its in the way. And I want to get all that land available for the Housing Commission and other developers to start to build housing on before the next election."[20]

The housing boom which beset the Cumberland County, and the concomitant population growth which outstripped the Cumberland's expectations[21] was the *a priori* cause of Green Belt's demise, but it was the nature of the housing which would consume so much space.

As a direct response to Green Belt releases, the Cumberland County Council and affected local councils sought to include an alternative rurality in the new subdivisions. Bill Harrison recalls:

> ....that great rear-guard action that Rod Fraser was conducting to establish the principle of development contributions .... in the new subdivisions as a consequence of the Green Belt abolitions. Monoghan (who replaced Haviland as Under Secretary to Local Government) was unenthusiastic... Rod said that he described them as creeping socialism.(Harrison while interviewing Ashton)

The major concerns of constituent councils were to maintain lot sizes at one quarter of an acre, to enforce Tree Preservation Orders in areas of new development, and to seek a developer's contribution to a park land fund. This last measure was intended to maintain acceptable levels of public open space in the new suburbs.[22] Council set this at the rather arbitrary figure of 10%, to be paid to council by the developer in money or kind.

The Cumberland County Council's Green Belt fell in the face of overwhelming suburban expansion and underwhelming political support, yet this was not the last word in anti-urbanism. Paradoxically, the agrarian thrust of post war suburbanisation continued with the quarter-acre block (and larger). Sydney turned to its burgeoning National Parks and to Recreational Open Space for interaction with nature, and to the commodity culture associated with them. Retreating from the vision of integrated primary production embodied in the Green Belt, Sydney turned to the more comfortably suburban pattern of consumption. Four wheel drives, Gortex™, and hobby farms share in the legacy of this Green Belt, which was in any case an entirely notional preserve.

References

[1] Harrison P., "Profile of a purposeful planner: Rodreick David Lovat Fraser, 1911-1983", *Australian Planner*, Vol.21 No.1, April/May 1983

[2] William C. Andrews interviewed by Nigel Ashton, *Oral History*, Department of Environment and Planning, 1981-1982

[3] Geoffrey Faithfull interviewed by N. Ashton, p.7

[4] *County of Cumberland Planning Scheme Report*, 1948, p. 1

[5] *CCCPSR* p.1

[6] Spearritt P., *Planning Sydney's Future*, p.22

[7] Jack Barnett, interviewed for Department of Environmental Planning, *Oral History*

[8] Cumberland County Council Files, 125/15 - EPA 29 "Representations to the Minister for Local Government - i.e. County Scheme by Individuals

[9] Jack Barnett, interviewed for Department of Environmental Planning, *Oral History*

[10] Sandercock, *Cities for Sale*, p.12

[11] *Greater London Plan*, p.11

[12] *GLP*, p.12

[13] *GLP*, p.11

[14] *GLP*, p.11

[15] Ira Katznelson, *Marxism and The City*

[16] Mumford, *The City in History*, pp.474-6

[17] Frank Lloyd Wright, *The Living City*, p.99

[18] EPA 123, CCC Annual Report (& Draft)1956

[19] Troy in Parker R.(ed), *The Politics of Urban Growth*

[20] Hill's view, as reported by George Clarke when interviewed by Paul Ashton. In Paul Ashton, *Planning Sydney*, p.28

[21] Daly, *Sydney Boom, Sydney Bust*

[22] Hornsby Shire Council Minutes, Ordinary Meeting No. 15/59, 23rd July 1959, No. 4085, and Ordinary Meeting No. 18/59, 3rd September 1959, No. 4130

The Planner at the Movies: The silver screen as a mirror of planning and architecture, 1918-1998

Anthony Sutcliffe
Special Professor
Department of History
University of Nottingham
Nottingham, UK

Almost every textbook on the history of modern architecture includes the notorious still from Fritz Lang's *Metropolis* (1926) showing the vertical, business city of the elite. Aircraft flit by and motor vehicles roll along vertiginous bridges. Usually, the still is included in order to imply that science fiction made a big contribution to the Modern Movement in architecture, by defining modernity and establishing modernism as an ideal for architects. With literary quotations and paintings and drawings appearing less frequently in the architectural textbooks, we tend to accept the cinema as the main artistic influence on modern architecture.

That still from *Metropolis* has just about saved my bacon on two occasions in the last year when perceptive audiences have questioned whether there is *any* connection between the cinema and architecture, let alone planning. The second of these occasions, in Japan, was a near-disaster, and I was saved only by a friendly European colleague who pointed out that the Japanese have no concept of urban form. However, the reaction of my Japanese audience reminded me that simply to suggest a number of connections is not necessarily persuasive. On the other hand, all use of art tends to be allusive, drawing even on unconscious reactions. Even within architecture itself, the detection of influences and inspiration often lacks documentary support, and is based largely on appearances and forms.

So, the connection between the cinema and urban design, though often presented as very plausible, is always difficult to establish objectively. The influence of the city on the film is always more visible than that of the film on the city. The influence of the the New York skyline on Fritz Lang when he was planning *Metropolis* is well known, not least because it rests on Lang's own reminiscences. Lang's vertical city clearly recalls Bruno Taut's *Stadtkrone* and other products of German Steineresque symbolism in the 1920s,[1]

Fewer problems are raised by documentary films designed to promote town planning or train planners. The impressive *The City* (1939), made for the New York World's Fair by Lewis Mumford and other anti-urban Americans centered on the Regional Planning Association of America, conveyed a clear message in favour of small towns and technological metropoli, despite its lack of a didactic script. Many other planning documentaries were more mundane but the subject - the city itself - was often photogenic and exciting. The British *The City* (1939), an essay on London traffic problems and the engineering answers set out in the Bressey Report, was the very opposite of its American contemporary in terms of production techniques, and message, nevertheless included some interesting documentary shots of London. In fact, the structure and content of planning films, from whatever the country, often mark them out from the earliest frames. Low-angle sunlight, and happy children playing on grass, are common features. Contrasts between the industrial past and the planned environment of the future, as in the Bournville Village Trust's *When We Build*

Again (1943), are emphatic, with all the residents of the future appearing in new clothes, smiling, and laughing.

Planning messages are difficult to identify and very often they are accidental. John Gold made this point at the IPHS London conference in 1994 when he showed that a number of stills including attractive plans and designs were only briefly on the screen, or were obscured.

The historian can sometimes claim to detect them but hindsight and over-enthusiasm can often mislead.[2] The audience, meanwhile, may be too random to receive a message. We can assume that young planners and architects were frequent cinema patrons, at least until the 1970s, but to be sure that they learned planning lesson from films we would need evidence such as that provided in diaries and memos. Planners were probably reluctant to confess formally that films, especially feature films, had influenced them.

The safest way to proceed would be to discuss documentary films but the results would be predictable. Documentaries were on a different circuit from feature films, being shown in educational and civic environments rather than in commercial cinemas. They were educational rather than political, so usually provided a bland account of planning progress rather than advocating controversial policies. Their greatest strength, perhaps, was in the emotional quality of their advocacy. But as they were rarely shown in commercial cinemas, they appealed mainly to middle-class, educated people who were no doubt already committed to the implicit planning goals.

The interest of feature films lies in their potentially large audience, with a wide social range but mainly attracting the working classes. The equipment of the commercial cinema allows a very strong impact to be created on an audience which, sitting in great comfort, is suscptible to influence. The most striking feature film in the field of urban design as still *The Fountainhead*. It seems to be easier to make films about architects, who can appear as heroic figures, than about planners. Nevertheless, the architect in The Towering Inferno (1974) is gradually overborne by the police chief, a practical figure who ultimately promises to tell the architect how to build office blocks.

In the absence of films about planners and planning, the city - more or less planned - is the subject of the story or the source of influence. In science-fiction films, the city is very often the main background. *Blade Runner* (1982) offered an eclectic, historicist décor which was extended by a host of television commercials. Its influence on urban design is probable but hard to specify. More remote but potential connections can be detected in *King Kong* (1935) and *Alphaville* (1965). Hollywood musicals provide another striking background, often using an idealised New York skyline. *42nd Street* (1933) and *Broadway Melody of 1938* (1937) offer two contrasting views of New York; only one of them idealised.

Notes

[1] Peter Proudfoot's study of the inspirations for Walter Burley Griffin's Canberra plan provides an excellent example of the power of imagery in urban design. See P.R.Proudfoot, 'The symbolism of the crystal in the planning and geometry of the design for Canberra', Planning Perspectives, 11(3), 1996, 225-58.
[2] John Gold made this point at the IPHS London conference in 1994 when he showed that a number of stills including attractive plans and designs were only briefly on the screen, or were obscured.

Paradigms and Town Planning Theory Since 1945

Nigel Taylor
(School of Planning and Architecture, Faculty of the Built Environment, University of the West of England, Bristol BS16 1QY, United Kingdom).

1. Introduction: Changes in Town Planning Thought and Paradigms

Over the fifty year period since the end of the Second World War there have been a number of important shifts in town planning theory. But what have been the most significant changes, and how significant have these changes been? In this paper I offer a retrospective overview of the most significant shifts in town planning thought since 1945. I shall concentrate on theory about town planning which has been concerned with clarifying what kind of an activity town planning is, and hence what skills are appropriate to practice it; i.e. I shall be examining changing conceptions of town planning itself over the last half century.

In studies of the history of ideas, it has become fashionable to describe significant shifts in thought as 'paradigm' shifts. Thus Galloway and Mahayni (1977) described notable changes in post-war town planning theory down to the mid 1970s as 'paradigm changes'. I shall therefore examine changing conceptions of town planning since 1945 in terms of the idea of paradigm shifts. After clarifying the notion of 'paradigms', I offer, from a British perspective, an account of what seem to me to be the two most significant shifts in town planning thought since 1945.[1] I argue that whilst, on a weak interpretation of the notion of paradigms, we might speak of these changes as paradigm shifts, in anything like a strong sense of the term the changes in town planning theory since 1945 should not be described as paradigm shifts.

2. The Idea of Paradigms and Paradigm Shifts

The use of the term 'paradigm' to describe major shifts in thought was first coined by Thomas Kuhn (1962) in his account of the history of scientific thought. Before Kuhn, it was widely assumed that scientific knowledge had grown steadily through history as more and more empirical evidence of phenomena had been accumulated. Kuhn's examination of the actual history of science led him to reject this gradualist, evolutionary view of the development of scientific knowledge. For according to Kuhn, if we examine any branch of science, we find that certain fundamental views or theories tend to prevail for very long periods - often for hundreds of years. These relatively settled views of the world, or of some particular phenomenon within it, are generally so fundamental to people's whole conceptual scheme of reality that it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, for most people to think of reality as being different; *that*, indeed, is why such views are fundamental (they are, literally, 'world views'), and also why they remain stable for very long periods of time. It is such enduring world views which Kuhn calls 'paradigms'. Examples in the history of science would be the pre-Copernican view that the Earth was flat and at the centre of the Universe, the pre-Darwinian view that human beings had somehow been created on this planet separate

---

1. Lack of space precludes me from considering in this paper the alleged shift from 'modernist' to 'post-modernist' planning thought.

from other species, and the Newtonian model of a mechanical Universe.

Under a given paradigm, continued empirical investigation may lead to some theoretical advance. But according to Kuhn, most scientific research and theoretical development operates within the fundamental presuppositions of a prevailing world view or paradigm. Most 'normal' scientific research is therefore directed at filling in some of the details of, and thus further refining, a given paradigm; it is what Kuhn calls 'puzzle-solving'. For Kuhn, then, paradigms are fundamental theoretical perspectives or world views. Paradigm shifts are therefore correspondingly fundamental, and typically occur infrequently in the history of science. Any given paradigm, once established, shapes the whole way a scientific community (and beyond that, the general public) views some aspect of the world, and tends to endure for centuries, not just decades. Given this, on anything like a Kuhnian conception of paradigms, it seems intuitively improbable that there would have been several paradigm shifts in town planning thought over the short span of the last fifty years.

3. Two Important Shifts in Town Planning Thought since 1945

In this section I summarise what seem to me to be the two most significant changes in post-war town planning thought. The first was the shift, in the 1960s and early 70s, from the urban design tradition of planning to the systems and rational process views of planning. The second was a shift from a technicalist to a politicised conception of planning which, through the 1970s and 80s, eventually crystallised around the idea of the planner as someone who was, or ought be seen as, a manager of the process of arriving at planning judgements rather than someone who possessed a particular substantive expertise which qualified him (or her) to make these judgements himself. Under this view, the planner is seen as a kind of 'facilitator', drawing in other people's views and skills to the business of making planning judgements. 'Communicative planning theory' is the latest expression of this view.

(i) From the Planner as a Creative Designer to the Planner as a Scientific Analyst and Rational Decision-Maker

For almost 20 years following the Second World War, town planning theory and practice was dominated by a conception which saw town planning essentially as an exercise in physical *design*. This view of town planning stretched back into history, arguably as far as the European Renaissance (arguably even further back than that). Its long historical lineage is shown by the fact that, for as far back as we can see, what came to be called town planning was assumed to be most appropriately carried out by architects and builders, surveyors and civil engineers. Indeed, architecture and town planning were not distinguished throughout most of human history; what we now call town planning was seen *as* architecture, albeit on the larger scale of a whole town, or part of a town. Hence the assumption that the main tool of town planning was seen to be a large-scale design - a 'master plan' - for a town or part of a town. The close link between architecture, design and town planning also explains why aesthetic considerations were regarded as central to town planning. Like architecture, town planning was viewed as an 'art', albeit an 'applied' or 'practical' art in which utilitarian or 'functional' requirements had to be accommodated. This conception of town planning as 'architecture writ large' persisted down to the 1960s, and most planners in the post-war years were 'architect-planners'. Lewis Keeble's *Principles and Practice of Town and Country Planning* put forward this physicalist design-based conception of town planning, and was one of the most widely recommended texts of the 1950s and 60s.

Against this background, the bursting onto the scene in the 1960s of the systems and rational process views of planning (represented by e.g. Brian McLoughlin's *Urban and Regional Planning: A Systems Approach*) appeared to many to constitute a rupture with a centuries-old tradition. It is worth noting that the systems and rational process views of planning are conceptually distinct, and hence two theories of planning, not one. Thus the systems view is premissed on a view about the *object* that town planning deals with, viz: the town, or the environment in general, is viewed as a 'system'. By contrast, the rational process view of planning is concerned with the method or *process* of planning itself; in particular, it advances a conception of that process as one of making instrumentally rational decisions.

But if we set aside this important distinction, both the systems and rational process views of planning, taken together, represented a radical departure from the then prevailing design-based view of town planning. The shift in planning thought which their adoption implied can be summarised under four points. First, an essentially physical or morphological view of towns was to be replaced with a view of towns as systems of inter-related activities in a constant state of flux. Second, whereas town planners had tended to view and judge towns predominently in physical and aesthetic terms, they were now to examine the town in terms of its social life and economic activities. Third, because the town was now seen as a 'live' functioning thing, this implied a 'process', rather than an 'end-state' or 'blueprint' approach to town planning and plan-making. Fourth, all these conceptual changes implied in turn a change in the kinds of skills, or techniques, which were appropriate to town planning. For if town planners were trying to control and plan complex, dynamic systems, then what seemed to be required were rigorously analytical, 'scientific' methods of analysis.

However, although this changed conception of town planning was undeniably important, it is not clear that it represented a Kuhnian 'paradigm shift'. Apart from anything else, the design-based tradition of town planning was not completely superceded by these new theories of the 1960s. Although the shift in planning thought described above did have the effect of marginalising considerations of design and aesthetics in *planning theory* for about 20 years, in British town planning *practice*, and in particular in the development control sections of planning authorities, many planners still continued to evaluate proposals for development partly in terms of their design and aesthetic impact. Moreover, following the publication of the Essex Design Guide of 1973, various local authorities sought to place their practice of design control on a clearer theoretical footing by articulating 'principles' of good design for their areas of jurisdiction. This was significant. For it drew attention to the fact that, at the level of 'local' planning, the physical form and aesthetic appearance of new development remained a necessary and significant consideration in town planning. It was therefore only at the broader, more strategic level of planning that the design-based view of planning was supplanted by the changing conception of planning ushered in by the systems and rational process views of planning.

The revolution in town planning thought of the 1960s described in this section did not, therefore, involve the *complete* replacement of one view of town planning by another. Rather, the real revolution was in clarifying a distinction between two levels of town planning, one strategic and longer term, and the other 'local' and more immediate. The altered conception of town planning brought about by systems and rational process thinking was a conception most appropriate in *strategic* town planning. Although there were also

lessons from systems and rational process thinking for 'local' small area planning (e.g. in giving greater consideration to the social and economic *effects* of development proposals; in approaching local planning as a rational process; etc), at this latter scale the traditional design-based conception of planning remained relevant. Indeed, the last decade has witnessed a rejuvination of practical and theoretical interest in aesthetics and good urban design in town planning.

(ii) From the Planner as Technical Expert to the Planner as a Manager and 'Communicator'

Although the shift from seeing (strategic) town planning as an exercise in physical planning and design to seeing it as a rational process of decision-making directed at the analysis and control of urban systems was undoubtably a radical shift in thinking, there was one thing that the design-based view, and the systems and rational process views, shared in common. Both presumed that the town planner was someone who possessed, or should possess, some specialist knowledge and skill - some *substantive* expertise - which the layman did not possess. It was this which qualified the planner, literally, to plan, and which buttressed claims that town planning was a 'profession'. Clearly, views about the content of this specialist skill had changed. Under the traditional design-based view of town planning, the relevant skills were those of aesthetic appreciation and urban design. Under the systems and rational process views, the skills were those of scientific and logical analysis. But still under both conceptions, the town planner was conceived as someone with a special knowledge, understanding, and/or skill. However, this whole conception of the planner as an expert 'at planning' also came to be challenged by an alternative view of town planning.

The challenge emerged again in the 1960s, when it came to be openly acknowledged that town planning judgements were at root judgements of value (as distinct from purely scientific judgements) about the kinds of environments it is desireable to create or conserve. Once this view was taken, it raised the question of whether town planners had any greater 'specialist' ability to make these judgements than ordinary members of the public. Indeed, people's experience of much of the planning of the 1960s - such as comprehensive housing redevelopment and urban road planning - seemed to indicate not. The emergence of the view that town planning was a value-laden, political process therefore raised not so much the question of what the town planner's area of specialist expertise should be, but, more fundamentally, the question of whether there was any such expertise at all.

From this radical questioning of the town planner's role, there developed a curious bifurcation in planning theory which has persisted to this day. On the one hand, some planning theorists have continued to believe that the practice of town planning requires some specialist substantive knowledge or skill - be it about urban design, systems analysis, urban regeneration, sustainable development, or whatever. Such theorists have therefore continued to develop substantive planning theory on the different issues which planning seeks to address. On the other hand, there has developed a tradition of planning thought which openly acknowledges that town planning judgements are value-laden and political. One possible conclusion which might have been drawn from this would be to reject entirely the idea that town planning involves, or requires, some special expertise at all, and some 'radical' planning theorists have flirted with this view (e.g. Goodman 1972, Evans 1995). However, most planning theorists who have acknowledged the value-laden and political nature of planning have developed an alternative line of thought. This rejects the idea that the town planner is someone who is specially qualified to make better planning decisions or

recommendations - because (so the argument goes) what is 'better' is a matter of value, and planners have no superior expertise in making value-judgements over environmental options. Nevertheless, the view is still taken that the town planner possesses (or should possess) *some* specialist skill, namely, a skill in *managing the process* of arriving at planning decisions and facilitating action to realise publicly agreed goals.

Through the 1970s and 80s, therefore, a tradition of planning theory has emerged which views the town planner's role (and hence his or her 'professional' expertise) as one of identifying and mediating between different interest groups involved in, or affected by, land development. In this way, the town planner is seen as someone who acts as a kind of cypher for other people's assessments of planning issues, rather than someone who is specially qualified to assess these issues him- or herself. The town planner is viewed as not so much a technical expert (i.e. as someone who possesses some superior skill to plan towns), but more as a 'facilitator' of other people's views about how a town, or part of a town, should be planned.

An early version of this theory of town planning, and of the planner's role, was Paul Davidoff's (1965) 'advocacy' view of planning in the 1960s. John Friedmann's (1969) action theory of planning, as well as the planning theory promulgated in the 1970s and 80s by theorists concerned with the problem of 'implementation' in planning - with their view of effective planning as requiring skills of networking, communication and negotiation, further developed the 'facilitator' model of planning. The most recent version is the communicative planning theory inspired, particularly, by Habermas's theory of communicative action (see e.g. Forester 1989; Healey 1992; Fischer and Forester 1993; Sager 1993). In this, the skills of inter-personal communication and negotiation are seen as central to a non-coercive, 'facilitator' conception of town planning. Indeed, in relation to involving the public in planning, it has even been suggested that the kinds of inter-personal skills needed by the communicative town planner are those of the listener and the counsellor (Healey and Gilroy 1990 p 22). This view of the knowledge and skills relevant to town planning is a far cry from the view that the specialist skill of the town planner resides in being either an urban designer or a systems analyst.

However, once again a word of caution is in order before it is too readily assumed that the change in planning thought described above represents a Kuhnian paradigm shift. For the two views of planning described here are not incompatible, and can therefore coexist. Thus one could adopt a view of the town planner whose role is primarily that of a communicator and negotiator, but where, *in* communicating and negotiating with others, the planner also brings to bear some specialist knowledge which, for example, would enable him or her to **point out** the likely consequences of development proposals on the form and functioning of a town. Such a model of the town planner would be akin to that of, say, the civil servant who is an expert in economic matters, and who imparts his specialist economic understanding to those he advises who make decisions about economic policy. To be effective as an adviser, such a town planner would have to be skilled in communicating and negotiating with others, but he would also have to possess some specialist knowledge to bring to the communicating table to assist others in arriving at planning decisions.

4. Conclusion: Change and Continuity in Town Planning Thought

Unquestionably, there have been significant changes in town planning thought since the end of the Second World War. Generally speaking, those engaging in town planning now operate with a very different conception of town planning, and bring to that activity quite different skills, from the architect designer-planners of fifty years ago. The idea, for example, of town planning as 'managing the process of arriving at planning decisions' and 'negotiating agreements for action', and hence of the town planner as someone who is primarily a manager, a facilitator, and as a communicator, would not really have occurred to early post-war master planners like Lewis Keeble. Correspondingly, the idea that the prime task of town planners was to undertake surveys of the physical and aesthetic characteristics of **a** towns, and then sit in front of drawing boards drawing up master plans, would strike most present day planners as hopelessly outmoded, naive, and undemocratic.

These are significant changes in people's conception of the activity of town and country planning, and there is no harm in describing these changes as paradigm shifts, so long as we appreciate that we are employing this term in a fairly loose or weak sense. However, in anything like the strong sense of the term as used by Thomas Kuhn, it is doubtful whether we should describe the changes in town planning thought since 1945 as paradigm shifts. For in the strong sense of the term, a paradigm shift is marked by a fundamental change in world view - a kind of Gestalt switch in people's whole conceptual scheme. And whilst there have been significant discontinuities in planning thought since 1945, there have also been continuities across these changes. Indeed, it makes just as much sense to view the shifts in town planning thought over this period, not as ruptures between incommensurable paradigms of planning, but rather as a 'filling out' of the rather limited conception of planning which prevailed in the immediate post-war years. On this account, the story of town planning theory since 1945 has been one of developing sophistication as the different aspects and greater complexity of town planning activity have come to be appreciated.

REFERENCES

Davidoff, P. 1965: "Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning" *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* Vol 31, No 4, 1965 pp 544-555.

Evans, B. 1995: *Experts and Environmental Planning* Aldershot, Avebury.

Fischer, F. and Forester, J. 1993 (editors): *The Argumentative Turn in Policy Analysis and Planning* London, UCL Press.

Forester, J. 1989: *Planning in the Face of Power* Berkeley, University of California Press.

Friedmann, J. 1969: "Notes on Societal Action" *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* Vol 35 1969 pp 311-318.

Galloway, T.G. and Mahayni, R.G. 1977: "Planning Theory in Retrospect: The Process of Paradigm Change" *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* Vol 43 No 1 January 1977 pp 62-71.

Goodman, R. 1972: *After the Planners* Harmondsworth, Penguin.

Healey, P. and Gilroy, R. 1990: "Towards a People-Sensitive Planning" *Planning Practice and Research* Vol 5 No 2 Summer 1990 pp 21-29.

Healey, P. 1992: "Planning Through Debate: The Communicative Turn in Planning Theory" *Town Planning Review* Vol 63 No 2 1992 pp 143-162.

Keeble, L.B. 1952: *Principles and Practice of Town and Country Planning* London, The Estates Gazette.

Kuhn, T. 1962: *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1970 (2nd edition).

McLoughlin, J.B. 1969: *Urban and Regional Planning: A Systems Approach* London, Faber and Faber.

Sager, T. 1993: *Communicative Planning Theory* Aldershot, Avebury.

Homes for the Ancestors: establishing new traditions of burial through the provision of columbaria in Hong Kong

Elizabeth Kenworthy Teather
Department of Geography and Planning
University of New England
Armidale NSW 2351
Australia

INTRODUCTION Not only the living, but also the dead are accommodated in highrise buildings in Hong Kong. This represents a quiet revolution in Hong Kong Chinese burial practice since the 1950s. It is the result of the growing acceptance by Hong Kong's population of the official strategy, adopted in the 1960s, to encourage cremation. Today, Hong Kong's many large columbaria are striking buildings, the largest of which have offered architects a complex challenge. Columbaria, where cremated ashes are stored in niches which can accommodate either the remains of a single individual, or of a couple or a family, are immensely important to the families concerned. Columbaria are the scene of huge crowds at the public holidays of Qingming and Chongyang, the Gravesweeping Festivals, when relatives gather to pay their respects to their deceased forebears.

This paper will discuss the background to the widespread adoption of the practice of cremation in Hong Kong since the early 1970s. It will then look at the landscape artefacts that have resulted, by providing details of the current provision for cremation and ashes storage in Hong Kong. It will describe the principles underlying the design of municipal columbaria, of two of the columbaria built by the non-profit Chinese Permanent Cemeteries Board, and of the single large commercial columbarium. It will conclude by discussing some of the issues raised. It is a companion paper to others on Hong Kong's cemeteries (Teather 1997a; Teather 1997b; Teather 1998; Chow and Teather 1998).

A TRANSFORMATION IN BURIAL PRACTICE: FROM COFFIN BURIALS TO CREMATION In 1993, 68 per cent of those who died were cremated, compared with 35 per cent in 1976 (Government Information Services 1977 and subsequent years). The full paper gives data on niche provision in 1996-7 in walls and columbarium buildings by the two municipal providers, by the three major private non-profit providers, and by the single large commercial provider.

Underlying the huge increase in demand for spaces for storage of ashes are two factors. The first is the influx of population to Hong Kong since 1945, and the second is the cultural need to keep ancestral remains intact and appropriately stored.

Population influx: in 1945, as a result of the wartime outflow of people, Hong Kong's population was a mere 650 000; six months after the British returned it was one million. Immigration from Mainland China in subsequent decades brought the population to 5 million by 1981. In 1995, it was 6.3 million (Skeldon 1994; Siu 1996). Many of those who fled to Hong Kong in the mid twentieth century hoped eventually to return to their ancestral home in mainland China, as had generations of previous emigrés in the Chinese diaspora. In this case, however, this has not taken place. For the vast majority, the mention on headstones and niche tablets in cemeteries and columbaria of the ancestral home of the occupants (or the occupant's husband) has to suffice.

Cultural considerations: within the context of Confucianism, the ancestors' resting places have traditionally been of central importance. They are regarded by many as crucial for family fortunes, as the bones are believed to channel *qi*, the energy inherent in the physical universe, in a manner which brings good fortune to descendants. When cremation has been the choice, it is still important that stored remains of forebears are accessible so the family can visit them. The eldest son is charged with making offerings and carrying out other ritual observances to his deceased father and mother, whether at the graveside or at the niche, on the appropriate dates, such as Qingming, Chongyang and other auspicious occasions. Scattering of ashes, therefore, is not appropriate.

ADOPTION OF CREMATION In encouraging cremation, the British in Hong Kong were attempting to establish in the colony a practice established in Europe and the USA during the 1890s (Curl 1993). The first columbarium in the USA mentioned by Curl is one in San Francisco, 1895, with 2000 niches. Although columbaria are a well-established European artefact, dating back to Roman times, the imposing columbaria of Hong Kong may well be without precedent in Chinese culture.

In order to encourage Hong Kong Chinese to adopt cremation, close attention was given to appropriate columbarium design, in order that descendants felt that the niche, as the final resting place, was 'fitting', and that there was no loss of face involved. Future research may reveal that the failure to take this step was one reason for the continuing resistance to the official policy of cremation in Mainland China.

A TRANSFORMATION IN ARTEFACTS: FROM CEMETERIES TO COLUMBARIA No new municipally-run cemeteries have been established in Hong Kong since 1950. In 1960, when land at Cape Collinson on Hong Kong Island was designated for a complex of private cemeteries to be managed by the Chinese Permanent Cemeteries Board (CPCB), by the Roman Catholic Church, and by Buddhist and Muslim organisations, the municipal provision was for a crematorium, a series of public columbaria and a public Garden of Remembrance. Despite an increase in population from two to just over three million people from 1950 to 1961, public grave spaces were not provided. All further municipal provision has been in the form of columbaria within existing cemeteries, with the exception of a crematorium and columbarium at Fu Shan on a new site near Sha Tin in 1985. New coffin graves in public and private cemeteries alike are now managed on a cycle of exhumations after a period of six to ten years, with the option at that stage of cremation, or of transfer of remains to an urn grave. As a result of the exhumation policy, the two large public cemeteries established in 1950 still provide a reserve of land for permanent urn graves (900mm x 900mm in area). They do not provide for permanent coffin graves. The only new cemetery to be established since 1960 has been the Chinese Permanent Cemetery at Junk Bay (1989).

As cremation slowly gained in popularity during the 1970s, private cemetery providers began building columbaria within their existing cemeteries, first of all in the form of modest, freestanding walls, or in retaining walls on steep sites. Demand became such that public columbarium *buildings* as opposed to *walls* were erected at the public cemeteries at Wo Hop Shek (1975) and Tsuen Wan (1976). A larger public columbarium followed at Diamond Hill in Kowloon (1987). The first large private columbarium...
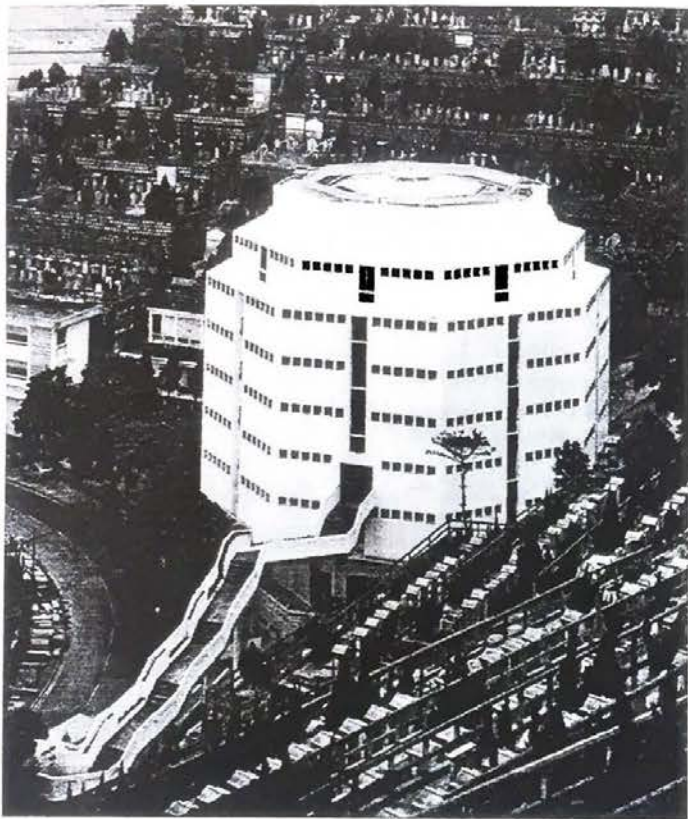
Figure 1: Older Cape Collinson Chinese Permanent Cemetery Columbarium

Figure 2: Po Fook Columbarium, Sha Tin

columbarium - commissioned by the CPCB at Cape Collinson and completed in 1981 - set a precedent for functional and culturally sensitive design. Two of the seven CPCB columbaria that now exist will be described in detail in the full paper, together with a large, commercial columbarium complex, Po Fook, opened in 1991 at Sha Tin.

An attempt by another commercial firm to build a columbarium (and to develop associated lucrative activities) at Pat Heung near Yuen Long in the New Territories was stopped at a late development stage by vehement, persistent opposition from local indigenous residents, who claimed that the development would damage the *fengshui* of their village. Opposition to development on the basis of *fengshui* is an accepted part of the planning process in Hong Kong (Bristow 1989). In this case no solution could be found, and the Town Planning Board eventually rejected the project in 1991. Other non-profit, private providers of storage for ashes include monasteries, temples, and *chaitong* (Buddhist establishments for lay women), and there are small columbaria buildings on the site of the Buddhist cemetery at Cape Collinson.

MUNICIPAL COLUMBARIA: BUREAUCRATIC SOLUTIONS Older columbaria, built and managed by the Urban Services, and the Regional Services, Departments (USD, RSD), are low rise blocks; newer municipal columbaria are up to nine stories high with no concessions to decorative or culturally sensitive detail. Frequent signs give various instructions and information, blocks are labelled, corridors of rank upon rank of niches are clearly numbered, and stark, black and white photographs of the occupants in the style of identity cards stare back at the visitor. At Qingming and Chongyang, temporary toilets are parked in side roads, the big litter bins overflow and ash from paper offerings spills out round the blazing incinerators, while family groups picnic on the landscaped lawns. Plantings of trees and shrubs mitigate the starkness of the buildings.

NON-PROFIT, PRIVATE COLUMBARIA: RESTRAINED ARCHITECTURAL LICENCE The most innovative provider of columbaria has been the CPCB. This is a body corporate, established in 1913 to provide permanent cemeteries for Chinese residents of Hong Kong. The CPCB now manages four cemeteries, three with two columbaria and the most recent with one. Whereas functionalism is the design principle behind the USD and RSD Columbaria, the firms of architects commissioned by the CPCB had the opportunity to create buildings that were not only functional but were also cultural statements. As a result, CPCB columbaria are, in several ways, powerful landscape elements. For example, the older Cape Collinson columbarium - which provides 19 600 niches, each for two sets of ashes - has a ground plan in the shape of the auspicious and ancient eight-sided *bagua* (Fig.1; Chung 1989). Huge stone statues of mythical beasts, spirit guardians, flank the entrances to the second CPC columbarium on this site, completed in 1991. This building can store 60 904 sets of ashes. Further details of two CPC columbaria will be provided in the full paper.

A COMMERCIAL COLUMBARIUM: POSTMODERN VERNACULAR The last columbarium to be discussed in detail will be the commercial venture, Po Fook (Leung 1992; Anon 1990). Unlike the seven CPCB columbaria, it does not have a backdrop of hillsides of terraced graves (Fig.1), but is seen instead against an attractive, bush clad mountainside (Fig.2). The architectural solution to this steep site is ingenious and echoes traditional village vernacular. Banks of little halls, each one in the style of the

traditional ancestral worship hall (still existing in many New Territory villages) rise in ranks in two wings up the steep slopes. The niches at Po Fook are differentially priced according the auspiciousness of each position; thus, *fengshui* is exploited for profit motives. The Hong Kong Buddhist Association (HKBA) has strong reservations about this development, in that it also blatantly exploits a commercially-provided Buddhist environment for profit. At present, no other such commercial columbarium exists in Hong Kong. The developer of the ill-fated, proposed Pat Hung columbarium intended to run activities such as orchestra concerts, car and pet shows, in order to entertain the crowds attracted to columbaria and cemeteries at Festivals, and possibly at other times (Ng 1991).

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS   There can be few modern cities in which provision for the dead in this way is so architecturally striking; so closely integrated, in terms of proximity, with the residential, commercial and industrial quarters of the city; and so incorporated into the pattern of the year, with the Gravesweeping Festivals included in the public holiday cycle. Singapore offers an important comparison (Yeoh and Tan 1995). A systematic comparison of the two cities, examining contemporary practices and landscapes of death, would be useful.

Hong Kong's society and economy have been transformed since the end of the Second World War, and the adoption of columbaria as the major means of providing for the dead is part of this transformation. Whereas the population in the early post-war decades comprised, in the main, poor and poorly educated refugees from villages and towns, the last two generations of Hong Kong residents have experienced a western-style education and a modern, technologically based economy. Despite this powerful challenge to traditional beliefs, such beliefs still persist, and no more so than where death is concerned. However, the traditional omega-shaped grave with its worshipping platform was an architectonic expression of the ancestor veneration that underpins Confucianism (Teather 1997b), whereas, in contrast, the niche is no such symbol. It must be asked whether the persistence of the practice of visiting the niches containing ashes of deceased relatives at Qingming and Chongyang reflects the persistence of long-established cultural beliefs embedded in the world of *fengshui*, or whether it is today more of a welcome duty carried out through a wish to 'pay respect'. It would be inappropriate for a non-Chinese such as myself to debate this question.

The emergence on to the scene of Po Fook columbarium, as a commercial enterprise, reflects not only the fact of Hong Kong's increasing affluence, but the fact that the Hong Kong Chinese are prepared to invest considerable sums of money in providing for their own or their parents' remains - and possibly to trade in such provision before it is, in fact, needed.

The still-powerful nature of the *yin* world of the dead (its counterpart is the *yang* world of the living), interpreted through *fengshui*, inhabited by both evil and benevolent spirits, patterned by a distinctive, ritualistic, ever-recurring periodicity, is indicated by the feuding in 1991/2 over the proposed new private columbarium at Pat Heung. The clash of discourses here would be a fascinating project for an appropriate researcher. The players in this present-day scenario comprise the continuing presence of a traditional cosmological world view; the social structures of Confucian familial responsibilities; commercial motives; the marshalling by one player or another of gang

violence; and the bureaucratic state underpinned by the rule of law. There could be no better example of the interpenetration of *yin* and *yang* worlds.

There remain some final points to be made. There is a widespread view among Chinese cultures that the world of death is polluted in the sense of 'taboo'. An impediment to the development of further research in the area tackled by this paper is the limited number of scholars who can interpret one set of cultural codes, in this case Chinese, to members of other cultures. The fact that most such scholars are Chinese may hamper further research, as they may well share the view that research into the worlds and landscapes of death is inappropriate and possibly unpropitious. Pragmatically and ethically, there is only so far a non-Chinese scholar can go in interpreting issues such as those raised in this paper. In addition, I am aware that a more informed planning perspective on the questions raised here would be useful. At the very least, this paper attempts to take the study of urban history and the interpretation of contemporary urban landscapes into realms rarely explored.

References

Anon. (1990) Wherein are recalled blessed memories, *Building Journal Hong Kong China* July, 70-73.

Bristow, R. (1989) *Hong Kong's New Towns*, Hong Kong, Oxford University Press.

Chow, C-s and Teather, E.K. (1998, in press), Chinese graves and gravemarkers in Hong Kong, *Markers, Annual Journal of the American Association for Gravestone Studies*.

Chung, W.N. (1989) *Contemporary Architecture in Hong Kong*, Hong Kong, Joint Publishing (HK) Co. Ltd.

Curl, J.S. (1993) *A Celebration of Death*, London, Batsford.

Government Information Services (1977 and subsequent years) *Hong Kong 1977* (and subsequently), Hong Kong, Government Information Services. *N.b.* This is the equivalent of a Year Book.

Leung, Q. (1992) Billion-dollar profit from the dead, *Window* 1(13), 8-9.

Ng, D. (1991) Temple developer voices frustration, *South China Morning Post*, June 30.

Siu, Y-m (1996) Population and Immigration: With a Special Account on Chinese Immigrants, in Nyaw, M-k and Li, S-m *The Other Hong Kong Report*, Sha Tin, Chinese University Press.

Skeldon, R. (ed.), (1994) *Reluctant Exiles?* Hong Kong, Hong Kong University Press.

Teather, E.K. (1997a) Planning for Death in Hong Kong, in Dingle, T. (ed.), *The Australian City- Future/Past Proceedings of the Third Australian Planning History/Urban History Conference*, Clayton, Victoria, Monash University Office of Continuing Education.

Teather, E.K. (1997b) The immaterial worlds of Chinese Urban Cemeteries in Hong Kong, research paper presented to the Hong Kong Anthropological Society, 11 March, available from the author.

Teather, E.K. (1998, in press) Themes from complex landscapes: Chinese cemeteries and columbaria in Hong Kong, *Australian Geographical Studies*.

Yeoh, B. and Tan, B.H. (1995) The Living and the dead: changing geographies of death in postwar Singapore, *Malaysian Journal of Tropical Geography* 26(1) 77-87.

The Characteristics of Urbanisation in Modern Osaka (1900-1940)

Makoto TERAUCHI
Department of Architecture, Osaka Institute of Technology
Asahi-ku, Osaka 535-8585, Japan

1. Urban development in Modern Osaka

Modernisation in Osaka started with the construction of the Mint Bureau and led to the development of the spinning industry. In 1882 the Osaka Spinning Mill was established, and from then the spinning industry in Osaka increased in number to 15 factories. By 1895 the number of spindles had multiplied to 200,000, becoming 40 percent of all the spindles in Japan. As most of these factories were located in the outskirts of built-up areas, they had to supply company housing for the labourers. According to the 1897 survey, 14 spinning mills had collectively company housing area of approximately 15,500 m^2 and approximately 6,800 residing workers. Accommodation consisted namely for 1,000 workers in large-sized companies and for **300 workers** in small-sized companies; they averaged for 700 workers. Because the workers could not commute to the factories without means of transport, such factories stood in need of company housing for their workers. Other new industries such as the paper-manufacturing, the chemical industry and the copper-manufacturing began to run as by-products of minting in the period Meiji10-20 (1877-87). During the same time, in Osaka's coastal areas the Fujinagata Shipbuilding Company which used to construct Japanese-style ships began to operate and another 5 companies were also established along the Kizu and Aji Rivers. Thus primitive urban sprawl started from the construction of the modern factories in the surrounding of urban areas and extended. Consequently these areas deteriorated into slums.

In September of 1903 the Osaka municipal tram service began to operate as the city's first method of transport. The new construction of the Osaka harbour brought the tram-way to keep the means of connection. From then onward the tram-way was extended during 4 divided terms. A tram-way network for the whole urban area was established in the period 1930-35. While laying down the tram-ways, local authorities widened the roads concerned. Therefore, the opening of the tram service did not only provide a means of transport, but also brought wide trunk roads within the urban areas. It produced double results; namely running the tram directly and making the framework within the existing built-up areas. The roads construction was carried out within the existing built-up areas during the period from the first term to the third term. In the fourth term the roads were constructed in the outskirts, beyond the new urban areas. The actual town planning system was considered to start then. This trunk road network partly coincided with the plan which Hanroku Yamaguchi, who was an architect and came back from abroad, drew up in response to a request by the Osaka Urban Improvement Committee.

2. Town planning

The town planning system was eventually established by a series of legislation such as the 1919 Town Planning Act and the Tokyo Urban Improvement Ordinance, which was applied in Osaka city in 1918. To start with, the road plan was drawn up according to the Ordinance. 47 routes which were 8-24 *ken* (14.4-43.2m) in width were designated in December of 1919. After this, the Town Planning Act came into force, and the infrastructure under the Act was decided. To put it concretely, first, the areas where the town planning work would be performed were determined. These areas also included the neighbouring towns and villages beyond the existing administrative district of Osaka city. This was considered to show the intention to make arrangements over the wider sphere which would be urbanised in the future. In effect, after the determination of the town planning areas, most of the such areas were incorporated into Osaka city. Owing to this. it became possible to realised the town planning of Osaka. As for the physical planning, the plan which included the urban improvement roads was taken a second look at and determined in 1928. This was called the Comprehensive Osaka Town Planning. The outline of the Planning was as follows; to construct the trunk roads (town planning roads) of 103 routes extending to 290 km, to construct and widen the canals of 15 routes to 42.86 km in length, to establish parks, which include 33 large parks, 13 small parks and 12 park roads, covering an area of 4.64 km^2 to construct 2 cemeteries and a drainage service covering an area of 154.95 km^2. The considerable parts which were determined as the town planning areas were the areas which would be urbanised in the future. The tram-ways in the suburbs were laid down along the town planning roads which were decided in 1928. Land use zoning corresponded to land use was carried out as planned.

3. Land readjustment

There were two measures to cope with the expansion of urban areas. One was an administrative measure; namely the consolidation of smaller municipalities. The other was a town planning measure; namely construction of infrastructure and land readjustment.

The following case shows to how cope with the expansion of urban areas in Osaka. Hajime Seki, who was a mayor of Osaka, considered that town planning roads as well as housing sites could be constructed while land readjustment work was carried out. His intention was seen in the land readjustment work for Miyakojima area started in 1925. There was another project of land readjustment for Hannan area which was carried out by a private association. Land readjustment works for both areas were implemented by different methods. There was the following concept in the background of such different methods. The whole area which had to be urbanised was determined as an improvement area. First, among it, the land readjustment works in some areas, where local authorities easily coped with, were implemented as town planning works. The land readjustment works in the rest areas, where they found difficulty coping with, were carried out by private associations. Local authorities forced landowners in such difficult areas to establish land readjustment associations as bodies carrying out. The Building Division of Police Department of Osaka Prefectural Office, which was the competent authority of

building control, persuaded pertinent landowners to establish land readjustment associations. The Land Division of Osaka Municipal Office drew up a master plan. The establishment of land readjustment associations is as indicated in Fig. 1-4. These figures show that the associations were independently established at the early stage and were gradually extended to fill up the gaps. Eventually wider sphere of land readjustment was implemented. It was the participation of landowners that brought about good results in using such method.

4. Result of land readjustment

Area of the land readjustment works, which include both works by land readjustment associations and that by town planning works, is as indicated in Table 1. The year indicates when the land readjustment associations, which included associations dissolved halfway, were established. To look at respective wards, as for a ratio of the area of implementation of the land readjustment works to the whole area of a ward, the old Nishinari ward indicates the largest, becoming 62% of the whole area. Therefore, many associations in this ward were established on the earlier stage. The old Sumiyoshi ward had second largest, becoming 58%. However, the Sumiyoshi had the largest area of implementation. Both the old Nishiyodogawa and Higashiyodogawa wards relatively had smaller area. Such wards were expected to carry out land readjustment works after 1940 but in vain.

Table 2 shows the trend of population in Osaka city. At the time of the consolidation (1925) the population of old city (inner city) areas was about 1,330,000. 15 years later, in 1940 it increased by 210,000 (16%) to 1,540,000. On the other hand, the population of new city (outer city) areas was 780,000 at the time of the consolidation. 15 years later, their population remarkably increased by 920,000 (118%) to 1,710,000. Especially the old Sumiyoshi and Higashinari wards' population had drastically increased by 160% for 15 years. As for year, there was a rapid increase of population in both wards between 1935-40. This trend was to be related to the construction of residential areas.

Table 3 shows the number of housing in Osaka city. The number of housing in whole Osaka city increased by 191,000 (43%) in the period 1925-40. The ratio of the increased number of old city (inner city) areas to that of new city (outer city) areas shows 16 to 84. The number of housing in the new city areas such as old Higasinari and Sumiyosi wards overwhelming increased. Table 3 shows that the number of housing steadily increased in the new city areas where many land readjustment works were carried out.

5. Development of built-up areas of Nagaya

There were two types of *nagaya* (timbered terrace house) which was built in sprawled areas. These were *tori-niwa* (indoor path) type and kitchen type. As for a frontage, *tori-niwa* type *nagaya* had a frontage of 2.25*ken* (4.05m), there was kitchen type *nagaya* with a frontage of 2*ken* (3.6m). The both types faced a narrow road. After the 1909 Building Regulation Rule (Osaka) came into effect, if they build *nagaya* houses they should put a space between a road and building line. They also had to leave a space between houses in order to prevent the spread of a fire. This space was used as a path access to the back. Then, a toilet was put in the back side.

The style of *nagaya* had markedly changed into Western-style *nagaya* and *yashiki-fu* (Japanese-style) *nagaya* after 1920s. Western-style *nagaya* was a compromise between traditional Japanese wooden housing and western housing. *Yashiki-fu nagaya* usually had a gate and was surrounded by a fence. The gate and fence were designed variously. The typical *yashiki-fu nagaya* houses were surrounded by a fence.

6. Land readjustment and construction of Nagaya

Nagaya houses were built systematically in the areas where land readjustment works were carried out. Designation of building lines also led to the construction of *nagaya* houses. For instance, to give a case of Hannan area where land readjustment work was implemented, there were two lined *nagaya* houses dividing the blocks into two parts in the centre. All these *nagaya* houses, which included *2ko-date* (semi-detached) and *4ko-date*, had a frontage of 2*ken* (3.6m). The exterior of the building followed the traditional pattern. As blocks were arranged systematically, rows of houses stood in an orderly line. There was the space of *1syaku 5sun* (0.45m) between a road and building line, while a hence was built along the building line. In the case of rows of two-storied houses, there was wider space, because of moving back the face of second story's walls.

7. Conclusion

Town planning system played a major role in the construction of built-up areas in Osaka city after 1920s. Especially the construction of built-up areas came out well by land readjustment works. There are two main reasons as follows.
1) Local authorities drew up a master plan to cope with urbanisation. They started land readjustment in the areas where they easily coped with. And land readjustment areas were extended by land readjustment associations. Thus, A lot of housing sites, which were constructed by the works, could clam the urban sprawl.
2) The land readjustment works gave business chance to those who wanted to have houses to let. They established land readjustment associations and carried out land readjustment. Building line designation system also contributed to land readjustment.

When Japan entered a war regime, town planning system wasn't getting well. And the controlled economy was to lead to its collapse. In the postwar the end of land readjustment was caused by emancipation of agricultural land. Land readjustment as a method of town planning was interrupted on this stage.

Land readjustment generally aimed at constructing housing sites. A building constructed on it was a different thing. However, till 1940s there was well balance between a land and a building, because most of Japanese houses were wooden building and their scale was almost unified. Therefore, when once a land was arranged regularly,

a building constructed on it became harmonious. Especially, in the case of *nagaya* houses, rows of houses were better-matched. Thus land readjustment was considered to contribute to urbanisation in modern Osaka.

References

(1934) *Meiji, Taisho Osaka-shi Shi: Dai 1kan: Gaisetsu-hen (A History of City of Osaka in the Meiji and Taisho Periods: No1: General Remarks)*, City of Osaka

(1951) *Showa Osaka-shi Shi: Dai 1kan: Gaisetsu-hen (A History of City of Osaka in the Showa Period: No1: General Remarks)*, City of Osaka

(1972) *Kindai Nihon Kenchikugaku Hattatsu Shi: Dai 6 hen: Toshi Keikaku (A History of Architecture in Modern Japan: No6: Town Planning)*, Japan Institute of Architecture

Tamaki, T., *Osaka Kensetsu Shi Yawa (A History of Construction in Osaka)*, Osaka Toshi Kyokai

Shinsyu Osaka-shi Shi (A New Hisroty of City of Osaka), No.5-9, City of Osaka

(1995) *Machizukuri 100 nen no Kiroku-Osaka Tochi Kukaku Seiri Shi (A History of Land Readjustment in Osaka)*, Osaka-shi Toshi Seibi Kyokaki

(1989) *Machi ni Sumau-Osaka Toshi Jyutaku Shi (A History of Urban Housing In Osaka)*, Osaka Toshi Kyokai

Terauchi, M., (1992) *Osaka no Nagaya: Kindai niokeru Toshi to Jyukyo (Nagaya Houses in Osaka)*, INAX Syuppan

(1987) *Kenchiku no Ruru: Osaka 100 nen no Ayumi (Rules of Construction)*, Kenchikushi Kai(Osaka-fu)

(1937) *Osaka Toshi Keikaku narabini Do Jigyo Syuran (Town Planning and Project in Osaka)* Civil Engineering Department in City of Osaka

Toshi Koron, Toshi Kenkyukai

Dai Osaka, Osaka Toshi Kyokai

Table 1: Progress of Land readjustment Areas in Osaka City.

		1920-25	1925-30	1930-35	1935-40	1940-45	TOTAL
Inner city (6,036 ha)	building lot (ha)	77.69	3.64	31.09			112.42
	Arable land (ha)						
	sub total (ha)	77.69	3.64	31.09	0.00	0.00	112.42
	(%)	1.29	0.06	0.52			1.86
Outer city (12,696 ha)	building lot (ha)	137.18	2,203.35	558.36	1,172.22	92.22	4,163.33
	Arable land (ha)	1,180.84	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1,180.84
	sub total (ha)	1,318.02	2,203.35	558.36	1,172.22	92.22	5,344.17
	(%)	10.38	17.36	4.40	9.24	0.73	42.11
total (18,728 ha)	building lot (ha)	214.87	2,206.99	589.45	1,172.22	92.22	4,275.75
	Arable land (ha)	1,180.84	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1,180.84
	sub total (ha)	1,395.71	2,206.99	589.45	1,172.22	92.22	5,456.59
	(%)	7.45	11.78	3.15	6.26	0.49	29.14

(from Osaka Totikukakuseiri-shi p.337)

Table 2: Population

		1925	1930	1935	1940
Inner city	population	1,331,984	1,435,906	1,610,151	1,544,739
	(%)	100	108	121	116
Outer city	population	782,820	1,017,637	1,379,750	1,707,601
	(%)	100	130	176	218
total	population	2,114,804	2,453,543	2,989,901	3,252,340
	(%)	100	116	141	154

(from Osaka Totikukakuseiri-shi p.337)

Table 3: Housing

		1925	1930	1935	1940
Inner city	Dwellings	261,019	276,598	285,047	290,464
	(%)	100	106	109	111
Outer city	Dwellings	180,835	230,980	275,644	342,528
	(%)	100	128	152	189
total	Dwellings	441,854	507,578	560,691	632,992
	(%)	100	115	127	143

(from Osaka Totikukakuseiri-shi p.337)

The trend of areas where land readjustment associations were established
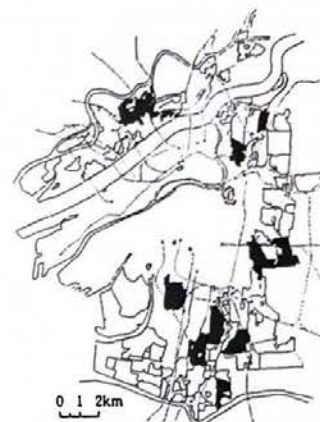

Fig-1 Areas where the associations were established by 1925

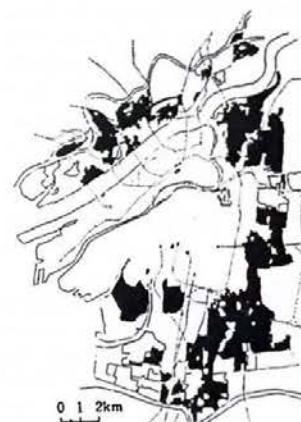Fig-2 Areas where the associations were established by 1930

Fig-3 Areas where the associations were established by 1935

Fig-4 Areas where the associations were established prior to the war

Urban Parks: The Historic Legacy and the Contemporary American Experience

Catharine Ward Thompson
Head of School of Landscape Architecture
Edinburgh College of Art/Heriot-Watt University
Lauriston Place
Edinburgh EH3 9DF
UK

This paper examines the historic urban park and explores its contribution to the late twentieth century urban condition, using a particular park type and location to reveal the changing values reflected in such landscapes. The landscape type under scrutiny is the 19th century urban park of America's eastern seaboard, based on European origins, as viewed by designers and managers producing masterplans for their preservation, management and renewal in the 1980s and 90s .

The parks used in the study are:
Central Park, New York;
Prospect Park, Brooklyn;
Riverside Park, New York;
The Emerald Necklace, Boston and Brookline (the "Muddy River" chain, as it was originally called, of Jamaica Pond, Olmsted Park, the Riverway and the Back Bay Fens);
Franklin Park, Boston; and
Fairmount Park, Philadelphia.

The study draws on recent and current masterplans or management plans (some still in draft form) for these parks and on interviews with many of the relevant landscape architects and park planners/managers responsible for the parks today.

The original North American urban park prototype drew on European examples such as Birkenhead Park and the Bois de Boulogne. These were in turn developments of earlier prototypes - the royal park and the private country estate - which were expressions of an elite group's engagement with nature, art and landscape painting. Downing, Olmsted and their contemporaries developed the concept of the North American urban park as a scenic antithesis to the urban condition and a tool for promoting democracy and social welfare. The principal elements of the park were water, woodland and meadow, linked by curvilinear and separated footpaths, bridleways and drives to create a sequential experience of pastoral scenery. This scenic approach reached its climax in the park and parkway systems designed by the Olmsted firm to link urban parks throughout the city, as with the 'Emerald Necklace' in Boston, and to the countryside beyond.

The issues raised by proposals to manage and renew such historic parks today reflect some of the fundamental challenges in planning for society as a whole. They include the following.
a) What are modern park users' needs and are they the same as those identified when the parks were first constructed?
b) What needs were ignored, then or now?
c) How do cities fund and provide physical and human resources for these parks?
d) Are park users today from the same groups (social, economic, ethnic) as those originally designed for?
e) How appropriate and durable is the original design, particularly where new demands are being made on it?

The study suggests a framework for studying the way current values are expressed, based on the following paradigms:

1   the park as a democratic place
2   the park as an historic work of art
3   the park as nature
4   the park as educator
5   the park as paradise.

The Park as a Democratic Place
Both Downing and Olmsted saw democratic ideals expressed in the social mix of those who used European parks and were keen to demonstrate the *more* democratic nature of American society through parks where people from all backgrounds could mingle on equal footing and where diverse ethnic groups and cultural traditions would be unified in the "melting pot" of American society.

Today democracy continues to be the most central and challenging of paradigms for urban parks and sets a context in which all other paradigms must be considered. In a social and political climate where differences in cultural expression are now more respected and valued, the difficulty is to decide how best to identify the needs and desires of all potential park users and how to provide appropriately for them in such a way that what suits one group does not preclude provision for, and enjoyment by, another group. There are at least three dimensions to the issues: ease of access to and within a park; the provision of facilities and programming of park use; and the funding of park provision. In a sense, all other issues are subsumed within these concerns, and they are not mutually exclusive. It is a challenge to landscape architects and planners to note that the public park continues to be a place where the democratic process is worked out *on the ground*, and failure to address this is a recipe for conflict.

The Park as an Historic Work of Art
Downing, Copeland and Cleveland and the Olmsted firm all saw their work as Art. This drew directly on the artistic and picturesque discourses of 18th century England, where it was asserted that nature, unimproved by art, was *not* a landscape and where the attractions of the beautiful, the picturesque and the sublime were endlessly disputed. Olmsted did not see his designs as "art for art's sake"; he wanted to use landscape art to meet human needs. Nonetheless, the centrality of the artistic concept to any of the Olmsted firm's park designs must be recognised.

If present park managers want to be true to the park's historic origins, they need to understand the nature of the original artistic intent. The challenge is to decide how much of subsequent design overlays, alterations and additions to keep, whether or not they were true to the spirit of the original design concept. It appears to be the case at present that the attachment of Olmsted's name to any park's original layout is sufficient to guarantee some sort of management and rehabilitation investment. This leaves those early parks without a named designer, and particularly without Olmsted's signature, at a serious disadvantage. Treatment of the historic landscape as a work of art is clearly reflecting a mood of the late

twentieth century and current concerns to preserve remnants of cultural heritage. Yet the question must be asked: what does it mean to assert that our major city parks should remain true to a form and an aesthetic developed for a very different society, with very different sensibilities, over a hundred years ago? In the view of architectural theoreticians such as Markus (1997), such parks are based on a prototype which confirmed the sponsor/client's wealth and position and it is naive to assume that such designs are value-free. One problem is that preservation can so often focus on the issue of style, at the expense of spatial form and context which is the more important underlying structure. If Olmsted's and his contemporaries' spatial structures are to be accepted and reinforced today, it is suggested that this must be accompanied by an explicit understanding of those structures and what they mean for equity of access and use.

The Park as Nature
What is impressive about Olmsted's assertions on the benefits of the "natural" park is the degree to which they are confirmed by late twentieth century research. The work of Kaplan and Kaplan (1989) in the psychology of landscape preference leads us to believe that access to "nature" is as important to people now, and for the same reasons, as it was when Olmsted claimed that nature allowed a healthful escape from the conditions of the city. The Kaplans discuss the idea of the "restorative environment" in very much the same language that Olmsted used.

In examining broader issues for park management relating to our current understanding of ecology, Peter Shepheard (1995) has posited that, when we talk about "designing with nature", we are mostly in fact arresting ecological processes, just as eighteenth century designers did. He suggests that if we want the water courses of a park to remain unsilted and the meadows open, then ecological succession must be halted and the landscape managed to *prevent* natural processes. This is in contrast to the attitudes of the majority of park managers today, which often promote exclusive use of native species, at least in the woodland areas of urban parks. Many of the park plans recognize that the original planting schemes and protected woodland were not exclusively native. Despite this, "restoration" is normally the term used when discussing intervention in and manipulation of the plant community, based on ecological principles and use of native species.

The Park as Educator
The pedagogic purpose of urban parks has been part of the prototype from the beginning. There are three main categories of educational benefit: nature study and other more specialised scientific observation; physical education, both organised and informal; and education in how to behave - the learning of socially and environmentally appropriate manners and skills.

Modern understanding of ecological processes and habitat requirements have influenced the development in many park plans of explicit aims to provide a simulacrum of native ecotypes for educational purposes. There are also more subtle messages which current park design may carry about the state of urban natural processes although historic park plans tend to focus on conventional interpretations. Different managers and user groups may have different priorities for what they consider necessary for education, for example those who want to remove non-native vegetation compared with those who want it preserved as valuable cover for birds.

The athletic use of historic parks for physical education has, in principle, remained very much as it always was. The details of users' preferences may change - jogging and roller blading

are clearly late twentieth century activities - but the potential conflicts are probably no different in principle from those between pedestrians and horse racers in the early history of Central Park, for example.

In today's multicultural society, just as in Olmsted's time, the urban park is one of the few places where strangers come together regardless of economic, ethnic or social status. The idea therefore of the park as socially educative is still appropriate, although modern sensibilities now demand that this is a two-way process rather than simply a patronising, top-down approach.

The Park as Paradise
From earliest times, garden and paradise have been synonymous in iconography and symbolism. The symbolism of the park as refuge or paradise seems to be so deeply embedded that crimes which take place in parks assume a shock value out of all proportion to the likely incidence of such crimes in adjacent streets. Maybe this is as it should be; if the park is a place for the unbending of faculties (including the defensive), then people will feel more vulnerable if violence threatens. It also means that press coverage of park crimes creates an unjustifiably high fear which can then result in the exclusion of many categories of people from full enjoyment of park benefits.

The problems of violent crime underline a contradiction in attitudes to parks: they are often seen in terms of extremes, either as paradise or its antithesis: the desert or wasteland. Once perceived as the latter, they become by convention places for socially unacceptable behaviour. This makes a case for neat places near the edge of parks, open, familiar and well-maintained, where people feel safe to enjoy the landscape.

Conclusion
Without exception, each plan which was studied claims to maintain the original philosophy or design intent of the park, but to adapt the detail. Yet it is evident that what is called "returning to the original design" for many park plans is often actually a new design, implemented through management techniques, to manipulate the landscape to fit current ideas of what landscape architects, planners and politicians feel is important. What is vital is that these premises are clearly articulated, and not simply justified by (often misleading) arguments of historical accuracy or ecological purity.

References
Andropogon Assocs. Ltd., 1989, *Landscape Management and Restoration Program for the Woodlands of Central Park*, Draft Report for Review and Comment, submitted by Andropogon Assocs., Philadelphia, to Central Park Conservancy
Birnbaum, C. A., 1994 *Protecting Cultural Landscapes: Planning . Treatment and Management of Historic Landscapes* Preservation Briefs no. 36, U.S. Dept. of the Interior, National Parks Service, Cultural Resources, Preservation Assistance Division
Barlow Rogers, E., *et al.*, 1987 *Rebuilding Central Park: A Management and Restoration Plan*, MIT Press: Cambridge, Mass..
Beveridge, C. E., Rocheleau, P., and Larkin, D., 1995 *Frederick Law Olmsted: Designing the American Landscape*, New York: Rizzoli
Boston Parks and Recreation Dept., Planning and Development Division, 1993, *Open Space Plan for Boston: Greening Our City... ...Greening Our Communities*, Boston Parks and Recreation Department, City of Boston, Mass..
Chadwick, G. F., 1966 *The Park and the Town*, New York: Praeger

Chicago Park District, July 1990 *Chicago Park District Land Policies Plan: Guidelines for acquisition and disposition of park land*, Chicago, Ill..

Comedia/Demos, 1995, *Park Life: Urban Parks and Social Renewal*, London: Comedia & Demos

Cramer, M., 1993, "Urban Renewal: Restoring the Vision of Olmsted and Vaux in Central Park's Woodlands", *Restoration and Management Notes*, 11:2, University of Wisconsin, Madison Arboretum

Cranz, G., 1982 *The Politics of Park Design* Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press

Fein, A., 1968, *Landscape into Cityscape, Frederick Law Olmsted's Plans for a Greater New York City*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Francis, M., 1987 "Some Different Meanings Attached to a City Park and Community Gardens", *Landscape Journal*, 6(2), pp. 101-112

Godbey, G., A. Graefe and S. W. James, 1992 *The Benefits of Local Recreation and Park Services: A Nationwide Study of the Perceptions of the American Public*, Leisure Studies Program, Pennsylvania State University, for the National Recreation and Park Association.

Gopnik, A., 1997 "A Critic at Large: Olmsted's Trip", *The New Yorker*, March 31, 1997, pp. 96-104

Groening, G., and J. Wolschke-Bulmahn, 1992 "Some Notes on the Mania for Native Plants in Germany", *Landscape Journal*, 11(2), pp. 116-126

Halvorson Co. Inc., 1991, *Franklin Park: Master Plan*, City of Boston, Parks and Recreation Dept..

Jackson, J. B., 1994 *A Sense of Place, a Sense of Time*, New Haven: Yale University Press

Kaplan, R., and S. Kaplan, 1989, *Experience of Nature - a Psychological Perspective*, Cambridge University Press: New York

Kinkead, Eugene, 1990, *Central Park 1857-1995: The Birth, Decline and Renewal of a National Treasure*, New York: W. W. Norton & Co.

Lancaster, C., 1967, *Prospect Park Handbook*, New York City: Walter H. Rawls

Laurie, M., 1989, "Ecology and Aesthetics" *Places*, 6:1, pp. 48-51

Louisville Olmsted Parks Conservancy Inc., in conjunction with the Louisville and Jefferson County Parks Dept., 1994, *Masterplan for Louisville's Olmsted Parks and Parkways: a Guide to Renewal and Management*, prepared for the City of Louisville, KY, by the Master Planning team, led by Andropogon Assocs. Ltd.

Mann, W. A. 1993. *Landscape Architecture: An Illustrated History in Timelines, Site Plans and Biography*, New York: Wiley

Markus, T., 1993 *Buildings and Power: Freedom and Control in the Origin of Modern Building Types*, London: Routledge

Muschamp, H., *et al.*, 1993 *The Once and Future Park*, Princeton Architectural Press

Olin, L. 1988. "Form, Meaning and Expression in Landscape Architecture." *Landscape Journal* 7(2): 149-168

(The) Parks Council and Central Park Conservancy, 1993. *Public Space for Public Life: A Plan for the Twenty-first Century*, New York: The Parks Council

Pattern, G. E., and W. F. Menke, 1982 "Design as nature and Culture: The Long Meadow, Prospect Park, Brooklyn, New York as Exemplar of an Urban Park Compatible with its Past, *Journal of Garden History*, 2 (4) pp. 361-376

Pokorny/Hardesty & Hanover, New York, and Hanna/Olin, Philadelphia, 1984, *Scope Development Scheme for Four Project Areas in Riverside Park*, for New York City Department of Parks and Recreation

Prospect Park Landscape Management Office/Andropogon Assocs. Ltd., 1994, *A Landscape Management Plan for the Natural Areas of Prospect Park*, Brooklyn, New York: Prospect Park Alliance Inc..

Riley, R.B. 1995. "What History Should We Be Teaching and Why?" *Landscape Journal* 14(2) 220-225

Rosenzweig, R. and E. Blackmar. 1994. *The Park and the People* New York: Henry Holt

Schenker, Heath Massey, 1995. "Parks and Politics During the Second Empire in Paris", *Landscape Journal* 14 (2) 201-219

Schoen, D. 1983. *The Reflective Practitioner: How Professionals Think in Design.* New York: Basic Books

Schuyler, David, 1986, *The New Urban Landscape: The Redefinition of City Form in Nineteenth-Century America*, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press

Schuyler, David and Censer, Jane Turner, (Eds), 1992, *The Papers of Frederick Law Olmsted: Vol. VI, The Years of Olmsted, Vaux and Company, 1865-1874*, Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press

Shepheard, P., 1995 "Contextual Issues in Contemporary Landscape Design Education", Keynote Paper, *European Conference of Landscape Architecture Schools Conference, Edinburgh 1994, Proceedings*, Edinburgh College of Art

Toth, Edward, 1991, "An Ecosystem Approach to Woodland Management: the Case of Prospect Park", *National Association for Olmsted Parks Workbook Series, Vol. 2, Technical Notes*, Bethesda, MD.: National Association for Olmsted Parks

Trust for Public Land, 1994, *Healing America's Cities: How urban parks can make cities safe and healthy*, Trust for Public Land

Ulrich, R. S., 1984, "View through a window may influence recovery from surgery", *Science* 224, pp. 420-1

U.S. Dept. of the Interior, National Parks Service, 1992 (Draft) *Guidelines for the Treatment of Historic Landscapes*, N.P.S. Preservation Assistance Division

Wallace, Roberts & Todd, 1983 *Fairmount Park Masterplan - Summary*, prepared for the Fairmount Park Commission, Philadelphia.

Walmsley, A., 1983, "The First Historic Landscape Report for the Ravine", *Landscape Architecture*, Sept/Oct 1983, pp. 70-73

Walmsley & Co., 1986, *The First Landscape Report for the Ravine, Prospect Park, Brooklyn, New York*, Prepared for the City of New York, Parks and Recreation Dept..

Walmsley/Pressley Joint Venture, 1994, *Emerald Necklace Master Plan: A Comprehensive Restoration, Analysis and Management Plan*, Draft prepared for Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Dept. of Environmental Management, Olmsted Historic Landscape Preservation Program in conjunction with the City of Boston and Town of Brookline.

Ward Thompson, C. and P. Aspinall, 1996 "Making the Past Present in the Future: the Design Process as Applied History" *Landscape Journal* 15(1),.36-47

Ward Thompson, C., 1996 "Updating Olmsted", *Landscape Design* 254, pp., 26-31

Zaitzevsky, C., 1982 *Frederick Law Olmsted and the Boston Parks System*, Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press

Dislocation and Resettlement: Migrant women's experiences of home

Susan Thompson
Planning and Urban Development Program
Faculty of the Built Environment
University of New South Wales
Sydney NSW 2052
Australia

INTRODUCTION

> *...put it this way, your roots are there but the trunk is here... you can say the tree is here because that's where your kids are... your life is here but your heart is there... and that's what makes it difficult... you are split up between the two countries.* (A Greek Australian woman reflecting on her sense of dislocation).

This paper is set in the context of the Australian migrant movement. My focus is the lived experience of women who came to settle in this country during the post war years. The research is based on in-depth qualitative interviews with 40 migrant, refugee and first generation Australian women from the Arabic, Greek and Vietnamese communities. These women's stories of home provide an understanding of their struggle to settle into a new country. They also suggest ways in which planning and housing policy can better respond to the gendered and multicultural landscape that is contemporary Australia.

THE GEOGRAPHICAL CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

The local government area of Canterbury was chosen as the geographical focus for the project. Canterbury is situated about 10 kilometres to the west of Sydney's central business district and is classified as a middle-ring suburb. I selected this region because of its large concentrations of established migrant communities, as well as significant personal knowledge of the area, having both lived and worked there. I studied the three largest ethnic groups resident in Canterbury at the time, namely the Greek, Arabic and Vietnamese. These communities have established vibrant enclaves of commercial and residential development which continue to thrive today.

GREEKS, ARABICS AND VIETNAMESE: THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF THEIR MIGRATION

Greeks

Greek settlement in Australia started as early as 1829 and continued throughout the 19th century. By 1921, 1500 Greeks were officially recorded as resident in New South Wales. Regional associations were formed, Greek newspapers published and Greek theatre established (Janiszewski and Alexakis 1995: 25). An orthodox church and community centre were also built during this time (Burnley 1980: 133).

After World War II Australia actively pursued a policy of mass migration to create a large labour pool for expanding manufacturing industries (Jupp 1991: 75). This policy resulted in thousands of Greeks migrating here (Burnley 1995: 182). Sydney and Melbourne became home to the majority

of these settlers, although communities also formed in other cities such as Brisbane and Adelaide. However, unlike the Italians, the Greeks did not form major rural communities (Jupp 1991: 80).

In New South Wales, the largest Greek settlements were in the inner areas of Sydney. Relocation started to occur in the 1970s as spacious and detached houses were sought further away from the city (Burnley 1995). Canterbury became an important second settlement destination. Shops selling Greek food and specialist cooking ingredients opened and eventually major religious and community centres were built, further reinforcing the Greek community's sense of belonging in the locality.

Arabics

Lebanese settlement in Sydney's inner suburbs dates back to the early 1890s (Burnley 1985: 193). The community grew through chain migration as those already settled, financially assisted close relatives to join them (Burnley 1995: 178). In the 1930s Lebanese people formed a new settlement in north-western Sydney, where they became market gardeners and rural labourers (Burnley 1995: 178).

Despite Australia's post World War II mass migration policy, it was not until the mid '70s that Lebanese people migrated in large numbers. This was directly related to the White Australia Policy being abandoned in 1972 (Jones 1993: 90), and finally breaking down in 1976 (Jupp 1991: 87). Special concessions to settle were made for those escaping the civil war (Burnley 1985: 193) and Muslim Lebanese started to arrive in significant numbers for the first time (Jupp 1991: 87). Initially this was a result of Christian Lebanese businessmen sponsoring Muslims from neighbouring villages (Burnley 1985: 193). Civic and religious leaders gave advice about work and housing, and relatives were able to provide employment in the small businesses and market gardens, which they owned and operated. These factors were catalysts for specific locality settlements which grew quickly as a pattern of chain migration was established (Burnley 1995: 179).

Such was the case with the growth of Lebanese settlement in the Canterbury area. At its centre, the suburb of Lakemba became a focus for Muslim people when a large Mosque was constructed with aid from the government of Iraq (Burnley 1985: 193). "By 1981, Australia had received around 16,500 Lebanese-born Muslims and today they form the largest group within the Australian Muslim community" (Jones 1993: 94).

Vietnamese

Politically and socially Vietnam has suffered from external and internal conflict for many years (Viviani 1984: 6). The French colonial government held power in the nation for over seventy years. During that time, Catholicism was introduced, the country divided and a market economy established (Viviani 1984: 6). The rise of nationalism heralded protracted battles for independence, with the 1954 Geneva Conference finally determining Communist rule in the north and a non-Communist government in the south (Viviani 1984: 10). Civil unrest occurred in the 1950s, escalating in 1965 when the United States of America committed large numbers of troops to the conflict (Lewins and Ly 1985: 5). The war was fought in the countryside causing massive disruption to food production as well as urban development. "The social dislocation was vast and millions became refugees living on the outskirts of towns in temporary shelter" (Lewins and Ly 1985: 8).

The Communist forces were victorious in 1975, taking over a country devastated by bombing, chemical warfare, high unemployment, severe deflation and a dislocated and divided population. They immediately set about reshaping South Vietnamese society. Those who had occupied positions of power in the previous government had the most to lose. Many escaped in American evacuations, but for those who stayed there was political re-education, imprisonment, forced communal labour, food rationing and for their children, denial to higher education (Lewins and Ly 1985: 10-12).

Over the next few years thousands left Vietnam, either by escaping illegally or by paying an official fee to the government. Sadly, not all reached safety. Many died through the sinking of unseaworthy and overcrowded vessels, being ignored by some ASEAN states and pirate attack (Viviani 1984: 38). The majority of refugees went to Malaysia or Thailand. If they were refused entry, they made for Indonesia or ports such as Darwin, Hong Kong or the Philippines. A relatively small number (2,000 out of over 50,000) actually entered Australia in this way (Lewins and Ly 1985: 26). The government at the time assumed some responsibility for accepting them (Jupp 1991: 92) and the first group of refugees arrived on 14 May, 1975 (Lewins and Ly 1985: 14).

Between 1975 and 1988, 120,000 Indo-Chinese made their home in Australia, the largest refugee influx since the end of World War II (Burnley 1989: 129). Those who came to Sydney tended to settle in the west, with concentrations in the inner and outer regions. Although the municipality of Fairfield attracted the highest percentage, many chose to live in Canterbury. The refugees settled near migrant receiving centres as well as family members for the emotional and social support they provided (Lewins and Ly 1985: 34). The availability of rental accommodation and a depressed economic climate kept the Vietnamese community in Sydney's west (Burnley 1989 in Dunn 1993: 232).

HEARING THE WOMEN'S STORIES: BREAKING THE SILENCE

My focus on women and their hitherto untold stories led me to examine different research methodologies that would access the intuitive, emotional and spiritual aspects inherent in women's ways of knowing (Belenky et al 1986). In planning research such knowledge is not often sought or valued (Sandercock 1995; Sandercock and Forsyth 1992). I was also concerned about the ways in which multicultural policy has tended to encourage a homogenising of difference. Men speak for the whole group, perpetuating an acceptance of traditional social and power relationships (de Lepervanche 1992). I wanted a research methodology that would flesh out difference and diversity, as well as account for the subjective, personal and holistic nature of existence. I based my approach on the philosophy of phenomenology with its valuing of individual lived experience (Stefanovic 1984).

From there I adopted a qualitative, non-positivistic paradigm. This afforded considerable methodological flexibility, as well as a way of valuing feelings together with intellectual knowing. An in-depth, unstructured interviewing technique enabled me to encourage the women to tell me their stories, in their own ways and in their own voice. I started with questions about the dwelling - there, here and in between; their stories of leaving, journeying and settling. Using Kvale's (1983) "mode of understanding", which draws the philosophical traditions of phenomenology and hermeneutics together, I interpreted the rich qualitative data which had been gathered from the in-depth interviews. This allowed me to explore the relationships between the women's stories and the degree to which they informed their meanings of home.

MEANINGS OF HOME: THE CENTRALITY OF LOSS

By valuing the women's narratives, I established that loss was central to their experience as settlers in a new country (Thompson 1996). Major interpretations related to the thematic structure of the data as follows:

1. Home as a site of power - its role as a place where difference can be safely displayed and acted out, both in relation to the women's own communities and the wider Anglo society;

2. Home as a point of tension - notions of homeland, dislocation, feelings of attachment and loss, belonging and not belonging. Issues of ambivalence, temporality, cultural links, relationships and the mythologising of the lost home also emerged;

3. Home as a symbol of success - owning the house and garden as a demonstration of achievement in the face of sacrifice and hardship. The role of the physical dwelling in atoning for the losses sustained as a result of migration;

4. Home as house and neighbourhood - the importance of the physical dwelling and the role of the neighbourhood in providing a sense of belonging, reinforcing cultural richness and diversity.

CONCLUSION

I like the area very much. I don't like to go very far... we have the Mosque here. All the Muslim community and the Lebanese community...most of them live in this area. It's very social, very close to me, I can go any day I like, any time I like. (An Arabic woman reflecting on her neighbourhood and its sense of belonging).

It is simplistic to discount the potential that the well serviced neighbourhood and its dwellings hold for those who live there. For the migrant women in this study, there is the opportunity for the appropriation of personal power, both as a woman within a minority culture and as a representative of an ethnic group living in white Anglo Australia. The physical house is a tangible way of atoning for the loses sustained in the migration process. It serves as a symbol of success in the adopted country and a means of maintaining cultural, religious and personal links with the past.

My research indicates that we have to go back and look at issues of diversity within suburban environments. We have to caution against imposing reform agendas from an ideological stance that alienates and denies the lived experience of those we are purporting to help. Home as both domestic dwelling and neighbourhood are central to the stories of the women discussed here. Their struggle is inextricably tied up with the notion of home as familiar territory and must be acknowledged in terms of the power that this can provide.

REFERENCES

Belenky, M et al (1986) *Women's Ways of Knowing: The Development of Self, Voice, and Mind*, Basic Books, USA.

Burnley, I (1995) "The Geography of Ethnic Communities", in Fitzgerald, S and Wotherspoon, G, eds. *Minorities: Cultural Diversity in Sydney*, State Library of New South Wales Press, Sydney: 174-191.

Burnley, I (1989) "Settlement Dimensions of the Vietnam - Born Population in Metropolitan Sydney", *Australian Geographical Studies*, Vol 27, No 2: 129-154.

Burnley, I (1985) "Cities of Immigrants: Migration, Growth and Heterogeneity", in Burnley, I and Forrest, J, eds. *Living in Cities: Urbanism and Society in Metropolitan Australia*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney: 187-198.

Burnley, I (1980) "Resettlement of Immigrant Communities in Sydney and Melbourne", in Burnley, I; Pryor, RJ and Rowland, DT, eds. *Mobility and Community Change in Australia*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia: 121-141.

de Lepervanche, M (1992) "Working for the Man: Migrant Women and Multiculturalism", in Saunders, K and Evans, R, eds. *Gender Relations in Australia: Domination and Negotiation*, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Sydney: 82-96.

Dunn, K (1993) "The Vietnamese Concentration in Cabramatta: A Site of Avoidance and Deprivation, or Island of Adjustment and Participation?", *Australian Geographical Studies*, Vol 31, No 2: 228-245.

Janiszewski, L and Alexakis, E (1995) "That Bastard Ulysses: An Insight into the Early Greek Presence, 1810s - 1940", in Fitzgerald, S and Wotherspoon, G, eds. *Minorities: Cultural Diversity in Sydney*, State Library of New South Wales Press, Sydney: 14-34.

Jones, M, ed. (1993) *An Australian Pilgrimage: Muslims in Australia from the Seventeenth Century to the Present*, Victoria Press, Melbourne.

Jupp, J (1991) *Immigration*, Sydney University Press in association with Oxford University Press Australia, South Melbourne.

Kvale, S (1983) "The Qualitative Research Interview: A Phenomenological and a Hermeneutical Mode of Understanding", *Journal of Phenomenological Psychology*, Vol 14, No 2: 171-196.

Lewins, F and Ly, J (1985) *The First Wave: The Settlement of Australia's First Vietnamese Refugees*, George Allen and Unwin, Sydney.

Sandercock, L (1995) "Voices from the Borderlands: A Meditation on a Metaphor", *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 14: 77-88.

Sandercock, L and Forsyth, A (1992) "A Gender Agender: New Directions for Planning Theory", *Journal of the American Planning Association*, Vol 58, No 1: 49-59.

Stefanovic, IL (1984) "Phenomenological Insights to Guide the Design of Housing", *Ekistics*, 307, July/August: 375-378.

Thompson, S (1996) *Women's Stories of Home: Meanings of Home for Ethnic Women Living in Established Migrant Communities*, PhD Thesis, University of Sydney, Australia.

Viviani, N (1984) *The Long Journey: Vietnamese Migration and Settlement in Australia*, Melbourne University Press, Victoria.

URBAN SOLUTIONS AND DOMESTIC SPACES: TRENDS FOR THE NEXT CENTURY

Marcelo Tramontano
Department of Architecture and Urbanism
University of Sao Paulo, Brazil
Postal mail: SAP-EESC-USP - P. O. Box 359
13560-250 Sao Carlos SP, Brazil
E-mail: tramont@sc.usp.br

In the history of several countries, the industrialization process has been very often associated both to the concentration of population within industrial poles, and also to the deep changes in the households composition than in the relationships among their members. As natural consequences of these developments, the birth of a metropolitan way of life, during the 18th and 19th centuries, and the consolidation of the nuclear family as the very pattern of the Modern family substituted the medieval economic pattern, mostly based on the extended household manpower.[1] The medieval household was formed by kinship members, but also employees and apprentices under the supervision of a tools' owner 'father-boss', and they all lived in a house where public and private spaces were superposed, frequently in only one room. "The medieval home", as says Professor Witold Rybczynski, "was a public, not a private place".[2] On the other hand, the Industrial society's house doesn't contain the workplace anymore, and is inhabited by people belonging to the same close family. The factories' space, a typical manly space, open to public access territory, makes itself different from the domestic space, womanly and private, by opposition, divided in rooms organized in zones, following the bourgeois house pattern.

In the turning from 19th to 20th centuries, speaking about modern city is the equivalent of mentionning the United States of America, whose big cities exhibit themselves to the world like the *vitrine* of North-American capitalist victory, based on industrial development. A new urban pattern substitutes the typical planted *boulevards* of Napoléon III's Paris and its corresponding bourgeois house type, which were reproducted all over the Westernized world, from Osaka to Rio de Janeiro, much helped by the capitalist expansion of a mechanized society leaded by Europe. The Modern housing pattern followed, as it was proposed in the first decades of our century by European architects, and spread quickly out since the United States emerged as the new industrial world power after World War I. A clear North-American idea of verticalized collective housing was sent to Europe and to the rest of the World wrapped in the papers of the mechanized modernity, not disconnected from an urban conception based on skycrappers and superposed levels of different public traffic fluxus. Already from the beginning of the First World War, this new pattern is composed by images borrowed from cities like Chicago and New York. High building implantation is controled in Paris, just as in London, by strict laws limiting the buildings heights, keeping almost unchanged until today the pattern defined by Haussmann and his team. From typical European, New World's and Far-East's cities, Paris, Sao Paulo and Tokyo arrive at the eve of the World War II metamorphosed in modern metropolises, in the capitalist sens of this expression. Nevertheless, their greatest transformations, mainly those concerning their population's demographic profile and the possibilities of long-distance communication were still to be seen from the end of the war.

Since the year of 1945, the allied victory of the War defines North-American culture as the main manners referencial to all mechanized society desiring to be considered as a modern one.

The communication media diffuses then the North-American way of seeing both the life and the world, and the most powerful and most embracing of them is, undoubtly Hollywood. The perfect machine spreading out a way of living, which included domestic electric appliances, a private car, the husband in the role of a strong, intelligent, logic, consistent and good-humoured home provider, and the wife playing the intuitive, dependent, sentimental, self-sacrificing but always satisfied manager of an irreproachably clean house, now promoted to the rang of consummer good. [3]

However, the nuclearization process of the familiar unit, lasting from at least the 16th century up the beginning of the 20th century[4], has been followed by its disintegration in the second half of our century, just as mechanization has been followed by the use of information. New kinds of households appear: monoparental families, DINKs couples - *Double Income No Kids* -, unmarried couples - including homossexual ones -, loosely organized group homes, and new nuclear families, still dominant according to the surveys, but where the parents authority is being replaced by a greater autonomy of each one of its members. These are all steps towards a new social pattern: individuals living alone. The reasons of such an evolution are numberless and relatively recent. The year of 1965, for instance, has been pointed out by Brazilian, European and Japanese national recensements, sociologists and demographers as the turning point of the fertility rate. Considering data for France, England, Sweden, Italy, Germany and the Netherlands, Brazilian demographer Elza Berquó remarks that "around 1965, the fertility rate of those countries was varying between 3.2 and 2.5 children per woman. In 1970, this variation falls down to 2.5 to 2.0; in 1975, a large majority has its fertility between 2.0 and 1.5. The year of 1985 shows figures between 1.8 and 1.3 children per woman." [5] Behind the decline of fertility rates is a woman who revindicates, among other things, a place in the labor market, the liberty of having sexual relationships dissociated from the catholic obligatoriness of procreation, the right to choose the moment to have - or not to have - children, the right of having male or female partners - and the right of leaving them - without being stigmatized by the society. Such a new feminine attitude supported by the diffusion of contraceptive methods more accessible and efficient has to be remembered in any consideration about changes in the customs patterns we inherited from the sixties. Berquó summarizes the question saying that "the pronounced fertility decline the increasing of longevity, the growing participation of women in the labor market, the sexual liberation, the increasing fragility of conjugal unions, the pronounced individualism, etc, beeing all trends acting in the sens of modifying the family size, structure and function." [6]

Around the years 1950 and 1960, the use of information begins to show signs of a development degree sufficient to succeed mechanization. Only thirty years later, telecommunications would be already completely modified, and the notions of physical displacement would be put in question, enriched by the vulgarization of the concept of virtual reality. Instead of an Industrial society, in which we transport people to the places of information, in the rising Post-Industrial society we will carry information and ideas to where people are. A so-called metropolitan way of living is also spreading out via the mass media, which is not without importance in the population movement from the big cities of the world to smaller communities. São Paulo, Paris and Tokyo have experimented the so-called *doughnut phenomenon*, that is, the reduction of densities at the core and the growth of population beyond the administrative boundaries. Furthermore, in recent years this trend has been followed by a change in the city's inhabitants profile: more and more young single white-collar workers and students prefer to spend higher amounts with the rent of a tiny

apartment in downtown, rather than to be forced to commute everyday for long hours, living in distant suburbs far from nightlife and urban leisures.

The citizen of the large cities around the world seems to be more and more similar to his congeners of the other countries, being assembled in similar kinds of households, wearing similar clothes, having entertainement in the same way, degusting the same plates, equipping his house with the same domestic electric appliances, working with personal computers running the same softwares, able to read, all over the world, the informations saved in the same floppy disk. This means that a huge manners revolution is currently undergoing, probably stimulated by the potentiality of mass media, even reducing to a minimum the influence of local cultures.

Concerning the design of domestic space to this population under transformation, innovations follow a much slowlier rhythm. Paulists, parisiens and tokyans live in houses and apartments whose spaces tend to be similar to typologies ranging from 19th century European bourgeois house - characterized by the trilogy Social-Intimate-Services zones - to the Modern archetype of the house-for-all, with its uniformity of solutions in the name of a supposed democratization of spaces general characteristics. Even though its occupation by households different from the conventional nuclear family is fast growing, as well as the diversity of their way of living, the spaces design of this house remains untouched, under the argumentation that feasible economic results responding to the inhabitants needs have already been attained.

Both of the two patterns were originally conceived to the nuclear family, seen as the Modern household of the Industrial era, at a moment when this typology was absolutely dominant. In the case of the European 19th-century bourgeois house, its functionning depended on the work of domestic personnel, deliberated apart from the boss family. The employees rooms, the kitchen and the bathroom as well were considered *rejection* places and hidden in the back of the dwelling house. Main rooms and entrance halls composed the public face of the house, the *prestige* places, in opposition to the *intimacy* places, or the family's bedrooms. In the Modern propositions from the first European Post-War, remarkably materialized within the German Social Democracy's *Siedlungen* project, instead, the kitchen was brought from the back of the house to be fusioned with the living room, becoming the privileged place for sociability among members of a household where the mother was the main responsible for housekeeping.

It is true that the main housing typologies, easily found in the suburbs of every big city in the world, remain nearly the same since several decades ago. The European Modern Movement from between the two World Wars was the first and the unique moment in the whole history of Architecture when living spaces' design and production were integrally reviewed, analyzed according to clearly formulated criteria, whose results have guided - and they still do it nowadays - an expressive part of housing projects all over the Westernized world. Modern architects prefigurated a prototypical living place, corresponding to also prototypical man, city and landscape. They created an archetype - the house-for-all - even though the wholeness of its proposals has been gradually disconsidered by building entrepreneurs' techno-financial logic, who prefered to use only the economically profitable elements and concepts. For a better idea about the meaning of this attitude it is worthy to remember the experiences related to the domestic space's flexibility, started in France by Perret, reiterated later by Le Corbusier and Mies Van Der Rohe, but finally aborted even in Japan, where multiuse spaces which have ever characterized traditional local houses were substituted by defined function rooms after the end of the World War II.

In the sixties, a blowing of renovated air seemed to reanimate the field of investigations on housing design. Originary from the conservative England, the Archigram group has nourished his reflexions at the sources of the new technologies, but also at idea of the massification by the mediatized image and of the growing individualism as well. Like Moderns, Archigram members did not dislink domestic space from the city. Their so many times approached theme of the living capsule was translated in an hypertechnolocical, minimal space serving the individual, and have been approached in projects which vehiculated concepts such as the nomad city or the idea of the image as a landscape for the urban movement. Housing only strictly individual and solitary functions, the dwelling space - which was sometimes reduced to the dimensions of a big shell or a rucksack - supposed a social life diffused through the city and the territory. The private space produced by the reconstruction effort after the Second World War seemed to be read by the group as "a transitory, provisory space, nearly secondary related to an exterior, overvalorized space", say French researchers Loïc Julienne and Jean-Pierre Mandon. [7]

In the last decades, the most part of the so-called innovatory proposals have been limited either to the use of new construction technics, or to new façades designs searching to express fashionable trends, without putting in question function, interior design, the articulation of interior spaces and their relationship with the urban environment. Researchers are pointing out in the same direction when the subject is the 21st century metropolis: its inhabitant seems to be an individual who lives mainly alone, even though his life cycle is composed by successive different familiar formats, telecommunicating through the networks to which he belongs, working at home but demanding public facilities to meet his equals, searching for his identity by the contact with information.

What do Architecture and Urban Design have to say facing this whole situation, if it is true that the relationship between domestic and urban spaces did not already escape from their hands to become an attribution of users or bureaucrats, whose references are nothing more than the above cited patterns?

This central question could be unfolded in a numberless of more precise ones. Closing these considerations we just want to mention some possible initial items of a more detailed agenda.

1. In most cases, the new households profiles exist only in some periods of the familiar life cycle, either in a simultaneous or an alternate way. For instance, one can live alone during the youth, then in a not married couple, to have children and then prefer a real marriage, but maybe divorcing afterwards and living alone again or with his or her children... Would it be reasonable to think that to such an alternance could correspond a flexibility of the housing space, able to absorb this continuous transformation? Different typologies should be proposed inside new housing complexes searching to embrace this new diversity of households and ways of living?

2. New concepts of flexible production but also informal economie's activities reintroduce the question of working-at-home. Helped by computer equipments, its newest version is called telework. Now, about the portion of the domestic space occupied by working activities, is it reserved temporarily or exclusively to the work? Is it really a bridge between inside and outside? Would it better be situated inside the house or apartment, or within a close relationship? In a private, collective or public domain?

3. As a place where social and functional uses are mixed, the public space is situated in the very center of qualitatives housing problematics. How to integrate various sensitive aspects like form, structure, materials, colors, sounds, nocturnal ambiance...? Traditional patterns would still be adequate? What about actualizing them or even inventing new possibilities of public spaces?

4. The gap between public and private spaces, the unchangeable character of construction norms, the belief in the Modern archetype as a response to the human 'universal' needs, the indistinct use of it to house any household format, contributed to the production of monothones and expressionless housing complexes where the public area targets mostly the motorized traffic. Would it be pertinent to include between the private and the public spheres some zones of transition belonging to the collective of users, containing - why not? - even extensions of the private sphere? Which are the desirable limits of each dwelling's private space? Which kind of both collective and public spaces would assure conditions for the developping of new social relations and those already existing? Which services, traditionnally located in one of these spheres, would tend to move into another one?

5. Housing complexes have been conceived, for a large majority of them around the globe, using a single dwelling typology: either detached houses in contiguous parcels, the geminate units, or the collective bar or tower. The mix of different typologies, besides enriching the landscape, could contribute to induce different manners of social relationship?

6. The car as a prolongation of the familiar organization in the everyday life is, in many cases, omnipresent. How would it be possible to link it both functionally and symbolically to the housing function? Which relationships could really exist between the car and the dwelling space? New qualities should be attributed to the parking places?

We know that the process of decision, concerning housing and urban spaces design, embraces a numberless of politic, social and economic parameters - and not only specific architectural design considerations - and also a large group of professionals, including the Architect and the Urban Planner. However, we think it is their task to be attentive to those more and more intensive, deep society transformations, whose spaces of living - either private or not - they are asked to design. Thus we believe that their proposals of new spaces will be fundamental to influence those who have the power to accomplish changes.

---

[1] We took care of describing in this text a part of the housing and ways of living history in order to embrace both the French situation and the Brazilian and Japanese cases. The largest steps are generally very similar, even though they lasted differently and occurred, in some cases, at very different moments. For instance, the extended household, a typical Middle Age development, that at the end of 19th century had already been substituted by the nuclear family in the Parisian bourgeoisie, survived in Japan - under the form of the *dozoku* - until the end of the World War II, making the history of the nuclear family and Westernized housing in that country extremely recent. In Brazil, whose starting point of the official history coincides with the final decades of European Middle Age, the extended family, which was responsible by the colonization of rural areas, lived in an autarchical way until being attracted, some centuries later, to the industrial poles by working reasons, eventually becoming also nuclearized. Anyway, our principal aim in these initial words is to explicit the convergent trend of the way of

living in those three areas, from the arriving of the effects of English Industrial Revolution, which included the dissemination of informations through local mass communication media.

[2] Rybczynski, W. *Home - A short history of an idea*. New York: Penguin Books, 1987. p. 26.

[3] In her book *Living Room Lectures: The Fifties Family in Film and Television*, Nina Leibman says that any personnage shunning these traits or adopting characteristics of the other sex would be seen as a dysfunctional, if a man, or an evil, if a woman. (Cited by Lyons, J. *Leibman's works remembered by colleagues*. Santa Clara University. Internet: http://www.tsc.scu.edu/TSC/95_96/news/copy/11_13/Reading.html)

[4] This process of privatization of the familiar life is divided grosso modo by French historien Philippe Ariès in three phases, developed between the 16th and 18th centuries, which would be its fundamental figures: "At first, the search for a manners individualism, putting apart the individual from the collective; then, the multiplication of sociability groups allowing to escape both from the multitude as the solitude as well; (...) Finally, the reduction of the private sphere to the familiar cell, which becomes the privileged seat, if not the sole one, of affective investment and intimate retirement." (Quoted by Chartier, R., in "A Comunidade, o Estado e a Família. Trajetórias e Tensões" [The community, the State and the family. Trajectories and tensions]. In: Ariès, Ph., Chartier, R. *História da Vida Privada*. Vol. 3. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1991. p. 409.) Still we suppose that such a process, launched within the Middle Age with preliminary separations between the boss' family members, on one hand, and employees and aprentices living under the same roof, on the other hand, crossed all the 19th century, reaffirming the bourgeoise option for the family nuclearization, and estende-se up to today, towards the extreme individualization: a society composed by mostly people living alone. It is certainly not a lineal, regular and univocal evolution, but undoubtly long and hardly reversible.

[5] Berquó, E. "A família no século XXI: um enfoque demográfico" [The family at the XXI century: a demographic approach]. In: *Revista Brasileira de Estudos de População*, volume 6, nº 2, july/december 1989.

[6] Berquó, E., *op. cit.*

[7] Julienne, L., Mandon, J-P. "Du logement consolidé à d'autres habitats - une mutation qui tarde". In: *L'Architecture D'Aujourd'hui* nº 239, juin 1985. pp. 42-47.

The Study of the Industrialization Process in Yokkaichi before 1945 -Planning History Leading to Yokkaichi Pollution-

Shinji Tsubohara
Tsu City College
157 Ishinden-nakano, Tsu-shi, Mie 514-0112
Japan

1. Preface

From the 1960s to the early 1970s, the urban environment in Yokkaichi, Mie Prefecture, had been extremely deteriorated by nationally notorious "Yokkaichi Pollution" resulting from the operation of petrochemical complexes. In the coastal area, which was once a fertile fishing ground, a large quantity of "oil-smelling fish" had been caught broadly. People had suffered from noise, vibration and stench, as well as air pollution which caused "Yokkaichi Asthma".

In September 1967, nine residents suffering from respiratory diseases sued six petrochemical corporations for compensation and won the epoch-making ruling which sided with residents in July 1972. After that, Yokkaichi City, Mie Prefecture, and the Japanese Government reinforced air pollution restrictions and, at least concerning sulfurous dioxide, the pollution has been improved remarkably.

The environment in those days and the scientific and medical mechanism of pollution had already been studied considerably by civil authorities and researchers. But studies about the history of urban environment, culminating in Yokkaichi Pollution, have been very few. So this thesis, as the first part of a series of studies about the history, examines the industrialization process in Yokkaichi from about 1930 to the end of World War II, focusing on the aspects of urban planning.

Before 1930, there were only Mie Spinning Co. (1888~, in 1914 taken over by Toyo Spinning Co.) and Tomita plant of Toyo Spinning Co. (1917~) as a large factory in Yokkaichi City. But from the early 1930s, the prefecture, the city, and local business circles began to make great efforts to attract industries and city, and local business circles began to make great efforts to attract industries and succeeded in attracting Toyo Woolen Co. to Shiohama in 1932. In 1935, Nihon Plate Glass Co. built its plant in Chitose-machi, which was reclaimed by the prefecture in 1925 and had remained unused. The land had a rush from various industrial companies in the same year and was almost sold out. Mie Woolen Co. and Toyo Woolen Muslin Co. were established in the interior also in 1935 (Figure 1). Because Yokkaichi Pollution was caused by industrial activities, I trace back to about 1930.

The history of urban environment is considered to be a changing causal relation among environmentally influential activities (such as land-use regulations or urban developments), social, political and economical backgrounds and resulting urban environment. So, I examine the history in terms of these three elements, around which the following chapters are grouped.

Materials used are mainly *Ise-shinbun*, which was a representative local newspaper in those days, and shorthand notes and accompanying materials of Mie Local Committee
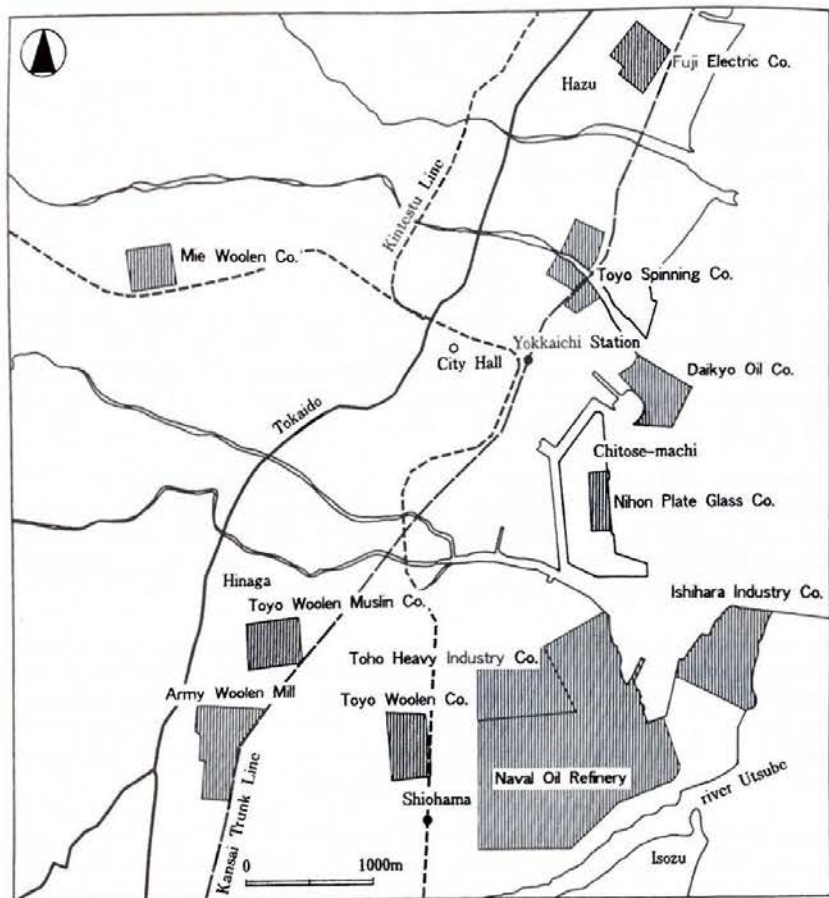
Figure 1   Industrial Location (at the end of the prewar era)
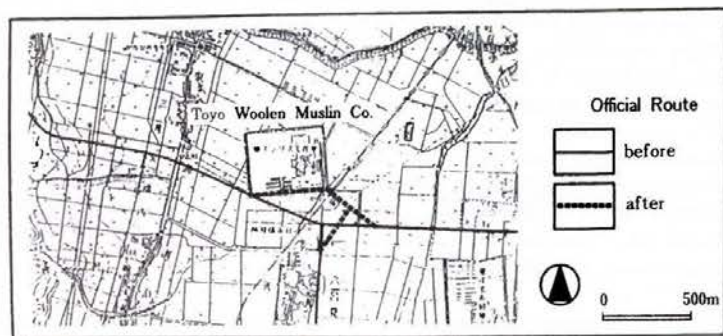

Figure 2   Changed Official Route

for Urban Planning (MLCUP). MLCUP consisted of national officials and local officials and councilmen, and had the responsibility to examine planning proposals for local governments in Mie Prefecture.

2. Environmentally Influential Activities

(1) Active Development

The above mentioned industrializaiton continued until late wartime. For example, Toho Heavy Industry Co. in 1939 and Ishihara Industry Co. and Naval Oil Refinery in 1941 began their operation in the coastal zone of southern Shiohama area, which is the site for the First Industrial Complex after the war. Fuji Electric Co. decided its location in northern Hazu in 1942. In the central part of the city, Daikyo Oil Co. was established on the reclaimed land in 1943.

This industrialization induced the rapid increase of population, and industrial companies built company houses actively to accommodate concentrating people. Below is an article in *Ise-shinbun (11 April 1941)* :

> The number of houses built by Ishihara Co., Toho Co. and other companies last year is ······ near 1,000 (about 800 in the city and 160 in neighboring areas). Dormitories, which accommodated more than 1,000 laborers, were also constructed. In addition, it is scheduled to build about 350 houses and dormitories with accommodation for 800 this year.···

These industrial and residential developments should have been controlled locationally so that the residential environment might not be badly influenced. Next I examine the planning policy by the prefecture and the city.

(2) Let-alone Planning

Yokkaichi City was applied Urban Planning Act (1919) in March 1927. The first official road plan, which consisted of 15 routes adding up to 50km, was authorized in May 1934 and the first zoning in February 1936. The distribution was 10.3% commercial, 36.4% industrial, 42.4% residential and 10.9% non-designated (light industrial) zone. But these plans did not function as frames for developments.

Toyo Woolen Muslin Co. was built in Hinaga in 1935, when the first road plan had already been authorized. Although one of the official routes ran close to the site, the factory fitted only one corner to the route. Local authorities did not object to this site plan, and MLCUP approved of changing the alignment so as to fit to the site in June 1936 (Figure 2).

The first zoning designated the coastal zone of Shiohama as residential, industrial and non-designated almost evenly. But, from 1938 to 1939, Toho Co., Ishihara Co. and Naval Oil Refinery decided to locate there without referring to the zoning, and the area was occupied by industrial use alone. The zoning was changed in 1940 and the coastal area was all designated as industrial (Figure 3).

As these examples show, the authorized plans were changed according to industrial location, instead of directing industrial location based on plans. There were also cases
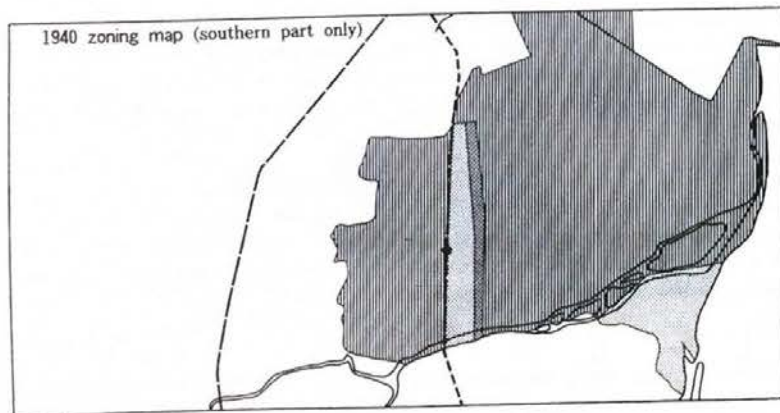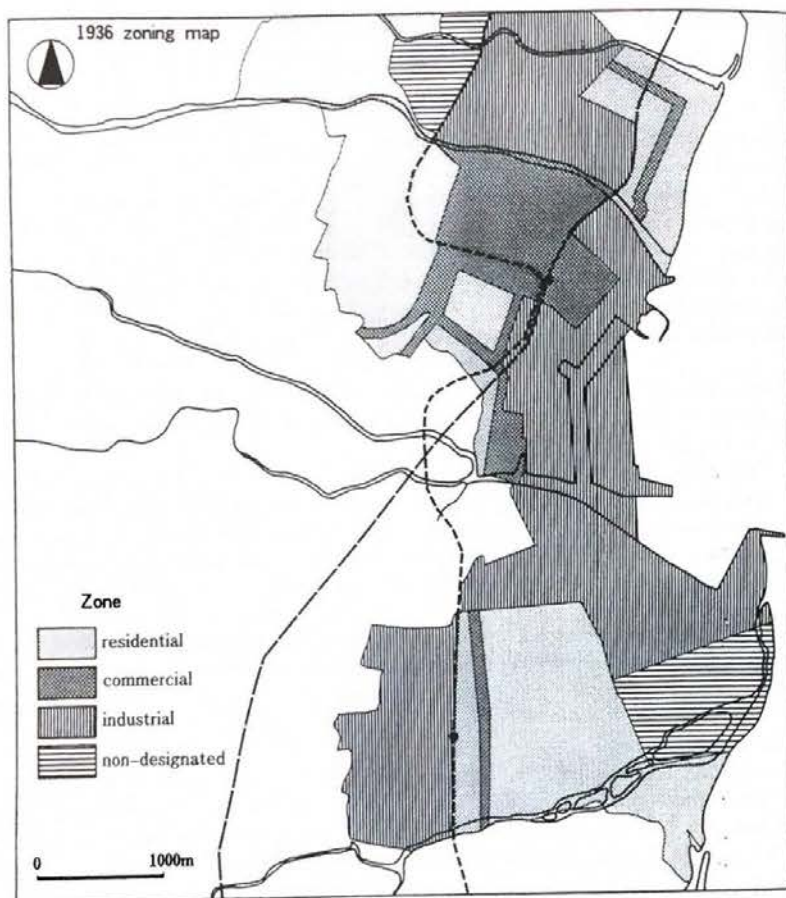
1936 zoning map

Zone

◻ residential

▨ commercial

▥ industrial

▤ non-designated

0   1000m

1940 zoning map (southern part only)

Figure 3   Changed Zoning

where plans were completely given up. An article titled "The Construction of a Large Green Belt Given Up" in *Ise-shinbun* (*12 August 1939*) said,

The City Planning Office, in order to construct a large green belt with 6.6ha as an oasis for citizen, had completed its design and already almost decided the location outside the city. But the site was taken over by a factory and the design was killed...

This let-alone characteristic of planning policy can be seen in residential location as well as industrial location. Local governments allowed companies to build houses in industrial areas, and even helped them by constructing infrastructure for those company houses.

(3) Residential Development Adjacent to Large Industrial Area

Mie Prefecture had been engaged in a large land readjustment project, which was authorized in December 1939, in Shiohama. The first coastal part of the project, 367ha, was finished in 1941 and occupied by factories such as Toho Co., Ishihara Co. and Naval Oil Refinery. Successively, the prefecture set about the second part, 314ha, westerly adjacent to the first part. It was planned to be a residential area with a population of 30,000 and to be "an ideal new industrial city" with some parks. But the location was directly adjacent to the large industrial area.

3. Background

Both Mie Prefecture and Yokkaichi City believed that the attraction of industries was essential to local development. This strong industry-oriented thinking must be a part of the background of the let-alone planning. But in this thesis, I highlight the planning ideology as a background. That is, both local governments did not fully recognize problems resulting from the close relationship between residential and industrial areas, and the importance of a greenbelt as buffer zone. And this immaturity of planning ideology is thought to be a background of the residential development adjacent to the industrial area by the prefecture, as well as of the let-alone planning. I will show this ideology from some examples below.

(1) Neglect of Close Relationship

The first zoning was referred to MLCUP in 18 January 1936. A city councilman questioned about zoning of other cities, and a prefecture official answered that the industrial "percentage" was the highest among surrounding cities. "I find this zoning to be the most appropriate, so suggest that we pass it without further discussion," the councilman said, and without objection, it was passed in its original form. The entire proceedings were only in about 20 minutes. But in this original plan, residential zone was designated adjacent to industrial zone broadly in northern and southern parts of the city.

(2) "Green Belt" Plan

Local authorities cut down a row of pines which had the potential of buffer against the industrial area in Shiohama. On the other hand, the city had sought to create a " green belt" :

Because the expansion of indutrial area, which exhausts black smoke thickly, will have great influences on public health and hygiene, the city ...... added

new programs such as sumo and hiking ······ to exsiting programs for improving the physique. Concerning the construction of a green belt, Suzuki, planning official, is now in a hurry to design it.··· *Ise-shinbun (2 July 1939)*

But this green belt was not for separating residensial and industrial areas. "We are investigating the green belt, the general ground and the park, and have a rough promise of their sites," Suzuki said. Here the green belt is treated as the same kind of open space as the general ground and the park. This means that the green belt was planned to be the site for activities such as hiking. The city tried to tackle the industrial pollution not by the separation of land uses but by the development of individual physical strength.

4. Urban Environment

Without locational control, companies chose sites for company houses without taking into account industrial pollution. They were often close to industrial areas. For example, Ishihara Co. built 200 houses just south of its factory, that is, just east of Naval Oil Refinery. "In addition, it will built more than 200 houses this year" there, *Ise-shinbun (3 May 1941)* said. In Feburuary 1941, the company also built about 70 houses in Chitose–machi, which had almost been occupied by industries, including Nihon Plate Glass Co..

Under let–alone planning, Shiohama had become a large industrial area. Yokkaich has a strong northwestern wind in winter and Isozu, a fishing village, is in the southeastern part of the industrial area, just beyond the river Utsube. The village had become located close to and on the leeward of huge industrial plants.

The second part of the land readjustment project was not accomplished before the war, but at least about 180 houses, which were in the first part, were relocated to the second part.

So, there appeared close relationships between residential and industrial areas in various parts of the city, but those relationships did not reach the state of linear continuity. The close relationship was in embryo at the end of the prewar era.

5. Conclusion

In the revelation process of Yokkaichi Pollution in the 1960s, the land use pattern with the close relationship was critisized severely as one of causes of the pollution. Yokkaichi lawsuit was brought in by 9 residents in Isozu, which had become the most severe place of the pollution, and its ruling also pointed out "the fault of location". This fault of location had already appeared before the war, even if in embryo.

After the war, successive accidents in the 1950s by industrial plants changed planning ideology. People had recognized the necessity of the separation between residential and industrial areas. But planning ideology was still immature. They did not recognize the importance of administration based on plans. As a result, the essentially same environmentally influential activities continued and the close relationship had expanded greatly to provide for Yokkaichi Pollution.

BACK TO FRONT HOUSING: an Australian variation of Radburn

Jillian Walliss
Department of Architecture, Landscape Architecture and Urban Design
University of Adelaide, SA, 5005

Why did they put the houses back to front? This is a recurring question in many post occupancy evaluations of Radburn housing developments in Sydney. This paper attempts to provide an answer to this question by exploring the application of Radburn by the NSW Department of Housing, (formerly known as the NSW Housing Commission). In doing so it will highlight the dangers inherent in the importation of planning concepts from overseas, a prominent feature of Australian planning and design in the twentieth century.

Radburn has its origins in the work of Clarence Stein and Henry Wright. Their residential scheme, developed in 1933 at Radburn, New Jersey, was a hybrid model mixing Modernist ideas of the neighbourhood unit and super block with many traditional aspects of American housing. Stein and Wright were not concerned with the standardisation of housing, instead retaining a mix of detached, semi-detached and garden apartments. Nor was their design particularly anti-street. They instead proposed a series of cul-de-sacs which essentially had many social and physical qualities of the street, but with reduced traffic flow. As shown in Fig. 1, housing was designed to address both the cul-de-sac and the central spine of common open space, with the house incorporating two to three entrances.

The work of Stein and Wright was extremely influential and by the early 1940s their ideas were evident in many Australian post war planning documents. For example the Commonwealth Housing Commission's *Final Report* of 1944 recommended extensive government intervention in the provision of post war housing. The report contained a number of new concepts for residential subdivisions and site layout. Many were influenced by the original Radburn concept, however with an Australian variation - the housing was sited back to front. Unlike the double fronted Radburn housing, these concepts oriented the front of the house towards the park land with the back of the house and high fenced back yard facing the service way. As shown in Fig. 1, this alteration in spatial organisation represented a radical departure for Australian housing. This publication proved very influential, establishing both policy and design philosophies for the various State housing authorities. The Radburn concept proved particularly popular with the NSW Housing Commission.

Radburn and the NSW Housing Commission

The NSW Housing Commission (NSW HC), established in 1941, regarded its role as more than merely providing low income housing. It was under a strong commitment to social betterment and reform that the NSW HC began to develop large suburban estates. In the late 1940s, they began designing estates according to the concept of the neighbourhood unit. It was not until the late 1950s that this State housing authority, together with the National Capital Development Commission in Canberra, pioneered the use of Radburn in Australia (NSW HC report, u. d. p. 5).

In January 1963, the Minister for Housing, Mr Landa issued a press release announcing the construction of a 'new neighbourhood based on one of the world's most modern designs' (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 Jan. 1963, p. 1). The design for 900 cottages, flats and aged persons' units was based on Radburn design principles and constructed in the Green Valley Housing Estate. The

announcement received much media coverage with the *Sydney Morning Herald* running a front page article entitled "Back-to-Front' Design at Housing Commission 3 million pound Estate'. The *Daily Telegraph* also featured a story under the headline, 'Planning A Town Without Fences' (10 Jan, 1963, p. 9). This article outlined the features of the new estate, particularly noting that:

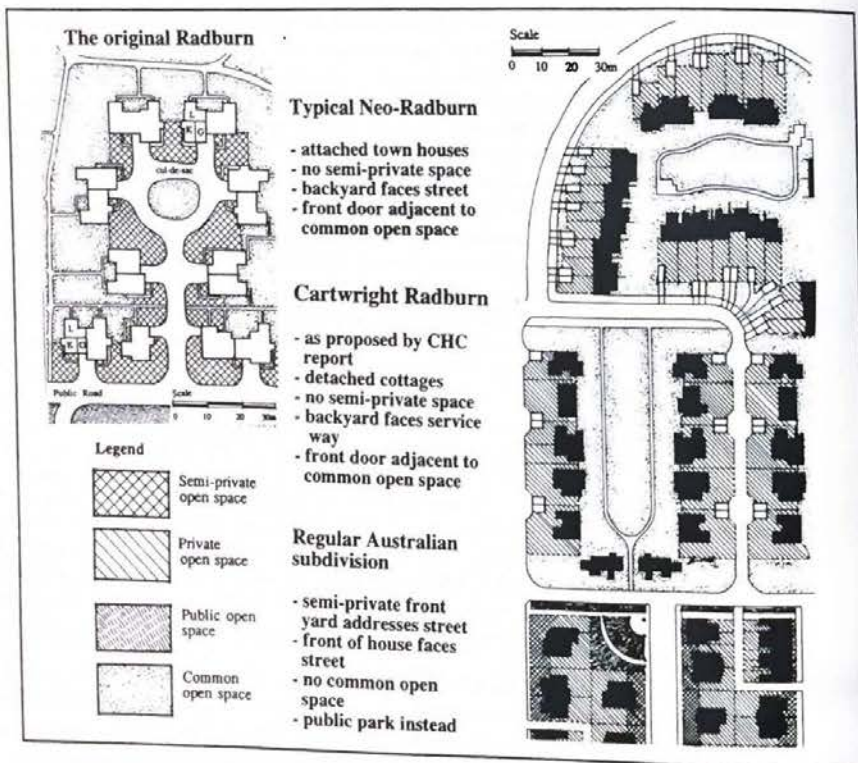...specially designed garden pedestrian-ways would replace streets wherever possible.

Each house would face a "green belt" of gardens and lawns through which a network of pathways would lead to shops, primary school, recreation areas and transport.

To cater for vehicle access, a system of cul-de-sacs streets linked to perimeter roads would reach the back of every house and block of flats.

To maintain this open-garden atmosphere, no-one will be allowed to erect a fence or any type of structure in front of his house.

Even the letter box would lose its traditional place and be attached to the back gate.

Figure 1
Australian interpretations of the Radburn concept

The original Radburn

Typical Neo-Radburn
- attached town houses
- no semi-private space
- backyard faces street
- front door adjacent to common open space

Cartwright Radburn
- as proposed by CHC report
- detached cottages
- no semi-private space
- backyard faces service way
- front door adjacent to common open space

Regular Australian subdivision
- semi-private front yard addresses street
- front of house faces street
- no common open space
- public park instead

Legend
- Semi-private open space
- Private open space
- Public open space
- Common open space

Neo-Radburn and the NSW Housing Commission

The design approach applied at Cartwright was to change by the mid 1960s, when the NSW HC began to construct attached town housing in Radburn configuration as an alternative to walk up flats. Mount Druitt was one of the first large scale developments, followed by smaller corridor estates such as Airds, Claymore and Macquarie Fields. In the 1980s, the NSW HC continued to construct Radburn town house developments on inner city sites as a form of urban consolidation. Fig. 1 details a typical design approach.

These 'Neo-Radburn' schemes were characterised by standardised dwelling units, (predominantly attached town houses) designed to be a sculptural mass within a free flowing landscape. Frequently the housing was designed with little private and no semi-private open space, with this space instead being incorporated into common open space. In addition, the original Radburn cul-de-sac was reduced to a functional service way, with the front of the house oriented towards the common open space. Again no attempt was made to develop double fronted houses, resulting in more 'back to front' housing. These schemes proved popular with both economists and designers. Financially, attached housing was considered a more economical use of land and infrastructure than detached houses. Architecturally, attached housing in Radburn allowed the designer more freedom with architectural massing, elevations and repeated forms.

Post Occupancy Evaluations

By the early 1980s, many Radburn housing developments, particularly those in large estates, were proving to be unsatisfactory residential environments. Many problems were related to social and economic issues associated with large concentrations of low income residents. However, post occupancy evaluations (Sarkissian & Doherty, 1987) (Richards,1990) documented consistent problems relating to the physical design. Generally these did not concern the dwelling but rather the organisation of space and circulation around the housing. For example:

The separation of pedestrian and vehicular circulation created 'back to front' problems and difficulties in locating the front door of housing. Neither vehicular access ways or pedestrian circulation were safe, particularly at night, due to the lack of surveillance.

Emphasis on the orientation of the housing for solar access often led to housing which was out of context with adjoining urban fabric and created awkward, external spaces.

The reduction of the traditional public domain - the street, to a functional role in order to create common open space resulted in unused 'left over' open space.

The representation of housing as a total entity rather than a collection of individual homes (particularly in Neo-Radburn) created a separate enclave where the individual home was lost in the institutional mass. People were restricted in achieving privacy and modifying their homes.

John Huxley, in describing Macquarie Fields, summarises these issues in the following passage :

And although the planners pretty pattern was followed, may of the estates's supposed features have since become flash points. Neighbours dispute boundary lines; residents complain of noise from those using the pedestrian ways or "hanging about" on the village greens and tenants feel themselves crowded into the end of cul-de-sacs. They want fences rather than freedom of movement. (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 Feb. 1994, p. 5A.)

Understanding why these 'back to front' houses resulted in such problems can best be explained in terms of behavioural and cultural conventions. The built environment cannot determine human behaviour. Instead it provides a framework for appropriate human activity and behaviour. Within residential environments, the concepts of territory, privacy regulation, boundary markers and transitional spaces are critical in establishing this framework (Sanders 1990). The interpretations of Radburn adopted by the NSW HC however, presented a residential environment which did not acknowledge these concepts.

The home is regarded as a primary territory as it is the core of everyday life. Within the home, (including the space around the dwelling), territorial markers such as fencing are used to delineate space, control access and privacy and regulate expected behaviour. Australian housing generally incorporates a high degree of physical boundaries as territorial markers in the form of high fenced back yards and low fenced semi-private front yards. Many of the Radburn interpretations adopted by the NSW HC were constructed with little or no fencing. If private open space was provided, it was located adjacent to the street, a space usually reserved for the semi-private front yard.

Consequently there was no longer a transitional space between the public domain (the street) and the private house. The front yard traditionally signifies the formal entrance to the house and also provides passive surveillance for the street. In the Radburn interpretations, the space around the house was reversed, resulting in a high barrier to the street, often compounded in Neo-Radburn schemes by carports. The formal front entrance **was** located adjacent to the common open space with no transitional space provided to ensure privacy and security. As shown in Fig. 1, the majority of the space in these developments remained as ill defined common open space. This was in stark contrast to more traditional residential subdivisions where space outside dwellings was either public, semi-private or private. Prior to Radburn there were few precedents for common open space in Australian housing.

Whereas the original Radburn concept acknowledged many cultural conventions associated with American housing, its application in Australia did not. Therefore its use by the NSW HC, particularly for housing large concentrations of low income people, resulted in inhibited behavioural responses and contributed to considerable stress, conflict and anxiety for residents. Post occupancy evaluations tend to identify more problems with Neo-Radburn schemes, which incorporate attached housing, than those which use detached cottages. This can be explained by the increase in density. The closer that people live to each other, the more important it is to create spatial frameworks which establish territory, privacy and security.

Strategies for 'Turning the House Around'

In the mid 1990s, the NSW Department of Housing (formerly the NSW HC) initiated a Neighbourhood Improvement Program to address physical, economic and social issues evident in many public housing estates. This paper will examine the strategy developed for Bidwill as outlined in the document *Bidwill New Gardens : Neighbourhood Improvement Strategy Plan.*

Bidwill was developed in the 1960s and 1970s as part of the Mt Druitt estate. Although much of the suburb consists of a mix of public and private housing, the central core contains a concentration of 1150 public housing dwelling, with over half in the form of town houses. The Strategy Plan acknowledges the source of the problems at Bidwill as a combination of social, economic and physical issues, stating that 'the Radburn concept is confirmed...as significantly contributing to, although not the root cause of, the problems facing the residents' (p.1). The document describes a new vision for Bidwill:

> where people will have the opportunity and encouragement to participate in the enrichment of their neighbourhood and community. Bidwill will be a desirable and sought after place to live. Property values and market rent levels will become closer to surrounding suburbs. Fewer people will view Bidwill as a stepping stone. More people will come to stay (p. ii).
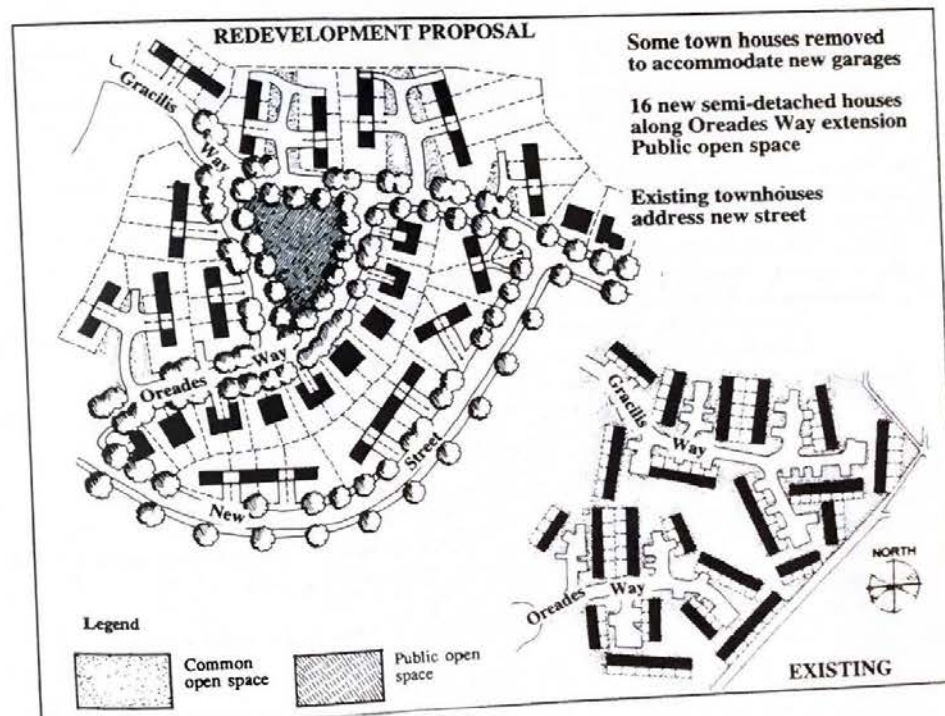
Addressing the Physical

The Strategy Plan identifies a number of methods for improving 'the back to front' housing by essentially re-establishing the public and private domain in accordance with more conventional Australian housing. These include:

transforming the existing poor quality common open space into high value private open space;

establishing a network of revitalised public parks, each with their own character or special use to provide accessible, safe and attractive recreational space;

ensuring dwellings over look parks from across a public street, thus providing surveillance for the park and a spatial buffer for the dwelling; and

providing each dwelling, wherever possible with direct street frontage, a front garden, a letterbox and a visible path to the front door. In addition the strategy aims to leave no dwellings exposed to degraded open space or pedestrian networks.

Fig. 2 demonstrates how these objectives can be achieved through the alteration of road and pedestrian layout, limited demolition of existing housing stock, infill housing, a major fencing program and the transformation of common open space into public open space.

Figure 2
Redevelopment Proposal for Gracilus and Oreades Ways, Bidwill

REDEVELOPMENT PROPOSAL

Some town houses removed to accommodate new garages

16 new semi-detached houses along Oreades Way extension Public open space

Existing townhouses address new street

Legend
Common open space
Public open space

EXISTING

Addressing the social and economic problems at Bidwill presents a far more difficult challenge than addressing the 'back to front' houses. The Strategy Plan does identify a number of initiatives which target social and economic issues. These include changes to dwelling mix and tenure, strategies for improving public transport, community facilities and local employment, self management of housing through co-operatives and housing associations, crime prevention programs and also a new name for the suburb. In order to make estates such as Bidwill more liveable, these initiatives must also be implemented. As demonstrated through the experience of Modernism, physical form can not alone create satisfactory residential environments.

Conclusion
So why did they put the houses 'back to front'? As this paper demonstrates, this was a result of planners and designers not understanding or respecting the cultural importance of spatial organisation around the Australian house. This was primarily due to the influence of Modernism which promoted the adoption of universal design and planning ideas, regardless of local culture and conditions. Fortunately, there are physical interventions which can address many of the problems associated with 'back to front' housing. Other countries have been left with far more complex legacies of Modernism, most notably Brasilia and Chandigarh.

References
Commonwealth Housing Commission. (1944) *Final Report.*

Huxley, J. (1994) 'Fields of Fury', *The Sydney Morning Herald,* 12 Feb., p. 5A.

NSW Department of Housing. (1997) *Bidwill New Gardens Neighbourhood Improvement Strategy Plan.* unpub.

NSW Department of Housing. (1996) *NSW Public Housing Design : A Short History,* draft.

Richards, S. (1990) A report of community consultation of the Villawood Housing Estate for the NSW Department of Housing, unpub.

Sanders, D. (1990) 'Behavioural conventions and archaeology : methods for the analysis of ancient architecture.' in *Domestic Architecture and the Use of Space : An Interdisciplinary Cross-Cultural Study.* ed. Susan Kent, Great Britain, Cambridge University Press, pp. 43-72.

Sarkissian, W. & Doherty, T. (1987) *Living in Public Housing : A Report on a Tenants' Evaluation of Medium Density Public Housing in Suburban Sydney.* Housing Issues No. 2, Canberra, RAIA Education Division.

The Sydney Morning Herald, (1963) *"Back to front" Housing at Housing Commission 3 million pound Estate",* 10 Jan. p. 1, p. 4.

The Daily Telegraph, (1963) *'Planning a Town without Fences',* 10 Jan, p. 9.

Walliss, J. (1997) 'Lessons from Villawood : The Importance of Spatial Organisation in Urban Housing', in *Architecture Theory Review,* Nov. vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 41-66.

Walliss, J. (1996) Creating Home in Urban Australia : the role of site, space and form, Research Masters, unpub.

Stein, Clarence S. (1966) *Towards New Towns For America,* rev. ed, Cambridge, MA, MIT.

Re-examining the International Diffusion of Planning

Professor Stephen V Ward
School of Planning
Oxford Brookes University
Oxford OX3 OBP, UK
email: svward@brookes.ac.uk

Such work as there is on the international diffusion of planning is of four main types. First and most straightforward are 'lessons', whereby planning activity in one national context is described in terms of its value for the practice of one or more others. Such writing can be found scattered throughout the twentieth century planning literature of most countries (eg Horsfall, 1904; Burns et al. 1962; Ashton, 1969; Hambleton, 1995; Borja, 1996). Another straightforward approach examines the work of international bodies concerned with planning matters (eg Williams, 1996). Such studies typically document national progress toward internationally determined goals (for example, related to the environment).

More ambitious, in that they form part of a broader theorisation of international relationships, are studies which see planning as an integral part of the current wave of economic globalisation. Thus cities facing similar problems have often adopted similar planning responses, consciously borrowing successful ideas and practices from elsewhere to attract highly mobile investment and consumption (Harvey, 1989). The classic example here is waterfront regeneration on the Baltimore model, now fully established as an international phenomenon. Even here, though, the explanation of how exactly the ideas and practices have diffused is rather broadbrush, reflecting global flows of capital. Newman and Thornley (1996) have recently refined this by stressing, in addition, the more autonomous role of national planning systems and local responses to global circuits of capital. They have not, however, related their approach to the diffusion of ideas and practices.

Much the fullest and most detailed examinations of international diffusion can, however, be found in the work of planning historians. The two best known works in English on this theme are Anthony Sutcliffe's *Towards the Planned City* (1981) and Peter Hall's *Cities of Tomorrow* (1988; 1996). In fact though, there is a huge volume of other work from many countries dealing with diffusion (eg King, 1976; 1990; Smets, 1977; Wynn, 1984; Freestone, 1989; Watanabe, 1980: 1992; Yerolympos, 1996; Yeoh, 1996; Home, 1997; Albers, 1997; Schubert, 1997).

Such studies have examined diffusion as an integral part of wider or deeper enquiries. Their essential concern has been to show how a particular city, country or group of countries encountered key planning ideas or practices from elsewhere. Typically three major concerns have been evident:

1. The mechanisms of diffusion - for example, key personalities, reformist or professional milieux, intergovernmental actions etc.

2. The extent to which ideas and practices are changed in their diffusion. How they are applied in specific national settings and why differences are apparent.

3. The fundamental causation of diffusion. For example, how much does it mirror the

larger economic, political or cultural contexts of international relations? How far is the 'text' of planning's international diffusion more autonomous or reliant on chance actions.

No universal answers to these questions have emerged from historical studies. This reflects both real differences in the experience of diffusion in different countries and the different perspectives of the planning historians themselves.

Different types of diffusion

At one extreme, diffusion has been seen as planning quite literally imposed by the government of one country on another, typically in a colonial context (eg King, 1976, 1990). In such cases, clearly, the diffusion process has typically been one of transference. Planning ideas and practices have been received substantially unaltered by local considerations. It has not been uncommon to find the 'purest' expression of planning projects in such settings, since colonial powers were invariably far less compromised in recognising indigenous democratic or property rights than in the imperial homeland.

An extreme example of this phenomenon was the Nazi garden city-inspired replanning of the incorporated provinces of Poland in the early 1940s, documented by Fehl (1992). Another example was the Japanese imposition of its own planning approach on Korea in the 1930s (Kim and Choe, 1997: 153). Many of the planning responses of Eastern European countries during the most repressive phases of the communist era may also be best understood in this way. Something of the same tendency was apparent in the main formal Empires, especially those of Britain and France. Thus creation of the imperial Indian capital at New Delhi from 1910, the colonial work of French urbanists such as Henri Prost in Casablanca or Marrakesh and even the unthinking reproduction of Britain's 1932 Town and Country Planning Act throughout the British Empire were clearly imposed planning forms (Irving, 1981; Wright, 1991; Home, 1997, 179-87).

Yet caution is necessary: it is important not to presume automatically that all such cases of imposed planning have been characterised by a combination of colonial authoritarianism and indigenous passivity. Recent work by several planning historians, most notably Yeoh writing on Singapore (1996), has shown that inadequate political channels for local negotiation of imposed planning did not always prevent the process being contested in other ways. Except in the most brutally repressive regimes, rioting and other forms of protest could be used to challenge planning actions. More insidiously, indigenous populations could superimpose their own cultures on the physical structures and arrangements provided for them by colonial planning, thus effectively changing their nature.

At the other end of the spectrum are the diffusion patterns typical in western Europe and the United States throughout this century (eg Smets, 1977; Sutcliffe, 1981; Wynn, 1984; Hall, P. 1988; Hall, T. 1991). Here diffusion may best be understood as highly selective borrowing, often from multiple sources. In such cases the priorities of the importing country (at least as understood by leaders of the local planning movement) have taken precedence. Imported ideas and practices have frequently been consciously changed and adapted to fit local circumstances. In the early twentieth century, for example, ideas such as the garden city and practices such as town extension planning and zoning spread in this fashion around Europe and the United States (Sutcliffe, 1981). Later planning and design ideas derived from the modern movement spread in much the same way. Recently we can point to the international spread of, for example, of traffic calming, garden festivals and waterfront development.

In many cases imported ideas and practices have been not just adapted but actually synthesised with other ideas and practices to create what became, in effect, further innovations. The concept of the neighbourhood unit provides a classic example of this. Beginning as an implicit communitarian notion in the garden city idea, it was fully elaborated in the 1920s by Perry (1929) in the USA. It then spread back to Europe in the 1930s and became overlain with more ambitious ideas of social engineering in 1940s Britain, partly under the influence of US theorists such as Mumford. Knowledge of these elaborations of the concept in Britain's wartime plans then spread elsewhere, notably to Sweden, and thence, rather improbably, to the different ideological climate of Nazi Germany (Sidenbladh, 1964: 56; Schubert, 1995). Meanwhile planners in the occupied Netherlands, though drawing on the same general sources, had secretly been developing their own variations of the neighbourhood unit idea (Lock, 1947). The freer international contacts of the early post-war period brought still greater cross fertilisation, further evolution of the idea and its widespread deployment, albeit in various forms.

Much of the active motivation for these more promiscuous patterns of diffusion tended to come from a wider range of agencies than those of governments alone. (The entry of British neighbourhood ideas into Nazi Germany was, of course, a partial exception because of the heavy reliance on state intelligence services). Individuals and reformist movements typically assumed a more autonomous role, learning of foreign ideas and practices through knowledge of relevant plans and literature, study visits and other encounters. Such actors were clearly influenced by the larger context of geo-politics, trade or investment, but have been far less determined by it than in colonial contexts.

Between these two broad well recognized tendencies in diffusion can also be identified further gradations in the relative importance of 'importing' and 'exporting' countries. Such examples, where 'borrowing' and 'imposition' blur into each other, require particular subtlety in their understanding. If we focus on former colonies, it is possible to identify a diffusion process that might be understood as imposed borrowing or negotiated imposition. Thus newly independent states found themselves nominally in command of their own affairs yet dependent still on aid and technical support from the developed world including, very frequently, their former colonial masters (eg UN Information Centre, 1954; Nevanlinna, 1996: 226-8; 239-41). British consultants, for example, under the auspices of the Ministry of Overseas Development and the United Nations played important post-colonial planning roles in many former colonies from the late 1950s (eg MLCERG, 1996). Similar post-colonial initiatives occurred in parts of the French world. Such planning promised, at least, greater sensitivity to local concerns than had been achieved under colonial rule. Results often fell well short of aims, however, in part because the new post-colonial elites (with whom the negotiation typically occurred) were themselves too ready to follow the ways of governance defined by their predecessors.

Where the balance of power shifted more to the side of the 'importer' then the nature of the diffusion relationship itself changed subtly but importantly in character. Instead of negotiated imposition, the process became rather one of undiluted borrowing, still largely unmodified by local considerations. This was most characteristic of self governing and relatively affluent countries. However they often showed marked deference in the economic, geo-political or cultural spheres to the countries whose ideas and practices they were borrowing. The actual

mechanisms of diffusion varied greatly but often involved direct reliance on planning expertise from the exporting country and mimicry of its planning practice.

Specific examples of this diffusion process have been typical of the predominantly white settled Dominions of the British Empire, such as the most studied example, Australia (eg Freestone, 1989; Freestone and Hutchings, 1993). For roughly the first half of the century, Australian planning developed mainly by undiluted borrowing from British experience. Another, less obvious, example is Japan, characterized by relatively undiluted borrowings from the most advanced western industrial countries with little adaption for local conditions (Watanabe, 1981; 1992). Much of this occurred in the period preceding the first Japanese planning legislation of 1919. Yet even as late as 1958 Tokyo adopted a plan based directly and explicitly on the Greater London Plan of 1944 (Hebbert, 1994: 72-3; TMG, 1994: 56). This was despite the Japanese capital's far greater growth pressures, which soon negated the proposed green belt-satellite towns strategy. A strikingly similar Australian example occurred a little earlier in the 1948 metropolitan plan for Sydney (Winston, 1957). Here the British-style green belt provisions were effectively abandoned in 1959 (Freestone, 1989: 234-6).

A typology of diffusional episodes

We can, therefore, draw together this brief review by suggesting a simple typology of diffusional episodes, based essentially on the power relationships between the 'importing' and 'exporting' nations:

I.   Authoritarian imposition
II.   Contested imposition
III. Negotiated imposition
IV.   Undiluted borrowing
V.   Selective borrowing
VI.   Synthetic innovation

As has been shown in the foregoing discussion, this typology reflects the principal themes of historical writing on the diffusion of planning. Thus there are strong presumptions within these types as to the circumstances under which diffusion will also bring changes in the nature of what is being spread. There are also presumptions about the principal agents of diffusion and especially the circumstances in which individuals and reformist movements are likely to have a role more independent of structural or governmental factors.

However we should end by stressing that these categories do no more than characterise the essential nature of diffusion in relation to individual or, quite often, closely related 'bundles' of planning ideas and practices. The episodes in which ideas and practices are diffused may be extended or of quite short duration. Similarly they might be intense or slight. Not surprisingly, therefore, many countries have simultaneously experienced more than one diffusional episode, often overlapping and involving multiple sources. The types of relationship with these different sources might well be different. Moreover, one type of diffusional relationship can often evolve seamlessly into another.

References

Albers G 1997: *Zur Enwicklung der Stadtplanung in Europa: Begegnungen, Einflusse, Verflechtungen*, Wiesbaden: Vieweg.

Ashton NAW 1969: *The City of Stockholm and Its Region*, Sydney: State Planning Authority of New South Wales.

Borja J 1996: *Barcelona: An Urban Transformation Model 1980-1995*, Urban Management Series Vol. 8, Ecuador: Urban Management Programme.

Burns W, Lane L and Thomas W 1962: Lessons from America *Journal of the Town Planning Institute*, Vol XLVIII, 192-8.

Freestone R 1989: *Model Communities: The Garden City Movement in Australia*, Melbourne: Nelson.

Freestone R and Hutchings A 1993: Planning History in Australia: The State of the Art, *Planning Perspectives*, Vol. 8, no 1, 72-91.

Hall P 1988/1996: *Cities of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design in the Twentieth Century*, (Revised edn, 1996) Oxford: Blackwell.

Hall T (ed) 1991: *Planning and Urban Growth in the Nordic Countries*, London: Spon.

Hambleton R 1995: Cross-National Urban Policy Transfer - Insights from the USA, in Hambleton, R. and Thomas, H. (eds) *Urban Policy Evaluation: Challenge and Change*, London: Paul Chapman, 224-38.

Harvey D 1989: *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Hebbert M. 1994: *Sen-biki* amidst *Desakota*: Urban Sprawl and Urban Planning in Japan, in Shapira, P., Masser, I. and Edgington, D. W. (eds) *Planning for Cities and Regions in Japan*, (A Town Planning Review Special Study) Liverpool: University Press, 70-91.

Home R 1997: *Of Planting and Planning: The Making of British Colonial Cities*, London: Spon.

Horsfall TC 1904: *The Improvement of the Dwellings and Surroundings of the People: The Example of Germany*, Manchester University Press.

Irving RG 1981: *Indian Summer: Lutyens, Baker and Imperial Delhi*, New Haven: Yale University Press.

Kim J and Choe S-C 1997: *Seoul: The Making of a Metropolis*, Chichester: Wiley.

King AD 1976: *Colonial Urban Development: Culture, Social Power and Environment*, London: Routledge.

King AD 1990: *Urbanism, Colonialism and the World-Economy: Cultural and Spatial Foundations of the World Economic System*, London: Routledge.

Lock M 1947: *Reconstruction in the Netherlands: An Account of a Visit to Post-War Holland by Members of the Town Planning Institute*, London: Jason.

MLCERG (Max Lock Centre Exhibition Research Group) 1996: *Max Lock 1909-1988: People and Planning - An Exhibition of His Life and Work*, London: University of Westminster.

Nevanlinna AK 1996: *Interpreting Nairobi: The Cultural Study of Built Forms*, Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura.

Newman P and Thornley A 1996: *Urban Planning in Europe: International Competition, National Systems and Planning Projects*, London: Routledge.

Schubert D 1995: Origins of the Neighbourhood Units Idea in Great Britain and Germany: Examples from London and Hamburg, *Planning History*, Vol. 17, no 3, 32-40.

Schubert D 1997: *Stadterneuerung in London und Hamburg: Eine Stadtebaugeschichte zwischen Modernisierung und Disziplinierung*, Wiesbaden: Vieweg.

Sidenbladh G 1964: Planning Problems in Stockholm, in Planning Commission of the City of Stockholm, *Stockholm Regional and City Planning*, Planning Commission of the City of Stockholm, 55-64.

Smets M 1977: *L'Avenement de la Cite-Jardin en Belgique: Histoire de l'Habitat Social en Belgique de 1830 a 1930*, Bruxelles: Pierre Mardaga.

Sutcliffe A 1981: *Towards the Planned City: Germany, Britain, the United States and France, 1780-1914*, Oxford: Blackwell.

TMG (Tokyo Metropolitan Government) 1994: *A Hundred Years of Tokyo City Planning*, TMG Municipal Library no 28, Tokyo: TMG.

UN Information Centre 1954: Ancient and Modern in Technical assistance: A UN Town Planner's International Ancestry, *Journal of the Town Planning Institute*, Vol XL, 46.

Watanabe SJ 1980: Garden City Japanese Style: The Case of Den-en Toshi Company Ltd, 1918-1928, in Cherry, G. E. (ed), *Shaping an Urban World*, London: Mansell.

Watanabe SJ 1992; The Japanese Garden City, in Ward, S. V. (ed), *The Garden City: Past, Present and Future*, London: Spon 69-87.

Williams RH 1996: *European Union Spatial Policy and Planning*, London: Paul Chapman.

Winston D 1957: *Sydney's Great Experiment*, Sydney: Angus and Robertson.

Wright, G 1991: *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism*, Chicago: University Press.

Wynn M (ed) 1984: *Planning and Urban Growth in Southern Europe*, London: Mansell.

Yeoh BSA 1996: *Contesting Space: Power Relations and the Urban Built Environment in Colonial Singapore*, Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.

Yerolympos A 1996: *Urban Transformations in the Balkans (1920-1920): Aspects of Balkan Town Planning and the Making of Thessaloniki*, Thessaloniki: University Studio Press.

The United Nations Urban Renewal and Development Project, Singapore, 1967-1971

Henry Wardlaw
110 Hudson Pde
Clareville NSW 2107

The official report on this project contains 350,000 words and a great many maps and diagrams, and is supplemented by some 80 unpublished technical documents. This paper can therefore attempt no more than a sketchy outline of some its main features.

BACKGROUND

Singapore shed its colonial shackles in 1959 and became fully independent in 1965. The colonial regime left the new Republic with a substantially higher GDP than any other country in South East Asia, but also with a number of serious and growing economic and social problems. The economy lacked diversity, unemployment was high, education and health services were inadequate, housing was seriously overcrowded and one fifth of all dwellings were classified as deteriorating or dilapidated.

A vigorous attack on these problems followed independence and in the next ten years GDP more than doubled, despite a substantial reduction in British military expenditure preparatory to almost total withdrawal by 1971. The Government realised very early that progress required a high standard of physical planning. It sought UN help and, after three visits from technical missions, international tenders were called by UNDP for the provision of assistance in undertaking a four year integrated land use and transport planning project. The Australian firm Crooks Michell Peacock Stewart was successful and I was its project director. Our mainly Australian team of ten included members from the US and Poland, and was strengthened by sixteen short term advisers.

In colonial times there had been little opportunity for local people to fill senior professional positions, so there were very few experienced local planners. Many Singaporeans were returning from UNDP-funded study abroad at the commencement of the project, but lacked practical experience. On-the-job training was therefore required. Consultants and local staff worked as a team in a new organisation, State and City Planning (SCP), in order to make the best use of imported and local expertise and local knowledge. Planning administration continued to be handled by the Planning Department.

Training aside, the primary tasks of the project were to produce a Concept Plan to accommodate a 1992 population of 4 million and still leave scope for further growth, and to assist in the planning of major projects during the contract period. A demographic study by SCP reduced the 1992 population forecast to 3.4 million (high fertility assumption) or 2.7 million (low fertility), up from 1.8 million in 1967. 4 million was not expected to be reached until after 2000, too far ahead for realistic quantitative estimates

to be made of essential items such as land requirements and the factors which would determine trip generation and travel modes and volumes.

A review of objectives followed. It was decided to continue with the preparation of the '4 million plan' as the long range Concept Plan, providing the framework for major development decisions. A '1992 plan', quantified on the conservative basis of the high fertility assumption, defined an intermediate development stage and provided the basis for the planning of the road system and proposals for a mass rapid transit system (MRT). But the 20 year time frame of that plan did not serve to guide development in the immediate future into those areas which best served short term objectives. Notable among these was the need to contain costs at a time when the demands on limited resources were greatest. A '1982 plan' was prepared, within the framework of the '1992 plan', to provide this guidance.

PLANNING METHODOLOGY

The project specification required us to examine alternative comprehensive concept plans before selecting a preferred model. Neither time nor resources allowed these alternatives to be prepared in detail; we needed a procedure which allowed the evaluation of strategies in general terms before moving on to the more detailed comparison of potentially viable options. Having made a final selection we had to be able to persuade the Government and UNDP that our choice was the right one. Intuitive comparisons, though important, were clearly not sufficient. We needed a set of tests which would enable meaningful quantitative comparisons to be made.

Land constraints (area 580 sq km) dictated that Singapore should continue to be a compact high density city, and that the transport system's land take, and its environmental impact, should be kept to the practical minimum; that in turn required the distribution of trip generating land uses to be such as to minimise peak travel demand. A simple gravity based worker-trip distribution model was chosen as the medium for the quantified comparison of alternative plans. This ensured the complete integration of land use and transport planning from the very beginning.

The plan selection process comprised two stages. In the first the available pre-project data was collated and analysed to inform the preparation of a series of 'ideas plans', broad strategies in which planners' imaginations were constrained by little more than geography and the need to accommodate 4 million people. Eleven were prepared and quantified by allocating resident workers and jobs (industrial and other) to each of twenty zones according to a common set of preliminary assumptions; seven were selected for testing. Tests provided estimates of average work trip lengths, the proportion of short trips and the number of crossings of certain critical cordons where physical constraints might limit future traffic capacities. These results enabled a rough comparison of the success of each plan in minimising work-trip lengths, and showed that strategies which emphasised development in a belt along the southern shore of the island, which included the two main employment nodes in the Central Area and the Jurong Industrial Estate, did

this best. At the same time they imposed a high cost in capacity requirements for the transport systems serving those areas.

The tests also showed that intractable transport problems would follow unless limits were set to employment in Jurong and to employment and population in the Central Area. Studies set these figures provisionally at 150,000, 360,000 and 300,000 respectively. These conclusions led SCP to immediately propose a change in industrial location policy so as to favour extensive industry at Jurong and to concentrate intensive industries in more accessible locations. This proposal was accepted.

Database

By this time the project's data collection program was sufficiently advanced for useful preliminary conclusions to be drawn from its results. The program included a comprehensive land and building use survey, a home interview traffic survey and surveys of existing traffic flows and patterns, socio-economic characteristics and existing social and physical infrastructure, and a number of surveys specific to the Central Area. SCP employed up to 250 temporary survey assistants, many of them multi-lingual in order to cope with the range of languages and dialects spoken by households. Information was also obtained from public authorities, government departments and university sources.

Plan selection

The survey results informed the preparation of six alternative 'second stage plans' (Fig. 1), which were practical plans taking account of known constraints and drawing on the conclusions from the first stage tests. The principal variations between them related to the level of development in the Central Area and the adjacent existing urban area, and the pattern of development in the rest of the island. They were more detailed than the 'ideas plans', being quantified in relation to fifty five zones instead of twenty.

The object of the second stage tests was to guide the choice of the preferred plan. It was therefore important to ensure that the best arrangement of population and employment within each plan form was being compared. An 'optimising' procedure, designed to adjust those variables so as to minimise work-trip lengths within the imposed constraints, was therefore applied to each before testing. The model used employed an iterative process to adjust population distribution between zones in relation to a fixed employment distribution in order to bring about the best result. It also generated an 'index of accessibility' of residential zones, which was helpful in the later detailing of the Concept Plan.

Second stage testing showed that all six plans could be brought to an acceptable level in relation to average work trip lengths, within a range of about 3%. The final choice was therefore based on more subjective criteria, chief among them the ease with which the staging of development could be varied to meet changing circumstances and the economy with which utility services could be provided. The 'Ring Plan' was chosen; implicit in it was the need for a mass rapid transit system (MRT) to serve the areas of densest
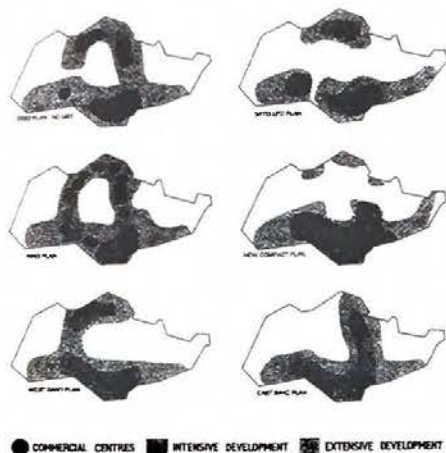
development. It was revised to reduce traffic across the most critical cordon to a more acceptable level, at the cost of a 5% increase in average trip lengths. The long process of turning this sketch into the detailed Concept Plan then began.

Transport planning

Standard transport planning programs were used to forecast traffic flows and network requirements, on the assumption that the system would be wholly road based and that car usage would increase in line with rising incomes. The notional road plan which emerged would have been environmentally disastrous and financially unachievable.

COMMERCIAL CENTRES INTENSIVE DEVELOPMENT EXTENSIVE DEVELOPMENT

Figure 1. Second Stage Plans

Severe constraints on future car usage were obviously essential for the system to operate with any degree of efficiency, and a greatly improved public transport system would be needed. The practicability of bus-based on-road public transport was thoroughly explored and found wanting for the areas of most concentrated development, partly because of the difficulty of providing sufficient terminal space in the Central Area to overcame the inefficient loading and unloading inherent in such systems. Reserved busways were considered and found to be neither attractive nor practical.

These studies, and international comparison with other major cities of comparable size and GDP per head, confirmed that an MRT system was required. Preliminary sketch proposals were prepared by London Transport Board experts in 1968 and the project built on these in examining possible alternatives. Modal split analyses provided estimates of future passenger numbers and these, together with preliminary cost estimates, provided the data for financial and economic analyses of the system. The financial analysis showed that revenue would more than cover the annual operating costs and the maintenance, repair and replacement of operating equipment, but not the debt servicing charges for land acquisition and construction. Those conclusions have been confirmed in practice. The economic analysis, incorporating social costs and benefits, showed an annual rate of return of about 10%.

The traffic studies provided the basis for the design of the 1992 road system, which included 106 km of expressways and 241 km of major roads, estimated to cost $S960 million. A 1982 system and a short term 1971/76 construction program were also

recommended. The costs fell within our own estimates of available road funding, which the Ministry of Finance somewhat grudgingly conceded were 'reasonable'.

A quasi-independent element of the Transport Plan was the international airport. Although the single runway at Paya Lebar subjected 200,000 people to noise levels of 100 PNdB and more, the Department of Civil Aviation had acquired land for a second parallel runway, which would have compounded the nuisance. With the support of other agencies, SCP made an interim recommendation to Government to relocate the airport to the site of the military airfield at Changi, soon to be vacated by the RAF, where the impact of noise would be minimal. The DCA resisted bitterly, but the voice of reason, or more specifically the voice of Prime Minister Lee Quan Yew, prevailed. Changi it was.

Central Area plans

Special studies and analytical procedures, which are not described here, provided an understanding of Central Area activities and their interrelationships and underpinned recommendations for future growth. The major proposals, arrived at after considering a range of options, covered plan structure, civic design, the nature, distribution and intensity of land and building uses, the distribution of population and employment, road and transport improvements and the provision and management of parking places.

MANAGING DEVELOPMENT

Several factors contributed to the effectiveness of planning and development in Singapore, first among them being the one-tier system of government. Another was the action oriented approach, which entrusted major functions to statutory authorities and gave them a budget, a target and a fairly free hand to get on with the job. The potential for anarchy was mitigated through coordination by the Master Plan Committee, comprising representatives of the main authorities and departments and chaired by the Chief Planner, who headed both the Planning Department and SCP. The propensity for heads of departments and authorities to wear two or more hats discouraged insular attitudes and was a further mitigating factor.

The extent of government initiatives and direct participation in development was also important. The Housing and Development Board was building 80% of all dwellings, while its Urban Renewal Department promoted and managed redevelopment in the Central Area, where much land was publicly owned. Virtually all industrial development was taking place on Jurong Town Corporation estates, while the Bases Economic Conversion Department handled the transition of British military areas to civilian use. There were frequent consultations at senior level with these and other organisations, both to seek their input into long range plans and to resolve problems associated with current projects. As a result of this broad participation in its preparation the Concept Plan had wide acceptance well before its formal submission to the Government, and it has guided development for a quarter of a century. Statutory endorsement has not been necessary.

The airport case was unique and resulted in one of SCP's senior planners being translocated into Parliament to replace the responsible minister.

PROJECT REVIEWS

It was UNDP practice to monitor projects through a resident project manager, who participated directly in SCP's work, and through periodic reviews, of which we had two, supplemented by occasional staff visits. Our review panels consisted of four or five academics and planning officials with international reputations, drawn from the US, UK, Sweden and Poland, three Singaporeans from government, private industry and the design professions, and a UN chair. Reviews lasted for a fortnight, during which we presented our work, discussed our problems and forward program and absorbed criticisms, suggestions and occasional praise. These reviews were salutary, as much or more for the discipline they imposed on us in preparing for them as for the contributions of the panel. They significantly enhanced the quality and acceptance of the end product.

CONCLUSION

In retrospect, our forecasts have stood up reasonably well. Population is a little above the lower end of the projected range. There are more MRT passengers and fewer cars than expected, because constraints on car usage are even more stringent than we had dared to propose. There has been less attention to heritage issues than we would have liked. But all in all, we were able to take advantage of a rare opportunity to fully integrate land use and transport planning and to design techniques to meet the challenges posed.

These techniques were discussed at some length in the RAPIJ at the time, but attracted no discernible interest. We were limited by the capacity of an IBM 360/30 computer and by linear models, which required us to make some heroic assumptions at times. Today's computer power and the availability of non-linear models would make such techniques far more effective and economical if used today. Australian planning authorities continue to pay lip service to 'integrated' planning, while showing no real understanding of what it means and hence failing to realise its potential.

References

Olszewski, K. & Skeates, R.S. 1971, 'Singapore's long range planning'; Thomson, E. & Wardlaw, H. 1971, 'Growth & change in Singapore'; Treloar, E.E. & Skeates, R.S. 1971, 'Planning models: contributions from the Singapore project'; Wardlaw, H. 1971, 'Planning in Singapore', *Royal Australian Planning Institute Journal*, vol. 9, no. 2.

The United Nations Urban Renewal and Development Project, Singapore. Crooks Michell Peacock Stewart, Sydney, 1971.

Treloar, E.E., Skeates, R.S. & Wardlaw, H. 1977, 'Scheduling urban development projects', *RAPIJ*, vol 15, no. 1.

CHANGING PARADIGM OF THE JAPANESE URBAN PLANNING SYSTEM

Shun-ichi J. Watanabe
Department of Architecture
Science University of Tokyo
Noda, Chiba 278-8510
Japan
(shun.watanabe@nifty.ne.jp)

1. Introduction

The present Japanese planning system as a whole, which is undergoing a drastic paradigm shift, can be considered as a planning heritage of the 20th century.

The Japanese planning system has been characterized by a strong centralized planning power in the hands of bureaucrats rather than a decentralized planning system with wide participation by the people. But the 1992 amendment of the City Planning Act, reflecting the social need for decentralization, has introduced an important system, i.e. the Municipal Master Plan which requires intensive participation. This has accelerated, in many localities all over the country, people's movement for better living environment, or "machizukuri" and has being changing planning paradigm from the traditional "city planning" to machizukuri as a whole.

The author's interest lies in the evaluation of the traditional planning system as well as the changing paradigm of it. Which direction is this change heading for? How will the 20th century planning heritage be enriched and succeeded by the people and planners in the 21st century? These are the basic questions underlying the author's interest.

2. Framework for Analysis

The planning paradigm that dominates the entire world today is that of "modern western urban planning." This is a type of urban planning system that emerged in Western Europe and North America around the turn of the century. This system was developed basically as a reaction against the growing congested industrial metropolises caused by the Industrial Revolution and was an effort to put them under strong government control.

The basic mechanism for the control has been, first, to set up the plan for the future goal of the city, or often called "master plan" and, then, to arrange a set of means to implement the goal. These implementation tools basically consist of:

1)"construction projects", or government's provision of streets, parks and other urban infrastructure through direct intervention into market mechanism; and

2)"regulations", or government's control over the private use of land and buildings, which can be considered as indirect intervention.

So "plans", "projects" and "regulations" are three key concepts of the planning system, which this paper utilizes as framework for the analysis to follow.

The government's strategy for providing decent built environment has been to recoup portion of development benefits, or the British "betterment," created by new developments particularly in the metropolitan peripheries, converting these benefits into necessary urban infrastructure. These controls are carried out as strong government actions, particularly of the local municipality; modern planning legislation has been developed to enable them. A similar development has taken place in Japan with a uniquely different manner

This paper tries to analyze the history of the Japanese planning system as a whole with a special emphasis upon its unique characteristics as viewed by international comparison and upon its contemporary changes and future perspectives.

3. Brief History of the Japanese Planning System

In 1868 when the new Meiji Government started modernization of Japan after the Restoration of the Power from the Tokugawa Shogunate, the economic condition of Japan was more or less the same as that of the developing countries at present. Since then, however, the population and industry started to concentrate in large cities, leading to today's economic prosperity. During this period, the central challenge for the Japanese urban planning has been to solve problems associated with metropolises which have kept expanding as represented by Tokyo.

In 1888, the Tokyo Urban Area Improvement Ordinance was promulgated as Japan's first modern planning legislation. This law was enacted as a national program to start construction projects to transform the traditional castle town Edo into a modern city, Tokyo, as the seat of the Imperial government. Thus, the Japanese urban planning was started as "planning by the State" in order to build urban infrastructure in city centers. Since then, "the centralized and project-oriented system" has become one of the great characteristics of the Japanese urban planning until today.

After World War I, disorderly expansions in the peripheries of metropolises due to industrialization and urbanization has become a problem. To cope with this situation, in 1919, the above-mentioned law, which had been applied only to the center of the Tokyo Metropolis, was fundamentally amended under a strong influence of modern western urban planning at that time to be applied to other metropolises, specially to their peripheries. This became Japan's first City Planning Act, which is often called the "Old Act." (Since then, it became customary to use the English word "city planning" rather than "urban planning" in Japan.) At the same time, the Urban Building Act was also established. Interacting each

other, these two laws have served as the basis for city planning and building administration of Japan. The Old Act succeeds the project technique of the conventional Urban Improvement Ordinance and has established a new project technique called Land Readjustment. For the first time in Japan's city planning history, a genuine regulatory techniques called "Use Zone" and "Use District" were introduced although no planning technique including the master plan was institutionalized. The city planning administration had been under the jurisdiction of the Home Ministry, one of the most powerful government agencies of the State up to the end of the World War II, which was succeeded by the current Ministry of Construction. A limited number professionals of building and civil engineering bureaucrats in the ministry were responsible for the city planning administration for the entire country.

In 1923, just when the technical details of the Old Act were ironed out ready to regulate the peripheries of the metropolises, the unprecedentedly severe Great Kanto Earthquake hit the Tokyo and Yokohama areas. For about ten years following the earthquake, the gigantic efforts of city planning administration were spent in reconstruction of the centers of the metropolises through Land Readjustment, with very little efforts spent on regulation of the peripheries of the metropolises. After the middle of the 1930s that followed the chaos of the earthquake, no tangible results could be accomplished in the area of city planning at the time when every effort was mobilized for wartime needs and this was continued till the World War II ended.

For about 15 years after the war was ended in 1945, post-war reconstruction was undertaken in the bombed centers of many cities throughout Japan through Land Readjustment. In 1950, the Urban Building Act was replaced by the Building Standard Act, which has become the basis for building control parallel with the City Planning Act. Under the poor economic condition at that time, however, land use regulation by these acts had to be extremely loose.

In the 1960s, Japan enjoyed a phenomenal high economic growth era; reckless development in the peripheries of metropolises became a major issue. In 1968, the Old Act was fundamentally amended and the "New Act" was enacted, which has been in effect since then. Designed to prevent urban sprawl and to improve urban infrastructure, the New Act divided the City Planning Area in the metropolises into the Urbanization Promotion Area ("UPA," hereafter) and the Urbanization Control Area ("UCA," hereafter). The act also institutionalized the Policy on Improvement, Development or Conservation of these areas, which can be considered as the first case that the planning technique was officially introduced. In order to materialize the policy, a strong regulatory technique of Development Permission was institutionalized. In the area of project technique the law has established a new category of Urban Area Development Project, including projects for industrial estates, new town development and urban redevelopment.

Beginning the second half of the 1970s, various planning techniques have been enhanced. A series of Sectorial Master Plans, including the Master Plan for Greenery (1976), have been started. In 1980 District Planning was institutionalized, which is an

important planning technique both for detailed regulation and construction projects at the district level.

During the second half of the 1980s, the Japanese cities were in the midst of an unprecedented asset boom, resulting in skyrocketing land prices, or the so-called "bubble phenomenon." As part of measures to control these land prices, the New Act went through a major amendment. (This amendment law is hereafter referred to as the "'92 Act.") The Act aims at strengthening regulatory powers (i.e. detailed categorization of residential use zones) as well as planning powers (i.e. creation of the Municipal Master Plan). What is important with this law is that, for the first time in the Japanese history, the city planning problems have been directed from control of new developments around the peripheries of the metropolises toward planning and regulation of existing built-up areas. The significance of this is that a great change has been made from the "centralized and project-oriented city planning system" which had consistently been continued more than one hundred years to enter a new phase of "decentralized and planning-regulation-oriented city planning system." Now the keywords are the "decentralization of powers" and the "participation of citizens"

4. Characteristics of the Japanese Planning System

In modern western urban planning system, the local government with a strong autonomy and planning power covers the entire area under its jurisdiction as the planning area. It formulates the master plan as an expression of public policies which are placed in the center of municipal administration; various projects and regulations are implemented based on the master plan. In a nutshell, "urban planning is a job of the local government" and citizen participation is a general practice. Modern western urban planning started aimed mainly at creation and conservation of residential environment in suburbs, placing its emphasis on land use controls for better living environment. Therefore, the central issue there has been directed to planning and regulation, rather than to projects. In contrast, the Japanese city planning has been, in essence, "centralized and project-oriented city planning."

In terms of the "centralized system," the Japanese city planning has been administered by the Ministry of Construction under the same rules that govern the entire country through a series of related acts centering on the City Planning Act. In terms of the decision-making process, many orders and circulars issued by the ministry regulate in detail who can authorize and implement which matters and how. Such rules are prescribed in terms of detailed technical standards. Thus, these rules ostensibly regulate room for policies and political decisions to be extremely small; in contrast, technical bureaucrats virtually have large authority to make decisions. In this mechanism, the governor of the prefecture has large authority as the State's agent. In essence, the local government could not carry out city planning freely and citizens could not participate fully. This is quite

different from modern western urban planning, which basically belongs to politics and where major decisions are jointly made by citizens, politicians and municipal bureaucrats.

In the background of the "project-oriented system" lies a power relationship between the urbanization phenomenon and city planning administration. In Japan, the population has rapidly started to concentrate in large cities since the Meiji era. Because of extremely loose land use regulation, urbanization went on recklessly, creating disorderly built environment. This has created two serious problems. The first problem is "deterioration of living environment", or urban areas which are overcrowded and fire hazardous; the second problem is a "lack of infrastructure." In reality, however, more interest has been shown in lack of infrastructure, than in quality of residential environment. The most important task for the Japanese city planning has been to improve the infrastructure in existing urban area after it is almost completely built up. The metropolises have faced the most serious tasks. Built-up areas have kept expanding without limits independent of jurisdiction of municipalities. In order to totally control this, the principle has been established that the "whole city," not the individual municipality, should be dealt with as a single planning area. Through this principle, the State has exercised regional coordination among municipalities through the governor.

The "centralized and project-oriented city planning system" was financially supported by national subsidies. For many years since the Meiji Restoration, both the State and the municipality had been poor financially. After the high-growth era in the 1960s, however, the State has become rich in its finances and the menus of subsidized projects have been expanded for the municipality. In order to match funds to these subsidies, the local government issued bonds, which was again under tight control of the central government. This has been an extremely advantageous strategy in the inflationary economy after the war. As the result, construction projects in city planning have made rapid advances. At the same time, subsidies have expanded local ruling by the central bureaucrats. Recently, in particular, inefficient use of public funds, treatment of pubic works projects as vested interests and destruction of natural environment have started to invite criticisms.

The fundamental cause for these Japanese characteristics can be traced to "strong urbanization power" and "weak control power." This trend is one which is common to many developing countries at present, except perhaps notable exceptions of Korea and Singapore, which are proud of "strong control power." In contrast, Japan has not relied upon regulation but upon projects, which means it carried out city planning by investing public funds which was available as a result of economic development. This is characteristic that is now standing at a major historic turning point.

5. Present Change and Future Perspective

The "centralized and project-oriented system" of the traditional Japanese city planning has been a considerably efficient method to cope with gigantic problems facing cities while

resources, specially planning manpower and financial sources, are limited. What the '92 Act is suggesting is that the Japanese city planning has now reached a historic major turning point to deviate from the conventional method. In the background of this are great currents toward the 21st century, i.e. a population decrease and demands for decentralization.

After peaking in 2007 with 128 million people, the population of Japan is forecast to decrease, becoming half, or 67 million people, in 2100, according to a medium forecast by the Population Problem Research Institute. The 21st century will be an age of "city planning under low growth, zero growth and minus growth" for Japan. The momentum of population concentration to metropolises, which had been a continuous source of troubles for city planning in more than one hundred years in the past, has lost its force in the 1990s. Granted that Japan is now experiencing a post-bubble depression era, the land developed by the Land Readjustment Project and the building floors developed by the Urban Redevelopment Project, (which represent the projects' development benefits to finance the projects themselves and to improve urban infrastructure,) are no longer sold well after they are developed. This indicates that the traditional strategy of improving urban infrastructure depending on development benefits is no longer workable. At the same time, the government suffering from fiscal deficits is strongly pressed to reduce public works investments. Given these circumstances, "centralized and project-oriented city planning system" has reached its limits.

While the pressure for new development weakens, the concern of residents in existing built-up areas with their living environment has inflated as a problem close to them. In addressing this problem, two aspects are demanded. The first aspect is to plan to adjust beforehand complicated interests among residents already living there and to reach a consensus on what the ideal image of their area should be. The second aspect is for the residents to accept the detailed and strict regulations over the built environment in order to accomplish their ideal image. This is the way toward the "plan- and regulation-oriented city planning."

This represents demands for participation by many people in local communities, instead of decisions by a small number of bureaucrats (and politicians) on a State level as before. It should be emphasized that these people are different from those people thirty years before. They are the citizens who now have a "know-how" to organize themselves as volunteers and to develop activities under their own ideas. Various activities of them are called "machizukuri," or literally "community building or making."

In conclusion, the Japanese urban planning is presently about to undergo a major change from "planning by the State and bureaucrats" to "planning by municipalities and residents," from "project-oriented planning for urban infrastructure" to "plan- and regulation-oriented planning for living environment," and from "top-down planning" to "bottom-up planning." The challenge in the 21st century will probably "How should community building activities of the people be incorporated in the legal city planning system."
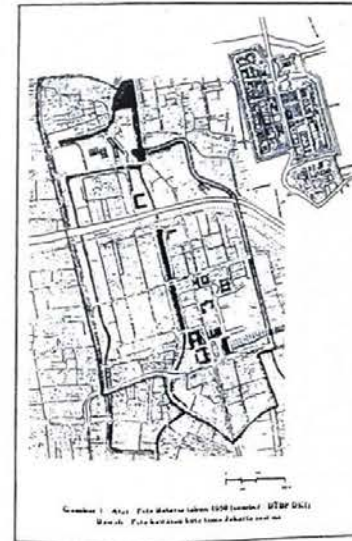
REVITALIZATION OF THE WAREHOUSING ALONGSIDE OPAK RIVER, NORTH JAKARTA
BY NANIEK WIDAYATI
ARCHITECTURE DEPARTMENT
TARUMANAGARA UNIVERSITY
JL. S. PARMAN NO. 1, JAKARTA 11440
INDONESIA

North Jakarta is a historical area which is made permanent from the 16th to 19th centuries, it had been the city activity center because there was Sunda Kelapa harbour that connected that area with the outside world. Mean while, the area alongside the Opak River used to be a warehousing center and a ship workshop.

This area is the one which will be revitalized so that the historical buildings can be maintained and their old functions can be changed into the new ones suited to the present need.

After some studies have been made and RBWK (The City Site Plan) which is now used (until 2005) studied, that area can be used as hotels, restaurants and retail shops while the river as a water recreation resort. The building revitalization is done by adding and reducing details on the original buildings in such a way that the buildings original characters and specific distinctive marks can be maintained.

THE HISTORICAL OBSERVATION/REVIEW

Gambar 1 : Atas Peta Batavia tahun 1650 (sumber UTbr DKI)
Bawah Peta kawasan kota lama Jakarta saat ini

The Opak River area is the one situated in the North Jakarta old city which is a historical area in the development process of Jakarta city (from Jayakarta into Batavia, then was changed once again into Jakarta).

One of the important parts of that historical area is Opak River, which when seen from the North – South Opak River axis is the connector of two areas namely Sunda Kelapa area (harbour city in the 14th century Hindu Kingdom era) and Old Batavia area (Fatahillah Garden) which stands for VOC era (the Dutch) when seen from West – East axis, Opak River is located between two historical signs since the West bank was a location used for struggling the oppression while the East was used as Batavia fortress in 17th century. In building Jakarta city in union, we need to look for the red thread connecting the old and present eras and one of them is this area

alongside Opak River. For that, the revitalization of Opak River area is an important step, as a part of revitalization means of Sunda Kelapa area especially and the building of Jakarta North Seaside in general which has "Rebirth of Jayakarta" as a theme.

EXISTING CONDITION

Opak River area is a skim dirty neglected one and full of wild houses and criminal cases. It consists of ex warehouses and ship and wood workshops. Meanwhile, Opak River itself

Condition of Existing Structure

gets very much sediment and the water which doesn't run becomes black because of being stained. When seen from the path placing, it can be directly seen from the two main reaching paths of Jakarta namely Harbour Road on the South and Pakin Road on the North sides. Meanwhile, the west side is planned to be the city open space. When observed from its buildings, it has the historical red thread in the process of forming Jakarta City.

Its buildings have distinctive architectural value and characteristic which are very potential if it is developed as ocean resort facility with Sunda Kelapa harbour background which is full of historical value.

BUILDING CONDITION

Some buildings on the Opak River side are in poor condition. It is because of both the old age (most were built around the 18th century) and the lack of the intensive maintenance. There are, however, a few good ones since they have been renovated.

Condition of A and B Buildings

When seen from the building potentiality, the A and B buildings are the main ones with high architectural and historical value so that they're potential to be made permanent with building revitalization approach.
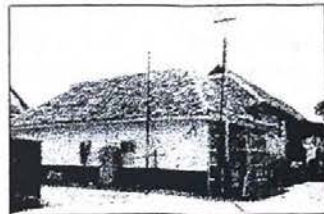
While the other relatively younger ones, with non-significant architectural value and the buildings which have been badly damaged namely the C buildings can be replaced by the new ones, the forms of which are suited to the A and B buildings.

Condition of C Building

BUILDING RESETTING FIT TO THE NEW FUNCTION

When we refer to Red Stone's opinion saying that to get maximum benefit on an old area is to make new function which can support the existing activities, there is an activity chain which gives benefits to each other, and can make the area lively and develop. Opak

River is a tourism activity supporting factor because this area can be turned in such a way into a water tourism area like in the old days. The planning approach to the buildings on the Opak River sides is expected to be able to maintain the old ones, existence suited to their architectural and historical significance. When seen from RBWK 2005, the function of the ex warehouses and ship workshops can be changed into hotels, restaurants and retail shops by adding and reducing the parts of the original buildings in such a way that their original characteristics and special marks can still be very clearly noticed. Meanwhile the existing potentiality needs to be manufactured by considering: environment, path and building (structure/construction).

1. Environment
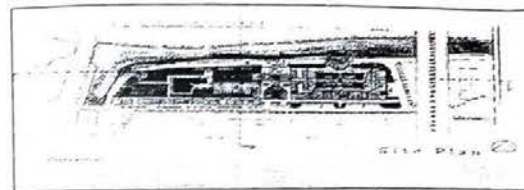
The environment around the path is directed to be made commercial area as a response to the cultural social potentiality having economic dimension, namely the old Jakarta cultural corridor with its other objects such as Sunda Kelapa area, Oceanic Museum, Kota Intan Bridge and pedestrian path alongside West Besar River and Opak River.
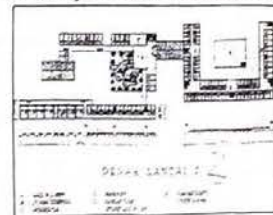
2. Path

The existence of the pedestrian paths alongside the Opak River supports the path as a united part with the environment of Besar River and Jakarta City Cultural Corridor. The
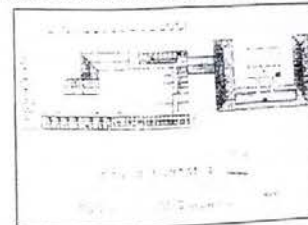

Existing Lay-Out

visual direct view from the path to Sunda Kelapa area supports the path location special mark in the view potentiality being owned.
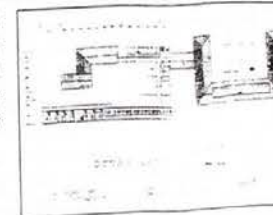

Lay Out Plan

The path borders, namely road on the three sides and Opak River on the other side stand as a multi access for the path itself, especially two main reaching tracks namely Pakin
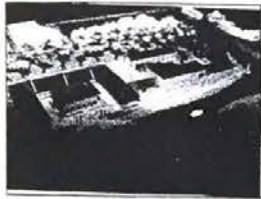

Lay-Out Plan

and Harbour Roads which give the ease of the path connection with the other Jakarta city parts.

Lay-Out Plan

3. Building

The value building of the building architecture as an old building with a strong character, and the attractive elements can support the building usage for restaurants and hotel activities and other supporting facilities.

Proposed Overall Planning

Old buildings with/of high architectural value is also useful for forming images and attractions of the marketing of hotels, restaurants, retail shops and other facilities. The building function which until now supports the oceanic activities can be used to form the continuity images between the old and present time.

CONCLUSION

If the try out of these ex warehouses and ship workshop alongside Opak River is successful, North Jakarta area which has many ancient buildings can be turned and suited to the present function and need in such a way to be a magnet for Jakarta City. In building Jakarta entirely, a tie of red thread between the old and present cultures is still seen.

REFERENCES

1. Dobby, Alan, 1978, *'Conservation and Planning'*, Hutchinson of London.
2. Everson, JA and Fitz Gerald, BP, 1972. *'3 Inside the City'*, Sheck Wah Tong Printing Press Ltd. Hongkong.
3. Feilden, Bernard M, 1982, *'Conservation of Historic Buildings'*, Butterworth Scientific, London.
4. Hall, Edward, 1966, *The Hidden Dimensions'*, Double Day, Garden City, New York.
5. Rapoport, Amos, 1977, *'Human Aspects of Urban Form : Towards A Man-Environment Approach to Urban Form and Design'*, Pergamon Press, New York.
6. ------------------, 1982, *The Meaning of the Build Environment : A Non Verbal Communication Approach'*, Sage Publication, London.

Planning in Melbourne 1950 – 1985: The Formation of Professional Ideologies

Dr Judith Wilks
4 Nineteenth Ave
Sawtell, NSW, 2452
Australia
Email:dgb@tpgi.com.au

Introduction

The activity of planning has had a significant effect on the shaping of places and the built environment, and the nature of urban development, especially in the decades since World War II. A significant body of literature describing, measuring, assessing, explaining and accounting for planning's influence now exists.

However, what we 'know' about the role of planning in social, economic, and political life, is fundamentally related to how we choose to view the world. For example, how we interpret relations between the state, the development of the economy, the production of the built environment, and the processes and events which shape these relations, represents what we 'know' rather than immutable truths and scientific facts.

The urban/planning literature contains many epistemological and theoretical modes of understanding 'the role of planning' in advanced capitalist nations. My own research was related to that part of the theoretical discourse surrounding planning which concerns the world views of planners themselves, and the development of ideologies in planning during the period 1950 – 1985. For as Healey (1985) contends, an important part of the "history" of a profession is the way that its ideologies, and associated bodies of thought have shifted over time.

Knox and Cullen (1981) argue that the professional ideology into which planning students are socialised is a distillation of a number of currents of thought which have swept through planning practice and theory this century. Such currents include the 'environmentalism' of the early sanitary reformers, the 'aesthetics' of the civic design era, the 'spatial determinism' of the influx of geography in to planning in the 1960's, and the 'systems approach' of the American planning vanguard of the 1960's and early 1970's.

In describing the evolution of planning thought and methodologies during the twentieth century, other authors, Reade (1982), Healey (1983, 1986), and Hague (1984), argue that from about the 1960's onwards the profession has been characterised by an inability to develop a coherent ideology capable of rationalising and legitimising not only planning actions, but planning itself.

Consequently there has been an endemic 'lack of fit' between the profession's ideologies, and the experience of the individual planner in practice. Very few studies have investigated this. Healey and Underwood (1978), Cullen and Knox (1991), Galloway and Edwards (1982), and Baum (1980), are among the few. My own research was designed to redress this dearth of empirical work.

My research posed two key questions:

➢ What has been the relative influence of planning's economic and socio-political contexts on the development of planners' professional culture, and the development of their world views about their own planning and about the role of planning in general?

And,

➢ To what extent have planners' beliefs and world views about their work been represented in their work, for example in the plans they produced during the time period under study (1950-85)?

My research aimed to build some bridges between the 'big' theories and questions which surround issues such as the role of planning in an advanced capitalist society, and the experiences of people who are engaged in the activity of planning.

I studied a selection of planners who had worked with the Melbourne Metropolitan Board of Works (MMBW), a large public sector planning and engineering organisation, during the period 1950-85. These planners had all undertaken strategic metropolitan planning duties, at various levels of the organisational hierarchy.

Ideology is of course a difficult thing to study empirically. Thus I had to 'break down' the phenomenon of a professional ideology into its constitutive elements. These include: the professional association's role in developing a 'place' for the occupation it represents; the ideas, views and inspirations which professionals draw from their professional culture, and the manner in which they do this; the individual practitioner's ethics, values, and beliefs; and the constitution and construction of professional knowledge.

Ideologies in planning represent a range of orientations or 'world views' about the role of planning and the role of the individual planner. These world views are developed within certain contexts – the political-economy, socio-cultural agendas, the organisational setting of planning, and evolving governmental and political styles and agendas. These contexts critically influence the nature and composition of planners' ideologies. Moreover, the ability of practitioners to insert elements of their world view about their practice into their practice is significantly influenced by these contexts.

Planners Ethics

The Royal Australian Planning Institute has only ever been partially successful in its professional project, which has been weakened by a chronic inability, during the period 1950-85, to explicate the roles, objectives, knowledge base, and substantive concerns of the activity of planning and its 'representative' professional association. Those planners I studied were critical of RAPI's leadership in matters such as ethical guidance.

In the absence of a clearly defined 'external' code of ethics in planning, I found that planners had developed individualised orientations on ethics, which clustered around three main perspectives. The first was the issue of corruption, and the belief that planners should not be tempted to accept bribes, or be influenced by those outside of the planning process seeking to impress their own interest on decision-making. The second was related to the belief that planners should possess a strong service to the community orientation to their work, which for many planners was underlined by their belief that they require a social commitment, for example by helping to bring about greater equity. The third perspective on ethics was akin to traditional conceptions about professional conduct, involving such tenets as 'fairness', 'openness', and 'trustworthiness'.

Planners Values

I found that for the planners I studied it became increasingly difficult for them to apply their professional values to their planning work. This feature of their practice was very significant with respect to one of planning's enduring values - equity, or social justice. For the 'slice' of metropolitan strategic planning I studied, the political mediation of planning intensified over the study period.

The halcyon days of the 1950's and 1960's when planners were deified by both the public and the politicians as 'the experts' with respect to matters of land use planning, were just about over by the end of the period under study. As one planner remarked, "planners were increasingly seen as one of the groups that you could kick around". When planners came to talking about whether or not they believed that the outcomes of their work represented what was intended in the spirit of the documents they were working on, they nearly all mentioned the conflicts

between the two values of equity and efficiency. As a result of the increasing economic and political pressures on planning work, the latter increasingly came to dominate the former during the latter part of the study period, making the application of planners' long-cherished value of equity increasingly difficult.

Thus throughout the period 1950-85 the contextual features of planning practice increasingly intermediated between the values planners held to be ideally important, and the values which were represented in their work, causing a dissonance. These features were exemplified in the new political and ideological agenda of the Victorian State Labor government of the early 1980's which created new politico-administrative circumstances for planning in Victoria.

Planners Knowledge

For most planners, planning knowledge is generally held to be a compilation of the skills and insights of related disciplines - a 'borrowing' profession - and perceptions of planning's area of expertise are characterised by ambiguity. Nevertheless, many planners believe that they at least possess the distinction of being able to borrow well, and to think in a broader, more synthesising way, than professionals from related disciplines.

I found that work rated as the most important source of planning knowledge. There was significant dissonance apparent between the skills and roles planners believe to be important in the ideal, and those they found to be useful in their work.

Skills planners believe to be important in the ideal (those associated with attributes such as idealism, creativity, advocacy, equity, and developing an interface with the community), were in practice not as useful, for example, as skills and roles associated with bureaucratic and technical expertise, and preparing advice for politicians. This dissonance occurred not so much because planning was 'out of step' with reality, but because it is applied in contexts, or circumstances, which mediate planning actions and planning outcomes.

Organisational Context of Planning

The organisational context of planning is a significant intermediating influence between planners' ideologies and planning practice, both with respect to its own characteristics (such as its structure and culture), and its relationship to the political machinery. The public sector bureaucratic organisation is an important setting of planning work and variously acts as a channel for, or a barrier to, political influences on the work of planners.

When, how, and why it does this is dependent upon a number of relations including aspects of the organisation's own culture such as the combination of personalities, the nature of the organisational hierarchy, management practices, and decision-making styles and arrangements. In the case of the MMBW, these relations were themselves increasingly intermediated during the 1970's and 1980's by changing governmental styles, and changing socio-cultural and political agendas.

Professionalism in Planning

Professionalism, however, was one element of planners' professional ideologies which was not as vulnerable to intermediation. It was found that there was only a very small drop in the ranking planners gave to the importance of professionalism in the ideal, and its usefulness in their planning work. Professionalism was an attribute planners valued, almost as if it was a code of behaviour they could hang onto in the absence of a clearly defined external set of professional ethics and values. These findings underlined the 'durability' of professionalism in an organisational setting.

Those planners I studied demonstrated a strong attachment to the importance of professionalism in planning, and moreover, it was practically useful to them. The importance and usefulness of professionalism was, in part, a response to the absence of a substantial code of 'external' professional ethics. That is, these planners had developed, albeit in very vague terms, what Healey has termed 'internal ethical monitors'

Conclusions

I did not find evidence that planners revise their values when they are no longer congruent with prevailing socio-cultural or political agendas. The planners I studied demonstrated that they do have the ability to develop world views, or ideologies which are non-ideological (in terms of their functionality to the dominant ideology), and their ideologies are not reducible solely to the economic and social relations of capitalism within which the activity of planning is located.

For example, during the early 1980's, despite the lack of political commitment to the role of equity in planning, and hence the increasing dissonance between professional ideologies and practice, planners demonstrated an ability to reflect on this. They did not unquestioningly absorb 'the new ideology', for their value commitment to equity was deeply seated in their world views, and permeated other elements of their professional ideologies such as ethics and even, on occasions, professionalism.

However, unlike values, planning knowledge appeared to be less resilient to external change. It seems that planners' roles and skills do change - that is, become more routinised - in the bureaucratic or organisational setting.

I found considerable evidence that individual planners have developed professional ideologies which serve as a framework by which to view their practice (a 'world view' of their practice). This framework has the potential to enable planners to transcend the exigencies of everyday practice. What I found lacking, however, was a shared or group consciousness about these elements.

During the period I studied, I found that the planning profession as a whole demonstrated a chronic inability to develop a belief system based not only on its cognitive authority, but also on the objective quality of its formal knowledge, and the ethical quality of its knowledge. RAPI, is partly, but not entirely to blame for this. This contextual features of planning, and their intermediation of planning, accounts for much of this failure.

However, it should not be assumed that the weakening of planning's professional project has brought about a concomitant weakening of the individual planner's attachment to certain elements of their professional ideologies.

I found that when planners are given the opportunity to reflect on the role of elements such as ethics and values in their work, they demonstrate that they are capable of viewing their own role as planners in a way which is independent of the circumstances which define the context and contents of their work.

This being said, the question arises that even if planners are successful in achieving a group consciousness about such issues as ethics, values and ethical knowledge in planning, what does it matter if in practice they are constrained by certain realities? Realities which dictate that political and economic factors will nearly always intermediate the application of planners' ideas *about* their work to their work.

That such intermediation of planning work occurs is not in doubt, and a substantial proportion of my research was directed at developing an understanding of the mechanisms and channels through which this occurs. However individual planners have, on the whole, not lost sight of some of the fundamental tenets of planning for example social justice and professionalism.

These tenets constitute basic elements of their professional ideologies, and have proved remarkably resilient to the lack of external guidance, and to intermediation by the economic and political circumstances of planning.

Much debate is needed, and explicit connections between the core elements of professional ideologies in planning need to be made again, if planning is to have any hope of escaping its chronic legitimation problems.

References

Baum,H (1980) "The Uncertain Consciousness of Planners and the Professional Enterprise" Plan Canada March

Cullen, J & Knox,P (1981) "The Triumph of the Eunuch" Urban Affairs Quarterly Vol 17(2)

Galloway,T & Edwards,T (1982) "Critically Examining the Assumptions of Espoused Theory" J.A.P.A Spring pp184-195

Hague,C (1984) The Development of Planning Thought: A Critical Perspective Hutchinson, London

Healey,P & Underwood,J (1978) "Professional Ideals and Planning Practice" Progress in Planning Vol 9(2) Pergamon, Oxford

Healey,P (1983) "Rational Method as a Mode of Policy Formation and Implementation in Land Use Policy" Environment &Planning B Vol10 pp103-120

Healey,P (1985) "The Professionalisation of Planning in Britain" Town Planning Review Vol 56(4) pp492-507

Healey,P (1986) "Emerging Directions for Research on Local Land Use Planning" Environment & Planning B Vol 13 pp103-120

Knox,P & Cullen,J (1981) "Planners as Urban Managers: An Exploration of the Attitudes and Self Image of Senior British Planners" in Environment & Planning A Vol 13 pp885-898

Reade,E (1982) "The Effects of Town and Country Planning in Britain" in Urban Change and Conflict Open University Press, Milton Keynes

Planning on the Pacific Rim: Reginald H. Thomson of Seattle

William H. Wilson
University of North Texas
P.O. Box 310650
Denton, TX 76203-0650 USA

Reginald H. Thomson made significant contributions to his region and to the Pacific Rim. From 1892 to 1911 he was the city engineer of Seattle, where he planned the radical regrading of the city's steep hills, secured a safe, abundant water supply, planned and supervised the construction of effective sewers, created a hydroelectric power system, and improved the streets. Then he was, briefly, the first chief engineer of the Port of Seattle. In 1912 he became the first superintendent of the sprawling Strathcona Park on Vancouver Island, British Columbia's initial provincial park.[1]

Thomson thrived on his outdoor experience but World War I ended it. He left in 1915. After his return to Seattle he served on the city council from 1916 to 1922. In 1930, following the death of the city engineer in an automobile accident, he returned to the city engineer's post for a year. Through it all Thomson was a consulting engineer to a score of cities and projects. He died in 1949, aged 92.[2]

There are three components to Thomson's success. The first was his extraordinary character and intellect. Although he was born to a devout Presbyterian family and lived by a strict moral code, Thomson had a sense of humor. Partly because of his wit, but also because he had something to say and was well organized, he was in high demand as a speaker.[3]

But Thomson was much more than bright and clever. He worked hard, and once he decided that a project was physically possible and politically feasible, he pursued it relentlessly. This is the second contributor to his success. Once determined upon a course of action, he wrote, he tried to meet criticism courteously, but "I make no promises to change my mind or to change the nature of the work or to follow any other person's advice." Not everyone agreed with Thomson's self-assessment. The sprightly weekly, the *Argus*, frequently discoursed on "the bull-headedness and obstinacy for which the city engineer is noted. . . ."[4]

Whatever one's views of Thomson, Seattle needed a strong planning hand, and he provided it. When he arrived in 1881 the city held perhaps 4,000 souls. When he assumed the engineer's position in 1892 the population was around 45,000, and when he relinquished it in 1911, Seattle had grown to 240,000, a sixty-fold increase in thirty years. This burgeoning population settled in an hourglass-shaped area, pinched at its waist by freshwater Lake Washington and saltwater Puget Sound, and hampered by a rumpled topography of steep hills, ridges, and ravines. The grades on improved streets were as steep as 23 percent, that is, a 23-foot rise for each 100 feet of horizontal distance. Hills, some almost cliff-like, hemmed in the commercial core except for a short distance north and west along the waterfront. A large, shallow salt marsh and tide flat lay directly south and east. A high ridge rose up from the southeastern corner of the commercial district, combining with the salt marsh to inhibit traffic to the south. Indeed, the central city was ringed round with barriers to land travel. Worse, the core of the commercial district was barely above high tide; unusually high water caused flooding. In short, as Thomson phrased it many years later; "I felt that Seattle was in a pit, that to get anywhere we would be compelled to climb out if we could."[5]

The extraordinary grant of power under the city charter was the third element of Thomson's success. The charter of 1896 declared that the city engineer was to control all official map and survey making, to "direct and supervise the construction of all public works," and to manage all public structures. Moreover, the city engineer was made chairman of the board of public works, originally composed of himself, the superintendent of streets, sewers, and parks, and the superintendent of lighting and waterworks. He was obligated to attend all council meetings and accorded the right to speak on any issue involving his department. The board that the engineer chaired wielded as much power over the direction and pace of Seattle's growth as any other three people, for the board was to "command, regulate, control and direct the erection and removal of poles in streets for telegraphs, telephones and electric wires for electric lights and motors;" to control railroad tracks, and "to fix and regulate the places and manner of laying down and taking up all . . . pipes in the streets and other public places in the city." The mayor exercised the only effective authority over the city engineer, for the mayor appointed the engineer to a three-year term, with the council's consent. The engineer remained the chairman of the board of public works until 1910, when that year's charter gave to the mayor the power of appointing the chairman of an expanded board.[6]

Armed with personality, necessity, and power, Thomson battled Seattle's steep streets with the objects of granting access to and from downtown, and providing buildable sites in the regraded areas. Some regrading had already been done, but it was neither extensive nor very effective. The greatest impetus to regrading was the city council's decision to widen and straighten some streets and to raise all of them in the low, burned-out commercial core following the great fire of 1889. The streets were raised from about twelve to thirty-five feet.[7]

Before any regrade work could be done Thomson had first to address the legal issues. As state law and the city charter provided, the owners of a majority of the property along any street could call for its regrading by signing a petition, and many owners were willing to sign, even if they would be heavily assessed. An effective regrade required the petitioners to sign up interested parties for many blocks. Then an Eminent Domain Commission appraised the buildings scheduled for destruction. Next the commission determined the

damages to each property owner resulting from lowering the street grades. The city paid these awards to the owners of the buildings and land. Then the commission estimated the costs of grading down and repaving each street, together with the costs involved in the installation of new utilities. Finally, the costs of building destruction, of property damages, and of regrading, repaving, and utilities installation were totaled, and the grand total assessed against all the properties that the commission judged to be benefitted by the improvement. The assessment varied with the degree of benefit. Of course, many of the benefitted properties were also damaged ones, so that what was given with one hand was taken away with the other. In addition, the property owners had to pay to have their lots lowered to the new street grades.[8]

At least, this was the theory. The practice of this vast urban rebuilding was much less tidy. Some property owners opposed the regrades. Their property had to be condemned in what were often lengthy proceedings. Others, although compensated, made trouble about vacating or moving houses or buildings. On the city's side of it, Thomson sent a member of his department to interview each property owner, to attempt to secure a release from damages, a release that would lower the total assessment. Now and then a property owner signed a release[9]

Thomson's regrading began in 1897 with First Avenue from Pike Street near the north end of the present downtown to Denny Way, which borders the present Seattle Center, where the Space Needle is located. This first of the Thomson regrades leveled a western toe of Denny Hill that pushed out toward Elliott Bay. In the next few years the regrading of Second Avenue from Yesler Way at the south edge of downtown through to Denny Way again cut into the formidable 110-foot hill, but its summit remained, as did the slopes to the east, north, and south. All this work plus the regrading of Third Avenue convinced property owners along Jackson Street, that barrier to the south, to petition for a regrade. The progress of the Jackson Street work gives some idea of the time involved in regrading. Most of the property owners signed in 1904, but challenges in court consumed some two years' time. In April 1907 the city let a contract. The work went slowly because of its great difficulty, and at last it was finished in February 1910.[10]

Meanwhile, back in the north end, enough property owners had decided that the summit of Denny Hill would have to go. Bringing down the entire sixty-two city blocks appeared to be too expensive an undertaking, so the property owners compromised on an area of twenty-seven blocks that included the summit. The area described a rectangle running from Pine Street nine blocks north to Denny Way, and from the east side of Second Avenue three blocks east to the east flank of Fifth Avenue.[11]

Private contractors performed the work to Thomson's specifications. Steam shovels, horse-drawn dump wagons, and rail cars moved the earth in most of the downtown area, while houses, buildings, and public transit rails were raised on cribbing, added at the bottom as the grade fell, then removed

from the bottom up after the new grade was established. In the Jackson street regrade to the south of downtown, giant hoses and nozzles shot 18 million to 22 million gallons of water each day at the earth and rock, material first loosened by dynamite. Much of it went into the 1200-acre salt marsh, raising it as much as forty feet. At the Denny Hill regrade north of downtown, similar hydraulic methods leveled most of the high ground. The houses considered to be not worth saving were undermined by the violent streams of water until they tumbled down to the new grade, where they were burned.[12]

Altogether, the downtown, Jackson Street, Denny Hill, and other regrades moved 15,138,542 net cubic yards of earth and rock. The Panama Canal dig, that benchmark of United States engineering, moved about 208,400,000 net cubic yards. That is, Thomson's reconfiguration of an existing urban area involved more than seven percent of the excavation of a huge canal in virtually undeveloped country.[13]

His desire for Seattle residents to enjoy good sanitation and--to the extent that an engineer could arrange it--an abundant urban life, led Thomson to construct an adequate sewer system. He also initiated the first effective city water supply, and the first city-owned electric lighting system. He served the city by drafting the necessary local, state, or national legislation or assisting in the drafting of it; by helping to secure what became the Hiram Chittenden ship locks and the ship channel linking lakes Washington and Union to the sea[14]

Thomson's career as an engineer and planner was one of extraordinary achievement and length, beginning in Seattle in 1881 and lasting until his death in 1949. The difficulties of Seattle's wrinkled topography required melioration. Thomson supplied the engineering skill, the powerful will, and the leadership to establish the regrades, build the sewers, plan the water system, and initiate the lighting program of a major port on the Pacific Rim. He was, of course, greatly assisted by a grant of legal authority, the rise of engineering professionalism, and an enabling, complex technology that only an expert could manipulate.

Thomson's success also rested upon extraordinary understanding. As many authors have written, those who were in charge of urban systems gained an invaluable insight into city problems. Thomson well understood that a city must have good sanitation, a commercially honest and expansive trade which lowers the cost of living, and a "stable government" that ensures the other necessities. His long and powerful tenure during the great days of Seattle's growth from 1892 to 1911, significantly assisted his adopted city's achievement of these urban requisites.[15]

NOTES

1. Thomson recounted his work as city engineer in *That Man Thomson*, ed. Grant H. Redford (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1950). Thomson summarized his work for the Port of Seattle and in Strathcona Park in a notebook entitled "Sketches 1877 to 1932." See the

entries for 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, and 1915. Reginald H. Thomson Papers, Accession Number 1602-2, box 2, folder 10, Manuscripts and University Archives Division, University of Washington Libraries, hereafter RHT, accession number, box number, folder or letterpress book (lpb) number, MUA, UW.

2. For Thomson's leaving Strathcona Park, see two letters to John P. Hartman, 10 October 1914, 11 October 1914, RHT, 89, Pt I, box 5, lpb 13. See also the 1915 entry in "Sketches 1877 to 1932," RHT, 1602-2, box 2, folder 10, MUA, UW. For Thomson's view of his life to the late 1920s, see the mostly autobiographical "Reginald Heber Thomson," in Bagley, Clarence Booth, *History of King County, Washington* (Chicago: S.J. Clarke, 1929) 2:92-100. For one example of consulting, see Thomson to Mayor and City Council, Walla Walla, Washington, 18 November 1905, RHT, 89, pt I, box 2, lpb 4. For other information on Thomson, see his biography file, Thomson, Reginald Heber, in the pamphlet file Washington (State) Biography, Special Collections and Preservation Division, University of Washington Libraries, especially these clippings: his obituary, *Seattle Times*, 7 January 1949, and *Seattle Daily Journal of Commerce*, 19 August 1930, concerning his 1930 appointment as city engineer.

3. For Thomson the humorist, see to A.L. Walters, 22 September 1903, RHT, 89, Pt. I, box 1, lpb 3, MUA, UW. For Thomson the speaker, see his "How and Why Cities Grow" [1909], RHT, 89, Pt. I, box 6, folder 9, MUA, UW; and to Mrs. I.H. Jennings, 10 May 1907, RHT, 89, Pt. I, box 2, lpb 5, MUA, UW.

4. Thomson to the Rev. W.T. Hall, 5 October 1910, RHT, 89, Pt. I, box 3, lpb 9. *Seattle Argus*, 19 October 1901, 1.

5. Population figures are from Robert C. Nesbit, *"He Built Seattle": A Biography of Judge Thomas Burke* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1961), 39, 121, 401. For descriptions of Seattle's topography, see Arthur H. Dimock, "Preparing the Groundwork for a City: The Regrading of Seattle, Washington," *Transactions of the American Society of Civil Engineers* 92 (1928), 722; Bagley, *History of King County*, 1:451; and William C. Speidel, *Sons of the Profits: Or, There's No Business like Grow Business: The Seattle Story, 1851-1901* (Seattle: Nettle Creek, 1967), 213-38, and end papers. For the quotation, see *That Man Thomson*, 14.

6. *The Charter of the City of Seattle, Adopted March 31, 1896* (Seattle: Lowman & Hanford, 1896), 38-61. For quotations, see 40. See also *The Charter of the City of Seattle* (Seattle: Lowman and Hanford, 1912), 47; and Thomson to Warren Olney, 11 January 1904, RHT, 89, Pt. I, box 1, lpb 3, MUA, UW.

7. For regrades, see Clarence B. Bagley, *History of Seattle: From the Earliest Settlement to the Present Time* (Chicago: S.J. Clarke, 1916) 1:354, 359-62; Bagley, *History of King County*, 1:678-85; Thomson, *That Man Thomson*, 85-93; and Speidel, *Sons of the Profits*, 224-30. For raising and filling after the 1889 fire, see Bagley, *History of Seattle*, 1:428.

8. V.V. Tarbill, "Mountain-Moving in Seattle," reprinted from the *Harvard Business Review* (July 1930), 488-89.

9. Thomson, *That Man Thomson*, 86-87, 89-90.

10. For the first regrading, see ibid., 85-86. For regrading in general, see the sources in n. 7. For the Jackson Street regrade time lapse, see Thomson, *That Man Thomson*, 91.

11. Tarbill, "Mountain-Moving in Seattle," 484, 486.

12. For cribbing, see ibid., 485, and Dimock, "Preparing the Groundwork," 730. For the salt marsh, see Charles Evan Fowler, "Discussion," appended to Dimock, 734. For the Jackson Street method, see Dimock, "Preparing the Groundwork," 723-24, 729. For Denny Hill, see Dimock, "Preparing the Groundwork," 729, and Tarbill, "Mountain-Moving in Seattle," 485.

13. For the cubic yardage, see Thomson to Vivian M. Carkeek, 25 January 1915, RHT, 89, Pt. I, box 5, lpb 14; and David McCollough, *The Path Between the Seas: The Creation of the Panama Canal, 1870-1914*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1977), 611. The cubic yardage omits additional material removed because of slides.

14. For the development of these systems, see Thomson, *That Man Thomson*, 39-48; 57-84; and 95-104. For some problems with them, see ibid., 83-84; Sharon A. Boswell and Lorraine McConaghy, *Raise Hell and Sell Newspapers: Alden J. Blethen and the Seattle Times* (Pullman: Washington State University Press, 1996); and *Seattle Argus* 16 October 1915, 1. For Thomson's other activities, see Thomson, *That Man Thomson*, 105-19.

15. For quotation and elements of urban growth, see "How and Why Cities Grow," n. 3. See also Stanley K. Shultz and Clay McShane, "To Engineer the Metropolis: Sewers, Sanitation, and City Planning in Late-Nineteenth-Century America," *Journal of American History* (September 1978) 65: 389-411; and Mark H. Rose, *Cities of Light and Heat: Domesticating Gas and Electricity in Urban America* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995).

The Evolving Middle Landscape: Valencia, California
Patrick H. Wirtz
School of Urban Planning and Development
University of Southern California
Von KleinSmid Center #351
Los Angeles, CA 90089-0042

Valencia, California, is a case of the transformation of suburbia. Kenneth Jackson has documented the settlement of what he calls the crabgrass frontier, the rural periphery of urban centers. Suburbia, an attempt by people to escape the problems of urban areas and to live closer to nature, is one result of this process of settlement. Three decades ago, Valencia, California, was once the crabgrass frontier. Today, however, it is a regional center in the Los Angeles metropolitan area, a concentrated focus of regional employment and residence that shares many of the urban problems people moved there to escape. This paper describes how this regional center developed from a suburban model and how this growth depended upon a rhetorical interplay between urbanism and pastoral ideals.

Peter Rowe describes suburban development as an attempt to balance a conceptual dualism, namely, an attempt to gain the benefits of both city and country and, in the process, remake the landscapes of each. By the 1980s suburbs were taking on many of the characteristics associated with heavily-urbanized areas, such as demographic diversity, congested traffic, and diversified centers of regional employment. The bedroom suburb transformed into something else: regional centers, edge cities, urban villages.

Peter Rowe, in *Making the Middle Landscape*, holds the Los Angeles metropolitan region as a paradigm for suburbs becoming independent of the central city. But despite this transformation, some of these emerging regional centers still positioned themselves as pastoral retreats from congested and unsafe urban areas. This is not remarkable, for when a major rational leap is made in conceptual thinking about the urban landscape, such as the creation of master planned communities, in response there is often a romantic reaction to make the results seem a progressive blending of pastoral ideals and the modern technical orientation. Modernity, Rowe holds, is thus made palatable to consumers in the guise of tradition.

The history of Valencia, California, supports this theory. Valencia, a master-planned community north of Los Angeles exists on a former ranch of The Newhall Land and Farming Company, the master developer of Valencia. Once used for cattle grazing and growing crops, in 1965 Newhall Land formally announced a master plan for a new community on its ranch. That community, the new town of Valencia, was planned for 250,000 residents plus a similar number of jobs, and as a regional center for retail, office, and other commercial services.

In the 1960s, and even still today, the general impression of Los Angeles was that it was essentially chaotic, an unplanned mess lacking any thoughtful efforts at land use coordination. But historians offer contrary evidence. Belying the stereotype, Southern California land developers were part of the forefront of this experimentation into planning balanced neighborhoods. In the 1960s, on the edges of the LA metro region, new towns began appearing off the freeways leading from the central city led by developers

committed to decentralized metropolitan growth. Because dense urban patterns characteristic of other cities never developed to the same extent in the region, Southern California new towns were a response to older suburban patterns, they in turn once on the vanguard of decentralized growth. The developers of Southern California new towns conceived of their communities as less radical *alternatives to* than *improvements upon* decentralized metropolitan settlement patterns.

As articulated by the firm of Victor Gruen and Associates, the Valencia Master Plan featured several components. First, the community was spatially organized into neighborhood units as a remedy for urban alienation. Second, Valencia was a collection of units organized hierarchically. Neighborhoods combined to form villages which, as a higher organizing entity, incorporated additional land uses such as a village shopping center and multi-family dwellings. Villages, in turn, oriented toward the city center where high intensive or specialty uses requiring a large population base were located. Third, Valencia City Center was an intensive, high density, mixed-use district associated with traditional American downtowns. This became a strong marketable idea: the existence of an accessible, yet separate, center of mixed-use activity to add urbanity to the metropolitan periphery. Fourth, as a comprehensive new town Valencia was to be an employment center not merely a bedroom community. This was part of the ideal of creating a self-contained community, which meant not one completely autonomous from the larger metro region but, rather, one that offered the wide assortment of lifestyle and employment options within one smaller, comprehensive geographic unit. Fifth, the Valencia Master Plan was a commitment to preserve open space as one of several amenities for residents. Park, pedestrian systems, and home models were designed to provide residents with daily contact with the out-of-doors.

Valencia in concept was a dialectical landscape reflecting its developers' and residents' responses to two poles, metropolitan urban life and imagery on one side and metaphors rooted in romanticism and pastoralism on the other. This dialectic became more prominent as Valencia matured. In the ensuing decades Valencia began responding to the changing market for suburbia. The urban periphery began attracting an increasing diversity of groups. Changes in household size, household purchasing power, and national employment composition triggered a stronger emphasis on issues of homeowner 'lifestyle' in the real estate industry. The urban periphery, once the popularly-held bastion of family suburbs, was becoming socially more diverse. More single persons and childless couples were moving to the suburbs, both as a result of metropolitan employment decentralization and issues of affordability. In response, housing product became even more diverse.

During the 1980s, industrial growth in the Valencia Industrial Center and subsequent employment growth became fulfilling the intention to make Valencia a center of regional employment and business. Valencia led growth in the Santa Clarita Valley, now reaching a resident population of more than 150,000. But the 1980s was also the start of the slow-growth movement, when homeowner reaction rose against new development, as growth was blamed for the increasing pressure on local streets, schools, and recreation facilities.

Newhall Land still carried on its tradition of evoking community and familial values in Valencia marketing. The image of Valencia was also increasingly rustic in its

residential advertising, despite the fact that the valley as a whole was developing in the other direction. Ads did not neglect to mention the total planned environment, employment and shopping centers included, but the thrust of the images reinforced Valencia as a refuge for the modern family.

The most significant event defining the development of Valencia recently is the first sustained development of the town center. However, the original vision of a high-density, urban core was significantly scaled down. Instead of a forest of residential and office towers resting upon shopping malls and underground parking, the plans for the Valencia Town Center focused upon a lower density mixed-use main street featuring a regional shopping mall, office space, a hotel, and entertainment-sports facilities.

With this project, Valencia was making its claim to regional center status. Complimenting a major regional shopping mall would be a Town Center Drive main street project. Town Center Drive will be a shared pedestrian-motor vehicle spine, a linear focus of commercial retail, office, and entertainment activities. The plans for the Valencia Town Center evoke the aura of hometown neighborliness and casual formality, despite the marked intensity of land use and proposed activity when compared to the surrounding built environment. Continuing the rhetorical interplay with suburbia that drives the concept of planned communities, these centers are sometimes referred to as 'urban villages.' No matter that the title appears to be an oxymoron, in practice this represents an attempt to create a place for communal activity at a manageable scale for residents. The term 'urban' distinguishes these centers from stereotypical, anonymous suburban sprawl and marks them as places of excitement and activity; 'villages' meanwhile places them firmly in the nostalgic tradition used by American new towns. The Valencia Town Center as an urban village embodies the middle landscape character of Valencia, a point of controlled and manageable activity complementing the surrounding decentralized environment.

Valencia is now staking its claim as a regional center in the developing pattern of the LA metro region, which now comprises a series of multi-nucleated regional centers, of which the traditional downtown core is but one node of employment, commerce, and culture among many other nodes. But if Valencia is fulfilling its original concept as a comprehensive community, embodied in its master plan of thirty years ago, it is also an evolving middle landscape: a former ranch turned bedroom community turned city for suburbanites fleeing older suburban developments.

Design with Nature, or Design with Natural Process? Rethinking McHarg's Approach in Taipei

Pei-ju Yang
Graduate Institute of Building and Planning
National Taiwan University
3F, No.28, Ssu-wei Rd., Taipei City, Taiwan

By the year 2000, there will be more than half of the world's population living in urban areas. Cities as habitats are now confronting all new challenges never happened in history. Ecological problems are based on the urban process of highly intense interactions between human beings and natural environment. Any possibilities to solve the problems, mitigate the environmental stress or change the out of control situation therefore must come from the city. Ecological thinking as a new paradigm in urban planning and design becomes an urgent mission in the new coming century. That must be very different from traditional environmental planning, a widespread but confusing discipline, which seems always too late to face the dispersedly urban growth situation worldwide.

Context in Taipei

Taipei city was developing with dependency upon the Taipei basin and surrounding mountains since 18th century. The space has been transforming from aboriginal hunting field, agricultural settlement, modern streets planning by Japanese colonial government, CBD development since 1945 to metropolis sprawling today. How did Taipei grow in the past? The life support system based on Taipei basin--food, water, forest and other energy supply--was always limited by the defined basin region. In early time, Taipei was forced to be sustainable in *bioregion* because the impact of urbanization on the ecosystem was still light and scale limited. Since railroad, highway were built, telegraph and computer networking infrastructure were constructed, new circulation and communication ways change the space and initiate new possibilities for the urban process which break the dependent relation upon the relatively confined basin boundary.

Limits of the Environmentally Sensitive Area approach

However, some natural disasters induced by land developments on slopes or basin areas surrounding Taipei urban fringe keep happening in high frequency in the past. Urban sprawling phenomenon becomes one of the major issues for urban and environmental planning professionals to deal with in Taiwan. For planning professionals here, some of the most commonly used concepts are environmental constraints and opportunities, mapping technique or division of environmentally sensitive areas. They became well known since McHarg's original book *Design with Nature*, which is now a very popular approach for planners to treat sites or lands in environmental considerations. These concepts are also involved in specific regulations in Taiwan, which are the major tools to define environmentally sensitive areas such as steep slope area, wetland, forest for preservation, wild life protection zones and national parks in Taipei metropolis.

What are the environmental constraints and opportunities of Taipei basin region?

This is a typical question we usually ask when the environmentally sensitive area approach is proposed. Space is divided by different degrees of suitability zones. "Nature" is valued high and regarded as separation from permissible urban development area. In fact, although we try to prevent urban activities from sensitive areas, "nature" was scarcer year by year. Sensitive area divided according to regulations is a too static and concessive way, which could not stop the tendency of urban development expansion. Continuous events of environmental disasters reveal the limitation of these tools to manage the changing boundary of city/nature areas.

From Ecology to "Ecology of Urbanization"

Environmentally sensitive area approach is mostly based on ecology. Ecology, is a technical theory and a belief system as well. On the one hand, ecology promotes itself to be an alternative science against other mainstream sciences. Urbanization that relies on scientific progress produced environmental problems. Ecology as another science plays a critique role. As a technical approach, ecology is not so much a planning prescription as an analysis. On the other hand, ecological thinking as a belief system often builds upon specific nostalgia of pre-modern worldview, place attachment and environmental amenity. Why we try to pursue designing with nature is originated in women/men's "physiological and psychological dependence on nature" (McHarg, 1969).

After all, could ecology treat city and natural environment at the same time? Because of the city/nature dualism thinking behind, the environmentally sensitive area approach always excludes the urban process outside the environmental analysis. That is why McHarg's approach becomes so powerless when dealing with site or area located in urbanized area. Does the ecological concept still work when urban sprawl becomes a trend can't slow down? The issue of urban sprawl and environmental changes is nothing new. Could we rethink it in a more dynamic viewpoint? For example,

What were the constraints to urban growth that kept Taipei so limited in scale in the past, and what opportunities released the Taipei urbanization and natural changing process from the constraints?

Constraints and opportunities are not fixed concepts in the urban formation process. It is hard to grasp the meaning of the whole process by natural analysis only, which might be helpful to our understanding in the urban ecology problems but not in the ecological problems for urbanization process. We now need *ecology of urbanization* (Harvey, 1996), which provides a historical vision of the whole geographic space and integrates nature/urban in a dynamic process.

Design with Natural/Urban process

How could the concept of *ecology of urbanization* be reflected in urban planning and design thinking? The idea of involving ecological factors in planning and design is not a fresh thing. But contemporary concern for the rapidly urbanizing world is facing a quite different situation. It is unlikely for us to make sense totally, as did the

concepts created by the original book *Design with Nature* in 1969. We could place McHarg's insights in a new context by three aspects:

First, *historical vision* could prevent the static and concessive outcome of environmentally sensitive area analysis. The original environmental constraints and opportunities are changeable and the analytic procedure becomes more complex.

Second, when the city/nature dualism is dissipated, dimension of *scale* will be the critical key factor. Because the city relies more and more on global network rather upon its hinterland, new opportunities will release the urban process from original bioregional constraints. The ecological scope of city will be extended from a basin region to a larger scale: Northern Taiwan, the Asia-Pacific Rim, or the whole world.

The third dimension is the *planning process*. There is an authoritarian tendency hiding in the mapping and valuation process in environmentally sensitive area approach. It is not flexible and feasible to impose a comprehensive design by only one planning authority. Within the accelerating and uncontrolled urbanized reality, new design and planning approach for future metropolis need not only historical thinking and large-scale analysis, but also a localized guiding process to manage change.

References

Harvey, D.(1996) *Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference*. Blackwell, London.

Huang, S.L.(1996) *Indicators and Strategy of Sustainable Urban Development for Taipei City*. Taipei City Government, Taipei.

McHarg, I.L.(1969) *Design with Nature*. 1992 by John Wiley & Sons Inc., New York.

A Study on the Beginning of Metropolitan Regional Planning and Conservation Policies for Kinki (Osaka, Kobe and Nara)

Takashi YASUDA, Tadatoshi KISHI
Department of Architecture, Setsunan University,
Neyagawa, Osaka 572-8508, Japan

0. Preface

The development of suburban residential areas in the Hanshin (Osaka-Kobe) Metropolitan Area started in the 1910s. With the growth of modern industry, the expansion of the built-up areas accelerated. In the old city areas, however, wooden houses built in the early modern age still remained on the narrow streets whereas in the outskirts, modern industry buildings and cheap tenement houses for labourers were constructed. Consequently the environment of these areas deteriorated. In 1919 the Town Planning Act and the Urban Building Act were enacted specifically to construct facilities for transportation, sanitation, economic activities and the preservation of security in order to improve these areas. There was no intentional control system definitely installed in these Acts, because they aimed at constructing such facilities. Therefore, land use zoning as the land utilisation planning and a scenic beauty system for the preservation of scenery could be designated, modified and abolished as these facilities within the town planning .

The purpose of this paper is to consider the cases of Mt. Rokko and Mt. Ikoma, to trace the trend of suburban development in metropolitan areas and the process of designating scenic beauty areas, and to show how ambiguous the conservation policies were under the Town Planning and Regional Planning systems in Japan.

1. The Town Planning system and the Metropolitan Regional Planning during the inter-war period

The 1919 Town Planning and Urban Building Acts established the first nationwide planning and building system in Japan. According to the article 10 of the Planning Act, "special areas can be designated to conserve scenic beauty, if it is necessary to do so. " As modern industry developed after the First World War, the built-up areas in the metropolitan regions such as Tokyo and Osaka expanded rapidly. At that time there were two policies among those who were concerned about town planning. One was to promote the redevelopment of existing built-up areas and the other was to stimulate the development of suburban areas. The former, for instance, was advocated by Yasushi Kataoka who was the president of the Architectural Association of Japan. The latter was supported by Hajime Seki who was a mayor of Osaka. Both Seki and Kataoka played important roles in developing the 1919 Town Planning and Urban Building Acts. In effect the realised planning system did not have any clear principle of planning for built-up areas, because the purpose of the Act, as mentioned above, was simply to construct facilities.

Meanwhile, the International Urban Planning Conference was held in Amsterdam in 1924. Seven principles of metropolitan planning were set forth at the Conference. They were as follows. Firstly it is undesirable that metropolitan built-up areas shall be expanded indeterminably. Secondly, the construction of satellite cities is encouraged as a means of dispersing population. Thirdly, the built-up areas should be surrounded with a green belt. Fourthly, it is necessary to take notice of the development of motorcar transportation. Fifthly, there should be the regional plan for a city. Sixthly, the regional plan should be flexible. Seventhly, the control system of land utilisation should be established. These principles were introduced into Japan in 1926. Subsequently, metropolitan and regional plans also became the main theme of urban planning in Japan. Four years later, in the autumn of 1930 the second National Conference on Urban Problems took place. The main theme of the Conference was "control of suburban areas in the cities." Issei Iinuma, a public official of the Home Affairs Ministry, gave a report at the Conference. The title of his report was "The General View of Regional Plans in Western Countries." In 1936 the Kanto and Kinki Regional Plans were proposed. The following schemes were announced in the Kinki Regional Plan. These were a transportation network scheme, land utilisation scheme, and scenic beauty and recreation land preservation scheme. They were proposed by the members of seven prefectural Town Planning Committees in Kinki. Each member was in charge of the Planning Division in the Ministry of Home Affairs. The conservation area around Mt. Ikoma in the east of Osaka and the area from Mt. Rokko to Hokusetsu mountain range in the north were indicated in the scenic beauty preservation scheme. (Fig-1)

2. Suburban development in Kinki

The suburban residential development in Osaka and Kobe started in the 1910s and the foundation of many real estate companies led to a boom of the development in the late 1910s. Mt. Ikoma had been a sacred site since the Ancient Age. The railway service on the Nara line of Daiki (Osaka Electric Railway Company) opened in 1914. After that the development plans for suburban residential and holiday cottage areas in Mt. Ikoma were proposed by real estate companies. Daiki, which owned estates in Mt. Ikoma, opened a recreation ground at the summit in March 1929 and made a request for the district plan for the mountain to Bruno Tauto who was visiting Japan in May 1933.

In the case of Mt. Rokko, A. H. Groom built a holiday cottage near the Mikuni Pond around the top of the mountain in 1895. After that, a lot of foreigners came to live there. Meanwhile the Hanshin Electric Railway Company purchased about 250ha of land around the summit from Arino village in May 1927. The Railway Company began to run a holiday cottage estates business. Roads such as a scenic highway were constructed and the Omote Rokko cable railway service began operating. In the 1930s these areas were divided into five zones. These were residential and holiday cottage, reservoir, forest, recreation and commercial zones respectively. After 1937 some businesses such as holiday cottages to let, a botanical garden, and a hotel began operating. About 50 houses each in Mt. Ikoma and Mt. Rokko were built by the late 1930s. (Fig-2) (Fig-3)

3. The Kinki Regional Plan and designation of scenic beauty
In 1926 the Meiji Shrine area was designated as the first scenic area under the 1919 Town Planning Act. The number of designated scenic areas increased since then. Being different from the beauty areas under the Urban Building Act, such an area under the Town Planning Act was considered to aim at preserving a scenic area entirely. However, no such preservation was seen.

570ha at the summit of Mt. Rokko was designated as a scenic beauty area In 1937, while 455ha around Mt. Ikoma was appointed in 1939. In the context of the conservation policy, an official notice to protect scenic beauty was issued in October 1933 and the National Parks Law was enacted in 1934.

The Kinki Regional Plan proposed in 1936 can be seen as the beginning of the Metropolitan Regional Planning. It was earlier than the designation of scenic areas in Mt. Rokko and Mt. Ikoma. However, the precise relation between the Plan and the designation was not recognized. The City Planning Division in the Ministry of Home Affairs was responsible to the town planning administration as well as responsible to drafting of regional plans; nevertheless the Metropolitan Regional Planning (the Kinki Regional Plan) did not become a reality.

4. Preservation of green zones and Metropolitan Regional Planning after the Second World War
The Urban Building Act was revised to create the Building Standard Law soon after the war in 1950. There was a complete revision of the Town Planning Act in 1968. The new Town Planning Law, however, did not strengthen the conservation policies which included the scenic beauty system, but only made a distinction between urbanisation promotion areas and urbanisation adjustment areas.

The economic growth after the war brought with it the expansion of metropolitan areas. There was an obvious need for planning. Therefore, development laws were drawn up by each metropolitan region, and the Kinki Region Development Law was enacted for Kinki in 1963. The development plan under the Kinki Region Development Law was divided into existing built-up areas, suburban development areas, urban development areas and preservation areas respectively. The preservation areas, which include Rokko and Ikoma, are considered to correspond to the conservation area in the Kinki Regional Plan. As the Kinki Region Development Plan is primarily a development plan, the preservation concept in it is weak. Nevertheless, the regulation of development in the preservation area is stricter than in the scenic beauty area in the 1968 Town Planning Law. (Fig-4) The conservation policy under the prewar National Parks Law was revised into the postwar Natural Parks Law. Eventually, the Mt. Rokko area in 1956 and the Mt. Ikoma area in 1958 were designated as a national park and a quasi-national park respectively.

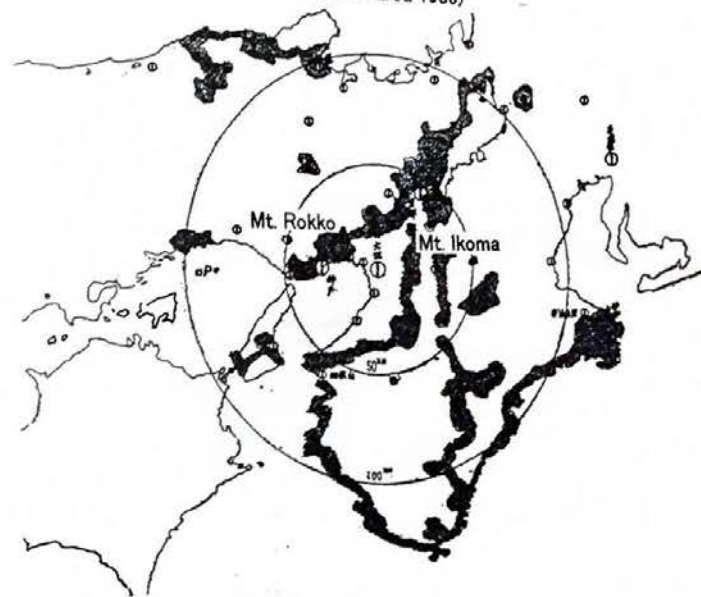Fig.-1 Kinki regional plan (conservation area 1936)
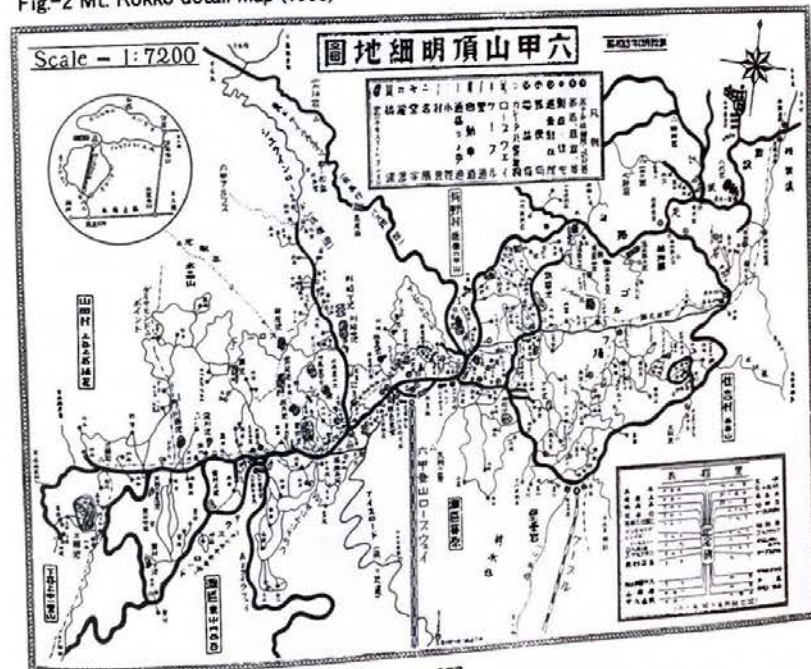

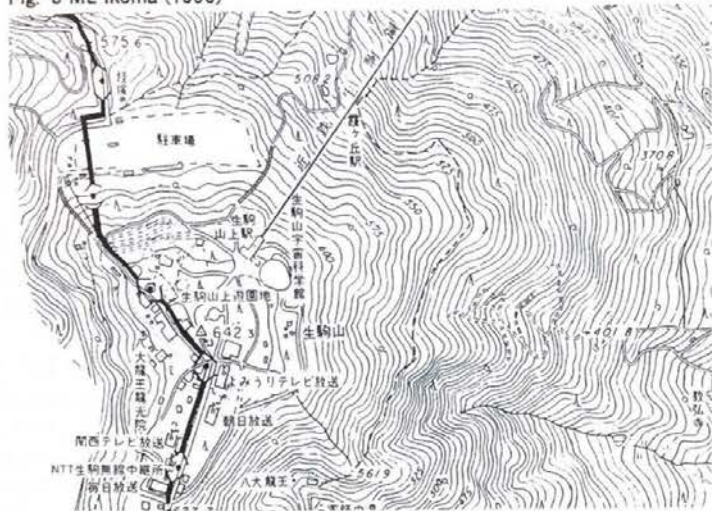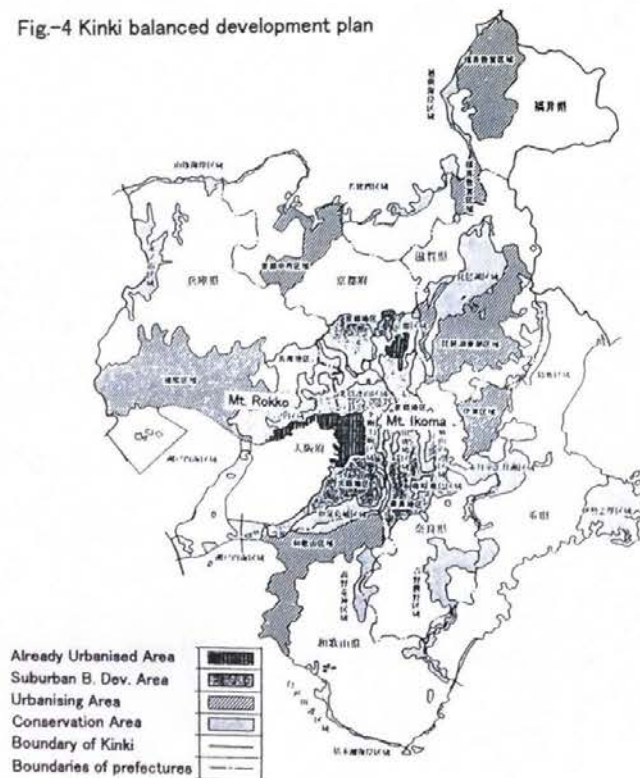Fig.-2 Mt. Rokko detail map (1938)

Fig.-3 Mt. Ikoma (1996)

Fig.-4 Kinki balanced development plan

Already Urbanised Area
Suburban B. Dev. Area
Urbanising Area
Conservation Area
Boundary of Kinki
Boundaries of prefectures

5. Conclusion

The Town Planning Law is said to be the basic law for Japan's urban planning system. However, the conservation system in it as mentioned above, appears to be insufficient. Many related laws such as the Kinki Region Development Law, the Urban Renewal Law, the Land Readjustment Law, etc. were established after the war. Taking into consideration the cases of Rokko and Ikoma in this paper, we can say that the Metropolitan Regional Plan was barely realised by the Kinki Region Development Law. However, the Kinki Region Development Law is a wide-ranging plan extending across 8 prefectures and is likely to be a part of the National Land Planning. Moreover, the National Land Agency established in 1974 is in charge of the Region Plans. Prior to the war the Town Planning system was insufficiently performed until the Metropolitan Regional Plan was proposed. Nevertheless, in the postwar period, without full consideration of the relationship between the Town Planning system and the Metropolitan Region Plan, both the system and the Plan eventually coexisted. Considering social and economic conditions in present-day Japan, it is natural that the Town Planning Law as the basic law need to be strengthened by planning legislation which includes conservation plans.

References

Nakazawa, S. (1936) "Kinki Chiho Keikaku nitsuite (On the Kinki Regional Plan)," *Toshikoron*, Vol.19, No.8, 25-34

Yosida, T. et al (1993) "On the City Planning of Mt. Ikoma by Tauto and by Daiki, " *The Annual Report of Kinki Branch of J.I.A.*, 969-972

Teranaka, N. (1989) "Kataoka Yasusi to Seki Hajime no Jyutaku Seisaku Shiso (Housing Policy Thought byYasushi Kataoka and Hajime Seki)," *Hisutoria*, No.125, 96-115, Osaka Rekishi Gakkai

Ishida, Y. (1987) *Nihon Kindai Toshi Keikaku no Hyakunen (A Hundred Years of Japanese Modern Town Planning)*, 180-183

Nishimura, Y. (1987) "Wagakuni ni okeru Rekishi Kankyo no Nagare:Senzenhen (A Stream of Historical Environment in Japan: Prewar Edit.)," *Kankyobunka*, No.62, 63-69, Zaidanhojin Kankyo Bunka Kenkyusyo

(1981) "Kobe-shi Kensetsu Gyosei no Ayumi (On Administration of Construction in Kobe City)," *Kobe no Rekishi*, No.4

(1955) "Rokko Keiei no Ato o Tadotte (On the business of Mt. Rokko)," *Yuso Hosi no 50 nen*, Hanshin Electric Railway Company, 137-152

(1992) *The Kinki Balanced Development Plan, The Kinki Development Plan, 1991, 03*, National Land Agency ed.

Nakamura, M. (1993) *Nihon Chiri Fuuzoku Taikei : Kinki Chiho (An outline of Japanese Topography and Costums: Kinki Region)*, Seibundo Shinkosya, Tokyo

The First Municipality of China: Guangzhou's **Municipal Experience, 1921-**1926

Hans Wing Yu Yeung
Department of History
University of Hong Kong
Pokfulam Road
Hong Kong

The Guangzhou Municipality was established on 15 February, 1921. In the Chinese literature, it was praised as the first Chinese municipality. It was the "first" not in the sense that it was the first city government of China - the Shanghai Chinese established the City Council in 1905 with elements of Western democracy and organizational features. Unlike the Shanghai City Council from 1905 to 1914 which was supervised by the Shanghai circuit and the Shanghai county government, the Guangzhou Municipality gained independent administrative status from both the provincial and county governments. Sun Fo, the son of Sun Yatsen and the first mayor of the Guangzhou Municipality, regarded that the Guangzhou Municipality was the first in installing "city" as a formal administrative level in the local governmental structure, and it was an "unprecedented municipal institution" in China.[1] The Municipality was further characterized by its vigorous devotion to design various construction plans. An article in *The Far Eastern Review* praised that the Municipality would create a city which "will have the material appearance of a modern American or European city."[2]

One of the origins of the Municipality was the Municipal Office (*shizheng gongsuo*) which existed briefly from 1918 to 1920. The Office had a clear schedule of work from its very establishment. It divided its work into two stages. The first stage concentrated on the demolition of city wall, construction of new roads, markets and gardens, and the second stage was concerned with education and other urban administrative affairs. In its brief existence, the Municipal Office successfully tore down the city wall and turned the old sites of city wall into roads with a width of eighty to a hundred feet. The Office also marked an institutional breakthrough as Guangzhou did not have a city government before. This institutional evolution and the Office's devotion to construction works made an indispensable linkage between tradition and modernity.

However, judging from the work and institution of the Guangzhou Municipal Office, it showed little difference to municipal institutions in other Chinese cities in 1910s and 1920s. After Yuan Shikai's proclamation in 1914 to disband all the local autonomous institutions, local bodies governing city constructions only survived under strong supervision from the provincial and county governments. They took a similar institution and title, that is, *gongsuo* which simply meant "office". Such "municipal offices" were established in many large cities in China, such as Nantong and Wuxi in Jiangsu, Kunming in Yunnan, Taiyuan in Shanxi, Chengdu in Sichuan, Changsha in Hunan, and Beiping. They were bureaucratic establishments under the governments. Some of them might even perform a wider range of functions than that of the Guangzhou Municipal Office, such as in the field of public health. The Guangzhou Municipal Office would have remained a bureaucratic component without the revolutionary transformation initiated by Chen Jiongming. Chen enjoyed his prestige as a political and military leader of Guangdong from early 1910s onwards, and was an ally of Sun Yatsen. In

late 1920, Chen successfully conquered the Guangxi militarists in Guangdong and established a new provincial government under the tutelage of Sun Yatsen's Military Government. He was determined to use Guangdong as the engine to start the machine of the "united autonomous province" (*liansheng zizhi*) campaign. According to his theory, Guangdong should be constructed to be a model province. People in other provinces would follow suit, and the campaign would spread out to the whole China. To construct such a model autonomous province, Chen believed that Guangzhou had a special role to play as a showcase of New China. A modern and well-planned provincial capital would show to other provinces the feasibility and superiority of his political ideology. Therefore, he favored fast construction of the city under a modernized city government.

Immediately after his return to Guangzhou in early November, 1920, Chen had decided to reform the Municipal Office. Sun Fo was appointed to draft the *Provisional Regulations of the Guangzhou Municipality*. Sun had professional knowledge in municipal administration, which was acquired during his study in the University of California in mid-1910s. He even wrote about city planning in the journal *Construction Review* which was run by the Guomindang in Shanghai from 1919 to 1920 to promote the idea of construction.

The form of government embodied in Sun's *Provisional Regulations* was a blend of the American "commission form" of government and strong guidance by the provincial government. The Guangzhou Municipality had an Executive Council, which was formed by the mayor and the heads of the six bureaus. It was both a decision-making and an executive body. The Council had a close relationship with the Provincial Governor, that is Chen Jiongming, as the mayor and bureau heads were appointed by him. This "commission form" of Chinese style gave unproportionate power to the mayor, and he maintained close relationship to the Provincial Governor. Important issues such as changes to the city boundary and the raising of city bonds did not need the consent of the Provincial Assembly only the Provincial Governor. There was a Municipal Assembly with thirty members. Twenty members were elected, and ten appointed by the Provincial Governor. The Assembly was established to drill the sense of popular participation into the masses, and it only served to be an advisory body. Chen Jiongming adopted the "principle of guidance" (*baoyu zhuyi*), who regarded that prolonged debate of every single issue in the both the Provincial and Municipal Assemblies would hamper the efficiency of construction.

Compared to the ex-Municipal Office, the Guangzhou Municipality had numerous institutional breakthroughs. First of all, the functions were substantially expanded. While the Municipal Office only focused on the demolition of city wall and the construction of broad roads, the Guangzhou Municipality actually touched urban lives in all aspects. The Municipality formed six bureaus, namely the Bureau of Finance, Bureau of Public Safety, Bureau of Public Works, Bureau of Public Health, Bureau of Public Utilities, and Bureau of Education. This wide coverage of functions implied that the architects of the Municipality did not define "municipal work" narrowly as material construction, but to include other vital aspects such as public health and education.

While the Municipal Office had limited its works within the ex-walled city, the Guangzhou Municipality expanded its boundary to the whole city proper including Xiguan in the west, Dongshan in the east, and Honam across the Pearl River. Furthermore, it proclaimed the "expansion of the city proper" scheme in early 1924, which applied the principle of urban zoning and enlarged the city boundary by dividing the greater area into different zones for

navigational, industrial, commercial and residential development. This scheme was remarkable in the sense that it was the first modern zoning scheme produced by a Chinese municipality. It also marked the end of the traditional administrative division of Guangzhou into the Panyu and Nanhai counties, as the Guangzhou Municipality could exert unitary administration over its domain.

Another feature of the Municipality was associated with its professional personnel. It was reported that over eighty percent of its staff were returned students from abroad. During the first mayorship of Sun Fo, all the seven members of the Executive Council had been overseas students in America, Europe or Japan. They were young and energetic, and attempted to minimize the impact of what they viewed as the corrupt traditional practice of the past, particularly in the realm of politics. It was reported by contemporaries that Sun Fo was typically "foreign" in character. He never accepted invitations to banquets prepared by local gentry and merchants, and he was described as "socially inept" as he reprimanded those requesting jobs by *guanxi* (social connections). This invited attacks from both local elites and veteran revolutionaries who criticized the Municipality as an "foreign" (*yanghua*) institution. On the contrary, the Municipality was admired by some western observers as evidence of "Westernism on the part of the Chinese" which they had been "awaiting with eagerness".[3]

In its actual operation, however, the Municipal encountered serious difficulties. The goal of independent finances could not be achieved as both the provincial government and the Panyu and Nanhai governments were reluctant to shift the agreed tax items to the possession of the Municipality. As there were continued threat from militarists in the province, and Sun Yatsen's Military Government recognized the "warlords" in north China as targets of annihilation, the Municipality was ordered by the provincial and central governments to make contributions for military purposes. This resulted in financial difficulties which existed right after the establishment of the Municipality, and there was an expected deficit of 0.97 million in the 1921-22 budget, the first budget of the Municipality.

In spite of the financial difficulties, the Municipality still carried out its plans of construction. Table 1 shows the budgetary expenditure of the Guangzhou Municipality from 1921 to 1924. The largest proportion of expenditure went to the Bureau of Public Safety and Bureau of Public Works. This unproportionate expenditure pattern helps to illustrate the nature of the work of the Municipality. The Bureau of Public Safety was transformed from the former Department of Police. Due to its extensive geographical influence by dividing the city proper into twelve police districts, and the personal influence of Wei Bangping who was the head of the Bureau and an influential military man in the province, the Bureau of Public Safety enjoyed the liberty to collect rent tax from shops and households for the exceptional use of the Bureau, as the former Department of Police had done. As a result, the Bureau of Public Safety had the largest budget among the six bureaus, as the rent tax was a comparatively stable income and constituted at least one-third of the regular income recorded in the Municipality's annual budgets.

The Bureau of Public Works had the second largest budget. Although the Municipal Office was criticized by Sun Fo and other commentators as focusing too narrowly on physical construction, public works were still a key aspect of the new municipality. Similar to Chen Jiongming, Sun Yatsen who had defeated Chen and became the *de facto* ruler of the province, also desired to glorify his revolutionary ideology by extolling the success of Guangzhou. To produce a showcase city, large investments were needed to modernize the city by constructing

broad roads, efficient transportation, and eminent buildings. To signal the coming of a new era, a new city axis was planned along Weixin Road (now renamed Guangzhou Qiyi Road) with a width of eighty feet in width, which was designed to be a transport center of the city proper as it ran to the Bund and went over to Honam through the planned Honam Bridge.

Table 1 Budgetary expenditure of the Guangzhou Municipality, 1921-1924

		1921 (Feb.-Jun.)	1922-23	1923-24
Bureau of Finance	Recurrent	66,017.00	98,068.00	144,818.00
	Contingent	5,520.00	17,400.00	28,600.00
	Total	71,537.00	115,468.00	173,418.00
Bureau of Public Safety	Recurrent	1,179,403.00	1,167,887.00	1,789,818.00
	Contingent	219,757.00	322,113.00	728,372.00
	Total	1,399,160.00	1,490,000.00	2,518,190.00
Bureau of Public Works	Recurrent	97,476.00	123,412.00	137,386.00
	Contingent	429,494.00	2,626,588.00	4,044,892.00
	Total	526,970.00	2,750,000.00	4,182,278.00
Bureau of Public Health	Recurrent	245,662.00	396,814.00	472,182.96
	Contingent	28,894.00	44,186.00	110,624.00
	Total	274,556.00	441,000.00	582,806.96
Bureau of Public Utilities	Recurrent	40,252.00	51,559.50	61,927.00
	Contingent	2,300.00	42,440.50	15,670.00
	Total	42,552.00	94,000.00	77,597.00
Bureau of Education	Recurrent	308,760.00	588,217.40	457,447.73
	Contingent	24,960.00	511,650.00	401,640.00
	Total	333,720.00	1,099,867.40	859,087.73

Source: *Guangzhou shi shizheng baogao huikan* (1922-24) (Guangzhou: Guangzhou shi shizhengting: 1924), pp.78-105.

Although the city's construction was praised by both contemporaries and historians as a benchmark of modern municipal history of China, its achievement was limited by the lack of financial resources and the traditional mind-set of the administrators. The more comprehensive administrative scope of the Municipality meant that there were more sub-organizations within the city government to compete for limited financial resources. Taking road construction as an example, the Municipality was less successful than the former Municipal Office (see Table 2).

Compared to the Bureau of Public Safety and Bureau of Public Works who argued for a greater percentage of the available resources, partially based on their obvious importance in municipal affairs, other bureaus under the Municipality were under imminent threat of either streamlining or abolition. For example, soon after the Municipality's establishment, there were rumors that the Bureau of Public Health and Bureau of Public Utilities would be abolished. The Bureau of Public Health was streamlined in July, 1921, in which the six "health and sanitary districts" responsible for the collection of garbage were abolished, and two out of the four divisions were reduced to mere "sections". The municipal administrators thought that the creation of a separate bureau for the management of public health, which formerly was managed by a division in the ex-Department of Police, was a waste of resources. The down-sized Bureau of Public Health even had to request assistance from the police stations in collecting garbage. On the other hand, the establishment Bureau of Public Utilities,

which was responsible for the regulation of transportation and public utilities run by private parties, was also regarded as a waste of resources. Its work was regarded as routine and simple, and there was no need for the creation of a separate bureau. It was finally abolished in 1926.

Table 2 Length of roads (in feet) built from pre-1918 to 1929

	Length of roads (in feet)
1918 and before	40,200
1919	18,800
1920	35,000
1921	26,000
1922	17,000
1923	3,500
1924	8,000
1925	2,900
1926	23,600
1927	3,080
1928	19,400
1929 (first half)	14,760

Sources: Guangzhou shi shizhengfu tongji gu, *Guangzhou shi shizhengfu tongji nianjian* (Guangzhou: Guangzhou shi shizhengfu, 1929), p.257.

The difficulties mentioned above slowed down the speed of construction, but did not dampen the enthusiasm for construction in the city. The Municipality finished two phases of road construction scheme designed by the ex-Municipal Office. Civic education and adult education were promoted in the city with the organization of public forums and summer camps. It produced prototype construction plans of various kinds, including the inner harbor, reclamation of land along the Bund, housing estates, an administrative complex, and so on. Besides frequently visited by people in and outside China, the Municipality was even picked out by the "China Road Construction Association", an organization devoted to construction affairs in the country, as a model for "city-level" urban construction, and Nantong of the Jiangsu Province as the model for "county-level" urban construction.

More importantly, Guangzhou was the revolutionary base on which Sun Yatsen and the Guomindang conducted anti-ward activities and formed the new Nationalist regime. Guangzhou's special status gave its construction experience a special meaning. The experience of the Guangzhou Municipality was viewed as a model of municipal organization by the Nationalist Government after 1928.[4] The Guangzhou Municipality was different to previous municipal institutions in China that it creation aimed at serving as a "model" for other cities to follow. It became the starting point and a significant building block in the process of state building under the leadership of the Guomindang. It greatly influenced subsequent municipalities, especially in the organizational aspect. After the Guomindang took over the national regime, mayor was still given great power according to the new organic laws for municipalities.

Notes

[1] Guangzhou shi shizhengting zongwu ke bianji gu, *Guangzhou shi shizheng gaiyao* (Guangzhou: Guangzhou shi shizhengting, 1922), "preface".

[2] "Canton in the Changing", *The Far Eastern Review*, vol.17, no.10, October, 1921, p.707.

[3] "Canton in the Changing" (see note 2), p.705.

[4] Li Zonghuang, *Mofan zhi Guangzhou shi* (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1929), preface and p.2; Zhongguo zhizheng gongcheng xuehui, "Sanshi nian lai Zhongguo zhi shizheng gongcheng", p.28, in Zhou Kaiqing (ed.), *Sanshi nian lai zhi Zhongguo gongcheng* (Nanjing: Zhongguo gongchengshi xuehui, 1947); Lu Danlin (ed.), *Shizheng quanshu* (Shanghai: Daolu yuekan she, 1928), p.9; "Planning the New Chinese National Capital", *The Chinese Social and Political Science Review*, vol.14, 1930, p.388.

Location Planning of Welfare Facilities for Elderly People in Japan
- Historical Perspective -

Takashi Yokota
Research Associate
Department of Architectural Engineering,
Graduate School of Engineering
Osaka University
2-1 Yamadaoka, Suita, Osaka 565
Japan

1. INTRODUCTION

It is fundamental to appropriately locate some kinds of facilities for elderly in both urban and rural areas against increase of elderly population in Japan. The aim of this study is to investigate current and past distribution patterns of facilities on welfare activities to clarify the characteristics of their distributions. Author discussed how planning in Japan had dealt with or ignored the needs for elderly people in the past. The best way for supply of those services is also important issue to be described in the study.

2. METHOD

The actual conditions of the four types of welfare facilities listed below in Tokyo and Osaka prefecture in Japan (see Fig.1) with time were investigated by using a GIS system.
- a) Nursing Home, where only elderly people live.
- b) Day Service Center, to which elderly people visit during the daytime to be served.
- c) Welfare Center for the Aged, to which healthy elderly people visit to spent time.
- d) Intermediate Facility for the Aged, where elderly people stay during rehabilitation process from hospital to home.

The reason why Tokyo and Osaka were selected as surveyed areas is that characteristics of those facilities seem to be easy founded in them because of large number of those facilities in both prefectures.

Author also made comparative analysis of distribution patterns between those facilities and medical facilities which had been investigated in the previous research[5].

3. RESULTS
3.1 Number of welfare facilities per unit elderly people

Fig.2 shows numbers of facilities per unit elderly population of surveyed types of welfare facilities. It is found that the values of all types are under those of national averages. In particular, three types except welfare center for the aged have considerably low values.
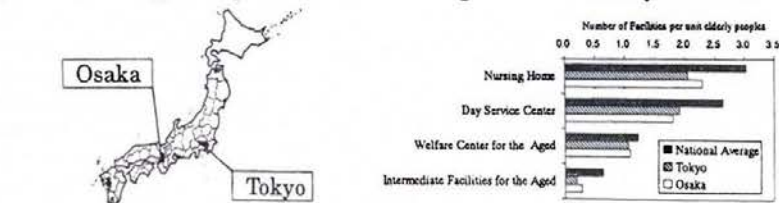

Fig.1 Location of Tokyo and Osaka

Fig.2 Number of Welfare Facilities per Unit Elderly Population

3.2 Characteristics of distribution patterns of welfare facilities

It is found that most of welfare facilities have been sited near mountain and municipal boundaries shown in Fig.6 while sites of hospitals have been distributed evenly. The reason why such situation is found in Japan seems that the authorities of urban planning basically do not have independent power to lure welfare facilities.

Fig.3 indicates the locational derivation to municipal boundary defined by equation (1). In Tokyo, some welfare facilities have tendency to be located near municipal boundaries while in Osaka, away from them.

$$F(x) = \frac{\text{(Number of facilities located within x from municipal boundary / Area within x from municipal boundary)}}{\text{(Number of facilities in the municipality/Area of the municipality)}} \quad (1)$$

where F(x): Locational derivation to municipal boundary
x: Distance of municipal boundary (km)

Fig.4 indicates the derivation of welfare facilities to a special land use zoning: non built-up area with index Gi defined by equation (2). It is found that in Osaka, some of them have a tendency to be located in non built-up areas.

$$Gi = \frac{\text{(Number of facilities located in the land zoning } i \text{ / Total number of facilities)}}{\text{(Area of the land zoning } i \text{ / Total area)}} \quad (2)$$

where Gi : Locational derivation to a land use zoning
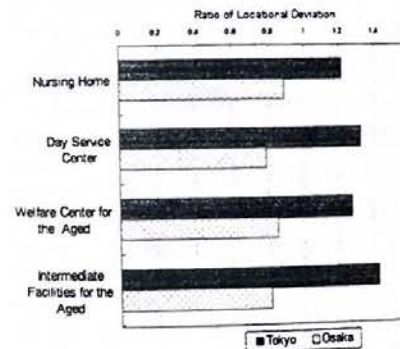i : Type of land use zoning

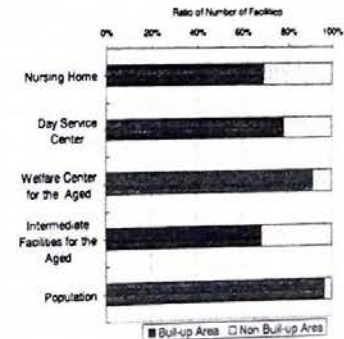**Fig.3 Locational Derivation of Welfare Facilities to Municipal Boundary**

Fig.4 Ratio of Number of Welfare Facilities between Built-up and Non Built-up Areas in Osaka

3.3 Locations of welfare facilities with time

Fig.5 shows ratio of number of welfare facilities built at each land use zoning with time. I found that some facilities are located in retail and even industrial zone while most of facilities in residential zone, and this trend has been remaining since 1970's. In particular, intermediate facilities for the aged have tendency to be located except residential zone since this type of facilities are newly established.
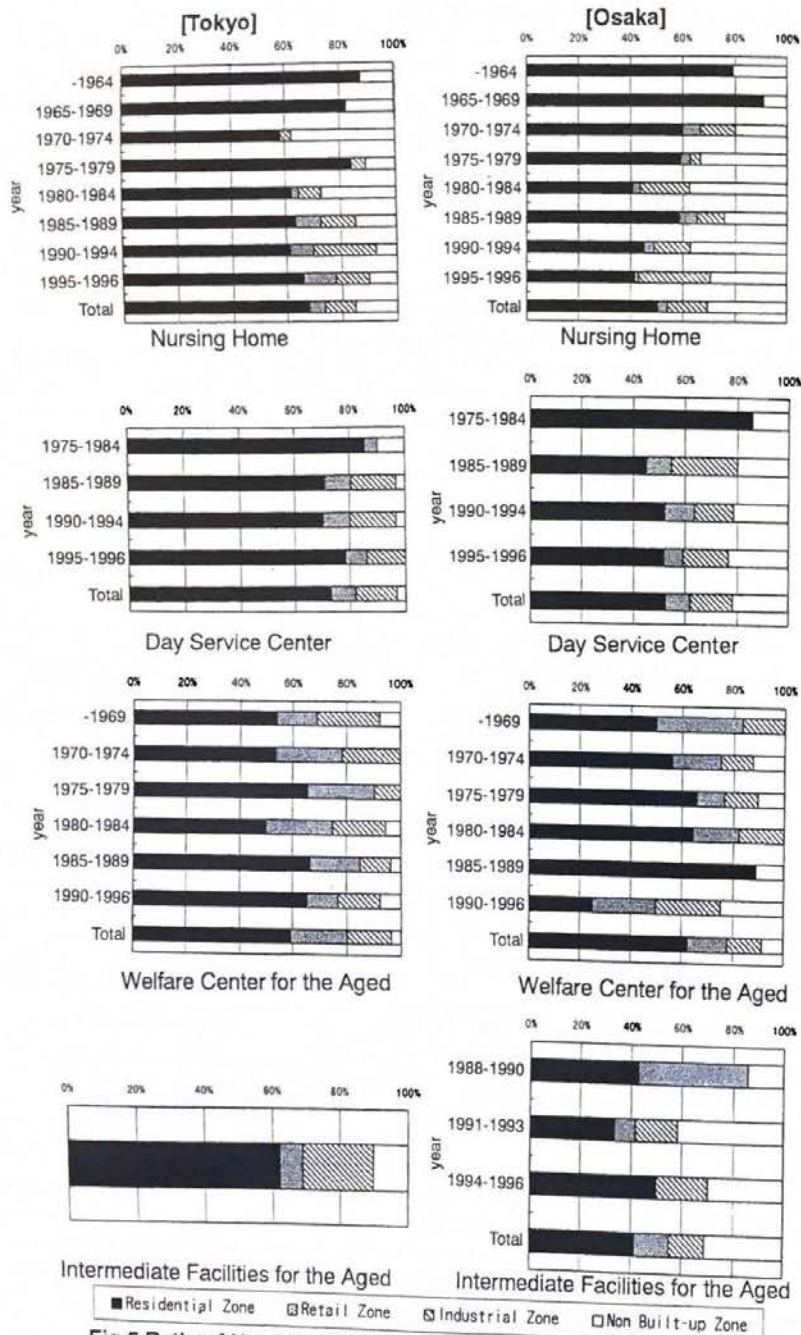
[Tokyo]

Nursing Home

[Osaka]

Nursing Home

Day Service Center

Day Service Center

Welfare Center for the Aged

Welfare Center for the Aged

Intermediate Facilities for the Aged

Intermediate Facilities for the Aged

■ Residential Zone ▨ Retail Zone ▨ Industrial Zone ☐ Non Built-up Zone

Fig.5 Ratio of Number of Welfare Facilities at Each Land Use Zoning

---

[Tokyo]

Nursing Home

[Osaka]

Nursing Home   **Welfare Facilities for the Aged**

Welfare Facilities for the Aged
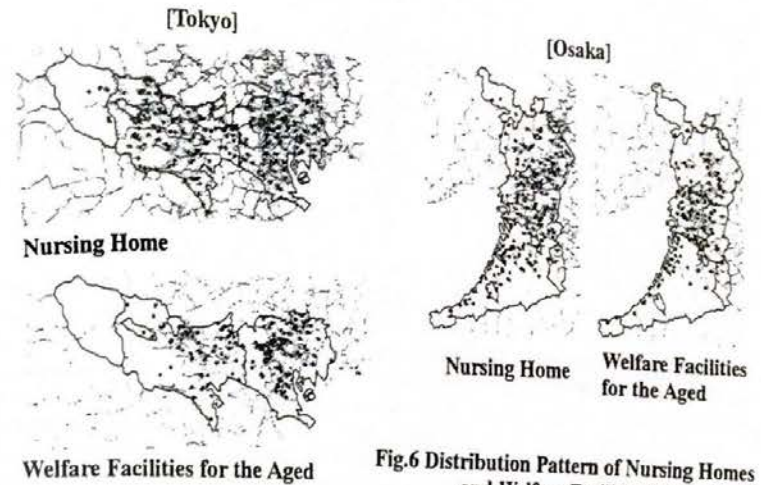
Fig.6 Distribution Pattern of Nursing Homes and Welfare Facilities for the Aged

4. CONCLUTIONS

The distribution patterns of four types of welfare facilities in Tokyo and Osaka were investigated and their characteristics were analyzed. Findings are as follows.

(1) Numbers of facilities per unit elderly population of all types of surveyed welfare facilities both in Tokyo **and** Osaka are under those of national averages. It means urgent necessity of extra locations of welfare facilities.

(2) In Tokyo area, we found that some welfare facilities have a tendency to be located near municipal boundaries while in Osaka, to be located in non built-up areas. Since those tendencies derive from the reason that land price in and around those areas is not expensive, some measures are needed against expensive land price in built-up areas in Japan to keep a lot of elderly people living in their dear old areas.

(3) Ratio of number of welfare facilities at each land use zoning with time indicates that some facilities are located in retail and even industrial zone while most of facilities in residential zone. It needs that the authorities of urban planning have independent power to plan and locate welfare facilities.

REFERENCES

1. Ministry of Health and Welfare (1997) *The List of Elderly Welfare Facilities in Japan*.
2. Wellness Medical Information Center (1995) *The List of Intermediate Facilities for the Aged in Japan*.
3. Institute of Social Welfare of Osaka (1995) *The List of Welfare Facilities in Osaka*.
4. Tokyo Metropolitan Government (1996) *The list of Medical Institutions in Tokyo*.
5. Yokota.T et al. (1995) 'A study of location planning of medical facilities in Nanko Port Town', *Research Meeting of Planning*, Kinki Branch of A.I.J., Vol.35, pp.429-432.

Building the Chinese Information City

Jianying Yuan
Ph.D in Urban Planning
Tongji University
Shanghai, P.R.China

History and Policy

As early as in the Chunqiu Period, more than two thousands years ago, "Fire Station" system was set up in China to deliver military information. At Qin Dynasty, "Yizhan" was built up as an early post system used only by the government. However, the informational construction of the modern term only began after the "Reform and Open" times in China. Since 1992, China has been making great efforts on its information constructions. Optical fibber, digital microwave and satellite are the main means of its long distance communications. In the aspect of satellite communication, the Post Ministry has built up twenty large-scale domestic satellite ground stations, with seventeen of them being in operation. These Satellite ground stations are able to apply 2 MBPS digital circuit. The total length of digital microwave trunk line nationally is about 42.4 thousand kilometres. During "The Eighth Five Period", the over-whelmingly main lines were cables. Chinese government also plans to complete the more advanced eight vertical and eight horizontal cable networks at the "Ninth Five Period".

Based on the experimental network, CHINAPAC was put in use in September 1989. CHINAPAC consists of national main network and local stations. The main network covers all the provincial capitals, connecting with the telecommunication networks. It has totally 5800 access, with some international access at Beijing, Shanghai and Hong Kong, and Macao access at Guangzhou. It also connects Public Group-Data Exchange with USA, Japan, France, Canadian, Italy, Germany, South Korean and so on, totally twenty-three countries and areas. This will basically meet the demand of international communications in China. In the mean time, the provincial and municipal governments are trying to accelerate their local network constructions too. Totally twenty-four local networks in Beijing, Tianjin, Shanghai, Guangzhou, and many other cities, have been combined into the national main network. Now CHINAPAC has already covered more than four hundreds cities. It applies CCITX.25 basic function and also special virtual functions such as broadcasting, IBM/SNA network environment, API and so on. It also provides the functions of E-mail, Video, TEX, EDI, Database Retrieve, The Store & Exchange of Fax, etc. CHINADDN, another national network, was completed in 1995. It covers all the provincial capitals and supplies many services like E-mail, EDI, Videotex and Chinese Internet. The domestic customers may connect to Internet through CHINAPAC, CHINADDN, PSTN, etc.

"Golden Bridge", "Golden Custom" and "Golden Card" are so called "Three Golden" projects. Golden Bridge is to set up the national and international computer network through satellite, cable and digital microwave, for the information exchange and public events sharing in the economy and people's life. Golden Custom and Golden Card projects refer to the national economy and trade information networks. They aim to use the computer network to effectively manage the national circulation of commodities. Golden Card, with the concept beginning from electronic money, is progressively becoming the comprehensive identification of the relationship between individuals and society. According to the Three Golden Projects plan, Chinese Information Superhighway has been emphasised in two aspects, special application system and national communication network, which will cover the whole country.

Shanghai Information Port

To accord with the Three Golden Projects, Shanghai Information Port began its constructions on 6 July 1996, under the instruction and support of the Chinese central government. The major projects and systems will be completed by the year 2000, and the whole projects will be finally completed by the end of the year 2010. These projects will significantly raise the information capacity of Shanghai to the level of developed counties, enabling Shanghai to become a highly informationalized international city.

Shanghai Information Port consists of the high-speed large content information networks that cover the whole city and connected with national & international information networks, and application & service systems. It aims to construct modern information exchange platform, set up information exchange network, connect all the information resources of the society, and explore the information resource network. These networks include statistic information system, bond and stock system, publication information system, enterprise and administration system, housing and real estate system, navigation and transportation booking system, etc. The whole project will cost approximately 300 Billion RMB yuan and 250 Billion of it was planned to invest in the information platform. Up to today, the main framework has been completed. The cable was paved to every community, and local area networks and special information systems and database are also under construction. In addition, some research organisations have been set up to study and maintain the technical issues for the networks. The experimental information and database systems include the following several points.

1. Work and Training Information System;
2. Research and Academic Education Information System;
3. Infant and Preliminary Education Information System;
4. Medical Care and Health Information System;
5. Finance and Insurance Information system;
6. City Construction and Management Information System;
7. Public Security and Credit Guaranty Information System;
8. Social Service Information System, and so on.

Above all, one part of the efforts is to build Shanghai to an international financial centre, and this has reached a great approach. Shanghai On-line and six other special networks have been connected and linked to Internet. Information infrastructures are working greatly in routine works of the government. Enterprise and public are gradually getting used to the rhythm of the information times. However, presently the work is mainly limited to the telecommunication area, conducted by the Post & Telecommunication Ministry. The study of the influence of the Information Superhighway upon the city frame, city transportation, city pattern, city facilities, city reconstructions is still in its fancy.

Based on the framework of the Shanghai Information Port, The Community Service Network that was sponsored by Shanghai Civil Administration has scattered many Base Information Stations in every district, street and residential council. Shanghai Community Service Network supplies twenty services as below.

1. Household Service; 2. Government Administration Opening Service; 3. Guideline in Daily Work and Life; 4. Public Welfare; 5. Position and Job; 6. News And Declaration; 7. Medical and Health Service; 8. Education and Science; 9. Arts and Sports; 10. Tourism; 11. Transportation; 12. Business; 13. House and Real Estate, 14. Bond and Stock; 15. General Merchandise; 16. Meal and Restaurant; 17. Cooking, 18. Cosmetology; 19. Funeral and Interment; 20. Others.

Of course not all above services come true today, but the following five items have been accomplished in Luwan District. 1. Government Administration Opening Service; 2. Household Service; 3. Medical and Health Care Service; 4. Housing and Real Estate Management Service; 5. On-line Shopping Service.

Now seven hundreds of terminals have been built up and another twenty hundreds are on their way within two years. With the support of National City Geography Network, City Planning Network includes National City Planning System and Local City planning sub-systems. As the nerve system of a city, it connects to the City Management and Construction System in every city. Founded by the Central Government, the National City Geography Information Network provides the information of administration zoning, economy, geography, transportation, culture and heritage, and etc. It consists of the central database and local database stations. People in research organisations and observing stations are responsible for recording and transforming the information of the environment and constructions.

National City Planning Information Network (NCPIN) is a special network in the planning field. The corresponding departments in every municipal city, county government, university, design and research institute, are the main members of the NCPIN. Many of sub-databases and sub-systems such as virtual city models, municipal engineering sub-systems are still under exploring, which target to meet the need of the public security, medical and health care, education, city construction, tax revenue, commercial activities, etc. So far the office automation in the government, TV conference, the Custom EDI, a multimedia community and some intelligent buildings have started operating. Many facilities such as bank, museum, library, digital newspapers, on-line school, supermarkets and so on have been informationalized.

Since 1996, Shanghai Education & Research Network and Chinese first intelligent hospitals have started providing the Tele-medical consultations, which are from doctors in Shanghai Medical University. As a measure of the city's information reconstruction, Shanghai government is trying to move every factory out of the "inner ring area", and this work should be done by the end of the year 2000.

Qiongshan new town

Qiongshan new town is planned along the bank of Nandu River, Hainan Province. It is a brand-new city with very high targets. The provincial and city government have made the plan to build the city an informational, ecological and tourist city, which will meet the need of the twenty-first century.

The new town focused mainly on the three points. 1. To construct several "Global High Intellectuals Villages" that will be equipped with the most advanced information techniques and built with beautiful environment, to meet the need of the knowledgable people who hold a high-level degree such as Ph.D, to work there 2. To plan the city with a brand-new concept, mixing the residential area with working centre, tourist, green-land, and recreational facilities together, combining all of them into one unit, which accommodates not more than 5000 people. The city will be made up of dozens of that type of unit. 3. Taking advantage of special weather and location, it is planned to be a tourist city. Every unit is also a landscape, a unique tour resource with unique style, unique recreational facilities and so on. Many other measures have been adopted to make this fresh built city a first class one in the next century.

Informational City Network

Since cities nowadays are forming a network themselves, people should plan and construct the informational cities globally, at least nationally at this stage. Here the author proposes an informational city network plan, with simplified first step to suit for Chinese situation. The preliminary stage is to set up a network consisting of teleworking, teleservice, and quick delivery & transporting system. This should be the feasible way to build Chinese Informational City. In the future's informational city, teleworking network will play one of the most important parts. The Information Superhighway will connect all the teleworking centres together, which are the core of the future city and the new developing points of living and work. In terms of swiftly built information infrastructure in China at present, it is the time to study and consider building Chinese informational city.

Firstly we should set up the right direction. The central government should make the policies toward information concept. Secondly we should establish an organisation supported by government, research institutes and large enterprises. The simplified Chinese informational city should consist of the three ideas as follows.

1. Teleworking Network
The Teleworking Network is divided into two types. One is for the city area, especially the old city reconstruction. It should be in a residential area or in the neighbourhood. So it is also called Neighbourhood Office. Another one is for the newly built area or the vast countryside, similar to the notion Televillage.

2. Teleservice Network
This network should apply the functions of a rear-service department, the consulting service, recreational facilities and Tele-shopping such as post shopping, TV shopping and cyberspace shopping.

3. Perfect Transportation Network with Quick Delivery System
Since people do not need to go to real goods and service like today, everything they need will be delivered to them by quick and perfect transportation system.

Problems

There are several problems we are facing to build Chinese Information City.

1. City construction is not only the duty of the government, but also the duty of the individuals, especially in the circumstance of an informational city. In which part should the government invest? How much?
2. In terms of the project, which one should both the government and the individuals invest in? Who should control the major share?
3. If the government invests in some of the projects, should it keep the share forever or sell it gradually to the public? In Shanghai the government is the major investor, but in Qiongshan the foreign investors play the major part, which one is more effective?
4. Which level of IT equipment should be necessarily established for the basic need of a teleworking center? How to control the budget we should spend to equip a teleworking station?
5. In Chinese circumstance, should we build up certain teleworking centre for specific purposes, such as for journalists, writers or programmers? Or should we construct the common stations suitable for all different kinds of knowledgable workers?

Conclusion

Building Chinese Information City is a very big project, which should concern not only the Chinese researchers, but also the overseas experts who are deeply demanded in Chinese market. On this project, there are still many issues on discussion and valuable suggestions are expected from international experiences.

Reference

Qiu, Lianzhang, (1995) *House with Brain—The Architecture of next century*, Science & Technology Publishing House, Beijing.

Wu, Jishong, (1995) *Science and Technology Park---The New Cell of the 21 Century Society*, Shanghai Science & Technology Publishing House, Shanghai.

Yao, Shimao, (1992) *Chinese Metropolitan*, Publishing House of Chinese Science & Technology University, Hefei.

Zhang, Hongke, (1996) *Information Superhighway*, Electronic Industry Publishing House, Beijing

Huang, Defa, (1994) *Post Information Society*, Chinese Statistic Publishing House, Beijing.

Song, Xiaodong, (1995) *GIS and Its Applications in City Planning and Management*, Science Publishing House, Beijing.

Social capital as infrastructure in large (sub)urban development. Case study: the O'Brien Road Project, W.A.

Alison Ziller
AUSTRALIA STREET COMPANY
PO Box 873 Neutral Bay NSW 2089

There is a dichotomy in the urban planning of large new developments between structure and process.

Broadly speaking the planning of large new developments proceeds on a vision of process outcomes but the documents purporting to contain the steps to achieve these process outcomes are dedicated, almost without exception, to structures and mainly built structures.

The process outcomes wished for are among the most elevated one can imagine. Proponents of development speak of an urban way of life characterised by vitality and vibrancy, safe neighbourhoods, friendliness, enviable places to live, work and play and so on. But behind these statements in concept and structure plans lurks the bitter truth – they are winging it!

The wonderful process outcomes of civic harmony, sustainable village living, the 'learning city', the creative milieu – these oft presented visions for the new town or re-developed urban area are backed by maps of the physical environment, drainage diagrams, bus routes, densities, zones and setbacks, locations, elevations and artists impressions of various buildings often with the artist's impression of contented citizenry having a wonderful time in the sidewalk café.

The process considerations at this stage of planning relate to seepage and flow, possible pedestrian patterns, transport links and the relationships between various parts of town, between porches, windows and the street, between the national grid and the solar panel, between the public school and high school and so on.

As the project progresses, details of social infrastructure are added in. These comprise core social service requirements (education, health, childcare, a church or two, a community centre which is often required to do service for all kinds of groups in the community irrespective of their incompatibilities). The number of these and their potential client groups will have been indicated by demographic projections of residential take up and the anticipated population's age, gender and cultural profiles, community need and other comparative assessment methodologies, and consultations with the new community obliquely represented in existing or potentially intending residents.

The processes of social infrastructure are assumed to be going to be taken care of by the providers of the services that will inhabit service delivery buildings. Although some providers make exceptional efforts, these providers are also notorious for their own sets of boundaries and boundary riding. The leap is made from the justifiable understanding that these services are essential to any community to an assumption that once present they will serve wider social and community purposes.

This assumption enables planners to treat social infrastructure like the built environment infrastructure of roads, railways and rubbish, which can be counted and placed on maps and, again, as the project progresses, can be made to look nice and new and modern. The very places where harmony and creativity, vitality and vibrancy can be expected to leap from the walls and overtake the good citizens of NEWVILLE.

If you are lucky, as the project gets close to being ready for occupancy an enlightened developer provides funding for a community development worker and the occasional community meeting and newsletter. The community development worker is largely left to his or her own devices with a shoestring budget and, generally, is expected to facilitate rather than structure things. The community development worker is certainly not expected to lead the community that would be "social engineering" which is understood to be a horrid activity which takes away people's democratic rights and, apparently, their tongues.

The irony is that the unlived in and pristine physical environment of the new development is actually a social desert and a civic wasteland lacking tradition, kinship networks, social ties, precedent, identity and often distinctiveness (other than the often instantly recognisable mark of the particular developer or his architect repeatedly imposed – what Alice Coleman[i] refers to as the architect/planner's territorial mark).

All too often, the 'vision' things which the public or private developer promised have not only not been delivered, the possibility of them has been rendered the more difficult by virtue of

- on the one hand the dominant statements of the urban planning and design that have been imposed like a tight fitting glove on the social and cultural environment of the residents, and,

- on the other hand, the absence of that vast number of social and civic structures and processes on which a vitality, vibrancy, harmoniousness, civility, creativity etc etc actually depend.

Contrary to the vision makers' suspended dis-belief and in accordance with any examination of the situation at all, these do not spring up unaided overnight. Something will spring up fairy quickly, but it may well be nasty, incomplete or simply inadequate and fall far short of harmony, creativity, civility and all the rest.

As Putnam[ii] noted, communities with cohesive civic functioning in the middle ages in Italy continued to show evidence of high levels of constructive civic engagement in the latter part of the twentieth century and the poor civic participation patterns of other communities likewise endured. In other words, the oft touted motto, start out as you mean to go on, has serious significance for urban planning. Once the character and patterns of social and civic arrangements in an area are in place they are likely to set. Once they have deteriorated, the patterns of dysfunction are quite resistant.

The paradox is that the structures and supports needed to provide even a sporting chance of realising widely endorsed goals for new communities are not only generally not put in place, they are resisted. The community, that convenient entity that is alleged to know its own mind, boundaries and membership when it is useful for it to do so, is alleged to know in which direction it wishes to proceed in both the short and long term from the outset and, without the need for any structures or systems for integrating the activities or even the ideas of its various members, to be able to work (blind) in a systematic way for the good of all.

In the last few years, the concept of social capital has begun to be used to talk about the non-built social and civic structures and the elusive social and civic processes which promote the vision outcomes borrowed by planners. Social capital is, generally, taken to refer to levels of trust, civic engagement and voluntary association, which if present in good amounts and used positively, enhance social relationships, cooperation, efficiency, effectiveness, and people's experience of identity and belonging.

The problem for new communities is that initially low levels of civic engagement can become entrenched. Early patterns of voluntary association may be stifled by an absence of kinship or other networks to mediate interaction in a new community, and lack of money, mobility, child care or time to initiate these. In these circumstances trust is slow to develop and the new community is at risk precisely because it lacks social capital to call on in a crisis. That crisis may make its appearance in the guise of unemployment, a bushfire, illness, the failure of a promised rail link, factory etc. to materialise and so forth and all these are significant risks in new communities on urban fringes. To press the point, while residents in a new suburb require schools, childcare, and welfare services in order to get on with their lives, many of these are directed towards ensuring that people can work, and towards meeting other urgent needs, rather than building up social capital as such.

The other component of social capital, yet to be formally included in the social capital debate, but clearly on the horizon of those concerned with healthy and harmonious communities, is the question of relative equality. This nexus has been researched and reported for decades and has recently been subjected to rigorous documentation and analysis by Richard Wilkinson[iii]. He reports that nations and communities with relative income equality have lower mortality rates than those with widening income inequality. He goes on to propose that the relationship is not only a direct and causal one but one which is explained by the psychological impacts of being at the bottom of the heap, disregarded and despised.

Again, new communities are especially vulnerable, particularly where they are both physically 'on the outer' and comprised of people who feel in other senses left out, unable to access the benefits of citizenship and blamed for it as well. Ominously, the debate about inclusion which is under way in various academies and even, apparently, at 10 Downing Street hasn't quite got around to dealing with income redistribution which is, of course, at the heart of the matter.

Not, you may feel, the traditional or even the reasonable responsibility of the urban planner. I contend however, that if the urban planner is proposing to make, or permit, a significant built statement at a place and purporting to create a halcyon social and civic environment known for its desirability, then providing for social capital and the means of inclusion is part of that responsibility.

There is too big a gap between stated vision and the actuality of what is to be provided in most new developments. There is also an unintended double standard in the endorsement of determinism by architects and designers while the idea of building structures and processes for social capital is not only unendorsed, it is seen as unwarranted meddling.

Developing social capital is not wrong, but it is complex and requires an expertise and set of skills not imparted in schools of planning and design. However, this does not mean that these skills are not available, they simply need to be found from elsewhere.

The other problem is that there has not been a model. Urban design models abound but they are about the design of built elements, spatial relationships, physical environmental issues or other aspects of physical infrastructure. The literature on social and civic structures is not found in this dialogue but in schools of sociology, government, psychology, ethics and philosophy and, as social impact assessment practitioners have noted[iv], it is always difficult to work across disciplines.

There are, however, some significant partial models to be found from diverse sources including community economic development literature[v,vi], kinship and network development efforts in public housing in the UK[vii], social impact assessment literature, especially attempts to assess the densities of networks and quality of social cohesion for impact assessment[viii].

The dilemma but also the exciting opportunity is to put this host of contributing materials together in a real project. One such project is the development of a village at O'Brien Road in the Hills District outside Perth.

Still at the planning stages, this project proposes to establish a sustainable village and has incorporated considerations of social and civic identity, civic structure, social and voluntary association processes and the development of trust from the outset. What has resulted is a development proposal which has all the usual components including the social infrastructure and social services required by the Community Code of the Shire of Swan with, in addition, some other key elements that are designed directly to address the project's ambitious vision in tangible ways.

Key elements of this proposal include:

- This village has a tangible and significant raison d'être, which will be manifested not just in a logo and gateway, but in the major elements of the village's layout (in the same way that a market place or port is at the heart of villages which originated around such functions)

- This raison d'être will also be made explicit in a village Charter, Community Agreement which householders will be invited to sign on purchase, and in education courses for intending residents

- The need to provide an effective civic response to bushfire has been identified as a key for establishing a voluntary association in which all residents will have an equal interest.

- The installation of state of the art environmental management systems rather than conventional energy and waste disposal systems will be utilised as a second opportunity for the establishment of voluntary associations some of which will operate around learning and education opportunities

- The community will be provided with an air-conditioned performance space suitable for multi-use and with an acoustically sealed rehearsal area(s) with young people in mind rather than the conventional community centre.

- The development of the community as an economic and social entity will be supported by the establishment of a Community Development Organisation. This organisation will have a charter and constitution based on best practice examples in Australia and overseas and providing for appropriate skills base on its board, democratic processes, proper accountabilities and equity of access for residents to facilities and resources etc.

- The Community Development Organisation will also have a secured income based on rental from property endowed by the developer to the CDO.

- Chatter will be promoted by communications through a developer sponsored community directory, web site, notice board and some events possibly monthly markets and a fair day. These will be sponsored on a reducing funding-hand over to the CDO basis by the developer.

- There will also be a community development worker and extensive community consultations along the way.

The point is that rather than leave the community to discover that it needs such organisations, constitutions and events, rather than hope that the members of this community will have best practice at their finger tips and a sound understanding of social capital and equality mechanisms, the basics of these will be provided.

sector and railways to re-use and conserve railway property.
For example, the Durban station was restored as a prestige
office building and workshops were refurbished as a shopping
and exhibition centre. In Cape Town an exciting plan has con-
verted the old Victoria & Alfred Basins into an upmarket enter-
tainment and marina complex, the Waterfront, not unlike the
Rocks, Sydney. The author has also advised on the re-use of
strategic railway land near the city core of East London.

One should also mention the works of para-statial corporations
or large industrial and mining layouts which pay scant respect
to the built fabric. For example, the Electricity Supply Com-
mission builds ugly power stations, townships and a spider-web
of power lines which dwarf or negate conservation. Then too the
Post Office has microwave towers which suddenly arise to deface
the townscape. However, 1978 saw a watershed in S. African
conservation when the Post Office bowed to public pressure and
saved the West Facade of Pretoria's Church Square at the heart
of the gridiron plan of the capital city.

Nine Provinces comprise the second tier of government, but with
less power than Australian states. The museum services in most
provinces try to find uses for historic buildings, and in the
Cape alone 100 buildings have been saved. In the city core of
Durban there is an outstanding example of recycling by the
province, the Natal Playhouse for the Performing Arts Council.
With maximum financial backing from sponsors and moral support
from central government, the second tier has a future role.

In theory the third tier of government should address conserva-
tion at grassroots, but in practice expertise is scarce and
approval or finance is required from senior governments. Some
of the larger municipalities like Cape Town or Durban employ
special urban conservation units which are highly sensitive
and employ policies and persuasion to achieve partnerships
with the private sector. However, most municipalities suffer
from the negative impact of large motorways in which inner
city route selection usually slices through old historic parks
or housing. For example, a massive aerial freeway cuts off
the historic core of Port Elizabeth from the harbour, but a
public outcry halted one side of the inner loop in Cape Town.
Pedestrian malls tend to be planned in isolation, instead of
being part of a conservation and traffic strategy.

THE PRIVATE SECTOR

It has been argued that Galbraith's ideas of "private affluence
& private squalour" influence the actions of most of the
private sector towards conservation. Then too there are in-
herent conflicts between the profit motive and the public good
which are played out in the built environment. Incentives for
private sector participation (tax rebates or transfer of de-
velopment rights) will only be effective as part of firm civic
policies and partnerships. Four bodies can be mentioned.

A pioneer in this field was Historic Homes of 1966 based in
the Cape-Dutch university town of Stellenbosch. It has
saved over 100 properties, undertaken 200 restorations and
tried to restore interiors to their "best period". Among its
useful spin-offs have been the creation of specialist building

teams and conservation architects of outstanding quality in the
Western Cape. 25 years ago the van der Stel Foundation was
founded to increase awareness and raise funds for conservation
With branches in most provinces, this foundation is motivated
by cultural idealism rather than profits, but it tends towards
"elitism", which is unfortunate in a new S. Africa trying to
uplift disadvantaged cultures.

Two civic trusts in Durban and Cape Town have helped to cherish
their Indian and Malay cultures respectively. In 1997 the
Cape Town Heritage Trust was instrumental in saving historic
Heritage Square, the only place in the world where a unique mix
of Georgian and Cape-Dutch is to be found, dating from 1771.
Founded on gold, the city of Johannesburg devours its built
fabric with every generation, but some Dutch and English traces
remain in Pretoria. We note the work of vernacular societies,
and a healthier trend away from single buildings to townscape.

To summarise, four problems common to public and private sector:

1. Codes of Conduct. There should be one rule for both
   whether in the form of legislation or administration.
   State agencies should not exempt themselves from controls
   and the public good should figure in projects for profit.

2. Sponsorship & Incentives. In S. Africa business is far
   more eager to support sport sponsorship than conservation.
   There is scope for more financial incentives.

3. Co-ordination & Teamwork. There is already adequate legis-
   lation for conservation, but the given framework should
   be streamlined and enforced. However, there is a lack of
   middle management and expertise. Teamwork and negotiation
   do not sit well in a macho and competitive society.

4. Attitudes. Besides the NIMBY syndrome, the benefits of
   "privatisation" of public spaces like town squares, parks
   and waterfronts are seldom weighed against social costs.
   Townscape is "internalised" and public participation is
   seen as a token or nuisance. Sensitivity is a rarity!

Three Case Studies

Case studies of medium-sized cities are now discussed, namely
Bloemfontein (1846), Kimberley (1871) and Grahamstown (1812).
Bloemfontein was founded some 700 km from the coast (10 years
after Adelaide, SA!) for military and communication reasons.
Not surprisingly it was laid out like a Roman gridiron with a
square at the crossing of the axes. Three subsequent axes are
noteworthy. Besides the main Maitland Street (east-west) and
the linear water supply, Spruit (east-west), a third monument-
al boulevard, President Brand Street has developed north-south
and presents a unified townscape and landscape around a cluster
of institutions such as Appeal Court, High Court, Presidensie
and Town Hall. (FIG 1)

As part of a political agenda and "benign neglect", Bloemfon-
tein has destroyed most links with the past. In particular, a
new ice-blue Civic Centre in glass and steel was built along-
side the warm sandstone and tile roofs of Pres. Brand Street
and justified by its architect as 'harmony by contrast'. Second,
in the town square a formal garden has been replaced by hard

surfaces, and a retail chain nearly persuaded the City Council to allow rezoning of a public open space! The linear open space and drainige channel (Spruit) had already suffered the intrusion of a bus station and shopping centre built OVER it!

Much like Ballarat or Bendigo, semi-arid Kimberley in the Northern Cape was a roisterous mining town noted for the diamond rush of 1871. At one stage its population even exceeded that of the colonial capital Cape Town. Amid its spiderweb of streets (wheelbarrow tracks!) and spoil heaps of the Big Hole, a symbolic town square is left open. The subsequent town hall is part of a remarkable Victorian townscape, which had great potential for conservation and tourism. However, the notorious Group Areas Act saw to the urban "removal" of the humble houses of the Malay Camp and was a neat way of privatising an historic area so that large private profits were earned on the sale of land. On the edge of the town square to the north, the Post Office twisted the Municipality's arm to relax height and bulk for a grey, slab-like skyscraper. (FIG 2)

Grahamstown, the oldest example was also founded for military reasons about the same time that Raffles founded Singapore in an attempt to settle' the border wars in the Eastern Cape. It lies in a hollow surrounded by superb hills, has the only real High Street in S. Africa and two unique public squares have evolved, namely Church and Market. Church Square is in fact a "triangle" and has a rich townscape consisting of elements like town hall, cathedral and Victorian shops (FIG 3). Here is massive traffic and parking intrusion which beg for pedestrianisation to-day. Downhill from Church Square, there is a charming open space Fiddlers Green, and the Grahamstown Trust is concerned that the municipality will allow shops there.

The fate of Grahamstown's second large square (Market) was also determined by the Group Areas Act. The previous government wanted control of access to the Black township up the hill, so it promptly appropriated half of Market Square for a police "bunker". Then the municipality gave away another quarter and a parking lot was built on the rest. Besides raising ethical questions, there is the dubious practice of "privatising" land in public ownership and offering it to speculators. (FIG 4) After all there are values of sentiment and symbolism involved which give special meaning to non-material and shared culture.

Conclusion

S. African society is a complex mix of people with differing priorities and at different stages of development. There is an inherent conflict between informal development and planned conservation. Besides climatic contrasts and environmental interaction, patterns of conservation reflect a complex cultural mix and a lack of shared values. Sustainability in conservation will depend on greater teamwork between public and private sectors, as well as desirable (but elusive) public participation. Permanence and change in S. African townscape will only be achieved by determining needs, setting priorities, examining alternatives and acting decisively. Synergy and sensitivity are paramount.
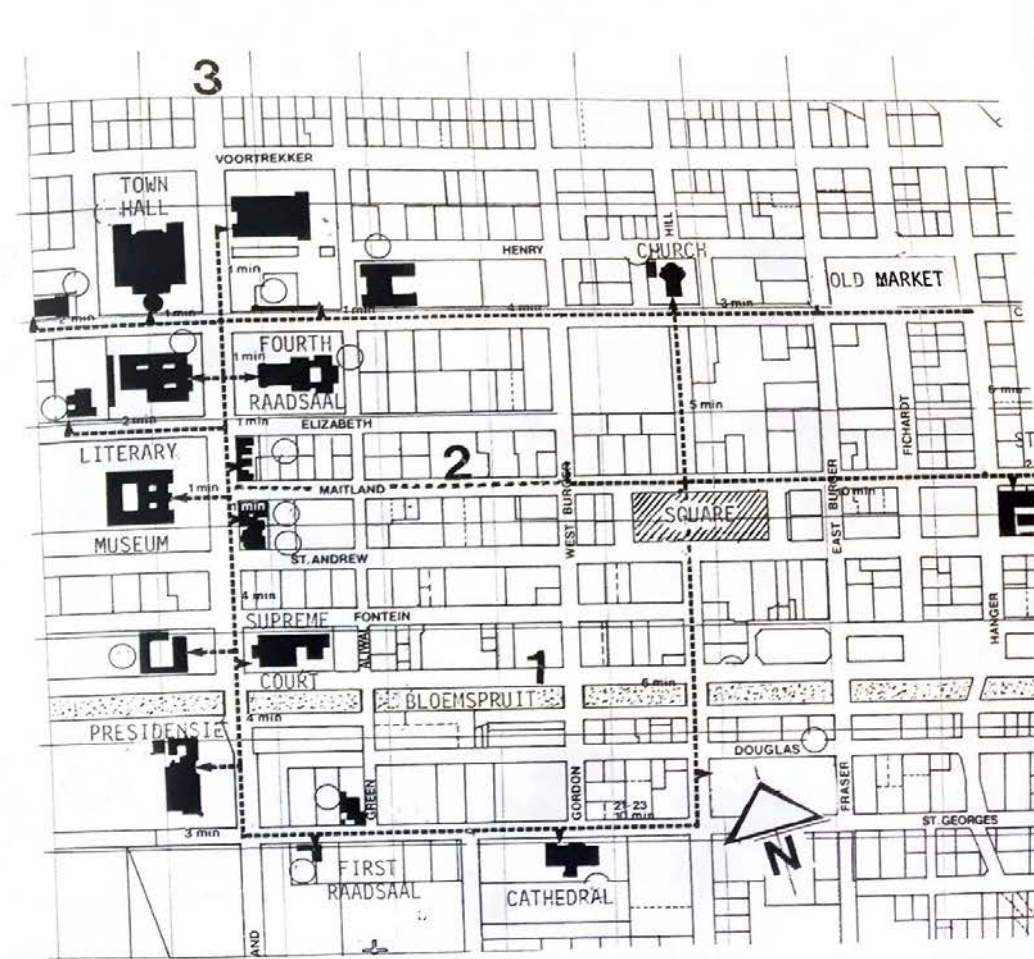
FIG 1 Bloemfontein's Core with three axes: (1) Bloemspruit, (2) Maitland St & (3) Pres Brand St with historic buildings.

FIG 2 Kimberley Market Sq with Town Hall and new PO tower.

FIG 3 Grahamstown's Church Square at the turn of the century,
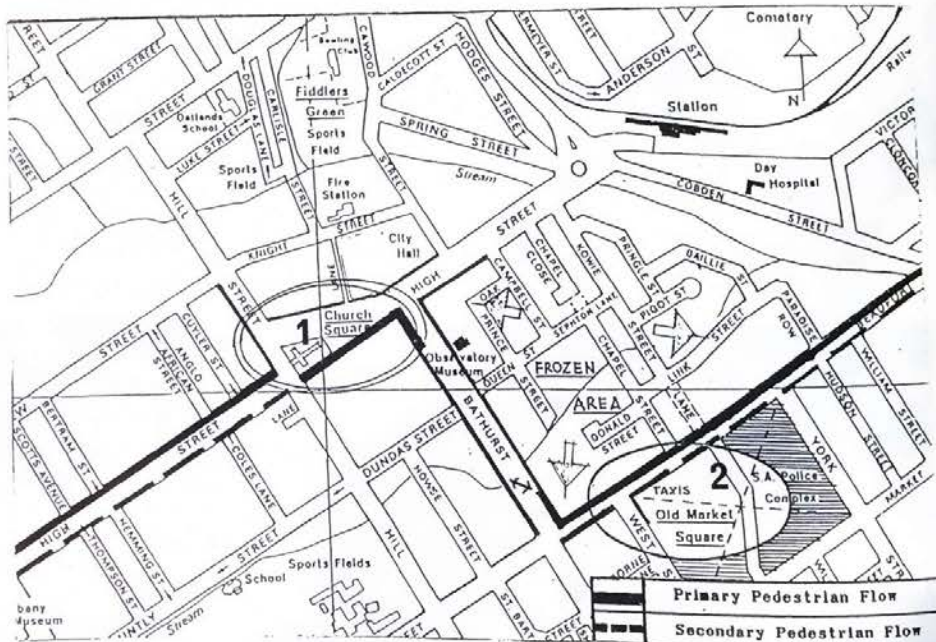but now threatened by motor traffic

FIG 4 Grahamstown's core area showing (1) Church Square and
(2) the old Market Square truncated! Note main pedestrian flow