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HANDBOOKS



The Routledge Handbook of Planning History

Edited by Carola Hein

THE ROUTLEDGE HANDBOOK OF PLANNING HISTORY

The Routledge Handbook of Planning History offers a comprehensive interdisciplinary overview of planning history since its emergence in the late 19th century, investigating the history of the discipline, its core writings, key people, institutions, vehicles, education, and practice. Combining theoretical, methodological, historical, comparative, and global approaches to planning history, *The Routledge Handbook of Planning History* explores the state of the discipline, its achievements and shortcomings, and its future challenges.

A foundation for the discipline and a springboard for scholarly research, *The Routledge Handbook of Planning History* explores planning history on an international scale in thirty-eight chapters, providing readers with unique opportunities for comparison. The diverse contributions open up new perspectives on the many ways in which contemporary events, changing research needs, and cutting-edge methodologies shape the writing of planning history.

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THE ROUTLEDGE
HANDBOOK OF
PLANNING HISTORY

Edited by Carola Hein

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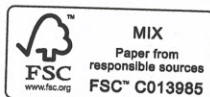
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1

THE WHAT, WHY, AND HOW OF PLANNING HISTORY

Carola Hein

Planning is a complex discipline, with more than one body of terminology, multiple interpretations, and manifold applications through space and over time, and historians have commented on it from a variety of perspectives. *Urban planning, city planning, town planning, urban design*—practitioners and scholars working in English use numerous terms to describe the design and regulation of spaces, their physical form, and their use, function, and impact. Other languages and traditions further describe and categorize these activities in various and often diverging ways. The variety of terms and concepts used to describe planning history and historiography—captured in this book and illustrated



Figure 1.1 Word cloud of *The Planning History Handbook*.
Source: Wordle.net.

in a word cloud—exemplifies the complexity of the topic and the multiplicity of approaches and disciplines (Figure 1.1). As diverse and multiple are the actors that contribute to it and the methodologies and the tools they use. Politicians, economists, planners, and urban designers have shaped physical spaces through many kinds of interventions, considering planning variously as an aesthetic, economic, political, or even engineering endeavor. Different planning approaches can coexist in a single city: whereas the design of ports can be the result of economic needs and engineering planning, the design of a representative government district might be the result of political interests and aesthetic planning, and revitalization of a former industrial site may focus on social needs and multifunctional use. Planning also varies in different national and cultural contexts, from Soviet-era five-year plans that translated into spatial development, to building plans from social engineers that resulted in urban forms, to City Beautiful-type New Urbanism. These contexts shape planning practice, as well as planning education and planning history.

The different terms and disciplines are further complicated by change over time. The design of urban form has a much longer history than modern planning, including the four-thousand-year history of the Imperial Chinese cities, the plans of Hippodamus of Milet for Greek cities, the planned cities of the Mayas, Renaissance and Baroque planning, or the Law of the Indies. In all of these cases, national or local leaders put extensive funds and manpower into carrying out the plans. Many of these earlier interventions are still visible in our cities. They continue to shape practice in multiple ways, through governance structures or planning cultures, through inherent path dependencies of institutions or laws and regulations, as formal references, or as frameworks for design, transformation, and preservation. More concretely, multiple cities have copied them, and professional planners of later years have learned and borrowed from them.

In the late 19th century, one form of planning emerged as a discipline in England, continental Europe, and the United States. It was conceived as a rational, modernist pursuit for societal improvement in response to the urban ills produced by the industrial revolution. Planning practitioners tried to respond to rapidly transforming cities, to new forms of production and consumption, to uncontrolled population growth, and to new types of transportation and communication. In short, planning targeted hygiene, housing, and transportation. As industrialization and colonial empires spread, various models of planning followed colonial and postcolonial geographies of power, political allegiances, corporate interests, and professional networks of planners. The global spread of Ebenezer Howard's 1902 garden city concept before World War I stands as an example, with German, French Japanese, or Russian writers making early references to Howard's schemata and fully translating his work into their languages (Figures 1.2, 7.2, 11.3). The diffusion of these concepts has continued, with their translations into Czech, Polish, Chinese, or Arabic, opening up new research possibilities on border-crossing planning concepts.

The discipline and focus of planning has shifted in tune with political and economic developments as well as societal changes across the decades. Today, planning is primarily a forward-looking discipline, in which past developments and approaches play a limited but changing role. Over time, some architects and planners have looked to the past as a toolbox, while others cite prior plans only in passing, or ignore them altogether.

This change is also reflected in planning education. A brief look at curricula and their change over time indicates that planning schools increasingly prefer to teach planning theory rather than planning history, and most planning schools do not train planning historians. But discerning what planning is, and what the city is in time and place, planning history builds awareness of diverse ideological and theoretical positions. It also allows for new approaches to emerge that challenge ideas of modernity in urban form and function, and that call into question concepts of planning and representations of space.

Acknowledging these dynamics and their historical development, the *Handbook* starts with the assumption that planning is a flexible system rather than a fixed one. Taking a networked, cross-cultural, balanced approach, and writing from different vantage points, the *Handbook* explores spatial

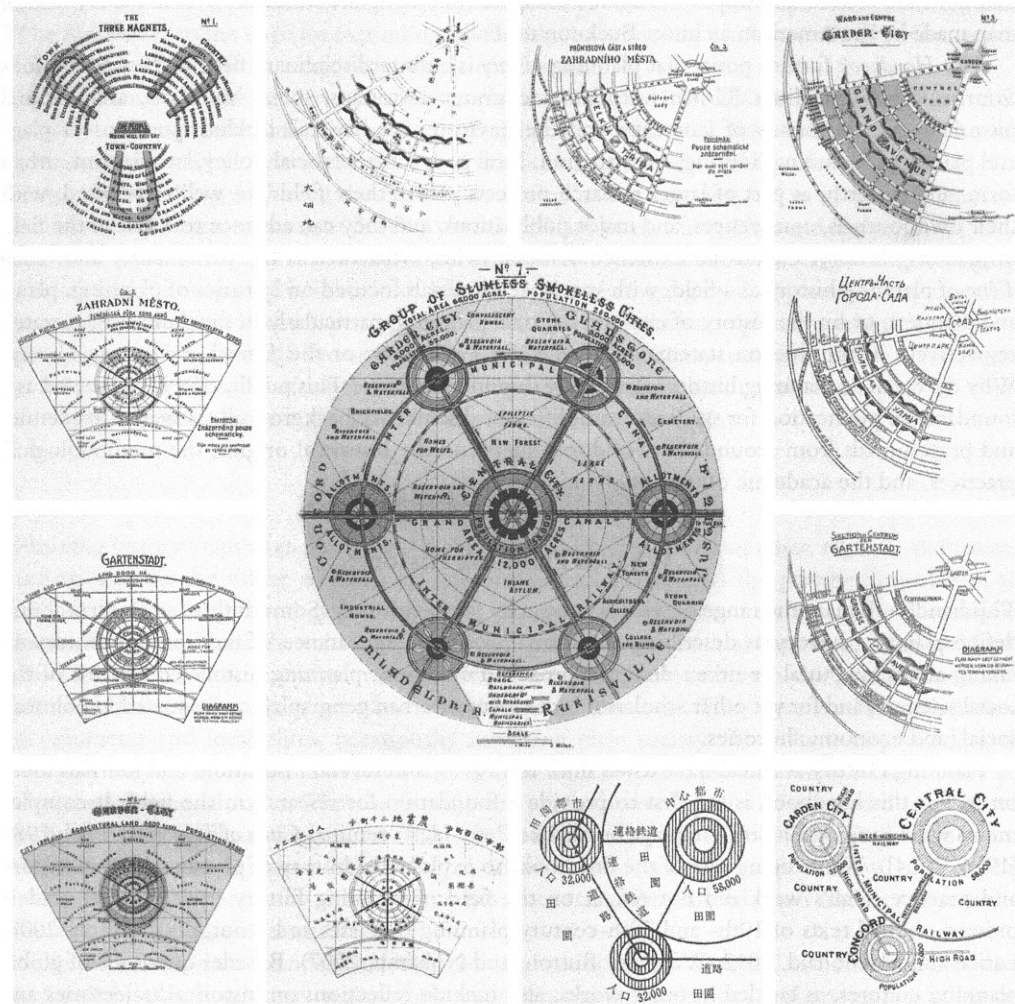


Figure 1.2 The global spread of the garden city by Ebenezer Howard through time. Diagrams, 1, 2, 3 and 5, originally published in English, are shown here with their translations into German, French, Japanese, Czech, and Russian.

Source: from top line, left to right: Top line: Diagram No. 1, The Three Magnets in: Ebenezer Howard, *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Ltd. 1898; Diagram No. 3, translated into Japanese in: Naimushō Chihōkyoku, Denentoshi, Tokyo: Hakubunkan, Meiji 40 1907; Diagram No. 3, translated into Czech, in: Hruza, Jirí, *Stavitelé mest, Praha: Agora, 2011*; Diagram No. 3, in: Ebenezer Howard, *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Ltd. 1898. Second line: Diagram No. 2, translated into Czech, in: Hruza, Jirí, *Stavitelé mest, Praha: Agora, 2011*; Diagram No. 3, translated by Alexander Block into Russian: in Goroda Budushavo, St. Petersburg, 1911. Center: Diagram No. 7, in: Ebenezer Howard, *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Ltd. 1898. Third line: Diagram No. 2, Gartenstädte in Sicht translated into German by Maria Wallroth-Unterlip, Jena: E Diederichs, 1907; Diagram No. 3, Gartenstädte in Sicht translated into German by Maria Wallroth-Unterlip, Jena: E Diederichs, 1907. Bottom line: Diagram No. 2, in: Ebenezer Howard, *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Ltd. 1898; Diagram No. 2, translated into Japanese in: Naimushō Chihōkyoku, Denentoshi, Tokyo: Hakubunkan, Meiji 40 1907; Diagram No. 5, translated into Japanese in: "Nishiyama Uzō, "The Structure of the Base of Life," Kenchikugaku kenkyū no. 110+111 (1942). Reprinted in Nishiyama Uzō, *Chiikikūkanron*, Tokyo: Keisō shobō, 1968; Diagram No. 5, in: Ebenezer Howard, *Garden Cities of Tomorrow*, London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1922.

traditions and cultural landscapes—imagine folding and unfolding the world anew, as in the Dymaxion map made by the American architect Buckminster Fuller.

The *Handbook* further posits that planning *history* is an interdisciplinary field with contributions from multiple disciplines. Urban historians, economic historians, social historians, architectural historians, and historians of landscape and the environment have all tackled questions of plans and planning, including housing, construction, local government, social policy, utopianism, urban form, and so forth, as part of larger research projects. All of these fields are well established, with their own journals, conferences, and major publications, and they can advance research in the field of planning history. Given the existence of these fields, what then is the particularity and *raison d'être* of planning history as a field, with specialized journals focused on histories of planning, plans, and planners, or on the history of city and regional planning, particularly in the Americas, as stated respectively in the mission statements of *Planning Perspectives*, or the *Journal of Planning History*? Why do we need planning history? And, how should it be done? This publication is conceived as a foundational publication for students from different disciplinary backgrounds, as well as academics and professionals from around the world to understand the historical origins, the methodological practices, and the academic output of planning history.

What Is Planning History?

This handbook maps the range of what we mean by *planning history*. Some authors in this handbook define planning history as describing the formal, aesthetic appearance of the built environment, taking an architectural or urban design approach. For others, planning history comes out of the social sciences, and for yet other scholars it is the focus of urban geography, or is situated in political, social, and economic histories.

Planning History as a field has existed since the 1970s, and several institutions and journals focus on it, but this handbook is the first to provide a foundation for research in the field. It complements wide-ranging English-language books like Peter Hall's seminal *Cities of Tomorrow* (Hall, 1988 [1996, 2014]). While being one of the first books to explore the history of planning, and its theory and practice, Hall's work did not reflect on the field of planning history itself. Several readers present original texts of 19th- and 20th-century planning (LeGates and Stout, 2003; Birch, 2008; Larice and Macdonald, 2012; Wegener, Button, and Nijkamp, 2007). Broader questions of global planning cultures, as tackled in other works, also include reflections on historical trajectories and their relations to specific national and local traditions (Sanyal, 2005). But the *Handbook* is very different, composed of new and original work by leading scholars in the field, including pieces that will themselves become classics.

The *Handbook* first establishes the premises and achievements of interdisciplinary and international planning history, and the key players and institutions. It then goes beyond this established narrative by exploring new methodological, theoretical, and typological approaches. It posits that a wider range of narratives is important to the rewriting, rethinking, and reorienting of planning history itself. If Sub-Saharan African planning, for instance, has largely been left out of the canon of planning history, a more expansive understanding of these histories can prove transformative (Silva, 2015). Such a rethinking also involves acknowledging the places and languages from which planning history is written, and questioning underlying premises. It acknowledges the extensive historiography of planning, and that much of the important writing on planning history came out of England and the US first. It also emphasizes that these are in the end regional or national stories that need to be paralleled with other approaches guided by different language patterns and by different political, economic, social, and cultural approaches to planning. Reflecting on the multiple planning histories and historiographies of Southeast Asia and South Asia, for example, requires that authors

understand planning in relation to the transformation of formality as an expression of state power. The *Handbook* sets the stage for expanding scholarship, encouraging scholars to ask what connections have remained unwritten, what networks unconsidered.

The *Handbook* adds new perspectives to planning history. It builds on recent writing that has aimed to overcome the limitations of both discipline and geography. Research in planning history, including research by some of the authors of this book, has started to address the challenges of planning history writing, including the need to overcome national stories, and to go beyond empirical and narrative-driven research to develop theories (Ward et al., 2011; Nasr and Volait, 2003; Hein, 2014). While such an approach cannot be comprehensive, this handbook at least models new global planning histories, giving insights into different approaches, geographical patterns, languages, and principles. It aims to further open up the parallel worlds of academic planning history in different disciplines, and to facilitate the emergence of collective languages, terminologies, methodologies, and theories. A diversity of approaches enriches a discussion of planning history. It can also throw into relief the disciplinary logics involved in writing about planning.

Why Planning History?

Planning history helps us to understand planning's past influence on our cities, regions, and nations, and to imagine the future of planning as a professional practice, as the past performance of the discipline is challenged and global challenges require comprehensive new measures. Planning has been called upon since the mid-19th century to propose interventions that would channel future development based on calculations, assumptions, and formal criteria from the past. Planners have taken up this complex challenge, often with the best of intentions. They have worked with national governments and local elites, occasionally involving civic society. They have responded to the needs of expanding cities and of transforming nations. They have provided new infrastructure and identified functional zones. They have projected urban futures in times of war and disaster as well as peace. They work to integrate existing (planned) spaces and established (planning) cultures into their interventions. At a time when informal urbanism is becoming more prominent, planning history provides an opportunity to understand the motivations for planned interventions and serve as a foundation for future intervention.

As a means to better understand the role of planning in the historical transformation of cities and regions, planning history can also help us understand the downsides or shortcomings of historic planning practice and the needs for novel approaches. For example, in some areas of the world, planning has created more economic, social, or ethnic inequalities rather than solving them, and a close analysis can help understand the reasons for these shortcomings. In other areas, attempts to undo former colonial planning practice can benefit from a comprehensive understanding of the complexity of colonial planning practice, ranging from legal practices to aesthetic and symbolic interactions. Furthermore, the emergence of informal settlements that in some areas of the world are more extensive than planned ones raises questions about the necessary flexibility of planning and the changing intersection between planned spaces and informal urban development. Many interventions have simply failed, or have been too inflexible to accommodate urban change. In short, not all blueprints established to guide urban development have succeeded.

Planning has shaped our environment extensively but it has also faced extensive criticism—and that at a time when it may be most needed. Over the last decade, cities and regions around the world have been facing increased challenges ranging from climate change and global water rise to migration and population growth, and comprehensive solutions are needed to create resilient systems. Planning history can be an important and valuable tool for conceptualizing resilient planning systems for the future, speaking to the challenges of the future, and integrating lessons from the past.

The American planning historian Larry Vale introduced the concept of critical resilience, arguing that such discussions need to be more attuned to issues of power and politics in moments of disaster and post-trauma (Vale, 2016). Pointing out that planning historians are well trained in analyzing historical disaster recovery, Vale believes that this analytical tool should be applied more widely when thinking about contemporary and future resilience. We do not need ideological answers or engineers who engage only with future challenges; we need planners with a sense of history and historians with a sense of planning.

Planning historians also have an important role in analyzing past plans for a bygone future, pointing out challenges for future visions. As they evaluate and sometimes revive visions of the future, they provide grounding for contemporary design. The planning of Berlin as a capital is just one example of the impact that visionary plans have had on planning discussions worldwide (Hein, 1991). Numerous visionary projects for Berlin that did not become reality—from monumental plans under Albert Speer, Adolf Hitler's favorite architect, to megastructural projects for the 1957–1958 Capital Berlin competition—have informed projects in later decades. These visions can be as inspirational as realized plans (or even more so); they can travel through time and space, influencing later decision-making or flourishing where they find fertile ground. Speer's projects, while not realized, would shape planning decisions in West Berlin from the end of the war until after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, with subsequent planners avoiding all monumental or axial designs. Other concepts live on, and many have since been realized in piecemeal fashion at the hand of public institutions and corporations: megastructural visions established in Europe and Japan can be seen as predecessors of extensive underground shopping malls, huge skyscrapers connected by pedestrian bridges, and large infrastructure such as floating airports (Hein, 2016). Spatial planning has even left its imprint on *Sim City* and other computer games, where the history of real cities intersects with visionary projects and everyday urban experiences.

How (to Write) Planning History?

The notion of planning is intimately related to the concept of modernity and modernization after the industrial revolution, and to the assumption that changing the physical spaces of a city would change its residents' life conditions, and social and cultural patterns (Scott, 1998). Planning historians have contributed to writing the history of modernity, documenting the efforts of leading planners, strains of practice, and intervention. In turn, this handbook both documents and reconsiders planning history and its connection with modernity by going beyond the fixed notions of scholars, who explored urban transformation in the early industrialized countries, notably in Europe and North America. Rethinking the definition of "modern" as being related to industrialization, the book both defines the concept of planning, and revises that definition, going beyond the concept of planning as "progress" and the activity of the historical "avant-garde," and exploring planned interventions in conjunction with vernacular or unplanned spaces. As historian Manfredo Tafuri put it:

The history of contemporary urban planning does not at all coincide with the history of the avant-garde hypothesis. On the contrary, as certain philological investigations have been able to ascertain, the tradition of urban planning rests on foundations constructed outside of any avant-garde experience. . . . This necessitates a radical reexamination of the relationship between the history of urban planning and the parallel history of the ideologies of the modern movement. If this method is followed, many myths are destined to crumble (1987).

Questioning the concept of the modern in planning brings new themes and questions to the forefront of research. Planning has presented itself as a science, employing social engineering,

traffic engineering, and other supposedly objective methodologies. However, few planners or historians have questioned or tested the results of specific interventions. Perhaps even worse, what was presented as a scientific response to health in one era later itself became seen as a health hazard. For example, blocks and slabs in greenery-type housing projects of the 1920s and 1950s are now condemned for reasons of security and aesthetics, elements that are important to walkability, a topic that scholars today have recognized as essential to combat obesity and build community. Working from a historical perspective to challenge assumptions about progress and modernity and the ways in which they have shaped planning, the book shows how understandings of the modern city have emerged and changed as cultural constructions.

As a result of the prominence of a Western, that is Euro–American–Australian, approach in history writing, there are lines of influences that are taken for granted rather than being critically explored and reflected. Mesopotamia was connected with Greece and the Roman Empire but often appears as disconnected from them in contemporary writing, as it now belongs to the Arab world, while they count as European. Scholars have long considered Japan a recipient of planning practices rather than a translator or generator of them, as Asian languages and approaches to planning history do not easily communicate with languages and scholarly discussions in Europe and North America (Hein, 2017).

Historiography is never objective, but we have to be very careful to make sure that it doesn't become only subjective. To do that, historians (including those of planning) provide evidence that is significant and appropriate. The "history of practice" as examined by historians focuses on how people acted in the past, but typically does not consider the past's implications for the present. In contrast, practitioners "practice history," that is, they turn to history for their work in the present, but they do not always consider the past on its own merits. This is also true for analysis that crosses borders: often books "learning from" other cultures are about creating an argument for planning rather than gaining understanding. Treating planning history explicitly as the history of a future-oriented discipline, this handbook explores the changing history of how the discipline has narrated the past and how practitioners have mobilized the past for the future.

Questions of planning's authorship, spatiality, and temporality are reproduced in planning history as it has traced the development of planning and its targets, focusing on issues of hygiene, infrastructure, and housing, and on capital design, infrastructure planning, and heritage (the use of the past itself). But planning histories have not addressed all areas, time periods, or practices in the same ways. The writing of history at times went hand in hand with the making of history. Some of the early planning histories have been written to legitimize a group of planners or a specific ideology. Occasionally (architectural or urban) historians were even part of iconic movements: Kenneth Frampton famously documented the modern movement, and Noboru Kawazoe wrote for and with the Japanese metabolists. These engagements raise the question of how historians more generally have created an official narrative of the modern city and its planning while being affiliated or intellectually connected with certain movements.

When planning historians narrate the past, they risk creating heroic histories. The actors of planning and thus the heroes of planning history were often elite white males who followed their "interest" or "genius." Emphasizing these stories—not necessarily historians' conscious goals but rather the result of a specific cultural moment—ensured that other plans and planners would be ignored and that a celebratory track record emerged. The resulting planning history can be read as a listing of their achievements without acknowledging the specific political, social, economic, or cultural context. Studies abound of Baron Georges-Eugène Haussmann, Ildefonso Cerdá, Ebenezer Howard, Le Corbusier, Robert Moses, and the Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM), and their respective plans. Even when histories are critical, these are often still the types of projects and images that figure prominently.

Heroic stories also risk perpetuating gendered structures. But women have always been in planning. While fewer women were active as planners in the early years, upper-class women tried to help

the poor, such as the German writer and social activist Bettina von Arnim, who worked with the architect Wilhelm Stier to propose for a city of the poor, establishing a well-recognized line of intervention in planning by women. By the 1920s and 1930s, women started to become professional planners: Catherine Bauer and her sister Elizabeth Bauer Mock, and Jaqueline Tyrwhitt are just some examples. Planning history also has its female leaders, from Françoise Choay to Annie Fourcaut, Susan Fainstein, Leonie Sandercock, Donatella Calabi, and Helen Meller, who have contributed innovative approaches. Many of these authors are referenced in the *Handbook*, but a full account of planning history from a female lens is still missing.

Other patterns of planning that have yet to be fully acknowledged in planning history include the history of engineering. The history of engineering has been closely connected to that of planning, but historians have yet to recognize engineers' contributions to planning. Studying the ways in which planners have picked up new technologies in attempts to promote organized, planned spaces over unplanned ones may reveal new connections in the long-term narrative of planning. Planners have not been initiators but have picked up on engineering responses as drivers and executors. Visionaries like Le Corbusier promoted engineering, and dressed it up. Elevators, trains, cars, and planes—all these different means of transportation have provided the incentive for extensive changes of urban form and function. Trains and cars provided the opportunity and tools for suburbia, while planes allowed for the creation of networks of cities more closely connected to each other than each city was connected to its surrounding urban area. Engineers made it their goal to counter the forces of nature while planners and architects provided the designs and rationales that sustained the transformation. New materials made possible buildings and entire cities that could be defended against water, earthquake, or climate, in river deltas once flooded on a regular basis, on coastlines or next to rivers, in areas that were prone to earthquakes or tsunamis, or ones located in punishingly hot and cold climates. But the engineer's preferred focus remains narrow, whereas planning implies some degree of comprehensiveness, a social or environmental function.

Moreover, critical planning histories and awareness of missing narratives can provide a foundation for planning that addresses the challenges of the future. For example, historical analysis of the physical and financial flows of petroleum can help us understand the formation of modern cities, making visible that industry's need of industrial, administrative, retail, and ancillary spaces, as well as its representation of the built environment in advertisement, art, architecture, or urban form. Such a study can also help us anticipate and design for changes in an imminent post-oil future: remediating and repurposing defunct refineries and storage tanks, rethinking infrastructural and other linkages between oil industries and headquarters, reorganizing global towards more circular economies. Understanding how and these systems and dynamics developed historically will help planners imagine new futures for them.

Connecting past, present, and future, the *Handbook* can help challenge the teaching of planning and its history in the diverse educational systems, in planning schools, and in other academic departments. That also might mean integrating and teaching design thinking not only in the context of planning education, but also in social science departments, and developing relevant curricula that engage with new perspectives. The *Handbook* hopes to seed this process, and invites complementary research.

Imagining the Future(s) of Planning History?

Such a complex topic cannot be handled in a single volume, and this book doesn't pretend to cover every country, city, topic, or historical moment. Themes that could have been included—planning and nature, planning in all under-studied parts of the world, social planning, planning scales—were discussed in the Planning History Workshop in 2015. For various reasons, mostly stemming from practical limits, they have not been included in this version of the *Handbook*.

The *Handbook* does touch on the problem of definition (what is planned? what is unplanned?), but those places organized without any state involvement are the subject of another volume.

Acknowledging biases in terms of culture, colonialism, gender, and fields of inquiry will be a necessary foundation for planning historians going beyond this book. For example, they will have to reflect on the writing of planning histories involving countries that have fought wars against each other. Questions of gender will be central, especially when they engage with planning in societies where men dominate the public realm, considering not only questions of exclusion and the role of women but constructions of masculinity itself. They will have to reflect on the role of theory elaborated in European and North American analyses of megacities in China and elsewhere, as it ignores the specificity of these cities and theories of those cultures. Other boundary-pushing work for planning historians will concern the "urbanization" of oceans—the proliferation of drilling platforms, energy parks, and other floating structures—questions of energy networks and food landscapes, and the study of commodity flows and their influence on the built environment.

Structure and Overall Contribution of the *Handbook*

The *Handbook* investigates the history of planning since its emergence as a discipline in the mid-19th century. It does so while both recognizing and provincializing Euro-American-Australian traditions of international planning history, and introducing new approaches that take into account global approaches and themes. Scholars in the *Handbook* start to challenge the traditional writing of planning history as a history of heroes and unique ideas. They go beyond the current state of planning history, providing both new global standpoints and new approaches, querying official iconographies, including other disciplines, and investigating different parts of the world. The *Handbook* establishes a first step towards overcoming biases such as the focus on English-language sources, and develops novel interdisciplinary, transcultural, and postcolonial approaches. It examines sites, dynamics, and typologies, and explores the state of the field—its achievements and shortcomings and future challenges. It thus serves as a foundation for defining the field and as a springboard for scholars, practitioners, and students engaging in innovative research.

Given the broad range of achievements, challenges, and needs in planning and planning history, this handbook aims to do two things: to write planning history and to write the historiography of planning history. Each of these factors is balanced differently in each chapter. It provides a broad audience with a truly international planning history and the unique opportunity of exploring these findings comparatively. Four parts and thirty-eight chapters offer insights into the academic writing of planning history—its core writings, key people, institutions, vehicles, education, and practice. As such it places the writing of planning history in relation to geographical and temporal context, considering theory and methodology, scales and cultures.

These historic investigations focus on the period since the mid-19th century, seen as the beginning of the modern discipline, while acknowledging earlier dynamics. To both enrich historical analysis and provide insights for future planning, this book looks critically at the ways in which planning history is being written and taught. The contributions open new perspectives on topics that merit further investigation, and identify literature in areas in which planning historians have been active but that are not systematically explored yet. It explores moments where the selection of topics reflects, accompanies, or precedes political discussions and societal change.

The *Handbook* consists of four parts of varying lengths with a complementary focus. Part I addresses cutting-edge questions of **Agents, Theories, Methods, and Typologies** that have shaped the evolving subdiscipline of planning history over time, through the writings of established and recognized planning historians and leaders of the International Planning History Society (IPHS). These latter explorations set the stage for Part II. **Time, Place, and Culture** starts to address the broad array of topics missing in the current scholarship, turning from Euro-American to

global planning history and opening up a framework for global analysis in global language systems. The next chapters then engage with regional stories and their specific political, economic, social, and cultural frameworks. Part III, **Sites and Dynamics: Issues, Movements, Themes, and Debates**, then explores broader place- and typology-based approaches in planning history, tracking new lines of interdisciplinary and transnational investigation, and spearheading research into new/underexplored sites and dynamics (many of them intrinsically global, translocal, or transcultural). Part IV on **Futures** comprises essays that explore new perspectives on topics that merit further investigation, pointing to current research foci and opening perspectives on future research. Each of the parts follows its own chronological, thematic, or scalar logic.

The *Handbook* takes stock of the state of planning history, reconnects it with the discipline of planning, and explores future directions—notably at the global scale. It calls for scholars and practitioners alike to rethink planning. It identifies lessons from the past, and positions them in larger contexts of histories of continuities and change. It analyzes planning histories and historiographies while acknowledging the difficulties of comparing planning in a global setting. The selection of topics reflects, accompanies, or precedes political discussions and descriptions of societal change: from landscape to infrastructure, from housing to issues of social justice and community building. The chapters position these writings, authors, and approaches in their general political, economic, social, and geographical context. The *Handbook* combines theoretical, methodological, historical, comparative, and global approaches to planning history—a comprehensive and synthetic approach for which there is no precedent.

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URBANISM, HOUSING, AND THE CITY

Cor Wagenaar

Housing shapes, or at least envelops, people's private lives. Urbanism, in contrast, intervenes in the public domain. Why, then, include a chapter about housing in book on urban planning? Because even though housing embodies the private realm, it also thoroughly affects the public domain. If the housing conditions of the poor lead to epidemic diseases, for instance, these will affect the entire urban population. Moreover, poor health decreases people's production capacities and weakens a nation's military strength, as governments found out in the 17th century. Since the poor normally are the vast majority of the urban population, their housing situation has a major effect on the structure of cities. Mass housing is a financial challenge: providing decent homes for the millions requires monumental investments. Yet these investments may stimulate the entire economy. Whereas the poor usually have little choice where to live, the wealthy can monopolize the most attractive sites in or near cities; the distinction between villa parks and poor neighborhoods obviously leaves a mark on the layout of cities. But how does urban planning affect housing? And on what grounds do urban planners justify these interventions in the private realm? What explains why urbanists managed to tamper with something as sacrosanct as the ownership titles of land?

The answer is that urbanism developed as an instrument to address very serious crises. These threatened public life, and coping with them was a public task. Using examples primarily from the Netherlands, this chapter explores how housing became one of urbanism's major issues. Since the essence of urbanism is the spatial distribution of human activities, it focuses on the development of spatial models, their application, and some of their consequences. Concentrating on these aspects, it obviously covers only a fragment of a topic that is so vast it could easily fill this entire handbook—many aspects, however important, had to be discarded. Comparative research of the type carried out by Maartje Martens and Anne Power, who studied the way housing markets function, could not be dealt with here (Martens 1991; Wassenberg 2013). Likewise, the impact of housing on racial segregation—and the other way around—could not be included (Vale 2013). We only briefly touch upon the evolution of housing typologies, a topic dealt with by Florian Urban and Wolfgang Sonne (Urban 2012; Sonne 2016). We could not go into the difficulties that inevitably manifest themselves when urbanism confronts “bottom-up” development. Even so, we are confident that the models presented here, from a country that occasionally contributed original solutions and often successfully copied strategies from abroad, gives a fairly complete overview of the issues at stake. The chapter concludes by pointing out the virtual abolition of planning and discontent with its major legacy: the immense numbers of dwellings in suburban housing estates built after World War II. It discusses

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IDIOMS OF JAPANESE PLANNING HISTORIOGRAPHY

Carola Hein

Foreign planners and historians have long considered Japanese urban planning to be a practice and a tradition almost entirely separate from their own. Yet planning and planning history in Japan emerged in the mid-19th and mid-20th centuries, thus respectively at almost the same time as planning and planning history in Europe and America. And Japanese practitioners and scholars carefully observed foreign practices, and integrated aspects of them into their own work while building on long-standing Japanese traditions of urban form, and while also exporting their experience and knowledge of the East Asian region to both colonial and postcolonial settings. But rather than engaging with this emerging parallel planning system, foreign practitioners commented on transforming Japanese cities and interpreted them for inspiration and interpretation; they often focused on visuals, examining them from their own point of view and ignoring the Japanese literature and local debates. They did not consider Japanese understanding to be a parallel interpretation of planning, based on a different earlier tradition and specific local practices. As a result, planning in Japan intersected with foreign practices in a somewhat haphazard way.

Whether Western or Japanese, the historiography of Japanese planning similarly shows parallel trajectories that diverged according to specific language and cultural backgrounds, and also according to disciplinary or methodological interests and interpretations. Scholars have studied the history of Japan's urban form over the last 2000 years in the light of select themes, periods, or places, but also in regard to their own respective disciplines, methodologies, and language skills. As a result, the literature that engages with Japanese planning is rather diverse. There is a large body of writing in multiple languages, spread out over a variety of disciplines reflecting different foci and presented in a broad range of conferences, from the American Association of Geographers (AAG) to the European Association of Japanese Historians (EAJS), as well as the International Planning History Society (IPHS). Each discipline currently follows its own interests and methodologies. A comprehensive planning history would benefit from further integration. Studying the case of planning history in Japan allows us to question and challenge the established interpretations and their history, and to identify disciplinary specificities and diverse cultural backgrounds. It makes possible a richer planning history, one that acknowledges a broad range of different backgrounds.

Exploring planning history writing inside and outside Japan, we see different idioms that are related to specific interpretations, terminologies, and representations or perceptions of planning, but also to the use of planning primary materials, written and in imagery. These differences derive at least partly from the way in which planning gets established in a specific country. Foci and interests established in early years shape the development of planning as a discipline in the long term.

In France, for example, where urban transformations occurred at the behest of the king, we see a long tradition of urban design, representation, and competitions; here, historians have paid attention to urban visions and competitions, in addition to more technical questions of legal or technical regulations. Meanwhile, in Japan, the long history of urban form did not lead directly to modern practices. Pre-modern cities served as the foundation for modernization, but traditional forms of urban organization were pushed aside for almost a century as Western-inspired modern planning focused on providing the necessary spaces for national modernization and industrialization, and on engineering, with the goal of catching up and overtaking the West. The respective approaches to planning are thus in part a reflection of cultural differences.

The particular approach to planning versus urban design appears as an important distinction in the planning history of Japan. One part of planning intervention and historic literature—often by Japanese professionals and scholars—produces and studies planning as a top-down professional activity, concerned with laws, policies, and engineering for infrastructure (rapid railways, wide streets, and water supply), and as a set of tools, from land readjustment (*kukakuseiri*) to urban renewal (*saikaihatsu*). The other—often by foreign architects, planners, and scholars—produces and studies planning as a series of interventions by architect-urbanists, focusing on idealistic goals of changing societies, comprehensive planning, visionary design, and urban form. It considers planning a political activity with changing degrees of citizen participation.

The different perceptions of the role of planning are embedded in, and effectively partly result from, different idioms, both in words and visualizations. Several French scholars have provided an important foundation for a more inclusive planning history. A thorough investigation of idioms and City Words, as the sociologist Christian Topalov calls them (Topalov 2010), is a necessary first step. Such an investigation should go hand in hand with visual analysis. Given the difficulty of the Japanese language for outsiders, representations have become a major methodological tool, as captured by the philosopher Roland Barthes' (Barthes 1982) comparison of map drawing by Japanese citizens and foreigners. In addition, the geographer and philosopher Augustin Berque has explored the ecological and symbolical relationship between the Japanese and their urban spaces through the lens of space, time, nature, and history that also underlie planning practice (Berque 1993). All of these inquiries can add important aspects and approaches to planning history.

The historiography of traditional urban form and modern planning in Japan is vast and can't be reviewed here in full. Instead this chapter highlights three important strands of interpretation in Japanese planning history—one studying planning as a part of a general urban or architectural history, one focusing on planning as a discipline, and another emphasizing urban design. These strands of history writing speak to the difficulties of studying a country with a very different language, plus a long-standing and original culture. According to the interests and motivations of practitioners and scholars, these different types of studies vary in terms of consideration of physical structures, written documents, and drawings or plans, and in terms of the topics of research, sources, and methodologies. Japanese-speaking authors show greater interest in a broad range of sources, whereas non-Japanese-speaking commentators focus on visual sources, creating a body of literature that tells a story about Japanese urban form, often, but not solely geared towards practicing architects and planners, and their quest for inspiration.

The strands reflect approaches, or schools of thought, to the study of Japanese planning history that differ in their goals and tools. The historical literature is anchored in the academic tradition and methodologies of the disciplines of history, art history, and East Asian studies. It focuses on carefully chosen periods and specific cases with the goal of increasing academic knowledge, and carefully evaluates diverse sources notably on early urban form. In contrast, the comprehensive literature draws on the foreign and Japanese past to explain the development of the modern city. Publications in this group come from an interdisciplinary group of authors, often scholars with a background in geography, planning, or design—including practitioners—and an interest in past and present.

Among them are also Japanese practitioners who study foreign practice for inclusion in Japanese design. Third, the design literature, mostly by foreign practitioners without knowledge of Japanese language or culture, studies Japanese urban forms and visuals, with a marked tendency to deplore the disappearance of prior practices and the goal of learning for their own design practice without appreciation of original context.

Each of these approaches can be identified as dominant in the analysis of a specific period, but none is uniquely associated with one period. These approaches partially, but not always, overlap with the cultural background and language capacity of the authors and their use of textual or visual sources. The focus of historiography has changed over time, as demonstrated in the select historical periods—Edo area until 1868, Meiji period to 1945, and postwar period until today, with shifting attention paid to urban history, planning history, or urban design history. In doing so, the chapter positions the planning history writing on Japan in the context of global networks of planning historiography.

Historical Studies of Urban Form

Some excellent scholarship addresses early Japanese cities, their form and function, both by foreign and Japanese scholars. These investigations, often issued by well-known publishers with extensive illustrations and careful design, focus on the creation of urban form in the larger context of urban life and the formation of the built environment. Foreign scholars, notably with a background in East Asian studies, history, and art history, have explored the design of the grid-shaped long-time capital Kyoto, inspired by imperial Chinese plans (Steinhardt 1990, Stavros 2014, Fiévé 1996). Others have studied Japanese urban settlements that developed with the emergence of a feudal system after 1180, occasionally publishing entire books with the goal of understanding the past (Dore 1978, McClain 1980, McClain 1982, McClain and Wakita 1999).

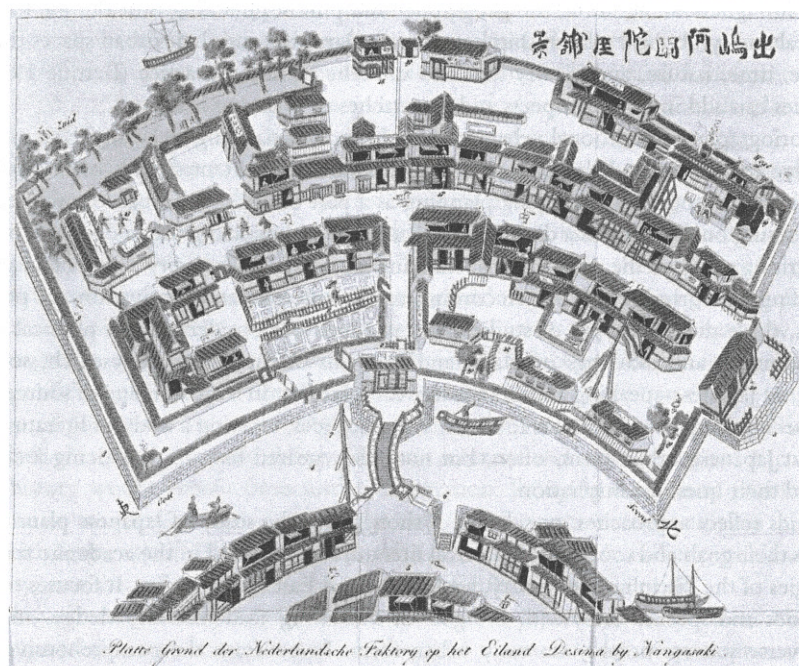


Figure 19.1 Isaac Titsingh, the Dutch Trading Post in Nagasaki, 1824–1825.
Source: Dutch National Library.

Life on Deshima, where the Dutch were present from 1641 until 1853, has been carefully documented. Imagery of the island displays the different impressions that the Dutch and the Japanese had of the form of the island (Figure 19.1). The treaty ports have also received close attention, in particular from foreign scholars, including the Dutch historian Leonard Blussé (Blussé 2008, Hoare 1971, Phipps 2015).

Japanese-speaking architectural and urban historians, writing mostly in their own language, their works occasionally available in translation, have closely read the development of the Japanese castle towns (*jōkamachi*), or settlements developed around fortresses, and other special function towns such as temple towns (*teramachi*) and towns next to ports (*minatamachi*) (Tamai 1986, Naitō 1966, Naitō 2003). The form and use of these developments is carefully mapped and documented (Takahashi et al. 1993/2008). Such reflections on the particularities of the traditional Japanese city and their impact on contemporary planning are important to understand the context in which planning emerged. As the American historian Henri D. Smith II has argued, studying traditional Japanese urban form is important as it is not squarely in line with European concepts of the city (as a visualization of political power, as a formal expression of utopian thought, or as an autonomous political entity like the medieval city) (Smith 1978). Other scholars have explained the concept of *machi*—a term relating both to neighborhoods and small towns—as a key to understanding traditional Japanese urban form with specific perspectives on urban living, density, transportation, and socio-economic structures (Hein 2008, Sorensen 2002, Sorensen 2005). The Japanese architect-historian Jinnai Hidenobu has notably demonstrated in his widely read and translated book the physical connection between Edo-time planning and contemporary Tokyo (Jinnai 1995). He noted, for example, that the highways were built over the old canal system, translating urban forms from the Tokugawa era, 1603–1868, into modern-day Tokyo.

The traditional Japanese city and its form have also attracted the attention of foreign practitioners, such as Frank Lloyd Wright and Bruno Taut, who took photographs and drew buildings as they traveled the country, and documented what by then had become a disappearing landscape of traditional buildings and practices that had also been depicted on traditional Japanese woodprints (Wright 1996; Taut 1937/1958). Both collected woodprints such as Ando Hiroshige's *One Hundred Views of Famous Places in Edo* and *Fifty-Three Stations of the Tokaido Road*. Taut's observation-based approach to the Japanese city would go on to characterize foreign practitioners' engagements with the country.

The History of Planning (*Toshikeikaku*) and the Modernization of Japan

Many Japanese scholars have written comprehensive studies (in Japanese) of the development of Japanese planning as a discipline since the Meiji Restoration. The Japanese planner and historian Ishida Yorifusa wrote the most comprehensive one: *Nihon Kindai Toshikeikaku no Hyakunen* (*100 Years of Modern City Planning in Japan*) and its expanded version, include a very detailed time line (Ishida 1987, Ishida 2004). Several other publications provide an overview. The writings of Japanese architect-planner Watanabe Shunichi, another key figure of Japanese planning history, have had more impact in the English-speaking world. Watanabe wrote a survey of Japanese planning history in 1980 calling for a relativized planning history that takes into account Japan's history of rapid modernization and urban transformation in light of foreign-language publications; he also called for planning history education in Japanese universities (Watanabe 1980a). Watanabe's American education (a MSc at Harvard) helped him bridge Euro-American and Japanese planning and planning history, and made him a key player in the attempt to discuss Japan's urban planning in an international context (Watanabe 1993, Watanabe 1980b, Watanabe 1984). Unfortunately, many of these works have yet to be translated.

In an attempt to place Japan's urban history into global context, the City Planning Institute of Japan published a bilingual and extensively edited volume on the centenary of Japanese city planning, using the year 1888 as the starting point (Fujimori 1988). Foreign scholars, most importantly André Sorensen, have added to that literature of the evolution of Japanese planning systems and urban form (Sorensen 2002). Hohn adds to this an even more detailed account of Japanese planning laws, theory, and praxis (Hohn 2000).

Within the larger theme of the development of Japanese modern planning, Tokyo takes a particular role. Scholars have demonstrated a marked interest in the exceptional developments in Tokyo, the capital, starting with the transformations provoked by the Meiji Restoration. Together with the historian Ishizuka Hiromichi, then director of the Tokyo Center for Urban Studies, Ishida published a careful analysis of Tokyo's Urban Growth and Planning between 1868 and 1988 (Ishizuka and Ishida 1988). Documenting the development of Tokyo from the Imperial Capital to World City from 1868, the text focuses on the emergence of planning as a discipline from its early steps to its establishment as a typical Japanese practice. The early years after Meiji Restoration have attracted extensive scholarly interest both by Japanese and foreign scholars as an important moment in the encounter of Western-inspired urban form and traditional Japanese practice, and thus as a prelude to the establishment of professional planning. The rebuilding of the former townsmen district of Ginza in Tokyo, where a fire destroyed a large area in 1872, allowed for a planned rebuilding with neoclassical architecture, pedestrian paths, and other Western style urban elements. The centrally located area that became the entrance gate to the new capital, linking the treaty port with the new national center, has been extensively explored in terms of specific planning techniques and urban design, and their foreign as well as local roots (Kōbunshokan 1955, Fujimori 1988, Okamoto 2000, Hein 2010) (Figure 19.2). The role of European practitioners, including the office of Wilhelm Böckmann and Hermann Ende, who projected a new center for Tokyo in 1887, has also found scholarly interest (Hein and Ishida 1998), whereas the work by James Hobrecht for Tokyo or by Franz Baltzer on Japanese railways still merits further research.

Other scholars have studied diverse aspects of Japan's modernization, ranging from questions of building lines, land ownership, and the development of property condemnation practices to the



Figure 19.2 The redevelopment of Ginza street in the early 20th century.

Source: postcard, personal archive Beate Löffler.

construction of a railway network (Ishida and Ikeda 1984, Ishida 1991, Akimoto 2016, Sorensen 2010, Yamamoto 1993). The Tokyo Urban Improvement Ordinance (Tōkyō Shiku Kaisei Jōrei) of 1888 put into place 16 articles to transform Tokyo into an imperial capital. Its 1889 First Plan for Urban Improvement of Tokyo recommended building or widening 317 streets, and proposed creating 49 parks, markets, a central station, and rivers and canals. Osaka and other cities received comparatively less interest at the time; publications include the American historian Jeffrey Hanes's discussion of the urban planner Seki Hajime, and a text on Osaka by the city planning department entitled *Osaka machizukuri*—that is, using a term from community planning for a history of planned intervention from Edo time to the present (Osaka Prefecture 1991, Hanes 1989).

Japanese scholars have pointed to the importance of terminology during this early period of professional engagement with the West that makes the emergence of the profession of planning particularly recognizable. Professional engagement with Western concepts of the city after 1868 led to the creation of the term *toshi* by Japanese scholars to capture the new Euro-American concept of city. To translate the Western word "city" the Japanese coined the term *toshi* from the Chinese characters of capital city (*miyako*) and marketplace (*ichi*) (Mochizuki et al. 1994). The introduction of the new term paralleled the introduction of a new concept. As Watanabe has explained, in 1913, Seki was the first to use the term *toshikeikaku* (city planning) that marks the beginning of modern Western style planning (characterized by interventions such as land reclamation, urban extension, and national infrastructure such as highways and rail networks (Watanabe 1993).

The choice of terminology is also particularly important in regard to the next major event in Japanese planning history. As Shunichi Watanabe has pointed out, the City Planning Act of 1919, often called the Old Act, gave Japanese planning its distinct flavor. In contrast to the comprehensive planning at the root of North American and European planning, it focused on urban infrastructure, particularly streets, as the foundation for urban development. This made planning the domain of the engineer rather than the politician. It also placed the responsibility for planning at the level of the central government (Watanabe 2016, Sorensen 2002). As many authors have emphasized, the Old Act established the main practice of Japanese planning: land readjustment (*kukakuseiri*)—a technique to create continuous land parcels for development while sharing the project costs among landowners. Over time, land readjustment developed as the main Japanese planning technique, and it was fully established by the time of the 1923 Great Kanto earthquake, which also demolished the Western-designed Ginza district and led to another rebuilding. Scholars have come to call land readjustment the mother of Japanese planning (Nishiyama 1988, Watanabe 1993).

Since the very beginning of establishing city planning as a discipline in Japan in the late 19th century, the country's leaders had seen innovation not primarily as an issue of aesthetics but one of economic dominance and particularly transportation (which is why streets were important). They would go on to use this idea of planning in their own colonial endeavors, as Japanese planners and their concepts set up systems in Taiwan and Korea during the Japanese occupations from 1895 to 1945, and from 1910 to 1945, respectively. These planning systems would continue beyond the occupation period (Watanabe 2016); Manchuria, under Japanese control for 12 years, later abandoned its Japanese planning system, but many such systems are still in place. In contrast, architectural structures were symbolically demolished, such as the Government General Building in Seoul. Historians and planning historians both Japanese and foreign have explored colonial planning in light of Japanese visions, planning laws, and policies, and have considered their long-term impact on former colonies. Some publications explore this multifaceted theme by tying Japan into multiple Western and Asian networks (Koshizawa 1978, Koshizawa 1988, Hein 2003a, Hein 2016, Tucker 1999, Peattie 1988, Kuroishi 2014). Further investigation of these colonial plans and their main actors is particularly important as these influenced both postwar developments in Japan and long-term practices in the colonies. Integrating Japanese colonial and

later postcolonial planning into the Japanese, Asian, and global developments will also provide insights in transnational planning history.

By the 1930s, Japanese planner-theorist-historians were studying and commenting on the foreign past to link it to Japanese practice. Ishikawa Hideaki, the head planner of Tokyo Metropolitan Government before, during, and after World War II, and Nishiyama Uzō, a key figure in Japanese urban planning as an architect-planner and theorist-historian, are in this group. Their interpretations, including their introduction of Gottfried Feder and Walter Christaller into the Japanese planning literature, would become the foundation for textbooks on planning history for decades to come (Hein 2008) (Figure 19.3). At the time, these planner-scholars had translated and combined Western practices with their own local traditions to address the needs of their modernizing country. They first drew on the history of urban form and planning as a tool for planning as an academic activity. Their work maps the place that Japanese planners constructed for themselves in a global setting that included different European, American, and Russian traditions—and also the built forms and systems of Japan's imperial territories. Ishikawa, then an engineer in the Ministry of Home Affairs assigned to the town planning of Nagoya, had consulted Raymond Unwin during his trip to Europe in 1923 to seek advice on his city's master plan. He went on to produce extensive writings that cited foreign thinkers (Shoji 1993, Ishikawa 1942).

Yet these and other key players of Japanese planning and planning history are still largely unknown outside Japan, and thus Western planners are missing an important link in the understanding of Japanese planning history in a global context. The few publications in English, or with English summaries or translations (City Planning Institute of Japan 1993, Nishiyama 1968, Urushima 2007, Nakajima et al. 2009), have not been sufficient to bring these major figures of Japanese planning into the realm of global writing of planning history, in contrast to major figures

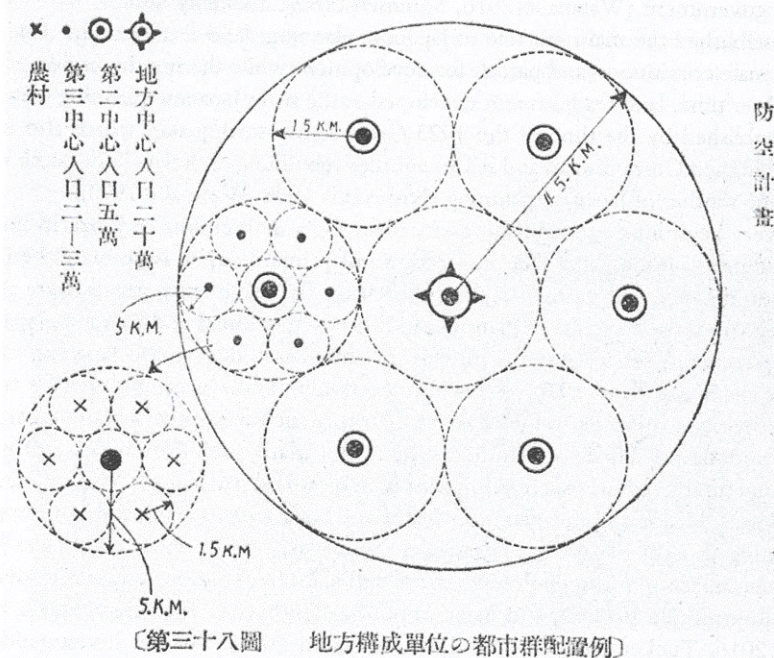


Figure 19.3 Ishikawa Hideaki, interpretation of Walter Christaller's theory of central places.

Source: Walter Christaller and Ezawa Joji, *Toshi no ritchi to hatten*, Tokyo: Taimeido, 1969, p. 79.

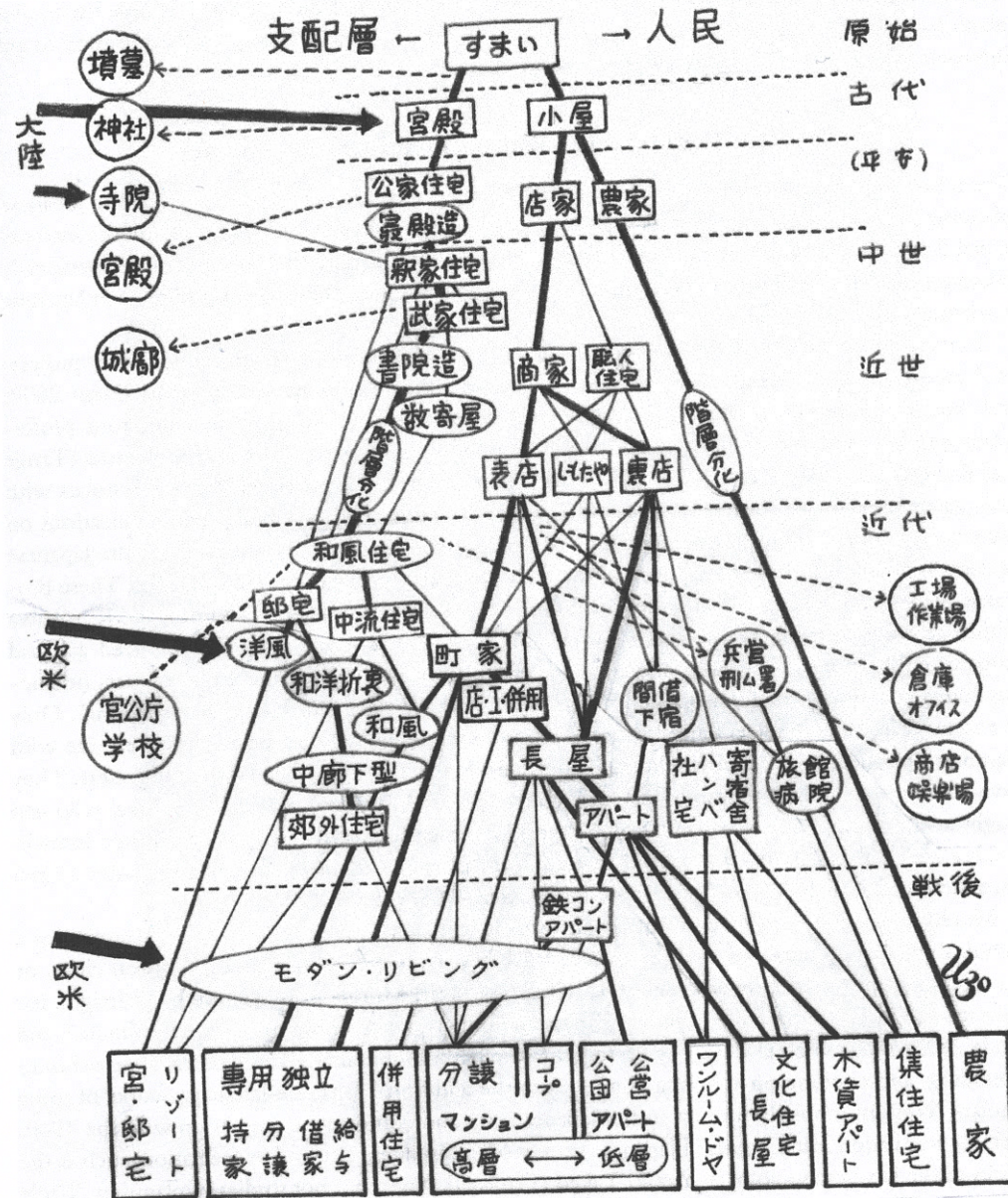


Figure 19.4 Nishiyama Uzō's analysis of the transformation of Japanese housing over time.
Source: Uzō Nishiyama Memorial Library.

of Western planning such as Robert Moses, Albert Speer, Patrick Geddes, and Ebenezer Howard. Nishiyama Uzō in particular has contributed outstanding and novel insights, indicated for example in his analysis of the development of Japanese housing in relation to building height, growth of population, and influences from Europe and the United States (Figure 19.4). The general absence of these major Japanese figures in the Western discourse is not surprising, but speaks to the disconnected lines in the Western writing of Japanese planning history. Other major planners who

were active from the 1920s to the 1940s and who also explored foreign and Japanese urban and planning history—Takayama Eika, Uchida Shozo, and Kon Wajiro—have only just started to get international coverage (Uchida 1969, Kuroishi 2016, Hein 2017).

Japan as Paradigm for Multifaceted Planning History

The rebuilding of Japan after World War II sees the predominance of another approach to Japanese planning historiography, one in which designers have long taken the lead, especially on the international floor. This new approach evolves, but does not fully integrate with historical and specifically planning-historical approaches, even though planning history is established as a discipline in Japanese academia at the same time.

In the postwar period, Japan entered the global stage of planning through the visionary projects of Tange Kenzo, an architect-urbanist: his projects for the rebuilding of Hiroshima (Hein 2002) and later for a megastructure on Tokyo Bay were published at the time by numerous professional journals in multiple languages and reprinted in book publications over several decades (Tange and Kultermann 1970, Riani 1970, Lin 2010). These publications provided Western scholars with non-Japanese-language source materials on Japan and a huge array of visuals. The publications on the young Japanese architect-planners inspired foreign scholars to ask questions about the Japanese postwar rebuilding and the emergence of this new approach to planning (Hein 2003b). These proposals and others by Tange's colleagues (including Maki Fumihiko, Maekawa Kunio, and Kurokawa Kisho) resembled visionary projects for the rebuilding of European cities that inspired a broad range of publications in multiple languages and from diverse vantage points from scholars (including Hartmut Frank, Jean-Louis Cohen, Niels Gutschow, Werner Durth, and Koos Bosma). Only in recent years have scholars started to look beyond seemingly Western principles to engage with planning's Japanese roots, their anchorage, and their connection to earlier Japanese planners. They have come to recognize the importance of Uchida Shozō (Yoshikazu) or Takayama Eika, who had taught at the architecture department of Tokyo University, and of the writings by Tange himself, notably his book *Nihon no Toshikukan*, that explores Japanese urban form over time, after a brief introduction that includes global urban design (Tange 1968) (Figure 19.5).

Much of this literature focused on urban form is separate from the literature on planning as a technical practice, discussions on the impact of the new constitution and land reform on cities, or the rebuilding of war-destroyed cities. The rebuilding itself, with its many planning challenges, has been studied by collaborative groups of Japanese and non-Japanese historians (Hein, Diefendorf, and Ishida 2003, Tiratsoo et al. 2002), tying together a range of disciplinary and cultural approaches to rebuilding, and opening up at least a glimpse into the additional Japanese-language works of some scholars. Western scholarly interest in the Japanese city and comparative studies grew in the 1960s with the translation into English of Japanese studies of the Japanese city and its formation, such as the works of the Japanese sociologist Yazaki Takeo (1963 and 1968), but not studies of planning. While intent on comparison and classification, Yazaki also pointed to patterns of change and continuity.

Planning history as an academic discipline emerged in Japan the 1960s (Nakajima 2016) and became established in the 1980s in conjunction with similar developments in Europe and America. Japanese planners with an interest in history were the main drivers of this development of planning history as a field. Their work included analyses of planning in the economic growth era. They have studied the 1968 New City Planning Act that channeled the rapid growth of the Japanese city, creating urban control areas and urban promotion areas. Such studies are important to explain the rise of the modern Japanese megacities. They grew under a non-Western (and comparatively weak) planning system. Important factors included the new Floor Area Ratio (FAR) regulation, urban renewal (*saikaihatsu*) projects, and new town developments in the 1960s and 1970s, as well as comprehensive national development plans (Hatsuda 2011). Japanese scholars wrote extensively

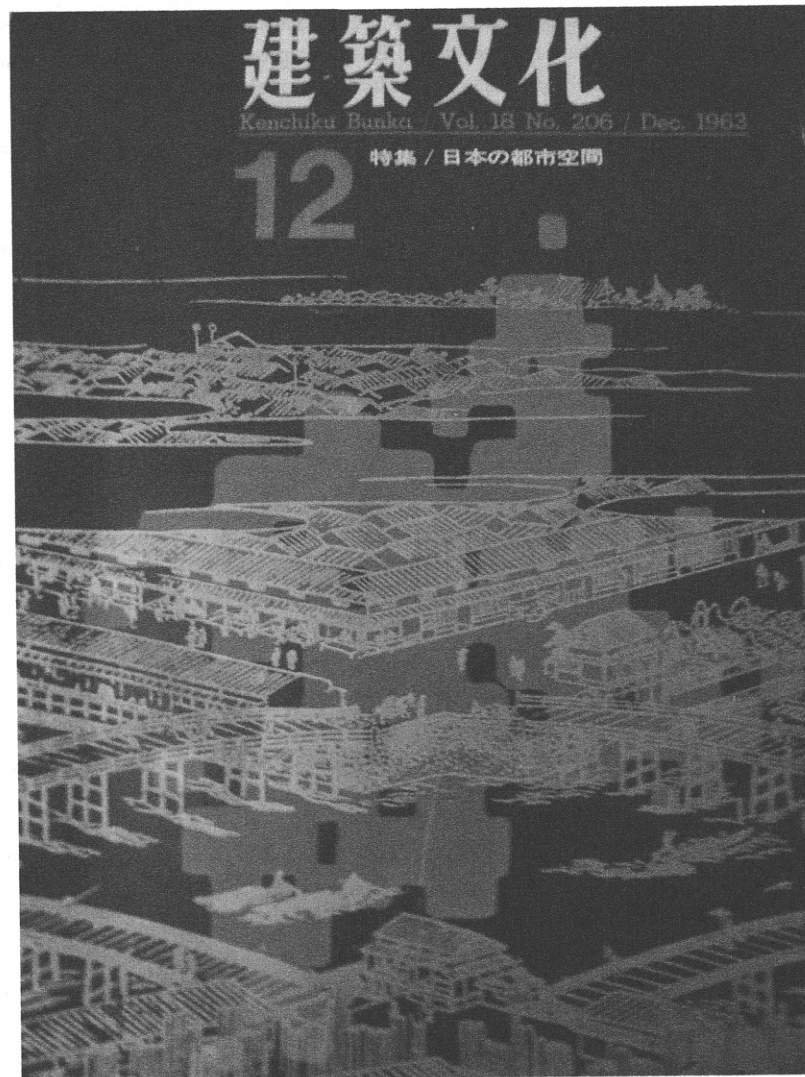


Figure 19.5 Tange Kenzo's reflection on Japanese space and megastructures.

Source: Tange, Kenzo. *Nihon No Toshikukan*. Tokyo: Shokokusha, 1968.

on these changes (as did a few foreign scholars), but these texts are either not readily available to non-Japanese-speaking authors, or those authors ignore them in favor of following megastructure debates through visual proposals without knowing much about Japanese language and culture, such as Koolhaas and Obrist (2009).

Planning historiography shifted in the 1980s, as Japanese design and art, including manga and anime, found recognition around the world, and as visuals of Japanese cities inspired planners globally (Waley 2006). From criticizing the city and its development, foreign scholars started to praise it. Architects and planners came to see the central districts of Tokyo and other large Japanese cities as lively urban cores. This reading of the city (known as *Tōkyōron* [Tokyo theory] and related to *Edogaku* [the study of Edo], as specifically Japanese) built upon literature from the 1930s, arguing for a specific Japanese identity due to a special link between nature, space, and Japanese society

(Befu 1993, Berque 1987, Berque 1999). By the 1980s, a number of publications celebrated a unique Japanese urban form—particularly visible in the capital, Tokyo—based on continuities between the traditional and the modern city: multi-functional neighborhoods, skyscrapers and low-rise neighborhoods, multi-story highways and tiny lanes, the intersection between public and private spaces. Instead of thinking of these dynamics as chaotic, many professionals now perceived them as inspirations for dense livable developments in the West, similar to the ideals advocated by movements such as New Urbanism. In fact, while Japanese planners had employed Western-inspired planning practices, tools, and policies for almost a century, creating new urban forms and large-scale connections, and implanting new functions (including government centers, industrial districts, schools, shopping malls), they had left other areas of the city untouched. Between the modernizing spaces, limited places remained for other forces, corporate or private, to intervene, promoting self-governing neighborhoods, small-scale land use, and new land ownership patterns.

At the same time, planners developed new planning tools and practices for small areas, to address local opposition or to deal with the lack of funding. Both Japanese and foreign scholars have engaged with these themes, starting to build bridges between different groups of observers. Several scholars have paid close attention to the histories of bottom-up planning in its various forms (community-based planning, the democratization of planning, community activism, and civic/civil society in the planning context), exploring community building and its limits, while acknowledging the complementary and competing influences of planning and community development (Watanabe 2007, Sorensen and Funck 2007, Sorensen 2001, Sorensen 2005, Brumann and Schulz 2007, Brumann 2012). Japanese scholars have written extensively on issues of *machizukuri* and community building, especially in regard to citizens' acceptance or rejection of city planning and the importance of urban tissues. Again, this was all happening at the same 20 years that urban history emerged as an academic field under the leadership of historians, social historians, and architectural historians (Tanaka 2006, Nakajima 2009, Nakajima et al. 2009, Hatsuda 2011, Matsuyama 2014, Ishigure 2016). The role of these community activities in the long-term rebuilding of communities after disaster remains to be fully explored, as several scholars have pointed out in regard to the reconstruction of Kobe in the wake of the 1995 earthquake and the assessment of the triple disaster in Fukushima in March 2011 (Hein 2001, Edgington 2011, Evans 2001, Evans 2002, Samuels 2013).

One part of engaging with local communities is engaging with questions of heritage. Going beyond issues of historic preservation and restoration, various planning historians have addressed controversies over the Kyoto townscape and questions of townscape preservation (Brumann and Cox 2009, Hohn 1997). Planners' use of urban heritage for tourism and cruise-shipping, tangible in Kyoto for several years now, and the views of local residents about this use, merits investigation from the perspective of planning history.

A number of other themes have emerged in Japanese planning history over the last decades that are also core themes for policy makers and planners in cities, including Japanese politicians. These are intimately connected to specific idioms and debates underway around the world, such as decentralization, sustainability, slow cities, urban branding, and heritage, and they are being debated by scholars both in and outside Japan. Many of these idioms captured the need to counterbalance the country's economic downturn, and to take the attention away from natural and man-made disasters, urban over-development, dramatic rural decline, and emerging social differences. Government policies officially promoted decentralization across the nation, as Japan's postwar-period economic growth led to urbanization, migration, and lifestyle changes. Yet centralization seems to have often been the result (Hein and Pelletier 2006). By the 1990s, urban branding ideas drove Tokyo's desire to be part of a network of global cities and found its expression in much-debated new projects such as a city hall, an international forum, and corporate towers. Mori Minoru and his Roppongi Hills development is an archetypal global/creative city project: a gleaming tower

with an elite contemporary art museum on top. Sustainable urban development is another of these idioms that captured the need to counterbalance the country's economic downturn. It also stands at the forefront of the 2014 long-term plan for Tokyo that includes the 2020 Olympics that are designated as Eco-Friendly Games (Tokyo Metropolitan Government n.d.).

Japan's cities are changing faster than most European or American ones. Its quickly shifting social patterns—such as aging population or more single-person households—produce spatial forms much more quickly. The ongoing socio-economic crisis, shrinkage of cities, demographic transitions, and population shrinkage are reflected in housing transformation (Ronald and Hirayama 2006, Sorensen 2007). New studies are particularly important, as trends observed in Tokyo are often examples for other East Asian urban centers with similar demographic trends, such as Taipei and Seoul.

Idioms and Positions: Towards a Comprehensive International Planning History

Historical relations within Asia continue to shape contemporary developments. Major Japanese architects and construction companies are planning urban cores, shopping centers, and residential complexes in China. This requires transnational perspectives on urban thought in Asia. Analyzing the role played by Japanese professionals and experts in shaping urban spaces outside Japan—such as pioneered in the prize-winning paper by Matsubara Kosuke on Gyoji Banshoya, a Japanese planner active in the Middle East and North Africa (Matsubara 2015)—allows us to discuss the impact of Japanese urbanism on city life elsewhere.

Planning can mean very different things, and planning historians are therefore following diverse foci. Discussing planning history from the perspective of Japan allows scholars to place Japanese planning in the Asian and global context, and to connect planning history with diverse interdisciplinary conversations on Japanese urban form. The International Planning History Society conference in Yokohama (2018) has provided a good opportunity to celebrate the 1919 City Planning Act, and to rethink planning history. This can lead to reappraisal of the constellations of ideas and policies that link Japan to other countries in the East Asian region and beyond.

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Note

In keeping with Japanese custom, Japanese proper names appear in this chapter with surname followed by the given or first name. Long vowels are indicated by macrons, but well-known place names, such as Tokyo, are written without macrons as is conventional in English.

Related Topics

Ward: Planning Diffusion: Agents, Mechanisms, Networks, and Theories

Kusno: Southeast Asia

Kusno: Postcolonial Southeast Asia

Sorensen: Global Suburbanization in Planning History

Larkham: Disasters

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how these changes shaped new realities, with fundamental consequences for the relation between urbanism and housing.

Apart from hygienic disasters, dangers were inherent in unplanned, chaotic urban growth. These crises have given public authorities, national and municipal governments, the power, unheard of since the mid-19th century, to intervene in people's private property and life. In most countries, until the late 1930s, counteracting the "natural" forces of the free market was a monopoly that urbanism shared with the military (the major exception, obviously, was the Soviet Union, which embraced economic planning almost from the day it came into being). Here we find the origin of an immense expansion of power hardly conceivable today: in the mid-20th century, urbanists planned the forced resettlement of entire regions, pointed out complete neighborhoods for demolition, cut highways (with the assistance of traffic engineers) through densely built up inner cities, and decided to invade the rural countryside with new housing estates. Few other disciplines can claim to have gone this far.

"Natural" Tendencies: Dispersal of the Well-To-Do, Concentration of the Urban Poor

In the late 19th century, urbanists singled out two housing-related phenomena they needed to come to terms with: the trend for the rich and wealthy to leave the cities and move to the countryside, and the catastrophic living conditions of the urban proletariat. Often credited for being the first handbook on urban planning, Reinhard Baumeister's *Stadt-Erweiterungen in technischer, baupolizeilicher und wirtschaftlicher Beziehung* also addresses these issues (Baumeister 1876, 12–32).

In preindustrial times, the elite had already shown a marked preference for living in the countryside, the principal reason being the wish to escape the unhealthy climate and lifestyles in most cities. The stench of Amsterdam, for instance, was obnoxious: people could smell it several kilometers outside the city's borders. Those who could afford it, the upper classes and the well-to-do bourgeoisie, built country estates surrounded by impressive gardens in an Arcadian, rural landscape (Wagenaar 2015). What was well-known from firsthand experience was scientifically proved in the late 18th century: people living in the countryside had a life expectancy almost twice as long as people living in cities. Apart from being healthy and idyllic, life in the countryside was also acclaimed for its moral virtue. Not only did it provide direct contact with a natural order deemed divine, it also allowed the owners to escape from the temptations of the city. Even in a Calvinist country like the Netherlands, cities were the scene of endless drinking parties and copious meals that struck foreigners as extravagant. It took the rationalization and regimentation that came with the modernization of economic life in the middle of the 19th century to wipe out this side of life. Even in countries where industrialization was notoriously slow, like the Netherlands, this marked a profound change that provided Johan Huizinga, the renowned Dutch historian, with the topic for his much acclaimed *Homo Ludens* (Huizinga 1938).

Over the course of the 18th century, the trend to found country estates for individual families and their personnel broke off. Gradually a new type of outplaced urban settlements in the countryside developed: colonies for the upper middle classes. These had precursors—the royal crescent in Bath can be seen as an example—and there are even 18th-century experiments with rural colonies for the working classes (well-known are utopian models like Fourier's Phalanstères) (Pérusson 1843). Now their number rapidly increased, especially in the United States, where garden suburbs became immensely popular (Stern 2013) (Figure 29.1). A more modest variant was the villa colonies that appeared in the outskirts of cities, and the park-like expansions on former fortifications that can be found in many Dutch and German cities, can be seen as a linear variation on this theme. Inspired by his stay in the United States, Ebenezer Howard introduced yet another model: his Garden Cities were meant to accommodate all social classes, and to include industries, offices, and cultural

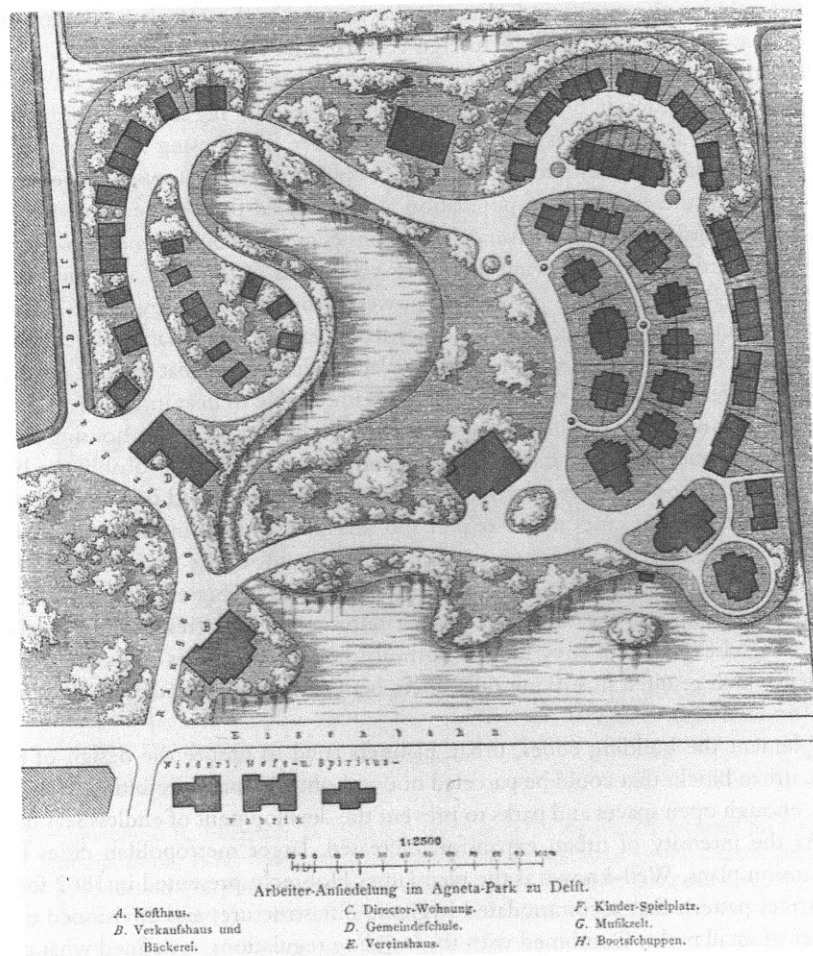


Figure 29.1 Agneta Park, Delft. Completed in 1884 to the design of E.H. Gugel and F.M.O. Kerkhoff, who were responsible for the houses, and L.P. Zocher who was responsible for the park, this garden suburb was an initiative of Jacques van Marken who wanted to provide the working people of his factories with decent living conditions.

Source: personal archive, Cor Wagenaar.

facilities as well as housing. Private land ownership was to be abolished; the excessive profits developers squeezed out of their properties would be a thing of the past. Convinced that the Garden Cities were bound to be a huge success, Howard firmly believed that they would usher in the end of traditional cities with their hygiene problems and social tensions—a view that explains the subtitle of his bestselling handbook *To-Morrow. A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*.

Real reform was desperately needed for the urban poor. In his *Stadt-Erweiterungen in technischer baupolizeilicher und wirtschaftlicher Beziehung*, Reinhard Baumeister (1876, 16–17) commented on the tremendous loss of life—and, therefore, working power—caused by the disastrous living conditions of urban paupers. As medical cartographers had pointed out in the 18th century, the urban poor usually inhabited the least salubrious parts of cities. Stinking, dirty air was generally seen as the origin of epidemic diseases. Scientists argued about the exact substance that produced so much misery, but few doubted that the quality of the soil, its humidity (partly a consequence of the level of the groundwater), and polluted ponds, ditches, and canals caused most of the problems. In the

Netherlands, scrubbing the streets and cleaning the houses (in the Dutch frenzy for immaculate environments that never ceased to amaze foreign visitors) didn't help (Knoop 1763). A major contribution to solving the problem was the construction of sewage systems. Bazalgette's monumental sanitation project for London in the 1860s alleviated the infamous "big stink," inspiring many cities to follow suit (Ackroyd 2000). This first strategy to improve the housing conditions of the urban poor targeted the urban areas they occupied. But since epidemics rarely stopped at the borders of the poor neighborhoods, the entire urban population also benefited from these immensely expensive operations, which required the most advanced solutions engineers could come up with.

The next battleground for improving the living conditions of the poor was the housing stock itself. Building regulations proved a particularly powerful tool. Enforced by the so-called building police, they prevented the construction of houses that were shoddy, that easily caught fire, that had ceilings so low that the rooms were believed to lack sufficient air, that did not provide enough daylight, that were leaking, or that were difficult if not impossible to heat in winter. Although these regulations implied limitations on the private investors who built most of the housing stock, similar building codes were introduced in most European and American cities. Probably the best known and surely one of the most effective was the one of Berlin; first published in 1853 and modified in 1872, it was copied by most cities in the region and several elsewhere in Germany (Eberstadt and Möhring 1910). It prescribed a minimum size for the courtyards of the Berlin tenement buildings that were soon dubbed "Mietskaserne" (the courtyards should be big enough for a horse-drawn fire car to make a turn), and the distance between floor and ceiling (resulting in spacious rooms that people living elsewhere still envy today). Formulating building codes was a prerogative of the municipalities, which resulted in striking differences between housing typologies in different cities (Geist and Kürvers 1984).

To complement the building codes, urban planners tried to ensure the design of sufficiently wide streets, urban blocks that could be parceled out without necessarily resulting in shallow plots, and, ideally, enough open spaces and parks to prevent the development of endless seas of tenement buildings. As the intensity of urban expansion increased, larger metropolitan cities introduced general expansion plans. Well-known is the plan James Hobrecht presented in 1862 for Berlin. It provided a street pattern that accommodated hygienic infrastructure, and envisioned open spaces and a number of small parks. Combined with the building regulations, it defined what can be seen as the city's genetic code; similar combinations of building regulations and urban plans determined the character of rapidly expanding metropolitan cities such as Barcelona, Budapest, Hamburg, Vienna, and many others. They also determined the living conditions of the vast majority of the inhabitants of these cities.

Following the example of Great Britain, many countries started adopting forms of subsidized social housing in the 1890s; the Dutch Public Housing Law of 1901 attracted international attention. The main body of the law provided the organizational and financial arrangements for public housing; it also included a paragraph that required the larger Dutch cities to introduce general expansion plans, forging very close ties between public housing and urbanism that were only severed in the last decades of the 20th century.

Housing and the City as a Work of Art

Combating concrete problems that threatened the well-being of the community gave a strong impetus to urbanism. There was, however, another motive, quite strong until it was radically abolished in the course of the 1940s: the ambition to make cities into works of art at a grand scale. Originally, urbanism developed as an extension of the architect's work, approaching cities as buildings of a very large scale. Dividing the city into functional zones and defining a traffic structure to connect them, urbanists created the city as a three-dimensional construct. A designer's vocabulary evolved

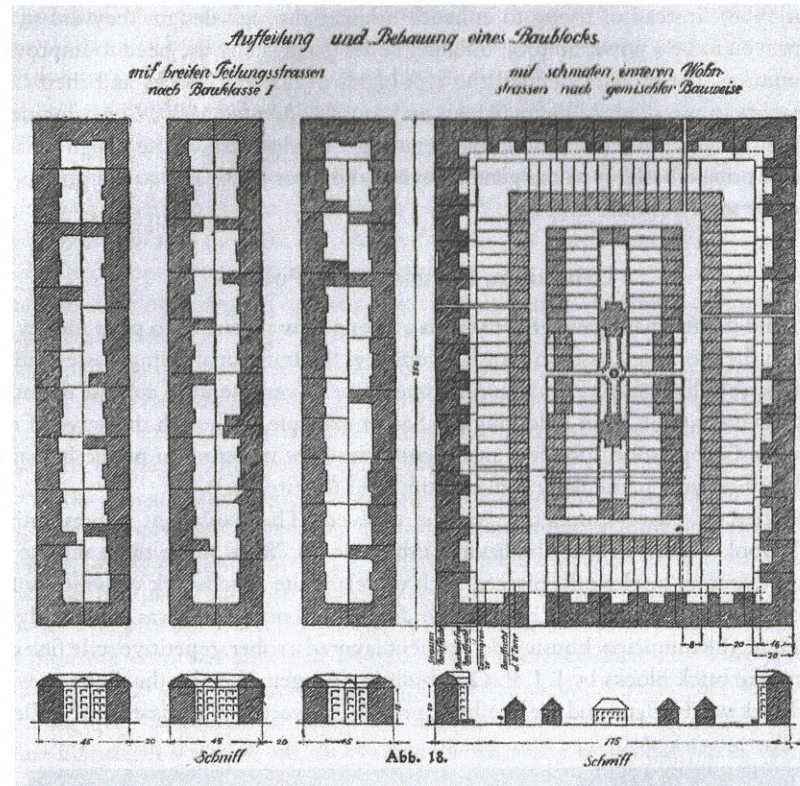


Figure 29.2 Superblock. R. Eberstadt, B. Möhring, R. Petersen, Offener Wettbewerb für Gross-Berlin, Berlin 1910. One of the principles of the competition for the Greater Berlin was the introduction of a parceling structure that anticipates the superblock and broke away from the “cult of the street.”

Source: Eberstadt 1910.

that conceptualized the design of the public domain, its streets, squares, parks, and alleys, and the open spaces between buildings. Urban beauty should foster feelings of civic pride and express the basic values of the urban community. The seminal town planning exhibitions of Berlin (1910) and Düsseldorf (1912) underline this aspect (Hegemann 1911) (Figure 29.2). Promoting strategies to control the aesthetic quality of cities, and calling for the conservation of the urban beauty from earlier epochs, the organizers wanted to regain what allegedly had been lost—looking backward was as much part of their aspirations as paving the way for the future.

What was needed to actually realize the spatial qualities of streets and squares was to frame them with buildings. Designing these, however, is rarely the urbanist’s task. Since urbanism is essentially a public activity, the closest link is with public buildings: schools, bathing houses, police stations, theaters, concert halls, opera buildings, town halls, sometimes churches. The earliest handbooks (Baumeister 1876; Sitte 1889; Stübgen 1890) deal extensively with the best ways to position them in the urban landscape. Most authors preferred to endow major streets and squares with only one representative building, believing that distributing them over a larger area maximized their aesthetic effect. Supplemented with luxurious villas for the urban elite, these assignments made up most of an architect’s portfolio. This did not mean that urbanists discarded mass housing. Quite the contrary: they saw it as the main substance of the city. In the words of A. E. Brinckmann: “Building cities means using housing to shape space” (“*Städte bauen heißt: mit dem Hausmaterial Raum gestalten*”)

(Brinckmann 1908). Instead of trying to enhance housing through design, they did so with what had already proven to be a powerful tool: building codes. Justified by the need to improve the city's hygienic conditions, these codes defined the typologies of housing blocks and their "envelope," allowing urbanists to use them to define streets and squares. Around 1900, German cities began to experiment with what became known as "Bauberatung": they prescribed the design of facades, limiting the role of private builders to the general layout and floor plans, and to the sides of a building that could not be seen from the street.

Urbanism, Housing, and Politics

World War I and its aftermath gave governments a strong new incentive to pour money into social housing. When the working classes in Russia overthrew the traditional ruling classes and embarked upon the road to socialism, fear of a similar outcome drove governments to appease the masses of the urban poor to prevent them from following the Soviet example. Although the wave of revolutions that swept across Europe soon subsided, many countries kept investing in public housing. Austria and the Netherlands were particularly active in this field (Figure 29.3).

In the Netherlands, two competing visions evolved. The exuberant expressionism of the Amsterdam School resulted in fairly traditional urban blocks. What made them unique was heavily decorated, sculptural brickwork, pierced with the elaborate woodwork of window frames and doors at the facades facing the streets (Bock 1983). Its plainer counterpart was particularly popular in Rotterdam. Here, the municipal housing department favored a sober, repetitive style first epitomized by the factory-like brick blocks by J. J. P. Oud built in Spangen, then by the abstract, white settlements of the Hoek van Holland and the Kiefhoek projects (Taverne, Wagenaar, and de Vletter 2001).

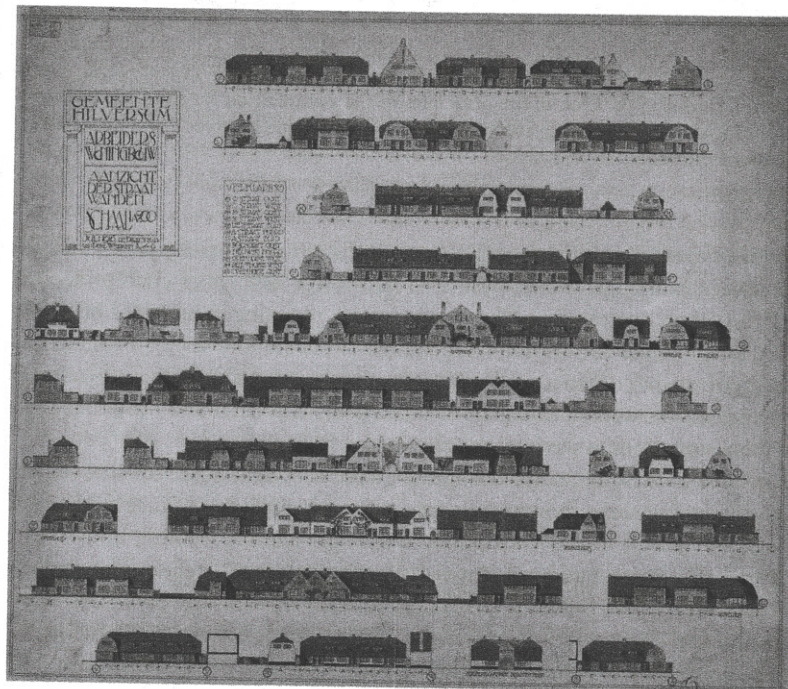


Figure 29.3 Project for working-class housing in Hilversum, 1916. W. M. Dudok used housing as a tool for urban aesthetics, a strategy made possible by the Public Housing Law of 1901.

Source: personal archive, Cor Wagenaar.

The latter represented the design ideology of Modernism, the style allegedly driven by the ambition to mark a sharp break with the past. By far the largest housing estates of this type were built in Germany: Ernst May's "Neue Frankfurt," and in Berlin Siemenstadt; Bruno Taut's colorful Onkel Tom's Hütte; and the much acclaimed Hufeisensiedlung (Huse and Jaeggi 1987).

Around 1925, the Dutch government reduced its investment in public housing, and in the early 1930s it stopped almost completely. In Austria, on the other hand, the famous settlements that won its capital the name of "das rote Wien" (red Vienna) were part of a policy that lasted until the eve of World War II (Jahn 2014). Unlike their Dutch and German counterparts, Austrian architects developed a new typology that combined the spacious green spaces of the garden cities with the amenities that only large-scale urban blocks could offer. In them, the architectural and urban scales perfectly merge.

In the totalitarian empires that emerged after World War I—first the Soviet Union, then fascist Italy, and in 1933 Nazi Germany—housing was subordinated to the ideological goals of the state. Urban plans had barely exceeded the city's borders in the 19th and early 20th centuries; now they reorganized and reconstructed entire regions, nations, and eventually even the European continent, with new networks of roads, highways, railways, and waterways. Planners essentially proposed new economic systems, for example connecting places rich in natural resources with faraway places where they were processed, thus creating mutually dependent, mono-functional regions. States transferred people from overpopulated, usually industrialized areas to distant farms or mines that needed workers. The process of settling people in these lands was often referred to as "colonization"; sometimes, the term was also used for the new IJsselmeerpolders that were created in the Netherlands in the 1930s to fill in parts of a wide branch of the North Sea in the very center of the country. Defining actual settlement patterns was a task for urban planners. In rural areas, they often applied Walter Christaller's model, which proposed a hierarchy of central places surrounded by villages at a fixed distance; the same system was used in the Noord-Oostpolder in the Netherlands.

Housing as a Battlefield in the Cold War

With the exception of the Soviet Union and its expanded empire, the outcome of World War II frustrated the realization of these far-fetched visions. Urgent problems had to be tackled. Cities needed to be rebuilt, their destruction a consequence of one of the war's most devastating characteristics: the decision by all parties involved (except the occupied nations) to target the civilian population, an easy goal thanks to the increasing efficiency of air raids (Düwel and Gutschow 2013). Far more urgent, however, was the resettlement of millions of refugees, partly a consequence of another novelty of the war: the forced expulsion of all original inhabitants of all regions that were transferred from one state to another, the outcome of the redrawing of the political map of Europe. One of the new borders became especially consequential during the Cold War: the so-called "iron curtain" between the Baltic Sea and the Mediterranean that divided the continent in 1948. The Soviet Union forcibly integrated the countries to the east of it—East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and for a short time Yugoslavia—into its economic and political system.

One consequence was the disappearance of public housing as a separate category. Since, in principle, everything was state-owned or at least state-controlled, the entire housing stock became public. Underlining their official status as the new political elite, the Soviets for a time provided workers and farmers with palatial buildings that combined the repetitive qualities of mass housing with the luxury of housing for the ruling classes. After Stalin's death this style was quickly abandoned and replaced by industrially produced buildings (Wagenaar and Dings 2004).

If the Cold War was a battle of lifestyles and if the main issue was which of the two systems was most effective in improving the living conditions of the lower classes, housing obviously played a fundamental role (Wagenaar 2015). Socialist realism for a short time favored traditional architectural

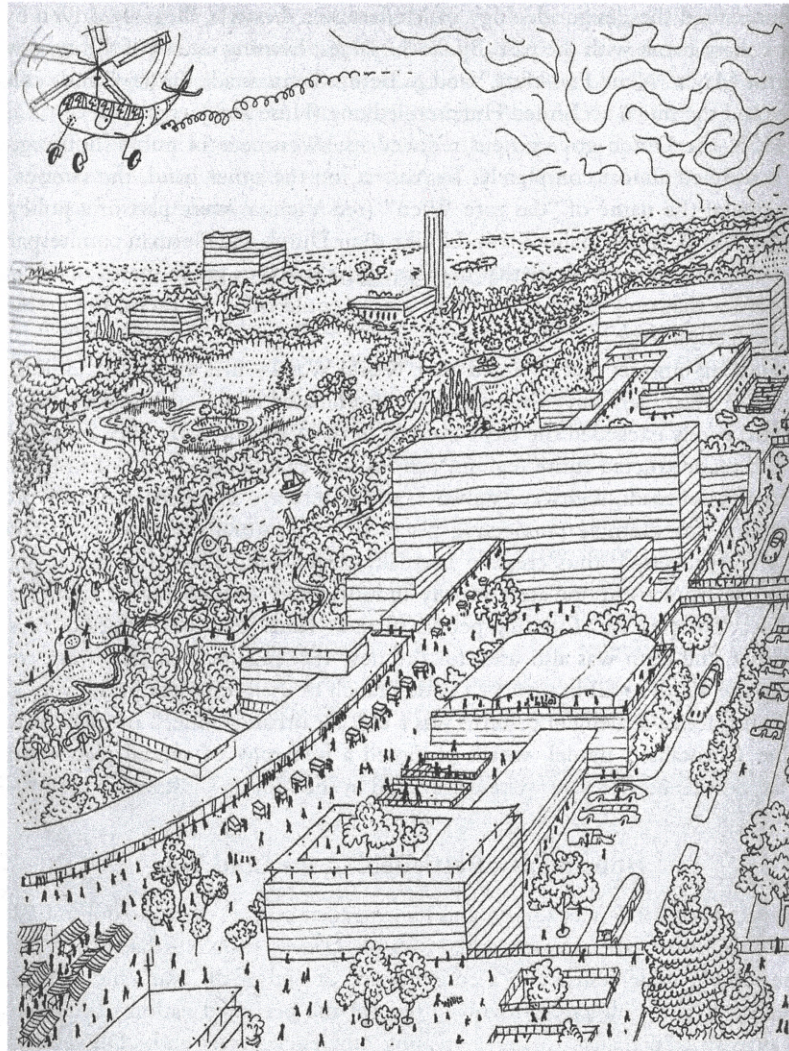


Figure 29.4 The Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin, 1957. Located in West Berlin, a capitalist island in the middle of socialist East Berlin, this exhibition was intended to be a demonstration of the “Western” way of life, as opposed to the socialist-realist Stalinallee (now Frankfurter Allee and Karl Marx Allee) in East Berlin. Four years before the erection of the Berlin Wall, the exhibition attracted many visitors from East Berlin.

Source: Interbau GmbH, *Die Stadt von Morgen*. Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin, Berlin 1957.

and urban strategies for their representative potential, preferring compact cities with monumental squares lined with lavishly decorated palaces for the working classes; the Western countries almost immediately adopted low-density, cellular models that ushered in suburban sprawl (Figure 29.4). Dutch urbanists organized new housing estates according to hierarchical principles that would ideally result in a sequence of scale levels, claiming that the resulting spatial structures would promote parallel social structures that enhanced a sense of community—a way of thinking that can also be found in other countries. Located in the green, rural countryside (echoing the principles of the Garden City), these neighborhoods were believed to be healthy. Public housing dominated them; in the Netherlands overall the percentage of private housing could be as low as 20%. Since mass housing

implies repetition and the development of standard typologies, these principles appeared to be ideally suited for modern approaches to architecture, though it took some 10 years before Modernism became the norm. Repetition and standardization became the norm straight away, but contrary to what “official” historiography has to say, most architects stuck to “traditional” idioms. (See, for instance, *Stad voor het leven*: this is even true for Rotterdam.) Apart from the principle dilemmas—some critics refused to see housing as a distinct problem and argued that the only proper way to improve people’s living conditions was to fight for higher wages—social housing systems also tended to isolate housing for the poor from housing for the other social classes. This resulted in class separation by urban area instead of segregation in smaller-scale districts, as had been normal in most cities. Starting as a financial support mechanism to accommodate the working classes, public housing began to have an impact on the social geography of cities; the consequences, sometimes dramatic, only began to manifest themselves in the 1960s.

During the Cold War, a new form of Modernism evolved as a response to socialist realism. Recent studies show that it was specifically created to represent a type of society that cultivated the virtues of leisure and consumption rather than those of hard work to fulfill the promises of communism. Perhaps unsurprisingly, it originated in the United States. Sports facilities, shops, offices, private villas, cultural institutions, and everything related to the car adopted this so-called International Style. Although it heralded private consumerism, it had a political mission no less collectivist than its socialist counterpart: rapidly expanding social security networks to guarantee that the miracles of the unfolding consumer society were within reach of all social classes. Representing the Welfare State, the International Style underlined the alleged moral and technological superiority of Western countries. Very few authors dared to question the ideology of the International Style; in all likelihood, they were reluctant to denounce the political principles it professed to represent.

Inner City Decline, Suburban Sprawl

Probably the most dramatic spatial revolution was a consequence of the growth of private car ownership. The car opened up the countryside and promoted suburban expansion; living in suburbia, in turn, made it almost imperative to buy a car. Although most Western countries saw their populations grow at an astonishing pace, the larger cities lost inhabitants to smaller suburban settlements. Amsterdam, for instance, shrunk by almost 300,000 people to about 700,000. As the car became the main vehicle communicating between practically all functions of modern life, shopkeepers in the inner cities felt the need to compete with the facilities in the new, car-friendly neighborhoods in the countryside. Representing the interests of the shopkeepers and usually supported by the chambers of commerce, municipal politicians pushed large-scale inner city reconstruction projects that cut traffic arteries through densely built-up historical urban tissue. This process soon triggered protest from conservationists and citizens alike, but nevertheless caused monumental damage in many European cities.

○ The consequences of this policy were almost negligible, however, compared to what was going on in the United States. There, it had started much earlier, alarming European urbanists who toured the country in the 1930s. In the 1950s, it confronted American cities with an unprecedented urban crisis. Whereas in the first years after the war American urbanists had been convinced of the benefits of their ways of doing things, which they helped to spread to Europe, now they became interested in European alternatives to their rigorous zoning schemes. In the late 1950s, some of them imported multi-use policies and a preference for pedestrian streets—still relatively scarce in Europe—to the United States (Wakeman 2014). The book that summarized and expanded these new ways of thinking, however, was American: Jane Jacobs’s *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961).

Over the course of the 1960s, the architectural and urban manifestations of the welfare state were increasingly criticized in Europe as well. By then, new large-scale housing estates concentrated a specific layer of the population and, apart from the amenities of everyday life (schools, shops, sports facilities), had nothing to offer; urbanists criticized them as inhuman. Now, new approaches to housing were tested. Accommodating the car was no longer the urbanists' only concern in designing the public domain: near home, *cul de sac* patterns replaced the usual racetrack plans, subordinating the car to the needs of playing children, cyclists, and pedestrians. Often, their layout showed a preference for irregular geometrical patterns that sometimes appeared to emulate organic growth. And the repetitious aspects of mass housing were mitigated by a marked increase of low-rise typologies.

At the same time, housing gained a new meaning. Once it had been part of a social project geared to the needs of fast (and therefore industrial) production, and the regimentation of modern life became even more pronounced with the introduction of modern management techniques in the late 1940s. Now it had to pay tribute to people's psychological needs as well. Allegedly, the days of the homo economicus were numbered, as the home ludens resurfaced. Although these new approaches broke away from earlier expansion models, their protagonists still presented them as modern, actually claiming that they wanted to reenact the ideas of prewar Modernism in its pioneering phase. Whereas in the 1950s, modern planners preferred to position themselves as managers, flatly denying that their job was in any way related to the arts, in the 1970s, art, sociology, and psychology on the one hand, and excursions exploring ways of doing things that were not tainted by the problems of modern life on the other hand, began to dominate many professional journals. Architects and urban planners showed a renewed interest in history (until then a thing to break away from) and a fascination with Africa (not yet corrupted by modern life).

Conclusion: The End of Suburbia?

The two competing political systems showed signs of decay in the 1980s, and faded away after the collapse of socialism in 1989. In the Netherlands, public housing lost its dominant role. However, the preference for planning large-scale housing estates remained, resulting in a remarkable number of huge projects in which private, owner-occupied housing became the rule. Beginning in the 1980s, so-called yuppies (young urban professionals) rediscovered inner cities as ideal places to live, ushering in the first wave of gentrification. Urban life became popular again, a trend that would ultimately reverse the housing preferences of most people, which were increasingly molded by the forces of the free market. Marketeers soon recognized a strong preference for historical architectural and urban models. New Urbanism revitalized the historical repertory of alleys, streets, and squares, practically banned from the urbanist's toolkit since the 1950s, when the distribution of freestanding volumes in a seemingly endless green field was the thing to do. Research in such diverse fields as urban sustainability and health questioned the viability of car-dependent lifestyles, apparently underlining this new model's positive aspects. Today, concentrated, high-density forms of housing, once associated with the social problems and health hazards of the metropolis, have become a hyped attraction. Suburbia, until a decade ago epitomizing the dream of the middle classes, now figures as one of urbanism's most deplorable mistakes.

Related Topics

Massey: Key Planning Histories of the Developing Western Tradition

Kress: The German Traditions of *Städtebau* and *Stadtlandschaft* and Their Diffusion Through Global Exchange

Lopez: Public Health and Urban Planning

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DEATH OF THE AUTHOR, CENTER, AND META-THEORY

Emerging Planning Histories and Expanding Methods of the Early 21st Century

Tom Avermaete

In the past decade, numerous pleas have been made by scholars and critics (Robinson 2011; Roy 2011) for alternative perspectives in the field of planning history. These have included calls for more comparative, transcultural, and negotiated viewpoints on the discourse and practice of urban planning. This essay probes into three of the most intensive fields of historiographic renewal: questions of authorship, center-periphery relations, and definitions of theory. It argues that these alternative historiographical perspectives of the early 21st century not only have radically changed the character of planning history, but also pose a set of methodological challenges. They invite us to question our fundamental categories, tools, and procedures of history writing.

Death of the Author

A first set of pleas for alternative historiographies of planning can be synthesized under the label of “death of the author”: numerous scholars have problematized in the past decades the univocal and undifferentiated coining of authorship in urban planning histories. Historians like Hayden (2005) and Sandercock (1998), for example, have criticized urban planning history for being the “the story of the modernist planning project, the representation of planning as the voice of reason in modern society” (Sandercock 1998: 2). They have pointed out that canonical urban planning histories such as Peter Hall’s *Cities of Tomorrow*, and even self-critical works that have been published more recently, have favored the genius of individual planners and designers over the contributions of institutions, organizations, and communities. One of the biggest biases in urban planning history is, according to these scholars, that it has been written from within the profession, depicting an evolutionary development of the profession and its successes. In the process, it has understated the contributions of “invisible” other actors, such as local communities, politicians, and developers.

In reaction to these critical voices, scholars have subjected the discipline of urban planning history to intensive and self-critical scrutiny, and have attempted to redefine it as a more inclusive field that also addresses the role of “ordinary” actors, including communities, migrants, and women. The notion of “spaces of insurgent citizenship,” coined by James Holston (2009), offers

a strong point of reference, noticing agencies and sites that deserve to be fully included in the historical narratives of urban planning, such as: “the realm of the homeless, networks of migration, . . . ganglands, fortified condominiums, employee-owned factories, squatter settlements, suburban migrant labor camps, sweatshops . . . [that] introduce into the city new identities and practices that disturb established histories” (2009: 48). Holston invites us to include these sites of insurgent citizenship and their actors in our historical narratives, and more importantly to consider them not as mere side effects of planning ventures, but rather as essential elements that relentlessly challenge the categories and processes of planning practice.

DeFilippis (2008) and Friedmann (2011) have argued that the planning processes of cities are continually influenced by the everyday routines, strategies, and struggles of their inhabitants. They have made a plea to offer a more explicit place to the role of everyday life in our narratives of the conception, making, and remaking of urban landscapes. Jonas and Ward (2007) have noted that scholarship is often silent on how cities are planned on a macro-political level and subsequently reproduced through everyday micro-political acts and struggles. These authors seem to suggest that scholarship should take into account this terrain of political struggles and subject-making of “ordinary” citizens, and the various ways that they interfere with planning discourses and practices.

The strong focus on the planner perspective of the canonical historiographies has obscured the view not only on “ordinary” participants in urban planning, but also on the institutional and economic actors that are, as it were, on the other end of the spectrum. As Neil Brenner (2013) has recently convincingly argued, urban development—on all spatial scales—is shaped through national political institutions, including those associated with urban, regional, and territorial planning. However, various recent studies illustrate that the role of state institutions and regulatory strategies in transforming cities varies considerably across time and space. Developing a more refined understanding of the impact on planning of institutional regimes of states, markets, and civic societies, as well as their implicit or explicit regulatory logics, remains a challenge for future research.

In particular, Brenner (2004) has argued that there are few historical accounts of how such actors make decisions on the types and distribution of investments within and among cities, and on their consequences for the planning of the urban built environment and social fabric. The concept of “urban growth machines” by Logan and Molotch (1996) does helpfully define a political economy of investment in urban land-use systems, and illuminates some of the localized political alliances that have historically underpinned urban development. Logan and Molotch suggest that the institutional bias of planning towards “growth” has any number of destructive and dysfunctional consequences for the social life of cities. More recently, Erik Solevad Nielsen (2014) has argued for an understanding of the planning of contemporary cities as “smart growth machines.” He suggests that in recent decades the political economy of urban development has undergone a paradigm shift to include ecological and climatological concerns, paired with changes in entrepreneurial action, technical expertise, and regulation. For the most part, the histories of how this paradigm shift has affected the planning cultures of cities remain to be written.

The inclusion of other actors and agencies, both everyday and institutional, in the histories of urban planning poses a set of theoretical and methodological questions. First and foremost, it requires that the historical narratives that we are constructing no longer concentrate mainly on *planners* but more on *planning*, the latter standing for the broader arena and processes of publicly negotiated transformation of space. Indeed, one of the theoretical challenges that the history of urban planning is facing is to develop theoretical lenses and perspectives that can account for the contact between diverse actors in uneven power-relations of urban planning. One reconceptualization is Marie-Louise Pratt’s idea of “contactzones,” or “social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination” (Pratt 1992: 4).

In addition, it is crucial to conceive of theoretical perspectives to talk about the regimes under which these actors encounter one another. Oren Yiftachel (2006) has argued for a more complex and layered understanding of these regimes of encounter. Referring to the “South-East” of the world, he claims that urban planning is characterized by decision-making that is sometimes less transparent and less organized than those in the “North-West,” and defined by conditions in which citizens perceive public participation and deliberation to be the state’s lip service to or co-optation of popular opinion. Planning histories should take these “stubborn realities” into greater account, Yiftachel argues. An important remaining challenge is including and highlighting the complex relations that result from uneven power positions, such as affiliations, conspiracies, and even traitorous collaboration.

The inclusion of different and multiple actors also yields a set of new methodological challenges for history of urban planning. Some scholars have proposed relying on actor-network perspectives and assemblage theory, as introduced by Bruno Latour (2005). These approaches typically proceed by constructing networks, or assemblages, of urban actors, human and nonhuman (see, for example, Robinson 2011; McFarlane 2010); they build up images of the urban or territorial with complex descriptions of urban situations marked by strong substantive particularity (Wachsmuth et al. 2011). This work eschews a priori theoretical abstraction, though it does at times attempt to generalize via the construction of typologies based on associations between the phenomena it describes (see, for example, Roy and Ong 2011). This approach, especially the idea that assemblages are not a priori or perennially defined, invites historians of urban planning to compose more negotiated and dynamic narratives.

Engaging with different actors and acknowledging their different agencies and voices in urban planning also requires the development of historiographical methods that can articulate their interdependency and also counterbalance them. Helena Mattson (2015) has experimented with her “Action Archive”: she employed a “truth commission,” a practice originally developed in charged political contexts, to gather the historical actors who had planned and realized the Swedish new town of Tensta, in order to record their oral histories—not as parallel narratives, but rather as confrontational perspectives.

In engaging with what Donald McNeill terms “the plasticity and multidimensionality of the urban experience” (2005), histories of urban planning are also challenged to explore less familiar sources and methods, including film. Mark Tewdwr-Jones (2013) has pointed out that film can capture the personalities, motivations, reactions, and conflicts that are all so important in understanding the relation between different actors in urban planning. Digital media will in the near future undoubtedly also open new possibilities for the investigation of multiple, unequal, and transdisciplinary forms of authorship in the realm of planning.

Death of the Center: New Geographies of Planning

A second big challenge for planning historiography relates to the many critiques of the Euro-American bias of various historiographies of urban planning. Jennifer Robinson (2003), for example, has launched an unrelenting critique of the geographies of urban planning history, sharply noting the enduring divide between “First World” cities that are seen as models, generating theory and policy, and “Third World” cities that are seen as problems, requiring diagnosis and reform. Against the “regulating fiction” of the First World global city and this “asymmetrical ignorance,” Robinson (2003: 275) calls for a more geographically balanced history of urban planning. Similarly, Chen and Kanna (2012) have argued that scholars have dangerously privileged a limited sample of three leading global cities as archetypes (London, New York, Tokyo), a preestablished hierarchy from the Global North for investigating and historicizing the relation between cities and processes of globalization.

These studies are only initial attempts to explore the possibilities of a *histoire croisée* and deserve more attention in the histories of urban planning. In particular, histories of urban planning would gain a great deal by looking more intensively at the bilateral relations between what have been called “center” and “periphery.” A *histoire croisée* of concepts could contribute to this movement not only by studying the transfers of concepts from the cores to the peripheries, but also by taking seriously the larger influence of concepts developed in the peripheries on the center. The importance of the *histoire croisée* as a research method does not lie in an emancipatory manifestation of the peripheries, but rather in telling a different kind of story about modernity that emerges from the entanglement of periphery and center, from plural peripheries or even multiple centers. The perspectives of urban planning in postwar France, for example, cannot be understood without considering the multidisciplinary planning experiences—including the construction of new technical and social planning knowledge—in the French colonial territories. It is only out of such a perspective that planning history can become a narrative of “multiple modernities” (Eisenstadt 2000) and can contribute to “provincializing Europe” (Chakrabarty 2000). This plea for a *histoire croisée* can be applied to sites and regions related through colonial bonds, but should not be limited to them; it invites scholars to pursue similar studies of other dependencies that influence urban planning.

Migration of Planners, Plans, and Policies

The past decade has also witnessed an upsurge in academic interest in the travel, transfer, and flow of urban planners, planning policies, models, ideas, and techniques. As Johan Lagae and Kim de Raedt (2013) have pointed out, the names of Constantinos Doxiadis, Michel Écochard, and Otto Koenigsberger are by now rather familiar among historians of urban planning; these planners exemplify a transnational professional practice that became important in the late 1940s. In an article, “Transnational Planners in a Postcolonial World,” Stephen Ward (2010) sketched the regime of development aid in which such figures emerged and which resulted in global flows of planning knowledge and expertise from the late 1940s to the mid-1970s. He investigated the role and impact of both American and Soviet Bloc planners, emphasizing Cold War logics in the flows of expertise to and from the developing world. But Cold War geopolitical contours do not fully account for these flows, as British, French, Dutch, Polish, and Yugoslavian planners drew very personal and pragmatic links between planning choices and ideological positions (Ward 2010; Stanek and Avermaete 2012).

Why did some ideas and practices develop hegemonic power, in the sense that they were taken to be the apex of desirability and appropriateness in places far from their original invention? Vidyarthi (2010) explored how post-independence India took up American conceptions of a “good neighborhood” as an ideal building form. He described the political ideas and professional networks—the “circuits of knowledge” (Featherstone and Venn 2006; McCann 2008)—through which the concept was transferred from one place to the other, and the local contingencies that encouraged its enthusiastic adoption. Similarly, urban scholars employing postcolonial perspectives (for example, Robinson 2003, 2006, 2011; McFarlane 2010) challenge notions of singular origins and influential individuals. In addition, historical and comparative work on global cities has critically investigated planning and policy circulation, and the translation of planning policies and practices in different contexts (Sanyal 2005; Friedmann 2005; McCann 2011; Clarke 2012; Kenny and Madgin 2015; King 2016).

Challenge: The Contingencies of Migration

Focusing on the migration of planners, plans, and policies also introduces a set of methodological issues. Ulrich Beck and Nathan Sznaider (2006) argue that the analytical concepts, materials, and

methods used daily in scholarly work are bound to nation-state contexts, and that new ones are needed for the analysis of today's increasingly globalized world. Patsy Healey (2013: 1510–1526) has suggested that historians of urban planning can draw on three overlapping methodological domains to explore transnational flows of planning ideas and practices: Actor-Network Theory (especially with respect to the way ideas and technologies “travel” and get “translated”), institutionalist versions of “discourse analysis” of policy (discourse structuration and institutionalization, in particular), and discussions about circuits of knowledge and hegemonic projects in the globalization and international development literatures. In urban planning history, Stephen Ward (2000) has proposed a typology of diffusion of planning ideas and concept with six ideal types of diffusion—synthetic borrowing, selective borrowing, and undiluted borrowing, along with negotiated imposition, contested imposition, and authoritarian imposition—based on the power relations between exporting and importing countries. Structures of diffusion, he argues, determine the degree of freedom with which agents, whether foreign or indigenous, apply external planning models to shape the local urban environment.

Nikolas Rose has argued for more critical historical studies of urban policies that might account for the “contingent lash-ups of thought and action, in which various problems of governing [drew] upon instruments and procedures that happened to be available” (Rose 1999: 27). Planning historians who have worked in and on the Global South have expanded on this perspective as they encountered the fractures between the assumptions of the Global North and their experiences on the ground (Roy 2011; Yiftachel 2006). Such work challenges Western ideas of Enlightenment rationality, and the somewhat anodyne way in which scholars have investigated globalization, knowledge transfers, learning, and policy circuits.

Death of the Meta-Theory: Procedural and Substantive Aspects of Planning

A third point to touch upon is the *death of meta-theory*, or the *degrees of removal* between histories of urban planning—informed by postcolonial theory, and theories of power and globalization—and the very materiality of planning. These histories have offered us a great deal of knowledge about planners' identities, conceptions, methods of consensus building, value frames, and even their psychology; these historiographical perspectives provide an adequate framework for decoding ideological intentions and their general spatial consequences. But they often have gone no further than “macro-theorizing” planning (King in Nasr and Volait 2003), for instance by connecting urban forms directly to colonial power schemes (King 2016; Robinson 2006). And one consequence of this macro theorization is a reduced attention to the physical object. Richard Sennett has underlined that the focus on “the shaping of physical things as mirrors of social norms, economic interests, religious convictions” often implies that “the thing itself is discounted” (Sennett 2008). Indeed, many of the aforementioned histories of urban planning do not engage with what Pierre Bourdieu has called the “*oeuvres*”: the concrete spatial and material presence of neighborhoods and cities (Bourdieu 1994). In other words, they silence the physical objects of urbanism and urban planning, including buildings, places, and infrastructure.

The reasons for this macro-theorization and silencing of the built object can be found in the predominance of *discursive hypotheses* (or *discursive meanings*) in explaining urban planning, that is, meanings attributed to the built environment expressed in verbal form (eventually translated in figures or illustrated by graphics) by planners, politicians, and developers. Discursive hypotheses are the expressions of thought frames that have in explicit or implicit ways been generative for the specific articulation of a certain planning project or process. They can be analyzed through a discursive methodology in which textual, oral, and graphic sources are analyzed as illustrating “the site of struggles for meaning that reproduce the conflicts of interest between the producers and consumers of the cultural commodity” (Fiske 1987: 14). As Tim Ignold has observed, one problem with such

a discursive methodology is that “culture is conceived to hover over the material world but not to permeate it” (Ingold 2000: 340).

Next to discursive hypotheses one can distinguish *embedded hypotheses* (or *embedded meanings*) that emerge from the specific temporal and spatial ordering of the material artifact and its location in a particular space and time. As such, they are not necessarily part of larger cultural schemes or thought frames and are not necessarily in line with the discursive hypotheses. The urban environment, and the built artifacts that compose it, actively mediate and transform social relations. However, these agents operate implicitly, in an “embedded mode”; only fragments of their action are made explicit in a “discursive mode.” Through careful urban analysis, observation, and inquiry it is possible for scholars to make part of these embedded hypotheses explicit as well—but historical studies of urban planning by postcolonial theory rarely do so.

Of course, discursive and material dimensions—that is, process and substance—are intimately linked in urban planning, ceaselessly constituting one another. The point here is not to deride the need to study planning as a process, but to critique what appears to be a *distorted balance* between procedural and substantive aspects in histories of urban planning. This imbalance is troubling, not only because knowledge needs to be accumulated and theorized on all aspects of urban planning, but also because approaches to decision-making and planning practices may change or be forgotten, while the material legacy of these decisions remains for generations. To make the substance and its embedded hypotheses part of our historiography remains therefore one of our big challenges.

Conclusion

With the labels *the death of the author*, *death of the center*, and *death of meta-theory*, I have pointed to three fields of thought that have in the past decade destabilized and problematized our standard modes of history writing. At the beginning of the 21st century, these three domains appear as invitations not only to find new categories and theories to describe the discourse and practice of planning, but also to revise our procedures of history writing in order to engage more adequately with multiple agencies, the interdependency of planning experiences across cultural and political geographies, and the relation between substantive and procedural aspects of planning.

Related Topics

Parnell: Africa's Urban Planning Palimpsest

Hosagrahar: A History of Heritage Conservation in City Planning

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