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Ph.D. opportunity in Urban Morphology/Urban Planning

The School of Geography at Queen’s University Belfast has a vibrant postgraduate culture and excellent funding opportunities. The following Ph.D. topic will be of interest to those with experience in urban morphology and/or urban planning. For further details please contact Dr. Keith Lilley (k.lilley@qub.ac.uk) or look at the School’s website:

Heritage or heresy: The future of postwar redevelopment in UK city centres

Comprehensively redeveloped city centres of the postwar era have been roundly blamed by many politicians and public figures in recent years for being at the root of contemporary urban decay. Recently, too, there has been a move by many local authorities to ‘regenerate’ city centres by demolishing and replacing the redevelopment schemes of the 1950s and 1960s, schemes which were in their day highly celebrated. Using UK case studies, this project will look at the extent to which postwar city centre redevelopment schemes are currently under threat, and consider what their future might be. The case studies will focus on cities that were extensively and comprehensively redeveloped after the Second World War, such as Coventry, Plymouth, Portsmouth and Glasgow. The research will require an analysis of the sequence of redevelopment in these places, using published and unpublished written and cartographic material to look at how redevelopment proceeded. To see how much of this postwar redevelopment survives in today’s city centres it will also be necessary to conduct a detailed townscape survey, mapping changes in urban form and identifying the nature and extent of recent city centre development. The main focus of the project will be to understand the changes being made to postwar schemes, and to assess the threats posed by new development. For this, what is required is an examination of the role of planning professionals in development control in each of the case study cities, reviewing the influence of decision-making processes in the local authority planning departments. This project will appeal to those interested in heritage issues and the management of historic built environments, and will suit those with experience in urban morphology and planning.

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Society for American City and Regional Planning History (SACRPH): New Journal

SACRPH has affiliated contractually with Sage Publications Inc. to publish the Journal of Planning History, a new scholarly quarterly. The new membership fee of $55 will include a subscription to the journal. The fee for non-US members will be $63 to cover an $8 mailing charge assigned by Sage. Two-year memberships will still receive a $5 discount, and the fee for students and retired members will be $35. Chris Silver serves as editor; David Schuyler will be associate editor, and Allison Isenberg the book review editor.

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Urban History Association Awards

The Urban History Association is pleased to announce its 2001 awards for scholarly distinction:
Black Utopia: the Development of Allensworth, California, USA, 1908 - 1930

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Introduction
There is a considerable published literature on the origins and development of Utopian communities in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.1 The most widely known of these communities are New Harmony, Indiana founded by Robert Owen in 1825 and Brook Farm in Massachusetts in 1842. During the period of 1832-1932, dozens of similar communities were founded in Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Florida, New York, Oregon and Indiana. The utopian communities had a series of common characteristics and experiences. All were established and maintained by a powerful religious personality who was believed by his followers to have major gifts of prophecy and wisdom. Most of these colonies were well organized from a land planning perspective, flourished during the lifetime of the original leader and then declined slowly after his death. All of the new communities discussed in the literature of American History and urban planning were led and inhabited exclusively by whites.2 Overlooked are all black communities, several of which were established in Kansas, Iowa and Oklahoma during the period of 1870-1890. These towns, however, were not utopian in nature but non-secular without communitarian principles.3

Allensworth, California, located midway between Los Angeles and San Francisco on the Santa Fe Railroad line, is an exception. This community was founded in 1908 by Colonel Allen Allensworth on utopian concepts. It flourished from the period of 1910 to the mid 1920’s then, due to a series of problems and misfortunes, declined during the Great Depression and by the late 1940’s died out altogether. In 1974, through the efforts of the California State Legislature, the remaining buildings were preserved and the townsite made into a state park. This park is now active with an annual calendar of events that include a Black History Month celebration, an “Old Time Jubilee”, a religious gospel program, a “Juneteenth” celebration, and a variety of similar cultural activities.4

This paper builds on the literature of Allensworth already included under the disciplines of African-American Studies, sociology and cultural history. The attempt here is to examine the urban planning aspects of this community which will supplement the work already done on the history of Colonel Allensworth himself, the struggles of African American citizens in California during the first 20 years of the past century, and the more recent history of the establishment of Colonel Allensworth State Park. Allensworth, upon examination, should take its place along with Letchworth in England and others as one of the early “new towns” of the twentieth century.

The Life of Colonel Allen Allensworth 1854-1906
A common characteristic of Utopian communities is that all are founded and led by a charismatic religious leader. Such was the case with Colonel Allensworth, and his settlement in California. Colonel Allen Allensworth was born into slavery in 1842.

Allenworth became an ordained minister in 1871, in the First Baptist Church of St. Louis. Shortly thereafter he met and married Josephine Leawell, an organist-pianist and schoolteacher (1877).

In 1882 Allenworth discovered that none of the four all Black army regiments known as the "Buffalo Soldiers" had any Black chaplains and sought a Presidential appointment. On April 1, 1886, he was appointed chaplain of the 14th infantry regiment with the rank of Captain by President Grover Cleveland. He was given responsibility for the development of the spiritual health and education of the Black soldiers. Allenworth became the first chaplain of colour to reach the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. He retired after twenty years of service on April 7, 1866 as the highest-ranking black officer in the U.S. Army.  

The Origins and Evolution of Allenworth 1866-1908

During Colonel Allenworth’s service in the military he became painfully aware of the plight of African American citizens in the United States. He witnessed Grothand, the dismantling of reconstruction, the removal of Black officeholders in the South and the municipalities, county, state and Federal level. While stationed in Washington D.C., he witnessed in 1900 the exit of the last Black congressman, US Representative C.W. Anderson of North Carolina. He was aware of the new series of "Jim Crow" laws that legally aggregated blacks and whites as they took shape in the period of 1896-1906 just after the US Supreme Court’s decision. He even witnessed first hand, lynching of black citizens in the early 1900’s including former black army veterans, and in fact, the period of 1866-1910 was the worst in history in this regard for black citizens as there were over 7,000 lynchings during that time including 1,000 in 1906 alone. Colonel Allenworth also witnessed the dismantling of the four all Black army regiments in the late 1890’s and early 1900’s as the Indian Wars were over and the wave of white settlers who then moved into the southwest US were fearful of armed black men who were proven fighters.

On a more positive note, Allenworth was able to witness first hand the emergence of the City Beautiful Movement. During the years 1892-94 he served as chaplain for a detachment stationed in the grounds of the Chicago Columbian Exhibition, providing security for the fairgrounds. In a letter to his wife he notes these fairgrounds are a thing of rare beauty, the buildings are all white, just like Greek temples, and are set in lush greenery.

By the time of his retirement in 1906, Colonel Allenworth had become a devotee of the self-help philosophy of Booker T. Washington of Tuskegee, Alabama and was well read on the history of Utopian communities, mainly Terrence Goulburn’s "The Co-Operative Commonwealth" (1884) and Edward Bellamy’s "Looking Backward, 2000-1887" (1888). Settling in Los Angeles, Allenworth, famous as the highest-ranking black US Army officer of his time, was in demand as a speaker just as General Colin Powell was by the late 1990s. He went on a lecture tour in 1906 and 1907 speaking to over 100 groups, nationwide in places such as Boston, New York City, Philadelphia, Washington D.C., Atlanta, Indianapolis, Chicago, Kansas City and Los Angeles advocating the need for Black Self-Help programs as a means to social, economic and political justice. His lectures had titles such as "The Five Manly Virtues Exemplified", "The Battle of Life and How to Fight It", "Character and How to Read It" and "Lifting Oneself by the Bootstraps".

During this lecture tour, Colonel Allenworth became aware of the principles of city planning. Writing a friend in October 1907, Allenworth said: "Last night in Chicago I attended the most wonderful lecture. It was given by Mr Daniel Burnham, a noted architect who designed the World’s Fair grounds here. Mr Burnham spoke of the new, orderly ways of city building with various activities such as industry, business, residences, schools, parks and libraries all placed in harmony with one another...not the conflagration we see now in our cities."

After describing some related instances, Colonel Allenworth went on to say: Mr Burnham told of a marvellous new city called Leftwich (SIC) being built in England. This town will separate the smoke of factories from the residences of workers. He showed a plan of this town and I have constructed a mental picture of it.

Returning to Los Angeles from the lecture tour in 1907, Colonel Allenworth decided that hundreds of African American citizens could be attracted to rural California because of the warm climate, the rich soil, availability of water, and most importantly, access to transportation. Together with four friends Professor William A. Payne, former principal of the Grant County Colored School in West Virginia, Dr. W. H. Peck, an African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E) minister Mr J W Palmer, a Nevada miner and land surveyor and Mr Harry Mitchell, a real estate developer, they formed a group known as "The California Colony and Home Promoting Association." The group immediately began efforts to find a site in California where blacks could settle, grow crops, engage in commerce, pursue religious activities, educate their children and develop themselves socially, economically and culturally without the fear of reprisals from whites.

There were major obstacles in developing Allenworth. California was admitted to the United States as a "free state" in 1850. One year later, the Legislature passed the Homestead law and reinforced it in 1856. The law donated to "each bona fide settler on the public agricultural lands within the State, being a free white person over the age of twenty one years and a citizen of the United States, one hundred and sixty acres or more after a continuing residence and occupation thereof of five years" the...
The first step was to obtain Black California history. The Establishment, Design and recognition of the community.

In order to get around the Homestead Law’s white-only provision, the California Colony and Home Promoting Association formally incorporated and sought to buy land as a corporation which was permissible under California law. Allensworth’s group could then resell the land to individuals in the form of town lots and larger farms. With the incorporation completed in January 1908, Allensworth’s group examined various sites before settling on a tract of land near Delano some 150 miles north of Los Angeles in California’s Central Valley. The land was located directly on a railroad line that connected Los Angeles with San Francisco. It was flat fertile land with a plentiful water supply through artesian wells. The economic development plan called for a community with a plentiful water supply through the railroad and the industrial uses. Allensworth is the only enterprise of its kind in the United States. 1

Colonel Allensworth and his associates were determined to build Allensworth using the latest principles of city planning. Said Allensworth:

“I have secured over nine thousand acres of the richest land in central California, where the colony will be located on the main line of the Santa Fe railroad which connects Los Angeles with San Francisco. A town will be established upon the most scientific basis and improved method of city building. 2

In a letter to J W Palmer, a corporation member, miner and land surveyor, Allensworth wrote:

This town must be designed like the newest and most innovative communities in Europe and the United States. I envision a town where industry is located nearest to the railroad. Next to industry will be businesses and then, the townpeople’s residences. Schools and libraries will be in a park-like setting away from the noise, adouree of smoke of industry; a place where children can concentrate on their studies and adults, the beauty of the written word. And all around this town, there will be farms. We will avoid the hodge podge of the industrial city and the mistakes that have plagued Chicago, Kansas City and the most recently, Los Angeles. 3

Indeed, the town of Allensworth was laid out on an orderly, rational basis. Industry, warehouses, graineries, a slaughterhouse and carriage shop were placed closest to the railroad. Various businesses were then located west of the industrial uses. Residences, the town school and the public library were then surrounded by an agricultural greenbelt. In this respect, Allensworth is amazingly similar in design to Letchworth. Obviously Allensworth’s mental image of Letchworth or Leftwich as he wrote, was a contributing factor to the town’s design. 4

The town was designed to house no more than 1,200 residents, modelled after the optimum population of Robert Owen’s New Harmony, Indiana. 5 Once the site was acquired and plotted, land sales began for enthusiastic buyers from Los Angeles, and the southern and eastern United States, says an early author of California African American history.

The company of coloured gentlemen who had made it possible for this colony, almost immediately placed the land on the market. They met with encouragement, coloured citizens not only purchasing, but locating and building good homes. They were not only settlers, but also pioneers in spirit and deeds. Willing to toil and hustle for development. 6

Allensworth immediately went on another national tour to encourage settlement of the town. Using presentation techniques including candle powered lanterns with hand painted slides; Allensworth outlined the prospect of this town as a safe haven for Negroes. 7 Between 1908 and 1912 Allensworth attracted over 300 permanent settlers, lured to the community with promotional material such as the leaflet known as “The Sentiment Maker.” Quoted from that leaflet

Who are they? What are they doing? And, Where are they? They are a number of industrious, enterprising Negroes who wish to develop their individuality to its highest efficiency, who are contending for industrial and intellectual liberty, not for themselves alone but for all members of the race wherever they may be; who are ambitious to show the world that the Negro can do and be everything that is expected of an intelligent citizen. 8

The rapid growth of Allensworth within months called for additional public services to be provided. The first was the Allensworth City Water Company established on December 6, 1908. Using a deep artesian well, this company provided running water to businesses, industry and residences. The second was the Allensworth Rural Water Company that provided individual wells. In 1909 a post office was established. In 1910, Allensworth was made a voting district and Oscar Over, one of the first settlers, became the first African American Justice of the Peace in 1914. 9 In 1911 a public school was established with two teachers instructing a total of 45 students in grades on through eight. The citizens of Allensworth voted bonds in the amount of $5,000 to build a new school, which opened in 1915, and the old school became part of the Tulare County Free Library. 10 There were three churches in Allensworth, the First Baptist Church, the Methodist Zion Church and the Seventh Day Adventist Church. The town’s streets were organized on a rectangular grid with major streets named for famous African Americans of that time like Booker T. Washington, Phillips Wheatley, Frederick Douglass, and Paul Lawrence Dunbar. Business development was a key ingredient in the life of Allensworth.

Farm products such as grain and cattle

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The Establishment, Design and Construction of Allensworth 1908-1912

The first step was to obtain Black California history. The organization and worked for the success in having this land surveyed for a town site, immediately recognized the value of the advice, activities and influence of Colonel Allensworth and they decided to petition the proper authorities and have the town site named after Colonel Allensworth. After considerable delay they secured the right to call it Allensworth. It is governed and with success by Negroes. 9

With the filing of the township site in Tulare County on August 8, 1908 Allensworth became a reality. Local newspapers took notice of the legal status of the new Black Township as evidenced by their article written on August 7, 1908. 11

The town which is to be called Allensworth, is to enabled coloured people to live as an equity with whites and to encourage industry and thrift in the race... Allensworth is the only enterprise of its kind in the United States. 12

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Farm products such as grain and cattle

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provided a steady supply of business. The Santa Fe Railroad built a connecting line, a shunt off the main line to Allensworth in 1910. The town was a busy transfer point for the railway. Grain and cattle merchants not only supplied other markets, making themselves rich, it provided a steady stream of business for the restaurant, hotel and livery stable.31

According to Dr Alice E Smith in her book It Happened in Allensworth, the early years were prosperous ones for the new town.

In its heyday Allensworth bustled with activity. The town was a railroad transfer point, providing a steady stream of customers for Allensworth’s many businesses. Allensworth’s businesses included a hotel, machine shop, livery stable, blacksmith’s shop, bakery, drug store, and a barber shop. The grain and cattle merchants of Allensworth used the railroad to move their products to market. The town’s shops and stores provided day-to-day needs for living.32

According to the US Census of 1910 there were 22 black-owned farms in Allensworth representing a total of 12,890 acres in Tulare County. The total value of these farms was $260,270 with $240,122 in land, $12,200 in buildings and $5,646 in farm machinery. There were 382 residents living in 72 buildings. There were 35 registered businesses owned by 23 different individuals.33

Allensworth as a Success Story 1912-1920

From all indications, during its early years, Allensworth thrived. Not only was it successful from a business perspective but its citizens enjoyed a rich cultural life as well. The town glee club and gospel chorus travelled all over the Central Valley of California giving concerts and plays to enthusiastic audiences. Recalled one resident in 1931.

Mr and Mrs Cowes of Oakland decided to make Allensworth their home. Their house became a community centre. Soon the town was humming with sewing circles, chocolate hours, holiday events and family get togethers...Father and Mother Wells had a eucalyptus grove on their acreage. This was an enviable distinction as the alkaline soil and climate discouraged tree growth. The Wells hospitality made their grove available for community picnics...Mr Archer kept cows and worked on road maintenance...Mrs Archer was a midwife and delivered most of the town’s babies including the sizeable family of Professor and Mrs Payne. They were all an important part of the glee club, which Mr Payne carried throughout the San Joaquin Valley on concert tours. This group was often in demand for bond rallies during the Great War.34

Race relations seemed to be good during this time wrote Henry Singleton, an early settler on the relationship between Allensworth and its neighbouring all white towns.

But the most interesting thing that makes it lovely is that everyone of these little towns became extraordinarily friendly to Allensworth, there was never one difficulty racially.35

In 1909 the local Tulare County newspaper noted “Negro Colony at Solita Prosperous”, “Thirty Seven Families in Southern Port of County Doing Well”, “Raising Potatoes and Garden Truck – 100 More Families Will Come Soon”.36

Reports from Solita, the station on the Santa Fe in the southern part of the county near the Kern line, where the colony of Negroes from the southern states have been established say that it is becoming quite prosperous. The Negroes, of which there are now about 35 families, are raising potatoes and garden truck and are planning to farm more extensively. There are seventeen children of school age and provisions for a schoolhouse and a teacher will have to be made. The Negroes are said to be intelligent and well behaved.

One Hundred more families were to have arrived by now but because of the encroachment of the lake, this coming has been deferred for the present.

At attempt to change the name of the station from Solita to Allensworth, the latter being the name of the colony formed there has been turned down by the railroad saying the name is too long.36

Plans were made in 1914 to establish a vocational school for Negroes in Allensworth, similar to Booker T. Washington’s School in Tuskegee, Alabama. A letter to Mr Washington from Colonel Allensworth showed that intent.37 However, it was not built.38

Although by most accounts, things were fine in Allensworth during that period, there were problems. The town had no banks and financial transactions had to be made in Tulare or Bakersfield, both over two hours away on poor dirt roads. There was no public sewer system and residents had to rely exclusively on outhouses or primitive septic systems.

Health care was a problem as the nearest doctor was in Earlham and would not take black patients unless they were employed by the area’s white farmers and ranchers. The railway system was not designed to handle automobiles and especially trucks with over reliance on the railway as a means of transport. By the 1920’s trucks began to replace railways as a means of transport for agricultural products. All of this would cause problems for Allensworth in the years to come.39

The Decline of Allensworth 1920-1930

The first step in Allensworth’s decline was the death of Colonel Allen Allensworth on September 16, 1914 in downtown Los Angeles. Colonel Allensworth was struck by a motorcycle as he stepped off a streetcar. The remaining leaders of the California Colony and Home Promoting Association laboured to keep community intact, particularly Professor Payne and Justice of the Peace Over. The 1920 census showed a slight decline to 342 residents. During the 1920’s major problems developed as the water table was lowered due to competing demands by nearby large, agribusiness corporations and Allensworth’s farmland dried up. As trucking replaced railways as a primary means of transport, Allensworth suffered.40 In 1938, a local writer noted:

During the 1920s and 1930s many residents of Allensworth were forced to seek work elsewhere.41

By 1940, Allensworth was a ghost town with less than 100 inhabitants. The town and buildings remained in disrepair until the early 1970s. Then, local historian John Dynally, California’s first African American Lieutenant Governor, and a group of African American State legislators, legislation was passed creating the Allensworth State Park. By the year 2000 several structures had been renovated or rebuilt and the park stands now as a monument to the African American town builder who made Allensworth a reality for so many people.42

The Legacy of Allensworth

Allensworth was like so many other Utopian communities of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Like the others, it was established by a powerful religious figure that was charismatic, articulate and driven. Again, like so many other Utopias, Allensworth’s death was the beginning of the decline and eventual demise of this community.

But to an extent, Allensworth, California is different, not just because it was the only black Utopia, but due to its meaning within the context of African American history and the history of US City and Regional Planning. Since 1619 when the first blacks were brought from
Africa to the United States in chains, this group has been subjected first to 250 years of slavery, then 100 years of legalized segregation, and discrimination. The mistreatment of African Americans was justified among other things, the notion of slavery, then the group has been subjected first to 250 years of illegal traffic light in 1995. Through the rediscovery and preservation of Allensworth, California, we find that African Americans were also pioneers in the building of new towns in the garden city tradition of Howard. To planning historians, that dynamic could be Colonel Allensworth's greatest gift.

Notes


2. These communities include Boley, Oklahoma, Nicodemus, Kansas, and Mound Bayou, Mississippi.

3. Historical Pamphlet: *Colonel Allensworth State Historic Park*


5. Deliah N. Beasley, *The Negro"

6. Figure 3: School House (California State Archives)

7. Other works include *News From Nowhere*, by William Morris (1880) *The Co-operative Commonwealth*, by Terence Grinsland (1884) and *Looking Backward*, by Edward Bellamy (1888).


14. *California State Historical Archives Allen Allensworth Collection; Letter from Allen Allensworth to Mr J W Palmer dated October 14, 1907.*

15. Ibid.

16. Smith op cit, p. 24, Beasley op cit, 5, p. 26

17. Smith, op cit, p. 21


19. Smith, op cit, p. 23

20. Ibid


24. Cataneo and Snyder op cit. p. 17

25. Smith op cit., p. 24


27. Smith, op cit., p. 26

28. Beasley, op cit, p. 29


30. *Ibid, p. 33*

31. Smith, op cit., p. 32

32. *US Census of 1910, also see The*
Changing Times and Approaches to Housing Quality

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Introduction
In professional circles, the idea of what counts as housing quality has undergone several significant transformations over the past fifty years. In this article, I want to give an overview of the most significant changes with regard to what I call “the good dwelling”, and link these changes to changes in society. I also want to present in outline form the leading groups of players in the field. My own vantage point is that of somebody who has been associated with Norwegian housing research for some considerable time.

My basic contention is that professional attitudes to housing quality are closely connected with wider social challenges and conditions. I use the term “challenge” to refer to the need for professional responses to what politicians and relevant expertise considered problematic. By “conditions” I mean possibilities inherent in resources and economy, technology and science, professional thinking and, lastly, political priorities. In other words, I see approaches to housing quality as a relative quantity, dependent on time and place and closely intertwined with socially generated preconditions.

The material for this article has been collected from a recent study historically of Norwegian housing planning. Important sources are architectural and housing journals, government information, and research literature. Historical works have provided a necessary background for the interpretative element.

I identify four changes reflected both in society and the positions taken by professionals in the period 1945-90. The first took place in 1945 and marked the start of social democracy’s halcyon days in Norway. The second is associated with the early Fifties: the first post-war problems had been overcome and grand-scale developments could be pursued. The period around 1970 ushered in a critique of the social democratic society and modernism in architecture. At the start of the Eighties, the ascendance of the market triggered deregulation in many areas, including the housing sector.

Post-War Reconstruction — ambitious aims, meagre possibilities
The reconstruction period — the first seven-eight years after the war — was characterised by an immense gap between aspirations and possibilities. The population was intensely optimistic and there was political will to solve all difficulties, but the material conditions required to reach the goals were sorrowfully lacking. The housing issue was seen as one of the most urgent social problems. A triangular institutional device was established consisting of the Norwegian State Housing Bank, the housing co-operative and the local authorities. Its job was to mount a large-scale housing offensive; historian Berge Furre has called it “the jewel in the social democratic crown”.

The challenges were enormous. Many towns had been almost totally destroyed and had to be rebuilt from scratch. In the war years house building had practically ceased entirely, and the lack of accommodation, which was...
pressing already before the war, had got worse. Peace sparked an avalanche of marriages and births, aggravating the situation even more.

Who were the housing planners in this situation, and what sort of ideas did they hatch out? The dominating group in the first post-war years I call "the social architects". This group of radical architects had, in the Thirties, combined a criticism of classicist town planning and architecture with a political critique of capitalism. In a situation of wartime unemployment and social deprivation they initiated a study of housing conditions in the most recently built part of Oslo.3 It was a collaborative effort between about one hundred young architects, engineers and psychologists and became a landmark study. The main scientific finding was that two-roomed dwellings were useless as a family home. The study had a strong effect on professional attitudes to the social rationale of housing. The basic planning principle should be everyday life as experienced by people in their homes and neighbourhoods. Inspired by the ideas of Lewis Mumford, the study urged a "humanizing" of housing and architecture.

Family life in the home became the central theme. Housing planners concentrated on three tasks. The first entailed a modernisation of the internal layout plan. The housing study had shown that household chores were wearing housewives out, leaving them no time to create a comfortable, homely atmosphere. Kitchen work, cleaning and washing needed to be rationalised. Scientific studies lay the basis for the modern kitchen and washroom. Children should have separate rooms, too. Preferably one for each sex, with their own beds, a space for toys, and a desk for homework.

... But people needed to learn how to use their homes "in the right way". The housing study had shown that very few families made what the architects considered sensible arrangements in a situation at a discount. Bed space was concealed in divans and cupboards. Fathers exploited their familial power to abrogate space for themselves while mothers and children often had to squeeze together on mattresses on the floor. Furniture was heavy and cumbersome, and arranged more in accordance with custom than function; children's needs were hardly catered for at all.

To remedy this situation, a national campaign was launched. House-and-home exhibitions displayed functional solutions and "correct" furniture. The government produced educational films and propaganda. People flocked in their thousands to the exhibitions and started to adopt the new ideas.4 This campaign was later to be ridiculed and criticised as state-sponsored paternalism, which it isn't hard to disagree with. But it did strengthen the position for children and women: children got their own rooms and new utensils made housework easier.

Third, harmonious family life needed much more space. It would be meaningless to carry on building small homes in full knowledge of their negative impact on family life. The State Housing Bank developed a general standard for new houses comprising three rooms and a kitchen,5 with an upper limit of 450 sq.f. This was an ambitious reform in a war-time land - an idealistic experiment waiting to go wrong. Production capacity was low, and too few homes were built.

Figure 1. A study of a housewife's movements between different places in a kitchen while preparing food over a four-week period. (Housment Forskningsinstitut, Sweden)

Figure 2. A Norwegian model plan for the housing of the Fifties. The mode of expression reflects the aim to create an atmosphere of homely relaxation and cosiness.

In around 1950, the authorities were forced to take charge - in the face of vociferous protests from architectural quarters. House size was restricted to an average of 240 sq.f., and two-roomed homes were reintroduced. The medicare worked. Together with tight resource priorities and a more expensive climate in the construction market, the new floor space standards precipitated a massive rise in production: for a couple of years Norway led the European statistics.7 How could planners underestimate production capacity to such an extent? In hindsight, there is little doubt that a run-down production system, lack of materials and labour along with import restrictions must have represented quite grave impediments.

The "great collective" - minimal homes and large-scale construction

Around 1952, the post-war teething problems were more or less a thing of the past. The country stood on the brink of two decades with stable government, economic growth and full employment. I call this period "the great collective". The name refers to a widespread sense of stability, the whole nation embracing the values of social justice, material security and equal opportunity: in a word, the ideals of the welfare state. These values were strongly advocated in planning quarters too. As the government saw it, the only possible way of solving the housing issue lay in initiating home building on an industrial scale.

In 1952, the "international modernists", affiliated with the organisation CIAM, entered the architectural scene armed with a manifesto.8 They were not interested in sociological studies of everyday life or in Housing Bank regulations. Le Corbusier was their hero and architectonic form their lodestar. They criticised what in their opinion was stagnant and monotonous house architecture; in a "dynamic age", Norwegian architects had to think internationally and exploit technological potentials.

But what is remarkable about the modernists is the impact they had on technical, functional and aesthetic aspects of housing without ever winning any of the great building projects. Although several of their ideas concerning the good dwelling (i.e. the tower block) made a great impression around 1960, actual projects continued to go to the "social architects", due not least to good connections in the upper echelons of the social democratic movement.

The key challenges for house planners during this period lay in the floor-space restrictions that had come into force around 1950, and in the pressures to increase the house-building rate. A consequence of the minimal space standards meant that the layout plan became a theme of discussion among experts. The modernists were preoccupied with the contradiction between a static floor plan and a dynamic family life. The solution lay in greater flexibility, an adaptable home that could be extended and re-arranged in line with the needs of the inhabitants. These ideas harked back to the functionalism of the Thirties. They were now developed and given a realistic form.
For the theoretical basis, the modernists went to thinkers like the Finn Aulis Blomstedt, the Pole Oscar Hansen and the Dutchman M.J. Habraken. Individual adaptation and self-expression in this grand-scale building scheme were to be solved technically by industrial prefabrication processes. Building elements should be classified according to duration: supporting constructions, staircases etc., comprised the permanent parts, façades and partition walls were secondary and adaptable elements. This systemic or structuralist approach should be seen as a response to the desire for industrial prefabrication as well as user influence.

Figure 1. The Skjetten project, the most renowned Norwegian housing project around 1970, a system-built terrace-house project with openings for extensions and adaptations.

Flexibility was never realised on a large scale for several reasons. An almost insatiable market relieved the developer of having to incorporate such cost-driving fixtures. The houses got sold anyway. Furthermore, flexibility was really the architects' "baby", interest on the part of the authorities and the big developers was considerably more reserved. But the most important factor, however, was that new ideas were starting to make headway. Instead of mass production of flexible homes for anonymous users, planners were opting for small-scale developments and direct participation.

The "little collective" - small (and old) is beautiful
In the years straddling 1970, twenty years of social democratic government was coming under heavy fire from radical quarters. It collapsed eventually under a mounting pressure leaving a situation of political unrest, unstable governments and deepening conflicts among the populace and between political parties. In addition a global economic crisis was looming on the horizon. The optimism and sense of community that were typical of the Fifties and early Sixties had evaporated.

A defiant generation was entering the scene. They developed a radical leftist critique of a society they considered repressive and dominated by the interests of capital and experts. The new "radical architects" identified with residents' struggle against capitalist agents, local government and co-operative organisations. They offered technical know-how to improve urban environments, defied threatened working class areas and support house occupations.

In the field of housing planning, an earthquake was under way, an insurgency against principal aspects of post-war modernism. The term "little collective" is supposed to express this shift of emphasis from society to local communities and housing clusters. The ideas of "the great collective", with its satellite towns and environs, its high rises and massive developments, were jettisoned. While large development projects represented the solution of an earlier generation of planners to the housing shortfall, size was now blamed for the social problems currently being uncovered in the satellite towns. People had become insignificant and individual features were practically non-existent in high rise areas. Small dimensions were the new solution, and in place of the satellite town, planners offered the village. And as an alternative to flexibility by technological means, they now launched direct participation in the planning process.

The changing ideas in housing planning matched deeper social changes. The massive wave of construction of the Fifties and Sixties had remedied much of the housing shortage and the boom of the Sixties had created a new, well-educated middle class with their own ideas about independence, individual development and the good life. Not least the advance of women into the labour market contributed to a significant rise in living standards. Thanks to the car, more distant areas could be developed. For home-seekers, the dream was the detached house. The planners' ideas were given concrete form in house clusters with user participation. The idea was that clusters of concentrated terraced housing would combine the floor-space economy of the high rise with the ground contact and privacy of the detached home. Participation was previously a privilege reserved for detached-house owners. By concentrating homes in clusters, the hope was to pave the way for a type of social contact they considered almost totally lacking in high-rise areas. The cluster was called "the town's smallest community". It was a housing concept that satisfied the needs for road safety and controlled outdoor spaces of families with children. The ideas were adopted as public policy in the mid-Seventies. The ministry launched an offensive to persuade local authorities and home-seekers to go in for concentrated terraced-housing estates rather than the more resource-consuming detached homes.

The fact that "old" could be "beautiful" had a considerable impact on approaches to the town as such. The modernistic idea of total renewal had prospered throughout the Fifties and Sixties, but the lack of homes and the economic burden associated with large-scale renewal frustrated widespread regeneration. At the same time, renewal plans had put the brakes on all improvement efforts and housing areas were growing increasingly dilapidated. Given the criticism levelled at the satellite towns, experts were busy discovering features of intrinsic worth in the old building stock. In the battle to preserve older buildings an alliance was forged between the new, radical planning generation and the cultural conservation authorities. A strategy for a cautious rehabilitation of existing buildings gained ground as a preferred policy, the point being that residents could continue to live in their homes. Local participation was included in urban renewal policy in larger Norwegian towns and cities.

Faith in modernism had been knocked sideways; the traditional wood-built Norwegian town became the architectural ideal and symbol of the good life. A building practice with roots in traditional building practices supplanted the international style of the Sixties. "Place", "local" and "regional" were the new buzzwords. All this dealt a mortal blow to the industrial manufacture of prefabricated homes.

The market governs - deregulation in the name of choice
The leftist resurgence of the early Seventies was followed by a conservative tide. In 1981, Norway got a Conservative government that espoused wide-ranging deregulation and privatisation. The compulsory valuation of building sites and houses was discontinued.
Public property and sites were sold off. Housing Bank regulations were abolished and interest rate subsidies cut back sharply. The liberalisation of the credit market in the mid-Eighties led to a vertiginous rise in home loans. Bigger and classier detached homes were built on loaned capital. Around 1990 the bubble burst causing bankruptcies and a collapse-like drop in house prices. For the first time since the beginning of the century one could plausibly speak of a situation of matching supply and demand.16

Around 1980, the bigger urban councils found themselves in serious economic straits, much due to the outflow of inhabitants – and taxpayers – to new homes in adjacent municipalities. The revitalisation and upgrading of urban areas was a political necessity. In Oslo, the council put urban renewal at the top of the priority list leaving much of the responsibility for developing new areas to the private sector.17 As local authorities became poorer, personal wealth rose, not least in the form of homes, more and more of which were detached.

The transformation in the Eighties could not be described as a new generation of young housing planners transforming the traditional bastions of learning loaded with new paradigms and ideas. But new players did enter the stage. Together with economists and jurists, politicians stepped into the architects’ domain with the power to set new terms for urban policy in harmony with “green” as well as developers interests. By doing so, one broke with a century-long idea that stated that high density was incompatible with “the good dwelling”.

The urban dwelling had throughout the post-war period been a favourite of architects, but social conditions had hindered its concrete development.18 Organised urban regeneration projects enhanced central city districts as housing areas and, not least as a result of this, the demand for centrally situated homes increased. A further cause of the transformation was the environment issue. The Brundtland Commission’s report in the mid-Eighties put the world’s environmental problems on the map as it did the concept of “sustainable development”. Studies had shown that the town flat was the most sustainable form of accommodation: it required little transport, it saved energy and did not entail encroachment on natural surroundings. Densification in central areas was rapidly incorporated into the new environmental policy in harmony with “green” as well as developers interests. By doing so, one broke with a century-long idea that stated that high density was incompatible with “the good dwelling”.

Conclusion

The market-dominated period temporarily marks the end of an epoch characterised by impressive shifts in approaches to “the good dwelling”. As I see it, the changing ideas, as well as the transformations in the surrounding social contexts, are relatively unknown to contemporary housing planners at least in Scandinavia. One hopes that this article will contribute to an increased awareness of our recent past in this respect.

Notes

1 My study is called ‘The good Dwelling – Professionals View on Housing Quality during Fifty Years’, and will be finished in 2002.

2 Annaniasen, E., Boligpolitikk og boforhold som etterkrigshistorisk forskningsfelt [Housing Policy and Housing Conditions as a Post-War Field of Study], Etterkrighistorisk Register, nr. 12, Bergen: LOS-senter Nokat 92/29, 1992. The purpose of the Norwegian State Housing Bank was - and remains - to finance house building. It has been by far the most central public housing policy instrument throughout the period under consideration.

3 Brochmann, O., Mennesker og boliger [People and Homes], Oslo Byens Vels boligundersøkelser bind II, Oslo: Johan Grundt Tanum forlag, 1948. The study was done during the war, though the report was not published until six years later. About fifty people are listed as contributors, thirteen of whom were medical doctors and psychologists.

4 In addition to the housing study report, Lewis Mumford’s book The City in History (published many times) was considered a planner’s Bible.

5 The house and home magazine Bømst 1948, pp. 165. Oslo, Norway.

6 In Norway, the size of a home is given both as the number of rooms (in addition to kitchen and bathroom), and as the number of square metres (rendered as square feet here).

7 Bjørge, R., Husbanksens arealgrenser, det innsaett ukrets i boligpolitikkens [eneste] [The State Housing Bank's Floor-Space Standards – A Silent Tool in the Service of Housing Policy], Main subject thesis in political science, University of Oslo. Oslo: 1982


9 The architects journal Byggekunst 1952 pp.93

10 Byggekunst 1964 pp 2; Arktisnytt 1965 pp. 236; Byggekunst 1970 pp. 42.

11 Furre, pp. 222


13 SBI, Tett lav – en boligform [Dense Low – A Dwelling Form] SBI rapport 77, pp. 55, 69 Copenhagen: Teknik forlag, 1971


15 Oslo kommune, Førsig til byfornuftprogram Det 2 [Proposal for an Urban Renewal Program Part 2], Oslo: 1978


18 Byggekunst 1954 pp.40 and 1970 pp.42
The Socialist City and the Development of Magnitogorsk

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The Russian Revolution marked the start of a huge social and political experiment. With the new political leaders, a whole movement of ambitious revolutionary artists and architects suddenly gained influence. The Soviet avant-garde achieved works of outstanding quality that have influenced many other artists and architects and still amaze and impress us today. The work of many architects included theories for urban and regional planning. The planning of new towns following the introduction of the planned economy provided the first possibility to implement these plans. Magnitogorsk is one of the biggest and most ambitious of these projects, but it was really the ideal Socialist City that was built in the remote Tarpulin Mountains.

Up to 1918, Russia had seen hardly any industrialisation. Only 17% of the whole population lived in cities, and although there were several bigger cities, most of them lacked any basic infrastructure. Most cities developed speculative and unplanned, as Moscow, which developed concentrically around the Kremlin. There was no planning system or procedure for obtaining planning and building permission. As an exception, the capital St. Petersburg saw a lot of highly formal urban design, inspired by the European ideas of classicism.

The Revolution changed the situation in Russia radically. One of the first measures of the Soviet was the nationalisation of the ground. The abolition of private property evolved in several stages in the following years. Another of the early decrees made development subject to approval by the authorities. Although a sudden, Russia had been given a planning system, which Western planners could only dream about at that time. The hindering individual interests of different owners and the speculative market did not exist any more. For this new life, the city itself as well had to be reinvented. The industrial city with its slums was perceived as the logical consequence of the capitalist society. But the only references to cities to be found in Marx and Engels writings was the rather unspecific claim that there should be no difference between city and countryside.

A lot of planners and architects hoped that now planning could finally achieve the implementation of ambitious plans. After the Civil War several policies were adopted in order to industrialise the country. The Electrification or GOELRO-Plan, launched in 1922 by Lenin, provided the basis for the construction of over 100 electrical power stations all over the country. Through this, the decentralisation of industries and the exploitation of natural resources in deserted areas was to be prepared. Even though Western observers doubted whether the new state would be able to implement this plan, a surprisingly big part of the power plants was built. Even the first 5-year-plan, adopted in 1929, was the start of the planned economy, in which town planning was seen as a part of the overall national economic plan.

The Soviet Revolution was not only an economic project, but included a vision of life and society, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Not only economy, but as well everyday life would be "reconstructed" according to these principles. In this vision, big parts of life would be enjoyed communal. To the degree to which this would be enforced differed, the general idea was to restrict the private space to a minimum. This could be a single "living cell" for sleeping and perhaps study. All other facilities as bathrooms, dining rooms, kitchen, libraries, etc. were to cater for the inhabitants of a storey, house or neighbourhood. Being used to the communal use of basic facilities, these proposals would have been a huge amelioration of living conditions for most of the people. By creating communal facilities, everyone would be able to access what used to be luxuries for the few members of the upper class.

Everyone agreed that this new city had to be totally different from the former capitalist city, although it was totally unclear what these characteristics of the capitalist city were. Parallel to the developments of the Constructivists' architecture, a discussion about the nature of the Socialist City began. The main planning debates took place between 1922 and 1930, becoming more and more theoretical and ending in the "socialist resettlement" debate of 1929/30. As unrealistic as they seem today, the proposals have to be seen in the context of the unlimited optimism and belief in the possibilities of technology at that time. The two extremes, both of which the discussion ranged, were the Urbanists' and the Deurbanists' theories.

The Urbanists generally accepted the idea of the city as an agglomeration of citizens. But as the development of a city centre with higher densities is an effect of the capitalist system of land values, the new city will not have core or periphery, city centre or suburb. These cities will be the living quarters for both workers and the farmers of the reorganised agricultural production, thus annihilating the difference between city and countryside. Inspired by Le Corbusier, huge superblocks replace conventional houses, thereby leaving space to provide free spaces, sun and air. As the Unités d'Habitation, these "social condensers", in which the new society is going to be shaped, will provide all services for their inhabitants. Flats or apartments are replaced by individual "living cells", the only absolutely private rooms in the otherwise communal building.

The Deurbanists went even further in their proposals and can only be understood in the context of the unrestrained belief in progress and technology. Related to Frank Lloyd Wright's ideas of the Broad Acre City, the cities are a last cause to them and therefore destroyed. The whole population is resettled along the roads and transportation routes, linking different points of production. Only some administrative buildings are left in the otherwise landscaped former cities. The distribution of services according to their frequency was suggested, but the fundamental problem of how everyday-life could be accomplished with these distances between the different locations remained unsolved. Unlike Wright's farm-inspired settlements, which copy certain forms of houses, the Deurbanists developed systems of prefabricated, light and flexible houses, representing the new freedom of society.

When the 14th Party Congress in 1925 called for rapid industrialisation, Magnitogorsk became one of the key projects. One of the biggest iron and steel works in the world would be built from scratch in the middle of a formerly deserted area by the pure will and work of the new Soviet society. In the first years, Magnitogorsk became a symbol for these plans and a project of the youth, attracting a high proportion of young workers. Its geographical location meant that it would be safe from military invasions. The main problem remained coal, which had to be brought from the Kuznezk area, over 2000 km away. But only in 1929 the state project office GIPROMET managed to finish its plans, by which time the constantly for political reasons increased capacity had made these plans obsolete. In only one year the planned amount of refined ore was quadrupled. As the Soviet technicians lacked the experience, McKee, a known American expert for steel factories, was hired in 1930. For the foreign workers, detached houses were erected in Beretka, while the Russian workers had to live in tents for years. As the mountain was surrounded by rather plain land, there was hardly any restriction of the location of the factory; but this choice later resulted in huge problems for the development of the city.

Thousands of people recruited to Magnitogorsk lived in overcrowded residential barracks, tents and other dwellings. In 1930, the Russian government announced a competition for a city of 40.000 to be built close to the factory. But even this number was outdated when the competition started and the figures increased almost daily.

After three months, 19 projects were submitted, some of which were prepared by the leading theoreticians of that time. Barshch,
years and finally decided that the town should finally the parallel development of factory and settlement on the right banks of the lake. A rather conventional, but realistic proposal by Chemyslev was finally awarded the first prize, but again the Soviet government had to realise that it lacked the trained engineers to accomplish a task of that complexity and size. Ernst May, the city planner of Frankfurt, had built several low-cost workers' settlements in Frankfurt, that gained him international acclaim. Open rows of standardised houses provided every inhabitant with light, air and sun. A known socialist and compassionate modernist, the Soviet government was interested in his work, probably as well because he managed to exceed his own plans. Enthusiastic about the possibilities in the Soviet Union, Ernst May and almost his whole staff from Frankfurt went to Moscow in 1930, where they started to work instantly on the plans for Magnitogorsk. But when they finally arrived in Magnitogorsk in October 1930, they had to realise that their plans were based on wrong information and therefore invalid. Construction had already started without plans, again delaying and restricting the plans. Instead of having a "free hand", the German planners found themselves restricted to a site between the artificial lake, the factory, the mine and mountains south of the provisional settlement. As a result of these restrictions, the original idea of developing settlement and factory parallel to each other was already impossible. Of the two plans produced then, one accepted the current place of the settlement on the right banks of the lake. A satellite town to the North would be separated from the main town by a park and the main direction of development would be to the east past the food-processing facilities — even further away from the factory. The other plan suggested to move the whole town to the other side of the lake. Further development could then take place northwards, where finally the parallel development of factory and town would be possible. The government was undecided for years and finally decided that the town should remain on the left side of the lake. This was obviously the worse place, but considering the lack of basic accommodation, no further resources and time could be wasted. The design therefore fulfilled few of its original aims. Restricted to the mentioned triangular site, May designed rows of superblocks with communal facilities in-between. In line with the official party policy, which favoured the maximum collectivisation of everyday life, the houses would only have minimal living cells. But as construction went ahead, the foreign engineers had to cope with other problems as well. Mart Stam, the Dutch construction supervisor, was terrified by the bad quality of work on the site. The workers had no experience at all with bricklaying and other construction works. Work on a central heating system started, but no radiators arrived. Modern toilets did not work as the construction of the sewage system was delayed for years.

After the huge problems and delays that the development had suffered from, work on the left bank of the lake finally ended in 1933. It was shifted by decree to the right side of the lake, where Dautschatsch and Stschangi built the new city from 1934 on. Starting at the train station just north of the lake, the town has up to today developed along three main magistral axes to the South, with the lake separating the city from the factory. Many of the unpopular blocks of May's Socialist City are today deserted and in ruins. But by the time, the city was shifted to the Right bank of the lake, the original vision of the Socialist City had already been given up. The new location had nothing to do with the theories about the spatial relationship between industrial and residential areas. The uncompromising and functionalistic modern style was replaced by the backward-looking and intimidating monumental style. The vision of a new society had been cut back by party decrees to a less visionary degree. The forced collectivisation of life and been partly taken back and the new dwellings consisted of conventional flats for families.

The Russian Revolution was greeted by many politically left-wing planners in Europe, perceiving it as a huge opportunity.
Emst May believed he would have a “free hand” in the planning of Magnitogorsk, the city that became a symbol for the first 5-year plan. The location in a former uninhabited area and the involvement of some of the most famous Russian and foreign planners make it one of the most important attempts of the time to create the Socialist City. But especially the development of Magnitogorsk shows that the planners faced huge problems. The abandonment of the new concept of Soviet life in 1930, which was the basis for the plans, and the shifting of the city to the right bank of the lake ended all attempts to develop factory and town together according to some coherent concept.

Although Magnitogorsk was supposed to be a totally planned development, most important decisions were never made according to a plan. The location of the factory, that later restricted the city for all the following years and damaged the housing quality in some areas through poisonous fumes, is just one example. The whole planning of the city always lagged behind the reality of its construction. Fearing war and pressing for development at unrealistic speed, workers created unplanned and informal dwellings lacking housing provision. When the first blocks were finally built, the administration did not provide the necessary materials as in the case of the heating system. The different levels of administration, inexperienced and partly contradicting other levels, interfered with the development. In crucial questions, as whether the city should be shifted to the right bank of the lake, the administration did not come to a conclusion for years. Premature start of production damaged technical installations and early works had to be demolished as they did not comply with the plans. A third reason for the poor results can be seen in the cultural and technological gap between the highly experienced technicians coming from the industrialised countries of the West and the conditions they encountered in Russia. Even simplified designs could not be met by the workers, often lacking all construction skills. The introduction of modern infrastructure like sewage and central heating suffered from this missing capacity.

Finally, the state policies, asking for the maximum collectivisation of everyday life proved to be highly unpopular with the workers. The natural conditions in the Ural added to the problems, as the planners never had reliable information about the geographic conditions on site. Unexpected wind directions made certain places unfit for settlement. The open structures of May, providing everyone with sun and air did not shield the inhabitants from the cold winds in the long winter. In its high ambitions and bitter failures, the history of the development of Magnitogorsk reflects the absolute priority industrial development had for the Soviet government.

Notes

2 Ibid, p.37
3 Kopp, op cit, p.173
5 Kopp op cit, p.31
6 Maurice Frank Parkins, City Planning in Soviet Russia. Chicago 1953
8 El Lissitzky, Russland: Architektur für eine Weltsrevolution. Berlin 1965
9 Kopp, op cit, p.145
10 Schütz in Karl Ganser et al. (ed.), Magnitogorsk, Stadtbauwelt Nr. 48/1995
New Urbanism

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Historic Development
The urban development in the United States after the 2nd World War was mainly characterised by a long and powerful process of suburbanisation. The Federal Highway Bill 1956 and the following construction of a highway system together with constantly rising car-ownership made new developments at the edges of the city and further in the countryside possible. For whole middle-class generations this ideal of the single-family house surrounded by a private garden represented wealth and achievement. The policy of Single-Home Mortgage Deduction further strengthened the demand for single-family houses, which were as well favoured by the financial sector as they minimised risks for mortgage lenders.1

Built on former plain farmland, the prefabricated houses consumed big areas, spreading further and further around the cities. Hierarchical road systems and cul-de-sacs safeguarded the quietness of these low-density settlements, that became totally car-dependent. These uniform developments came to be known as Sprawl.2 The city centres deteriorated, as jobs and shops followed the driving workforce out of the city. Office developments and supermarkets near the highways in several cases turned into so-called Edge Cities taking over central functions of the inner cities, which became derelict.3 Several architects and urbanists approached this problem in separate attempts in the 1980s and 1990s. In 1993 Peter Calthorpe, Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, Elisabeth Moule, Stefanos Polyzoidos and Daniel Solomon founded the Congress for the New Urbanism as an organisation for all those interested in this kind of development. The organisation has held annual conferences and in 1996 the Charter of the New Urbanism was adopted.4

Principles of the New Urbanism
The main principles of the New Urbanism have been developed on different levels. On the street level, they emphasise the function of the street and the public realm, defined by houses. As architecture has become "an instrument of excessive self-expression", the design of single buildings has to be restricted in order to create a harmonious public space. The housing types, mandated through codes, are mostly traditional in style and appearance and evoke the picture of small towns of the pre-war period or the 1960s. This reliance on historical and neo-classical architecture is as well a point of discussion inside the organisation.5

On the neighbourhood-level, New Urbanists aim for pedestrian-friendly mixed-use neighbourhoods, often characterised by the "five-minute-walk" between houses and the centre providing basic services. The interconnected network of streets in form of a modified grid is favoured over tree-like hierarchical structures. The main sources of inspiration for the design of the public space are the City Beautiful and the tradition of the Geometric urban design with landmark buildings linked through straight axes and boulevards. On a regional level, the principles of public space, circulation and non-car accessibility are as well to be implemented. The concept of spatial distinctiveness is implemented through Urban Growth Boundaries and Green Belts, that provide visible edges and protect open and rural space. Public transport should link the different parts of the region. The developments around the public transport interchanges become centres of "pedestrian pockets", that consist of a walkable mixed-use neighbourhood with centre and edge. Different nodes form together the "Regional City". The physical problems of sprawl are addressed through the integration of land uses and transportation corridors. The problem of social and economic inequality is addressed through a complex mixture of policy proposals as tax-base sharing, "Charger Schools" and a regional management of the provision and distribution of housing types. For this analysis four different projects were examined. Seaside in Florida is one of the most famous New Urbanist settlements. In 1979, Robert Davies commissioned Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk to design a seaside vacation resort for projected 2000 "inhabitants" on 80 acres in Florida.6 Building on Walt Disney’s concept of the Experimental Prototype Community of Tomorrow EPCOT, the Disney Company started to develop the settlement of Celebration in Florida in 1991.7 It is situated just 10 minutes apart from Disney World itself and 30 minutes by car from Orlando. Duany/Plater-Zyberk were replaced as planners with Robert Stern and Jacquelin Robertson. The 4900 acres, on which 20000 people will live in 8000 housing units, are surrounded by a protected greenbelt of 47300 acres, used as a golfcourse. Starting in 1990, Laguna West was developed 11 miles south of Sacramento. On 1045 acres Peter Calthorpe designed a new development, for the first time applying his concepts.8 The redevelopment of the Jackson-Taylor neighbourhood in San Jose is one of the few inner city developments. The neighbourhood was originally dominated by a food-processing centre, surrounded by two ethnic neighbourhoods. Peter Calthorpe designed the plans for the redevelopment of the 75-acre area, starting in 1991. The plans include 1600 residential units and 550000 square feet of retail, office and industrial space.9

New Suburbanism
One of the main aims of the New Urbanists is to strengthen the position of cities and avoid the breaking up into disintegrated neighbourhoods and Edge Cities. In their own name, New Urbanists, they stress their dedication towards the urban area. In their analysis of the post-war development, the sprawl of low-density areas is perceived as the main cause for the decline of the American cities.10

However, most developments planned by architects and planners, who are part of the New Urbanists community, take place in a suburban setting, mostly on greenfield sites.11 The New Urbanists argue that not all demand can be met by the infill and redevelopment of brownfield and inner city sites and therefore new developments are necessary.12 But only Calthorpe’s concept of the Transit-Oriented Development TOD tries to identify appropriate locations for this growth and develops regional plans for areas like San Jose, in which these new settlements differ significantly in terms of access and public transport from ordinary suburbs. Often the size of the developments and their lack of industrial and commercial space make it clear from the beginning that the new developments are sold and bought as commuter suburbs. The advertisements of developments as Celebration often emphasise their convenient connection to the next cities by highways.13 Seaside differs from this pattern as it is not even planned as a permanently inhabited settlement, but as a vacation resort. Critics have therefore accused the New Urbanists of having promoted a new image for suburban development, thereby perpetuating and justifying suburban development and the spreading out of American cities.14 Even though their rhetoric is based on the city and urban areas, most of the developments are purely suburban in regard of their location. Density
The lack of density in conventional suburbs is mainly perceived as damaging the social basis of society by hindering social interaction. In the TOD-concept density is especially important in order to sustain public transport. The densities in the examples differ significantly. Seaside achieves 15.5 living units per hectare (6.25 units/acre) and Laguna West has a density of 10.4 u/ac (4.1 u/ac).15 The difference probably results from the big lake incorporated in Laguna West. Both developments have a higher density in their central area than in the outer areas. Celebration

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on the other hand has only a density of 0.46

ulha (0.18

huge golf course and the park areas.

living units in

densities in the Jackson-Taylor neighbourhood

are probably significantly higher, although no

materialise or whether they will just become an

extension of the single-family homes. The

Mixed Neighbourhoods

Mixed Neighbourhoods are seen as a means of

reducing traffic and ensuring that most places

can be reached by foot. Furthermore, they

enhance public safety by avoiding the creation

of deserted areas. Other advantages are for

example the possibility to use public

infrastructure at different times of the day.

The New Urbanists have claimed to create

neighbourhoods of mixed uses. Through
different types of housing and different sizes of

flats and houses, the New Urbanists hope to

diminish social segregation. At all
development, manage to locate the primary

school in a district suitable for pedestrians.

But the “Downtown” and “City Centres” of

Celebration and Seaside certainly do not

constitute a mixed-use environment. They

often provide cafes and a restaurant, but the

establishments in modern retail in the US and other parts of

the Western world has been characterised by

centralisation and increasing store sizes. The

small shops, that are evoked in the presentation
drawings and often as well planned for

disappeared in real cities because they could not

face the competition of out-of-town big-

box retailers with convenient car access.

Calthorpe has tried to address this problem by

seeing a chance for “convenience retail”,

allowing residents to buy some smaller articles

without the need to drive to one of the big

stores. But this opportunity is obviously

limited and probably unable in many cases to

fill the allocated spaces. Seaside offers more

possibilities as a holiday resort and Celebration

will probably benefit from tourism resulting of

the development’s connection to the near-by

Disney World, thus turning Celebration in

another real-life theme park. But even in

Seaside the construction of commercial

buildings seems to be very slow, with only one of

the projects of the project called the

Lagoon. But the only the examined developments

tries that integrate big retail stores onto the

pedestrian-friendly development. But here

other uses have not materialised yet.

The mixture of different housing types has

only been realised in a narrow range. Almost

all New Urbanist developments are more

expensive than normal houses, although the

New Urbanists claim that this is due to the lack

of similar supply. Even though the projects

sometimes do include a bigger range than

normal subdivisions, there certainly is not

mixture of different groups of society. The

New Urbanists’ developments cater for white

middle-class families, coming from the

suburbs.

Transit-Oriented Development versus

Traditional Neighbourhood Development

While the Congress of New Urbanists

comprises many different and sometimes

divergent positions, two main directions seem
to have evolved. The difference between these

is as well a regional difference. Whereas

Calthorpe on the West Coast promotes the

concept of Transit-Oriented Development

TOD, the East Coast planners around

Duany/Plater-Zyberk develop the

Traditional Neighbourhood Development

concept TND.

Both share the belief in the concept of

pedestrian-friendly small developments

focused on a central area and defined through

an outer edge. Both emphasise the need for

higher densities and dedicate a lot of work to

the design of public spaces. But there are huge

differences in their concepts. Calthorpe has

developed a model for the provision of space

for future growth in city regions. His main

concern has been to link developments to

public transport corridors and achieve in the

new developments densities that allow for a

 provision of public transport. His social

and economic concepts for regional co-operation,
tax-base sharing and educational reform are an

test attempt to tackle the underlying structural

problems that led to the development of

sprawl. The work by Calthorpe & Associates

includes several regional plans, which often

plan for an extension of light-rail systems.

Duany/Plater-Zyberk on the other hand

concentrate in their work on the design of the

houses and streets and their relationship to

each other. The design of the settlements is

always focused on a central public square with

commercial and civic uses. The problem of

“Big Box”-Retailing is, contrary to Calthorpe’s

theories an designs, not addressed in their

plans. As DPZ focus mostly on the

architectural and urban design aspects of their

developments, the linkage to regional

structures is neglected. Public transport

 provision does not exist in most of their

developments. Both concepts seem to operate

on different scales and therefore could rather

complement each other, but the way both

groups handle the question of public transport

is rather contradictory.

Streets

The different projects all show a hierarchical

system of streets ranging from “boulevards”,

main streets, residential streets to back alleys.

They are carefully designed especially in their

architecture. According to this concept

development is more likely to take place in the

back alleys. Every day is squeezed into these

back alleys while the front porches display a

cultivated sanitised holiday picture of life.

Architecture

Duany/Plater-Zyberk rely heavily on a certain

kind of architecture that reproduces elements

of historical styles. Porches, bow windows,

front entrances and roof design are used to

create a certain image. The building types are
derived from historic areas of cities and

transferred to the developments, but their

architectural organisation represents the typical

American suburban demand – a huge number of

bathrooms, air-conditioning and other

features. Architecture according to this concept

is reduced to the decoration of facades. Only at

outsidely places buildings are allowed

more freedom in their architecture.

Local Government

In many developments Home-Owner

Associations (HOA) have been installed,

which are funded through monthly fees. In

cases, these associations have been

granted almost all powers of local government,

resulting in an andemocratic form of local

government. Even though HOA are not
elected local governments they often use

symbols to legitimise their power, for example

by residing in a “town hall”.

At the same time the Governments, Conditions

and Restrictions CCR, which are normally

attached as deed restrictions to the purchase of

lots or houses have a huge impact. They

sometimes forbid satellite dishes, political

signs or the working on cars in front of the

house, while mandating the regular mowing of

lawn. The aim of these restrictions is to

safeguard the commercial value of the

property, whereas critics claim that

“authoritarian control is meant to create a

village culture”. These changes of underlying

legal structures change the relationship

outside the development, the number of cars

per household has not decreased.

The back alleys constitute a waste of land as

every lot has a double allocation. At the same
time, they draw life away from the main

streets. The social interaction for which the

streets with their huge porches have been

designed is more likely to take place in the

back alleys. Everyday is squeezed into these

back alleys while the front porches display a

cultivated sanitised holiday picture of life.
Conclusion

The New Urbanism constitutes a group of people that intend to change the pattern of urban development in the United States of America. The discussions and theoretical concepts show two main directions. Transit-Oriented Development concepts developed by Breheny. Especially in his book The Regional City, Calthorpe has tried to provide solutions for the social and financial problems underlying the current development in American suburbanisation. The Traditional Neighbourhood Development concept by Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk and Andres Duany focuses much more on the architecture of the development and the urban design. Working and retailing patterns are not addressed in their concepts and public transport is mostly non-existent. The New Urbanists claim that the physical design of the neighbourhoods will create a real community. The same attempt to engineer society went terribly wrong in the 1960s, where public housing with deck access was meant to provide spaces for social interaction. They mostly ignore or underestimate other socio-economic influences that shape human relations. '...you only need to give homeowners front porches and they will eschew the TV, the air-conditioning and the internet and talk to each other?... As their developments cater almost exclusively for affluent people, they are able to reproduce a sanitised version of urban life.

The connection of neo-traditional architecture and urban design has proved to be very successful in commercial terms. This has led to the imitation of single aspects of the developments that try to hide the unchanged sprawl underneath. One of the main achievements of the New Urbanists is that they initiated a major public debate about the problems of contemporary urban development in the US. But the projects have continued the American tradition of "starting again" by building new suburbs instead of improving those areas in need.

Notes

8 Peter Calthorpe, William Fulton: The Regional City - Planning for the End of Sprawl. Washington 2001
11 Peter Katz, op cit, p.18
12 Ibid, p.193
15 Andres Duany, Our Urbanism’. In Architecture 12/1998
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19 Peter Gordon, Harry W. Richardson, A Critique of New Urbanism. 1998
20 Shannon, op cit, p.14
23 Heide Landecker, "Is New Urbanism Good for America?" In Architecture 4/1996
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27 Shannon, op cit.
28 William Fulton, The New Urbanism - Hope or Hype for American Communities. Cambridge/Massachusetts 1996, p.105
30 Harald Bodenschatz, New Urbanism - Die Neuerfindung der Amerikanischen Stadt. In Städtebauwelt 12/2000, p.28
Recent publications: books


‘George Bankart first wrote The Art of the Plasterer in 1908, it was then reissued, with amendments, a few years later. Now available from Donhead in this reprinted facsimile edition, this impressive, well-illustrated volume offers an artistic interpretation of the way plaster was used in response to stylistic changes.

Bankart was inspired by the Arts and Crafts movement who cared passionately about the craft of plastering and sought to complement Millar’s earlier passionately about the craft of plastering and sought to complement Millar’s earlier work. He was one of the strongest advocates of town planning and an active participant in debates about the future of the city. He was arguably the first planner to recognise

The Scottish urbanist and biologist Patrick Geddes (1854-1932) is perhaps best known for introducing the concept of “region” to architecture and planning. At the turn of the twentieth century, he was one of the strongest advocates of town planning and an active participant in debates about the future of the city. He was arguably the first planner to recognise

the importance of historic city centers, and his renewal work in Edinburgh’s Old Town is visible and impressive to this day.

Geddes’s famous analytical triad—place, work, and folk, corresponding to the geographical, historical, and spiritual aspects of the city—provides the basic structure of this examination of his urban theory. Volker Welter examines Geddes’s ideas in the light of nineteenth-century biology—in which Geddes received his academic training—showing Geddes’s use of biological concepts to be far more sophisticated than popular images of the city as an organic entity. His urbanism was informed by his lifelong interest in the theory of evolution and in ecology, cutting-edge areas in the late nineteenth century. Balancing Geddes’s biological thought is his interest in the historical Greek concept of polis, usually translated as city-state but implying a view of the city as a cultural and spiritual phenomenon.

Although Geddes’s work was far-ranging, the city provided the unifying focus of nearly all of his theoretical and practical work. Throughout the book, Welter relates Geddes’s theory of the city to contemporary European debates about architecture and urbanism.

Volker M. Welter is Lecturer in Architectural History and Theory, Department of History of Art, University of Reading, UK.

Please note. The book is due to be published in March 2002: 7 x 9 x328 pp. (44 illus) ISBN 0-262-23211-1 cloth • £27.50; architecture/urban studies
Abstracts of recently published articles

H. V. Savitch with Grigoriy Ardashev, 'Does terrorism have an urban future?' Urban Studies, Vol. 38, No. 13, 2001, pp. 2525-2533. This article was written and submitted before the 11 September terrorist attack on New York City. Minor revisions were made to the text and a postscript added in order to bring it up to date, but the original data, themes and findings have been left intact. Our study examines the occurrence of terror in 40 cities across the globe. We survey incidents, fatalities, injuries and damage due to terror between 1993 and 2000. We also recapitulate these statistics in a terror score for each city. We conclude that terror is more common in cities and we explain why this might be the case. In explaining urban terror, we rely on three factors: social breakdown, resource mobilisation and target-proneness. Essentially, we argue that cities with high cumulative standing on these factors also incur high levels of terror. We are able to explain terror in the remaining cities with high 'terror scores' by showing that terror is often 'exportable'. That is, terror originates in places with high social breakdown and resource mobilisation, but is often transmitted to globally-oriented target-prone cities. Those cities are situated in what we have labelled an International Message Category. Among others, the leading candidates for terror attack have been listed as New York, London, Paris, Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Athens and Istanbul.

Hélène Vacher, 'Building the modern city: planners and planning expertise at Léon Eyrolles Ecole Spéciale des Travaux Publics, 1888-1939', Planning Perspectives, 17, 2001, pp. 41-59. By the beginning of the twentieth century French urban redevelopment employed a broad range of technicians. Many of these had studied in specialised schools set up for the purpose of creating skilled personnel for the development and management of the country's industry and infrastructure. One such private school was the Ecole Spéciale des Travaux Publics. On Léon Eyrolles' initiative, the school emerged within a few decades as a successful technological institute in civil engineering. This article focuses on Eyrolles' school in order to illustrate the development of town planning techniques and theories in France during this period, from the end of the nineteenth century through to the end of the First World War.

André Sorensen, 'Urban planning and civil society in Japan: Japanese urban planning development during the Taisho Democracy period (1905-31)', Planning Perspectives, 16, 2001, pp. 389-406. Much has been written in recent years about the importance of civil society in ensuring positive outcomes for people in the development of urban space. For citizens to be involved in a meaningful way in urban planning requires the existence of a political space—created by organisations, community groups, social movements, voluntary societies—that is outside the control of government. The development of the international planning movement during the first decades of the twentieth century is an excellent example of the importance of such non-state actors in developing a competing version of the urban future—and a set of prescriptions on how to achieve it—that was both at variance with the priorities then being pursued by national governments and which explicitly put forward the public welfare and urban quality of life as the highest values. Japanese planners, architects and municipal administrators were avid followers of international planning ideas during this period, attending many of the international congresses and attempting to adopt many of the current ideas for use in Japan. While the early years of the Taisho period saw a proliferation of social organisations in Japan and the development of an embryonic civil society, however, by the early 1930s an expansion of the role of the state, and particularly of the activities of the Home Ministry had resulted in its effective absorption of most of the political space available for independent agendas in city planning. After this period, planning thought and practice was firmly central government territory. This paper examines the role of this important watershed in the development city planning and urban management practice.

John K. Walton, 'Planning and seaside tourism: San Sebastián, 1863-1936', Planning Perspectives, 17, 2002, pp. 1-20. This paper offers a case study in the planning of a distinctive kind of town, the seaside resort, whose significance on the map of urban Europe increased dramatically during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In examining the development of the first large Spanish town to develop this function and looks critically at the role of planning on the distinctive Spanish ensanche model in San Sebastián's sustained growth and success between the demolition of the old town walls in the mid-1860s and the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in 1936. It draws particular attention to the strong drive to zoning and control in the original Cortazar plan and the greater diversity and looseness of the developments that followed.

Oral History Journal, Spring 2001, Vol. 29, No. 1, 'Pleasure and Danger in the City.' This themed issue contains the following articles:

Chris Easton, 'Class and the city: spatial memories of pleasure and danger in Barcelona, 1914-23'; Gavin Brown, 'Listening to queer maps of the city: gay men's narratives of pleasure and danger in London's East End'; Lesley Ecklick, 'Myths of a beleaguered city: Aberdeen and the typhoid outbreak of 1964 explored through oral history'; Rosemary Elliot, 'Growing up and giving up: smoking in Paul Thompson's "100 families"'; Charles Hardy, 'Prodigal sons, trap doors and painted women: some reflections on urban folklore, life stories and oral history.'
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