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Phil Hubbard, Lucy Faire and Keith Lilley, ‘Remembering Post-War Reconstruction: Modernism and City Planning in Coventry, 1940-1962’


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This is an important aspect of any serious and informative academic publication, but it also one that has become increasingly significant in recent years. The growing competitiveness in terms of research in universities has emphasised the value of refereed status to academic publications.

Hence, any articles submitted should be regarded as meriting the scrutiny of two anonymous referees. Also, the length of articles submitted may now be within the range of 2,500 - 4,000 words. Longer articles may be accepted if the subject matter and its value to readers of the bulletin, or the strength of the research, are deemed appropriate by the editor. The revised guidance for submission of articles, to be found on the inside back cover of Planning History, takes the following form:

"All articles are refereed. Two hard copies should be sent to the editor, in addition to one in electronic form, either as attachment to email, or on a disc. These should be in the range of 2,500 - 4,000 words. They may be on any topic within the general remit of the IPHS and may well reflect work in progress. Articles should normally be referenced with superscript numbers and endnotes. Refer to recent issues for guidance on referencing and text style."

Treasurer
Please note that treasurer of the IPHS is now Dr. Michael Harrison, of the University of Central England, Birmingham. The former treasurer was Dr. David Massey of Liverpool University, to whom I extend thanks on behalf of the IPHS for his efficient and helpful work.

Any subscription enquiries or notification of changes of address for the mailing of the bulletin should be sent to Michael. He can be contacted at the following address:

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A note of thanks
The editor warmly acknowledges the help of the following for their assistance or advice over the past 2 years: Arturo Almandoz, Jackie Barton, Rob Freestone, Dennis Hardy, Robert Home, Peter Larkham, Andrew Saint, Tony Sutcliffe, Mike Synott, Nick Tiratsoo, Tatsuya Tsubaki, and Stephen Ward.

At the bi-annual IPHS conference in Helsinki in the year 2000, the IPHS Council decided to award the best and most innovative book on planning history published during the preceding two years. Entries needed to be published in English and be based on original research. Nominations were possible from publishers as well as from scholars. Anthologies, edited works and republished publications were ineligible. The members of the book prize committee included Helen Meller (University of Nottingham), Robert Freestone (University of New South Wales, Sydney), Peter Larkham (University of Central England), Niñal Perera (Bali State University, Munce USA) and Dirk Schubert, Chair (Technical University Hamburg-Harburg). Several submissions for the award were received. The committee reviewed all entries and finally made a unanimous vote for the best publication: 'Hanoi, A Biography of a City', by William S. Logan (University of New South Wales Press Ltd., Sydney, 2000, ISBN 981-402-215-2).

The winner William S. Logan has worked as a teacher, lecturer and professor of Urban Studies, Geography and Arts. He now is a member of the Royal Australian Planning Institute, member of the Asian Studies Association of Australia and President of the International Council of Museums. He also worked as advisor and consultant to UNESCO and the Australian Heritage Commission and was a member of the Australian government funded Hanoi Planning and Development project. Professor Logan now holds the position of UNESCO Chair of Cultural Heritage at Deakin University in Melbourne and is the Director of Cultural Heritage and Museum Studies. He has done research on heritage, urban history and urban conservation, cultural development and cultural tourism in Asia, especially in Vietnam, Laos and Korea. He has published numerous books and many articles particularly on the disappearing Asian city and the possibilities of protecting the urban heritage in a globalising world. Professor Logan is the editor of several journals and newsletters and has been a consultant to many institutions, especially UNESCO.

The book by William S. Logan is about a city that will celebrate its 1000th birthday in 2010. There are chapters on the pre-colonial period and the Chinese imprint, on Hanoi as a capital for French Indochina, on the period of the Japanese Interlude, on Hanoi during the Vietnam War, on Hanoi's socialist face and finally on the return of capitalism and pluralism in the new millennium. The study represents an important attempt to establish a new way of studying the evolution of a city and the people who live in it. It is argued in the book that it is by understanding this pattern that the cultural heritage embedded in Hanoi's built environment can be
identified and evaluated. The central focus is: what should be preserved from the past to inform the present. Professor Logan here takes the position of a stranger occupying a neutral, external position. As Vietnam began to open up to the West in the late 1980s, awareness of the architectural richness of the national capital Hanoi grew. Hanoi has a unique combination of Chinese influenced shop-houses, French boulevards, Soviet socialist housing and recent western-style commercial developments. Hanoi's past was influenced by the external powers of China, France, Japan, the Soviet Union, the United States and the 'West' generally. This implies that its history provides a complex pattern of cultural layering, through which certain Vietnamese aspects have demonstrated enormous resilience.

The book draws our attention to an extraordinarily under-researched area, the Asian focus on interest in the intersection of western and eastern values, spatial patterns and technologies and the consideration on how post-colonial society should address its colonial and socialist past.

Logan's publication is not purely planning history, but weaves planning into a broad scale urban history and relates it to contemporary significance.

Coping with complex social, economic and political issues, the relationship to planning and urban change is also evaluated. This makes the book relevant to urban planning scholars and students alike, but also to those engaged in the new inter-discipline of cultural heritage studies - a blend of history and geography, archaeology and anthropology, urban planning and architecture.

The book is very lively, well written and organized with excellent illustrations. It demonstrates a good grasp of planning history, not as an esoteric activity unrelated to the historical context, but one in which historical factors play a key role. It is interdisciplinary in approach and contemporary in its concerns. As the International Planning History Society (IPHS) endeavours to foster the study of Planning History worldwide the prize winning book is an excellent example for Planning History with a comparative approach.

The prize of £250 will be awarded to the winner at the IPHS conference in London Letchworth, in July 2002.

Dirk Schaubert - Hamburg

CONFERENCE REPORT

New Garden City International Conference
Tsukuba and Kobe, Japan
10th-14th September 2001

Stephen V Ward
Oxford Brookes University

This conference (actually two closely related events held in the new town of Tsukuba and the port city of Kobe) was the first ever such event in Japan devoted to the subject of the garden city. Its organiser, Takahito Saiki of Kobe Design University, has for several years been particularly interested in the garden city as a model of continuing relevance. He has conducted detailed research and lived for a time in Letchworth Garden City. It was during this period, in the course of a convivial discussion over a glass of beer with his neighbour, Maurits van Rooijen, of the University of Westminster, that the idea of a Japanese conference on the theme of the garden city was born.

To judge by the extent of interest from both sponsors and attendees, Professor Saiki found a theme that continues to be of great interest in Japan. The attendance at Tsukuba was about 200 with almost twice that number in Kobe. The programme, broadly similar though not identical in each venue, brought together speakers from east and west - Japan, Korea, Taiwan, China, Britain, the United States and Australia. It examined both the past, present and future of the garden city idea in all these, and a few other settings. The basic structure of the programme was threefold: theory, concerned with understanding the past and the present; present problems of rural areas and the city, concerned with an examination of current examples from around the world; and rural areas and the city in the twenty first century, concerned with future directions.

On the first of these themes, after the opening preliminaries, the conference at Tsukuba's state of the art conference centre heard Mervyn Miller, the well known British historian of the garden city, review the hundred years of Letchworth's planning and development. He was followed by Stuart Kenny, Director General of the Letchworth Garden City Heritage Foundation, the body currently responsible for Letchworth's development. Mr Kenny outlined the current pressures and opportunities to carry forward garden city ideals in twenty first century Letchworth. The eastern dimension was represented...
then by Hiroshi Dohi, Emeritus Professor at Tsukuba University and Professor at Kobe Design University. Professor Dohi spoke about the 38-year history of the planning and development of Tsukuba new town. The story was completed by Shoichi Akita, General Manager of the Ibaraki Corporation, who considered the future of Tsukuba new town, especially in relation to the imminent express rail connections with Tokyo.

In Kobe, the programme took its cues from the most characteristic local manifestations of the garden city in the Hanshin region, namely garden suburbs for rail commuters from Osaka developed in the early twentieth century. This session was opened with a detailed review of Japan’s encounter with the garden city idea in the early twentieth century, showing how and why Howard’s social ideals became diluted in Japanese understandings. Mervyn Miller then outlined the history of the foremost British example of the garden suburb genre at Hampstead. Katsubiko Sakamoto, Emeritus Professor at Kobe Design University, then gave a fascinating review of the practical adoption of garden suburban principles in the Hanshin region. He was followed by Hyonbee Lee, Professor at the Kyongwon University in Korea, who spoke about garden housing in Korea, focusing on the Hyangrin new town near Seoul.

The second theme on present problems and examples was developed in Tsukuba first in a paper by Ronald Izumita, master landscape planner at Irvine new town in California, who spoke about Irvine’s recent experience. Shyh Meng Huang, Professor at Taiwan University, then spoke about rural and new town planning in Taiwan. He was followed by Yong Hwan Park, professor at Hanyang University in Seoul, who spoke about the development of the planning of Korean apartment housing. China was then represented by Kuang Shi, director of the Suzhou industrial township design and research institute, who spoke about the planning of Suzhou, which is a new town of Shanghai, planned in collaboration with planners from Singapore.

In Kobe, Stuart Kennedy spoke about the relationship of profit and community in present day Letchworth garden city. (This, of course, relates to one of the central social themes, frequently forgotten, of Ebenezer Howard’s original formulation of the garden city.) The two following papers reflected a common interest in post-earthquake reconstruction. Thus Chusaku Yasuda, Professor at Kobe Design University, spoke on the town planning of Kobe and its new towns and Liang Chun Chen, Assistant Professor at Taiwan University, spoke about town planning in Taiwan. There was then a divergence from the published programme, because the advertised speaker had been unable to travel from the United States because of the disruptions following the terrorist actions of the 11th of September. For similar reasons, however, Ronald Izumita had been unable to return and so stepped into the breach, speaking about the generation of active community participation in planning, with the aid of a team of student helpers.

In Tsukuba, the final theme on the future was represented by papers by Matthew Taeccker of Peter Calthorpe Associates in California, and Stephen V. Ward, Professor at Oxford Brookes University. Matthew Taeccker spoke about the new urbanism movement and its relationship to the garden city tradition. Professor Ward took the opportunity to review the Howard legacy, identifying the underlying aspirations which we had taken from Howard’s original formulation.

In Kobe, by contrast, the final theme was dealt with at greater length, with more attention to the east Asian perspective. Thus Teitaro Kitamura, Professor at the Tokyo University of Agriculture articulated a new theory of the garden city in the context of Japan’s urban and rural planning act. Maurits van Rooijen spoke about green belts in relation to Letchworth garden city and Jong Hyun Choi, associate professor at Hanyang University, spoke about traditional geographical study and builder’s thinking in relation to the town and city in Korea. Finally Stephen V. Ward, for obscure reasons, enjoyed the unique luxury of being able to repeat the presentation he had given at Tsukuba. Matthew Taeccker then spoke about the new urbanism in relation to wider issues of sustainability.

Throughout these sessions, a wider range of participants had contributed by their introductory remarks, their questions and contributions from the floor. It now fell to Robert Freestone, associate professor at the University of New South Wales, to draw together the discussions of the previous days. Given the range of contributions, this was perhaps the most difficult role. Weaving together the different contributions, he was able to show how, despite the jettisoning of many important parts of the garden city tradition, there remained important elements which continued to have a resonance for the twenty-first century in both east and west.

A record of most of the main contributions of the conference will be published in time for the International Planning History Conference being held in July 2002 at the University of Westminster and Letchworth garden city. The book will be presented at a session held in Letchworth.
Remembering Post-War Reconstruction: Modernism and City Planning in Coventry, 1940-1962

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Introduction
In this paper we argue that the making of Modern cities in the post-war era involved attempts by planners to impose a particular 'way of seeing' on the city. We draw out the implications of this by discussing the redevelopment of Coventry city centre between 1940 and 1962, particularly the way this was represented through a series of maps, models and films. While these images and representations were seductive and powerful, we suggest that they do not tell the whole story of Coventry's redevelopment in this era, and that they need to be complemented by the stories of those who lived through this period of intensive redevelopment. Here, we seek to provide this 'view from below' using oral history interviews with residents, showing that they often challenged planners' conception of space as they sought to adapt to life in a 'new' city. The paper concludes by arguing that planning history needs to bring such different perspectives together to illuminate the complex and contested process of city planning.

Re-Thinking Reconstruction Planning
The period of intense civic rebuilding and city centre reconstruction that immediately followed the Second World War continues to hold the imagination and interest of urban geographers and planning historians both in Britain and around the world. While some of these have focused on the development of government policy during this pivotal period in state-led planning, others have examined the role of architects and planners in the planning and redevelopment of post-war British towns and cities using analyses of archival and published records. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the attention of many is drawn to the remarkable and seductive images contained in the many plans and documents that guided post-war reconstruction. Stressing both the desirability and necessity of mass reconstruction, these images and maps juxtaposed the deficiencies of the pre-war city (e.g. congestion, pollution and disorder) with the promise of an aesthetically and morally ordered 'Modern' townscape. New horizontal or vertical perspectives were used to emphasise the striking nature of the proposed townscape, and although these images were both sanitised and idealised, they seemingly exercised a remarkable hold over the public imagination in the post-war period.

Hence, while these images and maps may have been interpreted at the time as objective representations based on rational 'scientific' procedures, more recently they have been exposed as attempts to impose a particular spatial and moral order on the city. Emphasising certain facets of urban life, but repressing others, these images encapsulated a particular way of seeing implicated in the reproduction of power relations and the creation of new socio-spatial orders.

Such ideas about the scopic regimes used to imagine and represent the city feature prominently in post-structural writing on technologies of power, and the influence of theorists such as de Certeau, Foucault and Lefebvre is becoming widely evident in geographically accounts of urban change. For example, Foucault wrote of the importance of legible, ordered space in the making of Modern subjectivity, with his close attention to the panoptic regimes that underpin the evolution of building types making his work a key influence for architectural historians and geographers alike. More widely, Henri Lefebvre's work on the significance of urban space in capitalist society suggested that those who design space have a particular way of seeing 'from on high and afar'. This 'planner's eye view' creates the discursively-constructed 'representations of space' that Lefebvre contended are crucial in ensuring the domination of 'abstract' capitalist space (based on exchange values) over fully lived, spontaneous and creative space. Lefebvre accordingly outlined the importance of representations of space in seeking to imposing a (capitalist) spatial order on the rhythms and rituals of everyday life in the city:

What space signifies is dos and don'ts - and this brings us back to power. Space lays down the law because it implies a certain order - and hence also a certain disorder. Space commands bodies. This is its raison d'être.

In highlighting the role of planners and plans in this process of socio-spatial ordering, Lefebvre thus suggested that 'imagined' and 'represented' space could be as important as 'real' space in the reproduction of everyday life. Nonetheless, he argued that there was a constant tension between representations of space (the knowledges, images and discourses that seek to order space) and 'spaces of
representation' (which are created bodily by the inhabitants and users of the city), albeit that the former tended to dominate the latter.

Lefebvre's assertion that the plans and knowledge deployed by architects and planners constitute a form of control resonates with de Certeau's discussion of the strategies of (power) that, collectively, create a mode of administration. These strategies are those practices of ordering that produce un espace propre which repress 'all the physical, mental and political pollutants that would compromise it'. In essence, this renders invisible those things that architect-planners regard as 'out of place' in the city as conceived of from their 'rational', phallocentric, Cartesian perspective (Lefebvre's 'view from above'). In post-war Britain, plans for the future city – the 'city of tomorrow' – were certainly highly idealised, emphasising spaciousness, speed and cleanliness by effacing many of the complexities and ambiguities of street life. As such, post-war urban planning has been seen predominantly as the realm of the professional planner and architect, who claimed to be able to 'read' and represent the city through an objective and distanced gaze.

In the remainder of this paper we briefly elaborate on this argument by contrasting disembodied 'representations of space' with embodied 'spaces of representation' in the post-war redevelopment of Coventry city centre between the blitz of 1940 and the symbolically important consecration of the new cathedral in 1962. In the first section, we consider the form and content of the plans that offered a vision of Coventry as Modern city. While these are characteristic of the type of plan that guided post-war development in other British cities, we stress that there was not just one Coventry plan – one 'view from above' – but many. In the second section of the paper we draw on oral history interviews to explore the concrete experience of the city's development and the way that the idealised representations of planners intersected with the textured spaces of everyday life. Indeed, interviews with surviving residents suggest that attempts to re-order space according to Modern precepts were not universally successful, and that Coventry's citizens often defied the planners' attempts to repress and order certain aspects of city life. The paper thus concludes by highlighting the role that oral history, autobiography and ethnography may play in planning history by revealing experiences of Modernism.

Representations of Space – Plans for the New Coventry

While Donald Gibson is widely-identified as the key influence on the shaping of post-war Coventry, there were in fact several planning and redevelopment schemes put forward by him and his colleagues for the rebuilding of the city, the earliest dating back to the creation of the municipal Architect's Department itself, in 1938. The pressing need for planning a new city centre was at that time already evident. Coventry was booming on the back of the motor industry, and the suburban built-up area of the city had expanded dramatically during the 1930s, leading to growing problems of traffic congestion and urban blight in the commercial core. A 1936 Editorial in the Midland Daily Telegraph put it bluntly:

Coventry is now emerging from the shackles of a purely utilitarian era, ... an era of commercial revolution allied with civic stagnation ... Generations of bad planning – slums, narrow streets, overcrowding, sewers – all the trouble saved up for the future from an unimaginative past must be tackled.

The creation of the Architect's Department under Donald Gibson indicated the intention of the new Labour city council to tackle these deficiencies and pave the way for planned redevelopment. But disputes between the Architect's Department and the City Engineers (headed by Ernest Ford) meant that the former department was restricted to the design of individual buildings and street furniture with street layout deemed a matter for the engineers!

Nonetheless, by 1940 Gibson's department had sketched out new plans for the city, working largely in their own time to do so. Seeking to generate local enthusiasm for their ideas, the department mounted a publicity campaign in Coventry, culminating in the week-long Coventry of Tomorrow exhibition in May 1940. Six months later, on 14 November, Coventry suffered the first of two major aerial bombardments which reduced much of the existing city centre, and damaged two thirds of the city's housing stock. Amid scenes of some panic (and the near introduction of martial law as looting became endemic) the initial concern was with public order, but as this was restored, the need to redevelop 'boldly and comprehensively' emerged as a new mantra for the city council.

Encouraged by Lord Reith, then Minister for Public Works, the Town Clerk commissioned Gibson and Ford to work on a redevelopment plan, but they were unable to agree on several points. Two plans were therefore submitted, and Gibson's prevailed, retaining many of the features of the plans that had been exhibited in 1940.
Proposals for the redevelopment of the city underwent several iterations through wartime, and various publications offered the populace tantalising visions of 'the city that will be' (Fig. 1).

Early in 1941, Gibson's Plan for the New Coventry appeared as a pamphlet reprinted from an article in Architect and Building News. Submitted Disorder and Destruction: Order and Design, this Plan counter-posed perspective elevations of the 'new Coventry' with an aerial photograph of the pre-war city, stressing to readers that this must not happen again. A further publication showing further redevelopment proposals appeared in 1945, with the title The Future Coventry, and this accompanied a town planning exhibition held in the Drill Hall in Coventry. The imagery of both these brochures and the 1940 and 1945 exhibitions make it evident that at this time the plans for Coventry were actually remarkably fluid, and that although the broad principles were 'fixed' in Gibson's mind, the details of the plans were far from decided. To illustrate the proposals, scenographic perspectives and elevation sketches were drawn by members of Gibson's team. One of them, Percy Johnson-Marshall (later a leading figure in the GLC Architect's Department), was to recall subsequently that although some of his 'rough sketches' of 'new skylines' appeared in these published plans, he had in fact 'drawn them on a wall' in his office only 'to illustrate some of the principles of the scheme to visitors', and had not intended them to be used for publication (Fig. 2).

All of this suggests that Gibson in particular was largely unconcerned about architectural style, being more preoccupied with the general layout and coherence of the streetscape. In fact, Gibson seemed to be remarkably ambivalent about modern architectural design, believing that 'well-designed, proportioned Modern buildings can still be dull as ditchwater'. Hence, as the redevelopment of Coventry unfolded, hampered by requests, appeals and disagreements between architects and engineers, Gibson seemed less and less concerned by the appearance of individual buildings, and more concerned with attempts to enliven the townscape with 'special and interesting things'. In many ways, Gibson's attitude reveals apparent tensions at the heart of British Modernism; with the 'boredom' of Modern aesthetic being perceived by Gibson - a self-proclaimed Modernist - as dull and repetitive. Here then we see the influence of the townscape approach - later refined by Thomas Sharp and Gordon Cullen - which was...
little enamoured with 'toothpaste architecture' but concerned with monumental vistas, points of interest and the broad 'art of civic design'.

So although the plan evolved through various iterations and continued to evolve as redevelopment proceeded, it is clear that the Coventry 'plan' represents an attempt to impose a particular order on the city. Influenced by arguments of the Mars Group and CIAM, the Coventry architect's plan was a blueprint for redevelopment that tempered Le Corbusier's radical urbanism, points of interest and monumental vistas, and civic identity.

In contrast, the use of oral history methods has been relatively under-explored in planning history. Exceptions here include work which uses oral history interviews with planners and architects to explore the nuances of the planning and design process, such as John Goliff's interviews with leading figures in post-war planning practice and Danielle Voldman's analysis of post-war planning based on 'reconstructors' tales' provided by architects and decision-makers in the French Ministry for Reconstruction and Town Planning.

More recently, Ruth Finnegan has explored experiences of life in Milton Keynes by recounting the memories of those who have lived there over the last thirty years. Juxtaposing the memories of people of different class, gender, race and age, Finnegan's 'tales of the city' provide a neat contrast to the official accounts of Milton Keynes' development.

Finnegan's work demonstrates that the recounting of life histories can be a key means of establishing how people made sense of their day to day lives and their surroundings at particular times in the past. What is perhaps most crucial here is that oral history offers a valuable corrective to 'grand' theories of Modernism that subsume local and individual experiences in the interests of reifying the view from above. The geographer Kenneth Hewitt argues this point when he considers the abstract and essentially de-humanised way that World War Two bombing campaigns were documented in official histories. By including testimonies of those caught up in such disasters, he challenges what he terms 'disaster pornography' and its institutionalisation.

Hence, our interviews with those who lived through the bombing and redevelopment and Coventry shed considerable light on personal experiences of the Blitz and the way that Coventry was reconstructed. All respondents had urgent stories to tell, their desire to recount their life in the city was very obvious. Within these different stories, the impact of the destruction of the city centre on people's lives differed depending on what stage they were at in their life cycle, as well as their occupation, marital status and place of residence.

Those who were old enough to work and were working in the centre of the town – as well as those who actually lived in the city centre – were naturally affected by the devastation of Coventry in quite a different way from those who only saw it burning from a distance. For some, the destruction of the city centre was not just one of physical loss, but of personally felt pain:

On the night of the November blitz, it was like the end of the world because I went down town with a friend the next morning and I thought we'd all have to move away for ever. We were walking over bricks all through the middle of town. And well, there was nothing left.

Indeed, many familiar streets and landmarks were wiped out in one night, so that when people did go into the centre they were unable to orient themselves.

After the Blitz, the first time I went into Coventry, you did not know where you were at all. The only thing that you could eventually get an idea from was the fact that the council house clock was still there. If you could get somewhere where you could see where that was, you could more or less decide where other things used to... I can remember my husband's boss coming home on leave and coming into the town and just standing and not knowing where he was at all.

Feelings of loss and disorientation surfaced once rebuilding began. Although people had become accustomed to familiar buildings no longer being there, at least the actual street pattern had remained the same after the Blitz. Reconstruction drastically changed this, as one interviewee recalled: 'I remember watching the redevelopment of Smithfield Street because that was a street that just disappeared completely and I couldn't understand it. You know, why was it disappearing?

Many people interviewed also appeared to have regretted what they saw as 'needless' destruction of buildings during reconstruction. This was partly on account of their contribution to Coventry's townscape but mainly because buildings held specific memories. One recalled her father's reaction to destruction of some buildings in the part of the city centre where he had lived as a child. 'I
remember him telling me how upset he was about the buildings were Agers shoe shop and things is. Something was pulled down to put th em up and he had a nervous breakdown. These family adjustments were no doubt exacerbated by the chronic housing shortage in the city during the 1940s and early 1950s.

The demolition of workshops and factories that had provided work for generations in the city centre was a recurring theme. The lack of interest in rebuilding was not confined to this age group. Those who were teenagers at the time blamed their indifference on their age, as one person explained: 'I don't think when you're that young you're that much significant memory for some of the younger generation:

Well the first memory (was) standing in Broadgate waiting for a bus to go to Bedworth and there was all this activity going on of building and I got totally engrossed in it. And then - I must have been looking at it for ages - and the next minute a very exciting Mother came running up to me. She'd got on the bus and I hadn't and she was half way down Corporation Street or Bishop Street and I was still standing there engrossed in all this building that was going on!

In the immediate post-war years, however, this sort of excitement was the exception. Ambivalence about the redevelopment was much more widespread, with feelings of optimism and excitement tempered by feelings of loss or simply disinterest.

As the redevelopment unfolded, punctuated by notable events such as the completion of Broadgate House (1953) and the opening of the Upper Precinct (1955), it became clear that the planners’ vision was not shared by all residents of the city. Critics of 'an architecture of concrete and breeze blocks, with eye-like windows in iron, battlements, doorways, and cocktail lighting' began to be articulated in the local press, and the inclusion of public art in the redevelopment ridiculed: 'They kept putting little flower pots and raised beds ... but it was only to break up the concrete. It was a concrete city centre.' Official responses to this included a council notice board in the precincts, an article in the local municipal newsletter Civic Affairs proclaiming the virtues of the new buildings.

What perhaps symbolised the dissonance between planner conceptions and residents’ lives most clearly was the way the new spaces of the city came to be used. For instance, the new Broadgate traffic island was intended to be consumed visually (Fig.3), although people recalled many examples of people sunbathing or picnicking on it before the council erected railings around it:

When that island was developed that was sacrosanct. You never walked across the grass. I think if anybody did they were likely to be arrested for the breach of the peace. I remember that at some point during either a carnival or something ... somebody got up on to the statue and put various things on it. Oh dear, outcry in the newspaper.'
be interested in was ‘dogs, cinema, pubs and speedway’, a reference to the increasingly vocal demands for enhanced drinking space and leisure facilities in the city.6

Conclusion

Focusing on the redevelopment of Coventry city centre in the 1950s and 1960s, this paper has suggested that oral histories can play a significant role in adding to our understanding of Modern planning in the post-war period. However, it is dangerous to assume that these oral histories necessarily reveal the ‘truth’ of someone’s experience of the city. Instead, the act of recounting one’s experience is both selective and reflexive, with the experience of the past taking on different meanings in the light of the present. While this is an obvious limitation when employing oral history methods, when considered alongside the stories of Modernism recounted from above we begin to acquire a much better sense of the way Coventry’s redevelopment proceeded riddled by compromise and conflict.

Consequently, the paper reaffirms the importance of some of the key ideas spelt out in Lefebvre and de Certeau’s analyses of everyday life in the city, particularly their distinction between the ‘view from above’ and the ‘view from below’. Ultimately, it is necessary to examine both to understand why (and how) post-war plans for reconstruction failed, with the attempt to impose visual and spatial logic on the city contested by citizens who felt increasingly alienated from ‘their’ city. As we have shown, oral history methods offer a useful way of exploring these views from below, though in other situations their use is clearly impossible. In such cases, we have to look elsewhere for evidence of how people experienced Modernism, but the wealth of sources available – autobiographies, family histories, newspaper reports, Mass Observation Archives – suggests that there is no reason to neglect this important dimension of planning history.

NOTES


7 Ibid, p.221.


9 This desire to see the city ‘from above’ is apparently related to a particular ‘erotics of knowledge’ – see ibid, pp.190-194.


12 Midland Daily Telegraph, 310 January 1936.


14 The Home Secretary’s reaction to looting in Coventry is documented in N. Longmate, Air Raid, London: Hutchinson, 1976, pp.180-185.

15 According to Hasegawa, op cit, pp.30-32, Reith saw Coventry as a test-case for post-war planning, and wished them to pursue its programme of redevelopment boldly and comprehensively, yet Gibson felt that Reith showed little interest in the execution of the Coventry plan, with financial support from central government limited.

16 Ibid, pp.32-38.

17 Architect and Building News, Vol. 165, 1941, pp.188-95, reprinted as Plan for the New Coventry, no date (copy in Coventry City Record Office (CCRO)).
Coventry, 18 D. Gibson in October 1945 and was accompanied by a leaflet entitled "Coventry of the Future" and a publicity film called A City Re-Born.


21 Donald Gibson, handwritten memoirs, unpublished in CCRO, 1972, 623/1/1.

22 This emphasis on the visual relationships between 'new' and 'old' Coventry, and the importance of opening new vistas, was presented as a benign and common sense recognition of the need to develop a visually coherent townscape. In contrast, it might be argued that this 'way of seeing' implied the need for a particular moral, social and spatial order, and was hence implicated in power relations – see J. Jacobs, 'Heritage and development in post-Imperial London', Environment and Planning (D) – Society and Space, Vol. 12, 1994, pp.751-772.

23 For example, the retirement of Gibson in 1954, and his replacement by Arthur Ling, led to several important deviations from the 1941 plan, including the development of three high-rise 'terminal' blocks at the end of the precincts.


28 Oral history is used here to describe a broad range of qualitative interviewing techniques which encourage people to recount their life stories or provide retrospective personal testimonies of particular places or issues – see M. Somers, 'Narrative, narrative identity and social action: rethinking British working class formation', Social Science History, Vol. 16, 1992, pp.591-630.


31 On this see especially N. Thrift, 'Towards an ecology of place', in D. Massey, J. Allen, and P. Sarre (Eds.), Human Geography Today, Cambridge: Polity, 1999. More generally, this critique has encouraged social scientists and historians to take seriously the claims of post-colonial, post-modern and feminist theorists that knowledge is always written from a particular perspective, encouraging the inclusion of 'Other' voices.

32 K. Hewit, 'When the great planes came and made Ashes of our city ... Towards an oral geography of the disasters of war', Antipode, Vol. 26, 1994, pp.1-34.

33 Forty interviews of between an hour and four hours' duration were conducted in the summer of 2001 as part of an ongoing project. Modernising the City: Experiences of Urban Change in Post-War Britain, funded by The Leverhulme Trust. Respondents were recruited locally via newspapers and radio, with the majority still residing in the city. The respondents were aged from fifty upwards, with a bias towards female respondents.

34 Catherine Lilley, b. 1925, tape CL24.

35 Female respondent, b. 1919, tape PM26. Other ex-service men reported coming back to a city they did not know, mourning the loss of dear old Coventry: Walter Throne, b.1917, tape WT9.

36 Celia Grew, b. c.1938, tape CG17.

37 Lyn Clarkson, b. 1939, tape LC2.

38 For the parties involved see Hasagawa, op cit, pp.38-43.

39 Kenneth Lilley, b.1925, tape KL25.

40 Jean Miles, b. 1931, tape JM18.

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Figure 1. 'The city that will be', from D. Gibson, Plan for the New Coventry (c.1941).

Figure 2. 'New skylines', drawings by Percy Johnson-Marshall in Plan for the New Coventry (c.1941).

Figure 3. The 'new Broadgate', perspective by D. Gibson in The Future Coventry (1945).
Planning

Introduction
Planning history in Australia over the last ten years - indeed the last decade of the twentieth century - has experienced a significant growth in interest with the attendant development of an impressive body of new work worthy of bringing to the attention of an international audience. Much of the activity has revolved around a series of conferences, exhibiting a satisfying range of subjects and depth of scholarship and attracting increasing numbers of delegates including participants from overseas. As in so many areas of scholarly activity, the advent of e-mail has facilitated new forms of inter-personal connections and at the same time promoted the need for more face-to-face meetings.

A planning history focus in Australian historiography and planning has been sustained largely through informal linkages and collaborations encouraged and fostered as a result of these events, rather than through a formally constituted organisation affiliated with the International Planning History Society. The most recent of the conferences was held in Auckland early in 2002, confirming what had already been evolving toward a genuinely Australasian project.

A succession of bibliographic guides to the Australian literature have been available since the early 1980s (see section 1 below). The most recent was a "State of the Art" review (Freestone and Hutchings 1993) describing "a respectable and growing body of work" which although eclectic, nevertheless contained clear themes. A number were discussed, including colonial foundations, modern planning movements, notable planners, urban policy across different tiers of government, and design history. Several research magnets were evident, particularly Adelaide with a remarkable history of planning dating back to its colonial parkland days and the national capital of Canberra, one of the premier planned metropolises of the world. The review ended by listing some challenges for the future: "more original research, more integrated effort; a touch more national cooperation; more theory; more applied analysis; more contribution to current and emergent issues".

How has planning history fared since then? Certainly there has been a growing literature of books, scholarly articles, dissertations, conference proceedings, and reports for which a stocktake seems most timely. But have the intellectual challenges identified in 1992 been taken up? Has the plea that planning history engage with public policy and plan making been met?

The most vigorous effort has been directed to the cause of national cooperation. In 1992 there was a loose grouping of like-minded individuals in academia and practice who rarely met - at least outside of their respective states - and then only informally. Since then have come the national conferences, exhibiting a satisfying range of subjects and depth of scholarship and attracting increasing numbers of delegates including participants from overseas. As in so many areas of scholarly activity, the advent of e-mail has facilitated new forms of inter-personal connections and at the same time promoted the need for more face-to-face meetings.

Commencing with a one-day colloquium in Sydney in 1993, at which the late Gordon Cherry was the keynote speaker, three-day conferences have been held in Canberra (1995), Melbourne (1996), Sydney again in 1998 incorporated with the 8th IPHS conference, and Adelaide (2000). The 2002 Auckland conference ushered in a new era of cross-Tasman regional cooperation. Each of these events produced a substantial record of proceedings, although not all are still in print (Freestone 1993, 1998; Dingle 1996; Garnaut and Hamnett 2000; Haubof et al 2002; see section 2 below). Papers from the 1995 Canberra meeting were deposited by convenor Patrick Troy in major research and reference libraries in Australia.

In the absence of a formal organising body, responsibility for convening the national conferences has been taken up by a volunteer academic with the support of institutional colleagues. Conference themes have been determined by each set of organisers. Some have chosen a prescribed topic - "The Australian Planner" (1993), "The Australian City Future/Past" (1996), "The Twentieth Century Urban Planning Experience" (1998), "Southern Crossings" (2002) - while others have elected to elicit papers under the broadest banner of urban and planning history (1995, 2000).

In one sense, the earlier challenge for "more integrated effort" has been met by the organizers of these events in that "urban history" has been a "co-partnership" theme - since 1995 the conferences have been oriented jointly towards urban history. There has never been an exclusiveness about planning history, its edges blending into many cognate areas. This has become more evident in the last decade with significant research of collateral interest badged under other disciplinary headings: architecture, landscape architecture, history, geography, politics, cultural studies, and so on. Contributions have grown diverse as scholars from a variety of backgrounds and positions tackle historical aspects of planning issues of interest to them. The paper groupings of the 1996 Melbourne proceedings (Dingle 1996) are instructive about the cross-disciplinary diversity evident in Australian planning history:

- Planners, plans and consequences (mainstream studies of planning achievements, events and institutions)
- Rooms and buildings (studies of specific urban structures and spaces)
- People in the city (sociological and humanistic studies)
- Melbourne (clusters of place-specific papers)
- Studying the urban (more theoretical and critically-orientated papers)
- Urban open spaces
- Industry in the city (both these last headings indicating a particular convergence of interests around a
Several of the subjects discussed in Canberra and Sydney and have Melbourne were previously aired in recurred at later conferences; others have been added as the series has regional and specific city, town, suburb and locality studies; ideological planning movements (from the garden city to the new urbanism); central city and suburban studies; public spaces; heritage; housing, slums and homelessness; employment; transport; metropolitan planning; environmental sustainability; urban renewal; the planning profession and planning education; urban design, and so on.

The diverse topics listed here effectively respond to some of the lacunae identified in 1993 demonstrating that the mark of the last decade has been a widening of the research agenda. The contents of the conference proceedings reveal that planning history is a discipline in its own right but more an occasional crossroads of inter-disciplinary endeavours. They record these multiple meeting places in areas as varied as modernism, architectural theory, transport, post-colonialism, and gender studies. Methodologists accordingly run the gamut from straight narrative to the postmodern armoury of deconstruction. Through all of this one consistently growing theme has been a less technocratically apologetic planning history more sensitive to people's experiences, with oral history emerging as a key research technique (e.g., Fletcher 2002; Park 2001; Peel 1995).

The impressive collections of papers making up the published proceedings of the Australasian conferences are not the only outputs of the study of planning history over the last decade. Publications from other conferences, notably in heritage conservation, environmental, architectural and public history, along with other thematic events, have provided vehicles for disseminating research outcomes as have specialist journal articles and chapters in books dealing with urban history, cultural studies and planning. A related growth area is local history where a burgeoning literature has seen planning increasingly woven into mainstream historical accounts of suburban and town growth.

Several major texts have appeared. The Australian Metropolis: A Planning History (Hannett and Freestone 2000) takes a truly national view from the beginning of European settlement to the present day. Adopting a largely chronological approach and focusing on the evolution of metropolitan planning, it is a collaborative work with authors drawn from five states or territories. Australian Urban Planning: New Challenges, New Agendas (Gleeson and Low, 2000) concentrates on the challenges to planning at the highest levels of policy formulation since World War 11, subtly illustrating the essential role of the historian in unravelling the twists and turns of public administration within parliamentary democracies. Most of the major texts on Australian urban development that have appeared since the early 1990s address historical origins and precedent in some way (e.g. Forster 1999; Troy 1995, and others noted in section 3 below).

Before 1992, the only real substantive historical overview of an Australian state or city was for South Australia. Since then, sizeable monographs have also appeared on Darwin (Gibson 1997) and Sydney (Ashton 1993). Petrow (1995, 1996, 1997a) has contributed a significant body of literature on Hobart and the Tasmanian experience generally. These studies have been complemented by in-depth evaluations of the planning, design and community development of specific places, including the model suburb of Colonel Light Gardens (Garnaut 1999) and the new town of Elizabeth (Peel 1995) in South Australia, the planned mining town of Yallourn in Victoria's Gippsland (Fletcher 2002) and the modern urban centre of Joondalup north of Perth (Stannage 1996). Canberra continues to attract a considerable literature ranging from the late Sir John Overall's 1993 personal recollections of its early days as Sir Robert Menzies' ideal city, through to John Reps' Canberra 1912 (1997) which documents the extent entries in the original international design to a posthumously-published urban design history by the late Paul Reid (2002). The most distinctive contributions are by Peter Proudfoot, notably in The Secret Plan of Canberra (1994), which links design with esoteric notions of mysticism, spirituality, and cosmology.

Walter Burley and Marion Mahony Griffin, authors of the first Canberra plan, continue to attract a disproportionate attention because of the richness, artistry, and impenetrability of so much of their work and its intersection with contemporary issues of gender, creativity, conservation and national identity. Much of the published literature comes from architectural historians and landscape architects, but the Griffins' town designs, suburban plans, landscape art, and heritage interventions have been more deeply explored by scholars such as Donald Dunbar, Diane Firth, Ken Taylor, Christopher Vernon, and James Weirick (e.g., see chapters in Hobbs and Navarette 1998; Watson 1998).

Unavoidably, by its nature, planning history must be as much about the evolution of the planning profession as about processes, policies and products. Australia still has nothing like Gordon Cherry's definitive The Evolution of Town Planning in Britain (1974) which melds the planning history of the United Kingdom with that of the Royal Town Planning Institute. Notwithstanding, recent years have seen similar though more modest initiatives in Western Australia (Hiller 1997), South Australia (Hutchings 2001) and nationally in journalist Bruce Wright's Expectations of a Better World: Planning Australian Communities (2001) marking the 50th anniversary of the Royal Australian Planning Institute.

Public awareness and knowledge of planning and its place in Australian history have been promoted through the 1990s by the inclusion of entries on town planning events, institutions, organisations, places and people in key reference texts. These include the Australian Dictionary of Biography, the Northern Territory Dictionary of Biography (1992), the Oxford Companion to Australian History (2000, revised), the Wakefield Companion to South Australian History (2001), and the forthcoming Oxford Companion to Australian
Organized into five sections: previous bibliographic guides, the national 1993 survey of Freestone and proceedings so as not to unduly and representative texts. We avoid individually citing contributions to the national history is now beginning to inform a spectrum of concerns beyond the academy: suburban and place guides, heritage studies, designation of conservation precincts, planning policy, not to mention government decision-making (Hutchings 1998).

We have assembled this bibliographic guide as a convenient starting place both for local scholars and for an international readership interested in comparative Australian conditions. While we have tried to be as complete as possible in our survey of literature, the titles inventoried are by no means comprehensive. The primary motivation has been bibliographic and descriptive, looking to historic precedents for contemporary parallels) as central to planning practice, the rise of heritage issues (Marsden 2000), and a generally closer community scrutiny of the built environment. Planning history is now beginning to inform a spectrum of concerns beyond the academy: suburban and place guides, heritage studies, designation of conservation precincts, planning policy, not to mention government decision-making (Hutchings 1998).

Our approach concentrates on major and representative texts. We avoid individually citing contributions to the series of Australasian conference proceedings so as not to unduly lengthen the list. All entries postdate the 1993 survey of Freestone and Hutchings. The bibliography is organized into five sections: previous bibliographic guides, the national Australasian conference proceedings, books and monographs, published papers, including book chapters and those in general conference collections, and doctoral dissertations.

1. PREVIOUS BIBLIOGRAPHIC GUIDES


2. CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS


3. BOOKS AND MONOGRAPHS


David Jones, (1997) Designed Landscapes of South Australia


4. ARTICLES, BOOK CHAPTERS AND CONFERENCE PAPERS


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Australian Planner, Vol. 35 No. 2, pp. 81-89.


David Hedgecock and Oren Yifatshel, (1994) 'Planning the West: One Hundred Years of Planning in Western Australia', Planning Perspectives, Vol. 9 No.3, pp. 297-319.


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5. DISSERTATIONS


NOTES


2 The Auckland conference delegates accepted the proposal of Dr Guenter Lehmann, School of Architecture and Building, Deakin University at Geelong (a regional city outside Melbourne), to convene the February 2004 conference.


6 Our thanks to a number of colleagues in compiling this bibliography: Ray Bunker, Diane Firth, Meredith Fletcher, Julia Gatley, David Nichols, Stefan Petrov, Peter Proudfoot, Ken Taylor, and Christopher Vernon.


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The Six Planning Goals of Milton Keynes: A Third Decade Report Card

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Introduction

Just over thirty years ago, in 1970, The Plan for Milton Keynes set out six ambitious goals for the development of the last of Britain’s New Towns (MKDC). This report evaluates the success of those goals in relation to the current reality of the city.

There have been a number of excellent retrospective looks at Milton Keynes published in recent years but this view differs in some key ways. First of all many of the other appraisals are clearly based on hindsight. Clapson and his colleagues focused on ‘shortcomings of the Plan which became evident as the new city evolved” (1998, p. viii). Edwards declared that his was “a 1999 summary, not a contemporary one” (2001, p. 89). Since policy making calls on planners to set goals at the beginning, it is important, at least sometimes, to look at those original directions and gauge their impact without introducing values and knowledge that evolved subsequently. We need to do this in order to improve our own goal setting ability which now often goes under the name of “visioning” (Shipley 1998, 1999, 2000, 2002). This evaluation also differs from previous writing in attempting to take a fresh look at the original documentation and compare it to observations and published research without involving any discussion of the personalities involved, as important as human dynamics may be in other evaluations. Finally, this is a North American perspective which may be of interest since Milton Keynes admittedly has much in common with many US and Canadian developments (Clapson 1999, p. 287).

The Six Planning Goals of Milton Keynes

The two volume, 1970 plan for Milton Keynes not only outlined the general development principles but also
detailed the six goals of the development process:

- Opportunity and freedom of choice
- Easy movement and access, and good communications
- Balance and variety
- An attractive city
- Public awareness and participation
- Efficient and imaginative use of resources

These goals were the main guides that stood above the design goals (Edwards (Clapson 1999, pp. 290 & 296) and others. Their broad nature intentionally allowed for interpretation in both physical and social planning. The goals were to be comprehensive, applying to all aspects of daily life and there was a conscious decision make them flexible (Edwards 2001, p. 93). They were also to be adaptable to future technological, economic, and social changes in a manner that previous new towns and existing towns could not (Clapson 1997).

Analysis of Goals

Opportunity and Freedom of Choice

The first goal was to provide the residents of Milton Keynes with opportunity and freedom of choice in all aspects of living and services offered by the new city. Technological, social, and economic trend analyses were completed to ensure that the expected applications of this goal would continue to provide opportunity and freedom of choice both in the present, and in the foreseeable future. The Plan identified, among other aspects, three important areas of application of this goal, education, work, and housing (MKDC 1970, Vol. 1, p. 13-14).

The desire of the city to accommodate multiple advanced educational facilities resulted in Milton Keynes being the home to four universities, one business school, one college, and three advanced training facilities. Opportunity and freedom of choice was also to be provided in primary and secondary education. Today, with over eighty primary and secondary schools, several independent schools and one Japanese school, it is undeniable that Milton Keynes offers a wide variety of educational opportunities to its residents (The Milton Keynes Planning Manual 1992, p. 106; Milton Keynes Area Resource Pack c/1999, 4.2).

Employment was the second key area for freedom of choice. Part of the reason behind this was the notion, clearly expressed in earlier government policy, that if a variety of occupations were available a greater variety of people would be attracted (Ministry of Town and Country Planning 1946). It was hoped that the population would be representative of the nation in terms of economic status, age, and race, unlike the imbalance of many other new towns. Milton Keynes grew quickly and steadily and had attracted 3,500 new companies and over 92,000 jobs by 1997 (Bendixson and Platt 1992, p. 185; Facts on Milton Keynes 1998).

Not everyone agrees that success in terms of choice in housing style and tenure has been achieved. Edwards declares "that Milton Keynes is not the place it might have been" (2001, p. 93). He cites inappropriate densities and poor design and blames private developers and rigid government regulations (Edwards, 2001, p. 92). While there may always have been better results the question remains whether the originally stated goals were reached. It appears that Milton Keynes has been able to offer reasonable opportunity and freedom of choice in education, employment, and housing as envisioned by the original Plan.

Easy Movement and Access and Good Communications

The second goal of the original Plan was to offer easy movement, access, and good communication within Milton Keynes, and to other locations. This embodied the desire for Milton Keynes to remain adaptable and to allow for future technological, economic, and social change. The grid road and pedestrian "redway" trail system is more typical of parts of North America where green field development generally occurred within the framework of the original 18th and 19th century road network, usually surveyed into mile square blocks. In Milton Keynes this pattern was intended to offer congestion free transport, whether private or public, mechanised or on foot and has succeeded for the most part in providing quick and easy access throughout the city.
The flexibility and adaptability of the network was demonstrated in the late 1990s when there was concern over projected increases in traffic to city centre. Quick consultation and action created a plan that has already shown impressive results (City takes lead... 2000). Public transit use to and from the core has increased while at the same time private car use to and from the core has decreased. Similarly, action has been taken to address the potential dangers, especially for women, of the pedestrian underpasses (Clapson 1999, p. 293).

Public transit service has not entirely lived up to the aspirations of the original Plan. The first decade and a half of service was plagued by high operating costs, inconvenience and low ridership, 10% rather than the 20% hoped for originally (City takes lead... 2000; Finnegan 1998). The Development Corporation was unable to turn the failing public transit system around. Deregulation eventually began to rejuvenate transit with private commercial interests creating an efficient, easy to use, revenue generating system (Clapson 1999, p. 290; Banister et al. 1997, p. 163). There is even improving service for mothers with prams and disabled people but public transit has a long way to go (The Big Cleanup 1999).

Exceptionally high rates of car ownership, as much as 10% above the national average, seem to have been both a cause and an effect of transportation problems in Milton Keynes (Banister et al. 1997). The fast convenient roads, relatively low densities and dispersed nature of the city made car travel attractive while relatively high incomes made it affordable (Clapson 1999, p. 291). As a result a balance between public and private transport has not been achieved. The inter-city connectivity, on the other hand, has achieved its goal. Given the fact that the city is situated in the most important transportation corridor in the country it is not surprising that easy motorway, rail, and air access is provided to and from Milton Keynes.

In terms of good communication, the city is also a success story. With what now appears as amazing foresight the original Plan predicted the future of electric, telecommunications and cable requirements (MKDC 1970, Vol. 2, p. 348). As a result underground services were installed that are still meeting the city's needs facilitating a much higher than average home computer use in Milton Keynes (Clapson 1999, p. 297). While public transit has been disappointing, all the other transportation and communication goals have been met.

Balance and Variety

The third goal was expected to provide Milton Keynes with a balanced and varied population. This social aspect was a response to the nature of previous new towns, which were viewed as communities built with government funds that catered to certain groups. The first goal of opportunity and freedom of choice in employment and housing were designed to help create this community of diverse people without unreasonable segregation based on economic status.

Despite the achievement of a fair degree of choice, however, Milton Keynes has developed as a town that is for the most part young and affluent. Today 77% percent of the population is below fifty, compared to 68% nationally. Only 11% of the population are retired, compared to 18% nationally (Population Bulletin 2000). Milton Keynes' people are not only young, but also better off than the national average. A study of shopping habits in Milton Keynes showed that "the Centre shoppers are part of one of the youngest and most affluent populations in the UK" (Milton Keynes Area Resource Pack c1999, 9:2). "The core age group is 25-44", account for "47% of all visitors", and "spend over 500 million pounds a year" (Milton Keynes Area Resource Pack c1999, 9:2). This illustrates that Milton Keynes has been unsuccessful in attracting a representative population based on age and economic status. The young and affluent nature of Milton Keynes may have been beyond the Plan's control from the start. Typically young adults are less attached to location, and therefore, as companies migrated to Milton Keynes young adults were more likely to relocate and to be rewarded with pay raises.

An Attractive City

To create an attractive city was the fourth goal. Simply stated this was to ensure that all of the attributes of Milton Keynes, its parks, natural features, houses, places of business, roads, and preserved features were attractive and portrayed the city positively.

Four thousand acres of landscaped parks, natural areas, and trails were developed or maintained and sixteen lakes were incorporated within the city (Milton Keynes Area Resource Pack c1999, 6:1). Low densities ensure that few buildings rise above the tree canopy. While each grid square developed as a singular unit each is different in building style, density, and overall atmosphere. Chief Architect and Planner of Milton Keynes from 1976-76, Derek Walker, set out to create "a temple of talent" in the architecture and design pool and to ensure innovative and aesthetic buildings (Bendixson and Platt 1992, p. 95). Critics are not unanimous in their opinion on the success of public building design in Milton Keynes. While in their Guide to English architecture, Pevsner and Williamson praise much of it (1994, pp. 339-40), residents are often much less enthusiastic (Clapson 1999, p. 294).

The grid road system, however, did not initially help to transmit the image of Milton Keynes as an attractive city (Walker 1982). The immature plantings along the grid roads have been blamed for the right-of-ways being out of scale and for the roads being generally unattractive (Edwards 2001). This situation has not yet changed despite the fact the plantings are now approximately thirty years old. A further criticism is that the frequent roundabouts are disruptive, and that the
repetitive planting produces poor navigation aids for drivers. There is little sense of place or any glimpses at the city hiding behind the trees. From a North American perspective, comparing Milton Keynes to typical suburban grids in Canada and the US is arguably more apt than measuring them against the traditional British towns. In this light the tree-lined roads in Milton Keynes look relatively good and it is unlikely that people would like a series of traffic lights if they replaced the roundabouts.

Efforts have been made to preserve interesting buildings and features in Milton Keynes, however, given the area was predominantly rural before development, there are few readily visible instances of preserved features. The gesture of saving a significant oak tree in Central Milton Keynes does show concern for existing features, yet the commercial slant to the preservation diminishes its integrity (The oldest resident 1999, p. 3). Although Milton Keynes cannot be faulted for its former rural nature, the preservation efforts explained in the Plan have had only a marginal effect on increasing attractiveness.

The final aspect of an attractive city was the aesthetic value of Central Milton Keynes. The two new major structures recently added to the core have definitely helped improve the attractiveness and sense of place in the city centre. The Theatre and Gallery and Sports Village Xscape are distinctly different from the modernist architecture that makes up the remainder of the core. Unfortunately, buildings in Central Milton Keynes have historically been restricted to relatively low heights (McCarthy 2000). The intensive tree plantings and mall style parking servicing the offices, commercial facilities, and amenities tend to make both the pedestrian and the passenger feel out of touch with the city. The new developments in Central Milton Keynes are using parking garages to force parking upwards, instead of allowing it to spread across the landscape. Hopefully, given more intensified urban developments in Central Milton Keynes, such as the theatre districts, the city will be able to promote a more urban image that will help to better define Milton Keynes and thus improve its attractiveness (English Partnerships 1999, p. 25).

Although by no means an ugly place, the potential exists for Milton Keynes to be a much more attractive city. Improvements to the grid road landscapes and the urban feel of the city centre, would definitely help to improve its overall attractiveness.

Public Awareness and Participation

The fifth goal was to promote public awareness and participation. The Plan realised that sufficient information would need to be provided to ensure that residents could take part in the development of their community and make informed decisions regarding their interactions with the city. One method reported as being effective is the Corporation's Neighbourhood Development program created to "provide a link between the people who plan and build the city and those who come to live in it" (The Milton Keynes Planning Manual 1992, p. 137). Neighbourhood planners work closely with Parish Councils and local residents on planning issues to determine the best options with the aim of achieving buy-in to developments from local residents. Examples of this system working with regard to resident concerns about design issues in the Netherfield area of Milton Keynes are reported in Clapson's reflections (1999, p. 295).

Milton Keynes has been shown to be an active, participating city, as over 50% of the residents belonged to at least one social group in the mid 1990s (Clapson 1997, p. 23). Various types of participative activity have also been facilitated by the provision in each grid of a "community house" to be used for meetings" (The Milton Keynes Planning Manual 1992, p. 137). Thus, given the effective Neighbourhood Development program and the current activity level of Milton Keynes' residents, the goal of public awareness and participation appears to have been satisfied.

Efficient and Imaginative Use of Resources

Milton Keynes has been recognised for its "leadership in the field of energy efficient buildings" (Milton Keynes Area Resource Pack c1999 1992, 1:3). The Corporation actively promoted low energy housing designs through the development of The Milton Keynes Energy Park. The Energy Park, when complete will consist of over 1200 houses that will meet a "high energy performance standard based on the National Home Energy Rating (NHER) scheme" (The Milton Keynes Planning Manual 1992, p. 98). The successful results of the first houses resulted in the decision to build future developments to the same level. Extra support for efficient and imaginative use of resources comes from the National Energy Foundation, which chose Milton Keynes for its headquarters, (Milton Keynes Area Resource Pack c1999 1992, 6:2).

Conclusion

All of the goals outlined in the original Plan for Milton Keynes have achieved a degree of success. In fact, the goals of opportunity and freedom of choice in education, employment and housing; easy movement and access, and good communications; attractive parkland; public awareness and participation; and efficient use of resources all seem to have been fulfilled. The goals of balance between private and public transit, variety of age and income status in the population, and attractive roads and buildings have not entirely succeeded.

With any development there are variables beyond the developers' control. In the case of balance and variety, the very nature of a new town development may have made the attainment of the goal next to impossible. Conflict between goals may not have been obvious when they were originally conceived. With regard to the attractiveness of the city, the goal has been elusive in part
because the need for easy movement and access overrode the need to provide an entirely aesthetically pleasing environment. The need for efficient transport was clearly regarded as more important to the functioning of the city than provision of attractive roads on which to drive.

So what can we conclude from evaluating the Milton Keynes of today against the six original goals set out in the 1970 Plan? The city has achieved over half of them in the first three decades while remaining flexible in adapting to modern issues. Milton Keynes was able to overcome most of the shortcomings of other post-World War II new towns. Other retrospective critiques have shown good ways to improve the city’s situation but those proposals have the advantage of knowing things the original policy makers did not. From the standpoint of planning history it can be argued that the case of Milton Keynes is an example of the efficacy of long range, comprehensive planning, where fairly specific goals are set out and adhered to in the implementation plan. Since a great deal of long range planning today begins with “visioning,” which at least in part is supposed to involve goal setting, the lessons from Milton Keynes can be useful (Shipley & Newkirk 1999; Shipley 2001). In the final analysis, however, it is the close to 200,000 people who “voted with their feet” to live in Milton Keynes who are the best judges of the plan’s success.

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NOTES


University of Luton Press, Luton, Beds, UK.


For several decades now, the restructuring of derelict docks and waterfronts in inner cities has been taking place on a world wide scale, from Antwerp to Zebrugge, from Brisbane to Yokohama. The central waterfronts of these cities have since been changed considerably. Redundant and derelict port areas and waterfronts are one of the greatest challenges for town planners. They offer an immense opportunity on a medium to long term basis for new uses like tourism, housing and offices to be established and help their reintegration into the urban fabric. The reasons and problems of revitalising land formerly occupied by the port and its related industries are similar in many seaports, but the aims, planning systems, financing and scale is very different.

Changing economic circumstances and the trend away from transshipment on the one hand, and profitability and employment on the other, can be seen in all world ports. The type of work in ports has changed (de-casualisation) and often the port has moved away from the city center seawards. Containerisation and computerisation accelerated the rationalisation of transshipment and spatial relocation of functions which used to be bound to the port. Seen in this context, the areas where port and city meet have undergone severe changes in land use, economic activity and built environment. The traditional port with its narrow finger-piers, multi-purpose terminals and quay-side warehouses could not meet the new standards. Quay-side storage and warehouses, sheds used for temporary storage protected from the weather, are no longer necessary.

Derelict port zones, waterfront areas and water related sites are now held in high esteem and a special interest in these places has emerged recently. Journalists describe their attractiveness and the pleasure taken in lingering in these spaces, and emphasise the success of their new use and revitalisation. Professional journals, conferences, lobbies, developers, architects, urban planners, geographers and politicians have made the subject a point of emphasis in its own right. Discussion on suitable and sustainable strategies to deal with the potential of these areas has led to a controversial debate concerned with practical planning as well as theoretical issues, about aims and priorities.

This volume illustrates revitalisation projects of derelict port areas and waterfronts as seen from diverse viewpoints and various discipline specific approaches. Projects are examined from the viewpoint of different protagonists (planners, architects, port economists, researchers) and brought into context of urban development politics. The diversity of contributions reflects the different analytical and planning approaches. It is not just a matter of architectural design, but of a complex set of planning, institutional, political, client related, economical, ecological, legal and financial questions. Inter-disciplinary work is a necessary precondition for this approach and a more concentrated discussion between theory and practice are urgently needed.


required. It is the first German publication presenting waterfront redevelopment projects located in seaports on four continents. The publication is aimed at students, architects, planners, historians, geographers, developers and politicians who are, on various levels and with a specific interest, involved in questions concerning the revitalisation of derelict ports and waterfronts worldwide.


During the course of the Second World War, many cities in Britain and Japan were badly damaged by enemy bombers. The destruction caused terrible suffering, but also triggered hopes for a better future. Haphazard urban development in the past had bequeathed an unhappy legacy. Cities were disfigured by poor transport systems, overcrowding, lack of amenity, and ugliness. There was no need to repeat such mistakes. A new emphasis on rationality and aesthetics could produce very different results. The cities of the future might be places of airiness and light, of efficiency and joy, of work but also satisfying leisure. The key requirement was that reconstruction needed to be planned, because it was only planners who had the imagination and skills to see how change should be engineered.

This book is one of the first systematic attempts to trace, in detail and comparatively, how the dreams of a better urban future fared in the harsh reality of the postwar world. It deals with the planners themselves, and their ideas, but places planning in context, and so also discusses how other important players - politicians, vested interests and the public at large - participated in the rebuilding process. Moreover, it ranges across an unusually broad span of individual case studies, embracing conurbations like Tokyo and London, as well as smaller places like Portsmouth and Maebashi. The end product is a comprehensive and provocative portrait of how British and Japanese cities came to be eventually rebuilt in the first postwar decade, their similarities and differences, and the range of factors that proved most important in shaping their destinies.


Post-war reconstruction planning is an increasingly studied subject. Dr. Peter J. Larkham and Dr. Keith D. Lilley have made a comprehensive and timely survey of post-war reconstruction planning. This book tells us about the existence of plans, how to find them, and it provides rich information about planners. It also provides rich references of current (or secondary) works on reconstruction planning (including overseas collections). Therefore, this book is quite useful as a guidebook not only for established researchers but also for new researchers.

This book mainly takes the form of a bibliography. The organisation of the data allows for useful comparisons. The period dealt with is 1939-1952, that is, when the comprehensive planning system was established in the 1940s by the war-time Coalition and Labour Government. There are nine sections in this book:

1. Introduction: a context for studying wartime and post-war reconstruction plans

The authors point out the followings with showing Tables in this section:

Many of the plan authors were primarily architects rather than town planners, and a number were linked through studying or teaching at the UK's oldest academic department in the field, the Department of Civic Design at the University of Liverpool. Consultants with experience and reputation were generally too expensive for local authorities to employ. There was a major concentration in 1944-5 and a significant tail after 1946 in the number of products by each planning consultant. There were eventually several hundred of these plans - far more than the number of severely bombed-damaged towns. Meanwhile, the character of plans had been changed significantly by about 1951-2, after the new requirements of the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act. That is, the 1947 Act promoted a rather different form of development plan, intended to indicate 'the manner in which the local planning authorities propose that land in the area should be used' [1947 Act, s.5(1)].

Those plans' contemporary evaluation, and how the plans were reviewed at that time, can be seen in the following related journals; Town Planning Review, Journal of the Town Planning Institute, Architects' Journal The Builder, Architectural Review, Architect and Building News, The Listener, New Statesman and Nation, and Country Life. But there are other sources to help us understand the planners. For town planner's biographies, the Dictionary of National Biography, obituaries in newspaper and professional journals can be very helpful.
Finally, as a clue to find the plans, a further possibility is the British Library, RIBA Library and local libraries. In some cases, plans exist both as formal planning documents and as smaller ‘public’ versions, exhibition brochures, and so on. We must remember that the status of these plans varied. The following sections give us a bibliography with rich references:

2. UK wartime and immediate post-war ‘reconstruction’ plans
   2-1. Commissioned plans by consultants and expert bodies
   2-2. Local authority plans (including committee report)
   2-3. Publicity material, including exhibition guides
   2-4. Unofficial plans

3. Social surveys etc informing the plan-making process

4. A sample of UK large-scale (regional/country) plans

5. A sample of overseas reconstruction/post-war plans by UK planners

6. For comparison: a sample of UK pre-1939 plans

7. Published literature on reconstruction planning
   7-1. Contemporary
   7-2. More recent scholarship
   7-2.1. Recent contextual works: the social, cultural, economic and political background to reconstruction.
   7-2.2. Recent contextual works: the social, cultural, economic and political background to reconstruction.
   8. Biographical works on the planners

9. Non-UK reconstruction plans and related publications

For the new researcher, and for those not from Britain, this book raises some interesting and important issues. For example, just how much ‘reconstruction’ was there? The sources listed here will help us answer this question. What did the term ‘reconstruction’ mean toward the creation of a post-war new Britain? Did it only mean building a New Jerusalem? ‘Reconstruction’ can be estimated from various viewpoints: physical, social, economic, political and cultural reconstruction. For this purpose, it is worthwhile focusing on the war-time Coalition and Labour Government’s contribution during that time in historical context. Also, this book contains much to open up the relationship between planners, politics and the public. Were planners ‘utopians’ or ‘dictators’ or both or neither? How far had their plans been realised? On this last point, for example, this book gives us beneficial information, but regrettably the authors leave out some current secondary works on British reconstruction planning.

Lastly, we must not forget, as the authors mention, the fact that this book owes its existence to the specialist dealer, Mr. Peter Inch, who collects and sells plans in his regular catalogue. His catalogue is a useful source for those authors mention, the fact that this book contains much to open up the relationship between planners, politics and the public. Were planners ‘utopians’ or ‘dictators’ or both or neither? How far had their plans been realised? On this last point, for example, this book gives us beneficial information, but regrettably the authors leave out some current secondary works on British reconstruction planning.

In Digging People Up for Coal: A History of Yallourn, Meredith Fletcher skilfully interweaves a series of themes to tell a remarkable story. She invites the reader to explore not only the conception, development, operation and obituration of the Australian coal mining town of Yallourn (1921) in Victoria’s Latrobe Valley but also the intimacies of its lifestyle and the tenacity and initiative of its residents in finding ways to perpetuate their place. The easy-to-read and flowing narrative, adapted from the author’s PhD thesis, brings to light and life a vast array of information from archival and published sources including colourful testimonies and anecdotes from oral history interviews. Fletcher’s approach, attention to detail and objectivity as an ‘outsider’ allows her audience to become well acquainted with her subject.

Yallourn is introduced as a modern and model interwar industrial garden town intended as a showcase of contemporary town planning, architectural and engineering ideas. Fletcher carefully explains the intent of the founding State Electricity Commission (SEC) to establish an environment that would shape and sustain a contented and productive workforce. She outlines Yallourn’s inspiration — the physical plan in the British garden city model and the industrial enterprise in the European notion of the ‘machine aesthetic’ that emphasised scientific order, efficiency and harmony. The modernist and model themes recur and are reassessed at critical points in its rise and demise. These include the post World War 2 expansion of the Yallourn Power Station and consequent development of a new settlement at Newborough, and growth of the Latrobe Valley industrial region.

Several chapters, notably ‘Living and Working in the Machine’ and ‘Control and Resistance’, compare the planners’ goals with the realities, and ironies, of living in Yallourn. Housing, social practices and the evolution of community facilities and organisations are discussed and moments of struggle and camaraderie revealed. Fletcher draws on the stories of many individual residents effectively situating her audience as closely as possible to the routines, sites, events and situations described. She presents workplaces, dwellings, local groups and buildings; the Brown Coal Mine and the Haunted Hills settlements, home to SEC workers unable to raise the rent for company housing; discloses the issues of gender evident in the industrially-focused town and alerts the reader to the invasive presence of black coal dust in every private and public space in the town. In these chapters and elsewhere Fletcher forcefully exposes the controlling influence of the SEC, hard-nosed founder, landlord and administrator, and the nature and significance of external events, precipitated by bushfires in 1944, that fostered the rise...
Dancing People Up for Coal poignantly reveals residents' affection for Yallourn, how they made it their home and their place and how they reacted to its demolition. It examines grief in relation to a site of personal attachment recounting how Yallourn residents fought to save but eventually lost every physical aspect of their attachment. Significantly it focuses on the positives that emerged from their loss of dissident local voices and a softened administrative style. Digging People Up for Coal contributes meaningfully to resident initiatives. This is a book especially for the people who knew Yallourn but also for those with a wider interest in Australian twentieth century planning, industrial and social history.

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