Book Reviews

Transport Planning (2nd edn)

David Banister, London and New York: Spon Press, 2002

As Patsy Healey [1] observes, every field of endeavour has its history of ideas and practices, its traditions of debate. This ‘store’ provides intellectual resources, but it may also lock perceptions and understandings into a particular mould and, thus, constrain progress. The second edition of David Banister’s book offers a scholarly examination of the store of concepts, tools and resources relating to transport planning in the UK. It provides a thorough examination of the processes through which transport planning has interacted – or not interacted – with the changing requirements of policy-makers. The emphasis is on passenger transport and on land-based modes, but there are references to planning for airports and air transport (e.g. to the Roskill Inquiry, pp. 56–60). These might have been expanded to inform more fully the current debate on how planners should respond to demand for air travel, especially in the wake of deregulation. The author reflects on fundamental problems for theory and practice that have become all too apparent over the past decade: a paradigm shift that is long overdue. This leads to a more speculative discussion of where this may be leading and what society and policy-makers at different levels of government will require of transport planners.

The book is divided into two sections. In the first, chapters 1 to 6 provide a retrospective analysis of the past four decades, especially the rise and eventual fall of the ambitious aim to model and forecast patterns of movement: a ‘value-free’ technocratic perspective to guide transport investment and facilitate further growth. The second section opens with a welcome review of approaches during the same period in Germany, France, the Netherlands and the USA, comparing responses to similar transport dilemmas in the context of globalizing trends and the transition to a knowledge-based economy. Chapters 8 to 10 offer a ‘prospective analysis’ of the key issues for the foreseeable future. The preface suggests that the book was written primarily as an overview for students of transport planning and related fields, especially land use planning, development and public policy. Would-be, as well as current practitioners and researchers, are clearly important audiences for the messages it contains and, as a textbook, *Transport Planning* is appropriately structured with succinct summaries of complex arguments arising from the literature. These are augmented by tables of key points and chronologies (e.g. ‘the evolution of the debates in planning theory’, p. 127) and more discursive sections of comment. Indeed, for some more passive-minded students this may be
a little too comprehensive and helpful; perhaps there is scope to add some more open-ended questions that would stimulate further critical discussion.

Following a synopsis of the key drivers of demand in the age of mass car ownership, consideration is given to the rise of the ‘systems approach’ to transport planning in the 1960s and 1970s. This emphasizes the disturbing point that it evolved without any clear theoretical foundations, yet few questioned the assumption that ‘solutions’ would emerge from synthesis of laws, equations and models based on collection, analysis and interpretation of data on historical trends. The unreconstructed Transport Planning Model (TPM) became increasingly irrelevant as intervention was rejected in favour of marketization and privatization in the 1980s and with acceptance of the New Realism that demand for road space must be managed [2]. Research pioneered more appropriate tools, but these were not developed and applied to mainstream practice. A new chapter (5) on ‘contemporary transport policy’ (1992–2002) provides a well-balanced assessment of policies for sustainable transport and how public attitudes to the car (and airplane) must change if these are to become reality. It also examines critically the wave of enthusiasm for integrated transport that would be ‘Better for Everyone’ [3], and the significance of the ‘Ten Year Plan’ [4] under New Labour. He rightly argues that this must be considered in the context of a 30-year backlog of under-investment and the difficulties of apportioning risk and responsibility through Public–Private Partnerships. This critical theme is taken up again in chapter 9, with a thoughtful review of the changing role and prospects for transport planning, especially to negotiate key relationships between the market and the state. Chapter 10 stresses the ethical dimension of transport planning, including honesty over the limitations of analysis.

A year is a long time, given the vicissitudes of UK transport policy, but two developments post-publication reinforce Professor Banister’s observations concerning the challenge of finding the Third Way (pp. 117–23). In chapter 9 (pp. 261–2), he argues that social need should be given a higher priority, as many decisions have transport implications and consequences for social exclusion. The Social Exclusion Unit [5] have since announced a new framework to address more systematically people’s problems with transport and the location of employment and key services, including education and healthcare. Local Authorities must also incorporate ‘Accessibility Planning’ in the next round of Local Transport Plans (2006–11). This is indeed a welcome initiative, but its success will depend on the ability of transport planners to work closely with land use planners and engage a wide range of external agencies. The Conclusions (p. 273) refer to the growth in air travel at rates of 5–6% per annum and the costs in terms of energy consumption and emissions of CO₂ and NOx. This raises important questions of whether to go forward by increasing supply or by managing demand. The White Paper, The Future of Aviation [6], published 2003, accepts in principle that aviation should ‘meet the external costs that it imposes’. Nevertheless, it confirms that UK policy favours the former, as failure to accommodate growth ‘could have serious economic consequences’. Along with congestion charging in London (anticipated on p. 231) and other key issues, these will no doubt provide lively topics for further debate in the third edition.

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Notes and references


Helsinki – The Innovative City, Historical Perspectives

447 pp., hardback, £29.95, ISBN 9 5174 6359 6

Throughout the past two centuries Helsinki has appeared in foreign eyes as, above all, a modern city – even if the central part of the townscape is full of architecture dating from the beginning of the nineteenth century. Helsinki’s spirit as a Nordic capital has been, and still is, a permanent drive to modernity. This includes an ability to reinvent itself quickly while maintaining its historical roots. In Helsinki – The Innovative City, Historical Perspectives, two Finnish historians, Marjatta Bell and Marjatta Hietala, present examples of innovations and creativity as they have been manifested in Finland’s largest city during the past two hundred years. In doing so, they pursue two related narratives: investigating how Helsinki was transformed from a tiny shipping town into a capital city, centre of administration and higher education, while paying attention to the various ways in which Helsinki as capital city has influenced national development.

The term ‘social capital’ is often used in this book. It includes ‘hard infrastructure’ aspects such as creative environment, satisfactory institutions, buildings and support services, as well as various kinds of ‘soft infrastructure’, such as social networks. In the case of Helsinki, it is important to show ‘the glue’ that holds these two infrastructures together, with the authors identifying certain special local factors in Helsinki that have played a major developmental role. These are the city’s geographical location, the emergence of nationalism and the impact of imperial Russian rule between the years 1809 and 1917.

The book deals with how different local players acted together to create and build a middle-sized European national capital. It mixes general political, national and war history with urban development and builds up an image of Helsinki as a modern and modernistic ‘innovative city’. The partly mythical aspect in local story-telling – namely, the theme of Helsinki as survivor – is traced from the first years of the nineteenth century until the beginning of the twenty-first century, exploring how the city, local politicians, civil servants and
Its people acquired their capacity for innovation. Innovativeness is seen as a result of the equal contribution of the sciences, culture, economy and governance to urban affairs, all occurring within the overall umbrella controls provided by the state authorities – the latter’s role being to create the infrastructure and education and to ensure equality and democracy for the whole society.

There is a strong tendency in this book to present the history of Helsinki as a success story. It emphasizes the role of Helsinki as the leading national city in Finland, but does not discuss its position in comparison to other European or Scandinavian capital cities. As the major port and the main centre of communication, Helsinki also became the natural channel for the spread of innovations, a channel for the wider modernization process in Finland, and for the eventual move from a resource-based economy towards one based in knowledge. The key to success was innovation – an aspect that is present at every level of this book. The name of the first chapter, ‘Helsinki – The innovation of a king, a queen and two emperors’, already suggests this theme, viewing the foundation of the city in terms of the initiatives of King Gustavus I Vasa (1550) and Queen Christina (1640) of Sweden and Russian Emperors Alexander I (1809) and Nicholas I (1833). This chapter identifies that the heart of the city is planned as a monument and symbol for central power.

Later, the intellectual stimuli for innovation came first from university intellectuals, then from the new urban professions, innovative immigrants and active, educated female circles. They formed a nucleus for the new category of burghers. Their joint effort was to embellish the town, leaving their marks on urban planning and building. Hietala describes how the city’s administration was formed and how it allowed innovative forces to make their impact. The professional experience of these men and women, coupled with their international connections, was made available to the city. Before the First World War, civil servants were a part of the ‘creative internationalism’. Efficiency and rationalization became key words in urban modernization. The aim was to create a capital city with a European level of services and a valuable part of the book is devoted to describing the fact-finding tours and study trips of professionals and city officials to other different capital cities.

Although Helsinki is undeniably a planned city, this book does not spend much time in discussing planning history. Planning issues, architecture and the development of infrastructure are described more thoroughly in connection with the wars and crises, when rebuilding and housing efforts have been strongest. The last chapter of the book, named ‘High Tech Helsinki’, actually highlights the starting point for this publication: relating why so many Finns use mobile phones and explaining the success story of Nokia, the Helsinki-based international telecommunications company. The success of Finnish – and Helsinki’s – high technology companies has profoundly changed the country’s industrial structure. Here, as the authors point out, lies the whole daring idea, namely, that the significant innovations in Helsinki during the past two hundred years were the work of people who have encountered the challenge of foreign influences.

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Karl Brunner y el urbanismo europeo en América Latina

Andreas Hofer, Foreword by Rogelio Salmona, Bogotá: El Áncora Editores/Corporación la Candelaria, 2003
235 pp., hardback, no price given, ISBN 958 36 0102 0

This book reviews the work of the cultured and gifted Austrian architect and planner, Karl Brunner (1887–1960), who practised in Austria – where his work was scarcely known prior to the research reported in this book – as well as in Chile, Colombia and Panama between 1930 and 1948. This book itself is based on research carried out by the author over a ten-year period, including that for his doctoral thesis [1].

The first chapter, entitled ‘General conditions for urban development: transition from the nineteenth into the twentieth century’, describes the origin and evolution of the pattern of Latin American cities, analysing the functionality and restrictions of the colonial damero (checkerboard), as well as the post-independence necessity to leave behind the imagery associated with Spanish and Portuguese rule in order to look for a more ‘republican expression’. In the second chapter, ‘The modernization of the Latin American city between 1880 and 1930 and Europe’s nineteenth-century models’, Hofer goes on to deal with the application of aesthetic, hygienic and circulation strategies that were inspired by Haussmann’s schemes for Paris. These were evident in the reform of central areas, as it happened in Buenos Aires, or in newly founded centres such as La Plata. The ‘orgy of diagonals’ found in the initial plans for cities rarely translated into the subsequent reality. As for the ‘garden city’, its repercussion in Latin America would scarcely be related to the social reforms included in Howard’s original proposals.

The third chapter – ‘The shift in Latin America’s trends of urban development around 1930’ – reports on the arrival and impact of diverse European professionals. Hofer identifies them under two headings: on the one hand, Le Corbusier’s doctrinaire followers; on the other, those such as Brunner, Prager, Hegemann and others who searched for new ways to express concern for the geographical, social, economic and political conditions of each place. In Chile, the first country in which he settled, Brunner formed interdisciplinary teams in order to produce more complete reports, making particular use of aerial photography to pave the way for more precise diagnoses. He combined the concepts of ‘urban policy as a science’ with the ‘social idea of technic’ and management, while insisting on the creation of town planning offices to be in charge of professionals – thereby instituting a view of planning as a cultured and continuous practice.

The following chapter focuses on Brunner’s architectural, design and town planning projects, in which a great variety of concepts were integrated. He tried to implement the ‘plans of urban development’, with the intervention of the public and private sectors, in order to go beyond the simple notion of the ‘Master Plan’. With regard to public housing, the funding strategy had to co-ordinate the interests of the open market with those of the co-operatives and the State. As a response to the advent of industrialization in the countries where he worked, Brunner designed barrios-modelo for the workers. His work was also distinguished by the emphasis that he lay on public space for mass leisure and on hierarchical notions of road systems that met functional demands as well as possessing value for the city’s symbolism, landscape and sense of connection.
In chapter five, Hofer reviews the influence of functional urbanism in Latin America between 1930 and 1960, declaring his divergences with other authors’ interpretations of Le Corbusier’s proposals for this region. Hofer emphasizes the value of Brunner’s critical reflections regarding the models imported from Latin America during the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth, as well as his work for disseminating information about planning projects to the non-specialist public. Finally, in connection with the current boom of the open market and the State’s retreat from the domain of town planning, Hofer finds a common starting point from which to initiate a new phase for exchanging opinions and experiences between Europe and Latin America.

This book is of interest in several respects. It introduces foreign readers unfamiliar with Latin American planning history to the work of a modernist town planner, whose work did not follow all the principles of the Modern Movement. The detailed presentation of Brunner’s works incisively identifies the contrasting cultural contexts of the four countries in which he worked, along with the changing circumstances of the epoch in which he worked. Hofer also offers the Latin American reader a very valuable document that presents a rich and relevant compilation of illustrations of a set of projects that were previously inaccessible.

As this book will become a central document for scholars interested in the emergence of Latin America’s professional urbanism, there are some considerations that must be borne in mind. First, it is only possible to generalize to some extent about the processes of industrialization and urbanization of the Latin American countries where the Austrian planner practised. Secondly, it is curious that the analysis of Hofer’s works recurrently focuses on city patterns, although his concept of urbanism embraced a great diversity of variables. It also seems to me that more emphasis on the peculiar historical conditions faced by the countries where Brunner worked might have provided some answers to the author’s questions. This is why, in spite of Brunner’s formal knowledge about social, economic and political development – which clearly informed his work – the end products frequently turned out differently.

This is well illustrated by the case of Chile. Here, Hofer faced a situation of severe economic crisis due partly to the world economic crisis and partly to the 1928 earthquake which destroyed several cities in the country’s central region – leading Gross Domestic Product to plummet 47% between 1928 and 1932. Economic crisis was compounded by the political turmoil that followed the fall of General Ibáñez’s government in 1931, the massive arrival of immigrants to Santiago in 1933 due to the saltpetre crisis and a severe epidemic of exanthematic typhus. Finally, the State’s intervention in the economic, political and social spheres was not welcomed by traditionally dominant groups, who were unwilling to pay the price and take the risks that might arise from the transformations proposed in the Santiago plan, even though they coincided with their aesthetic aspirations for their capital. Hofer’s work in Santiago also met with criticism from fellow professionals. Jacques Lambert intervened in the debate in Chile, providing drastic criticisms of the diagonals – there were 12 proposed in Brunner’s first project for Santiago – and dogmatic followers of radical functionalism attempted unsuccessfully to replace Brunner’s plan with a proposal more strictly based on Le Corbusier’s ideas. In view of these adverse circumstances – later accentuated by an even worse earthquake in 1939 – it is not surprising that several of Brunner’s projects in Chile were realized only partially and slowly, with significant changes in the decades to come.
The need to state such elements as context, of course, varies according to the needs of different groups of reader. It is clear that the balance between the elements in this book aimed at European readers and those aimed at Latin American ones was not easy to sustain in a work of this scope. Nevertheless, Hofer’s book, which answers a long-felt need, will undoubtedly motivate scholars of planning in Latin American and European cities to continue the dialogue.

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Notes and references

1. Andreas Hofer, Karl H. Brunner und die Rolle des europäischen Städtebaus in Lateinamerika.

The Birth of City Planning in the United States, 1840–1917

Jon A. Peterson, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003
440 pp., hardback, $US59.95, ISBN 0 8018 7210 3

In this long-awaited history, Jon Peterson argues persuasively that the comprehensive ideal distinguishes the birth of modern American city planning in the Progressive Era, yet fails to achieve the results it promises. Peterson’s heavily documented study (65 pages of footnotes) is rich with beautifully crafted, telling facts and insights into the pluses and minuses of comprehensive urban planning.

Peterson initially explores the rise of nineteenth century urban centres and recounts familiar ‘antecedents’ of the modern American planning process, such as sanitation reform, landscape planning and the municipal art movement. He dismisses town site (e.g. grid) and project (e.g. campus) planning because, as he argues, they do not apply to the whole city. He attributes the ‘birth’ of the comprehensive planning ideal to the McMillan Plan of Washington, DC (1902–3), citing Daniel Burnham’s key role in it. The author solidly elaborates planning of the great federal centre and outlying park system, but he (as does the Plan) ignores pressing ‘local issues’ of the time, such as low-income housing.

Next, he highlights the importance of the City Beautiful Movement – ‘a complex historical force rooted in local life and linked to the broader sweep of urban reform in the United States’ (p. 98) which created the nation’s first broad audience for city planning as a public interest rather than a private right. He observes that formal city planning required belief in linear social progress, ‘rational’ planning by experts, a strong personal moral sense of the goodness of cities and a unitary public interest. On the other hand, he warns that: ‘The naïveté of City Beautiful advocates in heralding a new era of social concert and mutual advance would soon be exposed’ (p. 150).
Peterson devotes the final two chapters of Part III to the formation of the National Conference on City Planning. His treatment of Chapter 11 (‘The Social Progressive Challenge, 1909’) seems to me the weakest part of an otherwise fine book. He portrays a heroic Frederick Law Olmsted Jr stifling villainous radical Benjamin Marsh’s support for low-income housing. Still, in Chapter 12 (‘The Birth of City Planning, 1909–1910’), Peterson notes that the pioneer planners considered some aesthetic ideals far-fetched, that they adapted rather than blindly applied European planning ideas to American culture and that they sometimes joined both the planning and housing associations (e.g. Olmsted Jr and John Nolen). After formation of the National Housing Association early in 1910, the NCCP adopted comprehensive planning sans social issues as its central theme.

Peterson next turns to his big question. How well did the comprehensive planning ideal work in practice? In Parts III, IV and the first two chapters of V, he finds that the pioneer planners who worked in the City Beautiful mode from 1905–10 and in general city planning from 1911–17 knew little about planning whole cities, had mostly voluntary local support and succeeded best in small towns (e.g. Nolen’s 1914 Walpole plan and the notable exception of Burnham’s 1909 Chicago plan). He cites an outburst of advisory city planning boards, a journal and several textbooks, greater technical and administrative efficiency, formation of a professional American City Planning Institute within NCCP, and planner–developer–realtor unions which put businessmen at the field’s forefront and left the suburbs to well-heeled Christians. However, no cities carried out plans fully and only a few did so even partially. For evidence, he cites external assessments of the work of almost every pioneer planner.

In the Epilogue, Peterson gracefully fits planning’s formative years into the whole movement since 1917. He suggests that state enablement of zoning and planning helped planning ‘flourish’ in the 1920s; ironically New Dealers welcomed public housing but only casually executed state planning and PWA/WPA infrastructure planning, while letting Congress kill the National Resources Planning Board. Similarly, the federal government from the 1940s through the 1960s required cities to make procedural ‘comprehensive’ plans, but gave huge boosts to FHA/VA backed suburban home buyers, supported ‘Automotive urbanism’ and passively watched Presidential support for most federal programmes die in the 1970s and 1980s. By then, the ‘great city’ had ‘perished’, replaced by a vast, pluralistic metropolis. Planners now ‘condemned the comprehensive vision as elitist and too preoccupied with the physical city, while conservatives faulted it as unworkable and conceptually flawed’ (p. 327). Above all, Americans rejected a unitary public interest and pursued ‘fragmented’ ideals like the ‘new urbanism’. In short, concludes Peterson, planning’s ‘comprehensive vision was at one and the same time its distinctive appeal and its greatest weakness’ (p. 335). Of course, new generations of historians need to verify such suggestions about urban planning’s maturation. Taken as a whole, this careful work should please anyone seeking both an aesthetic and a social justice perspective. Scholars owe Jon Peterson many thanks for this definitive history of modern American city planning’s birth in the Progressive Era.

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Hafen und Uferzonen im Wandel: Analysen und Planungen zur Revitalisierung der Waterfront in Hafenstädten.

548 pp., hardback, 48.00, ISBN 3 923421 508

The successive structural change of sea trade and its related port economy brought about growing, and often complete, separation of formerly close functional and spatial relationships between port and city. These fundamental structural changes have become a subject of scholarly research in a dual sense; on one hand as a process that reflects all economic, technological and spatial changes impacting on port facilities and transport systems; on the other hand as a planning problem to reuse the derelict port areas for port activities or to use the land in whatever way possible. The revitalization of decayed waterfront areas in port cities has become attractive world-wide, but especially in advanced countries – a trend-setting challenge which offers immense opportunities for future urban development at the waterfront on a medium- to long-term basis. Many cities have thought about the problems of how to integrate extensive former active port areas and to take decisive strategic steps to increase the quality of the city as a whole. In North America such waterfront revitalization had become established already by the 1970s. The trend also became very apparent in the 1980s in the UK, but reached Germany even before the 1990s.

The book has its origin in a conference held at the Technical University of Hamburg-Harburg. The editor, Dirk Schubert, has completed the papers of the conference, prepared by authors of varied provenance, with some of his own to bring together an extensive volume with a wide range of information and experience. The result, the first extensive publication on this topic in the German language, treats multiple aspects of theory and practice of revitalization of derelict areas in port cities, offering both individual studies relating to important German port cities and a wide spectrum of world-wide projects. The volume imparts a variety of solutions to revitalize such areas.

The book is divided into three parts, which offer a wide-ranging discussion of the problems, including considerable policy variations. In Part I, Dirk Schubert analyses the phases of development of port and city and their relations since the beginnings of the industrial era. He introduces the complex intentions of revitalization and the previous experience of different projects, emphasizes the heterogeneous nature, but also the weakness, of existing research.

Part II reflects three more general themes which consider particular aspects of port and city relations, dealing with examples of decline and revitalization. Helmut Deecke explores the transformation processes of sea ports from the standpoint of regional economy against a background of world-wide economic structural changes. He points out how container transport altered the whole chain of transport into the sea ports. Nicholas Falk offers a wide-ranging discussion of some projects in Britain, primarily the new land use of derelict areas in the context of urban development politics. His knowledge is based on long-term comparative studies of British port cities by the ‘Urban and Economic Development Group’ since 1979 and, in the process, criticizes previous American projects. Hans Harms reflects on the influence of regulation on the revaluation of port areas close to city centres, particularly in Britain, and then compares it with Germany, especially Hamburg. The individual solution of
revitalization is seen as dependent on social and historical context as well as local planning modes.

The further Parts III and IV of the book turn to practice and deal with examples of decline and revitalization, both from the major issues relating to global forces and to the consequences of current local planning. A first group of contributions deals with the German ports of Bremen and Rostock, before turning to three different projects found in Hamburg – the revitalization in the front of the steep bank of the Norderelbe, around the ‘Harburger Binnenhafen’, and the extensive project of the ‘HafenCity’ south of the urban core. Further contributions refer to other port cities in Europe and other continents. The contribution of Uta Hohn concerning Tokyo deserves special mention since it describes not only the reuse of empty land but also how additional ground can be won for settlement through reclamation, thus enabling the expansion of Tokyo into Tokyo Bay.

Overall, the present volume will provide much information and fill some gaps in relation to the complex problems of revitalization. This publication should not only be of interest to academics but also to planners and politicians who, on various levels and with a specific interest, are involved in such questions world-wide.

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