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UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

FACULTY OF HUMAN AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

Geography

Volume 1 of 1

**Model Cities: Argumentation, Institutions and Urban Development since
1880**

by

Sean Michael Kennedy

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

ABSTRACT

FACULTY OF HUMAN AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

Geography

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

MODEL CITIES: ARGUMENTATION, INSTITUTIONS AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT SINCE 1880

Sean Michael Kennedy

Bangalore, Barcelona and Singapore are just three of the many “model cities” identified in urban studies. Such model cities constitute a phenomenon which has received little critical attention in urban studies, though there has been much progress in the related fields of urban policy mobilities, comparative urbanism and global urbanism. This thesis builds upon these contributions whilst concentrating specifically on the model city. It defines three core characteristics of grounded model cities – i.e. models based on actually-existing cities - in the twenty-first century and conceptualises model cities as argumentative resources, mobilised in debates about urban development. Having indicated how this conceptualisation can help with the identification of model cities, the remainder of the thesis historicises the contemporary phenomenon of the model city in order to establish its origins and identify other argumentative resources that might be mobilised instead.

The thesis makes reference to three archival sources. These are the Association of Municipal Corporations/Association of Metropolitan Authorities (AMC/AMA); International Federation for Housing and Planning (IFHP) and the journal *Town Planning Review*. These institutions provide an account of the changing nature of argumentation about urban development in the twentieth century within the two constituencies of planning and local government, at national and also international scales and between practitioners and academics. Each archive demonstrates a trend toward the emergence of grounded model cities.

Besides the grounded model city, other argumentative resources identified include the illustrative city, the model national system, the utopian model city and the rational model city. The thesis concludes with a typology the various kinds of argumentative resources identified as well as a periodization of model cities on the basis of the types observed. Utopian model cities, exemplified by Ebenezer Howard’s *Garden City*, were commonly invoked earlier in the twentieth century, whilst rational model cities took centre stage in the 1950s and 1960s. Since then the grounded model cities have been cited with increasing frequency in discussions of urban policy, though the broader classification of illustrative cities remains significant also. The relative periods of ascendancy of each kind of these argumentative resources is explained with reference to changes within the particular institutions studied and the wider professional contexts in which they were embedded.

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DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I, Sean Michael Kennedy

declare that the thesis entitled

Model Cities: Argumentation, Institutions and Urban Development since 1880

and the work presented in the thesis are both my own, and have been generated by me as the result of my own original research. I confirm that:

- this work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
- where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
- where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
- where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
- I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
- where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
- none of this work has been published before submission, or [delete as appropriate] parts of this work have been published as: [please list references]

Signed:Sean Kennedy.....

Date:.....20th February 2014.....

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Definitions and Abbreviations

<i>AMA</i>	Association of Metropolitan Authorities
<i>AMC</i>	Association of Municipal Corporations
<i>IFHP</i>	International Federation for Housing and Planning
<i>MR</i>	Municipal Review
<i>TPR</i>	Town Planning Review

1. Introduction

1.1 The model city phenomenon

This thesis is designed to address the problem of model cities. Model cities are receiving increasing academic attention and a growing list of cities throughout the world are recognised as constituting models for various kinds of urban development. The following quotes from recent work in urban studies indicate this increasing attention:

“It is clear, then, that [Bilbao and Barcelona] have become elevated as *“role models”* for regeneration” (Gonzalez, 2011: 1374)

“...Bangalore – Asia’s self-proclaimed “Silicon Valley” and a *model* for world- city making...” (Goldman, 2011: 556)

“International observers now frequently refer to the Bogota *model*” (Zeiderman, 2013: no page)

“the circulation of distinct *“models”* of development, such as Curitiba, Porto Alegre and Barcelona” (Robinson, 2011b: 1091)

“Vancouver’s *model* is defined by “Living First” and “Sustainability” principles...” (McCann, 2011a)

Each of the cities mentioned above have therefore been recognised as model cities within only two years of each other. The model city is the phenomenon by which some actually-existing cities – those mentioned above as well as many others - come to be feted as successful models which should be imitated elsewhere. This process is a discursive one, as various agents (including “international observers”) press claims for the exemplarity of these particular cities as urban success stories (Wolman, Ford and Hill, 1994) and in so doing construct them as model cities.

This phenomenon is significant because as such model cities are mobilised and then imitated in different cities, they affect urban outcomes, whether in terms of physical infrastructure, transport or economic or social policy. Stories of success from elsewhere are persuasive argumentative resources which can be deployed within the deliberative processes of urban planning and policymaking

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in support of particular claims. This is not to imply that urban outcomes are a product only of deliberation and the deployment of various argumentative resources within it, of which model cities are particularly significant, since aside from the tendency for any actions carried out to have unforeseen consequences, the mere presence of arguments does not mean that they will necessarily be accepted. Deliberation as a communicative practice is a political process distorted by uneven power relations between actors with divergent agendas. Yet in democratic societies, some form of deliberation is inevitable before policies can be decided and physical infrastructure built – and the form and content of those arguments, including the resources used to support its claims, is a central dimension in that process.

Model cities have not gone unnoticed in the academic literature. Recent works in urban studies have become attentive to the significance of cities themselves functioning as models. Some clues about the process of model city formation comes from Ong (2011), for whom urban models, in this case in Asia, are constructed as successful and packaged together with the cities originating them:

“In recent decades, the renovation of cities in the non-Western world has given rise to the circulation of *urban models* that have become established values understood as desirable and achievable throughout the developing world...Urban innovations such as the “garden city”, subsidized housing, industrial estates, upscale residential enclaves, and even water resource management developed in Asian cities have become packaged as “*models*” that can be detached from the originary city and exported to other aspiring cities” (Ong, 2011: 14)

In the late 2000s and early 2010s, urban studies advanced the concept of “urban policy mobilities” (McCann, 2008, 2011a), to capture the circulation of policies between different cities. This literature problematises earlier accounts of policy transfer and pays particular attention to the actors involved and the sites of policy circulation (Gonzalez, 2011). Not all of the policies considered within this literature are “model cities”. Rather, model cities constitute a significant subset of policies which are associated closely with particular actually-existing cities: often so closely that they are identified with them. Thus McCann (2011a) writes that not only have a series of discrete policy

interventions in Vancouver become packaged together into an overarching and supposedly coherent model, but that this set of interventions have subsequently been labelled “Vancouverism”. Thus other cities which might wish to adopt similar policies are said to be “Vancouverizing”. That is the crux of the phenomenon of model cities. Specific, often quite limited interventions in a particular city are being identified with the entire city. Often these interventions are spectacular architectural projects, as in the identification of “Bilbao” with its iconic Guggenheim Museum and so, by association, with an apparently holistic strategy for “culture-based regeneration” (Gonzalez, 2011). Peck and Theodore (2010b) propose that this can be explained by the convenience of attaching freely recognisable visual referents to specific policies during the contemporary era of fast policy, in which policymakers are confronted with numerous policies clamouring for attention. Another recent trend observed by urban scholars has been the obsession with “evidence-based policy” (Peck and Theodore, 2010a). This serves to furnish another possible explanation for the rise in model cities: policies which are identified with particular cities have a track-record of demonstrable success elsewhere.

There is a political aspect to model cities. The construction of a city as a model relies on the assertion that it has been successful, but it is often the case that this assertion is based on evidence pertaining only to a limited section of urban society. Often though, the damaging effects of particular policies are disguised by the deployment of a model city in public deliberation. In cities “importing” a model city, the possibility of dissent is muted because proponents of the model city can simply respond that they are implementing a policy which has been successful elsewhere – they are adopting “best practice” rather than implementing any prior ideological programme. Similarly, opposition to the continuation of the interventions constituting the model city within that city itself (the “originary city” [Ong, 2011: 14]) can be dismissed with the observation that since the model city is being imitated elsewhere, it must be a good one. This political aspect of model cities positions them as argumentative resources deployed more or less instrumentally. They are based on “urban success stories” (Wolman, Ford and Hill, 1994), the accuracy or otherwise of which is less significant than their capacity to function as resources for the winning of arguments in “the local politics of urban policy mobilities” (McCann, 2013).

1.2 Research aim and objectives

The aim of this research is to contribute to current understandings of model cities. It has been noted that the phenomenon of the model city has begun to be addressed within contemporary urban studies. However, the significance of the phenomenon and the capacity of model cities to profoundly shape urban outcomes and the lives of the 3.4 billion people who live in urban areas (World Health Organization, 2013) through their deployment as argumentative resources in local deliberations, demand the explicit and comprehensive treatment I attempt in this thesis.

The first two objectives of the thesis are (i) to propose a conceptualisation of model cities as argumentative resources, building upon recent re-articulations of argumentative theory established by Fischer and Gottweis (2012) and (ii) to operationalise the conceptualisation of model cities as argumentative resources, adapting a recent scheme for argumentative analysis proposed by Fairclough and Fairclough (2012). The conceptualisation proposed by the first objective contributes to our understanding of model cities because it provides a vocabulary for defining what the model city actually is and articulate why it is important. Recent references to model cities, in common with much of the current literature on urban policy mobilities, overlook the extent to which deliberation is a prerequisite to the adoption and implementation of policies drawn in from cities elsewhere. The operationalisation in the second objective not only prepares the ground for the empirical studies which form the basis of this thesis, but it is proposed that it also offers a fruitful method for future studies of model cities.

The third objective of this thesis is (iii) to historicise the model city, both establishing whether and how model cities have been mobilised in the past and identifying which other argumentative resources were adopted as alternatives. After all, there is no necessary reason for claims about urban policy to be supported by reference to the activities of a “model city” as opposed to something else. That is not the case in 2013, when other kinds of argumentative resources are also mobilised, though as has been noted there are reasons why arguments involving model cities are especially successful: they both attach visual referents to cities and purport to guarantee the efficacy of a policy by providing the evidence required by “evidence-based policy”.

Other types of argumentative resources could include references to suggested universal principles about urban design, the need for adaptation in light of current urban circumstances, or a general appraisal of the relative merits of other cities without the compulsion to construct any individual city as a model. Claims for action can sometimes be supported with reference to particular cities as constituting “negative role models”, embodying “bad practice” to be avoided (Thiel, 2012). It is likely that the ascendancy of model cities in the twenty-first landscape is predicated on some notion of a transition to an increasingly neoliberal urban environment in recent decades. The notion that some transition has taken place is convincing, and it is neither an inclination nor an objective of this author to overturn it here. However, by providing the historical context for contemporary model cities, this thesis will allow for the explanatory power of such a transition to be critiqued and the relevance of other factors to be appraised. After all, neoliberalisms (Brenner and Theodore, 2002; Brenner, Peck and Theodore, 2010) are constituted and contested through the kinds of deliberations I study and the smaller-scale factors which operate through the institutions studied may themselves be constitutive of rather than in opposition to parallel wider changes.

The original contributions of this thesis are the thus twofold. Firstly, the thesis demonstrates the utility of conceptualising model cities as argumentative resources. This conceptualisation is shown to provide a heuristic and a vocabulary for the analysis of model cities and their function in urban policy. Furthermore, the thesis demonstrates that this conceptualisation can be a helpful analytical tool since a formulation of argumentative theory undergirds much of the empirical analysis. The second contribution is the identification of other ways in which arguments about urban development have been advanced during the twentieth century. These various argumentative resources, including two which serve as alternative “model cities” to the grounded model city based on an actually-existing city, are shown to have each enjoyed periods of ascendancy during the long twentieth century. While none of these argumentative resources has disappeared completely, this thesis does support the contention that the ascendancy of the grounded model city is a recent phenomenon. By providing an explicit treatment of the model city, this thesis is able to provide explanations for this recent ascendancy.

Introduction

The second chapter of this thesis is a literature review appraising a range of academic literatures pertinent to the task of formulating a working definition of the model city. Before a consideration of what might be gleaned from recent papers specifically addressing particular model cities, flourishing literatures concerning urban policy mobilities and comparative urbanism are explored in detail, with the implications of each for an understanding of model cities in the present outlined. Paradigmatic cities are introduced and contrasted with model cities, whilst a distinction is also drawn between model cities and related conceptions of assemblage urbanism, which suggests the incorporation of elements from a variety of cities. Then the history of municipal internationalism is presented, to indicate the longevity of transnational urbanism and support the contention that the circulation of urban policy is not a novelty. Whether or not it has always occurred through the discursive construction of model cities is considered in subsequent chapters through archival analysis.

The third chapter is concerned with methodology. It opens with a conceptualisation of model cities as argumentative resources, which together with the characteristics of model cities identified in chapter two permits a scheme for analysis to be presented and applied hypothetically later on. The selection of three archival sources for the research is presented and justified. The chapter concludes with a discussion of three of the key interpretative questions of the research: typology, periodization and explanation.

In chapter four, the archive of the Association of Municipal Corporations (AMC), as well as of its successor the Association of Metropolitan Authorities (AMA), is analysed. Among the contributions noted in this chapter is the identification of another argumentative resource: the illustrative city. This resource is described as consisting of the use of the experiences of a particular city within an argument not because it is constructed as unique, but rather is typical of a number of others. This resource is noted to have been especially popular during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when the AMC resembled a trade union, promoting the interests of all of its member municipalities in England and Wales to the UK Parliament.

Chapter five considers the archive of the International Federation for Housing and Planning. It notes the deployment of various kinds of argumentative

resources at the Federation's biennial world congresses since 1925. One is the "model national system", distinct from the familiar model city in that it substitutes the experience of all cities within a particular country for the experiences of individual cities considered as autonomous actors. Another argumentative resource introduced during this chapter is the "utopian model city", which differs from the "grounded model city" (i.e., the familiar case of an actually-existing city being held up as a model of best practice) in that unbuilt, abstract cities (such as, in the case of the IFHP, Ebenezer Howard's garden city) are deployed instead. The chapter ends by presenting a series of examples from the IFHP archive which suggest the increasing importance of actually-existing cities as argumentative resources, either as grounded model cities or otherwise, since 1978.

Chapter six analyses the planning journal *Town Planning Review*, presenting evidence for a number of argumentative resources which have been mobilised by its contributors. The most significant of these is claimed to be the "rational model city". Rational model cities are abstract, like the utopian model cities introduced in chapter five. However, they differ in being based on calculation, including but not limited to computer simulation, rather than a "vision" (Ward, 1994: 23) about cities of the future.

Finally, chapter seven presents the conclusions of the thesis. After first reviewing the contributions of each chapter in turn, it analyses the different argumentative resources identified through the empirical work, advancing explanations for the success of each at particular times and places. Special attention is given to the grounded model city, in order to contribute to the current debate about its role as an argumentative resource in deliberations about urban policy.

This thesis is a response to the growing empirical evidence for model cities as successful urban success stories (Wolman, Ford and Hill, 1994), constructions of urban exemplarity (Söderström, 2011) and packaged innovative interventions (Ong, 2011). It conceptualises model cities as argumentative resources mobilised in deliberation and establishes that the grounded model cities observed in the contemporary urban studies literature are a relatively recent development, with other argumentative resources having been popular

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during earlier periods of the long twentieth century and continuing to resonate today.

2. Literature Review

Model cities have begun to appear in contemporary urban studies literature, especially in the studies of urban policy mobilities, new comparative urbanism and global urbanism. This chapter begins with an analysis of the contributions that such studies have made in articulating how model cities ought to be defined and how they come to be mobilised as such. This analysis is supported in section 2.5, with reference to case studies of particular cities suggested to have become model cities in the twenty-first century. Since one of the major contributions of this research is to historicise the model city using archival sources from the long twentieth century, this chapter proceeds in section 2.8 to review recent contributions to the study of municipal internationalism in the long twentieth century. The chapter concludes with the formulation of seven research questions, which are later re-articulated in the following chapter to incorporate the language of argumentation.

2.1 Model cities in the twenty-first century

This section presents a number of different articles from the past twenty years that have discussed model cities. Wolman, Ford and Hill first noted the success of the “urban success story” in 1994 (Wolman, Ford and Hill, 1994) and that is a useful starting point in considering of the model city. A “model city” is one which is perceived to be successful. The actual success or failure of the city in question, however that is to be judged, is only partially relevant because the identification of a city as a model is a discursive construction – an urban *success story*.

Söderström has attempted to define of model cities as “constructions of urban exemplarity”, as opposed to actual urban exemplars (Söderström, 2011). The notion of exemplarity implies that model cities are not only constructed as being successful, but crucially also of being suitable for imitation in other cities. Recently therefore, scholars have come to observe the phenomenon of such success stories becoming models for cities elsewhere:

Literature Review

“In recent decades, the renovation of cities in the non-Western world has given rise to the circulation of *urban models* that have become established values understood as desirable and achievable throughout the developing world...

...Urban innovations such as the “garden city”, subsidized housing, industrial estates, upscale residential enclaves, and even water resource management developed in Asian cities have become packaged as “*models*” that can be detached from the originary city and exported to other aspiring cities” (Ong, 2011: 14)

“It is clear, then, that [Bilbao and Barcelona] have become elevated as “*role models*” for regeneration” (Gonzalez, 2011: 1374)

“...Bangalore – Asia’s self-proclaimed “Silicon Valley” and a *model* for world- city making...” (Goldman, 2011: 556)

“So successful were imaging strategies in/of Kuala Lumpur in the 1990s that they became something of a *model* for emulation, particularly for cities in Asia and the Islamic world” (Bunnell and Das, 2010: 278)

“International observers now frequently refer to the Bogota *model*” (Zeiderman, 2013: no page)

Moreover, Robinson (2011b: 1091) refers to “the circulation of distinct “*models*” of development, such as Curitiba, Porto Alegre and Barcelona” and McCann (2011a: 109) notes that “Vancouver’s *model* is defined by “Living First” and “Sustainability” principles...”

There are therefore plenty of instances in the urban studies literature of scholars recognising the construction of model cities. Yet in many cases the notion of the city as “model” continues to be accompanied by quotation marks, suggesting that it is regarded as a novelty, or as an awkward or vulgar concept for which a better label should be devised. Certainly we should be sceptical about the claims advanced on behalf of specific model cities. For instance, what does it really mean for Bangalore to be “a model for world-city making”? Even if we set aside the troublesome question of whether becoming a world

city is achievable or even a desirable goal, there is still the question of what exactly Bangalore has done and whether it can really be imitated elsewhere.

However, scepticism about the veracity of the claims advanced is not incompatible with acceptance that they are being advanced – and often by quite powerful actors. After all, it must be emphasised that such claims in themselves constitute model cities, rather than their actual success or failure, however that might be judged. That some of these claims vastly exaggerate the extent of a city's success or its suitability for imitation elsewhere is a call to further critical analysis of the claims themselves. The concept of the model city will be better explained by demonstrating its intersections with a number of other literatures in urban studies. Both urban policy mobilities and new comparative urbanism have significant lessons for a study of model cities. The following section introduces the contributions of each in turn.

2.2 Model cities and urban policy mobilities

The urban policy mobilities literature is relevant to a discussion of model cities because of its contributions to the wider question of how policies circulate between different municipalities and jurisdictions. This literature makes a number of claims about the processes of policy circulation. These claims are taken in turn, because each has implications for a consideration of model cities.

(i) Policy circulation is a better term than policy transfer

Earlier studies of policy transfer by political scientists including Dolowitz and Marsh (1996) and Dolowitz (2003) were limited to the activities of nation-states rather than cities. In their studies of policy transfers involving the United States and the United Kingdom, they noted a number of factors which increase the likelihood of successful policy transfer. One is detailed preliminary study – to this is attributed the greater success of Gordon Brown's introduction of tax credits in the UK compared to Margaret Thatcher's establishment of a child support agency (CSA). Another factor is the degree of political influence: Thatcher adopted the CSA model largely for political reasons. A third factor is that policy transfers are unlikely to succeed if they are put towards markedly different purposes than in the original context. Dolowitz (2003) states that the purpose of the original, US CSA was to increase parental responsibility: it did

Literature Review

not reduce government spending and had not been intended to. Yet the British CSA was established specifically to reduce welfare spending and failed to accomplish this.

Dolowitz' warnings about inadequate study, undue political influence and crossed purposes resonate with contemporary accounts of policy transfers. However, his work has tended to consist largely of appraisals of the relative success of policy transfer after the event. There is less attention to precisely *how* policy transfer takes place. More recent accounts of policy transfer have paid more attention to the mechanisms of policy circulation and have also addressed the inter-urban dimension absent in Dolowitz' work.

McCann (2011a) critiques Dolowitz for merely describing transfer processes, rather than analysing processes and practices. Dolowitz' work is also criticised for its essentializing of policy transfer, when in fact

“Policies, models, and ideas are not moved around like gifts at a birthday party or like jars on shelves, where the mobilization does not change the character and content of the mobilized objects” (McCann, 2011a: 115)

This assertion is certainly correct. A conceptualisation of policy transfer as analogous to the transfer of tangible commodities is unhelpful and incapable of unpacking the complexity of the process. However, the naïve social scientist who constitutes the object of this critique is a hypothetical straw man, rather than Dolowitz, who as we have seen was aware of the nuances of policy transfer. The current and flourishing work on urban policy mobilities rests therefore on a dubious, if not disingenuous reading of previous work, supposing it to have essentialised policy transfer. Nonetheless, the current emphasis on policy *mobilities* (rather than policy transfer) and circulation has added greater depth to our understanding of the processes of policy circulation.

In problematizing the notion of policy transfer, echoing McCann's (2011a) observation that policies are never transferred intact like jars on shelves, a number of scholars have become attentive to the ways in which policies in circulation are instead extensively modified and reinterpreted to fit new contexts (Ward, 2006; Cook, 2008; Gonzalez, 2011; Peck, 2011). A frequently

cited example is the importation of the Business Improvement District (BID) from the United States to the United Kingdom in the early twenty-first century (cf Ward, 2006; Cook, 2008). Whilst the name is the same in the two countries, the policy in practice is very different in Britain. So whereas in the USA BIDs were adopted independently by cities, (in fact the first example was in Canada) and later circulated between cities with little government involvement, the centralised structure of UK governance meant that the policy was imported and promoted by the national government, which invited municipalities to bid for the right to experiment with the innovation (Cook, 2008). British cities were lukewarm to the idea, understandably reluctant to invest in what they saw as an unproven policy, and the UK government was forced to offer various incentives to attract proposals from cities.

(ii) Policy circulation can be studied using material ethnography

McCann (2011a) is among the pioneers of an urban policy mobilities approach to policy circulation. He is committed to studying policy circulation *in situ* through its micro-spaces, in contrast to Dolowitz' merely *a posteriori* approach. These micro-spaces are the material documents, powerpoint presentations, study tours and informal communications which are integral to the policy circulation process. Other micro-spaces include conferences (Cook and Ward, 2012b). As such, the process is no longer conceptualised as a rational search for best practice, but as a messier phenomenon with many other factors at work. Micro-spaces are particularly significant because they allow access to the sites of networking, relationship-building and trust (McCann, 2011a). McCann emphasises the privileged position of a "global consultocracy" in the mobilisation of policy, a class of elite actors ("policy entrepreneurs" in Mintrom [1997]) who have been instrumental in mobilising policies in and through these microspaces. However, the significant role of more banal actors such as engineers and other practitioners in policy circulation has also been recognised (Larner and Laurie, 2010).

Since this research project is an attempt to historicise the model city using data from the twentieth century and earlier, it is impossible to envisage a similar embodied encounter with the policy circulation I seek to study in the micro-spaces identified by McCann (2011a). However, in designing the research project I was conscious of the imperative to use archival material

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prepared as close as possible to the sites of actual decision-making in order to access the deliberation inherent in making decisions about urban policy. I regarded this as preferable to merely consulting documents prepared some time after the moment of deliberation which might present decision-making as a straightforward *fait accompli*. This is why the minutes of meetings of the Association of Municipal Corporations, articles from the journal *Town Planning Review* and reports from conferences of the International Federation for Housing and Planning have been chosen. More will be said about deliberation and my choice of archival sources in chapter three.

- (iii) Policy circulation has implications for understanding the position of cities in the contemporary economy

Studies of interurban policy circulation have demonstrated the increasing significance of cities as actors in the global economy, relating to other cities, nation-states and supranational agencies. For example, the city of New York has borrowed the policy of Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT) from Mexico (Peck and Theodore, 2010b). The policy of dispensing financial resources to the poor on the condition of satisfactory school attendance was in fact heavily influenced by United Nations programmes but its advocates in New York were keen to downplay this aspect and present the policy as an indigenous Mexican innovation.

Though the literature therefore emphasises the significance of policy circulation as a prism for understanding contemporary urbanism, my study of model cities in the twentieth century will encounter cities prior to the supposed economic restructuring and rescaling of neoliberalism (Harvey, 1989). Prior to this, cities were embedded within a different governance system, in which more powerful nation-states exercised hegemony in international relations (Brenner, 2009). In such a context, there would be fewer opportunities for cities to learn directly from abroad. Nonetheless the municipal internationalism literature (see page 28) confounds this analysis, suggesting that cities have always had a role on the international stage, though it has certainly evolved considerably.

- (iv) Policy circulation is increasingly “fast”, “evidence-based” and “churning”

Peck and Theodore (2010b) have identified the accelerating speed of policy transfer, which they relate to neoliberalism. Municipalities left since the 1980s with minimal government support and a declining tax and economic base have been forced to compete for investment, and as this competition has intensified, the quest for new policies has become more frantic, resulting in a proliferation of policies which can be presented as quick fixes. At the same time, the pressure to implement policies that are guaranteed to work has produced a regime of constant evaluation of policies in order to provide evidence in support of particular choices. Among the mechanisms for such evaluation are benchmarking and other calculative activities (Larner and Le Heron, 2002). Peck (2011: 773) notes that:

“Today, “fast-policy” regimes are characterised by the pragmatic borrowing of “policies that work, by compressed reform horizons, by iterative constructions of best practice...”

Peck (2011) is strongly critical of this supposed emphasis on evidence-based policy, noting that very often the evidence is actually *against* the effectiveness of neoliberal interventions, but that their failures are repeatedly blamed on insufficient adoption of neoliberal measures, producing intensified neoliberalism. This analysis undermines “the notion of the policy-maker as an optimizing, rational actor, scanning the “market” for potential policy products” (*ibid.*: 774). Instead, policymakers have preconceptions about what the best policies will be and in this instance favour neoliberal measures irrespective of their provenance. Nonetheless, the myth of the policymaker as rational, optimising actor is powerful and accounts for the rise in evidence-based policy. The rise of evidence-based policy has a clear link to the concept of the model city. Success elsewhere in a particular “model city” is persuasive evidence that a policy should be adopted.

Again, the relatively recent origin of the neoliberalisation to which Larner and Le Heron as well as Peck and Theodore appeal as an explanatory apparatus implies a reduced pace of policy churning in the twentieth century and a reduced emphasis on evidence and benchmarking. This might imply that urban policies, and by extension model cities, had a longer shelf-life in earlier decades of the twentieth century. Where fast policy has produced a rapid churning in-and-out of favour, model cities in the early twentieth century might

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have retained their popularity for decades. Again, a review of the literature on municipal internationalism (see page 28) provides some further nuance to this question.

(v) Policy circulation depends on commensurability

If the urban policy mobilities literature has some theoretical and methodological roots in the wider mobilities literature (Cresswell, 2010; Urry 2004; cf. McCann, 2011a) – for example in its attention to flows and networks rather than places and spaces – then it also shares that literature’s more recent concern to emphasise equally the variable limitations to mobilities. These limitations are conceptual – mobility is not infinite, hence the recognition that territoriality remains significant in considerations of policy circulation (McCann and Ward, 2010). There are limitations on which cities can be candidates for policy transfer, based not just on sheer distance but also on profound social and cultural distances. McCann (2011a) has termed the similarity between cities necessary to facilitate policy transfer as “commensurability” and as with most concepts related to urban policy mobilities it is primarily discursive. If an audience can be convinced that two cities are commensurable then they become commensurable, and the circulation of policy from one to another can take place (though actual commensurability might increase the chances of its success). Considerations of commensurability will be highlighted in the section on contemporary model cities (section 2.5) and are also fundamental to the study of new comparative urbanism, which forms the next section.

(vi) Urban policy mobility has a local politics

This effect has been observed by Ong (2011: 18), who states that: “By pointing to another city that is ahead, planners and developers can persuade people to accept potentially controversial projects in the name of the greater metropolitan good”.

Temenos and McCann (2012) argue this with respect to the supply-side or originary city, noting the impact on public discourse in Vancouver of that city’s own perceived success elsewhere, whilst Cook and Ward (2012a) emphasise the local politics of policy mobility on the demand-side (i.e. within the imitating city) by tracing the development of Cleveland’s 2009 Waterfront Plan, in which the experiences of Baltimore and Chicago served both to demonstrate

possibilities and to preclude alternatives. An example of resistance to dominant discourses of urban policy mobility is the opposition of residents of Calgary to its proposed “Smart Growth” trajectory inspired by Denver, Portland, Toronto and Vancouver (McCann and Ward, 2012).

2.3 Model cities and new comparative urbanism

(i) Comparative urbanism identifies differences and similarities

Comparative urbanism is about identifying similarities and differences between cities. All cities are unique, of course, but there may be similarities between them (Nijman, 2007a). Urban studies in general has always explored the similarities and differences between the experiences of different cities and even in apparently purely idiographic studies of particular places the making of comparisons with elsewhere, even implicitly, is almost unavoidable.

Comparison is an obvious basis for learning from other cities. If they are similar to you, you can learn from them more easily than if they are different – this is McCann’s theory of commensurability again. Then again, if they are too similar than perhaps they have little to teach you. The significance of this for model cities research should be clear, though it inexplicably evaded this author until recently. Cities can be elevated to the status of models if and only if they are discursively represented to be *different*, even *unique* in their level of success – but crucially *similar* in their fundamental circumstances to potential imitators. Comparative urbanism as a methodology seeks to establish what is similar and different about different cities and so can suggest both whether or not a particular city *can* be imitated (i.e. it is commensurable) and whether or not it *should* be imitated (i.e. it is successful).

Nijman (2007b) puts his conception of comparative urbanism to work in attempting to account for the ascendancy of Miami to world-city status. Though that status is contested, along with Nijman’s claim that Miami has become a paradigmatic city for the twenty-first century (see section 2.7), it is explored through fascinating comparisons with spatially and even temporally distant cities which are compared and contrasted with Miami. Nijman is emphatic that these cities can inform our understandings of the condition of Miami and other cities in the 2000s:

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“The purpose of the following comparisons is to deepen understanding of Miami’s emergence as a world city and to generate knowledge about the general conditions that allowed world cities to emerge.” (Nijman, 2007b: 94)

Moreover, Nijman seems to be convinced by the similarities he observes:

“Miami, in quite similar ways [to late sixteenth-century Amsterdam], owed its emergence as a world city to its position as an oasis of peace within the region.” (ibid.: 96)

The suggestion that even historical comparisons can make sense of contemporary urban change – as in Nijman’s references to nineteenth-century Hong Kong and Shanghai and even the Amsterdam of the Dutch golden age in the seventeenth century – is an intriguing one for this sort of historical study. Is it ever the case that, having established the similarity between a current city and a past one, the past city can actually become a model for the current one? In any event, Nijman’s spatially distant comparisons with Asian and European cities typify the insistence of new comparative urbanists that comparisons should not be limited to cities in *prima facie* similar situations (i.e. in Miami’s case, other North American cities presumably). It is to this insistence which I now turn.

- (ii) New comparative urbanism challenges the separation of global north and south cities

New comparative urbanism consists of both the application of comparison as a productive method for the analysis of cities (K. Ward, 2010) and the critical interrogation of urban comparisons in urban policy and in urban studies (Clarke, 2012a). It asserts that urban comparisons are ever-present in discussions of the urban, but that they are rarely analysed (McFarlane, 2010). Rather it is taken for granted that in traditional comparative urbanism certain urban comparisons are appropriate, whilst others are not. In particular, the new comparative urbanism literature rejects the separation of the global North and the global South as separate spheres (Robinson, 2002; 2011a). Robinson (2002: 531) identifies a persistent dualism within urban studies, particularly within world systems theory, in which “Western” cities are assumed to provide lessons for “urban theory” whilst “Third-World cities” provide empirical material

for “development studies”. The literature on comparative urbanism seeks to problematise this distinction between “comparable” and “not comparable”, emphasising what is lost if certain kinds of comparison are overlooked. For instance, the spread of gentrification to the global south in the “megagentrification” of its “megacities” has been misunderstood because of the imposition of either developmentalist or universalist narratives which preclude more sophisticated comparison (Lees, 2012). Urban geography’s frequent preoccupation with paradigmatic cities such as London and New York (see page 21) in the global north is problematic for a number of reasons.

First, the experience of such cities comes to be taken for granted as the experience of “the city” as a universal phenomenon (McFarlane, 2010). This entails a troubling diffusionism in which meaningful innovations are necessarily confined to certain parts of the globe – cast as European by Blaut (1987) but now confined further to a few elite “global cities” (Sassen, 1991). Other cities are evaluated according to their similarity or difference to these “global cities” and are positioned as successes or failures depending on their relative progress in achieving global city status. Robinson (2002) argues that this kind of urban studies is irrelevant to the ninety-nine per cent of cities which are neither global cities today nor can realistically aspire to become such. Rather, further attention to the experiences of “ordinary” cities would be welcome (Amin and Graham, 1997). Moreover, the privileging of these elite global cities, though often intended only to be an analysis of how the global economy actually functions, is frequently interpreted as constructing the experiences of these elite cities to be normative. Consequently, cities of the South (and elsewhere in the North) attempt to imitate them, a policy which is unlikely to succeed and may be harmful to the population and the environment (Robinson, 2002).

Third, the experiences of cities of the global South – which represent, after all, the clear majority of the world’s cities – surely have much to inform our understanding of urban theory. Yet this knowledge is being held back by their absence from the literature (McFarlane, 2010). Rather than assuming that the “megacities” of the global South can be dismissed as having little to teach the cities of the global North, Robinson (2011b) suggests that their experiences constitute a valuable resource for learning. This is especially true as urban regimes in the global North increasingly embrace neoliberalism and the

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resulting hollowed-out state has to rely on private or voluntary provision of services - as in the case of conditional cash transfer (Peck and Theodore, 2010b). Since the cities of the global South have a long experience of underfunded municipalities and of pressure from international institutions such as the International Monetary Fund to deregulate, they can provide valuable lessons in how to manage cities in such a context.

In addition, not only can cities of the North learn from the South then, but Comparative Urbanism also detects an increasing tendency for Southern (mega)cities to learn from each other directly, thus bypassing Northern cities entirely. This has been demonstrated by Wood (2012) in the case of the diffusion of bus rapid transit from Bogota to cities in South Africa. The significance of this is that the innovations of particular cities are conceptualised as mobile and capable of diffusing throughout the world.

Comparative urbanism is not new, but its traditional version fell out of favour in the 1990s and contemporary calls for a revived comparative urbanism emphasise the need for reconsiderations not only of the process of comparison but of the urban itself. Cities should be conceptualised as inescapably open rather than bounded, unavoidably implicated in wider geographies (Massey, 2004; 2007) and scale understood as constructed (K. Ward, 2008; 2010). As such, McFarlane (2010; 2011), has developed a perspective on urbanism as fundamentally concerned with learning lessons from elsewhere. For McFarlane, the incorporation of lessons from other cities is both a widespread phenomenon and a normative programme he wishes to promote. Indeed there is some encouraging evidence that local governments are implicitly participating in the more reflexive version of comparative urbanism prescribed by McFarlane (Clarke, 2012a).

The significance of this review of the new comparative urbanism literature for model cities is that it demands an open-minded consideration of the circulation of cities as policy models. This is a corrective to suggesting that certain cities will only really circulate within particular, geographically and culturally delineated circuits.

2.4 Model cities and global urbanism

Allied to the new comparative urbanism literature, there has also been continued attention to the phenomenon of global urbanism – the tendency of cities to borrow from each other at the global scale. This literature suggests that cities no longer draw lessons simply from other cities in their own country, preferring instead to learn from farther afield. This international referencing of planning and architectural ideas was identified as a feature of colonialism (S. Ward, 2010), with King (1976) tracing the emergence of the bungalow as a popular housing form in Britain to its origins in the Civil Lines of colonial New Delhi. In the era of the global city (Sassen, 1990) or world city (Friedmann and Wolff, 1982; Taylor, 2004), there are other kinds of networks involved in the dissemination of planning practice. In the quest to become a “global city”, defined by Sassen as including London, New York and Tokyo, aspirant cities have since the 1990s sought Manhattan-style skyscrapers as “spectacular spaces” (King, 1996a) symbolic of their advanced position in the global economy (Olds, 1995). Cities engaging in this thirst for “Manhattanism” include major East Asian cities such as Jakarta, Kuala Lumpur, Taipei, Shanghai, Chongqing and Hong Kong (King, 1996a). Manhattanism is one of a number of techniques used to enhance the international profile of a city. Another is mounmentalism, especially evident in capital cities such as Astana (Koch, 2010) or Canberra (Beer, 2008), where the design of the city and its architecture is conflated with national priorities to present a country as westernised or modern.

Global Urbanism is now diffusing in another way: through the employment of particular star architects or “starchitects” such as Norman Foster or Rem Koolhaas (McNeill, 2009; King, 1996b). These architects tend to favour what McNeill has termed an international style, so that the vernacular increasingly gives way to the international – as in Koolhaas’ supposed but contested transformation of Lagos (Fouchard, 2011). This is not undesirable to their clients; in fact such starchitects are usually employed precisely because in importing international references they will introduce signs of modernity and fuel a perception of modernity. Global urbanism is concerned with more than just individual buildings however; it has identified the mobilisation of entire cities around the world as desirable models (Guggenheim and Söderström, 2009) through the internationalisation of planning practice (Healey, 2010).

The global urbanism literature thus notes the increased tendency for cities across the world to reference each other, indicating how and why this is happening – for example through the dissemination of architectural styles and the career trajectories of “global architects” (McNeill, 2009) and in pursuit of global city status and the other trappings of modernity. That cities are referencing each other suggests that one or a number of model cities might be circulating, though there is a distinction between the specific practice of modelling and the vaguer connotations associated with referencing (Ong, 2011). Finally, the global urbanism provides evidence that the dissemination of planning practices is not a novelty but has a long history, built up through colonial and other relationships.

2.5 Identifying model cities

This chapter has so far established the existence of three significant literatures: urban policy mobilities, new comparative urbanism and global urbanism. It has been observed that within the “global circuits of knowledge” (McCann, 2011a) inherent in contemporary policy circulation, the conditions exist for the circulation not merely of policy models in general, but the elevation in particular of whole cities to the status of a “model”. In this section I provide examples of six cities that have recently come to be regarded as “model cities” in the urban studies literature, drawing further insights on the general phenomenon from each example in pursuit of a conceptual framework for the identification and analysis of model cities.

2.5.1 Vancouver and the packaging of model cities

Vancouver’s status as a model city has been established by McCann (2004; 2007; 2008; 2011; 2013). Both its liveability strategy (McCann, 2007) and its four-pillar drug policy (McCann, 2008) have come to be imitated elsewhere, especially in North America, the former after first being filtered through the lens of “Vancouverism” (McCann, 2011b). Thus a particular, limited intervention in the built environment is signified by the name of the city itself. McCann (2013: 13) emphasises the simplifying effects of applying a “branding” – Vancouverism – to Vancouver’s various innovations, which “emphasises a complex set of commodities and practices in a simple, evocative shorthand”. This effect is crucial in identifying model cities. McCann’s argument that it is a

“simple” representation of “complex” practices is a persuasive explanation for the phenomenon of the model city: if contemporary urban policy is indeed “fast”, with competing policies clamouring for attention, then associating a policy with an actually-existing city makes it memorable. I use the term “packaging” to refer to this phenomenon in preference to “branding” because this phrase has the connotation of promoting a particular city in pursuit of tourism or investment (Gold and Ward, 1994), rather than as a policy model for imitation from other cities.

The instance of Vancouver illustrates not only how a model city can be mobilised but also how it can circulate. In his discussion of the adoption of Vancouver’s waterfront architecture in Dallas, McCann (2011a) notes that the circulation of Vancouver’s model involves the requirement to generate a “myth of commensurability” through which these disparate cities can be rendered similar. This is especially easy to do through the deployment at conference presentations of graphs and other statistical representations which can obfuscate significant differences between cities (McCann, 2011a).

2.5.2 Bilbao and “the Bilbao Effect”: a further instance of packaging

Gonzalez’s (2011) work on Bilbao demonstrates that it has become a policy “model”, and there has been clear reference to Bilbao’s perceived success in popular and academic literature (Gonzalez, 2006; Vicario and Martinez, 2007). Gonzalez demonstrates the importance of practices such as site visits and study tours in convincing delegates from abroad to adopt Bilbao’s culture-led regeneration approach in pursuit of a “Bilbao effect”. Accordingly, British and other northern European cities have been influenced by Bilbao’s investment in the arts and culture to revive its post-industrial waterfront. Gonzalez demonstrates the packaging and circulation of Bilbao as a model in her comment that Liverpool aspires to be “the Bilbao of the north” and that the then British Culture Secretary Tessa Jowell directed Newcastle-Gateshead, Birmingham, Manchester and Cornwall to become “new Bilbaos” in a press release of February 2003 – the latter being a particularly flummoxing example given that Cornwall is a rural area containing no cities on the scale of Bilbao.

As noted in the discussion of Vancouver, it may be that the constant policy churning identified by Peck and Theodore (2010b) has worked in favour of

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model cities since these have ready-made signifiers in the form of actually-existing cities. Where these cities themselves have striking visual symbols, as in the case of Bilbao with its iconic Guggenheim Museum, they are even more memorable and circulate even more readily. The effect of such visual referents has been to associate particular cities with particular policies. In a complex synecdoche, the policy intervention is represented by the building, but that building then comes to stand in for a particular city, such that the policy intervention becomes identified with the city itself as a “model city”. Massey realises part of this of this chain of signifiers with respect to global cities:

“The manoeuvre of highlighting only one part – often only a very small part – of the urban economy – is typical of global-city discourse. It is a strategy of synecdoche, where the part is made to stand in for the whole. So London and New York are classified as global cities on the basis of their finance and associated industries; but that is a characterisation that obscures all the other vital elements of their economies and societies.” (Massey, 2007: 41)

I concur with Massey that through this “manoeuvre” a city can come to be identified in a particular way – as a global city, for example. I am more interested in how the city itself comes to be recognised as a model in certain circumstances, and would propose a further step. The city is realised as successful on account of only a small part of it. Then, the policy intervention is identified with the name of the city as a whole, even though it was visited upon only a part of it. To return to the case of Bilbao, the whole city is recognised to have been successful (at something called culture-led regeneration) on the basis of the erection of one single spectacular building. Then, the phenomenon of culture-led regeneration morphs into “the Bilbao model”. Not “the Guggenheim model”, though when Bilbao is cited, the Guggenheim museum is often what is meant.

In this way, policy circulation works to construct not only successful policies but entire cities as successful. This emphasis upon the physical infrastructure of a model city does not contradict the idea that model cities consist of a packaging of an entire city – the economic, cultural, social, political and environmental – as one, it simply means that the substance within the packaging often amounts to merely physical innovation. This finding was noted

by Wolman, Ford and Hill (1994), who observed that American cities deemed to have been most successful economically in the 1980s had in fact experienced only modest results, but had in construction the use of landmark buildings and other physical developments as powerful symbolic images. An example is Baltimore, with perceived success out of proportion to its actual experience, but which possessed a high-profile waterfront development featuring the iconic Charles Center (*ibid.*).

Through interviews with officials and academics from Bilbao and the members of visiting delegations, Gonzalez (2011) constructs a convincing account of the centrality of study tours in manufacturing the Bilbao model. A critique of the tendency of British cities to look to Bilbao's experience in the 1990s and 2000s is that Bilbao was uniquely placed in at least two ways. First of all, it is the capital of an autonomous region with a strong identity, the Basque country. Britain's centralised government makes imitating Bilbao difficult. Second, the circumstances surrounding the opening of Bilbao's iconic Guggenheim Museum was exceptional, with that institution's US headquarters opting to open a franchise in Europe at a particular point in time for its own reasons. Moreover, culture-led regeneration did not begin with Bilbao, but was a feature of Glasgow's experience of the 1990s and was an ingredient of the Barcelona model (Garcia, 2004).

Writing of both Bilbao and Barcelona, Gonzalez (2011: 1412) suggests an instrumental role for model cities "as smoke screens behind which agendas of privatisation, modernisation of public services or tertiarisation of the economy can be implemented" – arguing that while a more favourable interpretation "as agendas for improvement of public spaces, high-quality urban design or civic participation" exists, she has found little evidence for it in the course of her empirical study. I acknowledge this instrumentality in my conception of model cities as argumentative resources (see chapter 2).

2.5.3 Barcelona and the contesting of model cities

The "Barcelona model" is one of the best-known urban regeneration models of the past three decades, though there is a diversity of opinion both about the ingredients constituting the model and the extent of its success (Marshall, 1996, 2010; Monclus, 2003; Degen and Garcia, 2012; Thornley, 2012). For

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Gonzalez (2011) it has three distinct phases – one in the late 1980s and primarily involving artists and architects intrigued by Barcelona’s innovative public spaces, a second around the time of the 1992 Olympic Games and increasingly involving property developers and delegations from other cities and a third since the late 1990s involving a more disparate set of actors with diffuse interests in Barcelona.

Certainly one significant element in Barcelona’s “model”, at the heart of its second phase identified by Gonzalez, is event-led regeneration and the use of the Olympic Games in Barcelona in 1992 to improve the city’s image, increase visitor numbers, and catalyse the redevelopment of waterfront areas (Monclus, 2003). That this element has been widely imitated is evident in the tenacity of certain cities such as Manchester in repeatedly bidding to stage similar sporting events in the hope of achieving similar “legacy” goals (Cook and Ward, 2011; cf. Chalkley and Essex, 1999). Another aspect of the Barcelona model is the strategic plan (Crot, 2010), which will be considered in more detail in the study of Buenos Aires below.

Yet the Barcelona model is predicated upon wider societal benefits, some of which did not materialise as social housing supposedly scheduled to be incorporated in the project remained unbuilt. Moreover, the suitability of Barcelona as an appropriate model for other cities has been disputed, on the basis of both its recent and longer history. Barcelona’s recent resurgence as a fashionable destination is certainly in contrast to its decay as a declining industrial centre, but the city has a long history as an artistic and architectural hub. The 1992 Olympic Games were held not long after the return of political autonomy and wider cultural self-respect to Barcelona as the capital of Catalunya, after the centralism and suppression of the Franco dictatorship (Crot, 2010). These factors separate Barcelona from many of its would-be imitators, as well as setting Barcelona itself in 2013 aside from the Barcelona of 1992. Finally, Thornley (2011) notes that London’s insistence that its bid to stage the 2012 Olympics would enhance its profile, just as Barcelona’s hosting of the 1992 event transformed that city’s international standing, is spurious given that London was already a global city, whereas Barcelona prior to the early 1990s was not.

British appreciation for Barcelona has been tremendous, with Gonzalez (2011) noting its achievement in becoming the first city to be awarded the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) Gold Medal for Architecture (in 1999) and that the influential British report *Towards an urban renaissance* (Urban Task Force, 1999) featured a prologue by the mayor of Barcelona.

2.5.4 Singapore: Modelling vs Referencing and the Regional Model City

Ong's (2011) work on Singapore's status as a model city foregrounds the numerous distinct ways in which cities can imitate one another, with "modelling" as one among a series of possibilities which also includes "referencing". The difference between the two is instructive:

"While urban modelling is a concrete instantiation of acknowledging another city's achievements, inter-referencing refers more broadly to practices of citation, allusion, aspiration, comparison, and competition" (*ibid.*: 17)

This distinction reinforces the contention in this thesis that model cities represent something more than simply borrowing from disparate cities. Whilst the goal of modelling is to follow another city's path to development, in referencing it is only certain features of the other city's success which are copied, often with ambitions of becoming a competitor. Ong's other major contribution is to emphasise the regional dimension of the model city as well:

"As a condensed set of desirable and achievable urban forms, the "Singapore model" has been raised in the imagination of planners and developers, and materialised in built forms throughout Asia and the developing world." (*ibid.*: 14)

This intra-Asian circulation is indicative of a regional dimension to the phenomenon of the model city. Goldman indicates that this intra-regional (in this case inter-Asian) modelling is common and can be applied to a number of other cities (2011: 557):

"The "Singapore model" of governance, the "Shanghai model" of infrastructure development and the "Bangalore model" of IT growth flow across major Asian cities as swiftly as do large amounts of finance capital and pools of ill-paid labor..."

Perhaps for reasons of commensurability discussed earlier in the context of McCann's (2011a) work, there is a tendency to invoke cities which are geographically proximate or otherwise deemed similar – for example culturally similar as in the circulation of Kuala Lumpur as a model in other Islamic countries (Bunnell and Das, 2010). In this context, the recent regeneration of Berlin can be theorised as an attempt to construct that city as a self-consciously European model city, emphasising European characteristics and avoiding perceived American practices (Molnar, 2010).

2.5.5 Porto Alegre, Global South Model Cities and differential imitation

Though Ong (2011) identified that the Singapore model has circulated primarily in Asia, there are other model cities which have transcended geographical and economic boundaries to circulate between the global south and north, as would be expected given the insights of new comparative urbanism (cf. Wood, 2012). Porto Alegre is a good example. Porto Alegre's status as a model for participatory budgeting is often asserted (Novy and Leubolt, 2005) although in common with all policy innovations, when it is mobilised it undergoes considerable change. Porto Alegre's experience in the 1980s and 1990s was not unique, with Belo Horizonte experimenting similarly at that time (Souza, 2001), but the model became linked inextricably to Porto Alegre (cf Robinson, 2011b), such that the concept of participatory budgeting is all but synonymous with Porto Alegre. Though most of its early imitators came elsewhere in Brazil (Cabannes, 2004), the model was later adopted in Europe – an instance of south-north policy circulation.

Sintomer, Herzberg and Röcke (2008) demonstrate that the various European manifestations of the Porto Alegre model each differ from the Brazilian original in significant respects. Suggesting that “participatory budgeting is not limited to *one* model” (*ibid.*: 166), they state that Cordoba has most closely adopted Porto Alegre's participatory budgeting, Madrid's system is more corporatist, Bradford has allowed access to community funds that are crucially independent of the municipal budget (unlike in Porto Alegre), Płock has greater private sector involvement, France has adopted a merely consultative “proximity participation” and Germany has followed a “Consultation on public finances model” only vaguely related to Porto Alegre and more closely influenced by

Christchurch, “leading to the emergence of mixed models” (Sintomer, Herzborg and Rocke, 2008: 173).

The Porto Alegre experience shows that the same model city can be mobilised in quite different ways elsewhere, whilst the experience of Germany implies that more than one model city can be mobilised in a receptor city at the same time. This latter implication is considered further in the case of Buenos Aires below.

2.5.6 Buenos Aires and the reception of model cities

As well as narrating the success of a number of model cities, there have been case studies of individual cities’ experience of models from the demand-side, as imitators rather than “orginary” cities (Ong, 2011) or model cities.

Crot (2010) narrates the experience of Buenos Aires in adopting both the Porto Alegre model and the Barcelona model at the same time. Arguing that the mechanisms of this process are significant since both the Barcelona model of strategic planning and the Porto Alegre model of participatory budgeting involve stakeholders and residents respectively in decision-making and thus challenge traditional representative democracy, Crot employs De Jong’s (2004) typology of policy transfers as an explanatory tool. For De Jong, policy circulation takes place either through “goodness of fit” where model and imitator are constructed as similar through geographical proximity or historical connections; or through “actors pulling in” models. In Crot’s analysis (*ibid.*), “goodness of fit” explains Buenos Aires’ adoption of the Barcelona model, in common with other Latin American cities, under the auspices of the Ibero-American Centre for Strategic Urban Development (CIDEU), whilst Buenos Aires’ adoption of the Porto Alegre model is better considered as example of “actors pulling in”. In both instances the transfers were acknowledged to have been unsuccessful. This is because the Barcelona model was copied with insufficient attention to Barcelona’s particular circumstances (see page 17) and modified to establish a merely consultative rather than authoritative strategic plan whilst the Porto Alegre model was also modified considerably, to resemble more closely its various European manifestations, and “pulled in” largely for political reasons, which we have already encountered as a recipe for poor policy-making (Dolowitz, 2003).

The Buenos Aires experience suggests that a city can draw upon more than one model simultaneously. Whilst I accept that this is perfectly possible, the concept of the model city risks being diluted if all that is meant is that Buenos Aires “pulled in” various bits and pieces from other cities. That constitutes the borrowing of models but probably not “model cities” because the model city implies the intended imitation of the holistic approach of a certain city (even if the substance of the model is often a purely sectional intervention; e.g. an emphasis upon waterfront regeneration). The distinction between imitating a model city and pulling in bits and pieces will be explored further in section **Error! Reference source not found.**, when the concept of assemblage is considered.

2.6 Characteristics of a model city

The previous paragraph implied a developing conceptualisation of the model city. Boundaries were drawn around the concept delineating what was and was not allowed to count. Before moving on, it is both possible and fruitful to construct a definition of the model city. This is important not only to clarify our thinking about current processes, but to ensure that in the later chapters, when historical analysis is used to formulate a history of the model city, it is clear what is meant. So far we can say that model cities must be constructed as being successful in something, usually an innovation. This innovation is not common to all cities but has arisen *in situ* in the model city or at least been deployed there on a larger scale than elsewhere or previously. Ward (2013: 303) voices his opinion that “...in my view, the cities that stand out as major international models are notable more for the scale and the particular setting of what they did, rather than its absolute novelty”. Moreover, the innovation or the city must be constructed not just as successful but as worthy of imitation elsewhere. Finally, there must be a conscious connection between the city itself and the innovation that has taken place there, such that imitator cities elsewhere are not merely borrowing policies but copying a template. This distinction is a significant one because without it, all we have is cities doing things well and borrowing things from one another which is unremarkable. In summary, the term “model city” can be considered to refer to a city (i) recognised to have been successful in (ii) adopting an innovation and (iii) proposed as a template for cities elsewhere. This threefold definition will be

revisited at the end of this chapter and in the following chapter, where the question of how to operationalise it in historical research will be considered.

Two other characteristics of the model city identified in this section were that model cities (i) may be contested politically and (ii) can circulate either regionally or globally. The first of these is implied by the idea that model cities are proposed as templates for cities elsewhere: this proposal is a political speech-act which in a democracy will inevitably be subject to counter-claim and deliberation. The identification of model cities with deliberative processes will be a significant theme of the next chapter.

The next part of this chapter examines other phenomena observed within the urban studies literature which, though related to the concept of the model city, need to be carefully distinguished from the model city as defined in this section.

2.7 Model cities and paradigmatic cities

As well as the branding of certain cities as “model cities” in the twenty-first century, there is also evidence in the literature of other labels becoming attached to certain cities, some of which share common characteristics with the model city. Besides the global city (reviewed in sections 2.3 and 2.4), these include the creative city, the paradigmatic city and the urban anti-model. These will be discussed in turn, with their relevance to discussions of the model city elaborated. Cities labelled in these ways can also be model cities, though there are usually subtle differences involved which could potentially be overlooked, resulting in misidentification – a methodological challenge that will be addressed by considering their particular characteristics.

2.7.1 Creative cities as “abstract model cities”

The creative city hypothesis was developed by Richard Florida (2002; 2003; 2005) and is predicated on the notion that successful cities in the contemporary globalising economy should adopt a strategy of investing in “creativity”. This hypothesis contends that the greatest resource from which an urban economy can draw is the latent talent of its people. In this Florida is influenced by Leadbeater and Oakley’s (1999) notion of the cultural entrepreneur. Florida’s empirical research leads him to urge cities to pursue

the “three t’s” of technology, talent and tolerance” (Florida, 2003: 10) The significance of Florida’s (2005) theorisation of the creative city is that it does not refer to any specific city. His book occasionally praises the efforts and achievements of cities such as Austin, Burlington and Columbus; but these are not models in themselves but merely examples of successful implementation of what I term the “creative city model”. This suggests that alongside the privileging of particular actually-existing cities as models, there is also a possibility of more abstract templates for urban success. Besides “grounded” model cities, such as Barcelona, Bilbao and Singapore, urban planners and policymakers can also choose to adopt abstract model cities such as the creative city (or the “smart city” (Guardian, 2013), “liveable city” (McCann, 2007) etc. Where actually-existing cities are presented only incidentally as examples of the implementation of such models (such as Austin in the case of the creative city), I have termed these “illustrative cities”. Later in this thesis, the concept of the abstract model city will be developed, with the utopian model city (an example being the garden city devised by Ebenezer Howard) and the rational model city being proposed as further examples (see pages 135 and 180). The concept of the illustrative city is also revisited, since utopian and rational model cities of the twentieth century had their own grounded instantiations.

2.7.2 Paradigmatic cities and model cities

Paradigmatic cities have also received scholarly attention in recent years. Such cities are said to encapsulate the *zeitgeist* of a particular historical moment. The best known of the contemporary paradigmatic cities is Los Angeles, which is cited as a supreme example of the postmodern world (Soja, 1989; Dear and Flusty, 1998). Dear and Flusty positioned Los Angeles as embodying the late twentieth century just as Chicago did the early twentieth century (cf Park, McKenzie and Burgess, 1925). For example, the familiar representation of the spatial layout of a city using concentric rings is now inadequate and a chequer board-style “keno capitalism”, developed through an observation of Los Angeles, is a better prism through which to understand urbanism as a whole.

This positioning of Los Angeles was critiqued from several angles. Firstly, for Beauregard (2004) it is a misreading of history, with the entire twentieth century concentraed unacceptably and earlier challenges to the Chicago

School overlooked. Instead, Beauregard suggests that what is taking place is better understood as an exercise in academic boosterism on the part of the influential Los Angeles school, which is in danger of forfeiting the critical distance required for social science (Beauregard, 2003) – a claim contested by Dear (2003). Secondly, Nijman (2000) argues that the Los Angeles School's analysis, far from updating previous conceptions of urbanism which have outlived their utility, is itself actually outdated. He historicises the paradigmatic cities of the United States with reference to transport and begins by asserting that New York's domination of the nineteenth century in America was based around its shipping connections to Western Europe. The rise of the railroads contributed to a shift in the balance of power to Chicago in the early twentieth century, and that of road transport fuelled Los Angeles' ascendancy in the late twentieth. Yet Nijman states that the twenty-*first* century is witnessing a further shift, with air travel increasing in importance. In this context, its position as the *entrepôt* for South American trade is increasing the significance of Miami as the genuine paradigmatic city. A third critique of the Los Angeles School's work comes as we have seen from Robinson (2002), for whom any analysis that an American city can embody the twenty-first century must be questioned, given that the world's largest and fastest growing cities, both economically and demographically, are in the global South.

In spite of the scepticism that has greeted the claims that Los Angeles really is a paradigmatic city in the twenty-first century, attempts have been made to gauge the success of other cities with reference to the paradigm. Liu (2012) argues that many of the five urban paradigms derived from Los Angeles' experience (Dear, 2005) – World City, Cybercity, Dual City, Hybrid City and Sustainable City – are only partially applicable in Shanghai. It is not a world city, but a globalising city – in the state of becoming a world city (cf Ong, 2011). It is not a true cyber city, although physical networks of people and goods are significant, and it is a dual, socially-segregated city on three scales: intra-urban, local-global and local-national. The paradigms of hybridity and sustainability have only modest currency in contemporary Shanghai. Liu (2012) argues furthermore that Shanghai's experience is rendered fundamentally different from that of Los Angeles by the interventionist role of the developmentalist state in China and East Asia.

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Notwithstanding the various criticisms of the Los Angeles school and Los Angeles' claims to paradigmatic status, it appears that paradigmatic cities do exist and have existed in the past in the popular imagination. Paris' prominence as "capital of the nineteenth century" was noted by Walter Benjamin (1978). The difference between these various paradigmatic cities and model cities is that the paradigmatic cities are not necessarily normative. Whilst Barcelona and Bilbao are described as cities that have been successful and ought to be imitated, there is nothing about the paradigmatic city which *necessarily* entails this – though some might be thought of as normative. Certainly the tone of much of Soja's (1989; 1996; 1999) work is often ambivalent towards Los Angeles. Soja rarely suggests that other cities *should* become like Los Angeles, although that city's status as a paradigm leads him to assert that they *will*. In a sense there is an implicit urge for action, that other cities should prepare for their transformation to resemble contemporary Los Angeles, but this transformation is itself inevitable and beyond their control, rather than one to be sought. That said, a troubling aspect of the paradigmatic city, in particular the global city (see section 2.3) is the all-too-easy conflation of "is" and "ought" that causes cities elsewhere to attempt to emulate Northern cities such as Los Angeles.

According to Brenner (2003), paradigmatic cities may be either archetypes (typical of their time), stereotypes (extreme examples of their time) or prototypes (pictures of the future). Brenner defines these various types as follows:

"A city is stereotypical (generic). Here the claim is that an existing city contains features that are fundamentally similar to the features of all other cities within a given set of cities. Such a city reveals the present state of urbanism by embodying all of its key elements in an exemplary, stereotypical form.

A city is archetypical (unique). Here the claim is that the city is entirely unique or an extreme case of a more general phenomenon. Such a city reveals the present state of urbanism through its extremity or exceptionality.

A city is prototypical. Here the claim is that the city is the first case of a major trend in contemporary urban life. One may thus expect other

cities to become more similar to it as they develop. Such a city reveals the future of urbanism due to its trend-setting character.” (Brenner, 2003: 208)

This classification is helpful in conceptualising what is meant by a paradigmatic city, though the diversity of claims made about Los Angeles mean it could fit into each of these categories. Brenner’s classification of paradigmatic cities is significant for another reason: because developing a typology of model cities in the twentieth question is a key research question (see page 37) and will be considered further in the next chapter. For now, it is worth noting that the model city as I define it fits into none of these three types but constitutes a fourth since it is a normative model which other cities are invited to deliberately imitate.

2.7.3 Urban anti-models

A final categorisation of city that has received less academic attention is the anti-model, or the cautionary tale. This kind of city is notorious for its undesirability and other cities strive to avoid following its example. Peck and Theodore (2010a: 171) refer to the phenomenon:

“the policy blogs are unlikely to be running hot, anytime soon, with talk of the Havana model, *Kabulism*, or even lessons from Detroit”

Further allusion to the anti-model is found in Thiel (2012), where the Barcelona model for a successful Olympic legacy is inverted in a study of how London attempted to learn from the *mistakes* of Athens’ 2006 Olympic Games. For this research, it is significant that anti-models attract attention since there is the potential for confusion whereby cities frequently mentioned in the archives come to be misidentified as model cities when in fact they are anti-models, (see chapter two).

This section has presented other types of city which shed light on the model city but also contain the potential for confusion. The creative city is an *abstract* model city, which is different from the *grounded* model city. Grounded attempts to follow an abstract model are classified as *illustrative* cities. Paradigmatic cities have in common with model cities that grand claims are made about them. Sometimes the claim might even be that they represent the

future for all cities, as in the case of the “prototypical” city observed by Brenner (2003). Yet they are distinct from model cities because this future is said to be inevitable, rather than desirable. The language of argumentation, which will be explored further in chapter three, is instructive here in elaborating the difference. The argument with respect to prototypical cities is that they *will* be emulated, not that they *should* be, and there is therefore no claim for political action and no evidence for deliberation.

2.8 Municipal internationalism since 1880

The literatures presented above are each occupied primarily with the present, early twenty-first century world. Neither urban policy mobilities, new comparative urbanism nor global urbanism has much to say about the contemporary antecedents of the model city phenomenon (notwithstanding Nijman’s [2007b] discussion of the potential for comparison through time as well as across space), although Cochrane and Ward (2012: 6) argue that

“...the heavily populated world of consultants, exchanges and visits, political and professional networks that cluster around urban initiatives...often have a longer history than is sometimes acknowledged.”

Thus Cochrane and Ward accept that there may be a longer history to urban policy mobilities than is often accepted. Yet there is much that could be gained from providing a historical perspective on the model city. Understanding the origins and evolution of the model city could allow for a critical appraisal of some of the explanations given for its current prevalence, which as we have seen are usually related in some way to the rise of neoliberalism. This is why one of the chief aims of this thesis is to historicise the phenomenon. A lengthier discussion of the merits of a historical study can be found at the beginning of chapter three.

Whilst there is a lack of information about model cities specifically before the late twentieth century, there is plentiful evidence that there were exchanges of information between cities prior to this period. In the following sections I present the contributions of the literature on municipal internationalism, emphasising both the continuities and discontinuities in the period since 1880:

or the “long twentieth century” (Ewen and Hebbert, 2007). This literature has partly been inspired by an impulse to historicise contemporary globalisation through the identification of earlier connections and networks that might prefigure it (Saunier, 2002).

2.8.1 1880-1913: Peripatetic planners

Municipal internationalism has a long history, but the modern phenomenon has been documented by Rodgers (1998) as emerging in the late-nineteenth century. During this period, European and North American cities sought solutions to the problems caused by rapid industrialisation and urbanisation (Hall, 1988; Mumford, 1961). Among the severest of these problems was the lack of sanitation, which began to be corrected in response to the campaigns of reformers such as Edwin Chadwick and the expertise of engineers such as Joseph Bazalgette (Hunt, 2004). Such improvements, even on a modest scale, attracted opposition among ratepayers, especially where local authorities took on responsibility for supply themselves, as in Glasgow (Gibb, 1983; Fraser and Maver, 1996). Yet for progressive thinkers from the United States, European cities which had undertaken such improvements were studied carefully as sources of information and experience. As Rodgers (1998) notes:

“Municipalisation was the first important Atlantic-wide progressive project... municipalisers across the North Atlantic economy began to construct a modest, alternative social economy to that of the thoroughly commercial city. But as the furore over streetcars and corruption showed, the municipalisation movement was also a political lesson in the dramatic importance of timing, and the cumulative effects of small differences” (Rodgers, 1998: 159)

If in the above paragraph, twenty-first century neoliberalisation were substituted for nineteenth-century municipalisation, surprising parallels would be evident. Contemporary neoliberalisation is not an inevitable process but has depended upon committed neoliberalisers, and their activities have been contested. The effects of timing and small differences have produced variegated neoliberalism, which differs in its various actually-existing contexts (Brenner and Theodore, 2002; Brenner, Peck and Theodore, 2010). That the politics of urban policymaking are not

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unrecognisable provides further support for the exercise of investigating past processes in the hope of interrogating contemporary globalisation, as Saunier (1999a, 2001) and Ewen and Hebbert (2007) seek to do.

One difficulty with researching the networks involved in these exchanges is that they are “hard to track” (Saunier, 1999a: 24). It is difficult to access informal linkages and journeys. This is why Saunier (1999a) focuses on the life of an individual, John Nolen, in an attempt to interrogate these wider patterns. Nolen is celebrated as a pioneer of planning in the United States, being responsible for the planning of Akron, San Diego and Kingsport, but Saunier’s contribution is to demonstrate the extent of his international involvement, for instance as a member of a study tour delegation sent to Europe by the Boston Chamber of Commerce in 1911 and visiting the English company town of Port Sunlight as well as France and Germany. Thus Saunier presents a method for interrogating the connections (Saunier, 2002) of cities at this time through the activities of individuals, just as McCann favours an “ethnographic” approach in which the activities of policy entrepreneurs are documented as a method of studying twenty-first century policy mobilities (McCann, 2011a).

Rodgers (1998) notes that these “Atlantic Crossings” in fact worked in both directions and involved a distinct community of progressive intellectuals. The study tour was a significant part of their learning experience –perhaps the more so then than in the twenty-first century because long distance communication remained difficult – Saunier’s (1999a) narration of Nolen’s study tour records the delegation’s arrival in the port of Liverpool, rather than at Heathrow Airport. In the 1890s and the first decade of the twentieth century, intermunicipal rather than purely interpersonal networks emerged, as municipalities including Birmingham (Ewen, 2005) and Lyon (Saunier, 1999b) sought to both learn and disseminate urban information. An example is the visits made in 1905 by John Nettlefold to German cities, to learn lessons that might be implemented by his employer, Birmingham City Council (Ewen, 2005).

Also significant in the late nineteenth century were large-scale expositions such as that in Paris in 1900, where differing conceptions of social politics were advocated, including Bismarck’s public paternalism in Germany, private paternalism/welfare capitalism along the lines of Port Sunlight in the USA, and syndicalism/mutualism in France (Rodgers, 1998). This demonstrates that

there was considerable dialogue and disagreement between individuals and the cities and nation-states they represented.

2.8.2 1913-1945 The *Urban Internationale*

The networks of individual, peripatetic progressives identified by Rodgers gave way in the early twentieth century to a more formalised and bureaucratic system of information exchange, though often still through socialist networks (Dogliani, 2002). First came a number of specialist institutions identified by Ewen and Hebbert (2007) - the International Federation of Fire Brigades (founded 1901), Association Generale des Hygienistes et Techniciens Municipaux (founded 1905), and Permanent Road Congresses International Association (founded 1909). Then came more generalized institutions dedicated to urban questions. Saunier (2001) has identified the emergence of a number of such institutions, including the International Union of Local Authorities (IULA; also known by its French acronym UIV – *Union Internationale des Villes*) and the International Federation for Housing and Planning (IFHP; originally constituted as the International Garden Cities and Town Planning Association). These organisations were both founded in 1913 as clearing-houses for the dissemination of technical information, relating to municipal administration and town planning respectively. Their importance was such that the role of individual progressives or direct interurban learning was reduced in significance.

Saunier (2001) suggests that the impulse behind the acceleration of organised urban exchange characteristic of this period was by no means eradicated by the onset of World War One. Instead,

“the pressures of the First World War promoted thinking about the organization and rationalization of work and space, about the efficiency of production and government and how to establish stable peace, both between social classes and between nations. Through the political institutions that it generated (the foremost being the League of Nations), the war actually created structures that would provide an official, legitimate, political, bureaucratic echo-room for concerns that had previously been voiced only within coterie of philanthropists, scholars, technical experts and elected politicians” (*ibid.*: 381)

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The impulse behind the *urban internationale* can also be found in the growing conviction, no doubt sparked by the earlier, less formalised communication, that the urban was a universal condition and urban problems were common to all developed countries. For Saunier, this “*Urban Internationale*” also consisted of international philanthropic foundations such as the Carnegie Endowment for World Peace (active since the 1890s in Belgium), the Rockefeller Foundation with an emphasis on efficient administration, and the Ford Foundation, particularly later on as Europe sought to rebuild after World War Two under the Marshall Plan (Saunier, 2001). Other constituent bodies included the League of Nations and the International Labour Organization, both of which co-operated to some extent with the IULA.

One weakness in these accounts of municipal internationalism is their focus on Europe and North America and their connections. The focus on these regions is problematic, since it precludes any consideration of municipal internationalism on other continents. Moreover, by focusing on connections *between* these regions, this analysis may overlook the extent to which British cities, for example, shared experiences with countries outside Europe and North America – most obviously within its own Empire or Commonwealth. That Britain did learn from Indian experience is evident from King (1976).

2.8.3 1945-1970: Town twinning

The post-war situation in Europe has seen further transformations in the form taken by municipal internationalism. The organs of the *Urban Internationale* remained, as they do into the twenty-first century with both the IULA and the IFHP celebrating their centenaries in 2013, but their importance as channels for urban information has lessened. In their place has come a resurgence of both interpersonal communications and direct intermunicipal relations. Ewen and Hebbert’s (2007) periodization of municipal internationalism argues that the interwar *Urban Internationale* was a result of an impetus for co-operation between nation-states, whereas the post-war period saw “an explosion in town twinnings” in pursuit of “supranational unification within postwar Europe” (*ibid.*: 327).

Thus, a primary forum for the exchange of ideas since 1945 has been via town twinning agreements (Clarke, 2009; 2010; 2011; 2012a; Gaspari, 2002). These

apparently innocuous cultural exchanges often functioned as conduits for information exchanges between cities (Zelinsky, 1991; cf. Shuman, 1987). Town twinning relationships involving British cities came to be organised by the Council for European Municipalities (CEM) and the United Towns Organisation (UTO), with the former allied to IULA and promoting relationships within Western Europe. UTO meanwhile orchestrated exchanges between cities located on opposite sides of Europe's Iron Curtain, with the activities of this agency greeted with increasing suspicion from the British government, which suspected Communist infiltration (Vion, 2002; Clarke, 2011). Recent studies have demonstrated the continuing significance of town twinning relationships involving British cities (Jayne, Hubbard and Bell, 2011; 2013).

Town twinning's history is another corrective to the idea that municipal internationalism is a novel phenomenon. It is also notable as a rare opportunity for Western engagement with cities in the Soviet bloc during the Cold War. Yet the evidence for municipal internationalism does not amount to a certainty that model cities existed also. Clarke (2012b) notes that the municipal internationalism observed during the early twentieth century is a predecessor to contemporary policy mobility – but is by no means its equivalent, since “one literature is concerned with urban policy whereas the other is concerned with municipalities and their connections” (Clarke, 2012b: 26). Since model cities are municipalities which become mobilised as policy models in themselves, it is to be anticipated that historical analysis of model cities can contribute to each of these literatures and potentially form the basis of a productive conversation between them.

2.8.4 Fragmented municipal internationalism since 1970

The more recent trajectory of municipal internationalism has been documented by Ewen and Hebbert (2007), who suggest that cities have increasingly come to interact with supranational organisations such as the European Union, occasionally working through new institutions such as Eurocities, which was founded by the “second-tier” European cities of Barcelona, Birmingham, Lyon, Milan, Frankfurt and Rotterdam in 1986. Yet alongside this development, cities have sought lessons from an eclectic mix of formal institutions, philanthropic foundations, other cities, nation-states, experts and other state and non-state actors simultaneously (Ewen and Hebbert, 2007). This has involved a return to

the individual *ad hoc* relationships of the 1890s, but there is no sense of municipal internationalism having come full circle because the institutions of the *urban internationale* and town twinning are alive and well, if deposed from the dominant position they once enjoyed.

Municipal internationalism is of far more than historical interest, with its proponents noting how it can inform our understanding of cities under contemporary globalisation (Saunier, 2002; Ewen, 2005; Ewen and Hebbert, 2007). The historical analysis of model cities presented in the later chapters has a similar ambition. Since they constitute a subset of the urban policies that might be communicated within instances of municipal internationalism, model cities ought to be amenable to similar analysis and capable of yielding similar insights into twenty-first century processes. In the following chapter I select as an appropriate methodology for analysing model cities since 1880 the use of archival sources from institutions, some of which correspond to those of the *urban internationale* identified by Saunier (2001) with others becoming more significant in the interwar period when the *urban internationale* has been demonstrated to have declined in importance as a conduit for international exchanges of ideas.

2.9 Model cities and assemblages

This section briefly surveys the recent literature within urban studies which has attempted to develop and apply the concept of assemblage as a possible tool in understanding urban policy mobilities. It suggests how the concept could be applied to the study of model cities, before concluding that assemblage is not a helpful framework for the analysis of model cities.

Scholars engaged in the empirical literature on urban policy mobilities have sought a theorisation of that phenomenon in the vocabulary of assemblage (McCann, 2011b). This has caused the term to be used in many different ways, an elasticity of which Anderson and McFarlane (2011) approve, though they suggest three main uses of the term – as descriptor, as concept and as ethos. In this endeavour, cities are understood as the products of resources, ideas and knowledge:

“...we are interested in understanding how and with what consequences urbanism is assembled through policy actors’ purposive gathering and fixing of globally mobile resources, ideas and knowledge” (McCann and Ward, 2012: 43)

Urban policy mobilities is thus conceived as an interrogation of the processes through which actors seek and implement knowledge from elsewhere in the construction of their city, through studying the sites, spaces and scales which constitute cities as they learn from elsewhere; focusing on the actors; a commitment to comparative urbanism and studying practices and their micro-spaces (*ibid.*).

Within a framework of cities as assemblages of resources, ideas and knowledges, it is possible to position model cities as constituting some of the argumentative resources which might be pulled in to support particular ideas. Thus Cook and Ward (2012a) refer to Cleveland’s waterfront plan as having been assembled from the experiences of multiple cities. The significance of argumentation in discussions of urban policy was established by Mintrom (1997: 740) with reference to his hypothesised class of “policy entrepreneurs”:

“Crafting arguments in support of their proposed policy innovation is critical for policy entrepreneurs if they are to successfully sell – or “broker” – their ideas to potential supporters”

Whether or not a clearly-defined class of policy entrepreneur actually exists – for Mintrom they are “key actors in the policy process” (Mintrom, 1997: 765) as opposed to the only actors – there is clearly a need for argumentation in the discussion of urban policy if even such powerful actors need to invoke popular consent. I elaborate the conceptualisation of model cities as argumentative resources in the following chapter, alongside a demonstration of how such a conceptualisation could be operationalised in urban research. I believe the historicisation and reconceptualisation of the model city as an argumentative resource to be the two major contributions presented in this thesis. Argumentation will be discussed further in the next chapter.

However, though the articulation of model cities as argumentative resources will be taken up in the following chapter, I am not convinced that model cities can really be conceptualised as constituting elements of urban assemblages.

Assemblage urbanism implies the formulation of urban policies and the production of urban space through the pulling in of ideas garnered from various cities (as well as other entities – e.g. nation-states or private consultancies). The metaphor of assemblage presents urbanism as fundamentally messy and incoherent, produced through compromise between various competing arguments. Though this is a persuasive account of the actual production of the urban, this thesis is concerned with the rhetoric underlying urban policy, which is typically that a more coherent strategy is being adopted than that indicated by the term “assemblage”: model cities imply the deliberate copying of an urban template evidenced elsewhere. This thesis concerns the model cities which constitute the argumentative resources upon which deliberation can take place, whereas assemblage urbanism concerns the outcome of such deliberation.

2.10 Research questions

The literature set out above is suggestive of a series of research priorities, which I address in this thesis. There has been much attention to urban policy mobilities, with the use of entire cities in themselves as templates for urban development being observed – often as signifiers for particular policies exemplified within them. This phenomenon, that of the model city, has received little explicit attention, and in particular its history remains unexplored. Comparative urbanism suggests that cities likely to become models have to be presented as similar to imitating cities in some respects – their circumstances – but different insofar that they have been successful. This appears to be a promising framework for identifying the *possibility* for a city to become a model, but is in my judgment merely a necessary, rather than a sufficient, condition. The literature on municipal internationalism provides indications that municipalities have long exchanged ideas within and between countries, which again is necessary for the existence of model cities rather than sufficient since it does not necessarily imply the circulation of a set of model cities. Therefore the first research question, put crudely, is:

“Which cities have been the model cities of the long twentieth century?”

That is, given that cities such as Vancouver, Bilbao and Singapore are frequently attested as models in the 2010s, what were their equivalents in

previous decades? After all, the section on municipal internationalism (page 28) has established that international exchanges of urban information were a common feature of the long twentieth century. Whilst the forums of exchange might have differed, the mechanics were remarkably similar – study tours, conferences and personal relationships proving fundamental to the process.

One problem with this question is that it assumes the existence of grounded model cities. I have suggested that there are convincing reasons to expect model cities to appear throughout the long twentieth century. Yet the possibility remains that during some periods, other phenomena were present, either alongside or instead of model cities – for example the abstract model cities exemplified by the creative city in Richard Florida’s work.

- (i) “Have grounded model cities been a feature of the long twentieth century?”
- (ii) “Which other phenomena have existed instead of or alongside grounded model cities during the long twentieth century?”

These two questions are the fundamental research questions of this project, though others arise from them:

- (iii) “Are there any observable trends in the identity and characteristics of the model cities identified during the long twentieth century?”

This question is significant because there may be many different phenomena identified, including grounded model cities, and it would be useful to consider them together if they do share identifiable characteristics.

- (iv) “If so, can these different expressions of the model city be typologised?”

This question is necessary because a typology might provide the conceptual apparatus for a heuristic which would allow the different types to be explored in greater detail in the further questions below.

- (v) “If so, can the model cities of the long twentieth century be periodized?”

Periodization is a central ambition of this project. If it is established that discernible types of model cities can be identified, then it is at least possible

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that their relative prevalence could be mapped and arranged into a temporal sequence.

- (vi) “If so, how can this periodization be explained?”

The objective of this periodization is to find explanatory mechanisms. Correlation with institutional, professional or cultural shifts could be identified and even an attempt to attribute causation is not impossible, depending on the precise design of the project (Sayer, 1992). Indeed, the validity of claims made in response to any of these research questions is dependent upon an appropriate and satisfactory methodology (see chapter three).

- (vii) “What are the implications of this for our understanding of the contemporary processes of model city mobilisation and circulation?”

The contemporary processes are not fully theorised, and the historical dimension added by this research may allow for a greater understanding not only of the actual novelty or otherwise of the model city, as suggested by a periodization of model cities in the long twentieth century, but also of the actors and microspaces involved in the circulation of model cities.

3. Methodology

This chapter has two aims. First, it seeks to describe comprehensively the format of this research. To that end it begins by establishing the conceptualisation of model cities as argumentative resources, which was alluded to in the previous chapter. Next, the chapter describes the archives that were consulted and how each was sampled. Then the techniques of analysis by which these archives were used to provide evidence for argumentation are set out, before the chapter concludes with a consideration of how the data were subsequently interpreted.

The second aim of this chapter is to justify each of the decisions taken in this research. The conceptualisation of model cities as argumentative resources is defended and the choice of particular archives consulted is explained. I justify the sampling strategies and consider the theoretical basis for the analytical processes employed, providing responses to some anticipated objections. That I intend to justify each of the decisions taken does not imply that the methodology guarantees the total reliability of the findings that follow. Rather I simply aim to demonstrate that the decisions which were taken were at least reasonable in negotiating the compromises inherent in researching a large topic with limited resources.

Thus this chapter presents the research methodology transparently and provides a context in which the critical reader can evaluate the findings of the subsequent chapters. The first section describes the conceptualisation of model cities as argumentative resources, drawing particularly upon contributions from the “argumentative turn” of the early 1990s. The second section describes the selection of archives for study and the sampling within them, noting the rationale for selection and sampling. The third section describes the analysis of the archival material as textual and linguistic data amenable to analysis as argumentation through the critical discourse analysis technique developed by Fairclough and Fairclough (2012). The fourth section suggests how the material might be interpreted in pursuit of typology, periodization and explanation. Finally, the fifth section revisits the research questions devised at the end of the previous chapter and refines them in the light of the methodology defined.

3.1 Conceptualisation: model cities as argumentative resources

My conceptualisation of model cities as argumentative resources, mobilised in discussions about urban policy, owes much to the argumentative turn of the late 1980s and early 1990s (Fischer and Forester, 1993). During this period, a number of authors noted the significance that argumentation had in public policy. In a liberal, democratic society, a range of opinions exist and decisions are usually reached only after debate, with such debate in pursuit of decision-making being described as deliberation. As Fischer (1993) asserts:

“For those seeking to extend their political influence, both the decentralized character of power in the political system and the technical complexity of modern policy issues necessitate attention to policy arguments. Normative arguments and empirical evidence have become unavoidable components of modern policy styles” (Fischer, 1993: 35)

It could be said that the urban policy mobilities literature explored in chapter two has been good at recognising the importance of empirical evidence, but has attached less emphasis to normative arguments. Argumentation permeates the entire political process and is implicated even among professional policy “analysts” themselves:

“in a system of government by discussion, analysis – even professional analysis – has less to do with formal techniques of problem solving than with the process of argument. The job of analysts consists in large part of producing evidence and arguments to be used in the course of public debate” (Majone, 1989: 7)

Scholars positioning themselves within the argumentative turn sought variously to analyse the existent process of deliberation or to propose how it might be improved. Those interested in the latter (e.g. more recently Buchstein and Jörke, 2012) were influenced by the ideal situations presented by Jürgen Habermas (1996), who suggested that deliberation would be both more democratic and productive of better outcomes if as many groups as possible were invited to participate. Deliberation would ideally result in unanimous agreement. Habermas was writing in the 1970s and 1980s when the

significance of social movements as actors in various urban campaigns was becoming clear and their continued exclusion from policymaking was seen as compromising the legitimacy of the existent democratic mechanisms (Castells, 1983).

The first concern of the argumentative turn, however, was to observe and explain how decisions actually come to be reached by argumentation. Writers such as Majone (1989) noted that argumentation consists of persuasion in which various argumentative resources may be mobilised in an attempt to persuade. This theorisation of argumentation is useful because it provides a possible positioning of experiences elsewhere, including model cities, as being among the argumentative resources mobilised. Put simply, a claim for action, such as that a particular policy should be adopted, can be justified to an audience with respect to its success elsewhere. Another contribution from Majone (*ibid.*) is his observation that in deploying an argumentative resource to persuade an audience, a speaker need not have been convinced by that particular argumentative resource. Their own support for a policy may rather have been more motivated by other concerns, which they have chosen to conceal. This resonates with the suspicion that experiences of cities elsewhere are often used instrumentally within deliberation. For example, taking McCann's (2011a) case, a planning official might endorse a regeneration strategy for Dallas as a manifestation of the successful "Vancouver model", using Vancouver's experience as an argumentative resource, despite their personal support for the strategy arising out of prior commitments related to their professional training, ideology, interest or something else.

Despite the valuable contributions of Majone and others, argumentation has fallen out of fashion over the past twenty years. Though it is difficult to pronounce on the precise reasons for this, it may be that the argumentative turn's emphasis on language sat uncomfortably alongside the later turns, both within and outside geography, to practice as a priority for study. It is upon these later turns that the current literature on urban policy mobilities, explored in the previous chapter, has built as McCann (2011a) and Gonzalez (2011) have been drawn to studies of human interactions and the materiality of microspaces in policy circulation. Given this decline in popularity, it is tempting to dismiss argumentation as another academic "turn" that as a novel idea animated the social sciences in a flurry of activity before fading away (although

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it has recently been revived – see Fischer and Gottweis [2012]). Yet I have adopted the idea for two reasons. First of all, in a historical study such as this one I have only limited access, through secondary sources to the microspaces of policy transfer – and the access I do have is exclusively textual, save for a limited number of graphics and photographs. In this context, the argumentative turn's insistence that the advancement of arguments in debate is the basis of deliberation and the substance of politics provides both reassurance that model cities of the past can be identified through documentary analysis and a justification for doing so. Secondly, the claims of the argumentative turn have not been refuted by the more recent literature on urban policy mobilities. This literature continues to search for a satisfactory conceptualisation of *what* is actually transferred or mobilised and for what purpose. As I demonstrated in chapter two, the notion of assemblage is problematic when model cities are invoked, since the notion of a model implies the imitation of a single city (though undoubtedly with the model being modified, perhaps considerably, when it is implemented elsewhere) rather than the assembling of disparate experiences from multiple originary cities. Argumentation would suggest that the circulation of urban models is really a circulation of argumentative resources for the purpose of persuasion.

In adopting the notion of argumentation as central to urban politics and planning, I am therefore not invoking guesswork but drawing upon an established and in fact resurgent literature which I find convincing. Yet the application of argumentative theory to the earlier twentieth century is potentially problematic, since for some of the proponents of the argumentative turn, the phrase “argumentative turn” implies not merely a new paradigm for the *analysis* of urban politics, involving attention to argumentation, but also that the phenomenon of argumentation is itself novel, having arisen as a result of some of the trends towards greater stakeholder inclusion and participation identified by Castells (1983) and Habermas (1981). In this context, my own application of argumentation to debates in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is suspect. Yet this claim has not been tested and invites the question, “if not argumentation, then what?” That is to say, surely urban politics in democratic societies has always been through deliberation? The deliberation may have involved a smaller set of actors (in Habermas' terms it might have been profoundly unsatisfactory in excluding particular social

groups), the actors may have mobilised different argumentative resources in pursuit of quite different goals (and identifying which have been mobilised at different times is among the research questions addressed in this thesis), but the total absence of argumentation is difficult to imagine. Not all works from the argumentative turn convey the implication that argumentation was a novelty in the 1970s and 1980s. In opposition to the notion that rhetoric is a style or seductive language which is introduced into certain planning arguments, Throgmorton (1993: 117) argues that “all planning and analysis is rhetorical”. This is a question to which I return in my consideration of the operationalisation of argumentative theory on page 68.

Given that policy analysis and planning are thus fundamentally deliberative, the ideal archival sources for this historical research will be those in which argumentation about urban development take place. For Schmidt (2012: 91),

“Ideas, naturally do not “float freely”. They need to be carried by agents. But even where agents are treated as carriers of ideas, the connection between ideas and collective action remains unclear. The missing link is discourse not as representation but as interaction, and the ways in which ideas are conveyed through discursive argumentation lead to action”

Schmidt indicates that the best sources to use will be those where discourse appears as interaction – i.e. those institutions which exist and have existed for the advancement of claims about urban policy, through discursive argumentation (with model cities functioning as argumentative resources in support of these claims). Such institutions are preferable to other archives which present urban policy discourse as mere representation, ignoring the interaction inherent in its production.

3.2 Selected archives

This section describes the archives that were consulted during the study. A number of possible archives are identified, from which three are selected with their selection justified in terms of triangulation. The extent to which the possible archives can be considered as a population (according to the formal definition of that term within the technical language of social science research), from which the selected archives constitute samples, is evaluated.

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Then I turn my attention to each of the selected archives in turn – describing the characteristics of each and the sampling decisions taken in an attempt to interrogate them. Finally, some difficulties with the selected archives and the sampling strategies employed therein are observed.

3.2.1 Rationale for selection

The research questions outlined at the end of the previous chapter were used to inform the choices of institutional archives to be consulted in this project. The specification for appropriate institutions was as follows:

- (i) The institutions had to cover as much of the period from 1880 to the present as possible

This period was chosen because of Ewen and Hebbert's (2007) understanding of the "long twentieth century" as having begun in 1880 and Rodgers' (1998) complementary observation that international exchanges of information accelerated in the 1880s and 1890s. Ideally therefore, the selected archives would cover this entire period, with as few interruptions as possible, allowing for a longitudinal study within which the characteristics of model cities of different periods could be compared and contrasted. Archives that come as close as possible to the present are sought for two reasons: because they would permit further illumination of current trends and provide a better resource for temporal comparison. While there has been some attention to model cities in the present, I indicated in the previous chapter that they remain little understood. An understanding of how the institutions operate in the present will contextualise our understanding of their past.

- (ii) The institutions had to cover a large geographical scale

This criterion implies that priority was to be given to international institutions. After all, model cities as argumentative resources are frequently mobilised across international borders – whether regionally (Ong, 2011), within networks defined by linguistic or colonial connections (Gonzalez, 2011) or globally (Novy and Leubolt, 2005). However, archives dealing with a single country might also be useful because they could provide evidence of the circulation of model cities as argumentative resources at a different geographical scale. Whilst the municipal internationalism literature cautions against the suggestion that

international exchanges of urban information are a recent phenomenon, this does not preclude the possibility that they may have sat alongside intra-national exchanges. Therefore analysing a mixture of national and international institutions would improve the research design.

- (iii) The institutions had to provide access to discussions of urban development

This criterion entails two implications. First, it entails that any archives considered had to concern urban development rather than, say, national development or other topics. Many institutions discussed urban development alongside other topics. These archives could also be considered, provided urban development appeared frequently enough to glean reasonable amounts of data. The second implication of this criterion is that conversations about urban development had to be visible in the archives, as far as possible. Therefore, materials such as records of meetings and conference proceedings were deemed more worthy of consideration than, for example, textbooks on urban development, extensive government reports or other materials published long after conversations had taken place. Even if such materials would be a more reliable indicator of what development actually took place, the research questions emphasise not physical developments but the deployment of model cities as argumentative resources. Such deployments are considered to have been most likely at conferences where delegates advance competing ideas about urban development and seek suitable argumentative resources to persuade and convince their peers, rather than in later reports which could ignore some of the arguments advanced and (either as a deliberate strategy or otherwise) present a misleading narrative of unanimity in the pursuit of progress (cf. the discussion of Schmidt's [2012] contribution at the end of section 3.1).

3.2.2 Possible archives

Bearing in mind these three criteria – broad historical range, broad geographical scope and proximity to the sites of deliberation - the following archives were considered potential candidates for inclusion in the research design. Here I describe in outline each of the archives considered, but with

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further detail on the selected archives later. I present the possible archives in alphabetical order.

- (i) Association of Municipal Corporations (1872-1974) and Association of Metropolitan Authorities (1974-1997)

These organisations both provided a forum for discussion between local authorities in England and Wales and represented them in their lobbying of national government. Membership of the AMC was in principle available to all towns and cities, whilst the AMA, one of its successor organisations, was an exclusive group drawing its membership solely from the metropolitan councils established in England in 1974 and the Greater London Council, which had been established in 1965. Its archives were found to be publicly accessible at the University of Birmingham and begin in 1882; with the association's ninth annual report.

- (ii) Ford and Rockefeller Foundations; Carnegie Foundations

These US philanthropic foundations, noted by Saunier (2001) as having been an integral part of the *urban internationale* were rejected because they were active for only a relatively short period, given that the ideal situation was an archive existent since 1880.

- (iii) International Federation for Housing and Planning

The International Federation for Housing and Planning has undergone a series of name changes since its inception as the International Garden Cities and Town Planning Association in 1913 in Paris (Saunier, 2001). Part of its function has been as a forum for exchanges of technical information about planning (including but not limited to urban planning) between practitioners situated in different countries. It has also sought to promote particular forms of planning, emphasising concepts such as design and sustainability. The archives of this institution were found to be available for inspection at the IFHP's current headquarters in The Hague.

- (iv) International Union of Local Authorities

The IULA, often known by its French name *Union Internationale des Villes* and founded in 1913 (the same year as the IFHP) in Ghent, was, like the IFHP, identified by Saunier (2001) as part of the *urban internationale* which became

central to the dissemination of urban information between the first and second world wars, though it remained active thereafter. It served as a “clearing-house” for information and ideas from a number of countries. Its archives are currently inaccessible, partly as a consequence of IULA’s absorption into the UN organisation United Cities and Local Government (UCLG) and subsequent move to Barcelona in 2004.

(v) Royal Town Planning Institute

The RTPI was established in 1914 to promote the then nascent town planning profession within the UK and to support planners themselves as a professional body. Its archives are located in London. Among other publications it has produced a journal since its inception in 1914, which was known as the *Journal of the Town Planning Institute* until 1992, when it became *Planningweek* until 1997 and then *Planning Theory and Practice*.

(vi) Town and Country Planning Association

The TCPA was established as the *Garden Cities Association* in 1899 by Ebenezer Howard, as a pressure group campaigning for higher-quality planning, especially with respect to the preservation of the countryside and the provision of amenity (Hardy, 1999). Its archives are located in London and it also produces a journal, *Town and Country Planning*. Massey (2012) notes that *Town Planning Review* constitutes one of only three planning journals active in Britain before 1945, with the others being *Journal of the Town Planning Institute* and *Town and Country Planning*. Massey (2012) casts the *Journal of the Town Planning Institute* as being for professionals, *Town and Country Planning* as being for campaigners and *Town Planning Review* as being for academics. However he adds that:

“A close relationship existed between the different threads of the subject, with thoughtful practitioners and academics crossing easily between the different publications...” (Massey, 2012: 165)

This suggests more permeable boundaries between the professional and academic aspects of town planning earlier in the early twentieth century.

(vii) Town Planning Review

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Town Planning Review is a journal of town planning that was established at the University of Liverpool in 1910 under the editorship of Patrick Abercrombie. Whilst the inclusion of an academic journal may seem removed from the conversations around urban planning which I seek to interrogate, the process of researching and publishing such articles is surely a significant channel for the articulation and communication of arguments which ought not to be excluded. Moreover, as Ward (1994) makes clear, there was a less rigid distinction between the planning practitioner and planning student in the earlier twentieth century (as Patrick Abercrombie's significance in both spheres would indicate). Much of *TPR* was available for inspection at my home institution, the University of Southampton, with the remainder accessible at the London School of Economics.

3.2.3 Sampling between archives

The six remaining archives, after the philanthropic institutions had been discounted, were reduced to three on the basis of limited resources. Comprehensive, longitudinal studies of archives encompassing a century or more are time-consuming. Yet the use of archives from only one institution could call into question the reliability of any findings obtained. Both the presence and absence of model cities as argumentative resources in a single source could be dismissed as being determined by idiosyncrasies of the institution selected. One way of approaching this question is in terms of attempting to calculate the representativeness of one institution of the population of all discussions of urban development, within and outside of institutions. This population is in all probability fairly large, but if we restrict our consideration to the population of all institutions within which urban development might have been discussed, then selecting two or more institutions for analysis actually provides good coverage of the population. Yet this result is not terribly meaningful in the absence of any clear understanding of how similar the selected institutions are to the population of all possible institutions. Although they are hardly the most eccentric of institutions, they do have a number of idiosyncrasies, which are explored in parts 3.2.5, 3.2.6 and 3.2.7).

Another way to consider the question of representativeness is to frame the selected institutions less as samples of a population, which the previous

paragraph has established to be problematic, but as case studies. Stake (2003) notes that there are three types of case studies: intrinsic, instrumental and collective. Intrinsic case studies examine a particular case for its own specific interest, without any attempt to infer from it the characteristics of other cases. Instrumental case studies examine a particular case with the intention of inferring the characteristics of all cases. Finally, collective case studies consist of a number of cases designed to facilitate the drawing of conclusions. This study sits within the third category and somewhere between the first two. Its aim is to make general statements about model cities in the long twentieth century, but the three institutions selected equally constitute case studies with unique characteristics, from which any claims about the existence of model cities everywhere must be limited. That said, the triangulation between a number of case studies permits confidence that the findings, if not exhaustive, will be reliable. Baxter (2010: 93) is emphatic: “Are case studies generalizable? The short answer is yes.”

3.2.4 Selection of archives

A triangulation between two or more archives was preferred as a means by which reliability might be enhanced. A second reason for wishing to triangulate between archives was to gain access to conversations about urban development occurring in disparate professional communities (Wenger, 1998). Since three communities exist in the possible archives outlined earlier – professional planning, local government and academia – it was appropriate to seek to represent each of those in the study. Therefore three archives were required. As the only academic (as opposed to professional or campaigning) journal, *Town Planning Review* had to be included, as opposed to the RTPI or TCPA journals – notwithstanding the crossover between these constituencies observed by Massey (2012). Then, the difficulty of accessing IULA meant that in order for local government to be represented, AMC/AMA ought to be included (conversely, the inclusion of AMC/AMA mitigated the absence of IULA). This left a choice between IFHP, RTPI and TCPA to represent the planning profession. IFHP was preferred for since it allowed for a further triangulation, between national (in this case British) and international conversations about urban development. Whether *Town Planning Review* should properly be treated as national or international is difficult to determine, but alongside AMC/AMA

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and IFHP this does not matter and for now I consider it as both. The selection of the archives is represented in Table 3.1 on the following page, with selected archives indicated in bold type:

Scale	National	International
Professional Constituency		
Planning	Royal Town Planning Institute; Town and Country Planning Association	International Federation for Housing and Planning
Local Government	Association of Municipal Corporations - Association of Metropolitan Authorities	International Union of Local Authorities
Academia	Town Planning Review	

Table 3:1 Archives studied in this research

The adoption of these three archives permits an analysis of the period 1882-2011, as demonstrated in Figure 3:1:

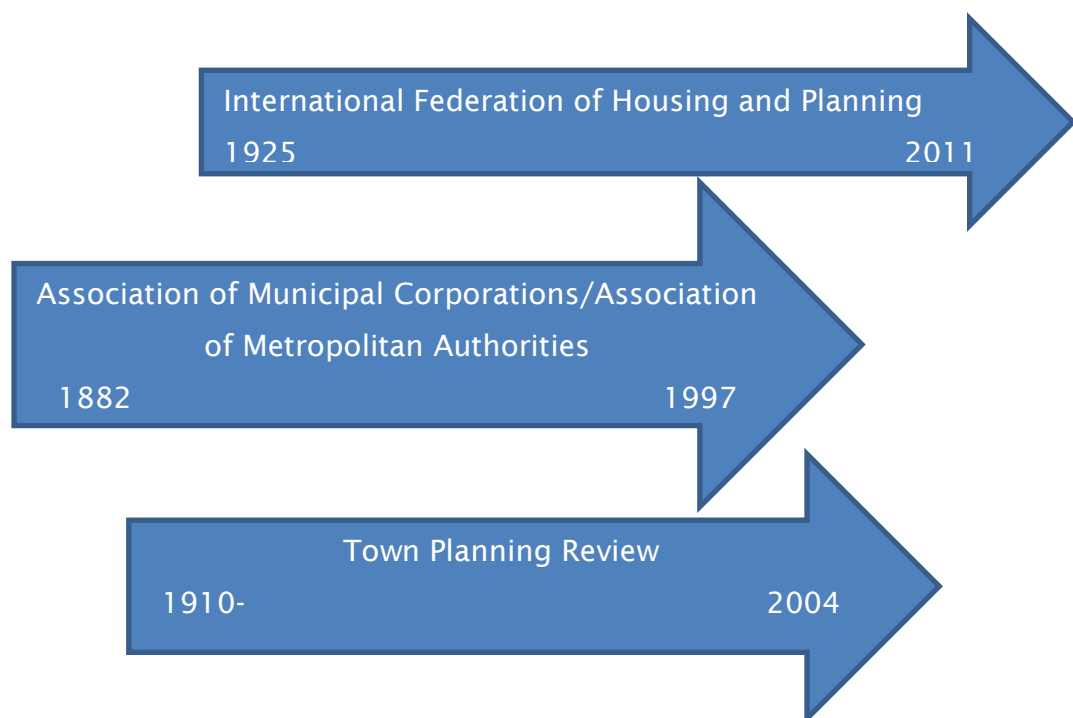


Figure 3:1 Temporal extent of the three archival sources

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This section will continue by considering each of the selected archives – IFHP, AMC/AMA and *Town Planning Review* – in further detail. Besides considering further the characteristics of each archive, the paragraphs which follow detail which materials from each were studied and how these were sampled, along with a consideration of some of the difficulties encountered with each archive. How the material was then analysed is explained in section 3.3 (page 61).

3.2.5 Association of Municipal Corporations/Association of Metropolitan Authorities (AMC/AMA)

The Association of Municipal Corporations had its origins in the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835, which invigorated local government in England and Wales by expanding the franchise and increasing local responsibilities. Yet the eclectic mix of county- and non-county boroughs of all sizes which constituted the AMC did not unite as a formal organisation until 1872 (AMC, 1923), when they deemed it necessary to unite in opposition to the Borough Funds Act of that year which effectively hamstrung local authorities by preventing the usage of funds raised through municipal taxation in the pursuit of legal cases, except after a referendum of ratepayers. The possibility of winning such a referendum would always be slight since, in addition to the ratepayers' probable aversion to providing extra rates for any purpose, ratepayers were also drawn largely from the comfortable classes whose perceived interests the progressive-minded local authorities were threatening in their legal cases. Thus was the AMC born as a "trade union" to represent the interests of local authorities and to present a united front for lobbying of government ministers in the UK Parliament. A sympathetic Member of Parliament usually served as the AMC's chairman.

After the reform of local government in 1974, the AMC, along with its sister organisations the County Councils' Association, Rural District Councils' Association and Urban District Councils' Association (whom it had sometimes opposed but with whom it had sometimes found common cause), was abolished. In its place came a new regime, whereby the new Association of Metropolitan Authorities represented not the myriad towns and cities of England and Wales but rather the constituent authorities of the six metropolitan counties created in 1974 (Greater Manchester, Merseyside, South Yorkshire, Tyne and Wear, West Midlands and West Yorkshire) as well as

Greater London, which had been created in 1965. The UK's other towns and cities were represented within the new Association of County Councils and Association of District Councils.

My use of the AMC/AMA archive at the University of Birmingham can be divided into two parts, though not in the most obvious way of AMC (1882-1974) and AMA (1974-1997). Rather, the pivotal year is 1935, where I began adopting the AMC's *Municipal Review* magazine - which continued seamlessly into the AMA era - as a data source in place of the *Council Minutes* which I had used previously. This is because the latter tended to focus excessively on the committee of the AMC and its operations, rather than on actual ideas and achievements of municipalities, which were celebrated in *Municipal Review* after its inception in 1929. The references at the end of this thesis provide the catalogue numbers from the University of Birmingham's Cadbury Research Library. These apply only to the AMC era; *Municipal Review* under the auspices of the Association of Metropolitan Authorities has not been catalogued.

Within the archive of the AMA's *Council Minutes*, which consisted of one large single volume for each year, I attempted to scan everything that was written, in search of references to actual cities and their experiences, or the presence of persuasive and argumentative styles of speech (see page 75). This was generally absent from the bulk of the volumes, which concentrated on the business discussed at each monthly council meeting, but did appear sporadically. An exception was the Annual Meetings, which were accompanied by speeches (from the AMC's chairman and others) which narrated the vision of the AMC and made interesting reading with frequent references to individual cities and their experiences.

Municipal Review was a monthly magazine relating various matters of interest to AMC (and later AMA) members. Such matters included the achievements of individual authorities, proposals on the future course of local government from academics or politicians, and information on the activities of the AMC/AMA itself. Considering that this type of forum was a more likely source of the information I sought - discussion and argumentation about urban development - than the council minutes, I opted to jettison the council minutes and focus on *Municipal Review* from 1935, when its format changed to convey some of the more interesting information previously within the domain of the *Minutes*.

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Within *MR*, I employed a stratified sampling strategy, choosing to study one monthly issue per year – in the sequence January Year One, February Year Two, March Year Three etc. in order to remove the risk of bias in persisting with the same monthly issue each year in case elements such as the turning of the financial year or the summer recess might cause some months to contain material atypical of the magazine as a whole. Within each issue I studied, however, I used a theoretical strategy in which I sought articles, usually three from each issue and therefore each year (and so thirty per decade) which concerned individual cities, their policies and especially debate and discussion.

With respect to the AMC/AMA, an obvious weakness of my strategy was the decision to use the *Council Minutes* from 1882-1935 and *Municipal Review* thereafter. Though the richness of the *MR* archive from 1935 made it the obvious choice from then on, the lack of a comparable source pre-1929 made it difficult to pronounce definitively on any changes to the characteristics of the AMC/AMA and its debates. That said, it is worth recalling that my intention was never to write the history of institutions *per se* but to use archives from selected institutions as a data source to theorise the use of model cities as argumentative resources. The difficulty with recording changing institutional factors at the AMC/AMA remains problematic though, because institutional changes might be a significant explanatory variable for observed changes in the use of model cities as argumentative resources.

The shift from the AMC to the AMA also confounds the analysis. The AMC was imperfect for this study since it contained many very small rural towns, such as Lostwithiel, with populations below 2 000 (AMC, 1888) as well as the larger urbanities of which I am especially interested. Yet the AMA is not ideal either, since its membership was drawn exclusively from just seven metropolitan areas. Even large conurbations in the new counties of Cleveland, Humberside, Avon, South and West Glamorgan were excluded, as well as the other larger cities of England and Wales. Moreover, the metropolitan counties were included *as a whole*, which in some cases meant including some sparsely-populated parts of the Pennines. Again, what is far more problematic for the research than the imperfection of either the AMC or the AMA as a resource is the discontinuity that the shift from one to the other represents. Any claims about historical trends made on the basis of the AMC/AMA data must be moderated in light of this discrepancy. On the other hand, changing institutions and

publications are significant explanatory mechanisms for any trends which might be identified (see page 83).

Also, during the period 1882-1935 when I inspected the *Council Minutes* of the AMC, I drew excessively on the chairman's speeches at annual meetings—excessively inasmuch as the privileged position they occupy in my notes is possibly disproportionate to the already-considerable power they had in the AMC at the time. Yet it is not necessarily problematic to rely on a few individuals, nor that the individuals might have had an interest in promoting particular cities, because contemporary model cities such as Vancouver are also constructed by a few interested individuals (McCann, 2011a). Nonetheless, over-reliance on one individual is unhelpful in that it obfuscates an understanding of how widespread particular arguments might have been and whether, once made, they were popular.

A further observation with respect to the AMA is that, perhaps inevitably given its membership in the larger English cities, it was dominated by left-wing Labour politicians. Consequently its agenda, as recorded in *Municipal Review*, was during the 1980s in particular saturated with condemnations of the policies of Margaret Thatcher's radical Conservative government, presumably as a result of editorial decisions, to the point of potentially crowding out other discussions from the archive. I am reluctant to classify this crowding out as constituting a problem for this research, since it may be that such preoccupations generally did distract the AMA at this time. Nonetheless, this effect again highlights the focus of the AMA on a relatively small set of local authorities when other cities, maybe not quite so large but nonetheless significant, might have had other concerns.

3.2.6 International Federation for Housing and Planning (IFHP)

The primary activity of the IFHP has been the organisation of conferences at which delegates from different countries can debate, learn and teach the philosophies and techniques of planning. In recent times the number of such conferences has proliferated such that there are several each year, complemented by a programme of summer schools and other occasional events. The centrepiece of the IFHP's work remains, however, its annual World Congresses. These have taken place annually since 2000, but until then on a

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biennial basis, with only a few exceptions. A programme of “international conferences” in the alternate years in which no world congress took place began in 1965, after what appears to have been originally a one-off golden jubilee conference in 1963. In 2000 these were abolished, being essentially replaced by the current schedule of annual world congresses.

In this research I ignored the series of smaller international conferences which was instigated in 1967, as well as subsidiary events, in order to concentrate on the archives of the IFHP’s world congresses. Since these have run since the organisation’s inception in 1913, with the archive stretching back to the New York congress of 1925, they represent the best opportunity to carry out a longitudinal study. Moreover, as the flagship event of the IFHP (I use that abbreviation here to refer to the current IFHP as well as its previous manifestations) the world congresses are most likely to have attracted a cosmopolitan audience of planners from around the world. Although almost all of the IFHP’s events took place in Europe in its early history, there was a reasonable attendance of non-Europeans at the major events.

Each world congress discussed one or more themes. Earlier congresses tended to have around two or three, although occasionally there were several. For example, the Rome congress of 1929 featured seven topics:

1. Development of Milan
2. Historical Development of the Plan of Rome and its significance for Modern Town Planners
3. Need for Research in Rural and Urban Development
4. Replanning Old and Historic Towns to Meet Modern Conditions
5. Methods of Planning for the Expansion of Towns, with Special Reference to Old and Historic Towns
6. Methods of Financing Working Class and Middle Class Housing, with Special Reference to Attracting New Capital

7. Planning Apartment Housing Schemes in Large Towns

Table 3:2 Themes of the IFHP 1929 world congress, Rome

Later congresses tended to have only one or two themes, with each being broadly defined, sometimes rather vague, and functioning apparently as a marketing tool for the congress itself and the IFHP rather than as a demarcation of the congress's actual intellectual terrain. For example, the title of the 1994 Calgary world congress was simply "new frontiers in housing and planning", which is not untypical.

IFHP World Congress Sampling Strategy

Even restricting the study to the world congresses alone and overlooking the remainder of the IFHP's published output still presents an unmanageable quantity of material. Therefore the study was further refined by selecting samples from within each congress. This was done in two ways. First of all, only a selection of the congress themes was chosen in congresses with more than one theme. Usually two or more were selected and since few congresses had more than three themes this meant that little was excluded. The decisions about which themes to pursue were theoretically informed, made on the basis of their likelihood to include the kinds of arguments sought by the research questions. Since the IFHP is concerned with "housing" and "planning" as a whole, some topics were less relevant than others to the specifically urban interests of this research. Another criterion for the selection of themes for study was the length of the themes. Themes with longer sections of the reports, particularly with multi-vocal contributions recorded in order to access debate and argumentation at the micro-scale, were preferred. Though later world congresses formally contained only one headline "theme", which as I have already observed corresponds to a marketing exercise as much as anything else, they were in fact subdivided further and since they also produced longer reports, perhaps on account of the convenience of preparation that arrived with the advent of the modern word-processor, sampling a selection of these themes was also necessary sometimes. Again, those with the greatest likelihood of including argumentation, reference to the urban and a plurality of voices were chosen. Appendix 1 presents the material inspected at the IFHP.

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The second sampling decisions involved reducing the volume of material from the first stage, that of selecting congress themes, to a second stage in which sections of those themes were disregarded. In most early cases, the published congress output consisted of a first volume in which representatives of particular nation-states supplied contributions based on their experience in response to a theme, followed by a summary of these reports compiled by a rapporteur in preparation for the discussion of that theme at the congress itself. Then came the discussion itself in volume two, recorded by the rapporteur and followed by a conclusion written by the rapporteur for feedback to the closing sessions of the congress:

Volume	Document	Origin	Authorship
1	Contributions	Pre-congress (Volume One)	Delegates
1	Summary of Contributions.	Pre-congress (Volume One)	Rapporteur
2	General Report on discussion	Post-congress (Volume Two)	Rapporteur
2	Conclusion	Post-congress (Volume Two)	Rapporteur

Table 3:3 General format of IFHP world congresses

I generally sought to read the second and third of these – i.e. the summary of contributions and the report of the discussions. This is because the contributions alone were of limited interest, usually consisting of descriptions of experiences, and also varied considerably in length and detail. The summary of them was more interesting since the rapporteur, whilst reporting the contents of each contribution, could consciously organise the material in a particular way to inform the discussion at the congress session and therefore present a context for what followed. Of the post-congress publications from volume two, I was more interested in the first since it detailed the discussions sequentially, providing summaries of the oral contributions made by each

delegate in turn during the discussion. Though this was often paraphrased and always mediated by the rapporteur, it was as close to the discussions themselves as I was able to come, thus fulfilling one of the criteria for archive materials set out on page 44. Again, the structure of the congresses gradually moved away from this pattern in the later twentieth century, such that rather than receiving contributions from various parties in advance of congress sessions, sessions began to take on the format of presentations delivered by individuals commissioned to do so. The archive records these reports in detail, often reproducing them in full – but with less direct access to their reception among the audience and their scrutiny during subsequent discussions. This changing congress format is suggested during chapter five (page 156) to be not incidental but as having in itself significant implications for argumentation and the positioning of cities within it.

In spite of the utility of the IFHP archive in providing an international perspective over a long period and with access to discussions of urban development, there were a number of limitations of the IFHP archive. The changing format not only of the published records but also of the world congress programmes themselves limited the scope for a fully “like-for-like” comparison of different time periods. Moreover, the characteristics of the institution made it difficult to acquire certain contextualising information.

In choosing one of the institutions which co-constituted Saunier’s (2001) *urban internationale* I faced similar methodological problems to those encountered by Saunier, particularly with respect to estimating the size of the IFHP’s actual membership. He notes two complicating factors:

“...the strength of the associations [IFHP and IULA] is a fairly tricky issue, since there are no membership lists, and estimates are made more difficult by the nature of membership. This is particularly true of the IF[HP], which – as a federation – comprised individuals as well as associations or institutions...

...No more is to be gained by approaching the issue through Congress participation, since, on the one hand, stronger participation was demonstrated by nationals of the country where the meeting was held and, on the other, there may be a great deal of uncertainty about the actual rate of attendance. So, how many of the 460 members at the 1924 Amsterdam Congress, of some 2,000 members at the 1925 New York Congress or of the 3,200 people

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registered for the 1921 Berlin meeting really attended? Internal IF[HP] reports suggest 500 in New York and 1,000 in Berlin. But which ones? And how many of them then converted their Congress attendance into membership of the IF[HP]?" (Saunier, 2001: 384-385).

For these reasons I omitted an analysis of attendance at each congress, though in recording the name and nationality of each contributor to the themes I analysed I was able to gauge the geographical extent of the IFHP's membership, if not its depth.

Another potential problem with the IFHP archive is its ideological position, whereby its favouritism of the garden city movement over, for example, the modernist movement in architecture and planning, may produce an incomplete picture of the state of argumentation about urban development during the twentieth century. The degree of difficulty in calculating the impact of this on the representativeness of the IFHP relative to other institutions dictates the extent to which the IFHP can be considered an intrinsic rather than an instrumental case study (Stake, 2003).

3.2.7 *Town Planning Review*

Town Planning Review was first published in 1910 and I was able to access the journal's archive from 1911 up to 2004, either at the University of Southampton or the London School of Economics. The journal has been edited throughout its lifetime by a succession of academics from the University of Liverpool, where it is based. It focuses on both national (i.e. British) and international questions of town planning.

As with the other two archives, it was impossible to read the entirety of the published output, so I instead took a sample from each year of the journal of four articles. This equates to one article from each of four annual issues, forty articles in each decade and usually, around 20% of the total annual output of the journal assuming five articles in an issue and so twenty articles in a year. Under Gordon Stephenson's editorship (1948-1954) there were intended to be four articles in each quarterly issue, though often five were in fact published (Massey, 2012); a number which was largely maintained after 1954. I employed a stratified sampling strategy whereby for each year of *TPR* I studied the first article of the first issue, the second article of the second issue, the third article

of the third issue and the fourth article of the fourth. This is because I suspected that simply choosing the first article of each issue might bring about a selection bias in favour of more editorial, less empirical work. Massey (*ibid.*) indicates that this was indeed the case during Gordon Stephenson's editorship, with the four articles of each issue designed to follow the pattern "1. Historical Research. 2. A contemporary British problem. 3. A subject in a related field. 4. A contribution from abroad". I was unaware of this during my archival research, but fortuitously my sampling strategy allowed me to read one of each of these kinds of articles every year. Clearly Stephenson's stint as editor lasted for only six years, but I applied the same systematic technique to the entire archive where possible. In *Town Planning Review* therefore, theoretical sampling was much less evident than the other articles and something closer to a probability sample, based on a stratified systematic strategy, was developed.

In each of the articles studied, I read the introductory paragraphs (or from 1983 when these began to appear, the abstract), as long as was required to identify the purpose of the article – i.e. the argument the author intended to communicate, their claim for action and the resources deployed to support it, where applicable. This implies both a commitment to hermeneutics and an employment of argumentative analysis, which will be explained further in section 3.3. Often, especially in the earlier days of the journal, several pages had to be read to identify the purpose of the article.

Town Planning Review as a journal has potential weaknesses in its close attachment to the University of Liverpool, where a particular school of planning was taught. However, all journals are compromised like this in some way – none are collated and prepared by value-free editors selecting only the "best" articles. Furthermore, Liverpool was very influential in town planning, especially in the early twentieth century (Ward, 1994) and a journal with influential articles is a bonus for this study.

3.3 Analysis

This section describes the analytical methods employed to address the research questions. The question of deriving meaning from documentary texts

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through linguistic analysis is considered in the first part of this section, whilst argumentative analysis as a research methodology is introduced later.

3.3.1 Documentary analysis

The defining feature of this study, which sets it apart from the existing literature on model cities and so presents its chief contribution, is its historical perspective. Therefore in considering the analysis of this material, attention must be paid to the particular challenges presented by historical analysis – specifically documentary analysis. In this section I explore the general challenges of historical work, with further considerations presented in the section on interpretation (page 76). Despite the convenience of access of documentary sources, McCulloch (2004) argues that they have been out of favour in the social sciences in recent times. There are three reasons given for this. The first is that they tell us about the past rather than the present: clearly this is not a problem in a historical study. The second is that we often have access only to elite opinion, but again, it is these which I am primarily interested in, to the extent that the institutions studied constitute an elite analogous to the twenty-first century policy entrepreneurs identified by Mintrom (1997). The third problem identified by McCulloch (2004) is more pertinent though. That is the difficulty that textual sources were prepared by individuals with agendas quite different from those of the researcher. So whilst I want to read about model cities, the archive may record conversations about quite different things, with model cities at best implied and requiring considerable tenacity to recover. Incidentally this is another advantage of conceptualising model cities as argumentative resources. Though the identification of model cities may be difficult when they do not constitute the primary object of a conversation, it should be easier to spot where argumentation is taking place.

The documents analysed in this research fall into the category of formal documents preserved by institutions and as such have further specific characteristics. Scott (1990) advocates posing four questions of such documents, the first two of which are of most relevance here. The first is authenticity – is the document genuine? With respect to the documents analysed in this research, this is beyond doubt. The second is credibility – is the evidence presented free from distortion? This is very much more difficult to

demonstrate, corresponding to the first part of McCulloch's (2004) notion of reliability. This refers to issues of truth and bias in the recording of events by an editor. After all, the documents from IFHP congresses do not constitute a complete record of everything spoken at these conferences, with some editing inevitably required to produce documents of manageable length. This editing is unlikely to have been a neutral process however, and critical research demands reflection on the reliability of the accounts preserved. Whilst some editing may well have been necessary, is the exclusion of certain kinds of material occurring systematically? If so, whose voices are not being heard? Can this be rectified through reference to further sources? These questions are of most relevance to the records of world congresses in the IFHP archive, since these purport to be accurate representations of discussions which took place. Yet the presence of bias in the recording of material need not be an insurmountable problem, if through careful analysis it can be identified and explained. If by bias is meant a misrepresentation of what happened in the congress, then this could be conducive to the identification of argumentation on the part of the editor, because as will be demonstrated below argumentation always entails a selective representation of current circumstances (page 68).

Another problem with documentary sources from official institutions is the likelihood that there will be too much material to handle; leading to the researcher being "swamped" (Roche, 2010). At least as bad is the temptation to resolve this by plundering the best bits of the archive through a cherry-picking process and ignoring the rest (*ibid.*). Roche suggests that patience and ingenuity are invaluable when dealing with the archives, as "you may only be able to address research questions obliquely" (*ibid.*: 177). Flick (2007) agrees that there must be flexibility when working with documentary sources, so long as there is an at least purposive sampling strategy and convenience sampling is avoided. The relevance of this plea for flexibility has already been encountered in my adaptation to the changing format of AMC materials and IFHP congresses.

It is also worth considering the *functions* of documents in addition to merely their content. As secondary data sources, they have been prepared for a purpose. This purpose may often be to construct particular subject positions for the author and reader – for example as expert and layperson respectively

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(Prior, 2004). In this sense, each of the archives consulted in this study contain articles that could be understood as performing certain professional positions and legitimating certain knowledges. McCulloch echoes this point with respect to government documents, which have much in common with the documents I analyse, advising the researcher not to:

“assume the statistics couldn’t have been interpreted differently, the government isn’t simply protecting its prestige, and most significantly that government reports have the impact their authors assume – either for their recipients or for the social world” (McCulloch, 2004: 57)

McCulloch’s final point is pertinent. IFHP congresses, AMC campaigns and articles in *Town Planning Review* may have had little impact on the adoption of policy and still less on policy outcomes. Even if the outcomes desired by individuals within these institutions were realised, it is far from obvious that their arguments were responsible. It is the practice of argumentation itself which is of interest rather than its outcomes and I will be wary of making claims about the efficacy of the argumentation encountered.

3.3.2 Linguistic analysis

The previous section outlined how some of the practical challenges of documentary analysis might be met and how the authenticity and reliability of historical documents might be established. This section turns to the central question of textual analysis: what does the text *mean*? A variety of methods for the analysis of texts exist, ranging from the positivist to the social constructivist. Three will be examined in detail here: Pickles’ hermeneutic approach, Barthes’ structural analysis and Foucault’s discourse analysis.

Hermeneutics has a wider application than the social sciences, having been developed in literary theory where for Eagleton (1983: 74):

“The hermeneutical method seeks to fit each element of a text into a complete whole, in a process known as the “hermeneutical circle”: individual features are intelligible in terms of the entire context, and the entire context becomes intelligible through the individual features. Hermeneutics does not generally consider the possibility that literary

works may be diffuse, incomplete and internally contradictory, though there are many reasons to assume that they are”.

Eagleton may well be correct to observe that *literary* works may be contradictory, and in this he is clearly in agreement with Barthes (see below). I do not wish to dispute that claim either, when made with respect to literary works. With the kinds of documentary evidence analysed in this study however, the concept of an internally consistent piece of prose sounds less naïve. Articles for *Town Planning Review* and *Municipal Review*, *Minutes* of the Association of Municipal Corporations and reports of world congresses of the International Federation of Housing and Planning could plausibly be assumed to constitute internally consistent documents amenable to hermeneutical analysis. Therefore I discuss hermeneutics in further depth, with reference to Pickles’ five “canons” for textual research using hermeneutics in the social sciences:

- “1. The integrity of the text must be preserved in such a way that meaning is derived from, not projected into, the text.
2. Interpreters have the responsibility of bringing themselves into a harmonious relationship with the text. As such, any critique must be rooted in the claims, conventions and forms of the text.
3. Interpreters must give an optimal reading of the text and of the meaning the text had for those for whom it was written, and must show what the text now means in the context of contemporary views, interests and prejudices.
4. The whole must be understood from the sum of its parts, and all the parts must be understood from the whole (the hermeneutic circle)
5. Interpreters of ambiguous texts must make explicit what the author (or subsequent authors) left implicit” (Pickles, 1992: 225)

The first of these must be an aspiration since some projection of meaning is inevitable given the situatedness of the researcher. Yet the thrust of the first three of these, which all emphasise the text’s “original” meaning, are significant. Even if writings from the 1920s could conceivably have an argumentative function in current debates, this concern would have been alien

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to their producers and their audience. The third canon also legitimises the idea of using such information to inform current debates, however, which will be significant in the discussion of the problem of anachronism (page 77). The fifth canon, requiring interpreters to tease out unstated assumptions, is a mandate for the identification of argumentation.

The poststructuralist Roland Barthes (in fact Barthes was a pioneer of poststructuralism having been a structuralist earlier in his career) used a radically different interpretative methodology from that of hermeneutics. In his work, it is narrative analysis which is required, since the tools of structuralist linguistics are useful for examining sentences only up to the scale of the sentence and not beyond. Yet for Barthes (1977), narrative analysis is crucial since both discourse and language operate at the narrative level rather than merely within sentences. Barthes' most radical move is to dismiss any notion that authorial intention should be central to textual analysis. Rejecting the metaphor of the "work" of literature as an organism that develops by vital expansion, he, suggests that a better metaphor is that of the text. He continues:

"Hence no vital "respect" is due to the text; it can be broken...; it can be read without the guarantee of its father, the restitution of the inter-text paradoxically abolishing any legacy. It is not that the Author may not "come back" in the Text, in his text, but he then does so as a "guest"... (Barthes, 1977: 161)

The implications of this relegation of the author to one voice among many are clear for Barthes and stretch beyond textual analysis:

"We now know that a line of text is not a line of words releasing a single "theological" meaning (the message of the "Author", God), but a multi-dimensional space in which a variety of writings, none of them original, blend and clash. The text is a tissue of quotations drawn from the innumerable centres of culture..." (Barthes, 1977: 146)

As Barthes goes on to point out, Without an author, texts cannot be "deciphered"; merely "disentangled". The refusal to fix ultimate meaning within a text (and the world as a text) is a radical activity since it is also a rejection of "God and his hypostases – reason, science, law". (Barthes, 1977: 147)

Barthes' writing is very different from hermeneutics' respect for the text and its author, positioning it instead as part of a tangled web of intertextuality which can be interpreted only with respect to other texts and then only partially. Having eliminated from consideration both the text in itself and the author, Barthes instead privileges the reader:

“...a text is made up of multiple writings, drawn from many cultures and entering into mutual relations of dialogue, parody, contestation, but there is one place where this multiplicity is focused, and that place is the reader, not, as was hitherto said, the author.” (Barthes, 1977: 148)

The difficulty with applying Barthes' programme, developed after all as a method for analysing literature, to a social science context, is that in privileging the reader as the arbiter of the meaning of a text, he ignores the pertinent question of the meaning of the text for its original readers. For Barthes this question is irrelevant in establishing the true meaning of the text and tragically unanswerable in a world devoid of fixed meanings or reference-points (e.g. his own triad of “God, reason, law”). This response is not terribly helpful for a research project intending to establish how previous generations of planners and other professionals perceived the world in which they lived.

A response to the tension between hermeneutics' emphasis on the author and Barthes' emphasis on the reader is a Foucauldian discourse analysis, since Michel Foucault was attentive to the significance of each in the production of discourses. The production of meaning is a form of power and Foucault always perceived power as circulating throughout all social life (Foucault, 1989). Foucault refrained from devising guidelines for discourse analysis, something his followers have likewise been reluctant to undertake. Yet Waitt (2010) does provide a series of questions which can facilitate Foucauldian discourse analysis. Waitt poses several questions, but divided into three groups: questions on “the social circumstances of authorship” (Waitt, 2010: 228), “the production and circulation of a text” (Waitt, 2010: 229), and “the audience for a text” (Waitt, 2010: 230). For each group of questions Waitt further subdivides into questions on the social, technological and content/aesthetic. Crucially for his purposes, Waitt asks that for each answer we provide we then ask ourselves; “Why is this answer important in the context of establishing or maintaining

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particular social realities?” (Waitt, 2010: 228ff). Waitt’s version of Foucauldian discourse analysis is thus a spirited attempt at navigating a course between hermeneutics, in which coherence and the recovery of authorial intention are emphasised and Barthes’ poststructuralism which denies the possibility of both. Instead, authorship of a text is deemed to be significant but only alongside considerations of the text’s production, circulation and audience response, and with the central question always being the function of the text.

This question is significant since it resonates with the emphasis in critical (especially Foucauldian) interpretation on identifying the work that is done by texts to support or contest hegemonic social relations. Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) owe to Foucault their emphasis on establishing the function of texts. Their methodology for the analysis of argumentation, critical discourse analysis, is supposed to enable researchers to identify how arguments are made and the work they perform.

3.3.3 Argumentation: a scheme for analysis

Earlier on in this chapter, I established the value of conceptualising model cities as argumentative resources, based on the claims of the argumentative turn of the late 1980s and early 1990s, which has recently been revisited (Fischer and Gottweis, 2012). The notion that model cities constitute argumentative resources mobilised in discussions of urban policy offers no obvious strategy for analysis, but argumentation has been operationalised successfully by Fairclough and Fairclough (2012), who describe their methodological orientation as “critical discourse analysis” influenced by a Foucauldian approach (a project begun much earlier – cf Fairclough, 2003). I demonstrate their implementation of critical discourse analysis in their discussion of chancellor George Osborne’s response to the financial crisis in the UK from 2010 to 2012.

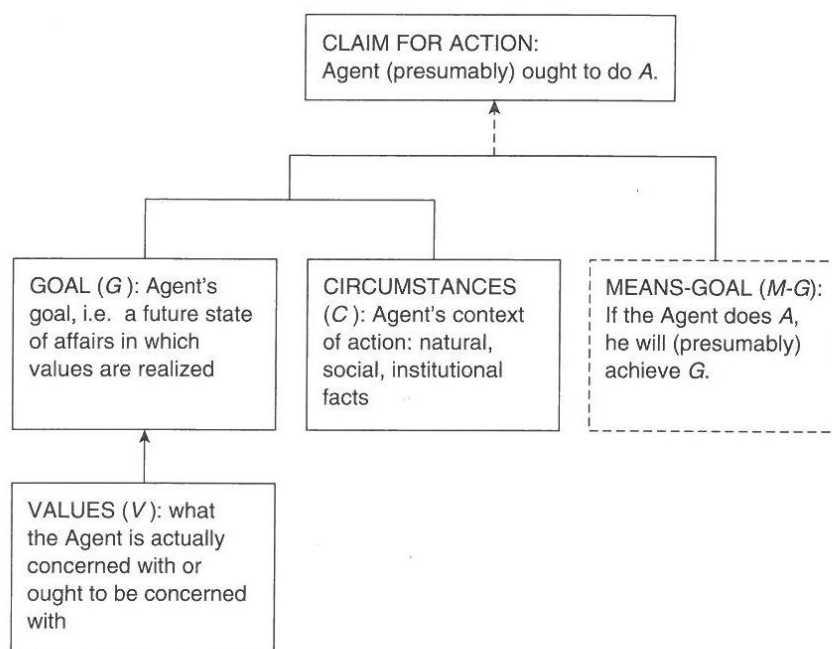


Figure 3:2 A proposal for the structure of practical argumentation (from Fairclough and Fairclough, 2012: 45)

Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) identify a number of features of argumentation. Since deliberation is fundamentally concerned with proposing practical outcomes – with deciding what should be done – it must include a claim for action (A). In order to justify this claim for action however, the arguer usually provides further information, which usually precedes the claim for action in the sequence of argumentation.

The action is usually framed in terms of the current state of affairs, or the circumstances (C). For Fairclough and Fairclough (*ibid.*), “circumstances” include natural, social and institutional “facts”, facts which are framed by an arguer according to their conceptual vocabulary. Other representations would have been possible and perhaps more accurate, but the arguer chooses to frame the current circumstances in a way which is convenient for their purposes and consistent with their claim for action, either through oversimplification or obfuscation. Their misrepresentation of the facts may be deliberate, but is more likely to arise from inadequate information or limited understanding.

After representing the current circumstances in a particular way, the arguer then contrasts them with a desired future state of affairs – the goal (G). By

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referring to a future state of affairs, Fairclough and Fairclough allow for goal and claim for action to be clearly distinguished. The first is a desired future the second is the means by which this future can be realised. Fairclough and Fairclough are reluctant to talk of the goal as a “desired” state of affairs since this implies a state of affairs in which the actor concerned might personally benefit, when this is not always the case. This is because goals are formulated not merely on the basis of personal preference but also in response to an underlying set of values.

The values (V) informing the goal, unlike the claim for action, circumstance and goal, are usually tacit. This is either because the arguer has not consciously considered them, because they may be unpalatable to the audience and are thus deliberately suppressed from the argument, or because they are supposed to be self-evident. Though generally absent from the argument, values are very significant because if the claim for action is informed by the goals, then the goals themselves, as well as the arguer’s representation of the current circumstances, are informed by their values and so are not neutral but rather could be challenged.

Finally, some justification for the claim for action needs to be provided in terms of its suitability for achieving the desired future state of affairs or goal – this is the means-goal premise (*M*). The means-goal premise is important since without it the argument does not make sense. Without a means-goal premise, goals consistent with an unspoken set of values are formulated on the basis of a representation of current circumstances - but with no clear indication of what should be done or if there is one, in the form of a claim for action (*A*), with no explanation of why it will work. It is often on the basis of the strength of the means-goal premise that arguments are evaluated (though again, both goals and circumstances are also politically charged because of their dependence on a set of implicit values and thus could also be challenged). Stronger arguments will contain more convincing justifications for pursuing certain actions. In particular, they will include references to the necessity and sufficiency of the action – i.e. that the goal could not be achieved without the action claimed, but that if the action is chosen then no further actions are required. More convincing arguments also anticipate the counter-arguments which might be proposed by advocates of alternative claims for action and explain why these alternative claims will not work, or at any rate be less effective than the claim

advanced. Crucially, they will also include some *evidence* that adopting the claim for action will procure the goal. Such evidence might take many forms and for some arguments it is simply a matter of logic. For others though, particularly in the complex arena of public policy, evidence will often take the form of the experiences of implementing similar actions elsewhere. This is where model cities may function as argumentative resources. They are used in arguments supporting particular urban developments by suggesting that they have worked elsewhere in realising similar goals.

I will now provide two examples of arguments analysed according to Fairclough and Fairclough's (2012) proposal – one from their own work and one in which I relate it to a contemporary case of the mobilisation of model cities, anticipating a similar application in my empirical research.

3.3.4 Argumentation: An example from Fairclough and Fairclough

Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) demonstrate the implementation of their proposal for the structure of arguments with reference to a moment in British politics. This is the response to the financial crisis engulfing the UK, along with much of the developed world, in the late 2000s. Chancellor George Osborne, of the Conservative and Liberal Democrat coalition government elected in May 2010, conducted a spending review after that election in an attempt to find ways to make savings in order to reduce the UK's budget deficit. He then included the results of his review in an "emergency budget", which was announced in a speech of 22nd June 2010, quoted by Fairclough and Fairclough (Osborne, 2010; Fairclough and Fairclough, 2012).

In Osborne's argument, the goal is to reduce the UK's structural deficit. This is informed by an implied value that financial sustainability is virtuous. He frames the circumstantial premise that welfare is the largest bill for the government. His proposed action of reducing the welfare bill to achieve the goal of a reduced deficit is presented as necessary by a means-goal premise that suggests that without welfare reform, the deficit cannot be reduced. Significantly, a second means-goal premise is the experience of other countries: Germany has reduced its deficit through welfare reform and so have many others.

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Osborne's argument, like much political argumentation, is complex as he presents two separate goals, both addressed by the same action. The second goal addressed by the action of reducing the welfare bill is that of creating a better welfare system, since the current circumstances are not conducive to this – a bloated welfare system has apparently trapped generations of citizens in a welfare dependency from which they cannot escape. A second means-goal premise thus positions welfare reform as capable of bringing about an improved welfare system, “focused towards those in need”. The value underlying the goal in this case appears to be people's freedom and autonomy, which has been threatened by the current welfare system.

Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) proceed to evaluate and critique the argument made by George Osborne. His representation of current circumstances is disputed, as is the appropriateness of his claim for action. For instance and with regard to the second argument identified, it can be demonstrated that long-term, intergenerational welfare dependency is a highly exaggerated phenomenon, seldom documented in academic studies (cf. Baptist Union of Great Britain *et al.*: 2013). Therefore this is a misrepresentation of the circumstances.

In my analysis, I will attempt to identify not only the model cities used as argumentative resources deployed to support particular claims for action, but also the goals that these actions are intended to achieve and the circumstantial premises upon which they are based. These other features are identified merely to provide a context for the reader and interpreter for the model city. It is not necessary to establish whether these framings were agreed by the audience. I am primarily interested in claims and the resources used to support them. After all, many listeners may be convinced to support a particular claim in spite of their rejection of its premises:

“The members of discourse coalitions themselves need not share all the same ideas, beliefs, goals, or share them to the same degree, to promote a common policy program. Instead, they may be united by agreement on certain policy objectives or the use of certain policy instruments” (Schmidt, 2012: 101)

Therefore, when in the following chapters I identify claims being advanced and argumentative resources being mobilised to support them, the goals, values and circumstances which accompany them should be thought of as pertaining to the speaker or author rather than their audience. Their claims may have been rejected, or even supported on the basis of their utility in achieving quite different goals. This is similar to Osborne's appeal to both deficit reduction and relief from dependency as rationales for cutting welfare spending. One has only to subscribe to one of these two goals to support his claim. Sometimes, however, the framings I identify (goals, values, circumstances) are not explicitly defined by the speakers or authors - in these situations the framings presumably did not need stating since they were shared by the audience. I have attributed these framings on the basis of plausible contexts for the claims, but this has no bearing on the identification of argumentative resources.

3.3.5 Argumentation: Bilbao and Manchester as twenty-first century model cities

The usefulness of Fairclough and Fairclough's (2012) interrogation of argumentation through critical discourse analysis has been established through a reproduction of their own analysis of George Osborne's Emergency Budget of 2010. This does not however guarantee that their method can be applied to the study of model cities, nor that I will be able to utilise it effectively in my empirical work. To that end, I demonstrate in this section both the applicability of their method in identifying the use of model cities as argumentative resources and also my competence in employing this technique, with reference to an example in the contemporary literature.

In the previous chapter I documented the rise of the "Bilbao effect" and the communication of Bilbao's model city status (page 15). Gonzalez (2011) identified the role played by statements from the UK Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) in promoting Bilbao in the early 2000s. In this section I reproduce one of these statements and identify its function as argumentation.

"MOVE OVER BILBAO, MANCHESTER IS THE NEW EUROPEAN CENTRE OF STYLE" SAYS CULTURE SECRETARY TESSA JOWELL

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Culture Secretary Tessa Jowell today hailed Manchester as "the new Bilbao" with an international reputation built on the cultural regeneration of the city. Speaking at the Building Tomorrow - Culture in Regeneration conference at The Lowry, the Culture Secretary said that people should now talk about "the Manchester effect". Cultural regeneration of a city is often described in shorthand as the Bilbao effect. I see no reason why it shouldn't be referred to as the Manchester effect. "Greater Manchester has the Lowry itself, Daniel Liebeskind's incredible Imperial War Museum North, all the facilities that were the result of the Commonwealth Games last year, the Manchester Art Gallery, People's History Museum, Museum of Science and Industry, the Bridgewater Hall, the Hall, the Opera House, the Royal Exchange, the Royal Northern College of Music. I've left out many of Manchester's great attractions, for which I apologise, there are simply too many to mention. I have also heard that there are a couple of half-way decent football clubs here too."

She continued: "Overall, Manchester has invested nearly £400m in culture in the city in the last eight years. And the result we can see all around us. And what we see in Manchester, we can see in cities across the country. In every place cultural institutions have combined with more traditional regeneration projects to inspire civic pride and give us all a sense of place." The Secretary of State went on to say that she wanted to see "the best inspire the rest" in this field: "I want to see the best inspire the rest. Whether it is here in Manchester or the Eden Project, which has brought more than £100 million of new business to the south west, Tate Modern in Southwark or The Millennium Bridge in Gateshead, people are drawn to high-quality, serious science and culture and the effect on the local economy is lasting."" (UK Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 2003)

In Jowell's press release she congratulates Manchester on its regeneration efforts and its success in emulating the model city known as the "Bilbao effect". However, Jowell simultaneously constructs Manchester's experience as constituting a new model city, the "Manchester effect", which she mobilised as an argumentative resource. Jowell says little about the current circumstances of British cities, perhaps wishing to avoid making

generalizations, but she implies that they are in need of regeneration. The goal she has for them is to be cities with enhanced “civic pride” and “sense of place”. Her claim is that cities can do this through a package of measures which together constitute the “Manchester effect”: the building of spectacular spaces, investment in the arts and sciences and the employment of star architects. Jowell’s means-goal premise is to observe the success of similar initiatives elsewhere. Though Manchester is the dominant example and through her packaging of the measures as the “Manchester effect” appears to constitute a model city, other examples of successful implementation of culture-led regeneration on the lines of Bilbao include London and Gateshead. The values informing Jowell’s goal of regeneration are muted, as we would expect from Fairclough and Fairclough’s (2012) theorisation of argumentation. However, the final sentence provides a clue as to Jowell’s values: regeneration as a goal can be justified with respect to its “effect on the local economy”. Vibrant local economies are clearly important to her. Jowell therefore takes for granted that Bilbao is a model city and argues that Manchester should now be imitated also. This may be because Manchester is more commensurable with other British cities (cf. Gonzalez, 2011; McCann, 2011a)

3.3.6 Analysis of IFHP, AMC/AMA and *Town Planning Review*

Critical discourse analysis was therefore carried out, identifying argumentation within a hermeneutic frame in which the intention of the author and the meaning for original audiences was the primary concern, but also with a Foucauldian emphasis on the work functions performed by such arguments. The identification of model cities can only occasionally be achieved through a straightforward content analysis, in which categories are established *a priori* and instances of each are then counted (Silverman, 2001), because the context in which various kinds of cities are mentioned determines whether or not they were being constructed as models. The research will follow a grounded theory approach, an iterative procedure in which theory is developed from data, which then informs further theoretical sampling, until theoretical saturation is reached (Flick, 2007; Bryman, 2008).

I will move from the empirical material, i.e. the archives, to theory by way of induction, building concepts based on the material in the archive. Such theory

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is likely to take the form of typology and periodization, as described in the following section. Such theory will generate postulates to guide further analysis of the empirical material through deduction. The following section suggests how the remaining research questions, those concerned with typology, periodization and explanation, might be addressed from the research findings.

3.4 Interpretation: typology, periodisation, explanation

Two of the research questions proposed in the previous chapter concern aspects of interpretation of the data. In particular, there was the question of constructing both a periodization and a typology of model cities. These questions will be explored in depth in this section.

3.4.1 Typology

The sociologist Max Weber was credited with devising the notion of the “ideal type”, as described by Gerth and Mills (1948: 59):

“The much-discussed “ideal-type”, a key term in Weber’s methodological discussion, refers to the construction of certain elements of reality into a logically precise conception. The term “ideal” has nothing to do with evaluations of any sort. For analytical purposes, one may construct ideal types of prostitution as well as of religious leaders. The term doesn’t mean that either prophets or harlots are exemplary or should be imitated as representatives of an ideal way of life...”

The identification of ideal types does not therefore imply normativity. In the previous chapter I noted how the “world city”, supposedly a descriptive rather than a normative category, is very often treated as an aspiration by non-world cities: as both an “is” for some elite cities and an “ought” for others. In seeking to identify model cities I am precisely seeking to observe where certain urban trajectories, those of anointed “model cities”, are constructed as normative. Yet if such model cities become “ideal” in the sense of a worthiness for imitation elsewhere, this does not mean that they are “ideal” in the Weberian sense. For Weber, once again, “ideal” did not imply normative and in fact could not technically be applied to any existing case of a phenomenon, as Gerth and Mills go on to show:

“By using this term [ideal type], Weber did not mean to introduce a new conceptual tool. He merely intended to bring to full awareness what social scientists and historians had already been doing when they used words like “the economic man”... He felt that social scientists had the choice of using logically controlled and unambiguous conceptions, which are thus removed from historical reality, or using less precise concepts, which are more closely geared in the empirical world. Weber’s interest in world-wide comparisons led him to consider extreme and “pure cases”... As general concepts, ideal types are tools with which Weber prepares the descriptive materials of world history for comparative analysis” (Gerth and Mills, 1948: 59).

In attempting to construct a typology of model cities then, I aim to classify and simplify reality in a “logically-controlled” and “unambiguous” way, rather than representing reality as it is. In this sense, the aim is to achieve a heuristic through which model cities might be better understood, rather than an ontologically-precise representation. Individual model cities are ideal inasmuch as they should be imitated, but *not* ideal in the Weberian sense. The *conception* of “model cities” (and of the various sub-types that might emerge) *is* ideal in Weber’s sense. This implies that no model city within actual “historical reality” will fit entirely into the ideal type of the grounded model city or the other types that emerge in the course of the research.

3.4.2 Periodization

On the subject of periodization, an obvious problem is the difficulty in identifying model cities, given that the reasonable assumption that they have at least partially evolved over time. Narrating the history of the model city is a case of the general problem of writing the history of a concept. Periodization of a concept is especially problematic, since according to Foucault:

“Establishing discontinuities is not an easy task for history in general, and it is certainly even less so for the history of thought. We may wish to draw a dividing-line, but any limit we set may perhaps be no more than an arbitrary division made in a constantly mobile whole” (Foucault: 1989: 55)

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How then can appropriate histories of thought be narrated, in which meaningful rather than arbitrary discontinuities are proposed? This problem has been received extensive consideration by theorists such as Quentin Skinner working within the discipline of the history of science. Skinner poses the problem with respect to Galileo's hypothesised conception of inertial mass. In his writings, the renaissance physicist Galileo expresses ideas in mechanics that to some scholars seem to demonstrate his grasp of the modern principle of inertia. He couldn't categorically refer to "inertial mass", because he lacked any conceptual means to do so. The term simply wasn't in use by any of his contemporaries and had not been invented. Yet for Skinner, any declaration that Galileo understood the concept of "inertial mass" is unsound and such speculation is futile. Of course, with this kind of argument from silence it would be equally speculative to assert that Skinner *didn't* understand the concept, unless further evidence could be provided (Lange, 1966). There is a similar problem in attempting to trace the history of the concept of "model cities" since it was seldom used in the past. Again, conceptualising model cities as argumentative resources ameliorates this problem because it allows the researcher to search for evidence of argumentation in practice rather than for specific concepts.

Speculative attempts to write histories of concepts lead to misrepresentations of the histories of science or of thought, but for Skinner a more serious problem is the tendency to present teleological histories. He refers for example to instances of scholars claiming that John Locke was the "first liberal" or the "father of liberalism" when such accolades would have been unrecognised by Locke and his contemporaries during a period before the coining of the term "liberalism". Such reasoning is teleological in that it suggests the past development moving inexorably in the direction of current circumstances, with historical characters evaluated in terms of how close they came to articulating twenty-first century ideas. This can lead to anachronism, reading into the past the concerns of the present (Prudovsky, 1997). Again, there would appear to be a problem in identifying model cities in the past: the term would have been meaningless then and I will avoid constructions in my writing which imply that the concept was undergoing a straightforward, autonomous evolution approaching its present form independent of its articulation by human agents.

Rorty, Schneewind and Skinner's (1984) corrective to Prudovsky's emphatic stating of this point is that the writing of history is actually always and inescapably carried out in the light of current concerns:

"If to be anachronistic is to link a past *X* with a present *Y* rather than studying it in isolation, then every historian is always anachronistic. In practice, the charge of anachronism means that a past *X* has been related to a contemporary *Y* rather than, as it might better have been, to a contemporary *Z*. It is always a matter of selecting among contemporary concerns with which to associate *X*, not a matter of abjuring such concerns" (Rorty, Schneewind and Skinner, 1984: 11)

Thus the social scientist's interest in history is that it can be used to establish how the present world has been arrived at. Without any such interest we are left with "history for its own sake" or, as it might equally be put, antiquarianism. This is not only useless for educating us about the present, but it is also a dangerous delusion. No researcher can escape completely the concerns of the present in their study of the past.

However, Prudovsky's warnings are instructive inasmuch as they counsel that where we *do* read the present into the past, we do so properly. To do so mistakenly certainly would constitute anachronism. This is the genuine error. Not all would agree that Skinner's case of the concept of inertial mass in the writings of Galileo is an instance of anachronism, but Skinner provides another convincing example in his discussion of the concept of "democracy". It is well documented that the concept known in the west in the twenty-first century as "democracy" differs significantly from that known to its supposed pioneers in Ancient Greece. Among other differences, theirs was direct rather than indirect democracy and the franchise was restricted to freemen rather than slaves or women. Yet the use of the term "democracy" disguises those distinctions. So anachronism can occur not merely when "we ascribe to past thinkers concepts they had no means to express" (Prudovsky, 1997) but also when we unthinkingly accept that where thinkers do express concepts, these concepts meant the same to them as they do to us.

Given that one of the tasks of this research is to periodize model cities, then, there are two possible errors. In the first, the term "model city" is incorrectly imputed to past actors who do not express it. In the second, the term "model

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city” is expressed by past actors and interpreted to translate straightforwardly into the kinds of model cities we see today. Since the term itself is seldom used even today (see chapter two), the former error might be considered more likely. A helpful corrective then is to remember the conceptualisation of model cities as argumentative resources and the corresponding focus of the study on practices of argumentation. The presence or absence of particular language is secondary in importance to the kind of conversations that take place and the claims that are made. Moreover, Kuukkanen (2008) has developed a model of conceptual change which can overcome some of the problems observed by Skinner:

Time	Elements								
1	A	B	C						
2	A		C	D	E				
3	A	B	C		E	F			
4	A	B	C		E		G	H	
5		B	C	D	E		G	H	
6				D	E		G		I

Figure 3:3 A model of conceptual change I (after Kuukkanen, 2008)

The concept is composed of three elements to begin with – A, B and C. After a time, element B is lost and elements D and E replace it. The process continues, with further elements added to and lost from the concept, some even disappearing for a while before returning (e.g. element D between times 2 and 5). By the end of the sequence at time 6, none of the original elements remain. Kuukkanen (2008) saw this as problematic because with none of the original elements remaining, the persistence of the concept itself is difficult to establish, if not untenable (a version of the Thesus’ ship paradox). Kuukkanen (*ibid.*) realised that although a concept can change over time, accommodating

fresh elements and discarding others, there are certain core elements which are absolutely fundamental to it. If these should be lost for some reason, the concept can no longer be spoken of as evolving but must be acknowledged to have been replaced by a new concept. In Kuukkanen's new diagram (Figure 3:4), therefore, element A is in bold type since it is a core element. As long as it remains, the concept is intact no matter what other elements are gained and lost, but when it is itself lost at time 5, the concept has been replaced. Time 5 is a discontinuity arrived at through a systematic analysis and so may not be the "arbitrary" division suggested by Foucault.

Time	Elements									Nature of Conceptual Change
1	A	B	C							Evolution
2	A		C	D	E					Evolution
3	A	B	C		E	F				Evolution
4	A	B	C		E		G	H		Evolution
5		B	C	D	E		G	H		Replacement
6				D	E		G		I	

Figure 3:4 A model of conceptual change II (from Kuukkanen, 2008: 370)

In chapter two the model city was defined by three characteristics: model cities had to be constructed as having been successful with some particular intervention, constructed also as suitable for imitation elsewhere and packaged as synonymous with that particular innovation. Therefore these three characteristics should constitute the core elements of the model cities concept. Other characteristics of contemporary model cities are the non-core elements. Therefore, adapting Kuukkanen's diagram of conceptual change for the "model cities" concept might yield the following:

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Time 1	A	B	C	D	E				
Time 2	A	B	C		E	F	G		
Time 3	A	B	C	D	E		G	H	
Time 4	A		C	D	E		G		I
Time 5	A	B	C	D	E	F	G		I
Time 6	A	B	C			F	G		I

Figure 3:5 Conceptual change with respect to model cities

In this figure,

A represents cities being lauded as successful with a particular intervention, usually innovative, at least in scale

B represents the use of these cities as argumentative resources in claims for how development should proceed in other cities

C represents the packaging of these cities so that they themselves are closely associated with the particular intervention

D represents the use of formal bureaucratic institutions as forums for such arguments

E represents the presence of formal awards of model-city status by international agencies

F represents the model city being an actually-existing city (since other kinds of model cities exist, including the abstract model city exemplified by the creative city in chapter two)

Each element from *D* onwards can be discarded. The presence or absence of these elements over time is what makes the concept evolve. Many elements may have been absorbed into or lost from the model cities concept, and these absorptions and losses will be evident in the periodization produced. Yet the

core elements *A*, *B* and *C* have remained and so the model city concept itself has persisted throughout, except at time 4 when cities, though lauded as successful and packaged, were apparently not mobilised as argumentative resources. In the language of typology, ideal types are somewhat flexible so that the characteristics of individual cases differ slightly without necessitating the decomposition of the ideal type to a number of smaller types which, if taken to its logical conclusion, would result in one type per case. Yet there are some defining characteristics of ideal types which determine into which category individual cases ought to be classified.

3.4.3 Explanation

The remaining research question is causality. One approach to the pursuit explanations is through adoption of a scientific method based upon of observation, deduction, verification and falsification and expressed through the languages of mathematics (especially geometry when applied to geography, conceptualised as spatial science) and probability (Harvey, 1969). Harvey concedes that such a scientific method is not always entirely appropriate for addressing questions in history and social science, but nonetheless argues that “it functions as an ultimate objective, an ultimate goal, at which we may aim in our pursuit of powerful, consistent, and reasonable descriptions and explanations” (Harvey, 1969: 60). Little (1991) is not satisfied with the assertion that the scientific explanations provide an “ultimate goal”, arguing:

“In the social sciences, however, we often do *not* find the strong types of regularities and laws that would make us confident in the causal connectedness of social phenomena. Instead, we find laws of tendency and exception-laden regularities... The problem here for autonomous social explanations is that for a given class of social phenomena there are often no clear regularities visible at the macro-level at all” (Little: 1991: 197)

Thus, abstract theorising based on deduction and correlation of variables is not always appropriate. Given the layout of the archives consulted and the kinds of data presented, it is not appropriate for this study. Therefore we are left with a choice between three further modes of explanation, each interpreting observed trends with respect to a different scale of analysis: micro,

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meso and macro. This three-level analysis is increasingly replacing the traditional two-level analysis of micro and macro in many social sciences (for example, studies of engineering [Li, 2012] and evolutionary economics [Dopfer, Foster and Potts, 2004]). This thesis will make reference to each of these levels of explanation. Macro-level concepts are employed within structuralist analyses and in some instances may have considerable explanatory power – as demonstrated repeatedly, ironically, by the later Harvey (Harvey, 1973; 2010). However, many theorists invoking such concepts are at pains to avoid presenting the impression that such concepts are autonomous. For instance, Jessop clarifies his view that “...concepts such as class struggle, the unity of the state apparatus, state power, and class interests should be considered as explananda rather than as unproblematic principles of explanation” (Jessop, 1982: 259).

Conversely, Hall’s work on the history of planning in the twentieth century has sought to explain it through an emphasis on the role of individuals – the micro level:

“Much if not most of what has happened – for good or for ill – to the world’s cities, in the years since World War II, can be traced to the ideas of a few visionaries who wrote long ago, often almost ignored by their contemporaries. They have had their posthumous vindication in the world of practical affairs; even, some might say, their revenge on it” (Hall, 1988: 2)

Hall’s micro level analysis might be termed humanistic in its privileging of the activities of a few individuals. Another variety of micro analysis is rational choice theory, which views individuals as usually seeking to maximise outcomes for themselves when confronted with decisions (Ward, 2002). Both the macro and micro levels constitute a productive basis for the formulation of explanations for the phenomena I study. However, the bulk of this thesis is concerned with the meso level. This is the intermediate level of analysis, consisting of disciplines, institutions, organisations and discourses. This level of analysis will be most significant in this research because the archives to which I have access are of particular organisations. Moreover, Schmidt (2012) supports the contention that institutions are significant arenas for the process of deliberation and

argumentation. Had I used personal diaries in my research, then micro factors might have been more incisive.

I have termed the organisations I study “institutions”, following Saunier (2001) for whom the *urban internationale* is composed of “institutions” such as the International Federation for Housing and Planning. However, but much of the theorising of institutionalism as an approach within the political science literature applies the term “institution” to whole professions also: communities sharing common discourses and understandings. Indeed, Lowndes notes that:

“New institutionalists take care not to equate political institutions with political organisations... By including informal conventions as well as formal procedures, the new institutionalists are able to build more a fine-grained, and realistic picture of what really constrains political behaviour and decision-making” (Lowndes, 2002: 103; original emphasis)

The new institutionalism espoused by Lowndes is a flourishing approach “concerned with the informal conventions of political life as well as with formal constitutions and organisational structures” (Lowndes, 2002: 91). It has been so successful in political science that many rational choice and neo-Marxist theorists (i.e. micro and macro level analysts) have adopted its insights, conceptualising institutionalism as structuring individuals’ choices and producing regimes of regulation which differentiate structures between jurisdictions (*ibid.*). Significantly for this research project with its historical slant, Thelen (2003) has developed a historical analysis of institutions, outlining how they evolve over time. She argues that evolution is usually a gradual process, arguing against the “punctuated equilibrium model” which presents institutions as evolving only at particular junctures interspersed between periods of stasis.

Explanation in this thesis will therefore keep in view the micro, meso and macro scales of analysis, though the research design means that the greater emphasis will be on meso explanations. Changes in the institutions concerned and the wider discourses of local government, planning and academia will be invoked to account for trends observed in the archives. These trends will be identified through analysis of argumentation in an attempt to establish which

argumentative resources were mobilised in discussions of urban development since 1880. This chapter concludes with a brief revisiting of the research questions presented at the end of chapter two, rephrased in the light of the analytical and interpretative considerations set out in this chapter.

3.5 Revised research questions

This chapter has now described the conceptualisation of model cities as argumentative resources in discussions about urban development and proposed a methodology for their analysis and interpretation as such in the archives of three institutions. The chapter now concludes with a re-assessment of the research questions tentatively set out at the end of the previous chapter. The intention is to demonstrate whether each can be addressed on the basis of the methodology used and if so, how they might be addressed.

At the end of the literature review, I posed the question:

“Which cities have been the model cities of the long twentieth century?”

The difficulty with that question was its difficulty of operationalisation -how will any such model cities be identified? This chapter has established that model cities can be conceptualised as argumentative resources mobilised in discussions of urban development and as such can be identified using critical discourse analysis developed by Fairclough and Fairclough (2012). For this reason I rephrase the question:

- (i) **“Which cities have been mobilised as argumentative resources in discussions of urban development during the long twentieth century?”**

Since the mobilisation of particular cities as argumentative resources could be a recent phenomenon without obvious precedent in the earlier decades of this study, the second fundamental research question identified at the end of the first chapter remains, again re-written in the language introduced in this chapter:

- (ii) **“Which other argumentative resources have been mobilised in discussions of urban development during the long twentieth century?”**

The other research questions are similarly re-phrased below. However, simply rephrasing the questions does not demonstrate that claims about them can be made legitimately. Whilst the conceptualisation of model cities as argumentative resources may be sufficient to answer the two fundamental questions above, the later questions require further theoretical apparatus.

(iii) “Are there any observable trends in the identity and characteristics of the model cities identified as argumentative resources during the long twentieth century?”

(iv) “If so, can these different argumentative resources be typologised?”

The production of a typology to account for any variation in the mobilisation of model cities as argumentative resources will be informed by the discussion of Weber’s work above (page 76). Ideal types will be devised which will almost certainly not correspond exactly with any of the model cities identified but will provide a heuristic through which they may be understood..

(v) “If so, can the model cities of the long twentieth century be periodized?”

Periodization will be relatively straightforward if a satisfactory typology can be devised. Weak typology can yield an incorrect periodization, so typology is of paramount importance. Kuukkanen’s (2008) technique for narrating the history of a concept will be useful in determining when different types of model city can be said to have appeared.

(vi) “If so, how can this periodization be explained?”

The objective of this periodization is to find explanatory mechanisms. Correlation with institutional or professional (i.e. meso) or wider structural (i.e. macro) shifts could be identified and it may be possible to attribute causation.

(vii) “What are the implications of this for our understanding of the contemporary processes of model city mobilisation and circulation?”

The strength of explanations established in response to the previous question will determine the possibility of providing a thorough theorisation of the contemporary model city.

3.5.1 Introduction to empirical chapters

The following three chapters will present the findings from each of the three selected institutions respectively. They will address the research questions by presenting in tabulated form the existence of argumentation invoking model cities or other argumentative resources and by following a generally chronological pattern to facilitate periodization. Some explanation for observed trends will be provided within each chapter and will be summarised at the end of each, though the question of explanation receives extended treatment in chapter seven. The aim of these chapters is not to write the history of the three institutions *per se*, but in order to provide institutional or organisational explanations for the trends which emerge.

4. Association of Municipal Corporations/Association of Metropolitan Authorities: Models and Municipalities: model cities in local government

4.1 Introduction: the AMC/AMA archive

This chapter explores how the AMC and its successor the AMA evolved between 1882 to 1997 and considers the implications of this evolution for the discussion of urbanism, argumentation and the discursive production of model cities. Much of this evolution is related to changes to local government in England and Wales, which need to be considered carefully (Cochrane, 1993). To provide a context for what follows, the events which brought about the formation of the Association of Municipal Corporations in 1873 and its early history are briefly described in the next section. The remainder of the chapter identifies five significant moments in the history of the AMC/AMA, in which the organisations occupied distinct functional positions. These were partly in response to changing circumstances in local government and had implications for the characteristics of argumentation carried on within the organisations and the kinds of argumentative resources employed. The major contributions of this chapter are the establishment of a trend toward the use of actually-existing cities as argumentative resources in the later twentieth century, and the identification of “illustrative cities” as another form of argumentative resource in which particular cities are positioned as examples of general phenomena rather than as models in themselves.

4.2 Origins of the AMC/AMA

In its earliest manifestation the Association of Municipal Corporations had as its *raison d'être* the defence of municipal corporations in England and Wales (AMC, 1923). The impetus for greater unity among municipal corporations was the passing of the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 and the feeling that continued political pressure would need to be applied in order to protect the gains which had on that occasion been wrestled from the UK Parliament at

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Westminster, as well as to procure future gains (Finlayson, 1966). The act permitted some corporations to take on enhanced functions as county boroughs, and was thus supported by radicals, for whom it represented “a triumph for Benthamite principles of democracy, utility and efficiency” (*ibid.*: 674), though the continued Tory domination of most councils produced a time lag before most corporations applied for the increased powers (Edsall, 1973). By the 1870s municipal corporations had grown in number and stature and were the most active of local authorities, representing rapidly-growing industrial cities and supplying them with ever-increasing and diversifying services (Keith-Lucas and Richards, 1978), but they were then threatened by the passing of the Borough Funds Act in 1872. It was this crisis which led to their uniting as the Association of Municipal Corporations for the first time in 1873. The AMC archive at the University of Birmingham begins only in 1882, with that year’s annual meeting containing the association’s ninth annual report. Yet even then, the question of the Borough Funds Act continued to overshadow the AMC’s work.

Membership of the AMC was available to all municipal corporations, of which there were two types. One was the county borough, which had considerable autonomy from its county council and the other was the non-county borough, which remained subordinate to its county administration in most functions. These member authorities varied in size from the very small, with populations below two thousand, to the great Victorian metropolises of Birmingham and Manchester. Excluded were Scottish authorities, which had their own organisation and, until the reorganisation of London’s local government in 1889, that city’s constituent boroughs. From 1897, membership was opened to Irish municipalities upon their request and although only Dublin and Cork joined in the event, and membership was to be short-lived with the Irish home rule (and later, independence) movement already burgeoning, the first of these quickly became significant enough within the AMC to host one of the very few annual meetings to have taken place outside of London, in 1900 (AMC, 1897, 1900).

4.3 1882-1910: Questions of municipal capacity

The early years of the AMC were dominated by a sense of unity. The member boroughs, both county and non-county, cast themselves as progressives

constantly pushing back the boundaries of municipal action for the manifest benefit of their citizens. The significance of progressivism as a movement at this time is attested by Griffiths' (2008) study of the contemporary crusading *Municipal Journal* (not to be confused with the AMC's own *Municipal Review* magazine of the twentieth century). Yet at the same time, the archives present a sense of a siege mentality within the organisation and a perennial fear of the boroughs' powerful political opponents. Griffiths (*ibid.*) attributes the fading of the progressive movement after 1910 to its failure to attract popular support and doubts about its puritanism.

Argumentation with the intent to procure certain political action from a choice of alternatives is referred to as deliberation and in this sense the AMC constitutes a deliberative forum, though one not necessarily in possession of policy-making authority (Dryzek and Hendriks, 2012). The kind of deliberation observed during the AMC's meetings in its formative years has two main characteristics. First of all, in such a context the arguments advanced during AMC meetings are directed outwards – from the AMC itself towards its political opponents. Secondly, the solidarity of all municipal corporations tends to be emphasised. Whilst the achievements of individual cities may receive particular praise, there is rarely any evidence that this was intended to chide recalcitrant authorities. Rather, they were invited to regard themselves as sharing in the achievements of their co-members in the overarching narrative of municipal progress. These two characteristics – solidarity and the direction of arguments outside of the AMC itself and towards national government - have implications both for the types of cities drawn upon as argumentative resources at the AMC during this time and the types of claims which are advanced.

In the first example of municipal solidarity, the imperative to provide a united front seems to over-ride the question of efficiency and the AMC's stance could be interpreted as uncharacteristically conservative. This example comes from 1888 and the AMC's discussion of a new parliamentary bill, the Local Government (England and Wales) Bill, which seeks to modernise local government. The progressive elements within the AMC would usually be supportive of such a bill, especially to the extent that it increased the competency of its members. Some larger boroughs were favoured by the bill, but the downside for the AMC's membership was that county government was to be bolstered in non-metropolitan areas, at the expense of non-county

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boroughs and some county boroughs which would lose their status. Animosity between the AMC and its rival, the County Councils Association (CCA), recurs frequently during future debates, for example during further negotiations in 1913 (Pearce, 1980). The AMC's rejection of this Bill appears to be largely parochial, arrived at on the basis of the weakened position of its own members rather than on its merits as a means to improve administrative efficiency. This is the mood of the following motion, moved by the Town Clerk of Exeter (one of the boroughs which would have lost its county status had the bill been passed) and seconded by the Town Clerk of Bath during the AMC's council meeting of 5th April 1888:

“That the Council of the AMC have received the Local Government (England and Wales) Bill with a sense of deep disappointment; invaluable as is the privilege of local self-government, and desirable as it no doubt is that such privilege should be extended to the counties, this Council is at a loss to understand why all that is necessary cannot be effected without attacking the municipal corporations, whose antiquity and tried capacity should have protected them from the unnecessary interference with their ancient rights and privileges, which this Bill contemplates.” (AMC, 1888: 41)

The town clerk's defence of the privileges of Bath and other municipalities can be conceptualised as an act of political argumentation. The various aspects of political argumentation identified by Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) can be observed within this argument, and are presented in Table 4:1:

Circumstances	Local self-government is constrained by national government
Goal	Local self-government should be extended in counties, but without compromising municipal administration
Value	Maximum local autonomy is best
Claim for action	Municipal corporations should be free from county interference

Means/goal premise	Municipal corporations have been autonomous from pre-modern times
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Table 4:1 Antiquity as an argumentative resource (1888)

Whilst the Town Clerk does refer to the corporations' "tried capacity", that is to their positive track-record, the main thrust of the argument is that their capacity should be preserved simply because it is ancient. As a result of all of this, the AMC is forced to register grievances against a Bill which its larger members ought to support – in the name of solidarity. The AMC's priority to present a united front of all municipal corporations means that the experiences of particular cities were sometimes underplayed. Sometimes, however, the experiences of particular cities were used to advance arguments.

The following example of such argumentation comes from the AMC's then-chairman, Sir Albert K Rollit MP. Rollit was also President of the Law Society and his knowledge of legal issues was doubtless valuable to the municipal cause, given that it had powerful opponents, as we will see below. Bowers comments that "Sir Albert was a man of eminent qualifications and an MP. He was of striking physical characteristics and most forceful in debate; it was a delight to listen to him. His support was invaluable; his opposition devastating" (Bowers, 1959: 1)

Rollit here expounds the achievements of some of the AMC's members. His examples are however not primarily intended to spur other member authorities into action. Usually they were quite convinced already about the benefits of municipal provision, but were unable to imitate their contemporaries because Government legislation empowering them to do so did not yet exist. Certain authorities had procured suitable legislation for themselves individually, but the AMC desired to see all municipal corporations similarly empowered. Rollit's speech is therefore addressed to the AMC but designed to convince his colleagues in the Westminster Government (he was himself an MP) to pass suitable legislation. Here then is Rollit's speech to the AMC's annual meeting, 13th March 1895:

"But, my lords and gentlemen, despite any obstacles, the sphere of municipal action has been, as I have said, increasing, and I think, improved. I will take one or two instances of it, which are only

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illustrations of what has been generally done, but which have come under my special observation. I will allude for a moment to what is, I think, one of the best instances of municipal achievement and development, namely, the case of Nottingham. You have in Nottingham what you have on the Continent, as at Amsterdam, practically a municipal university; you have the higher university instruction combined with technical, industrial and artistic training, under the direction and management of the corporation.” (AMC, 1895: 55)

The beginning of Rollit’s speech makes clear that there is nothing inherently exceptional about Nottingham’s experience. Rather, it is “an illustration of what has generally been done” – although it is among the “best instances”. Nottingham’s quasi-municipal university is endorsed by Rollit in the presence of the AMC’s members and they would have been encouraged to explore similar schemes. Yet the sense that Rollit is not primarily addressing the AMC at all becomes clearer as his speech continues:

“But that is not all that Nottingham has done in these directions for the people. I remember, in the House of Commons, when the question of allotments was being discussed, that when I suggested that some boroughs might care to have allotments, the idea was scouted by one speaker as an absurdity; and yet in the very middle of the great manufacturing town of Nottingham you have perhaps the best illustration of allotments in the whole country – under the direction, again, of the corporation, who are increasing the holdings, so justified have they been by their experience. Another new departure, again at Nottingham: the volunteers have experienced a great want of Rangers, and Nottingham has supplied its Sherwood Foresters with the opportunity of making themselves efficient volunteers. I am quite aware that there are municipal estates that render that easy, but a Bill is passing through the House of Commons at present – the Military Lands Bill – which will enable all corporations, if they think proper, to render the same service to the country; and I hope this will meet with favourable consideration” (AMC, 1895: 55).

Rollit’s real target in this speech is therefore the UK Government. He has two points to make to them. First of all, the apparent success of municipal

allotments, an idea which had originally been mocked by political opponents, is an argumentative resource supporting an appeal for parliamentarians to look more favourably upon municipal enterprise in the future. Second, Rollit mentions Nottingham's assistance to the military, something which is apparently a Nottinghamian innovation. MPs can hardly object to measures conducive to improved national defence, and Rollit hopes that they will vote in support of the Lands Bill currently before them. Rollit is using Nottingham as an example not to cajole lesser authorities into action, since he calculates that they are already desperate to similarly increase their competencies, but rather as an argumentative resource in support of his claim that MPs ought to empower municipal corporations in general and in particular should allow the Lands Bill to pass. This argument is presented diagrammatically below, in Table 4:2:

Circumstance	The military is understaffed (and war is a threat)
Goal	The military should be fully equipped
Value	The county needs to be defended
Claim for action:	Parliament should pass the Land Bill, enabling military staffing to become a municipal responsibility
Means/goal premise	Nottingham has demonstrated that municipal corporations can effectively fulfil this role

Table 4:2 Nottingham as an argumentative resource (1895)

A further example of this kind of argument comes in the next part of Rollit's speech and concerns different cities besides Nottingham; one of which is Glasgow:

"Let me take another case, the case of Huddersfield, in relation to a question which has created great interest among you, namely, the working of our tramways by corporations. You know that we have introduced a Bill into the House of Commons to enable that to be done, so that you shall not only own, but work your own tramways, if you think proper; and yet we are constantly met by objections on the

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ground of experience. I venture to think that all experience favours the reform. Take the case of Glasgow. Your Bill, or rather the Glasgow Bill, which incorporated similar clauses, and for which I spoke, was opposed by Mr Cross, one of the members for Glasgow. He told me, only the other day, that he had found the opposition to be a great mistake, and that there had been no benefit conferred on Glasgow greater than the success of their halfpenny fares in connection with their municipal tramways. I could give instances at Huddersfield, Plymouth, and elsewhere to the same effect..." (Rollit, 1895: 55)

Rollit again, probably with some personal satisfaction, relates an incident in which his political opponents conceded that he was right all along: "he [Rollit's Parliamentary opponent] had found the opposition to be a great mistake". Rollit sees no particular reason to persuade the listening delegates of the Association of Municipal Corporations of the merits of municipal tramway operation. Doubtless the successes of Glasgow, Huddersfield and Plymouth, among others, were well-known (a contention supported by Rodgers' [1998] reference to the frequent visits to Glasgow by American progressives). In any case he leaves the individual decision up to the authority concerned "if [they] think proper". Rather again Rollit is determined that Parliament vote through the AMC's Bill empowering all municipal corporations to own and/or operate tramways. Private bills in Glasgow (not actually an AMC member but rather part of the Convention of Scottish Burghs) and elsewhere (for example in Birmingham through the Birmingham Act of 1851 [Keith-Lucas and Richards, 1978]) had procured similar powers in a few, pioneering cities and these enterprises had been very successful. Therefore the UK Parliament ought to confer those powers upon all municipal corporations, as represented in Table 4:3:

Circumstance	Tramways are inefficient and expensive
Goal	Tramways should be efficient and cheap
Value	Mobility is a public good and economically beneficial
Claim for	Parliament should pass the Bill, enabling municipal

action:	corporations to own and/or operate tramways
Means/goal premise	Glasgow, amongst other cities, has demonstrated that municipal corporations can effectively provide this service efficiently and cheaply

Table 4:3 Glasgow as an argumentative resource (1895)

One might ask of Rollit, however, why exactly it is that if “all experience favours the reform”, there are nonetheless frequent “objections on the ground of experience”. Either the evidence of experience is open to interpretation or it is being wilfully misinterpreted by either Rollit or his opponents. These opponents may be ideologically predisposed toward private rather than municipal provision of services, or simply object to increased rates. Rollit is acutely aware that the current situation is also far from being one of consensus. Many of his contemporaries continued to regard “good rule and order” as the only proper preserve of local government (AMC, 1896), and such opposition was further intensified around the turn of the twentieth century as the range of competencies afforded to local government increased substantially during the 1890s. For instance, during the annual meeting of 22nd October 1902, we find Rollit referring to what he describes as an “Anti-Municipal Crusade” (AMC, 1902).

The Anti-Municipal Crusade is criticised for describing municipal provision as incurring indebtedness (rather than as constituting investment, as Rollit would argue) and for labelling it as “municipal socialism”. Rollit rejects that label since many proponents of municipal provision were motivated by profit and allied to businesses. As Hunt notes of Joseph Chamberlain in Birmingham, a pioneer of several municipal activities:

“Chamberlain’s energetic success would soon spur other councils to take private utilities into public ownership. Yet the irony was that this “socialist” endeavour proceeded from quintessentially capitalist principles: chiefly, the desire of large corporate businesses to have secure and cheap energy supplies”. (Hunt, 2004: 342)

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Birmingham was not alone in having a business-dominated council and similar motivations spurred the erroneously labelled municipal socialism in other cities also.

Opposition to the AMC's municipal trading around 1900 meant that the organisation was therefore on the defensive and inclined once more to speak in the general terms of all municipalities. Yet as we have seen in the examples of Nottingham and Glasgow in the mid-1890s, there were occasions where particular cities could be held up as examples of successful municipal ownership – as illustrative cities rather than model cities. This celebration of particular cities' achievements was not limited to British cities. The AMC also noted at times the contributions of foreign cities and how they could influence cities in England and Wales. The cities of Europe and North America were the most commonly mentioned, as in the two examples which follow.

The first example is administrative, whereby during the AMC's annual report of 26th March 1898 the “recent corporate expansion” of the city of New York is celebrated as guaranteeing unprecedented municipal autonomy from state and national interference in a broad range of spheres. It is also noted to constitute a good precedent for British municipalities, although the report opens with pessimism about the prospects that such a precedent could ever be followed:

“We cannot approach...in England, whatever may be the administrative outcome [of debates about local government], the recent corporate expansion of the city of New York...” (AMC, 1898: 62)

Rollit's admiration for New York is qualified however, and continues with reflections upon that city's shortcomings both in the past and in the light of its new administrative arrangements:

...Previous practices in New York and the tactics of Tammany, have taught the truth of the aphorism of Cicero, that even bad laws well administered may be better than good ones ill administered, and there are points in this statute, such as the removability of employees, which seem directed to the continuance of the evils; but there are also provisions which are suggestive”. (*ibid.*: 62)

Yet in spite of both his general scepticism that British cities could ever attain the powers now granted to New York and his distaste for some aspects of that city's new settlement, Rollit does pick out one innovation which he believes is ripe for immediate imitation in Britain:

“In one respect I venture to predict that this legislation for New York will probably be a precedent for ourselves, and a right and wise precedent, namely, in sanctioning and permitting borough communities to effect certain of their own improvements (if necessary compulsorily, but of course subject to compensation) without the cost and delay of resorting to Parliament”. (*ibid.*: 62)

Rollit regards the new administration of New York as both a prototype for British cities (in Brenner's [2002] sense of a window into the future for British cities) as well as normative (since he regards New York's new system as “a right and wise precedent”). Table 4:4 presents the argument that British cities should be empowered like New York:

Circumstances	Municipal corporations in the UK lack powers
Goal	Municipal corporations ought to have increased freedom of action
Value	Municipal corporations improve the lives of their citizens
Claim for action	Municipal corporations should be empowered to undertake improvements without recourse to Parliament
Means/goal premise	New York's new system provides a template for how this might be done. Note that this is different from the usual “New York demonstrates that this can be successful” since the new arrangements there have not yet been implemented.

Table 4:4 New York as an argumentative resource (1898)

Elsewhere, European cities are mentioned as having something to teach British cities, certainly from the point of view of higher education. During Rollit's address to the annual meeting in 1900 he refers not only to Amsterdam's

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experience (to which he earlier alluded in relation to Nottingham's quasi-municipal university) but also to other cities, especially Zürich. This is all in the aftermath of a study tour undertaken by the AMC's Technical Education Commission:

"The best educational experiences and results were in cities such as Düsseldorf and Zürich, where education had a municipal basis; the best schools of commerce on the continent were those established under the combined action of the Municipalities and Chambers of Commerce; there were Municipal and Commercial Universities at Amsterdam and Leipzig; at Strasbourg, which has risen since and from the ashes of the Franco-German War, the Municipality has taken a great part; whilst at Zurich the people told our Technical Education Commission that no considerations of cost influenced them as to their Technical Schools, since we, as customers and consumers, paid for them in the higher prices realised owing to the better technique available in production and manufacture." (AMC, 1900: 112)

Unsurprisingly, the AMC commission determined that higher education is best provided by municipalities, either alone or in partnership with Chambers of Commerce. International comparisons have apparently borne out this conclusion, with Zürich providing further music to the ears of the AMC by asserting that education expenditure ought to be immaterial given the likely benefits. During a time of considerable debate about the appropriate means of providing higher education, Rollit's argument is again probably more directed to his colleagues at Westminster than to the AMC's own membership. This is presented in Table 4:5:

Circumstance	Technical education is poor and provision is patchy
Goal	Better technical education
Value	A better-equipped workforce will make Britain prosperous and competitive
Claim	Municipalities should provide (or at least have significant involvement in) the provision of technical

	education
Means/goal premise	Zürich and other European cities demonstrate that municipal provision is effective. We have little choice but to imitate them, since they are our rivals and we cannot allow them to gain a better-equipped workforce

Table 4:5 European cities as argumentative resources (1900)

In conclusion, the AMC between 1890 and 1910 emphasised the solidarity of its members and petitioned government on their behalf, to increase their competencies through the passing of appropriate legislation. This petitioning was supported with references to successful experiences with similar legislation applied on a local basis to pioneering corporations. Some of these were the AMC's members in England and Wales but others were located elsewhere, particularly in Scotland, the United States and Western Europe. Therefore, there were few instances of cities being packaged as models to be imitated among the AMC's members and since this is one of the core elements of the grounded model city, there were few model cities. Rather, certain illustrative cities were mobilised as argumentative resources to obtain further concessions for all AMC members. This "collective bargaining" at the AMC militated against the production of model cities in the early twentieth century.

4.4 1935-1958: Examples of municipal effectiveness

The second clear period of the AMC's history is that traced through the pages of the association's *Municipal Review* magazine, which began in 1929 but properly took on the functions of the old *Council Minutes* from 1935. This period is characterised by the appearance of articles in *Municipal Review* which record developments within particular cities in England and Wales. The following section presents a selection of these articles, which took the form of brief bulletins, the authorship of which is not ascribed in the text.

Among the earliest articles of this type appearing in *Municipal Review* is a report of "School Buildings in Birmingham", which begins thus:

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“Great interest will be aroused in the country, and especially amongst those concerned with the education of the young, in the new school which has just been opened at Birmingham. It is a departure from the traditional and should go a long way in meeting the criticism of that strong section of the community who insist that too much money has in the past been spent on the provision of school buildings which in the course of a comparatively short period become out of date in consequence of the advance in ideas as to educational methods. Birmingham can rightly claim to be a most progressive authority in regard to housing matters – a tour of its outskirts provides an object lesson in regard to how the problem should be dealt with. In about ten years some 65,000 new houses have been built, of which about two-thirds have been erected by the corporation. In the same period thirty-five council schools have been provided...” (AMC, 1935: 3)

This article positions Birmingham’s recent experience as being one of national significance, with the clear indication that cities wishing to be “progressive” ought to imitate its municipal housing and education systems. Birmingham represents for the author “an object lesson” for cities elsewhere, which is exceptional for cities of this period, as illustrated by the other examples from *Municipal Review* which follow. First of all, from 1936, “Passenger Transport: Successful Results of Tramway Operations at Sunderland”:

“With a resident population of nearly 200,000 people and surrounded by well populated urban areas, it is imperative that the transport facilities of the county borough of Sunderland should be efficient in every respect and that this is the case is shown by the very satisfactory financial results that have accrued from the operation of the undertaking, particularly since it was modernised a few years ago. For instance, the net profits have risen from £13,647 in 1928 to £30,715 in 1935...” (AMC, 1936: 87)

This article is more typical of *Municipal Review* during this period than “School Buildings in Birmingham” because there is less of an attempt to construct Sunderland as an example to other cities. The county borough of Sunderland has been successful on its own terms, in the provision of services for its own population, but the article does not claim any wider significance for

Sunderland's achievement. This is because Sunderland's was a fairly typical experience, with most AMC members running municipal transport operations at this time, along broadly similar lines and with broadly similar (positive) results. The tumultuous days of the 1890s and 1900s, when the role of municipalities in operating public transport systems was hotly debated, have given way to a period of general acceptance. The case for such provision no longer needs to be made since detractors are few in number. Sunderland is therefore not required to function as an argumentative resource in favour of greater municipal involvement in transport; rather the case of Sunderland merely represents a re-affirmation of what is already accepted as true: that local government has a legitimate and effective role in operating public transport.

A further example is that of West Hartlepool, in "Municipal Aerodromes: Opening of West Hartlepool's New Civic Airport". Since aerodromes were a more recent innovation than tramways, it might be expected that *Municipal Review* would afford greater significance to the opening of the airport at West Hartlepool than to Sunderland's tramway experience. Yet the article again fails to include any indication that West Hartlepool's experience is instructive in some way for other municipalities. Rather, it simply records the pomp associated with the opening ceremony:

"On Saturday, 15th April, West Hartlepool's civic airport was formally opened by Sir Kingsley Wood, MP, Secretary of State for Air, with ceremony befitting the occasion. Prior to the opening Sir Kingsley Wood was the chief guest at a luncheon given by the mayor and the corporation, which was attended by a company of nearly two hundred, including many distinguished visitors... At the close of the luncheon, Sir Kingsley Wood and the other guests proceeded to the airport, where the Minister for Air handed over the licence to the mayor." (AMC, 1939: 169)

The opening of West Hartlepool's aerodrome was of a high enough profile within Britain's aviation industry to attract the presence of the Secretary of State, but *Municipal Review* does not use the occasion to argue the case for municipal involvement in aerodromes. Although this involvement is newer than that in tramways, it is still apparently accepted without question and

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requires no justification. That said, the publication of an article presenting the aerodrome in a positive light can might have functioned indirectly to encourage local authorities to attempt similar experiments.

The fourth example I present is an article from 1941, “Public Baths: New All-Electric Swimming Bath for Exeter”. This article typifies the many at this time which concern less ambitious undertakings. Whilst housing, tramways and aerodromes are mentioned within *Municipal Review*, there are many more articles recording the opening of crematoria, markets, libraries, theatres etc. In this case it is the opening of a swimming pool which is narrated:

“Although an ancient city, Exeter is nevertheless very progressive in the matter of providing for the needs of its present-day citizens, and in recent years, as articles in the *Municipal Review* from time to time testify, many important schemes for the public benefit have been undertaken. The latest scheme to be brought into use is the city's new swimming bath, which is electrically-heated throughout, and has cost upwards of £41,000, exclusive of site. This is, however, not the city's first venture in this direction, for it has possessed an open-air bath since 1870 and covered baths since 1911, and in fact the whole of the capital expenditure on the last-mentioned undertaking had been repaid before the city council decided on the provision of the new swimming bath which was formally opened at the end of May.” (AMC, 1941: 131)

This article's positioning of Exeter as a “progressive” city is interesting. Since the provision of municipal swimming pools is fairly typical of the period (being noted in 1938 in Thornaby-on-Tees, for example), this cannot be a claim that Exeter is innovative and worthy of imitation elsewhere. Rather it is a claim that Exeter is “keeping up” with other municipalities as a genuinely progressive council. The article ends with a reference to the continuing need to demonstrate good financial management.

It could be objected that the transition from using *Council Minutes* to *Municipal Review* for analysis in 1935 makes the assertion that argumentation was generally absent from the AMC from that date unsafe. Other kinds of material published by the AMC outside of *Municipal Review* might have contained more argumentative writing, advocating innovation through experiment with new

competencies rather than simply the increasing adoption of existing ones by a greater number of municipalities. Griffith. (1985: x) however contends that there was indeed a lack of deliberation about the role of local government in the UK at this time. Rather there was a plateauing in the competencies of local government and this complacency was ultimately its undoing, since in the absence of innovation “local government failed to expand beyond its traditional functions, and so began to decline”, a process which accelerated after 1945 when “The loss of functions under the Attlee government, however justifiable on other grounds, was serious because it restricted the range of local government activities” (*ibid.*: x). Loughlin, Gelfland and Young (1985) note that 1935 saw the publication of *A century of municipal progress, 1835-1935*. (Laski, Jennings and Robson, 1935). They accept the “optimistic and self-confident” tone of that article, contrasting it with the following half-century, the subject of their own book, in which “Further “progress” there has been in the sense of the enhancement of welfare arising from developments in public service provision. But in some instances the stream of improvement has been diverted and expansion reversed” (Loughlin, Gelfland and Young, 1985: xv). This is significant because it indicates that a time of limited argumentation coincided with limited ambition or innovation. That suggests that model cities are unlikely to be mobilised unless cities are actively seeking new models, as they apparently are today (Peck, 2011). Loughlin, Gelfland and Young (1985) argue that though fundamentally there had been fifty years of municipal decline, accelerated but by no means instigated under the Thatcher government from 1979, it was more correct to speak of transformation. Though local government had lost major services to the national state, it had for instance grown as a bureaucracy and as an employer. This is in agreement with Stoker’s (1999) contention that “new management” – an emphasis on leadership, markets and networks – arose after 1979 in opposition to local government’s perceived bureaucracy and decision-making, which were seen as stifling creativity and ignoring stakeholders, privileging rules and procedures over results and outcomes.

However, at the other end of the scale from Exeter’s more modest scheme to provide improved bathing facilities, there came soon afterwards a proliferation of ambitious proposals for replanning entire British cities in the wake of the Second World War, the blitz (and blight) of which was perceived by many as an

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opportunity to rebuild their cities in a style appropriate for the modern world. One such city is Coventry, the planning of which is reported in *Municipal Review* in the following article; "City Redevelopment: Coventry of the Future" from 1945:

In connection with the six hundredth anniversary of the incorporation of Coventry, the civic authorities arranged an exhibition last month to illustrate to the people some proposals and suggestions for the physical reconstruction and planning of the city and at the same time issued, as a permanent record of the occasion, a non-technical illustrated booklet entitled "The Future of Coventry". The exhibition comprised maps, plans and photographs as well as many models showing what might be done to design "an efficient and beautiful setting in which the people can live a full and happy life, where proper emphasis is given to questions alike of traffic, housing, industry and recreation and amenities"... (AMC, 1945: 249)

This article says little about the significance of Coventry's plan as part of the broader programme of post-war reconstruction in England and Wales, though we know from Hasegawa (1992) that its experience was influential for the contemporary planners of Bristol and Southampton. The proper role of corporations in devising reconstruction plans and schemes was contested at this time by the larger landowners, though public opinion was generally in favour of ambitious planning as a means of modernising towns (Hasegawa, 1999). Even if the planning proposals drawn up by municipalities were neither fully implemented nor, in some cases, eventually adopted, their very existence provides some examples of a deliberative process in urban development at this time, with plans elsewhere occasionally being referenced.

The next example is significant in that the planning and construction of new towns was one of the few functions still beyond the capacity of most corporations. In "Wythenshawe: Manchester's New Town", from 1952, the success of a new town planned by a local authority is emphasised as an argument against the monopolising of new town construction through autonomous new town corporations, as championed by the national government's planning ministry:

“As an official of Manchester corporation has said, "Wythenshawe is undoubtedly the first "new town" to approach completion and an outstanding example of what a local authority can do in the way of new town construction, in fact it begs the question, were the New Towns Corporations really necessary?"” (AMC, 1952: 46)

The author argues that Wythenshawe resembles the government’s new towns in its size and in its aims, providing better housing, recreation and mixed employment in the garden city tradition (see page 135). By positioning Wythenshawe as analogous to these new towns, the author can compare the two and find Wythenshawe to be superior. Unlike them, it is already nearing completion (which is partly of course because it had a head-start of two decades on the post-war new towns, having been first conceived in 1926 [*ibid.*]). Moreover, it is an outstanding example too, and apparently calls into question the wisdom of the government’s policy of creating unelected new town corporations. Yet if Manchester’s success in facilitating dispersal through the construction of a virtual municipal new town is to be replicated, central government is going to need to provide suitable legislation. Wythenshawe’s development came about only through the activities of a wealthy benefactor and the passing of the Manchester Extension Act of 1930 (*ibid.*). This implies an argument in favour of municipal construction of new towns also, perhaps after the passage of similar enabling acts, an argument which is presented in Table 4:6:

Circumstance	Many urban populations are blighted by poor housing resulting from overcrowding or wartime devastation, as well as unemployment
Goal	New towns should be built, cheaply, rapidly and with high standards of housing and the provision of employment, to disperse the population
Value	The population should be looked after by the state
Claim for action	Municipal corporations should be trusted with the task of building new towns, thus facilitating dispersal from

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	overcrowded slums or blitzed centres
Means/goal premise	Wythenshawe demonstrates that municipal corporations are at least as effective as new town corporations – and have the advantage of being more democratic

Table 4:6 Wythenshawe as an argumentative resource (1952)

This argument is similar to those advanced by Albert Rollit during the 1890s. It is not that the example of successful municipal provision is an argumentative resource in support of the claim that any particular *style* of municipal provision should be adopted, but simply that municipal provision itself be permitted and as such it is primarily addressed once more at national government rather than to *Municipal Review's* readership. The only difference is that whilst in the 1890s the options were municipal provision or private provision (and the former gradually won through after the passage of favourable legislation), the choice in the 1940s and 1950s with respect to the planning and construction of new towns was instead between municipal provision and state provision. Reluctant to devolve power from itself, central government retained control of new towns policy, through its new town corporations, up until its “third generation” of new towns – Milton Keynes and Telford – in the 1960s (Llewelyn-Davies, 1966; Tolley, 1972). Again, the lack of any formal constitutional role for local government in the UK, and its consequent dependence upon favourable legislation from Parliament, left the AMC feeling vulnerable and needing to justify the activities of its members. This need would intensify as local government was increasingly questioned during the 1960s and 1970s.

Between 1935 and 1953, therefore, the AMC archive is rich in accounts of the activities of its individual corporations. These accounts are published as a matter of interest, but only occasionally, as in the case of Wythenshawe presented above, do they describe innovative activities that are not taking place elsewhere. Rather the mundane experiences of cities in apparently unremarkable spheres of activity serve to continually reinforce the notion that municipal corporations make a valuable contribution to their communities and to encourage further activities to be instigated. The point is not that no argumentation was taking place within *Municipal Review* between 1935 and 1953. The cumulative impact of so many articles of this type communicated

powerful claims about what cities ought to be doing. However, the continuing absence of innovation or the packaging of a city makes it difficult to identify model cities during this period.

4.5 1958-1974: Questions of Administrative Efficiency

During the 1960s and 1970s a different set of questions comes to be asked of local government. Whilst the responsibilities of local government remain widely accepted and relatively uncontested, certainly compared to the situation in the 1890s, the efficiency of local government is repeatedly challenged. This is really the intensification of a trend which can be traced to papers critical of inefficiencies during the 1930s (Alexander, 1985) and even to the 1890s (AMC, 1898). Articles in *Municipal Review* begin to take on the character less of a parade of activities of local authorities in different spheres and more of a search for more efficient running of existing activities. In particular, local government administration is a frequent theme of *Municipal Review*. Many articles addressing this theme, including "Local Authorities and Computers: Greenwich Borough Council's Initiative" of 1958, differ from those of the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s inasmuch as they concern efficient administration rather than enhanced activity, but continue the tradition of narrating the achievements of individual cities as interesting studies in their own right

"An unusual ceremony of significance to the future of local government administration took place at Elms House, Brook Green, London, on July 23rd, when the mayor of Greenwich (Cllr A C Chrisp JP) by pressing the start button, launched a computer into action on the complicated calculation of the council's payroll. The major part of the annual report for 1957-8 of the Metropolitan Boroughs' (Organisation & Methods) committee is devoted to describing how the idea came to be adopted by the Greenwich Borough Council. "Manual methods, accounting machines, punched cards and computers were all examined. It became clear that, provided its full potentialities could be exploited, the prima facie advantage lay with the computer". (AMC, 1958: 514)

Greenwich's adoption of computerisation has come about after an examination of alternatives in which computerised calculation was found to be cheapest and quickest, and therefore most rational. Greenwich's experience was however

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significant in the wider context of local government administration as a demonstration of the effectiveness of new technologies, which could potentially be utilised elsewhere also. A still greater concern at this time than the logistical efficiency of administration is the size and composition of administrative units themselves. The AMC responds to a growing concern that British local government, with its system of county and non-county boroughs, might be outdated, by publishing in *Municipal Review* articles in search of alternatives. These alternatives cannot come from within the United Kingdom itself, so a series of articles is published investigating “Municipal Administration Abroad”. For example, the following article, the twenty-first in the series, describes “Local Government in Switzerland”, and comes from Otto Kaufmann, of the Commercial University of St Gallen:

“Local Government in Switzerland is older than State government. The Swiss Confederation was started by these small valley municipalities in central Switzerland and subsequently expanded by treaties with some neighbouring cities. These municipalities reached “Reichsunmittelbarkeit” i.e. they were sovereign within the German Reich. They were the masters of subjected territories which they ruled either alone or in common. The French Revolution (constitution of 1803) and the Liberalist Movement developed the actual pattern of cantonal states, and in 1848 the Central Federal Government came into being. Ever since, federal government, cantonal government and local government are essential and characteristic factors in the Swiss Confederation...” (Kaufmann, 1961: 20)

The article is longer and more detailed than those earlier in the twentieth century which merely noted the success of a tramway system or the opening of a swimming pool. This reflects the AMC’s first major realignment of itself as no longer a vocal advocate of its own members’ interests but rather a reflexive forum for reflection and deliberation on the advancement of local government, encouraging and publishing contributions from supposedly disinterested academics as well as its own members. *Municipal Review* therefore casts its net more widely in search of best practice elsewhere, which might be productively imported into local government in England and Wales. In the Swiss example, the great variety of local government systems across the world, from which England and Wales might borrow, is brought into relief. Swiss municipalities

pre-date their cantonal and federal governments, whilst English and Welsh municipalities draw their legitimacy from national dispensations of power, with no intermediate tier at all. If the AMC considered this a system worth emulating, there is little of sign of that in the article, and in any case this was as always a matter for national government rather than its members. The further peculiarities of the Swiss system – the great variation in Cantonal and municipal populations, frequent local referendums and objection to cantonal interference, and restriction of the franchise to men in most cantons – are also described. The invocation of the national system of Swiss local government rather than any individual city is evidence of a further kind of argumentative resource in deliberation about urban development: the model national system. This argumentative resource is explored further in the next chapter.

Whilst the Swiss case produces no immediate lessons for British local government, there are some in an article on South Australia of 1971:

"The amount of publicity that comes out of your council offices: some of them you would think are secret societies". No, that quote doesn't refer to any of our English local councils. It is just one quotation that strikes one as being utterly relevant to our own local scene when one reads the *Report by Local Government Act Revision Committee of South Australia*. And despite the fact that local government in South Australia is fundamentally different from our own, the Report goes on to say many things that could apply to our own councils despite all the acts and exhortations of the past few years... With reorganisation in Britain likely to increase the size of local government "constituencies" the need for associations to represent particular, well-defined communities within those constituencies would seem to be greater than ever. The South Australia Local Government Act Revision Committee should encourage local interest by holding regular meetings with local progress associations. It is a principle that could well be worthwhile here..." (Smith, 1971: 321)

Like Switzerland, South Australia is "fundamentally different" from the UK, which might suggest that the opportunities for learning here would be small. Yet Peter Smith argues that the report is "utterly relevant", especially in a context of prospective "reorganisation" in Britain, which in increasing the

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efficiency of administration risks producing a further reduction in accountability. The author suggests that the recommendations aimed at South Australia could fruitfully be implemented in Britain. South Australia is by no means a model though, It has not actually implemented these recommendations, but merely received a report. The reference to South Australia is another example of an argumentative resource from a higher tier of government.

The 1960s and early 1970s, then, are dominated by the search for more efficient ways of running local government administration, albeit with the familiar caveat that much of the power to actually change the system of local government in England and Wales lay at Westminster rather than with the AMC's members. The AMC was determined to position itself at the centre of these debates by inviting academics to share their reflections on the state of local government and commission them to study alternative systems abroad in search of lessons which might be adopted in Britain. The process of deliberation about the future of local government was formalised in the government's Maud Committee on Management of 1964-7 and then concluded by the subsequent Royal Commission on Local Government, which reported in 1969 (Redcliffe-Maud and Wood, 1974); recommending reorganisation and the creation of metropolitan counties in the most densely-populated areas of England. Consistent with its newly-developed role as a forum for debate about local government, the AMC published in *Municipal Review* a series of responses to this report, inviting submissions on its "Symposium on Reform" of 1969 from both local government employees and academics. This is only after, it must be acknowledged, the AMC somewhat reverted to type as a custodian of its own members' interests in this initial criticism of the Maud Report (published in 1968):

"It will come as no great surprise that the idea of management boards put forward by the Maud Committee seems unlikely to find favour with the Association... The sub-committee does not think it is acceptable that the management board should be the sole channel through which business transacted in committees would reach the full council, nor that committees should cease to be executive bodies. The reason they give is clear and commendable - the need to retain in local government a participating role for elected members, a role which cannot be found

in the subordination of committees to a management board.” (AMC, 1968b: 320)

High-minded though the AMC’s opposition to increased managerialism in local government might be, on the grounds that elected members as elected members ought to participate fully in its decision-making, the opposition sits uneasily with the AMC’s more recent desire to modernise local government and unquestionably favours its own membership of councillors. We see more of the AMC’s changing perception of itself and local government in its Symposium on Reform of 1969, which presents a number of opposing viewpoints. In “The Case for Unitary Authorities”, Dr A H Marshall (1969) critiques the “City-Region” philosophy whereby a single-tier authority is created to administer a metropolitan region, on the basis that no-one agrees how many there ought to be and they inevitably fall short of the ideal type of completely self-contained units but rather overlap.

The questioning of local government during the 1960s leaves the AMC in an unfamiliar position as the comfortable consensus of the previous three decades is disturbed. Faced with this situation, the AMC adapts to become less obviously an advocate for the interests of its members in a continuation of the *status quo* and positions itself instead as a thinktank considering how to increase local government’s efficiency. To that end, officers and academics (as well as councillors) are invited to contribute and the AMC organises symposia at which opinions can be disseminated. However, the AMC often rallies to the support of its members when their interests appear to be threatened, as in the proposals to reduce the influence of elected members. Thus the AMC emerges from the turbulence of the 1960s as a more critical friend of its member corporations, but a friend nonetheless. It would have been difficult for the AMC to assume its customary posture as an advocate of its members’ interests because they were diametrically opposed: a minority of its members, lying within the proposed metropolitan counties, would gain from the reforms while the remaining members stood to lose out (Wood, 1976). This is similar to the situation with the reforms of 1888, which as we observed favoured larger corporations and counties at the expense of smaller corporations.

In the technocratic arguments of the 1960s and early 1970s, focused on ideal administrative and managerial arrangements for British cities, the experiences

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of particular cities are rarely mentioned. This is because few had ever experimented with alternative methods of governance. Instead examples from abroad are sought as part of the AMC's new-found vocation as a thinktank. As before at the AMC, many of the lessons drawn from these examples are directed at central government because it alone had the power to implement them (for example, in changing the electoral system to reflect the Swiss style), although sometimes lessons could be directed to member corporations (as in the case of the improving accountability of local government in South Australia). Other arguments were constructed on the basis of rationality as an argumentative resource, a phenomenon which was widespread within *Town Planning Review* at this time and is explored further in chapter six.

4.6 1974-1979: New Opportunities for Local Government

The year 1974 saw the abolition of the Association of Municipal Corporations as part of the reorganisations of local government prompted by the Royal Commission. Many of its members would henceforth be demoted to forming a second tier of local government as district councils subordinate to county councils, including some of those that had formerly been independent county boroughs. Their interests would henceforth be represented by the Association of District Councils and the Association of County Councils. However, six metropolitan counties were also created – Tyne and Wear, West Yorkshire, South Yorkshire, Greater Manchester, Merseyside and West Midlands and these, along with Greater London which had already been formed in 1965, were represented by the Association of Metropolitan Authorities. Despite therefore differing significantly in its membership, the AMA was cast as a successor to the AMC in many respects, not least in its inheritance of the *Municipal Review* magazine which forms the basis of this chapter (see page 52). From the point of view of *MR*, the transition to the new body was seamless, with its numbering continuing as before. The magazine's final volume as the mouthpiece of the AMC, in 1973, was volume 44 while the next, published in 1974 and under the auspices of the AMA, was volume 45. The AMA differed from the AMC in that its members were more homogenous. They were all either metropolitan counties or their constituent metropolitan boroughs and as such were all large, industrial cities with in most cases a tendency to return Labour MPs and councillors. This created a friction with Margaret Thatcher's radical

Conservative administration of the 1980s that in some respects dominated the AMA's agenda during that decade.

In the later 1970s though, *Municipal Review* during the AMA era continued where it had left off under the old AMC with further consideration of how local government could become both more efficient and more democratic. One example of this type of article is "The Year of the Ballot", in which Bryan Keith-Lucas (1979), Emeritus Professor of the University of Kent and a former officer *and* councillor, proposes electoral reform which might strengthen local democracy. Again he notes with approval the Swiss emphasis on direct democracy, as well as the German use of computers and American use of voting machines during elections. Keith-Lucas is particularly concerned by low turnouts in local elections and the weaknesses of local government's first-past-the-post electoral system. Keith Lucas' article uses superior national systems as argumentative resources in support of his claims, just as did articles of the 1960s.

Another article of the early AMA era in the 1970s which echoes the debates of the 1960s is "Are two tiers the best buy for the big cities?" by Jeffrey Stayner (1979) of the University of Exeter. Stayner questions the efficiency and accountability of the new system of metropolitan counties, concluding that no system will be perfect. Some services are best if administered at the neighbourhood level and others at the metropolitan level, but separating the two is often difficult and splits local government departments.

Alongside this focus on efficiency which is carried over from the 1960s, the early AMA era is also characterised by a spirit of optimism, with the newly-established metropolitan authorities positively received and understood as potentially transformative because for the first time administrative units had been created which were genuinely large enough to pursue ambitious new strategies, building upon tentative gains in this area achieved under nascent regional planning councils in the 1960s. Loughlin, Gefland and Young (1985) agree that this period was viewed as one of great advance for local government, which might reverse the decline evident since the 1930s, but note that the optimism quickly evaporated when UK Governments after reorganisation in 1972 continued to bypass local authorities. A different interpretation of this era comes from Stoker (1999), for whom the continuous

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increase in local authority budgets and staffing since World War Two proved to be unsustainable by the late 1960s, resulting in chronic indebtedness and a need for reorganisation not only in pursuit of growth but in order to rationalise and reduce costs.

Nonetheless, during the early 1970s there was an atmosphere within which everything was felt possible and where the boundaries of local government could be pushed further. This was fertile ground for experimentation and instances of successful innovations in member authorities were enthusiastically received and heralded as worthy of imitation. For example, there was widespread praise for the Tyne and Wear metro system of rapid transit, which had been developed before the formation of Tyne and Wear metropolitan county but appeared to signpost a possible strategy for other metropolitan authorities. Here is a *Municipal Review* article of 1977, by David Powell:

“...Once, when petrol was twenty pence a gallon and Beeching the bogeyman of boyhood train spotters, there were few doubts about the shape of Britain's transportation requirements into the last quarter of the twentieth century. It was very much a case of "Private, good: public, bad" - and the apostate invited the combined wrath of that privileged 45% who polish their gods each Sunday morning, and their collective psyche, the roads lobby. Now all that has changed and even Whitehall is coming to recognise that it may have got its priorities wrong; that there may, after all, be something to the Pestel and Mesarovich warning to the Club of Rome that: "To maintain a comfortable ratio between proven reserves and new production, new deposits of the Alaskan North Slopes or North Sea magnitude would be necessary every year". It must be remembered that with an annual growth rate of five per cent, even doubled reserves would be exhausted after just about fourteen years. That was in 1974 and if [the Tyne and Wear] Metro ever needed post-facto justification, this was surely it: that future constraints on energy resources (as President Carter warned Congress this April) demand the development of alternative systems to provide resource-efficient transport when the predicted energy "gap" emerges. The point may be obvious, yet the Department of the Environment appear to have been slow to grasp its full implications. Two years after the Club of Rome reported (Mankind at the Turning

Point) and six months after our own Cabinet Office warning that fossil fuels are "necessarily finite" (Future World Trends), Tyne and Wear received a call from Marsham Street [i.e. from the headquarters of the Department of Transport] to say that Metro was being "re-appraised" - an assassin's euphemism if ever there was one. It was the beginning of an agonising eight months of indecision for Tyne and Wear and men such as Rowland Scott-Bailey, chairman of the Council's Transport Committee... The Tyne and Wear Public Transport Executive, formed in 1969, did not wait to be overtaken by events. By 1973 Metro had received all the necessary approvals (plus a 75% grant from Government) and was already under construction. Its object was straightforward - to establish a fully integrated public transport system which, using 26 miles of upgraded British Rail track as the nucleus for development, would provide a unified bus-and-train service for the one million people living north and south of that geological and social fault line, the Tyne valley..." (Powell, 1977: 102)

Not only does Metro have the obvious benefit of enabling travel within the Tyne and Wear area, but it also links disparate communities. Moreover, it provides an achievement of which local leaders can be proud and from which they can draw confidence. By associating the metro system with the contemporary rise in environmental awareness, local initiative is presented as more progressive than intransigent national government (the Department for the Environment was frustratingly cautious about the scheme). This allying of local government to environmental concerns returns during the 1980s, when there is also an emphasis on courting the support of the institutions of the European Union as a counterweight to coercion from the UK Government. Table 4:7 presents the claim that local authorities should consider similar transportation systems, though this claim is really only implied in an article which concentrates solely on Tyne and Wear's own experiences:

Circumstances	The Club of Rome has raised awareness of the finiteness of natural resources
Goal	Alternatives to private transport need to be developed and invested in

Value	Transport should be sustainable
Claim for action	Intransigent national government should invest more in local transport schemes and assist local authorities
Means/goal premise	New, metropolitan-wide authorities now have the scope to manage such ambitious schemes and the Newcastle experience indicates that they can do so successfully

Table 4:7 Newcastle-upon-Tyne as an argumentative resource (1977)

Notwithstanding the United Kingdom's wider economic malaise of this period, the late 1970s were therefore to some extent a time of opportunity for the AMA's members, with the conviction that their new-found size and scope as metropolitan-wide authorities would enable them to transform their cities and reach "the Big League" as T Dan Smith (1969) had phrased it in the 1960s. Tyne and Wear, with its metro system, was lauded as an example of what could be possible. Whether it constituted a model is difficult to determine because though it constituted an innovation, there is less evidence that it was mobilised as an argumentative resource: Table 4:7 is speculative. Moreover, there was no clear identification of the innovation with the city of Newcastle-upon-Tyne itself (or more correctly, the Tyne and Wear metropolitan county and its 1960s antecedents). Such an identification could possibly have developed had there been more fertile ground for the reception of innovative and ambitious policy models in the 1970s, but with little opportunity for widespread imitation of such a capital-intensive project in an era of acute fiscal constraints, no such fertile ground existed.

4.7 1979-1997: Local Government Under Siege

The optimism surrounding the metropolitan authorities and their potential, already dented by Britain's economic problems of the 1970s, was extinguished by the election of Margaret Thatcher's conservative government in 1979. Her administration, through a succession of ministers, sought to reduce local government spending dramatically and remove from local authorities many of

the functions they had carried out since the major advances of the 1890s. Local government was to commission services, but not provide such services itself – which practically meant such changes as a dramatic retreat from the provision of social housing by local authorities (Spencer, 1995). This radically different role for local government was repeatedly criticised by the AMA. For example, Vernon Bogdanor, of Oxford University, the rapporteur of a recent report critical of the government's policy, "Against the Over-Mighty State", is invited to discuss that report in an article of 1988. He advocates direct democracy along Swiss and Italian lines, illustrating that learning from different national systems of local government remains a characteristic of the AMA at this time, as well as proportional representation, which he notes has successfully been introduced in Northern Ireland. Yet his main target is the Government's redefining of the role of local government:

Bogdanor (1988) rejects the government's philosophy that local government should be redefined in this way. First, he claims that the supposed empowering of individual citizens and private enterprise is actually a strengthening of central government at the expense of local government, which is especially problematic for democracy and accountability when other powers are already being transferred to the still more remote institutions of the European Community in Brussels. Bogdanor (*ibid.*: 30) ironically cites in support of his position the EC's own doctrine of subsidiarity, which states that "government tasks [should] be carried out at the lowest possible level compatible with efficiency". He also claims that other European countries are moving in the opposite direction, devolving more powers to the local level.

This attempt of central government to redefine local government's appropriate role was bitterly opposed by the AMA, especially under the chairmanship of Cllr Jack Smart, representing as it did post-industrial areas which perceived themselves as taking the brunt of a number of regressive central policies. Smart's outspokenness caused the AMA to be dismissed as the "loud-mouth cousin" of British local government and its members as misfits and rogue elements, whose radicalism was evident through their removal of "old guard" councillors who were insufficiently aggressive in their confrontations with central government (Walker, 1983: 15). These confrontations mostly concerned financial controls on local government and Walker's caricature of the AMA and its members seems unfair given that only two were actually controlled by

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Labour before 1981 and that the cuts were opposed equally by the Conservative-dominated Association of County Councils (Boddy and Fudge, 1984).

Yet in spite of its spirited resistance, the AMA and its members eventually had little choice but to capitulate to Westminster's agenda. A body blow was the abolition of the metropolitan county councils on 1 April 1986 (as well as that of the Greater London Council, the abolition of which was more high-profile [Forrester, Lansley and Pauley, 1985]), after which the AMA continued, with its membership now drawn exclusively from the metropolitan boroughs which had formerly constituted those counties and had resented their interference (Alexander, 1982). The AMA then began to embrace the government's agenda of replacing failing heavy industries by service-sector employment and partnering with the private sector in order to achieve this. One article praises an example of such economic realignment and public-private cooperation in Rotherham, where Cllr Jack Layden, who replaced Cllr Jack Smart as AMA chairman, is council leader. It comes from Peter Collins (1984). Collins quotes Layden on Rotherham Metropolitan Borough Council's view of the scheme, in which a derelict industrial site on an island between the River Don and a canal was developed by the supermarket chain Hillards:

““This new development has got rid of a particularly ugly building, it has provided jobs in the construction industry and now we have a further 270 new jobs in the service sector, an area where they are so badly needed with unemployment running locally at around 20%””
(Collins, 1984: 123)

Meanwhile, the borough's private-sector partner was also pleased with the development, with Collins quoting its chairman Peter Hartley's declaration that:

““The new superstore at Forge Island, Rotherham, is a fine example of what can be achieved with the right level of teamwork between a far-sighted local authority and the private sector”” (*ibid.*: 123)

Hartley continues that the development “a fine example of what can be achieved with the right level of teamwork between a far-sighted local authority and the private sector”” (*ibid.*: 123), as an unpromising site was transformed as a result of assistance from Cllr Layden and his council's

Enterprise Zone sub-committee. Rotherham may not be a packaged “model” of urban regeneration as at Barcelona, because the focus of the article is the intervention – with Rotherham featuring only incidentally as the setting for it, but it is pioneering a novel form of regeneration in which the private sector is a key stakeholder in a partnership. The AMA is encouraging its own members to enter similar partnerships, which lends this article significance as an instance of an argument being addressed to AMA members rather than national government (see Table 4:8), as was previously the case with such articles. However, there is a message for national government too, in that local government can be trusted to undertake regeneration projects. Note that the partnerships are between the private sector and *local* government. Local authorities of the 1980s feared having their functions outsourced by central government to Urban Development Corporations just as those of the 1950s disliked being bypassed by central government through its creation of New Town Corporations in pursuit of dispersal. Table 4:8 interprets Collins’ celebration of Rotherham’s successful experience of regeneration as an argument in favour of the adoption of similar partnerships elsewhere:

Circumstance	Industrial cities are declining
Goal	New employment should be created and derelict sites regenerated
Value	People should be employed
Claim for action	Partnerships between local government and the private sector should be formed. Other authorities need the vision to enter such partnerships
Means/goal premise	Rotherham and Hilliards have been successful in their regeneration of the Forge Island site, because Rotherham Metropolitan Borough Council is “far-sighted”

Table 4:8 Rotherham as an argumentative resource (1984)

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Other signs of partnerships between local government and business are found in Newcastle-upon-Tyne. First of all, Jeremy Beecham, its city council leader and the AMA's own vice-chairman, penned in 1987 an article titled "Geordie Hospitality in a City "One Can Do Business With"" in response to a testimonial from Kenneth Baker. In a familiar vein, the article laments a lack of investment from the national government, arising from at the very least its misunderstanding of Newcastle's circumstances, if not an absence of compassion for its plight. Beecham also, however, notes ways in which the city is responding to its challenges, for example through the hosting of a Tall Ships Race and other events (Beecham, 1987). Later, in 1994, Newcastle-upon-Tyne returned to the pages of AMA because of its promotion of itself overseas:

"Tyne and Wear companies are to have the use of a trading office in Hamburg, Germany thanks to Newcastle City Council and the Tyne and Wear Development Company. The office, near Hamburg Airport and only ten minutes away from the centre of the city, will provide low cost, effective access to the German market. So far, nine manufacturing and engineering companies have already committed themselves to using the office." (AMA, 1994: 52)

Newcastle, in partnership with Tyne and Wear, is now taking responsibility for its own economic development by creating a dedicated company and negotiating international links. A further example of urban innovation is at Sheffield, in 1988:

"Sheffield hopes to attract some of the thousands of jobs in the media, design and music industries, currently centred on London, to its new audio-visual enterprise centre. There are also plans for a cultural industries complex in a disused garage. And the old cutlery centre of the city is to be promoted as a "Cultural Industries Quarter" to make it once again a thriving area, with growth industries that should take it into the twenty-first century". (AMA, 1988: 53)

As well as profiling the achievements and innovations of its member authorities, the AMA is still keen to look abroad to learn from the experiences of others. It also continues to mistrust central government's removal of responsibilities from local government and its elected members. The following

article of 1988 confirms the AMA's suspicions of such a policy with reference to the unhappy experience of Dublin's transport system in the late 1980s:

"The failure of DART to contribute more to the economic development of Dublin as a whole is largely attributed to the sudden demise of the Dublin Transport Authority. Established in 1986 the authority was intended to provide a forum for the integration of the city's transport interests.... The authority was abolished a little over twelve months ago in a government statement which also sounded the death knell for a DART extension at least in the short term" (Swan, 1988: 44)

Finally, the 1990s are a period of renewed questioning of local government in Britain's metropolitan authorities. They have by this time acquiesced in an agenda of partnership and to an extent that of enabling rather than providing. Yet they continue to carry out significant functions and the apathy directed towards them, manifested through low turn-outs in local elections, is a concern to their supporters and the AMA. In the search for solutions which will enhance local democracy, MP for Barking Margaret Hodge, herself a former vice-chair of the AMA, proposes in the last-ever volume of *Municipal Review* that elected mayors be introduced, since they have been successful overseas:

"There's a mayor in Paris, Barcelona and New York. Why not Manchester, Glasgow and London? The concept of an elected mayor is an idea whose time has come...Localities are having to survive in a far more competitive environment than was the case a generation ago. Manchester now competes with London for the new national sports stadium and to become the British entry for the Olympics. London competes with Frankfurt and Paris to maintain its status as the European financial centre and Lancashire competes globally for the Daf car plant. If localities are to prosper in this competitive world, local authorities need to change to respond to this new challenge. That means focusing the institution outwards, not inwards. Developing a champion for the locality to argue for inward investment from the private and public sector... The creation of elected political mayors will attract new talent to local government." (Hodge, 1996: 82-83)

Hodge thus looks abroad for both the answer to the lack of democracy and a further reason to implement it, in an argument presented in Table 4.10:

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Circumstance	Cities increasingly face a “fight for survival” in an intense, global competition
Goal	British cities should be those which survive (and thrive) rather than those which lose out,
Value	Thriving cities are necessary for the national benefit
Claim for action	Introduce elected mayors in the UK, “an idea whose time has come”
Means-goal premise	Cities abroad flourish with elected mayors – why should Britain be different?

Table 4:9 An argument for elected mayors (1996)

Other European cities’ success under a system of elected mayors is both a spur to British cities to copy the idea, and a threat to their continued global competitiveness if they do not because they will lag further behind.

Significantly, British cities are now explicitly acknowledged as competing *against each other* also, as in Manchester’s rivalry with London in bidding to host the country’s new national sports stadium. This kind of rivalry means that the search for successful models based on the experiences of foreign cities, on behalf of individual municipalities, will intensify as they seek to gain an edge over their domestic rivals. This searching for models would become increasingly independent of the AMA, since it continued to emphasise solidarity, co-operation and mutual assistance. Put simply, the AMC and AMA saw themselves as trade unions representing common interests, but the era of global competition forces cities to establish trade secrets and thus to protect their exclusive interests. The AMA did not last long enough to experience the indignity of suffering this gradual irrelevance from the life of its members however, because it was abolished as part of a further reorganisation of local government in 1997. In its place came the Local Government Association (LGA), which persists to this day as a thriving organisation, but it is very different in its objectives and constitution, a comment expanded upon in the following section.

4.8 Positioning the AMC, AMA and Local Government Association

This chapter has proposed that the AMC/AMA be considered as a trade union for member municipalities. An exception to this is the 1960s and early 1970s, since during this period the AMC redefined itself as a “thinktank”, claiming a position at the vanguard of a movement to improve the efficiency and accountability of local government. This involved inviting contributions to *Municipal Review* from academics and officers and occasionally therefore disregarding the apparent interests of its own members. The AMA retained this thinktank function, with fairly frequent articles questioning local government during the late 1970s, 1980s and 1990s, but only alongside the traditional trade-union mentality, which reasserted itself especially during the 1980s when the AMA felt its members to be under siege from central government and sometimes hostile public opinion.

The AMC/AMA therefore constituted both a trade union and, at times, a thinktank. Its successor, the Local Government Association, retains aspects of each of these mentalities. The current LGA represents both rural, urban and metropolitan authorities, taking on the functions of the Association of County Councils and Association of District Councils as well those of the AMA. However, the LGA’s first chair was Jeremy Beecham, who had been the former chairman of the AMA, which suggests some continuity with that former organisation and by extension the earlier AMC as well. The Local Government Association represents its members in dialogue with central government, occasionally speaking out publicly on behalf of its members, and periodically publishing general proposals for the future of local government. Wilson and Game (2006: 181) observe that the organisation claimed in 2005 to be involved in a range of activities, including “opposing the Education Secretary’s announced intention to introduce three-year ring-fenced budgets for schools, on the grounds that it would further centralise the education system and undermine democratic accountability”; “;lobbying the Government to ensure that local authorities’ new powers in the Clean Neighbourhoods and Environment Bill would be backed by adequate financial support” and “launching a paper, *Stronger Political Leadership, better local government*, arguing that a “one size fits all” approach to local government will not work,

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and calling for greater freedom for councils to determine what arrangements best suit local circumstances". This suggests an anti-centralist purpose, with the LGA seeking to maximise the autonomy of its members just as the AMC did in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Yet Wilson and Game also observe that the LGA has been criticised for insufficient vigour in prosecuting such campaigns, with the result of effective complicity in the contemporary Labour government's aggressive agenda of centralisation. This agenda included the multiplication of targets and league tables and a general attitude that "Discretion has to be "earned", and in practice is only discretion to do what central government wants and approves", which amounted to "...undisguised contempt for local government from [the] prime minister and other key ministers and departments" (Wilson and Game, 2006: 176). The charge of complicity with an agenda set by a Westminster government is compatible with Rhodes' claim that local governance can be conceptualised as a network with "a significant degree of autonomy from the state", being "not accountable to the state" but "self-organising" but where the state "can indirectly and imperfectly steer networks" (Rhodes, 1999: xvii)

However, the Local Government Association has also taken on a third function: that of a "management consultancy. To some extent it constitutes a source of expertise for advising local government. Certain councils are awarded "beacon" status according to centrally-devised criteria and recalcitrant authorities coerced into imitating them and so ensuring that the "quality standard" is met. The LGA era is also that during which the mobilisation of model cities has become a fixture in the British urban policy landscape, because cities are competing with each other out of economic necessity. They are more concerned with their individual success and experiment with policies from favoured "model cities" elsewhere, in order that they might stand out from other cities. The solidarity implied by the trade union notion seems to fit less comfortably at the LGA than during the AMC/AMA eras when it was seen as necessary to provide a united front to procure powers from central government.

4.9 The contribution of the AMC/AMA archive

The history of the Association of Municipal Corporations/Association of Metropolitan Authorities is that of a "trade union" representing the interests of

its members and petitioning government on their behalf. The image of the trade union captures well the sense of solidarity which characterised the AMC/AMA throughout its history. The petitions of the AMC and AMA were usually directed to the United Kingdom Parliament in Westminster, which had control over the associations' members. These petitions were of a defensive nature, with the AMC viewing itself as the guardian of municipal privileges against competition from private enterprise (1890-1910), interference from central government (1935-1953) and the imposition of quangos (1979-1997). In each case, the cause of municipal action was defended by the AMC and AMA with reference to a few especially successful cities. These included Nottingham, as an example of municipal rather than private provision of services; Manchester, as an example of dispersal carried out under the auspices of local rather than national government; and Rotherham, as an example of regeneration effected independently by a local authority in partnership with a developer.

The AMC's use of these examples does not imply that they constitute model cities of the type visible today, for three reasons. First of all, these cities were not branded as "models", either using that language or otherwise. There is never any suggestion that a "Nottingham model" or "Manchester model" is being mobilised. Rather, particular interventions in these cities are assessed independently of the cities in which they are situated.

Secondly, these cities are not being innovative, nor implementing familiar solutions on an appreciably different scale. Neither Nottingham nor Rotherham are anything other than examples of developments taking place more widely during their respective periods, albeit with some novelties – for instance Nottingham's pioneering of municipal allotments. The case of Manchester is different: the development of Wythenshawe was virtually unique and certainly unsurpassed in scale.

Most importantly, the position of these cities within argumentation about urban development is different to that of model cities in the twenty-first century. The claims for action which illustrative cities are used to support seem to be addressed to national governments rather than to individual, imitating cities. Albert Rollit's praise for Nottingham is not designed primarily to inspire its imitation amongst AMC members but rather to procure legislation from

national government favourable to such imitation. *Municipal Review's* praise for Manchester is similarly intended as a challenge to the government's policy with respect to New Towns rather than as a plea for other cities to follow Manchester's lead. Collins' comment on Rotherham's success with its new supermarket is most likely to have been aimed at the AMA's members, persuading them to embrace partnerships with the private sector, but its position within the archive, during a period of constant resistance to government policy, leads me to conclude that it also is principally addressed to central government and other opponents of the AMA's membership.

Why, then, were model cities, as opposed to illustrative cities, absent from the AMC/AMA archive? I propose two reasons. Firstly and at the institutional scale, the AMC as a trade union was constantly preoccupied with emphasising the unity of its members. To suggest that one of its members constituted a model for the others to follow would have compromised this unity and acknowledged the existence of discord. Instead the AMC/AMA preferred to give the impression that its members were already convinced of the merits of certain policies. If they were not all implementing them, it was because they were unable to due to constraints imposed by their differential treatment by central Government, not because they didn't wish to. This façade of agreement may have been misleading. Doubtless many authorities of the late nineteenth century had reservations about "municipal socialism", as it was uncharitably branded, and to these authorities Albert Rollit could profitably have extolled the "Nottingham Model". However, Rollit's tactic was to disguise this disagreement in the pursuit of gains from central government.

The second explanation for the absence of model cities, as defined in previous chapters based on twenty-first century experiences, from the AMC/AMA archive, is a practical one. The municipalities constituting the membership of the AMC and AMA were generally unable to implement "models" of any sort because their initiative was tightly constrained by central government. The AMC and AMA appealed to the latter because it was much more a free agent than local authorities, at least during the twentieth century. This finding is important since it supports the contention that there is something novel about the contemporary model city. Or it may be that municipal action was peculiarly constrained in Britain, whilst model cities could more freely be mobilised in

argumentation in other national contexts. After all, Judge, Stoke and Wolman note that:

“The more direct role of central government in Britain (and greater local autonomy in the United States) provides less scope for British local governments to engage in activity of their own choosing but a greater central government interest in local services and policies” (Judge, Stoker and Wolman, 1995: 12).

That claim will be evaluated during the next chapter, which explores the history of the International Federation for Housing and Planning.

The AMC/AMA archive therefore contains limited evidence for the existence of a set of model cities mobilised in arguments about urban development in England and Wales between 1882 and 1997. However, as is surely apparent from this chapter there were repeated references to the successes of cities both in the UK and elsewhere. These can be understood to constitute another category of city within arguments about urban development: the illustrative city. Such cities resemble model cities in that they are examples of good practice (or even, on occasion, best practice) in urban development, but differ in that the examples used are not claimed to be exceptional, are not packaged as branded models, and have a function other than to promote a particular style of urban development to other cities.

The next two chapters will consider changing model cities and argumentative resources at two further deliberative forums: the International Federation for Housing and Planning (IFHP) and the journal *Town Planning Review*.

Word Count: 13 442

5. International Federation for Housing and Planning (IFHP): model cities in professional planning

5.1 Introduction

This chapter narrates the history of the International Federation for Housing and Planning, a significant organisation within Saunier's (2001) *urban internationale*, as far as is relevant for a study of the changing characteristics of argumentation about urban development in the twentieth century. This chapter therefore complements the previous chapter on the AMC/AMA by providing a second source of data and one from the arena of town planning rather than local government. The chapter is presented as a history of the IFHP as a single organisation since, in spite of its many changes of identity during its early decades, the organisation nonetheless does constitute a continuous entity throughout the twentieth century and into the twenty-first and celebrated its centenary in 2013. This is unlike the situation with the Association of Municipal Corporations and Association of Metropolitan Authorities, which as outlined in the previous chapter were quite distinct institutions. Presenting the IFHP archive in this stands in contrast to the multiplicity of accounts which focus on individual congresses and their implications for particular national, rather than transnational, planning histories (Geertse, 2012). Geertse suggests that such accounts overlook the IFHP's role as an active agent, because:

“the IFHTP [Geertse is referring to the organisation pre-1945] is presented as a neutral, almost invisible agent that unselfishly provided an opportunity to present the latest regional planning ideas and experiences” (*ibid.*: 4)

As Geertse convincingly demonstrates and this chapter re-affirms, this is a misleading presentation of the IFHP. Since my aim in this thesis is to gain access to contemporary planning ideas, the filtering of such ideas through the mediation of an active and agenda-driven IFHP could be seen as frustrating my objectives by obscuring the view. Instead, we should embrace the agency of

the IFHP and recognise that all arguments about urban policy, whether past or present, are mediated to some extent by the institutions within and through which they take place. That the IFHP may have framed or steered discussions in particular directions is simply part of the process of argumentation and to suggest otherwise is to advance the troublesome claim that policy ideas exist outside of their adoption and vocalisation by individuals. This is similar to the discredited notion of policies as goods to be plucked from supermarket shelves rather than embodied, made and remade by material actors (McCann, 2011a)

The chapter presents a periodization of the IFHP in which the use of different types of model cities as argumentative resources mobilised in discussions of urban development can be identified. These periods are marked by two distinct but related trends: both the goals of arguments advanced at the IFHP's world congresses and the argumentative resources used to support them, whether the experiences of individual cities or otherwise, evolve as the century progresses. Section 5.3 introduces a major contribution of the IFHP archive: the use of utopian model cities such as the garden city as argumentative resources supporting claims about urban development. Utopian model cities constitute a distinct type of argumentative resource, different from both the grounded model city and the illustrative city described in chapter 4 on the Association of Municipal Corporations/Association of Metropolitan Authorities. The utopian model city is discussed in more detail in section 5.3, but it is by no means the only argumentative resource mobilised at the IFHP during the twentieth century, as the remainder of the chapter makes clear.

Section 5.4 describes the promotion within the IFHP of planning as a solution to urban problems from 1925 to 1950. Argumentation at this time tends to conclude with the claim that further planning is needed. Overlapping with this period is a trend for argumentation at the IFHP to use national systems, rather than the experiences of individual cities, as argumentative resources – a trend considered further in section 5.5. This section also elaborates the broader implications of the national dimensions of urban policy at IFHP congresses. Later in the twentieth century, the goals of arguments made within the IFHP move away from the straightforward expansion of planning. Section 5.6 analyses how claims instead come to be advanced for the accumulation of data

to inform planning decisions and for the implementation of particular planning measures, which may sometimes be reversals of established practice. These pleas are increasingly likely to be made on the basis of a particular city or group of cities, as section 5.7 makes clear, although national factors continue to play a significant role in the IFHP's world congresses. Section 5.8 considers the cumulative impact of these changes on the conduct of IFHP world congresses since 1978, with section 5.9 analysing the IFHP in the twenty-first century. First of all, the IFHP archive and its role within planning in the twentieth century will be introduced in greater depth in section 5.2.

5.2 The IFHP within the *urban internationale*

For Healey (2010: 12), the contemporary International Federation is one of a number of “several international non-governmental agencies working in the planning and environmental field, which exchange experiences, advocate particular approaches and offer financial aid”. This mission statement applies to the historic IFHP also, except that it was a more significant organisation earlier in the twentieth century when fewer such agencies existed (Geertse, 2012). Saunier (2001) identified the IFHP as a key organisation within the interwar “urban internationale” for the cross-border exchange of technical information about urban planning. The early 1920s were a time of particular prestige for the IFHP, because its main “competitors” as conduits for urban information exchange, the International Union of Local Authorities and the International Housing Congresses, were in abeyance after World War One. In the event the IULA was revived in 1924 whilst the IHC never resumed but was absorbed into IFHP in 1926, precipitating one of the Federation's many name changes as the International Federation for Town and Country Planning and Garden Cities became the International Federation for *Housing* and Town Planning (my emphasis) – albeit with the merger leading shortly afterwards to an acrimonious split as devotees of the housing question founded their own *International Housing Association* (or colloquially, simply the *Verband*) in Frankfurt, in 1928 (Geertse, 2012). The latter organisation was increasingly subject to Nazi leadership during the 1930s and after its dissolution in 1937 and the readmittance of its members into the IFHTP, the Federation itself became similarly politicised (*ibid.*).

International Federation for Housing and Planning

After World War Two the IFHP was revived, largely on British initiative, though by this time it was merely one organisation among many in an expanding *urban internationale*. In particular, the creation of UNESCO in 1945 reduced the IFHP's role in the management of urban heritage (Bandarin and Von Oers, 2012).

Founded in 1913 with a British secretary and chairman, the IFHP was closely associated with the British town planning movement and its first president was Ebenezer Howard, the British town planning pioneer (Geertse, 2012). Unlike the International Union of Local Authorities, which was largely ignored within the UK until London hosted that organisation's world congress in 1932, the IFHP's early congresses were dominated by British delegates as well as those of the mainland European countries - principally France, Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands - in which they were held. British delegates at the IFHP were therefore significant in exporting planning ideas from the UK, but the Federation's impact on British planning may have been limited. J B Cullingworth's *Town Planning in the UK* makes no reference at all to the IFHP (Cullingworth, 2006). With very few exceptions, IFHP world congresses were fully trilingual, with parallel discussion groups in English, French and German.

The New York congress of 1925 was the federation's first to be held outside of Europe and there was only one other before the 1960 congress in San Juan, Puerto Rico - at Mexico City in 1938. Thereafter, many more congresses took place outside Europe, but as of 2013 none had yet been held in Africa or Oceania, only one had been held in South America (in Porto Alegre as late as 2010) and of the five congresses to have been held in Asia three took place in its most Europeanised quarter, Israel, with the remainder in China and Japan. The decision to analyse only documents produced in relation to world congresses, chiefly reports compiled by rapporteurs in their aftermath, rather than other materials produced by the organisation, was defended in chapter 3. Since world congresses are the sole constant feature of IFHP's history, this decision allowed for meaningful comparisons of different periods of the IFHP's history in a longitudinal study - as well as rendering the volume of material more manageable and so amenable to analysis.

5.3 IFHP, 1925-1937: Utopian Model Cities

This section describes the characteristics of a distinctive kind of argumentative resource, mobilised frequently in the IFHP archive, especially during the 1920s and 1930s. This is the utopian model city, exemplified within the IFHP archive by the garden city. It has been classified as a utopian model city to emphasise both its similarity to contemporary model cities (which are labelled as grounded model cities since they are based on actually-existing cities) and its special characteristics as a utopian ideal, which have implications for its role within argumentation. In this chapter the term “garden city” refers to the specific ideas proposed by Ebenezer Howard in 1898 and 1902. Modern versions of the garden city as a model, for instance those developed through experience in Asian cities such as Singapore and described by Ong (2011) are not implied in the discussion of Garden Cities here. Besides arising from a different time and place, they are not utopian models because they have arisen from grounded experiences in actually-existing contemporary cities.

The garden city appears prominently within the archives of the International Federation for Housing and Planning, which was founded as the International Garden Cities and Town Planning Association (and continued to incorporate the “Garden Cities” element during its subsequent incarnations – the International Garden Cities and Town Planning Federation [1922] and International Federation for Town and Country Planning and Garden Cities [1924]). Geertse (2012) insists that the IFHP’s original *raison d’être* was the spread of the garden city gospel from the UK to continental Europe and beyond, partly to establish the principle where it remained unknown and partly also to combat the increasing threat of heresy as proselytes at home and abroad distorted the garden city principle in various ways. As we will see later, one of them was the dilution from self-sustaining garden city to garden suburb dependent upon a metropolitan centre. However, Geertse (2012) illustrates how the influence of the garden city idea and of its British defenders within the IFHP diminished rapidly in the early 1920s, such that by the time of the New York Congress in 1925, the first I was able to study, it had become only one philosophy among many, though undoubtedly still a privileged one and one jealously defended by its advocates.

Only in 1926 did the federation drop any reference to garden cities, when it became the International Federation for Housing and Town Planning.

The IGCTPA's president during the early 1920s was Ebenezer Howard (IFHP, 1925), the British originator of garden cities and author of *Garden Cities of To-morrow* (1902; a revision of his earlier *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform* of 1898). The garden city idea developed by Howard favoured the relocation of population to new towns in the countryside and detailed specific plans for the appearance and governance of these new settlements. Howard was influenced by earlier programmes for social and political reform within various traditions of British socialism and religious nonconformism (Aalen, 1992). Howard's role within the early IFHP since its inception renders the praise for the garden city within the IFHP archives unsurprising and though as president he was largely a figurehead, the more powerful leadership positions within the organisation were held by his allies. It is not claimed in this thesis that the garden city was equally influential outside of the IFHP. Though the selection of the IFHP archive, along with the others chosen for this research, was guided by a reasonable expectation that it would include most major planning trends of the twentieth century, the IFHP's favouring of the garden city is possibly an idiosyncrasy which would not be echoed in other institutions. They may instead have paid greater attention to the alternative proposals of Le Corbusier (which although *prima facie* in opposition to Howard's, contain certain similarities [Fishman, 1988]). His concepts of the Radiant City, for instance, would be expected to have a lot of currency within the *Congres Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne* (CIAM) which Le Corbusier himself co-founded in 1928 just as Howard had been involved in the formation of the IFHP. Le Corbusier's Radiant City ideas share with the garden city the property of being utopian model cities, as opposed to the grounded model cities encountered elsewhere. Either of these cities could be incorporated into argumentation about urban development as argumentative resources, in a manner analogous to grounded model cities. Roy V Hughes, speaking at the 1937 Paris congress, was typical of many garden city enthusiasts in perceiving the industrial cities of his time to be unplanned and so chaotic, as well as insanitary and marred by social inequality (IFHP, 1937). Hughes' goal was more sanitary and equal cities and the failure of Victorian *laissez-faire* meant that planning according to garden city principles would be necessary to accomplish

these goals. Rather than being an argumentative resource in support of a particular action in pursuit of a goal, the garden city constitutes the goal, the desired future state of affairs, in itself as well as the claim for action, as in Table 5:1:

Circumstantial premise	The poor live in unsanitary conditions; lacking amenities (especially open space)
Goal	The poor should have more space in order to reconnect with the countryside (the essence of the garden city)
Value	The health of the population
Claim for action	Build garden cities
Means-goal premise	Planned redistribution of population can improve the lives of the public, particularly the poor

Table 5:1 The garden city as an argumentative resource (various)

The prestige afforded to the garden city meant that towns built upon this model became popular examples, gaining attention out of all proportion to their size. Congresses often featured study tours in which the host city or country would display its challenges and achievements. During the London Congress of 1935, large industrial cities of the north of England are joined on the study tour itinerary by Welwyn garden city (a famous early attempt to implement garden city principles, begun in 1919 [Aalen, 1992]) with which Ebenezer Howard had been involved). By the time of the 1937 world congress in Paris, experimentation with town planning and town planning legislation is well advanced across the world, with grounded cities offering themselves up for examination and the drawing of lessons. Yet even a decade after shedding any reference to garden cities from its actual title, the IFHP's British president George Pepler still identifies strongly with the garden city:

“All over the world, there is activity in housing and town planning, but the Federation is ever mindful that quality of life is more important... We do not forget that we began with the “Garden City” in the forefront

of our title and our propaganda. We are still firmly convinced that men confined in great urban agglomerations cannot lead fully healthy and happy lives. We still believe that isolated improvements of homes, communications, workplaces or playgrounds, are ineffective unless related to a comprehensive and far-sighted plan..." (IFHP, 1937: 11)

This quote demonstrates the esteem in which the garden city continued to be held. This may be because the Federation sought to promote holistic and comprehensive planning of entire cities, rather than of limited spatial or functional units within them. Legislation tended to curb the capacity of planners to impose such "far-sighted" designs upon existing cities - a frustration which prevented Le Corbusier from realising all but a few of his schemes too (Fishman, 1988). The promise of the garden city, on the other hand, a virgin site with virtually limitless planning potential, must have appealed. Actual attempts to construct garden cities may have disappointed for various reasons but the utopian garden city retained its potency within the IFHP during the 1920s and 1930s and beyond.

Even at the IFHP's 1976 congress in Helsinki, there is an excursion to the "garden city" of Tapiola, the recent construction of which according to one delegate demonstrates that "far-sighted town planning... is one of the best investments a society can make", because "building a new town is cheaper than repairing an old one" (IFHP, 1976: 22). By this stage, when actually-existing cities constructed along the lines of the garden city are available for inspection, it becomes difficult to affirm that they are still "utopian model cities" as opposed to "grounded" argumentative resources. There is clearly some overlap here: utopian cities exist in the abstract but their built interpretations may become grounded model cities in themselves.

The abstract garden city may have been a model for the IFHP in the 1920s, but its implementation was frequently disappointing, causing the model to require defence. This is in common with contemporary grounded model cities, whose implementation often similarly disappoints both because the imitating city's situation differs fundamentally from that of the model city and because the success of the model city itself was exaggerated - the claim that a city constitutes a model is what constitutes one as being such, rather than the actual success of that city (Wolman, Ford and Hill, 1994). As an example of a

defence of the garden city model, a delegate from Welwyn Garden City at the 1937 Paris congress, Roy V Hughes, defends the garden city principle against the criticism that it produces dormitory towns (IFHP, 1937). These were a *bête noire* of the IFHP in the 1930s, when it sought to prevent ribbon developments and minimise traffic (in common with other contemporary organisations, especially in the United Kingdom [Bruegmann, 2005]). Hughes asserts that the garden city is not in fact to blame but that the tendency towards dormitory towns has arisen because of its imperfect interpretation. This is especially the case in France, where the garden cities idea has been enthusiastically adopted but also altered considerably such that the *cit   jardin* is in reality closer to a garden suburb than a garden city (IFHP, 1937). Thus when Gaudin (1992) suggests that few *cit  s jardin* were actually constructed in France between the wars, he is referring to the dearth of true garden cities: there were plenty of instances of both garden settlements and satellite suburbs in France. Gaudin attributes the lack of garden cities to conservative opposition and the pragmatic retreat of progressives to favour more modest initiatives.

Since Howard's initial proposals for building garden cities through the ownership of land by commonwealths were thought impracticable, actual attempts to realise garden cities adopted more pragmatic methods – even the first at Letchworth, begun in 1903 – deviated significantly from Howard's original proposals in *Garden cities of to-morrow* [Aalen, 1992]) and the garden city model was open to revision within the IFHP, including by Howard himself. Thus as the IFHP president, Howard addressed the 1925 New York Congress by applauding that city's new regional plan both because it implemented the garden cities philosophy through envisaging new towns, and because New York had improved upon the original philosophy by incorporating into it a recognition of the need to plan on a regional scale by attending to the relationships between the new towns and the pre-existing urban landscape and infrastructure (IFHP, 1925). Therefore if the garden city was a model city in the 1920s and 1930s, celebrated in arguments about the future direction of urban policy and occasionally imitated (more or less closely) then it was also capable of being modified as lessons were learned from different cities' experiences in applying it.

5.4 IFHP, 1925-1950: Examples of Plans

The priority of the IFHP in its early years is to promote the development of city planning – with garden city principles forming only one of a number of strategies to accomplish this, though a significant one as the previous section made clear. The precise form of such planning is only occasionally discussed, with this consideration being outweighed by the imperative to promote town planning *per se* when the profession was nascent. Cities that did experiment with planning were congratulated for doing so, but with little attention to the actual results of their schemes. Indeed the very existence of prepared plans or even the establishment of a planning procedure, with perhaps only distant prospects of implementation, was usually sufficient to attract the praise of visionaries within the IFHP. Consider the following excerpt from an address at the IFHP's New York Congress of 1925. The address is entitled "Progress in Planning" and is delivered by George B Ford, president of the American City Planning Institute and also chairman of the council of the International Federation for Town and Country Planning and Garden Cities, as the organisation was then named:

"City planning is young. It is growing rapidly. Its possibilities are endless. It is because we all realise these things that we come together to exchange experiences and ideas...

The United States can now offer for study an exceptionally large number and variety of plans. Today city planning is active in 22 out of 48 states. It is well launched in all but six of the remainder. During 1924 planning was in progress in over 350 cities and towns, an increase in at least 100 over the year before. There are now over 300 city planning and zoning commissions and at least seven state associations of planning boards. Nearly 100 towns of less than 10,000 people have commissions and planning commissions are also currently at work in all but three of the 60 cities of over 100,000 inhabitants".

(IFHP, 1925: 10)

Ford argues that city planning is growing rapidly and has endless possibilities, though without recourse to any plans which have actually been implemented. Most have not even been completed, although the process of planning is now

well underway in the United States. Ford's other concern in this speech, which is shared by other delegates at the IFHP, is to note the internationalisation of planning. The progress of planning outside the United States – in Canada, Western Europe and elsewhere – is afforded plenty of attention within his speech, as is the normative suggestion that planning *should* happen everywhere. This effort to construct planning as a fundamental condition of the urban is reminiscent of IULA's contemporary impetus to acknowledge urban problems of the twentieth century as intrinsic to industrialised societies and so inevitably recurring throughout the developed world and amenable to similar, universally-applicable solutions (Saunier, 2001). Similarly, model cities of the twenty-first century are mobilised most readily when the perception exists that even geographically disparate cities are experiencing similar conditions (or are "commensurate" in the vocabulary used by McCann [2011a]). Since Ford understands the urban to be a universal condition and its planning a universal concern, he sees all of the various experiments at planning being undertaken as potentially providing lessons from which all cities can learn:

"No country has yet rounded out its planning by developing in their proper relation all four aspects of planning; the economic, the social, the esthetic, the legal. The completely rounded out plan has yet to be made. To the end of rounding out planning practice, if for no other reason, this international congress and exhibition in America should be of the greatest benefit to all. For the first time all four approaches are adequately represented by their best proponents, also contentious subjects can be studied from every angle. Every city, each state, each nation has something to contribute to the common fund of experience and ideas, and at the same time each of them has much to learn from the others. This does not mean that planning practice can be standardized. A uniform type of plan cannot be imposed on cities and towns generally, for each community has its own distinct personality which is and should be most jealously guarded. However, experience shows that there are certain fundamental principles that do apply to most communities under similar circumstances..." (IFHP, 1925: 20-21)

Ford is at pains to emphasise the commonality of experience of planning, at least in the "fundamental principles" applicable to "most communities" and goes on to position the IFHP as ideally placed to facilitate the diffusion of

planning techniques and knowledges between countries. This was to become the IFHP's *raison d'être* and has implications for the kinds of cities which were discussed at its world congresses.

Cities which had produced ambitious plans would be more likely to attract attention. This is one reason why the New York Regional Plan is afforded so much attention at the 1925 world congress (though that city's hosting of the event undoubtedly contributed to this phenomenon). The New York regional plan cannot be considered a model *city* because it was at this stage merely a plan, but the lesson to be drawn by other cities was that preparing a plan was the key to restoring order to the chaotic city inherited from the nineteenth century. Using the image of the "octopus" to represent the disorderliness of cities not yet restrained by planning, Thomas Adams, the General Director of the "Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs", presents that plan in a speech to the congress and concludes:

"Can we say where this great octopus of New York is leading its huge army of people? Can we help to direct it toward a higher quality and better condition of life or prevent its drift toward an environment that, as it becomes more divorced from nature and more artificial, will engender and stimulate the forces that make for deterioration?" The quality of growth is more important than the quantity. True economic considerations in civic growth are in harmony and not in conflict with considerations that lead to health, order and beauty." (IFHP, 1925: 232-233)

Adams' intimation that it is both possible and an urgent task to "direct [New York] to a higher quality" presupposes that cities have freedom of manoeuvre. Often however, cities were seen as constrained by the nation-state in which they were situated, with national legislation identified as being more significant than its local implementation. At the 1929 world congress in Rome, during theme three: "Replanning old and historic towns to meet modern conditions", German municipalities are perceived to be at a distinct advantage under the German government's *Lex Adickes*. Though laws providing for the municipal acquisition of land already existed in many countries, for example to construct roads suitable for motor vehicles, the *Lex Adickes* was considered to be superior legislation since it enabled

local authorities to expropriate land but then choose to retain 35% of it for public purposes, returning only the remaining 65% to private interests. This legislation was commended by Armitz, representing Cologne and later described in detail by Knipping, representing Darmstadt (IFHP, 1929). Finally it was concluded by the delegates that systems allowing local authorities to retain ownership of expropriated land, along the lines of the *Lex Adickes*, ought to be adopted more widely, because it had been deemed to be successful in certain German cities. Such an action was not in the power of most of the delegates to achieve directly (though other German municipalities might be able to take advantage of it), although through the application of political pressure they might be able to procure the passage of more favourable legislation (*ibid.*), as in Table 5:2:

Circumstances	Conservation of historic buildings is difficult in an age of rapidly-increasing traffic
Goal	Better-planned urban layouts
Value	The private sector cannot be trusted to deliver this public good on its own; intervention from local authorities will be required
Claim for Action	Governments should dispense greater planning powers, possibly resembling the <i>Lex Adickes</i> , to more cities
Means/Goal Premise	This legislation has been effective thus far in the German cities where it has been trialled.

Table 5:2 Germany's *Lex Adickes* as an argumentative resource (1929)

As during the early decades of the twentieth century at the AMC (chapter 4), the claim for action advanced within argumentation about urban development is that cities should be granted further powers. In most circumstances, including this one, this means that it is national governments which need to act, rather than individual cities, which are positioned as powerless until empowered by appropriate legislation. This

situation is not recognised in references to contemporary cities, which are imagined as autonomous agents able to search for, find and incorporate lessons from other model cities (though as Peck [2011] points out, this is never simply a value-free search for “best practice”). The comparing of national systems rather than the experiences of individual cities was the norm, as the following section indicates.

5.5 IFHP, 1925-1968: Inter-*national* Comparisons

The IFHP was largely concerned with the planning of cities, as the records of its world congresses generally bear out. This is unsurprising given that the city is *prima facie* the most appropriate scale for many planning projects, although the value of regional, national and even international planning was increasingly accepted among its membership. Regional planning was frequently a congress theme, for instance at the 1931 congress in Berlin where the second of the two congress themes is titled: “The traffic problem in relation to town and regional planning”, the “lack of national planning” was bemoaned by British delegates at the 1935 congress in London and international planning was proposed by Bédévin of Brussels at the 1937 congress in Paris (IFHP, 1931; 1935; 1937). The urban scale does not and did not exist in isolation and the inconvenience of the differing national situations of cities was inescapable. As has been argued in the previous chapter, cities in some countries (in that instance, England and Wales) were largely constrained by the national system in which they were situated. For this reason, advocating that cities in Great Britain (for example) imitate those in Germany would accomplish little – they were constrained by their national system. Instead differing national systems were themselves frequently compared with each other.

Therefore, although as part of the *urban internationale* identified by Pierre-Yves Saunier (2001), the IFHP was predicated on the notion that the urban was an international, even universal condition, national differences were acknowledged to be significant in determining the outcomes of particular cities. In the following extracts I identify examples of this tension, demonstrating the significance sometimes accorded to the national context of cities at the expense of their individual characteristics.

The significance of the national context of cities is acknowledged from the beginning of the IFHP archive in 1925; remember that Ford stated that the congress was “designed in principle, therefore, for each city, region and country to teach and to learn from other cities, regions and countries at the congress” (IFHP, 1925: 10). This suggests that national and urban policies would both be considered during discussions, yet the actual conduct of the congress was often different, as national differences came to dominate proceedings. Good practice in particular cities could be attributed to their location within progressive nation-states and therefore dismissed. Meanwhile, struggling cities could excuse their disappointing performance with respect to the unenlightened nation-states in which they were situated.

At the 1929 world congress, three delegates contribute to a discussion of theme one, “Financing working class and middle class housing, with special reference to methods of attracting new capital” (IFHP, 1929). They are Signora Crova, nominally representing the host city of Rome; Leo Kaufmann, nominally representing Tel-Aviv and Eiler Sand, nominally representing Copenhagen. Yet their contributions are couched in entirely national terms. Crova laments the great difficulty inherent in housing Italy’s large families (as opposed to Rome’s); Kaufmann reports that the Palestinian housing shortage is less severe (instead of that in Tel-Aviv specifically), but that finances remain tight; and Sand provides the encouragement that the stabilisation of rents in Denmark (rather than Copenhagen) has helped to attract capital for further housebuilding.

It is Denmark rather than Copenhagen which is being advanced as an example of a potential solution and the delegates were reluctant to claim that rent stabilisation ought to be pursued as a general aim, in spite of the evidence that it had been successful there. Rather, it was acknowledged that the problem of financing housing was a difficult one, faced by all countries, and that no universally-applicable solution could be offered. The substitution of national systems in place of individual cities does not therefore necessarily imply a parallel substitution of model national systems in place of model cities, though the example of the *Lex Adickes* indicates that this could possibly occur. Rather, comparison of different national systems rarely led to a conviction that one was superior and should be imitated elsewhere. Instead, as here, the improbability of devising universal solutions was emphasised.

One factor obstructing the exchange of models of national planning systems was the reluctance to offend an international audience by trumpeting the success of one's own country. At times this variously meant that comparisons were played down or avoided altogether, or that disclaimers about the non-comparability of cities in different jurisdictions were laboured to effectively preclude the possibility that one's own policy might be compatible with another country's system. All three mechanisms for defusing potentially undiplomatic scenes are employed in the following quotation, from a report from Carl Feiss, of the United States' Housing and Home Finance Agency to the 1954 world congress in Edinburgh:

"Before embarking on any specific discussion, however, of the methods used in the United States for solving our own problems connected with slums, blight and inadequate housing and town planning, it would be wise to say something about the major differences in the concepts in government in planning, differences in method, between the United States and many other nations. It would be impossible in this brief paper to detail all of these differences country by country, I think it is important, though, that there be a clear and general understanding of the local planning procedures employed in the United States, not (Heaven forbid) in order to claim that such methods are any better than those to be found in other countries, but in order to highlight the distinctions..." (IFHP, 1954: 3)

This rhetoric contrasts with the activities of twenty-first century policy boosterists in two ways. Firstly, they have no such inhibitions about promoting their own city before an audience comprised of representatives of other cities (McCann, 2013). Secondly, far from downplaying comparisons between cities as Feiss does, they attempt to disguise the apparent incompatibility of the cities they promote, emphasising their commensurability instead even if this involves constructing what may be quite spurious myths of commensurability (McCann, 2011a). This is a significant change in the style of argumentation, a change which may be connected to the rise of presentations rather than submissions at IFHP congresses, which in turn may arise from extra-institutional factors discussed in the conclusion to this chapter.

Sometimes the different culture or psyche of different nationalities came to the fore, with cultural differences being considered to constitute the chief barriers to policy circulation. In the previous example from the 1954 congress in Edinburgh, Feiss (IFHP, 1954) goes on to note the distinctive US feature of the local financial impasse, whereby local authorities have insufficient funds but consider petitioning the federal government for help to be un-American. Feiss implies that European municipalities would lack such reservations. Similarly, another American delegate Lawrence Purdy argues at the 1928 Paris congress that in spite of what might seem to be positive results from European housing policies designed to tackle the housing problem among the very poor, “the US has no one very poor by European standards, and American people will not accept using public money for housing” (IFHP, 1928: 68). Purdy disagrees with the description of contemporary circumstances – both that there are poor people and that they are overcrowded – but adds that even if that description is correct, its European solution of public involvement in housing is not appropriate in the United States because of the attitude of the public. Cultural differences, whether real or imagined, severely hinder the capacity for borrowing from any foreign models, whether model cities or model national systems, and such exceptionalism is not confined to the minds of American delegates.

For example, British delegates at the 1935 congress in London (IFHP, 1935) are offended by the approach to housing “undesirables” taken by the city government of Amsterdam under the directorship of Arie Keppler, as an affront to British principles of liberty. Even a British delegate who is supportive of Keppler’s approach (F W Cook, representing Dudley) acknowledges that the cultural attitudes of compatriots render it an unsuitable example for imitation in Britain. That the conflict is played down by the rapporteur (the Dutch chief inspector of housing, van der Kaa), who considers the cause to have been an error in translation (with his clarification that Kepler’s use of the term “undesirables” was probably intended to refer only to those who had proved themselves incapable of peaceful co-existence with neighbours in new housing developments), is indicative of another major barrier to international mobilisation of models: mistranslation (IFHP, 1935).

International Federation for Housing and Planning

The national dimension of IFHP congresses had three other effects upon the scope for model cities to be advanced as argumentative resources. I discuss each of those briefly in the following paragraphs.

(i) National submissions to congresses

The first consideration is the seeking of national submissions through the distribution of questionnaires to respondents answering on behalf of countries rather than cities. This began with the Paris congress in 1928, before which individual papers had been presented in the style which would later re-emerge later on. This had advantages in that the standardised nature of questionnaire responses meant that several national reports could be included together in the space taken for one individual presentation. A weakness was the general lack of new information and certainly of the theatrical excitement of listening to presentations. However, more interesting responses were generated when reporters deviated from the rigid set of questions on national experience and talked at length about their own accomplishments, which happened frequently. Geertse comments that:

“Although the reports were to convey an objective survey, the reporters nonetheless often focussed on their personal views and achievements”
(Geertse, 2012: 182)

Frustrating though this may have been for the congress organisers and other delegates, who were thus denied access to the more general information they sought, this concentration upon individual experiences and successes is probably preferable for my research.

As an example of a congress arranged by collecting national submissions in response to a questionnaire, let us consider that hosted in Hastings in 1946 (IFHP, 1946) to which submissions were prepared by England and Wales, Scotland, Northern Ireland, France, Belgium and the United States. This in some ways formalised what had already been taking place at earlier congresses where submissions supposedly from cities tended to refer to national experiences. However, this congress is exceptional in being staged so soon after World War Two, when a lack of resources (as well as an intensification of Cold War hostilities) would have prevented greater levels of attendance.

The 1939 world congress in Stockholm is a better case study of the format of an IFHP world congress of this time. In August 1938, well in advance of the congress, a questionnaire was circulated from the IFHP's headquarters (then in Brussels). The questionnaire posed two major questions about respondents' experiences of the inter-relationship of town building and traffic problems, along with a number of subsidiary questions (IFHP, 1939). Responses were received and published in advance of the congress. The origin of these responses differed considerably. The German response came from a national government official but focused on the Ruhr district; conversely the Danish respondent was a municipal employee of Copenhagen but discussed the national situation. Czechoslovakia (then Nazi-occupied), Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Poland, Sweden, Switzerland and France also submitted one response each, as did the United States. Only Australia and Great Britain submitted more than one response. In the Australian case this is reflective of that country's federal nature: New South Wales and Victoria operated different planning systems and so made separate submissions, focusing upon the cities of Sydney and Melbourne respectively. Within the British submission, however, there were five separate responses, each from different cities. One of these is the capital city of London but the others are Birmingham, Norwich, Nottingham and Welwyn Garden City (an indication of the esteem in which the garden city continued to be held; see section 5.3). The disproportionate representation of provincial British cities is surprising given the lesser autonomy which they were granted compared with cities elsewhere (Judge, Stoker and Wolman [1995]), and can be attributed to their general over-representation as delegates at IFHP world congresses, with the IFHP retaining a strong British influence to the present day, as well as to Britain's significant role in the early history of planning. Ward notes that both garden cities and new towns were British innovations admired elsewhere: "Viewed internationally, the British new towns were a uniquely powerful achievement, much studied and visited... The gospel of the British new town planning movement...was spread overseas, echoing on a larger scale the earlier transfer of the garden city idea itself" (Ward, 1992: 16)

With the exception of the United Kingdom, then, the system of national submissions to IFHP world congresses in the early decades of the twentieth century tended to reduce the scope for individual cities to be discussed at length since their particular experiences were overlooked in the search for

general reports of national activities. If individual cities were discussed at length within such reports, then there was usually only one, which was almost invariably the country's capital city. Delegates were often representatives of the capital cities too, with an example being the 1929 Rome congress mentioned at the beginning of this section. This effect means that even where the experiences of actual cities were expressed at these congresses, as opposed to those of nation-states, it is likely that the experiences of the majority of cities were excluded from consideration.

(ii) National hosting of congresses

The tendency for the congresses, ostensibly recorded by the IFHP as having been held in cities, to be "adopted" by the host country is a second instance of the "national" scale asserting itself where it is supposed to be subordinate in a formally international, intermunicipal forum. For example, the "London" congress of 1935 featured study tours for which the itinerary included the northern English cities of Liverpool and Leeds (IFHP, 1935). National government officials were commonly invited to open congresses, and discussions frequently featured delegates drawn heavily from the host country.

Moving forward to the post-war period, the Puerto Rico congress of 1960 is unique in being styled as such, by the name of a territory, rather than by the city in which it was held (in this case, San Juan). This is clearly an exceptional case given the small size of Puerto Rico and the large size of the city of San Juan in proportion. Delegates were impressed with Puerto Rico's approach and appraised it in national terms. Thus Dr Rafael Picó, president of the Inter-American Planning Society (SIAP) which co-hosted with the IFHP what was billed as a World Planning and Housing Congress, introduces it by presenting Puerto Rico as a model:

"The progress achieved by Puerto Rico up to the present is well known throughout the world. The program of technical cooperation and the interchange that is created by various professional meetings which, like this one, have taken place in Puerto Rico in recent years, have contributed notably to this process. Puerto Rico is proud and quite happy to share its experiences with our friends and neighbors throughout the world, because in this way a better understanding

between the countries and their people is strengthened...” (IFHP, 1960: 14)

Picó continues to use the language of mutual learning and the sharing of experiences, which is after all diplomatic in an international setting where a chauvinistic celebration of one’s own country might be offensive. Yet the opening sentence makes clear that Puerto Rico has much to teach. The lessons from Puerto Rico were real, but they were interpreted by delegates such as Manzo of Argentina to constitute evidence of the country’s planning system rather than that of any particular city:

“Puerto Rico has ideal conditions to carry out self-help and mutual aid projects in rural areas. On the other hand, in Argentina rural dispersion is such that only self-help looks feasible.” (IFHP, 1960: 93)

This statement suggests that Puerto Rico is an example of good practice, but perhaps not an effective model because it cannot easily be mobilised to a different context.

(iii) International differences in conference attendance

A third manifestation of the tacit but significant national dimension at the IFHP was the tendency for attendance at IFHP congresses to be confined to a relatively few countries. Besides the inevitable over-representation of the host country, delegates tended to come from a handful of Western European countries and the United States. Soviet delegates were conspicuous by their absence at many congresses (their non-attendance being lamented at Hastings in 1946 [IFHP, 1946]). Incidentally a similar situation pertained at *Town Planning Review*, where post-war editor Gordon Stephenson tried but failed to procure articles from beyond the Iron Curtain (Massey, 2012). Moreover, the countries of the global South were rarely represented until the 1960s (Geertse, 2012). This phenomenon did not disappear quickly; as late as the 1982 congress in Oslo (IFHP, 1982) the overwhelming majority of the speakers (for the congress format had by then been modified) were from the United Kingdom, the Netherlands (where the IFHP is headquartered) and the Scandinavian countries (where the congress was hosted).

This section has shown that alongside the parallel trends for utopian model cities to be mobilised as argumentative resources and the general support for

planning and the devising of plans, early IFHP world congresses were also marked by a tendency to compare different national planning systems rather than individual cities. This effect reduced still further the possibility that an actually-existing city could be constructed as a model, but only occasionally did the “model national system” arise in its place. The incompatibility of different national systems with existing circumstances and a general reluctance to privilege one country’s experience over another militated against this. This section has also indicated significant further effects of the unspoken “national” element at IFHP world congresses: the reception of national submissions, the adoption of congresses by the host country and the numerical dominance of certain countries.

5.6 IFHP, 1950-1978: Introspection

Although the suggestion that the interwar IFHP blindly accepted the mantra that more planning was good planning is a caricature, it has been established above that pre-1950, the IFHP was chiefly concerned with spreading its gospel of the promotion of urban planning for the enhancement of cities. Little formal evaluation of the results of planning took place and was often impossible in the medium-term. During the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, however, the IFHP shifted from perceiving planning to be a panacea for urban ailments to appraising more critically its role, its capabilities and its limitations. This appraisal was not unique to the IFHP but was common to the planning profession as a whole, in response to external critiques from opponents such as Jane Jacobs (1961) among others, and is apparent also in *Town Planning Review* (chapter 6). To begin with, in the 1950s, this shift was most evident through attempts to evaluate the success of previous planning efforts and gather better data to inform future planning. In the 1960s, however, the failure of planning to eliminate poverty caused it to be fundamentally re-assessed. Past mistakes and a misplaced faith in certain types of planning were admitted, and models were sought in novel approaches. In the later 1970s these would include recognisably neoliberal solutions purportedly based upon economic development, but during the 1960s it was cities such as Philadelphia, serving as urban laboratories for experiments in public participation and the relief of poverty, that were most influential.

This second period in the IFHP's history was begun, however, with the conviction that town planning had reached maturity. In 1950, delegates could survey decades of incremental strengthening of town planning legislation such that by then it was, as far as they were concerned, fit for purpose, at least in Western Europe. The following example from that year's Amsterdam congress demonstrates well the widely-held sense within the IFHP that town planning as a discipline was finally maturing, at least within the housing arena. It comes in a session entitled "the role of the voluntary sector housing association" and is chaired by Henri Vergnolle of France, who delivers the following report

"During the industrial revolution of the nineteenth century, there arose a tremendous demand for working-class dwellings. Profit-making enterprise fastened onto this demand, unrestrained by any alternative supervision. Terrible housing conditions were the result, and we see that here and there, socially conscious citizens jointly founded housing societies to bring about a measure of improvement in them. Later on, this example was followed by groups of workers themselves. These first societies were veritable pioneers, but the effect was not noticeable. These were the days of growing pains. In the main, the countries reporting have outgrown this period..." (IFHP, 1950: 10)

Except for the United States, where the continued reluctance to support public housing is lamented, the countries producing submissions (i.e. those of the developed world) have "outgrown" the struggles of the past. Self-satisfaction with planning appeared to reach an apogee with the Jerusalem congress of 1964 (IFHP, 1964), at the opening of which various Israeli ministers congratulated themselves on subduing and populating vast areas of desert. Almogi, Minister of Housing and Development, hubristically pronounced that "It is our duty to make the desert bloom" (IFHP, 1964: 15). Even at this congress, however, the IFHP appears less sure of its legitimacy in other areas. In proposing to discuss "Housing policy in areas of rapid population growth", the conference chairmen recognise that in the absence of any submissions at all from developing countries, except one from Southern Rhodesia, any conclusions will be compromised by insufficient data and will lack authority.

A hallmark of this period was the IFHP's continual pursuit of data, another trend which extended far beyond the organisation itself as planners generally

sought to strengthen the scientific basis for their work, as the planning discipline underwent a quantitative revolution, in common with other social sciences (Peet, 1998; Fay, 1987). This trend is also evident in *Town Planning Review* (next chapter). The trend is evident at the IFHP during its 1956 Vienna congress, which featured repeated calls from Marshal Miller, an American leading a Study Group on the current problems of urban structure, to “[place] at the disposal of town planners as many relevant data as possible” and frustration that “only scanty information is available on the questions dealing with the shifting of older industrial enterprises and working places in the central part of town” (IFHP, 1956: no page number).

Another trend was an acknowledgment of past mistakes, and the search for new planning solutions to the ongoing crises of poverty in the developed world. During an opening address to the congress of 1968, by Ylvisaker of New Jersey’s Department of Community Affairs, property development was denounced as a failed strategy in inner-city revitalisations:

“Take the topic you have asked me to discuss today, “The City as a Major Force to Achieve Social Well-Being”. We might ask ourselves, what do we mean by “social well-being”? Traditionally, civic leaders and many of their planners have defined the health of their cities in terms of facilities. In these terms, we have judged the best of cities to be those with the newest, grandest, most inspiring collections of office buildings, expressways, art museums, civic orchestras, airports, universities, and even baseball teams. What really hurt Milwaukee when the Braves moved to Atlanta was not the loss of ticket revenue or tourist dollars, but the blow to civic pride in being relegated to a bush-league town. Having a major-league stadium, or a civic center, or a branch campus, or the biggest convention hall in the state, has been the traditional measure of civic well-being as any travel brochure will tell you.

However, these traditional status symbols don’t really answer the question. It is time to redefine the measure of the quality of a modern city in terms of people rather than buildings and monuments. The standard of a healthy city, measured in these terms, is the quality of life enjoyed by its humblest citizens. This means that a city whose

minority groups have articulate leaders who can win them decent housing and places of employment is progressing farther than a city which may have showpiece mansions but no citizen political force. Because the human product is more important than the physical.” (IFHP, 1968: 35-36)

The host city of Philadelphia had taken a new course in tackling urban poverty, as one of a number of cities selected by the US federal government as part of its “model cities” programme in the 1960s (IFHP, 1968). This term is unhelpful of a consideration of model cities mobilised as argumentative resources on the basis of their perceived success. These cities of the 1960s were instead intended *a priori* to function as models, showcasing the ambitions of central government for all cities. Their circulation was therefore through different circuits to those of contemporary model cities. As a state-sponsored “model city” programme Philadelphia was an illustrative model, trialling approaches formulated elsewhere. The trend away from investing in property such as convention centres was well-established after the model cities-era, and then reversed spectacularly by Baltimore, thereafter becoming a dominant motif in urban regeneration efforts into the twenty-first century (see section 5.8). Philadelphia appears as an *example* of a more general phenomenon, being strongly directed by the national government of the United States. It is not truly innovative, with any innovations having been devised by the federal government rather than the city itself, perhaps because despite the questioning of bureaucratic planning during the previous decade, the competence of state-based planning remains relatively unchallenged in this instance. Critiques of planning in the 1960s have produced planning with a different set of aims, with a professed emphasis upon the “human” as opposed to the “physical” aspects of cities, but not yet a new set of institutions to deliver it. There is also no evidence in the IFHP archive that the city’s achievements were packaged as a “Philadelphia Model”. Argumentation invoking Philadelphia as an argumentative resource is presented in table Table 5:3:

Circumstance	Inner cities are in decline; in 1968, this is causing alarming social unrest
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Goal	Rejuvenated cities: a new “citizen political force”
Value	Inner cities should be prosperous and equitable
Claim for action	Embrace the philosophy underlying the US “model cities” programme
Means/goal premise	Philadelphia is already showing that this can be successful

Table 5:3 Philadelphia as an argumentative resource (1968)

5.7 IFHP, 1970-present: Individual Presentations

During the late twentieth century, the format of sessions at the IFHP was dramatically altered. Early congresses had one or multiple themes but no overall title. For example, the congress hosted by Edinburgh in 1954 was simply billed as “22nd IFHP World Congress” – though it contained three themes (these were “Slum Clearance and Rehousing”, “Housing Density” and “National Land-Use Planning” [IFHP, 1954]). In contrast, later congresses were given distinctive titles. The first example of this was the 1968 congress in Philadelphia, entitled “Building the Good City” (IFHP, 1968). Besides reflecting the extent of the Federation’s concern to address the plight of the inner-cities during the 1960s, the title begins the new era of branding congresses. This is surely in response to the multiplication of similar events organised by different institutions, unlike in the early twentieth century when the cost of international travel, among other factors, meant that the IFHP had few realistic competitors on its territory as a forum for the exchange of urban information as one of the canonical institutions of the *urban internationale* (Saunier, 2001). The tendency towards branding congresses continues, with the organisation’s centenary congress of 2013, styled as “A Tomorrow for cities” (IFHP, 2013).

Another change took place to the format of congresses themselves. No longer were submissions sought and then provided from representatives of nation-states prior to congresses, as had been the norm (see section 5.5). Instead, delegates were invited to deliver presentations rather than merely written submissions. Moreover, these delegates did not represent countries but

municipalities, universities, professional groups or even private companies. The style of presentation varied depending upon the affiliations of the presenter and the audience, but there was an increasing tendency for many to resemble marketing or public relations exercises on behalf of particular cities, in search of recognition at the international arena of the prestigious IFHP. World congresses had always featured a few selected speakers delivering keynote addresses, both local dignitaries and IFHP officials among others, and often these speakers had taken the opportunity to commend certain cities, especially the host city. These speeches were however relatively few in number and did not generally take place within the congress sessions. From the 1970s though, presentations occupied much of the congress schedule.

The move to individual presentations was a gradual one. Before the publication of pre-congress submissions ceased, there was a transitional period during which such submissions continued to be published, but where responses were sought and obtained from cities and regions as well as countries. As an example, the 1958 congress in Liege featured responses from countries including Israel, West Germany and Yugoslavia; regions such as the Clyde Valley, Lombardy and the Severn Basin; and cities including Arhus, Cracow, Charleroi and Dublin (IFHP, 1958). Significantly, the majority of these cities were not capitals. Other actors who were invited to present at congresses included academics (e.g. Prof Schulz of Lund University in 1986 [IFHP, 1986]), private firms (e.g. John S. Anderson presenting: "Preservation of urban monuments and landmarks: a view from the private Sector" in 1990 [IFHP, 1990]) and voluntary organisations (e.g. St Mungo's Community Housing Association Ltd in 1982 [IFHP, 1982]) .

This section has demonstrated that the format of IFHP congresses began to change from the 1970s, being influenced by changes taking place beyond the purely institutional level which will be discussed further in chapter seven. These changes had implications for the kinds of discussions about cities and urban development which could take place. The following section describes how the recognisable "model city" resulted from the renewed attention to the experiences of particular cities.

5.8 IFHP, 1978:- Toward the Model City

This chapter has already indicated that the IFHP's view of urban development evolved from supporting planning innovations in general in the interwar period to a more critical stance from the 1950s. During this time, further data were sought, in the expectation of identifying more appropriate plans. By the late 1960s, the IFHP was prepared to support innovative planning schemes in cities such as Philadelphia. In the late 1970s, however, the organisation's focus shifted yet again to a new set of priorities, constructed around the imperative of economic regeneration in the declining post-industrial cities of Western Europe and North America. The elusive aim of economic regeneration entailed a search for successful policies which placed a premium upon the knowledges developed in cities perceived to have experienced economic growth. Some of these cities came to be placed on pedestals and venerated as capable of dispensing widely applicable lessons to other cities. Of course, this entailed that those imitating cities were experiencing similar problems, amenable to similar solutions, and had sufficient autonomy to freely incorporate such lessons from elsewhere. This section describes how some cities were celebrated at IFHP world congresses and to what extent they can be deemed to qualify as grounded model cities.

The first sign that the IFHP is changing course and emphasising economic regeneration, is apparent during the IFHP world congress in Hamburg in 1978. At this congress the efforts of a number of cities in confronting the problem of regenerating declining inner areas are applauded by general reporter Roel den Dunnen, of the municipality of Rotterdam. He admires cities which have innovated with approaches quite different to Philadelphia's during the 1960s (see section 5.6), in particularly the city of Baltimore:

“The Baltimore experience is a clear illustration that revitalising an older city calls for an integrated approach, in this case: neighbourhood, downtown, economic and cultural development. There is also a need for interdependency from another perspective, i.e. combining people, private investors and the government. It also showed that the elements to be fulfilled when compiling action programmes such as Baltimore's should include:

- A comprehensive large-scale plan
- An effective organization of business leadership in order to revitalize the center (Charles Center, Harbor Projects)
- An effective neighbourhood organization with good leadership, a motivated government and administration
- Good ideas (like “urban homesteading”, “shopsteading” etc)
- A belief in the cause one is fighting for” (IFHP, 1978: 66)

There are a number of reasons for considering Baltimore here to be an early version of a model city rather than as simply a city used within an argument as an example of a more general phenomenon (such as Philadelphia in the 1960s at the IFHP or Nottingham in the 1890s at the AMC [section 4.3]). Although the language of the “illustration” remains, there is a difference between being an “illustration of what is generally being done” as in the case of Nottingham (AMC, 1895: 55) to a “clear illustration that revitalising an inner city calls for an integrated approach”. To express Den Dunnen’s remarks in argumentative terms, he presents the claim that urban regeneration can be achieved through partnerships with different stakeholders, with this claim crucially being justified with reference to the success of this approach in Baltimore. This argument is presented in Table 5:4:

Circumstantial premise	Inner cities are in decline
Goal premise	Inner cities ought to be thriving
Value	Thriving inner cities generate peace and prosperity
Claim for action	Cities ought to do as Baltimore has done: combining different aims and involving disparate public, private and community interests
Means-goal premise	Baltimore has been successful: it is the “clear illustration” that this claim will work

Table 5:4 Baltimore as a proto-model city (1978)

Whilst Nottingham in the 1890s was suggested to be typical of British cities in its experience of municipal provision of services, Baltimore's regeneration efforts are positioned as innovative and atypical. This is not a clean break from Nottingham in the 1890s (see Table 4:2 however). That city was both an example *of* what was being done in other British cities and an example *for* them to imitate should appropriate legislation be forthcoming. Moreover, Baltimore is not actually a unique example in the 1970s and den Dunnen identifies a similar multidimensional and multiagency approach in other cities: chiefly Hamburg (the host city), with others such as Bordeaux being adjudged to have begun a process which Baltimore and Hamburg have brought to conclusion.

Nonetheless, Baltimore's (and Hamburg's and Bordeaux's) actions appear to be innovative. This is because rather than simply being further advanced along an agreed trajectory, these cities are embarking on radical new initiatives in pursuit of growth. Involving the private sector to the extent seen in Baltimore was a very different approach to that advocated at the Philadelphia congress of 1968, where the host city's efforts to alleviate poverty made little mention of business leadership. Moreover, Baltimore's approach appears as relatively autonomous, not having been mandated by the national government. It is unlikely that the United States government was actually unaware of Baltimore. It is probable that Washington gave at least tacit support to Baltimore's project, if not active assistance. Yet the downplaying of this assistance is what we would expect from an attempt to position Baltimore as a model city. This is analogous to the disguising of the role of the IMF and other international institutions in the promotion of Mexico's conditional cash transfer schemes as indigenous Mexican policies (Peck and Theodore, 2010b). Again, the discursive construction of the model exaggerates its uniqueness as a spontaneous, localised innovation whilst disguising the substantial role of external agents.

Baltimore is praised for, among other things, inaugurating a major new property development, the Charles Center. Baltimore's model-city status is thus aided by its being qualitatively as well as quantitatively different: not merely doing the same thing as other cities, only more or better, but doing something different. Besides being positioned as illustrating what can be done rather than

what is being done and demonstrating a qualitatively different approach, another reason for categorising Baltimore in 1978 as a model city is the style of its presentation at the congress. This was apparently sleek and impressed Den Dunnen:

“What a presentation! Sometimes I had the feeling that I was confronted with a well-trained soccer team”... (IFHP, 1978: 66)

At least to some extent therefore, the success of Baltimorel depended upon good presentation as part of an attempt to persuade an audience, a finding corroborated by Wolman, Ford and Hill (1994) in their assessment of Baltimore as at best a modest success when measured according to socioeconomic indices, but widely perceived to have been successful. The presentation of Baltimore in this way would of course have been impossible in earlier congresses when sessions tended to revolve around pre-prepared submissions rather than presentations (although one or two keynote presentations usually did take place, albeit often by representatives of the host city or the host country). Therefore the use of Baltimore as an argumentative resource in favour of partnership-led urban regeneration at the IFHP's Hamburg congress of 1978 demonstrates two of the three hallmarks of the “model city” outlined in chapter two. Baltimore's achievement is presented as an innovation and it occupies the position within argumentation of the example to follow. The branding of Baltimore as a model is more difficult to identify. Den Dunnen does not use the phrase “Baltimore model” and his reference to “The Baltimore experience” at the beginning of his speech is inconclusive. Yet his comments about the sleekness of the presentation indicate considerable awareness from the city's presenters as to its wider perception and are strong evidence of an attempt to promote the city, if not necessarily as a regeneration “brand”. There may be no explicit mention of the term “model”, but in statements about “the Baltimore experience” the city of Baltimore itself is closely associated with the particular interventions which have taken place there. Given Kuukkanen's (2008) conceptual framework (see page 64), in which concepts can evolve over time, gaining and losing peripheral elements so long as fundamental elements are retained, the Baltimore of 1978 may fulfil sufficient criteria to be labelled as a model city, within the flexibility of that term which acknowledges that it may differ from model cities of the twenty-first century in significant ways – notably the absence of any clear branding. However, without conclusive

evidence the most we can say with confidence is that the IFHP is moving toward some conception of the model city, which becomes increasingly clear later on.

Examples of such approximations to model cities are the Canadian cities of Calgary and Vancouver at the IFHP's 1994 world congress at Edmonton. This congress describes a number of cities as having innovated, again apparently independently of national governments, with various urban designs. These innovations are not, unlike Baltimore, simply geared towards economic growth, as model cities today exemplify a broader range of objectives (e.g. participatory budgeting – Cabannes, 2004). The presentations at Edmonton in 1994 hint at the phenomenon of city branding as cities are deliberately associated with slogans and strategies. The association of the "Livable Region" with Vancouver (Cameron and Kellas, 1994) is an example of such an association, and differs from the references to "New Urbanism" (Wood-Brunet, Lambe and Weinstein, 1994) which are confined to specific developments rather than deliberate city-wide strategies.

An example of a presentation which might be arguing for a particular model city at the IFHP's Edmonton congress of 1994, is Calgary in the following article:

"Calgary's "Low Density Residential (Infill) Housing Guidelines" can serve as a model for other major Canadian cities facing similar redevelopment issues in inner city neighbourhoods. Given the divergent needs, values, and characteristics of Calgary's older established communities the guidelines have provided a more flexible approach to infill housing issues, in contrast to a strictly regulatory one. However, the implementation of the guidelines has required considerable resources from all sides. The City is currently revisiting the way in which it exercises control with a view to simplifying processes and procedures, given current financial realities." (Parker and Hackman, 1994)

Here, it is Calgary's housing guidelines, rather than the city itself, that are presented as a model, though there is a close association between the two. That Calgary's legislation is a model only for other "major Canadian cities", perhaps a function of this IFHP world congress being jointly organised with the

Canadian Institute of Planners (CIP), does not preclude it from being model legislation. After all, contemporary model cities such as Singapore are also mobilised only in certain regions of the globe (Ong, 2011). It is possible, however, that the CIP is itself using Calgary and other cities as illustrative cities to showcase the merits of Canadian planning *per se*.

5.9 IFHP in the Twenty-First Century

The twenty-first century has seen the continued relevance of the IFHP as an organisation, with its publications and congress reports cited frequently in contemporary planning treatises (e.g. Hamilton, Andrews and Pilcher-Milanovic [2005] on the planning of post-Soviet cities in Eastern Europe). It is also heavily implicated in the current trend towards model cities. To this end we read that Singapore has become a model city at the 2010 world congress in Porto Alegre. Larry Ng Lye Hock of the Singapore Urban Development Authority presents that authority's work in a presentation entitled "Shaping a vibrant and liveable city for people":

"A number of new urban projects have been used to illustrate how the Urban Development Authority, as Singapore's national land use planning authority, actively seeks to create and sustain a vibrant and liveable city for people. As presented in the Singapore Pavilion of the Twelfth International Architecture Exhibition of the 2010 Venice Biennale, the overarching influence of Singapore's unique model of urban planning is evident across the range of scales from that of the nation through to the intimate scale of a person's flat. Using Singapore as a model of a compact city that is dense, efficient and green, the proposition is that the entire world population could be housed on an area less than 0.5% of earth's total land area – the size of 1,000 Singapores, two Italys or two Japans. Singapore's approach to sustainable development, however, goes beyond land efficiency considerations and strives to provide a good quality of life for present and future generations while meeting the growing needs and aspirations of its population." (Hock, 2010: 200)

The IFHP's priorities in planning have shifted, with concepts such as liveability and sustainability now valued highly. Singapore is a model of how a city could

incorporate those concepts in its holistic design. Hock's first allusion to Singapore's "unique model" positions Singapore's methods as innovative, but not necessarily as a resource upon which other cities can draw. This is implied more in subsequent sentences, when he states the possibilities for global transformation if his city's model were adopted. Consider also the following extract from earlier in Hock's speech, where the Housing and Development Board, another part of Singapore's town-planning architecture, is mentioned:

"This year, the Housing and Development Board was conferred the 2010 UN-HABITAT Scroll of Honour Award for providing one of Asia's and the world's greenest, cleanest and most socially conscious housing programmes." (Hock, 2010: 195)

This indicates that cities claiming to be models can seek affirmation in the awarding of recognition from apparently neutral arbiters such as the United Nations, which they see as conferring legitimacy to their claims. Interestingly, the IFHP still seems unable to completely shake off the spectre of the nation-state as a factor in its presentations of individual cities, because Singapore's status as a city-state confounds its easy categorisation as a model city rather than a resurgence of the model national policy.

5.10 The Contribution of the IFHP archive

This chapter has narrated the history of the International Federation for Housing and Planning in the twentieth century, noting its changing priorities, the changing styles of its congresses and the implications of these for discussions of urban development. It has traced transitions in each of these areas.

With respect to the IFHP itself, this chapter has positioned it as a deliberative forum in which political argumentation about urban development took place during the twentieth century. A range of argumentative resources have been put to work within the organisation. In the early twentieth century, utopian model cities were used in making arguments. This was paralleled by a tendency to invoke national planning systems, rather than the experiences of individual cities, in support of claims for action. Latterly, the experiences of individual cities have increasingly come to be positioned as argumentative

resources, though the absence of packaging, or the identification of particular planning policies with the cities which exemplified or occasionally originated them, means that there remain significant differences between the kinds of argumentation taking place at the IFHP and the construction of model cities in the twenty-first century.

These changing argumentative resources, associated with a changing evidential basis for planning policy, have been linked to wider changes to planning and the social sciences more broadly. In particular, it has been observed that genuine utopian aspirations became less fashionable as the twentieth century progressed; trumped increasingly by pragmatic searches for existent best practice through the construction of grounded, rather than utopian, model cities. These were sought both because such models have a “track-record” of success which hypothetical utopian proposals might not deliver, but also because they typically have a shorter timeframe. These wider changes are significant, but factors specific to the IFHP itself cannot be discounted – we know for example that the IFHP was exceptional within the planning field for its trumpeting of Ebenezer Howard’s garden city model, an example of a utopian model city (Geertse, 2012). The concept of path-dependence is useful here. Thelen (2003: 208) states that “scholars of path dependence emphasize some contingency at the moment of institutional innovation, and suggest that the forces behind the creation of a particular institution may be quite different from the forces that sustain it over time”. The IFHP can thus be conceptualised as having originally been founded as an organ for the promotion of garden cities, but whose purpose has now altered since then, although its original mission remains influential. Geertse (2012) points out that path-dependency at the IFHP had a significant bearing on the themes discussed at its congresses. Other accounts relate these straightforwardly to wider contemporary concerns, but Geertse argues that they were also developed as a consequence of the specific structure and substance of the organisation itself (*ibid.*).

In the early twentieth century, between the two World Wars, the federation concentrated on encouraging the expansion of planning, ran congresses by inviting submissions from national delegations and promoted utopian model cities (the garden city). By the late twentieth century, beginning in 1978, the IFHP had become more discerning about the types of planning it was prepared

to endorse and ran congresses by inviting presentations from a disparate range of actors including the representatives of nation-states, cities, private firms and voluntary organisations. It encouraged debates about urban development in which the experiences of individual cities came to be used as argumentative resources in support of particular interventions elsewhere. By increasingly presenting these cities as innovators and as synecdoches for distinct brands of urban development, the IFHP facilitated the emergence of the contemporary grounded model city. However, the identification of unambiguous “grounded model cities” within the IFHP archive is difficult. What can be said with certainty is that there are profound shifts in the style of argumentation about urban development, with different argumentative resources being deployed in support of claims for action. These resources are deployed within particular contexts but there is a general trend toward the grounded model city familiar from the analysis of the contemporary literature presented in chapter 2.

Between these two periods, during the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, the IFHP was in a transitional phase. Satisfaction with the expansion of planning legislation gradually gave way to introspection, as more appropriate planning methods were sought. World congresses continued to feature largely national submissions, and the IFHP endorsed cities perceived to have been successful, though often, as in the case of Philadelphia (IFHP, 1968) only as part of a broader, national or international programme.

The IFHP archive therefore contributes to answering the research questions by demonstrating that “grounded” model cities are largely a phenomenon of the late twentieth century. However, other forms of argumentation about urban development can be identified in earlier decades. Claims for particular styles of urban development were often made with reference to a comparison of different countries’ *national* planning systems instead. On other occasions, the garden city was invoked during argumentation, featuring either as an end-point - a goal for which to aspire - or as a means to reach a desired goal, or both.

6. Town Planning Review: model cities in academic discourse

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents evidence of the changing conception of model cities during the twentieth century within professional and academic town planning, two disciplines which historically have been closely connected (Ward, 1994) using evidence from the long-established journal *Town Planning Review*. This journal has been published since 1910 at the University of Liverpool, an institution situated at the vanguard of the emergent academic planning discipline in the earlier twentieth century (Wright, 1982). Liverpool was involved in a number of town planning firsts at this time. Besides founding and publishing *Town Planning Review*, it significantly set up a Department of Civic Design in 1909 after a gift from the industrialist and philanthropist Lord Leverhulme, himself no stranger to town planning having founded Port Sunlight in 1888 as a factory site and industrial village - in the lineage of Bournville and New Lanark - for his employees in the Lever Brothers (later Unilever) soap company (*ibid.*).

Moreover, it was at this Department of Civic Design that Liverpool appointed the United Kingdom's first chair in town planning, Professor Stanley Adshead - though he was succeeded by Patrick Abercrombie in 1914 and Abercrombie himself had edited *Town Planning Review* since its inception (*ibid.*). The journal, department and chair were all major advances in town planning education (Ward, 1994) and Liverpool's central position in the growth of the discipline, rendering it ideal as a source of data for this thesis, is confirmed in Wright's (1982) observation that the term "town planning" had only existed in Britain since 1906 - indeed the unusual decision to inaugurate a quarterly journal immediately in a brand new department was taken largely to popularise town planning, which was a relatively unknown and obscure pursuit unlikely to attract large numbers of students. *Town Planning Review* became increasingly international under the editorship of Abercrombie and his successors, but retains an umbilical attachment to Liverpool, where it continues to be published and where every editor to date has been based (though occasionally

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co-editors from elsewhere served alongside them, as during Gordon Stephenson's term as editor from 1948 to 1954 (Massey, 2012).

This introduction is concerned with the arrangement of articles within *Town Planning Review*, as well as with the methodology used to analyse the arguments advanced within them. These are related questions, since changes in the number of articles published and their internal characteristics had implications for the strategy of the research. Moreover, such changes to the format of the journal are significant because they are related to changes in its content, which this section concludes by outlining. The relation between form and content in *Town Planning Review* is similar to that observed in the previous chapter, which dealt with the International Federation for Housing and Planning (IFHP) and noted how, within that organisation, there was a link between the evolution of its World Congresses – from being primarily based on national submissions to being conducted through presentations delivered on behalf of particular cities – and the kinds of argumentative resources which were mobilised therein.

From 1949, the frequency of publication of the journal was uniform, with one volume published each year, comprised of four issues. Before 1949 this was occasionally the case, but many volumes actually spanned several years. The distraction of Britain's involvement in two world wars and the associated diversion of resources might explain the "rationing" of production at these times, but a wider malaise affected *Town Planning Review* during the interwar years also. For instance, between 1920 and 1929 only twenty-one issues were published (when one might have expected forty during this ten-year period, assuming four issues per year). My sampling strategy within *Town Planning Review* was outlined in chapter 3, with four articles per year being studied – one from each issue. These were selected on the basis of the first article from the first issue, the second from the second and so forth, a technique which was deemed preferable to simply choosing the first article from each issue on the assumption that this would differ in style or content from the rest of the issue. This produced a total of forty articles per decade (which in the decades before 1949 meant that sometimes more than one article in an issue would need to be sampled).

After 1949, *Town Planning Review*'s format did become standardised, with four issues published each year. The journal's most significant change since then came in 1983 when formal, distinct abstracts began to be published for each article. From that point I was able to identify the argument being made by the articles published from the contents of their abstracts. Prior to 1983 I was usually able to glean this information from a perusal of the introductory paragraphs, on occasions during which these performed a similar function to the later, formalised abstracts. Where the introductory paragraphs did not make the argument clear, I additionally studied the concluding paragraphs or the article as a whole.

These three distinct changes – more articles, longer articles and the inclusion of abstracts – each hint at changing academic conventions. Articles in the 1920s can be written about individual cities, towns and villages taken in isolation in purely descriptive articles which provide a “pen pic”. This kind of writing, discussed in section 6.2, had become unacceptable by the 1980s, when it had apparently become necessary for articles to have a clearer purpose. Comments about individual cities would be valid only inasmuch as they were generalizable and could be constructed to function as case studies laying out lessons for other cities. Thus, grounded cities came to function as argumentative resources in debates about urban development, when previously in the twentieth century they had less often, and certainly less obviously, functioned in this way. This could be related to a growing instrumentalism within academic research, with the study of individual cases no longer considered to be worthwhile unless they could be generalized as part of a nomothetic endeavour (Little, 1991) a suggestion which will be considered further in the conclusion to this chapter.

There were other trends within the *Town Planning Review* archive, however. One of the most significant of these is the “rational model city”, the use of a computer simulation as an argumentative resource, as opposed to the experience of an actually-existing city, which will be considered in section 0. This style of argumentation disappeared in the later twentieth century, when actually-existing cities came to be referenced as argumentative resources by the authors of articles appearing within *Town Planning Review*. These articles, and the extent to which argumentation therein satisfies the criteria for “grounded model cities”, are considered in section 0.

6.2 *Town Planning Review* in the 1920s and 1930s: articles without arguments?

Town Planning Review has been published since 1910. This section considers a number of different kinds of articles which appeared during its early decades and the implications of each for a study of argumentation and the positioning of cities within it. Many articles published in early editions of *Town Planning Review* apparently lack any clear argumentative purpose, whether with respect to model cities or otherwise. Rather, seemingly purely descriptive articles narrate the characteristics of particular places. These articles come in many forms, from analyses of large cities to tiny villages. For example, during the 1920s there is an entire series on “English villages and small towns”. The first of these is Biddenden in Kent (in the United Kingdom):

“Biddenden is a small village some few miles to the north of Tenterden, situated on the main road running from that town to Maidstone. It is one of the many beautiful villages that cluster round the small town of Tenterden, the names of which, including that of the town itself, all terminate in “den”. The villages of Rolvenden, Newenden, Benenden, Halden, and Biddenden, are all situated in the Welden district of Kent, the “den” signifying “a wooded valley affording pasturage”. This is one of the lesser-known parts of Kent. Until recently it was inaccessible by rail, though in late years a small local line has been laid connecting Tenterden with the main line; and to-day, these villages stand apart from modern life, remote, inaccessible, unaltered...” (Ramsey, 1921:21)

Though it is always difficult to verify the absence of argumentation, as with any other phenomenon (Lange, 1966), this passage indicates that Ramsey has no object other than the sentimental description of an idyllic English village. That may in itself constitute an argumentative purpose however. Ramsey could be pleading not for change, along any trajectory, but for continuity. Celebration of “hidden” English villages was popular during the interwar period, and there was a constant fear of their losing their character – something Ramsey hints is already occurring since their connection to the rail network. Ramsey’s article is also extremely short, occupying only two pages of *Town Planning Review*, with around the equivalent of a single page of text. This kind of writing is unlikely

to be published today, but was common at the time. The series of which it is a part, on “English villages and small towns”, extends to five similar articles. Moreover, a similar series of the 1930s titled simply “The English village”, each article of which is written by Wesley Dougill, runs to no fewer than eight articles. Both series were presumably commissioned by the editors and Dougill himself occupied that position between 1933, when he succeeded Abercrombie, and his death in 1943. Therefore the style of writing should be thought of as typical of the period. The romanticisation of rural English life during the 1920s and 1930s has been observed elsewhere, especially in the construction and veneration of the English landscape (Brace, 2003; Matless, 1988). Reading Ramsey’s description of Biddenden as an instance of such an account, the following representation might be formulated:

Circumstance	English villages and small towns are attractive
Goal	English villages and small towns should remain attractive
Value	Rustic Englishness
Claim for action	Development should be prevented
Argumentative resources	Biddenden is an example of what would be lost were development to be permitted

Table 6:1 Biddenden as an argumentative resource (1921)

Ramsey may therefore have had an argumentative purpose after all, though one more obvious to *Town Planning Review*’s 1920s readership. He supported the conservation of English villages and their protection against development. Such argumentation would redeem these articles from the charge of being purely descriptive, which in an era of idiographic study they might have been, but it is more difficult to identify in other articles of the period. This is because the series on “English villages and small towns” was not the only example of such apparently descriptive writing. Other articles of this kind described not

quaint villages but large, industrial towns. Here the authors might be expected to make at least some attempt at criticism, but instead their style is similar to that in descriptions of the small towns. For example the article below, from 1917, resembles the kind of material one might expect to find published by a local tourist authority, with its only claim apparently being that Plymouth is a fine place:

“The real capital of the west country today is the ancient maritime seaport of Plymouth which embraces to-day the naval centre of Devonport and the diminutive township of Stonehouse, the latter wedged between two arms of the sea. Exeter is the official metropolis of Devon and Bodmin of Cornwall, but these places are of secondary importance to the three towns which have developed in the centuries, along the water’s edge, and above the heights to form a triple sisterhood...” (Richardson, 1917: 124)

In this article, Plymouth’s topographical situation and historical achievements are celebrated. Moreover, Richardson is unafraid to bestow upon the town the accolade of “real capital” – a purely rhetorical and otherwise meaningless title in the context of British local government. Richardson is fond of Plymouth, but it cannot possibly be said to constitute a model city because in this article the three towns making up the contemporary conurbation have merited his accolades as a result of serendipitous past circumstances and there is no indication that Richardson would advocate that they be imitated elsewhere. If this kind of academic writing can be considered to constitute a case study, then according to Stake’s classification it is idiographic or intrinsic (Stake, 2004). It emphasises Plymouth’s uniqueness and attributes that to its special circumstances. Plymouth’s experience is not positioned as reflective of the general situation of all British cities; neither is its experience normative for them in the future. This article on Plymouth is similar to others on Newcastle-upon-Tyne (1923) and Southampton (1916, and also by Richardson) – though they do not form a numbered series like those on the smaller towns and villages.

Therefore, some articles discussing villages and small towns, as well as others discussing cities, appear to lack claims for action – unless the speculative positioning of the Biddenden article as an argument for the preservation of a

rural area, presented in Table 6:1, is correct. Yet I am reluctant to conclude that such articles indicate an absence of argumentation altogether within *Town Planning Review* in the 1920s. Perhaps what is required is a reconceptualisation of argumentation in these articles. The theorisation of argumentation devised by Fairclough and Fairclough (2012), upon which much of the analysis presented in this thesis is based, is specifically intended to be applied to *political* argumentation, which always results in a claim for action – a claim that something should be *done*, which of necessity must be justified among competing claims because deliberation involves choosing between alternatives. Fairclough and Fairclough (*ibid.*) do not preclude the existence of other kinds of argumentation, or that these might not be formulated differently. So whilst in these instances in the early years of *Town Planning Review* it is not evident that claims for action are being advanced, this does not indicate the absence of argumentation. Authors are rather writing within the conventions of academic argumentation, rather than political argumentation. Their claims are not claims for action, but other claims are possible. In the cases of Biddenden and Plymouth, it is that these places are interesting and attractive. Perhaps extending the trope of the tourist brochure we could say that these places are worth visiting. In the case that follows, it is the claim that Roman town planning is interesting and worthy of further academic study.

Articles in the “English villages and small towns” series, and particularly the other articles on larger cities (Plymouth in the above example), refer extensively to events in the past. The current situation of these cities is deemed to have arisen from various historical influences. A third category of articles of the 1920s and 1930s however, which also appear to present individual places in their uniqueness as interesting material for academic study, are entirely concerned with the past. In this they appear to satisfy Rorty, Schneewind and Skinner’s (1984) criterion for antiquarianism, in that they write the past in its own terms irrespective of current concerns. The following, a discussion of Rome, is a good example:

“The site occupied by the Jesuit Church of San Ignazio was in the first century after Christ an open space, with the aqueduct of the Aqua Virgo on the north, the Saepta, the great voting hall erected by Julius Caesar, on the east, the Templum Divorum on the south, and the enclosure of the temple of Isis and Serapis on the west, both the last-

named buildings being the work of Domitian...” (Ashby and Butling, 1929: 139)

At first glance this article appears to describe the ancient city of Rome as a matter of antiquarian interest. Its buildings and squares, modernised and redeveloped in more recent history, are of interest to contemporary scholarship inasmuch as they facilitate attempts to reconstruct life in ancient Rome. There is nothing about Rome that should be imitated elsewhere, however. After all, it is unlikely that a twentieth-century city could convincingly invent for itself a Classical past (though cities can and do exploit their historical heritage as part of their marketing [Zukin, 1995]).

However, Rorty, Schneewind and Skinner (1984) insist that true antiquarianism is impossible. Even if it really were desirable to do so, which they argue it isn't, one cannot actually write the past in its own terms. Therefore, Ashby and Butlin (1929) did have an argumentative purpose. While they do not use the palimpsest of contemporary cities as argumentative resources framing claims for action in other cities, they do imply claims about historical town *planning*. Much of *Town Planning Review's* early history is an attempt to draw lessons from the planning of previous centuries – particularly as here in Classical times and during the Renaissance. The reason for this interest in historical town planning, devised and implemented in contexts which clearly differed greatly from those of the twentieth-century's industrialised cities, was that town planning itself was poorly theorised. Formal town planning was a relatively young profession, arising as a reaction against the chaos of nineteenth-century cities (Mumford, 1961; Fishman, 1988; Ward, 1994; Hall, 1999), and looked to earlier centuries to provide some precedents for its schemes, as well as to imbue its interventionist philosophy with historical legitimacy. This is depicted in Table 6:2

Circumstance	Unplanned cities are disorderly
Goal	Cities should be properly planned
Value	Order is preferable to disorder
Claim for action	Town planning should learn from mediaeval and

	Classical Rome
Means-goal premise	Rome was more orderly than contemporary cities

Table 6:2 Rome as an argumentative resource (1929)

This formulation of Ashby and Butlin's article is however speculative. They nowhere advance a specific claim. They may well have had specific reasons for describing Ancient Rome, just as Ramsey did in describing Biddenden. Yet in neither case is the purpose of the article to make those reasons clear and there is little warrant for suggesting that contemporary readers would have understood these articles as claims for action. The claim in Table 6:2 is a claim that something is interesting and should be studied, rather than a claim for action within a political argument.

This section has reviewed a number of styles of article in *Town Planning Review* in which apparently few arguments are advanced, certainly not with reference to actually-existing cities as argumentative resources. Rather, these three styles (referring to individual villages, cities and historical town planning as intrinsic case studies) are largely descriptive. Any arguments which are advanced, for instance that "villages ought to be protected from development" or that "Classical town planning provides valuable lessons from the present", are implicit. The main arguments presented are academic rather than political, claiming that particular places are interesting but not making claims for action. All three kinds of article become less common after 1930, though the latter kind, investigating historical town planning, is occasionally revived. For example, John W Reps (Associate Professor of Architecture at Cornell University), presents a series of articles on town planning in the American colonies. Among these is the following example, on Georgian cities:

"By the beginning of the eighteenth century the English had established the basis for an urban society in their colonies on the American seaboard from Maine to Florida. Along this irregular coastline at the many natural harbours and inland along the rivers where waterpower sites were favourable, towns and villages began to prosper. Some grew without much conscious control over development; others had been carefully planned from the beginning... The plans of Savannah and

other early Georgian cities, many of which no longer exist, owed their origins to the generous concept of a community put forward by the leading spirit in the colony, General James Oglethorpe..." (Reps, 1960: 273)

This article concerns town planning two centuries prior to its writing, and may have been intended simply to inform the history of town planning itself. Yet Reps praised aspects of the planning practised in Georgia – "the [colonies'] best planned community" as Reps says elsewhere (*ibid.*: 273), with this comparative claim suggesting that in several aspects Georgia's town planning bettered that of the other colonies. In that case, it is possible that some claim for action in the present could have been implied – town planners of the twentieth century could draw specific lessons from the eighteenth-century planning of Georgia. However, a more persuasive account is one which positions Reps' article as academic rather than political argumentation, contributing to an understanding of town planning's history in colonial North America without drawing out lessons for the present.

6.3 Argumentative trends in the early twentieth century

Occasionally in the early twentieth century, articles did not stop at the mere description of contemporary or past cities as in the examples of the previous section, but advanced claims about what ought to be done in town planning. There was a tendency for authors to emphasise the architectural elements of planning, as in Adshead's (1912) assessment of the treatment of surviving Ancient Egyptian obelisks by the municipalities to which they had been transported. Generally, however, specific interventions were not advocated but instead, various means of procuring better town planning were promoted. A popular example was the planning competition, in which prospective planners were invited to produce schemes from which a panel would select a winning entry, which in many instances was subsequently officially adopted. Berrington's (1920) article, "The Paris Competition", highlights the significance which was attached to these competitions, and the confidence placed in them from within the planning community:

"We here have to deal with possibly the most important competition ever opened, and certainly the most complex problem ever presented

to the town planner; and yet it burst on the “Allied” world with a tiny pop, scarcely audible in London, just about a year ago, and has hardly dimpled the surface of thought and hope even in Paris itself – how much less elsewhere?” (Berrington, 1920: 163)

Berrington’s article in fact laments the Paris competition as intensely disappointing, which he attributes to ill-thought out town planning legislation introduced in France after the war. Yet his disappointment would not be so profound were he not to regard the competition itself as “possibly the most important competition ever”. The popularity of competitions for the replanning of cities is very common during this period (Dougill, 1928; Lenzi, 1928, 1929). With few cities having by this stage successfully implemented plans, none constituted evidence of best practice which could inform future planning elsewhere as model cities. Instead, imaginative proposals were welcomed, though they usually incorporated generally accepted ideas in planning theory. There was an emerging set of planning principles, developing from the writings of Ebenezer Howard and others as well as from the new academic planning departments, abetted by periodicals including *Town Planning Review* itself. To argue on the basis of those principles was not necessarily to invoke a particular city as an argumentative resource, but often a more abstract idea related to Howard’s “utopian” model city as described in chapter 5. The following article on “The Salonika town planning act”, from 1922, illustrates well the spread of these principles:

“Salonika was totally destroyed by fire for the fifth time in its chequered career on August 18th, 19th and 20th of 1917, thus creating an almost unique opportunity for the town planner to put into practice the principles which are now universally recognised as the fundamental basis of the civic, social and industrial progress of a modern city. It is not exactly true to say that the town was totally destroyed, but there were so few buildings remaining of any real importance that it was decided to ignore them in the preparation of the new plan. Fortunately for Salonika it had fallen under the control of an enlightened and progressive Government who were fully alive to their responsibilities and (as we shall see) promptly and firmly grasped the opportunity which was created by the fire. Had the town remained under Turkish control with its policy of *laissez-faire* and its recognition of the divine

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right of the individual, it is certain that no effort would have been made to take advantage of the opportunity.... The Government frankly recognised that they had to deal with a problem beyond the capacity of any Greek architects or engineers and wisely decided to appoint a Commission of English and French town planning experts to prepare the scheme for the new town..." (Mawson, 1922: 147)

Town planning principles have by this time therefore become "universal" according to Mawson, with widespread acceptance at least from planners themselves. Moreover, much faith is invested in these principles as potentially transformative of society. Curiously, Mawson supposes that these "universal" principles can nonetheless only be properly applied by English and French "experts", to whom alone the preparation of town plans should be entrusted. Unenlightened Turks clinging to *laissez-faire* are apparently unconverted to the principles, whilst the "progressive" Greek government accepts them readily enough. However, even the enlightened Greeks remain unable to implement the principles without Western assistance. This is evidence not for the existence of a set of model cities to imitate, nor even of model plans to copy, but of an elite group of planners to employ.

Circumstance	Salonika has been subjected to a catastrophe
Goal	Salonika should be rebuilt, in a more planned fashion than previously
Value	Planning alone can procure "civic, social and industrial progress"
Claim for action	English and French experts should be recruited to prepare the plan
Means/goal premise	Indigenous architects and engineers lack the capacity to prepare such a plan – Anglo-French planning is superior

Table 6:3 The Anglo-French as elite planners (1922)

The recruitment of British and French planners and engineers overseas was especially common in cities situated within their respective empires –for example British personnel in Kolkata (Lanchester, 1914a; 1914b). The conviction that planners from certain backgrounds are more effective in improving urban outcomes continues in the twenty-first century through the career trajectories of a number of peripatetic engineers who have exported embodied Western knowledges of planning, especially with regard to urban infrastructure (Larner and Laurie, 2010). These middling technocrats are a different group from the elite “starchitects”, who embody an intensification of the belief that only certain personnel can effect urban change. Examples of this new breed of urban messiahs include Richard Rogers and Norman Foster (McNeill, 2009).

There was not only a simple diffusion of ideas from Europe to its colonies (Blaut, 1987). Instead there were occasions, when British cities learned from elsewhere, as in their adoption of Municipal Art Commissions, an American innovation originating in Boston and New York (Haywood, 1923).

“It is desirable to review quite briefly the beginnings of modern progress towards the outward expression of civic betterment, before dealing more particularly with the Birmingham Civic Society and its work. In 1890 (twenty years before the first civic society appeared in England) the first Municipal Art Commission was established in Boston, USA. It is not implied by this comparison of dates, however, that our first stirrings in this phase of civic consciousness were twenty years behind those of America. The somewhat tardy employment of civic societies in England is explained quite naturally by our activities in other sections of civic work, assisted no doubt by our national psychology which is not easily moved to corporate expression in matters of this kind. This reluctance has been most apparent in connection with Art Commissions; and, as the first British example of such a Commission has been established recently in Birmingham by the Civic Society, I purpose to say something more of its American prototypes” (Hayward, 1923: 171) .

Haywood acknowledges that the American experiences with Municipal Arts Commissions have been instructive for British cities, for which they constitute

“prototypes”, but argues that the contrasting circumstances of British and American cities precluded the close imitation of American Municipal Arts Commissions, going on to explain how Britain’s Civic Societies, pioneered by his native Birmingham, differ in key respects such as the degree of municipal, as opposed to voluntary, involvement. These are related to British cultural sensibilities. Imagined cultural differences were one of the hindrances to international mobilisation of policy models in the twentieth century at the IFHP also (see section 5.5). Hayward is not making a claim for action, but reflecting on the past decisions taken by civic leaders in Britain as they have borrowed from America. Table 6:4 below thus presents Hayward’s understanding of these earlier arguments, rather than an argument of his own:

Circumstance	British urban heritage is threatened by development
Goal	British urban heritage should be protected and enhanced
Value	The conservation of heritage promotes civic pride and self-esteem
Claim for action	American Civic Arts Commissions should be imitated, but modified
Means-goal premise	American Civic Arts Commissions have been successful, but cannot be imported without modification because of the differing cultural context

Table 6:4 American Civic Arts Commissions as an argumentative resource (1923)

The formation of a city Civic Arts Association to promote good design within a city is a planning model which has originated in Boston, circulated within the United States and then crossed the Atlantic, being then reinterpreted to fit conditions in British cities. Policy circulation in the twenty-first century is similarly a matter of deterritorialising urban models and then reinterpreting them in different contexts elsewhere. This has been shown in the case of the model of Business Improvement Districts for procuring downtown economic revival, which was conceived in Toronto, circulated throughout the United States and then reinterpreted for the British context (Ward, 2006; Cook, 2008).

Articles published within *Town Planning Review* during the early twentieth century tended not to mobilise actually-existing cities as argumentative resources, whether as grounded model cities or even more modestly as illustrative cities, though there are exceptions. On the one hand, several articles appeared which should not properly be classified as political argumentation at all but instead belong to different academic genres and adopt their conventions. On the other hand, there are some articles which do make claims for action, but find support for these claims in different argumentative resources. Among these argumentative resources is the fruitfulness of planning competitions or the expertise of particular groups of planners. In the case of Civic Arts Commissions, the argumentative resource is one of national systems, because it is based upon the US experience generally. Boston is mentioned specifically but only because it is illustrative of all American cities, though it is privileged as having pioneered the innovation.

Nonetheless, there is evidence of a general malaise in *Town Planning Review*, thrown into particularly sharp relief in the immediate post-war era when new editor (and Lever Professor at Liverpool from 1948) Gordon Stephenson attempted to revive the journal in the early 1950s and reform a curriculum at Liverpool which had altered little since Adshead's time (Batey, 2012). Curriculum reform was needed because of the rapid changes to British town planning legislation and *Town Planning Review* had to change similarly to remain relevant in an age of statutory planning and new town developments. Hitherto regular contributors with a focus on architectural history and other more esoteric preoccupations were sidelined by Stephenson and his predecessor William Holford within the Department of Civic Design (*ibid.*) and since first Holford and then Stephenson were also the editors of *Town Planning Review*, it is likely that they steered the journal in a similar direction. Among the curricular changes implemented by Stephenson at Liverpool was the introduction of the social sciences, with increasing proportions of Master of Civic Design students emerging from these disciplines. The growing influence within planning of the scientific methods employed by these disciplines may account for some of the changes to the journal explored in the next section. Massey (2012) further notes that with the effective relaunch of *Town Planning Review* under Gordon Stephenson came a marked internationalisation of the journal.

6.4 Rational Model Cities: Another argumentative resource

The descriptive articles of the early *Town Planning Review* and the arguments in favour of variously adopting planning competitions, employing planning elites or imitating innovations elsewhere, give way in the middle of the twentieth century to a new style of article. This style introduces one of the most significant argumentative resources which have been mobilised in debates about urban development: the “rational model city”. Along with the “utopian model city” discussed in the previous chapter, where an abstract representation of urban perfection such as the garden city is hailed as a template for urban planning or re-planning, it constitutes another of the alternatives to the “grounded model city”, or the familiar case of referring to the experiences of an actually-existing city. To invoke a rational model city is to refer not to the experiences of an actually-existing or “grounded” model city, nor to “utopian” ideas of urban perfection, but to ideal urban designs arrived at through rational calculation – often involving computer simulation or the use of other technology. The use of the term “model” to refer to such simulations (as in expressions such as “traffic modelling”) is potentially misleading, because those models are attempts to represent urban reality, or to predict urban futures according to various scenarios, rather than to present a normative template for future urban development. To fulfil the criteria for my concept of the rational model city, such a model would first have to be interpreted by an observer positioning it as able to solve some urban problem. To take again the example of a “traffic model”, this *simulation* of traffic flows in actual or imagined cities would become a *rational model city* only if it was deployed as an argumentative resource. This can be very straightforward; thus “based on the results of this simulation, cities ought to follow this pattern...” Straightforward though it may be, this step is nonetheless crucial in producing a rational model city.

The term “rational” in this context also needs to be explained. I do not intend to imply that the other types of model city – the grounded and the utopian – are therefore irrational. The defining characteristic of the rational model cities is that they are devised to produce optimal outputs prescribing the most rational actions. Nor do I intend to imply a direct connection between the

rational model city as a type of argumentative resource and the “rational planning” referred to by Fainstein (2000) to denote planning formulated on the basis of the elusive “rational economic man” of social sciences during the Cold War period – though the two are closely related. Rational models could be much more sophisticated in their treatment of human behaviour than to assume all people make the maximal economic choices implied by “rational economic man”, but their greater sophistication is in pursuit of improving the accuracy of their simulations rather than dispensing with them.

This style of argumentation is most common in articles of the 1950s and 1960s in *Town Planning Review*, though it first appears in George Pepler’s “Proportion of an area required for industry” (1926), in which Pepler compares the value for this statistic of ten selected British cities, as well as Welwyn garden city, which continued to be a darling of IFHP luminaries including Pepler (cf. IFHP, 1937). In the course of the article Pepler also describes Trafford Park, the vast industrial estate developed between 1896 and 1925 in the north-west of England. Pepler outlines his rationale in preparing the paper:

“In preparing a scheme for a district, almost the first consideration is to see that the present and prospective needs of industry are met by the allocation and reservation of sufficient appropriate land. To do this effectively and economically, it is necessary to have some idea of the proportion of land required for industry in relation to the site requirements of a town as a whole” (Pepler, 1926: 122-124)

After presenting the relevant data, Pepler does conclude that:

“Clearly no general rule can be laid down as to the proportion of town space required by industry, and investigations are needed in each locality...” (*ibid.*:124)

Pepler has obtained data from various cities in an attempt to define the ideal allocation of industrial space, but avoids being prescriptive. In part this may be because of his methodology: observations of existing cities. He is able to compare various existing layouts, but has no means of either devising or assessing hypothetical scenarios to determine the optimal allocation. The capacity for such hypothetical calculation increases with the progressive improvement in computer power during the twentieth century.

This rational model city thus comes of age during the 1960s, with the work and publications of Reuben Smeed, of the UK's Road Research Laboratory:

"It is a matter of considerable interest and importance to evaluate the effect on the amount of road space required for traffic in a town of such factors as the number and length of journeys, the modes of transport used, the density of houses and of workplaces, the duration of the peak travel periods, the type of road system and other similar factors. It is, however, difficult or impossible to investigate these matters in existing towns either by carrying out large scale experiments or by calculation. In an attempt to surmount these difficulties, the writer has carried out a series of calculations on traffic in an imaginary town but using data on the capacity of roads, the density of homes and workplaces, etc. applicable to existing towns and has given the results in two papers: (i) "The Traffic Problem in Towns" published by the Manchester Statistical Society (1961), (ii) The "Effect of Some Kinds of Routeing Systems on the Amount of Traffic in the Central Areas of Towns", published in the Journal of the Institution of Highway Engineers (1962). These papers are, however, long and of a mathematical character and this has apparently deterred some potential readers from studying them. It has, therefore, been thought worthwhile to summarise the two papers, describing the assumptions made, the methods used and the conclusions reached. The results are given in this paper. A few results not given in the original papers have also been included" (Smeed, 1963: 279)

Again, Smeed has performed meticulous observations of existing cities, with his organisation's title, "Road Research Laboratory", testifying to the conviction that town planning could be treated scientifically and analysed like other sciences - a temptation common to other social sciences in the 1960s, including urban geography pursued within the spatial science paradigm (Peet, 1998). Actually-existing cities are well-suited to the making of observations, but cannot usually be used as sites for scientific experimentation as if they were test tubes. Therefore, in Smeed's appraisal of the land required for traffic in towns he is unable to reconfigure existing towns at will in order to make further observations. Instead, he performs simulations on hypothetical towns. The outputs of these simulations can be mobilised as rational model cities:

argumentative resources in support of particular allocation of road space in future cities. Smeed can justify the contention that these outputs really can be usefully applied to existing cities by noting that simulations were generated from data recorded in the first instance from observations of existing cities. Smeed's argument is represented in Table 6:5:

Circumstance	There is "a traffic problem in towns"
Goal	The traffic problem should be eliminated
Value	Public health and economic productivity should be promoted
Claim for action	Adopt Smeed's recommendations
Means-goal premise	Smeed's recommendations arose from computation of the optimal, most rational solution to the problem and though this was hypothetical, it was developed with respect to existing towns

Table 6:5 The rational model city: another argumentative resource (1963)

That the mathematics involved in such simulations had by 1963 become very sophisticated is clear from Smeed's acknowledgement that his previous papers on the subject have been overly mathematical and largely ignored by planners. The conversation in *Town Planning Review* was not solely about transportation planning, however, with other articles such as Atkinson (1963) below discussing the application of similar types of research to building design:

"Since the early 1930s studies of some aspects of buildings in their urban setting have been undertaken at the Buildings Research Station. They have usually been derived from investigations into the functional, and more recently economic efficiency of particular types of buildings and consequently tend to be specific rather than comprehensive. Nevertheless in providing, for example, the basis of daylighting codes in residential and non-residential areas they have on occasion been not without their influence on planning techniques in Britain..." (Atkinson, 1963: 171)

This indicates the significance of experiment and calculation in the design of cities in the 1960s. In emphasising the significance of such “rational” models as those promulgated by Smeed (in the arena of transportation planning) and Atkinson (with reference to building design) for the making of arguments about urban development during this period, it is acknowledged that research of this kind has not vanished completely, nor did it ever constitute the only argumentative resource from which claims for action could be made, even in the 1950s and 1960s. Yet with respect to the archive of *Town Planning Review* at least, the appearance of articles such as this one based upon “hypothetical” towns (to borrow Smeed’s terminology) is largely restricted to the middle of the twentieth century. The usage of such articles as the basis for argumentation is curtailed after 1970.

The simulations upon which these articles were based were not entirely abstract, since they were usually informed by the results of careful observations of existing cities. Furthermore, they were also intended to be applied directly to specific cities or regions. In the following article, “Models and projections of the space economy: a sub-regional study in north-west England”, computer modelling is applied to the north-west of England:

“During the last decade, with the development of large-scale computer systems and the growing realization that they city and region comprise a complex organisational structure, it has been possible to apply certain concepts and techniques from the physical sciences to problems concerning urban behaviour and land use. The more measurable aspects of this behaviour, namely traffic generation and flow, were the first factors to become the subject of attempts to model the urban system, and from these initial efforts, the comprehensive land use model is being developed. Such land use models can be broadly classified as either behavioural or normative. Normative models seek to explain locational behaviour in the spatial system in terms of a process of rational choice, whereas behavioural models are essentially concerned with the simulation of actual locational behaviour regardless of whether or not such behaviour is based upon any rational choice. Behavioural models tend to produce more realistic descriptions of the spatial system than normative models, and this paper is concerned with the development and use of a behavioural model in

describing and projecting certain components of the space-economy at the sub-regional scale. This model has been designed to simulate the economic relationships and spatial structure of population and employment in central and north-eastern Lancashire, a sub-region of north-west England..." (Batty, 1970: 121)

Batty's analysis of different kinds of models is sophisticated and he clearly recognises their limitations. He notes that models of increasing complexity and simulating increasingly complex areas of social life have been developed during the 1960s – and even before that Smeed's models had apparently been too "mathematical" in character for the average planner to understand. Batty's confidence that the insights of the natural sciences can be put to work in modelling human behaviour and the urban system is reminiscent of the social physics school predominant in human geography at the time, for example in Stewart's (1948) application of Newtonian mechanics to studies of "demographic migration" and has a heritage back to the ideas of the nineteenth-century economist Johann Heinrich von Thünen.

There is a possible connection between the use of rational model cities as argumentative resources within *Town Planning Review* at this time and the kinds of problems which are addressed in the journal. One major concern of *Town Planning Review* in the decades immediately following the Second World War was the provision and design of new towns to accommodate the overspill resulting from the dispersal of population from larger cities, a problem exacerbated by postwar rationing which demanded maximum efficiency (Ward, 1994). New towns were especially enthusiastically taken up in the UK, and arguments about their form and function were often advanced with respect to the latest urban knowledge and research developed through the simulations discussed in the previous section. For example, Goss (1961) evaluates the implementation of Neighbourhood Units in British new towns and Field (1968) compares five different new towns in Britain with respect to seven indicators.

New Towns represent prime sites for the implementation of existing models, as well as for experimentation in order to improve them. This is because they represent a "blank canvas" with seemingly limitless possibilities for the spatial planner, unencumbered by existing land uses. Utopian models such as the garden city, along with rational models such as those promulgated by Pepler,

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Smeed and Atkinson are much easier to imitate in previously undeveloped areas. One reason for their decline in popularity within *Town Planning Review* might be the retreat from building New Towns in the late twentieth century, at least in the United Kingdom. Public indignation at the conditions of inner-city slums and the urgent need to re-house blitzed communities had been the imperatives for postwar reconstruction during the 1940s (Hasegawa, 1992), but as these challenges were met the clamour for new building dissipated. Similarly, the generation of New Towns commissioned in the 1960s arose in response to predictions of population growth and the need to accommodate it, which in later decades were less audible (Ward, 1995).

Another reason for the retreat from New Towns and so, according to my argument, from an environment conducive to the claims of utopian and rational model cities ideal for application in such towns, is the reappraisal of planning and the advent of a more modest approach, with scepticism to grand projects becoming the norm and decidedly less ambitious plans being preferred. This is not to imply that computer simulations of the kind mobilised in rational model cities are no longer produced to inform contemporary planning decisions. Undoubtedly they are, and have surely become ubiquitous as computer technology has become further sophisticated. My contention, however, is that their results are today usually used to respond to more technical questions of urban design, rather than to suggest bold new approaches.

This section has so far implied that the rational model city appears in *Town Planning Review* during the 1950s and 1960s, though with earlier antecedents. This is correct, but in applying a scientific approach - with observation, measurement and experimentation - authors of this time were merely continuing a long tradition of reflection and research. The necessity of study as a preliminary to any town planning venture had long been understood, having been observed by Patrick Abercrombie, the first editor of *Town Planning Review*, in an article of 1916. For Abercrombie, a philosophy of urbanism was fundamental to the conduct of professional urban planning:

“The first necessity is to decide what attitude the future town planner intends to adopt towards urban existence; he must have a theory or basis of City Planning at the back of his head, so that all pieces of work

undertaken may serve as definite fragments in the pattern of mosaic which he aims at accomplishing. He must even make up his mind whether town life is to be advocated or rather shunned, for there appears to be an extreme view that regards the practice of mankind living together in cities as a bad habit to be eradicated as quickly as convenient..." (Abercrombie, 1916: 171)

Yet a serious reconsideration of the merits of planning was awakened later in the twentieth century, in light of the critiques of planning advanced by opponents such as Jane Jacobs (1961), which were also very influential at the IFHP (see page 152). In this vein, we find within *Town Planning Review* an article entitled "If planning isn't everything, maybe it's something" by Ernest Alexander. He writes in response to a dismissal of planning, entitled "If planning is everything, maybe it's nothing" (Wildavsky, 1973), that had appeared in the journal *Policy Sciences* some eight years earlier. The publication of Aaron Wildavsky's initial paper thus demonstrates that planning faced considerable external opposition at this time. In Alexander's rebuttal, he suggests three reasons for the lack of a response to Wildavsky:

"...1. [Wildavsky's paper] appeared in a journal which few planners read, and unfortunately has not been reprinted in the "mainstream" of the planning literature. 2. Many among his readers surely found Wildavsky's case persuasive, and saw no reason to take up the cudgels on behalf of planning. 3. Some of his readers who intuitively disagreed (perhaps, like this author, they are planners or associated with planning) failed to articulate a reasoned response because the paper's provocative title and deliberately polemic style makes its unpalatable conclusions easy to dismiss..." (Alexander 1981: 131)

Of these the first is trivial but the other two Alexander finds alarming: apparently some planners were seduced by Wildavsky's argument and even those who disagreed were unable to respond (although in mitigation they could appeal to the paper's presentational shortcomings). This suggests that the question of what planning actually *was* or *should be* was occupying their minds too, and that they could offer no straightforward answers to these questions. This period of introspection should be understood as being

underway long before Alexander's paper of 1981 – after all, it was published in response to a critique first expressed in 1973.

This section has indicated that the mid-twentieth century saw an emphasis within *Town Planning Review* on observation, research, calculation and computer simulation. These have been suggested to constitute the advance of a different kind of argument about urban development – one based upon argumentative resources rooted in the results of research and hypothetical simulation: the rational model city. This section has also analysed in depth the characteristics of the model city and proposed explanations for its appearance at a particular historical moment and subsequent disappearance. The following sections will analyse the ways in which argumentation developed within *Town Planning Review* in the later twentieth century, in the aftermath of the brief spell during which rational model cities predominated.

6.5 Beyond the “Rational Model City”: *Town Planning Review* since 1980

Towards the end of the previous section, it was noted that in the 1970s and 1980s, *Town Planning Review* published a number of articles expressing disquiet about the proper role and conduct of planning, both from within the profession and from without. Among the various kinds of material published since then, have been articles which have attempted to address new means of planning. An example is “Public participation in West Germany”, of 1981, which argues that official efforts to promote public participation are largely failing to engage the public, outside of the emotive issue of nuclear power, which has raised passions in Germany and mobilised protest movements (Kimminich, 1981). Yet these concerns for the future of planning, though they may simmer beneath the surface and re-appear occasionally within the pages of the journal, are diminished, perhaps indicating that planning has successfully re-adjusted to a new role in late-twentieth century society. Among the aspects of its role which might be considered novel is the promotion of economic development through regeneration schemes, and it is to a number of articles on this theme that I turn now, in order to analyse how the uses of individual cities as argumentative resources might be changing.

6.5.1 Case Study: *Town Planning Review*, argumentation and the Urban Development Corporation

Urban Development Corporations and related organisations were by no means the only tools through which government and planners sought to catalyse urban regeneration, and nor was regeneration itself the only or even dominant theme in *Town Planning Review* in the 1980s and 1990s. Yet it was an important theme, one addressed repeatedly within the journal, and was one where the evidence of individual cities being used as argumentative resources was at times especially strong, since it was their own experiences, rather than abstract ideas about planning, which were being assessed. These articles are presented not in chronological order, but in a sequence in which the model city becomes progressively more apparent.

Authors in *Town Planning Review* were broadly sceptical towards the UK government's regeneration programmes. Sometimes it is these programmes that were the subject of articles, rather than explicitly the experiences of individual cities. For example, in "Competitive urban policy and the regeneration game", from 1995, Oatley reviews the workings of the government's City Challenge programme, noting that within authorities unsuccessful in their bids there has been some progress nonetheless, but that

"...there is [also] widespread disillusionment with the competitive bidding process. The wider implications of the introduction of competition into the allocation of urban funding are discussed, and it is concluded that the current approach can never be a viable alternative to a more substantial and rational resource allocation based on an assessment of need on a national basis." (Oatley, 1995:1)

The second kind of article is that in which a single city's approach is analysed. An example is: "Trojan horse or white elephant? The contested biography of the life and times of the Leeds Development Corporation" (1999):

"This paper examines some of the issues surrounding the Leeds Development Corporation's work, in particular some of the claims made about improving the local planning process. The paper looks at the difficulties the Corporation encountered in getting its plans past vociferous resident opposition in one area, and its claims for improving

the speed of determining planning applications in its main area of economic potential. The emphasis within the analysis is on the discourses of failure and success used by those seeking to influence local and national debates around the efficacy of the UDC approach” (Haughton, 1999: 173)

Haughton is clearly ambivalent about the Leeds UDC, suggesting in the article’s title and elsewhere that it might be a Trojan horse or white elephant. The article examines the difficulties inherent in implementing UDCs, with reference to the example of Leeds, and concentrates less on the results of the UDC’s regeneration efforts than on its *modus operandi* and the discursive aspects of regeneration and the competing claims of opponents and supporters. Though the article makes no claims about the specific efficacy of the Leeds Development Corporation compared to others, it is stated that the discourses active within Leeds are also active elsewhere in the UK in a wider debate about regeneration. Therefore, lessons can be drawn from the Leeds experience. Another analysis of a single city’s experience of Urban Development Corporations comes in the following article appraising the London Docklands Development Corporation:

“This article examines the role of the LDDC as an agency of urban regeneration during its first ten years. It begins by outlining the legislative background to Urban Development Corporations and the designation and initial development strategies of the LDDC. It questions the LDDC’s ostensible success, the various criteria by which regeneration has been assessed, and the LDDC’s record in the substantive areas of housing, employment, transport infrastructure and also in design. The LDDC’s re-appraisal of its role in the late 1980s, the rise of planning gain and the financial crisis within the LDDC are recorded...” (Osc and Tiesdell, 1991: 311)

Apparently the LDDC’s widely-acclaimed success has been “ostensible” and the metrics employed in the construction of this success are challenged. London’s experience with its UDC is an argumentative resource to be employed elsewhere in discussions of urban development, though not as a model city. If it has been a success at all then it this is at best a qualified success, with plenty of elements of its experience to be avoided as well as others embraced.

In the final example of a piece concerned with regeneration, a single regeneration project is evaluated and then crucially compared favourably with others, with at least some hint of a claim that it should be imitated. Nonetheless, the article below is still disqualified from functioning as a model city, as I discuss beneath it.

“Glasgow Eastern Area Renewal was the first of the new wave of British urban regeneration projects launched in the 1970s and 1980s, following the disappointments of the Comprehensive Development Area schemes of the 1950s and 1960s. It began five years before the London and Merseyside Docklands projects and the subsequent, smaller Urban Development Corporation initiatives of the 1980s. Formally ending in 1987, GEAR enjoyed major evaluations at its mid-term and conclusion. As the Government moved to terminate the UDCs in the 1990s after criticism of their expense, among other features, GEAR’s unique form of management appeared to offer an increasingly promising basis for any further large-scale regeneration projects.” (Wannop, 1990: 455)

GEAR is celebrated here as having been successful, in contrast to the “disappointments” of previous approaches to regeneration and the “expense” of contemporary projects. As a “promising basis for any further large-scale regeneration projects”, GEAR is positioned as an argumentative resource in support of a claim that the “traditional” UDC model as instantiated in London and Leeds should be abandoned in favour of this kind of approach. GEAR’s deployment as an argumentative resource is presented in Table 6:6:

Circumstance	Post-industrial cities require regeneration
Goal	Post-industrial cities should be regenerated
Value	Regeneration can provide employment
Claim for action	GEAR should be imitated

Means-goal premise	GEAR was cheaper and more effective than traditional Urban Development Corporations
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Table 6:6 GEAR as an argumentative resource (1990)

Wannop positions GEAR as an argumentative resource, but Glasgow should only be considered to be a grounded model city if it is also constructed as both innovative and “packaged” in the sense of being identified with the interventions taking place in GEAR. This was the threefold definition of the model city set out in chapter two. GEAR’s approach is apparently “unique” and as such it certainly fulfils the criterion of constituting an innovation, one lauded as a “promising basis” for fresh approaches elsewhere. Yet GEAR cannot be a model city because GEAR is only a regeneration project. Nowhere here is the city of Glasgow itself conflated with GEAR, which would be necessary in order for Glasgow to qualify as a model city. GEAR is a model project from which other planners might learn, but Glasgow is not a model city. This distinction is somewhat blurred by the “large-scale” at which GEAR operated but the physical area occupied by the project is less telling than the discursive work to which it is put. Even relatively “large-scale” GEAR is never conflated with Glasgow, so it does not justify recognition as a model city, whilst in contemporary urban studies it is often spatially confined interventions in cities such as Barcelona, Bilbao and Singapore which lead to their recognition as model cities (Gonzalez, 2011).

The previous chapter proposed Baltimore of the 1970s as a model city in spite of its similar lack of identification with a single project – the regeneration of its waterfront. In that instance however, there were at least references by the rapporteur Roel den Dunnen of the International Federation for Housing and Planning to “the Baltimore experience”, suggesting some identification of the intervention with the city itself. Wannop makes no analogous reference to “the Glasgow experience”.

Neither does the concurrent marketing of Glasgow as “miles better” and its staging of the Commonwealth Games in 1990 mark it out as a model city. These branding campaigns, and others during the 1980s and since (Brownill, 1994) were aimed at marketing the city to tourists and investors, rather than to

other cities as a model to follow. This is in contrast to contemporary “model cities” which are advertised to other city planners by policy boosters, as distinct from civic boosters (McCann, 2013). This section has explored how *Town Planning Review* focused on actually-existing cities and policies rather than rational model cities, in the late twentieth century.

6.5.2 Contemporary *Town Planning Review*: argumentation and critique

Some articles published in *Town Planning Review* continue the trend identified at Glasgow with GEAR of comparing approaches from different cities and jurisdictions. These can be broadly complementary, as in Alexander’s (2002: 17) assessment of regional planning in Amsterdam as “relatively successful”, or more guarded, as in Symes and Steel’s (2003) paper on Business Improvement Districts, which were to be imported into the UK in 2004 (cf. Ward, 2006; Cook, 2008). Their article

“highlights what can be learned from the American experience of BIDs in terms of scale, scope, strengths, weaknesses and lessons for the implementation of BIDs in the UK”. (Symes and Steel, 2003: 301)

This article has a critical element, with BIDs conceived not as a panacea for British cities but as containing weaknesses as well as strengths. In the twenty-first century there are therefore articles which do praise particular planning approaches or even particular cities, some of which might be considered to qualify as model. Most articles published in *Town Planning Review* do not however position actually-existing cities as argumentative resources to support particular claims for action. There are two potential reasons for this, based upon the two primary readerships of the journal. In the first place, contemporary *Town Planning Review* is directed, as it has been since its inception, towards a professional readership of practising planners. Such actors are constrained by government policies towards planning and are best served by articles articulating and evaluating contemporary government policies towards planning and their implications. Examples of this kind of writing include “Planning and affordable housing: from old values to New Labour” by Gallent (2000). By concentrating therefore on what is and is not permitted within current legislation, writers such as Gallent can avoid pronouncing definitively on the questions of what is ideal. Even if lessons

might fruitfully be drawn from other cities or national contexts, planners are rarely in the privileged position of, say, policymakers in their liberty to actually adopt them. Therefore, argumentation and the formulation of particular claims for action are only occasionally present, being a secondary concern to the provision of general professional guidance and analysis of the decisions of central government rather than individual cities.

Secondly, articles in *Town Planning Review* are also addressed to an academic planning and urban studies readership which since the 1960s and influenced by insights from Marxist and feminist theories, has adopted an increasingly sceptical outlook towards hyperbolic claims regarding urban development, whether from government or private concerns. In urban geography this critical approach was characteristic of Harvey (1973) and Castells (1983), with their Marxist readings of the urban and urban development). The broader critical turn within the social sciences is discussed by Fay (1987: 4), for whom

“critical social science [which he notes elsewhere as including Marxism, feminism and Freudianism, though not limited to these] is an attempt to understand in a rationally responsible manner the oppressive features of a society such that this understanding stimulates its audience to transform their society and thereby liberate themselves... Critical social science wishes to understand society in order to alter it, and it wishes to do this in a scientifically respectable way”

Scholars working within this critical paradigm might therefore be expected to subject claims that a particular city is a model to scrutiny, asking questions such as “for whom?” and “who says?” and often finding the model to benefit only the powerful in society. Therefore, far from advocating urban models, they may advance alternatives that will serve to empower marginal groups, equipping them to “transform their society and thereby liberate themselves”.

This is borne out in the caution shown to apparently widespread claims of success in the context of Development Corporations such as the LDDC.

Academic writers have followed Wolman, Ford and Hill (1994) in their refusal to accept *prima facie* “urban success stories” as evidence of actual success, without further investigation or subject to specific criteria. Moreover, the GEAR instance explored above also exemplified a tendency for *Town Planning Review* to stand at a critical distance to the discourses of planning success and failure.

In a similar vein, consider the following article. It is entitled “a critical analysis of the urban village” and is thus self-consciously an attempt to analyse not a city, nor any built intervention or policy, but a concept.

“This paper provides a critical review of the “life” of a planning concept – the urban village. Initially it considers the process whereby the concept has become discursively fixed into something seemingly homogenous, and located carefully in relation to both established and emerging debates about, for example, community, design and sustainability. The paper then moves on to consider the value and utility of the concept as it has been implemented and then subsequently as it became a lived experience” (Biddulph, Franklin and Tait, 2003: 165)

Biddulph, Franklin and Tait are aware of the discursive power of fashionable planning concepts and subject them to critique. Their critical mindset renders it unlikely that they would champion any of these concepts or the cities associated with them. Rather, contributors to *Town Planning Review* are interested in analysing the life cycle of such concepts. In the twenty-first century, *Town Planning Review* contains some articles which offer the experiences of individual cities as lessons for others, but many which have quite different aims.

6.6 The contribution of the *Town Planning Review* archive

This chapter has charted many different trends in the history of the journal *Town Planning Review*. More than in either the Association of Municipal Corporations/Association of Metropolitan Authorities or the International Federation for Housing and Planning, we find within the journal a multitude of competing viewpoints expressed by many different contributors. Even within a single issue of the journal, the articles published may express very different topics from one another, unless the editor specifically requested otherwise in the case of a special issue. At the IFHP, however, the congress themes ensured that submissions would all address the same problem – whilst the agenda of the AMC and AMA was usually defined by the need to respond to government policy. This multiplicity of empirical themes and styles of writing presents a

challenge, but there are nonetheless a number of significant trends which emerge.

Two distinct but related trends are visible. First of all, there is a shift in the types of argumentative resources which become mobilised in discussions of urban development. In the 1920s and 1930s, there are arguments from authority: experts - that is, planners educated in Britain and France - ought to be entrusted with the task of planning. There are also some examples of experiences elsewhere being positioned as argumentative resources, as in the reference to American Civic Arts Commissions and their influence in Britain. These resources are replaced in the 1950s and especially the 1960s by the use of rational model cities as argumentative resources. Then in the later twentieth century the experiences of particular cities come to be mobilised as argumentative resources – though according to the criteria established in chapter three they rarely constitute model cities because the conflation of model projects with the cities in which they are situated is generally absent. The increasing substitution of the experiences of particular cities for abstract “rational model cities” within articles published in *Town Planning Review* may have its origin in a changing academic climate in which dissatisfaction with nomothetic laws of quantitative spatial science placed a premium upon case studies drawn from actually-existing situations (Beauregard, 2012).

The second trend which is presented in the archive is the changing position of actually-existing cities within the articles published in *Town Planning Review*. Whilst their experiences are now positioned as resources from which planners might learn – for example, by providing a case study from which the effectiveness of particular interventions could be evaluated – this was not always the case. Rather, in the early years of *Town Planning Review* we encounter articles which are primarily descriptive, narrating the experiences of particular cities without apparently commenting on their wider significance. Then, during the period in which the rational model city rose to prominence, actually-existing cities functioned as laboratories to be observed in the generation of hypothetical simulations. Also, during this period there was an emphasis upon the planning of new towns, taking attention away from actually-existing cities altogether.

These two trends are complementary. The first indicates that the use of grounded model cities as argumentative resources is largely a recent development in *Town Planning Review*, with other kinds of argumentative resources likely to be mobilised in earlier periods – in particular the rational model city. The second trend identifies the different positions held by actually-existing cities – first as intrinsically interesting and then as laboratories prior to their becoming argumentative resources. It does not, however, constitute an explanation as to why these changes occurred and why they did so at particular historical moments.

The explanation for the extinction of the descriptive articles of the early twentieth century may lie at the meso level in the evolving format of the journal itself. These descriptive articles were very short by today's standards and as the journal became more standardised after Gordon Stephenson's appointment as Lever chair and editor in 1948 (Massey, 2012) they gradually disappeared, to be replaced with an emphasis on insights from the social sciences, which were simultaneously redefining the planning curriculum (Batey, 2012). On a broader scale, the academic profession embraced an instrumentalism in the late twentieth century which rendered purely descriptive articles unfashionable and ultimately unacceptable. This manifested itself firstly in a positivism which examined individual case studies in a search for universalisable laws and causations (Sayer, 1992). This has increasingly been replaced, throughout the social sciences but not least in *Town Planning Review*, by postpositivist and critical approaches which are sceptical about nomothetic social science; that is, social science endeavour as a quest for general laws :

“In the social sciences, however, we often do *not* find the strong types of regularities and laws that would make us confident in the causal connectedness of social phenomena. Instead, we find laws of tendency and exception-laden regularities... The problem here for autonomous social explanations is that for a given class of social phenomena there are often no clear regularities visible at the macro-level at all” (Little: 1991: 197)

Authors in *Town Planning Review* therefore eschew the construction of grand narratives, yet they have not rehabilitated the purely descriptive format,

instead applying more nuanced analysis to individual cases in order to draw lessons for implementation elsewhere. Beauregard (2012) identifies a number of other types of theorising in which planning theorists might engage. Besides grand theory the alternatives he sets out are heuristic theory, critical theory and inter-textual theory – each of which is identifiable within *Town Planning Review*. The journal's reluctance to anoint actually-existing cities as "model cities" on the basis of their perceived success, even in the twenty-first century, is therefore symptomatic of a general scepticism of planning studies, and the academy more generally, toward universalising claims: claims that a city is a model imply not only that it has been successful, a claim which in itself is almost invariably contested, but that its success can be imitated elsewhere, ignoring the different circumstances in which different cities are located.

There is another set of explanations, though undoubtedly related to the first, for the emergence of actually-existing cities being positioned as argumentative resources in debates about urban development (though not necessarily as grounded model cities). These are changes to the ambitions of planning. Earlier in the early twentieth century planning was seeking to transform society through the designing and building of perfect cities. This was manifested initially through the use of the utopian model city as an argumentative resource, especially within the International Federation for Housing and Planning and other organisations sympathetic to the garden city or modernist city. Later, the rational model city usurped the utopian within argumentation, particularly in *Town Planning Review*, though the following chapter will consider their close resemblance and whether the rational model city is not merely a reformulation using modern technology of utopian urges inherited from Howard. In the later twentieth century, however, and into the twenty-first, scepticism of the possibility of ever creating a perfect city has expressed itself in the pragmatic decision to instead seek out "what works" among already-built cities of the period.

There has also been a shift in the evidential basis for formulating planning policies and so constructing model cities. Statistics developed through computer simulations have been supplanted as evidence by anecdotes from experiences elsewhere. By constituting such evidence, these anecdotes also form the argumentative resources through which argumentation takes place within contemporary *Town Planning Review*.

This chapter has narrated changes in the use of argumentative resources within *Town Planning Review* and advanced some explanations for these changes. These explanations have generally been at the level of the journal itself, just as in the previous two chapters there was an emphasis on institutional explanations since they narrated the history and significance of specific individual institutions within urban policy and planning. Each of these three chapters has also suggested some explanations operating at macro scales. In the final chapter of this thesis, the question of explanations will be the primary focus. This will allow for an assessment of the impact of the various institutions and the cumulative contribution of each for a periodization of model cities since 1880.

7. Conclusion

This concluding chapter is designed to bring together the material presented in previous chapters, extending and combining their insights, in particular through a specific focus on the question of explanation. The theoretical contributions of the thesis as a whole are then established, with their implications both for the academic literature and for urban policy discussed. I suggest that this thesis provides some guidance for the future trajectory of model cities research, with both theoretical and methodological lessons.

7.1 Summary of previous chapters: a history of urban argumentation within institutions

This section summarises the findings of the earlier chapters. First of all, the contributions of chapters two and three are revisited. This is in order to reinforce the context for the research and the research questions. The principal contributions of the empirical analysis from chapters four, five and six are then highlighted and are considered further in section 7.2.

Chapter two presented a review of the recent urban studies literature and proposed three distinctive features of model cities in the twenty-first century. They are actually-existing cities which are celebrated as having been successful in a way which is normative for other cities, are suggested to have pioneered an innovative intervention or at least expanded the scale and scope of a pre-existing one (Ward, 2013), and are closely associated with that intervention. It is always understood that model cities are discursively constructed (like the “urban success stories” identified by Wolman, Ford and Hill [1994]), so that it is this celebration, suggestion and association that mark a city out as a model city in a particular time and place; rather than its actual performance, however that might be evaluated. Chapter two also identified further characteristics of model cities: they may be only regional in scope (e.g. the cases of Singapore [Ong, 2011] or Kuala Lumpur [Bunnell and Das, 2010]) or otherwise globally influential and usually entail considerable contestation both locally and elsewhere (McCann, 2013). These insights were informed through an analysis of the literature on urban policy mobilities. The similarities between model cities and paradigmatic cities were considered, with the fundamental

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distinction being that model cities are constructed as normative for other cities (rather than representative of them or their inevitable futures – cf Beauregard, 2003; Brenner, 2003). The chapter proceeded also to justify an historical approach to the study of model cities, arguing that the history of the phenomenon, whilst interesting in its own right for the light it might shed on municipal internationalism in the twentieth century, constitutes a significant topic for study since it can assist in constructing an understanding of current model cities and how and why they appear.

Perhaps the greatest contribution of the second chapter was the claim, supported with reference to the contemporary literature, that model cities are primarily discursive, being constructed through speech acts and the circulation of materials and knowledges embodied by particular individuals. The third chapter built upon this insight, insisting that within democracies there is always debate and deliberation around particular discourses and that, therefore, argumentative analysis could fruitfully be applied to the study of model cities. Therefore, in addition to the three characteristics of model cities identified in chapter two came a reconceptualisation of model cities as argumentative resources which might be mobilised in claims for action about urban development. Chapter three proceeded to indicate how this agenda might be realised, with particular attention to a recent scheme for the analysis of deliberation prepared by Fairclough and Fairclough (2012). The rationale for considering archival sources was presented, along with a justification for each of the three archives selected – the Association of Municipal Associations/Association of Metropolitan Authorities, International Federation for Housing and Planning and *Town Planning Review*. Finally, the appropriate techniques for answering the research questions – related to typology, periodization and explanation – were considered.

Chapter four described and analysed the archive of the Association of Municipal Corporations and its successor, the Association of Metropolitan Authorities. It observed a number of trends within this archive. Most significantly, it noted the lack of grounded model cities within the archive. Rather, the AMC was conceptualised as resembling a trade union for member municipalities, addressing its arguments not towards individual cities but to the UK Parliament, applying pressure at Westminster in the hope of successively expanding, consolidating and protecting the powers of

municipalities. Arguments at the AMC were not therefore addressed to the same audience, but they nonetheless did use similar argumentative resources to model cities today: the successful experiences of individual, innovative cities both among its own membership and abroad. These cities were suggested as constituting not grounded model cities but a new classification of “illustrative cities”. Illustrative cities are deployed as examples of what other cities were doing or could do, in order to persuade Parliament to maintain or extend capacities to these other cities. Other significant temporal trends in the AMC archive included the AMC’s repositioning of itself as a think tank in the 1960s and the Local Government Association’s revised role as a management consultancy since 1997. Both of these changes impacted upon the style of argumentation there.

Chapter five explored the archive of the International Federation for Housing and Planning. Before the mid-twentieth century, two further argumentative resources were established to have been significant during deliberations at the IFHP’s world congresses. The first was the “utopian model city”, evident at the IFHP in the form of the garden city. Garden cities were mobilised within argumentation both as argumentative resources in support of claims for action and as goals in themselves, since they promised a new orderly and egalitarian organisation of society. The second was the “model national system”. Like the illustrative city observed at the AMC, the “model national system” is not really a model city but nonetheless constitutes a powerful argumentative resource which might be mobilised as an alternative to presenting the experiences of particular cities. Chapter five noted that during the course of the twentieth century, appeals to model national systems rather than to the experiences of individual cities became less frequent, and that parallel changes in the format of IFHP congresses, from being international inter-*national* gatherings to becoming international inter-*municipal* events were probably related. By the late twentieth-century and into the twenty-first, model cities which recognisably meet the criteria outlined in chapter two begin to emerge from the archive. Nonetheless, it is rare to find the criterion of association – that model cities are signifiers for specific interventions in a synecdoche – demonstrated in the archive and this is the most significant feature in distinguishing model cities from cities which are simply sites for the expression of model policies. There is little difference between such cities and the illustrative cities of the early

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twentieth century at the AMC, except that the interventions in these cities are usually presented as being exceptional rather than typical.

Chapter six analysed the archive of the journal *Town Planning Review*. Its chief contribution was to identify a third kind of argumentative resource, in addition to the grounded model city and the illustrative city, which might be mobilised in deliberation about urban development: the rational model city. Popular at the IFHP in the 1960s, arguments invoking rational model cities as argumentative resources referred not to the experiences of any actually-existing cities but appealed instead to the “models” developed through hypothetical simulations of optimum urban configurations. Rational model cities as argumentative resources are deployed less frequently in *Town Planning Review* after 1970. Before their brief period of hegemony, it was noted that in the 1920s there were many articles published which eschewed any kind of political argument. These articles did concern the experiences of individual cities, towns and villages; but were outside of the genre of political argumentation and so tended not to mobilise them as argumentative resources, other than to support particular claims relevant to academic concerns. After the ascendancy of the rational model city, *Town Planning Review* became more interested in individual cities but rarely were they constructed as models for others to follow, which was partly explained by the reluctance of academics to advance such bold claims since they were working from the 1970s within a more critical paradigm in planning, urban studies and the social sciences generally.

7.2 A history of urban argumentation since 1880

Taken together, the previous chapters have proposed argumentation as a productive frame for the analysis of model cities and applied it to the twentieth-century history of the model city. This analysis has established the existence of a number of different types of argumentative resources which are mobilised at various times in place of the familiar grounded model city. These are the illustrative city, the utopian model city, the model national system and the rational model city. Whilst those chapters examined one archive each, this section considers each argumentative resource these in turn.

- (i) The illustrative city: from Nottingham (1890s) to Rotherham (1980s)

The illustrative city was deployed in argumentation about urban development primarily during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This period was characterised by a broad consensus, at least among progressives, of the priorities for urban development (Rodgers, 1998). Convinced that municipal enterprise and provision would improve cities and the health and prosperity of their inhabitants, they applied political pressure through organisations such as the Association of Municipal Corporations in the hope of procuring powers for municipalities which would enable such provision. Prior ideological commitments undoubtedly influenced their convictions, but the successful experiences of pioneering cities, including Nottingham and Glasgow in the UK as well as New York and Zurich abroad, were nonetheless deployed instrumentally within such political arguments, in the hope that they would persuade legislators. That the AMC had as its own chairman a Member of Parliament in Albert K Rollit was useful in this regard. The central role of the illustrative city in argumentation during this period owed much to his influence as he repeatedly mobilised it within the context of the AMC's annual reports and annual meetings.

Illustrative cities became less significant in argumentation during the twentieth century. From the 1920s onward, the pace of growth in municipal powers decelerated and after 1945 it was decisively reversed (Loughlin, Gelfand and Young, 1985). Progressivism was less fashionable and the new generation of urban administrators was less convinced about the need to extend municipal powers. There was widespread satisfaction with the concessions that had already been won from central Government. Steadily however, an accumulation of powers by central Government took place, with a corresponding redistribution to quangos, especially during the 1980s. This sparked a re-emergence of the illustrative city within the Association of Metropolitan Authorities, as widespread opposition manifested itself within the pages of its *Municipal Review* journal in articles celebrating particular towns such as Rotherham. Rotherham's success with municipal provision illustrated what local authorities generally were able to achieve, echoing earlier uses of the illustrative city as an argumentative resource in the late nineteenth century. In the twenty-first century, a different set of priorities for about urban development can be discerned. According to Harvey's (1989) concept of urban entrepreneurialism, local governments seek first and foremost to foster

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economic growth, searching for models that will give them an edge over rival cities. This militates against the adoption of illustrative cities deployed on behalf of all municipalities.

(ii) The utopian model city: the garden city

The utopian model city was popular in the 1920s and 1930s and upon first reading is a product of its time, as enthusiasm for town planning, in particular regional planning, swept through many countries during these decades. Yet “utopian” schemes to improve humanity, specifically rescuing the working classes from the horrors of the industrial city, had a long heritage in the nineteenth century. Among the utopian proposals being put forward in the early twentieth century were the garden city and various Corbusian ideals including the Radiant City, though the latter were conspicuous by their absence within the IFHP archive.

Dating the end of the period of ascendancy of the utopian model city to the 1920s and 1930s is to a large extent dictated by the archives selected. Of course the garden city idea itself was first proposed in 1898 and implemented at both Letchworth and Welwyn before the IFHP archive begins in 1925. It is highly probable that earlier records of the IFHP would have yielded similar enthusiasm for the garden city, had access to these materials been available. Postwar argumentation recorded in both the IFHP and *Town Planning Review* often continued to focus upon abstract proposals for new towns, though such proposals, whilst greatly influenced by utopian model cities, are classified here as rational model cities.

Yet the garden city idea is far from extinct in contemporary planning – certainly not at the International Federation for Housing and Planning itself. The IFHP’s peculiar attachment to the garden city concept is an instance of institutional path dependency (Thelen, 2003), having its origins in the IFHP’s founding within a particular English planning milieu. Even in the 2010s, garden city ideas regularly resurface in contemporary planning projects, e.g. in Singapore (IFHP, 2010; Ong, 2011), although some of these are a hybrid of the utopian model city and the grounded model city since they champion not abstract garden cities but their interpretation in actually-existing cities. Nonetheless, the utopian city has not disappeared from planning discourse but can be observed in ideas such as the “creative city” (Florida, 2003). These cities

are grounded in various actually-existing cities, notably Austin, Burlington and Chattanooga, but these usually function as illustrative cities rather than grounded model cities. They demonstrate how the creative city might be achieved, but are not generally packaged as models in themselves. If they were packaged, as in for example “The Chattanooga Model” or “Burlingtonism”, they would be classified as grounded model cities: the emphasis would be on their specific achievements rather than the utopian model city upon which these are based. Thus, the utopian model city was most commonly mobilised within argumentation before the Second World War but has persisted since, though usually in combination with either the rational model city or the grounded model city.

(iii) The model national system

The model national system was commonly deployed as an argumentative resource in the early- to mid-twentieth century. This may be because of a creeping recognition that the comparison of cities in different countries was always an awkward one, since such cities tended to be constrained, to a greater or lesser degree, by the national system in which they were located. In the early twentieth century at the IFHP there are thus frequent occasions where the emulation of particular national systems is advocated. Argumentation of this type makes the claim that a certain country’s national system ought to be imitated, using as a means-goal premise the benefits of the system for cities in that country. Like some of the arguments based upon illustrative cities, this kind of argumentation was therefore addressed primarily to national governments rather than individual cities. National systems designed in other countries with specific characteristics are difficult to imitate in a different country, so the “model national system” was rarely mobilised effectively.

This argumentative resource became less common at the IFHP. Today, there is sometimes a conscious erasing of the nation-state from argumentation, with national differences being downplayed in order to mobilise particular grounded model cities across national borders (Peck and Theodore, 2010a; 2010b). To some extent, there has been a rolling-back of the nation-state with a corresponding shift of power to municipalities, though the balance between municipal autonomy and national oversight has always varied between jurisdictions (Judge, Stoker and Wolman, 1995). In any case, the rhetoric since

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the 1980s has certainly been that the state has gradually been rolled back, prompting cities to become entrepreneurial and search for innovations rather than relying upon their national government for support. In that sense, national systems are thought to be less significant determinants of municipal action than they were previously and so arguments invoking model national systems have been reduced in scope. However, the decline in the use of model national systems as argumentative resources at world congresses of the IFHP is also related to the changing format of such congresses, with presentations from representatives of individual cities (amongst other actors) replacing the prior reception of submissions from national delegations.

(iv) The rational model city

Though meso-level institutional factors such as path-dependency can be identified as accounting for much of the success of the utopian model city at the IFHP, the rapid ascendancy and subsequent demise of the rational model city in the 1960s does seem to be related to larger-scale cultural trends. There is a clear correlation between *Town Planning Review's* favouring of the rational model city as an argumentative resource and the period which retrospectively appears as the high-watermark of the “scientific revolution” within the social sciences. Planning as a whole was dominated by the impetus to harness new technologies in the production of simulations and models (Ward, 1994) and *Town Planning Review* both reflected and constituted this trend. One explanation for the decline in popularity of both this kind of argumentative resource and the similarly abstract utopian model city is to be found at the macro level. Human society has generally retreated from totalising claims such as those embodied in the heroic modernism of postwar planning. Both rational and utopian projects have been dismissed as having failed to deliver the progress they promised (Jacobs, 1961). Further advances in knowledge and technique have exposed the shortcomings of previous attempts to model complex behaviours and address wicked problems, though more sophisticated versions of such simulations continue.

Therefore, claims of abstract solutions to urban problems are now greeted with scepticism. Instead, there is a general preference for more modest schemes, typically with shorter timeframes. Or if grand solutions are to be proposed, then a premium is placed upon the solution having a track record of proven

success and affordability elsewhere. Clearly the evidence from hypothetical simulations of cities mobilised as argumentative resources in support of rational model cities no longer carry such currency in contemporary deliberation.

(v) The grounded model city of the twenty-first century

The discussion of the demise of the rational model city above hinted at the rise of the grounded model city. The use of actually-existing cities as argumentative resources in deliberation about urban development is common in the 2010s. The urban studies literature contains plenty of references to cities perceived to have been successful with certain innovation that is constructed normative for cities elsewhere and that come to be closely associated with those innovations. The empirical chapters of this research each expressed general trends in this direction, though from different starting points. At the AMC, changes in the local government system and in the aspirations of municipalities led to a replacement of the previous illustrative cities, typical of all cities, to a new breed of city constructed as exceptional for its achievements. At the IFHP, institutional changes and shifts within the planning profession produced a gradual substitution of individual, actually-existing cities for the previous model national systems and abstract utopian model cities. In *Town Planning Review*, paradigm and macro shifts in the social sciences led to an increased emphasis on actually-existing cities rather than abstract rational model cities. Yet in none of the archives were grounded model cities identified, largely on the basis of the third criterion: that of association. There were simply no conclusive references to Baltimore in 1978, for example, as a model (IFHP, 1978).

However, the phenomenon of the grounded model city identified in the recent urban studies literature is replete with references to cities which *are* closely associated with particular innovations. Whilst critical scholars have persuasively demonstrated that this “packaging” is often somewhat tenuous, because the interventions signified by the model seldom have any intrinsic link to the city with which they are labelled, it is nonetheless evident that it is ubiquitous. Thus we read references to Bangalore (Goldman, 2011), Kuala Lumpur (Bunnell and Das, 2010), Bogota (Zeiderman, 2013), Vancouver (McCann, 2011a) Curitiba, Porto Alegre and Barcelona (Robinson, 2011b) each being labelled as

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models. Therefore there is something novel about the current trend toward using grounded model cities as argumentative resources. This thesis has indicated the existence of various other argumentative resources in the past. There are many different ways of arguing about urban development, from which the grounded model city has latterly emerged as pre-eminent.

(vi) Grounded model cities and illustrative cities

The difference between a grounded model city and merely an illustrative city is discursive. It depends upon the extent to which the actually-existing city in question is represented as being typical of a number of cities in its level of success, or as uniquely successful – or at least of standing out from the crowd. In discussing urban development in a given city, various illustrative cities may be invoked as having been quantitatively more or less successful, but when one particular city comes to be represented as qualitatively different, it has become a model. In terms borrowed from the comparative urbanism literature, grounded model cities function as argumentative resources in which their individual success story is differentiated from that of other cities, though the city *qua* city is always deemed to be fundamentally similar, thus justifying the claim that it can constitute a model. There is thus a packaging of the city and an identification of it with a particular policy. The grounded model city doesn't merely exemplify a policy in action, it is so closely identified with the policy that it bequeaths to the policy its very name. Such labelling of policies with the name of a given city (as in "the Bibao model", "Vancouverism") is a sure sign that a model city as opposed to an illustrative city has been invoked. Often such labelling is absent and interpretation along the lines of the argumentative analysis developed in this thesis might be required to elucidate the kind of city being invoked on a given occasion. The threshold can be difficult to define and may strike the reader as arbitrary. Yet the emphasis on discursive constructions has not suddenly entered into the equation at this point. Throughout this thesis I have considered the representation of various built and unbuilt cities as argumentative resources and identified them accordingly.

Periodizing these five argumentative resources is tricky given the extent to which they overlap. Put crudely, the utopian model city was most significant between 1900 and 1939 and the rational model city between 1950 and 1978. The model national system was common during both of these periods. The

illustrative city has always existed alongside these other possibilities, including in the present, but the stronger use of actually-existing cities as grounded model cities is a more recent development.

7.3 Contributions for the study and discourse of Model Cities in the 2010s

This final section summarises the potential contributions of the findings of this thesis. One set of impacts is directed toward the academic literature, to which the thesis contributes both through conceptual and methodological insights. Another set of impacts is directed toward planners and policymakers involved in deliberation about urban development.

The findings of this thesis support the existing literature at many points, but also offer a corrective to some of its misunderstandings. What is supported is the straightforward contention that the formulation of arguments based upon grounded model cities is more common now than previously. However, whilst this has frequently been asserted, or even simply implied, for instance when the mobilities literature with its emphasis on increased mobility of people and objects has been brought to bear upon model cities research, this study has provided empirical support for this contention from archival research. Grounded model cities have become much more common since the 1970s, though this thesis has indicated a number of other explanations for this phenomenon besides an assertion of “increased mobility” of policies (which must always be either a crude reductionism - as if communication technology is a determinant of discourse - or simply a tautology). Rather the current ascendancy of the grounded model city has arisen partly, as this thesis makes clear, as a response to changing economic conditions confronted by urban areas in an era marked by increased competition rather than co-operation between cities (and between cities and nation—states). Other contributing factors include an increased emphasis on cities as opposed to nation-states within international exchanges of planning policies and an increased instrumentalism in academic research. Furthermore, the thesis has broadened the notion of the model city to encompass both utopian model cities and rational model cities also. These two argumentative resources continue to be deployed today but have rarely been considered as such.

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Other lessons from this thesis for future work are methodological.

Argumentation was primarily deployed as an analytical tool to assist with the identification of model cities in the archival sources investigated. This method could be applied in further studies of model cities in the past. After all, this thesis has not been exhaustive, given that its empirical materials are the archives of a few specific institutions based in the global North. An analytical method based upon the conceptualisation of model cities as argumentative resources and the identification of argumentation therein could be extended to contemporary documents also, in order to identify where model cities are being constructed in the 2010s, as well as how and why this is taking place. However, the scope of argumentative analysis with respect to model cities could also be expanded. The circumstances, goals, claims for action and values presented in deliberation about urban development could be interrogated also. These have received less attention in this thesis, where the focus has been upon model cities, which were established to constitute argumentative resources; i.e. usually means-goal premises within Fairclough and Fairclough's (2012) formulation. Yet the other aspects of deliberation about urban development – the circumstantial premises and goals described, the claims advanced and the values underlying them – could be productive avenues for future research.

Besides contributing to the academic literature, the findings of this thesis could certainly also provide a useful avenue for sustained critical engagement with model cities. The political framing of the circumstances, values, goals and claims for action, as well as the model cities which are mobilised as argumentative resources, could be exposed not only by academic study but by the various social groups currently contesting claims about model cities within the local politics of policy mobilities (McCann, 2013). Such debate exists already, but the argumentative analysis set out in this thesis provides a vocabulary for the articulation of opposition. Similarly, the disparate actors involved in urban policymaking will be invited by a consideration of these research findings to think carefully before either devising or supporting claims that a particular city represents a model to be imitated. They might ask themselves not only whether the “model” city is sufficiently similar to the imitating city to make such an imitation realistic, an insight gained from other recent work (e.g. McCann, 2011a), but now in the light of this thesis they

might challenge the premise that a single actually-existing city should properly be packaged alongside the specific interventions it is said to exemplify. They might consider whether the supposed grounded model city is actually merely an example of a wider urban phenomenon – an illustrative city. Alternatively, it might be merely an example of urban development according to a different national system. Or, it could be essentially a new grounded interpretation of an abstract rational or utopian model city developed long ago.

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