Chapter 2

Planning paradigms: From physical product to social process

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2.1 Introduction

According to Allmendinger and Chapman (1999:13) it is tempting to think that recent ideas in planning, including both collaborative and participatory planning, have been there since the emergence of the discipline. However, according to Hall (1996:12) urban planning is one of the most transformed professions in the history of architecture and is characterised by major paradigm shifts (Allmendinger & Chapman, 1999:14). Knox and Marston (2000:387) refer to the most significant shift in urban planning as one from a physical planning and design based, product orientated discipline to that of a socio-economic process.

In order to understand the changing nature of planning it is important to understand the underlying factors that contributed to change in planning thought. The aim of this chapter is first and foremost to give a brief historical overview of how cities were planned since ancient times. Various models will be discussed, including historical, modernist and post-modernist models. Broad paradigm shifts in planning will be identified from the consideration of history, whereafter the chapter will aim to provide insight into the more recent and increasing focus on people as the centre of planning as presented by the communicative paradigm in planning.

2.2 Historical paradigms: Urban planning in ancient cities

Mumford (1989:61) argues that the social role that cities foster was the main reason for the origin and existence of cities. He regards social interaction as the main reason behind the generation of urban dwellers (Mumford, 1989:69). Although social interaction seems to be the driving force behind cities, the physical setting has always set the stage for social interaction to take place and can therefore not be separated from the social activities in cities (Knox & Marston, 2000:13). The next section will address the question of the role of planning in this regard by discussing various historical urban models.

2.2.1 The ancient cities of Mesopotamia and Egypt

According to Knox and Marston (2000:5) the earliest roots of urban development can be found in the Middle East of around 3500 B.C. in the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates (Mesopotamia) and in the Nile Valley. Through these civilisations the Middle East started to develop urbanised world empires.

- Mesopotamia (3100 BC)

Knox and Marston (2000:5) refers to the area between the Tigris and Euphrates river systems as the “land of rivers”, the site of the modern day Iraq. The origins of ancient Mesopotamia began with the rise of urban societies, preparing the way for urban planning (Mumford,

1989:61). According to Hall (1996:110) Mesopotamia is the birthplace of the urban revolution. Tell Asmar is a typical example of a residential layout plan in a Mesopotamian city (Figure 2-1).

Figure 2-1 Tell Asmar (Source: Knox & Marston 2000).

City authorities did not include any geometrical planning within the urban environment and houses were planned and developed according to the personal needs of inhabitants (Knox & Marston 2000:5). This created a highly irregular urban layout, as can be seen above (Figure 2-1). Within this civilisation, religion was the people's main focal point, with the temple creating the focus point of social interaction (Mumford, 1989:92). Residential environments received less attention in terms of planning and architectural quality. In Ur (2100 BC) the Ziggurat (Figure 2.2) is an example of a temple complex built for the moon god Nanna.

This complex was also used for administrative purposes (Mumford, 1989:92) and social gatherings. The prominent location to the west of the city, its architectural grandeur, scale and layout pattern (Figure 2.3) stands in stark contrast to the residential environments of Mesopotamian cities such as Tell Ashmar (figure 2-1) or the residential areas of Ur (figure 2-3) .

Figure 2-2 Ziggurat of Ur (Source: Roaf, 1990)

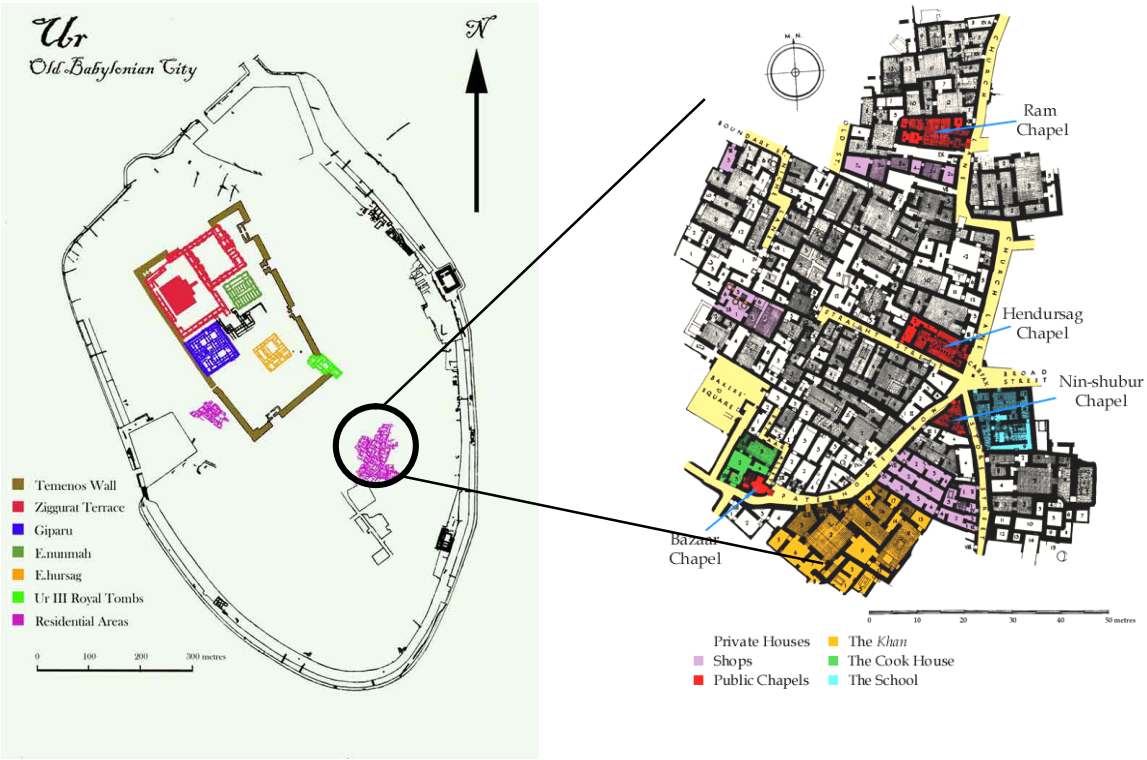


Figure 2-3 City plan of Ur (Source: Roaf, 1990)

- Egyptian cities (3150 BC)

Ancient Egypt was a civilisation in North Eastern Africa along the Nile river valley. Flooding of the Nile provided the best conditions for controlled irrigation and farms started to develop, creating the possibility of a civilisation (Thompson, 2008:11). According to Mumford (1989:105) this civilisation had major mathematical and scientific abilities. These capabilities started the movement of building great cities (Thompson, 2008:12). Although this empire could easily mark the beginning of orderly planning, it was the social and religious aspects of this civilisation that were most prominent. Housing was often informal and people lived in the lesser desired areas, while social and religious spaces received prominent architectural attention (Mumford, 1989:89).

According to Thompson (2008:41) religion as the most prominent reason for existence of the Egyptian civilisation is clearly visible in the planning and design of physical structures. Temples and tombs overpower the simplicity of the Egyptian landscape (Figure 2.4 and 2.5). Egyptian gods were worshiped in temples administered by priests acting on the king's demand. Temples were not a place of public worship or congregation and the area was sealed off for the gods to live in (Thompson, 2008:45). Social aspects were just as important, but the temples did not host social events, even though religion was often the reason for social gatherings. Thompson (2008:45) state that the only time a temple would be opened for the public was with a feast for that specific god.

Figure 2-4 Luxor Temple (Source: Thompson, 2008)

Figure 2-5 Great pyramids of Gizah (Source: Shaw, 2003)

Socialisation and interaction were the most important factors contributing to a great civilisation (Thompson, 2008:5). The social gathering spaces of ancient Egypt were often spaced within the streets so that the streets of these cities became the most prominent social gathering spaces (Thompson, 2008:4).

Within both the Mesopotamian and Egyptian civilisations the existence of man was seen as insignificant compared to the existence of the gods, and cities were the production grounds for

monuments, structures to praise the gods (Mumford, 1989:81). This illustrated the more humble means of mankind and the urban environment where people lived was often informal and less attractive. Even given this context one can observe the prominence and importance of social gathering spaces, but it was constrained and determined by physical planning and design.

2.2.2 Classical Cities: Greek and Roman planning (146 BC – 330 AD)

The first planned city was developed by Greek architect and urban planner Hippodamus (407 BC), considered as the "father" of urban planning (Reeve, 1998:20). According to Reeve (1998:20) Alexander the Great commissioned Hippodamus to lay out the city of Alexandria. It was in essence the ideal planning model in the ancient Mediterranean world (Reeve, 1998:21) The Hippodamian, or grid plan, consists of a strict geometrical pattern that dominates the landscape and serves as an organisational device for arranging activities in the city (see Figure 2-6).

Another prominent city, Miletus, considered the greatest and wealthiest of Greek cities during the 6th century BC, was also planned according to a grid plan (Mumford, 1989:78). It presented the prototype of the Greek city. The planning of cities in Greek times was dominated by the view of geometrical order as beauty, and this formed the most prominent idea in subsequent Greek and Roman cities (Reeve, 1998:20).

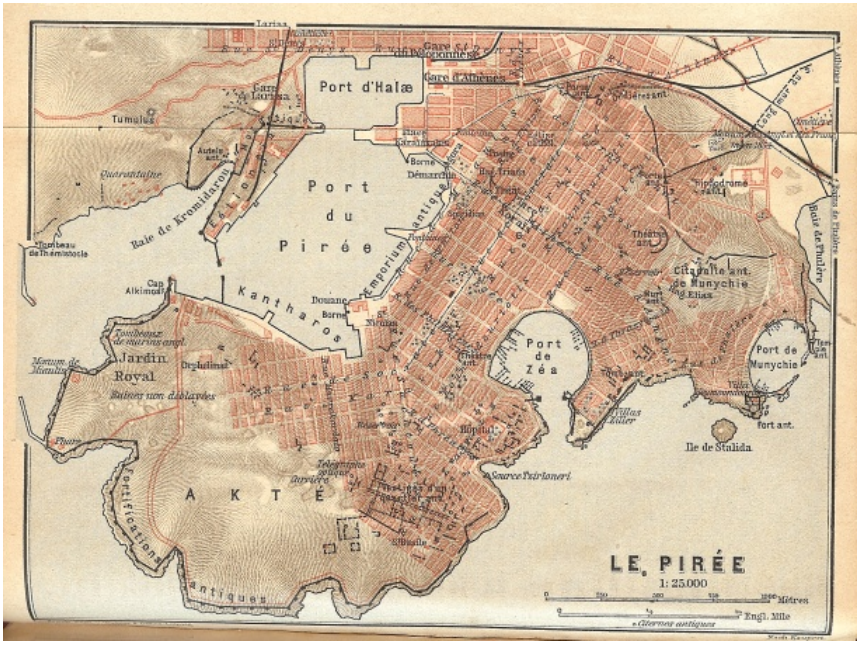


Figure 2-6 The Hippodamian plan (Source: Reeve, 1998)

The geometrical order continues in Roman cities (Gottdiener & Budd, 2005:17). Ancient Romans used a consolidated scheme for city planning that was developed for military resistance and civil and social convenience. It consisted of a central forum (city centre with city services), surrounded by a strong grid pattern of streets, and wrapped in a wall for defence

(Reeve, 1998:36). Two prominent streets, running east-west and north-south, served as main transport routes and intersected at the square grid, passing through a central square, the Roman Forum (Gottdiener & Budd, 2005:29). The remainder of the streets were laid out at right angles in the form of a square grid (Gottdiener & Budd, 2005:9) and made of flag stones filled in with rocks and pebbles (Reeve, 1998:36). The river was utilised for water, transport and sewage disposal (Reeve, 1998:40). Roman cities were usually planned with the focus on military defence, so the plan was (Figure 2-7) centred on military action and consequently killed the existence of any social interaction (Reeve, 1998:40).

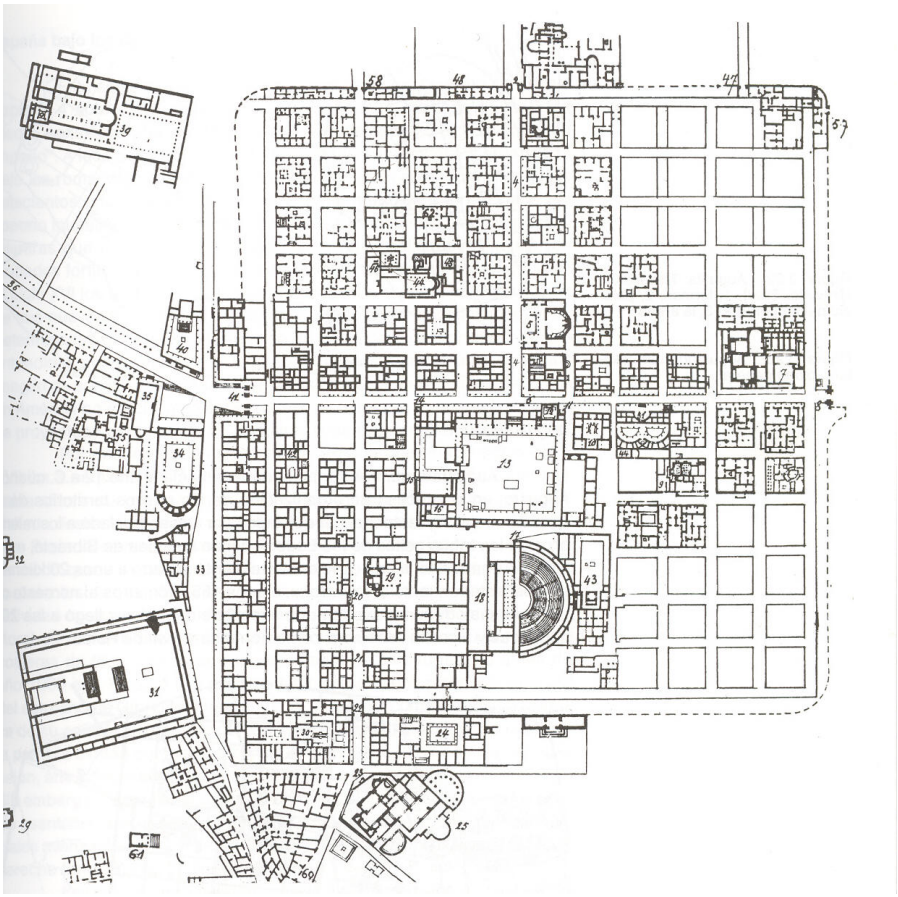


Figure 2-7 Timgad City Plan (Source: Gottdiener & Budd, 2005)

Both the Greeks and Romans planned cities in a practical and logic manner, but their cities are also examples of how social aspects were determined and constrained by physical structure. Caprotti (2007:658) states that the classical era was in search of the ideal city, without understanding social aspects as the underlying reason for cities. This ignorance is one of the reasons for the eventual fall of the Roman Empire (Caprotti, 2007:658). The Medieval city brought new hope of re-establishing civilisation and with it came new ideas about city planning and the physical arrangement of social life.

2.2.3 Medieval cities: (500 AD – 1500 AD)

Urban planning in the medieval period comprised two models, (1) an organic approach to urban development and (2) a geometrical approach to urban development (Mumford, 1989:190).

- **Organic cities**

Many city centres were situated in areas with difficult topography (Gottdiener & Budd, 2005:29). Cities adapted by following a more organic structure in their physical development (Mumford, 1989:190) when compared to classical cities that dominated and imposed geometrical order on the physical landscape. Medieval cities developed more spontaneously and little to no planning was initially done. The organic pattern of the medieval city enhanced social interaction because of for example mixed land uses (Reeve, 1998:4), which created vitality. This increased the possibility of social interaction, but with the growth of the cities and the lack of planning, slums started developing, eventually culminating in poverty and urban filth (Reeve, 1998:37). In addition, the absence of orderly planning and proper infrastructure meant that this development pattern contributed to various health problems (Mumford, 19889:192).

Figure 2-8 The Medieval organic city (Source: Reeve, 1998)

Each medieval town or city developed as a result of a unique situation and the plan was representative of that (Gottdiener & Budd, 2005:29). Some medieval towns developed because it attracted people as religious centres (Gottdiener & Budd, 2005:35). In England these cities were called Cathedral Cities and during these dark times people fled to religious centres in search of salvation (Reeve, 1998:39). This influx created the need for planned development. Medieval cities consequently started to develop cities more proactively (Gottdiener & Budd, 2005:29).

De-urbanisation and barbarian invasions eventually start to endanger life in Medieval cities. Christianity offered new hope to the barbarian world and during this age Christianity started to play an important role in city planning, as illustrated by the domination of Cathedrals in the physical environment of the Medieval town. The cathedral was seen as the centre of life and was placed in the most prominent position in the city centre (see Figure 2-9). Christianity and the church started to focus on the social well-being of people in cities (Reeve, 1998:37). This created a general social awareness in cities that would later form an integral part of city planning.

Figure 2-9 A typical Medieval city (Source: Reeve, 1998)

Despite the role of the church in creating unity, the influence of war and bombardment of cities prevailed during this time (Mumford, 1989:98). This created a need for reconstructing the physical environment of many city centres (Gottdiener & Budd, 2005:62). Due to the numerous problems created by the previous organic approach to urban development, a return to the classical geometric approach emerged as an alternative.

- **Geometrical planning**

A few medieval cities were admired for the development of wide streets and arrangements of various land uses (Mumford, 1989:110). An administration process was implemented that stated that certain burrows or streets are in the administration of certain families. This prevented large scale urban planning until the beginning of the Renaissance administration (Gottdiener & Budd, 2005:29). However, in cities such as Southampton a definite geometrical plan could be found, as illustrated in Figure 2-10 (Jones, 2008:113).

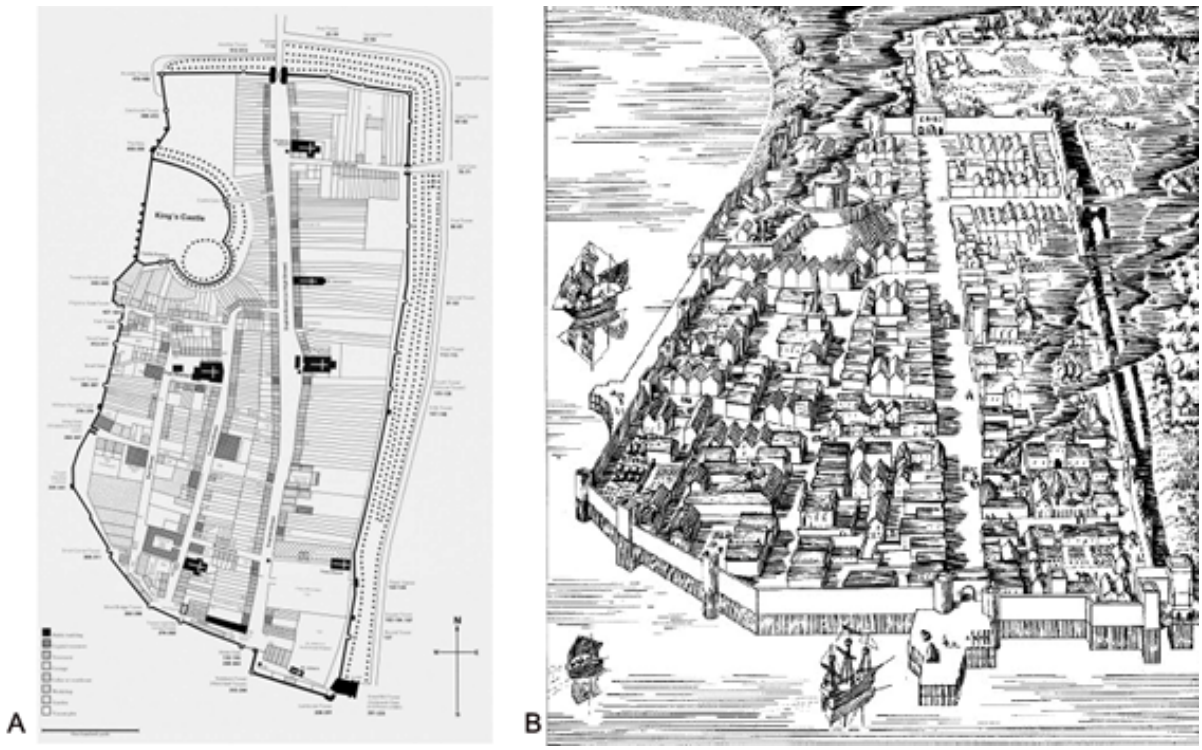


Figure 2-10 Geometric planning of Medieval Southampton (Source: Jones, 2008)

According to Reeve (1998:52) the great European states (France and Spain) were monarchies, while others were directly under Church rule. As an exception, the independent city republics of Italy took over the principles of capitalism and set off a vast exceptional commercial revolution, which preceded and funded the Renaissance (Hall, 1996:23).

2.2.4 Renaissance cities

Renaissance literally means “rebirth” (Mumford, 1989:367). The Renaissance was initiated by the re-invention of classical documents that propagate ancient Greek and Roman ideas about society (Clapson, 2012:157). This basically re-introduced the classical ideas on urban planning as well, including Miletus and the Hippodamian plan. The Renaissance could be viewed as an attempt by intellectuals to study and improve society and civilisation, both through the revival of ideas from antiquity (such as the monumental cities) and through novel approaches to thought (esthetical value) (Clapson, 2012:154).

The renaissance was also a cultural movement (Backman & Clifford, 2003:32). According to Backman and Clifford (2003:33) the concept of realism and humanism started to emerge. Realism, according to Clapson (2012:155), rejected the utopian dream of urban planning and sought after real, typical and scientific planning ideals. Humanism started to create a platform for the value of human beings within the urban planning sphere (Gottdiener & Budd, 2005:29). The idea of humans as central in the universe was a key idea and inspired a more humanistic approach to society and the physical planning of cities (Gottdiener & Budd, 2005:29). Man

became the “measure of all things” (Hall, 1996:45). As humanism triggered the focus on people in society, people started to move to the centre of urban development (Hall, 1996:23).

The American professor Edward Walace Muir Jr. views the town of Palmnova (designed by Vincenzo Scamozzi) in the north-eastern parts of Italy as the best example of Renaissance planning that creates a self-sustainable humanist society (Backman & Clifford, 2003:42). Muir suggested that a self-sustainable humanist society is a man-based urban environment that is totally and completely sustainable on its own produce and revenue, creating a city that could be locked down from any outside contact (Urban Tick, 2011).

The fortified structure of the city was of military origin and included the best military innovations that could be incorporated during the 16th century (Urban Tick, 2011). According to Backman and Clifford (2003:41) this town was seen military art. It was built as a fortress in the shape of a nine point star (Backman & Clifford, 2003:42). Each point of the star was built in such a manner that it could defend the others, with three great gatehouses and a river or canal surrounding the walls (Urban Tick, 2011).

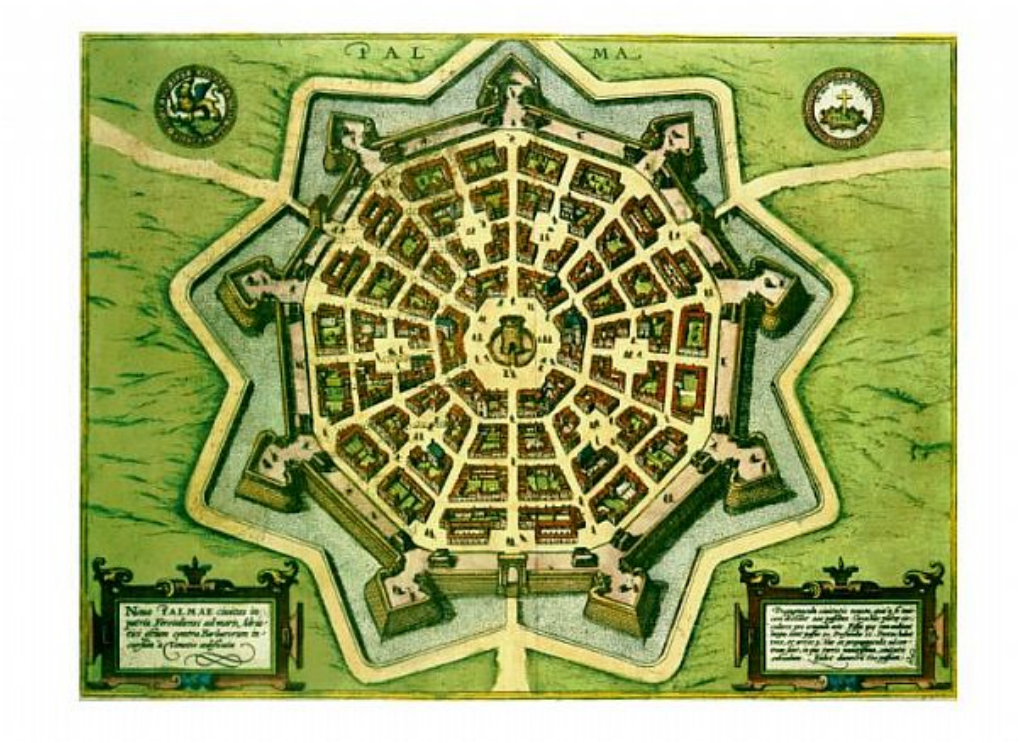


Figure 2-11 Palmanova city plan (Source: Urban Tick, 2011)

Another example of Renaissance planning is found during the reign of Max Emanuel (1695). He proposed reconstructing the medieval city into a city with a logical street layout, with straight avenues offering uninterrupted views flanked by buildings of a uniform size (Mumford, 1989:345). This plan was opposed by residents and municipal authorities, who wanted a rapid reconstruction, but did not have the resources for grandiose proposals, and resented what they considered the imposition of a new, foreign, architectural style (Gottdiener & Budd, 2005:29).

The residents had their own idea of redevelopment, but the authorities did not consider the residents as important in this process and therefore the authorities forced the development onto the residents (Reeve, 1998:13). From this idea modern urban development emerged. The Renaissance could therefore also be credited with developing the world as it is known today.

Up until now city planning has mainly been done by experts such as architects (Reeve, 1998:12). Urban planning as profession only emerged much later, after the need for orderly planning was recognised during the overcrowding and poor living conditions created by the Industrial Revolution (Hall, 1996:82).

2.3 The Modernist paradigm: planning as physical product

2.3.1 The origin of planning as profession: key concepts

Two main ideas influenced the origin of the planning profession namely anarchism and utopianism (Knox, 2005:52). These ideas can be traced throughout the history of planning and still remain key concepts in planning. According to Clapson (2012:153) these concepts were philosophical, intellectual and moral stances that were opposed to the trend in social relations, values and environmental conditions of the 18th and 19th centuries. These two concepts will now be further discussed.

2.3.1.1 Utopianism

Utopias that offer an alternative to the existing society had already begun in the Renaissance with the desire to overcome feudalism and, after the establishment of capitalism, with the hope of creating a communist or socialist society (Skroblies, 2001:120). Utopianism or idealism derived from the ancient philosophies of the Greek Civilisation in the form of the planned city as the perfect “heavenly” city (Capprotti, 2007:689).

Capprotti (2007:652) defines utopia as: “a community or society possessing highly desirable or perfect qualities”. In many cultures, societies, and religions, this myth or memory of a distant past when humankind lived in a primitive and simple state, implies a state in which an instinctive harmony between humanity and nature existed (Knox, 2005:43) and where humans were simple and pious, and felt themselves close to the gods (Saage, 2006:153). This idea of simple but perfect living conditions where happiness and fulfilment flourish inspired later ideas in the planning of cities.

Searching for new solutions, utopias always had an important function in situations of historical crisis and radical change (Capprotti, 2007:689). They opposed the given state of affairs and showed conceptions of a new and pacified society characterised by humanity and equality. According to Skroblies (2001:120) many literary utopias of a pacified human society have been produced in history and many of them described ideal cities (Skroblies, 2001:120). Clapson (2012:154) referred to these artists as romantic visionaries who generally attempted to balance

city and country opposition, but they seldom saw their plans actualised. Even so, the utopianism idea had a major influence on the urban planning profession, as illustrated in the search for alternative models to the urban model of the Industrial Revolution.

2.3.1.2 Anarchism

Another foundational concept in the development of planning is its anarchistic roots. Anarchism is a philosophy aimed at removing authoritarian forms of social organisation and replacing them with self-managed, non-hierarchical forms (Clapson, 2012:154). According to Winkle (2009:421) this form of federalism was put forward in part by Kropotkin (1886) and Proudhon (1864) and is based on the principle that, 'in small face-to-face groups, the bureaucratising and hierarchical tendencies inherent in organisations have least opportunity to develop'. Kropotkin propagated new forms of organisation for the social functions which the State fulfils through the bureaucracy and insisted that as long as this is not done, nothing will be done (Winkle, 2009:410).

The social ideas of anarchism include (1) autonomous groups, (2) spontaneous order, (3) workers' control, and (4) the federative principle. Autonomous groups refer to specific groups of people that tend to form whenever their conditions worsen and they lose faith in those delegated to act for them. As a result they decide to act for themselves (Winkle, 2009:410). Spontaneous order, according to Winkle (2009:411), is also known as "self-organisation". It is the spontaneous emergence of order out of seeming chaos. Workers' control or organised labour was the response of the United States on striking. They organised labour on a permanent basis (Winkle, 2009:410). The federative principle implies the organisation of certain areas for governing itself (Winkle, 2009:421).

These add up to a coherent theory of social organisation which is a valid and realistic alternative to the controlling, hierarchical and institutional social philosophy (Knox, 2005:45). Hall (1996:3) argues that the early visions of the planning movement, particularly those that flourished in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, all stem from the anarchist movement.

2.3.2 Modernist planning models (1755-1950)

Hall (1996:256) shows that modernism idealised the elimination of disorder, congestion, pollution and small urban environments to form better pre-planned urban settings with spaced freeways, tower blocks and gardens. In the industrialised city of the 19th century, building was largely controlled by businesses and wealthy elites laid the foundation for modernistic ideas on town planning (Hall, 1996:251). The industrial revolution is often seen as the main context for the emergence of modern town planning. According to Hall (1996:331) and Girouard (1985:245) the mechanisation of society caused numerous problems because the machine started to control society. People lost their jobs and pollution and disorder dismantled the urban environment. These sudden changes in society and the lack of orderly planning culminated in

the creation of unliveable environments where people lived and worked in poor conditions (Girouard, 1985:245).

Knox (2005:12) points out that to every action there is a reaction, and around 1900 a general movement began to provide citizens, especially factory workers, with healthier environments and general order within urban environments. This reaction to the Industrial city is seen in models presented as alternatives to the uncontrolled poor urban environments created by the Industrial Revolution. These models include the Garden City model, Linear City, Neighbourhood Unit, Superblock and City of the Future (Hall 1996:84; Hardy, 1999:7).

2.3.2.1 The Garden City

According to Hall (1996:86) Howard published his book "*To-morrow: a Peaceful Path to Real Reform*" in 1898 (reissued in 1902 as "*Garden Cities of To-morrow"*) after having been inspired by the Utopian novel "*Looking Backward*" by Edward Bellamy and "Progress and Poverty" by Henry George. Ebenezer Howard birthed a concept of less urban crowding and density (Hall, 1988:153). The concept of over-crowded cities was an identified social problem that he wanted to address with the idea of a Garden City (Knox, 2005:14). Garden cities were intended to be planned, self-contained communities surrounded by "greenbelts" or parks, containing proportionate areas of residences, industry and agriculture (Knox, 2005:14).

As in Figure 2-9 the initial idea behind the Garden City was to take the best features from the country and the town and to merge the best of both worlds in a perfect liveable urban environment (Hardy, 1999:86).

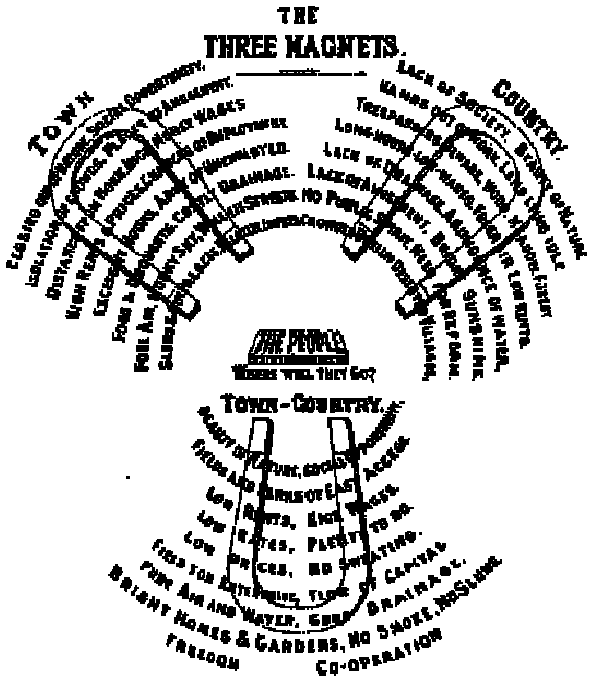


Figure 2-12 The Three magnet model (Source: Hall, 1996)

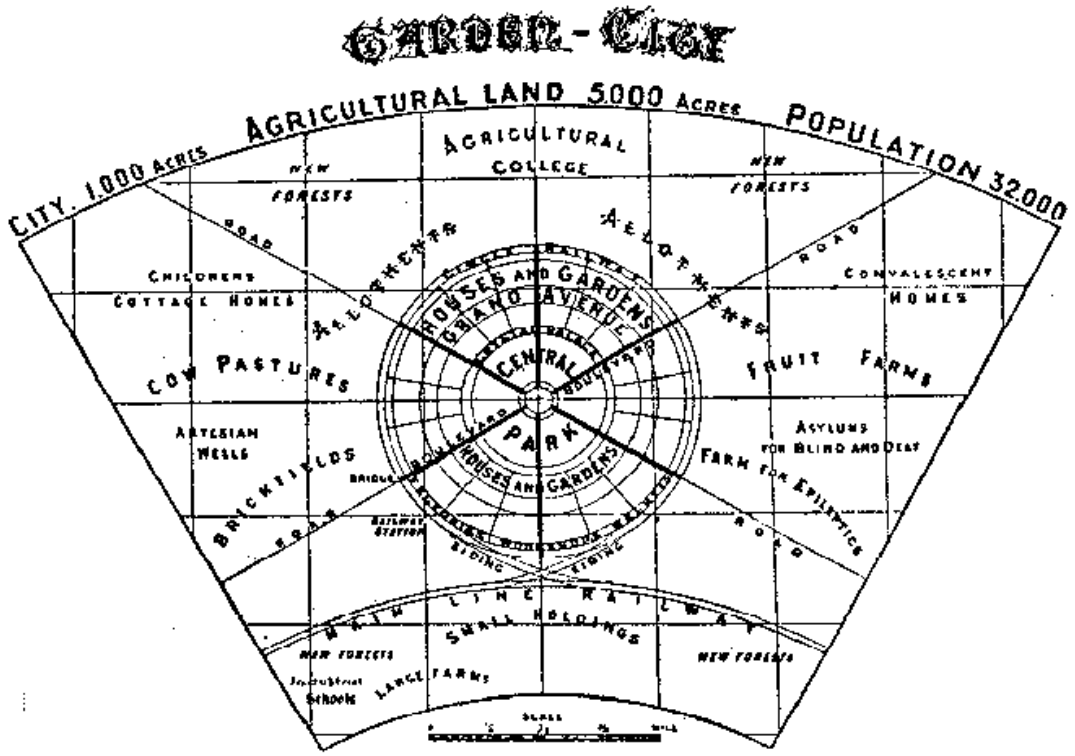


Figure 2-13 The town and county idea (Source: Hall, 1996)

The Garden City was organised around the following core principles:

Table 2-1 Core principles of the Garden City	
Size	Howard's idealised garden city would house 32,000 people on a site of 2,400 hectares, planned in a concentric pattern with open spaces. The garden city would be self-sufficient and when it reaches full population, another garden city has to be developed nearby, creating a network of urban centres (Figure 2-13).
Social facilities	In the city centre, there would be an ornamental garden surrounded by the main public buildings (Figure 2-14).
Open spaces	A park would form the centre of the plan (Figure 2-14).
Streets and transport	Tree-lined avenues and six radial boulevards extending from the centre would separate one block from another, giving access to a city centre. These networks of urban centres would be linked with road and rail transport (Figure 2-14)
Economic facilities	A Crystal Palace to enclose a ring of shops and exhibitions would form the centre of the plan (Figure 2-14).

(Source: Compiled from Hardy, 1999)

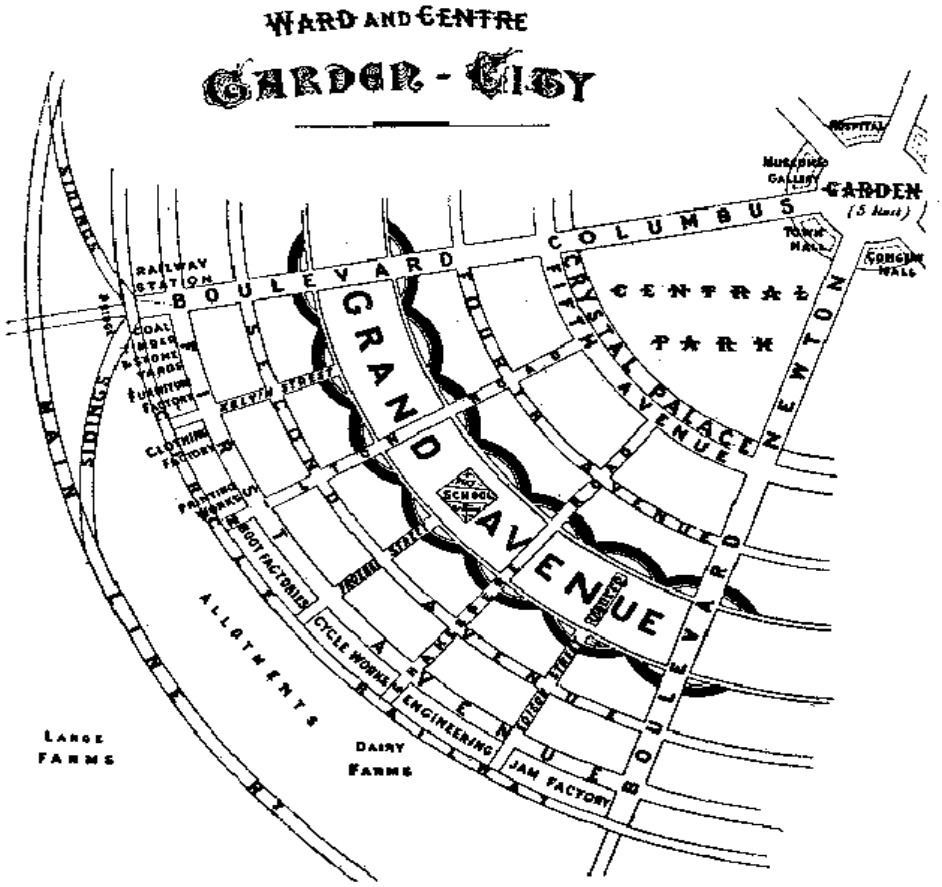


Figure 2-14 Layout of the Garden City (Source: Hall, 1996)

The Garden city concept was a simple idea, promoted vigorously by Howard himself and fellow campaigners. It eventually led to the formation of the Garden City Association. The main task of the association was to get the first garden city built, and to use this as a future model for urban planning (Hall 1996:84. & Hardy, 1999:7). Until the end of the 1930s, Letchworth and Welwyn remained as the only existing garden cities. However, the movement did succeed in emphasising the need for urban planning policies, which eventually led to the New Town movement. Unwin and Parker (Mumford, 1989:115), both architects, transformed and reduced the model of the Garden City to a more physically related form of planning, essentially destroying the social ideal of Howard's original model.

2.3.2.2 The Linear city (Soria Y Mata)

The linear city was an urban plan for a lengthened urban formation introduced by Arturo Soria Y Mata in Madrid, Spain during the late 19th century. The city consisted of specialised sectors running along a river or roadway (Collins, 2006:110). In contrast to Ebenezer Howard and the Garden City Movement where large cities are considered to be the antithesis of good city planning, Arturo Soria believed the opposite. The Linear City was organised around the following core principles:

Table 2-2 Core principles of the Linear City	
Size	Arturo Soria (1892) believed that large cities well in excess of one million residents could be built to provide a decent quality of life.
Social facilities	Residential zoning along the transport line would form the base of the linear form. Social institutions and educational facilities would be present in this area.
Open spaces	Specific zoning for a woodland or park would form the basis of any social interaction. A green belt would act as a buffer zone for the main highway.
Streets and transport	A key principle to the construction of such large cities was the development of fast mass transit systems capable of transporting passengers across vast distances that not only separated neighbourhoods within a city, but between cities themselves. A segregated zoning type for train transport could be seen in figure 2-15
Economic facilities	An agricultural zone with gardens and state-run farms

(Source: Compiled from Hall, 1996).

As the city grows additional sectors would be added to the end of each zone (Collins, 2006:224). This created the phenomenon that the city would become longer and eventually the city would divide into certain social groups. The absence of a centre or nucleus makes the city a socially deprived environment (Collins, 2006:204). This model was an engineer orientated physical model that did not acknowledge the social dynamics of cities.

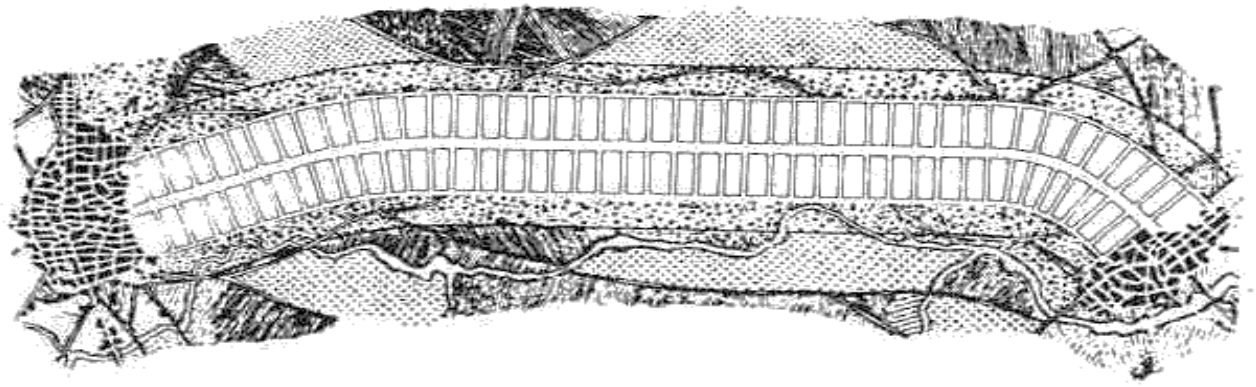


Figure 2-15 The Linear city (Source: Collins, 2006)

2.3.2.3 The Neighbourhood Unit (Clarence Perry)

This model was an adaptation of the garden city concept and was developed by Clarence Perry (Banerjee & Baer, 1984:4) and presented as a diagrammatic planning model for residential development in metropolitan areas (Knox, 2005:13). According to Banerjee and Baer (1984:4), it was designed to act as a framework for urban planners attempting to design functional, self-

contained and desirable neighbourhoods in the early 20th century in industrialising cities (Banerjee & Baer, 1984:4). The Neighbourhood Unit was organised around the following core principles:

Table 2-3 Core principles of the Neighbourhood Unit	
Size	The size of the neighbourhood had to be sufficient to support a school, but small enough for walking distance. The population was restricted to between 5000 and 9000 residents.
Social facilities	The school and community centre was removed from major streets and located in the centre of the neighbourhood to enhance safety.
Open spaces	10 percent of the neighbourhood was allocated to parks and open space. Parks were fragmented and distributed throughout the neighbourhood to create places for play and community interaction.
Streets	Arterial streets were placed along with the perimeter; this distinguishes the “place” of the neighbourhood and by design eliminates unwanted traffic from the neighbourhood. This also defined the area. Internal streets were designed in hierarchy that distinguish local streets from arterial streets, using curvilinear street design for both safety and aesthetic purposes. Streets, by design, discourage unwanted through traffic and enhance the safety of pedestrians.
Economic facilities	The shops were placed on the outer street and situated in walking distance from the entire neighbourhood. Local shopping areas were restricted to the perimeter or perhaps to the main entrance of the neighbourhood, thus excluding non-local traffic destined for these commercial uses that might intrude on the neighbourhood.

(Source: Compiled from Perry, 1998)

The above physical attributes are illustrated in figure 2-13. According to Banerjee and Baer (1984:4) the Neighbourhood Unit was conceived as a comprehensive physical planning tool to be utilised for designing self-contained residential neighbourhoods. This promoted a community and social centred lifestyle, away from the noise and pollution of the industrial city or neighbourhood (Perry, 1998:25). It further promised to enhance the feeling of identification with the environment for the incomers, support their spatial integration, foster social cohesion and avoid social pathology (Banerjee and Baer, 1984:4).

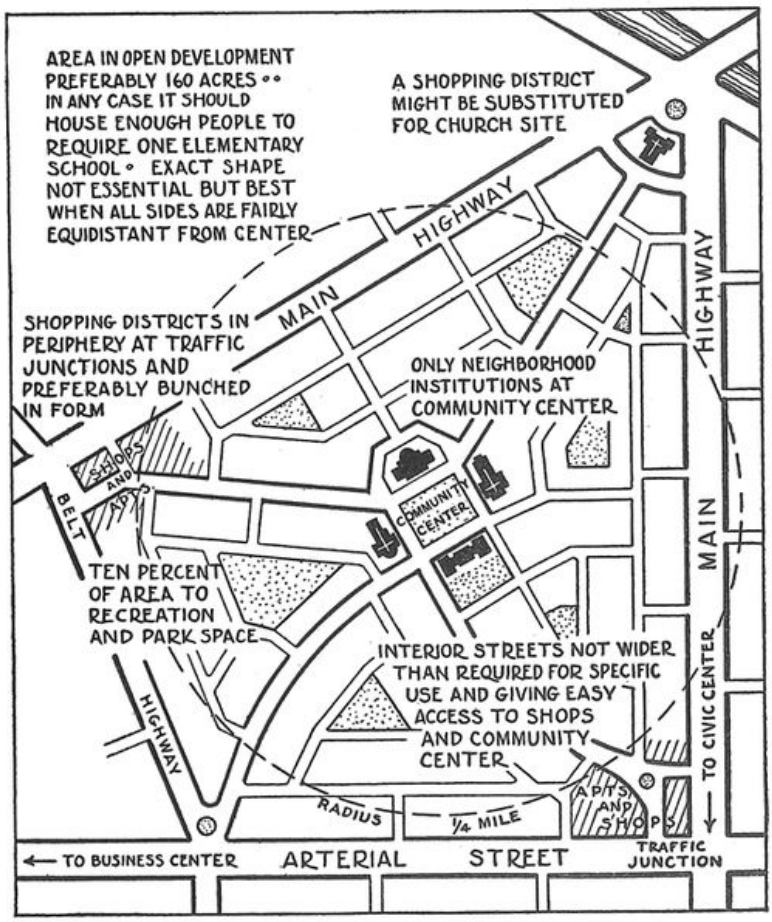


Figure 2-16 – Clarence Perry's Neighbourhood unit (Source: Banerjee & Baer, 1984)

Perry presented the Neighbourhood concept as a sort of panacea for urban problems of industrial cities and used physical adaptations of an urban model in order to enhance the social environment. This model continues to be utilised in contemporary planning as a means of ordering and organising new residential communities in a way that satisfies contemporary "social, administrative and service requirements for satisfactory urban existence" (Perry, 1998:25).

2.3.2.4 The Superblock (Clarence Stein)

The main vision for the Superblock model was an integrated self-sustaining community (Hall, 1996:121) similar to that of Howard's Garden City. According to Parson (1998:12) the Superblock was an extension of Perry's Neighbourhood Unit in the sense that it addressed what Stein identified as the weakness of Perry's model: that the traffic of the neighbourhood unit created no space for pedestrian use. Clarence Stein's vision manifested in his plan for the Radburn community in Fair Lawn, New Jersey in 1929 (Birch, 1980:121) where he proposed a few core principles. The Superblock model was organised around the following core principles:

Table 2-4 Core principles of the Superblock	
Size	Similar to the Neighbourhood unit of Clarence Perry
Social facilities	Plazas and open spaces were organised and planned for residents to socialise.
Open spaces	Superblocks consisted of nine city blocks clustered around a central open space.
Streets	The use of a hierarchy of streets and roads as method to separate pedestrian and motor vehicle traffic. This was made possible by main linkage roads, service lanes and express highways that formed a plan consisting of residential cells referred to as superblocks (see figure 2.17).
Economic facilities	The shops were placed on the outer street and situated in walking distance from the entire neighbourhood. Local shopping areas were restricted to the perimeter or perhaps to the main entrance of the neighbourhood, thus excluding non-local traffic destined for these commercial uses that might intrude on the neighbourhood.

(Source: Compiled from Birch, 1980 and Parsons,1998)

Figure 2-17 – Area with Superblocks (Source: Birch, 1980)

In figure 2-18 the importance of the pedestrian ways can be observed as the motor ways are separated from the rest of the transportation. Parsons (1998:15) states that the focus started to shift from a physical plan for physical change to a physical plan for social change.

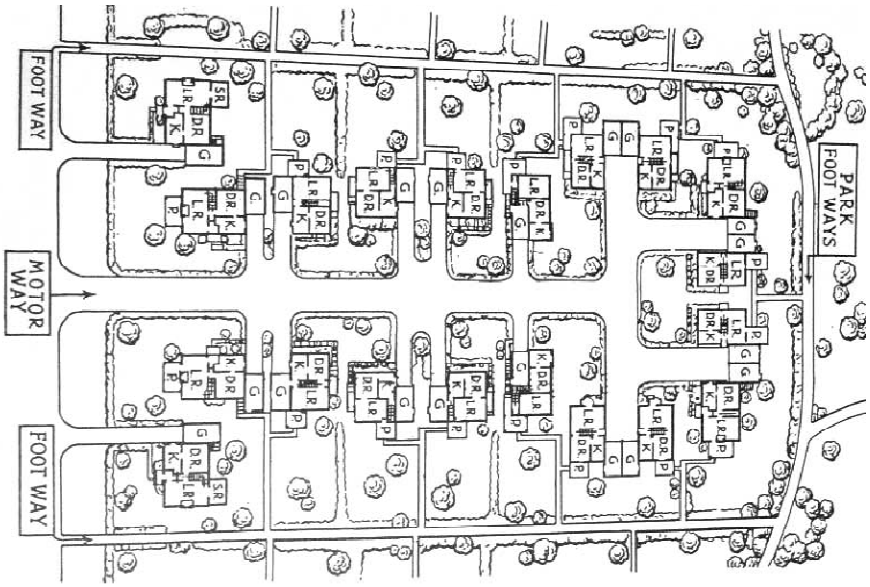


Figure 2-18 Example of a Superblock (Source: Birch, 1980)

As the focus started to shift from a physical environment to a social environment, the core principle of this model was realised by removing pedestrians from roadways, making room for more social interaction. This physical model is still in use in urban planning as the Radburn model, but it made way for social reform in the urban environment.

2.3.2.5 The City of the future (Le Corbusier)

Charles-Edouard Jeanneret, (known as Le Corbusier) was born in Switzerland and lived in Paris (Tungare, 2001:42). Being an typical obsessively well-ordered Swiss, he viewed cities as models of self–control and believed that modern architectural forms could provide an organisational solution that would raise the living standard of the lower class (Hall, 1996:62). He was particularly interested in seeking efficient ways to house large numbers of people in response to the urban housing crisis (Hall, 1996:62).

The City of the future was organised around the following core principles (as presented in "Ville Contemporaine" (1922), a city for three million inhabitants):

Table 2-5 Core principles of the City of the Future	
Size and Structure	A large city with more than three million inhabitants. The centrepiece of this plan was the group of sixty-story, cruciform skyscrapers; steel-framed office buildings encased in walls of glass. As one moved out from the central skyscrapers, smaller low-story, z-formed apartment blocks (set far back from the street amid green space), housed the inhabitants. The density of the city consequently decreases as you move from the centre.

Social facilities	Plazas and open spaces were organised and planned for residents to socialise.
Open spaces	Skyscrapers were set in open green spaces; zoned as parks. 95 % of the land in the centre should be considered open spaces with 85 % and 48% distinctively as moved out.
Streets	Congestion should be removed from the urban spectrum. Le Corbusier had the idea of separate roadways on levels for different usages. At the centre is a transportation hub, which incorporated depots for busses and trains, as well as highway intersections, and at the top of this network, an airport. Le Corbusier segregated pedestrian circulation paths from the roadways and idealised the use of the automobile as a means of transportation.
Economic facilities	The city is seen as a business centre.

(Source: Compiled from Tungare, 2001)

One of Le Corbusiers well-known statements is that a house is a machine to live in (Hall, 1996:205). According to Hall (1996:209) and Tungare (2001:46) Le Corbusier considered the planning of the city as too important to be left to citizens. It should be done by experts with knowledge, such as planners and architects. This created a viewpoint that the urban environment should be seen and planned as a machine, although this is a very idealistic view because people are not an exact species (Tungare, 2001:48). Le Corbusier focused on practical, physical solutions for social problems.

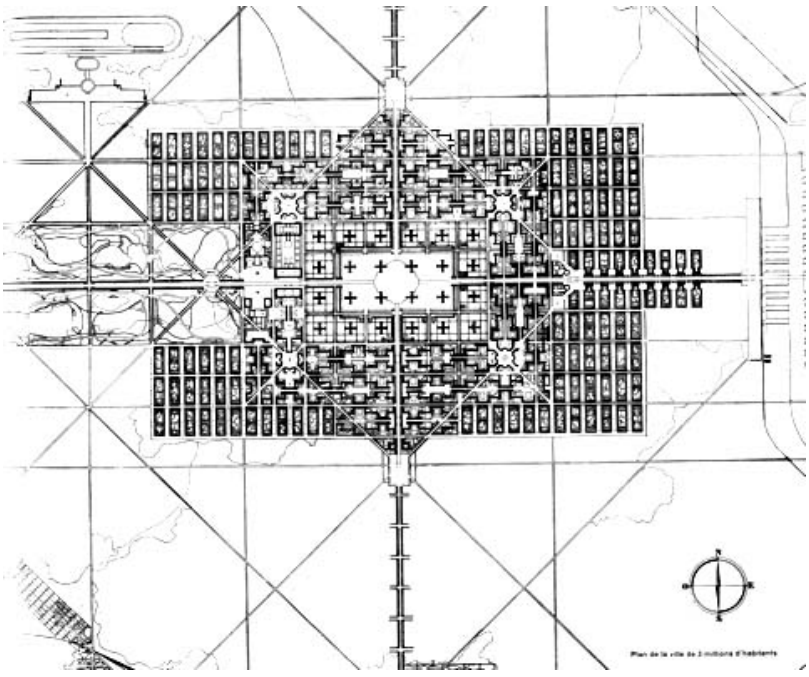


Figure 2-19 The city of the future (Source: Tungare, 2001)

This model started the debate on whether planning should be forced from the governing structure onto the citizens, or whether the citizens should plan the city (Top-down approach versus bottom-up approach). This debate enhanced the idea that planning for people should be done by people as only they understand the social context of the urban environment (Hall, 1996:210). This logical conclusion of this debate is that the only solution to social problems is a bottom-up approach (Tungare, 2001:45).

The above modernist models reflect similar principles that are collectively considered key characteristics in the modernist planning movement. These include the following:

- Zoning allocated for specific land uses to create order. Land use management had its origin in these models;
- Low densities to create an urban environment for free movement and a feeling of openness;
- Open spaces that include parks and plazas to lower high pollution levels in cities;
  Motor vehicle based urban environments, creating freeways and roads in and through cities, this also made use of low density urban environments viable because of the distance that could be reached through transportation (Knox, 2005:23);

Collectively these principles developed as direct results from models such as the Garden City, Neighbourhood Unit, Superblock, Linear City and the City of the Future. They formed the basis for modernist town planning in the form of 'blue prints' according to which cities were planned and urban problems addressed in the period after the Second World War (Knox, 2005:41).

2.3.3 Cities as blueprints

Modern town planning principles derived from the modernist urban models were widely acknowledged and spread to large parts of the modern western world. These influences continue in planning in the time period after the Second World War. Planning was executed in the form of blueprints of how the future was envisaged (Allmendinger & Tewdwr-Jones. 2002:110). Hague and Jenkins (2005:41) refer to this type of planning as a "command and control" approach in which urban planning was done on a pre-conceived idea of the urban environment on the command that was found (Hague & Jenkins, 2005:41). The city was here viewed as a fixed vision of the future, controlled and enforced by government. Davoudi and Strange (2009:16) emphasise the nature of blueprint planning as planning treated as an exact objective science (Davoudi & Strange, 2009:16). The rational nature reflected in blueprint planning and long term sustainability of this approach was criticized by authors such as Friedmann (2010:161) as being too physically orientated with little to no room for social interaction or reaction. Planners started to realise that cities are networks of systems and that they are too complex to be treated as large physical design objects.

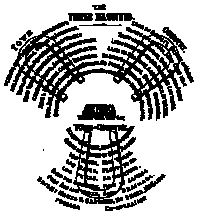
2.3.4 Cities as systems

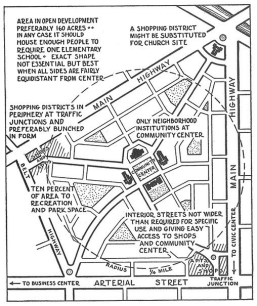
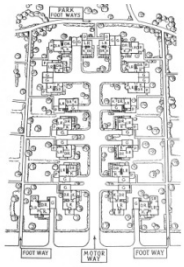
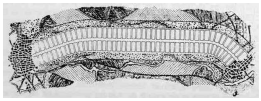
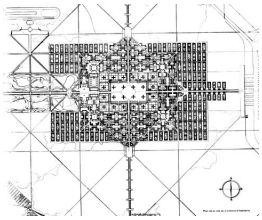
The blueprint paradigm was followed by as second paradigm based on criticism of the first (Hague & Jenkins, 2005:41). This paradigm started questioning whether a physical design product could be sustainable or beneficial in the long run. According to Hague and Jenkins (2005:41) the urban environment was seen as a system instead of a large designed object. The focus of city planning slowly started to shift from a product oriented discipline to a more process oriented discipline. Although this shift could be observed; planning still focused to a large extent on physical aspects (Davoudi & Strange, 2009:21). According to Hague and Jenkins (2005:40) the paradigm also entailed that a process started between the government and the private sector to build common consensus. A more flexible and bottom-up vision for urban planning started to emerge from authors such as Friedmann, Lane and Etzioni, as advocated by Jane Jacobs's (1961) ideal of cities designed by citizens (Davoudi & Strange, 2009:21).

2.3.5 Synthesis: urban planning as physical product

Table 2-6 shows how all of the above models have been used as models in the creation of modernist cities. The inspiration for all of these models was the social problems that cities were confronted with. Most of these models focused on physical aspects in planning and design as solutions for problems that included social and environmental problems in cities.

Table 2-6 Synthesis of modern town planning models

	Modernist models	Problems addressed in this model	Physical solutions for social problems
The Garden City		• Social decay of Industrial Revolution (e.g crime, poverty) • Environmental problems (e.g. lack of open spaces due to high densities, pollution) • Buildings and infrastructure (overcrowding, poor buildings, lack of sanitation, storm water management)	• Location outside metropolitan cities; • Optimum city size (35 000); • Inclusion of country side through green belt and open spaces. (Origin of Blueprint planning)

The Neighbourhood unit		• Same as above; • Community cohesion • Unsafe environments	• Neighbourhoods with clear physical boundary; • Schools as focal point of neighbourhood; • Optimum neighbourhood size (determined by the school); • Facilities within walking distance; • Higher order facilities placed on main routes; • Open spaces (play parks scattered throughout neighbourhood)
The Superblock		This model was an adaption of the neighbourhood unit. It created room for pedestrians since it identified the social problem that there was no room for pedestrians and social interaction.	These problems were given the following solutions: Low density park-like atmosphere with enough social facilities as each superblock would host a community centre and pedestrian based walkways.
The Linear city		• Unplanned urban growth;	This plan did not have a city centre. Due to the long distances and great number of citizens communities became segregated.
The City of the Future		• Disorderly development (slum areas) of Industrial Revolution; • Social interaction between different classes	This was done with a set population size in mind. Uniform buildings left no room for individualism and should be enforced from government or qualified urban planners and architects.

(Source: Own synthesis)

Physical solutions to social problems in cities did not prove to be successful and received criticism because of its deterministic approach to the city as social entity. According to Hall (1996:226) the sin of this cannot necessarily be ascribed to the design itself, but rather the mindless arrogance with which these models were imposed on people without acknowledgement of their preferences and ways of life. This failure of modern town planning formed the background for the search of new ways of planning in the 1950's.

2.4 In search of a new paradigm in planning

Petropoulou (2010:217) stated that the search for a new paradigm in planning started in Europe with a social and radical urban movement. Students in Europe started to call for the "right to the city" and protested with a broad spectrum of people, especially with people from lower socio-economic backgrounds (Petropoulou, 2010:217). This highlighted the right to free expression and free space, contributing to the social movement within urban planning (Petropoulou, 2010:217). It brought a debate into urban planning regarding the manner in which planning is done. According to Jacobs (1961) the focus started to shift to a bottom-up approach, suggesting that urban planning should be done by the citizens and not for the citizens.

2.5 The Post-modernist paradigm: planning as social process

2.5.1 Post-modern planning models

According to Allmendinger and Tewdwr-Jones (2002:172) postmodernism in planning began to compete with modernism in the late 1950s and gained control over it in the 1960s. Postmodernism has been a dominant, though not undisputed, force in art, philosophy, literature, architecture and urban planning ever since (Allmendinger & Tewdwr-Jones, 2002:172). It arose after World War II as a reaction to the perceived failings of modernism, whose radical artistic projects had come to be associated with dictatorship and tyranny or had been assimilated into mainstream culture (Hague & Jenkins, 2005:42). Postmodernism is a rejection of 'totality', of the notion that planning could be 'comprehensive', widely applied regardless of context, and rational. In this sense, Postmodernism is a rejection of its predecessor, Modernism (Allmendinger & Tewdwr-Jones, 2002:171). Postmodern also brought a break from the notion that planning and architecture could result in social reform, which was an integral dimension of the plans of Modernism (Allmendinger & Tewdwr-Jones, 2002:173).

The role of planners predating Postmodernism was one of the 'qualified professional' who believed they could find and implement one single 'right way' of planning new urban establishments. The focus started to move to a more inclusive way of planning, enhancing the idea of sustainable planning (Allmendinger & Chapman, 1999:17).

2.5.1.1 The Sustainable development model

According to Newman (1995:257) sustainability is one of the key concepts associated with postmodernism. This concept of sustainability has an impact on social change as it determines

the liveability of an area (Allmendinger & Chapman, 1999:17). The most prominent part of the paradigm shift in planning is the shift from a citizen exclusive role to a citizen inclusive role, such as Jacobs (1961) hoped for. Allmendinger and Tewdwr-Jones (2002:208) argue that the wave has moved on from earlier views and that promoting social cohesion and dynamics could enhance the sustainability of an area. Two models developed as prominent examples that promised a sustainable future, these include the (1) Compact City and the (2) Smart Growth model.

- **The Compact City**

The compact city mainly focuses on the ecological ideal of protecting valuable agricultural land around the city by prohibiting the continuous expansion of cities by means of an urban edge. Jenks, Burton and Williams (1996:42) state that this Compact City ideal can be promoted by using techniques like increased residential densities and mixed land uses. These qualities should be supported by a public transport system and layout patterns that encourage cycling and walking (Jenks et al., 1996:53). According to Jenks et al. (1996:43) and O'Toole (2009:12) this is a more sustainable way of planning because it reduces energy consumption and pollution, as well as the possibility of urban sprawl due to infill development, higher residential densities and urban edge.

The Compact City ideal is closely linked to specific social ideals. The increase in population in more compact environments and mixed land uses is believed to create more opportunity for social interaction (Jenks et al., 1996:42. & Hofstad, 2012:3) and will therefore culminate in a more socially sustainable city (Hofstad, 2012:3). The role of people is emphasised in the Compact City as the focus on mixed land uses creates the foundation for strong social interaction (Hofstad, 2012:3).

Although Compact Cities are ecological ideals, goals such as the creation of economically feasible environments and socially vibrant communities are equally important in this approach. The end product is important, but the role of people as stakeholders in achieving the ideals of the compact city places just as much emphasis on the social process that has to be followed.

- **The Smart Growth model**

Benfield (2011:121) states that Smart Growth is a theory created to concentrate growth in urban centres. The following principles are advocated by Calthorpe (2000) and Litman (2012) as ideals for the Smart Growth model: (1) mixed land uses, (2) compact building design, (3) a range of housing opportunities, (4) walkable neighbourhoods, (5) distinctive communities with a strong sense of place, (6) preserved open spaces, farmland and natural beauty, (7) strengthening of existing communities, (8) provision of a variety of transport choices, (9) predictable development decisions and (10) encouragement of community and stakeholder

participation in the planning process. Calthorpe (2000:12) states the latter as the most important in the development process. Although definite physical attributes remain important it is the community and stakeholder participation that forms the foundation of this model (Litman, 2012:12).

While the above two post-modern models clearly illustrate a shift in the importance of people as stakeholders, these models are still criticised by many authors such as O'Toole (2001:20 & 2009:23), Neuman (2005:11) and Litman (2012:4) for being too physically orientated focused on creating utopian cities. The importance of cities as socio-political environments that shape the physical environment is a principle that has become central in planning thought.

2.5.2 Cities as socio-political entities

Within this view of cities and planning, there is no fixed view of planning, and participatory planning results in citizens as co-planners (Hauge & Jenkins, 2005:41). This view emphasises the creation of an atmosphere in which the civil society engages with the government and planners in the decision making process (Hauge & Jenkins, 2005:41). It is considered a relativist philosophy in urban planning with negotiation as the main ideal (Davoudi & Strange, 2009:21). Within this paradigm the focus is primarily on planning as a social process (Friedmann, 2010:159) and physical planning becomes secondary. Authors such as Friedmann (2010) and Jacobs (1961) state that the search for a new and sustainable paradigm in planning is a constant process. The communicative model emerged as the most prominent theory in this regard in which cities are seen as socio-political environments.

- **The Communicative planning model**

Allmendinger and Tewdwr-Jones (2002:208) refer to the "communicative turn" in planning as an emerging consensus that the communicative and collaborative planning theories are currently dominating the planning theory field. The communicative approach to planning is perhaps the most difficult to explain because it focuses on using communication between different interested stakeholders to reach consensus (Foley, 1997:21). Jürgens Habermas formulated the idea of communicative action in which actions should be coordinated according to common understanding that is reached through reasoned debating, consensus or cooperation (Bolton, 2005:1). Habermas can be identified as the philosopher that emphasised widespread public participation (Bolton, 2005:2).

The idea behind the communicative planning as ideal is that individuals approach a conversation with his or her own subjective experience in mind, while shared goals and possibilities will emerge through debate (Healy, 2004:96). Participation therefore plays a central role in this model (Allmendinger & Tewdwr-Jones. 2002:206). The model seeks to include a broad range of voices to enhance the debate and the negotiation that is supposed to form the

core of actual plan making (Healy, 2004:96). According to Foley (1997:21) participation is actually fundamental to the planning process. Without the involvement of concerned interests there is no planning (Knox, 2005:45).

In the communicative planning model it becomes clear that participation is not only shaped by the public in a given area or by the attitude of the planning organisation or planners that work for it. In fact, public participation is largely influenced by how planning is defined, how planning problems are defined, the kinds of knowledge that urban planners choose to employ and how the planning context is set (Allmendinger & Tewdwr-Jones. 2002: 206). This model focuses more on the process of planning than the end product.

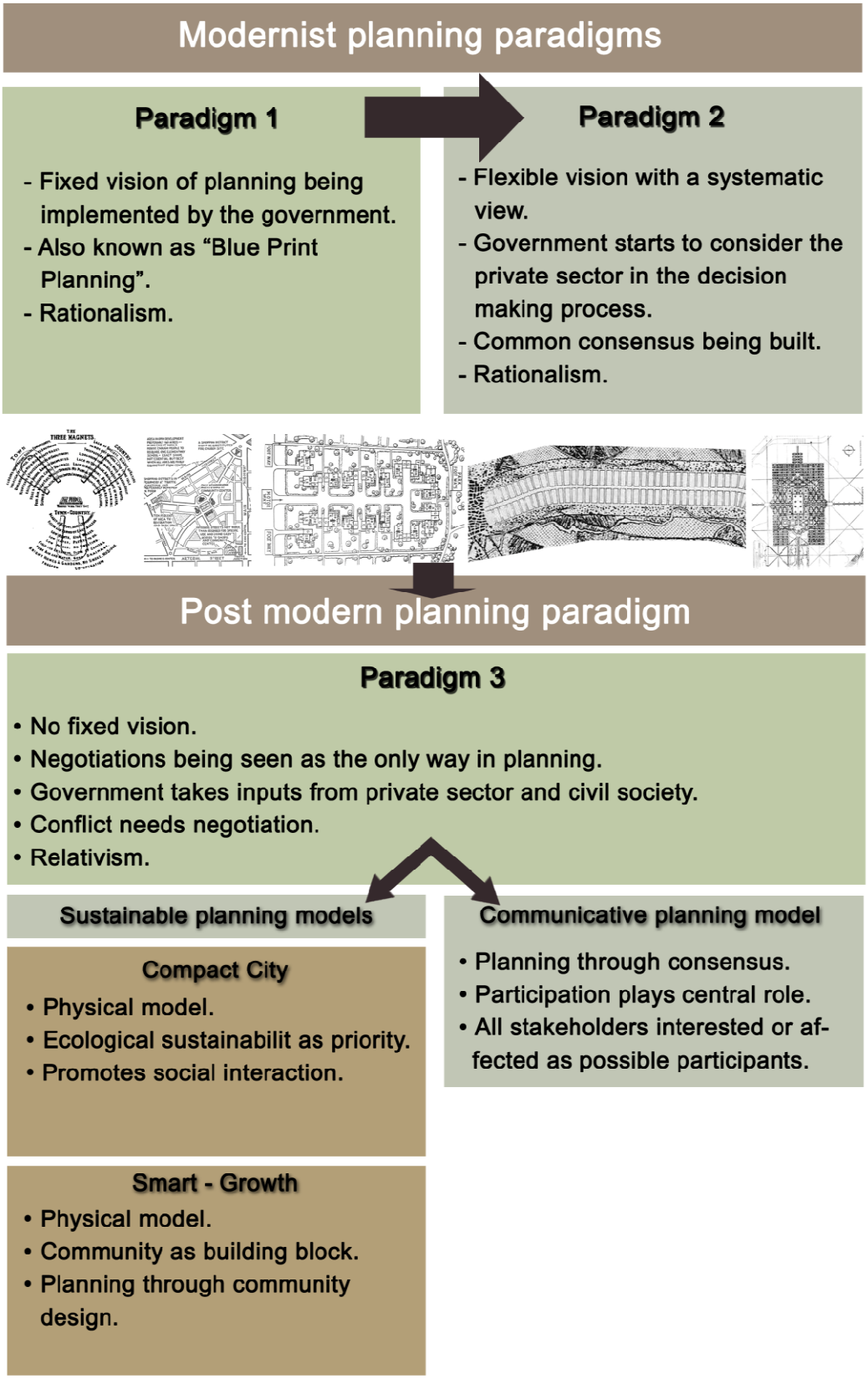
Michel Foucault criticises this model as focusing on “what should be done” and not on “what is actually done” (Flyvbjerg & Richardson, 2002:2). He suggests that the nature of communicative planning theory is compromising for a lack of power. Habermas’ idealistic idea that ignores power and conflict is not very realistic and the social and political sphere of life will not give way (Flyvbjerg & Richardson, 2002:2). Flyvbjerg and Richardson (2002:23) declare that the more differentiated groups become, the more room there is for conflict, making Habermas’ idea a distant dream.

While the communicative paradigm may prove to be rewarding as an alternative for the problems associated with modernistic planning, it remains a theory with not necessarily extensive support by practitioners. There seems much scope for research on how this paradigm should materialise at ground level.

2.6 Synthesis: urban planning as social process

The following table illustrates the paradigm shifts in planning from a modernistic blueprint product oriented view to a more flexible and post modern view of planning as a social process where people are at the centre of the process.

Table 2-7 The paradigm shift in urban planning making way for a social process.



(Source: Own Syntheses, adapted from Hall, 1996, Collins, 2006, Banerjee & Baer, 1984 and Tungare, 2001)

2.7 Conclusion

Throughout the history of cities, urban planning mostly functioned as a physically oriented discipline that concentrated on end products. These products, represented in different civilisations in terms of different ideal forms, were thought for most of planning's history to drive social change and prosperity (Edwards & Tsouros, 2008:31). The modernistic models responded to social problems by enhancing the urban environment on a physical level (Hall,1996:205). All of these models were physical approaches for better living conditions. Although these utopian ideals were not necessarily poor planning models in themselves, the application of modernistic principles seems to have created the deterministic concept of the physical as determined for social interaction.

Jacobs (1961) states that cities should be for the citizens by the citizens, which implies a shift in focus towards a more socially oriented paradigm. The social process of urban planning paradigms opened up the possibility of looking at cities as social systems and not only physical environments as neutral backgrounds. This form of planning, although criticised by key authors such as Jacobs (1961) and Healy (2004:96), paved the way for urban planning towards a more process orientated discipline, driven by people on the ground. This is why post modernistic models of urban planning reacted and started to follow a more process oriented approach (Saimpaio, 1999:12) where people were places at the centre of the way in which the physical environment was planned. Authors such as Saimpaio (1999:15) emphasise that urban planning moved from a general top-down approach to a bottom-up approach. A general awareness of the role of communities and community participation within urban planning interventions can be regarded as the most important consequence for planners – both in theory and practice.

With the above as background the theory of communicative planning emerged as the main paradigm in contemporary planning theory. Through this theoretical lens, cities are not only regarded as physical environments that planners are involved with. They are increasingly emphasised as a society consisting of social systems. This creates the focus of the next chapter, in which cities will be explored as complex urban social systems within society.