From Disparate Association to Planning Doxa

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Abstract:
Regarding town planning in Victoria as a multiplicity of practices – ensembles of institutionalised activities – I interrogate what I regard as a neglected cluster of 'knowledge'-making practices and probe their sources and legacies. I pose the Foucauldian question 'what is the nature of our present?' in relation to what has shaped the planned face of Melbourne. In particular, I set out to trace the diverse constructions of the norms and forms which became Melbourne's planning doxa through a genealogy of planning in Melbourne from c1914 to 1929; a period catalysed by events including creation of the Victorian Town Planning and Parks Association, outbreak of worldwide war and ending with the establishment of the Metropolitan Town Planning Commission.

I argue that strategic and statutory planning in Melbourne lie at the nexus of private profit through property investment and social benefit, and have done so for the last century. Early town planning folded together disparate planes of reference including health/medicine, architecture/surveying and moral purity. I examine, in particular, the nexus between Foucauldian *dispositifs* of eugenics and town planning and their constituent discourses, including those of moral purity, health, progress/development and certainty. I illuminate some of the formal and informal encounters between such *dispositifs* to demonstrate how the disparate association of ideas became a planning doxa of certainty.

Introduction

> *'Planning practice is the product of history'* (Fischler, 1995, pp.14)

I seek to trace the diverse constructions of the norms and forms which became Melbourne's planning doxa through a genealogy of planning in Melbourne from 1914 to 1929; a formative period commencing with the establishment of the Victorian Town Planning and Parks Association (VTPPA) and outbreak of World War 1 and ending with the *Plan for General Development* of the Metropolitan Town Planning Commission[1]. Regarding town planning in Victoria as a multiplicity of practices – ensembles of institutionalised activities – I interrogate what I regard as a neglected cluster of 'knowledge'-making practices and probe their sources and legacies. I argue that strategic and statutory planning in Melbourne lie at the nexus of private profit through property investment and social benefit, and have done so for the last century. Early town planning folded together disparate planes of reference and regimes of truth including health/medicine, moral purity and what became town planning. I examine, in particular, the nexus between Foucauldian *dispositifs* of eugenics and town planning and their constituent discourses, including those of moral purity, health, progress/development and certainty. I illuminate some of the formal and informal encounters between such *dispositifs* to 'make the cultural unconscious appear' (Foucault, 1989, p.73) and to demonstrate how the disparate association of ideas became a planning doxa of certainty: how town planning practice arose in early 20th Century Melbourne and made its way into an accepted cultural construction of planning.

I introduce Foucauldian concepts of effective history and problematisation, a methodology of genealogy, the *dispositif* and a reading of archives as both process and materiality of planning thought and practice. I contextualise early 20th Century Melbourne and suggestions for its planned improvement, before genealogically investigating the four planes of reference/regimes of truth of medicine, moral purity, economic certainty and town planning. I then demonstrate the nexi between these disparate rationales, highlighting, in particular, some of the human and non-human intercessors which connected the 'truths' and influenced what became planning doxa in Melbourne.

Methodology: Foucault and Effective History

Foucault (1977a) was interested in 'effective history'; an assemblage of historical knowledges which can produce other ways of understanding the present. Urban spatial ordering and planning were interests which recur throughout Foucault's work from that on madness to his later work on security, or 'certainty', of economic investment, maintenance of political power, freedom from disease, racial purity and so on. Foucault claimed his 'general project' to be 'the history of thought' (2010, p.2): an analysis of the joint articulation of 'focal points of experience in which forms of a possible knowledge, normative frameworks of behaviour for individuals, and potential modes of existence for possible subjects are

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[1] The selected period cuts across Freestone's (2010) eras of 'organised planning movement' and 'experimentation, institutionalisation and legislation', but links more directly to planning-related events in Melbourne.

linked together'(2010, p.3), as in planning in Melbourne. Experience may be of disease, sexuality, economics and so on. For Foucault, experience concerns truth games, origins of meanings, embodiments, investments, aesthetics, which are historically constituted in organising knowledge. He explains (2010, pp.3-5), with regard to knowledge, that 'one should identify the discursive practices which were able to constitute the matrices of possible bodies of knowledge, and study the rules, the game of true and false and, more generally, the forms of veridiction in these discursive practices' and suggests that knowledge is justified, not by truth per se, but by claims that are accepted as being valuable or true. Knowledge is a series of contingent networks of mutually reinforcing justifying claims. With regard to normative frames of behaviour, one should study 'the techniques and procedures by which one sets about conducting the conduct of others' and with regard to subjectivation, one analyses the ways in which individuals (and groups) constitute themselves and others as subjects. Practices thus are indexed to systems of values, rather than vice versa.

Foucault (2000a, 2000b) urges the problematisation of cultural practices. Problematisation involves turning accepted practices into a problem, 'questioning our intellectual and institutional habits as historical products' (Fischler, 1998a, p.392) and seeking the conditions that have made these habits and practices possible. Such questioning should explore power relations between practices, institutions, politics, social groups etc. This is the essence of Foucauldian genealogy as an analysis of 'descent' which discovers the 'myriad events' (Foucault, 1977a, p.146) and heterogeneity involved in the formation of accepted practices. It also uncovers the 'hazardous play of dominations' (Foucault, 1977a, p.148) and contingent force relations which made it possible for 'particular assertions to operate as absolute truths' (Tamboukou and Ball, 2003, p.5).

In attempting to answer the crucial 'how' questions of genealogy, Foucault's concept of the *dispositif* is important. A *dispositif* refers to the ways in which elements (such as practices) are deployed or arranged (disposed) *and* to the attitudes, knowledges and discourses which both realise the practices and are themselves supported and realised by the practices (disposition) (Hillier, 2011). *Dispositifs* thus have a strategic function, responding to specific problems. They are often associated with control and the maintenance and enhancement of power relations.

Foucault (1980, pp.194-195) described a *dispositif* as
> 'a thoroughly heterogeneous ensemble consisting of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral and philanthropic propositions - in short, the said as much as the unsaid…The *dispositif* itself is a network of relations that can be established between these elements.'

In applying the concept of *dispositif* as an analytical tool with regard to town planning and eugenics, I ask what were the strategic imperatives on which the *dispositif* was constructed? What were the main power relations in play and how were power relations strategically linked? What discourses and knowledges were invoked and to what effect?

Genealogy attempts to make sensible 'the muffled sound of something beneath history' (Foucault, 2001, p.191), in the margins between multiplicities of *dispositifs,* discourses and materialities, including reports, newspaper articles, playgrounds, buildings, tramways etc. In sum, genealogy utilises effective history as a means of questioning how certain preoccupations came to occupy prominent positions in town planning practices. It seeks the conditions of possibility for practices to take place; what made them acceptable at a given moment (Foucault, 2000a). Genealogy facilitates specific studies of discursivities and materialities, to problematise how humans and non-humans (such as early 20th Century Melbourne) have been thought and shaped, the techniques invented, the modes of authority and subjectivity engendered and the telos of the tactics and strategies involved (Rabinow and Rose, 2003, p.15). It regards Melbourne as an assemblage of disparate practices and sites where 'what is said and what is done, rules imposed and reasons given, the planned and the taken-for-granted meet and interconnect' (Foucault, 2000a, p.225).

Melbourne: contextualisation
'From a Foucauldian perspective history cannot be adequately represented chronologically as a series of unfolding events … [but rather as] delineating those practices through which knowledge is made and remade' (Armstrong, 2003, p.207). Space was at the centre of thought and practice in early 20th Century Melbourne, from identification and treatment of disease, to construction of facilities, to attempts to establish town planning. It was the 'technicians of space' – the statisticians, medics,

Progressivist urban reformers and those interested in town planning – who, 'in making space thinkable, also ma[d]e it practicable, and enable[d] certain intellectual and practical authority to be exercised over human beings by acting on the spatial aspects of their existence' (Osborne and Rose, 2004, p.225).

The discovery of gold in Victoria in the 1850s brought a dramatic influx of people from Australia and overseas to and through Melbourne. The city expanded rapidly (from 125,000 in 1860 to 490,000 in 1890), with concomitant issues of overcrowding, inner city slum conditions and urban fringe land speculation, insanitary water provision and waste disposal, inner city traffic congestion and absence of quality roads elsewhere, and a lack of basic public amenities (Davison, 1978; Dunstan, 1984; Cannon, 1966, 1972; Engels, 2012). For instance, Melbourne's 'Little Lon' had emerged as a working class area of immigrants, predominantly from Italy, Assyria, India and China, living amongst manufacturing works, warehouses, shops and brothels. It was widely regarded as a slum and hot-bed of vice by class-, gender- and faith-based moralists who declared 'war' on the area and its inhabitants.

Meanwhile, as Cannon (1966, 1972) illustrates, land and building speculators vigorously erected tiny workers' cottages in Melbourne's inner areas and invested in swathes of fringe urban land on which new suburbs would be constructed. There was 'a deeply-held belief that it was impossible to lose money by "investing" in land – a belief which persists to the present day' (Cannon, 1972, p.18). Politicians at State and municipal scales were almost all involved in land speculation. Cannon (1972, pp.449-50) describes how 'a group of men emerged who practically took over the functions of State and used them for private gain. Parliament became a sort of land speculators' club, where the most blatant "log-rolling" – the use of political power for private gain – became commonplace'.

A few Progressive reformers stood against these tides of disease, squalor and speculation. The Victorian Town Planning and Parks Association/Town Planning Association of Victoria (VTPPA/TPAV), for instance, was chaired for almost 30 years by the medical ophthalmologist and Vice-Chancellor of Melbourne University, (Sir) James Barrett. The VTPPA amalgamated the Minimum Allotment and Anti-Slum and Housing Crusade Committee (MAASHCC) and the National Parks Association (of which Barrett was joint honorary Secretary). It's objectives reflected those of both former organisations[2] and their moral visions founded on eugenic values of social efficiency, utilitarianism and scientific planning (Mirams, 2002, p.249). The VTPPA/TPAV railed against speculation as much as it did disease and immorality and urged 'immediate legislation to control this dangerous activity' (TPAV, 1923, p.3), together with that for a comprehensive plan for Melbourne and a whole-of-Melbourne planning authority.

James Barrett found common cause with architect and surveyor, Frank Stapley. A member of Melbourne City Council from 1901, Stapley was alarmed by the involvement of politicians in land speculation and the lack of town planning in Melbourne. In 1917 he ousted Sir David Hennessy from the Lord Mayoral seat, aiming to reform the Council in a move which proved unpopular with his elected colleagues. Stapley was ousted in turn in 1918.

Stapley and Barrett, among others, urged for regulation of Melbourne's development 'along scientific lines', and lobbied for some years for the creation of a city planning commission. The Melbourne Town Planning Commission (MTPC) was established, with Stapley as Chair, as a purely advisory body in 1922, for an initial 3-year period, extended serially until 1929. Determined to make a strong impact on hesitant, if not antipathetic parliamentarians, the all-male Commission was carefully selected by Stapley to contain like-minded, Progressive members, including Edward Rigby of the VTPPA/TPAV[3], technical, professional and local municipal representatives (Freestone and Grubb, 1998).

Like the activities and reports of the VTPPA/TPAV before (and after) it, the work of the MTPC was largely ignored by politicians, however. Whilst several commentators (eg Sandercock, 1975; McLoughlin, 1992; Freestone and Grubb, 1998) argue the role of the global 1930s Depression in side-lining attempts at town planning in Melbourne, there is evidence that efforts to address slum housing, suburban sprawl etc through statutory regulation of development were actively blocked by vested interests fearful of not gaining economic returns[4]. Planning legislation was finally passed in 1944. Melbourne's first Planning Scheme was published in 1954. It had taken over 50 years from the establishment of the VTPPA. Barrett and Stapley were long deceased.

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[2] Alleviation of traffic congestion was thus not a key element of the VTPPA's objectives.
[3] James Barrett was seemingly deliberately not selected. See Freestone and Grubb (1998, n56).
[4] TPAV Annual Reports for 1936, 1937, 1939, 1940-41, 1942.

A Genealogy of Planning in early 20th Century Melbourne

I aim to demonstrate the various planes of reference upon which regimes of truth rested and how their conjunction with sets of practices was able to subjectivate or socially construct people's behaviour in early 20th Century Melbourne as problematic or unproblematic. The four planes of reference of medicine/health, moral purity/eugenics, investment economics and town planning form the bases for the establishment of various associations (such as the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), the Association to Combat the Social Evil (ACSE), the Melbourne Metropolitan Board of Works (MMBW), the Board of Public Health, VTPPA/TPAV, MTPC); various legislative acts (Act for the Conservation of Public Health, 1878, Immigration Restriction Act, 1901, Venereal Diseases Acts, 1916, 1918, Mental Deficiency Bills, 1926, 1929) and various concrete structures (faith-based mission houses, children's playgrounds, kindergartens, womens' hospitals and clinics, individual homes constructed on large lots and urban fringe residential subdivision).

Medical plane of reference: healthy bodies

'For clinical experience to become possible as a form of knowledge, a re-organisation of the hospital field, a new definition of the status of the patient in society, and the establishment of a certain relationship between public assistance and medical experience, between help and knowledge, became necessary' (Foucault, 1993, p.196).

Syphilis was, and is, highly contagious. Transmitted through sexual encounter or through pregnancy, it results in spontaneous abortion, stillbirth and congenital syphilis. In 1917-1918 medical statistics estimated that some 7.5% of the total population of Victoria were infected with VD; there were 9,353 registered (plus an estimated c70,000 unregistered) cases in Melbourne, roughly 10% of the population, while some 80% of the troops returning from World War 1 were infected. Medics were extremely perturbed, both as they recognised that cases were probably under-reported by 50% or more, and also the extent of syphilisation of children. In 1917, 25% of sick children in Melbourne were reported as syphilitic (Committee, 1917).

The development of methods of scientific measurement and collection of statistics turned what had been 'a qualitative world into information … rendering it amenable to control' (Hacking, 1981, p.15). As Foucault demonstrated, the rise of the calculable both individualises and normalises as individuals are subjectivated according to their deviance (or not) from the norm. In so doing, scientific measurement becomes formalised as 'knowledge' and projects calculation (Foucault, 2004) onto medical survey, subjectivating the infected and, in particular, those presumed responsible for the infecting. It powerfully shapes the ways in which choices are open - or closed - to actors.

Once a problem, such as syphilis, became amenable to medical knowledge, someone, or some aspect of individual or collective conduct, would almost inevitably become held responsible for the problem (Miller and Rose, 2008, p.15). It was almost universally the conduct of working-class women, especially prostitutes, who were subjectivated as 'dangerous individuals' (Foucault, 1978b; 2003a) and held responsible for selfishly endangering economic, social and military forms of health. Women's conduct, or rather that of their bodies, had to be acted upon, controlled and potentially transformed by medical (individual) and/or legislative (collective) biopolitical means.

Scientific measurement, therefore, 'was placing sex (sexual relations, venereal diseases, matrimonial alliances, perversions) in a position of "biological responsibility" with regard to the species' (Foucault, 1978a, p.118). 'Abnormal' sexual conduct became symptomological of illness (Foucault, 2003a, p.159). The 'prostitute class', as it was known, became regarded as a major medical problem, threatening the health of society at large. 'Only scientific methods could eliminate social problems, such as prostitution, that were caused by mental deficiency'(Jones, 1999, p.338). Syphilised bodies became objects of a technology and knowledge of rectification (Foucault, 2003a, p.21). In early 20th Century Melbourne, a medico-legal-town planning regime developed round women's bodies, syphilis and all they symbolised, to determine that a biopolitical strategy (Foucault, 2000a, p.137) of intervention was necessary for the future of white Australia (discussed below).

Moral purity plane of reference: the good citizen

In early 20th Melbourne, the medical profession was associated with Christianity, temperance and propriety in general. Syphilis has always had (and still has for some) a moral as well as a medical face. It was regarded as not only attacking individuals, but as weakening the white Australian 'race', negatively affecting the fitness of men to serve their country and deleteriously affecting 'national

progress' (Garton, 1988)[5]. Immediately following Australian Federation in 1901, the Immigration Restriction Act (known as the 'White Australia Policy') was enacted to exclude unwanted (ie non-British or non-European) immigrants. The 'superior qualities' of the white Australian race were perceived as threatened by degeneration caused by imported diseases, dilution due to racial mixing and venereal disease. Australia embraced a form of state racism or biologico-social racism. Non-Caucasians and prostitutes were subjectivated as a biological danger to Australian society: a threat to the population (Foucault, 2003a; 2003b).

Racial purity was linked with moral purity by many, including the WCTU and the ACSE. In debates conducted predominantly within middle-class circles, women tended to be viewed through sex-role stereotyping, either as wife/mother or fallen woman/prostitute, moral or immoral: God's Police or Damned Whore (Summers, 1975). Christian eugenicists sponsored the establishment of clinics for 'race hygiene' and 'mental hygiene' (Watts, 1994) through compulsory treatment and education. VD was regarded as a moral sickness. Patients needed specialised clinics in order to avoid morally infecting other, non-VD patients in general hospitals.

Prostitutes were subjectivated as a 'sub-race' of people who required 'purification' (Foucault, 2003b, pp.61-62): Foucauldian 'monsters' (2003a) whose bodies could potentially endanger public safety. Purification through sterilisation was regarded as beneficial for society as a whole: 'the more inferior species die out, the more abnormal individuals are eliminated, the fewer degenerates there will be in the species as a whole, and the more I – as species rather than as individual – can live, the stronger I will be, the more vigorous I will be' (Foucault, 2003b, p.255). Women's bodies and their sexual practices in particular, were blamed for putting at risk the future health of society as a whole and indirectly its national defence (Smart, 1998) and economic productivity.

Economic certainty: healthy profits

As Cannon (1966, 1972) and others demonstrate, desire for a healthy economic return on investment underpinned much land speculation and the construction of low quality, inner city slums and outer suburban subdivisions. The nexus between politicians, profits from land speculation and detached homes on large lots meant that fear of decreased returns blocked enactment and implementation of planning ideas and legislation. Those advocating regulation gradually recognised the necessity of not threatening such interests. VTPPA/TPAV and MTPC member Rigby stressed that 'city planning is a business proposition of the first importance' (Rigby and Ellery, 1917, in Sandercock, 1975, p.24).

As economic calculations became the 'conventional wisdom' of planning, 'Town Planning Pays' became the message, invoking the economic commonsense of planning, its financial soundness and the profit-making potential of planned suburban development (Freestone, 1981). 'Planning promised certainty for investment decisions' (Freestone, 1981, p.16). Knowledge of where to invest – often assisted by 'insider' knowledge as elected member of a municipality or State government, shareholder or owner of a tramway or railway company, or member of a utilities board – often paid off as new regulations could be devised to protect existing property interests.

However, as Freestone (1981, p.20) points out, planning regulations were supported by powerful land and property investors only 'as long as they paid their way'. Investor support for proposed controls would otherwise be lacking, if not actively blocked. Town planning ideals were squashed beneath economic logic. Similarly, Bills proposing a Greater Metropolitan Council were vigorously opposed by wealthy Liberal, Country and Nationalist party members on the grounds of 'depart[ing] from the long established and essentially just municipal franchise, which gives property holders one, two or three votes according to the value of the property for which they are assessed' (anon, 1915, p.6).

As Foucault (2008, p.65) explained, 'the problems of what I shall call the economy of power peculiar to liberalism are internally sustained, as it were, by this interplay of freedom and security'. Freedom for individual interests and security or certainty of economic return on investment presents a paradox which the State attempts to solve through jurisdiction: 'the juridical gives form to the economic, and the economic would not be what it is without the juridical' (Foucault, 2008, p.163). The 1929 *Plan for General Development*, for example, sought to both 'prevent "misuse" of land and protect property values' (DPCD, 2013, p.1).

Town planning plane of reference: the good city

An active group of 'positive eugenicists' (Watts, 1994) or 'reform eugenicists' (Jones, 1999) concerned

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[5] See also Foucault (1978a, pp.106-7; 2003b).

itself with ensuring the propagation of a healthy white Australian race. To this end they advocated provision of medical facilities as well as public parks and gardens, children's playgrounds and kindergartens to provide people with opportunities to exercise and breathe 'clean' air (Currell, 2010; Engels, 2012). Local government authorities were also able to implement zoning by-laws to create residential districts away from 'noxious' land uses under the amended Local Government Act in 1921.

Town planning, as a practice, has always been grounded in scientific planes of reference or regimes of truth – especially architecture, engineering and surveying, conjoined in the late 19th and early 20th Centuries by medicine, economics etc – and the values through which they are interpreted. Such 'truths' are inscribed in institutions (town planning associations and authorities, property development associations and so on) and constitute the logic according to which spaces are arranged, individuals are examined and treated, and laws and regulations imposed (Iliopoulos, 2013, p.50).

At a time of transition from what Foucault termed government through discipline (of the individual) to government through biopolitics (of the population as a whole), Melbourne became a laboratory for attempting to control diseases such as syphilis and all it symbolised. To the reformers, inner Melbourne was a place of physical and moral danger. It, and the bodies one might encounter there, were unordered, and unordered space was potentially dangerous, threatening 'contagion and dissent' (Levine, 2003, p.299). This was dangerous space; to be controlled and/or eliminated. 'Architecture, space and living arrangements [thus] took on a moral cast' (Levine, 2003, p.315) utilised by the State to impose templates of the 'good city' onto early Melbourne.

The MTPC recommended the widespread introduction of a statutory zoning scheme in order to stabilise land and property prices (MTPC, 1929, p.155). Whilst zoning would theoretically restrict land speculation on the urban fringe - 'suburban land subdivision is taking place at a rate which far exceeds the needs of the community for many years to come' (MTPC, 1925, p.53) - such a 'city functional approach' (Freestone and Grubb, 1998, p.128) would also give certainty to those who invested in appropriately-zoned land. As Fischler (1995, p.22) explains, zoning was 'created and sustained under the political pressure of property owners and developers fighting to maintain or increase their assets, systematized and institutionalized under the influence of scientific and legal developments'.

The MTPC (1925, p.54) suggested that 'the most successful way to accomplish satisfactory planning for the future is by supervision by some central body, clothed with wider powers than municipalities have at present and which will be in a position to regard the subdivision from a metropolitan stand-point'. The Commission recommended a central town planning authority to supervise land subdivision and a democratic Greater Metropolitan Council with powers of land resumption. Both required legislation to pass State Parliament, but although Bills were drafted, they were not submitted. A Greater Melbourne Authority is still under debate in 2013.

'A compilation of disparate rationales'[6]

In the planning of early 20th Century Melbourne, 'texts, practices and people struggle against each other' (Foucault, in Martin, 1982, p.13) as *dispositifs* of eugenics and town planning and their constituent discourses conjoin. Logics, intentions, strategies, procedures and power relations jostle for dominance, sometimes in mutual support, sometimes in opposition. As Foucault demonstrated in his later work, 'security' concerns (freedom from threat of disease, freedom from immorality, certainty of economic investment and so on) influenced attempts to plan an urban environment in response to possible events.

The role of intercessors in bringing together the disparate rationales was fundamental. Intercessors can be humans or non-humans, such as the Progressive reformers and the statistics, documents, plans and facilities they produced, or the middle- and upper-class business groups and politicians who sought to protect, if not to further, their own interests (Freestone and Grubb, 1998, p.128). For key *Progressives*, such as James Barrett and other VTPPA/TPAV members, town planning was seen not only as a scientific, architectural-engineering-surveying approach to the problems of city and society, it was also grounded in truth regimes of medicine (bacteriology) and morality (eugenics) (see Hillier, 2013).

Legislation constructs both crime and criminal. Laws subjectivated syphilis and prostitutes as dangerous 'objects' which had to be controlled for the good of the city and its inhabitants. Prospective planning-related laws were blocked by those with financial interests in land and property (Freestone

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[6] Huxley (2006, p.169).

and Grubb, 1998). Only that legislation which promised certainty for investment decisions, such as systems of zoning, was supported (Fischler, 1995, 1998a). 'Capital (particularly finance capital), professional organisations (especially bodies with a stake in property development), conservative parliamentary factions (especially rural-dominated upper houses of State parliaments), entrenched bureaucracies hostile to any attrition of their powers, and influential central city councils all resisted even the most economically persuasive arguments in favour of planning' (Freestone, 1981: 24) – unless it suited them.

Facilities were also intercessors between medically- and morally-inspired planning ideas for early Melbourne. 'A whole new politics of amenities, of new urban space, will be organized by reference to and subordinated to concerns and principles of health' (Foucault, 2007: 325). In addition to several faith-based missions located in and around the 'back slum' of Lonsdale and La Trobe Streets and in Carlton, the Melbourne Lying-In Hospital and Infirmary (later the Royal Women's Hospital) opened as a charity hospital for women in 1856, the Carlton Refuge in 1861 for 'illegitimate' mothers and young women involved in prostitution, the Salvation Army Fallen Sisters Home in Carlton opened in 1884, and the Victoria Hospital for Women and Children in 1896. The Men's VD Clinic in Lonsdale Street was built in 1918 and the Little Lon Women's Clinic in 1919 by the Melbourne Metropolitan Board of Works as a direct outcome of the high proportion of troops returning from World War 1 with VD and the 1916 Venereal Diseases Act. In 1927 an annex for the treatment of tuberculosis (also recognised as a 'eugenic disease' (anon, 1911)) was added in preparation for treatment of women under the proposed Mental Deficiency legislation.

In addition, kindergartens and children's playgrounds were opened in inner suburbs, such as Carlton (Engels, 2012) and organisations such as the Guild to Play, the Playgrounds Association of Victoria and the VTPPA advocated for playgrounds and parks throughout Melbourne to provide space for healthy exercise. As Engels (2012) has demonstrated, as hoc provision eventually gave way to 'standards', but not until the 1940s, and then only optionally.

The tramways and railways of early 20th Century Melbourne were essential ingredients in land speculation activities. 'Hardly a member of Parliament whose vote could be bought went without his bribe in the form of a new railway, a spur line, or advance information on governmental plans to enable him to buy choice land in advance – the value of which was enormously enhanced when the line went through' (Cannon, 1972: 83). Doglegs and spur lines connected non-serviced parcels of land awaiting residential development, such that the MTPC (1925: 53) reported that 'houses built in scattered positions, without water supply, drainage and sanitation, constitute a menace to the health of the city … it is desirable to arrest such haphazard development now rather than allow it to continue'. No wonder that speculators felt threatened by proposals for town planning legislation.

Conclusions

'established ways of thinking and doing are the products of time- and place-specific systems of power relations, the products of fields of strategic interaction'
(Fischler, 1998a: 394)

Town planning is a multiplicity of practices. In Melbourne these practices concerned communication or flow: sexual communication and the flow of bacteria; moral education as communication; communication via tramways and railways; economic flows of speculative finance; and flows of regulatory ideas for planning the good city: 'how to integrate possible future developments within a present plan' (Foucault, 2007: 18). As Foucault (2007: 19) explains succinctly, the essence of planning was 'simply a matter of maximising the elements, for which one provides the best possible circulation, and of minimising what is risky and inconvenient'.

In early 20th Century Melbourne, heterogeneous social knowledge practices, planes of reference, regimes of truth, their *dispositifs* and constituent discursivities and materialities, were layered upon one another. Medicine, morals and economics, Progressive ideas and Victorian liberal politics emphasising property rights, all coalesced in the material topography of Melbourne and what eventually became planning standards and policies.

As Fischler (1998a: 394) points out, methods of governance 'result from the particular ways in which historically situated actors have defined the problems facing them, the ways in which they have translated a messy social reality into a coherent representation in order to control it'. Historically situated actors include those such as Sir Thomas Bent, Duncan Gillies and Alfred Deakin (Victorian Premiers who made fortunes from financial dealings and land speculation), Sir James Barrett and the

VTPPA/TPAV (a group of Progressives, eugenicists and feminists who sought reform), Frank Stapley (who chaired the MTPC) and more. The materialities left from this period – the women's VD Clinic, playgrounds and parks, tram and rail lines, suburban subdivisions, as well as medical surveys and reports, meeting minutes, newspaper articles, illustrate some of the translations of 'reality' and attempts at control which occurred.

The disparate association of ideas became a planning doxa of certainty, which largely persists to this day. As Engels (2012) explains, the needs of working-class people 'have always come second behind the physical buildings that are the basis of capitalized rent and the many other forms of income that is to be made from the built environment including property speculation'. This economism of power (Foucault, 2004) – the indissociability between economics and power, whether direct or indirect power – remains a dominant force underlying planning in Melbourne. The 'property-power nexus' has reigned relatively unchallenged in Melbourne for more than a century (see, for example, Sandercock, 1975) and planning is still regarded as a 'technical device to serve the interests of capital' (Freestone, 1981: 25).

From the early 20th to the early 21st Centuries, there has been 'a general reluctance to interfere with the rights and consequently the values attaching to property ownership' (Harrison, 1978: 155-156). Whether these are the values of middle and inner suburban residents living in detached homes on ¼-acre blocks (represented by pressure groups such as Save Our Suburbs), or property developers paying $10,000 to dine with the State Minister for Planning (Baker and McKenzie, 2013), 'investment certainty' remains something of a planning doxa[7].

I suggest that there has been a certain (literally) 'structural amnesia' of 'uncomfortable knowledges' (Rayner, 2012, p.108; p.111), such as the biopolitical and eugenicist origins of facilities planning in Melbourne and also the insider trading and speculative land deals of several prominent Victorian politicians, especially State Premiers and (Lord) Mayors of Melbourne. Planning still appears to be often practised with 'eyes wide shut' to backstage influences and power-plays.

Planners have always needed to juggle the paradox of liberalism (freedom v security/certainty). I suggest that analyses of planning in Melbourne could gain from an understanding of the genealogy of planning, its regimes of truth, *dispositifs*, discourses and materialities and the rivalries which played out (and still do) between actors. John Raw's prescient words about town planning in Melbourne in 1914 remain appropriate almost a century later: 'until the public condemned the speculator and the land owner['s] … greed of gain, [planning] legislation would be unsatisfactory and inoperative'.

'It just depends whether the extension [of the city] is controlled by statesman (sic) or by land speculators'
(Town Planning Association of Victoria, 1923, p.9)

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[7] See, for instance:
- 'the benefits of the certainty of sound strategic planning' (Vickridge et al, 2011, p.3), editorial in the Planning Institute of Australia Victorian State journal, *Planning News*;
- 'our strategy has been to deliver certainty through our planning system' (Planning Minister, Matthew Guy, 2012, p.9);
- 'Victorian planning zone reforms provide investment certainty' (Pritchard, 2012, np);
- 'Reforms to the planning zone system in Victoria is (sic) to provide more certainty for developers and those in the wider Melbourne property investment industry' (Pritchard, 2012, np);
- Candidates for the 2012 Council elections across Melbourne 'thought there should be more certainty in planning guidelines and less discretion exercised by planners' (Adoranti, 2012, p.1);
- 'Reformed residential zones bringing new certainty to Melbourne's neighbourhoods' (Planning Minister, Matthew Guy, 2013, np);
- '… provide certainty for the development industry. This certainty is essential to achieve the development goals that are required' (Property Council of Australia, Victoria Division, 2013, p.8).

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