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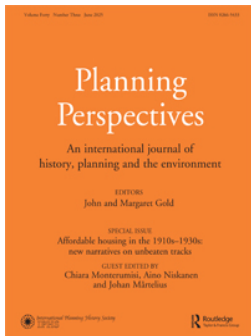
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Ekistics data. Mapping Jaqueline Tyrwhitt's abstracts of technical assistance, 1955–1972

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ABSTRACT

Working from the second row in first-row institutions - the United Nations, the Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM), Harvard School of Design and more - the urban planner and academic Jaqueline Tyrwhitt was establishing an alternative knowledge network. 1957-1972 she edited the *EKISTICS Journal*, publishing more than 2000 reports and abstracts collected from grey publications by technical assistance actors at sites around the world, which became accessible to, and grew a community linking technical assistance experts and planners with locals and practitioners. Using social network analysis through the open version of the relationship mapping tool *kumu*, this paper analyses the content and authorship of the abstracts published in *EKISTICS* under Tyrwhitt's editorship. Using her annotated lists of collections of published and unpublished literature on technical assistance, the paper illustrates Tyrwhitt's contribution to a growing South-North exchange. Then, by visualizing the geographies of knowledge network created through *EKISTICS* and its predecessor, *Tropical Housing and Planning*, its reach and influence become legible. The paper further claims that due to geopolitical discourses and Tyrwhitt's evolving personal role there had been a changing language of individual abstracts in *EKISTICS* as the journal moved from materials and physical planning towards cybernetics, governance and economics.

KEYWORDS

Urban planning; self-help; grey literature; social network analysis; Jaqueline Tyrwhitt; technical assistance; ekistics; ekistics journal; united nations; technical assistance administration

Prologue

A black and white image (Figure 1) shows Josep Lluís Sert – at that time Dean of Harvard Graduate School of Design (GSD) – standing at a lectern during the Fifth Urban Design Conference held at the GSD in 1961. The canvas behind him shows a world map. On the stage with Sert are a man and a woman, who seem to be concentratedly looking at the documents in their hands. The attention of the audience is clearly directed to Sert. The woman in the picture is the British planner, Jaqueline Tyrwhitt. She was the first woman at the GSD faculty to hold a full-time position after being appointed by Sert to a new educational programme in urban design.¹ A major part of her work at Harvard also included organizing the First Urban Design Conference. In this record, and quite in character for her,² Tyrwhitt is on the stage but not herself lecturing. She is probably keeping

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¹Shoshkes, *Jaqueline Tyrwhitt*, 183.

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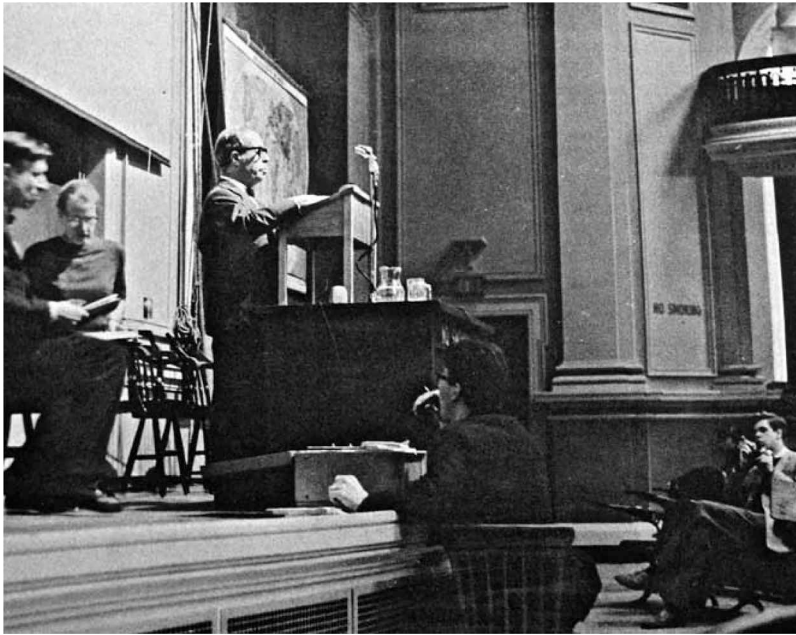


Figure 1. Cover of the report of the Fifth Urban Design Conference, GSD, Harvard, 1961.

time and the agenda for the event, organizing in the background. Typically, as the only or one of few women at these conferences, she was working at administrative tasks for projects for which others would be remembered.

In 1961, the year the image was taken, Tyrwhitt held multiple positions; she was an Associate Professor in Harvard, working on the *EKISTICS Journal* which she edited for the architect and city planner Constantinos A. Doxiadis, and a United Nations senior advisor setting up a new School of Regional and City Planning in Bandung, Indonesia as part of a joint UN-Harvard mission.³

Although Tyrwhitt appears to have taken a back seat role in organizations like the CIAM, this paper argues that her contribution was highly influential within a network of practitioners and experts, creating an alternative field of knowledge to the canonical field within these organizations and the academic literature. Through her different institutional roles, Tyrwhitt could access emerging information resources, connect, and even create networks.⁴ Already in 1941, she had had set up correspondence courses for military veterans on town planning for post-war reconstruction.⁵

From the 1950s, while connecting and informing her international network through *EKISTICS*, she managed to shape an evolving knowledge field through attention to the background tasks of translation and reassociation of texts, while writing and compiling abstracts of minor, often 'grey' literature that was not published nor circulated in the global north, from multiple, often distant sites.

²Murphy, "The Skillful Editor".

³Shoshkes, "Jaqueline Tyrwhitt," 80.

⁴Avermaete et al., *Casablanca Chandigarh*, 312.

⁵See: Shoshkes, *Jaqueline Tyrwhitt*, 71–80.

Aims of the work

This research focuses on the period from 1955 to 1972, in which Tyrwhitt was editing the *Tropical Housing & Planning Monthly Bulletin* and the subsequent *EKISTICS Journal*.⁶ In 1954, the trans-nationally active Greek urban planner C. A. Doxiadis – who was setting up his international consulting businesses⁷ –, aware of the growing number of publications on international technical assistance by technical advisors and research stations around the world⁸ asked Tyrwhitt to assemble recent research. She created annotated lists of such materials in the form of a collection of abstracts that in this case rather resembled editor's notes and initially functioned as a private clipping service for Doxiadis and his office.⁹ Later, starting in 1957 the bulletin was opened for wider circulation to a broader group of practitioners and the abstracts produced by Tyrwhitt became more extensive. By 1959, Tyrwhitt was assisted by Dr Gwen Bell, a geographer and town planner who took over as editor in 1967, still under Tyrwhitt's eye.¹⁰ From 1960 the journal often featured abstracts directly taken from primary sources and re-published them. At its highest circulation in late 1971, shortly before Tyrwhitt retired from her work, *EKISTICS* had a reach of 4500 of which 3350 were paying subscribers.¹¹ The balanced distribution (Figure 2) shows that through the journal Tyrwhitt was able to assemble knowledge from dispersed geographies. In an apparent exchange, she also redistributed this knowledge.

In both *Bulletin* and *EKISTICS Journal*, Tyrwhitt and Bell included abstracts of journal articles, reports, self-help building instructions, brochures, and manuals from sites, local research stations and persons with which the UN was in contact. Initially, in the mimeographed *Bulletin* the type-written abstracts were mostly of reports that had been printed for a limited audience, summarized in accessible language.

The research is based on a dataset (Figure 3) of the abstracts for about 500 articles and reports, published in *EKISTICS*. Out of the 2000 abstracts and full reports published in the studied period, the exploration of alternative networks is based on roughly 500 connected to development aid in non-aligned countries, omitting others focused on practices in or for the global north or on more general subjects. Towards this, the research process sorted and categorized them by time, by authors, topics, region, approach, technology, and others. By focusing on the abstracts as research sources this paper centres and analyses the knowledge field presented in them, and its transformations over time.

Many of these abstracts included Tyrwhitt's own position on the topic. The notes (see Figure 4) usually started with an overview paragraph and subsequently would summarize the source text in key sentences, followed by especially interesting facts – sometimes reflecting her opinion – in a concluding paragraph. For example, in discussing earthquake reconstructions of an Ecuadorean co-op Tyrwhitt summarized that 'teaching people to live in their environment was an important step after the new houses were provided, while the final step will be to encourage the residents to live in a cooperative community'.¹²

⁶The journal had different sub-titles over its span. See: JSTOR, "EKISTICS." <https://www.jstor.org/journal/ekistics>. Accessed May 11, 2024 and "Thirty Years of EKISTICS, 1955–1985." *Ekistics* 52, no. 314/315 (1985): 458–61. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43623859>.

⁷Constantinos and Emma Doxiadis Foundation: "Bibliographical Note", on: <https://www.doxiadis.org/ViewStaticPage.aspx?ValueId=4276>. Accessed: May 4, 2025.

⁸Doxiadis, "A New Phase of Ekistics".

⁹Shoshkes, *Jaqueline Tyrwhitt*, 213.

¹⁰Dr Gwen Bell was initially an assistant editor from 1959, and from 1967 editor of *Ekistics*, while Tyrwhitt remained actively involved. In 1972 the two published a co-edited anthology of 45 pieces from the journal: Bell and Tyrwhitt, *Human Identity*.

¹¹Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives, *Ekistics* circulation, MR-ACE 158, 22.12.1978 (File 17773).

¹²Linke, "Houses, Nothovels".

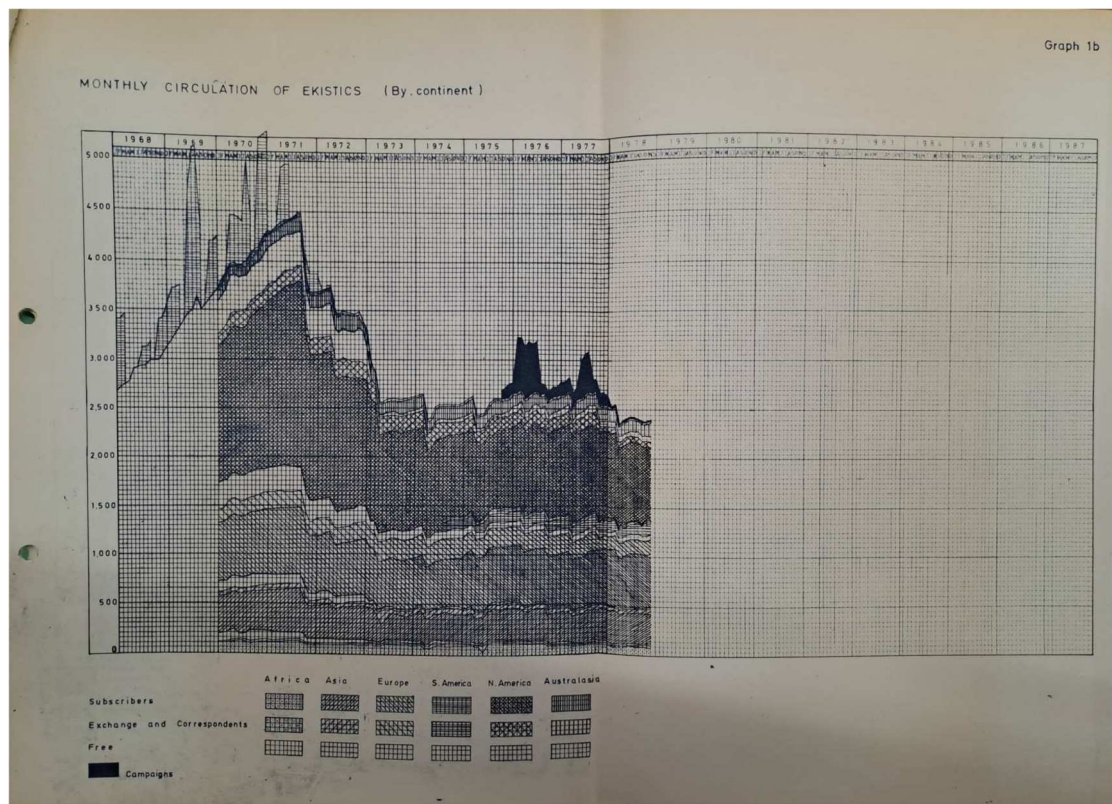


Figure 2. Graph 1b of *EKISTICS* monthly circulation up to 1978 shows the distribution of the journal by continent. A focus on the global North is depicted but suggesting a balanced global distribution of the journal. MR-ACE 158, 22.12.1978 (File 17773). © Constantinos and Emma Doxiadis Foundation

	B	D	E	F	G	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	S
1	Label	Type of Publication	Author / Individuals	Publication	Topic/Category	Region	Approach	Technology	Hands-On	Publisher / Institution	Location	Fund	Connected to	data
5	Thoughts on housing for the humid tropics	Journal Article	Douglas H. K. Lee	Geographical review	Tropical Architecture		Research		materiality					1951
6	Houses, not hovels. How an Ecuadorean co-op got rid of Straw-mat Town	Manual	Life Linke	The Americas	Reconstruction	Ecuador Latin America	Western technical assistance	new acculturation (pull)	materiality				asbestos-cement roof tiles	1956
7	Great open spaces: Prairie planning in Nairobi; Commentary on Nairobi	Editorial Book	Roger Johnson	Architectural Review	Settlement Planning	Africa Nairobi	Western technical assistance		immateriality	Architectural Review				1956
8	Une ville résidentielle en pleine nature	Book	Mario Messina	Reports on research	Settlement Planning Village building	Monaco Africa North Africa	Research		hybrid	Unesco, Roma				1953
9	Solar air conditioning	Article	Massachusetts Institute of Technology	Reports on research	Alternative energy		Research		materiality	Massachusetts Institute of Technology				1956
10	Research studies on the costs of urban Bantu housing	Report Book	National Building Research	National Building Research Bulletin	Settlement Planning Economic Development Low cost housing	Africa South Africa	Research		immateriality	South African Council for Scientific and Industrial Research	Pretoria			1954
11	Development and planning in West Africa	Report Manual	Alfred. E. S. Alcock	Town Planning Institute Summer School	Settlement Planning Low cost housing Self-help	Africa Africa West Africa	Research		immateriality	Town Planning Institute	Accra	State of Ghana Accra		1955
12	Kenya houses its Africans: a recent visitor to Kenya describes four of its principal towns and the housing and other problems created by their rapid growth	Journal Article	Denis Moriarty	Town and country planning	Settlement Planning Village building Low cost housing	Africa Nairobi Kenya	Non-Governmental agency		hybrid	Town and country planning				1955
13	Les réalisations de l'Office des cités Africaines au Congo Belge et au Ruanda-Urundi	Journal Article	H.J. Spellinx	L'Habitation	Settlement Planning Technology Low cost housing	Africa	Western technical assistance		immateriality	I.N.P.H.				1955
14	Problems of housing labourers in the tropics Preliminary report on Egyptian villager housing buildings	Report	O. Koenigsberger Georges Pillet	News sheet of the International Federation for Housing and Town Planning	Tropical Architecture Self-help Low cost housing		Western technical assistance		materiality	Department of Tropical Architecture			Architectural Association, UK	1955

Figure 3. Dataset of selected, categorized, and linked abstracts. The Dataset categorized the abstracts by topic but also drew links between the single abstracts, their authors and institutions.

I. CURRENT LITERATURE

HOT DRY AREAS

3. António de Aguiar, Joao. L'habitation dans les pays tropicaux. I, Organisation des communautés; II, Disposition des logements; III, Considérations d'hygiène dans les logements. Lisbon, Federation Internationale de l'Habitation et de l'Urbanisme, 1952. various paging, photos, plans, sketches, tables. (XXI Congrès, Lisbonne, 1952.)

Limpopo
Climate: circa 112°F-46°F
Rainfall: 31"

Senor António de Aguiar is "architecte sous-directeur du Cabinet d'Urbanisation des Provinces d'Outre-mer," [Portugal], and his illustrations are of the work of various organizations in the Portuguese territories of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea and St. Thomas. There are copious illustrations of this housing. Many of them show use of thatch as roofing, and frequent use is made of arcades and colonnades as a protection from the sun. Most of the housing is of the very small single-dwelling type and of concrete construction. There follow examples of housing for government workers and officials of the various industries.

A summing up of construction is made as follows:

Figure 4. Written in 1952 and abstracted for the bulletin in 1956, Tyrwhitt quickly summarized and gave excerpted the key aspects in French and re-published two illustrations from the original paper. *Tropical Housing & Planning Monthly Bulletin* 1, no. 4 (1957): 6. © Constantinos and Emma Doxiadis Foundation

Over time, the bulletin evolved into a full-text journal, *EKISTICS* (Figure 5). Although with a changing audience the work of writing abstracts was not done anymore, publishing still required intensive decision making and cognitive work in the editorial process. In doing so, Tyrwhitt and Bell made public an emerging resource of development literature that would normally have remained in closed circles of development experts. Building on the established practices of missionary and colonial administrators' guides, there had been a steady growth of publications created by research stations as well as in relation to self-help housing projects, study programmes, and alternative technologies aimed at so-called 'developing countries'.¹³

What form did the knowledge field that Tyrwhitt created within the *Bulletin* and later the *EKISTICS Journal* take? Interactive links (Figure 6) show relationships by topics, locations of their topics as well as real-life connections between individuals, institutions, geographical locations, and subjects covered in the abstracts. Some actors already knew each other, or connected through the United Nations' Technical Assistance Administration, while some connections were fostered through the journal. The map is a first step towards understanding *EKISTICS* as an expansion of networks,

¹³The dataset lists many of these sources. See also Johan Lagae and Paoletta Holst. "'Objects That Are Dear to Him': The Colonizer's House and the Mise En Valeur of the Belgian Congo." Accessed October 10, 2024. <https://www.e-flux.com/architecture/appropriations/533163/objects-that-are-dear-to-him-the-colonizer-s-house-and-the-mise-en-valeur-of-the-belgian-congo/>.

SELF-HELP HOUSING METHODS AND PRACTICES IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

Alfred E. Alcock, K. N. Misra, J. L. McGairl and C. B. Patel

This abstract is taken from United Nations «Report of the Mission to Survey and Evaluate Self-help Housing Methods and Practices in South-East Asia, New Delhi, January 1962». This report has not been cleared with the Bureau of Technical Assistance Operations of the United Nations, which does not, therefore necessarily share the views expressed. The Mission consisted of Mr. Alfred E. Alcock, Chairman, United Nations Housing and Physical Planning Expert in Central America; Mr. C. B. Patel, Secretary, Chief of Housing and Building Materials and Techniques Section of ECAFE; Mr. K. N. Misra, Chief Engineer, Town and Country Planning, State of Uttar Pradesh, India; Mr. J. L. McGairl, Deputy Commissioner of Community Development to the Government of Tanganyika.

The meanings of self-help, mutual aid and co-operative methods of housing used in this report need precise definition so that attention can be focused on those aspects which offer opportunities for fresh approaches to the solution of the housing problem, other than those used extensively by governments in the past. These definitions are presented in Table I (p. 82).

The policies which were used by governments in tackling their housing problems provided for three principal types of programmes:

- a. Financial help and provision of sites;
- b. Building housing of all kinds for sale or for rent;
- c. Financial help to owners building on their own sites.

financial help. Aided self-help methods and technical assistance are sometimes included in the programmes.

The extent to which self-help methods and locally available materials are used in programmes to solve the housing problems of the different countries is dependent upon whether the methods are suited to the types of programmes and to the conditions in the country or whether other methods are more appropriate. For instance, in many urban areas little manual self-help is possible because the standards required by building regulations need specialized skills and materials which are not normally known by or available to the would-be self-help builder.

Self-help is still possible and practical in

Figure 5. For the issue 93 (Vol. 16) of *EKISTICS* in 1963 Tyrwhitt directly republished the original abstract by Alcock et al. From 1960 this practice became the standard of papers that already came with an abstract, p. 81. © Constantinou and Emma Doxiadis Foundation

but also to bypass western interests and create spaces for alternative south–north–south or south–north knowledge transfers.

Tyrwhitt's work in grouping these papers in *EKISTICS* also translated contributions to knowledge developed through hands-on work into scalable and generic developmental themes.¹⁴ There was a wide variety of articles dealing with spatial and concrete architectural and urban interventions but also with other issues. Two exemplary abstracts that Tyrwhitt published in *EKISTICS* illustrate this relegation of everyday and hands-on approaches in favour of long-term economic planning and governance.

In some abstracts from the 1950s, the scaling and industrialization of artisanal technology was promoted as a tool for development aid. A typical one is of the 1952 report 'Demonstration of Stabilized Mud Bricks in Egyptian Village Housing':

Red brick, lumber, steel and concrete are expensive in Egypt and their transportation in the interior of the agricultural areas is undependable. The most plentiful and universally available raw material is Nile Valley clay. This in the form of sun-dried brick makes good building material in the parts of Egypt that have no rain, and experiments have shown that a bitumen soil mix, using the Egyptian agricultural land

¹⁴While the 1959 editorial explained that the readership was firstly "educational establishments" and then UN "technicians and administrators", "the readers who find most of interest in *EKISTICS* are the practitioners specifically dealing with development in one specific place. They are faced with practical problems everyday, and for them, *EKISTICS* summarises new theoretical formulations and case studies which can sometimes give a new perspective to their provincial problem". "The Readership of *EKISTICS*," *Ekistics* 8, no. 47 (1959): 155.

The second, related abstract called ‘Mud Brick Roofs’ is of a report published by the United States’ Housing and Home Finance Agency in 1956.¹⁸ It starts by introducing a historical account of building methods with sun-dried brick in Upper Egypt and relates them to construction methods used by the well-known Egyptian architect Hassan Fathy.¹⁹ At the time, Fathy was researching earth construction methods in North and West Africa for Doxiadis’ ‘City of the Future’ programme reflected in the network of EKISTICS (Figure 7). The abstract then goes on to give a detailed description of the techniques used to work the mud and shows how to use ancient building methods, concluding that

The ancient building method has been kept alive by Dr. Fathy; his improvements have not detracted from the method’s simplicity.²⁰

While abstracting the Nubian knowledge of mud construction to ancient and simple, this abstract conceptually demotes it in relation to modern and conceptual models of development planning.

1954–1958 Harvard years: desktop agency

Initially Tyrwhitt managed the production of the *Bulletin* from Harvard. She included different UN documents, articles, and academic reports as well as reports from the field. From 1957 to help gain insights and collect material for the *Bulletin* Doxiadis paid Tyrwhitt to again work with Ernest Weissmann the Head of the UN’s Technical Assistance Administration one day a month at the United Nation’s office and commuting to New York.²¹ Weissmann was head of the Technical Assistance Administration (TAA) that was founded in 1950 with the goal of advancing economic development via knowledge distribution and as such in charge of the *Housing and Town and Country Planning Section* of the *UN Division of Social Affairs* (SOA). The knowledge Tyrwhitt assembled in New York was tracked in the monthly *Bulletin*. As more and more people asked for copies of the *Bulletin*,²² Doxiadis realized the importance of the bulletin and started to transform it, by changing the name and increasing its print run from a private bulletin to a semi-public journal.²³ For Tyrwhitt this was the chance to create a knowledge community, arguably undermining the centrality of her patron. Doxiadis later wrote in a letter to Jacob L. Crane, who was a senior consultant at Doxiadis Associates and advisor on low-cost housing for several governmental and international organizations such as the UN:

I must confess that I was afraid to allow Jaqueline to print more copies because she had a tendency to start distributing them widely and I do not believe this would be the right thing as this is a bulletin prepared only for a very specific purpose.²⁴

The bulletin was first published under the name ‘Tropical Housing & Planning Monthly Bulletin’ in October 1955 (Figure 8). Later, its name was changed frequently. From October 1957 it was made available for a wider audience and appeared under the titles ‘EKISTICS: Housing & Planning Abstracts’ and from May 1959 as ‘EKISTICS: Abstracts on the Problems and Science of Human

¹⁸Housing and Home Finance Agency, “Mud Brick Roofs”.

¹⁹Bertini et al., *Hassan Fathy*. Hasan Fathy’s link to the “City of the Future” programme is documented in the archives of the Doxiadis Foundation. Accessed last: 3 May, 2025. <https://www.doxiadis.org/Search2.aspx?SearchType=1&PostedForm=1&CategoryId=0&Price1=0&Price2=0&HotDeal=0&Title=Hassan%20fathy&AttrStr=&TableStr=&TableLookupStr=&SearchdField=&direction=1&orderby=23&pageno=1>.

²⁰Housing and Home Finance Agency, “Mud Brick Roofs,” 17.

²¹Shoshkes, *Jaqueline Tyrwhitt*, 189. Bjažić Klarin, “Ernest Weissmann’s Architectural and Planning Practices”. And Avermaete et al., *Casablanca Chandigarh*.

²²Doxiadis, “A New Phase of Ekistics”.

²³Tolić, “News from the Modern Front,” 975.

²⁴Doxiadis, *Letter to Jacob L. Crane*. Cited according to Tolić 2022, 978.

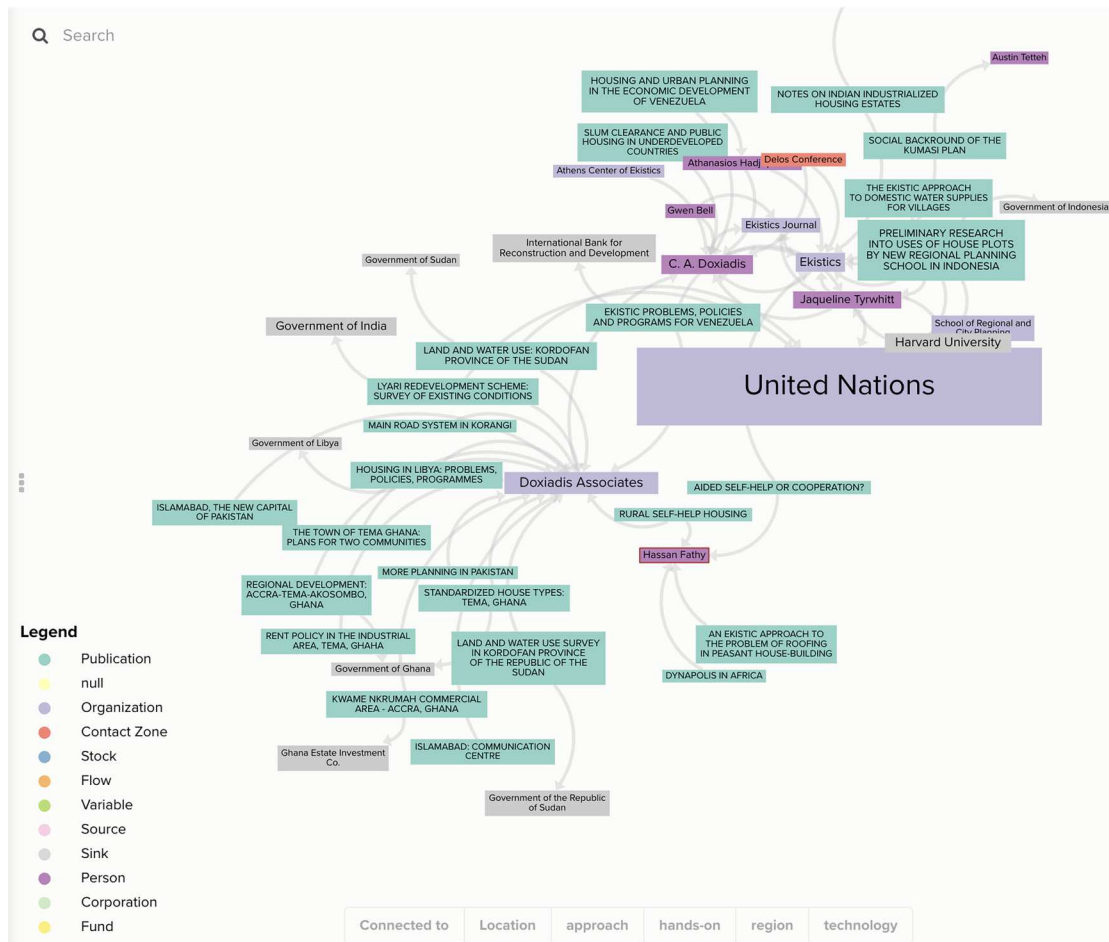


Figure 7. Hassan Fathy in the network of *Ekistics*. This screenshot shows fourth degree connections to Hassan Fathy. Further connections are hidden to make the network legible. We find that Jaqueline Tyrwhitt is closely connected to many in the network she has helped to bring together into a knowledge-field. It partly reflects an already existing network of the United Nations that she helped to expand.

Settlements’.²⁵ The first captions still reflect the idea of the bulletin as a summary of grey literature. Increasingly the journal was seen by Tyrwhitt and Doxiadis as a medium of not only accumulation and facilitation of a knowledge exchange through easy access to the journal but as well as the ‘theoretical organ’²⁶ of the office of Doxiadis Associates, as it was named in an office newsletter. As such the journal provided the possibility of distribution of an agenda intersecting Doxiadis’ private interests in the ekistics approach with the plans of the UN (Figure 9).²⁷

Out of the 500 articles and abstracts observed, the clearest distinction was whether abstracts would focus on technical or tangible solutions, or if they would work in a long-term schedule and opt for a policy approach (Figures 10 and 11). From 1955 until 1959 – the first years of the

²⁵Ekistics was a term invented by Doxiadis and should be close to the Greek word Oikos which refers to the house as a whole and to dealing with its upkeep and is found in the English prefix eco for economy or ecology. To Doxiadis it is roughly translated by the art of human settlement. To make this meaning accessible in English this translation was included into the subtitle.

²⁶“Dear Reader,” *DA Newsletter* 2, no. 4 (April 1, 1962): 1–2.

²⁷Tolić, “News from the Modern Front,” 981–4.

DOXIADIS ASSOCIATES
 Consulting Engineers
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HIB - GA : 22
 June 1957
 Volume 3 : 22

TROPICAL HOUSING & PLANNING
 MONTHLY INFORMATION BULLETIN

Published for private circulation only by
 Prof. J. Tyrwhitt, 77 Trowbridge St., Cambridge, Mass., USA
 Compiled by Caroline Shillaber

CLASSIFICATION SYSTEM USED BY DOXIADIS ASSOCIATES

A The Problems	L Farms
B The Policies	M Surveys
C The Programs	Census data
	Topographical surveys
D People, Development, and Ekistics**	N Research
Geographic factors	(and Technical Education)
Social factors	
Industry	O Planning
Agriculture	(and Landscaping)
Transportation	
E Houses	P Financing
F Structures	Q Urban Land
(exclusive of Houses)	R Labor
G Community services	S Materials
Utilities and Social Services	T Construction
H Regions	Systems of Building and Costs
I Major urban centers	U Implementation
J Market towns	V Management
Medium-sized and small towns	W Administration
New towns	X Legislation
K Villages	
Rural land	

**Refers to centers of activities in relation to their surrounding regions.

Figure 8. The cover of the Tropical Housing & Planning Monthly Bulletin, here June 1957, is simple and divides the articles for Doxiadis Associates into different approaches. © Constantinos and Emma Doxiadis Foundation

journal – 36% of 125 abstracts analysed in this period favoured a materials-connected approach, while 42.5% were leaning towards policy ideas. The remaining 21.5% of abstracts were somewhere in-between. In *Tropical Housing & Planning Monthly Bulletin* alone the percentage of abstracts

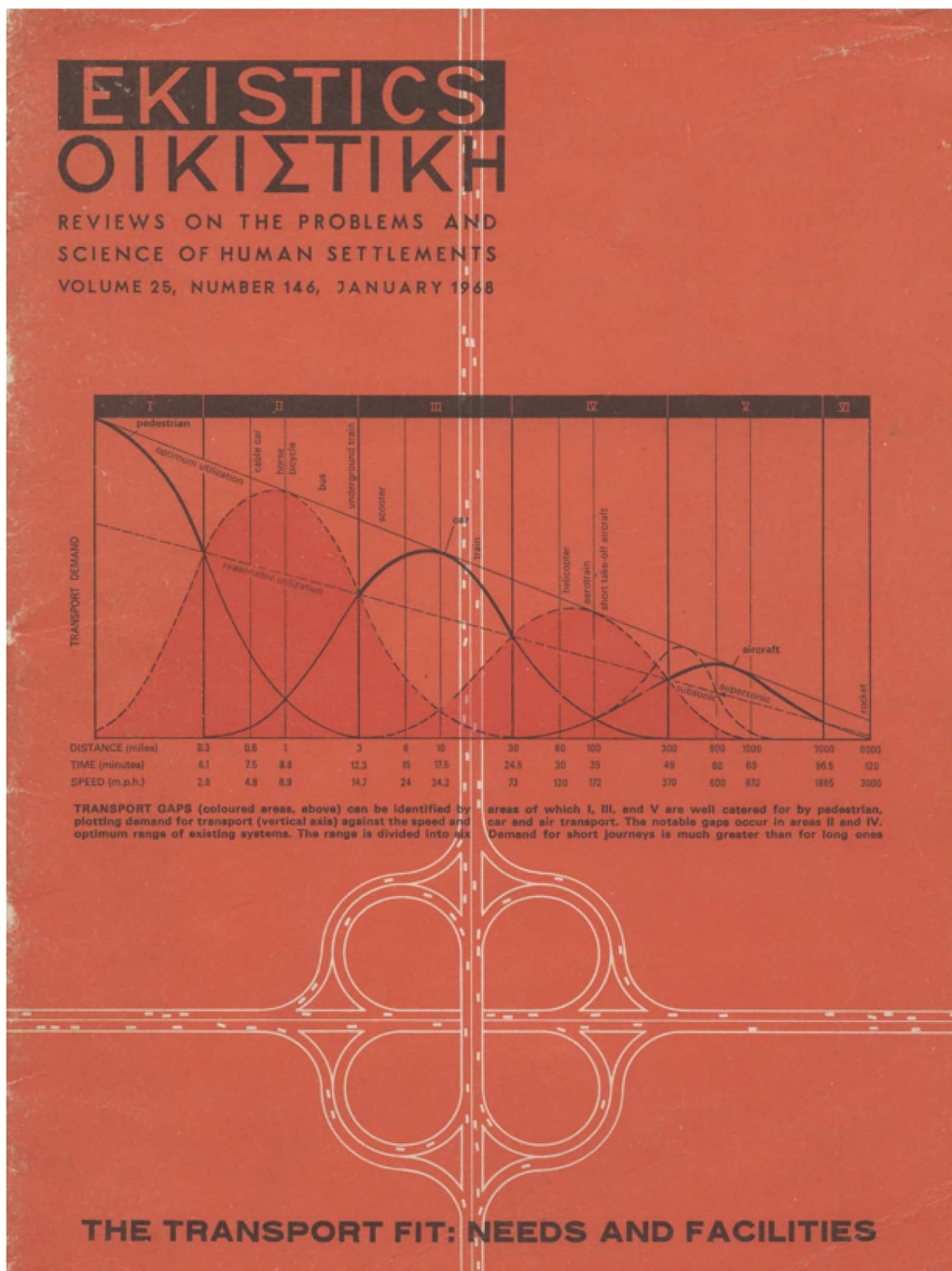


Figure 9. The cover of EKISTICS, here January 1968 in term mostly features an image of a city, the Dymaxion map by Buckminster Fuller or schemes closely linked to planning strategies. © Constantinou and Emma Doxiadis Foundation

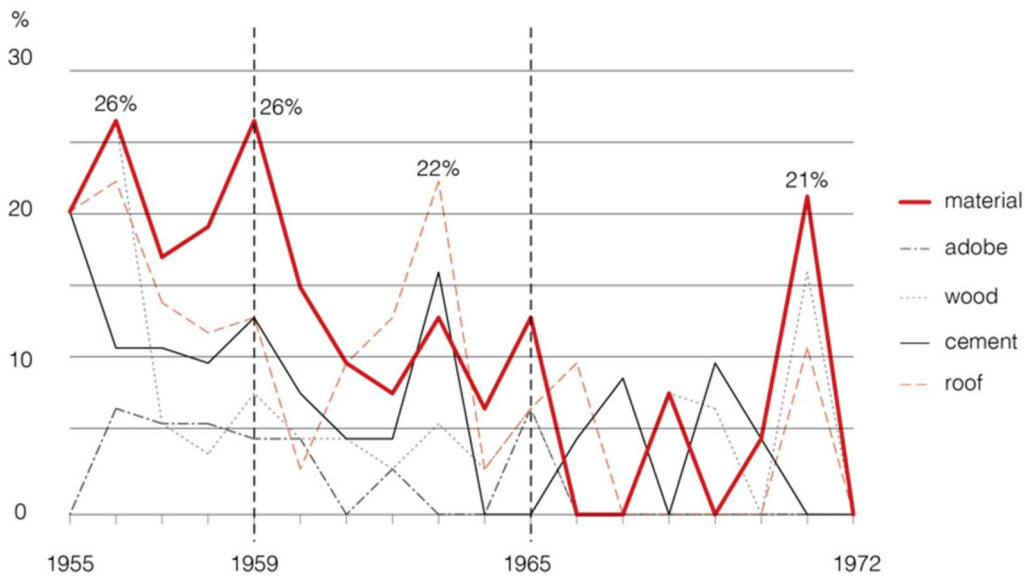


Figure 10. Change of percentage of abstracts in which a term was mentioned per year. The graph shows that terms connected to materials and spatial disciplines such as construction are declining in the abstracts. Especially in the third period examined, the frequency of use of the term does not rise above 10% per year.²⁸ The decline in abstracts and articles centred on materials may also be related to the changing role of *EKISTICS* from a bulletin for Doxiadis to a journal aimed at various United Nations advisors.

featuring a hands-on approach with 41.7%. This content would shrink in the period 1959–1965 to 10.9% and in 1965–1972 to as low as 2.2%.

1959–1965 a new school in Bandung: working in the field

While Indonesia was not a topic in the first years of the journal at all, from 1957 onwards mentions of Indonesia climbed to 15% of articles per year (Figure 12). This rise of attention can be credited to the missions of the UN Technical Assistance Administration starting in Indonesia in 1958, as well as with Tyrwhitt's personal connection to the country.

In 1960, for the first time, an original article was published in *EKISTICS*. The report was written from Indonesia by Tyrwhitt and despite it was an original article was formulated in the style of the usual abstracts of the journal. She reported from the new School of Regional and City Planning in Bandung which was established as a joint mission by the UN Technical Assistance Board, the Government of Indonesia and Department of City and Regional Planning in Harvard for which she followed after faculty member and later Associate Dean William Doebele and her long-time colleague and at that time Professor of City Planning and Urban Research Martin Meyerson who in 1957 had asked Tyrwhitt for her support (Figure 13).²⁹ In her report Tyrwhitt writes:

²⁸One exception is the year 1971, in which both infrastructure projects and the analysis of existing building structures and energy consumption of materials are discussed.

²⁹In 1959 William Doebele and Pennsylvania State University professor Martin Meyerson went to Bandung to arrange the opening of the school in September 1959. Tyrwhitt joined in December. For the following year she would stay in Indonesia, where she would become Harvard faculty advisor in residence. Her role as Harvard advisor was to encourage international exchange of transferable and practical experiences. See: Feld, *Martin Meyerson*.

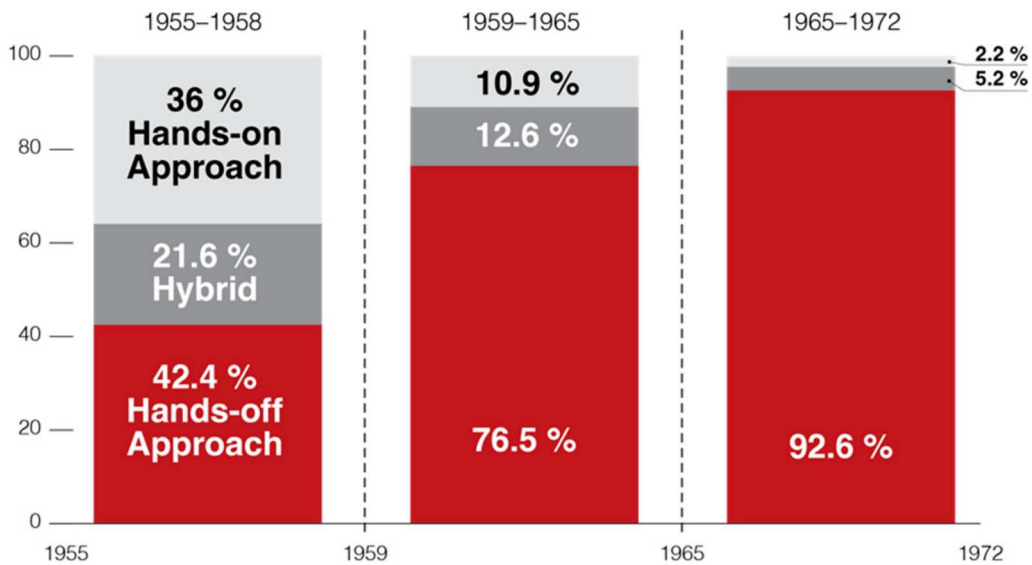


Figure 11. Percentage of abstracts linked to a hands-off approach. This chart in turn shows an increase of hands-off approaches. As the journal circulated more widely, abstracts on generic planning increased. But this change towards a non-spatial perspective seems not only to be connected to a shift in debates in the journal alone. The ekistics approach, which was disseminated by Doxiadis from 1960 onwards, attempted a balancing act between two perspectives, but was clearly characterized by a general need for overarching solutions.

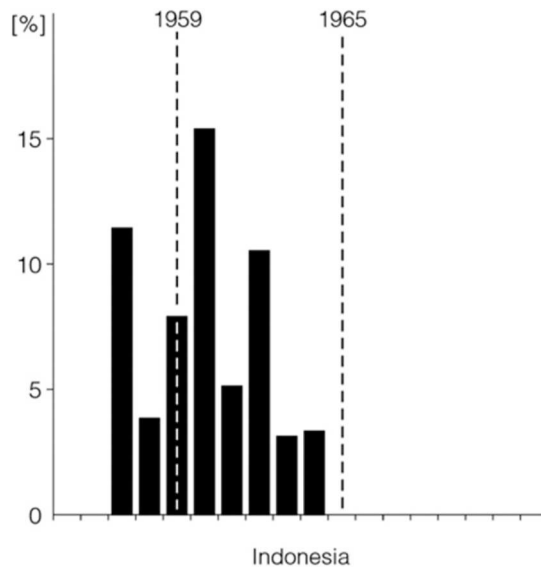


Figure 12. Use of the term 'Indonesia' in the abstracts. One way of staying on the ground is focusing on a concrete location. In Tyrwhitt's case her stay in Bandung changed her view of the country and its specific challenges. Indonesia is mentioned frequently until 1965, but after the military coup in 1967, the country refused to co-operate with the UN and was no longer a topic in the journal.

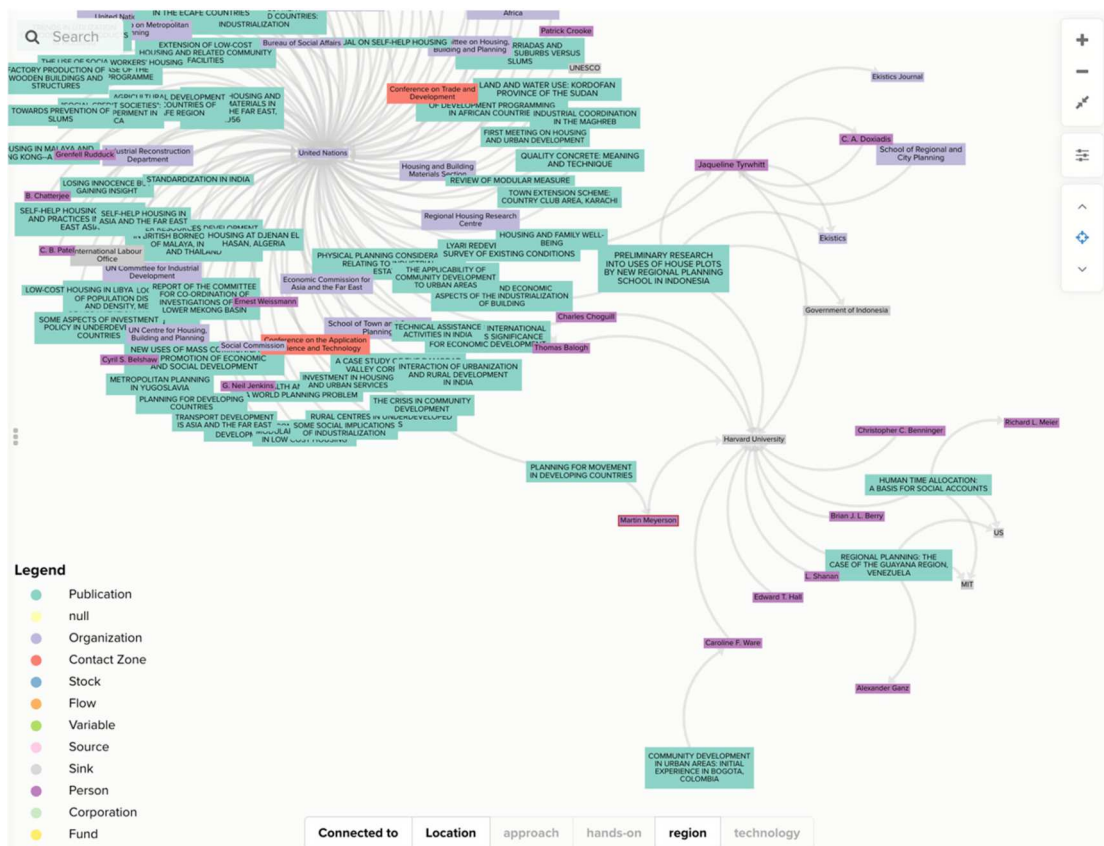


Figure 13. Martin Meyerson in the network of the *EKISTICS Journal* (1959–1965). Like Tyrwhitt, Meyerson connected two networks (Harvard and the United Nations) with each other.

The school has three basic aims: to provide a general training in regional and city planning for students from Indonesia; to undertake advanced research studios eventually to act as a centre for S.E. Asia in the field of advanced training and research in regional planning.³⁰

To provide this training, during Tyrwhitt's stay at the school her students conducted surveys of nearby *desas* – the smallest unit of Indonesian rural societies. As she reported, the survey showed that house plots should be designed according to needs such as space for growing vegetables in the front, with a shade tree, fuel storage and goat shed in the side, and an area of stamped earth for drying agricultural produce. Tyrwhitt's report was less a description of how to work with materials as one of Indonesian settlements as a social and economic entity. She describes how the living spaces are organized and what must be taken into consideration when building them.

After leaving Bandung in July 1960, Tyrwhitt stayed close to the school. She checked in on the school regularly and even donated a large part of the school's library, further supporting transnational knowledge exchanges.³¹ In the years that followed: Tyrwhitt travelled regularly to visit Doxiadis in Athens, to Southeast Asia, and to GSD at Harvard.

³⁰Tyrwhitt, "Preliminary Research into Uses of House Plots," 362.

³¹Shoshkes, "Jaqueline Tyrwhitt," 81.

1965–1972 Athens: a new phase of ekistics

Starting with 1959 a major reorganization of technical assistance within the UN took place. The Technical Assistance Administration fell victim to internal battles within the UN and was included into the United Nations Department of Economic Affairs.³² This restructuring resulted into a loss of jobs and possibilities for working as advisors in the field. A vector of the reorganization was an increased focus on security and peace as focus point of the United Nations under UN secretary general Dag Hammarskjöld. Considering this change and the resulting general institutionalization of planner consultancies and a shift to the professional services, we possibly can understand Tyrwhitt's further decisions to start working closer with Doxiadis and his firm, which would also have an influence on *EKISTICS*.³³

A full-length report published in *EKISTICS* in 1963 by housing researcher Alfred E. Alcock,³⁴ then a United Nations advisor in the Philippines, reveals a changing notion of development. In contrast to the material-connected approaches from especially the first phase of the *EKISTICS Journal*, he wrote:

In making use of self-help methods to reduce the economic rents of apartments, the tenant does not have the same stimulus. To be allotted a bare rented room without decoration, window bars or shutters, without shelves, partitions, bolts or locks may be immeasurably (sic!) better than having a shack but it does not always encourage the tenant to exert himself to improve his apartment.³⁵

Particularly when compared to earlier excerpts, which were in touch with people on the ground, this quote makes the tenant an object to policy. Alcock's underlying argument is that the tenant must be 'encouraged' to personally improve their home.

Loans for building have been part of the housing policies and programmes of Japan, the Philippines, Ceylon and India. [...] In India, the extensive use of small loans has been made to encourage self-help methods of building by people in the lowest income groups.³⁶

In speaking about stimuli, the population is rendered as malleable. Likewise, as in similar abstracts the amount of image material is scarce and articles rather include tables and numbers, making it more difficult to understand for non-professionals. In reframing this policy-approach present throughout the text the abstract ends:

Administrative action to reduce the cost of materials such as lime, cement, brick and tiles can have greater immediate effect than the results of research which need to be tested by time.³⁷

³²Webster, "Development Advisors in a Time of Cold War and Decolonization," 268.

³³As development aid became subject to loans and national policy, return on investment became a subject for internal support in the lender nations. In the USA, where USAID was established in 1961, the publication Ideas and Methods Exchange, and the National Research Council brought together expertise across corporates and localised experts. The Rockefeller Brothers Fund bought the rights to the CINVA-Ram blockmaking machine in 1963. Botti, "A Geopolitics of Mud Construction," 1191. In the UK, the development pioneer Otto Koenigsberger collaborated with a Canadian Aluminium expert, Robert Lynn, on a comparative roof study in 1965 looking at aluminium versus asbestos sheeting. These developments are reflected in several conferences from that time. Koenigsberger, *Roofs in the Warm Humid Tropics*. See: Building Research Advisory Board, and Board on Science and Technology for International Development, *Roofing in Developing Countries*. Koenigsberger, *Roofs in the Warm Humid Tropics*.

³⁴Alcock was an important Building Research Station researcher in the Gold Coast (later Ghana) in the late 1940s, pioneering "swish" construction and editing the ALCOCK, Alfred Edward Savige, and Helga Mary RICHARDS. 1953. How to Build Series. Edited by A.E.S. Alcock and H.M. Richards. [Instructional Books for Africans.]. London: Longmans, Green & Co.

³⁵Alcock et al., "Self-Help Housing Methods and Practices," 85.

³⁶Ibid., 83.

³⁷Ibid., 87.

The agency of the UN advisor – like the role Tyrwhitt assumes – is understood as a mediator who can provoke changes on the ground through administrative and bureaucratic action.

In July 1965, some years after Tyrwhitt returned from her mission in Indonesia, a new phase of the *Ekistics Journal* was heralded by C.A. Doxiadis in an editorial.³⁸ He explained that as more and more people started to receive copies of *EKISTICS* the journal had become a vehicle of communication between many professions.³⁹ This marked some success for Tyrwhitt, who wanted to promote a widespread distribution of the journal for the creation of her network of knowledge. Manifesting the discrete change of content which already started before, Doxiadis transferred the ownership of *EKISTICS* which up till then was part of Doxiadis Associates to the Athens Center of Ekistics which functioned as the non-profit research wing of the Doxiadis Organisation.⁴⁰ As such it was part of the Athens Technological Institute, founded in 1958, under which roof Tyrwhitt would publish it from then on. In addition to the changing content of the journal, the growing influence of private planning companies in the work of technical assistance is reflected in *EKISTICS*, which increasingly functions as an organ that further promotes Doxiadis' ekistics approach. At the Athens Center of Ekistics Tyrwhitt's role changed. In addition to editing the journal, she was now setting up a documentation centre in Athens, her new geographic location, which was intended to serve both, Doxiadis Associates and researchers at the Athens Center of Ekistics.

As a result of the ongoing reformulation of the notion of development, the title of the journal was again changed to 'Ekistics: Reviews on the Problems and Science of Human Settlements' with the terms *housing* and *planning* being replaced and subsumed under the flag of *human settlements*.⁴¹ Contrary to housing, human settlement is a rather nebulous notion and would hint at a wide range of different professions and disciplines creating a bigger and opaque system. Doxiadis himself formulated ekistics in his report to the issue 'Rural Housing in an Urbanizing World' as being based on human happiness and a simultaneous unity of purpose in the arenas of the economic, political, administrative, technical, and aesthetic.⁴²

Next to a decreased frequency of terms connected to building materials in the abstracts, in the last period of *EKISTICS* from 1965 to 1972, the use of the term *economic* (Figure 14) increases. It had been mentioned in 29% of all abstracts from 1954 to 1958, and in 38% in 1959 to 1965, for the last seven years it appeared in 43% of abstracts, even including a strong decrease again in the early 1970s.

The reports and abstracts she publishes tell more about the ongoing debates than Tyrwhitt's position in relation to them. Rather, we have to understand her work as a mode of collecting and redistributing knowledge, making it accessible for practitioners and locals around the world and finally delineating an emerging knowledge field.

³⁸Doxiadis, "A New Phase of Ekistics," 2.

³⁹Ibid., 2.

⁴⁰Shoshkes, *Jaqueline Tyrwhitt*, 210. The self-declared goal of the ekistics approach was to study human settlements under a holistic perspective and connect various disciplines – something that Doxiadis favoured in his own planning projects.

⁴¹As Viviana D'Auria et al have traced, 'the human settlements paradigm moved (quite early from its inception) from a spatially-based way of (re)aligning the disciples of architecture and urbanism to the pressing needs of housing in the developing world towards a mode of intervention that was based on planning, policy and participation'. D'Auria, Bruno de Meulder, and Shannon, *Human Settlements*, 21.

⁴²Doxiadis, "Ekistics," 133. Doxiadis argues that the human settlements approach must not think of settlements as something static. The communities these settlements are built are in a constant change. To master this idea of ever-changing difficulties he argues, one needs specially trained people which are especially scarce in less developed areas.^[41] See Architectural History Collaborative and Aggregate, *Architecture in Development*, 284. for a comprehensive critique of Doxiadis' planning method and the development goals he is promoting.

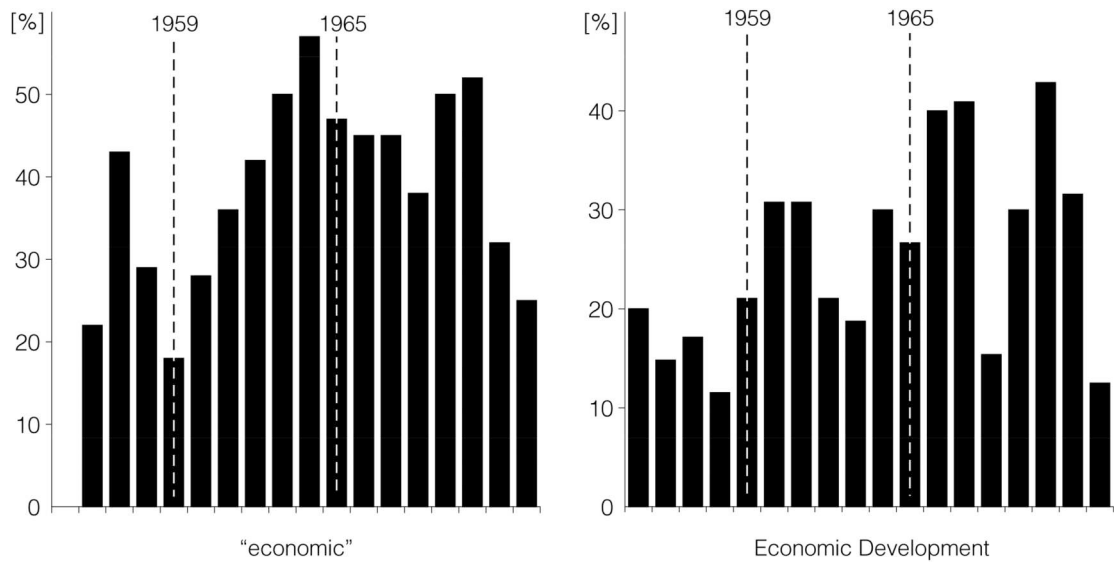


Figure 14. Articles categorized as speaking about economic development and articles using the term 'economic'.

From 1966, Tyrwhitt consulted. She advised on setting up a planning school in Singapore and promoting a system of knowledge exchanges within Southeast Asian schools and to Harvard. With her renewed occupation as a consultant and advisor in Singapore with several visits starting from 1970 on behalf of the Ford Foundation,⁴³ Tyrwhitt evolved her career into working in-between the boundaries of academic, corporate, and intergovernmental fields.⁴⁴ In 1972 she organized her last conference in Delos and retired in the same year, leaving behind one last issue of *EKISTICS* reporting on the *Symposion*. After Tyrwhitt's retirement as an editor, and accelerated by the UN Habitat conference in 1976, Doxiadis' goal was achieved, as the human settlements approach became present within intergovernmental agencies such as the United Nations and the World Bank.⁴⁵

Conclusion

Especially during the early post-World War II period, a lot of material was produced on development aid and technical assistance. However, the material which is predominantly read and referenced – no matter of the quality of the work – depended on the access that authors had to publishing apparatus which in turn depended on a strong socio-economic position. In this light, Tyrwhitt's role in disseminating and making available so-called grey literature on the subject, through correspondence courses, advisory handouts and the library she donated to Bandung, is an important contribution to the democratization of knowledge. All through her life Tyrwhitt apparently took backseat roles, which however were linked to established leading institutions such as the UN and Harvard, or

⁴³The foundation was closely connected to Doxiadis and his programme of ekistics and over several years was funding research programmes such as the "City of the Future" and the research division of the Athens Centre of Ekistics. The Ford Foundation in general had a great influence on the expansion of Doxiadis Associates to the field of technical assistance and supported many of its early modernising ideals. The Ford Foundation was well established in circles around the UN and GSD, and in 1964 supported the Delos Symposium. See: Theodosios, "Victory over Chaos?" 104.

⁴⁴Shoshkes, *Jaqueline Tyrwhitt*, 219.

⁴⁵Avermaete et al., *Casablanca Chandigarh*.

Doxiadis Associates, in that time a big planning firm with its own interests.⁴⁶ From this rather privileged socio-economic position in a global economy, and although working in line of the interests of other intergovernmental organizations and the organization headed by Doxiadis, she managed to promote a different sort of knowledge by collecting, synthesizing, and redistributing the literature which she got access to in these roles. Whether her goal or not, her method of choice was not undermining power structures, but mediation by promoting a different set of knowledge. By that she created a possibility for a practice outside of canonical knowledge.

Tyrwhitt's publications were not happening in a static field but embedded into a drastically changing ideal and the appropriation of technical assistance as a tool towards a certain kind of 'development' in-between which she managed to moderate different interests. The policies of development that were formulated within these disciplines further created a division of labour between the global south as the realm of traditional or experimental manual labour, and the global north as the field of abstract knowledge production and economic and social planning. With the *Human Settlement* approach 'social, economic, cultural, and ecological dimensions of development'⁴⁷ were integrated.

Coming back to our opening picture of Tyrwhitt sitting on the stage as a rapporteur – a central backdrop for global knowledge exchange is the Fifth Urban Design Conference at Harvard GSD in 1961. Just having arrived back from Indonesia Tyrwhitt's engagement in transnational academic knowledge exchange and scholarly networks are central topics to the conference and had been addressed in the opening address by Martin Meyerson.⁴⁸ Development was considered a matter of transnational institutions. In this context Tyrwhitt starts her work in global development. What is clear however, is that reacting to global discourse and changes in her own life, she followed her own agency in publishing the journal as a medium of South–North exchange.

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No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

Data availability statement

Dataset can be found here: The data that support the findings of this study is openly available in Zenodo at <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.10605542> and in Kumu at <https://embed.kumu.io/f56c9e8e21a774ca42c2a2814904fd73>.

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⁴⁶Bromley, "Towards Global Human Settlements".

⁴⁷D'Auria, Meulder, and Shannon, *Human Settlements*, 17.

⁴⁸Shoshkes, "Martin Meyerson and Jaqueline Tyrwhitt".

modernist project in architecture, 1945-1990. Her grounded research has considered how its transformation through the agency of Africa presents a conceptual model for design.

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