This is the peer reviewed author accepted manuscript (post print) version of a published work that appeared in final form in:

Garnaut, Christine 2016 'Flora Crockett Stephenson (1914-1979): a life and professional partnership in planning', *Planning perspectives*, vol. 31, no. 4, pp. 505-531

This output may not exactly replicate the final published authoritative version for which the publisher owns copyright. It is not the copy of record. This output may be used for non-commercial purposes. This version is licensed under a Creative Commons CC-BY-NC-ND 4.0 license (http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/).

The final definitive published version (version of record) is available at:

http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02665433.2015.1110830

Persistent link to the UniSA Research Outputs Repository:
https://hdl.handle.net/11541.2/122242

General Rights
Copyright and moral rights for the publications made accessible in the UniSA Research Outputs Repository are retained by the authors and/or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing publications that users recognize and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

- Users may download and print one copy for the purpose of private study or research.
- You may not further distribute the material or use it for any profit-making activity or commercial gain
- You may freely distribute the persistent link identifying the publication in the UniSA Research Outputs Repository

If you believe that this document breaches copyright, please contact us and provide details. We will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

FLORA CROCKETT STEPHENSON (1914-1979): A LIFE AND PROFESSIONAL PARTNERSHIP IN PLANNING

Christine Garnaut
School of Art, Architecture and Design
University of South Australia

Abstract

This article contributes to the growing literature on women's contributions to planning, especially in the United Kingdom, United States of America and Australia, and to research into the phenomenon of life partners who work together professionally. The subject is Flora Crockett Stephenson (1914-1979), the first woman to complete the Master in City Planning degree at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Presented as a biographical exposé, the discussion introduces Flora's background and reveals her largely unrecorded contributions as the life and professional partner of British architect-planner Gordon Stephenson (1908-1997), already the subject of several academic studies.

Keywords: women planners; life and professional partners; biography; Flora Stephenson; Gordon Stephenson

The American born and educated city planner Flora Stephenson (1914-1979) passed away suddenly in Perth, the capital city of Western Australia, Australia, on 10 February 1979. She and her husband, architect-planner Gordon Stephenson (1908-1997), had been living permanently in Perth since 1960. In one of the many letters Gordon wrote to friends and acquaintances after Flora's death he admitted, 'I shall never get used to being without her as a constant and splendid companion.'[1] Gordon lived for eighteen years after Flora's passing. In an obituary for him, planning academic Gerald Dix elucidated the nature of Gordon and Flora's professional relationship. Dix emphasised Gordon's intense feeling of loss at Flora's death; she was his 'immense support and sound professional collaborator upon whose judgement he relied in much of his work for 40 years. It was a great blow to him when she died.'[2]

Flora Bartlett Crockett and Gordon Stephenson met in September

1936 when they were both students at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) in Boston.[3] She was in the fifth and final year of a Bachelor of Architecture (City Planning). He was a British citizen and practising architect from Liverpool, England, in the first term of a two-year Master in City Planning (MCP). Flora completed her Bachelor's degree in May 1937 and commenced a MCP the following September. She met the MCP requirements two years later, in September 1939, eight months ahead of the only other woman in her class, Jane Rodman Steiner.[4] Both were awarded their degrees in June 1940 but in finishing before Steiner, Flora earned the distinction of being the first woman to complete the MCP at MIT.

In June 1938, prior to the completion of her postgraduate studies (Gordon had just finished his), Flora and Gordon were married. That occasion marked the beginning of what Gordon described as their 'permanent planning partnership'.[5] As life and professional partners for almost forty-two years, the Stephensons lived and worked in the United Kingdom, the United States of America, Canada and Australia. Gordon has commanded and continues to attract academic interest, especially in the literature on post-war planning and planning education.[6] By contrast, little attention has been paid either to Flora's individual accomplishments or to her contributions to the Stephensons' planning collaborations. American planning historian Eugenie Birch provides a brief introduction to Flora's career in her investigation into women and planning in the United States between c.1890 and 1980.[7] Jenny Gregory and David Gordon, the editors of a special issue of *Town Planning Review* on Gordon Stephenson, summarise 'snippets' of Flora's life and note that, as one of Gordon's 'important collaborators', she 'deserves much more research'.[8]

This article builds on Birch's enquiry and responds to Gregory and Gordon's observation. Arranged chronologically, it provides a biographical exposé of Flora's life and career revealing her individual achievements, her professional collaborations with Gordon and with others, and the nature of her contributions to her collaborative endeavours. In so doing, it adds not only to the growing literature on women planners, particularly in the United Kingdom, the United States and Australia, but also to scholarly investigations into the incidence of life partners who collaborate professionally.[9]

Research for the article has been conducted principally using primary archival sources, published materials and family recollections.[10] Wherever possible, Flora's story is told and reflected upon from her perspective. However, and underscoring one of the challenges of carrying out biographical research, few of her personal papers survive, a fact upon which Gordon commented at the time of her death.[11] The remaining documents pertinent to the research include letters, although these refer mostly to personal rather than professional topics, a diary of her honeymoon and another that she kept for a brief period in 1939, and miscellaneous ephemera. These documents are not constituted as Flora's own archive but rather are dispersed through Gordon's. While the absence of a collection of her papers is not an atypical circumstance in relation to women's archives, that fact, coupled with the scope and the nature of the content of her extant papers, has limited the opportunities to foreground Flora's voice and to consistently interrogate the detail of her contributions.[12]

Other key sources that have shed light on Flora's life and career include copies of her dissertations and student records held at MIT; Gordon's archival collections that inter alia comprises letters, photographs, slides, selected copies of published and unpublished reports, and newspaper and magazine cuttings; an extended oral history interview conducted with Gordon in 1991-1992 by the J.S. Battye Library, Western Australia; and archival papers of a small number of friends and colleagues of the Stephensons held in several institutional repositories. Published materials have provided background and contextual information, and, in a few limited instances, commentary and critique on projects in which Flora was involved.

Life partners in professional partnerships

The phenomenon of life partners working together in professional partnerships is a growing area of research within a broader field of enquiry into relationships and collaborations in professional practice. Examinations have emerged in a range of disciplines including law, the visual arts, literary studies, architecture and design.[13] Amongst the partnerships considered already in the fields of architecture and design are those between Charles Rennie Mackintosh and Margaret MacDonald Mackintosh, Walter Burley Griffin and Marion Mahoney

Griffin, Alison and Peter Smithson, William Wurster and Catherine Bauer Wurster, and Charles and Ray Eames.

In the creative arts, architecture and design, investigations into the nature and role of 'interpersonal relations' have occurred partly in response to acknowledgement of an imbalance in the historical record which has tended to present artists, writers, architects and designers as 'solitary individuals' working as 'single' figures.[14] Such emphasis has ignored the role of other parties including the 'significant others' in a person's life, the influence of personal factors such as upbringing and education, and the contribution of project partners. Regarding project partners, in architecture for example, research is increasingly uncovering and appraising the contributions and influence of the variety of individuals with whom an architect may collaborate.[15] These include engineers and surveyors, practice employees, clients, builders, photographers, journalists and architectural critics. As a consequence of fresh investigations, new appreciations are emerging about how professional practice actually works.

Collaborations between professionals who are life partners occur in a variety of ways. In one scenario, both partners may practice but they may choose to allow one person's career to take priority over the other's.[16] In heterosexual relationships, if the female's career is not prioritised, she is sometimes referred to as the 'supportive wife', and regarded as being overshadowed by her husband's 'achievements and public profile'; such circumstances potentially mask the nature, depth and influence of her contributions.[17] Birch uncovered such a scenario when she identified and examined the various phases of women's pre-professional and professional involvements in the United States from the late 1930s.

Birch noted how changes in societal expectations of women's roles in the twentieth century gradually opened up professional opportunities in planning (and other fields) for married women and for women with children. As she acknowledged, however, there were periods of setback, for example in the 1930s in the wake of the Great Depression, when preference for jobs was given to men over women, and particularly over married women.[18] Based on findings from a number of case studies, Birch concluded that the first generation of women in planning in America were single or childless career women but that the next generation:

> sought to blend marriages and children with their work. Although they often collaborated or worked in fields related to their husband's, in the interests of family solidarity they took secondary positions and compromised their employment opportunities. Their professional achievements, though notable, were accordingly less dramatic than they might otherwise have been.[19]

Birch introduced Flora Stephenson as one of the 'next' generation of women planners and asserted that she 'typified' others of her era.[20]

Family background, upbringing, education and marriage

Flora Bartlett Crockett was born in the suburb of Westwood, New Jersey, on 15 November 1914 (Figure 1). The second child and only daughter of Harriet Bartlett Crockett (1874-1946) and Melville Martin Crockett (1871-1929), she grew up on Prospect Avenue with her older sibling, a brother, Robinson (known as Bob) Bartlett Crockett (1907-1963).[21] As a young woman, their mother attended art school in New York and became interested in architecture.[22] Their father, a sea captain, was from a seafaring family.[23] He travelled widely but contracted malaria after spending time in central and South America and retired early. Subsequently he obtained work on Wall Street. To ease the pressure of commuting daily between the family home and New York, he took an apartment at 5 Wall Street where he stayed during the week. Flora's parents were both from Maine, New England. Each summer the Crocketts returned to Melville's family home in Harborside. It was 'an old colonial farm building … with a few others on the edge of a rocky inlet from the Atlantic'.[24]

FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE

After her father's death in 1929, Flora lived with her mother in New York, Boston and Maine. Her brother Bob had followed their father to sea and joined the United States Naval Reserves in January 1929.[25] Although he spent much of his life away from home, he and his mother and sister stayed in regular contact. Harriet kept the family, mostly through financial investments, but 'they ... had a pretty bad time of it during the first years of the depression'.[26]

Flora attended Westwood High School and then Mount Holyoke College in South Hadley, Massachusetts. Founded in 1837 by chemist Mary Lyon as an endowed seminary college, Mount Holyoke was a leading educational institution for women and a champion of higher learning for women of all means. Lyons' words, 'Go where no one else will go, do what no one else will do', underpinned the institution's ethos and its intent to offer women a liberal arts education 'conspicuously free of instruction of domestic pursuits'.[27]

After Mount Holyoke, Flora enrolled as a freshman in the School of Architecture at MIT.[28] It was 1932. However, Flora 'never wanted to be an architect ... Her mother wanted her to be an architect.'[29] During the first years of her architecture degree Flora 'decided that she was more interested in City Planning', perhaps because it promised the opportunity to explore urban issues in broad perspective. In 1933 MIT added City Planning to the courses offered within the School of Architecture. Eminent British town planner Thomas Adams provided general advice on the design of the course but his son, Frederick (Fred) J. Adams, was appointed to implement it.[30] MIT's inaugural planning curriculum had a socio-economic focus and included design- and research-based subjects. The course was distinguished from its counterparts in the United States because it approached planning '"from the architectural standpoint"' and was studio-dominated.[31] MIT's was 'the most significant progam for women because it … regularly admitted … [them] from its inception.'[32] In 1935, Flora transferred to the Bachelor of Architecture in City Planning, having fulfilled the requirement to complete the first three years of the Architecture programme.[33]

Flora's education at Mount Holyoke and that institution's ethos of encouraging women to enter new worlds, even if there were barriers, was likely useful preparation for her time at MIT. Despite an unprecedented spike in the number of female enrolments in Architecture in the late 1920s, when Flora was there in the 1930s, 'there were hardly any women at all. It was in the age when all engineers were men, and nearly all architects were men ...'. [34] She was the only woman in the City Planning course in the fifth year of her Bachelor's degree.[35]

When Flora enrolled in Architecture it was the sole programme offered on MIT's original 'Boston Tech' site. The school was located

in the ‘monumental and capacious’ Rogers Building on Boylston Street adjacent to Copley Square.[36] The building’s central staircase was the main meeting place for Architecture and City Planning students of all year levels and Flora’s mostly male peers regularly invited her to join them. Everyone liked her and she commanded ‘real respect and admiration in the studio’.[37] One of the men who joined the City Planning cohort at the start of the 1936-1937 academic year was Gordon Stephenson. His mother, Eva (née Owen), had grown up in Shropshire, England, and his father, Francis, a policeman, was raised near Liverpool, the city where Gordon was born, brought up and educated.[38] He had enrolled at MIT on a Commonwealth (later Harkness) Fund Fellowship which provided the means for graduates of British universities to study in the United States. He was then twenty-eight years old and found it difficult being a student again and making friends. Flora was ‘the one person who aroused in … [him] any depth of feeling’.[39]

Although both were students of City Planning, it was not through their studies that Flora and Gordon first got to know each other, but rather because of their extra-curricular involvement in MIT’s Dramashop. Dramashop was established in 1927. Members were mostly undergraduate students who produced plays performed for the MIT and wider community. The students contributed to all aspects of the production. Flora was active in Dramashop in 1936-1937. In addition to acting, she was a member of both the casting and the play reading committees.[40]

Gordon joined Dramashop in 1936 and was responsible for creating the sets for the production in December that year of Oscar Wilde’s ‘The Importance of Being Earnest’. It was this task that brought Flora and Gordon together. Previously, he had helped her ‘put some colours on a plan she was doing’ in a studio project, but other than that they had had limited opportunities to interact.[41] However, during the week that he spent working on the ‘The Importance of Being Earnest’ sets, she assisted him with the painting. In the course of their conversations they realised that they would both be in New York just prior to Christmas 1936. They arranged to meet ‘to have a look at some architecture together and then have dinner.’[42] So their courtship began.

In addition to their Dramashop commitments, Flora and Gordon began spending their recreational time together, as well as socialising with their peers (Figure 2).[43] In mid-April 1937 they took a five-day vacation to New York where Gordon met Flora's mother and brother. Meanwhile Flora's studies continued apace. Her main concern for the first half of 1937 was her thesis, which was the one unfinished component of her Bachelor's degree. She approached the task in her usual style: with diligence, 'youthful gusto, and … zest.'[44] Flora 'liked research and writing' and was good at what Gordon surprisingly described as 'the non-creative part of the work, writing reports, tabulating statistics, examining things methodically by figures.'[45] Her thesis, titled 'A Low-Rent Housing Project for Brighton', comprised a model and explanatory report with accompanying maps, drawings and photographs; this multi-format presentation suited her broad skill set.

FIGURE 2 ABOUT HERE

Flora selected an industrial area in Boston's Brighton-Allston district as a case study for her investigation into the problem of how to provide affordable, healthy and adequate rental housing for low-income workers. The topic appealed to her for its contemporary relevance and because it was one that she could consider from both a sociological and a planning perspective.[46]

The Brighton-Allston district was adequately served by public transport and offered employment opportunities in a variety of large- and small-scale industries. A railway line divided the industrial area into two parts, one occupied by white-collar workers and their families and the other by working men.[47] Flora focused on the latter where the average family income was $20-$30 per week and the residents lived in timber tenement dwellings. However, despite the poverty, it was not over-crowded and did not have 'the typical "slum appearance"'.[48]

The City Planning Board had identified the area as suitable for rehabilitation and for the construction of subsidised low-rent housing. Flora undertook a land use analysis and photographed the existing housing, open space and community facilities. She proposed retaining a children's playground and primary school but replacing the houses, which were in poor condition, with a combination of four-floor walk up and ten-storey elevator apartment blocks and row houses. Her

recommendation stemmed from her site analysis and from her research into the preferred design and arrangement of group housing in Europe.[49] Influenced particularly by the ideas of American housing advocate Catherine Bauer as explicated in her recently published book, *Modern Housing*, Flora argued for apartment and row house grouping and orientation arrangements that were cognisant of contemporary concerns regarding sunlight, ventilation, amenity and the aesthetics of mass housing blocks[50] (Figure 3a and 3b).

FIGURE 3a and 3b ABOUT HERE

Flora submitted her thesis in May 1937 and soon after was awarded the Bachelor of Architecture (City Planning).[51] For some time she had been planning a holiday to Europe with her mother. With the academic year over, they left Boston on 11 June 1937 on a three-month trip through England, France and Germany. One of their friends, Florence Erskine, and her mother travelled with them.[52] 'Apparently the four of them had a great time together.'[53] Concurrent with Flora's trip, Gordon undertook a study tour through the United States.[54] Flora and Gordon were reunited in New York in September. After a week in Maine at the Crocketts' summer house they returned to MIT to enrol for the 1937-1938 academic year. Flora enrolled in the MCP degree because Gordon was still studying for his Master's: 'So I stayed on an extra year and did the same …'.[55] Her decision suggests that she and Gordon were closer to confirming an assumption that emerged several months after they started courting, that 'we wanted to share everything that we had together – including the job.'[56] In fact, by mid-November 1937, their minds were made up: 'We're both pretty crazy about each other and we're impatient for June [1938], when we can start off in earnest together.'[57]

Flora and Gordon were married in a civil ceremony in Boston on 1 June 1938.[58] The wedding was an intimate affair. Only Flora's mother and '8 or10' City Planning student friends attended. The Stephensons enjoyed a three-month honeymoon driving through Canada, North America and Mexico, visiting and staying along the way with several friends.[59] In August, with Gordon's good friend from Liverpool, William (Bill) Holford and his wife Jo, they attended the International Federation for Housing and Town Planning Congress (IFHTP) in Mexico City. This was the inaugural IFHTP meeting held in Latin America and the first of several conferences that the Stephensons

would attend together.[60] Near the end of her life Flora recalled their honeymoon attendance at the 1938 Congress and commented on the fact that 'all my holidays, Amsterdam, Switzerland, Canberra, etc. have been to likewise does. Can't complain thoug [sic].'[61]

After a journey of 14,100 miles Flora and Gordon's honeymoon ended in New York on 9 September 1938.[62] Her mother visited them there before they sailed on 17 September for his home city, Liverpool, where they intended to embark on their married and working life. They had set their sights on returning to live in the United States after two years in England, the period of time that Gordon was obliged to remain in the British Commonwealth to fulfil the conditions of his Commonwealth Fellowship.[63]

Early married life, professional work and Master in City Planning

The Stephensons stayed in Liverpool until the beginning of 1939. They lived in a flat on the top floor of a house on Hope Street overlooking the landmark Anglican Cathedral.[64] It was a challenging time. War was imminent, rationing was in place, there was no work and Flora and Gordon were 'stony-broke' having spent their savings on their honeymoon.[65] Eventually he was offered a teaching position at the Architectural Association School of Architecture (AA) in London where they shifted to live in January 1939. They rented a flat in Gower Street, Bloomsbury, not far from the AA and, as it turned out, close to where Flora obtained employment in the office of well-known British planner Thomas Adams.[66]

The Stephensons knew Adams through his son Fred, their program head at MIT, and that connection proved beneficial on several counts. Since they were to leave the United States before Flora completed her thesis, she negotiated to continue working on it in England and to submit the finished document to MIT through Thomas Adams.[67] Adams was a visiting lecturer at MIT in May 1938 not long before the end of Flora and Gordon's last term there. While Gordon hoped that during his visit he (Adams) could 'put them right in the jobs field', it is not known whether or not they discussed job prospects with him.[68] However, Flora did secure work with Adams and in early 1939, she began an investigation with him into holiday and other types of camps in Great Britain. He paid her two guineas per week. She abandoned

her Master's topic on 'port facilities', which she had commenced in Boston, in favour of a study of camps.[69]

In her thesis Flora explored the camping movement internationally but focused on its influence in the United States, Canada, Europe and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR).[70] Although she examined the camping phenomenon broadly, her particular interests were holiday camps, camps for school children, and war-time evacuation camps. She studied the need for and benefits of each type of camp.

Flora paid considerable attention to the contemporary situation of school and holiday camps in the United Kingdom. She recommended, among other proposals, a program through which camps could be developed to address the growing problem of providing affordable family holiday accommodation. Additionally, she addressed the issue of protecting the amenity of the countryside by proposing a national survey to identify suitable camping zones. She considered, too, the physical layout of camp sites and the design of accommodation and associated buildings like dining and recreation halls.

While Flora was carrying out her research with Adams, the Housing Centre in London commissioned Gordon to be part-time secretary and organiser of an exhibition on camps.[71] Adams was a member of the exhibition committee and suggested Gordon for the role. The research that Adams and Flora undertook informed the selection of material exhibited.[72] AA-trained architect Judith Ledeboer and architect, town planner and landscape architect Jocelyn Adburgham co-founded the Housing Centre in the 1930s to promote socially focused housing based on progressive architectural ideas.[73] They were assisted in their endeavours by leading British housing consultant Elizabeth Denby.[74] Both Ledeboer and Denby were keen promoters of exhibitions as tools of engagement with the community, the professions and government. Flora referred to the exhibition in her thesis, citing its opening by Sir John Anderson, Minister for Civil Defense, and the high community and professional attendance, as a sign of the contemporary national importance of camps.[75]

The camps exhibition was held at the Housing Centre in Pall Mall over six weeks during April and May 1939.[76] The Centre published an accompanying handbook. In addition to an introduction to the

exhibition and the key issues that it addressed, the handbook contained several short essays on the technical aspects of camps. One essay by Flora discussed the administration of camps from the operational perspective and from the viewpoint of programming daily activities.[77] In addition to her catalogue piece, Flora published a short article 'School and Holiday Camps in Great Britain' in the journal *The Phoenix*.[78] The article was based on her camps research and presented an overview of the purpose, programs, accommodation, administration and attributes of both types of camps.

Side-by-side with her research for Adams, contributions to the camps exhibition and article writing, Flora was working on the text of her thesis. She finished the first draft in mid-July 1939. By then she was finding the process burdensome. She wrote to her sister-in-law Lou (the wife of Gordon's brother Clive) that:

> when it is over I shall be wild with joy – and shall never again enter into the academic fold … I'm fed up with being a student and ready to brave the cold, cold world. Here's hoping I can get some real work soon.[79]

Flora completed her thesis two months later in September 1939.[80] Soon after, 'some real work' came up when the Community Centres Joint Research Committee appointed Flora and Gordon as research officers for a project surveying community centres in England, Scotland and Wales. The Leverhulme Grant Fund supported the research. Housing Centre chairman Ledeboer chaired the Joint Committee that comprised representatives of the Housing Centre, the National Council of Social Service and the Royal Institute of British Architects. Flora had looked into community centres as part of her Bachelor's thesis research. However, the commissioned survey presented her with the opportunity for a fuller investigation. Significantly, although they had worked in parallel on the camps research and exhibition, this was Flora and Gordon's first opportunity to work together professionally.

The community centre movement began in the United Kingdom in the early 1930s. It emerged partly in response to the absence of a venue for housing estate residents to meet informally and thereby foster an active community life. While special interest groups such as sports clubs were catered for, frequently their buildings were planned

without due consideration to the location or uses of similar facilities, and without regard to the needs of the community as a whole.[81] Near the end of the decade the situation was changing but the Joint Committee was looking ahead to post-war reconstruction and foreshadowed the need for data about the social and physical requirements of community centres. The Committee briefed the Stephensons to identify and scope out information about existing examples. They examined eight 'outstanding or typical' centres according to seven criteria: membership, administration, activities, site planning, planning of the building, the building, and the furniture.[82] Their report included site and building plans.

In the course of the Stephensons' community centres research and fieldwork Gordon accepted two other jobs – one laying out a 'militia camp' in the London area and another as a member of the design team for an Ordnance filling factory at Kirkby, north-east of Liverpool.[83] Consequently, Flora completed the research and drafted their co-authored report. Publication of the 117-page *Community Centres: a survey* was delayed by the outbreak of World War 2 but it appeared eventually in 1942. Musing later on the survey, Gordon recalled that one of their key findings was the importance of the local community, rather than local government, in initiating community centres, and that the book became a 'standard work' for practitioners and for students of planning.[84] One contemporary professional analysis of the text observed that it was 'a valuable reference on a subject on which very little authoritative matter is available. It is valuable from being based on actual observations made of Community Centres of various types in operation.'[85]

In the meantime, Flora's thesis, 'Holiday, School and Evacuation Camps', had been passed by MIT. She graduated in absentia from the MCP in June 1940. Of the total graduating cohort of 691 students, thirteen were women; as mentioned, Flora was one of only two female graduates in her program.[86] While her achievement was a milestone in its own right, the attainment of her postgraduate qualification took a back seat in the larger scheme of world events and their impact on her personal and professional life.

World war, writing and editing, and raising a young family

England declared war on Germany on 3 September 1939. Flora and Gordon had evacuated from London two days earlier to the home of George and Jean Fairweather in Welwyn Garden City about 20 miles from the capital.[87] They knew the Fairweathers as Gordon and George taught together at the AA. Welwyn was a designated site for evacuees from London including children and pregnant mothers; Flora observed that they arrived 'in droves' in the early weeks of the war. [88] Although she considered the option, against the advice of the American Embassy, Flora elected not to return to the United States when the war commenced. The September 1939 sinking by the Germans of the ship the *Athenia*, which was carrying British and Americans home to Canada and the United States, was the deciding factor for her:

> Up until this time a certain natural urge for self-preservation had kept nagging at me to find some way to get the hell out of here in spite of Gordon. But now the final door seems closed and I am going to stick around anyway.[89]

Effectively, her decision opened up the opportunity for Gordon to 'put his stamp on many aspects of planning in Britain' during the 1940s.[90]

Eventually the Stephensons moved from the Fairweathers' house and into a rented flat in Welwyn. In March 1940 they returned to Liverpool for Gordon to work on the Ordnance factory project. The following year they relocated to Staffordshire where he was involved in designing and supervising the construction of hostels for war workers. In 1942 Gordon joined the Reconstruction Division of the London-based Ministry of Works and Buildings (subsumed into the Ministry of Town and Country Planning (MCTP) in February 1943). He was 'a central figure' in several significant MCTP post-war planning initiatives in Britain.[91] Through this period, 1942-1947, the Stephensons lived in Richmond, Surrey.

The war years were trying and anxious times for Flora with air raids, V1 and V2 bombings, and Gordon involved two nights each week for the last two years of the war as a civilian volunteer 'on the guns in Hyde Park'.[92] The first of Flora and Gordon's three children, Gail (1942) and Sarah (1944), were born in the war years with Ann following in 1947[93] (Figure 4). Gail and Sarah arrived during a period when the Stephensons regularly accommodated friends and acquaintances affected by the war. Gordon recalled later that as he

was fully engaged with his work, Flora managed the war-time household and was their daughters' primary caregiver; consequently, there was little time for her own career.[94] The professional moments that she did have were devoted mainly to working as an author and editor. She 'excelled in writing', had a strong command of grammar and a distinctive capacity as 'a writer, describer and explainer' of planning.[95] As time went on, increasingly, he would seek her assistance as a writer and editor.

FIGURE 4 ABOUT HERE

After *Community Centres*, Flora worked on two writing projects, one with Gordon, one independently. Both evolved through the agency of Julian Huxley, renowned biologist, internationalist, author, and brother of the well-known writer Aldous Huxley. Julian Huxley was a founder of the Society for Cultural Relations between the Peoples of the British Commonwealth and the USSR (SCR) (1924), of which Gordon was a member in the 1940s; their acquaintance may account for Huxley approaching the Stephensons. He asked them to select images and write extended captions for his book *TVA: Adventure in Planning*, a survey of the regional planning initiatives of the Tennessee Valley Authority founded in 1933 as one of Franklin Roosevelt's early New Deal initiatives.[96] Gordon had researched the TVA during his master's study and Flora 'favoured the Roosevelt view of things' so aside from its interest from a planning perspective, and Gordon's link to Huxley, the project was likely to have been attractive to them for different reasons.[97]

Flora's second invitation from Huxley involved co-authoring the book *A Plan for Town and Country* (1944) with British artist Phoebe Pool. This publication was Number 11 in the 'Target for Tomorrow' series published by The Pilot Press, London. The series focused on issues of the time (for example housing, industry after the war, the welfare of the elderly and of children) and Huxley was a member of the editorial board. Pool was a scholar of nineteenth century French painting who also taught and wrote art reviews and poetry.[98] Initially Huxley invited her to be the book's sole author. She commenced the research but ran into difficulties because she was unfamiliar with planning. Consequently, Huxley asked Flora to prepare 'the final version' because of her knowledge of planning and her capacity to write about the subject in plain language.[99]

A Plan for Town and Country was intended as an educative text premised on the authors' view that 'an informed public demand will then stimulate the experts to plan more humanly'.[100] Although written for a popular audience and lavishly illustrated with photographs and diagrams to assist the lay reader, it was underpinned by a strong call to both community and government action. The book set out the planning problems of the day, from various perspectives, and emphasised the unique opportunity that post-war reconstruction presented to address them. It outlined pre-war planning legislation and recent developments in planning not only in the United Kingdom but also elsewhere in Europe, in the USSR and in North America. Stephenson and Pool summarised the key findings of the British government-commissioned Barlow, Scott and Uthwatt committees, and press and government responses to them. A particular focus of the publication was the authors' six-point 'practical target for the planned use of land to the national advantage'.[101]

In preparing the overview of planning initiatives elsewhere, Flora could draw on her knowledge of the United States as well as on information gleaned from professional discussions with Gordon; he was privy to current initiatives as a result of meetings with international visitors to his work place at the Ministry of Planning.[102] *A Plan for Town and Country* was one of a number of texts published to promote the planning opportunities open to the British government in the reconstruction era.[103]

According to Flora, Gordon was 'extremely exhausted' from his work at the Ministry of Reconstruction and so was 'pleased to accept' an appointment from 1 January 1948 as Lever Professor of Civic Design at the University of Liverpool.[104] Gordon immersed himself quickly in his responsibilities that included teaching, administration, editorial and professional tasks and external committee work. One of his first undertakings was a comprehensive reform of his school's planning curriculum.[105] Before making changes, between August and October 1948, he made a tour of planning schools in North America. Flora accompanied him for the last month when they both attended the American Society of Planning Officials (ASPO) Conference in New York.

Gordon's editorial work revolved around the journal *Town Planning Review*. First published in 1910 as the 'research journal' of the School of Civic Design, the *Review* had languished in the years prior to his appointment. He was charged with the task of revitalising it.[106] He established a team of co-editors and a panel of international editorial advisers to assist him.[107] For the everyday operations he secured part-time help from Flora and several of his academic staff; they were given the title of assistant editors. Gordon later acknowledged their support, which he described as a 'labour of love', and remarked that 'Perhaps most important was the editorial help of R E M McCaughan and ... my wife, Flora. ... Flora ... diligently read proofs and offered suggestions'.[108]

In the six years (1948-1954) of Gordon's TPR editorship, the journal 'reached subscribers, libraries, and organisations in thirty-five countries on the five continents', and published 104 articles and 143 book reviews.[109] Flora contributed one of the book reviews, an appraisal of *Children and the City* by Olga Adams. No records survive to indicate why she wrote the review but its subject possibly attracted her interest as both a planner and the mother of young children.[110] Adams was a respected kindergarten teacher. In her book she outlined the ways in which she engaged her classes in 'developing a civic consciousness' and an appreciation of planning by considering the essential elements of their everyday environments and the most effective ways in which they could be organised. Flora noted that through their classroom activities, Adams' students realised 'the need for some kind of plan, and of sorting out their buildings into residential, business, and industrial areas'.[111]

Through her involvements with TPR, Flora worked closely with Gordon and volunteered a substantial amount of time to edit the substantial number of articles and reviews that he published. Undoubtedly through the application of her editorial and organisational skills, she contributed to the quality and to the process of producing the journal. At the same time, she came into contact with individuals who were or who would become part of the broad international network of professional colleagues and personal friends on which the Stephensons drew variously for advice, information and support. Amongst them were individuals like Catherine Bauer Wurster and Albert Mayer to whose publications Flora had been introduced as a student, and American architect-planner Clarence Stein and his wife,

the stage and screen actress Aline MacMahon Stein. Flora was to play a part in editing what became Clarence Stein's seminal text on community planning.

Gordon published two articles by Stein in TPR volume 20. Stein had been a visiting lecturer at MIT and Gordon held him in high regard. After he heard him speak at the ASPO conference in 1948, Gordon approached Stein about publishing 'some of ... [his] experiences in connection with the creation of new communities' like Radburn, New Jersey.[112] Subsequently, the Stephensons and the Steins met socially in New York City and struck up 'a long and productive friendship'.[113]

Stein agreed to write the articles for TPR and they worked together on them during 1949. But

> as ... [they] developed we could see a book. ... [Stein] started writing primarily about Radburn. He had a network of friends in America ... he'd send them notes and drafts, get their comments back ... Gradually as the pieces came together, my wife and I worked closely with ... [him] and eventually shaped the book. ... Stein wrote very well, but sometimes in such a way that probably only Americans would understand it. So Flora performed [what for her with her sound writing and editorial skills was] the relatively easy job of changing some sentences, so it was a sort of mid-Atlantic English, although the spelling was American.[114]

The book was published as *Toward New Towns for America*. In his Foreword, Stein expressed his 'affectionate thanks to Gordon Stephenson – and ... to his American wife' and acknowledged Flora specifically for her editing role.[115]

The quest for a permanent home

Despite the intervention of World War 2, the Stephensons kept alive their aspiration to settle permanently in the United States. The opportunity presented in the mid-1950s but in the upshot, as will be revealed, their plan was thwarted. Consequently, the family resided in three countries – England, Australia and Canada – through the 1950s. In the latter part of the decade Flora worked occasionally with Gordon but for most of that period, professional work was not her priority. Rather, she continued to support Gordon, including by caring for their

family and running the household, while he took up various positions as a consultant architect-planner and as an academic. Each time they moved, not only was there furniture and possessions to pack, ship and unpack but also their daughters' welfare and education to consider. New houses and schools had to be found and the girls needed to be nurtured through changes in their living and learning environments, and in their friendships.

In Liverpool in 1952 Gordon met several government officials from Perth, Western Australia. Subsequently he accepted an invitation from the West Australian government to be a consultant on the preparation of a plan for the metropolitan region of Perth and Fremantle.[116] Fremantle is a port town 20 kilometres to the south of the capital. Gordon made his first journey to Perth alone and arrived on New Year's Day 1953. Corresponding regularly with Flora and the girls about his impressions of the city, he described it as 'delightful' due to its setting on the Swan River, parks and gardens, climate, 'spacious' beaches and 'very kind and friendly' people.[117] He thought that they would all 'enjoy it so much'.

When the option arose later in the year for the Stephenson family to move to Perth for a short stay, Flora and Gordon chose to take it. They thought that 'living in a very new and vast country amongst delightful people will be a great experience for all of us and especially for the girls.'[118] Their plan was to leave England for Western Australia at the start of 1954 and to remain in Perth for seven months to enable Gordon to finish his consultancy work. Then they would travel to the United States where, 'after much careful consideration', they had decided that Gordon would accept two appointments.[119] The first was at the University of California, Berkeley, as Visiting Professor for twelve months from August 1954. The second, from mid-1955, was as Professor of City and Regional Planning at MIT, replacing his former head of school, now colleague and friend, Fred Adams. The move appealed to the Stephensons for different reasons: 'After living through World War II in England ... [Flora] was to return home, and … [Gordon] was to be 'head of the most important planning school in the English-speaking world'.[120]

Gordon resigned from the University of Liverpool and from Stephenson, Young and Partners, a local architectural and planning practice in which he was a partner. Flora and Gordon sold the house

they had bought in West Kirby, near Liverpool, and the family embarked for Western Australia on 1 January 1954. But the following September, not long before they were to leave Perth for the United States, the American Consulate advised Gordon that his application for an immigrant visa had been rejected. The eleventh hour refusal was made apparently on the grounds of his earlier professional connections with communists, involvement with the SCR and visits to the USSR.[121] Gordon had visited the United States five times (on a visitor's visa) and had spent a total of almost three years there without any official questioning of his status, so for the Stephensons, as Flora recounted, the decision was unforeseen:

> [W]e did not assume for one moment that there could be any visa trouble, nor ... was there at any time even the slightest warning from the Liverpool Consulate General that there might be, although they were quite acquainted with our plans for setting off on this journey around the world to a new home in Massachusetts.[122]

On various occasions over the next few years a number of prominent academics and civil servants in the United Kingdom and the United States provided letters and references in support of Gordon, but to no avail. Flora even endeavoured to use her status as an American citizen to sway the authorities. She wrote to Stephen Winship, the American Consul in Perth, and later gave evidence in support of Gordon before a specially convened committee in Washington DC. In a written statement to the committee she described the 'tremendous' 'domestic upheaval' that beset the family when they received news of the visa refusal: 'We [had] sold our home, most of our furniture and household possessions … before we set out on our journey to Australia. … We were expecting within a few days to fly from Sydney to San Francisco, with three young children'.[123]

Confronted by the substantial uncertainty about what the future held, and clinging to the hope that Gordon's visa would be granted eventually, the Stephensons elected to stay in Perth where Gordon accepted consultancy work with the government and the University of Western Australia (UWA). Although the invitation from MIT still stood, by the end of 1954 they had resolved to set up their home in London if 'the mysterious deadlock' over his visa was not settled quickly.[124] However, in early 1955, Gordon was approached to take

up the new position of Foundation Professor of Town and Regional Planning at the University of Toronto; the offer came about through the agency of Jaqueline Tyrwhitt, who had been Visiting Professor of Town Planning at Toronto in 1951-1953, and colleagues.[125] MIT was still endeavouring to secure him and the United States remained the Stephensons' preferred destination. A major consideration was the ages of their daughters; they were keen to be making 'a permanent move … for the time the children are growing up.'[126]

In the end, the absence of a resolution regarding his visa determined their decision. They left Australia by ship in June 1955, spent July in London and moved to Toronto in August. In late February 1956 Gordon wrote to Clarence Stein that they were 'still not out of the woods as regards mobility'; in fact, the matter of an immigrant visa lurked in the background for most of the Stephensons' years in Toronto.[127] Gordon recalled later the tension and stresses of this period and their impact on Flora and on their relationship. He remembered that her encounter with the committee of American officials in Washington was an especially 'bad time' and 'an ordeal' for her; indeed, it was so gruelling that they barely spoke about it.[128] Not long after her death he revealed that the whole visa experience was 'a great setback in our buoyant professional and family life. We never quite climbed out of that trough.'[129]

Nevertheless, Flora enjoyed life in Toronto, appreciating the region's similarities with Maine and New Hampshire where she had grown up.[130] The girls settled happily into school. She joined the Salmagundi Club, a local women's organisation whose activities included a program of guest speakers, and became vice-president.[131] Flora 'would gladly have stayed in Toronto, but … [Gordon] was unsettled despite happiness in work and friendships.'[132] By January 1959 they were entertaining the thought of returning to England and, with their eldest daughter close to finishing high school, they had begun to speculate about future projects on which they might collaborate.[133] One idea was to take a year out from mid-1960 to write a book on the British New Towns while another was to assist Clarence Stein with his writing endeavours. A third possibility was a reassessment of the Perth Regional Plan in light of decisions made since it became operational in 1955. Ultimately, they shelved these suggestions because in September 1959 Gordon was offered the job of consultant architect and professor of architecture at UWA in Perth. The

university had already sought his advice on the future development of the campus and had adopted a redevelopment plan proposed by him in 1954. With further changes to the campus mooted, the Senate was keen to have him permanently at the helm.[134]

Gordon was in Perth when UWA approached him. He wrote to Flora and his daughters to ask their opinion of settling in Western Australia. They had all been happy living in Perth previously and Flora knew that Gordon's current stay had 'confirmed his love of Australia'. They were unanimous in their support, Flora asserting in her return letter to him that:

> Personally … I am quite sure, if a satisfactory arrangement can be made – i.e. if we can eat and have a reasonable roof over our heads and a Holden and a new bathing suit each summer, that we would all prefer Perth to Toronto. Climate-wise … People-wise, city-wise, ocean-wise, and otherwise.[135]

Gordon had confided to Clarence Stein in 1954 that Flora had long craved to live in a place where she could 'experience the "joys" of ... [a] stable and permanent existence'.[136] From September 1960 Perth became that place.

Professional endeavours in Canada and Australia

During the summer vacations when the Stephensons were living in Canada, Flora involved herself in different capacities with projects on which Gordon was working: 'she would get mixed up with whatever was being done between terms'.[137] She could do so because, for about four weeks, their daughters attended Camp Gay Venture, a holiday camp for girls, in the highlands of Haliburton in Lochlin, Ontario.

The 1950s was a period of urban renewal in Canadian cities. The Central Mortage and Housing Corporation, an agency of the Canadian Government, provided funding for commissioned surveys and redevelopment reports focused on central city areas. Gordon carried out three such commissions during 1956-1960: in Halifax, Nova Scotia, and in Kingston and London, Ontario. Flora worked on the job with him in Halifax for three weeks during July and August 1956, but although she accompanied him on a two-week working trip to Kingston in August 1958, it was in a private capacity.[138]

Halifax was a major port and had played an important role in Canadian military history. Its population swelled and declined in times of war and peace, creating areas of abandoned and substandard housing. Gordon was contracted to undertake a survey of city housing, advise on sectors for redevelopment and zoning and propose solutions to problems identified.[139] He assembled a small team of four people to work with him; one of them was Flora who was employed as a 'special assistant'.[140] She was familiar with site surveys from her MIT training and the urban regeneration focus of the Halifax study had resonances with the emphasis of her undergraduate thesis. Flora's task at Halifax involved a comprehensive 'house-to-house survey of the [downtown] slum areas'. She conducted it with a local high school teacher, Miss M E Maclean. They 'saw all kinds of horrible ways in which people were forced to live', mostly in aged, insanitary, and run-down timber houses, which he described as winter fire-traps.[141]

In addition to collecting extensive data, which Gordon utilised to produce tables, maps and text, Flora assisted him 'editorially' in the production of the two-volume report, *A Redevelopment Study of Halifax, Nova Scotia* (1957).[142] In the Preface he noted that, in regard to the project, those involved 'took on more than we bargained for. … the Report would not have been completed within the year without the encouragement and continuous help of my wife and Peter Dovell [an experienced planner seconded from Toronto].' The final document was well received and the Halifax City Council acted in relation to all of the twelve areas proposed for redevelopment.[143] That was one reason why Gordon was proud of the report; another was that it was 'the best thing my wife and I did together'.[144]

As part of the terms of his appointment to UWA, and reaffirming their deliberations in Toronto about future professional collaborations, Gordon secured a part-time position for Flora as assistant to the consultant architect. The fact that Flora could now take on paid work demonstrated their changing family circumstances; their daughters were older and more self-sufficient. She worked at UWA with Gordon for 'some ten years' from January 1961, receiving an annual salary of £1250 but no superannuation or study or long service leave entitlements.[145]

Although Gordon was appointed to a professorial position in Architecture, UWA's School of Architecture had not opened when the Stephensons arrived in 1960. One of Flora's main tasks was to prepare teaching materials, primarily a slide collection covering the history of architecture. She assembled the slides from various sources including books and Gordon's personal collection, and recorded full details about each building on cards; these became both a comprehensive index and a set of teaching notes. 'We wanted to make sure that while the slides were filed in slide cabinets, the information would be filed with them', so Flora did that work too.[146] Then, once the School of Architecture commenced operations in 1966, she was responsible for maintaining the collection.

While working as Gordon's assistant, Flora also engaged in research and writing projects with him. One was a detailed proposal for a book on the design and physical development of universities, an area of planning in which Gordon had been working for almost a decade. As part of their research process he approached Clarence Stein for advice about content and potential contemporary examples for them to examine.[147] Flora wrote to Jack Kent, Professor of City Planning at the University of California, Berkeley, and one of their long-time friends, inviting him to comment on an abbreviated version of the full proposal and to advise on suitable published sources and individuals for Flora to follow up.[148] The book was to comprise four parts: the university in society; the history and development of universities from the Dark Ages to the early 20th century; the changing university at mid-century; and conclusions. They did not proceed with the venture but they did co-author an article on 'Planning for the University of Western Australia'. It was published in *Town Planning Review* and chronicled the campus development from the early twentieth century through Gordon's significant contributions from the early 1950s to the mid-1960s.[149]

After leaving her position at UWA, Flora worked with Gordon 'in private practice things' which included commissions in Perth and in other parts of Australia.[150] One, in Canberra in 1969-1971, involved 'directing the interdisciplinary Tuggeranong Residential Environment'.[151] For six months during 1971 the Stephensons lived at University House in the grounds of the Australian National University. Flora enjoyed University House for the lifestyle and the intellectual stimulation of being in the company of academics, civil

servants and doctoral students.[152] The Tuggeranong project involved collaborations with social scientists from a range of backgrounds, the National Capital Planning Committee, the local government authority for the Australian Capital Territory and a variety of government departments from roads to fire-brigade. Flora's role was to 'keep up with the paperwork' and to ensure that the various parties were informed of the project's progress.[153]

In January 1972 Flora and Gordon spent three weeks in Hobart, Tasmania, carrying out research and site investigations for a revised master plan for the University of Tasmania (UTas). They examined the developed and undeveloped parts of the campus, consulted a broad range of parties and attended numerous meetings. The resultant report bore his name only. However, in a covering letter to the vice-chancellor, he acknowledged 'with thanks' Flora, and others, by name.[154] Gordon travelled to Singapore, without Flora, in February 1972 to work on a university campus redevelopment project for Nanyang University.[155] He wrote to her explaining that the problems were similar to the ones they had encountered at UTas. He missed her research skills: 'we're not only short of reliable maps but also all kinds of information. Wish you were here. You would not only enjoy it but also be most helpful'.[156]

One of the last projects on which Flora worked with Gordon was a study of central Perth undertaken in 1973. His brief was to devise 'an overall design policy' relevant to the regional and local city plan. Flora was not engaged officially but, as he acknowledged, she assisted with the research: 'as she has often done before, my wife succeeded in the hard task of eliciting opinions and important facts from many reports and documents'.[157] She also contributed by editing the report.[158]

Retirement

Flora retired in 1974, aged 60. Gordon was still working. With her daughter Gail, the only one of her daughters then based in Perth, she studied Art at Claremont Technical College. Much to Flora's surprise, she found Art History 'fascinating'.[159] In retirement she enjoyed the opportunity to spend time with her five grandchildren and to entertain visitors from interstate and overseas as well as from Perth.[160]

In 1969 Flora and Gordon sold the two-storey house that he had designed for them in Bayview Terrace, Peppermint Grove, south of Perth, before they left Toronto for Australia. After that they lived in three different homes in suburban Perth before purchasing a small house in the suburb of Claremont in 1977. Flora wrote to Lou and Clive, her sister-in-law and brother-in-law, that she loved the Claremont house and had 'given definite notice that this is it. No moving again until it is to an old persons' home.'[161] With Gordon looking to retire, the Stephensons began some house renovations in 1978; they were completing them when Flora died unexpectedly.

Flora Crockett Stephenson Prize Fund

Flora and Gordon were planning an around the world retirement holiday for late 1979 or 1980. Until then their international travel had been associated primarily with Gordon's work. By contrast, the purpose of their proposed holiday was to visit friends in New Zealand, the United States and England, although Gordon also intended to carry out research for a book that he envisaged as 'a personal appreciation' of several planners with whom he had worked.[162] Gordon made the journey anyway, leaving Perth in July 1979. At MIT he met Lloyd Rodwin, Director of the Special Program for Urban and Regional Studies, and arranged to establish the Flora Crockett Stephenson Prize Fund. The prize was to be awarded annually to 'that graduating student receiving the Masters Degree in City Planning who has demonstrated excellence in written and spoken English during the master's thesis program and related course and project work'.[163] In Gordon's view, Flora wrote 'simply and elegantly', and in addition to her mother's influence, MIT and Fred Adams' example significantly shaped her writing style. Hence, 'the proper place for the prize would be MIT.'[164] Throughout their life together, Flora frequently used her writing and editing skills to assist Gordon in his work. The MIT prize, which is still awarded today, was his tribute to her.

Conclusion

Flora Crockett Stephenson was a qualified architect and city planner who shared her life, a marriage and a family, as well as a common interest and a common profession – planning – with Gordon Stephenson. She was deeply committed to him, as he was to her. Although they held the same qualifications, their career paths were

markedly different. Effectively, and contrary to the apparent intention of their courting years to spend their life working together as professional equals, they gave his career priority over hers. Their ambition was turned upside down by the realities of their times and by the decisions that they took to address them – a post-Depression trend to employ men over married women; the male oriented professional landscape into which they graduated; the shortage of work on the eve of World War 2, when the Stephensons commenced their married life; the challenges and impact of world war on their everyday life and mobility, and particularly on their goal to live permanently in the United States; the peripatetic nature of their life between 1938 and 1960; and the absence of childcare and domestic support structures to enable Flora to work outside the home.

This investigation into the life and career of Flora Stephenson confirms Birch's observations about women planners of Flora's generation who chose to combine marriage and children with a career; they made professional contributions that were 'notable … [but] less dramatic than they might otherwise have been'. In the early years of her partnership with Gordon, Flora utilised and extended the knowledge that she gained from her studies at MIT and demonstrated and honed her skills as a researcher, author and editor. Her MCP thesis research contributed to a substantial exhibition in London. She published independently, co-authored two books, played a major role as an assistant editor with *Town Planning Review* and edited Stein's *Toward New Towns for America* 'in the American language'.[165] Through her individual and collaborative planning involvements, and by attending conferences and professional events with Gordon and joining him on study trips, she became part of an informal international network of planners who offered one another personal and professional support.

Flora made 'family solidarity' her priority. The fact that through the 1940s and 1950s she was the primary caregiver for the Stephensons' children, in combination with the reality of the growth and diversification of Gordon's career and the concomitant high profile that he developed in planning and design circles internationally, led to Flora's professional involvements growing secondary to his. However, once their daughters were older and more able to look after themselves, she committed a little over a decade to part-time paid work with Gordon. As Dix observed, Flora provided Gordon with the

'immense' personal and professional support that allowed him to establish, build and expand his professional reputation and contributions in several countries. Indeed Gordon acknowledged that Flora's assistance, rendered under numerous guises, was a hallmark of their professional collaborations as the years wore on.[166] He did not work independently; she was the 'significant other' in his life.

This study has revealed what was important to Flora personally and professionally. It has uncovered her appreciation of planning as a vehicle for socially-leavened improvement to the built environment, identified and exposed her skills in research and writing and revealed ways in which she used them in her professional work. Critically, too, it has uncovered the fact of Flora and Gordon's professional relationship, disclosed its nature, and revealed examples of how she contributed to the projects on which they collaborated. The findings bring Flora out of Gordon's shadow, illuminate the fact that she has a professional story of her own and elucidate how that played out and was entwined in a forty-two year partnership with Gordon.

Acknowledgements

An early version of this article was delivered at the 15th IPHS conference, Sao Paulo, Brazil, July 2012. The author acknowledges the assistance of Flora Stephenson's daughter Ann Peluso and grandson Jonathon Rose; Lawrence Vale and Colleen McHugh, MIT; staff of: the MIT archives particularly Christina Tanguay, the University of Liverpool Library Special Collections and Archives, the Environmental Design Archives and the Bancroft Library, both at the University of California, Berkeley, and the Scholars Library, University of Western Australia; Rachel Hurst and Julie Collins, University of South Australia; colleagues in the international team involved in the Gordon Stephenson project 2009-12; Robert Freestone and Mark Clapson for their comments on an early draft of this article; and the comments of three anonymous reviewers.

Notes

[1] Gordon Stephenson (hereafter GS) to Larry Lawrence, 14 February 1979, University of Liverpool Library Special Collections and Archives (hereafter ULSCA) D307/5/1/17/18.
[2] Dix, "The Compassionate Planner", v.

[3] "Statement made by Mrs. Gordon Stephenson before the Board of Immigration Appeals, U.S. Department of Justice, on Monday March 19, 1956", 1, ULSCA D307/2/16/131; Stephenson, *On A Human Scale*, 51.
[4] Bever, "The Women of M.I.T"; Flora submitted in September 1939; Jane Rodman Steiner in May 1940. Stephenson, "Holiday, School and Evacuation Camps"; Steiner, "A Study for Replanning an Area".
[5] GS to Mums, 13 March 1938, ULSCA D307/5/1/2/12/123.
[6] Massey, "Under My Care", Batey, ""Gordon Stephenson's reform", Gregory and Gordon, "Special Issue".
[7] Birch, "From Civic Worker", 490; Stephenson, *On A Human Scale*; Stephenson, "Oral History".
[8] Gregory and Gordon, "Conclusion", 400.
[9] Darling, "The Star in the Profession"; Clapson, "The Rise and Fall"; Shoshkes, *Jaqueline Tyrwhitt*; Freestone, "Anti-planning in the 1940s".
[10] See Acknowledgments and endnotes for collections and family members consulted.
[11] GS to Dulcie, 26 April 1979, ULSCA D307/5/17/56.
[12] Collins, "A 'powerful, creative history'", 181, 186.
[13] See for example Epstein, "Law Partners and Marital Partners"; Chadwick and de Courtivron, *Significant Others*; Colomina, "Collaborations"; Kirkham, *Charles and Ray Eames*; Wright, "A Partnership".
[14] Colomina, "Collaborations", 462; Chadwick and de Courtivron, *Significant Others*, 7; Wright, "A Partnership", 187.
[15] Colomina, "Collaborations", 462-66.
[16] Kirkham, *Charles and Ray Eames*, 83.
[17] Ibid, 83.
[18] Ibid., 489.
[19] Ibid., 491.
[20] Ibid., 490
[21] Biographical material supplied by Ann Peluso unless noted otherwise. Hariett's death date in Virginia Carew to GS, 14 March 1979, ULSCA D307/5/1/17/42.
[22] GS to William Holford, 21 February 1937. Courtesy Jonathon Rose.
[23] GS to William Holford, 21 February 1937; GS to Kathleen Barat, 2 January 1987, ULSCA D307/2/21/139.
[24] GS to Mums, 30 September 1937, ULSCA D307/5/1/2/134.
[25] United States Government Printing Office, "Register", 430.
[26] GS to William Holford, 21 February 1937.
[27] "Mount Holyoke'".
[28] Nora Murphy (Archivist MIT) to Christine Garnaut 26 January 2013.
[29] Stephenson, "Oral History", 260.
[30] Vale, *Changing Cities*, 14.
[31] Ibid., 14-15, 19.
[32] Birch, "From Civic Worker", 489.
[33] GS to William Holford, 21 February 1937; Nora Murphy (MIT Archives) to Christine Garnaut 26 January 2013.
[34] Hall, "A Pivotal Group", 79; Stephenson, "Oral History", 66.
[35] GS to Mums, 15 February 1937, ULSCA D307/5/1/2/116.
[36] Hall, *A Pivotal Group*, 81; Stephenson, *On A Human Scale*, 50.
[37] GS to William Holford, 21 February 1937.

[38] Stephenson, *On A Human Scale*, 16; Parents details in "US Visa Forms", ULSCA D307/2/16/168.
[39] GS to Mums, 15 February 1937.
[40] "Ghost Train Runs in Mystery Drama." *The Tech* 56, no. 47 (1936): 1,3. Available online at: http://tech.mit.edu; "Morrison Resigns from Dramashop." *The Tech* 56, no. 50 (1936): 1; "Dramashop Holds Tryouts for Membership." *The Tech* 57, no. 3 (1937): 1,4. Available online at: http://tech.mit.edu.
[41] GS to William Holford, 21 February 1937.
[42] Ibid.
[43] Gordon's letters to his parents described their various social activities. See ULSCA D307/5/1/2.
[44] GS to Mums, 15 February 1937.
[45] GS to Kathleen Barat, 20 January 1987, ULSCA D307/2/21/139; GS to Mums, 15 February 1937.
[46] Crockett, "A Low-Rent Housing Project", 1, 3. Copy courtesy Larry Vale and MIT Archives.
[47] Crockett, "A Low-Rent Housing Project", 3-5.
[48] Ibid., 5, 7-8.
[49] Ibid., 8-9.
[50] Bauer, *Modern Housing*; Stephenson, "A Low-Rent Housing Project", 14-18. Flora recommended American architect Albert Mayer's plans for row housing in the new town of Greenbrook, New Jersey. See Stein, *Toward New Towns*.
[51] GS to Mums, 23 May 1937, ULSCA D307/5/1/2/129.
[52] Jack Kent to GS, 20 March 1979 ULSCA D307/5/17/45; GS to Mums, 23 May 1937, ULSCA D307/5/1/2/[129].
[53] Jack Kent to GS.
[54] He travelled with a South African bio-chemist named Kits van Heyringe. GS to Mums, 16 May 1937, ULSCA D307/5/1/2/128.
[55] Flora Stephenson (hereafter FS) to Larry Lawrence [February 1979], D307/5/1/17/19.
[56] GS to Mums 15 February 1937, ULSCA D307/5/1/2/116.
[57] GS to Dad, 13 November 1937, ULSCA D307/5/1/2/136.
[58] "Diary of Flora Stephenson" (Flora kept a diary from the day of her wedding to 22 July 1938. It covered the first seven weeks of Flora and Gordon's honeymoon and provides details of their itinerary and of places and people visited.) ULSCA D307/5/2/2; GS to Mums, 8 June 1938, ULSCA D307/5/1/2/14.
[59] GS to Mums and Dad, 11 September 1938, ULSCA D307/5/1/2/161; "Diary of Flora Stephenson", ULSCA D307/5/2/2.
[60] Riboldazzi, "The IFHTP congresses", 163; FS to Larry Lawrence.
[61] FS to Larry Lawrence.
[62] GS to Mums and Dad, 11 September 1938.
[63] FS to Mr Winship, 30 September 1954, ULSCA D307/2/16/42; "Statement made by Mrs. Gordon Stephenson", 1.
[64] Stephenson, "Oral History", 73; Address details for all homes to 1949 in "US Visa Forms", ULSCA D307/2/16/68.
[65] Stephenson, "Oral History", 73.
[66] Simpson, *Thomas Adams*.
[67] GS to Mums, 29 March 1938, ULSCA D307/5/1/2/142.
[68] GS to Mums, 30 April 1938, ULSCA D307/5/1/2/[14].

[69] Ibid.
[70] Stephenson, "Holiday, School and Evacuation Camps".
[71] GS to Mums and Dad, 12 February 1939, ULSCA D307/5/1/2/[163].
[72] The Housing Centre, *Camps Exhibition Handbook*. Title page.
[73] Walker, "Golden Age, 25.
[74] Darling, "The Star". Research for this article has not extended to the Housing Centre records. Further research may reveal personal correspondence between Flora and/or Gordon and leading Housing Centre personnel but there is no surviving evidence of correspondence between them in the archival collections consulted.
[75] Stephenson, "Holiday, School and Evacuation Camps", 26-27. Housing Centre records may provide further information about the exhibition.
[76] Carrington, "Country Camps", 321-323.
[77] Stephenson, "Camp Administration", 10.
[78] Stephenson, "School and Holiday Camps", 9-11, ULSCA D307/5/1/9/46.
[79] FS to Lou, 19 July 1939, ULSCA D307/5/1/1/67 ULA.
[80] The Stephenson's friend Jack Kent took the thesis to MIT. He called through Welwyn in September 1939 and Flora's brother Bob arranged a passage home for him to the United States. Flora's thesis records that it was completed in London in 1939. Stephenson, "Diary starting Friday, September 1st, 1939", ULSCA D3-7/5/2/3/2, 10; Jack Kent to GS, 20 March 1979; Stephenson, "Holiday, School and Evacuation Camps".
[81] Stephenson, *Community Centres*, 3.
[82] Ibid., 6. The centres were: Filwood Social Centre, Bristol: Frecheville Community Centre, Sheffield; Slough Social Centre, Slough, Bucks; North Kensington Community Centre, London; Craigentinny-Lochend Social Centre, Edinburgh; Impington Village College, Camridgeshire; Townhill Community Centre, Swansea; Werrington and District Village Hall, Staffs.
[83] GS to Dad and Mums, 18 June 1939 ULSCA D307/5/1/2/165; GS to Dad and Mums, 3 March 1940, ULSCA D307/5/1/2/167; FS to Lou, 19 July 1939 ULSCA D307/5/1/1/67; Stephenson, *On A Human Scale*, 51.
[84] Stephenson, "Oral History", 74.
[85] Department of Labour, "Community Centres", 49.
[86] '691 Receive degrees today', *The Tech*, vol. lx, no 30, 4 June 1940, 1. 'Degrees are given to thirteen women', *The Tech*, vol. lx, no. 30, 4 June 1940, 4. Available online at: http://tech.mit.edu.
[87] Stephenson, "Diary starting Friday, September 1st, 1939", 1, 15.
[88] Ibid., 2.
[89] Ibid., 4. The *Athenia* was sunk on 3 September 1939.
[90] Dix, "Obituary", v.
[91] Ward, "Gordon Stephenson", 279.
[92] FS to Larry Lawrence. The 'guns' refers to the Z Rocket Battery located in Hyde Park, London, and manned by civilians. See also GS to Clarence Stein, 28 August 1961 ULSCA D616.
[93] FS to Larry Lawrence; Stephenson, *On a Human Scale*, 62.
[94] Stephenson, "Oral History", 99.
[95] Ibid., 99, 260.
[96] Huxley, *TVA*.
[97] Stephenson, "Report"; Stephenson, "Oral History", 66.
[98] Sorensen, "Phoebe Pool".

[99] Stephenson, "Oral History", 260.
[100] Stephenson and Pool, *A Plan*, 56.
[101] Huxley in ibid., 8.
[102] Ward, "Gordon Stephenson", 284-5.
[103] Larkham, "The Place".
[104] "Statement made by Mrs. Gordon Stephenson", 1.
[105] Batey, "Gordon Stephenson's Reform".
[106] Massey, "Under My Care", 167.
[107] Ibid., 169-75.
[108] Stephenson, "Oral History", 130-131.
[109] Stephenson, "Oral History", 130-131; Massey "Under My Care", 182
[110] The TPR Archives, held in the ULSCA contain no minutes of editorial meetings at the time when Gordon Stephenson was editor. Correspondence with David Massey, author of an article on Stephenson's role as TPR editor, confirms the absence of records which might assist in explicating Flora's role as an Assistant Editor and/or why she wrote the review of Adams' book. David Massey to Christine Garnaut 20 July 2015.
[111] Stephenson, "Adams, *Children and the City*", 318.
[112] Stein, *Toward*, 7.
[113] Parsons, *The Writing*, 487.
[114] Stephenson, "Oral History", 70.
[115] Stein, *Toward*, 8.
[116] Stephenson, *On A Human Scale*, 135; Gregory, "Stephenson", 291.
[117] Stephenson, *On A Human Scale*, 135; Gregory, "Stephenson", 301.
[118] GS to Clarence Stein, 27 July 1953, ULSCA D616.
[119] "Statement made by Mrs. Gordon Stephenson", 2.
[120] Stephenson, *On A Human Scale*, 154.
[121] Ibid., 154-55;
[122] "Statement made by Mrs. Gordon Stephenson": 2.
[123] Ibid.
[124] GS to Clarence and Aline Stein, 30 December 1954, ULSCA D616.
[125] Stephenson, *On A Human Scale*, 156; Shoshkes, *Jaqueline Tyrwhitt*, 146-47, 152.
[126] GS to Clarence and Aline Stein, 30 December 1954,
[127] GS to Clarence Stein, 26 February 1956, ULSCA D616.
[128] "Oral History"166-167;
[129] GS to Dulcie, 26 April 1979.
[130] Stephenson, "Oral History", 176.
[131] FS to GS, [18 September] 1959, ULSCA D307/5/1/12/15.
[132] GS to Dulcie, 26 April 1979.
[133] GS to Clarence Stein, 10 January 1959, 4. D616 ULA.
[134] Garnaut, "Gordon Stephenson", 382-84.
[135] FS to GS, [18 September] 1959.
[136] GS to Clarence Stein, 30 December 1954, ULSCA D616.
[137] Stephenson, "Oral History", 176.
[138] Gordon and Nicholson, "Beyond the Tabula Rasa", 339; GS to Cricket [Flora], 8 July [1956] ULSCA D307/5/1/11/11; GS to J. McCulloch, n.d.1958, ULSCA D307/1/5/6/26.
[139] Grant and Paterson, "Scientific cloak", 321-24.
[140] GS to Cricket (Flora), 8 July 1956.

[141] Stephenson, "Oral History", 170.
[142] Grant and Paterson, "Scientific cloak", e.g. 325, 328-31; GS to Kathleen Barat, 2 January 1987. The research has not located sources that indicate Flora's actual contributions in any more specific detail.
[143] Grant and Paterson, "Scientific cloak", 323; Stephenson, *On A Human Scale*, 159-60.
[144] GS to Kathleen Barat 2 January 1987.
[145] S.L. Prescott to GS, 8 October 1959, University of Western Australia Gordon Stephenson HR File No.763; FS to Larry Lawrence.
[146] Stephenson, "Oral History", 134. My endeavours in 2015 to locate the slides and card files either in the School of Architecture or in the library at the University of Western Australia were unsuccessful.
[147] GS to Clarence Stein, 7 March 1961, ULSCA D616.
[148] FS to Jack Kent, 24 August 1961, Wurster: Dean's Files Box 12, S-correspondence 1961-62, Environmental Design Archives, University of California, Berkeley.
[149] Stephenson and Stephenson, "Planning".
[150] FS to Larry Lawrence.
[151] Freestone, "Gordon Stephenson", 53.
[152] Stephenson, "Oral History", 234.
[153] Ibid., 228-229.
[154] Stephenson, G. "University of Tasmania. Campus Development", Unpublished Report, 1972. Tasmanian Archive and Heritage Office, AE342/1/116, 2.
[155] In 1980 Nanyang University merged with the University of Singapore to form the National University of Singapore. Nanyang Technological University is on the site of the original Nanyang University.
[156] GS to FS, 11 February 1972, "Nanyang University", Box 4, File 4.45, GS papers, Scholars Library, University of Western Australia.
[157] Stephenson, *The Design*, xi.
[158] Stephenson, "Oral History", 223.
[159] FS to Lou and Clive, 20 June 1977, ULSCA D307/5/1/1/46.
[160] FS to Larry Lawrence.
[161] FS to Lou and Clive (Flora's emphasis).
[162] GS to Herbert Finch, 8 May 1978, ULSCA D307/5/1; GS to Dulcie.
[163] "Donation pledge form", ULSCA D307/2/21/175.
[164] GS to Lloyd Rodwin, 30 July 1979, ULSCA D307/2/21/191.
[165] Stein, *Toward new Towns*, 8.
[166] Stephenson, "Oral History", 260.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Batey, Peter. "Gordon Stephenson's Reform of the Planning Curriculum: How Liverpool Came to have the MCD." *Town Planning Review* 83, no. 2 (2012): 135-163, doi: 10.3828.

Bauer, Catherine. *Modern Housing*. Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1934.

Bever, M. “The Women of M.I.T., 1871 to 1941: Who they were, what they achieved.” B.Sc. thesis, MIT, 1976. Available online at http://dspace.mit.edu/bitstream/handle/1721.1/33804/03443566.pdf.txt

Birch, Eugenie. “From Civic Worker to City Planner: Women and Planning, 1890-1980.” In *The American Planner: Biographies and Recollections*, edited by Donald Krueckeberg, 396-427, New York: Metheun, 1994.

Carrington, Noel. “Country Camps for School Children.” *Country Life* April 1 (1939): 321-323.

Clapson, Mark. “The rise and fall of Monica Felton, British town planner and peace activist, 1930s to 1950s.” *Planning Perspectives* 30, no. 2 (2015): 211-229, doi: 10.1080/02665433.2014.950686.

Chadwick, Whitney and de Courtivron, Isabelle, eds. *Significant Others: Creativity and Intimate Partnership*. New York: Thames and Hudson, 1993.

Collins, Julie (2012) “A ‘powerful, creative history’: the reticence of women architects to donate their professional records to archival repositories”, *Archives and Manuscripts*, 40, no. 3 (2012): 181-190, doi: 10.1080/01576895.2012.735824.

Colomina, Beatrice. “Collaborations: The Private Life of Modern Architecture.” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 58 no. 3 (1999): 462-471.

Crockett, Flora B., “A Low-rent Housing Project for Brighton”, B.Arch. City Planning thesis, MIT, 1937.

Darling, Elizabeth. “The Star in the Profession She Created for Herself: A Brief Biography of Elizabeth Denby, Housing Consultant.” *Planning Perspectives* 20, July (2005): 271-300.

Department of Labour and National Service, “Community Centres”, *Wartime Housing Bulletin* No.5, Canberra: Wartime Housing Division, Department of Labour and National Service, May 1945.

Dix, Gerald. “The Compassionate Planner: An Appreciation of the Life and Work of Gordon Stephenson.” *Town Planning Review* 68, no. 3 (1997): iii-xiv.

Epstein, Cynthia F. “Law Partners and Marital Partners: Strains and Solutions in the Dual-career Family Enterprise.” *Human Relations* 24 (1971): 549-564.

Freestone, Robert. “Anti-planning in the 1940s: The Paradox of Florence Taylor.” *Planning Perspectives* 30, no.2 (2015): 191-209, doi:10.1080/02665433.2014.918862

Freestone, Robert. “Gordon Stephenson and the Long-term Planning of Canberra.” In *14th IPHS Conference Urban Transformation: Controversies, Contrasts and*

Challenges, edited by Nuran Gulersoy et al, 49-61, Vol 3. Istanbul: Urban and Environmental Planning and Research Center, ITU, 2010.

Gregory, Jenny. "Stephenson and Metropolitan Planning in Perth." *Town Planning Review* 83, no. 3 (2012): 297-318.

Hall, Louise. "A Pivotal Group in Architecture." In *Architecture: A Place for Women*, edited by Ellen Perry Berkeley and Matilda McQuaid, 79-86. Washington: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1989.

The Housing Centre. *Camps Exhibition Handbook*. London: The Housing Centre, 1939.

Huxley, Julian. "Foreword." In Stephenson, F. and Pool, P. *A Plan for Town and Country*. London: The Pilot Press, 1944.

Huxley, Julian. *TVA. Adventure in Planning*. London: The Architectural Press, 1943.

Kirkham, Pat. *Charles and Ray Eames, Designers of the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge (MA): MIT Press, 1995.

Larkham, Peter. "The Place of Urban Conservation in the UK Reconstruction Plans of 1942–1952." *Planning Perspectives* 18, no. 3, (2003): 295-324.

Massey, David. "'Under My Care': Gordon Stephenson and the Re-founding of the Town Planning Review, 1948-54." *Town Planning Review* 83, no. 2 (2012): 165-193. doi: 10.3828.

"Mount Holyoke. A Detailed History", Available online at http://www.mtholyoke.edu/about/detailed.html. Accessed 24 November 2011.

Parsons, K. C. ed. *The Writings of Clarence S. Stein Architect of the Planned Community*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1998.

Riboldazzi, Renzo. "The IFHTP Congresses Between the Wars: A Source for Studies on Modern Town Planning." *Town Planning Review* 84, no. 2 (2013): 159-170.

Shoshkes, Ellen. *Jaqueline Tyrwhitt: A Transnational Life in Urban Planning and Design*. London: Ashgate, 2013.

Simpson, Michael, *Thomas Adams and the Modern Planning Movement Britain, Canada and the United States, 1900-1940*. London: Alexandrine Press, 1985.

Sorensen, L. 'Pool, Phoebe', *Dictionary of Art Historians*. Available online at http://www.dictionaryofarthistorians.org/poolp.htm
Accessed 24 November 2011.

Stein, Clarence S. *Toward New Towns for America*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1957.

Steiner, J.S.R., "A Study for Replanning an Area in Northwest Washington, D.C." MCP thesis, MIT, 1940.

Stephenson, F.B.C., "Holiday, School and Evacuation Camps." MCP thesis, MIT, 1939 (submitted from London).

Stephenson, Flora. "Adams, *Children and the City*." *Town Planning Review* 23, no. 4 (1953): 318.

Stephenson, Flora. "Camp Administration." In The Housing Centre, *Camps Exhibition Handbook*, London: The Housing Centre, 1939.

Stephenson, Flora and Gordon. *Community Centres: A Survey*. London: Percy Lund Humphries, 1942.

Stephenson, Flora and Pool, Phoebe. *A Plan for Town and Country*. London: The Pilot Press, 1944.

Stephenson, Gordon and Stephenson, Flora. "Planning for the University of Western Australia". *Town Planning Review* 7, no. 1 (1966): 21-36.

Stephenson, Gordon. *On A Human Scale: A Life in City Design*. (ed. C. de Marco) Fremantle: Fremantle Arts Centre, 1992.

Stephenson, Gordon. *The Design of Central Perth*. Perth: University of Western Australia Press, 1975.

Stephenson, Gordon "Oral History Interview." J. S. Battye Library of West Australian History, Oral History Unit, 1991-92.

Stephenson, Gordon. "Report on the Tennessee Valley Authority". City Planning Administration, Mass: MIT, 1938.

United States Government Printing Office, "Register of the Commissioned Officers, Cadets, Midshipmen, and Warrant Officers of the United States Naval Reserve, Washington", 1941. Available online at: http://www.ibiblio.org/hyperwar/USN/ref/BuPers/USNR-1941.pdf

Vale, Lawrence. *Changing Cities: 75 Years of Planning Better Futures at MIT*. MA: SA+P Press, 2008.

Walker, L. "Golden Age or False Dawn? Women architects in the early 20th century", n.d., p.25. Available online at: http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/content/imported-docs/f-j/women-architects-early-20th-century.pdf Accessed 9 February 2012.

Ward, Stephen. “Gordon Stephenson and the ‘Galaxy of Talent’: Planning for Post-war Reconstruction in Britain 1942-1947.” *Town Planning Review* 83, no. 3 (2012): 279-296.

Wright, Gwendolyn. “A Partnership: Catherine Bauer and William Wurster.” In Trieb, Marc. *An Everyday Modernism: The Houses of William Wurster*, 183-203, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.