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Memòria de l'estada d'estudi i de recerca a la
Facultat d'Estudis Urbans i Regionals de Reading,
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Introducció.

Tal com us informava abans de l'estada a Reading i Londres, l'objectiu del viatge era doble:

- d'una banda, la realització de sessions tècniques i de debat amb els estudiants i professors del MPhil/Advanced Diploma in Environmental Planning

- d'altra banda, l'estudi sobre el funcionament de l'estructura de polítiques urbanes i de realitzacions previstes en el marc del sistema de planificació territorial anglès.

Realitzada l'estada a Reading entre les dates previstes crec que es van aconseguir plenament els objectius bàsics de l'activitat, donat l'interès posat en el debat i en l'intercanvi de punts de vista, de plantejaments i d'experiències per part de tothom i especialment per l'interès demostrat i l'acollida fraternal dels nostres companys de Reading. La possibilitat de coordinar teoria i pràctica estudiant a la universitat i debat amb els "decision makers" de l'administració local, ha estat un factor positiu fonamental en l'interès de l'experiència.

Tot seguit, ressenyaré quins han estat els temes tractats, les activitats realitzades i els professors allí coneguts, amb els quals personalment encara mantinc contactes regularment per tal de compartir i discutir diferents punts de l'elaboració de la meua Tesi Doctoral.

Estructura del treball i continguts tractats a Reading i Londres.

El treball realitzat va tenir un doble vessant. En el marc del MPhil i a la Faculty of Urban and Regional Studies van ser tractades en sessions impartides per professors del curs de post-grau les

"qüestions tècniques bàsiques" sobre els poders locals i la planificació urbana i territorial a Gran Bretanya. Aquestes sessions van ser complementades per les realitzades de forma prèviament concertada, amb els companys d'Urban and Regional Planning del Department of Government de la London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE), en les quals van ser tractats, per part de responsables de l'urbanisme de la ciutat, alguns dels temes més importants de la política local i urbana de Londres (estructura administrativa i de govern de la ciutat, la planificació i la política d'habitatge públic).

Al costat del que va ser el "blor tècnic", realitzàrem també alguns reconeguts "Study Tours", amb l'objectiu d'aprofundir en temes puntuals i polítiques sectorials, i fer-ho en els llocs concrets d'aplicació d'aquestes per tal de discutir els problemes de la posta en pràctica i de l'impacte real dels programes públics en incidint sobre el territori i la realitat social de la zona. En aquest sentit vam reconèixer el centre i les zones suburbanals de Reading, la New Town Milton Keynes i el corredor tecnològic del Tàmesi amb la finalitat d'analitzar sobre el terreny les intervencions públiques més potents de desenvolupament regional i ordenació urbanística del Berkshire County Council i del District Council de Reading. En la línia, molt relacionada a les Ciències Socials a Gran Bretanya, de completar l'estudi de tot el "policy process", és a dir el conjunt del cicle vital o operatiu d'una política pública. Ja a Londres, vam reconèixer els London Docklands, zona portuària a l'est de la City, amb quinze quilòmetres de riba fluvial i vint-i-rinc quilòmetres quadrats de terrenys en procés de degradació continuada des de la Segona Guerra Mundial, que s'han convertit en els últims anys en el projecte de rehabilitació urbana integral de dimensions més importants de tot el continent.

En síntesi els continguts tractats van respondre a l'ideal d'interdisciplinarietat present en els Estudis Urbans i Regionals.

Des de les qüestions més tècniques de la planificació territorial, en la línia de la tradició britànica d'introduir fons continguts d'anàlisi econòmica, fins a les "issues" més rellevants de la política urbana dels últims anys a Londres i Anglaterra en la perspectiva del "public policy analysis", passant per l'estructuració i capacitat d'intervenció pública dels poders locals a partir de la reforma conservadora de 1985-86 i del procés de "deregulation" i privatització de serveis.

Temes tractats a les sessions teòriques d'estudi i debat a la Faculty of Urbans and Regional Studies (FURS) de la Univ. de Reading

- El Sistema britànic de Planificació Territorial, "*British Planning System*", (W.Davies).
- Els estudis de política local a Gran Bretanya "*Theoretical Approaches to Local Political Studies in Britain*", (John Purter).
- L'Estructura del Govern Local a Anglaterra, "*The structure of Local Government, Internal and External Relations*", (John Purter).
- London Docklands, (Alan Hopper).

Temes tractats a les sessions teòriques del Department of Government de la London School (LSE).

- L'abolició del Greater London Council (GLC), "*Administrative and political systems for managing british metropolitan areas*", (Michael Cassidy)
- Introducció al planejament de la City de Londres, "*Introductory Approach on Planning in the City*", (David Read)
- Els problemes d'habitatge a Londres, "*The Housing Problem in London*", (David Read)

Recorreguts i visites a diferents zones de Berkshire i l'Àrea Metropolitana de Londres per observar i analitzar la implementació de diferents polítiques urbanes i de Desenvolupament Regional.

Reserveu tot seguit les visites realitzades i els temes en ells tractats:

-Política Territorial i Àrees de Desenvolupament Tecnològic: *"High Technology Development policy in the Thames Valley Area"* (Tony Taylor).

Recorregut per la Vall del Tàmesi:

Política de desenvolupament tecnològic del County Planning Depart de Berkshire.

Temany del sector tecnològic en el marc de l'estructura econòmica de la zona.

Localització espacial de les empreses.

Política i estructura ocupacional.

Perspectives de futur.

-Planejament Urbà i Política d'habitatge a Reading: *"Town Planning and Housing Policy"* (John Foster).

a/ Recorregut pel "Reading Town Center":

Els problemes urbanístics del centre urbà de Reading i les seves definicions funcionals.

La política de localització d'equipaments i proveïment de serveis b/ Recorregut pel "Suburban Reading":

Estudi dels models de creixement i expansió urbana de Reading.

Polítiques d'habitatge del Sector Públic Local, Habitatge, ús del territori i estructura social.

-Les New Towns Angleses (Dai Edwards).

Anada a la New Town Milton Keynes:

Xerrada i debat al Milton Keynes Urban Study Centre sobre:

- el paper i les polítiques de la MK Development Corporation.
- els principals "issues" del Town Planning.

-London Docklands, (Tina White i Alan Hooper).

Anada als London Docklands, Isle of Dogs, Royal Docks, Surrey Docks, Wapping and Limehouse.

.Els programes de "Urban Renewal"

.El "Strategic Plan" i les polítiques del GLC (Creating employment, Social Housing, Manufacturing, Improving Infrastructure, Enterprise Zones).

.Actituds i polítiques de les instàncies d'Intervenció Política: Port of London Authority, London Boroughs, British Rail, British Gas.

."Intergovernmentale problems and relations, Urban Development Grants".

Persones amb les quals he establert contactes i relacions.

- Michael Cassidy, Membre del City Planning Committee de Londres.
- Williams Davies, Professor de la ISE, Regional and Urban Planning.
- Daf Edwards, Professor del Departament de Land Management de la FURS de Reading. Membre del MK Urban Studies Centre.
- Alan Hooper, Professor de Urban Politics and Sociology de la FURS.
- John Punter "Senior Lecturer" del departament de Land Management de la FURS de Reading. President de la Reading Civic Society.
- David Read, Local Plans Officer de Londres.
- Tony Taylor, Professor de Land Management and Development de la FURS de Reading.
- Tina White, Membre de la London Docklands Development Corporation, coordinadora del Business Efficiency Centre.

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1 The structure of local government

Without doubt the opportunities for local authorities to take the vital decisions that affect their areas are more exciting now than at any other time. The Government are determined to return power to those people who should exercise decisions locally, and to ensure that local government is given every opportunity to take that initiative and responsibility effectively, speedily and with vigour.

With this cry of faith in the potential of a vigorous local government system to play to the full its role within the democratic life of this country, the Conservative Government of 1971 launched its programme of local government reform which was to see the structure fundamentally change in England and Wales in 1974 and in Scotland in 1975. By the summer of 1975 the people to whom the power had been returned were being administered by Anthony Crosland, the then Secretary of State for the Environment who told them that 'the party is over'. In part, this reflected the, by now Labour, Government's concern that the problem of initiation was not being met adequately (as the Government saw it) by local authorities, and in part, it suggested that the relationship between the Government and local authorities was strained and that the new era of local government had, at best, got off to a poor start and, at worst, had ended after the first few days. Crosland's comments about the separation of local authorities were a theme taken up and continued by the Conservative Government returned in 1979 and 1981. As we shall see in Chapter 2 various attempts were made by the Conservative Government and the Labour Government to deal with the problems of local government. The Government's view on local government was that of the return to a local level of decision-making. As a result of the reforms, it failed to do so, and the Labour Government of 1981 was left with a system of local government, largely Labour, in a position

into law, it was soon seen that the political costs to the Government were quite high.

Finance was not the only issue. The very reorganisation itself was, within a few years of its introduction, being challenged. Crosland's successor in the Labour administration, Peter Shore, responding to the outcry from, in particular, the big nine cities such as Bristol, Leeds, Nottingham and Southampton which had been absorbed into the counties in which they were situated, proposed what he called 'organic change'. What in essence this amounted to was that the urban councils of these cities would regain the responsibility for education and social services and some traffic and planning powers, which they had lost to the county council under the 1972 Act. Although this proposal fell with the change of government in 1979, it reflected the dissatisfaction with the 1972 Act felt by many and, in particular, Labour supporters who saw these major powers transferred from authorities which they often controlled to the counties which they rarely did.

Nor was discontent restricted to the Labour Party. Apart from the rates issue, the Conservative manifesto for the 1983 General Election contained a commitment, inserted at the last moment we are told, to abolish the Greater London Council, a precursor of an earlier Conservative Government's legislation in 1965, and the six metropolitan county councils created by the 1972 Act. The Local Government Act 1985 was eventually passed but not without some difficulty, particularly in the House of Lords. Its effect is to achieve these objectives and to make consequential changes to the Inner London Education Authority, the GLC, a product of the 1965 London Government Act. This is discussed in more detail later but, clearly, the claim by Peter Walker, when he introduced the second reading to his Bill in 1972, that 'When the Bill reaches the score book we shall have ended the uncertainty that has bedevilled local government since the 1960s, has it not what follows that is true.

Local government

The structure of the system was decided by the end of the nineteenth century with the passing of the Local Government Act of 1888 and the subsequent Local Government Act of 1902 and the Local Government Act of 1929.

town from country and, in the country areas, to create two levels of Authority. (See Table 1.1.) This second aim reinforced the first by creating at the local level, within counties, urban districts and non-county boroughs for the towns and rural districts for the country. The legislators were determined that the problems of the rapidly growing urban areas should be seen as quite distinct from those of the rural areas which surrounded them. No recognition was given to the relationship which was bound to develop as the better-off workers within the urban areas moved to the country areas to live. Thus, the Acts continued the seeds of their own destruction, though it must be acknowledged that they were a long time dying.

When the original Local Government Bill was presented in 1888, it proposed that there should be ten county boroughs, urban authorities equal in status to counties: Birmingham, Bradford, Bristol, Hull, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, Newcastle, Nottingham and Sheffield. All had a population of over 150,000. There was considerable pressure from areas representing urban areas to grant county borough status, and until it independence from 'county rule' to their areas, and the Government made a series of concessions which culminated in a general concession that the minimum size of a county borough should be, not 150,000. The number of towns and cities qualifying increased from the original ten to fifty-nine. The 1929 Act also allowed any urban area which at some future time reached the required size, could apply for county borough status. Thus, within a year of the passing of the Act, Oxford became a county borough and by 1927 a further twenty-one county boroughs were created (and two were lost: Hanley into Stoke and Devonport into Plymouth). The 1888 Act also allowed for the county boroughs to expand their boundaries. Objections to proposals by the county boroughs or the President of the Local Government Board for a revision of boundaries were possible, but during the first thirty-five years of the life of the Act do not seem to have been presented very frequently, and in the period there was not a hundred extensions (Table 1.2) that year.

Thus, the number lost mainly to the county boroughs fairly rapidly over the mid-twentieth century, the result of the concentration expressed by the creation of the metropolitan and poly-

except education and social services in one part of its area, for all functions but social services in another and for all functions in yet another. In view of the disorganisation which would have resulted, it is perhaps fortunate that the proposals were not implemented before the Government fell. The Conservative Government scuttled its proposals and its re-election in 1953 along with Labour victories in some of the county council elections seems to have put paid to the idea. We said earlier that the Government had taken the Macmillan-Vidal proposal to create metropolitan counties as the best of a bad job, but I am inclined to think that it was a good idea. It might have been done in the manner then favoured by the leading County Councils, that is, by a vote of the two-thirds of the members of the proposed county who would be asked to join it, but I am inclined to think that it would have been done in the manner then favoured by the leading County Councils, that is, by a vote of the two-thirds of the members of the proposed county who would be asked to join it, but I am inclined to think that it would have been done in the manner then favoured by the leading County Councils, that is, by a vote of the two-thirds of the members of the proposed county who would be asked to join it.

that the "international" character of the organization is not in the end a mere abstraction, but that the organization is in fact a concrete internationalism, and that the organization is in fact a concrete internationalism, and that the organization is in fact a concrete internationalism.

Figure 1

Pediatric-Maternal programs	Actual West Midlands Metropolitan County
1. County hospitals	
Birmingham, Dudley, Edgbull, Walsall, Warley, West Bromwich, Wolverhampton	None (Warley and West Bromwich only have facilities) plus Coventry
2. Non-county hospitals	
Uthmaniyah, Stafford, Tamworth, Warley, Kidderminster	None
3. Urban centers	
Two in Staffordshire	None
Three in Worcestershire	
4. Special delivery	
Four in Staffordshire	One in Birmingham
Two in Worcestershire	One in Birmingham
Parts of three in Warwickshire	

secondly, and the two authors of this opinion, a number of other judges, think that the majority's decision is not based on the law, but on a mere desire to reach a particular result.

[illegible]

recommended. The Herbert Commission which had made recommendations for a council with strategic powers saw its definition of the area to be governed by that strategic authority amended by the removal of nine councils, all more rural than any left in.

And still more reform

Few elements in proposed programme illustrate more graphically the fact that expected changes can be almost accidental consequences of re-organising, rather than considered responses to defined needs, than the proposal in the Conservative Party's 1993 election manifesto to abolish the Greater London Council (GLC) and the thirty urban county councils (UCCs). In 1988, few people would have thought that both powers might be reuniting would have been on issue at all let alone a central feature of the new government's policy. The GLC had been elected in 1968 in a lack of ideal conditions makes the point.

It is easy to see that there will be a close connection between changes to local government in the next two years. The present Conservative Government is pursuing a programme of streamlining the structure of government, of local government in particular, by carrying out such reforms in the North.

Devolution was a central theme of the Conservative Party's 1993 election manifesto and the British people have responded to the message. It is not surprising that the Conservative Government has concentrated its efforts on local government, which has been the most different level of government of effective local government. Although the Conservative Government had to make these efforts to provide a programme of local government reform, it has also concentrated its efforts on the central government, which has been the most different level of government of effective local government. The Conservative Government has been able to carry out its programme of local government reform, which has been the most different level of government of effective local government.

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effects of the inability of ministers to agree an alternative. We now know that in 1982, the Prime Minister established a Cabinet committee, Misc 79, to consider local transport, expenditure, rates and government structure, chaired by the Home Secretary, Mr. Whitelaw, and including ministers from the Treasury, the Department of the Environment, Education, Trade, Industry and the Secretary of State for Wales.

I had a personal sub-committee of officials. What seems to have happened (and we have to rely on leaked information as the Cabinet committee system is highly secretive) is that the Treasury ministers, led by the Chief Secretary, Leon Britton, pressed for central government powers to control and limit local authority expenditure; that spending departmental responsibilities might be transferred and that Michael Heseltine, Secretary of State for the Environment, would be involved in a proposal to change the GLC and the urban county councils. It seems that the decision of these big ministers would be to the effect of a substantial increase in rates. There appears to have been some discussion about the wisdom of a further expansion of government, such as the Home Office and Transport which have close links with the metropolitan counties and the GLC. In any case, the committee was able to agree only one new urban county council, which was the Metropolitan Police Area, and a new urban county council, which was the Metropolitan Police Area, and a new urban county council, which was the Metropolitan Police Area.

By the time the committee had agreed its recommendations, the Conservative Government had agreed a new urban county council, which was the Metropolitan Police Area, and a new urban county council, which was the Metropolitan Police Area, and a new urban county council, which was the Metropolitan Police Area. The Conservative Government had agreed a new urban county council, which was the Metropolitan Police Area, and a new urban county council, which was the Metropolitan Police Area, and a new urban county council, which was the Metropolitan Police Area.

Chapter 1

Local Political Studies in Britain

This chapter briefly reviews the dominant treatment of urban politics in Britain, the local political studies literature. The purpose is to establish a summary description of this literature to serve as a benchmark or comparative referent against which later theoretical and empirical analysis may be set. I argue that even within the restricted local politics area many topics are left virtually unexplored. Others are covered only by studies whose empirical basis is suspect.

There are few guiding ideas in British local political studies which could serve as organising themes for this analysis. The literature is eclectic, and although vigorous debates do occur, they are often difficult to characterise in terms relevant to broader issues in social science. However, the methodological approaches used by different studies do suggest at least one basis for division. The categories produced are far from watertight and are eminently contestable; inevitably they do violence to the individual positions of some authors. But they can at least facilitate a minimally structured review of the literature; and the approaches assigned to the various categories do share some important characteristics. I designate three main groups of studies: firstly, the pre-behavioural approaches of public administration and institutional studies; secondly, the fragmented behaviouralism of other disciplines and sub-disciplines seeking to colonise the unstudied areas of urban politics; and thirdly, the more specific contributions of political scientists studying local politics.

The pre-behavioural approach

The behavioural revolution in social science reached only slowly into studies of British politics. Only in the late 1950s did behavioural research become important in national level studies. The time lag was longer in local political studies. Not until the mid-1960s were the

behavioural techniques, such as sample surveys, used by more than a few researchers. Even then the traditions of analysis established in the earlier periods by no means withered away. Pre-behavioural approaches may still be considered the dominant mode of analysis in local political studies. Essentially these approaches eschew the technology of 'mainstream' social science with its systematic focus on behaviour in favour of a resolute concern with institutional analysis. Most public administration approaches, for example, concentrate on expounding the legal framework and organisational arrangements of the institutions analysed, perhaps using historical case studies, and less commonly using a variety of administrative theories. Much of the literature involved is constituted by textbook discussions. It is characteristically an 'armchair' pursuit where the research content of all but the best studies can be difficult to pinpoint.

The first and most important consequence of this institutional focus has been that *urban* politics has almost never been studied as a theoretical field. Rather, urban politics has been seen as no more than *local* politics, and very frequently as concerned only with *local government* politics. Local political institutions, and the politicians and administrators who staff them, have for these approaches defined the be-all and end-all of urban political analysis (see, for example, Stewart, 1971). Within this focus there has been a quite startling tendency for academics concerned with local politics to see their role either as that of 'inside deposer', mediating the objective perceptions and valuable secrets of local politicians to a wider audience (Wiseman, 1967; Hebb, 1966; Jones, 1973; Kagan and van der Eyken, 1973); or as that of policy adviser, removed from the routines of day-to-day administration, capable of taking a larger view and perhaps versed in a more sophisticated appreciation of democratic theory, but nonetheless concerned with the same goals and operating in the same ideological frame as local government itself (Sanjyer, 1967; Regan, 1976; Rhodes, 1974; Jackson, 1963; Richards, 1976). The emphasis on local government has literally implied the straightforward delineation of cities or towns in terms of local authority areas; the production of narrowly defined analyses making absolutely no reference to local social or economic processes; and a concentration on an extremely restrictive domain of the wider anatomy of local political institutions, thereby exclusively in terms of relations between local authorities and central government departments.

In the early post-war period, one important strand of institutional

analysis maintained that local authorities could be seen simply as decentralised administrative agencies for central government, concerned entirely with the implementation of nationally decided or purely technical policies and thus not constituting genuinely autonomous areas of political decision (see Dearlove, 1973, ch. 1 for a review; Robson, 1966a; Jackson, 1965). The continuing influence of such views on the study of local politics is difficult to underestimate. A recent textbook, for example, devotes an entire chapter to refuting normative theories that 'politics' have no part to play in local government, and to establishing the apparently obvious point that 'politics exist at the local as well as at the national level' (Lyford, 1970, p. 23). Yet no developed account of the reasons for viewing local government as concerned with unpolitical administration has ever been put forward. Much of the literature supposedly documenting this thesis turns out on inspection to be quite unsatisfactory. Most commonly it consists of normative claims that politics should be kept out of local government, or that local democracy should be revived or 'renewed' by giving councils greater autonomy. These claims are typically backed up by quotes and anecdotes from local political actors, by abstract citations of statutes or regulations with little specification of how these work in practice, and by a cumulative re-stating of earlier literature in the same vein. As Dearlove concludes: 'The truth of the matter is that [this] literature consists, in large part, of unsupported hunches based on partial research. It has failed to explore adequately central-local relations and this inadequacy has almost certainly resulted in the exaggeration of the extent of central control and the lack of local autonomy' (Dearlove, 1973, p. 15). The most worthwhile empirical work to emerge from this debate presents a view of central-local government relations which is much more complex. Giddens (1965, Ch. 10, p. 163) found a range of administrative measures of local authority activity reveal marked areas of variation in outputs (Baden, 1971; Newton, 1977).

Within the institutional public administration approach, those writers who do acknowledge the independence area of local policy formulation put forward in various ways a number of policies which overwhelmingly reflect a centralist bias. 'Local authorities' interpretations of national policies in local government and 'Democratic' interpretations of national policies in local government and 'Democratic' interpretations of national policies in local government are all local variations on a view which Dearlove (1973, p. 25) characterises as the 'centralist' or 'centralised' model of government. See Chubb (1974, p. 102); Chapman (1974,

Govan, 1962; Jones, 1969). The effectiveness and value of 'local democracy' is widely taken as read in this literature, and detailed evidence to support this view is rarely thought necessary. Indeed, this body of thought at times seems to deny the possibility or existence of criteria of democracy in local politics other than the existing practices of local politicians. Hill, for example, argues that:

Democracy is what councillors and officers do in their day to day work. The definition of democratic local government is their definition. (Hill, 1971, p. 230)

Within local political institutions, public administration approaches are insistent in their restraint that power lies where it is supposed to lie, formally or legally. Some authors are content to maintain the legal fiction that power is exercised by the local council as a whole, and the dictum that council members take policy decisions with officers merely carry them out. The overtly ideological view of local government as carried on by disinterested politicians sincerely seeking the public interest in a climate of rational debate, and by impartial officials operating in inherently uncontentious technical contexts, is given widespread currency (Richards, 1970; Jackson, 1966; Gladden, 1972). More informed and realistic studies within this tradition at least admit of a pervasive political process dominated by power and influence exertion. But they put forward a resolutely positioned view in which power exertion is seen as attributable to individuals in certain positions in formally responsible locations in the local council or bureaucracy (Wiseman, 1967; Hecks, 1970; Monry, 1973; See, 1971; Sharpe, 1968). Very little attention is given to channels of influence on or within local political institutions for informal influence is seen as not quite legitimate. This system of exclusive reference to local interest groups, the local media or 'community influence' as channels of access to decision-makers (Lea, 1962; Jackson, 1965; Knowles, 1971; Warren, 1959). Nor is very much attention given to the characteristics of individuals in formally important positions, to the detailed way in which decisions are made, or to the analysis of policy outcomes. Preferred and approved or disapproved only very partial and restrictive view of local politics, it is not unreasonable that this view is essentially shallow in its views on the nature of council members and on the values regarded important by the professional training of local government officers. Its essential basis is very unclear, seeming to consist for the

most part of a cumulation of practitioner statements of how local politics operate (or should ideally operate), rather than being the product of systematic, academic investigation. And, of course, this view of local government touches on only a small part of the theoretical field of urban politics which I delineate at the end of Chapter 2.

Fragmented behaviouralism

Much of the behavioural work on local politics, which has tended to displace public administration and institutional perspectives since the later 1960s, originates outside political science altogether. It can basically be seen as a fragmented literature produced by the attempts of writers in organisation theory, administrative and planning theory, systems analysis, operational research, etc. on the one hand, and in 'urban' sociology on the other, to colonise the terrain of urban politics left largely unexplored by public administration approaches. Yet the most characteristic feature of this fragmented behaviouralism has been the extent to which it accepts and operates within the definition of the field of study (and of the areas of controversy or interest) originating from pre-behavioural approaches. Thus it too is concerned with at best local politics and often just local government politics; it too is characterised by the inside-deposer policy adviser conventions with a heavy emphasis on the latter role; however, and it too is close to, and increasingly constitutes a contributory element in, the ideology of local government itself.

By far the largest and most readily accessible body of work in the literature is that of organisational administrative planning theory, systems analysis and operational research. I shall treat these as a group although the exponents of each of these approaches usually contrive to ignore each other. Essentially, they share a common and distinctive technocratic quality. By this I do not, *however*, mean that they are phrased in terms of a technical language, employ developed forms of behavioural theorising, are usually complex and are often expressed by means of diagrammatic representation or analogue or mathematical notation at least in part. For over and above such surface similarities, these approaches usually originate from the same kinds of roots, including big business and big government management, old and new. Another common root is with plans and computer models. They stand in direct and glaring contrast to the 'realist' and 'value-free' management practices which they purport to study and to the 'policy' and 'value-free' and the public

administration literature (Benington, 1976; Cockburn, 1977; Dearlove, 1977). These origins account for much of the prominent normative/ideological message in such approaches, a message which is clearly differentiated from the conventionality of the institutional literature. Like this literature it ignores the role of interest groups, informal input processes and political power in the operations of local government. But unlike this literature it gives a realistic picture of the relationships and indeterminacy of electoral influences on local authorities, and accurately portrays the extensive role of the local bureaucracy in policy formation. Because of their strong managerial orientation, these behavioural theories have no qualms about playing down the role of any democratic political process in favour of entrusting public policy to the professionalism of non-elected officials and the allegedly technical and neutral process of policy planning (Maud Committee, 1967; Greenwood and Stewart, 1973). Local politics are seen only as a necessary evil, a useful legitimising device for policy decisions but also a potentially distorting and disruptive influence on policy development (Stewart, 1971; Edelson, 1973; DCA, 1972). The conventionality of public administration approaches is displaced by a stifling conservatism in which, although supposedly irreducible areas of 'value judgement' are still identified for form's sake, the whole emphasis is placed on a form of end-of-ideology' view, where political processes and conflicts are seen as possible disquieting elements in a planning apparatus (Kleinberg, 1973). All explicitly political conflicts are carefully muted in favour of a muted technical jargon, even in decisional analyses (Friend and Jessop, 1969; Friend *et al.*, 1974). The most sophisticated theorists, having wiped the board clean of political concepts, later contrive to rediscover such novel ideas as 'values', 'interests' and 'power' as key variables in decision-making (Greenwood *et al.*, 1973). To cope with the credibility gap posed by the reduction of elected members to a peripheral role, these theories usually put forward a normative model of political involvement split into two roles: a small political elite become integrated into a new highly centralised management structure (and then principally to counter the divisive professionalism of British local government), while the remainder are urged to concentrate on constituency affairs, public relations and similar practical matters (Stewart, 1971 and 1973; Greenwood and Stewart, 1973; Maud Committee, 1967).

The so-called behavioural contribution of such studies has been to fashion out a decisional research, even if it is played in heavily

ideological codewords, and to introduce new standards of empirical enquiry into the previously rhetorical literature of public administration. Much emphasis is placed on the need to meet the increased information requirements of decision-makers, and in practical work backing up their normative appeals, these behavioural theorists have inaugurated systematic data collection about the internal organisation of local authority bureaucracies, committee systems and party political systems (Greenwood *et al.*, 1975; Hings *et al.*, 1975; Hings and Collins, 1974).

The input from (more or less) 'urban' sociology to the behavioural literature on urban politics has not for the most part adopted the technocratic aspect of the managerialist literature. But it has been equally strongly influenced by the public administration literature and by practitioner ideologies. Most studies have only on some government or 'policy' related issues, particularly the large volume of specific studies carried out from a social administration perspective. Thus one finds examples of discursive and dogmatic 'bourgeois' theories on the public administration pattern, mixed in with practitioner studies (Parker, 1971), often carried out by sociologists employed by state agencies, and critical studies nonetheless written from an 'outside-deposter' perspective (Dennis, 1972; Davies, 1972a and 1972b). The policy advice paradigm quite clearly exerts a limiting influence on the bulk of studies, particularly in leading researchers to de-politicise their conclusions and to situate them within a broader, unanalysed *status quo* which is accepted as uncontroversial. For example, a large number of studies of slum clearance and area redevelopment schemes have documented the markedly coercive context of relations between local authorities and disadvantaged inner-city residents (English *et al.*, 1976; Ungerson, 1971; Parker, 1972; Clamond, 1969; Davies, 1972). Sociologists have raised the political implications of these findings in a public policy social administration context (Dennis, 1970 and 1972; Davies, 1972a; Damer, 1974; Jacobs, 1976). But none of these breaks through from an administrative definition of issues and areas shown valid urban political analysis and the continuing critical neglect of such studies for public administration or planning theories of local politics has been ignored (Stodman, 1976, *et al.*, 1976).

A second major concern of the behavioural theory of the relation between urban politics and urban society concerns the bulk of the sociological literature. These include a few community studies, by which the political analysis is mostly deduced from current concerns in soci-

urban political science (Stacey, 1960; Stacey *et al.*, 1975), or remains latent and undeveloped (see Frankenberg, 1966).

Urban politics and political science

Political scientists' contributions to the study of urban politics have in general been less constrained than those of other behavioural disciplines by the traditional institutional approach to local politics. But this relative independence has been achieved for the most part by studies which make no concessions to the existence of a theoretical field called urban politics, but instead use a locality orientation as one among several possible foci within which to tackle quite general questions of interest to behavioural political science.

Political science studies in local politics are overwhelmingly input-oriented. This reflects the preoccupation of British political science as a whole with elections, voting, political parties, interest groups, the values of elected politicians and their legislative behaviour. Such a one-sided concern inevitably contributes to the selective presentation of knowledge, and is in this restricted sense ideological. For the net effect of political science studies has been to suggest that legitimate input processes constitute absolutely dominant determinants of political outcomes, and thus to maintain a vigorously pluralist conception of British politics by default (see Rose, 1974a; Birch, 1964; Beer, 1965; Parker, 1967, for examples). In local politics, a similar process can be observed, particularly in the few studies attempting to give an overall picture of the political process in different cities (Newson, 1970; Draboyz, 1973; Euge *et al.*, 1972; Hampton, 1970). This process of differential development severely constrains even authors such as Newson and Draboyz who are critical of pluralist approaches at a theoretical level. For example, Newson argues forcefully for the 'mentorship of the official' in much policy-making in Birmingham. Yet his single chapter on this theme, drawing as it does mainly on the impressionistic comments of council members in a questionnaire survey, hardly carries the same conviction as the sophisticated, quantitative analyses of elections, the in-depth interest group process, local political parties and council officers' relationships which make up the rest of the book. Similarly, Draboyz's chapters on policy-making become entirely on council members' subjective attitudes, confides that many of the officers were interviewed, but it proved impossible to break through the cultural cliché that they were simply servants

advising the all-powerful policy-making councillors whose decisions they readily implemented' (Dearlove, 1973, p. 229). It would be tempting to conclude that this problem could be remedied by substituting a policy-oriented study for the survey-directed approach used in all four of these 'whole city' studies. But most conventional policy studies encounter a similar difficulty, because of the strength of local government ideology which permeates virtually all public discussion or records of policy change. For example, Sutcliffe and Smith's post-war history of Birmingham consistently presents evidence in a form suggesting that councillor-made decision while officers merely administered them, even in cases where the authors must have known this to be false (Sutcliffe and Smith, 1974; for detailed criticisms, see Deakins, 1978a, ch. 6). Given the intractability of the starkly reduced ideology of local government, it is not surprising that the many studies dealing only with aspects of local political input processes should have a markedly unithematic character.

In essence, political science studies of local politics have defined a pluralist view which in terms of its relative simplicity and realism marks a distinct improvement on traditional approaches. In place of the obscure 'electoral chain of command' model, political science studies substitute a view of electoral influence which is cast in terms of responsible party government or a variant of Schumpeterian theory (Dearlove, 1973, pp. 31-4; Schumpeter, 1954; Downs, 1957). Both these models ascribe a central place to political parties in a motivating electoral choice and aggregation system. The parties' mass party organisations are also seen as providing links between elites and citizens and an essential channel by which 'public opinion' can affect decision-making between elections, as well as constituting important sources of practical and ideological contributions to each group's formation of membership (Santora, 1971, pp. 1-2; and Taylor, 1971, pp. 1-73). Interest groups active in local politics have been systematically surveyed only by Newton (1975), who discovered a large amount of group activity, although many selective or instrumentalist in character, tended to agree that the most significant contributor to the local political scene was the local party organisation (Newton, 1977, p. 12). Much of the material has been given to mass, middle and elite organisations, and a small amount to a number of political decision-makers and councillors, and a very small amount to a number of individuals central to the local political scene. The knowledge of needs of the mass has

their areas (Maud Committee, 1967; Newton, 1973). Only a few studies of the local communications media have been conducted, almost exclusively about the local press, which provides generally inadequate and uncritical coverage of local politics (Cox and Morgan, 1973; Murphy, 1974 and 1976; Peith, 1963; Burke, 1970).

Within local political institutions, political scientists have concentrated attention on the elected politicians. Council members' social background and characteristics, their values, preferences, and conceptions, ideologies, methods of recruitment and socialisation have been exhaustively and repetitively documented (Newton, 1973; Gordon and Whiteley, 1977; Collins, 1974; Jones, 1973; Dearlove, 1973; Rees and Smith, 1964; Lodge *et al.*, 1975). This work has been carried out primarily to determine what aspects of the local political process accustomise councillors to the mores of representative democracy. But few studies have attempted to show what, if any, difference variations on these dimensions make to local politics, or to assess in an independent or objective way whether local democracy meets the claims made for it (the major exceptions are Newton, 1976; Dearlove, 1973). Much more emphasis is placed on the importance of internal and informal political processes than in public administration accounts (Hampton, 1970; Clements, 1976; Sutcliffe, 1966). But about the local bureaucracy almost nothing is known. There are no studies of chief officers' backgrounds, values or ideology, and an almost complete vacuum exists in the area of intra-departmental politics or decision-making. Indeed, in so far as they treat the local bureaucracy at all, most political science studies do so in terms of the local government ideology which ascribes all departmental actions to the chief officer, and in this respect they are more misleading than some institutional or management orientated approaches (Gifford, 1976, pp. 42-8).

Policy studies or decision analyses which might have served to highlight these areas of neglect are themselves hardly then on the ground and mostly concentrated in areas of recognised controversy, such as comprehensive education (Saran, 1973; Newton, 1970; Dearlove, 1971; Trevelick and Bland, 1969). Even these are somewhat exceptional. In general, diffuse, large-scale or strategic issues have tended to be sought, often in favour of studies of local government decision-making, providing some of the clearest policy outcomes. Briefly, 1970-1971, John Glegg, 1971-1972, 1973, this reflects an attempt to draw on local studies separately within a programme of local government decision-making, although a few studies of long-term, national, and regional issues have been carried out. For example,

Braybrooke, 1974; Smallwood, 1963; Foley, 1963). The problem of local autonomy in local-level analyses has only rarely been explicitly confronted, however (Brown *et al.*, 1972). The best paradigm textbook (Gyford's *Local Politics in Britain*, 1976), mentions only the local government committees at Conservative and Labour party headquarters, besides central departments, as possible sources of non-local policy influence.

Political science studies of local politics tend to produce exclusively political accounts in which little attempt is made to specify the social implications of different outcomes and in which the political process is presented as highly autonomous from local social or economic processes. The only exceptions to this are provided by some work on the social background of council members and on the reasons for the non-involvement of social elites in local politics (Morris and Newman, 1971; Clements, 1969).

So far, we have been concerned with the mainstream of studies of local politics, but to conclude this discussion it is necessary to look at one of the rather unintegrated literatures on the comparative analysis of local government outputs. Much of this literature has been written by economists, statisticians or sociologists so that it is only marginally discussed at this point. Nevertheless, to the extent that it has been integrated into the broader discussion of local politics, this has been the work of political scientists. Essentially, these studies have been concerned to specify influences accounting for variations in local authority expenditures or other output measures. The most comprehensive review of the literature to date suggests that, although the process has been made largely because of central government influence on the range of community outputs, and concludes that quantitative data analyses are unlikely to account for a great deal of the variance (the research community's determination of mechanistic patterns is likely to be much less useful in Britain than in almost any other urban industrial society in the west' (Newton, 1977b, p. 83). Because of the methodological problems of some early studies in this field and the apparently obvious nature of the variables which account for most variation, which Newton identifies as 'communitarian wealth, type of local base, social class, size of council, and government grant or rate of local taxation, the country, the ethnic and religious composition of the community, and the type of local government' (Newton, 1977b, p. 83). The only example of a study which is not in this tradition is that of the comparative analysis of local government expenditure in Great Britain and the United States (Gyford, 1976). Gyford's study is a comparative study of the social and economic characteristics of local government in the two countries.

Local Political Studies in Britain 17

implications of policy outcome variation (on which, see Byrne *et al.*, 1974).

Discussion and conclusion

This chapter has primarily been concerned with overall approaches to local political studies in Britain. It has not attempted to describe the work of individual writers and researchers, or to review the literature on particular topics or issues. The structuring of this discussion by methodological distinctions is revealing testimony to the lack of any control or unifying ideas in the local politics literature. The studies analysed here are focused and given a measure of coherence only by their concentration on local political institutions, and by a pervasive conventionalism in their conception of key issues and debates. The most characteristic features of this literature are a theoretical innocence and a preoccupation with administrative problems or concerns defined by the practitioner audience to which so many studies are addressed.

These features cannot be easily explained, nor are they merely surface phenomena capable of being easily changed. It is not that British writers have been ignorant of more theoretical approaches to urban politics. Rather, they have overwhelmingly rejected such approaches as incapable of application in a British context. Theoretically defined topics falling outside the established field of interest have been dismissed as inappropriate, often on the grounds of 'country'.

The reception of North American community power studies is a revealing example of how this process has operated. Community power has been a standard topic in British political science and sociology courses for many years. During this period several British authors have contributed to the study of British power in contrast with the literature (notably Lukes, 1975), but the empirical referents of the discussion have remained exclusively North American communities. The few writers who have considered transposing the theoretical and methodological debate into a British context have concluded that it cannot be done. The community power of a town is said to rest on the ability of various sub-local political institutions concerned with private and minority individuals and groups. In contrast, British local authorities are said to be temporarily autonomous from control by external forces, and to spend little or no money on community power structures. These features, combined, since power is conceived with local

political institutions. Methodologies designed to examine wider patterns of community power are unnecessary, and the existing focus on local government is seen as *locally* adequate (Newton, 1969; Barry, 1969). Apart from some simplistic attempts to replicate American studies exactly in a British context (Miller, 1970), only two community power studies have ever been carried out in Britain (Green, 1968; Saunders, 1974). Saunders showed in his study of Croydon that the local council was connected at numerous points to a set of external influence networks, and that these networks exerted a dominant influence on council policies. This single piece of research convincingly refutes the accepted view and strongly suggests that community power methodologies have been rejected on the basis of a *parochial* decision, and without empirical trial. Nor can Saunders' findings be seen as atypical or idiosyncratic. It is ironic, for example, that Newton (1969) should have seen community power techniques as inapplicable to his research in Birmingham (Newton, 1966). For Britain's second largest city has since emerged as probably the limiting case of extensive and directly corrupt dealings between private corporations and actors in the local authority.

For all its defects, the community power literature provides a developed set of analyses of patterns of local political power stretching beyond local government institutions. Although American techniques need adaptation if they are to be useful in a British context (McKay, 1975), the problems of cross-cultural transposition are not the grounds on which these traditions have remained ignored by British writers. Given the conviction has been the chief motivation for such techniques, that there is no object of study to which they can be applied.

This reaction to community power studies indicates in a fairly clear-cut way the inhibiting influence which the local political studies literature has had. Although no single factor is so much responsible for the non-existence of structures of 'community power' in Britain, the sheer weight of the literature on local government has been enough to make this assumption seem well-grounded beyond reasonable question. This is a more general point. No British community work resulted in one fully formed, influential, representative, and authoritative idea, such as the *Parsons* theory, or the *Marxist* political economy, or the *structuralist* political analysis, or the *new urbanism*, which are all subjects to which it is possible to refer. What is needed is a new theory of the relationship between the political and the economic, which is clearly

So far in the development of community power studies which

can be made of local political studies, an inevitable limitation in a brief literature review of this kind. But many of these criticisms are applicable to British political science as a whole: they are not particular to the local politics literature. The absence of any unifying theoretical themes, for example, has been pinpointed by Barry as a general characteristic of academic studies of politics in this country. British political science, he says, lacks 'a corpus of theoretical ideas . . . which is at any given time common property'. And a practitioner orientation can be the logical concomitant of this situation:

One result of the lack of this common professional range of reference in Britain is that practising politicians, in their relations with professional political scientists, are able to regard themselves not as the raw material but as the experts. The same phenomenon can, of course, be looked at the other way round, and one can say that the unquestioned acceptance by many political scientists of the actor's point of view (which thus makes the politician's claims to expertise inevitable) is one of the main inhibitions of the development of a distinctive discipline. (Barry, 1974, p. 73)

But there are a number of respects in which the research basis of the local politics literature is better than that in other areas of political science, at least so far as broad-ranging analyses of political activity are concerned. There are some rather specific developments, some would say, which are unique to British political science. Certainly compared to studies of central government decision-making, local politics has been an area of more rigorous research. There are several reasons for this. Firstly, there is local authority files and documents. Change in local government is not noted on the back of a diary, such as the Official Source Act or the thirty years' rule applied by central government departments. The tendency towards an *ad hoc* rationalisation of decision-making processes, evident in most of the national-level literature, is far less of a hindrance at a local level. Secondly, access to potential office in government, both political and administrative, is much easier, and easier to enter, at a local level. This is especially true of one central body, the council. Unlike the members of central and political parties, who must already be accepted as eligible for the office, all potential office holders are eligible to be elected. For the very all-pervasive official publicity which in terms of official press coverage of local government is far more extensive at a local level, actors and commentators seem to

have seen the difficulty of making such assessments as legitimating purely conventional or uncritical judgements of the character of the political system. Finally, the greater circumscription of the field of research in local political studies has undoubtedly eased problems of innovation, and made possible a few more theoretically advanced empirical studies (Saunders, 1975b; Cockburn, 1977) of a type that are not found in national level analyses.

Taken in context with the impressive mass of empirical work already carried out, these factors do suggest grounds for optimism about the potential for change in this area. In particular, if a clearly adequate or improved theoretical framework can be defined and applied; and if the valid evidence already collected by local political studies can be integrated into the analysis of more substantive issues and questions, then it is possible to see considerable possibilities for a reconstruction of urban political analysis. Such a reconstruction, in turn, holds out the possibility of quickly constituting new directions for readily operationalisable research.

It is this optimistic conclusion which has structured the remainder of the book. In the next chapter, I review the major approaches to urban politics which have been developed in contemporary social science. I conclude the chapter by defining a focus on collective consumption processes. This is deployed in a series of empirical sketches in the following three chapters to provide a skeleton framework upon which more substantive research might be developed.

However, in this entire process the problem regions were doing little better than standing still. Though differences narrowed, they persisted, and though new jobs were created, they barely made up for those being lost. Furthermore, this effect is concealed by the conventional presentation in terms of traditional standard regions. The problem of the inner conurbation cities was increasingly serious and thus, even when regional aid was available (as in Glasgow and Liverpool, but not in Birmingham or London), it was quite insufficient to stem the job loss. It is to this new regional division between the prosperous and the declining areas that we must turn in Chapter 6.

Further Reading

The standard works are Gerald Manners, David Keeble, Brian Rodgers and Kenneth Warren, *Regional Development in Britain* (Wiley, second edition, 1980), and David Keeble, *Industrial Location and Planning in the United Kingdom* (Methuen, 1976). Gavin McCrone, *Regional Policy in Britain* (Allen & Unwin, 1969), Harry W. Richardson, *Elements of Regional Economics* (Penguin, 1969), and A. J. Brown, *The Framework of Regional Economics in the United Kingdom* (Cambridge University Press, 1972), are also useful. David H. McKay and Andrew M. Cox, *The Politics of Urban Change*, Chapter 6 (Croom Helm, 1979), provides a useful summary of policy changes. Important evaluations are Barry Rhodes and John Moore, 'Evaluating the Effects of British Regional Economic Policy', *Economic Journal*, 33 (1973), pp. 87-110, and *ibid.*: 'Regional Economic Policy and the Movement of Firms to Development Areas', *Economia*, 43 (1976), pp. 17-31. A recent valuable summary is Christopher M. Law, *British Regional Development since World War I* (Methuen, 1981).

6. Planning for Cities and City Regions from 1945 to 1980

At the end of Chapter 4 we summarized some of the chief features of the elaborate planning system set up in Britain just after the Second World War. We saw that, essentially, the system was designed for an economy where the bulk of urban development and redevelopment would be carried out by public agencies. We saw too that an essential function of the system was to control and regulate the pace and direction of change – social, economic and physical. It was assumed that control of change was both feasible and desirable: feasible, because the pace of population growth and of economic development was expected to be slow, and also because new and effective powers would be taken to control the regional balance of new industrial employment: desirable, because decision-makers generally shared the Barlow hypothesis that uncontrolled change before the Second World War had produced undesirable results. Furthermore we noticed that the administrative responsibility for operating the new system was not lodged in central government but in the existing units of local government with a degree of central monitoring. The system thus created was from the beginning more powerful on its negative side than on the side of positive initiative.

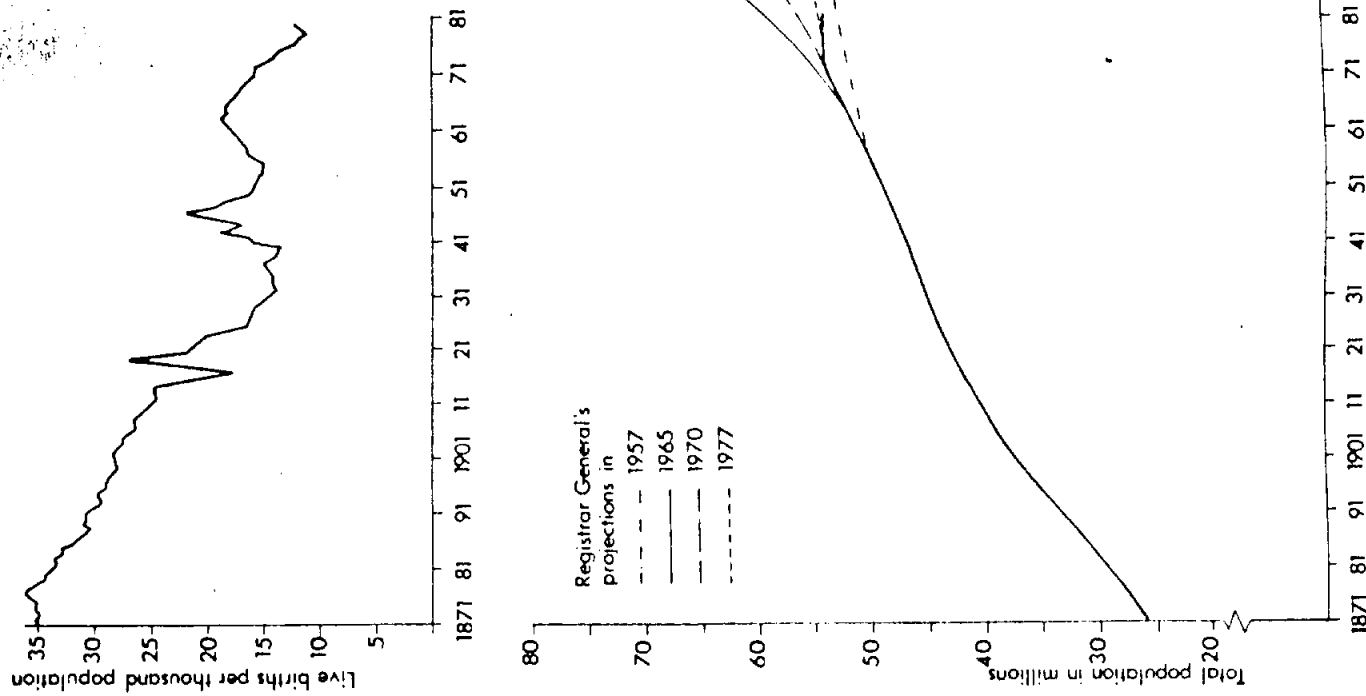
These features were of course interrelated. Because the pace of change was expected to be slow, it seemed possible to control it. Because the positive role in development would be taken by public agencies, the remaining negative powers could safely be vested in the local authorities. The danger was that if any one of the basic assumptions proved wrong, the logical interrelationships would also go wrong. And in fact the postwar reality proved very different from the assumptions of those who created the planning system between 1945 and 1952.

The Reality of Change in Postwar Britain

The story of postwar Britain has been one of rapid change, unparalleled in some respects during any other era, save that of the Industrial Revolution. Partly because of the speed of change, partly because of shifts in political philosophy, a much larger part of the resulting physical development has been undertaken by private enterprise than was expected in 1945 or 1947.

Firstly and most basically of all, part of the postwar era was a period of unprecedented population growth – unprecedented, at any rate, by the standards of interwar Britain. Immediately after the war there was a sudden ‘baby boom’: a rise in the birth rate resulting from delayed marriages and delayed decisions to have children. Demographic experts predicted both this boom, in 1945–7, and its subsequent waning, from 1948 to about 1954. By the latter date the crude birth rate (numbers of babies born per thousand people) was sinking towards the level of the 1930s. The experts, who were advising the planning officers that they should plan for an almost static national population total in the near future, seemed to be vindicated. But from 1955 to 1964 they were plunged into disarray by an unexpected and continuous rise in the national birth rate; by the mid-1960s the crude birth rate – 18.7 per thousand in 1964 – was threatening to approach that at the outset of the First World War. As a result the official national projections of future population had continually to be revised upwards. Whereas in 1960 the population at the end of the century was expected to be 64 million, by 1965 the projection had been raised to no less than 75 million. From this point the birth rate fell again, to 15.0 per thousand in 1972, and the projection was scaled down to 66 million. Then birth rate fell even more precipitously, to a low of 11.6 in 1977, before climbing marginally to 13.0 in 1979, and the projection gave only a minimal growth of population down

38. (a) Birth rates in England and Wales, 1871–1981. The long secular decline in birth rates was halted at the end of the Second World War and again by an upswing from 1955 to 1964; but afterwards births again declined. (b) Population growth in Great Britain, 1871–2011. As a result of fluctuations in birth rate, projections of future population have changed markedly in recent years.



to the end of the century, from 54.4 million to 57.3 million. Illustration 38 shows these fluctuations.

This change was of critical importance to planners everywhere in the country: as will be seen in detail in later chapters, population forecasts influence almost every other forecast the planner has to make. Housebuilding programmes, projections of car ownership and demands for road-space, forecasts of recreational demands and their impact on the countryside – all were automatically revised upwards. By the mid-1960s the population of Britain was rising by $\frac{1}{2}$ million a year and the expectation was that for the future this total would be augmented. It would be necessary, leading planners were saying, to reckon on building the equivalent of one Bristol a year for the remainder of the century. In the event these predictions, too, came to be falsified: after 1964 the birth rate turned down again, falling nearly to mid-1950s levels by the early 1970s, while simultaneously the restrictions on Commonwealth immigration reduced the total of arrivals from outside. By the late 1960s the average increase of the population was about 300,000 – still the equivalent of a Bradford a year, but only about half the expectation of a few years earlier. By the end of the 1970s it was virtually zero, though strong internal shifts in the geography of population were leading to continued demands for new suburban development in wide rings around the conurbations.

This growing population, furthermore, proved to be splitting itself up into an ever-increasing number of smaller and smaller households – the product of social changes such as earlier marriages, the tendency of many young people to leave home in search of educational or job opportunities, and the increasing trend for retired people to live by themselves in seaside colonies. As a result, while the average size of a home in Britain remained roughly constant, the average size of the household living in it fell sharply: 3.21 members in 1951 but only 2.67 members by 1979. Thus people were enjoying more space within their homes, but an ever-increasing number of homes was needed to accommodate any given number of people. Reinforcing the rise in population, this trend meant that the total housing programme, and the consequent demands on space, were much greater than had been comfortably assumed in the late 1940s.

At the same time, as we saw in Chapter 5, the population proved to be much more mobile than the planners had been assuming when they made their original local development plans after 1947. The Barlow Commission seems to have assumed, and the professional planners followed them without serious question, that it would be possible after the war largely to control inter-regional migration through effective controls on new industrial location. But as we saw, this belief was totally unjustified: there were no controls on the dynamic service sector of employment, and even the controls on factory industries could be largely circumvented by repeated small-scale extensions or by buying up existing factory space. The result was a continued and strong net drift, on the lines of the movement that had so alarmed the Barlow Commission, from Scotland and Wales and Northern England towards the Midlands and South. After 1960, as we shall see, this continuing trend came in for much attention and criticism. But it is worth noting that even when it was stemmed – as in the South East after about 1966 – rapid population growth continued to take place because of the strong underlying trend in natural growth within the region itself.

Coming together, these trends could only mean continuing, and even increasing, pressure for new urban development in and around the big urban areas, especially in the Midlands and South. It was in these areas, above all around London and Birmingham, that planning authorities were most taken by surprise by growth in the late 1950s and early 1960s. At the same time the natural increase of population in the development areas created a potential demand for even more employment than had been expected, increasing the scale of the problem of economic development there: though a generally expanding economy provided a steady total of mobile industry to move into these areas. In general, the pace of change created great problems for a generation of planners schooled to believe that change in itself was not particularly desirable.

Lastly, rising prosperity after 1955 resulted in rapid buying of durable consumer goods which created demands for more useable space in and around the home. Above all, it was the rise in mass car ownership that perhaps took planners most by surprise. When local authorities and the first new towns drew up their development plans,

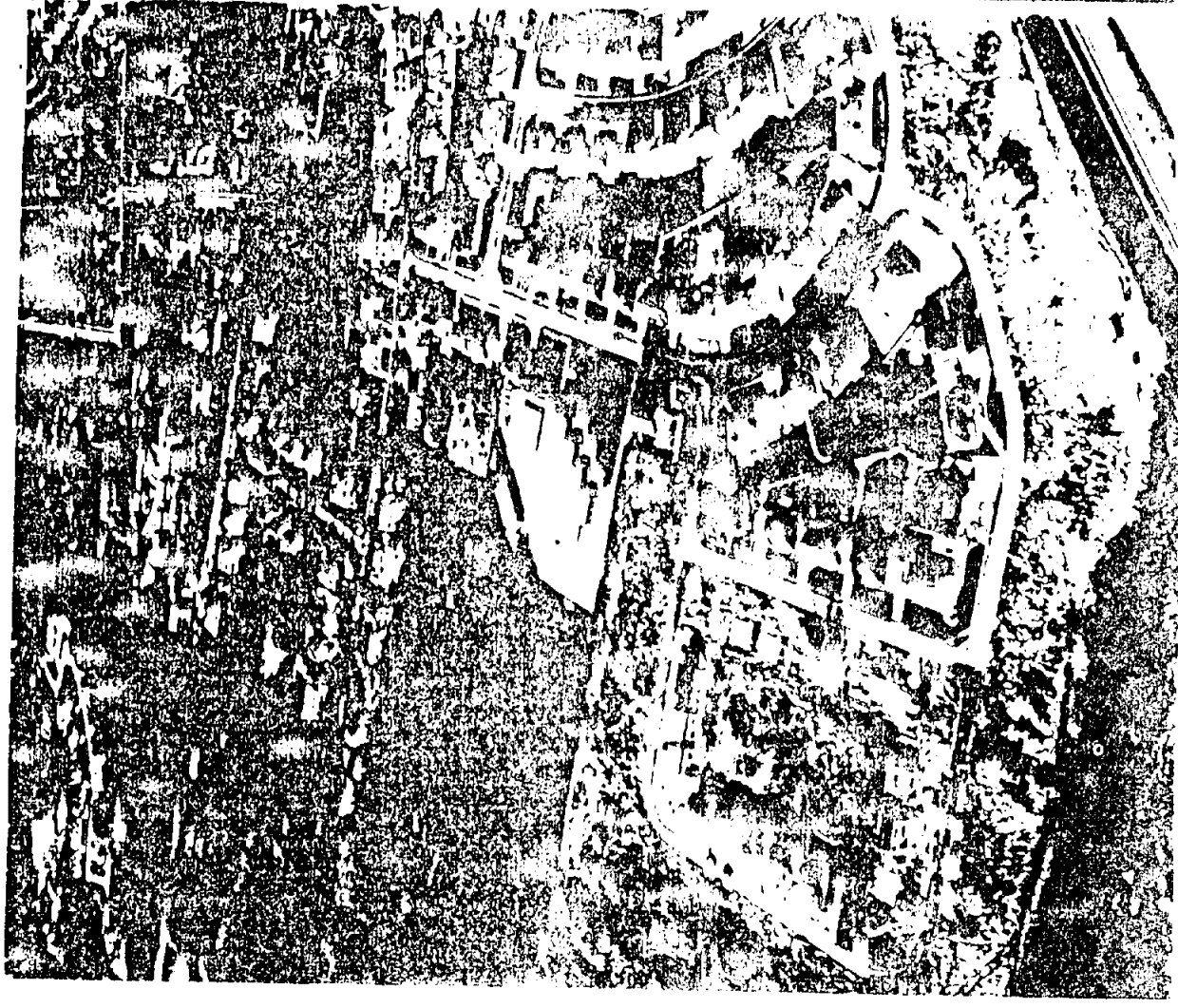
Urban and Regional Planning

austerity was still the rule of the day and car ownership levels were barely above those of the 1930s; only about one in ten households owned a car, and new town planners felt safe in fixing one garage to four houses as a generous norm. But by the 1970s, well over half the families in the country owned one or more cars, and one garage per family (with additional space in reserve) had become the standard almost everywhere. Not only, however, did the new cars need house room in the residential areas; they put increasing strain on the country's road system, the most congested in the world, and this resulted in a constantly increasing road-building programme from the mid-1950s on. Rising car ownership was in part a response to the increasing decentralization of populations from the cores to the suburban fringes of the major urban areas, a development which was already observable in the 1930s but which gained momentum in the 1960s. But since employment and urban services (above all retailing) did not decentralize so rapidly, mass motorization created tremendous pressures for urban reconstruction in the form of urban motorways and multi-storey car parks, threatening the existing urban fabric as never before in history.

In any event, changes of this magnitude would probably have compelled a massive readjustment in the objectives, methods and machinery of planning. In particular, it is hard to see how public programmes could have adapted themselves quickly to the challenges of rising population, continuing mobility and greater affluence; private enterprise, almost inevitably, would have had to undertake a greater role than was foreseen in 1947. As a coincidence, the onset of the period of change came with the arrival of a Conservative government in 1951, heavily committed to reliance on the private sector. Very rapidly thereafter, the balance of the housing programme shifted from an emphasis on the public sector to approximate equality between the public and the private programmes. But it is significant that after its return in 1964, the Labour government did not significantly change this relationship. The mixed economy in urban development is one of the facts of life in postwar Britain.

This, in turn, had serious implications for the administrative machinery of planning. Far heavier responsibilities came to rest upon the local planning authorities, who were required to deal with a much

39. Suburban development at Heswall, Cheshire. Though after the Second World War it was at first thought that most urban development would be in comprehensively planned new towns, the unexpected population growth of the late 1950s and early 1960s – plus a changed political climate – led to a big private building programme on more conventional lines.



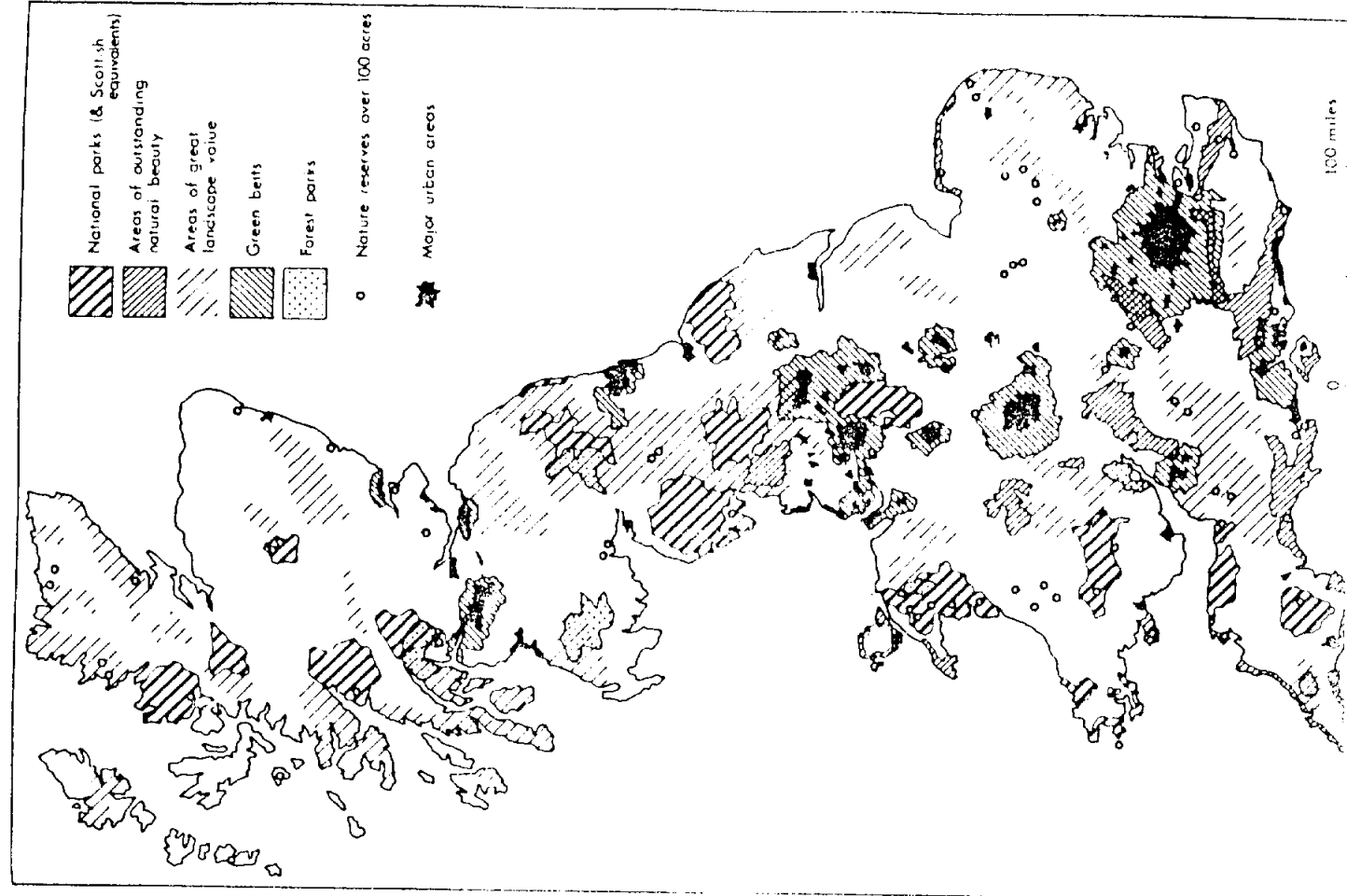
Urban and Regional Planning

larger amount of complex change than had ever been anticipated. And because the fundamental trends of the interwar period continued after all – population moving *into* the great urban regions, and simultaneously *out of* their congested inner areas and *into* their suburban fringes – the emphasis on local private initiative exposed the failure, in and just after the 1947 Planning Act, to grapple with the problem of fundamental local government reform. By lodging responsibility for plan-making and development control with the separate county-borough and county authorities, the Act divided cities from their hinterlands, and made effective planning of entire urban regions a virtual impossibility.

Planning in the 1950s: Cities versus Counties

It took some time for this lesson to emerge. Contemplating a more leisurely pace of change, the architects of the 1947 Act had believed that effective coordination of the different local plans could be achieved through Whitehall vetting, first in the light of the major regional advisory plans (such as Abercrombie's for London), and then with the aid of monitoring and updating by regional offices of the Ministry of Town and Country Planning. Ironically, soon after coming to power in 1951 the Conservatives abolished these regional offices as an economy measure. Henceforth there was no machinery for effective regional coordination, save such as could be provided from London; the various local authorities were left to stand up for themselves. At the same time, and in much the same spirit, the new government made it clear that though the existing new towns would be completed, the emphasis in future would be on voluntary agreements between local authorities to expand existing towns, within the framework of the 1952 Town Development Act.

Furthermore, the government made it clear that it favoured a very negative attitude towards urban growth. Encouraged by the falling



40. Major restraints to development in Great Britain. Altogether national parks, green belts and other specially designated areas exclude more than 40 per cent of

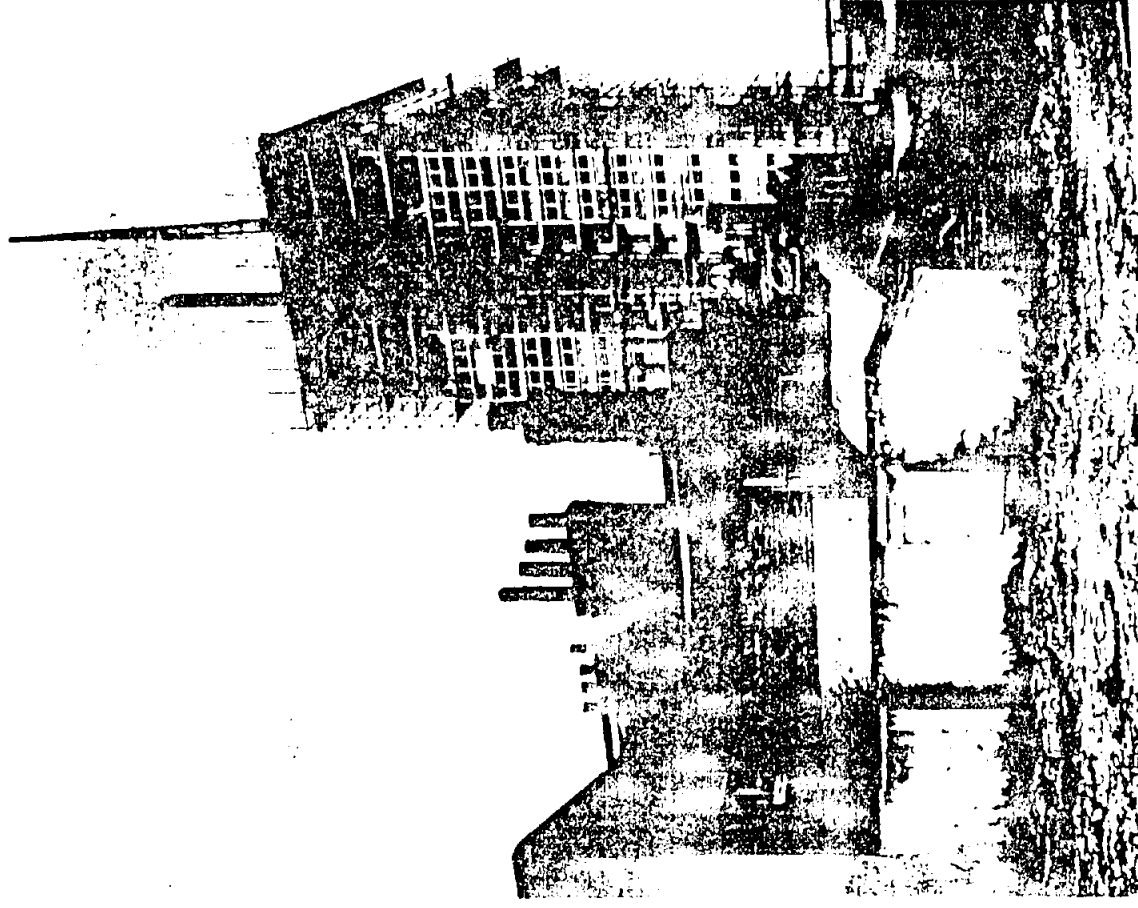
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41. A view of the London Green Belt at Cockfosters, North London. The effectiveness of the green belt is well illustrated by the sudden stop to London's urban area. Most of the land in this picture would almost certainly have been developed but for the post-war planning controls. Trent Park, on the right of the picture, is a country park designated under the 1968 Countryside Act.

birth rates of the early 1950s, in a famous Circular of 1955 it actively encouraged the county authorities to make plans for green belts around the major conurbations and freestanding cities; and subsequently the Minister indicated that even if it was neither green nor particularly attractive scenically, the major function of the green belt was simply to stop further urban development. But since there was no effective machinery for coordinated regional planning, and since the 1952 Act was proving ineffectual because of weak financial provisions, these strong negative powers were not accompanied by any positive machinery for accommodating the resulting decentralization of people from the cities and the conurbations.

The result, in the late 1950s, was a series of epic planning battles



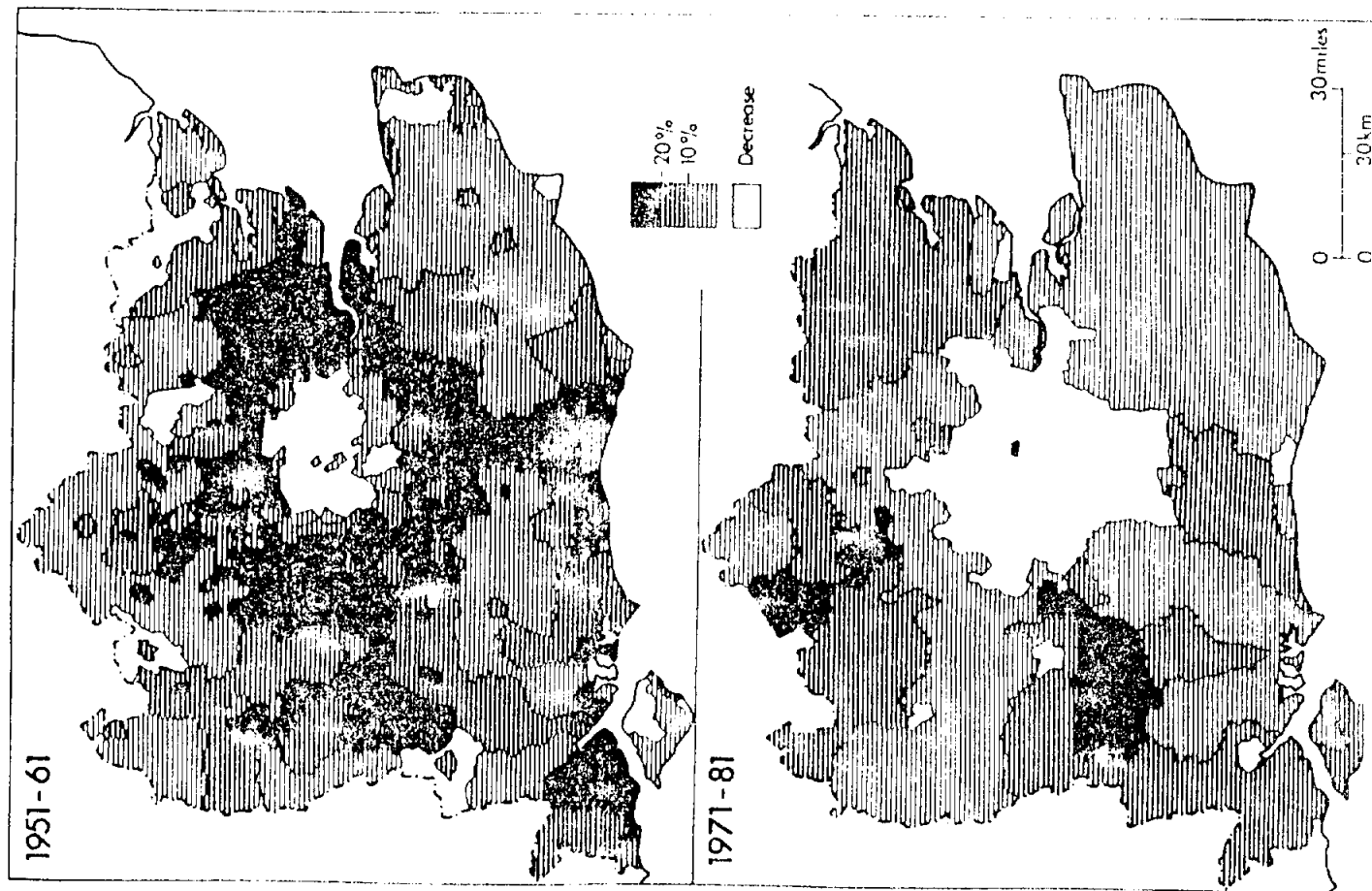
42. Reconstruction in London's East End. Formerly the scene of some of London's worst slums, the East End has been largely reconstructed since the Second World War. The old terrace houses have been replaced by mixed development including tall blocks of flats – now criticized, here as elsewhere, on social and aesthetic grounds. Rebuilding could not house all the former population, so some have left London in planned dispersion under the 1944 Abercrombie Plan.

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between the great conurbations and their neighbouring counties, culminating in a number of major planning inquiries – notably those on the proposals of Manchester to build new towns at Lymm and at Mobberley near Knutsford in Cheshire, and on the proposals of Birmingham to develop at Wythall in the Worcestershire green belt. In a series of contests on both these cases, the cities lost and the counties preserved their rural acres. In every case, the overriding need to conserve agricultural land was quoted, echoing the words of the 1942 Scott report. But in the 1958 Lymm inquiry, the agricultural economist Gerald Wibberley produced powerful evidence to indicate that the agricultural value of the land involved was fairly low compared with the extra costs which might be involved in high-density redevelopment within the cities. At about the same time another economist, Peter Stone, was beginning to demonstrate just how great these additional costs of high-density redevelopment could be. Yet government subsidies continued to encourage such high-density schemes.

By the end of the 1950s, the position was becoming desperate for the cities. They had been encouraged in 1955 to start again on their big slum-clearance programmes, which had been interrupted at the start of the war in 1939; but ironically, this came at just the point when the birth-rate rise began. Adding together the demands from rising population, household fission, slum clearance and overcrowded families, and reporting on their virtual failure to get substantial agreements under the 1952 Act, city after city by 1960 was simply running out of land for its essential housing programme. The plight of the cities was underlined in this year in an influential book by Barry Cullingworth. *Housing Needs and Planning Policy*. In the same year Geoffrey Powell, a government official, pointed out publicly the rapid rate of population growth in the ring of Home Counties around London – an increase that no one, official or

43. Population growth in the London region, 1951-61 and 1971-81. Since the Second World War Greater London has become a zone of widespread population loss, surrounded by a belt of rapid gain which has moved steadily outwards. By the 1970s the fastest gains were being recorded 40 and more miles from London. Similar patterns of urban decentralization were recorded around other conurbations.



otherwise, would have thought likely ten years earlier. A year later, the census showed that population growth in this ring during the 1950s had amounted to 800,000 people – one third of the net growth of population in Britain. And contrary to the expectations of the architects of the 1947 system, the vast majority had been housed not in planned new or expanded towns, but in privately built suburban estates on the familiar interwar model. The only change was that the green belt had been held: the developers had therefore leapfrogged it, pushing the zone of rapid population growth into a wide band up to 50 miles from the centre of London (Illustration 43).

The changed situation could not be ignored. In 1961 the government, reversing its previously declared policy, announced the designation of the first new town in England for twelve years – Skelmersdale near Wigan in Lancashire, designed to relieve the pressing needs for housing of the Merseyside conurbation, which had the most concentrated slum clearance problem in England. In the same year, in an even more fundamental reversal, the government began once again to embark on a series of major regional planning studies, intended to provide guidelines for the plans of the individual local planning offices. A new era for planning had begun.

The Major Regional Studies of the 1960s

Shortly after the government had embarked on the first of these studies, focused on the South East, regional planning received a sharp impetus from a different source: the recession of 1962-3, which – as we already saw in Chapter 5 – led to the production of stop-gap regional development plans, on what was virtually an emergency basis, for the distressed regions of the North East and Central Scotland. As at the time of the Barlow report in 1940, two main strands in British regional policy again fused: one, the objective of more rapid economic development in the Development Areas; the other, the attempt to control and channel the rapid growth around the more prosperous major conurbations, such as London and the West Midlands. The first of these strands has already been discussed in Chapter 5, where we saw the evolution of a much stronger policy

of regional controls and incentives during the 1960s. It is the second that is relevant here.

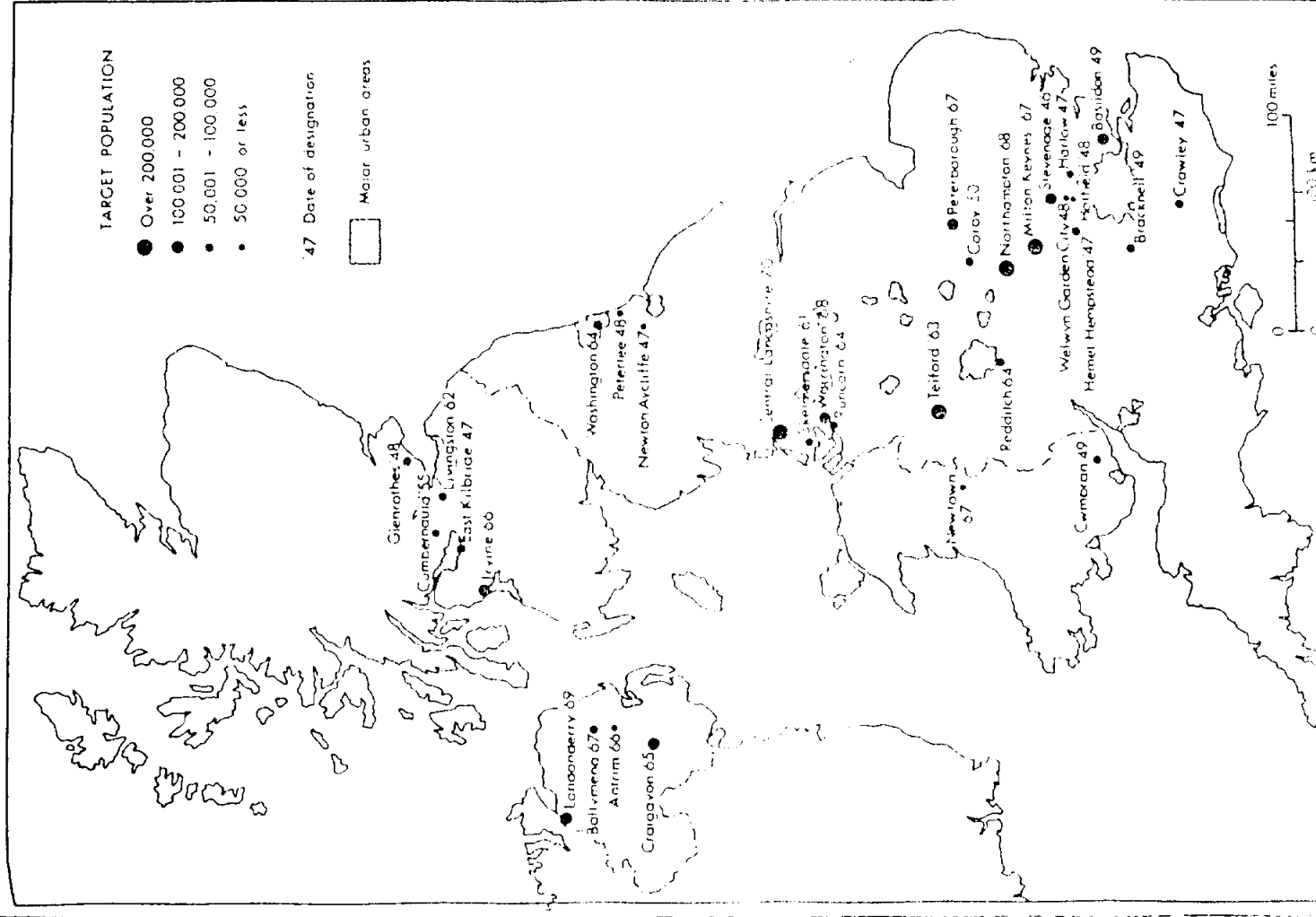
The *South East Study*, published in March 1964, caused considerable surprise and even political controversy by its major conclusions: that even with some measures to restrain the further growth of the region around London, the pressures for continued expansion were such that provision must be made to house a further 3½ million people in the whole region during the twenty-year period 1961-81. The main justification for this, which few critics seemed to realize at the time, was that even then, the main reason for the population growth of the region was not the much publicized 'drift south' of able-bodied workers from the North and from Scotland; the reasons were the natural growth of the region's own population, migration from abroad (much of which had been cut off by the Commonwealth Immigration Act of 1962) and migration of retired people to the South Coast resorts. To channel the pressures for growth, and to avoid the problems of congestion and long commuting journeys focused on central London, the report recommended a strategy based on a second round of new towns for London at greater distances than the first round, well outside London's commuter range: Milton Keynes in northern Buckinghamshire, 49 miles from London; Northampton, 70 miles from London; Peterborough, 81 miles from London; and Southampton-Portsmouth, 77 miles from London. There were among the more important projects which finally went ahead in one form or another (see Illustration 44). Significantly, only Milton Keynes among these was a green field new town on the old model, albeit with a bigger population target than any previously designated town: the others all represented a new departure in being new towns attached to major existing towns or cities. To cope with the development nearer London which might still depend to some degree on commuting, the *Study* was much less clear; this, it implied, was a matter for local planners. The Labour Party, returned to office in October 1964, at first demanded a second look at the *Study's* conclusions; later, it accepted them in large measure.

Meanwhile, in 1965, further regional studies, produced in the same way by official *ad hoc* teams, appeared for two other major urban regions: the West Midlands and the North West. Recognizing

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the changed situation brought about by population growth and by the continuing slum clearance programme, both studies calculated that the problems of accommodating planned overspill from the conurbations were greater than had earlier been appreciated – even though the North West was an area of net out-migration. To accommodate the growth, the reports called for an accelerated programme of new town building in each region, neither of which had received any new towns before 1961. By 1965 two new towns had already been designated in the Midlands: Dawley (1963) and Redditch (1964); later (1968), as the result of the *Study's* conclusions, Dawley was further expanded and renamed Telford. In the North West, Skelmersdale (1961) and Runcorn (1964) had been established to receive Merseyside overspill; the report suggested that similar developments were needed for Manchester, and this need was eventually met by designations at Warrington (1968) and Central Lancashire (Preston–Leyland, 1970). In Central Scotland, further overspill pressures from the Central Clydeside conurbation (Greater Glasgow) resulted in the designation of Livingston (1962) and Irvine (1967). And lastly, south of Newcastle the new town of Washington (1964) was designated to receive overspill from the Tyneside and Wearside areas. Thus, in addition to the new towns for London, the major conurbations outside the capital had no less than 9 new towns designated between 1961 and 1970 to aid with their overspill problems (see Illustration 44). Significantly, as with the London towns, several of these – notably Warrington and Central Lancashire – worked on the formula of attaching a new town to an old-established existing town possessing a full range of urban services.

These reports of 1963-5 mark an important stage in the evolution of British postwar urban planning. They recognize officially that the fact of continued population growth demanded positive regional strategies, covering areas that embraced the conurbations and a wide



44. New towns in Britain, 1946-80. Over thirty new towns have been started in Great Britain and Northern Ireland under the 1946 New Towns Act and its Ulster equivalent. They fall naturally into two groups: Mark One new towns of the 1946-50 period, concentrated around London and in the Development Areas, and a second

area around them; the reports themselves make it clear that this wider area extends much farther than the conventional 'sphere of influence' defined by geographers in terms of commuting or shopping patterns, and may even in some cases approximate to the area of the wider region used for purposes of economic development planning. These strategies, involving new and expanded towns, were required even for those conurbations in the development areas; there, despite continued out-migration, slum clearance and natural growth necessitated a positive overspill policy. Essentially, what these reports represent is an application to the major urban regions around London of the standard Howard-Barlow-Abercrombie formula: planned decentralization of the conurbations, coupled with green belt restrictions and new communities placed in general outside the commuting range of the conurbations. Save for an emphasis on the housing problem, there is little attention to social policy planning; these are still physical plans in a traditional British mould.

Lastly, it is significant that these regional reports were the work of *ad hoc* teams of central government officials. This was because there was no other machinery to produce them. In 1965 the regional organization of the central government planning ministry had not been restored. (This took until the early 1970s, when a regional organization was announced for the new Department of the Environment.) Nor was there a general tradition of cooperation among the local planning authorities in each region, though some areas, notably London and the surrounding authorities, had taken a lead in the Standing Conference on London and South-East Regional Planning.

The New Regional Structure and Local Government Reform, 1965-72

During 1965-6 this gap in the formal machinery was partially filled. We have already seen, in Chapter 5, that the economic planning regional councils and boards were originally intended specifically to work at a rather different sort of planning: economic development planning in its relation to the national economic plan. But almost as soon as they were set up, the councils found themselves immersed in

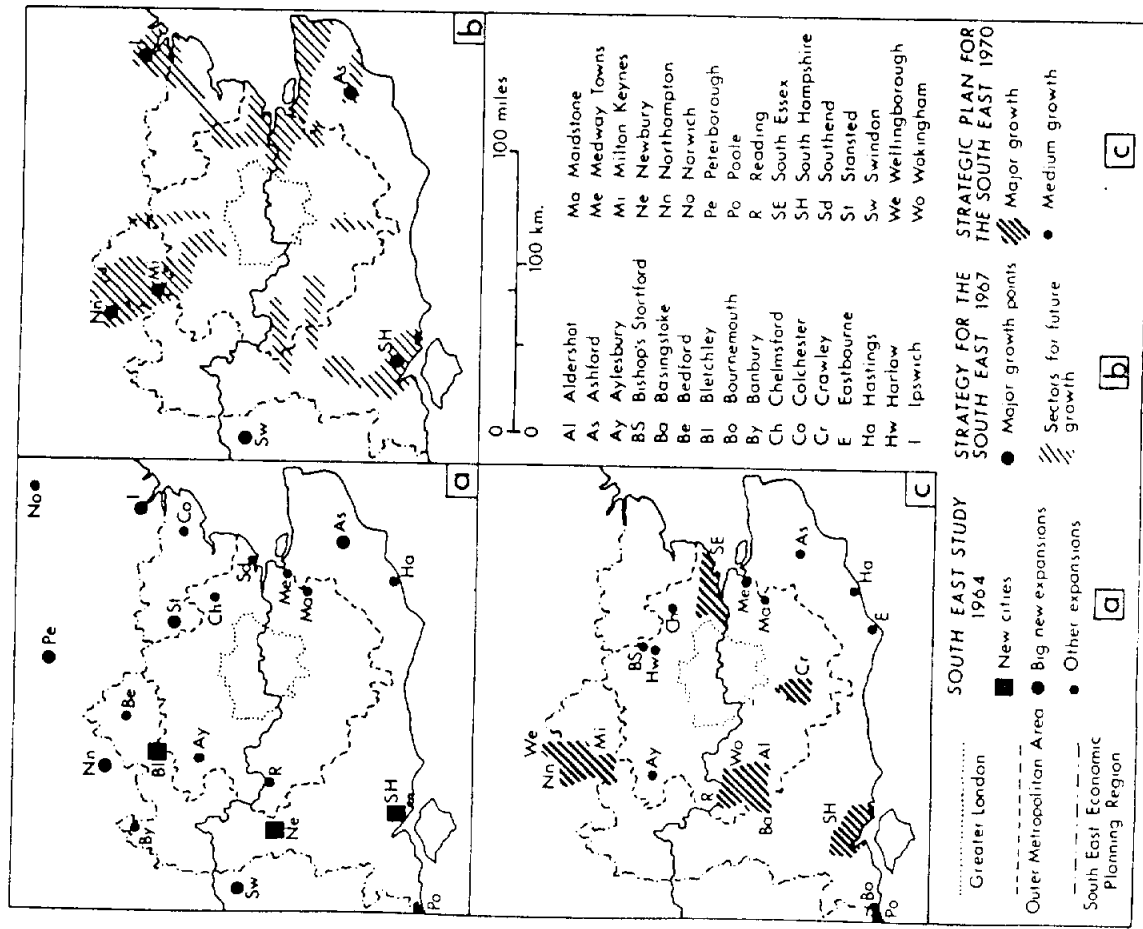
spatial planning at the scale of the city region, using that last term in its broadest sense. The logic should have been evident. Even in the development areas it was impossible to produce a development strategy for an area like the North East of England without a physical component including elements like main roads, major new industrial areas and associated housing schemes, ports and airports. And in the more prosperous and rapidly growing areas, such as the South East or the West Midlands, economic planning would largely consist of a physical plan to control and guide the spatial directions of economic expansion. Thus, though they were partially concerned with broad overall totals of regional investments in relation to national programmes, the councils and boards found their main concern to be the internal disposition of these investments within the region – in other words, spatial planning.

This emphasis was already clear in many of the preliminary studies published by the councils in 1966 and 1967. It came to a head in the publication of one of the first positive strategies from one of the councils: the South-East Planning Council's report, published in November 1967. This report, which recommended a strategy for future development based on broad sectors following the main concentrations of radial transportation lines from London, ran into predictable opposition from the regional standing conference of local authorities, which was concerned that local autonomy in planning matters was being undermined by an outside body with a purely advisory remit to central government. Clearly, here was a point of great importance once the case for positive regional planning was generally accepted – as by this time it was. Given that such planning involved the cooperation of central and local government, how was this best to be assured? The regional councils had a wide remit but no power – as their members were by this time discovering. The local authorities had the power but were unlikely to agree on a strong regional strategy.

In 1968 the government resolved the problem, at least for the South East: yet another *ad hoc* team was set up, commissioned jointly by the Standing Conference and the Planning Council, and including both central and local government officials. This formula proved successful, at any rate in this instance: the team's 1970

report, which evaluated two alternative strategies (one of them one contained in the Planning Council's 1967 report) and emerged with yet a third, based on developing a number of growth centres at varying distances from London, was generally accepted by central and local governments alike as a future framework for regional development (see Illustration 45). (It marked a significant change in British planning philosophy: the new-town concept, having grown from a community of 60,000 in Reith's 1945 report to one of 250,000 in the 1964 *South East Study*, became dramatically enlarged into a multi-centred growth zone of between $\frac{1}{2}$ million and $1\frac{1}{2}$ million people.) By 1971, therefore, the joint plan team formula was being applied again to another heavily urbanized region, the North West; while local government officials, aided and encouraged by regional officers of the central government, were just completing a similar plan for the West Midlands.

Some voices argued that this level of plan-making, which essentially involved very broadly based city regions approximating to the scale of the economic planning regions, demanded an appropriate new scale of regional or provincial government in Britain, with a democratic basis; and in 1969 the government appointed a Royal Commission on constitutional arrangements, to consider the merits of this proposal among others. (It reported in 1973, but was divided in its recommendations: all members rejected a federal solution, but some wanted legislative authority for Scottish and Welsh councils, others a merely executive devolution which might extend to the English regions.) Certainly the idea had a long ancestry, going back at least to the publication of the geographer C. B. Fawcett's book *The Provinces of England* in 1919. But the difficulty in its actual implementation was that it was very clearly related to the question of fundamental local government reform, which was being considered by other royal commissions at the same time. To understand the matter in its wider perspective, we must now turn to consider the problem of local government.

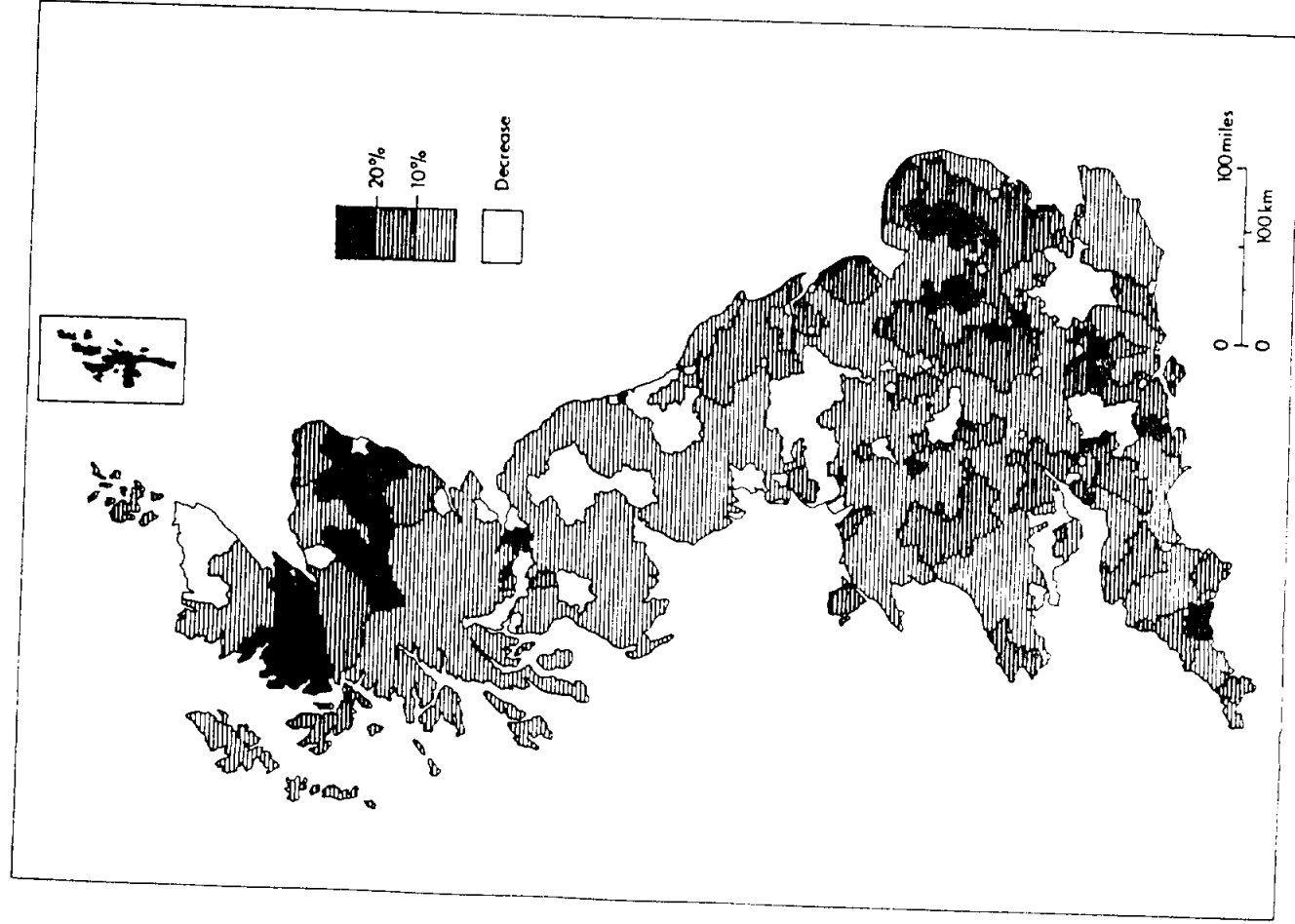


45. Plans for expansion in the South East, 1964–70: (a) The South East Study (1964) proposed new towns and cities outside London's then commuting range, 50 and more miles away. (b) The Strategy for the South East (1967), from the Economic Planning Council, proposed connecting these to London by urbanized sectors, which would not however be continuously built up. (c) The Strategic Plan for the South East (1970), which was accepted as the basis for further planning, groups much of the growth into five major growth areas, some of which incorporate new towns or cities from the 1964 Study.

City Region Planning and Local Government, 1965-72

The 1961 census showed that despite strict policies of urban containment, the population of the conurbations was rapidly overspilling beyond the green belts into much more widely spread urban regions; population in the so-called rural districts, during the 1950s and 1960s, was increasing faster than that in urban England (see Illustration 46). Even during the earlier decade many of the conurbations – including Greater London and Greater Manchester – were actually losing population, while the rings all around them, stretching in the case of London up to 50 miles, were gaining rapidly. Employment and decentralization were slowly, and during the 1950s many cities and conurbations were actually gaining new concentrations of tertiary (service) industry in their central areas; but during the 1960s, there was clear evidence that this process too was being reversed. Nevertheless, in general the result of urban decentralization was increasing long-distance interdependence of the different parts of the big urban regions. Journeys to work or to shop increased in average length. The new-towns programme and the expanded-towns programme between them did not contribute more than about 3 per cent of the total housing programme, so the fond hope of Ebenezer Howard and the 1945 Reith Committee – that urban populations would decentralize towards self-contained communities – was never fulfilled. But as car ownership produced greater personal mobility, this seemed less necessary. Nevertheless the resulting pattern of movement created unprecedented new problems – above all for transportation planning.

By the early 1960s, it was already being realized that the realities of long-term transportation planning, to accommodate projected future traffic movement, could only be handled within the framework of a wide urban region, so defined as to include both the origins

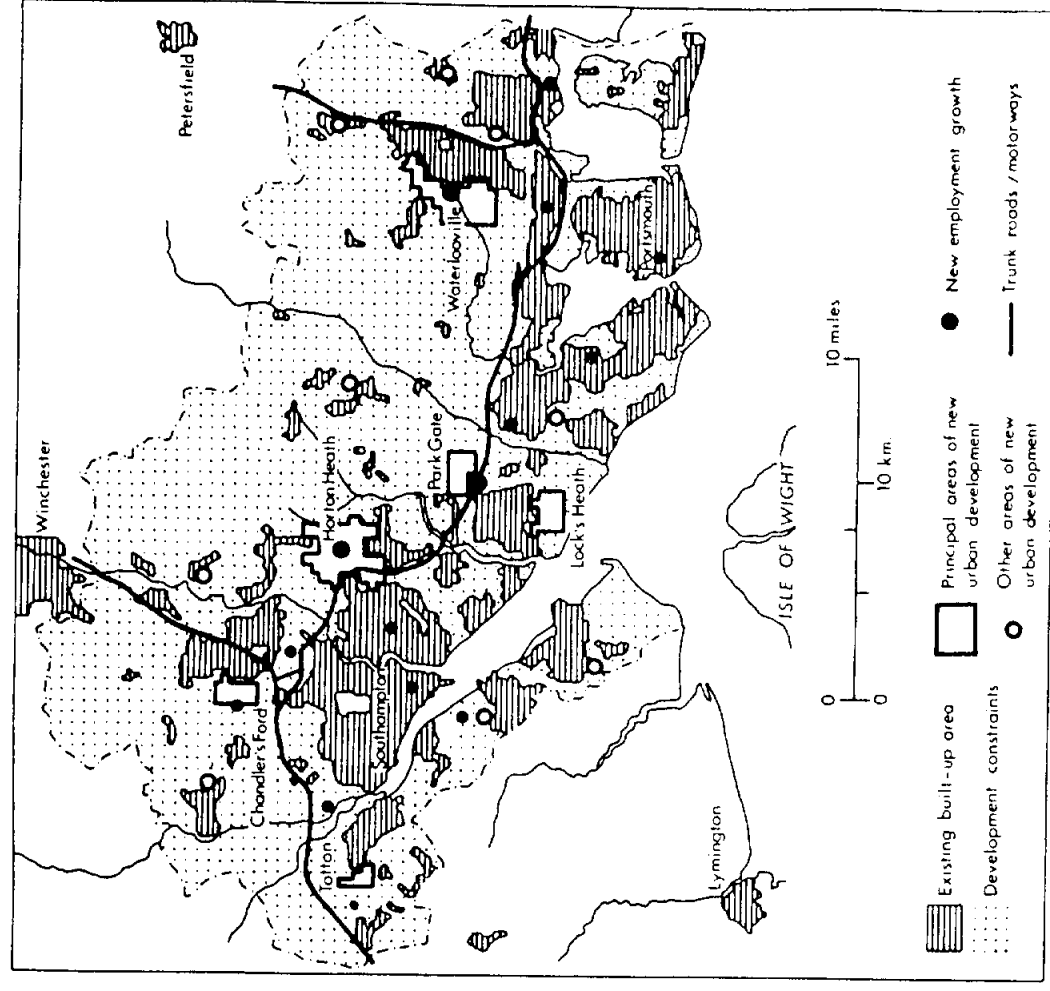


46. Population growth in Great Britain, 1971-81. Most areas of Britain, save the conurbations and older industrial areas, have gained population. But particularly clear is the loss from the major conurbations to their suburban fringes, especially around London. Rapid population growth characterizes wide rural areas of the country. Notably is the oil-related growth in Northern Scotland.

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and the destinations of the great majority of all the traffic movement. Following the pattern of the pioneer American transportation studies, wide-area studies began to be commissioned in Britain, first in 1961 for London, then for other major urban areas such as the West Midlands, Merseyside, south-east Lancashire-north-east Cheshire (Greater Manchester) and Greater Glasgow. But because there was no framework of local government at this level, like the major regional studies they had to be set up on a purely *ad hoc* basis. Even the reform of London local government in an Act of 1963, which created the Greater London Council, failed to encompass the entire area needed for meaningful transportation planning. (It excluded, for instance, the line of the planned orbital motorway for London.) As the various studies proceeded from fact-gathering to analysis and projection and then to proposals, the inadequacies of the existing fragmented local government structure became more and more evident. More and more *ad hoc* arrangements proved to be necessary – for instance, the passenger transport executives for the major conurbations and their fringe areas, set up under the 1968 Transport Act. The case for fundamental reform became more urgent.

It was given a further impetus in 1965 by the publication of an important report of an official advisory committee, the Planning Advisory Group (PAG). This concluded that the style of development planning set up under the 1947 Act, with its emphasis on detailed statements of future land-use proposals, did not suit the rapidly changing situation of the 1960s. Instead, there should be a new two-tier system of plan-making: first, structure plans containing main policy proposals in broad outline for a wide stretch of territory; second, local plans for smaller areas which would be prepared within the framework of the structure plans as occasion arose, including action-area plans for specific developments. (The structure plans still would be submitted for detailed vetting to the central planning ministry; the local plans in general would not.) The logic of this argument, which was generally accepted and embodied in a Planning Act of 1968, made the case for local government reform even more compelling. For the structure plans could by definition be prepared only for large areas encompassing the whole extended sphere of influence of a city or a conurbation. From 1966 onwards, some local



47. The South Hampshire Plan, 1972. In this early example of structure planning for a whole city region, major growth is grouped in a number of new communities of different sizes, close to existing urban areas and well served by public transport. Employment growth will occur both in these new areas and in the cores of the existing cities and towns.

authorities began to cooperate on an *ad hoc* basis to produce early experiments in such planning for areas like Leicester city and Leicestershire, Derby-Nottingham-Derbyshire-Nottinghamshire, Coventry-Solihull-Warwickshire, and south Hampshire. And by 1970-71, following this lead and anticipating local government reform, most local authorities in the country were beginning to band together on city regional lines to work on the new structure plans.

In 1966 the government recognized the logic of the new situation. They set up Royal Commissions on Local Government for England, under Sir John Redcliffe Maud (later Lord Redcliffe Maud), and for Scotland, under Mr Justice Wheatley, with a separate inquiry for Wales. Unlike a previous Commission on Local Government for England, whose terms of reference had been narrowly circumscribed, the new inquiries were specifically charged to take a fresh look at the problem. From the beginning, it was generally accepted by their members, and by the informed public, that something loosely called the city region – that is, the city or conurbation plus its sphere of influence – would be the right basis for local government reform. This indeed was the burden of the evidence submitted in 1967 by the Ministry of Housing and Local Government to the English commissioners.

The difficulty was that in practice it was more difficult than had been thought to define the city-region concept. Essentially, the new structure of local government units must possess four attributes. It must be able to form local government services *efficiently* (that is to say economically, in terms of resources) and *effectively* (in terms of reaching the clients who need the services). It should express some *communal consciousness*; that is, it should take in an area which people recognize that they belong to. And it should take in the whole area whose *planning problems* need to be analysed and resolved together. Unfortunately, these four requirements by no means lead to a common solution. In thinly populated rural areas, efficiency may suggest big units, effectiveness small ones. The unit of communal consciousness – broadly, the area within which people travel to work or shop – may be much smaller than the planning region, which may have to take in distant sites for potential new towns.

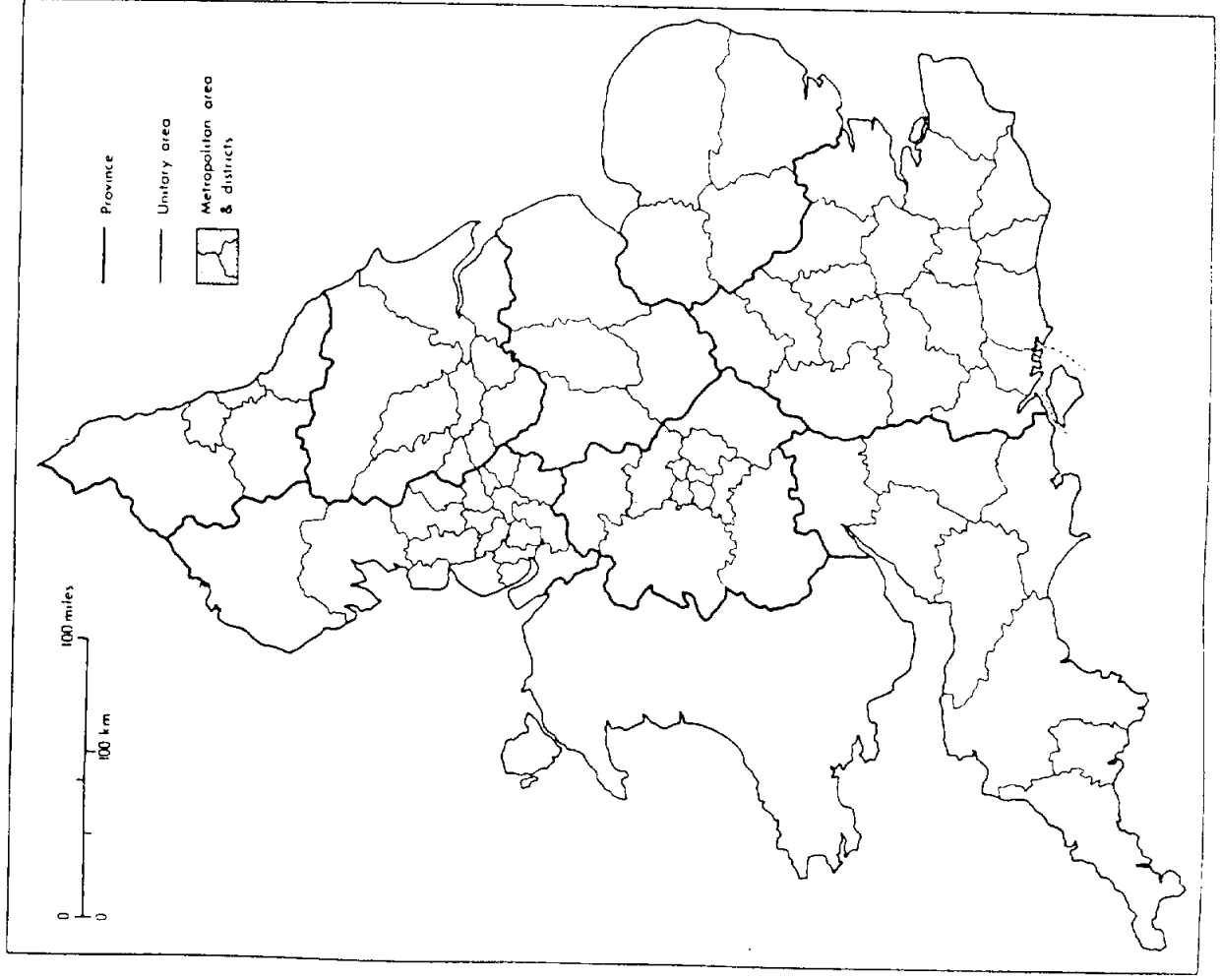
Faced with these contradictions, the commissioners came up with

two entirely different solutions when they reported, almost simultaneously, in the summer of 1969. The first was subscribed to by all except one of the English commissioners. It held that efficiency was most important, and that this suggested a large average size of unit; that effectiveness and community demanded the same set of units for all services; and that planning problems required to be solved by rather large units. Some compromise between these principles had to be made; the English commissioners settled on a pattern of *unitary authorities* capable of running all local services, covering the whole of provincial England except for the three biggest conurbations of Greater Manchester, Greater Liverpool and Greater Birmingham. Here, there would be a two-tier structure with a metropolitan authority responsible for overall physical and transport planning, and metropolitan districts for the more personal services (Illustration 48a). This was the structure already adopted in the 1963 Act for London, which was left outside the English commissioners' terms of reference.

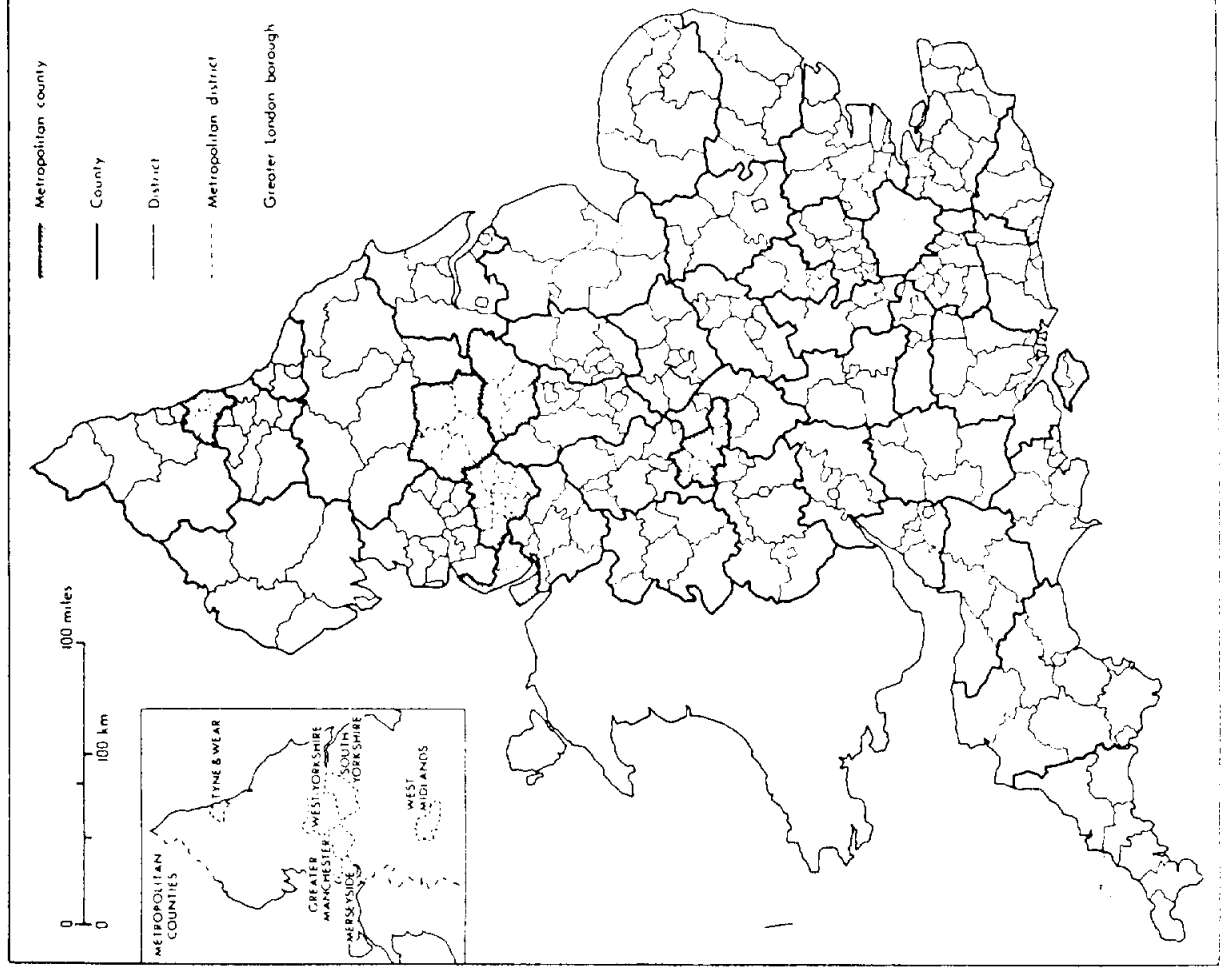
The opposite view was expressed by one English commissioner (Mr Senior) and by a majority of the Scottish commissioners. It started from the premise that planning demanded a quite different scale from the personal services. Thus there should be a two-tier system over the whole country, based on large city regions (in the Scottish report called provinces) at the top level and on small districts at the lower level. The English majority admitted the force of this argument, but thought that the claim of simplicity in the structure, with only one level, was overriding.

In 1970 the Labour government accepted the different prescriptions for the two countries, with minor modifications; in 1971 the Conservative government reaffirmed its broad acceptance of the Wheatley recommendations for Scotland, but replaced the English proposals by a two-tier system over the whole country. This, however, was not Mr Senior's minority prescription, but a reform based on the existing county structure at the top-tier level (with some modifications to take account of the city regional principle) and on amalgamations of existing county district authorities at the lower level (Illustration 48b). In the conurbations the reform retained the metropolitan principle, and extended it to west and south Yorkshire,

48. Local government reform proposals, 1969 and 1972. (a) The English Royal Commission (Redcliffe Maud) proposals of 1969 suggested single-tier, unitary authorities for most of the country, with a two-tier solution reserved for three metropolitan areas based on the conurbations.



(b) The 1972 Local Government Act, in contrast, introduced a two-tier system everywhere, but with a different distribution of functions in the Metropolitan Counties – now increased to six – as compared with elsewhere.

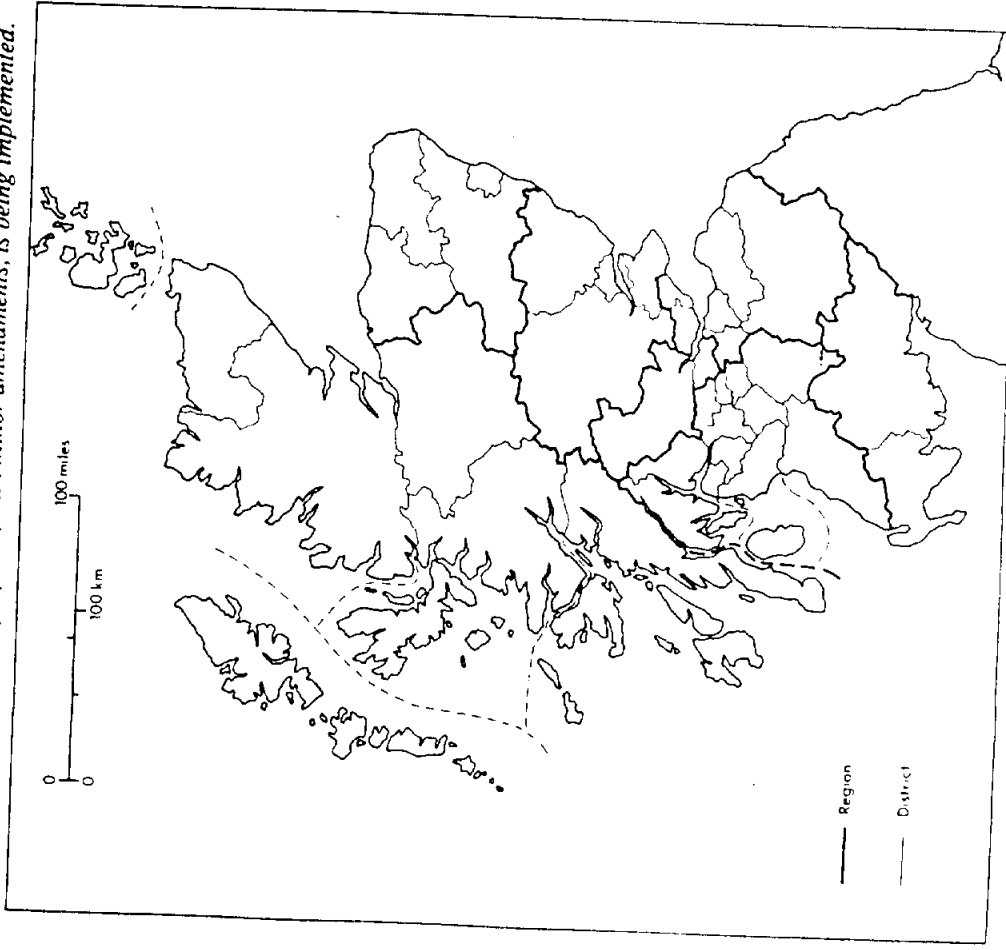


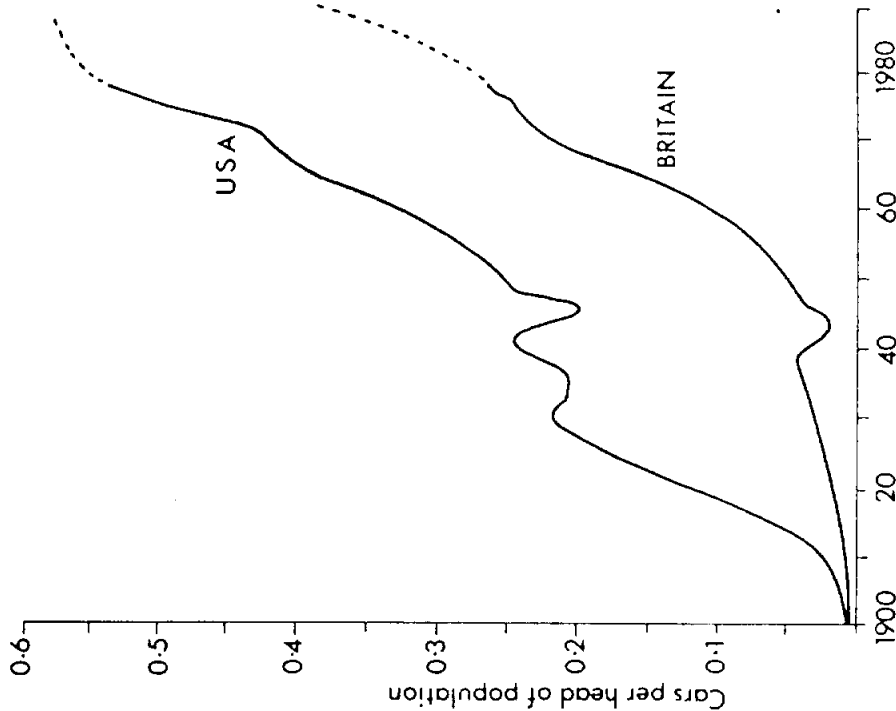
but it cut back the boundaries approximately to the physical limits of the built-up area; the green belts, and the growing suburbs beyond them, were generally left under non-metropolitan county control.

From the point of view of planning, this reorganization – which was implemented in an Act for England in 1972, and introduced the new system in 1974 – only underlined the fundamental problem of coordinating the structure-planning process over a wide area. The Redcliffe Maud proposals, by giving overall planning powers to very broadly based metropolitan authorities, might just have coped with this problem. But even they failed to take in the whole area which needed to be planned as a unit around the biggest conurbations; indeed, in the extreme case – that of London – such a unit would take in the whole of the economic planning region. The 1972 changes certainly did not even aim to do this, and they merely underlined the need for some intermediate level of regional planning between the reformed structure of local government and Whitehall. Indeed, it was clear that in many critical cases around the conurbations – in the fast-growing Coventry area or the Reading–Aldershot–Basingstoke area west of London, designated as one of the major future growth areas in the 1970 South East Plan – the new local government units would immediately have to come together on an *ad hoc* basis for city-region planning, as well as being involved in a cooperative planning process for the wider West Midlands or South East region. The Redcliffe Maud report had recommended a structure of provincial units for England, above the unitary and metropolitan authorities, for just this purpose; but nothing came to pass from it.

The 1972–4 reorganization for England, then, was in many ways a second-best solution: it failed to recognize the realities of contemporary urban geography, and by instituting two tiers of government it created the powerful, often contraposed, planning bureaucracies. The most that could be said for it was that it recognized local interests, and that it followed traditional county boundaries in the great majority of cases. But once established, it precluded further fundamental reorganization for many years. In 1980, the Conservative government attempted some rationalization, by concentrating more power over planning decisions un-

(c) In Scotland the Royal Commission (Wheatley) proposals of 1969 envisaged a two-tier system different from anything proposed in England, with top-tier authorities covering wide regions; this proposal, with minor amendments, is being implemented.





49. Car ownership in Great Britain and the USA, 1900-1990. The growth of car ownership in Britain has closely paralleled that in the USA with a lag of about twenty-five years. By 1990 levels of ownership should equal the American levels of 1965.

patterns of land use or economic activity, so that by then predicting changes in these underlying patterns in the future, it would be possible to predict the resulting traffic flows. The main use of the results, which explained the urgency of the exercise both in Britain and in North America, was to develop advance highway-construction plans to meet the expected growth of travel by private car.

As the transportation planning exercises grew in number and complexity during the 1960s, it was clear that in the United

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ambiguously at the lower (district) tier, but this merely left the county planning offices as ever more anomalous paper planning authorities, whose structure plans might in practice be disregarded.

The Changing Content of Planning

Not merely the geographical basis of planning, but also the content of the plans themselves, showed great changes during the 1960s and 1970s. The reasons were essentially the same as those we have listed in considering the question of geographical boundaries: the new emphasis on broad-based plans stressing basic policies rather than on detailed land-use allocations; the new importance of transportation planning as perhaps the central element of physical planning at this scale; the link between city-region planning and economic planning. But there were other forces no less important, both in the intellectual underpinnings of planning and in the wider socio-economic framework within which planning takes place. Among these were the potentialities released by the use of the computer, especially in transportation planning; the new emphasis on economic rationale in planning; the stress on environmental quality; the growing concern with social planning; and the increasing infusion of management techniques into local authorities. Nearly all these were individually so important, and so complex, that ideally they should have chapters to themselves. In the final chapter of this book, we shall try to discuss some of them in more detail. But at this stage, their influence must at least be outlined.

Chronologically, we already noticed that the first of these impacts – the increased emphasis on transportation, and the associated use of computers in analysis and prediction – occurred in the early 1960s, with the setting up of the first wide-area transportation studies in Britain. Essentially, the techniques for these early studies – and often, too, the personnel – were imported from the United States, where they had been developed in early exercises like the Detroit and Chicago area transportation studies. The emphasis was on establishing statistical relationships between

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States, they developed in two important ways. In the first place, it soon came to be realized that the prediction of the underlying patterns of land use and economic activity was not the relatively simple matter that traffic engineers had at first naively thought. It was possible to postulate alternative patterns of growth for a region, with different consequences for traffic flows and investments. By a process of feedback, different patterns of investment would affect the pattern of urban growth. As spatial planners became increasingly involved in the process, they developed techniques of modelling simultaneously the patterns of urban growth and travel in interaction with each other. The early work on such combined urban growth and travel models was done in the United States, by such workers as Ira Lowry of the Rand Corporation and Stuart Chapin of the University of

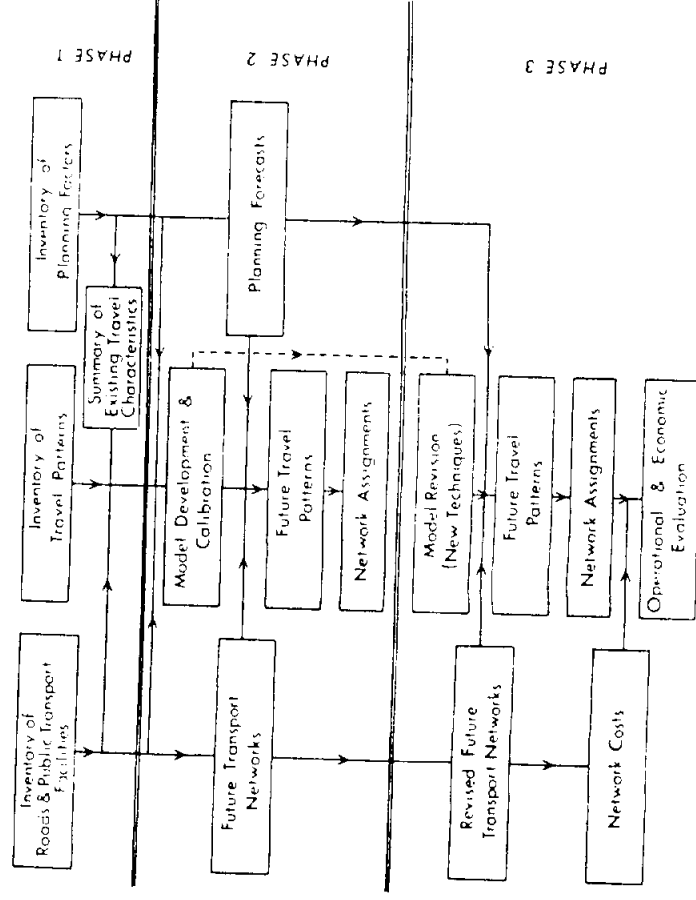
Planning for Cities and City Regions: 1945–80

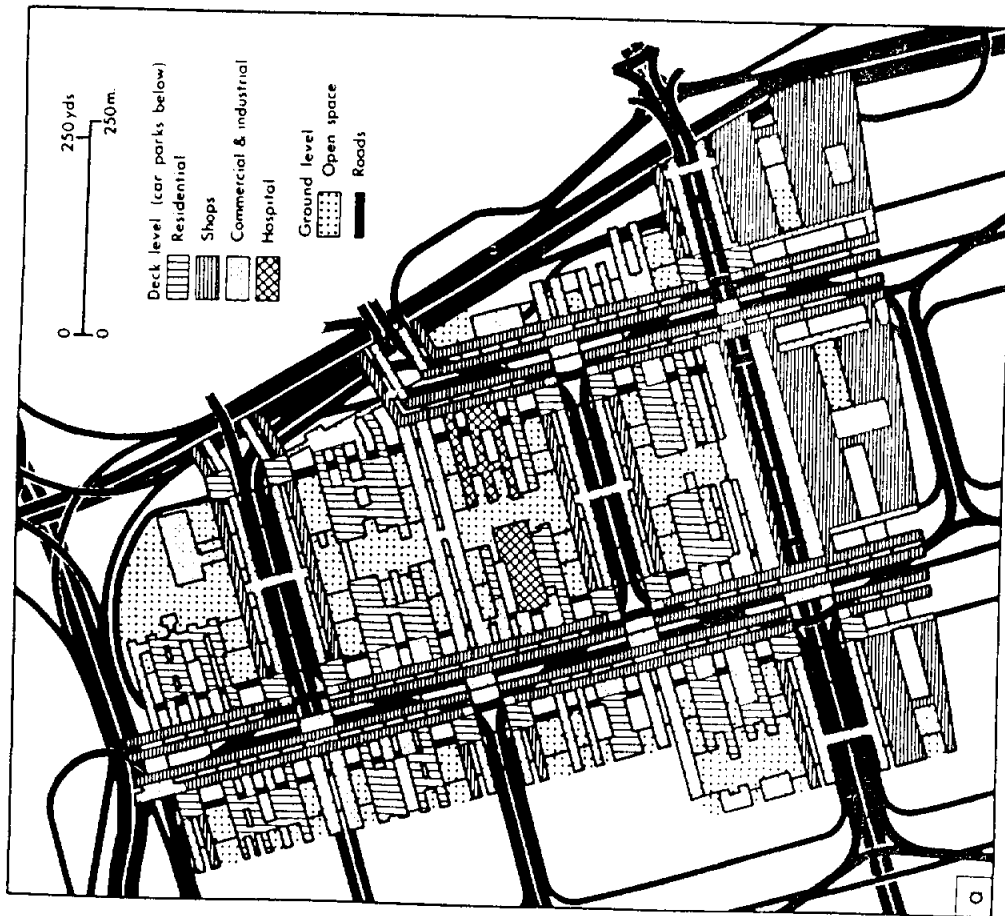
North Carolina. But after the setting up of the Centre for Environmental Studies in London in 1966, with joint funding from the British government and the Ford Foundation, an intensive programme of development began, both in the Centre itself under its Assistant Director, Alan Wilson, and at the Universities of Reading and Cambridge. Certain pioneer local authorities, such as Bedfordshire, were already using models by the mid-1960s; their number grew at the end of the decade with the rapid switch to the new structure planning.

Simultaneously, the second related change was occurring in the transportation planning process: the focus was shifting from an exclusive emphasis on highway investments towards an integrated programme of development in both public and private transport. This shift had not yet fully occurred even by the end of the decade, in some of the earliest major exercises, such as the London study. But as it took place, it began to affect thinking about the whole urban modelling process. For different investment patterns will tend to generate different urban forms, while conversely the urban structure will influence the range of options open to the transportation planner. High-density concentrations, either of residential populations or of economic activities in urban areas, will tend to favour public transport, while low-density scatter will favour widespread use of the private car. Increasingly, therefore, transportation planners were inclined to work in terms of combined models of traffic generation and public/private transport split, and to try to relate these to options in future urban growth. Such a combined model, with options in terms of urban form and of modal split, was not yet developed in the early 1970s. But it represented an important line of development for the future.

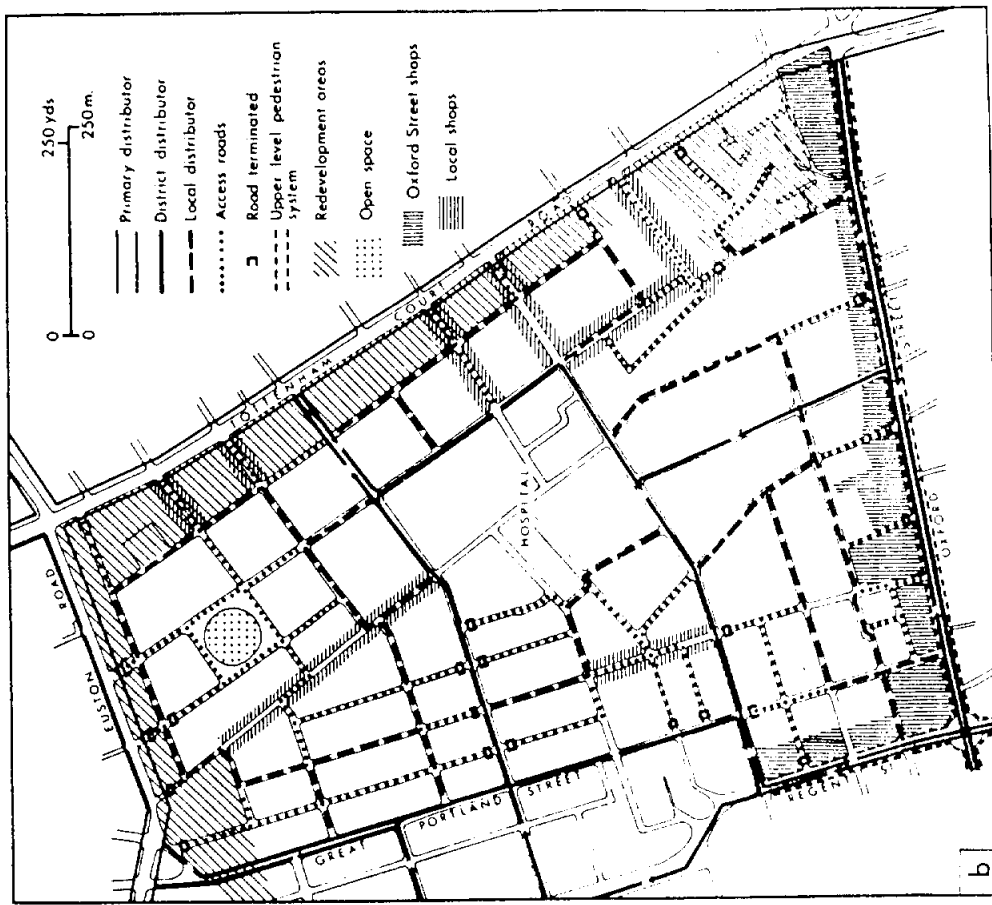
Another important intellectual development in planning also came during the 1960s via transportation planning: the increased emphasis on economic evaluation. Planning in general, up to the early 1960s, had to a remarkable degree avoided the exercise of generating or evaluating alternative future plans; the recommended method which dated from Patrick Geddes (survey–analysis–plan) seemed to assume that the planner would proceed logically to discover a single correct answer. But the techniques of transportation planning, as they

50. The transportation planning structure. To accommodate the growth of car ownership most major urban areas had to develop increasingly complex transportation planning processes during the 1960s. The need for better-integrated transportation planning was a powerful stimulus to local government reform.





51. Alternative levels of urban redevelopment in part of London's West End, from the Buchanan report. (a) Maximal. (b) Minimal. The report Traffic in Towns (1963) by a group under Sir Colin Buchanan, argued that the traffic capacity of a town should be fixed at an environmentally acceptable level. More traffic could be accommodated by complex reconstruction of the urban fabric, but this would be expensive; the alternative would be traffic restraint.

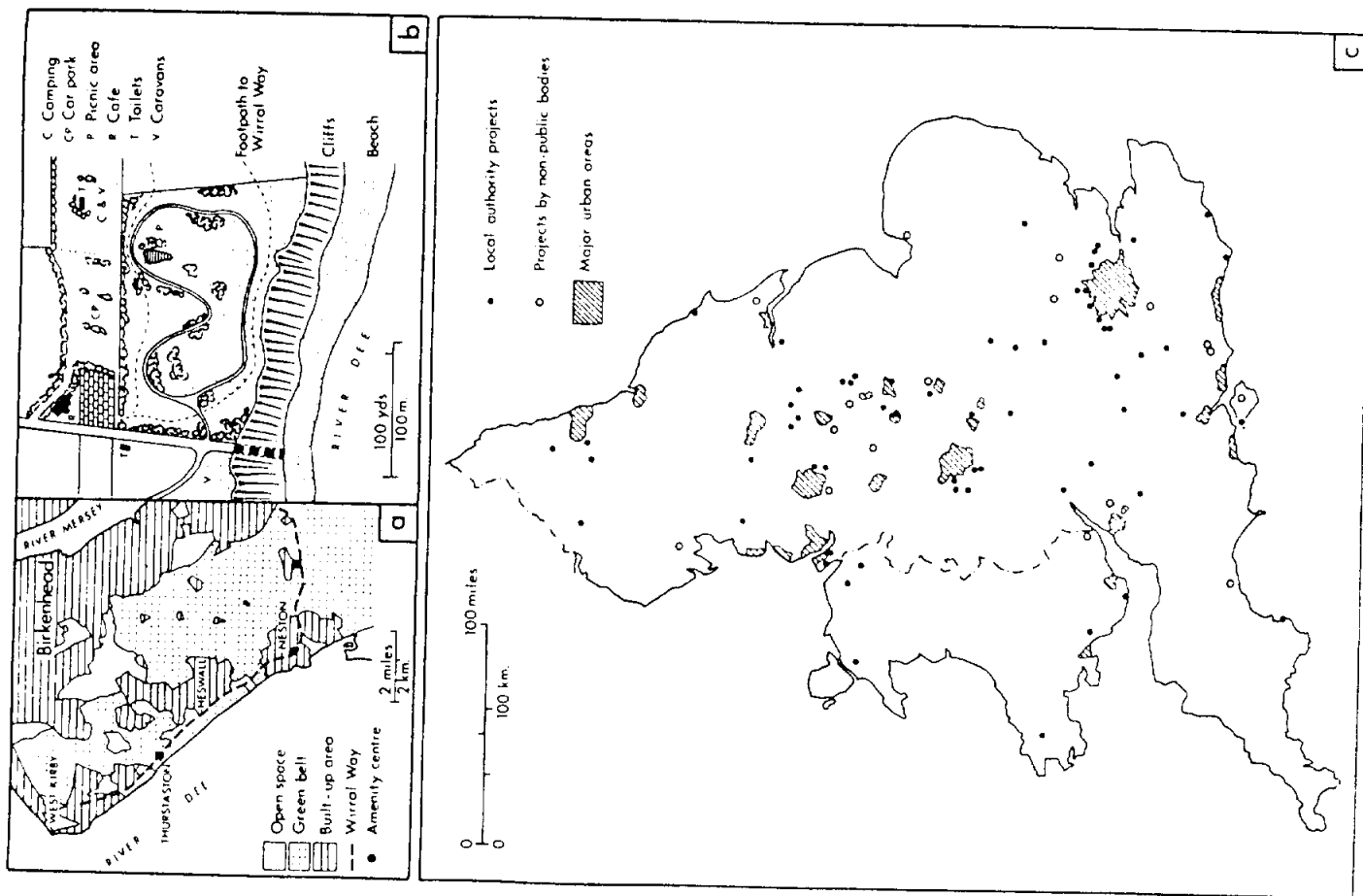


evolved more or less independently of traditional planning in the late 1950s, from the beginning stressed a technique which allied engineering and economics: the attempt to measure the costs and benefits of alternative plans. In planning the line of a major new motorway, as in planning alternative ways of providing for a city's water supply, it was logical to quantify the costs of construction and of subsequent operation, and also the more obvious benefits that could be measured. Practically, the early exercises of this kind in England – such as the well-known studies of the M1 motorway by Beesley and others or that of the Victoria underground line in London by

Beesley and Foster – stressed the very large time-savings that construction of the new facility would bring. They tended to make a strong case for such major investments, even where – as in the case of the Victoria Line – they could not be justified on conventional accounting criteria.

Such pioneer exercises were little concerned with some of the less tractable elements of evaluation – above all, the controversial issue of amenity, or the quality of environment. But at the same time, a quite separate study commissioned by the British government – the famous report on *Traffic in Towns*, by a team headed by Colin Buchanan, published in 1963 – took the stand that in reaching planning decisions, it was necessary to quantify the environmental costs and to reckon them in. This suggested that investment in urban roads should be governed not by the costs necessary to reduce congestion to a defined level, but by the higher level of costs necessary to reduce congestion while maintaining some defined environmental standards; if the community was unwilling to pay these costs, then the level of traffic in towns should be restrained by various means until environmentally acceptable limits were reached. The report, which generated immense public attention and approval, took an approach which proved extremely difficult to fit into the new cost-benefit framework of the economists. When at last a major cost-benefit study was undertaken for an official inquiry which depended centrally on the evaluation of environmental quality – the study of the location of London's third airport, in 1968-70 – the result was widespread public criticism and controversy. By the start of the 1970s, this was yet another important area where the techniques of planning still urgently awaited development, though at central government level the creation in 1970 of the Department of the Environment – at last integrating urban and transport planning in one organization – provided a better framework for incorporating environmental factors into decisions on transport investments.

52. Country parks: (a) Wirral Way Country Park, Cheshire; (b) A picnic place on Wirral Way; (c) Location of country parks in England and Wales, 1972. The country park concept, introduced in the Countryside Act 1968, allows local authorities and other bodies to develop sites for intensive outdoor recreation close to





53. Elvaston Castle, Derbyshire. This country house and grounds, standing between Derby and Nottingham in open countryside, was one of the first local authority country parks designated under the 1968 Act.

Increasing concern with the quality of environment expressed itself in other ways too. In 1968 the Countryside Act marked an important stage in the evolution of planning for outdoor recreation. It replaced the National Parks Commission, which had been created by the 1949 Act (Chapter 4), by a Countryside Commission with wider responsibilities and greater financial powers. It promised more money to the new Commission to back up these powers, though the

grammes. And it empowered local authorities or private agencies to create country parks near major centres of population, with subsidies from the Commission, so as to act as 'honeypots' relieving pressure on the national parks. Later on, in the 1972 reform of English local government, an important change was made in the administration of national parks; though they would still be managed by the county councils, or by joint boards of county councils, henceforth there must be a separate committee and planning officer for each park. Here the government was recognizing the weighty criticism that in many of the parks, the local administration had shown little enthusiasm for positive planning and hardly any willingness to spend money. The consequences were becoming serious, as increasing car ownership and motorway extensions brought floods of motor traffic into the heart of the parks at peak holiday periods.

At the time of the 1972 United Nations Stockholm Conference on the Human Environment, environmental quality became a major political issue throughout the world. Britain took a number of important steps at this time. It followed up the highly successful 1956 Clean Air Act – whereby local authorities, with central government financial aid, were empowered to introduce clean-air zones in Britain's towns and cities – with a radical reorganization of water supply and sewage-disposal services, coupled with a programme that promised to clean up the country's more grossly polluted industrial rivers by the early 1980s. And, following recommendations by official committees, it reorganized compensation and road-building procedures so as to give better guarantees of environmental quality to those living alongside new highways. It provided grants for double-glazing and similar measures – a scheme already operated for householders around London's Heathrow airport; it provided more generous compensation for those wishing to move away from highway construction; and it provided for more environmentally sensitive, and more expensive, designs for new urban roads.

All this represented an answer to a very evident demand on the part of the public – or at least the vocal section of the public. Controversies like the location of London's third airport, or London's proposed motorway system, or new roads in places like Winchester and the Lake District all demonstrated that substantial

numbers of people were now very sensitive to any threat to their own environment. Their interest gave added point to the problem of incorporating environmental assessments into the evaluation of alternative plans. But at the same time it emphasized the point that in any planning decision there were likely to be winners and losers. If better-informed, better-organized groups campaigned successfully in their own environmental interests, the real risk was that the decision would go against the less informed and the less organized – who, in general, were also the poorer members of the community.

Meanwhile, two quite separate but related developments had been occurring in other fields, whose consequences for planning seemed likely to be momentous. The first was the growing concern – first evident, in the late 1960s, in American city planning but then increasingly imported into Britain – for the social objectives of planning. Essentially the argument, as developed in the United States, was that physical or spatial planning had failed many of the people that it ought to have helped, because it had not started from sufficiently clear and explicitly social objectives. In particular, critics pointed to the many examples where American urban renewal had simply displaced low-income residents from inner urban areas without providing alternative housing, leaving them worse off than before; and to the way in which public programmes, such as the Interstate Highway Program, had contributed to suburban dispersal of people and employment, leaving low-income inner city residents increasingly separated from job opportunities. Great concern developed all over the United States, during the 1960s, at the increasing polarization of the metropolitan areas, whereby higher-income residents and their associated services and jobs migrated to far-flung suburbs, while the older central cities were left to cater for low-income residents with a constantly declining local tax base. By the early 1970s, in the inquiry on the Greater London Development Plan, fears were being expressed that a similar fate was overtaking London – and, by extension, perhaps other British cities as well.

Some of the conclusions to be drawn from such analyses were purely in terms of changed machinery: larger units of local government uniting cities and suburbs, for instance, or new sources of local revenue for cities, or revenue-sharing between central (or regional)

and local governments. But more deeply, the debate seemed likely to shift the central focus of what spatial planners did. While the injection of transportation planning in the early and mid-1960s had led to an emphasis on economic efficiency as the central objective of planning, the injection of social planning in the late 1960s and early 1970s seemed certain to lead to an emphasis on equity in distribution. Planning, some sociologists were increasingly arguing, essentially distributed public goods (i.e. goods which could not be bought and sold in the market, such as clean air or quiet residential areas) to different groups of the population. It could be progressive in its social consequences, by distributing more of these goods to the lower-income groups, or the reverse. Too often, certainly in the United States but perhaps also in Britain, it had been regressive. The question that needed to be asked now was: who benefited from planning policies like urban containment, or green belts, or high-rise urban renewal? And who, conversely, suffered the disbenefits? The conclusions could be disturbing. But again, this was an item on the agenda for future development at the beginning of the 1970s.

Lastly, but relatedly, the late 1960s saw an increasing influence on British local authorities generally of modern management techniques originally developed within private profit-making industry. The critical events here were first the publication in 1967 of the Maud Committee report (not to be confused with the Redcliffe Maud Commission report) on local authority management, which recommended a new structure for local government based on a few major committees covering wide policy areas, together with a central policy-making committee; and secondly the parallel reform of the personal social services of local government during 1969–70, which created new combined social services departments embracing public health and child care. But intellectually the new movement was associated with the influence of the new techniques of Planning–Programming–Budgeting Systems (PPBS) imported from the United States, and originally developed for a very different area of public enterprise: Robert McNamara's Department of Defense. Essentially, PPBS demanded that management of public enterprises should be restructured on the basis of *objectives* rather than of traditional departmental responsibilities. Applied to American defence problems, it

asked for instance how to achieve a specific objective – for instance, how to provide for defence against surprise attack – rather than how to develop specific programmes for the army or the air force. Applied to the very different world of British local government, it would again ask how to achieve an objective – for instance, preventing the break-up of families – rather than emphasizing separate programmes of housing or child care.

In the early 1970s, the influence on planning seemed likely to be profound. Many of the central objectives which local government seemed certain to develop for itself under the new PPBS framework would be social objectives: objectives in terms of people and their needs, rather than in terms of physical policies. Management by objectives, therefore, seemed likely to shift planning further away from its old emphasis on physical policies, and towards a style in which policies had to be developed, and then defended, in terms of their specific implications for the welfare of the people involved. But this in general proved a false hope. The 1972-4 reorganization, by dividing local government into two tiers, made it conceptually impossible for any local government to consider the delivery of all services against common objectives. But more fundamentally, the belief in the wisdom of the technocratic philosopher-planners had been shattered.

The first signs of this came with the work of the Community Development Plan teams, appointed by the Home Office, in a number of deprived urban areas in the period 1972-6. Their role was to stimulate the people of their areas out of apathy and into greater control over changing the conditions of their own lives. Their achievement, in many cases, was to come in violent conflict with local bureaucracies and councillors as they adopted an uncompromisingly fundamental Marxist-style explanation of the plight of their inner-city clienteles. Though the whole experiment was hastily shut down in 1976, this style of analysis had a radical influence on the approach of academic urban researchers, who increasingly analysed the woes of decaying inner-city areas in such terms.

The Emerging Inner-City Problem

Even non-Marxists, however, were coming to appreciate that there was a new dimension to planning for such areas. By the mid-1970s, it was clear that they were losing people and jobs at a massive rate. Typical inner-city areas lost between 16 and 20 per cent of their populations in the 1961-71 period, and this trend continued unabated down to the late 1970s. London lost some 400,000 manufacturing jobs between 1961 and 1975. Furthermore, as careful work by both academics and government researchers concluded, much of this job loss represented not outward movement but plant closure and, to some extent, rationalization accompanied by productivity gains. Radical researchers demonstrated this as partly representing a major restructuring of industry, accompanying business takeovers and concentrated in older inner-city firms. Skilled jobs tended to disappear in the process, but in any case there were too few jobs of any kind to go round, while much of the remaining inner-city workforce was under-educated, under-skilled, and least likely to find employment in a bleak competitive world.

The result was the development of pockets of multiple deprivation in the older inner cities. Though a majority of people there were not deprived – and a majority of the deprived were to be found elsewhere – the argument remained that in concentrating resources on inner cities the government could attack the most stubborn concentrations of unemployment, poverty and want.

In 1977 the government acted on this conclusion. Accepting the results of a five-year study of three British cities (Liverpool, Birmingham, and Lambeth in London) that had agreed on their broad conclusions, it announced a greatly extended Urban Programme of special aid to inner-city areas, concentrated especially on seven so-called Partnership Areas and fifteen smaller Programme Areas mainly in inner conurbation cities. The resources went on a great variety of schemes aimed at job creation, community development, sport and recreation. The Conservatives, winning power at Westminster in 1979, made no attempt to change these policies, though they decidedly did shift resources away from

inner-city areas towards the suburbs, as well as trimming areal expenditure overall. Most importantly, they introduced two new inner-city initiatives. Urban Development Corporations, modelled on the successful new-town plan, supplanted local government in the semi-derelict London and Liverpool docklands; and Enterprise Zones, a somewhat watered-down version of a scheme to remove all kinds of restrictive control from the worst-hit areas, offered a combination of special tax relief and simplified planning controls in nearly a dozen decayed urban areas.

It will not be possible to judge the effect of these initiatives for some years, until at least the mid-1980s. The preliminary evidence is that the rate of inner urban population and job loss may have slowed somewhat in the late 1970s, but that rates of unemployment and related indices of deprivation, in the worst-hit areas, may have spectacularly increased. What this seems to mean is a new geography of Britain. The old regional dichotomy – between metropolitan south and east on the one hand, peripheral west and north on the other – is being replaced by a more subtle distinction. On one side are the decaying conurbation cities plus some isolated mining and manufacturing towns in the older industrial areas. On the other are the still prosperous suburbs, the medium-sized freestanding cities and towns, and the rural areas of much of Britain. As in the United States, the trends are towards decentralization of people and jobs, out of the great cities and the older industrial regions, into the environmentally preferable semi-rural areas. To revoke these trends, in an era when public resources are scarce as never before, will represent an enormous effort and one that is not fully achievable.

Meanwhile, the discovery of the inner-city problem had direct and immediate repercussions on other parts of urban policy. The most important was that the new towns programme was reduced, while the parallel expanded towns programme – in any case close to completion – was to all intents and purposes phased out. Milton Keynes, the largest and most ambitious of all the Mark Two new towns of the 1960s, had its target population cut from 250,000 to 200,000: the resources were transferred fairly directly into the revival of the London inner-city partnership areas. However, there

was one field where the effects were more muted. In 1976, the 1970-based Strategic Plan for the South East was revised by a joint central-local government team, similar to the group responsible for the original plan: in 1978 and again in 1980, the government responded to this revision. While local authority interests were very concerned to reduce the commitment to major growth centres outside London – the Greater London Council because it wanted the resources diverted to London, the Home Counties because growth was politically unpopular with their electors – the government stood firm on the principle of growth in principle, albeit with some studious vagueness about details.

This reflected a striking demographic fact: though estimates of future regional population growth had shrunk with the falling birth rate, migration out of London into the rest of the South East was running at a rate far higher than had been forecast in 1970. Thus estimates of future population growth for the growth areas, and the area around London generally, were reduced, but only marginally. People were apparently voting with their feet, and in a direction contrary to the new policy of inner-city revival. It remained to be seen whether this policy could eventually slow the out-movement, let alone reverse it. Policy, as ever, had to reflect the facts of social and economic change.

Planning, in other words, was in a state of intellectual flux such as had never before been witnessed. But this, perhaps, was only characteristic of professionalism in general in Britain in the 1970s – the result of the explosive growth of applied higher education and research during the 1960s, a process which had originated in North America, but which had increasingly been exported to Britain. It left a set of key questions for planning, on which further research and debate would be needed: the clarification of the objectives of planning; the improvement of the techniques of prediction and forecasting, especially for the longer term; the further development of techniques of evaluation of alternative plans; the study of decision-making in conditions where even the best forecasts, because of their interdependency, were apt to prove unreliable and uncertain. These are some of the questions that must be addressed in the final chapter of this book.

Further Reading

Useful sources here are Cullingworth, 1970 (see reading list, Chapter 4), and D.E.C. Eversley, 'Population Changes and Regional Policies since the war', *Regional Studies*, 5 (1971), pp. 211–28.

On the pattern of urban decentralization, see Peter Hall, 'The Spatial Structure of Metropolitan England and Wales', in Michael Chisholm and Gerald Manners (eds.), *Spatial Policy Problems of the British Economy* (Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 96–125; on land use implications, see Peter Hall, 'Land Use – the Spread of Towns into the Country', in Michael Young (ed.), *Forecasting and the Social Sciences* (Heinemann, 1968), pp. 95–117; on the impact on landscape, Nan Fairbrother, *New Towns, New Landscapes* (Penguin, 1972).

For a fuller treatment of urban growth, see Peter Hall, Ray Thomas, Harry Gracey, Roy Drewett, *The Containment of Urban England* (Allen & Unwin, 1973). Useful for long-term population trends, with a forward look, is *Long Term Population Distribution in Great Britain: A Study* (HMSO, 1971). Peter Cowan (ed.), *Developing Patterns of Urbanisation* (Oliver & Boyd, 1970), has useful essays on contemporary society and economy; it can be supplemented at a more popular level by Michael Chisholm (ed.), *Resources in Britain's Future* (Penguin, 1972).

On the social content of planning, see J. B. Cullingworth, *Problems of an Urban Society*, 3 vols. (Allen & Unwin, 1973), especially Vol. 2.

For the inner-city problem, see Peter Hall (ed.), *The Inner City in Context* (Heinemann, 1981); Andrew Kirby, *The Inner City* (RPS, 1977), and Department of the Environment, *Inner Area Studies: Liverpool, Birmingham and Lambeth. Summary of Consultants' Final Reports* (HMSO, 1977). Also useful is David H. McKay and Andrew M. Cox, *The Politics of Urban Change* (Croom Helm, 1979), Chapter 7; and Paul Lawless, *Britain's Inner Cities: Problems and Policies* (Harper & Row, 1981).

7. Planning in Western Europe since 1945

The six western European countries which formed the original European Economic Community of 1957, together with their Scandinavian neighbours to the north, offer some instructive comparisons for the planner – both with each other, and still more so with the experience of Britain as it has been outlined in the preceding chapters. These are all highly industrialized countries; but in general, with the possible exception of Belgium, their industrialization took place later than Britain's, it took rather different forms and had rather different spatial effects, while in the 1970s it was still less complete. Whereas Britain by this time had only some 3 per cent of its labour force in agriculture, and the percentage of its total population which was urban had remained almost unchanged at about 80 per cent since the beginning of the twentieth century, the EEC countries still had about 14 per cent of their workers in agriculture, and in general a higher proportion of their people lived in villages and small towns. With rare exceptions, such as the Ruhr coalfield in Germany and the nearby coalfield of southern Belgium, continental western Europe has avoided the rapid industrialization which produced the sordid industrial landscapes of the Midlands and northern England; coming much later, after the advent of railways and even of electric power, the industrial revolution in these countries affected the existing older cities, so that its effect both on social patterns and on the landscape was less profound.

But these differences should not be exaggerated. The major economic and social trends are as unmistakable in all the Continental Western European countries as in Britain. Despite strongly protectionist agricultural policies which result from the historic strength of the farm vote, workers – especially younger workers – have been leaving the family farms in huge numbers since 1945; the system of

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PLANNING

in

BERKSHIRE

JANUARY

1986

Berkshire has become one of the fastest growing parts of the country and is under strong development pressure. However, there is considerable concern about the County's ability to cope with continuing high growth. This is because of the difficulties of providing the necessary standard of services and facilities, together with the impact on the character and environment of the County.

These issues are central to the review and updating of the Council's long-term strategic planning policies. The Council's approach is set out in the draft Replacement County Structure Plan, which has now been submitted to the Secretary of State for the Environment, seeking his formal approval.

A previous issue of this Bulletin was published in June 1984 in connection with earlier work on the Replacement

Structure Plan. Information on some of the topics covered has now been updated. Items covered include the existing provision and continuing pressures for further housing and commercial development; the changing employment structure of the County; and the current unemployment situation.

However, only a brief outline can be given. If you would like further information this can be obtained from the persons named in the text. There is also a range of information in other published documents, including Development Trends in Berkshire 1984; the Report of the 1984 Survey of Employers; and Housing Land Supply in Berkshire at April 1984.

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HOUSING

Past and Future Growth

Berkshire's housing stock has more than doubled in the last 30 years. Further growth will take place as a result of:

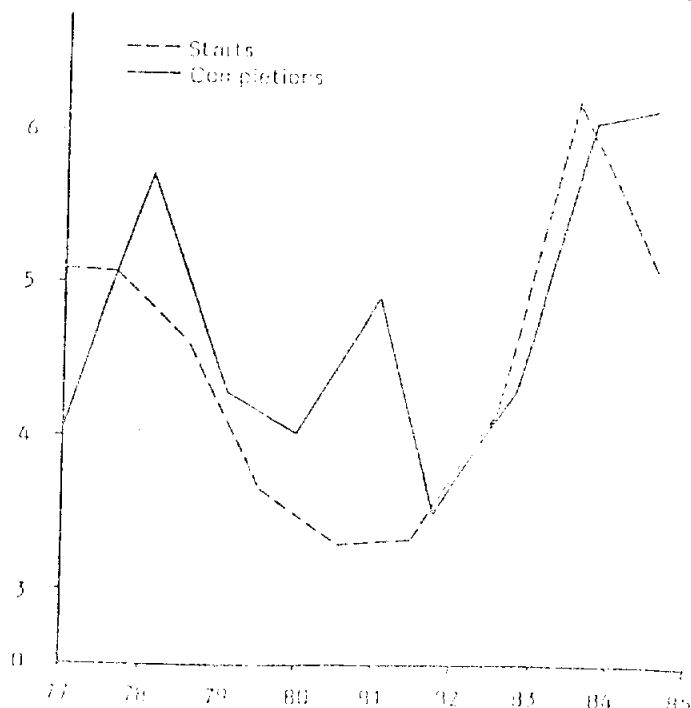
- * the large number of houses already with planning permission;
- * additional development allowed in accordance with Structure and Local Plan policies, including the provision proposed in the Replacement Structure Plan.

One of the aims of the draft Replacement Plan is to seek a significantly slower rate of growth than experienced in recent years. However, the County remains under strong pressure for housing development, which is illustrated by the considerable amount of housing which is the subject of planning applications and appeals; and by rising house prices.

Recent Housebuilding Levels Very High

Housebuilding levels have been particularly high in recent years (Figure 1). Between June 1976 and end March 1985, some 43,000 houses were built in the County. This represents an average of about 4900 per year. A peak was reached in the 12 months up to April 1985, 6174 houses being completed - almost two thirds of them in Central Berkshire.

Fig 1 Housing Completions & Starts in Berks 1977-85



Although the number of houses on which building work started in the first half of 1985 was 22% less than in the same period in 1984, building levels in Berkshire remain much higher than in most parts of the country.

Concern about the Rate of Housing Growth

The County Council considers that the rate of housing growth in Berkshire needs to be slowed down to allow adequate infrastructure and services to be provided and to safeguard the County's environment. Concern about the adverse effects of continuing high building rates was a feature of the public response to the two Structure Plan Review consultation exercises.

Accordingly, the submitted Replacement Plan proposes only limited amounts of additional housing land for longer term development, whilst certain developments which had previously been accepted by the County Council (in N.E. and N.W. Bracknell) are to be reduced in scale.

By these means the Council is aiming to achieve a phased reduction in housing development over the next decade. Controlling development in this way can also assist regional policies to revitalise older urban areas and to steer development to less favoured parts of the South East, particularly areas to the east of London, and to other parts of the Country.

Provision for Future Housebuilding

At March 1985 there were planning permissions outstanding for nearly 16,000 additional houses to be built in the County - equivalent to an increase of about 6% on the existing housing stock. The bulk of this committed additional housing (some 11,300 units) was in the central part of the County. A further 7,500 houses could be built on land where development has been agreed in principle or which has been allocated in the County Council's Replacement Structure Plan proposals. In addition to this specific provision, the policies in the approved and draft Replacement Structure Plans make provision for continuing small site development - through the processes of infilling, rounding-off and redevelopment.

A joint study undertaken by the County and District Councils in conjunction with the Housebuilders Federation (HBF) on land availability for housing in the County was published in August 1985. It concluded that at April 1984 there was a 5 year supply of housing land in both the West and East Berkshire in accordance with the provisions of the two approved Structure Plans. In Central Berkshire the HBF disagreed with the local authorities' view that there was a 5 year supply. The County Council has updated the assessment to April 1985 and considers a 5 year supply still exists throughout Berkshire.

Development Pressures Continue

Berkshire is a popular place to live because of its employment opportunities, attractive environment and excellent communications. The resulting pressures for housing development are particularly concentrated in the Wokingham and Bracknell Districts. In recent months public inquiries have been held concerning proposed housing development

at Plough Lane and Keephatch Farm in north Wokingham; Shipnells Farm, Reading; and Jined Lane, Warfield, which in total involve some 1500 houses. In addition, there are a number of public inquiries still to be held concerning proposals for the development of some 4,100 houses on land to the north of Bracknell.

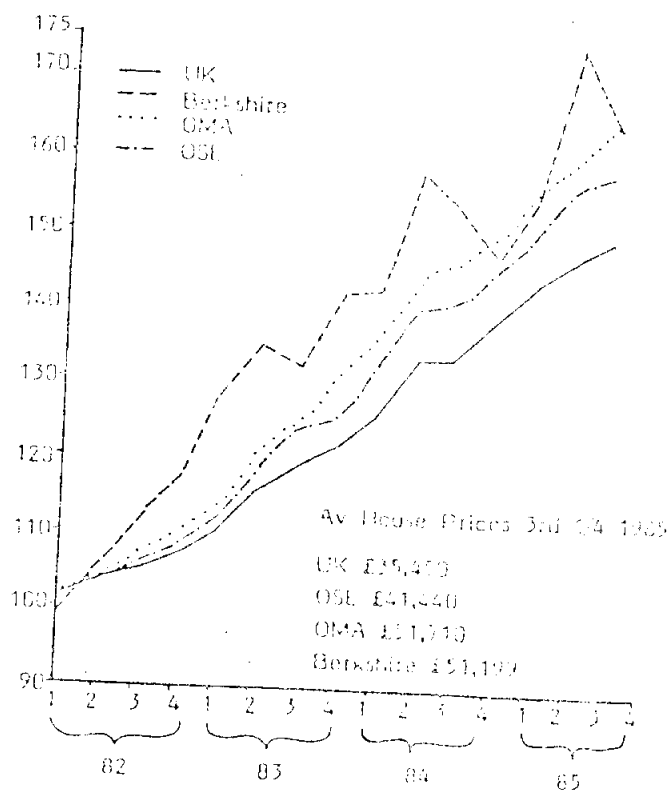
In addition, there are a number of other major proposals which have been refused planning permission and some of these could result in additional planning appeals in the near future.

The extent to which housing pressures are associated with the movement of people into the County for new jobs is being investigated further. The Planning Department has undertaken a survey of the occupants of new housing in the County and the results are currently being analysed.

House Prices

The demand for housing is also reflected by the level of house prices. These are significantly above the national average and are similar to those in the outer Metropolitan Area (which comprises the inner part of the S.E. Region encircling Greater London). The average house price in Berkshire in Autumn 1985 was some £51,000, whilst the average mortgage advance to first-time buyers in the county was some £10,700.

Fig 2 Indices of average house prices in Berks.
The South East & UK 1981-1985
(1st quarter 1981 = 100)



Contacts for housing information
Steve France (ext. 4954) and Graham Ashworth (ext. 4951)

EMPLOYMENT & INDUSTRY

Changing Employment Structure

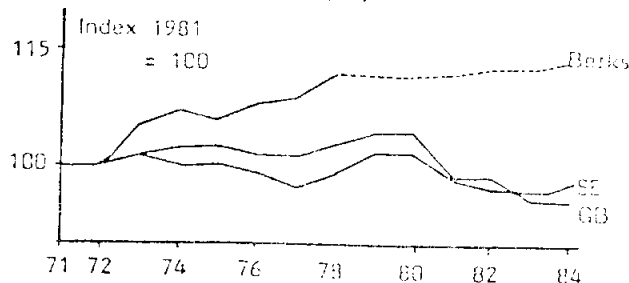
Although the effects of the recession and national economic trends continue to be felt in Berkshire, the number of jobs available is increasing steadily again. Among the main changes occurring is the replacement of old production industries by white collar and new technology-based activities.

Employment Trends

In the period 1981-84, the number of jobs in the County increased by some 10,000 to reach a total of some 325,000. This rate of growth was considerably better than the national and regional averages (Figure 3). Most of the growth has been in Central Berkshire, whereas in East Berkshire job gains and losses have been about equal. Growth has also been concentrated in just a few sectors of the local economy, the main ones being;

- * private sector offices, including insurance, banking and other business services;
- * high technology industries such as electronics and computing. (The County now has some 30,000 jobs in these industries).
- * retail, restaurants, hotels and related services.

Fig 3 Employees in Employment



The Importance of New Firms

Most of the latest information on employment change in Berkshire comes from a survey carried out by the County Planning Department in 1984. This showed that much of the employment growth is due to new firms starting up in Berkshire. Over a quarter of the firms covered by the survey were less than 5 years old.

Berkshire is largely dependent on new firms to maintain and increase employment levels since substantial job losses are occurring among many of the older established companies. Firms surveyed in 1981 and again in 1984 reported that they had shed 8% of their jobs in the 3 years. Losses were greatest among manufacturing companies and older businesses, and were particularly serious in the Slough area.

Changing Skill Requirements

The growth of new firms, together with the loss of jobs among older firms, is changing the type of employment available in the County. In particular, non-manual and more highly skilled jobs are on the

increase at the expense of unskilled and manual work. About half of the County's jobs were manual in 1971, but this had declined to 42% in 1984. (Figure 4).

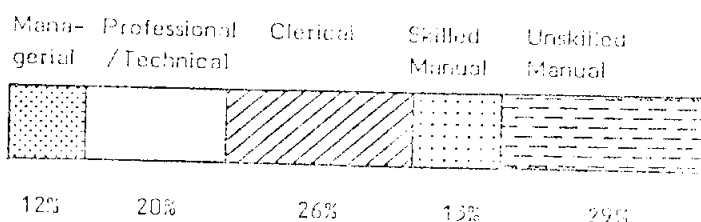


Fig 4 Skill Structure of Jobs in Berkshire firms 1984

A similar picture is shown by the type of vacancies reported by firms responding to the 1984 survey. 31% were for manual workers while 44% were for managerial, professional and technical jobs (Figure 5). Almost a third of the vacancies were in electronics firms, reflecting both the fast growth of this sector and the difficulties experienced in recruiting skilled staff.

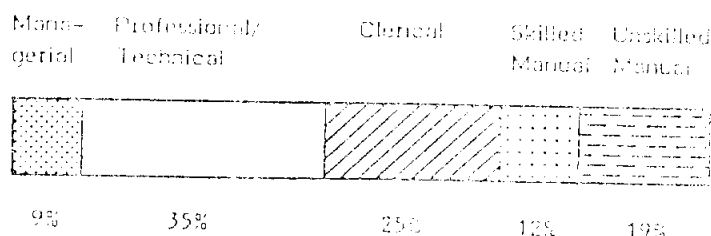


Fig 5 Skill Structure of Vacancies in Berkshire 1984

An increasing mismatch is occurring between the skills required and those available locally among job seekers. This emphasises the importance of both short and long-term initiatives for tackling skill shortages, involving education, training and retraining measures.

Unemployment

In spite of skill shortage problems, unemployment continues to cause concern. In December 1985 over 22,700 people were claiming benefit - an official rate of 7.2% which was almost the same as the previous year. The official published figures suggest that unemployment is fairly uniform across the County (slightly lower in the Slough area) but mask significant local concentrations. In Reading Borough, for example, (Fig. 6) unemployment among residents is estimated unofficially at 11.0%; about twice as high as in neighbouring Newbury and Wokingham districts. This is below the 11% unemployment rate (13.2%) but above that of the South East as a whole (9.2%).

HIGH TECHNOLOGY INDUSTRIES IN BERKSHIRE AND THEIR PREMISES REQUIREMENTS

- 1.1 The County Planning Department has undertaken surveys of Berkshire's employers in 1981 and 1984.¹ The objectives of the surveys have included examining the employment changes taking place and looking at the likely future demand for new premises.
 - 1.2 The surveys have also identified firms involved in the electronics sector, including software production. The growth of such firms and their requirements for premises have been examined with particular interest by the Planning Department.
 - 1.3 The use of the term 'high technology' in this report refers to firms involved in the provision of electronics products and services.
2. The Size of the High Technology Sector
- 2.1 Currently the County has some 500 firms in the high technology industries. These provide about 30,000 jobs, accounting for 10% of Berkshire's total employment. Almost half the high technology employment is in manufacturing companies operating from industrial premises. Next in importance are free-standing office premises which accommodate a third of high technology jobs, including workers engaged in software production, research work and the sale and marketing of electronic products. Most of the remaining jobs are based in industrial and warehousing premises, involving non-manufacturing activities such as wholesale distribution and servicing, research and development, and software production.
 - 2.2 Many of the high technology companies are small or medium in size. About a third employ less than 10 people and a further third employ 10-24 people. Just over a quarter of the firms have 25-99 employees while only about 10% employ more than 100 staff.
 - 2.3 The town with the highest amount of high technology employment in Berkshire is Bracknell (9,000 jobs) followed by Reading and Slough (with 6,000 jobs

1. Berkshire County Council: 'Report of the 1981 Survey of Employers', published June 1982 price £2.50.
A report on the 1984 Survey is due to be published later this year.

each). In terms of the number of firms however, all the County's towns are well-represented, with Reading, Slough, Maidenhead, Windsor and Wokingham particularly prominent.

3. The Growth of High Technology

3.1 The high technology sector over the last few years has displayed strong growth in Berkshire. The number of jobs in this sector has increased by about 30% in 3 years. Also many of the firms are newly established. Half have been set up in the County for 5 years or less and three-quarters for 10 years or less. In part this reflects the substantial number of companies starting up here for the first time. Figure 1 shows that over half the firms established in the last 5 years were completely new, with no previous location outside Berkshire. Most of the rest had moved relatively short distances, with previous locations in London and the counties surrounding Berkshire. Other sources of firms included companies with their headquarters outside the UK and, in some cases, these multinational companies were also involved in moves to Berkshire from premises previously established in surrounding areas.

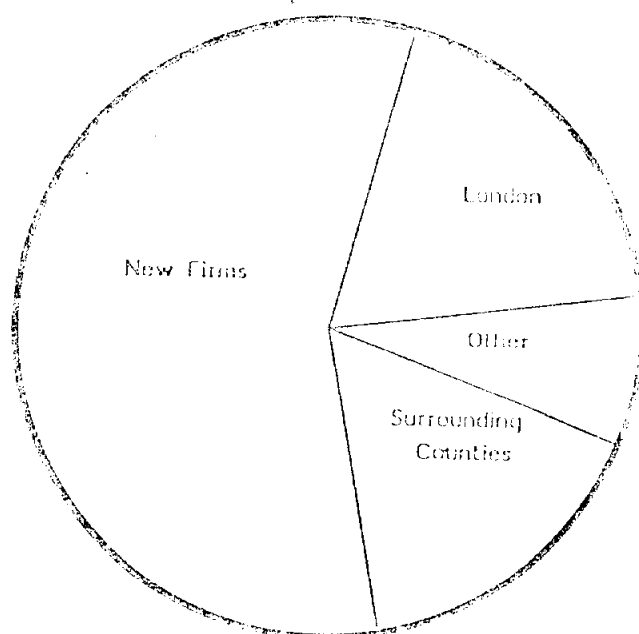


Fig. 1 PREVIOUS LOCATION OF FIRMS
SETTING UP IN BERKSHIRE

- 3.2 About a quarter of Berkshire's high technology firms have their headquarters outside the UK, while a fifth have their headquarters elsewhere in the UK. The majority of firms however either have no other premises outside Berkshire or else have their headquarters in the County.

4 Future Growth Prospects

- 4.1 The setting up of new firms together with the movement of companies into Berkshire appears to be a well-established trend which is likely to be maintained, at least for the immediate future. In addition, employment growth is also likely to continue to occur as a result of the expansion of firms already in the County. The presence of a wide range of small and medium-sized companies in particular suggests a strong potential for growth.
- 4.2 Replies to the County Council survey indicate that 60% of the high technology firms anticipate a requirement for new premises in the next 3 years. This proportion is split equally between firms wishing to find additional premises but retain their present site, and those looking to move from their present site to new accommodation.
- 4.3 The growth potential of high technology firms is much stronger than the average for all sectors. Figure 2 compares electronics firms' premises requirements with those for all firms covered by the survey.

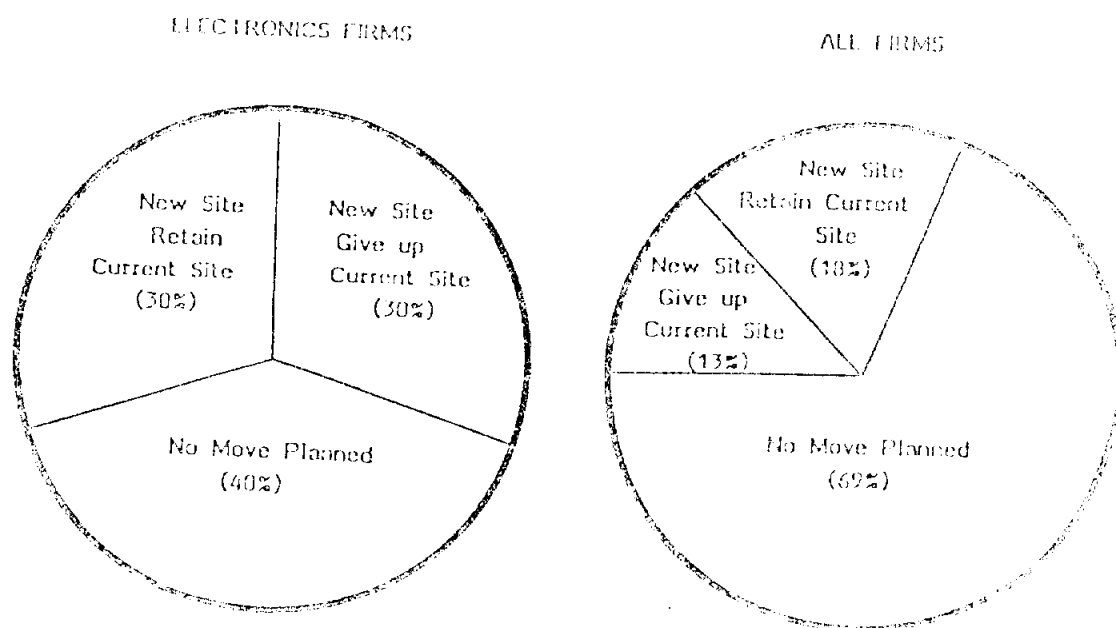


Fig. 2 MOVING INTENTIONS OF BERKSHIRE FIRMS

- 4.4 Most of the locally established high technology firms who will be looking for new accommodation in the next few years say that they hope to find premises reasonably close to their present site. Figure 3 shows that over 80% will be seeking premises within Berkshire, 60% actually specifying that they wish to find accommodation in the town they are in now.

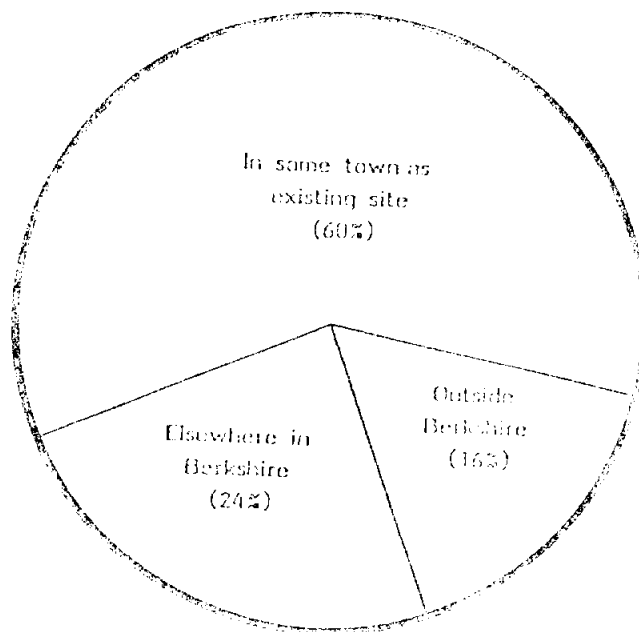


Fig. 3 WHERE BERKSHIRE FIRMS ARE LOOKING FOR NEW SITES

- 4.5 The main reason given for not wanting to move far is usually in order to retain their existing skilled workforce.

5. Type of Premises Required

- 5.1 The survey replies from the firms presently in Berkshire show that similar proportions of firms of all sizes will be seeking premises over the next few years. Demand is therefore spread over a whole range of building size from small units of under 1,000 sq ft to large premises over 50,000 sq ft. This general picture is reflected particularly in the demand for manufacturing premises. However, requirements for warehousing and office premises tend to be stronger for units of under 10,000 sq ft.

5.2 Almost half the electronics firms said they will want at least 45% of office space within the new buildings. There were also significant proportions wanting a smaller office content however, indicating that there is likely to be a diversity of demand. Figure 4 compares the office requirements of electronics firms with those for other sectors, where a more traditional pattern of 10-20% ancillary office content still strongly predominates.

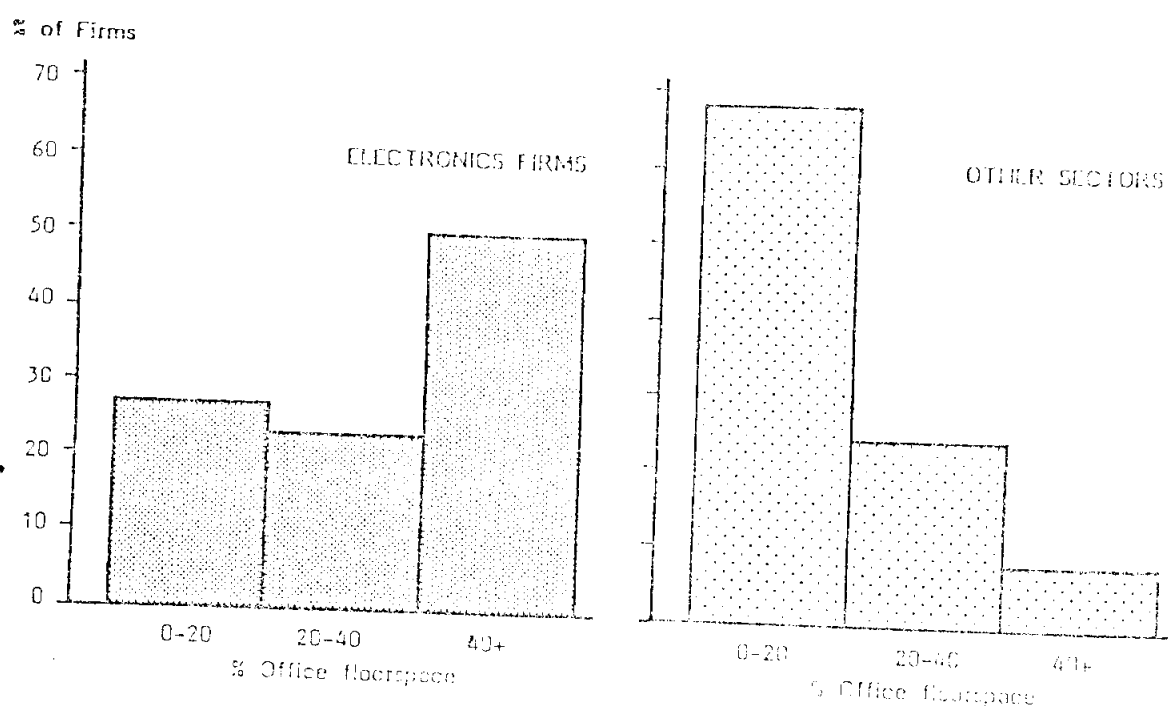


Fig. 4 PERCENTAGE OF OFFICE FLOORSPEACE REQUIRED IN INDUSTRIAL PREMISES

5.3 Premises requirements reflect in part the differences in the mix of skills employed by electronics firms as compared with other sectors. The details are shown in Figures 5 and 6. In particular, the electronics sector employs twice the average proportion of professional and technical staff, but only half the average proportion of manual workers.

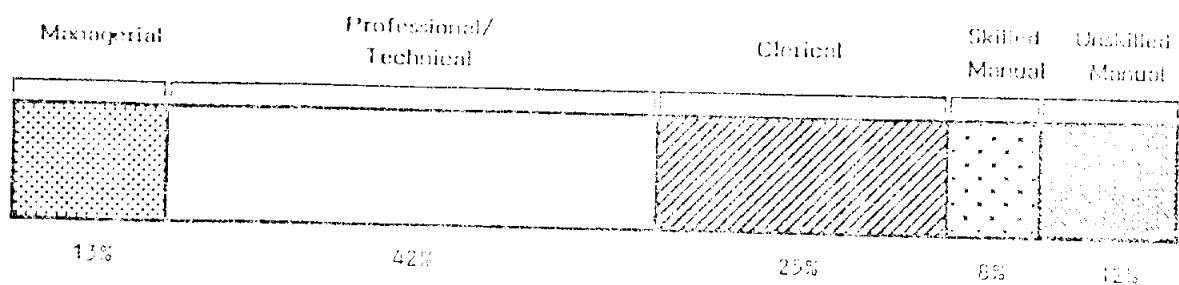


Fig. 5 SKILL STRUCTURE OF JOBS IN ELECTRONICS FIRMS

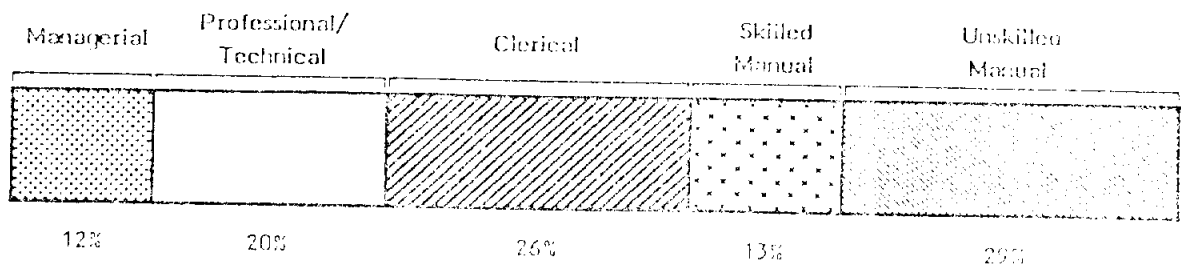


Fig. 6 SKILL STRUCTURE OF JOBS IN BERKSHIRE FIRMS

6. Local Difficulties Experienced by High Technology Firms

6.1 Various difficulties affecting their operation in Berkshire were reported by high technology firms. Figure 7 shows that generally a higher proportion of electronics firms experienced these difficulties than the average for all sectors.

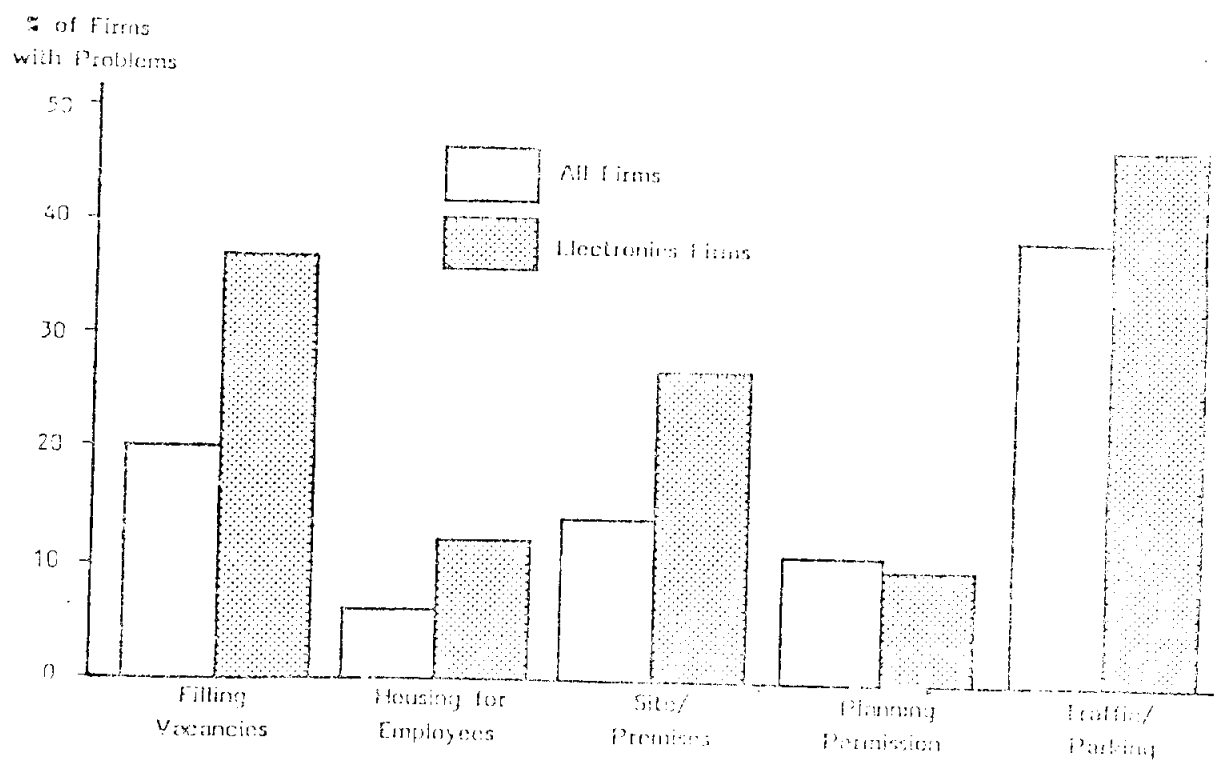


Fig. 7 PROBLEMS EXPERIENCED BY FIRMS

CITY DISCOVERY CENTRE

Incorporating:

Bradwell Abbey Field Centre, Bradwell Abbey,
Milton Keynes, MK13 9AP Telephone 0908 310527
Milton Keynes Urban Studies Centre, 106 Tanners Drive,
Blakelands, Milton Keynes, MK14 5BP Telephone 0908 618751

THE DESIGNATION OF MILTON KEYNES

Milton Keynes is one of the last and largest of the 32 UK new towns built since the New Towns Act of 1946. It was designated in 1967 and has several locational advantages: a largely greenfield site, access to national markets and good communications. A Development Corporation (MDC) was set up with the task of building a city to accommodate up to 250,000 (since reduced to 120-200,000) in 22,000 acres over a period of about 25 years. This was much larger than most existing new towns. 40,000 people were already living in the area, mainly in: Bletchley, developed as a railway and brick-making town and expanded under the Town Development Act of 1952; Stony Stratford, an old coaching town; Wolverton, a new town of the 19th century developed for the railway. There were also 13 villages, the name of one being given to the new city.

THE PLAN FOR MILTON KEYNES

MDC appointed consultants who produced a plan closely reflecting thought in the late 1950s. Full employment, cheap energy, and increasing affluence and social aspirations demanded accommodation for the motor car and increased living and leisure space, with at the same time an emphasis on conservation and good landscape design. Flexibility, freedom of choice and variety were major themes.

TRANSPORT

The grid road pattern (currently over 90km) is a consequence of the decision to plan for a future affluence, with a high level of car use, and attempts to segregate traffic from pedestrians as much as possible. Traffic generating land uses (employment, shopping etc) are spread through the city and are loaded fairly evenly on the grid roads at about 1km intervals. Grid roads are not intended for cycle or pedestrian use and do not have urban speed limits. All functions have roundabouts except in the city centre where there are lights. Landscaped and planted banks shield people and buildings from traffic noise and fumes, and the trees will eventually transform the appearance of the roads. The inner local roads are much smaller with a 30mph speed limit for the local traffic. The Redbus system (3 metre wide, red tarmac) currently extends for over 140 km and is designed for pedestrians and cyclists. It crosses grid roads by underground or footbridge, but local roads at the same level marked by yellow bollards. It has been criticised by cyclists along others for blind corners, steep inclines and lack of strategic routes. Public transport: British Rail has three stations; the bus service until deregulation ran at mainly half hourly intervals along the grid roads, but now uses mostly 20 second Street Circuit running inside grid squares at much greater frequencies, although many difficulties have been experienced.

Employment areas for factories, warehouses and offices are widely dispersed in about 30 grid squares. WADC has provided a range of AFUs (Advance Factory Units) to cater for smaller starter businesses, medium and large size firms. These very flexible units are basic serviced shells, fitting out being done by the tenant. They have been successful in attracting and generating employment because they can offer good location and communications, an attractive environment and room to expand. Two major features of the work situation are that over 90% of all companies employ less than 20 people each, and that the field of high technology is becoming increasingly important with well over 150 companies involved. Firms requiring large facilities often buy a site and develop it themselves. This is particularly true of multi-nationals (over 200) who base their UK/European HQ here, or select UK as their distribution/administration centre. There are no financial incentives or grants.

Despite the goals for variety in housing design and a 50/50 mix of public and private housing the early 70s saw several large single design public rental schemes in MK some of which were system built. Some of the reasons for this were: a need to get the city started quickly, a national shortage of bricks, MK's reputation as a design leader which encouraged architects to use the current fashions. From the mid 70s onwards housing design tended to revert to more traditional methods and materials and was much more varied. In the 1980s the Government began to make it virtually impossible to build public rental housing (which at its peak had reached over 2,000 pa) except for special need. As an alternative MKCT turned to shared ownership, a system whereby the occupant buys a percentage of the value of the house through a mortgage/loan and rents the remainder, with the option to purchase further shares later. The scheme ran at about 700 a year (about a 1/3 total), with some very innovative schemes. With the withdrawal of public money this has now been taken over directly by MK Housing Association, a joint development by MKCT and housing building.

the printing industry sector was very slow to adjust in the 1980s and the 1990s. The exhibition was promoted by KIC to attract attention to increasing international and encouraging innovation and creativity. As to 1990s, private sector houses are not better built, each year, especially selling at 35-380,000. Building is now underway on the street market, retail, and homes.

their board analyzes (1) the
the industry's special accommodation for young and severely disabled people (let
ation done by housing associations).

use to come to the building. The building has a north access to adjacent and nearby streets and is located in the least part in the shopping district. The only great in size range of facilities but usually provide shopping, school(s), community/meeting place, and sometimes health center. Public house, church. Can be here so far back built.

Phase 1 is a 600 metre long building being the equivalent of two back-to-back high streets and representing a sub-regional centre. In order to compete with centres at Northampton, Bedford, Oxford, Watford and Brent Cross it was designed to be particularly safe, clean and attractive and has the following features:

- a) 1,100,000 sq ft of retail space in 140 units
- b) free, ground level parking
- c) mirrorglass cladding, 15m high arcades with generous planting, natural lighting, marble floors and seating
- d) a wide range of shop types - departmental, chain and specialist
- e) design for the disabled and a wheelchair loan service
- f) a range of eating and drinking places
- g) first floor level deliveries and storage
- h) a high standard of cleaning and security services
- i) an open area with fountain and seating
- j) a large covered area for displays, exhibitions etc
- k) an open market

On busy Saturdays 80-100,000 people shop here and up to 400,000 a week are needed up to Christmas (60% from outside HK). The building is privately funded and managed with some restrictions on public use.

Phase 2, The Food Centre, is now being built to the south of Phase 1. This will include two food supermarkets, a freezer centre, 11 specialist food shops, a pick & mix food court catering facility, and 4 storey parking.

Such development is still going on in these two and a third and squares now over one third built). Public buildings include the Borough Council Civic Offices, the Central Library and the Inter-city railway station. There are areas of rental housing. The commercial offices are mainly sited in rental funds and business premises, a few exceptions like the National. The main centre in December 1966 offering bars and restaurants, night club/disco, social and bingo hall, and ten cinema screens; it has been highly successful. Opening in 1966/7 is the Central shopping Exchange with two major office blocks, shops, a 164 bed hotel with conference facilities, Burger Court, and Winter Gardens (health club, bar, restaurants, disco/night club).

[illegible]

BLITCHLEY LEISURE CENTRE

This opened in stages between 1973 and 1976 and serves the whole community as well as Blitchley itself, where it forms part of the town improvements along with increased indoor and outdoor facilities (similar improvements were made in Stony Stratford and Wolverton). The facilities include a pool housed in a clear pyramid, a multi-purpose sports hall much used for international events, seven squash courts, snooker room, skittle alley, weight training room, gymnasium with climbing wall, indoor bowling green, sauna, solarium, hairdressing salon, youth club and theatre. There are also outdoor all-weather floodlit sporting areas. These are all served by a multi-storey car park.

LINEAR PARKS, BALANCING LAKES AND LANDSCAPING

A major feature of the city is that about 3,000 acres (13%) has been reserved for parkland. On either side of the central spine are river valleys which drain an area composed mostly of clay. Because of run-off problems flooding has been endemic here and down-stream for centuries and the construction process could have added greatly to this. It was decided to improve the drainage by building lakes to store the storm water, use some of the natural hollows for wet/dry balancing areas, and turn the river valleys into linear parks. The largest lake at Milton in the Ouzel valley shows some of the extra uses that are being made of these lakes: the northern half is reserved for wildlife, while the southern half is for water sports with a complex of hotel (already being extended), bar, restaurant and other sports centre. It is mostly surrounded by parkland with leisure paths, picnic and play areas, and a Peace Pagoda and temple built by Buddhist monks. Cumbrell Park extends from Central MK to join the parkland around the lake, and is being developed in a more urban way than the linear parks (open air theatre, gardens etc). In the Icknought valley is MK Bowl - an artificial grass pitch theatre made with spoil from construction sites - used for festivals, pop concerts, fairs, sports etc which can hold 50,000 people. Gardens surrounding it will also give the development of MK generally, and the area between grid squares, with over 10 million trees and bushes so far. This has greatly transformed the appearance of the city and will do so even more as it grows to be bigger than the buildings.

CONSERVATION

Just as the balancing system has helped to conserve and improve the river valleys, so the building of the new city has been instrumental in revealing and saving the past. Builders and archaeologists have discovered fossil remains such as an iron-age, and evidence of previous settlements like the Roman villa, whilst other more recent buildings have been conserved and improved such as Barchell Abbey.

SPECIAL FEATURES

These are designed to give identity and pleasure, and include the famous Cornish cows, a dinosaur, abstract sculpture, murals etc. There are now over 35.

Coach tour will include the following points:

17-22, 26-29, 33-47 and 50.

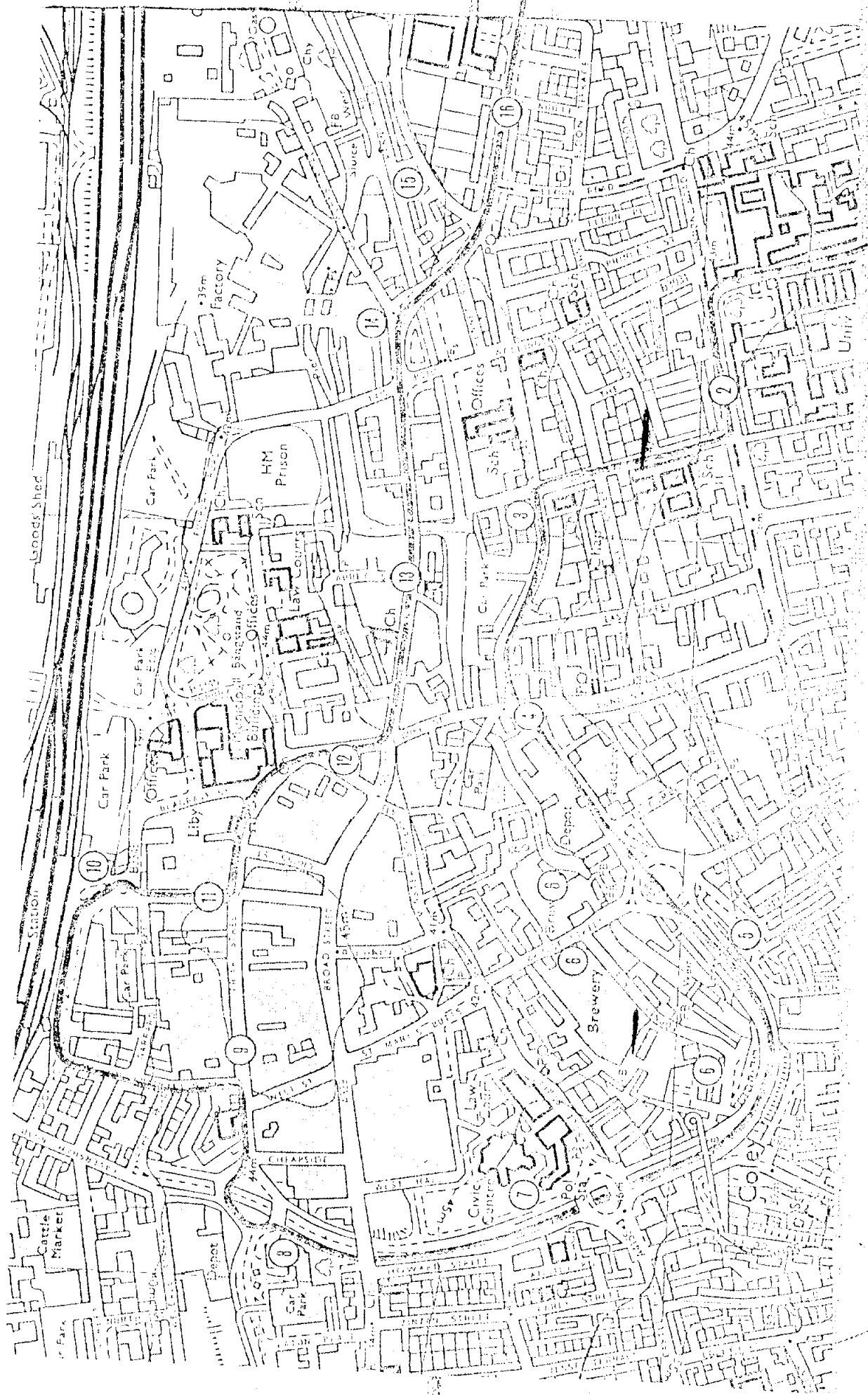
If time permits.

TOWN CENTRE AND
SUBURBAN READING.

Points of Interest

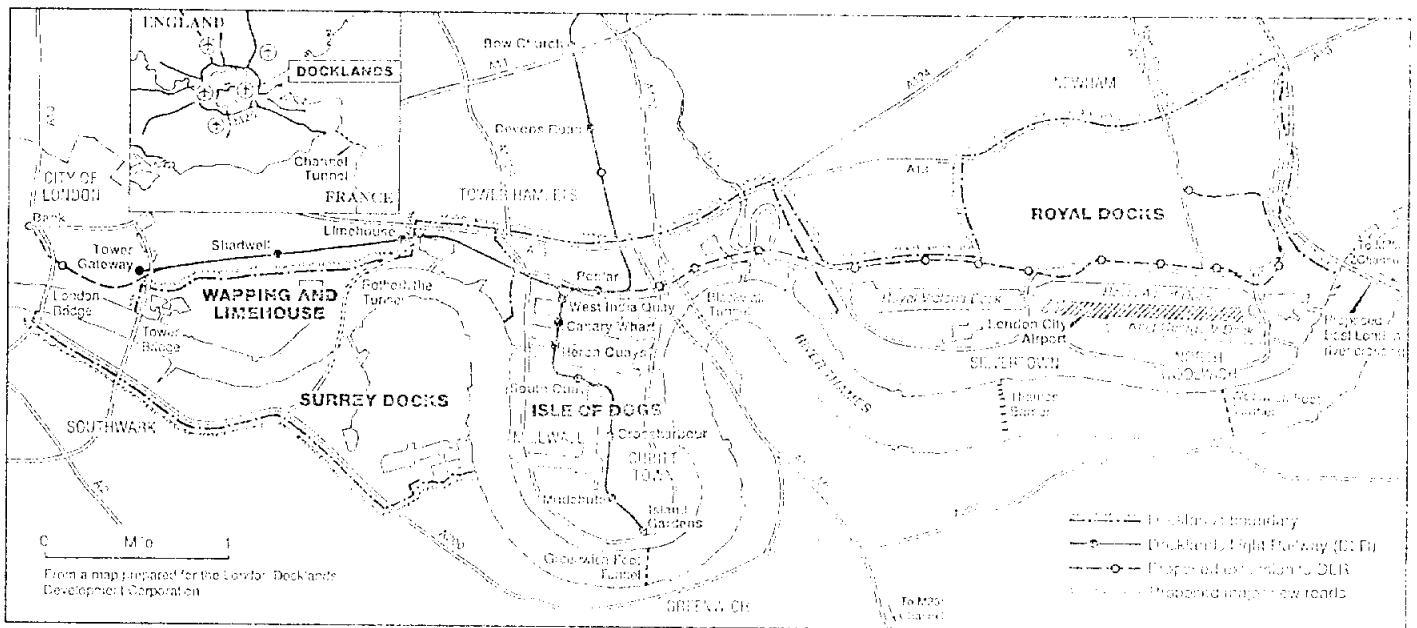
1. Royal Berkshire Hospital and University Halls - expansion into residential areas.
2. University and Albion Terrace - historic buildings, a C19 suburb.
3. Reading office sector - vacant land and new offices.
4. Inner Distribution Road - planned in 1966, recently extended flyover
5. Katesgrove - Victorian suburb with new 'in character' housing.
6. Courage Site - old brewery site undergoing redevelopment.
7. Civic Centre (Hexagon, Civic Offices, Police, Hotel) a 1964-1984 redevelopment.
8. Chatham Street - a typical 60's redevelopment.
9. Friar Street Shopping - a typical shopping street.
10. Reading Station Redevelopment - a rail, bus interchange and offices.
11. Station Road and Queen Victoria Street - Edwardian architecture.
12. Market Place - the old heart of Reading, now improved.
13. Kings Road office corridor - a succession of major offices.
14. Huntley & Palmers - a remnant of an industrial past.
15. Council Housing redevelopment along canal - a mid 70's scheme.
16. Kings Road offices and conservation - insurance companies.
17. Wokingham Road - 1900's Reading.
18. Earley - the Edwardian suburb.
19. Outer Earley - the 1930's suburb.
20. Lower Earley - the 1980's suburb the largest housing estate in Western Europe, part of Wokingham D.C.
21. The ASDA shopping centre - a hypermarket.
22. Typical contemporary housing - house sizes, prices, designs.
23. The Winnersh Triangle Industrial Development for hi-tech uses etc.

24. Woodley - a fifties suburb but in Wokingham D.C.
25. Woodley Shopping Centre - a pedestrianisation scheme.
26. Woodley Industrial Area - new factory units on an old airfield.
27. Sonning Farm - the University's intensive dairy farm.
28. Sonning Village and River Thames - a walk around a conservation village.
29. Caversham Park Village - a sixties suburb.
30. Sonning Common - a typical dormitory settlement of the post-war era.
31. Kidmore End - an old village full of Reading commuters.
32. The northern edge of Reading - the sharp edge : agriculture vs urbanism.
33. Caversham Heights - the richest and leafiest part of Reading.
34. Caversham Bridge - a historic crossing.
35. Richfield Avenue - industrial and leisure developments.
36. Oxford Road - a typical inner city shopping strip. Note traffic management.
37. Dee Road Estate - 60's system built public housing.
38. The Meadway - 50's council housing.
39. Meadway Shopping Centre - new investments in an old shopping parade.
40. Southcote - 50's council estate with tower blocks.
41. Calcot - Beansheaf Farm - new housing in vernacular style.
42. Sava Centre - another hypermarket, this time in Newbury D.C.
43. Theale Industrial Area - new units and large scale industry.
44. Theale suburban village - a ribbon village now a suburb.
45. Knight's Farm/Kirton's farm - gravel pits for private recreation.
46. Great Lea - proposals for a new town here by private developers.
47. Courage Brewery.
48. Worton Grange Industrial development - warehousing or industry?
49. Whitley Industrial Estate - a thirties estate in transition.
50. Whitley Council Estate - Reading's largest public housing area 1920-1930.





LONDON DOCKLANDS



Where derelict land is a greenfield site

If Docklands was simply the largest urban renewal scheme in Europe it would just be a biggish story. What makes it fascinating is the way the gear-changes to the new Britain have happened there without lubrication—the decline of local democracy, the internationalisation of the economy, the death of old industries, the birth of new ones. Can the pushy confidence survive the stockmarket crash and the opposition of local people?

THE last of London's upstream docks closed in 1981: the port of London is now more than 20 miles by river from Tower Bridge. The ships left an area of over eight square miles, with 55 miles of waterfront and about 40,000 people. Much of the land was derelict; 20,000 jobs had gone in ten years. In 1981 the male unemployment rate in Newham, Tower Hamlets and Southwark—the three London boroughs within whose boundaries the docks lie—was, at 22%, about twice the national average. In the areas abutting the docks, more than 90% of households rented accommodation from a local authority. Close by some of the world's most expensive land in the City of London, property in Docklands was worthless.

The urge to "do something" in Docklands has spawned schemes for 30 years. They were public-sector led, but the boroughs were not able to generate the kind of cash required to clean the land up for later business investment. At times, London's policies got in the way.

East London has voted Labour at least

since George Lansbury (who later became leader of the party) went to prison with his colleagues on Poplar council in 1921 for using the rates to help the poor. Some of Lansbury's successors were opposed to investment by big business, and hankered for the area's old communal sort of economic development where the docks and small manufacturing and service firms provided mutual support.

In 1980 Mrs Thatcher's first government changed tack. It set up the London Docklands Development Corporation (LDDC), an unelected body, to oversee urban renewal. The power of this quango rests on two pillars. First, it can buy and sell land, receiving a grant-in-aid each year from central government to do so. About £300m (\$525m) of public money has been committed so far. The LDDC uses the money to clean up the land, but the big profits go to those who then develop it. Second, the LDDC (not the elected councils of the boroughs) is the planning authority for the area. It is the unelected body that says what activities may

take place where; what buildings, in what shape, may be constructed. Conversely, it has no duty to provide either housing or education, as local authorities do.

The new City

Most of the business movement that the LDDC is leveraging into Docklands is for financial services. True, some light manufacturing will occur in the Surrey and Royal Docks, and most of Britain's national newspapers are now printed in Docklands. But these plants will be dwarfed by office and commercial development. As of November 1987 Knight Frank & Rutley, an estate agent, counted nearly 3.2 million square feet of offices planned or under construction in the development area, compared with a mere 250m square feet dedicated to industrial or warehousing use.

The bulk of the early development is centred on the Isle of Dogs, the U-shaped area almost enclosed by a meander of the Thames. The Isle of Dogs is an enterprise zone as well as part of the area of the LDDC. This means that its planning regime is even more liberal (ie, virtually non-existent) and that developments there are free of rates (property taxes) until 1992.

The big boys, many of them foreign, did not move in until the unveiling of plans for Canary Wharf, a strip of land running across the West India docks. In 1985 development of 12m square feet of the site was proposed by a consortium in which the main partners were two banks—Credit Suisse First Boston (CSFB) and Morgan Stanley—and the company of an American property developer, Mr Gough Wate Travelstead. Their plan called for three towers more than 800 feet

LAND AVAILABILITY FOR NEW HOUSING IN LONDON

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2.10. THE HOUSING PROBLEM.

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2.12. Housing Sub-Types.

2.13. Urban Housing Condition of London, 1981.

2.20. CONTEXT AND DESCRIPTION.

2.21. Recent Central Government Policy.

2.22. Current Housing Policy in London.

2.23. Urban Development in the House of Lords Federation.

2.30. ANALYSIS.

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2.32. Housing Provision Estimates.

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2.34. Housing Land for Housing.

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2.38. Identifying the Potential for Housing Investigation in Housing.

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Land Availability for New Housing in London.

2.00. Introduction.

2.01. This section examines political housing policy for Greater London. The major issue to be considered is "land availability for new housing", the condition of, and policy for, existing housing stock is discussed only in so far as evidence of its rapid deterioration implies more pressure on the demand for further land for new housing. The London Borough Councils (LBCs) are already the primary housing authorities for the area and on 1 April 1985, all remaining LBCs will be transferred to the appropriate boroughs. This paper is concerned with identifying the dimensions of the housing problem in Greater London as it relates to land availability for new housing and proposing clear policy recommendations for implementation by the borough planning departments.

2.02. This discussion will take the form of four sections in addition to this introduction. The first section (2.10) examines the "housing problem" in Greater London with particular reference to housing and planning. The housing problem and the deteriorating condition of much of London's stock. The second section (2.20) deals with the housing context of housing in London and describes recent central government policy and planning policies (as implemented) and the centrally co-ordinated system of studies by the HRA. The third section (2.30) is an analysis of the issues raised in the previous section, concentrating on three particular questions: identifying suitable land for housing, bringing this land forward for development and maintaining the potential for private investment. The final section (2.42) summarizes the recommendations resulting from the analysis.

2.03. In addition to addressing particular planning issues in relation to housing provision, the analysis will also consider the resources by which identified objectives can be achieved and the "time scale" in which they might be implemented.

2.10. The Housing Problem in London.

2.11. Housing and Population.

2.11.1. London's population has been falling for more than a century. In 1851 it was 2,500,000 and fell to 2,400,000 in 1951. It fell to 2,300,000 in 1961, 2,200,000 in 1971, 2,100,000 in 1981, 2,000,000 in 1991, 1,900,000 in 2001, 1,800,000 in 2011, 1,700,000 in 2021, 1,600,000 in 2031, 1,500,000 in 2041, 1,400,000 in 2051, 1,300,000 in 2061, 1,200,000 in 2071, 1,100,000 in 2081, 1,000,000 in 2091, 900,000 in 2101. The population of London has been falling for more than a century. In 1851 it was 2,500,000 and fell to 2,400,000 in 1951. It fell to 2,300,000 in 1961, 2,200,000 in 1971, 2,100,000 in 1981, 2,000,000 in 1991, 1,900,000 in 2001, 1,800,000 in 2011, 1,700,000 in 2021, 1,600,000 in 2031, 1,500,000 in 2041, 1,400,000 in 2051, 1,300,000 in 2061, 1,200,000 in 2071, 1,100,000 in 2081, 1,000,000 in 2091, 900,000 in 2101.

from borough to borough and from place to place within some boroughs. But "housing stress" is most heavily concentrated in a study inner London boroughs:

Islington	Islington	Waltham to
London	Islington	Waltham
Redditch	Islington	Waltham
Tower Hamlets	Islington	Waltham
Harrow	Islington	Waltham

2.20 CONTEXT AND DESCRIPTION

This section looks at land availability for new housing, in the light of central government policy, existing planning strategies and views of independent housebuilder organizations.

2.21 Recent Central Government Policy

2.21.1 Central government's concern with housing land availability has been a consistent feature of the planning debate since 1947. Over the last twenty years, successive governments have been concerned to ensure that nationally there should be an adequate supply of land for housing.

2.21.2 In terms of current policy the extent statements of policy aimed at ensuring a steady supply of land for housebuilding are to be found in DoE circulars 9/80, 22/80, and 15/84.

2.21.3 DoE Circular 9/80 "Land for Private Housebuilding" urged local authorities to set up local land availability studies to ensure that sufficient land was available to meet anticipated requirements over a five-year period. This five year supply of land was to be maintained at all times for private housebuilding. It was argued that

"the amount and location of land required to make up that supply should be derived from the housing policies and proposals in approved Structure and Local Plans."

In addition, the identified land should be "genuinely available" being free or easily freed from planning, physical or ownership constraints and must also be capable of being economically developed. Any authority approached by housebuilders should cooperate with them in preparing jointly site specific assessments of the land available for building.

2.21.4 DoE Circular 22/80 contained more specific advice to local authorities on planning policies to handle applications for private sector housebuilding. It asks local planning authorities to ensure that their planning policies and practices create the right conditions to enable the housebuilding industry to meet the need for new housing. Annex A of the circular sets out policy to be followed in handling planning applications. Of particular importance is paragraph three on policy in the absence of an identified supply of land:

"In the absence of an identified five year supply, there should be a presumption in favour of granting permission for housing except where there are clear planning objections which in the circumstances of the case outweigh the need to make land available for housing." (para. 3)

Such exceptions might include for example, the fact that the land was in a green belt or that essential infrastructure was absent, or, inadequate. However paragraph nine states:-

"In preference to a refusal on the grounds that infrastructure is lacking, it is better to consider whether the problem can be solved by an agreement with the developer under 5.52 of the 1971 Act." (para. 9)

2.21.5. Def. Circular 15/84 "Land for Housing" regulates the policy set out in 9/80 and 22/80 making new statements of national policy to consider. It states that the government wishes to encourage home ownership and the supply of new homes for sale is an essential part of this policy. In addition, the circular notes that government has set no limits on private sector housebuilding.

2.21.6 The circular stresses that the planning system (both in processing planning applications and in the preparation of structure and local plans) should cater effectively for the demand for private sector housebuilding, that there should be an adequate supply of land available to meet that demand, but that the aim is to accommodate the necessary development in ways that protect amenity and ensure economy and efficiency in the use of land. ie. there are two objectives to reconcile: an adequate five year supply of land available for housing and the maintenance of well established conservation policies, eg. Def circular 14/84 reaffirms government commitment to Green belts and a general presumption against "inappropriate" development within them. 15/84 suggests:-

"the best means of protecting valuable amenity land is to ensure an acceptable choice of available sites." (para 3)

2.21.7 In meeting these requirements for new housing, the circular argues:-

"full and effective use must be made of land within existing urban areas." (para 4)

2.21.8 Opportunities from conversion, improvement, re-development, bringing into use neglected unused or derelict land should be taken up. Urban Development Grant (UDG) and Derelict Land Grant (DLG) should be used to help make sites available. 5.9% of the local government planning and land act 1980 also provides for the registration of under used and vacant publicly owned land for future use.

2.21.9 However, despite the emphasis on "urban regeneration", the circular concedes that:-

"most new housing will continue to be on new sites", (para 5)

and therefore,

"the planning system must continue to identify, bring forward and permit development of sufficient new land for housing". (para 6)

2.21.10 Land availability studies (introduced by 9/80) are continued to be encouraged:-

"they bring together the housebuilding assessment of market demand and the development potential of particular sites." (para 10)

Annex B, of the circular contains advice on the preparation of such studies and local authorities are asked to adopt the method described so that results of studies are comparable.

2.21.11 The circular recognizes that factors affecting

the availability of sites for housing in Greater London are more complex and the circular 9/80 system less appropriate where a greater proportion of housing is through conversion and re-development. However, local authorities in London are asked to have regard to the objectives of the circular and to co-operate with builders in the preparation of studies as above.

2.21.12 The circular concludes by making the point that such policies and objectives will be material considerations in the determination of planning appeals by the Secretary of State for the Environment.

2.22 Current GLC Housing Policy in London

2.22.1 Since 1965, the GLC has been the strategic planning authority for Greater London. The 1976 approved Greater London Development Plan (GLDP) contains what is officially the GLC's housing policy, despite the proposed alterations to the GLDP which its own planning committee approved in 1984.

2.22.2 The approved GLDP's section on "Population and Housing" (section 3) contains general statements on the housing problem and advice to London borough councils on how they should tackle the problem. Its main concern is with educating poor conditions in the existing stock of housing supporting greater opportunity should be given to create opportunities to play its part and help reduce the burden on public finances. It defines housing problem areas in the North, South, East and Western parts of inner London and states that these areas are the "high priority" areas of greatest need. It identifies a need to reduce the strain on older urban areas, calling for "a gradual redistribution of population" in order to reduce excessive densities, as planned development policy. In terms of policy for new development it states:-

"development scheme throughout London should provide an acceptable level of housing as a good standard of environment will allow...and avoid underdevelopment." (para. 3.15)

2.22.3 The plan suggests London boroughs should be able to provide the needed land within present limits. For the purposes of the plan, it quotes are not translated into a housing requirement figure. The plan's strength was in establishing a monitoring system to enable it to review the impact and policy implications not only in London, but on a regional basis, for a comprehensive picture for the whole South East region.

2.22.4 In terms of land availability, the new housing for approved GLDP contained no housing provision figure which to compare availability of land. The proposed alterations to the GLDP do, however, contain an assessment of housing need which can be used for comparison with the likely housing supply. The proposed alterations contain a much more ambitious set of housing policies than the previous plan does, aiming at providing 20,000 dwellings in

the ten year period 1983-1992 (policy ring 2). It also provides housing provision figures to be incorporated in the local plans of each London borough (policy ring 3 - Table 2.2). The policy ring figure is based upon an assessment of the need to:-

... needed housing shortage	60,000 houses
... must the projected increase in the number of extra households of	75,000 houses
... giving a total of extra dwellings needed of	142,000 houses
... also to replace existing housing stock	59,700 houses
... giving a total need for new dwellings	202,000 houses

2.2.2.6 Policy Hw 4 required that the new building component of this figure should be split between the Public and Private sectors at a ratio of 70:30% (respectively). The GLC record the overall agreement figure as realistic and in consultation with London borough councils, carried out an exercise to assess the physical capacity of land and buildings in London to meet the need identified in the latter part. Assessments carried out in the 1982-1983 period, for two of the London borough councils provided evidence that there is adequate capacity overall, although the share contributed by vacant/underused land was relatively small (1.2%) : the major proportion (85%) being the redevelopment of existing housing land; the availability of which is difficult to predict in advance. The study concluded that some 116,700 dwellings could reasonably be expected to be built, in addition a net gain of 41,700 was envisaged from conversions most in inner London. (Table 2.3 and Table 2.4)

1990. In relation to land availability, the GLC expressed a concern about the lack of information about the extent of vacant / derelict land and undertook an aerial survey in 1991 which indicated some 1,800 acres of unused / derelict land in 1,469 parcels. However, a previous 1971 survey concluded only 9% of the land suitable for housing and it seems unlikely the figure will be much higher for the 1991 survey results. The GLC suggested changes in the Derelict Land Grant (DLG) policy to achieve better rates of land reclamation and occupancy.

Similar evidence is expressed about control of land and land held in public ownership. The full register of public bodies, owned land shows 750 sites in London covering 1,641 acres. (1984) but evidence from a household survey (1984) that only 1% was suitable for private development.

provided. In addition to policies solely related to the provision of land for new housing, the GLC's proposed

provision of new homes

POLICY MSG2

MAINTAIN THE FRAMEWORK OF EXISTING GREEN BELT AND METROPOLITAN OPEN LAND POLICIES, THE COUNCIL WILL PROMOTE LAND USE AND OTHER POLICIES AIMED AT PROVIDING, DURING THE TEN YEARS 1983 TO 1992, FOR 201,000 NEW DWELLINGS, BOTH TO AUGMENT THE EXISTING HOUSING STOCK (143,200) AND TO MEET THE NEED TO REPLACE SOME OF THE EXISTING STOCK (57,800). EXTRA DWELLINGS WILL BE PROVIDED PRIMARILY BY NEW BUILDING, BUT WILL ALSO BE CREATED AS A RESULT OF CONVERSIONS AND CHANGES OF USE.

POLICY HSG-2

AS A BASIS FOR LAND USE PLANNING, THE NEED TO PROVIDE FOR THE EXTRA AND REPLACEMENT HOUSING FOR GREATER LONDON (AS SHOWN IN POLICY HSG2) IS SET OUT BELOW. THE FIGURES INDICATE THE PROVISION WHICH SHOULD BE MADE IN EACH LONDON BOROUGH AND, SUBJECT TO ANY AGREEMENT AGREED BETWEEN THE COUNCIL AND THE LONDON BOROUGH COUNCILS, MUST BE INCORPORATED IN LOCAL PLANS.

	TOTAL DWELLING PROVISION	OF WHICH EXTRA DWELLINGS
CITY OF LONDON	700	700
BRENT	2,750	6,000
CAMDEN	4,900	2,400
EALING	11,500	3,300
GREENWICH	8,200	6,300
HACKNEY	7,200	2,500
HAMMERSMITH & RULHAM	4,100	2,500
HARINGEY	5,700	4,900
KINGSTON	4,400	1,700
KINGSTON & CHELSEA	2,500	700
LIMBETH	3,700	5,000
LONDON	8,100	4,200
NEWHAM	7,500	5,700
SOUTHWARK	9,300	5,600
TOWER HAMLETS	7,800	6,000
WANDSWORTH	3,600	5,800
WESTMINSTER CITY OF	5,200	7,400
WINTER LONDON	117,800	75,800
BARING & DAGENHAM	2,700	2,500
BARNET	7,300	6,000
BENLEY	4,500	4,300
BOWLEY	7,700	5,300
BROMFORD	12,000	1,500
BURTON	5,000	4,500
CHALWORTH	3,400	2,400
CHICHESTER	3,000	3,500
CHICHESTER	3,000	2,700
CHICHESTER	2,600	5,400
CHICHESTER	7,700	1,700
CHICHESTER	4,700	5,300
CHICHESTER	4,200	3,400
CHICHESTER	5,200	5,200
CHICHESTER	7,600	4,500
CHICHESTER	9,500	6,700
CHICHESTER	10,000	10,000

[illegible]

• **1997** – **1998** – **1999** – **2000** – **2001** – **2002** – **2003** – **2004** – **2005** – **2006** – **2007** – **2008** – **2009** – **2010** – **2011** – **2012** – **2013** – **2014** – **2015** – **2016** – **2017** – **2018** – **2019** – **2020** – **2021** – **2022** – **2023** – **2024** – **2025** – **2026** – **2027** – **2028** – **2029** – **2030** – **2031** – **2032** – **2033** – **2034** – **2035** – **2036** – **2037** – **2038** – **2039** – **2040** – **2041** – **2042** – **2043** – **2044** – **2045** – **2046** – **2047** – **2048** – **2049** – **2050** – **2051** – **2052** – **2053** – **2054** – **2055** – **2056** – **2057** – **2058** – **2059** – **2060** – **2061** – **2062** – **2063** – **2064** – **2065** – **2066** – **2067** – **2068** – **2069** – **2070** – **2071** – **2072** – **2073** – **2074** – **2075** – **2076** – **2077** – **2078** – **2079** – **2080** – **2081** – **2082** – **2083** – **2084** – **2085** – **2086** – **2087** – **2088** – **2089** – **2090** – **2091** – **2092** – **2093** – **2094** – **2095** – **2096** – **2097** – **2098** – **2099** – **2100** – **2101** – **2102** – **2103** – **2104** – **2105** – **2106** – **2107** – **2108** – **2109** – **2110** – **2111** – **2112** – **2113** – **2114** – **2115** – **2116** – **2117** – **2118** – **2119** – **2120** – **2121** – **2122** – **2123** – **2124** – **2125** – **2126** – **2127** – **2128** – **2129** – **2130** – **2131** – **2132** – **2133** – **2134** – **2135** – **2136** – **2137** – **2138** – **2139** – **2140** – **2141** – **2142** – **2143** – **2144** – **2145** – **2146** – **2147** – **2148** – **2149** – **2150** – **2151** – **2152** – **2153** – **2154** – **2155** – **2156** – **2157** – **2158** – **2159** – **2160** – **2161** – **2162** – **2163** – **2164** – **2165** – **2166** – **2167** – **2168** – **2169** – **2170** – **2171** – **2172** – **2173** – **2174** – **2175** – **2176** – **2177** – **2178** – **2179** – **2180** – **2181** – **2182** – **2183** – **2184** – **2185** – **2186** – **2187** – **2188** – **2189** – **2190** – **2191** – **2192** – **2193** – **2194** – **2195** – **2196** – **2197** – **2198** – **2199** – **2200** – **2201** – **2202** – **2203** – **2204** – **2205** – **2206** – **2207** – **2208** – **2209** – **2210** – **2211** – **2212** – **2213** – **2214** – **2215** – **2216** – **2217** – **2218** – **2219** – **2220** – **2221** – **2222** – **2223** – **2224** – **2225** – **2226** – **2227** – **2228** – **2229** – **2230** – **2231** – **2232** – **2233** – **2234** – **2235** – **2236** – **2237** – **2238** – **2239** – **2240** – **2241** – **2242** – **2243** – **2244** – **2245** – **2246** – **2247** – **2248** – **2249** – **2250** – **2251** – **2252** – **2253** – **2254** – **2255** – **2256** – **2257** – **2258** – **2259** – **2260** – **2261** – **2262** – **2263** – **2264** – **2265** – **2266** – **2267** – **2268** – **2269** – **2270** – **2271** – **2272** – **2273** – **2274** – **2275** – **2276** – **2277** – **2278** – **2279** – **2280** – **2281** – **2282** – **2283** – **2284** – **2285** – **2286** – **2287** – **2288** – **2289** – **2290** – **2291** – **2292** – **2293** – **2294** – **2295** – **2296** – **2297** – **2298** – **2299** – **2300** – **2301** – **2302** – **2303** – **2304** – **2305** – **2306** – **2307** – **2308** – **2309** – **2310** – **2311** – **2312** – **2313** – **2314** – **2315** – **2316** – **2317** – **2318** – **2319** – **2320** – **2321** – **2322** – **2323** – **2324** – **2325** – **2326** – **2327** – **2328** – **2329** – **2330** – **2331** – **2332** – **2333** – **2334** – **2335** – **2336** – **2337** – **2338** – **2339** – **2340** – **2341** – **2342** – **2343** – **2344** – **2345** – **2346** – **2347** – **2348** – **2349** – **2350** – **2351** – **2352** – **2353** – **2354** – **2355** – **2356** – **2357** – **2358** – **2359** – **2360** – **2361** – **2362** – **2363** – **2364** – **2365** – **2366** – **2367** – **2368** – <

alterations include detailed policies specifically aimed at the renovation of existing stock, provision for the protected increase in small households, and policies to meet the needs of "minority" groups.

1968-9. The GLC required its prepared planning policies for housing sufficient to achieve the required dwelling provision over the 1968-1972 period and set the central target in London's housing as:-

" how to provide for an increase in new construction and the improvement and repair of existing dwellings. " (1934)

2-23 Views Expressed by the House Builders Federation. (HSF).

3.23.1 The HRF have an obvious interest in the amount of urban land capable of use for housebuilding. They have therefore taken considerable research to assess land availability for new housing in many areas, including Greater London, and their views are ourth consideration for the purpose of planning and their published work provides an opportunity for comparison to the full situation.

1972). In their monograph submitted to the House of Commons, Frowd and Frowd (1972) report on a "road for proving" (1972:24, *quoting*), the HLF situation:

"...an adequate supply of land in urban, suburban, and rural locations is an essential prerequisite of the success of the government's housing policy in which purchase of a house plays a central role."

in the HFE's view, although the government has perceived new housing policy as a central role.¹⁰ The planning policy content for the rebuilding policy, the planning policy content for the selection of sites for new housing is a "concentrated" policy with the priority given to the release of inner cities with an emphasis on publicly owned sites. The HFE regard the need for a policy for regeneration of urban land supply that is suitable for housing as the major role of the industry.

On the question of the amount of *intra-city* urban and suburban availability, the old point out that very little industry exodus exists, of its extent. They regard this and question it by the fact that cities are decreasing in size, and only partly count of land is regulated and they claim that the sum of our country of land is omitted. Excesses in heavily wooded land is harder to come by the bulk to be taken being accounted in land availability, which is not used under a circular system.

Thus, the life are simplified at the capacity to achieve the full proposed management regime of reduced age group numbers. They also need the creditability of the *Age* and *Life* indices. The table in and private sector is for public institutions including schools. The main concern here is, since the primary frame is a estimate. Table 2.1 shows that in terms of and of *Z* denoted lead is London (that is, 1000) and approximately 1000 are heavily concentrated in London or London (including, of, indeed, Chillingham County, and so on). This distribution suggests much of it will be fresh.

Table 2.3

Maximum load supply: CLD® Ritrerions and capacity for extra dwellings

Area	Need for extra dwellings	Extra dwelling capacity		
		New build	Conversion	Total
1	2	3	4	5
Inner London	13,800	84,400	32,000	87,000
Outer London	60,700	70,000	8,000	70,000
Greater London	140,000	114,700	40,000	157,000

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Table 2.4

1991-1992: 100% increase in property - 100% increase in value

	New Build	Conversion	TOTAL
1	2	3	4
Brent	2,050	3,000	5,050
Croydon	1,500	3,000	4,500
Eltham	4,500	1,000	5,500
Gresham	6,800	500	7,300
Harrow	1,500	2,500	4,000
Hampton Heath & Putney	2,750	3,000	5,750
• Langley	3,500	-2,000	1,500
• Kingston	4,550	1,750	6,300
Kensington & Chelsea	1,000	3,000	4,000
Leamouth	2,300	1,750	4,050
Levensham	2,800	2,000	4,800
Northam	5,400	500	5,900
• Old Street	5,200	1,000	6,200
• Tower Hamlets	6,100	500	6,600
Wandsworth	2,600	1,500	4,100
Weymouth	1,700	2,000	3,700
City			
TOTAL - NEW BUILD	55,450	21,000	76,450
Barking & Dagenham	2,070	0	2,070
Barnet	4,500	700	5,200
Besley	3,700	0	3,700
• Bromley	7,500	1,500	9,000
Croydon	6,300	1,500	7,800
• Enfield	3,000	0	3,000
Harrow	4,000	500	4,500
Havering	2,300	0	2,300
Hillingdon	3,800	0	3,800
• Hounslow	5,700	100	5,800
• Kingston	3,750	0	3,750
• Kew	2,000	0	2,000
Redbridge	2,200	0	2,200
• Richmond	3,000	500	3,500
Sutton	4,800	200	5,000
• Waltham Forest	2,500	100	2,600
TOTAL - GREEN LONDON	62,250	1,800	64,050
TOTAL - GREY LONDON	116,700	4,100	120,800

Chen, H. and J. H. Chen, 1993. The effect of temperature on the growth and survival of the Chinese silurid, *Parasilurus asotus* (Siluriformes: Siluridae). *Journal of the World Aquaculture Society* 24: 1-10.

felt or previously used mineral workings unsuitable for housing. A secondary concentration is in the Dockland boroughs where the LDDC have brought forward a significant amount of derelict land.

2.22.5 The HGF feel that under current policies, the contribution that inner city sites will make to the numbers of new houses required is unlikely to exceed 10% in the absence of increased rates of demolition and increased rates of government funding of regeneration sites.

2.22.6 In co-operation with eleven London Borough Councils, the HGF undertook a land availability study to compare against the proposed GLDP borough allocations (as in Table 2.2.3). Although only second best compared with a total survey, the sample of one third of the boroughs was considered sufficiently representative to allow it to be pressed up to indicate general trends.

2.22.7 Table 2.6, shows that in the eleven London boroughs there are at most 1,200 acres of land identified by the boroughs for construction by housebuilders, but less than 100 (4.7%) is available in the 1985-87 period. Comparing individual boroughs with the GLDP requirement (Column 10) indicates that land available for development formed only a small proportion of the requirement.

2.22.8 Apart from allocations identified in the survey, there are two major areas of additional land available in London for housebuilders - LDDC land and land currently owned by the GLC at Thamesmead. Both provided a significant proportion of private sector starts in London 1980-1987 (see Table 2.7). The contribution from Thamesmead and the docklands is estimated at 2,500 houses per annum identified between the end of the 1980's.

2.22.9 In conclusion to this study, the HGF suggest that will be available in London over the period 1985-1992 for some 30,000 new houses:-

Land study of 11 London boroughs...500 acres of land, therefore makes up to 1500 for 12 boroughs and average 12/acre density
Thamesmead and LDDC to produce 2,500 per annum for 5 years
12,500 houses
25,000 houses

TOTAL = 25,000 houses
2.22.10 If the HGF figure of 20,000 is to be taken seriously then all the secondary points to emerge are that available land under current policies, the HGF require these policies are based on assumptions about land availability in London that have never seriously and consequently been studied and do not withstand the limited amount of evidence currently available.

Derelict/Unused Land.

TABLE 2.5.

Total unused/derelict land--1981 (Parcels of 0.25 hectare and over)			Approximate number of parcels
			2
			8
			28
			24
			25
			85
			83
			39
			80
			27
			25
			22
			3
			65
			50
			60
			42
			143
			76
			47
			49
			52
			19
			17
			82
			94
			50
			98
			50
			125
			160
			1,269
			268.00
			4,720.96 (11,830 acres)

Source: Memorandum submitted by HGF 15.2.86 to the House of Commons Environment Committee on Green Belts and Land for Housing.

2.2.3.11 The central point of the H&G's submission is that, in the absence of better information and given the high degree of unreliability of existing evidence, it is unsafe to base housing policies on exaggerated and unproven assumptions about the availability of urban land. Policies that attempt to allow for a realistic balance between inner city, urban, and new lands, while encouraging the fastest level of urban regeneration practical.

TABLE 2.7 Private Housing Starts in Greater London 1969-2

Year	1969	1981	1981	1981	1981	1981	1981	1981	1981
Total	01	02	03	04	01	02	03	04	05
	4,176	1,784	1,453	1,604	1,085	1,007	2,055	1,799	
Total	2,029		5,217						7,535

Year 1983 1981

01	02
1,576	1,231
Total	n/a

Greater: Memorandum submitted by the H&G to the Housing Committee, Environment Commission on Group 1, 2, and 3, 1981.

LAND AVAILABILITY STUDY—LONDON

TABLE 2.6 Provisional summary as at 15.2.84 (NB Tables gives no. of sites plus average in brackets)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Sites examined to assess suitability for private residential development									
Sites likely to be available within 5 years—likely start date:									
Not likely to be available within five years									
Sites decided allocation after inspection									
Housing allocation (82-91) in draft GLDP									
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
795 (118.3)	351 (118.5)	105 (61.5)	3 (1.7)	87 (206.8)	20 (49.1)	56 (168.2)	38 (54.4)	162 (255.2)	41 (174.4)
158 (150.6)	105 (61.5)	19 (4.2)	23 (69.3)	3 (1.7)	5 (11.4)	13 (17.9)	25 (40.8)	7 (11.2)	9 (60.6)
75 (120.5)	19 (4.2)	71 (11.7)	11 (31.7)	4 (90.0)	13 (33.0)	2 (2.6)	15 (13.7)	6 (4.6)	4 (4.8)
114 (208.4)	71 (11.7)	10 (3.0)	5 (5.7)	11 (20.2)	2 (3.7)	6 (78.2)	12 (14.9)	7 (5.3)	3 (33.1)
51 (60.2)	10 (3.0)	5 (1.0)	11 (20.2)	22 (16.6)	1 (2.1)	7 (3.7)	12 (14.9)	7 (5.3)	2 (6.4)
22 (21.2)	12 (3.7)	9 (15.5)	22 (16.6)	2 (0.40)	11 (40.6)	1 (2.1)	39 (41.1)	7 (5.3)	2 (6.4)
160 (75.7)	9 (15.5)	2 (0.40)	4 (12.2)	4 (13.4)	12 (5.6)	11 (40.6)	5 (1.8)	3 (4.6)	3 (7.7)
15 (11.3)	2 (0.40)	4 (12.2)	4 (13.4)	4 (13.4)	12 (5.6)	11 (40.6)	5 (1.8)	3 (4.6)	3 (7.7)
35 (41.1)	22 (5.6)	6 (11.5)	4 (13.4)	4 (13.4)	12 (5.6)	11 (40.6)	5 (1.8)	3 (4.6)	3 (7.7)
49 (75.3)	22 (5.6)	6 (11.5)	4 (13.4)	4 (13.4)	12 (5.6)	11 (40.6)	5 (1.8)	3 (4.6)	3 (7.7)
42 (115.2)	6 (11.5)	4 (13.4)	4 (13.4)	4 (13.4)	12 (5.6)	11 (40.6)	5 (1.8)	3 (4.6)	3 (7.7)
795 (118.3)	351 (118.5)	105 (61.5)	3 (1.7)	87 (206.8)	20 (49.1)	56 (168.2)	38 (54.4)	162 (255.2)	41 (174.4)
158 (150.6)	105 (61.5)	19 (4.2)	23 (69.3)	3 (1.7)	5 (11.4)	13 (17.9)	25 (40.8)	7 (11.2)	9 (60.6)
75 (120.5)	19 (4.2)	71 (11.7)	11 (31.7)	4 (90.0)	13 (33.0)	2 (2.6)	15 (13.7)	6 (4.6)	4 (4.8)
114 (208.4)	71 (11.7)	10 (3.0)	5 (5.7)	11 (20.2)	2 (3.7)	6 (78.2)	12 (14.9)	7 (5.3)	3 (33.1)
51 (60.2)	10 (3.0)	5 (1.0)	11 (20.2)	22 (16.6)	1 (2.1)	7 (3.7)	12 (14.9)	7 (5.3)	2 (6.4)
22 (21.2)	12 (3.7)	9 (15.5)	22 (16.6)	2 (0.40)	11 (40.6)	1 (2.1)	39 (41.1)	7 (5.3)	2 (6.4)
160 (75.7)	9 (15.5)	2 (0.40)	4 (12.2)	4 (13.4)	12 (5.6)	11 (40.6)	5 (1.8)	3 (4.6)	3 (7.7)
15 (11.3)	2 (0.40)	4 (12.2)	4 (13.4)	4 (13.4)	12 (5.6)	11 (40.6)	5 (1.8)	3 (4.6)	3 (7.7)
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158 (150.6)	105 (61.5)	19 (4.2)	23 (69.3)	3 (1.7)	5 (11.4)	13 (17.9)	25 (40.8)	7 (11.2)	9 (60.6)
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795 (118.3)	351 (118.5)	105 (61.5)	3 (1.7)	87 (206.8)	20 (49.1)				

2.20. ANALYSIS.

2.20.1 The preceding observations indicate the need to make an analysis of the land available for use in London and to apply rational criteria for predicting development in the London boroughs for the future.

2.20.2 The description of criteria provided the framework within which local planning authorities must reconcile development and conservation interests in their housing policies. They also recommend that planning authorities be more responsive to demand, remove some of the artificial constraints on the planning process and get builders and planners to cooperate and maximize urban regeneration. The description of London is supplemented by the different conclusions drawn in the studies by the LDC and the authors. However, where there is agreement, the targets in the need to supply and reduce the production of urban blight.

2.20.3 Identifying suitable land for housing

2.20.3.1 Identifying suitable land for new sites and in urban areas.

2.20.3.2 Identifying the potential for private investment in urban regeneration.

2.20.3.3 It is to these objectives that the London Borough Councils (LBCs) must apply themselves, noting that all are subject to the need to make economic and efficient use of public and private sector resources.

2.20.4 Identifying suitable land for housing

2.20.4.1 Identifying suitable land for housing

The London Borough Councils (LBCs) must apply themselves, noting that all are subject to the need to make economic and efficient use of public and private sector resources. The London Borough Councils (LBCs) must apply themselves, noting that all are subject to the need to make economic and efficient use of public and private sector resources. The London Borough Councils (LBCs) must apply themselves, noting that all are subject to the need to make economic and efficient use of public and private sector resources.

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2.21.2 This strategy will provide the basis to form a comprehensive picture for housing provision London wide and within the South East region.

2.21.4 Land availability studies.

There is increasing evidence of heated arguments about the identification of land for housing. In particular, there is disagreement about the maximum potential for housing on urban sites. Balance would be more easily achieved if developers and planners conduct investigations on an open basis of information sharing.

- (a) what new or vacant sites could be developed for housing?
- (b) what derelict land is in locations suitable for housing and at what cost could that land be acquired?
- (c) what urban land is suitable for housing and at what cost could infrastructure be provided?

2.21.5 Identification of land has been made more difficult because of the requirement to protect valuable green land, the best means of recording information is to create an acceptable change in statistics. It is clear from the examination of policies above that the planning system as such does not possess the mechanism to identify all land available and suitable for housing development.

2.21.6 derelict land availability studies between developers and planners currently offer the best way to achieve an agreed basis of information. It is recommended that such studies be encouraged and taken up broadly annually. It is also recommended that these studies be monitored at both local and central (LBCs) government level and that the studies be carried out in accordance with a common advice on assessment above.

2.21.7 Detailed Housing Land for Housing

The identification of land for new housing could be conducted in a number of ways other policies, etc. which allow and direct the carrying and releasing of the existing physical condition of London's housing stock and its future potential. Identifying the condition of housing is a higher component of urban regeneration and a means of saving resources both of money and land. Housing statistics indicate that there is a serious shortage of housing in London, and that the housing stock is in a state of decline. It is recommended that the housing stock be monitored at both local and central (LBCs) government level and that the studies be carried out in accordance with a common advice on assessment above.

2.21.8 It is recommended that the LBCs should make a study of the housing stock and housing statistics. It is recommended that the LBCs should make a study of the housing stock and housing statistics. It is recommended that the LBCs should make a study of the housing stock and housing statistics.

9 out 15 continuing and therefore it is recommended that the London Planning Committee (once established) investigate why local authorities and developers are encountering difficulties and select the best use of state to take remedial action to further the potential for achieving private regeneration. A line section on a 'Economic Future of Inner London' for further recommendations for R.P.L. 2).

2.4.4 Conclusions.

2.4.4.1 The availability of available land for residential development is essential and must be covered by all planning, housing and fiscal policies of both central and local government in Greater London, with the deletion of the GLC, the LBC's will become both the strategic and local planning authorities for three areas and more plan accordingly to ensure that their housing policies are realistic and achievable.

2.4.4.2 The above analysis will be used pattern for London's longer term future. At this stage it can only be a broad pattern. Consolidating information and supplying the policies may be a matter for the local planning authorities, although the knowledge of local circumstances. However, it is hoped that the recommendations made in this report will be taken up by the GLC and the LBC and incorporated into their strategies for land availability for new housing.

2.4 SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS.

The LBC's 1 and the GLC are to apply themselves to the following objectives:

identifying enough available land for housing

bringing forward sufficient land in new sites and urban areas.

maximizing the potential for private investment in urban regeneration.

2.4.1 Identifying enough suitable land for housing.

2.4.1.1 In assessing housing provision figures, the borough councils must make full use of all sources of information including data on population levels, household formation rates and migration rates.

2.4.1.2 In the transitional period, the London boroughs are to continue the presentation of local plans, having regard to the advice of this report on land availability for housing.

2.4.1.3 In the longer term, the Secretary of State in his strategic guidance to London boroughs will indicate level of housing provision for each borough after consultation with the GLC.

2.4.1.4 Joint land availability studies between developing and planning are to be encouraged and undertaken by the borough councils and carried out in the prescribed form, a formula for the circular (Table 1).

2.4.1.5 These studies should be monitored at both local (LBC) and central (GLC) level on a regular basis (at least annually).

2.4.1.6 LBC's should plan for major future programmes of housing, renewal and conservation taking into account the contribution of existing housing and levels of land ownership.

2.4.1.7 LBC's must recognize the potential of publicly owned land and respond more positively to demand for its release.

2.4.2 Identifying forward potential land in less built-up urban areas.

2.4.2.1 In order to ensure the GLC will have a role in its urban policy, to ensure the GLC's role in identifying and releasing land owned by statutory undertakers and other interested authorities.

2.4.2.2 LBC's are requested not to use a planning policy which might be more restrictive to market demand and other factors than of other authorities where required to secure

Infrastructure provision.

- 2.4.3.1. The Department has been investigating the need for London to secure a grant aid for housing development schemes.
- 2.4.3.2. The DHC procedure be revised with a view to making it more amenable to the needs of private developers and borough councils in the Greater London area.
- 2.4.3.3. The requirement for reclamation work to be completed within twelve months be scrapped and applications "Demand-Test".
- 2.4.3.4. The DHC investigate why planning authorities and private developers are encountering difficulties in securing and obtaining remedial action.

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