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MASTER PLAN OR MISCONCEPTION?
THE INFLUENCE OF THE 'GRAND DESIGN'
IN LATE TWENTIETH CENTURY URBANISM.

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE URBAN DESIGN GROUP
CONFERENCE HELD ON SEPT 11TH AND 12TH 1987
AT THE UNIVERSITY OF NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE.

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**URBAN
DESIGN
QUARTERLY**

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FOREWORD

'Master Plan or Misconception' was the sixth Annual Conference to be held by the Urban Design Group and was organised on this occasion by Arnold Linden and Stephen Gleave with Jim Stewart of the Department of Town and Country Planning at the University of Newcastle on Tyne and Liz Green of the Centre for Continuing Education.

The theme of the conference was related to a series of questions:-

Is the "Big Idea" still a force in modern town planning? Is it relevant within the evolving philosophical basis of planning in the late twentieth century? Is it still influential in shaping policies for the future? Is an ideal model necessary to stimulate creative thought in the planners' minds? How far are such models successful and for whom - the planners, the designers, the developers, the politicians, the users? Does the "master plan" concept square with the call for community action and choice, or do these two approaches come from conflicting conceptions of planning and urban design? Is one approach more appropriate than another in different regions of Britain, and in different circumstances?

The conference commenced with visits to three examples of master planning in the vicinity:-
 Washington New Town
 Killingworth Township
 Cramlington New Town

The central goal of such developments in the North East was economic regeneration and regroupment coupled with environmental improvement, to replace the socio-economic and physical elements of a worked out economy. These approaches have now been superseded by measures such as project based urban development corporations.

COVER

'November Plan' Peterlee Town Centre (November 1948).

Peterlee was designated as a new town in 1948 following submissions made by Easington Rural District Council.

Lubetkin was appointed architect planner in March 1948 with the objective of producing a master plan providing housing for 30,000 people, creating a recreational and shopping centre for the District and new industrial employment.

The town centre was to contain shops, offices and entertainment uses such as a sports centre and stadium and possibly a concert hall which could serve a wide area. It was sited adjacent to Blunt's Dene, a wide and deep wooded gorge of commanding beauty. The intention was to create a centre with a symbolic geometric solidarity, an antithesis to new towns like Harlow and Stevenage that sprawled across the landscape.

Concessions were made before designation to allow the Coal Board to extract coal and this affected the scale of building and the programme period. Despite steps to reach a modified programme no agreement was possible which would enable early development of such a proposed scale to proceed.

Lubetkin resigned his position in 1950.

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NEWS ITEMS

CROYDON CONFERENCE, 1987

Community Design, Community Development, Community Enterprise

Last year's Conference in London was run in association with the Croydon Design Initiative, the fourth event the UDG have run with Croydon.

A full day addressed a whole range of community involvements in the quality of the environment from architecture to employment projects. Contributors included: David Rock, Vice President of the RIBA; Anne Goring who presented Lewisham's Downham Action Plan; Richard Burton, leader of Britain's first CUDAT; Walter Menzies of Macclesfield Groundwork Trust; Pauline Nichols of Community Economy Ltd. and Nicholas Falk of Urbed; and architects Robin Nicholson and John Thompson.

BIRMINGHAM CITY CENTRE CHALLENGE SYMPOSIUM

The view that good Urban Design involves understanding the vast range of issues which influence the quality of urban life was put to the test in Birmingham recently.

Over the weekend of 25th/27th March, 90 experts from around the world and from a wide range of backgrounds put the city centre under the microscope in search of a new vision. Lawrence Revill, urban designer with DEGW's new Urban Planning Unit and UDG Committee member, organised the event for the City Council and the Government's City Action Team.

The Symposium, which involved delegates from Japan, the USA, Holland and West Germany, was split into workgroups. Each had to consider a set of issues from image and promotion through transportation to urban design and management.

Given the backgrounds of the participants it was surprising how quickly consensus was reached on the problems and possible solutions. The event was intended to offer guidelines not detailed proposals. At the end, Roger Taylor, Birmingham's new Chief Executive, committed the Council to rapid action on many of the ideas put forward.

URBAN DESIGN EDUCATION

The number of urban design courses seems to be on the increase once again with programmes of various types at Oxford Polytechnic, Strathclyde, Nottingham, PCL and Edinburgh. In addition to these courses which focus specifically on urban design, we know that several schools of architecture and planning run options or course areas which address urban design. It is a very long time since a wide cross-section of the people involved in urban design education came together to share their experience; the last occasion was probably at Oxford back in 1975. With the recent increase in courses, and bearing in mind the changes which are rumoured in architectural education, the time seems ripe for teachers (and anyone else interested in urban design education) to get round a table to compare notes once again.

Ian Bentley, the UDG Committee member for education, would like to set up a seminar for this purpose. He would be pleased if anyone interested would contact him at the Joint Centre for Urban Design, Oxford Polytechnic, Gipsy Lane, Oxford. Tel: 0865 64777.

MEMBERSHIP

The following members addresses are not recorded by the group so if anyone is aware of these could they please let Ruth Schamroth, the Membership Secretary, know:-

H.O. ROME TRAVENOR N.F.
PERIDOT INTERNATIONAL GOODALL & SPENCER

AUTUMN LECTURE SERIES

The Autumn Programme of Lectures was based on the theme of Urban Landscape and its interrelation with Urban Design and Architecture.

Alex Wall of OMA spoke on the 'Integration of Landscape Design and Architecture', Laurie Olin on 'Landscape Issues in Urban Design' and John Nevitt on landscape case studies from the Scottish Development Agency.

SPRING LECTURE SERIES

The Spring programme of lectures has taken on an international theme with Roger Kallmann of SOM, Sunand Prasad, Walter Bor and Teun Koolhaas

INTERNATIONAL GRAND DESIGN

Having been involved in three of London's most controversial development projects - Broadgate, Canary Wharf and King's Cross - fireworks were expected from Roger Kallman's Lecture.

Instead he gave a skilled and well presented expose of the breadth of SOM's work across the world. The audience in the rather esoteric surroundings of the Society of Chartered Designers were left rather awestruck.

Each slide was of Architectural Review quality and both the confidence and competence of this firm was clearly evident. The scale of the projects is very grand and, irrespective of stylistic judgements, one has to admire their skill at handling such multi-disciplinary projects.

NEW TOWNS IN CHINA

Walter Bor has been involved with Llewelyn Davies Weeks in advising planning authorities in China on the development of new towns. His talk gave an introduction to the urban situation in China and then illustrated the Urban Design Study that has been undertaken for Shenzhen, an area lying within China immediately to the north of Hong Kong. The rate of growth from 30,000 in 1980 to 500,000 in 1987 is well beyond anything experienced in Britain and his view was that the development was generally of a good quality enhanced by a fine setting of lakes and coastline.

TOWN AND HOUSE IN NORTHERN INDIA
FORGETTING FIVE THOUSAND YEARS IN FIFTY

Sunand Prasad's talk was based on research undertaken through a Leverhulme grant to study The Town and House in N. India. He described the way of life in cities and the role of outdoor space as part of the living environment and by British standards the high density occupation of many inner city sites. His research had involved the accurate surveying of dwellings in Delhi, Jaisalmer and other cities and demonstrated the different cultural requirements of Moslems and Hindus. These were contrasted with the modern suburban solutions which in catering for vehicles and set in open space surroundings had lost the essential characteristics and qualities of the traditional urban life of India.

QUARTERLY FORTHCOMING ISSUES

- Issue 27 UIA CONFERENCE PAPERS
To be edited by Despina Katsikakis and John Billingham
- Issue 28 CROYDON CONFERENCE PAPERS
To be edited by Lawrence Revill
- Issue 29 URBAN DESIGN ISSUES IN EUROPE
Guest Editor Sebastian Loew
MATERIAL FOR THIS ISSUE IS REQUESTED FROM MEMBERS. PLEASE CONTACT JOHN BILLINGHAM OR SEBASTIAN LOEW.

NORMAN ST. JOHN STEVAS 'A NEW LOOK FOR LONDON'

Annual Kevin Lynch Memorial Lecture at the
Institute of Civil Engineers 14th July 1987.
Reviewed by Peter Luck

The talk concentrated more on a position statement on 'the city in general and about problems in urban design, urban control as we are facing them at this moment'. First came a brief classical defence of the city, then a review of events and trends in architecture and planning since the 30's, particularly of legislation since 1979, and lastly an account of the current work of the Royal Fine Arts Commission.

'The idea of the city is at the foundation of our civilisation. Its roots go back to the classical world. St. Augustine's opposition of the city of God and the city of man, so long influential, was seen by St. John Stevas as resolved, 'one penetrating the other and both resting on the same base of spiritual values'. And it is these same continuing values, or truths, which 'constitute the essence of our civilisation', without which 'a transmitted culture would be an impossibility, much less would we comprehend the great created works of the past'.

'Civil society is a need of human nature before it becomes the object of human choice. And we should ask ourselves "What is the type of modern society?" But I believe our civilisation is above all a civilisation of dialogue (of) men locked in argument'. A brief reference to Soviet Glasnost at this point could not obscure the relevance of this statement to much of what followed, indeed from time to time one had the impression of a constitutionalist feeling very apprehensive, concerned for the political process.

Civility, 'the will to observe and respect the rights of others' was characteristic of the city, and with the heritage of values, formed the basis of its essential consensus. The external aspects of the city sprang from shared values. The English house in its garden and the monumental buildings clustered around us in Westminster were invoked, without saying what they told us of shared values, but leaving them to contrast with the 'type of modern city' Sao Paolo, a city lacking fraternity, civilitas, a concrete jungle juxtaposing and wholly separating 'extreme poverty and squalor, ... with the most flamboyant display of wealth. That', he said, 'is the alternative, but with which we are in fact faced'.

And so he turned to the review of events since the 30's, beginning by highlighting those aspects of the 30's (housing boom, ribbon development, the dominance of Keynes) which had proved to be significant influences on post-war Britain 'which voted in overwhelming numbers, for a Labour government, to build a Brave New World'.

This he characterised largely as an application of Corbusian principles in housing regardless of the social disruption to people's lives.... In fact it was an ignoring of community. Despite formal public ownership 'there was no element of popular choice'. There was similar destruction of the known in city centres before the late 60's saw a swing towards conservation, towards 'the familiar, friendly and majestic in our cities' and legislation for the first conservation zones.

As city centres were depopulated, ports moved downstream or wholly away and industries closed leaving areas of dereliction and vacant land, so too Keynes came to be dethroned and eventually 'the Stuarts had been succeeded by the Hanoverians' of the 1979 Thatcher government, and the belief had grown 'that the planning system itself had become an obstacle to economic regeneration and the creation of new jobs'.

With a brief note on Conservative ambivalence, on the one hand insisting on the freedom of the market place from local government, and on the other fearing 'intrusion and change in their local government environment', particularly as he regards the green belt, St. John Stevas then embarked on an account of the current climate beginning with legislative changes over the past eight years. He characterised the situation by a polarity of attitudes to these changes: either they 'reduce the stranglehold of planning' or they 'make for a dangerous free-for-all in which the lowest common denominator will probably flourish'. His tone of voice suggested an inclination some way to the second view, which was immediately borne out by a warning against antisocial advantage taken of greater freedom to extend domestic property. As conservation areas are already good, 'it can be even more important to ensure the enhancement of areas elsewhere'.

The political vision of 'men in argument' came to the fore again in his discussion of enterprise zones. Events at Canary Wharf were taken to illustrate 'what can happen when events race along on a tide of enthusiasm without the normal checks and balances of bureaucratic control' (which would offer the public and local representatives entry to the argument), indeed the 'publicly appointed Corporation simply decided to override its own guidelines with little or no opportunity for neighbours or London as a whole to have any say in the matter'. Such possibilities, he believed, had not been thoroughly thought out in Cabinet, of which he had been a member, when Enterprise Zones were introduced.

Simplified planning zones and the draft circular on development involving agricultural land confirmed a tendency to divide the country into the good (conservation areas, areas of outstanding natural beauty etc.) and the urgent (HAAs, Enterprise zones, industrial development areas and SPZs). 'And somewhere in between all that lies what is left of Britain', where the political scope of the planning process is not curtailed, but may yet be negated as 'there has been a disconcerting increase in the number of appeals allowed by central government after refusal by the politicians and the planners on the ground'. Many local authorities feel that they lack 'the support of central government on difficult decisions which they expect and which they feel they deserve', just as development pressures are becoming intense.

All of this would have caused less concern 'if the British were more literate and above all more visual in design and architecture and if builders and developers automatically asserted the need for quality and aesthetic acceptability when they do their calculations relating to the all-important bottom line'. Whilst acknowledging that there were many reasons why responsibility for the urban scene was not taken St. John Stevas reminded developers that 'the right to develop must bring in train responsibility to the community'. 'It must include the enhancement of the environment' and people in general should 'expect better surroundings' and 'exert electoral pressure in the case of dissatisfaction'.

Noting the effective growth of consumer demand for quality and style in clothes, food and furnishings, he saw such demand as a potentially effective force provided there were 'far better communication between those who believe they know what is good and those, which is the vast majority of the population, who know what they like'. Planners and designers must talk and write comprehensibly. The Prince of Wales was cited as an example because 'whether one agreed with everything he says or whether one didn't he has thought his way through the matter and he is expressing his thoughts in language which is in fact comprehensible to people'.

NEWS

We then came to the last section of the talk, the current role of the Royal Fine Arts Commission, which St. John Stevas defined as a Standing Select Committee on the Arts and Architecture. Its role has been in enquiring and reporting on particular cases, whether referred to it or through acting on its own initiative, but St. John Stevas as chairman has been able to 'move away from the exclusive consideration of cases' though they remain essential to root the committee in 'the people and the situation'.

While the case-load is enormous - seventy-five in London alone, and ranging overall from rood screens to Canary Wharf, there are now discussions 'once or twice a month on a major strategic issue attended by representatives from developers or commercial or statutory organisations' which have included the police and British Telecom, who were strongly rebuked for their actions in replacing the Gilbert Scott 'phone booths. There are also major initiatives in strategic guidance, first a study called 'A New Look for London', to look in depth at the problems we are facing in a city like London and to see how it can be made a worthy-looking capital city'. Lastly there has been a seminar on environmental education in schools 'and we are endeavouring (with the support of the Education Secretary) to do what we can'.

All this seemed rather heartening, but St. John Stevas' 'reasonable optimism' in face of questioning on loss of control on enterprise zones sounded less convincing. One thought back to his earlier words on this subject, and much of the later part of the talk seemed too reliant on the efficacy of exhortation. It would have been good to have remained convinced, especially if one supports his last words on people 'working to bring some beauty and spirituality into people's lives. Let the debate move onto that plane, if not all the time, just occasionally, and we may be making some progress'.

NEWS

PRESIDENT OF THE ROYAL TOWN PLANNING INSTITUTE

The election of Francis Tibbalds to the Presidency of the RTPI brings credit, rightly, not only to him but also to the Urban Design Group of which he was a founder member and chairman

He is a principal of Tibbalds Colbourne Partnership Limited - London-based architects and planners - which he founded with four colleagues in 1978 and now enjoys a national and international reputation.

Prior to setting up his own firm, he held senior appointments in both the public and private sectors - the most recent being as Director of Planning with Llewelyn-Davies Weeks and Deputy Chief Planning Officer to the London Borough of Lambeth. He is an External Examiner in Planning at South Bank Polytechnic, in Urban Design at Central London Polytechnic and was an External Examiner in Architecture and Urban Design at Oxford Polytechnic. He has a strong belief in combining architectural and planning practice, in building bridges between the environmental professions and in the interdependence of the public, private and academic sectors.

Francis wants to give the RTPI a high profile and to draw attention to what planning can achieve as a catalyst. He feels that as a private practitioner, the first RTPI president of that category since Walter Bor in 1971, he can say things which public officials may be unable to do due to their particular positions. A flavour of that can be seen in his direct criticism of Planning Officers who sit on the fence rather than giving direct recommendations and his cutting comments on Canary Wharf where he said "the layout is simplistic and banal, the architecture lumpy and mediocre - the whole thing looks like a chunk of some ageing tired and dreary US downtown dropped from a great height on the Isle of Dogs".

RTPI ANNUAL CONFERENCE

The RTPI Annual Conference in Cardiff from June 14th to 17th takes as its theme 'Closing the Gaps' which started in Francis' mind as that between Architecture and Planning but has 'broadened' to define other gaps in society which need to be closed.

Lawrence Revill will discuss bringing younger and senior planners closer together.

DECLARATION OF SUPPORT FOR POSITIVE ACTION

Over the past four years His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales has shown an increasing commitment to voicing his concern about urban design and environmental issues. He recently stated that if the general reaction to his involvement is not one of support then he will withdraw from the platform of debate.

The Urban Design Group want to unit the fragmented support from around the country by producing "A Declaration of Support for Positive Action". This document is intended to demonstrate to the Prince of Wales that his continuing role in the debate on the regeneration of our towns and cities is a vital one. The UDG support his involvement, as his comments provoke debate, increase awareness and interest and stimulate public concern.

Terry Farrell as the President of the Urban Design Group has written to various practices to obtain backing for the UDG Initiative.

Firstly to demonstrate support for the Prince of Wales' continuing role in the urban design debate.

Secondly practices or individuals are being asked to make a written statement of positive action (relevant to their specific area of interest), that can be taken to improve the current state of our urban environment. This action can be on a large or small scale but it should be positive, realistic and feasible. The UDG want to emphasise that any contribution should be a positive one where thoughts are given to actual solutions.

A document will be produced with the results of the Initiative and this will be circulated to the press on 26th April 1988. On this day the UDG will announce the full details of what their positive contribution will be.

The UDG feel the following quotations from the Prince of Wales' recent speech at the 'Remaking Cities' conference in Pittsburgh, USA, refer to the kind of issues people might like to respond to in a statement of positive action:

1. "... What really did make the best sort of urban environment? What was likely to produce the greatest sum of human happiness when it came to the design of modern cities? Who was going to decide anyway? How do we avoid making similar mistakes to those of the past? With the speed of technological advance being so great, will we be designing now a built-in obsolescence for thirty or forty years time, merely to hear our children or grandchildren castigating us for getting it wrong?"
2. "If we help to recreate places where people can walk in comfort and security and can look about and be entertained by buildings that are turned to the eye; if we encourage a renaissance of craftsmanship and the art of embellishing buildings for man's pleasure and for the sheer joy in beauty itself, as opposed to mere functionalism; then we shall have made our cities centres of civilisation once again." ■

THREE MASTER PLANS

WASHINGTON NEW TOWN

Washington was designated as a new town in 1964 under normal Development Corporation procedures. It followed on from the 1983 White Paper on the North East which suggested the building of a third new town in the region (following Aycliffe and Peterlee).

Existing communities in the designated area housed about 20,000 people and the plan proposed to increase the population to over 60,000. Employment was intended to increase from 7,500 jobs to over 27,000 jobs.

The initial proposals sought to create long term flexibility in providing a half mile square grid of roads with each residential grid square considered as a village with 4,500 people, a primary school and local shops. It was found that the road grid would not be evenly loaded partly because of junction points on the adjoining motorway network and the plan was modified to create a mile square grid within which the village form would still occur.

The Town Centre serves both the new town and the subregion and contains about 50,000 sq.m. of shopping space, recreational and public uses. The Development Corporation have made a large contribution to providing economic opportunities for a changing region and have achieved very high environmental standards.

KILLINGWORTH TOWNSHIP

The second visit was to Killingworth which was created through the initiative of the North Tyndeside Council as a Town Development area. It was intended to provide for an additional population of about 8,500 people mainly in rented housing and to provide for at least 2000 additional jobs.

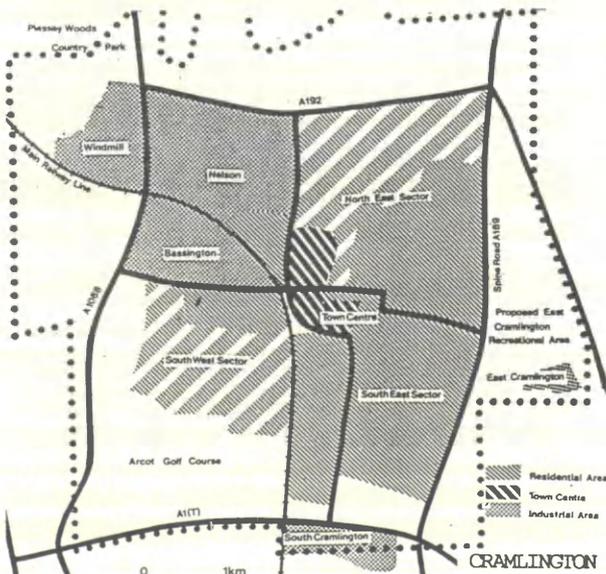
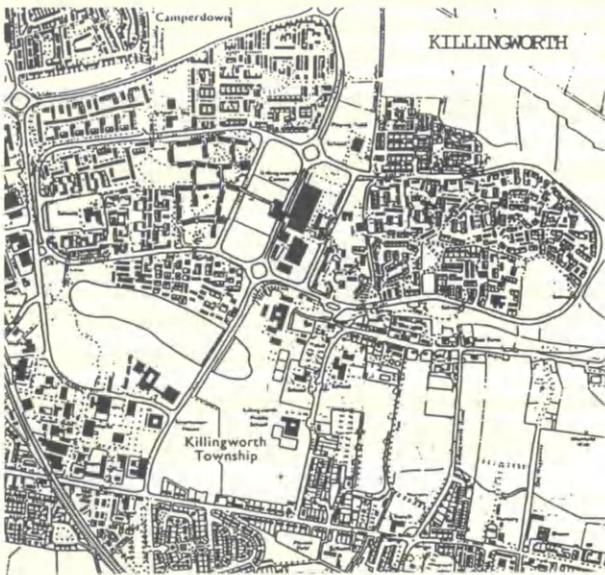
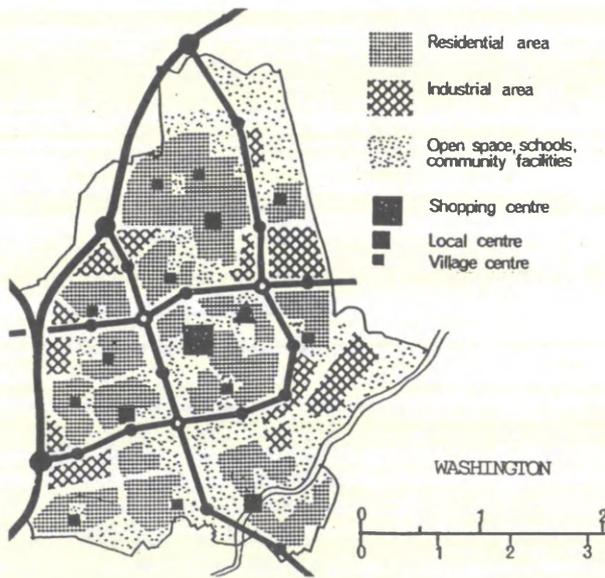
The original concept was based on a medieval city (Roy Gazzard, the Chief Architect Planner living then as now in the centre of Durham) with the shopping centre and central area named as the 'Citadel', deck access housing to the west as the 'Towers' low rise housing outside as the 'Garths' and a recreational lake seen as the 'Moat'. Exciting riverside housing was designed by Ralph Erskine's office and a high standard of industrial and office developments was achieved including some by Ryder and Yates for the Gas Board.

It was not a good day but the original concepts had long since scured. The shopping centre had lost custom, was partly vacant, was now badly managed, windswept and cheerless. The towers were now being demolished and it was unclear what could go in their place as it might be unattractive to private developers.

CRAMLINGTON

The last visit was to Cramlington which was initiated by Northumberland County Council to provide a growth area mainly for private housing development. The development was based on an existing community which was designed to be expanded by about 20,000 people with infrastructure to be financed initially by the County Council. Employment space was also located within the Comprehensive Development Area boundary and about an additional 6000 jobs have been created.

70% of the housing is by private developers and new commercial facilities add to what existed previously. It is a fairly typical medium density development without any of the panache of New Ash Green by comparison. It eventually provided social and community facilities better than in many peripheral locations although it suffered like many new communities in not achieving the growth it sought in its early days with corresponding limitations in its initial facilities for the incoming residents. ■



CHAIRMAN'S WELCOME AND INTRODUCTION

by Sir Michael Straker

Your Chairman last year, Charles Knevitt, referred in his opening words to two grand design initiatives taking place in London - the Stock Exchange Big Bang and the London Docklands. Maybe this year's conference, therefore, would have been more appropriate to Central London than to the North East of England.

Charles Knevitt also referred to the North/South divide in Great Britain. You are well and truly in the North today; whatever your own views, I know by experience that the South has no monopoly of entrepreneurs or of good planning.

Peterlee, as an example of the "Grand Design" is a fascinating story, studded with the influence of well known names: many politicians as well as planners. Lord Silkin, Sir George Pepler, Hugh Dalton, Lord Beveridge, Lubetkin and Victor Pasmore. The story is too long for me to tell, but a history of Aycliffe and Peterlee will shortly be published.

The "Grand Design", the "Master Plan", has been with us ever since man was able to step back and look out from his immediate surroundings. The first "Grand Designs" were probably very humble and defensive in nature. These grew into fortified cities (and there are relics of our own fortifications here in Newcastle), and eventually into the planned Company towns of New Lanark, Saltaire, Bourneville and Port Sunlight, the gifts of benevolent bosses, nineteenth century human faces of capitalism, such as, Robert Owen, Sir Titus Salt, George Cadbury and William Lever.

So, much in their image, followed the Garden City movement and its patriarch, Ebenezer Howard. Howard believed that the City with its immensity, incurable physical and social problems and divorced from nature, rendered it impossible for the individual to achieve personal fulfilment and progress in society. Howard sought to invent a new type of human settlement whose size, scale and planned order would lead to the development of rational communities for an industrial age.

Howard's pioneering spirit and ultimate belief in the "Grand Design" led to the founding of the early new towns of Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City.

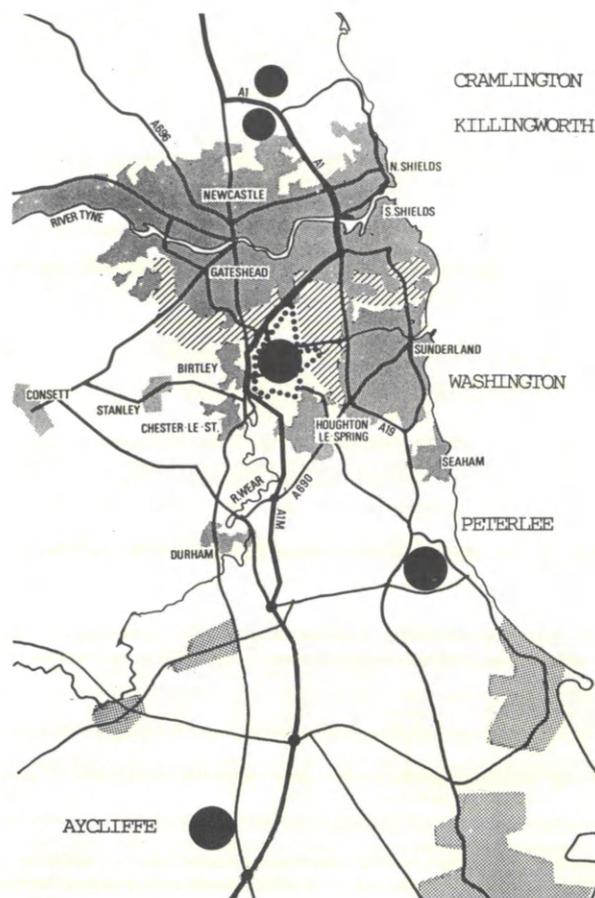
These in turn, no doubt abetted by the concerns of the immediate post War Government to not only create a land fit for heroes but to disperse centres of population in case of future enemy bombardment, led to the introduction of the 1946 New Towns Act and the ultimate creation of around 30 New Towns including Aycliffe, Peterlee and Washington here in the North East.

These Government New Towns, like the early private and Utopian ones, all have in common their individual Grand Designs or Master Plans. Typically, upon the promotion of a New Town and the appointment of its Development Corporation Board of Members, consultants are appointed to advise the Board upon its Master Plan for the Town. This Master Plan is then ultimately worked-up and implemented with the aid of special planning and land acquisition powers.

The obvious dilemma is the classic one of "efficiency versus democracy". Whether the balance lies on the side of getting things done at the possible expense of letting the people have their say.

Without wishing to either praise them or bury them, history demonstrates that the early Master Plans of Aycliffe and Peterlee produced in 1952 have been subject to considerable evolution.

Aycliffe's first Master Plan, for example, was the blueprint for a Town of 10,000 people. This was later increased to 20,000, 30,000 and ultimately



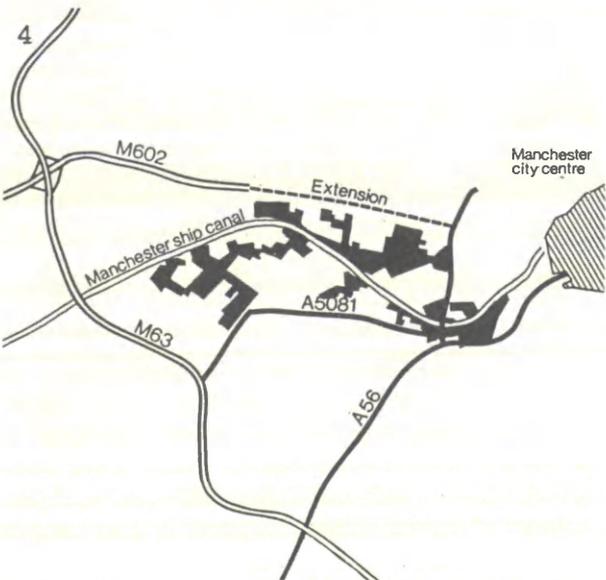
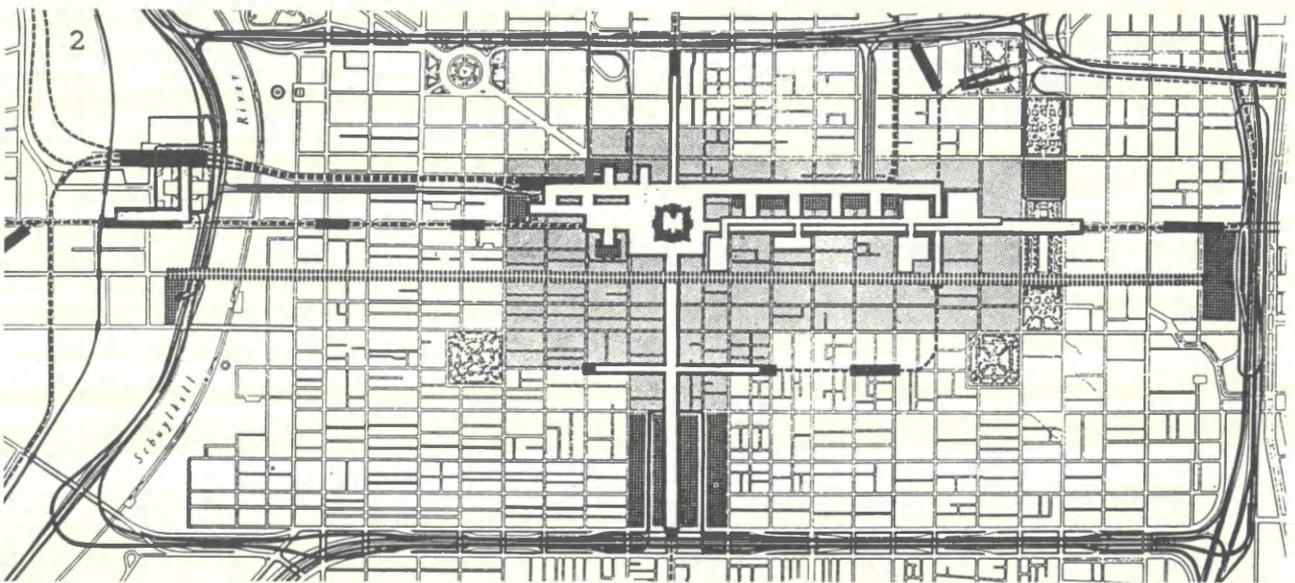
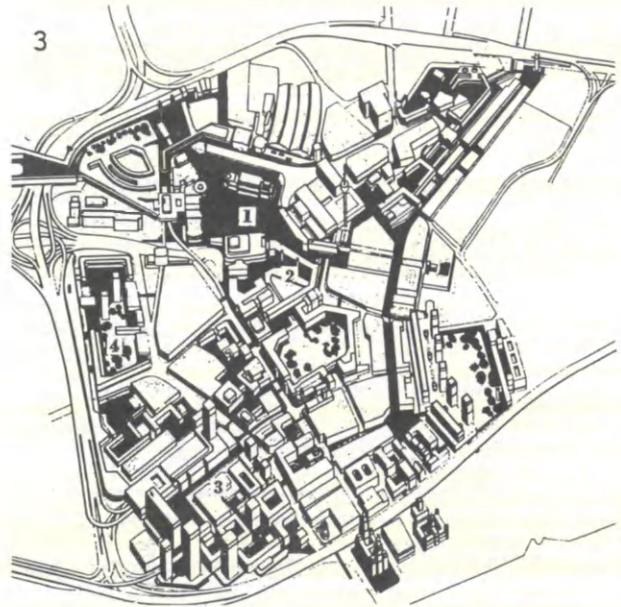
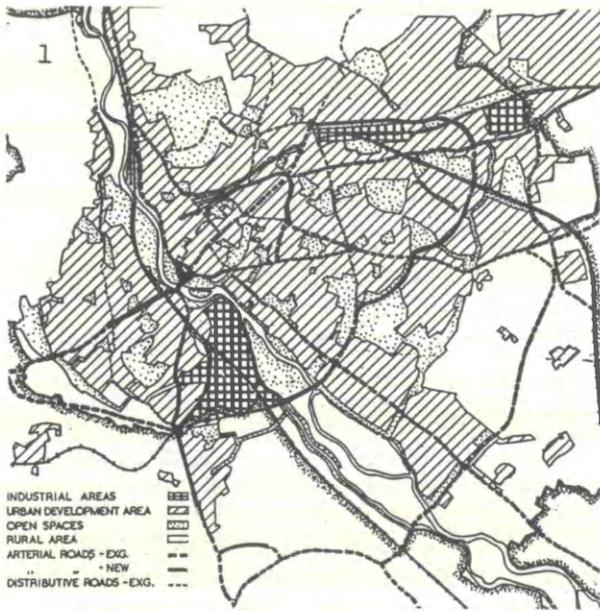
45,000 people. Peterlee's Master Plan includes a vast range of early 1950's flavours including Civic Halls, cultural buildings, amphitheatres, heliports and the like. For better or worse few of these civic pearls were ever built.

True, Master Plans are an imposition on the indigenous population which in the case of Aycliffe and Peterlee was 60 and 200 respectively.

However Master Plans do provide a framework for planning communities and a reference point from which to evaluate achievements, even progress. Perhaps, most importantly in these days of financial stringency, some indicator of value for money. Moreover they do provide a vehicle for creating order out of chaos.

Master Plans, or rather their interpretation and implementation, however, are much more or less than purely 'take it or leave it' solutions. Certainly each New Town Development Corporation Board includes leading members of the respective local authorities to bridge the gap between Master Plan and the population, and well-established working practices invoked to dovetail New Town planning authority and local planning authority together.

Internationally, Master Plans are used to guide developments in Third World Countries in an effort to order the tremendous rush of urbanisation and population growth in those under-resourced countries. Here at home whilst New Town Development Corporations are out of fashion, the new clothes of Urban Development Corporations are in vogue in an attempt by Government to halt inner city decline. Whether we like them or loathe them, they present a tremendous opportunity for local populations to benefit from central resources. They must therefore, be exploited and developed. ■



- 1 EXETER MASTER PLAN
- 2 CITY CENTRE PLAN PHILADELPHIA

Postwar conceptions of the masterplan providing for 'the reconstruction and redevelopment of existing cities' and 'reorganising cities to accommodate new technologies especially transport'.

- 3 CITY CENTRE PLAN LIVERPOOL

'The main task of planning was (seen to be) to design better cities'

- 4 SALFORD AND TRAFFORD ENTERPRISE ZONE

'A project based and disjointed approach emphasises the targetting of interventions to specific issues'

KEYNOTE LECTURE by Professor Patsy Healey IMAGING THE CITY : PROJECTS OR POLICIES

This paper will explore three themes. The first two are central to the enterprise of this Conference. The third arises from my position as an urban planner, speaking to a meeting of the Urban Design

1. How far do we need a strategic orientation, a sense of direction in thinking about and acting upon spatial and environmental change, in the contemporary period? If we do need "strategy", what are we to mean by it; who is involved in formulating it, and how is to be expressed? What is the relation between "thinking strategically" about spatial change and how we "imagine the city"?
2. How far and how do we recognise the diversity of attitudes to place, design and environment in our culturally varied and pluralist society? What does this imply for what "clients" want from urban planners and urban designers, both in terms of the content of expertise and the way experts work with different interest communities?
3. How far and how should urban planners and urban designers interchange their experience and understandings in order adequately to address the strategic questions concerning spatial organisation and urban form which are now being

This paper will start with a brief review of the master plan concept and its failings. It will then consider how the urban planning culture sought to address these, as it separated off from urban design culture, and became firmly social scientific in orientation. The third section will examine the tendencies in the present period to focus action at the level of projects, rather than policies or strategies, and will review the countervailing pressures for a more strategic orientation. The paper will conclude by suggesting some issues we need to think about in order to address the spatial and design dimensions of urban and regional change in the contemporary period.

I will argue that, while it is correct to reject many of the principles embodied in the masterplan concept as we understood and implemented it in urban planning and urban design, we should nevertheless "think strategically" about the design of our cities and urban regions. In the past decade, many factors have encouraged the neglect of "spatial strategy". The emphasis in action has become the project, the area or a specific issue. The paper will explore why, in the present period, this is not enough.

THE "MASTER PLAN" AS A STRATEGIC CONCEPT

The notion of a "Master Plan" is inherently strategic in two senses, that of urbanisation policy, and that of the management of spatial change within urban areas. In the first sense, master plans are tools in a strategy for accommodating either many more people in urban areas, or at much higher space standards, which operates by the planned construction of new towns or by greatly expanding existing ones. It is not surprising to find many countries experiencing the rapid urbanisation which has accompanied economic development in the modern period considering such a planned approach to urban growth as a strategic possibility. In the second sense, master plans are a tool for organising the production of the built form of a particular new city or a substantial extension or redevelopment of an existing one. Any master plan thus embodies a specific conception of what a city is, how it works, what it should look like and how it may be produced. Such a strategic approach to managing spatial change within cities reflects values about the importance of a managed approach to urban change, and/or the significance of images of the built form of cities-as-such for particular societies.

In Britain, we have largely abandoned the master plan concept, although in many other parts of the world, it is still widely used, if often only as an ideal. The reasons for the rejection of master plan approaches in Britain could be put down to our particular history and values. Not only are we long past the period of rapid urbanisation. Most people have been living in urban areas for many generations now. We have not recently been particularly concerned about either the capacity or desirability of managing urban change in the controlled fashion which master plans anticipate. Thus, as we engage in regenerating, recycling, reorganising large areas of our cities, as in the GEAR project in Glasgow, or in the Docklands projects in London and Merseyside, there has been little attempt to conceptualise in any specific way the future environment of the area as a whole, still less its relation to the larger city. This has been coupled with a deliberate refusal to articulate programmes which interrelate actions to achieve a strategic end. The focus has been on projects, on sites, on opportunities, guided only by very general criteria embodying some conception of what "urban regeneration" could mean. As it is clear that large scale "urban regeneration" is set to continue, we have to ask whether such a project-based approach should continue.

THE POSTWAR CONCEPTION OF THE "MASTER PLAN"

In the immediate postwar period, our attitudes to urban change were very different. We adopted at this time a powerful urbanisation strategy which stressed the reconstruction and redevelopment of existing cities, the need to produce new urban areas to relieve congestion, reorganising cities to accommodate new technologies (especially transport), and the importance of relating urban development strategy to policies for managing agricultural land and conserving landscape (Hall et al, 1973). At the same time, government was expected to take a major role in managing change in all spheres of activity. Managing the production of the built environment was the parallel of reorganising education, health and welfare provision, and a substantial state role in economic management. There was also a widely accepted, if paternalist, consensus that the goals of state intervention in all spheres of life were self-evident, to improve the social welfare and economic prosperity of all citizens, to pursue "the public interest" over and above individual private interests, and to put "people" first.

The social and economic goals of urban planning were thus presented as self-evident, and the management of city building as a technical rather than political task. The "Master Plan" provided the ideal form to express and organise what had to be done. As presented in the planners' text of the 1950s (Keeble 1952), it involved collecting and organising information about the existing conditions of places, and how many people were to be accommodated in them, converting these via standards of space use, engineering principles and alternative conceptions of urban form into spatial strategies and action programmes. Thus urban planning was urban design. The main task of planning was to design better cities, and the main debates were about urban form. These debates drew inspiration from international architectural and planning discourse, in which diverse conceptions of the city were discussed in terms of their physical form(1). The specifically British contribution to these debates was of course the image of the "garden city", which profoundly influenced early New Town design in the postwar period, and many of the planning principles which were embodied in the practice of town and country planning from the 1950s. It is one of the great environmental tragedies of our time that in respect of public housing design and city centre planning, we have adopted international design ideas, such as the various modernist and postmodernist fashions, with

apparently little idea of their potential aesthetic, economic or social meaning in the British context (Dunleavy 1981, Ravetz 1980).

Urban planning culture has become highly critical of this definition of the planning task. As we think once again about the potential strategic dimensions of urban design it is worth remembering the main points of the critique of the postwar "masterplan" conception of urban planning. Four were stressed in the major reconstruction of urban planning thought in the 1960s(2).

1. It collapsed the social into the physical

It assumed that the translation from social process into urban form was largely unproblematic, and thus paid little attention to such economic phenomenon as land and property markets, or the dynamics of industrial change and its effects on what economic actors wanted from place and environment. Equally, it paid little attention to social differentiation except in terms of age groups. It therefore lacked a sociologically-grounded sense of urban and regional change. Planners blame the architectural tradition for these failings. Actually these were also strongly embedded in the functionalist sociology and neo-classical economics of the time. This point should alert us to the need to have a broad understanding of contemporary currents of intellectual thought if we are to address issues of urban and regional change today.

2. It was assumed that the main task of urban planning and design was city building

New town building provided the principles which were to guide the transformation of our urban areas into cities worthy of the postwar world. By the 1960s, this began to seem an extraordinarily arrogant assertion. Yet planners did not arrive at it alone. It was supported by the interventionist ideologies of Fabian social democracy and Keynesian economics which underpinned the postwar welfare state, coupled with the elite centralist traditions of British democracy (George and Wilding 1976, Beer 1982). It was also a reflection of the contemporary realisation of the ethos of modernity, which emphasised the hope of technology, science and rational thought at the key collective programmes of action which would lead to universal wealth, health and happiness (Habermas 1985). In this context, we should not forget as we challenge this vision, that most people in Britain, thanks in part to the initiatives of the welfare state, were by the 1970s materially and culturally much richer than they were in the 1940s.

3. It assumed that urban planners had control of the resources for city building over time

Urban planners and designers imagined that the peculiar autonomy and control they were given through the New Town corporations actually applied generally. The New Town corporation had land resources purchased at agricultural land values, substantial resources for development and long timescales to work to. Strategic planning in this instance was thus intimately linked with resource control and programming. There has of course been an extensive critique about what was done with such power. Few urban planners today imagine being in such a position and most would feel it was undesirable for social and political reasons. Urban planners, if not designers, have these days become used to a completely different situation. Strategies,

if articulated at all, are partial and often inconsistent. Uncertainty about resources is pervasive, and when they are available, they are typically specifically targetted and organised on short timescales. Coping with uncertainty is the key skill of environment management under such conditions.

4. It assumed that there was a consensus over the goals of urban planning, over what cities should be like

The legitimacy for exercising so much unfettered power in city building derived from the ideas that planners' values and those of their clients, "society" as represented by government, were the same. Planners were merely realising what politicians had determined to be in "the public interest". This comfortable position was undermined firstly by the challenge that the values planners and designers promoted were a distinctive set of variously called "bourgeois", "middle-class" or "architectural" conceptions of the city which were not coterminous with what politicians necessarily envisaged. Secondly, the "public interest" articulated by politicians through the political system was not necessarily "above and apart" from particular interests. It could represent a very specific conception of what a city was for (municipal aggrandisement, housing working people, generating high city centre retail spending or office rents). Thus there might be political conflict over the goals of city planning and how these should be realised. Faced with this conflict, urban planners are now aware that they are located within, not "above and apart" from political processes.

SPATIAL STRATEGY AND URBAN DESIGN IN URBAN PLANNING CULTURE FROM THE 1960s

All these criticisms were fostered within urban planning thought from the 1960s by its transformation from a primarily architectural and surveying culture into a social scientific one. This transformation was produced by the particular way the political demands for a more multi-dimensional and strategic approach to the management of urban and regional change were combined with particular developments in the planning and profession and planning education at the time (Healey, McDougall and Thomas 1982, Healey 1983). The effect on urban planning thought was that cities could no longer be understood primarily in the vocabulary of built form. They had to be recognised through their social, economic and political dimensions. Urban planners increasingly came to understand the built environment in terms of the social processes of its production and its social meaning, and to be concerned with spatial organisation through the way economic and social activities variously generated demands for land, buildings, place and environment.

From this point, the urban planning tradition has increasingly pulled away from urban design. As planners became applied social scientists and policy analysts, they not only correctly criticised the physical determinism and professional arrogance which characterised the tradition of thinking of urban planning as urban design. They also lost touch with architectural modes of thought and expression, while the architectural culture, within which urban design was and remains strongly rooted, has proved peculiarly resistant to social scientific modes of thought(3). This has meant that, rather than using the new understandings of people, place and cities derived from social science to reconstitute the agenda of policy questions in urban design, the urban planning culture has tended until recently to ignore them, reflecting a general tendency within social science(4).

Despite this neglect, the social scientific conversion of urban planning culture has provided urban planners with a much more robust basis for understanding cities, and the purposes and possibilities of "managing" them in the contemporary period. Among the most important developments in relation to understanding have been the recognition of:

1. the complexity of the relations between social process, spatial patterns and built form. This has become peculiarly important in the present period when, as a result of transport and communications technology, and tendencies in economic and social organisation, the spatial relations of one activity may be quite different from another. The compact city, which contained the production and consumption, material and cultural needs of a community within a clearly identifiable built form, has rarely been an accurate model of the economy and society of most urban areas, and makes very little sense in the open, loosely interconnected local economies and societies of today.
2. the diversity of social and economic communities of interest within urban areas and the conflicts between them. This is not just a question of long-recognised tensions between industrial and residential activities, or traffic and people. One factory's pollutions can undermine the image its neighbour is trying to convey to customers. One household's way of using its living space can conflict with another's (in relation to noise, or garden design for example). One group's activities may adversely affect another's (the young and rowdy versus the frail elderly in the street, for example). Planning is now widely recognised as being about the mediation of conflicts of interest over environmental change (Nuffield 1986), rather than the articulation and implementation of ideal principles of urban organisation. Planning is thus centrally inside the political processes of urban management, rather than apart from or above them.
3. the significance of land and property markets and the development process in effecting the translation from values, needs and demands about land, property, place and environment into the way rights to use and enjoy land, buildings, place and environment are allocated. The postwar master planners had thought that they controlled this allocative process. It was then thought that the state, via the machinery of the planning system, controlled it. It is now understood that, in a mixed economy, the state, and the planners who advise it, intervenes by shifting the terms of relations of land and property markets and development processes.

Following from these new understandings, planners now see themselves as involved in environmental management rather than city building, selectively intervening rather than providing comprehensive blueprints for change, learning about particular places and how they work in diverse ways, rather than undertaking the cataloguing which constituted the "survey" element of traditional master plan preparation, working with diverse interest communities, while at the same time acknowledging the primacy of politicians in decision-making. These changes have not of course merely been a product of social science. Society has firmly demanded them, and urban designers have experienced similar pressures.

In this context, the preparation of a master plan, with its programme of action to achieve precisely defined outcomes, seems a peculiarly inappropriate vehicle for expressing the strategic dimensions of managing environmental change. The articulation of directions is a political process rather than a technical one; strategy is about influencing a few key events and relations, rather than setting the framework for every action; plans (structural and local) are statements of policies and performance criteria rather than maps of spatial arrangements or plans of urban form (Solesbury 1974, Healey 1986). Similarly, the urban-designer planner's self-image as a city builder (or less kindly as an "evangelistic bureaucrat" (Davies 1972) has given way to planners as coordinators, networkers and catalysts, working across institutional boundaries, and between different interest groups, while at the same time offering their expertise in a service role to their employers and clients.

I have elaborated on these developments in urban planning culture because I think they are good. What Society currently wants from environmental management are difficult tasks to deliver, involving complex relations between experts, politicians and diverse interest groups. To contribute to these tasks, planners need to have an understanding of urban and regional change, an awareness of how and when it is possible and desirable to intervene in the processes of change, and a sensitive approach to the way expert knowledge may be combined with the knowledge of many different interest communities.

However, these capacities are not yet adequately developed within contemporary urban planning culture. In the context of this paper, I highlight two current weaknesses. The first concerns the failure to incorporate an appreciation of the dimensions of "spatial structure", urban form and urban design into an understanding of the processes of urban and regional change. It is clear from any analysis of what interest groups demand and what politicians seek to do that qualities of environment, of place, of neighbourhood, of buildings are widely appreciated three-dimensionally as well as two-dimensionally, and in terms of their physical properties as well as their social ones. Environment affects what people do and want just as it is a product of people's actions and values. Yet urban planning culture has failed to incorporate a systematic understanding of the contribution and significance of questions to do with urban form, while the architectural tradition has failed to address urban design issues in policy terms(5). Responsibility for this failure has, I am afraid, to be placed fairly and squarely on intellectual and professional boundary maintenance.

Responsibility for the second failure can only in part be laid at the door of urban planning culture. Over the last decade, and despite all the emphasis on strategic policy and method in the 1960s and 1970s, planners have become less and less able to "think strategically". Some of the reasons arise from within the new understandings or urban and regional change and of the political context of urban planning. The appreciation of complexity raises questions about whether it is ever possible to understand the processes of change sufficiently to determine what strategic interventions to undertake. The recognition of the primacy of politics challenges the role of planners in suggesting strategic directions. Planners have tended to abdicate from a role in contributing strategic ideas about urban and regional change, focussing instead on policy implementation and on projects. Yet as in earlier periods, planners have been influenced by the broader context of intellectual thought and political philosophy.

Intellectually, there are many strands to the critique of the project of modernity upon which are based our hopes of being able to produce social progress on the basis of collective action informed by rational principles(6). Relativist thinking and the revaluing of mystical traditions all challenge the possibility of the strategic management of change, as do the principles of rational public choice theory, rooted in individualist preferences (Mueller 1979, Elster 1986). At the political level, neo-conservatism draws its justification from public choice theory to argue against any intervention unless it is clearly justified in terms of evident consumer preferences. Strategic directions which might frame such preferences are therefore dismissed. Meanwhile, the practice of contemporary politics and public policy in Britain has reinforced the dominance of politicians, created a competitive proliferation of policy initiatives at both central and local government level, and produced great uncertainty about resources. In this context realising any programme has become extraordinarily difficult.

Yet in parallel with the "retreat" from strategic thinking about environmental management, there are countervailing pressures for a return to strategically-directed interventions in urban and regional change. Concern for the quality of place and for urban design have a significant place in these pressures. What is their origin? What effect may they have on approaches to environmental management? What are their implications for "thinking strategically" about cities, and about the urban design dimension of the production of the built environment?

POLICIES OR PROJECTS: DO WE REALLY NEED STRATEGY?

I can do no more than sketch an outline to the above questions. Essentially it requires us to predict the economic and political dimensions of the context within which values about and resources for "collective" (state) action in respect of environmental management are likely to arise. I have made some attempt to do this elsewhere (Healey 1967). However, since we are all active participants in the construction of the future, the outcome of the present "struggle" between project-based and "disjointed" interventions and policy-based strategically-directed interventions cannot be predicted since it depends on the political power of the arguments and pressures deployed. To focus the debate, I polarise the arguments around the two positions.

A project-based and "disjointed"(7) approach emphasises the targetting of interventions to specific issues as they arise, to firms, to areas, to topics. It deliberately avoids establishing frameworks within which such projects can be related to each other, or to the achievement of specified objectives, other than broad principles such as "increasing the level of private investment in inner city areas" or "increasing job generation". While concerned with design at the level of a project should this be relevant to the specific issue, it ignores the cumulative effect of projects on places, in physical, economic and social terms, except in the sense of the very general criteria used. To the extent that there is any strategic orientation, it is determined and controlled by those who realise the specific projects. Many of the present government's interventions in urban regeneration carry the stamp of this approach - Urban Development Grants, Enterprise zones, Simplified Planning Zones, Inner City Task Forces, the reorientation of Derelict Land Grant and the Urban Programme, and to an extent the approaches fostered in the Urban Development Corporations.

The advantages of this approach are seen to be:

- flexibility for opportunistic initiative;
- avoidance of time-wasting and often unproductive exercises in researching and selecting alternative possibilities;
- avoidance of complex and potentially unresolvable political debates on objectives and alternatives;
- reducing the regulation likely to be associated with any strategic effort in environmental management;
- fostering a risk-taking, and more individualist approach to the production of the built-environment;
- focussing on clearly visible interventions with evident consequences, rather than the less tangible activities of pursuing strategic objectives over long time periods.

Such an approach thus has political attractions to parties competing for popular support, is in line with much new right philosophy and public choice theory, and responds to the criticism of the deficiencies of a bureaucratized welfare state which relies too much on regulation. It recognises the difficulty of "comprehensive planning", seeks to reduce the "overload" of demands created by consultative political practices, and appears to respond to widely-felt demands for more autonomy and less government. It also provides an ideological mantle for a substantial shift of resources from interventions aimed at social welfare and environmental quality to support for economic activity.

However, while such approaches vigorously promoted by central government, and often by local governments controlled by various party combinations, have challenged many old policies and practices for which there was no longer much rationale, we are now seeing their consequences. The approach advocated freeing the private sector from regulation and "rolling back the state". But economic actors seek not only freedom from regulation and targeted subsidies. Many need assurances about future conditions in an area, in relation to labour markets, land and property markets, infrastructure investments, and the image of a locale and a region. The "overheating" of the South East economy with its reflection in high property values and skilled labour shortages, is now once again a cause of concern at the level of the overall performance of the economy. Economic actors also want the political system to "clear" a path through conflicts over, for example, waste disposal, the location of "dirty" activities, over the reorganisation of farming activities.

The project-based approach does this by concentrating on the project and by avoiding too many arenas for open debate. But in a knowledgeable democracy, citizens are not likely to let this pass for long. The present government's retreat over housing land availability in Southern Britain when confronted with powerful environmental lobbying is a case in point. The House Builders' Federation, the CBI and many other representatives of sectors of the economy have argued for more attention to regional planning and the retention of structure plans as a way to resolve these conflicts(8). Regional strategy debate is also seen as a valuable mechanism for coordination by providing a discussion arena within which participants can explore how best to adjust to each others' activities, and within which major public investments can be discussed. These latter investments frame the opportunities and perceptions of places within which initiatives are generated.

Moving from the economic to the social sphere, not only is it becoming difficult to ignore a whole series of basic needs in respect of housing and facilities which demand action even by "caring capitalists"(9). It is now widely recognised that Britain is a multicultural society with diverse values about the quality of residential environments and varied demands for social and recreational space. Accommodating and resolving the conflicts between these demands presents considerable challenges to politicians which are only temporarily avoided by ignoring them. For both economic interests and social groups can readily see that project-based interventions favour some people more than others. Yet the reasons for this favouring are unclear. Either governments have to provide a clear rationale for their interventions, which strategic direction helps to do, or the political system is faced with a decay into patronage politics(10).

A STRATEGICALLY DIRECTED APPROACH

A strategically-directed approach to environmental management thus has the following potential advantages.

- it addresses spatial externality effects, both positive and negative;
- it provides a more informed basis for decisions on major infrastructure investments;
- it addresses spatial interrelationships, maximising the benefits of selected interventions and minimising the potential costs;
- it provides a mechanism for addressing conflicts over land use and environmental quality and determining sustainable resolutions to conflicts;
- it provides sustainable rationales for public intervention in a context where there can be no expectation of consensus about policies;
- it provides a framework within which people can discuss what they want their "city" to be like, and how far individual autonomy should be compromised to allow other people space for their activities, or to ensure the provision or conservation of widely-valued facilities, buildings and environments.

I have thus arrived at economic and political arguments for a strategic approach to the management of environmental change in urban regions. But the kind of approach to strategy they suggest is a long way from the master plan conception. Strategies arrived at as a result of pressures such as these are likely to be selectively-focussed, to be concerned with the promotion and conservation of key environmental qualities and facilities rather than the provision of rules to govern all environmental change, and to be produced discursively, involving the participation of many interest groups, rather than prepared by planning teams. The discussions over the production of regional guidance for the new Unitary Development Plans in the West Midlands provide a pointer to the way strategy for urban region change may develop.

However, the two weaknesses in urban planning culture I identified earlier compromise our ability to inform the "rediscovery" of a strategic approach to environmental management. On the one hand, while urban planning culture is well-prepared to participate in the processes of strategy development, it is short of ideas to help organise and flesh out alternative possibilities. Because urban planners have sought to avoid the arrogance of their master planner predecessors who imposed uncritically their

ideas on society, we have been hesitant to articulate new possibilities to offer for debate into the political arena. Without Peter Hall and the Town and Country Planning Association, urban planning culture at present would have little to say in the realm of ideas about strategic spatial organisation, though a great deal on how to realise them. (The same can be said about ideas for local economic development). On the other hand, despite the evident concern with the quality of the environment among almost all interest groups, there has been little systematic thought in recent years in urban planning culture on the nature and diversity of environmental qualities, of images of place, of the relation between locales, places and "the City", and of how conflicting images may co-exist.

IMAGING THE CITY: STRATEGIC DIMENSIONS OF URBAN DESIGN

The master plan conception assumed that it was possible to translate broad economic and social policy objectives into precise land use allocations and urban form. On reflection, this was an extraordinarily bold intellectual endeavour and it is not surprising that it failed. Yet the New and Expanded Towns built in the 1950s and 1960s provide many of the attributes of what are now recognised as environmental quality. It could perhaps be argued that the comprehensive conception failed, but embodied in the master plans and the ideology of urban planners and urban designers were certain strategic ideas about what places should be like which have proved to be robust. The question we must ask ourselves today is what the agenda of strategic ideas should be. In particular, we have to consider whether there is any sense in which "the city" as such can and should be conceptualised in urban design terms, or whether urban design's contribution is at the level of quality of place, if any, which derive from strategic objectives. It seems to me that we need much more debate on these questions. To conclude the paper, I contribute three issues which I believe should be explored in such a debate.

1. As argued above, it is no longer possible to conceptualise "the city" as a compact entity, with its built form containing a discrete set of economic, social and political relations. "Cities" are open collections of relations, each with multiple spatial referents, which diffusely intersect with each other, and variously link to the world beyond an urban region. What "binds" urban regions in the contemporary context is likely to be labour markets, land and property markets, infrastructure investments, and the image and culture of an area formed historically and in relation to national and international tendencies. Spatial organisation, "urban structure" as such, is merely a produced pattern rather than a "binding" quality of cities. Notions of central places, of hierarchies of centres or of any particular "urban structure" lose their relevance in this context. One set of relations may indeed have a spatial patterning which is nodal and hierarchical. Another may have a pattern more like a lattice, a third an annular form. All three may intersect, perhaps at a motorway junction, or a regional city centre.

This seems to me to mean that we need to explore the significance of the spatial and urban design dimensions of different activity sets, to see whether these demand any intervention beyond the level of the locale to promote the development of these dimensions if so desired, and to identify where the spatial and design dimensions of different activity sets interrelate - in critical locations such as regional city centres, or transport nodes, or areas of tourist attraction, or multicultural residential

environments. In other words, urban design becomes strategic where it is a vital ingredient of the promotion of a particular activity or set of relations and values, or where it is a key tool in facilitating the co-existence of diverse activities and values, either through spatial integration or segregation, or where the political communities of a city/region seek to present a collective image of their "place" in urban form.

2. I have emphasised the extent of conflict over land and environmental in our present society, resulting from diverse economic and social values about place and environmental quality. We now know, thanks to social scientific knowledge and pluralist political practice, a good deal about the diversity of groups. We know (and they know) much less about what environmental qualities they value, and how different our various values really are. It is relatively easy for us all to articulate some demands and values, because the vocabulary for doing so is around in the media, in popular discourse and in professional vocabulary. It is sometimes suggested that urban design presents peculiar difficulties in this context because of its subjectivity. I suggest this is a false assertion. If people can be endlessly preoccupied and knowledgeable about design in clothes, there is no reason why they should not be able to discuss urban design. The problem may be that "design" (as with so many other qualities which enrich life and increase production) is undervalued in British society.

If this is so, then we have a job to do in making urban design ideas and vocabulary widely available to all kinds of interest communities. This means a shift in attitude from giving clients "good design" as arbitrated upon within professional communities, to providing communities with the vocabulary to articulate what they like about design. This does not mean that "good design" is not then needed, but it will "empower" interest groups to judge design more intelligently in relation to their own interests. This in turn will bring benefits to designers in the form of more precise specifications of the design briefs which prompt their technical and creative talents. I also suspect that "good design", linked to a sensitive specification of the economic, social and political context, has the capacity to unblock many of the environmental conflicts we now face. In this context, we need to change the terms of debate about planning and design from: "bureaucratic regulation inhibits good architecture" to: "how can a client's desire for an innovatively-designed office building be accommodated to citizens' legitimate concerns over the quality of a locale, and legitimate right to articulate their values about what these qualities are".

3. However, I do not think that a more socio-economically grounded and democratically-sensitive approach to spatial relations and urban design is enough. This could allow us to sit back and play a "service" role in realising clients' and communities' ideas about urban design. But there are limits to such a service role which lie in the ethics and knowledge of expertise itself. Ethically, we have to consider whether all the tendencies in values about spatial organisation and urban design are "good", morally acceptable. For my part, I am very concerned about the tendency to translate social divisions into physical form, in the segregation of residential environments and in the privatisation of public spaces in retail and leisure complexes. But to challenge these

tendencies as an expert. I have to find grounds in my expertise as a planner and make the reasons for my position clear and understandable to the clients and communities using my expertise.

Are we careful enough in identifying our own values and making them available for political debate and choice in this way? Secondly, we need to develop our own debates about different possibilities for spatial organisation and urban design in order to enrich more general debate as to possibilities. We should not forget that much of the imagery about place and design which people now vigorously defend derives from antecedents such as garden city design. What imagery are we projecting today? How far is it locked into our very conservative tradition about urban form and landscape, and how far are we introducing new images? Are these our own, reflecting contemporary conditions as currently experienced, and how far have we just borrowed them from the international culture?

I will conclude on one final point. If we are to develop in the directions I suggest, it will be essential for urban planning culture to incorporate a more profound understanding of the aesthetics and modes of thought of urban design. Urban designers must in their turn absorb much more of the social science and policy analysis of urban planning thought. For while the strategic management of environmental change will not require the tool of a master plan for its expression and realisation, it will require a sensitive grasp of the multiple dimensions of urban and regional change on the part of experts helping clients and communities to determine appropriate interventions, at the level of projects and in respect of policies.

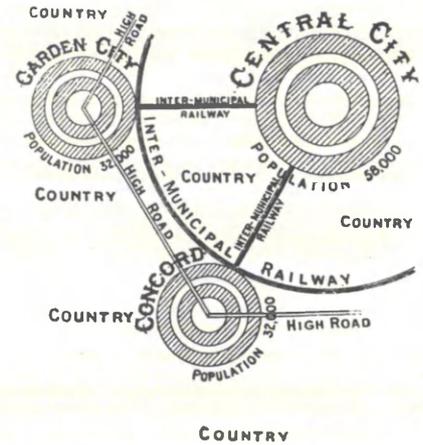
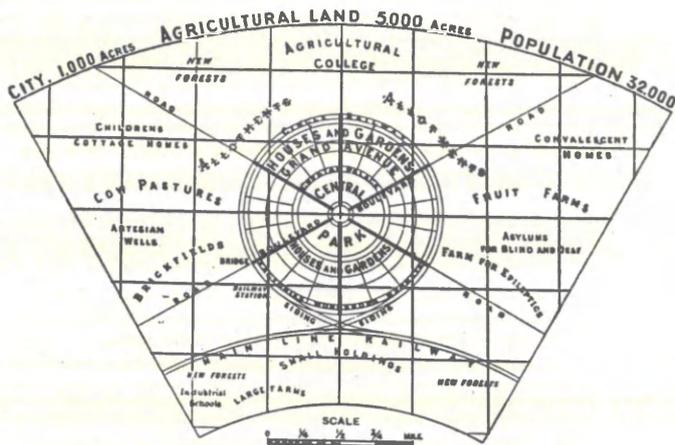
NOTES

1. For a brief review, see Hall 1974, Chapter 3.
2. For a useful summary of these debates, see Hague 1984, Chapter 3.
3. Thus the problem of developing a policy-oriented approach to urban design issues involves not only addressing competing definitions within a mode of thought, but communicating across modes of thought. The need for such communication is necessary in most of the bodies of expertise associated with the built environment, and is one reason for current interest in greater interdisciplinary work in professional education for the built environment.
4. This neglect is now being somewhat redressed, with a new interest by geographers and sociologists in place, space and design (see Gregory and Urry, ed. 1985, Harvey 1987, Rustin 1986).
5. Punter's work on urban design in development control stands out as an exception (Punter 1986).
6. Note that the concept of "modernity", as the primary intellectual/cultural influence in Western thought since the eighteenth century needs to be distinguished from "modernism" and "post-modernism" in art and architecture. The latter are specific tendencies or styles within western culture, developing from the late nineteenth century, with post-modernism gathering impetus from the 1960s. There is, I believe, a link between the challenge to "modernity" and post modernism, which lies in the rejection of rationalism, but the link needs to be carefully spelled out rather than collapsing the one into the other.

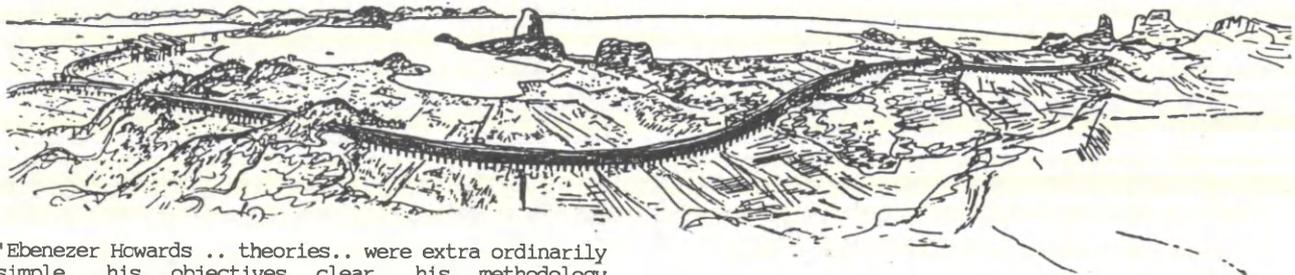
7. I use the word "disjointed" here from Braybrooke and Lindblam's famous discussion of "Disjointed Incrementalism", which Lindblam later developed into a concept of "partisan mutual adjustment". The latter concept is rich in insight for contemporary thinking about strategy (Braybrooke and Lindblam 1963; Lindblam 1965).
8. Evidence of economic support for regional strategy emerges from the comments on the Department of the Environment's recent discussion paper, The Future of Development Plans (DoE 1986).
9. This is one of Thatcher's phrases.
10. The term "patronage politics" describes the exchange of direct individual favours and support between politicians in many constituents. It is a well-known feature of politics in many populist democracies (e.g. parts of Latin America, Southern Italy, some city councils in the US) but has been unusual in the UK until recently.

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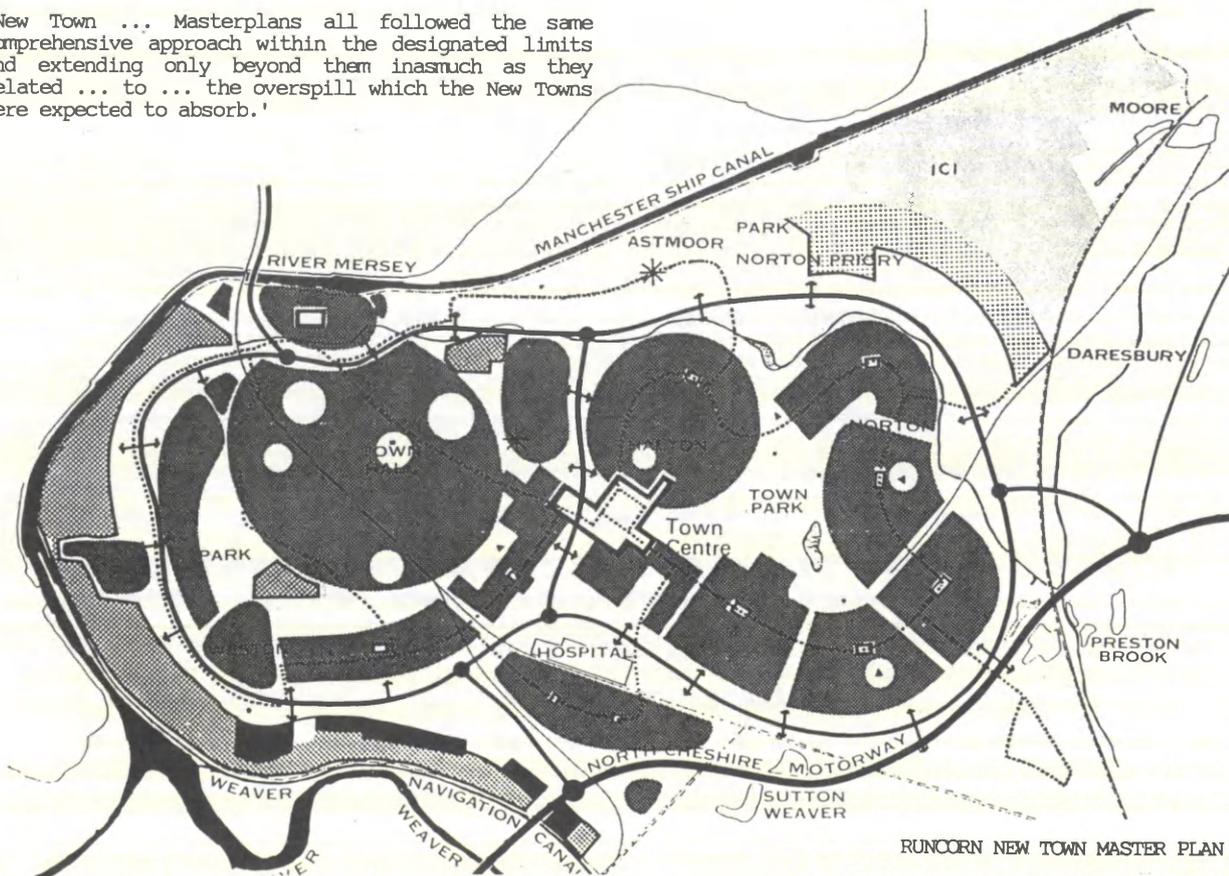
'Howards work on Garden Cities was one of many contributions to the evolution over the centuries of what we might call the Utopian theory.'



LE CORBUSIER STUDIES FOR RIO

'Ebenezer Howards .. theories.. were extra ordinarily simple, his objectives clear, his methodology straightforward. Contrast this with the doctrines of Le Corbusier and the ... consequences of interpreting his work as an Urban Design handbook.'

'New Town ... Masterplans all followed the same comprehensive approach within the designated limits and extending only beyond them inasmuch as they related ... to ... the overspill which the New Towns were expected to absorb.'



RUNCORN NEW TOWN MASTER PLAN

KEYNOTE LECTURE by Professor Denys Hinton EPIC ACHIEVEMENTS OR CITIES OF LOST DREAMS?

You may have wondered, as I did, why there are two keynote papers and what is the difference between them. I have now discovered the difference is that the author of the first paper is allowed to decide on her own title whereas the author of the second is given a title in advance.

Not that I'm complaining; I am grateful among many other things for being supplied with such an interesting one. Somebody in the Urban Design Group evidently has a flair for putting together these titles in the form of questions, and "Epic Achievements or Cities of Lost Dreams" has a poetic and rather nostalgic flavour. My one anxiety is that you may think that it is a question which I am going to answer. I shall tell you that I have a sort of nightmare in which I am sitting on a black chair taking part in a programme called "Masterplan", and hear that echoing voice saying, "You have chosen to answer questions about New Towns; are they Epic Achievements or Cities of Lost Dreams". I am totally numb - perhaps I should pass? No, there is a 50/50 chance, so have a go. "Epic Achievements". "No, the correct answer is Cities of Lost Dreams".

As the nightmare fades I think I can hear the voice saying "Next question; who is Milton Keynes?"

In spite of appearances I don't think this one is really a question at all. It is a statement about the paradox which exists within ourselves and our work. It juxtaposes to continuing aspects of our nature and of our task. You might think from Patsy Healey's admirable paper that the recent history of Urban Planning and Design has been an alteration of these aspects, sometimes that the Masterplan dominates, sometimes the approach. You may also think that if, as she says, the Masterplan approach is now unfashionable, there are still a lot of people who have not heard this news, and possibly do not want to. However, her comprehensive review of the past and present was about the best justification I have heard for adopting a Masterplan approach to the writing of a conference paper. By comparison, I fear that my own may seem to be no more than a collection of unrelated ideas - perhaps a give-away about where I stand with regard to the questions which I have said I don't intend to answer.

I would like to stay on the subject of attitudes and perceptions and to examine briefly those which relate to some of the issues which Patsy Healey identified. Then to look in rather more detail at the New Towns programme as a model activity in which many different kinds of approach were engaged, and if it doesn't sound too pretentious to attempt an evaluation of its aims and achievements. Finally, I will try to return to the main Conference theme and ask whether the processes of Urban Planning and Design will always be subject to the pendulum movement of policy change, and whether there are measures we can adopt in the light of lessons learned in the course of the New Towns programme.

The broad division of attitudes between Masterplanners and pragmatists resembles those we find in theory and practice. From that master of classical theory, Vitruvius, we know that these are interdependent, and that it is not only necessary to have a reliable theory but to adapt it to meet practical needs. This requires tolerance of ambiguity such as that shown by the small boy who, when informed for the first time that the world was round, replied with a sceptical air, "It is flat where I live".

The contrast manifests itself in temperament and outlook. From Vitruvius to Le Corbusier, the literature of Architecture and Planning is full of treatises by writers who saw the process of design as a microcosm of the creation of the universe and looked for rules and principles into the cosmos.



Others, particularly since the Arts and Crafts movements of the late 19th century, adopted a more pragmatic approach, focusing on carefully studied detail and consideration for materials, concern for local conditions for the site and the genius loci qualities which have been a feature of for instance post-war Scandinavian architecture and made it for many people a more wholesome diet than the rhetoric of the cosmologists.

The division between North and South is notable, as is the methodology not only of design but of measurement. While the world of metrication which we have lately joined has traditionally made use of a unit which claims to be a sub-division of the world's circumference, northern nations, including Scandinavia as well as Britain, have preferred to measure things in terms of parts of their own body and its function. So, whereas a metre is an abstraction a foot is a measure of ourselves which we carry around.

The Napoleonic idea is a formula in exercising judgement as well as power; and it poses one of our dilemmas since it is impossible to achieve the aims of Masterplanning without political control, and this raises the question of how is freedom to be preserved, and how are people whose lives, hopes and perhaps dreams are all at stake to be protected against Napoleonic politicians or bureaucrats.

THE NEW TOWNS PROGRAMME

All these conditions have a bearing on the New Towns which have occupied and, apart from a gap in the fifties, had a prominent place in post-war planning history, and only now in England are coming to an end after 40 years of activity. The programme which has been pursued by governments of all political complexions has won the admiration of Planners, Sociologists and Administrators throughout the world, and been imitated by many of them. If we include Scotland and Wales there have been 26 New Towns all based on a similar pattern, with variations and adaptations mostly to meet changing economic conditions. They have had a varying shelf life, averaging about 20 years. Although all five of the Scottish New Towns are still operating, the third generation survivors in England are now reduced to a handful, and two in this category, Northampton and Central Lancashire, have already been wound up. By contrast, one Development Corporation from the first generation, which I am glad to say is Aycliffe and Peterlee, has still some time to run. Scotland incidentally has its New Towns programme administered by the Scottish Office and not by the Department of the Environment. On the whole there is more integration with regional policy in Scotland.

It is an impressive programme involving the commitment of large sums of money, bringing into existence highly skilled groups of professionals, and of course affecting the lives of large numbers of people. Something approaching 5% of the population of the entire country now live in New Towns. 5,000 new employers have provided jobs for nearly half a million people, and over half a million new houses and flats have been built for them. Notwithstanding, this has been numerically a modest programme compared with some countries who have imitated or adapted the British model, though in a few cases have such expanded policies been pursued with as much consistency.

The top four in the charts are:

USSR	127
Canada	75
USA	71
India	53

The link between this programme and the past is Welwyn Garden City, originally formed as a private New Town Company in 1921 and brought into the programme as a designated New Town in the 1940's. Distinguished as it was, Howard's work on Garden Cities was one of many contributions to the evolution over the centuries of what we might call the Utopian theory.

Originally, and perhaps ironically, Utopia was seen as a vehicle for political theory. Plato's representation was concerned with ideas about government and on how people live and relate in their public lives. Though the Greeks did not lack knowledge and skill in building design, they were not very interested in Urban Planning, and their elegantly conceived buildings played no part in the pattern of an ideal community, certainly not a deterministic one.

There are many other categories. Sir Thomas More, who gave the title Utopia to the language, shared some of the classical interest in government and public relationships, but saw this reflected in the more intimate aspects of community life, symbolised by what appeared to be system-built houses with small private gardens. It is notable that this like most early models, advocated standardisation and did not value variety.

A popular field for airing views about towns of the future has been that of satire and scepticism, beginning with Swift and showing itself in the works of Wells, Huxley, Orwell and Priestley, all of them uniformly pessimistic.

The "attitude" writers (not to be confused with cosmologists) came into existence in the 19th century, anticipated by Pugin and preoccupied with correctness of both style and state of mind, the greatest apostle of the latter being Ruskin, who introduced into the debate considerations of morality subsequently inherited by the pioneers of the modern movement. Then there were the dreamers like William Blake, with visions of imaginary cities and those who conjured up dreams of the past, and names like Samarkand, Persepolis, Byzantium and Troy, so poetic that one cannot be sure whether they really exist other than in the imagination. Those soaked in nostalgia, like Jerusalem and St. Petersburg. And in the dream category there are those which certainly do exist, but about which people have written using a language usually reserved for the description of beautiful women, such as Venice, Paris, and Oxford.

Ebenezer Howard's distinction is that his work was not merely an intellectual exercise, but contained theories that were intended to be applied. These were extraordinarily simple, his objectives clear, his methodology straightforward. He believed they could all be realised and the New Towns programme has proved that he was right.

Contrast this with the doctrines of Le Corbusier and the disastrous consequences of interpreting his work as an Urban Design Handbook. What should have been classified as a work of poetic vision and filed alongside, but on a lower shelf than William Blake, has been taken as being not only a work embodying scientific theory, but putting forward a practical methodology. The results of the doctrine are inescapable, but as it happens are hardly seen at all in the British New Towns.

NEW TOWN MASTER PLANS

All New Town Developments in Britain have begun with a Masterplan, and all have been related to a designated area. Masterplans are normally produced by Masterplanners and although the physical planning decisions have wide variations they all followed the same comprehensive approach. Comprehensive that is within the designated limits, and extending only beyond them inasmuch as they related in the majority of cases to conurbations whose expansion was expected to continue, and the overspill which the New Towns were expected to absorb.

They therefore started with the advantage of being on a manageable physical scale, but this cannot be said about the basic assumptions. As we know too well, the great conurbations, particularly those in the North and Midlands, not only failed to expand but collapsed during the latter part of the New Towns programme. Some people have even blamed the New Towns for this, and it is perhaps a charge which must be considered. Alongside it is the reversal of population trends which also threw many of the planned assumptions made during the same period and, of course, the oil crisis of the 70's with its dramatic impact on the economy generally and especially on interest rates. These considerations are the kind which throw doubt on whether Masterplans are helpful at all, or at least whether they have been flexible enough to adapt to major changes such as these. They also raise the question of whether the Masterplan approach attempts to answer questions which it is incapable of resolving, let alone making predictions about the future, and even whether what appear to be big issues are in fact the most important.

There is a story said to have originated with Sydney and Beatrice Webb about a very long and successful matrimonial partnership, near the end of which the famous wife was interviewed by a journalist and asked a number of questions about herself and her famous husband. The chief of these, of course, was to what did she attribute the success of this partnership; to which replied "at the beginning of our marriage my husband and I decided on a very simple formula. He would make all the important decisions and leave the trivial day-to-day ones with me, and that is what we have always done". Pressed by the journalist to give an example, she said, "Well, I have always decided on such minor matters as where we should live, what job my husband should have, where the children should go to school, and that has left him free to decide on the really important matters, like whether we should recognise Red China, or join the European Community". Those whose interest lies in the big issues do not always wield the greater power.

I came relatively late to the New Towns scene, and can therefore claim no credit for the successes achieved at Redditch. But this may have given me a degree of objectivity in looking at the aims and achievements of Redditch, and other New Towns, without feeling, as many of my predecessors may have done, that their personal reputations are involved. Before I attempt to do that, however, I should tell you, and perhaps you will not be surprised, that there is widespread euphoria among people involved in the New Town movement about their achievements and total conviction about their successes. Although

frequently justified, this must often appear to others, (especially those whose experience has not been so exhilarating) as bordering on complacency on the part of a group engaged in an extravagantly resourced exercise in power without responsibility.

Such disadvantages arise from action un-coordinated with the local community, and with those elected to local government, and were met to some extent by changes in the later stages of the New Towns programme, bringing about closer partnership and the sharing of facilities. But the idea of a Development Corporation descending like an army of occupation, with its senior members driven around in chauffeur-driven limousines is a prevalent one. As an example of managerial operation the machinery of the Development Corporation is a simple effective one in almost every other way. Linked to the Masterplan and deriving its leadership largely from professionals (many of the highest calibre were attracted to work in Development Corporations) generously provided with funds and resources not only for development but for promotion, the Development Corporations started with a great deal in their favour. Above all the special planning powers which exceeded those of elected local authorities created conditions which came very close to guaranteeing success.

Most New Towns therefore can be seen to have incorporated just enough Masterplanning to provide a satisfactory combination of all the elements necessary to complete the programme with a measure of flexibility and resources not found elsewhere. It would not be possible, or even fair, to attempt in the time available an evaluation of all the New Towns in Britain, and would certainly be premature. However, there are several headings under which it is possible to examine what has been achieved in relation to their general and particular aims. Briefly the examination will fall under the headings: social, economic, financial and environmental achievements.

SOCIAL ACHIEVEMENTS

First in social terms there is emerging from a welter of prejudice a fairly clear picture of new communities who are settled and to a considerable extent united. For those whose lives were disrupted by the advent of New Town programmes, the devastation, particularly of the infrastructure, period now belongs to the past, and a new generation has reached adulthood who have no knowledge of what life was like before the New Towns began. These, and those who have migrated inwards, form the new populations who are able to weld relationships and meet the challenges of the post Development Corporation era. Generally though they do not form a broad population mix, being drawn in many cases predominantly from the lower middle and working classes. The time has almost certainly passed when there was such a thing as can be identified as New Town depression, if indeed it was ever more conspicuous there than anywhere else.

ECONOMIC ACHIEVEMENTS

On the economic front the overspill theory has usually not worked, but expansion has continued none the less, bringing in new industries and other sources of employment from all parts of the country and from overseas. This raises the question of whether it should be part of a National Masterplan to create a situation in which a large number of organisations are competing with each other (and spending public money) in an attempt to attract mobile employers and firms looking for new centres to develop their activities. Since it is the nature of competition, other than in Lewis Carroll, for there to be only one winner, and since most New Towns have expanded fairly steadily, towards their targets, there must be many areas in the country, of which the

West Midlands is certainly one, where unemployment has been high but which have been unable to compete in the absence of all the advantages which New Towns have possessed. Of these the collapsing cities are the most notable examples, and the warning signs appeared even while some New Towns were still being designated. However, it was some time before major policy changes and the diversion of resources took effect, and it is because of this that the New Towns have sometimes been accused of accelerating the process of Urban decline.

One can see the connection but the fault rests with policy making, and the long winded process of getting the Ship of State to alter course. To attribute the blame to the New Towns themselves is like telling the man who has spent his money on electronic gadgets, rather than repair his roof, that the rot in his attic has been caused by his television set.

The process of wind-up and disposals in New Towns is a complicated and painful one. In the early 80's the Government pursued a totally unrealistic policy of "getting out clean" largely so that the Commission for the New Towns, created as a repository for their remaining assets, could also be wound up. Following strong representation by New Town Chairmen and others, this policy was changed and the Commission given a new role which it has exercised with great success, frequently with a presence in the former New Town context. Most of the evidence is that a successful balance is being maintained.

FINANCIAL ACHIEVEMENTS

The financial organisation for New Towns is complex and not widely understood. Beginning chiefly as an investment of public money, many New Towns from an early date involved the private sector, and from about 1980 onwards the Government maintained the cash flow necessary to continue the New Town programme only by requiring each Development Corporation to dispose of some of its assets.

Finance for New Towns has traditionally been provided by central government by way of 60 year fixed interest loans to cover:-

1. capital development costs including:-
 - (i) land acquisition
 - (ii) infrastructure
 - (iii) construction
2. recurrent management and maintenance expenditure
3. annual revenue account deficits

The whole financing philosophy of the British New Town is that the planning gain on land should be used to finance development. In the longer run, the increase in the rental values of property should more than cover the management costs and, since interest is fixed, the theory is that eventually net income from property will exceed interest charges and eventually revenue accounts will move into surplus.

Recent experience suggests that the time frame for revenue accounts to move into surplus is long, probably in excess of 25 years, but the first generation New Towns are now collectively showing a massive surplus and making a real contribution to the exchequer.

However, in these early New Towns the interest rate was very low at the time capital expenditure was incurred in the 1950's, and they were not called upon to bear the cost of advance service provision of other public sector bodies, such as water and sewerage, highways and education, which the current New Towns are expected to bear.

It is likely that the latest third generation New Towns, such as Milton Keynes and Telford, will not break even on revenue account until well into the next century at the earliest - if at all.

Private sector investment comes primarily from the large financial institutions such as Insurance Companies, Pension Funds and more recently the Merchant Banks. Institutional Investment occurs in two ways:-

1. by the sale or long lease and leaseback of completed industrial and commercial developments to funding institutions, or
2. Forward funding where the private funding institutions enter into partnerships with Development Corporations to finance speculative new development.

The investment opportunities for the private sector fall mainly into three categories:-

1. Industry
2. Retail Shopping
3. Office development.

There is, however, an increasing amount of private sector finance going into leisure and recreation.

ENVIRONMENTAL ACHIEVEMENTS

Finally, what about standards of design? In environmental terms the products of the New Towns have often seemed undistinguished. There have been few prizewinning projects and not many architectural awards. The designated areas, with a few exceptions, have not been the seedbed of dramatic innovation or for the formalised use of space. They have tended to be cosy, traditional, non-monumental, and lacking in many of the qualities that Thomas Sharp deplored when writing about the New Town tradition in the 50's.

Traditional materials, pitched roofs and an abundance of landscaping have been in the familiar Garden City tradition. Moreover, since much of the development, particularly in housing, has been carried out by the private sector, there is a reflection of public taste in many of the areas of houses for sale, which reflect a preference for the traditional small house - or the imitation of it offered by the speculative builder in the form of Georgian windows and Magnet front doors.

Perhaps this is a price which has to be paid by an organisation which is largely entrepreneurial and which seeks to combine the benefits of comprehensive planning and control with the manipulation of private sector finance and private development. However, if the New Towns have not been successful as design laboratories, what we as Urban Designers may see as environmental failures are not usually what are criticised by most of the people who live in them.

CRITICISMS OF NEW TOWNS

Their criticisms are often not very numerous, and relate much more to things like transport systems (complicated road networks and the bus service itself). However magnificent the shopping centres there are usually some complaints about shopping facilities, but most criticisms tend to be directed still towards the elected representatives on Local Councils who, to their increased exasperation, have seen Developments Corporations' grow in popularity, like the generous uncle who hands out treats and whose departure is met with tears and disappointment.

I have purposely said nothing about the real black spots where social and economic problems continue to be a worry. No New Towns are immune from economic problems like unemployment, but some have got off more lightly than others, partly because there has been a tendency to discriminate and to exclude heavy industries in favour of those whose environmental impact is more acceptable, and to encourage particular organisations such as electronics firms which are not labour intensive.

Others have suffered through defects in regional policy masterplanning, of which Telford, cut off for many years from the motorway system, is a conspicuous example.

There are also areas where the development of united communities has been less successful. Sometimes, but not always, linked to unsatisfactory housing. Ironically, the view still exists that community sense is often stronger in areas where housing conditions are worst, and where people have a common cause in their discomfort and enjoy not only complaining, but comparing with each other which has the worst examples of damp and dry rot. This Coronation Street theory of human happiness does not stand up in practice and only tells us that communities are made by people and not by architects.

There are both social and economic paradoxes about the problems of New Towns in the regional context. Although there have always been links with Local Authorities, consisting, at a minimum, of political nominees on Development Corporations, and although some features such as the road infrastructure and the shopping facilities have often been planned to meet regional targets, the connection has frequently been unstable, and this may be attributed partly to the direct lines of communication with Whitehall. Even where the Department of the Environment has had a Regional Office, New Towns have figured hardly at all in its remit, and consequently their programmes have been treated independently of other regional development.

The achievement side of the New Towns cannot really be in doubt, though hardly on an epic scale. But surely it would have been disgraceful if, with so much going for them, the New Towns had been anything but a success.

As for Lost Dreams, every human experience is touched with disillusionment, but the New Towns have, for most part, done more than travel hopefully. Now that the majority have arrived it is time to ask what lessons can be learned.

LESSONS TO BE LEARNED

With this aim I propose to turn the tables on the Conference programme organisers and pose a series of questions.

First, is the relative success of New Town development and management due to the unique context in which they occur, or can the Development Corporation idea be transferred successfully to other Urban problems?

How do we identify the scale on which the over-view and Masterplan can operate effectively, and how can we ensure the change from one scale of design to another, and achieve the flexibility and versatility which are needed in order to find solutions.

Does such harmonisation require major changes in the relationship between society and those to whom it entrusts its urban futures, and should this involve a re-orientation of professional rules and a new approach to interdisciplinary education.

I know it is a commonplace to conclude a paper like this by suggesting educational change as a solution. This is really not just a cliché because in the environmental field we have made negligible progress in professional harmonisation, and still less in interdisciplinary work in our centres of study, so that reform is long overdue.

Whether such changes will be brought about as a result of a Masterplan or take the form of local initiatives is a subject for another debate ■

THE PHYSICAL REALITY - ARE THEY WORTH IT. IN THE END ?

by Gordon Davies

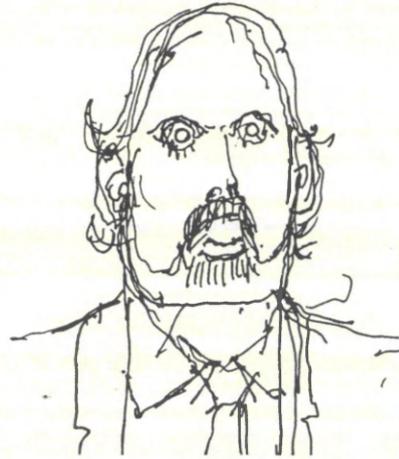
New Towns' policy in Britain has been enshrined as statute since the mid 1940's and has been supported by Government and political parties of all shades up to the present day. Indeed, in Scotland in contrast to England, Wales and Northern Ireland, the policy is still strongly supported by Government, overtly as an instrument of economic policy, more covertly as a test bed for new Government initiatives, and a means of demonstrating the success of their policies. All five Scottish new towns, therefore, continue to receive Government support and operate within the trappings of a muted Thatcherite policy, a situation which hardly endears us to our local authority colleagues. Those who pursued the cause of new towns acted not only from a sense of social idealism, but also in the belief that the problems of our cities could be solved by the introduction of large scale planning.

Some aspects of the Reith Report which laid the foundation for the 1946 New Towns Act, and which guided the creation of the early New Town Master Plans are worthy of mention in the context of this conference.

Firstly, the exceedingly strong sense of direction which the report gives in providing standards or planning criteria designed to fashion the development of the new towns, and all their associated amenities; secondly, the medium through which the towns were to be implemented - the Development Corporation, an instrument with which present Government is increasingly flirting, as a means of implementing its urban policies, and thirdly, the Reith Report and the Act itself interestingly echoed Ebenezer Howard's writings of nearly fifty years earlier, being less concerned with the discussion of structure and form and social goals, but more with the financial and administrative devices which should be used in the development of new towns. However, the standards established were extraordinarily detailed. Although they were not specific about physical form and structure, the criteria laid down for sizing neighbourhoods and industrial areas, the principles governing the roads hierarchy, and the sizing of school catchments were clearly very strong influences in determining the physical form of the first new towns.

Form and Structure are at the heart of what this Conference is about and my specific concern is the physical reality of implementing a master plan. Inherent in my brief and in the title to which I was asked to speak, is a requirement to form a judgement. Whilst I am happy to offer an opinion, I am far less so to offer a judgement, indeed I question our ability as a society to judge developments like new towns, which have been achieved within such a short time frame relative to the more natural and organic growth of normal traditional settlements. Any such judgement can only be formed against the background of the conventional wisdom of society at the time the judgement is made and, therefore, will reflect the pre-disposition and prejudices of that society. Couple that with an ever changing set of aims and objectives and we have an over complicated process which provides an almost impossible task.

The life of the new towns falls into two distinct periods. The period up to the mid 1970's which was a period of confidence and of relative financial stability, the "never had it so good" era when finance and policy support from either party was readily available for new towns projects. Indeed two new projects were under discussion in the early 1970's for which further designations were being considered at Llantrisant in South Wales, which in fact never got beyond the stage of a draft order, and Stonehouse in Lanarkshire in the Central Belt of Scotland, which was designated a new town in 1973 and rapidly de-designated in 1976.



Any analysis of new town performance up to that time would have been influenced by the background of stable Government policy and strong fiscal support; an atmosphere of confidence and buoyancy, in which it was possible to look ahead, and in which the long term pursuit of carefully drawn up policies on form, and design criteria was possible, particularly where most of the building was publicly and generously financed, especially housing, but also other developments. Indeed in the early 70's the Department of the Environment provided the £2½m-£3m of capital necessary to carry out the first phase of the shopping at Skelmersdale New Town, probably one of the last occasions when a Development Corporation was allowed to invest Government capital in an overtly commercial deal which on paper at least, would provide a considerable continuing income for the Corporation, and the Corporation were able to pursue unfettered a form of development which the private sector might have been unwilling to accept. That was before the days of selling assets to raise capital to create further assets, which in turn would be sold on, and so on, and so on.

What I am attempting to establish here is that there is a marked contrast between the times of the 60's and early 70's when many Master Plans were prepared and implemented, when the second and third waves of new town development were being confidently pursued, and the present climate which places far more importance on the disposal of assets to finance development, when opportunism is the key word, and the resources of the private sector need to be harnessed as never before. This has become more important than satisfying the apparently more abstract goals of the Planners and Architects and consideration of town form, and those other aesthetic and social goals important in the creation of a vibrant community. Indeed, the contrast is pointed up most pertinently by contrasting the planning led philosophy of the new towns, with the opportunity led philosophy of the new Urban Development Corporations.

My task today is to set out for you the "reality" of implementing a new town Master Plan, against these time frames and policies, and to demonstrate the nature of implementing plans whether strong Government support is available or not. Establishing the plan is the easy part, implementing it more difficult. I intend, therefore, to illustrate this "reality" by discussing in more detail the way in which two new towns, with which I am familiar and where I have direct personal experience, have grown and the pressures to which each has been and is being subjected. I would then like briefly to explain a somewhat different approach to Master Planning, never implemented, but which offers an alternative approach, more responsible to today's needs, and perhaps more challenging.

These two new towns are East Kilbride and Livingston; the third is Stonehouse, the stillborn town. They are perhaps an appropriate choice for this examination. Some fifteen years separate their designation; East Kilbride is a Mark 1 new town and I must confess my own first impression on arriving there for interview in 1972 was to remark on the strong similarity to Harlow.

Livingston on the other hand is a Mark 3 new town and the model developed has been used as the basis for other major Master Plan studies. The philosophy guiding the Livingston Plan marked a change in approach.

An important point of contrast is that East Kilbride achieved most of its growth in the period up to the mid 1979's, i.e. the period of stability in policy, although reinforcement of these policies, particularly overspill policy, have had a marked effect upon the form and size of East Kilbride, almost to the extent that the original vision of the town shown in the Master Plan is now unrecognisable. Livingston on the other hand has divided its twenty-five year development life between that period of policy stability and a period of rapid change.

EAST KILBRIDE

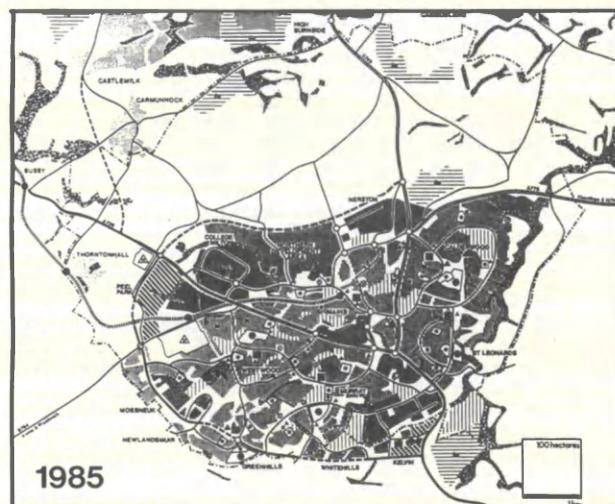
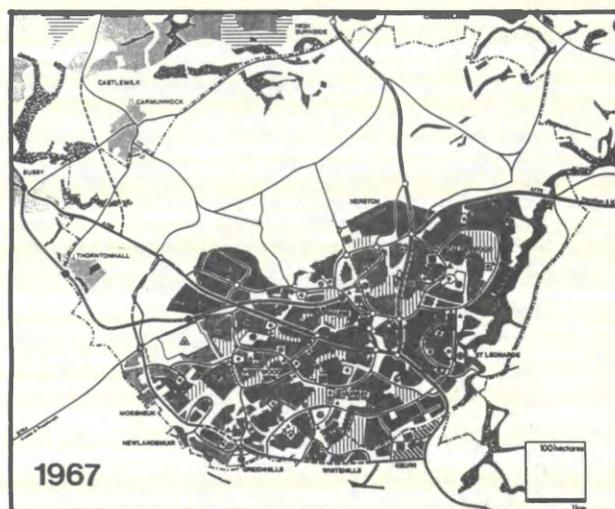
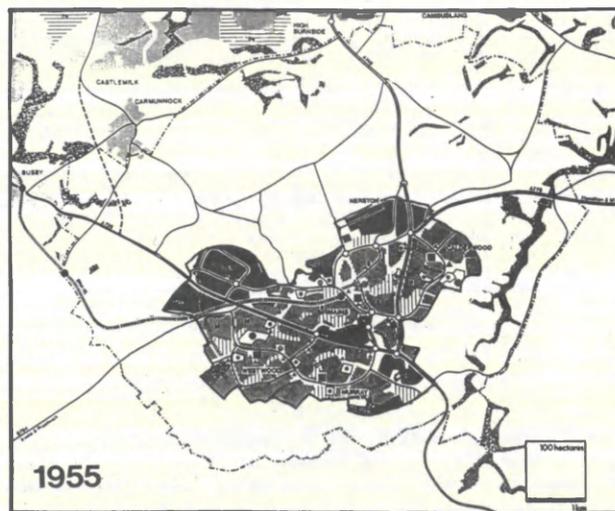
East Kilbride was designated against the wishes of Glasgow Corporation in 1947 to accommodate Glasgow overspill, and provide a focus for the development of new light engineering industries. It is located some eight miles south east of Glasgow, in the hills overlooking the Clyde Valley. From within the valley and from the northern slopes, East Kilbride only manifests its presence through the visibility of the top storeys of a number of tower blocks of flats in St. Leonards and Calderwood, and the tall Plaza tower office in the town centre.

The town was originally planned to sit in a hollow, at the centre of which was the original village of East Kilbride. This would provide some shelter from the prevailing south west winds. The land available for development was seen to be limited by the physical characteristics of the designated area, and although some 10,000 acres are included, a large portion of this in the northern part was excluded from the development in the Designation Order, which stated that the built up area of the new town should be constructed south of the railway line westwards towards Glasgow and eastwards towards Hamilton.

The land to the north of the railway line was to be non statutory green belt within the new town designated area. Therefore, whilst the original intention was to construct a town of 45,000 people, the physical limitations imposed by the designation order, and the wish to contain the town in the "sheltered" hollow placed considerable pressure upon the land available for both housing and industry. The consequence was that the planned population was reduced to 40,000, and the housing density required to be increased from the Reith Report recommendation of 30 persons per acre to 40 persons per acre. In any case this might be a figure that is more appropriate for Scotland where building more closely together gives protection from the winds and where gardens cannot be used as much in the year as in the South of England.

However, in response to the drastic requirements for housing Glasgow's overspill, the target population has with difficulty been increased on an incremental basis to 82,500.

In the early 1950's changes occurred in the attitude of Glasgow Corporation to its loss of population and to East Kilbride in particular. The difficulties facing Glasgow in its efforts to secure rehousing within the city boundaries were aggravated by



continuing Scottish Office reluctance to release green belt land.

In 1956, Cumbernauld was designated principally in order to provide further for overspill population from Glasgow, but, in that same year the Scottish Office asked the East Kilbride Development Corporation to raise its population target to 50,000, to which, after some hesitation, East Kilbride agreed and proceeded to provide 3,000 more houses for overspill families nominated by Glasgow Corporation. By 1960 it became clear that the massive comprehensive development programme getting underway in Glasgow would displace numbers of people far in excess of the ability of the city to rehouse them by itself. Accordingly the Scottish Office secured an increase in East Kilbride's target population, again with the Development Corporation's agreement, this time raising it to 70,000. By 1965 the pressures from Glasgow overspill were becoming even more intense than anticipated and the target population was increased to 82,500, and a further complete district was added in the south and south west.

The expansion of East Kilbride far beyond its original target population, has had a profound effect upon town form, and has stretched to the limit the original roads infrastructure which has now been significantly modified.

East Kilbride is now the sixth largest urban area in Scotland with a population of around 78,000. The consequence of this has been to generate considerable pressure for development which in 1947 was unthinkable. The demand for industrial land to meet the town's needs and for it to perform its primary role as an employment growth point has been immense. New industrial areas have been added in the south east and extended beyond the original designated area boundary, and in the west, where a high technology park is now located. College Milton and Nerston industrial areas have also expanded in the north west and north east respectively, far beyond the original intention.

The town although not increasing rapidly in population terms is now forming third and fourth generation households, whose expectation as East Kilbrideans is to work and live and raise a family in "their" town. Despite the accommodation of the successive increase in target population, the consequences of those decisions are now being felt in the natural generation of new households, and a further new neighbourhood, has been added in the north, making incursions into some of the non statutory greenbelt.

East Kilbride has been and is, undeniably a success in social and economic terms. It has, however, been a victim of its success, and the image of the small overspill town, nestling in the hills above Glasgow is a far cry from the buoyant and vibrant community that East Kilbride now represents.

The opening of the third phase of the town centre, "The Plaza" in 1974 which brought with it Marks & Spencer and British Home Stores and associated high street traders, all accommodated in a covered air conditioned shopping mall with plenty of free parking, established East Kilbride as a sub regional centre serving the better off residential suburbs on the south side of Glasgow. A fourth phase of the town centre is now under construction, containing as well as 250,000 square feet of shopping an ice-rink and a multi-plex cinema complex. The central road system has had to be completely redesigned to accommodate this. It has long been the hope that a long distance Paisley to Hamilton Road route would be established, by-passing East Kilbride, and obviating the need for heavy traffic to use the town centre; a portion of this route in a scaled down form is now under construction within the town.

LIVINGSTON

Livingston was designated in 1962, with the twin aims of taking overspill from Glasgow and creating new forms of industrial activity to revitalise a sub region in which the indigenous industries of oil-shale and coal mining had gone into decline.

Livingston was planned against the background of a comprehensive Regional Survey and Plan. The Lothians Regional Survey and Plan, when published covered an area of 80 square miles around the new town. The character of the Master Plan was greatly influenced by this, and accordingly complete self containment was never visualised. The town was planned for a population of 70,000, but the Consultants carrying out the regional study indicated that Livingston should ultimately be able to accommodate 120,000. The Master Plan then compromised on a population of 70,000 for planned immigration and allowed for containing a further 30,000 through natural increase beyond the period of planned immigration. The final Master Plan diagram demonstrates how 100,000 people could be accommodated within the designated area.

Livingston is located in the attractive valley of the River Almond, some fifteen miles from Edinburgh to the east and thirty miles from Glasgow to the west. The designated area represents one of the few development opportunities in the area which has historically been subject to coal mining, and shale mining, and where, as a consequence there are considerable problems of ground stability, and ability to support development. The Livingston designated area represents a significant "window" in this pattern.

The Livingston Master Plan of 1965 gave a clear enunciation of the criteria adopted for the plan.

1. The design of the town must have a distinctive structure and character related to the physical environment and its local and regional purpose.
2. Because the quality of the landscape is better in the town than in the despoiled land surrounding it, good landscape must be conserved and created within the plan.
3. If Livingston was to achieve its purpose, the highest standard of industrial and residential layout and design needed to be achieved.
4. The type of town which Livingston would become would be largely decided by its population and employment structure, therefore, maximum diversity was planned and a positive effort was to be made to achieve a balance of population in relation to age groups, family structure and employment.
5. There must be a full recognition of the impact of the car,
6. Flexibility was seen as an important concept.

The last two criteria led to the formulation of a grid plan which had numerous advantages. The town could grow in sections and each section could reflect emerging changes in living conditions. Should the town be slow to grow during the early years the chances of the town functioning as a unit would be increased. Should the town need to expand then the grid arrangement, within the limits of the surrounding regional roads, might be able to accommodate such an increase. Consequently, therefore, the town is planned in environmental areas. The rapid movement of traffic is maintained outside the environmental area, while slower movement is allowed close to the dwellings. The proposals provide for pedestrian and car segregation as well as making ample garage provision at the environmental area level.

Flexibility in growth was given an important place in the plan for the very first time and there are concrete suggestions for expansion as well as continuous reappraisal.

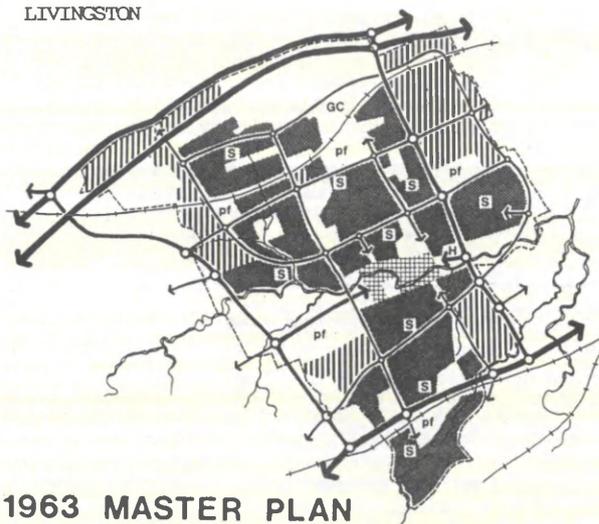
It is as well that the Livingston Plan was designed to accommodate flexibility. The plan was produced in 1963 and by 1971 quite significant changes had already taken place. The Kirkton Campus area which although designated as open space in the original plan, was suggested as being a suitable area for a university or seat of higher learning with sights being set on the new Heriot Watt University. In the event they developed on land they owned at Riccarton to the west of Edinburgh and the land at Kirkton became in 1971 Britain's first science park. In addition, a new industrial area had been added outside the south west corner of the designated area at Brucefield Farm and the designated area was proposed to be increased to accommodate that. The intention was also stated to rehabilitate the Deans Bing in the north west and create more industrial land out of that area of mining waste.

By 1979 it was clear that the Master Plan required review, and the pattern of development again changed. It was originally intended to have three major north south roads, two of which would connect to the national motorway network and a third central road. This third road was in fact the second of the major north-south roads to be constructed having been completed in 1983. The scale and nature of that road is diminished in the present structure diagram, directly resulting from the lessening of expectations in terms of traffic growth and car ownership and also the imposition of new standards, as far as road capacity is concerned, by the Scottish Development Department. This road is as yet incomplete, but the remaining sections will follow the form and character of those already constructed.

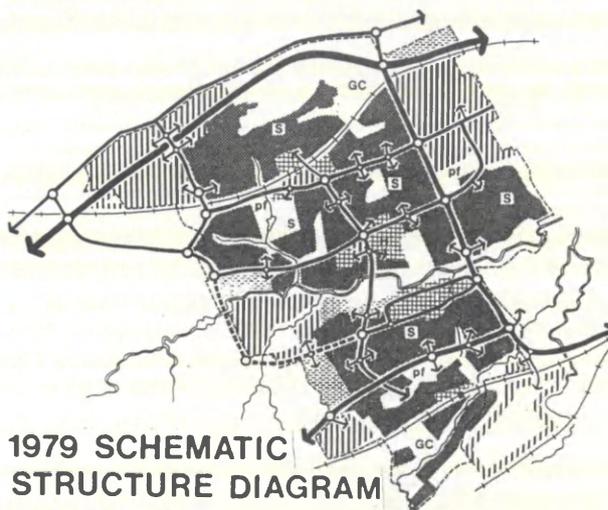
The impact on town form, however, is dramatic, the newer road contrasting significantly with the four lane dual carriageway with grade separate interchanges which is the all too dominant form of Livingston Road.

In 1982 a moratorium was imposed upon the building of public sector housing, moving from a programme of 1,000 houses per year to nothing, although the availability of money had curtailed the high level of programme in the years immediately preceding 1982. 1982/83 also saw the requirement by the Scottish Office of the need to produce a Development Profile. This is a document which is more of a financial or resource plan rather than a physical plan, which was based on the concept of "what does the town need to become a complete entity?" and the result was the establishment for all the Scottish New Towns of points in their population growth when the process of wind-up would be triggered. The Secretary of State in announcing his deliberations on the Development Profile, made it quite clear that the principal role of the new towns was and would continue to be the attraction of new industry to Scotland. Pressures in this direction are growing. The Kirkton Campus area has now extended further south. Virtually all that new land is now taken up or on reserve. The concept of the Campus is very successful and the Corporation do not wish to lose the momentum that has been created. We have, therefore, embarked upon a major reconsideration of the whole of the Central Area of the town with a view to extending the Campus eastwards, and creating opportunities for office based employment from the edge of the Kirkton Campus in the west to the western edges of the existing town centre. This is a realistic interpretation by the Development Corporation of the sub-region's needs in terms of high quality land for employment purposes, which stands on its head many long held determinist presumptions about the development of the central area.

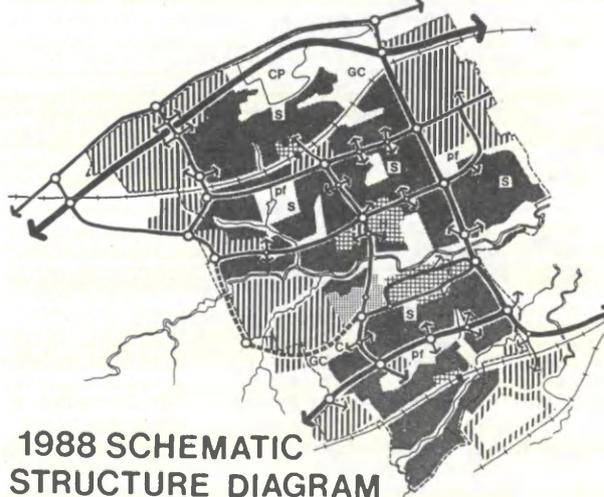
LIVINGSTON



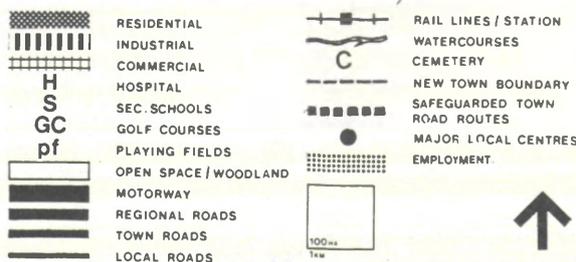
1963 MASTER PLAN



1979 SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE DIAGRAM



1988 SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE DIAGRAM



The essential problem, however, has been to maintain a balance between land for important employment opportunities, and continuing to provide for an acceptable population level, which will continue to support the institutions already established in the town, and provide houses for growing numbers of second generation households in both public and private sector housing. The re-designation of too much housing land for industrial or commercial employment purposes would adversely affect that balance, which is already compromised to a limited extent, by re-designations already made, and the lower densities of housing development now current in both public and private sectors. It is also necessary to ensure that the provision of other infrastructure, in particular, the provision of schooling, also remains unprejudiced particularly at a time when the Regional Authority responsible for the provision of educational services is hard pressed financially, is faced with the difficulties of a school surplus throughout the region, and consequently wishes to spend each pound as judiciously as possible and to maximum effect.

The pattern of industrial land development throughout Livingston, from the Master Plan onwards has adopted a dispersed pattern. The changes which have been made as a consequence of the 1979 Master Plan Review, and the 1983 Development Profile have extended this concept, although there has been a tendency for the majority of the re-designations to take place in the western sector of the town, simply because this is where most of the existing undeveloped land lies.

Paralleling the re-designation of land within the designated area, the Development Corporation has pursued opportunities to annexe land with employment potential outside the designated area, but with contiguous boundaries. The first and most significant site is that at Linhouse adjacent to the south east corner of the designated area, which is a site of some 250 acres allocated under the Scottish National Planning Guidelines for a large single user. It was one of Scotland's major contenders for the Nissan enquiry in 1981-1982. The site in the Corporation's view is ideal for the development of another Campus, and negotiations are under way. There are three sites at the entrance to this area which will soon be in the Corporation's ownership, but which will require considerable rehabilitation presently being shale bings. In addition, the construction of a new regional road making connections with the M8 motorway west of the town, the route of which will require the compulsory purchase of part of a farm to provide a link into the town's western road pattern presents another opportunity for the purchase and development of land outside the designated area boundary at Tailend. In neither case will an extension of the designated area be sought.

The aim of sub-regional employment regeneration is being pursued increasingly more aggressively, and it is explicitly stated in the 1983 Development Profile that the Corporation are seeking to provide in the longer term considerably more jobs than the target population would warrant.

Most of what has been described above could be ascribed to opportunism. We are, however, in an enterprise society; competition for mobile industry is increasingly keen, not just between regions and areas of Britain, but between regions of Britain and regions of W. Europe, Ireland, and Asia. Putting the town in a position to be able to readily respond to this situation is, therefore prudent even if it transgresses some of the finer points of planning strategy. I would justify the approach under the terms of the flexibility of approach identified in the 1964 Master Plan which is an essential component for success and survival in an enterprise society.

Flexibility is becoming a key word influencing most of our activities. It is clearly a necessity in reviewing new town plans.

It seems, therefore, appropriate to examine an alternative form of Master Plan, or as it was termed in the particular case I mention, Basic Plan, where the emphasis was on flexibility.

STONEHOUSE NEW TOWN, 1972-76

For four years, between 1972 and 1976, I was closely involved in the planning of Stonehouse new town, and despite the exigencies of working in a situation with an uncertain future, for there was much opposition to the proposal, considerable progress was made towards the production of a Basic Plan for the new town formally designated in 1973 at Stonehouse in Lanarkshire, astride the M74 motorway at the gateway to central Scotland.

The planning process followed two distinct phases. Firstly, the production of an outline plan, and, secondly the production of the first stage of a Basic Plan.

The Outline Plan took the form of a simple statement, made in April 1974, of the stage reached in the planning of the new town. It was principally a consultative document, forming the basis through which all the parties with an interest in the planning and implementation process could become involved. It described the role of the new town within the region at that time as twofold, firstly and most significantly, to act as a growth point to provide new jobs and secondly to provide a variety of housing for both rental and sale, which would either directly or indirectly enable overspill from Glasgow to be accommodated.

From a detailed survey and analysis of the designated area the Outline Plan arrived at three main conclusions:

1. There were four areas in the town which had certain ecological significance.
2. The most appropriate strategy for the development of the town would be to integrate the two existing villages, one in the north and one in the south, with the new town.
3. The topography of the area being very pronounced, with two strongly defined river gorges, one running eastwards and the other northwards, would be a major factor in determining the land use disposition and communication patterns within the town.

The Outline Plan established the aim for the town as being the creation of an "environment" which would provide an opportunity for everyone to lead a full and satisfying way of life. From this a number of organisational objectives were defined as a basis for planning. The policy base that was deemed to be the most appropriate for Stonehouse was that of a sub regional town with the possibility of a specialist role in relation to employment, shopping or leisure. Given the target population of 35,000 and the constraints to development arising from topographical geological and mineral considerations, a medium density land use budget was considered appropriate. This was set at 80-120 persons per hectare, average net residential density with a movement system that accommodated the car and effective public transport facilities together.

The second phase of the process, Basic Plan One, was prefaced by revised aims for the new town arising from a statement issued by the Secretary of State in September 1974. "The new town at Stonehouse shall be developed primarily for the purpose of attracting or

retaining employment in Strathclyde, with a variety of housing in both the private and rented sectors and a proper balance of social and other facilities related to achieve progress in industrial and commercial growth."

The aim of Basic Plan One was stated as being threefold -

1. to define the nature of the basic planning process;
2. to give an indication of the progress made towards the formulation of Basic Plan proposals;
3. to set the context for the proposals for the initial housing and industrial developments.

The keynote of Basic Plan One was flexibility stated in the following terms:- "Communities are seen to comprise many different, but inter-related activities such as employment, shopping, leisure and education. These activities are ever changing, with change in one activity affecting and producing change in others. This dynamic view of communities is being reflected in the approach to the planning and development of the community. This approach is described in the plan under four main headings:

1. **Comprehensive Approach**
The whole range of community activity is being investigated along with physical surveys and conceptual studies.
2. **Flexible Approach**
The ever changing nature of the community must be mirrored in the basic plan process. This process should be responsible to change, through continuous review of policies and consequent amendments to the plan.
3. **Involvement**
With such a wide ranging approach, a complementary range of skills and experience is required to be co-ordinated within and outside the Corporation in Planning groups involving all relevant organisations and statutory bodies.
4. **Management and Co-ordination**
The central co-ordinating body for the basic plan is the Development Corporation, the main development agency for the new town. It is essential that a framework should be provided for this management which will comprise different levels of targets or aims by which success can be gauged.

Given this approach, Basic Plan One was really a management document, providing a framework for future stages of the planning process and no physical proposals as such were included other than provisional highway networks sufficient to demonstrate that the first developments were capable of implementation without prejudicing future progress.

The approach was original in that it departed from the usual Master Plan process and allowed for change to take place during the planning process, as changes take place within society and its mechanisms, establishing an iterative process of planning, development, monitoring and review.

It was, however, recognised that flexibility exists only as long as implementation is delayed, and it was clearly accepted that each commitment would limit the capacity for future change. This flexibility of approach, through the creation of the management of the planning process was clearly totally contrary to some of the earlier physical determinist approaches to new town planning, which were perhaps seen as exercises in setting unachievable objectives. There

was certainly a great deal of debate about the approach, and some were inherently hostile to what was an emphasis on the process of planning rather than the plan itself. It is unfortunate that the

Although the Process appears to take precedence over the Plan I would rather it were understood, that the Process was the Plan. The process should effectively mirror the rapidly changing nature of society and its needs, to which the planners need to be able to respond rather than slavishly adhering to a Structure Plan with a ten year time horizon, a local plan with a five year limit and a ten year overview. The continuous process that was proposed of planning, development, monitoring and review would have obviated the need for extensive survey and analysis on a pre-determined cycle. It was conceived deliberately as an approach sensitive to people and needs.

Perhaps one day I shall be fortunate enough to be able to try it out.

CONCLUSION

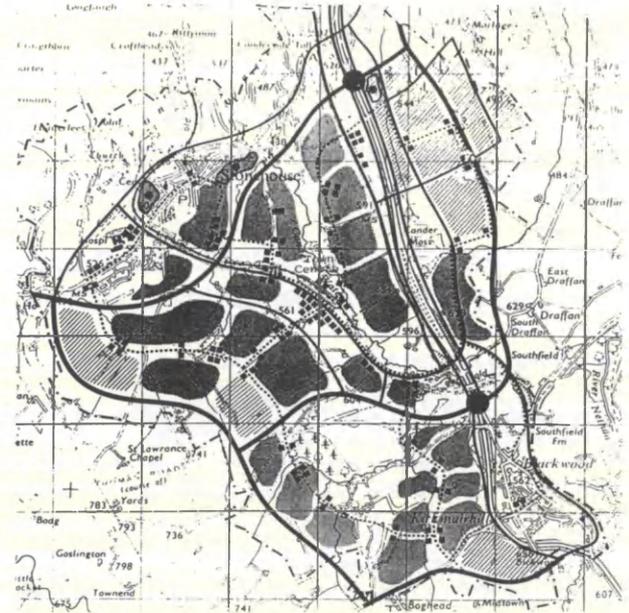
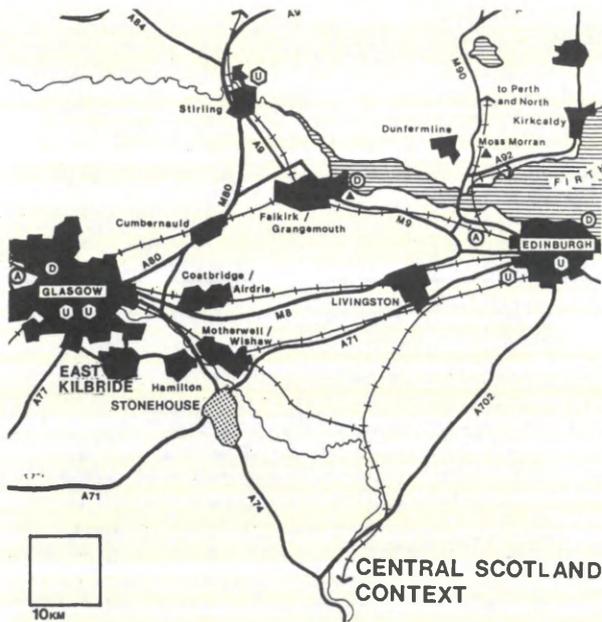
What I have attempted to demonstrate in this paper is the context within which new town Corporations have operated. To highlight in particular the contrasts between the fifties and sixties and the late seventies and eighties, and I hope to have demonstrated how approaches to Master Planning have changed, and the effects of these changes on the structure of new towns and how they are conceived.

East Kilbride, one of the earliest new towns to be designated in Britain, demonstrated the confidence and stability of its growth through the late forties, fifties and early sixties, when change began to be necessary. Previously inviolable statements, almost tablets of stone, about the size of the town, the impossibility of even accommodating the initial target population were jettisoned in a desperate attempt to solve almost insoluble problems of population growth and overcrowding in Glasgow. Problem became overlain on problem and change upon change. The "Plan" creaked at the seams and became flexible although this was never explicitly stated.

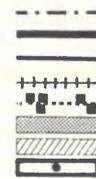
Livingston's planners on the other hand, almost twenty years later than those of East Kilbride, were alive to the need to accommodate change; they deliberately introduced the concept of change, or flexibility.

Some ten years later the planners of Stonehouse positively flaunted their flirtation with change and flexibility, to the extent of eschewing the overall physical plan in favour of a structure diagram. How successful the latter approach would have been remains to be seen.

However, what was seen to be important in the case of Stonehouse, and has been recognised in the Livingston situation is that the implementation of the plan is overlain by a complex and ever changing system of policy revisions, or policy retrenchment. At present in Scotland we see ourselves now very much as a test bed for Government policy and in particular I would point to the idea of the use of private capital to achieve amenities, the sale of public sector houses in which we became involved long before the Tenants' Right Act became statute, and the continuing emphasis upon the use of assets to create new assets. You might ask what all this has to do with the Big Idea in planning. It certainly does not alter the kind of aims and objectives which can be considered desirable, but it does alter the way in which these objectives are achieved and it does have a profound effect upon the continuity of some of these objectives and even more profound effects upon the idea of "The Plan" and upon town structure. ■

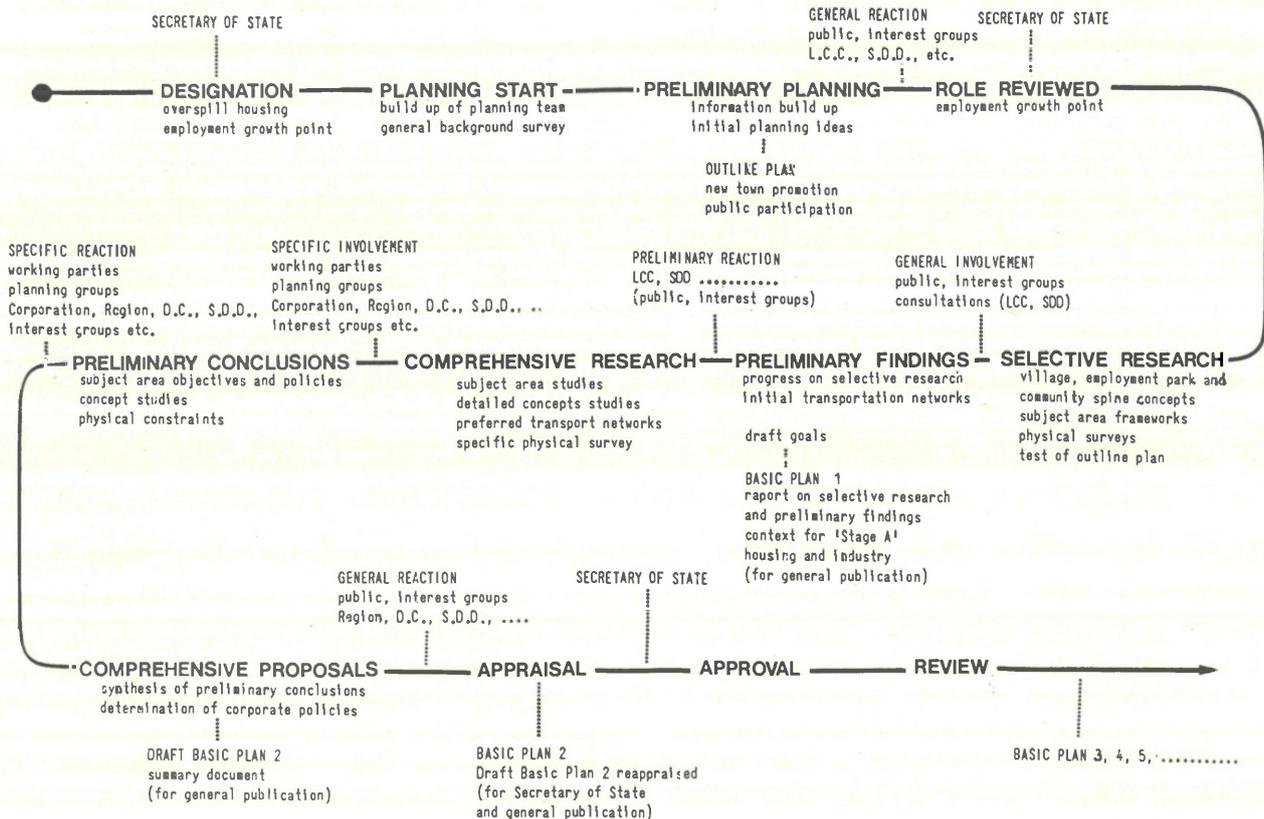


- Designated Area
- Primary Distributor Roads
- Secondary Distributor Roads
- Railway
- Urban Route
- Residential Areas
- Industrial Areas
- 1st Developments



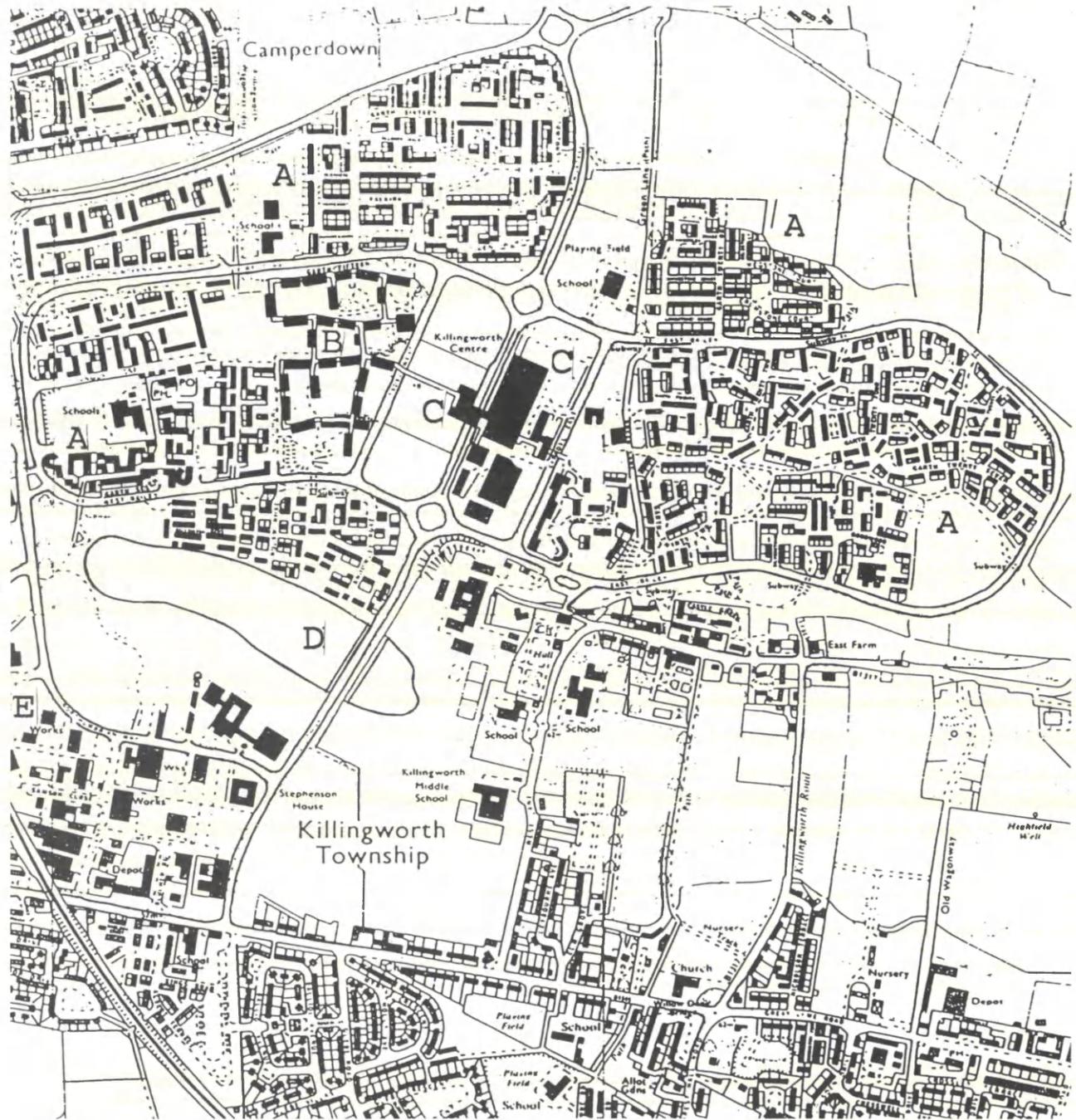
STONEHOUSE NEW TOWN

THE OUTLINE PLAN



Basic Planning Process

KILLINGWORTH



- A GARTHS
- B TOWERS
- C CITADEL
- D LAKE
- E INDUSTRY

THE SOCIAL REALITY: THE INSTITUTIONAL AND THE COMMUNITY VIEWPOINTS by Reverend David Wood

For the last 17 years my responsibilities in Killingworth have been with individuals as a parish priest, and with institutions as well as individuals in my capacity as Warden of Communicare Team Ministry. I am the only minister of religion living in the township and as such I am responsible to an ecumenical Christian Council for a shared church and pastoral centre situated within a larger complex called the Communicare Centre. This includes a Health Centre, Library, a Youth and Adult Block and a Sports Centre. My job relates to the things that Professor Healey was saying last night about people of different disciplines working together for the benefit of the community, and this includes planning. In this conference to use her term I am the one to whom the task has been given to "mix and mesh", a term which I had never heard before but which fits very aptly. I am also extremely grateful to her for saying "Planners do not like to be tied up with conflicting interests".

Having had the scene so well set for me by Professor Healey's Keynote Lecture I am hoping that I shall be forgiven if I seem somewhat critical. If I am not I would not be making the right contribution to this conference which is intended to encourage us to think about the problems of urban planning. However, lest you should think that I am unsympathetic to these problems I want you to know that I have experienced them in various places. I spent some years as an industrial chaplain in the black country, the devastation of which has already been referred to in this conference. I spent eleven years in the downtown side of Central Wolverhampton, so I know something of the problems of the real inner city. As Director of the Brotherhood of Prayer & Action I was also responsible for a centre for alcoholics and drug addicts in the Borough of Tower Hamlets, which has already been mentioned in this conference, and yesterday afternoon you saw just a little of Killingworth where I have lived for the last seventeen years. I do not expect to give you many answers, but I think we should address ourselves to the question which Professor Healey raised in her lecture "What do we need to make projects work?"

The first thing that I would ask is that there will be more openness on the part of planners and architects to the various pressures that are put upon them, and that they should be more prepared to accept and study conflicting interests. Of course, we need to have a masterplan, especially for new town concepts, but when it comes to our major cities we need to work through the traditions and culture in which we are trying to build from the old. Even in new towns there needs to be a sensitivity and a readiness to accept all that Professor Healey described as "project based initiatives within the masterplan". As well as facing up to the cultural heritage of the older communities we need to face the social issues. We have a very good example of this being done successfully by the City of Newcastle and Erskine & Partners in Byker. They had a very clear masterplan with a quite revolutionary city wall as the basis of that plan. This kind of development being so different from what already existed was likely to be resisted and so the opinions ordinary people might hold were deeply considered, and the local residents were consulted. The outcome of this was what I would describe as a very successful rolling development. Although the physical structure which has now developed is very, very different from the old, it has been accepted. Culturally the working out of the masterplan still fits the people of Byker because they have been allowed to assert themselves throughout the process of redevelopment. As old property was demolished new houses were erected and the people moved into them. There had been some initial exodus to places like Killingworth and some people were happy to go. This enabled the rolling development to begin and most of the people living in the new Byker have Byker roots.



WASHINGTON, KILLINGWORTH AND CRAMLINGTON

I would like to draw your attention to the contrasts between these three new towns.

In the Washington area there were a number of healthy village communities. They were like strong legs on which a new edifice could be built. There was the advantage of a Development Corporation with all its resources and a clear masterplan and strategy, so that Washington was formed around secure communities and thereby able to grow comparatively naturally.

Killingworth Township on the other hand was totally different. It was built on virgin soil with a masterplan which deliberately excluded the nearby community. It was a Local Authority project without all the resources of a development corporation. It was intended to be an exclusive enterprise and this is a policy which has not really worked out. The vision of the medieval castle became in reality a prison so we are now literally knocking it down. Having said that I do not want you to think that Killingworth is all bad. There is a great deal to be said for Killingworth. I would go so far as to say that our problems to some extent have also been our blessings. In working through these problems we have developed a capacity for co-operation between the different institutions, and a spirit of belonging amongst the more long term inhabitants.

Cramlington is different again from Washington and Killingworth. Instead of several villages as a base upon which to build it had one established village at its centre, and the masterplan allowed for that village to be the hub of things. You will have seen how it has been developed with the Concordia Centre and all the rest. I would describe Cramlington as a new town with blurred edges merging into its surroundings. It is more suburban than Killingworth, and therefore its people have different aspirations.

Last night one of the questions was about the masterplan having a beginning and an end. This is certainly clear in Washington where the development corporation began and finished. It happened again in Cramlington, but much less clearly, whereas in Killingworth it never happened at all because the masterplan was deliberately changed in the middle.

KILLINGWORTH

You will have already noticed on your visit that there is a marked contrast between the east and west of Killingworth Township. Now we are pulling down the Towers, and the middle of the shopping centre is also decaying, so we have problems to say the least.

The title of my talk mentions that institutions as well as the individuals and institutions can have considerable influence in the development of a community for good or for ill. The one stable industrial institution which we have valued in Killingworth is the gas industry. Not only is Killingworth the centre for the Northern Gas Board it is also the central for national gas research. One might almost say that the gas industry is the equivalent for our country squire, and has remained stable from the beginning, and a source of employment for local people.

SHOPPING DEVELOPMENT

Commercially Woolco used to be equally important as a shopping centre which drew people to the town. I have seen queues of cars down to the Tyne Tunnel. Like the gas industry Woolco provided employment for many people, especially much sought after part-time employment for women. I called it the temple of avarice because by its layout it tempted people to spend more than they could afford.

When our spending capacity lessened, the temple of avarice had to close. This had a profound effect on commercial life in Killingworth because the drawing power of Woolco having gone Barclays Bank disappeared. Presto, the next largest shop within the town centre complex, was closed down, and soon after Dewhurst Butchers, the Victoria Wine Shop and Carricks departed. All these multiple firms are able to close down what is not profitable, cut their losses and open up elsewhere. But for the small shopkeeper this spells disaster, not only do they lose custom because people are not going to the larger shops - and in the case of Killingworth they lost more custom through the demolition of the towers - but also they have no business to sell. They are in an impossible situation, with loss of income and loss of capital.

In Killingworth we are facing multiple problems of re-structuring and many of them have been caused by a faulty masterplan which is now having to be virtually scrapped because of a variety of problems. As buildings are being designed and layouts planned management and overall administration needs to be considered. We are the victims of departmentalised growth. The small businesses face bankruptcy, customers have less and less choice, empty shops are a target for vandalism, the physical structure of the shopping mall itself is deteriorating rapidly and all this affects the general morale of the population as well as the cost effectiveness of an out-moded unworkable masterplan. These are some examples of the pressures from within to which I am asking architects and planners to respond, but what of the pressures from without? To illustrate these I will turn from the secularised commercial world to the Church.

CHURCH AND COMMUNITY USES

I am responsible for a new concrete church through which the ideology of Christian unity is being emphasised so that people are being asked to attend a building which is not congenial, and follow patterns of worship with which they are not familiar. Because the church is all part of the Communicare Centre, and the only church building open seven days a week between Whitley Bay and Newcastle considerable demands are placed upon those of us who strive to show that the church is the servant of the community. Less than 500 yards away there is a very attractive village church. When people who are used to tradition find themselves uprooted and insecure in many ways what is more natural for them than to turn away from the new town, which was designed to be exclusive, to the comfort of the traditional village church.

Exactly the same sort of thing can be said about the village pubs which attract people in spite of the high railings put between the township and the village. I pointed this out when I wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury's "Faith in the City" Commission, that the people of the village have their backs to the railings, and the people of the township have their backs to the concrete, and that this is in fact a microcosm of the national tensions and the indifferences which exist between people of different social groupings and different persuasions.

Internal pressures become apparent as a new community develops and if we are wise we make ourselves aware and adaptable as we design, plan, and administer. But these external pressures are there for all to consider at the outset. Anyone with a modicum of intelligence and experience knows that people do not like to have their nearest and dearest lugged up concrete stairs in their coffins for funeral services; that brides do not look their best photographed on a concrete ramp with a high wind blowing straight off the North Sea. Equally they must realise that the leafy glades of a village churchyard will attract the brides, and the quiet resting place under an old Yew Tree will be chosen for grandfather's ashes.

I have not time to explain in detail why we accepted the concept of the Church of the Holy Family within the Communicare Centre. In many ways it was right and for many purposes it works extremely well, but if architects and planners had heeded the obvious pressures it could have been so much better. This is not only true of the Holy Family Church, but of all the parts within the Centre. For instance the Health Centre gives Ambulance men as big a problem as the Church gives the undertakers. The swimming bath is limited for competitive swimming because it is not quite full size. The Youth and Adult Centre cannot function properly because the design is such that old people and youngsters cannot be catered for simultaneously. The Sports Centre has also had access and management problems.

These are a few examples of failure to respond to needs and pressures at the outset. But the overriding factor is finance and this does mitigate the situation as far as architects and planners are concerned. Financial constraints were very powerful when Killingworth Township was on the drawing board, so to some extent the mistakes of design and layout were forced upon the architects and planners. This has proved to be false economy because we shall be paying for buildings in the original masterplan long after they have faded from memory, and we shall be facing financial and human cost of adaptations far outweighing what original costs would have been if more consideration had been given to the situation at the outset.

It is not only institutions which threaten or are threatened, it is also individuals and their personal interests and hobbies. In the North East of England amongst the working people, many of whom we have in Killingworth, whippet racing and pigeon racing are common hobbies. There is nowhere whatsoever in Killingworth where people can be allowed to erect pigeon lofts, so they build them on allotments in the pit villages, and being some distance from their homes these pigeons are exposed to vandalism and their owners get disheartened. On the east side of the town we have an open space where people collected on Sunday mornings to race whippets. The adjacent houses several hundred yards away are privately owned by people who wanted the advantage of an open view without the inconvenience of anyone using the recreational space. Consequently there ensued a controversy between the local inhabitants and the whippet racers. The parson was automatically expected to be on the side of those who considered themselves respectable because they slept in bed on a

Sunday morning, and not on the side of those who shouted encouragement to their whippets. I gently pointed out that they would not be disturbed if they got up and joined in public worship, and sided with the whippet racers. We won the day, our whippet track is now well established.

Throughout this lecture I have talked about design, planning and management being expertly co-ordinated and people trained in different disciplines with differing priorities working together. Having been involved in many different ways in the management of Killingworth Township for seventeen years I cannot emphasise this enough. It is important particularly in new towns that this inter-action of disciplines be well documented because professional workers of all kinds are always on the move. My original appointment under legal contract between myself, the Christian Council and my own denomination, the Church of England was for seven years. However there is a clause in the contract which allows for re-appointment annually if this is desired. The desirability of this in my case has little to do with me as a clergyman, but a great deal to do with the need of the town to have at least one continuing presence. Of those in the Communicare Team who meet monthly one district nursing sister and myself are the only two who have been here over ten years. I said at the beginning that to some extent our problems have been our blessings. The team work put into remedying what has gone wrong would have been tremendously effective if it had existed at the beginning when the Township was being created.

We have learned over the years through various means to work together and it constantly amazes me that a monthly gathering which I have held for seventeen years is still very well attended by different colleagues as we work through what we call our Communicare principles.

Having been somewhat critical and even perhaps depressing I will now refer to a few of the encouraging examples when people of different disciplines have worked together for the benefit of the existing community and even for the improvement of the masterplan.

When I first came to Killingworth there was full employment and a young community with masses of children. We had to tackle the problem of how to contain these children happily through school holidays. Play schemes were essential and we pioneered facilities for children's play, which have now become universal throughout the Borough of North Tyneside. The original initiative came from the Church and other voluntary bodies, but because of the Partnership ideals of our Communicare Project involving statutory and non-statutory workers alike the recreation and amenities department gradually took over and thereby gave us the benefit of public funds without detracting from the partnership ideal.

In 1979 we produced a leaflet "Care, Co-operation, Concern and Outbacks", "What Chances for Children". The Director of Social Services in his introduction said of the report:-

"It is an interesting document and shows what can be achieved with comparatively little money and a great deal of goodwill and co-operation from local people. A large number of individuals have given a lot of their time and effort and their reward has been the pleasure of taking part in a successful scheme. It is not my job to thank these individuals but, collectively, I would like to comment on the very high quality of work that has gone into this scheme over the years.

What we need to do in Killingworth is to try and find ways of preserving the goodwill and community effort that takes place at this time for the whole of the year. One thing that becomes very clear when you

work with this group of children is that they have needs which may be highlighted during the summer holidays but clearly exist the whole year round."

Now in 1987 we are running three complementary play schemes, one at the Youth and Adult Centre which is an Education Department building, one at the Church of the Holy Family belonging to the Killingworth Christian Council, and the other at the Robert Hogg Memorial Hall which is the Headquarters of the Township Community Association. All three schemes are serviced by the Recreation and Amenities Department.

Throughout the examples I have given it will have been seen that constant adaptation has to be made to what Professor Healey described as "Project Based initiatives within the Masterplan". Sometimes this has drastic effects on the plan itself and on existing buildings. This can be seen most dramatically in the destruction of 740 homes in the Killingworth Deck Access Tower Blocks and in the debates about what we do with the shopping centre. This too could well be demolished. I think you can understand why I say that our masterplan has now disintegrated. But what worries me, and I expect you must have noticed it too, is that there is a shoddiness about the west side of the town suggesting that if we don't act quickly one disintegration will follow another. Over the years I have made recommendations which have been ignored, and I have made recommendations which have been accepted, but I am absolutely convinced that if design, planning and administration had been considered together many of our problems would have been avoided. New communities until they are settled and have a sense of civic pride do require tight management. Part of that management has to include giving time to individuals so that they are able to respond to both design and planning. If you can bear with me a little longer I would like to illustrate what I mean by describing the layout of the old garths, and the effect it has on people.

SOCIAL CHANGES

My second example is a good example of design, planning, and management working simultaneously with very considerable success. Whilst tackling the problem of children it became very clear that the population of Killingworth Township in the early seventies was unbalanced due to the lack of older people. When I began to say at our monthly consultative meeting that this was detrimental to social order I was told that it would automatically right itself after twenty years. But as more people pushed hard to have accommodation for senior citizens I am glad to say that the planners did listen and responded.

We now have many small groups of excellent bungalows dotted all over the Township as well as a large well designed excellently run old people's home. More recently several units of sheltered accommodation have been built just outside the Township, so that those who are between the bungalow and part three stages can look after themselves in security without being cut off from old friends in the Township. When we had our first influx of older people there was a need to help them adjust themselves to new surroundings, and to create a sense of belonging for them. This comes more into the realm of social planning than architectural planning, but the co-operation between the Housing Department, the Church and the Community Association of those days was remarkably successful. This was primarily due to the leading personalities involved amongst the professional workers and the careful selection of sympathetic leaders amongst the old people.

THE OLD GARTHS

If you had come to Killingworth fifteen years ago I would have taken you up to the top of Kielder Tower and we would have looked over what we call the old garths. Immediately beneath us you would have observed what I describe as chain link development:

Garth Four and half of Garth Six are made up of small courtyards of approximately a dozen houses each.

The other half of Garth Six and all Garth Seven repeat the same kind of idea in courts and squares which are rather larger and attractively laid out.

Beyond Garth Seven lies Garth Nine which is the most self-contained garth of all, being circular and with only one entrance and exit.

Turning to the right you would see what I would call open plan garths beginning at the top of Angus Close with a long row of high square signal-box type houses joined together and extending through Garths Twelve, Thirteen and Eleven to the main spine road. There is some degree of squared pattern with garages between the blocks, but they are more or less open streets.

These various designs affect the community for good and ill. The chain link development where people live in small community groups but not too claustrophobically are certainly the most stable. Garth Nine on the other hand is very close knit and varies according to the people who live within it. When you have a congenial company of mutually responsible citizens Garth Nine can be an extremely happy place, but if you get an intake of a few less fortunate families they can have the effect of the bad apple in the basket, and the community can be detrimentally affected. Without going into detail because I must observe confidentiality there was a period over ten years ago when a certain aspect of matrimonial problems multiplied within this garth in a way which would have been less likely to happen if it had not been such a closed community. Equally, of course, one can think of understanding and sympathy, of sharing and caring on a level which is impressive.

As we were going round I referred to the houses nicknamed the pigeon crees at the bottom end of Angus Close. They were the first pre-fabricated houses erected in courts for the first key workers. These have been remarkably successful houses, and in spite of being of a temporary nature they are still sought after, and some tenants have even bought them. Their popularity may be partly due to the fact that they stand out as a very individual development with their unusual shape and black and white boarding in contrast to the flat roofs and concrete all around them. People like to feel their house is different.

But one of the problems which can arise is the fact that kitchens face one another across the street, and initially this created problems not dissimilar to the problems you can have if you have two women using the same kitchen. It has been overcome by the planting of bushes so that women at work do not feel that they are being stared at by their neighbours. The open design of Garths Eleven, Twelve and Thirteen have never had the same spirit as the others in my opinion and they are far more likely to become the ghetto streets of the future because, to use a rather unpleasant word, people have been decanted out of the towers into these garths.

Mobility is one of the problems of Killingworth because people have begun life in the towers then been moved to the tall family houses to which I have just referred in Garths Eleven, Twelve and Thirteen. Then as children grow up and leave home people are moved again either to smaller houses in the old garths, or even to the eastern side of the town, and then perhaps yet again into a senior citizen's

bungalow. Whilst this sort of thing is inevitable it makes it more difficult to establish social order. People who are insecure because they are on the move are less likely to participate in creating the community. Those who feel themselves permanently established in private housing are tempted to contract out of true participation in town development. There have been all kinds of attempts at creating community, and the Church has been at the very heart of it, but we still have a long way to go.

Still standing at the top of Kielder Tower you could look further to the right and see close under the towers - a derelict wasteland 15 years ago with mounds and ponds and frogs and bushes - a natural play area for children which we used very beneficially in one of our early summer play schemes. There children could build and knock down and generally play as children will without too much order. It was then laid out with gravel play areas, walls and swings, even concrete tunnels. We reached the point when it was so under used and all the swings vandalised that we tried to improve it by painting large murals of Newcastle United football players on the walls. Now it is just a sad remnant of failed endeavour. In the centre of these old garths were two local shops and the community hall to which I will refer later. I remember having a community event soon after we took the shops over as a temporary church, and a visitor who was with me from Africa that afternoon said it was the nearest thing he had seen to an African village in England; such was the warmth and spirit of the community in those days.

THE TOWERS

Most of the inhabitants of the tower block from which we would have been viewing the scene went to Blackpool for a weekend to see the illuminations - a reflection of the community spirit that we had, even in the towers. Now Kielder Tower is no more so there is no vantage point from which to view the contemporary scene, but the play area is derelict, the shops which became a social centre are raised to the ground, the community hall has its windows barred with metal grids, and the public house has been forced to block its windows with unbreakable material instead of glass. There is not time for me to dwell on the history of the towers, but I must say that initially planning and management did go hand in hand, and they were happy places. For various reasons things changed and too little was done to remedy things too late.

I am bound to say that concrete as a material is not conducive to social happiness, and generally speaking architects and planners should be far more conscious of the psychological and social effects different materials have on people.

The comparison between the west and the east side of the Township, which is built with red brick, is quite remarkable. The one thing which stands out as offensive amongst the warm coloured brick houses are the concrete hippos and elephants on which children are expected to play. At one time before vandalism took over there were play facilities in the areas between the Tower Blocks. Most of these were made of steel or concrete, but an imaginative planner did deposit a load of tree trunks which provided more natural play facilities enjoyed by the children. Then believe it or not there was a complaint about splinters and the logs were removed but the rough concrete tunnels which the children never used remained. It also has to be noticed that the private estates in Killingworth, which people tend to forget because they do not present problems, contain no houses built of concrete. Having said this, however, let us not forget that it is people not buildings who destroy any environment. There are rich ghettos as well as slum ghettos.

DISCUSSION

While we are thinking of different materials and peculiarities of design I must not forget "the spitters" which Don Peart pointed out to you, the little walkway drain pipes sticking out from the towers from which one could have an undesired shower bath. A certain individual arrived in Killingworth from prison: he had no income but he did not want to risk his freedom by breaking into houses as a burglar, so with his wife he collected a Woolco trolley and set about removing the copper spitters and tossing them down to his wife. Someone came along and asked what he thought he was doing. He solemnly explained that the council were planning to replace the copper spitters with plastic ones. He was so convincing that his explanation was accepted and he pocketed the proceeds from selling the copper.

I would like to finish with a poem about the community association hall

"Hogg's Hut".

The people asked to have a place to meet
Which would be different from the concrete squares
It must stand out they said amongst the garths,
At the junction of the paths the people trod.
It must be square the planners said,
The roof it must like all the rest be flat.
And if a grant you do desire comply.
The people met, and talked, and then agreed.

It was to be a place of revelry,
Collected for in tins each week by week.
How could each person have a part?
How much should each put in the weekly tin?

And then a new idea was raised.
Could we not for once use bricks?
Perhaps be warmly red and so stand out,
A challenge to the sameness of our town.
The planners hitherto had frowned on bricks;
But if you must they said, we will agree,
So long as blending into concrete is your aim,
For choice a cold austere grey would do.

And so we bought them one by one,
A shilling for a blue grey brick,
A solemn thing which would resist the sun,
To build a place where people could have fun.
We proudly saw the hall begin to rise,
Brick upon brick being squarely placed,
To form another square amongst the rest,
But being of brick at least one difference made.

The planners had to earn their weekly pay,
By making sure that everything would blend,
So little walls of blue grey brick appeared
Between the houses and the people's hall.

There was a man outspoken in his day,
Upon the local council he had sat,
His name was Robert Hogg to be revered,
And so the hall with his name was inscribed.
The pride of this endeavour did not last,
The people felt the building was no hall,
For hall suggested something grand and welcoming,
And so it soon was known just simply as Hogg's Hut

The planners won a long term victory,
Except that walls without a roof are rare,
And ammunition make for idle hands;
Destroyed they were and aimed at poor Hogg's Hut.

And now that years have passed,
There is a sight to see which saddens,
Enthusiasm quenched from earlier years,
The hut stands bleakly fortified by metal bars.
The moral of this tale is clear
The bureaucratic sanctioning of people's hopes
Saps all initiative and individual style,
Until the people too became like blue grey bricks.

Question

How has management helped you? How much additional management has been involved and where did this help?
David Wood

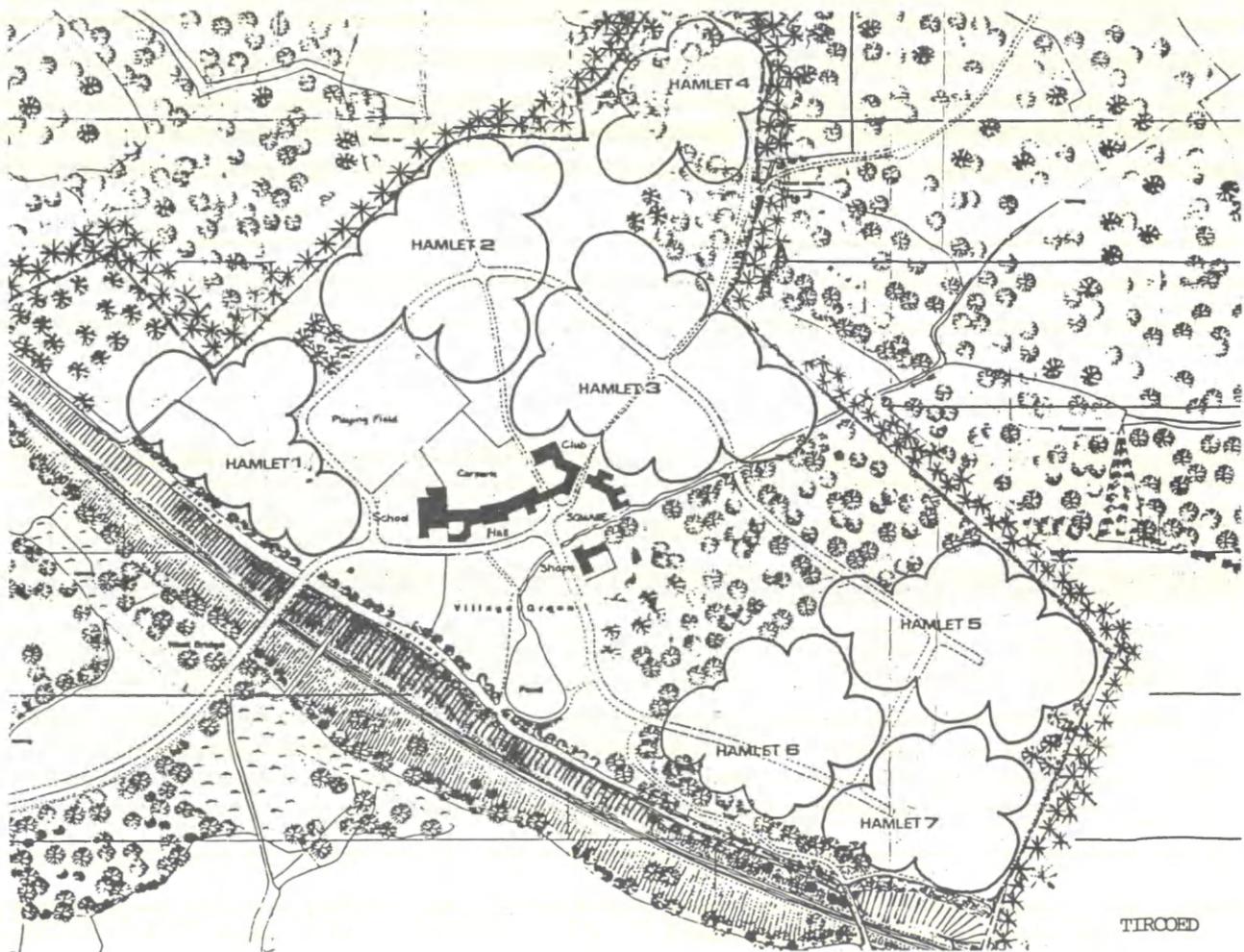
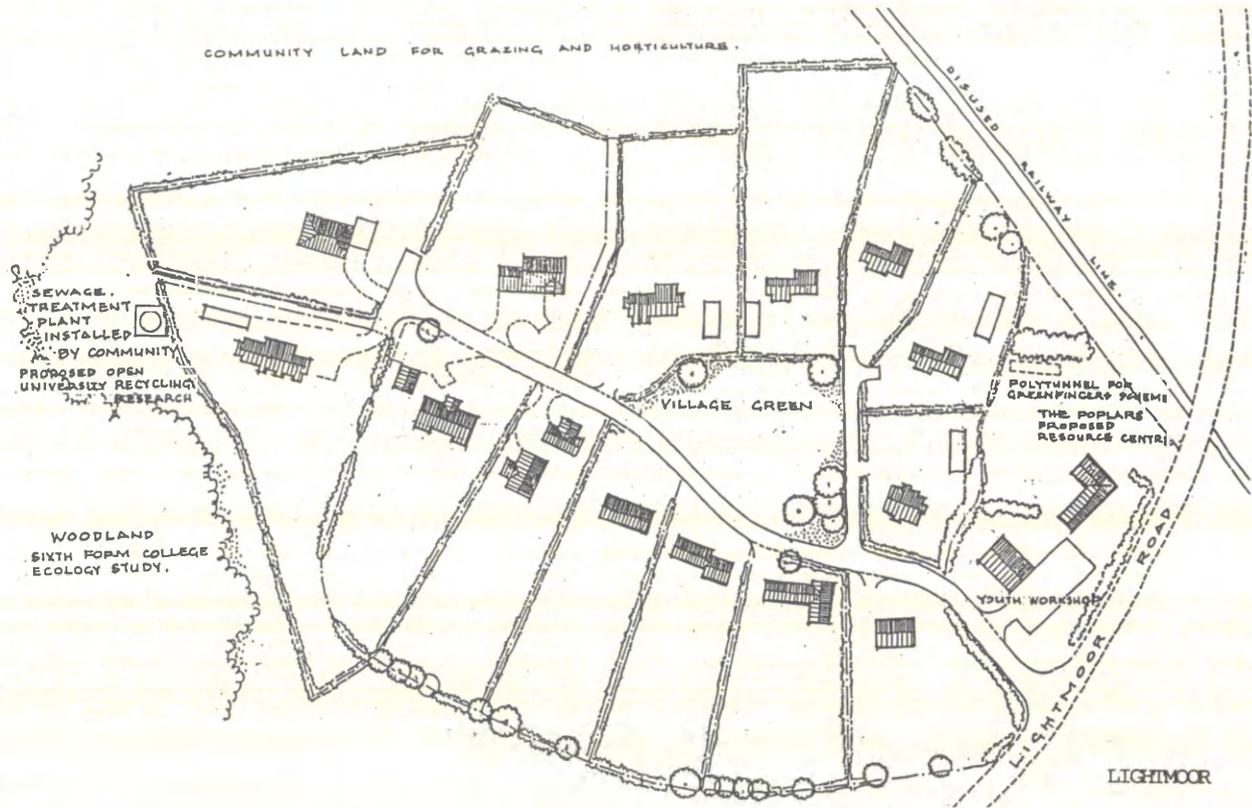
I want to be very fair to my present Council, that's North Tyneside Urban District Council, with whom I work very closely now. They are doing their best, but we suffered very deeply from the re-organisation of local government. Northumberland County Council drew in all the different people that were involved and we had a monthly working committee; I translated part of that back into the community with my monthly meeting. When Killingworth was taken out of Northumberland, everybody had to re-apply for jobs and my view is that the old councils accepted the people they wanted to have, leaving other people a bit stranded, and they of course applied for jobs to the new councils. So new councils like North Tyneside had a lot of people put into positions feeling that they had got to prove themselves. I think that we lacked the kind of help we needed because of the re-organisation and it is the old question of a stitch in time saving nine. I mean the towers started off as happy places. Some of us in the community could see the rot beginning and we made certain recommendations, but because we were a threat from the past, we were not listened to. The other factor was financial constraints. I think the elected councillors were anxious not to spend too much money on this creature that had been put into their midst by Northumberland County Council.

Question

I would like to take up a comment you made about the effect that the built form can have on the community. There was a time when architects used to think that they could make people happy by creating a physical environment. My own personal conviction is that the physical fabric of a settlement can make it convenient or inconvenient, but doesn't really have a central influence on people's lives. You seem to be saying that the physical fabric has a lot more effect. Now, do you think that we can produce an urban design which can make people happy. Or is it only a matter of convenience or inconvenience?

David Wood

I don't think you can separate the two things. I talked about garth 9, which is the most enclosed community in the whole of Killingworth. If you have got reasonable understanding, kindly people in that garth, it is a very happy garth. But if you pop in it two or three rotten apples that are going to be quarrelsome, it is a very unhappy garth. Yes, I do believe that design makes a difference. I think that the towers were happy. I have known very happy towers when they have had one set of people in them, but very unhappy towers when there is a different set of people in them. The trouble of course is that if a district gets labelled then it becomes a hard to let area and therefore it deteriorates because the people who go there are the people who have no options. So, in the long run, it is not buildings that create an environment, good or bad, it is the people who create an environment, good or bad. But at the same time, there are certain do's and don'ts. So I do believe that architecture and planning have an affect and broadly speaking I would say, try to give people some kind of a sense of security. There is a complex in Killingworth which again was on my lips to mention, which has got the balance pretty right. It is a mixture of flats and houses built by a housing association and has a degree of openness, but it also has a very strong sense of security. It has a personal approach to management, because it is a housing association and therefore they can pick and choose who they bring in and they can keep the balance right. You cannot separate design, planning, and management. They have to go hand-in-hand ■



ALTERNATIVE FUTURES

by Jim Grove

There are many 'alternatives' the key difference between them being who decides? The Alternative Society usually means a community which collectively decides for itself instead of submitting to the decisions of strangers. An alternative settlement would be one where the ultimate users participate in its design and construction. This is now a respectable, indeed fashionable way of going about environmental design. Paradoxically, it is advocated by some very powerful people.

How can power be managed other than in an authoritarian way? What effect would this have on urban design? What place is there for a Grand Design where the means of delivery is to be democratic?

It is a commonplace to observe that the process inevitably affects the character of the product. Port Sunlight and Bournville look like company villages not like the villages of Cheshire or Warwickshire. The Paris boulevards perfectly express a centralised power which means to control the populace; like an inside-out barracks. Harlow New Town is a concrete example of welfare socialism. If this supposed relationship between process and product is true, it should be possible to infer the kind of developer or development principle which is most likely to create the Grand Design: a competent and peremptory power such as Lloyds Bank or Natwest. Remember always that the big gesture can be boldly bad as well as splendidly successful.

The alternative power structures that are my topic are, by definition quite different from all this. I mean to speak of two examples; i) the TCPA initiative at Lightmoor, a radically egalitarian venture; and ii) my own project, Tircoed in West Glamorgan, where we have tried to draw practical lessons from the above analysis.

LIGHTMOOR OR PLANNING FROM THE BOTTOM UP

This admirable endeavour has enabled a party of enthusiastic volunteers to start building their own village. There are 14 families and several houses in various stages of completion. Children play happily among building materials and tales are told of the day the septic tank was manhandled across the site. But if this village resulted from free collective choice, why does it not look like the hundred of Shropshire villages which did evolve in that way? There are, of course, many confusing variables: a non-traditional technology; a timescale of months instead of centuries. But this is a recognisable plan-type. It is a crofter village.(1)

The generator of the plan is land-allocation tempered by a practical need to reduce service runs and circulation. There is no master plan and no-one quite knows where the next little collective will settle. The place looks like one of those utopian settlements of the nineteenth century.

The Lightmoor Pioneers are not without patrons. The land was conveyed by Telford Development Corporation at existing use value and planning consent was made easy. These gifts alone make Lightmoor exceptional. The TCPA, with the aid of a grant, has given great help in the person of Tony Gibson, prophet and guru. One effect of external help has been to negotiate a new kind of collective mortgage for £89,000.

One wonders whether Lightmoor is a replicable model; which is a pity for, patronage notwithstanding, this community enjoys a very diffuse power structure where no-one feels disadvantaged. The concessions may be the minimum for such a venture to succeed in our over-structured society. It is most unlikely that a Grand Design will result from Lightmoor. However, the Big Idea of Lightmoor has won several prizes. Here, the spectacular aspect is in the process, not in the product.

TIRCOED VILLAGE, A DELIBERATE PIECE OF PATRONAGE

This is a scheme for 500 dwellings plus community facilities in Penllergaer Forest, north of Swansea(2). It is planned to be commercially successful and to satisfy the conditions for funding by a conventional backer. The land has to be bought and planning consent obtained in the normal way. No grants from the Exchequer or elsewhere have been used. It is a commonplace venture which any of you present could embark upon if you wish.

The difference is that the authors(3) are professional men who have seized control of the means of delivery instead of themselves being controlled by it. We have unlocked the wealth inherent in an almost barren tract of land and we mean to use it to build an interesting and unusual village. All trading surplusses will be returned to the future community of residents in the form of infrastructure, landscaping, a wealth of facilities along with a very substantial trust fund. Thus the people who live there will enjoy exceptional control over their immediate surroundings.

The trick is that we obtained a very advantageous option to develop 50 acres of land and went on to get an improbable planning consent. We recruited the support of all the relevant professional planners at District and County simply by devising a plan which addressed their purposes (except that it happened to be out of accord with all the statutory plans) and it caught their imagination. We set up a non-profit trust to control the development and a community trust to receive the benefits on behalf of future residents. Settlers are already forming a small queue eager to participate in the adventure. But in this case the settlers frankly do not call the tune except on our invitation; we the designers and project managers are in control.

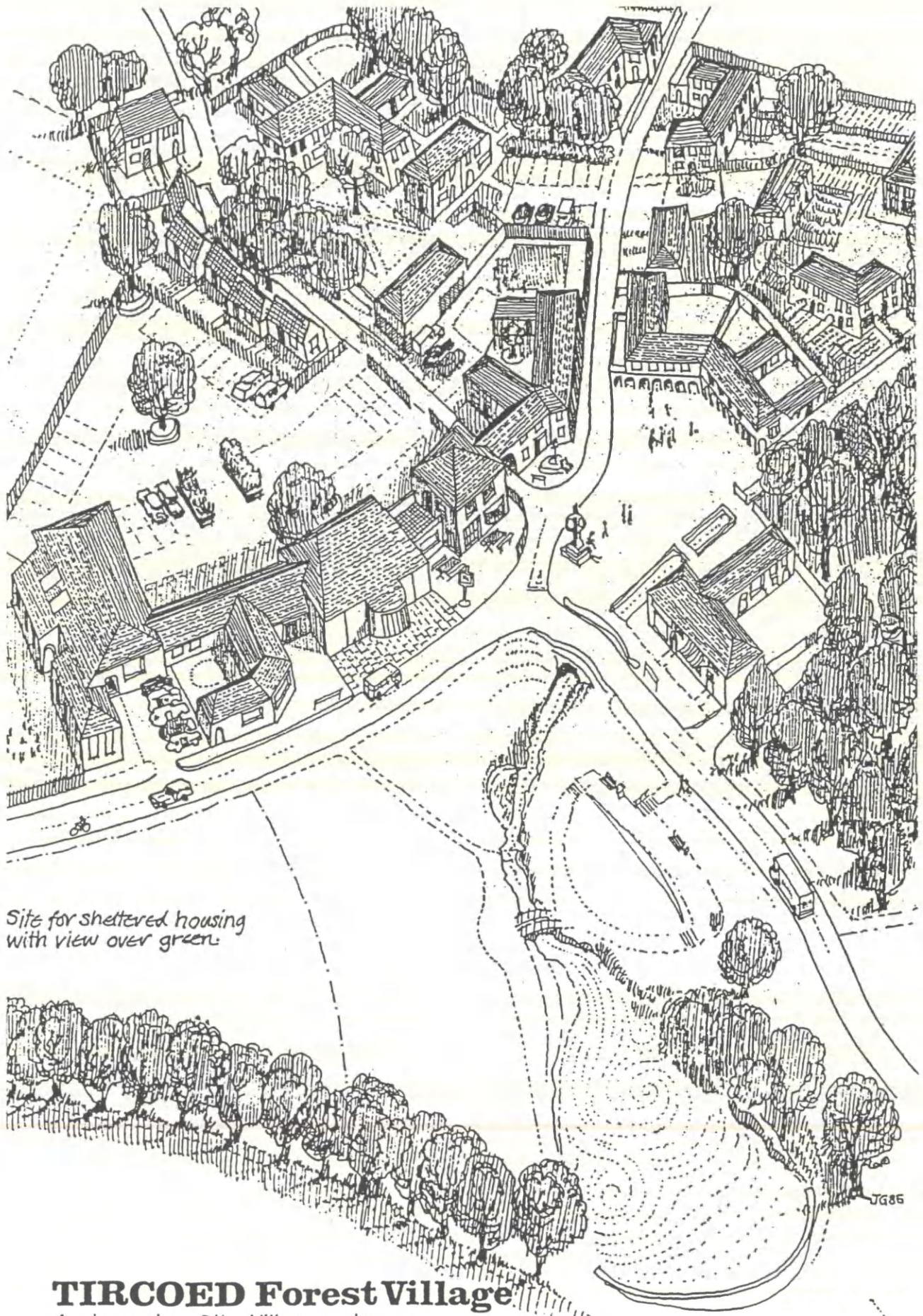
GRAND DESIGNS

We could, if we wished, build a Grand Design, though I do not think that is likely. I can imagine that on another site we could do as the Woods did at Bath; for we are in exactly the same position as developers who have a passion for urban design. But that would require a market which is appreciative of good architecture (which I believe is coming) and it also supposes that we are brilliant designers, which alas I cannot claim.

To produce your Grand Design, two conditions are required. First it is necessary to control the process of delivery or to find an enlightened patron; but secondly it is indispensable to have a rare degree of skill. My message is that urban designers can seize the power, if only they will have the courage and the endurance to rely upon their own special skill to unlock the betterment value of land on their own behalf instead of always doing it for others.

The second preliminary point I want to make has to do with a bias in favour of smallness. That is not to say that I disapprove of bigness, necessarily, but I have to admit that I am interested in a small scale approach.

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1. Dennis Hardy Alternative Communities in Nineteenth Century England Longman 1979.
 2. Jim Grove Town and Country Planning Oct 1985 and Housing and Planning Review Aug 1986.
 3. Jim Grove, Planner/Architect; Bernard Williams, Building Economist; Dr. Nick Falk, Development Consultant; Sydney Isaacs, Solicitor.



*Site for sheltered housing
with view over green:*

TIRCOED Forest Village
An impression of the Village centre.

I am interested in building villages and I believe there is a strategic argument why the building of free-standing small new communities is a viable rural development strategy and a better planning alternative to the usual rural strategy. The last point to make is that I am not here to be pessimistic or sceptical. I think that it may be something of the architect in me that looks for something that I can build at the end of the day. I am optimistic and far from sceptical about what can be done. I am not interested in whether we should do the sort of things that we have been talking about. I am interested in how we are going to do it. Now that's a very important difference in opinion or difference of attitude between the designer and the social scientist in planning.

I am convinced that if you involve non-professionals, lay-people, that it tends to produce better planning than you normally get from professionals alone. The kind of plans, whether it is a master plan or a grand design or not, which results is entirely different. The most important point I want to emphasise is the relationship between the means of delivery and the product.

Of course, you can give people an inhuman environment. People will use even a bad environment in their own way and sometimes they will overcome the most serious practical difficulties. But generally speaking, I think that our physical environments that we live in make for convenience or inconvenience, but I don't believe that they are a central feature of peoples' lives in a way that economics is or their social relationships or their family relationships. Personal histories are far more important to people than the bricks and mortar around them.

These are examples of urban design which were produced by no urban designer. They are evolved, traditional English villages. I find it endlessly enjoyable to walk around an English village which I have not seen before. Endlessly enjoyable places, but how can we make environments that are as delightful as that? I don't think we really know how to do it.

Portmeirion in North Wales, which is a patron's bestowed design but nevertheless it is full of fun. It is full of irregularity and incident and the kind of informal delight which you find in English villages. But it is designed delight. It is the type of thing which the accountants are forever telling me I cannot afford to build. But there are plenty of examples where the most remarkable things get built. The question is, not whether we can do it, the question is, how are we going to do it?

LIGHTMOOR

At Lightmoor, the TCPA venture at Telford in Shropshire, a very radical approach to involving the community was taken and the plan evolved entirely from discussion with the community and not by an imposed pattern of any kind. The plan resulted in a group of fourteen houses around a village green. The principle that generated the plan is land-allocation. A collective mortgage was raised to pay for the land, so from the point of view of users, the land was virtually free. A very unusual circumstance in our society and therefore I think that this is not an example of radical planning in an ordinary situation. It is an extraordinary situation. Although the decisions were made collectively by the people living there, there was a very strong streak of patronage in the mix. The development corporation delivered the land at a concessionary price and planning approval was easily obtained, whereas the rest of us have to fight for that. The TCPA, as patron, bestowed the gift of Tony Gibson who led the whole operation and made it possible. It is of course an extremely small example of fourteen

houses. Nothing wrong with that. I favour smallness. The area of land that is available is a very large area and nobody quite knows how you get access to the rest of the site. In other words, the master plan approach doesn't work. If you involve the community you don't get grand designs. The process has that much effect on the product. There is no patronage, or little patronage.

TIRCOED

In our new village proposal at Tircoed in West Glamorgan we are in favour of consulting the community. But it seems to us that a degree of patronage is inescapable. We also think that the urban designer has something to offer to the community, so the pure consultative plan is not the one that we are going after. We are glad that other people are, but that is not the model that we are going after. We are going for a consultative plan where the patron is clear to see. We have appointed ourselves as the patrons for this community.

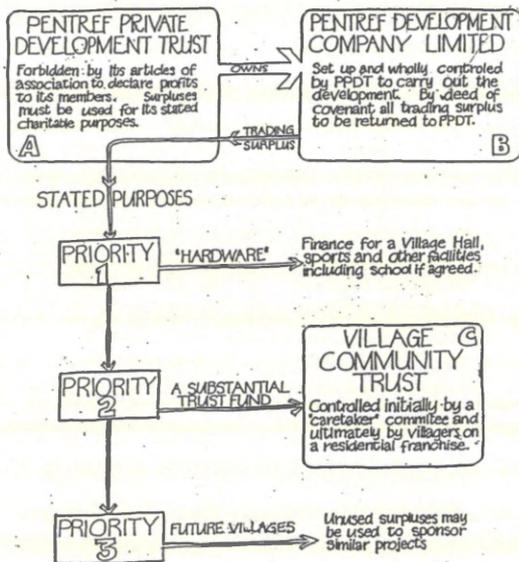
The way in which we made the whole product possible was by obtaining a building option on a site, a very beautiful site, surrounded by a forest. It slopes gently to the South West with views over the coast and it is just one mile from a motorway junction. Delightful site. No-one had even contemplated building anything on it, because it was thought to be undevelopable. So we got an option on the site when it was believed to be a value-less site. We then went on to get the planning consent. We used our professional skills to unlock the value in that land and we are going to control the value of land in order to pay for the things that we think a small community should have. Apart from the infrastructure, which will be no charge at all on the general rate fund of the wider community, we shall be providing a full range of community buildings. There is a risk that they may be of that imposed kind that you get at Port Sunlight, but if I get my way they will be the result of discussions with the community as the community moves in. So community facilities will be provided. A high level of landscaping, just as the new towns find themselves able to do and, at the end of the day, we can give a community trust a million pounds to spend in any way that they think fit. All of this can come out of the sale or letting of houses in a weak economy in a mining valley in South Glamorgan. The key point I want to get across is that if urban designers would interest themselves in the process as much as in the product, they could create for themselves the means to do the urban design that they think they should be doing and to deliver to the community an unusual array of facilities, and to give that community exceptional control of its own environment in the future. This community will have less influence over the original designs than they do at Lightmoor but when we have finished they will be a wealthy community. They may be individually not wealthy people, but they will be a wealthy community, because of what we have delivered.

The way we do this is through a non-profit trust which controls the development company. That company receives the benefit of the increase in land value. The land owner gets an agreed percentage of the selling price of houses, to be collected at the time when we sell the houses. We haven't had to raise a big loan up front to buy the land. The land owner does very well out of it. Land which a year ago was worth £300 an acre to him, is now worth £36,000. He has done very well indeed and still we can do all the things that I have said.

That development company then employs me as its architect. The company is set up according to terms which forbid it to pay its trading credit to the directors. All the trading credit has to be paid back to the parent trust by deed of covenant to avoid

tax. The trust receiving the trading surplus can use it for only stated purposes. These purposes are priority one, to build the hardware, that is the infrastructure and the community facilities - village hall, pub and bus service, and - priority two, a substantial trust fund which will be placed in the hands of a community trust. This will be in the control of the future settlers in the village and this can also be used to provide finance for future village projects. We had a lot of trouble raising finance at the beginning and we want to make it a bit easier for ourselves the second and third time we do it.

METHOD OF ORGANISING PROPOSED VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT



Now, the main point I want to get across is that as an architect and planner and urban designer I have been compelled to take an interest in finance, a subject which generally does not interest me but, on this project, has become very fascinating. Denys was talking about the problem of the time scale until that day when the cashflow goes into credit, which is a serious matter for the new towns, because of the length of their development. Our time scale is seven years, which is another advantage of smallness. I am very interested in the day when our cash flow goes into credit. And I see it as part of my job as a designer and a builder of houses to make sure that in the first two or three years I have to be prepared to make the compromises that I have to make in order to get into credit as quickly as we can, because it is after that time that my financial controller will enable me to do the things that I want to do. So, the process is not just essential to the product, it is the essential part of the whole game.

Another interesting aspect of this is that the first plan I produced was a very sketchy, outline plan. It is an architect's concept of what the village might be. It was only when I was forced by my colleagues, who are concerned about the cash-flow and the sequence of stages of construction, I had to produce a programme of construction. That was the time when the plan began to take on a working shape. After that the plan began to have an inward meaning for me and a purpose, and it is much better. Just as the plans of older towns have an inward logic related to the way they grew up so this one had an inward logic. Once again, the process had a direct effect on the character of the outcome and, I would say, a beneficial effect.

I have produced what I think is an articulated plan, not at all the kind of plan that might have been produced by a Lightmoor community. It has a centre with a square looking out over a village green which has a pond, a line of ducks waddling down to it, which also happens to be a balancing lake. And it has a number of hamlets surrounding it. Within each hamlet I have designed a density gradient. I have endeavoured to create enclosure of a kind that one finds in traditional villages. Of course this is a designed example. It is not an evolved one. The density has to be right. There is a relatively high density centred on each hamlet and a relatively low density on the periphery with the larger houses, higher prices backing onto the forest. It has a structure. It has something designed into it, which I think would not be there if that had been produced by a consultative process. And I argue, correct me if I am wrong, that this is something that the urban designer can give to the community which they will never get for themselves by a process of discussion only.

The village centre contains the community buildings, including a school. You can build a school and give it to the local education authority. They are proving very unreceptive to that idea. They don't want us to give them a school, unless we also pay the teachers to teach in it and on another project we will perhaps do that.

The last thing I want to say about this project is that within the plan one of the principles that I have aimed for as a designer, is to offer choice. The brief discussion we had this morning about how much influence the urban, physical fabric has on people's lives is a matter of great concern to me. As I am not consulting the future community I have endeavoured to offer choice. There are enclosures, there are terraced houses, semi-detached and detached examples. Some face one way, some face another way. Some have big gardens, some have small gardens. Some are in courtyards, some are not. Some along the side of the streets, in a conventional suburban way which I know will appeal to some. I have endeavoured to avoid the problem of full consultation by offering choice, which I think is the urban designer's way of going about it. ■

ALTERNATIVE FUTURES

by Lee Shostak

Let's start from where we are today. Regional planning hasn't existed for five or ten years. The regional planning that we are working to, such as we do, is old regional planning. It's not been updated. Regional planning's a bad word in Britain today. We have County Council structure plans. They are getting to be bad words. They are very good at policies on how to say not, or maybe yes, a little, but they are not growth-orientated policies and anyway, we are planners. I mean I still admit and will stand up in a room like this and say I am a planner. There are rooms where I would not even admit to being a planner. They are being downgraded in local government. In many respects being reorganised out of existence. Planning as a process is not a particularly well-regarded process in local government. And just to top it off, bad architecture is by and large equated with social problems, inner city problems. We can debate whether this is right or wrong, but the fact is the built environment professions are seen to be responsible for a lot of the problems in inner cities.

In addition, developers, the private development industry, profit motivated, looking to make money out of speculating in land and site values and a little bit of building make the running in urban development today. That's where we are at today and that's the environment that in my view we practice in.

The other part of the context. Local authorities don't have much money. They have less vision and even less entrepreneurship. When I came to this country fifteen years ago, there was a lot of money available, a lot of vision, a lot of entrepreneurship. Perhaps that created some of the problems we have got today, but at least local government was trying. We have got the older development corporations and now the new urban development corporations but they are different. They are enabling bodies. They are not doing bodies. In the old days you would get a master plan and the development corporation would build about two thirds of it. It's not like that any more. The new

urban development corporations are in there to assemble the land, invest in infrastructure when they have to, build very few buildings and then dispose of the land for development. It works in London when the economy is buoyant but it is not working any other place all that well yet. And they have to work closely with the private sector. In the old days they used to, sometimes, but they often did it themselves and at the moment they can still retain the betterment in land value. It is an open question whether the new urban development corporation is even going to be able to do that all the time.

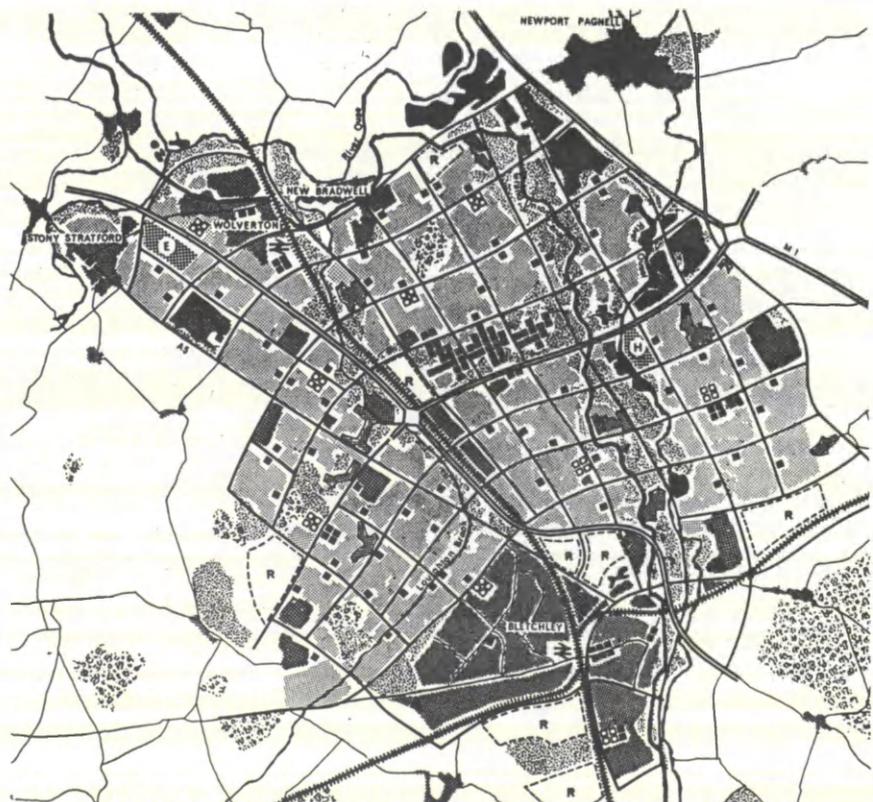
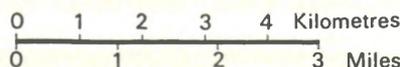
That's the context. I am going to talk about three projects that I have been involved with in the last ten years or so, Milton Keynes, Tillingham Hall, Consortium developments efforts to build new country towns round London and the South East and Greenland Dock, an area in London Dockland. I will talk about each of those projects separately and then try and glean some lessons from all three.

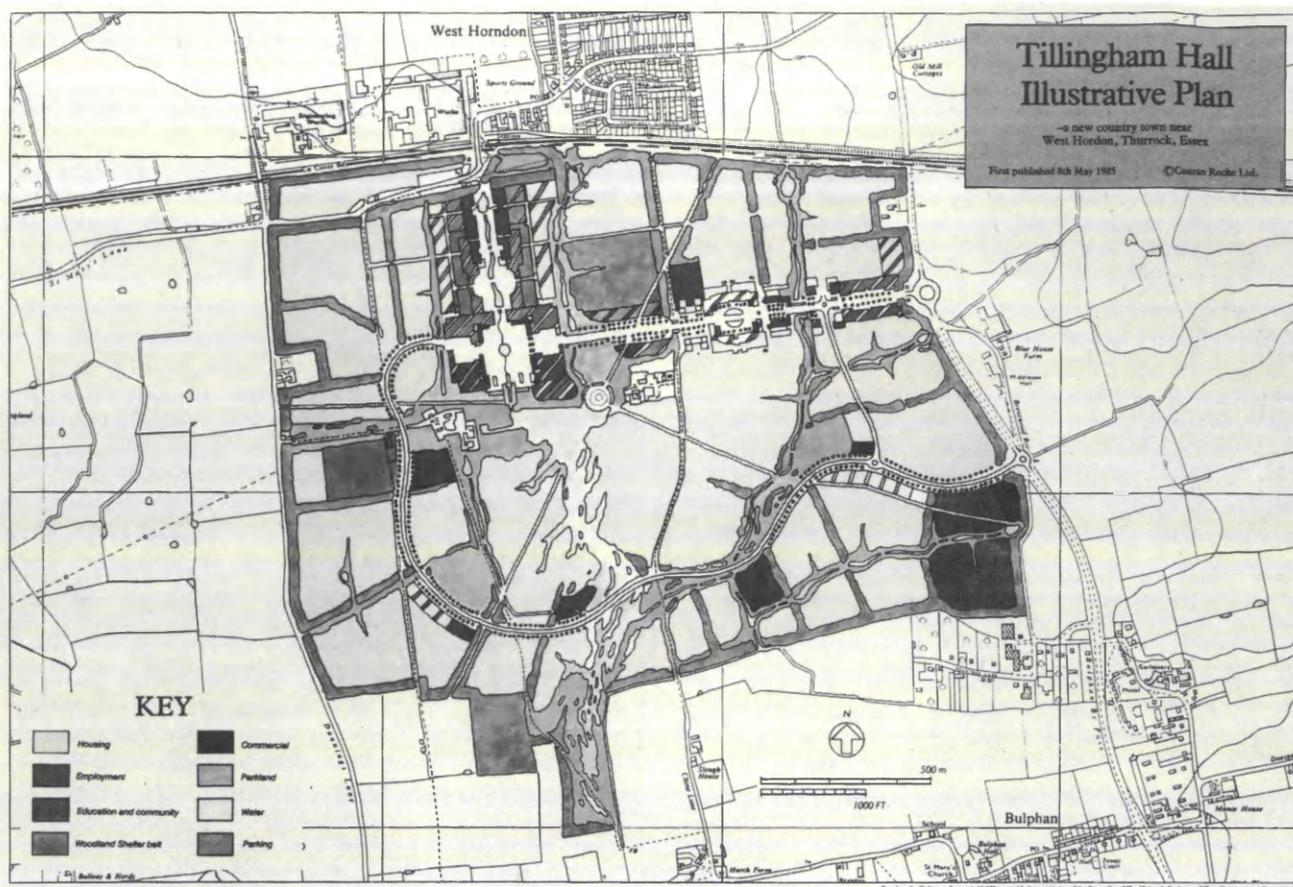
MILTON KEYNES

In 1967 the population was planned to grow to between 200,000 and 250,000. It is now about 60% complete. Wolverton, Stony Stratford and Bletchley, existing towns, about 40,000 people. 22,000 acres with a big checker board put onto it, by and large sensitively, although occasionally it missed the important features of the landscape. That's the framework. It is not a grand design in the sense of having a direct effect on the built environment, except for the grid roads which do have an effect, but didn't actually tell you what kind of buildings to build, what kind of environment to create. It had a micro-scale, a human scale. It had a new urban motorway, the A5, which used to be an old roman road, then straight, now with curves. It acknowledged the existence of the M1 and it acknowledged the existence of the green landscape and the need for balancing lakes. But within that framework virtually everything was possible. There was one grid square which changed land uses four times during the ten years I was in

-  Existing towns and villages
-  Residential Area
-  Industry
-  Parks
-  Woods
-  New city centre
-  Centres
-  Local activity centres
-  Secondary school group
-  Reserve sites
-  Higher education campus
-  Health campus
-  Primary road
-  Expressway/Motorway
-  Railway

INITIAL PROPOSALS
MILTON KEYNES





the development corporation, from parks to housing to industry to office blocks. It didn't make a difference to the master plan, given the way the master plan was structured. That was an incredibly valuable asset which as in the case of Livingston has helped make Milton Keynes a success. It's a flexible framework. It wasn't flexible in one sense in that as soon as you're locked into that overall pattern of development you had to put roads and drains in. And those roads in particular had an important effect on the environment, but in land use terms and on a finer human scale it was extremely flexible. If you walk away today with the understanding that frameworks for big areas need to be flexible, that is important.

Other characteristics of Milton Keynes worth remembering. It is North of Watford. Yes, it is in the South East. The South East now starts North of Milton Keynes. But there were five or six years when they couldn't get anything to go on there from the private sector. Easy now from the perspective up here. But down there in the early years it wasn't very easy. And in those early days the development corporation did it itself. Housing for rent, advanced factory units, the city centre, offices, all corporation public sector, masses of seed money invested. Very relevant for what they are going to try and do in the new UDC areas today. Without that mass of seed money Milton Keynes wouldn't be there today. The roads and the parks were the most important bits of that enabling investment and that's what in my view will actually maintain the quality and maintain the ability of that city to regenerate itself over the next 500 years.

Also a lot of reserve sites in that master plan. Not whole grid squares, but significant chunks of grid squares have been left in reserve to be built on for future needs, future requirements. It's expensive, because you have to build a road right past those fifty or one hundred acres, but very important.

And another important feature of the plan is that it did quite consciously set out to achieve a social mix and a social balance on a microscale. Back in the old days, you couldn't build housing for rent and housing for sale next to each other. Developers wouldn't do it. They got forced into doing it in Milton Keynes and it worked. Private developers would build housing for sale next to housing for rent and most of the schools intakes are extremely well-balanced.

The important point of all this for architects and urban designers is that Milton Keynes and the early new towns were architect and engineer driven. The architects and the engineers by and large made the bulk of the fine grain decisions, the human scale decisions. Not the big decisions but the little decisions and they have got to, as professionals, take responsibility for those successes and failures. The big scale, the big framework, however was, I would suggest to you, the result of a consensus with the local authority. Yes, the development corporation was a non-democratic institution. It was responsible only to the Secretary of State, not to the local people, but they couldn't have got off the ground unless they built a consensus with the local authority.

Within that framework we got some very good results and I would compare some of the housing in Milton Keynes with virtually any of the conventionally developed towns. I think you will find parts of Milton Keynes which would compare very favourably with English villages and parts of Milton Keynes which are appalling. And that was the weakness of that framework. The framework didn't set up enough rules to preclude those very bad mistakes. I can show you and tell you about some if you like, but take my word for it, there are some very bad housing areas and that was the weakness of the strategic framework. But that framework also allowed, as the

public money started to dry up, the private sector to take the lead and make the running and now there is intense competition for all those private housing sites and the office sites. Even I wouldn't suggest to somebody that they go into Milton Keynes and pay the sort of money that the development corporation's asking for, but lots of other people do. It is the framework that has allowed the pace of Milton Keynes to be taken over by the private sector. But that same framework has also allowed individuals to do their own thing. There is intense competition for all the self-build and small development sites that the corporation deems to release and the problem is they don't release enough. And there was within that framework room for a lot more initiatives.

TILLINGHAM HALL

This proposal and the consortium development ideas resulted from a discussion between Fred Roche and Tom Baron a long time ago about the way Milton Keynes and the other new towns around London were releasing land for development. Why don't we try and do it without a development corporation? So they got this idea in their heads to build a ring of these small new villages around London. Some in the Green Belt, some outside. It was supposed to be the successor to the new towns movement. A visionary grand design statement. All the money would come from the private sector. We put forward our first planning application at a site that we identified in Essex in the Green Belt, in the metropolitan Green Belt. It became quite clear very early on that we were going to have to challenge a central policy framework of British planning policy, the Green Belt. If you look over any American city, particularly in the Sun Belt, you see how important Green Belts are. So we're going to challenge the Green Belt by trying to convince the government to start defining housing requirements, because there was no regional framework in housing policy terms. No-one was saying how many houses needed to be built.

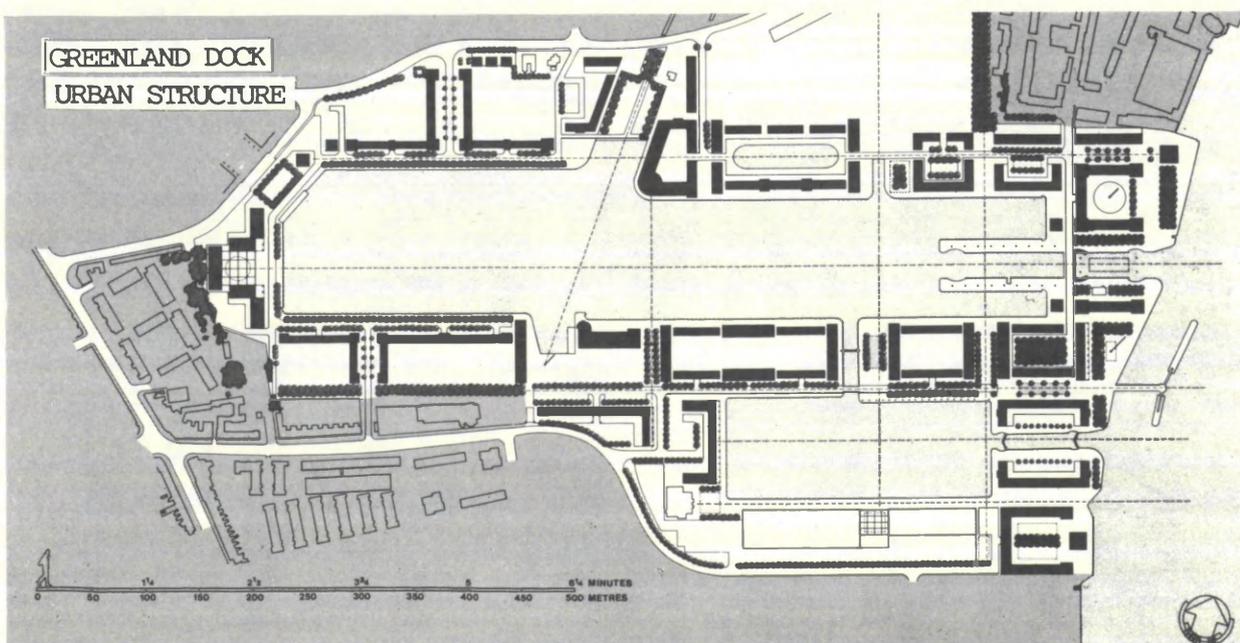
No-one was saying how much land we need to build those houses, don't you think we ought to know how many houses we need? How much land we need for those houses? That's the first thrust of the challenge. The second thrust of the challenge is to put forward a very high quality urban design framework for the new settlement. No shoddy private developers building acres and acres of prairie houses. It would be a well-balanced town with a landscape framework of

open space. We didn't win. We didn't think we were going to win, but our challenge failed. We were essentially making a plea to government to start increasing the supply of housing land. Let the private development industry get more of its raw material and build that development very well. The government didn't want to know. Didn't care. The inspector didn't want to know and the Minister didn't want to know. He felt no obligation to define how many houses were needed or how much land was required. It was a high quality framework. We failed but we are trying to do it again some other place. In Hampshire, the County Council Structure Plan reviews started with the need for a new settlement but then decided it didn't really want a new settlement. Same kind of argument, same kind of public inquiry is going to take place soon.

In Cambridgeshire the County Council decided to allocate the site for a new settlement. It's an appalling site. Consortium Developments (CDL) is trying to buy the site. Having been earmarked for a new settlement the landowners want a lot of money. CDL doesn't know whether it can afford it. So, the concept is not dead. That grand design is not dead, but it has certainly changed a lot from a ring of new towns around London.

GREENLAND DOCK

I want to talk briefly about Greenland Dock. The LDDC had no masterplan and didn't want one. A quite conscious decision put forward by its first general manager that London Docklands should be driven by market forces. It created absolute chaos in most parts of London Docklands where you get the development corporation doing a deal with the developer on a piece of land and six months later withdrawing from the deal because it has got something better; that has happened on several occasions. That's the problem when you don't have a framework at all. It's alright in a buoyant market, because you still get development going on, but it is not very fair on those who speculate all that time to try and put those deals together in the first place. LDDC commissioned us to prepare a development framework for one of the areas in Surrey Docks. It is a 90-acre site, where we didn't do a master plan and we didn't do a detailed design. We made a development framework, a broad strategy with very detailed infrastructure and landscape proposals and an outline of built form proposals. That development



framework has allowed the LDDC to take full advantage of the buoyancy in London's housing market, primarily by carving that site up into quite small development sites and then organising competitions amongst developers to take control of each of those sites and then build on them. They are getting £2 million an acre to take control of some of those sites and then build on them. Developers are queuing up and the development is moving along rapidly because the LDDC invested in infrastructure and landscaping. Developers are convinced it is going to be a high-quality environment and the process is working reasonably smoothly. I suspect by Inner London standards it will be one of the best areas in London in urban design terms. That was because, I suggest to you, they had a development framework, a workable development framework.

WHO MAKES THE GRAND DECISIONS

What are the lessons that we can draw? Who makes grand decisions? In Milton Keynes, there was a grand decision made to create a new development in the early 1960's. Ultimately designation occurred in 1967 arising from the strategic plan for the South East and its associated documents. That was done by the DOE, the professionals working for the DOE and ultimately parliament. That was a grand decision that worked. We don't make those decisions any more at a national or even a regional level. It's very, very sad. And I think the result is that we don't have regional frameworks that work very well in Britain today.

The master plan, another grand decision, arose from the intense personal involvement of the chairman, who took a particular interest with his professional team, with the consensus of the local authority but not a democratic consensus. That framework, had it come from a democratic consensus, would have been very different. It would not have been as flexible a structure, in exactly the same way that I think Jim was saying, the framework that had emerged for his Welsh village is not particularly flexible.

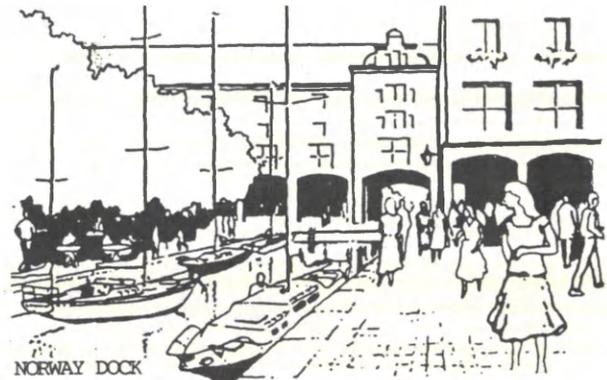
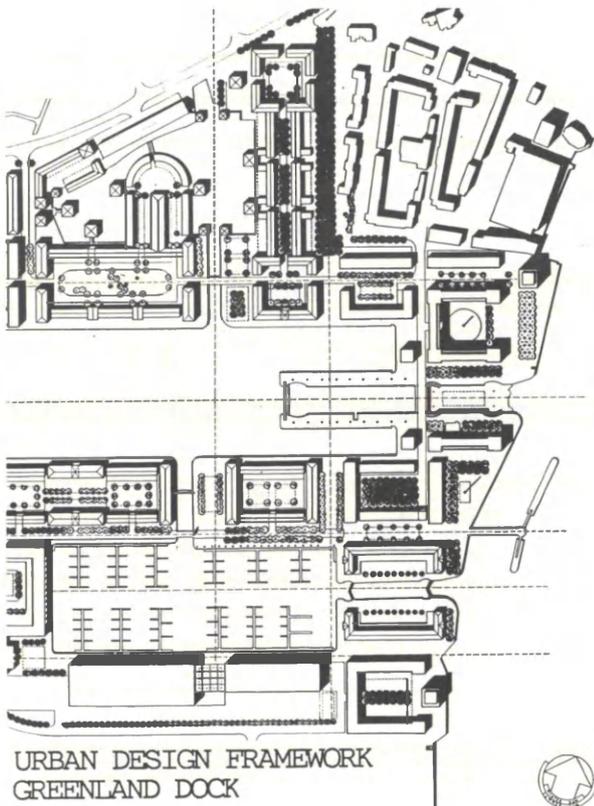
At Tillingham Hall, who made the grand decision? Nobody's making any positive decisions at the moment about where housing land ought to be in the South East in general principles. And the only decision that was made was a reactive decision by the Inspector and the Secretary of State. That's a terrible way to make strategic decisions. However it was the only way open to private developers trying to offer an alternative for the 1980's or the 1990's in this country.

In Greenland Dock the grand general decision was made by the LDDC without the consensus of the local authority. Had the local authority had its way you wouldn't have had that sort of framework there at

WHO MAKES THE HUMAN SCALE DECISIONS

In Milton Keynes for the first years it was the professionals who made the human scale decisions with virtually no control either from the board or from the DOE except through discussions on the rental housing costs. The architects really were not concerned about urban design human scale at all. In the early days the emphasis was on the public sector. Now it is private developers, sometimes with architects, but the professions position is so bad that a lot of private development doesn't get built with any architectural content at all. However it is within a vision, an overall framework that by and large works. And ultimately, now in Milton Keynes its the customers that make the decision about whether or not they are going to buy those products.

The human scale decisions at Tillingham Hall would be made by developers, hopefully with architects and then they would be made by customers as well. In Greenland South Dock the development corporation forces developers to engage architects when they bid for a site and compete on both design and money terms against the framework that was set up. The LDDC has a strong development control system, normally guided by the document we produced. Ultimately again it is the customers decisions as to whether they buy.



THE EFFECT OF FRAMEWORKS

Who benefits from good frameworks? If frameworks are working, if they actually relate to the scale, the decision and the development, who's benefitting? In Milton Keynes low and moderate income families are benefitting, because the corporations strategic framework was talking about social mix. This made it possible, given a proportion of the valuable land, to provide low income and moderate income housing, housing for rent and housing associations and shared ownership schemes. It's quite a socially balanced population. Developers are very happy because they can do a deal in Milton Keynes, if they get within the competition, far more efficiently than in many parts of the country. The professionals like it because they can see the results of their work being turned into projects and because they have got a lot of control.

Tillingham Hall, no-ones benefitting. If they had won the appeal more housing would have resulted maybe making it easier for first time purchasers and maybe providing for middle income groups higher quality housing than could normally be bought in a new suburban location.

At Greenland South Dock, mainly upper and middle income people and very wealthy people are benefitting because the corporations framework for all sorts of reasons didn't include rules on who benefits. They didn't include tenure mix in there and there are only a very few schemes with some subsidised rented housing. Developers are clearly benefitting there and the Government is quite happy because it seems to be an example of inner city renewal that works.

Who suffers from bad frameworks? When the frameworks don't work, what happens? In Milton Keynes the lower income, moderate income households who ended up in the badly designed houses, had to put up with all the problems, so when urban design and planning frameworks don't work, it's the people at the bottom of the income distribution that still lose out.

At Tillingham Hall first time purchasers are losing out particularly, because there are fewer opportunities for them to move out of London. In Greenland South Dock it is the lower and moderate income people again who have lost out.

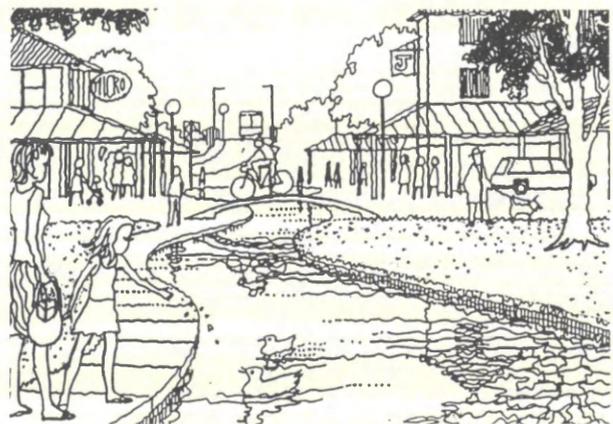
Looking forward, we are finding that there are a lot of local authorities and a lot of development corporations which recognise that getting the framework right is the right way to promote urban development and encourage further development. What are some of the responsibilities that I would like to see all of us exercise in our different roles? If we are a regional planner, a county council planner, or a district planner, we should be looking at any planning document, any policy document and ask whether that is creating a framework for growth. We should be looking at whether those frameworks are workable or not, and positive enough to make it easy to use those frameworks. Those planning frameworks should be very explicit about when public money is required to pump prime investment. To the extent that planners create negative frameworks or ones that make it difficult for people to say yes. I would suggest these are bad frameworks.

URBAN DESIGN

The sites within those frameworks are the urban designer's territory. This is actually the way we use our urban designers in Conran Roche in the planning frameworks that we do. We are looking to the urban designer to add the vision, because he sees things differently to the way planners see them and to the way architects see them. We are looking to the urban designer to create the sense of place. The urban designer to have some clear statement about the

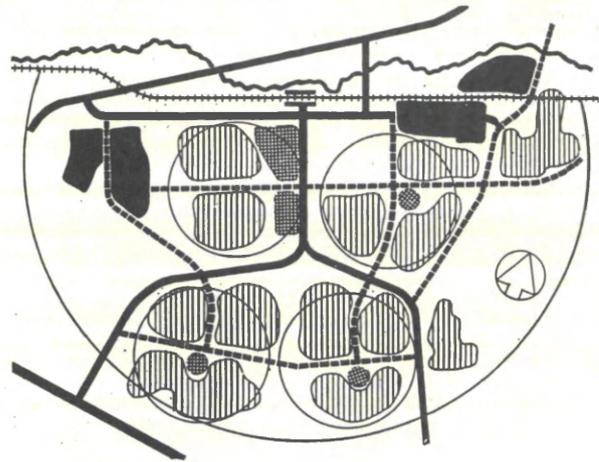
landscaping strategy and the public open spaces and the urban designer to help us control the engineers. By and large in new urban designs it is the engineers that have the most fundamental influence on the plan because they get there first. And we believe urban designers can play an important role in tempering what can be very negative effects of large scale road projects and other infrastructure projects.

Finally, what have been proved to be good frameworks? This is what I would like to see planning research looking at, trying to find the characteristics of frameworks which work. My bottom up view of frameworks that work is as follows: they are working principles with vision; they are practical in that they impart a visionary, not a theoretical, content to them; they are a set of rules and guidelines to create quality; a set of rules, when you can get away with it, on who benefits from the implementation resulting from that framework. When we left Milton Keynes and began advising a lot of developer clients, we immediately gained some insights into the way a private developer approaches a housing, office, a mixed-use scheme, which would have made the way we worked in Milton Keynes on behalf of the development corporation very different. Our clients now benefit from that advice, but the Treasury in particular, suffered from the fact that however good we felt we were, we were pretty amateurish in the way we were structuring a lot of our deals and our planning guidelines. ■

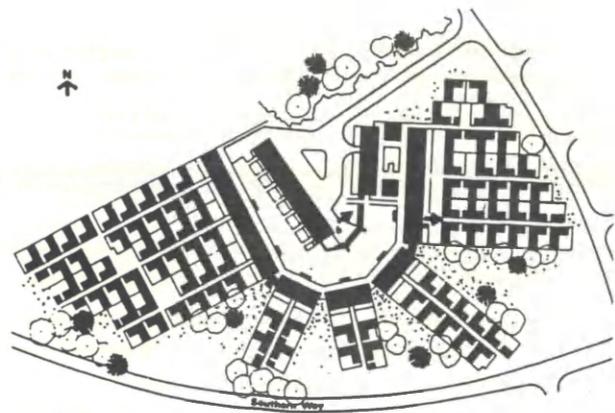
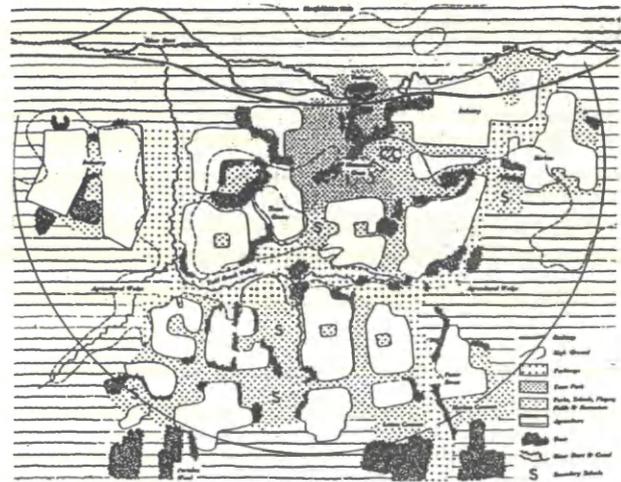


TILLINGHAM HALL

DESIGNATION	TOWN	PURPOSE
1. Nov 1946	Stevenage	Overspill from London.
2. Jan 1947	Crawley	Overspill from London.
Feb 1947	Hemel Hempstead	Overspill from London.
March 1947	Harlow	Overspill from London.
April 1947	Aycliffe	to serve nearby industrial Estate.
3. March 1948	Peterlee	meet local housing needs diversify industry
May 1948	Hatfield	serve aircraft industry diversify employment overspill
May 1948	Welwyn Garden City	Overspill
4. Jan 1949	Basildon	Overspill shack land redevelopment
June 1949	Bracknell	Overspill
5. April 1950	Corby	serve steelworks diversify industry overspill
6. Oct 1961	Skelmersdale	Merseyside overspill
7. Jan 1963	Telford	Birmingham overspill.
8. April 1964	Redditch	relief of overcrowding in West Midlands
April 1964	Runcorn	provide homes and jobs for North Merseyside
July 1964	Washington	Revival of Tyne & Wear
9. Jan 1967	Milton Keynes	Overspill regional growth.
July 1967	Peterborough	Overspill regional growth. Counter-magnet to London.
10. Feb 1968	Northampton	Overspill.
April 1968	Warrington	Exploit natural growth assist in regeneration of Warrington
11. March 1970	Central Lancashire	to generate growth on a sub-regional scale.



'A landscape basis for Harlow ... To the north the Stort Valley provided a base line. Green fingers penetrated into the urban form... One which fits well with the concept of neighbourhoods and allowed the separation of the major employment areas.'



'The Neylan and Ungless scheme in Great Parndon ... capitalises on the idea of the green wedge.'

EVALUATION : PRINCIPLES AND THEORIES: A COMMISSION VIEW by Richard Cole

What is the Commission for the New Towns? The Commission is not in the business of creating new towns but it is inevitably linked into the process of new town development. That link is however strictly limited and comparatively recent. Even in the short life of the English New Towns the Commission is a newcomer. The oldest of the postwar new towns, Stevenage, is just over forty years old. The Commission is a mere twenty six. There is some ambivalence about its task and it certainly has a changing role. In 1961 the Commission was created to take over and manage the property of towns as and when they were completed. This was to be an interim arrangement. By 1965 the Commission's role was defined as being "... to take over, hold, manage, and turn the property (transferred to it from towns as they are wound up) to account, and to maintain and enhance the value and the return obtained from it having regard to the purpose for which the town was developed and to the convenience and welfare of persons residing, working or carrying on business there ...". In 1980 the purpose was redefined in a subtle way. No longer was the Commission required to have "... regard to the purpose for which the town was developed ...".

It is now charged to

"(a) take over and, with a view to its eventual disposal, to hold manage and turn to account the property of development corporations transferred to the Commission under this Act, (the 1985 Act) and (b) as soon as it considers it expedient to do so, to dispose of property so transferred and any other property held by it, due regard being had to the following considerations;

1. the convenience and welfare of persons residing, working or carrying on business there, and
2. until disposal, the maintenance and enhancement of the value of the land and the return obtained from it.

From a legislative or governmental point of view it would seem that at the present time thirteen new towns in England have essentially achieved their founding purpose. There are many who may disagree with this view and while it may be possible to clearly define when a new town starts it is much less easy to define when the task is completed and the new born town is able to stand on its own. Its an interesting debate unfortunately not the topic I have been asked to consider. More significantly it is not a debate in which the voice of the Commission is heard. At present the Commission has assets "transferred to it". It does not decide when to take over. The Secretary of State makes the decision to "wind up". He consults with the local authorities involved but he does not consult the Commission. There is clearly much logic in the notion that once started a Master Plan is never complete, but in the light of changing circumstances should be continuously adapted in order to lead to new objectives. It is equally logical to expect that at some time the acceleration of development and change promoted by the original Master Plan will necessarily slow and the town's rate of change become much more like its "natural" neighbours. When that time is reached there is much less justification for continuing the special treatment endowed upon the new towns by the Acts. It is with this process of "normalisation" or "conventionalisation" as Patsy Healey would perhaps describe it, that the Commission plays its part.

So much for the apologia, returning to the theme "theories and principles". With the residue of thirteen grand ideas in the Commission's charge it should be possible to provide an evaluation of the generating forces behind their creation.

For the generating Act, that of 1946, Howard's definition of a garden city was a starting point.

Howard's definition was:

"... a town designed for healthy living and industry, of a size that makes possible a full measure of social life but not larger (and) surrounded by a green belt ...".

The first generation of London Ring Towns, those designated from 1947-49, all define their purpose as being to cope with "overspill". Interestingly Aycliffe and Peterlee (not yet with the Commission) had different original purposes. Aycliffe I understand was to serve the nearby industrial estate which was itself a product of the need to provide employment. At Peterlee the need was to provide local housing and to diversify employment opportunities.

Is this a sign that even in 1948 there was a north/south divide.

Those towns in the south were focussing on improving the living conditions for people in London, while here in the north east the problems of employment diversification and creation were, and still are, a major preoccupation.

It would certainly appear that in spite of the efforts of the last forty years little has really changed.

The guiding principles for the London orientated towns of this first phase were established by the new Towns Committee under Lord Reith. Of the principles they confirmed, that which related to the notion of a self contained and balanced community for work and living was perhaps the one that struck the most receptive note amongst planners of the day. The validity of the concept of balance and self containment is itself an interesting topic for debate as is the concept of overspill. That they should be such a driving concern is a question of social philosophy and not urban design. But it is perhaps useful to remind ourselves that it was;

- partly a product of the proposals set down in the Barlow Report, that had proposed a distribution of population, largely for strategic reasons;

- partly an aesthetic revolt against the spread of suburban mass housing; and

- partly a need to provide space within the major conurbations to allow room for comprehensive redevelopment.

It is perhaps important to note that the Reith and Barlow reports provided a "national master plan" for the shape of the British new towns and that the objective of providing space within the existing urban areas can be seen as an important element in this "master plan". There can be little doubt that the new towns provided the "room to breathe" which helped to ease the problems of bringing new heart into the inner cities.

There have been difficulties deriving from certain aspects of some of the plans. I will take a brief look at ideas as they have been developed in three generations of towns, in Harlow, Skelmersdale and Northampton and identify lessons that I feel can be drawn from them in the light of the problems of the inner cities.

HARLOW'S GREEN WEDGES

Forty years ago Gibberd with immaculate logic took a landscape basis to define the site for a new town in Essex. To the north the Stort Valley provided a "base line". A semicircular limit was described from this base as an "economical" perimeter. Green fingers penetrated into the urban form to provide;

"... several wedges converging on the Town Centre. In practice, there are three - south-east (based on the line of the Todd Brook), south-west and due south".

"... these wedges subdivided Harlow into four quarters. Thus the shape of the land determined the internal subdivisions of the town just as it did the boundary".

A clear and defensible approach and one which fits well with the concept of neighbourhoods and allowed the separation of the major employment areas.

Gibberd took, as the principle for designing his town, the way of urban life that he felt people aspired to at that time: "... a way which among other things, prefers segregation of home and work, has an innate love of nature, enjoys open air exercise - and, while demanding privacy for individual family, likes some measure of community life ..."

He also shared the general dislike of large conurbations and was particularly struck by the discovery that some children evacuated during the war had never seen cows.

"... The plan set out to bring farmland into direct contact with the town. It was intended that everyone in Harlow should have natural landscape within walking distance of his home ..."

In the master plan of '47 Gibberd describes the origin of the wedges as being "... the agricultural areas from east and west. Linked by the Todd Brook left in its natural state."

Of the links to the north and south he said these "... are formed by green wedges designed to embrace natural features, such as valleys, woods and brooks ..." these he said should be "... kept as large as possible."

The wedges were intended to provide a range of facilities which depended upon the landscape form for their detailed use. Sometimes playing fields, sometimes linear routes and where there was undulating land at Canon's Brook a golf course was introduced. The extent of the green wedge areas was justified by the relatively high densities used in the housing areas. Actually the early schemes ranged from 13-18 dwellings per acre. Perhaps not so high by comparison to some of today's developments. However as a result Harlow is well endowed with open areas. These open areas have been reaffirmed by the present District Council as "green wedges" and are to be protected from development.

But is this protection really justified in all cases? Especially when the tight limits of the town and neighbourhoods are such that there is extreme pressure on the council to find land within the town for 1500 new units which could be needed by 1996.

Alternatives to building within the town do lie in the neighbouring district of Epping. But Epping have had enough, and a local inquiry was held this year into Countryside Homes "Brentall Park" proposal. There has been no decision as yet regarding this inquiry. But what of the wedges? Do they function in the way Gibberd intended? Are they myth or benefit?

A tour of the wedges reveals that all is not well. There is a sense of unreality about some parts of the wedges particularly when the concept is taken beyond Gibberd's original intentions of;

- "bringing rural life into immediate contact with the urban one; and
- keeping the valleys free of buildings."

Latton Farm in the eastern green wedge displays all the problems of modern industrial agricultural methods. Slurry and polythene packed hay cannot really be said to match Gibberd's rural image. In common with many urban fringe farms Latton Farm suffers from invasion and interruption.

Surely there can be little justice in maintaining unseen backland in industrial areas when a close parkway image can provide potentially greater visual satisfaction.

The important employment opportunities provided by offices in a parkland setting cannot be ignored but it surely an illusion that this really "brings rural life into contact with the urban one".

Finally the pleasant open areas of Latton Brook do provide a fine setting for the town centre, but their very openness makes them vulnerable to sporadic invasion and Harlow has a formidable "gypsy problem".

What lessons can be drawn from this first example?

1. It seems to me that with a master planner who has energy and local interests such a concept may retain its validity. But in changing times and without committed personal control its validity can be eroded.

2. To retain the robustness of the original concept the areas defined must be capable of meaningful use and if necessary change.

Before leaving Harlow take a look at the local scale and one of the pleasant surprises of the town, the Neylan and Ungless scheme in Great Parndon.

As a way of introducing some variety into the housing built in the town, the Development Corporation ran an architectural competition in the mid sixties. This competition resulted in the selection of the Neylan and Ungless "casbah" scheme. Many predicted that the scheme would deteriorate into a slum. But it really capitalises on the idea of the green wedge. It has weathered well and matured pleasantly especially where the planting has grown but it is still rather bleak where it has not. But even the force of "right to buy" seems to be absorbed, at the moment. No stone cladding yet.

At this scale the green wedge works, at the town scale there is a danger of erosion.

SKELMERSDALE'S SHOPPING AREAS

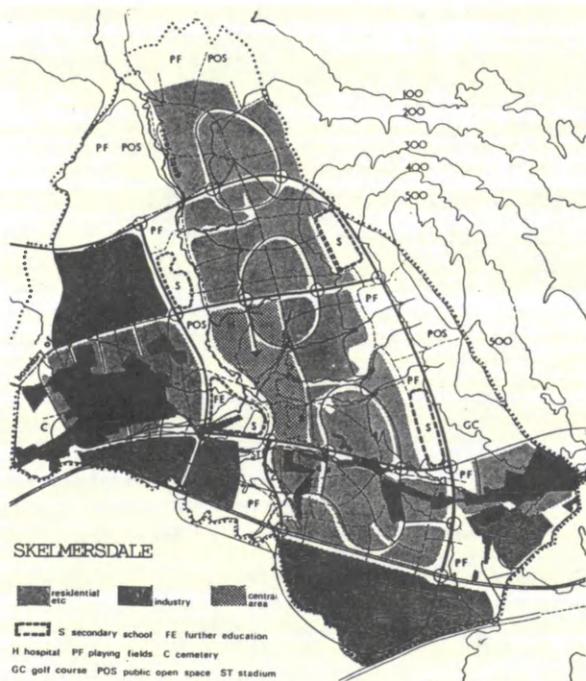
The erosion of the validity of an idea is even more evident when one looks at the concept of local shopping provision. A recent exercise by the Commission to breathe new life into local shopping centres in Skelmersdale illustrates this problem.

In 1964 Wilson and Womersley finalised their report on a "basic plan" for Skelmersdale new town. Essentially this was the master plan for the first new town to be designated in Lancashire. In his introduction to the report A.J.K. Barnes, the then Chairman of the Development Corporation, felt confident that the plan would develop a town where "... people will be enabled to live a full and happy life."

The plan was to be flexible but there was to be maximum separation of pedestrians and vehicles and a concept of a compact town.

This notion of compactness led in turn to the idea of concentrating shopping into the central area. Local as well as town-wide shopping was to be accommodated here and all housing within half a mile of the centre would look to it for their facilities. Local centres were therefore limited to remoter areas and to centres required before the central area was available.

One of the advance shopping areas was at Sandy Lane near Old Skelmersdale and one of the remote areas was at Dignoor. During the late sixties the centres were built and in 1985 the Commission inherited these centres together with the Concourse, the town centre.



The Concourse had been planned as the first phase of a centre which could ultimately be serviced by first floor parking. Its main shopping level was thus at first floor. But Skelmersdale did not become a shopping centre as predicted in the plan "... with a turnover equivalent to that of Watford". Even with its population of over 75,000 the centre did not flourish.

The Commission therefore commissioned a refurbishment scheme but the DoE refused to sanction the proposal and we are now attempting to encourage the private sector, through disposal, to carry out the improvement.

In the two district centres the Commission was able to find funds to undertake the work itself. Sandy Lane suffered from a legacy of indifferent management, from vandalism aggravated by the presence of a public footpath through it and by a high vacancy rate at the first floor level. Dignoor suffered from vacancies, vandalism and the use of high alumina cement and calcium silicate bricks in its construction.

Both suffered from the general effect of a demoralised economy. 27% unemployment and social problems that match those of Merseyside as a whole. Readers of the "Observer" might recall an issue in May when Dignoor was revisited. A sorry picture. Unknown to the "Observer" in the same month the first phase of the refurbished Dignoor was opened.

Surgery had taken place. Of the original thirty five shops only twelve remain. Eleven had been converted into workshops in the mid-70's but they had never been a success. By consolidating the shopping the little residual trade in the area could be focussed. A canopy provided style and some pride of place was added after quite a fight, with the use of patterned brickwork and paving. Attempts to provide a clock tower were thwarted by costs and attempts to get a positive recreation use for the green were unsuccessful. No fear of a gypsy invasion here however. Even gypsies do not venture into Dignoor. At present the reduced centre seems to work but we don't know if we have really overcome the vandalism problem.

At Sandy Lane peeling paintwork and dirty floors added to a poor trading image. As well as the problem of vandalism the former planting boxes did not work. It had originally been planned to provide new flooring, wall tiling and create a fully secure centre. Economies eliminated the floors and wall tiles and the need for a road closure order prevented full enclosure. But together with its added lighting and planting, the general pizza parlor image appears to have given new heart to the centre. Vacancy rates are down and vandalism less.

Lessons? The Concourse might have been more successful if it had been designed to take account of what was known to be viable or immediately possible. I know of no shopping areas planned to be predominately at first floor that really work. Chester was not planned but capitalised on an opportunity. Skelmersdale had a logical theory but it was based on optimism and high expectations rather than realism and opportunity for growth and change. Similar problems appear to be evident in the Killingworth Shopping Centre.

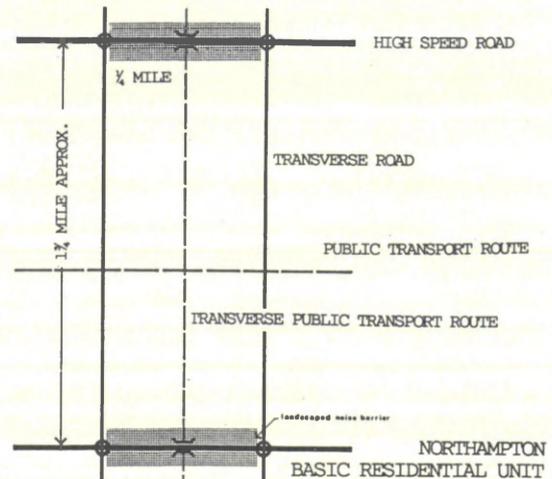
NORTHAMPTON'S HIGHWAY STRUCTURE

In Northampton geography and existing enterprise provided opportunity. Wilson and Womersley again prepared a master plan this time in association with Jamieson Mackay. Here the task was not to provide a new entity but to provide a means of incrementally expanding an existing major town. By 1969 the full impact of "Traffic in Towns" was being felt. "Get the traffic right and the rest will follow" could have been a quote from those times.

The planning strategy defined by Wilson and Womersley followed a set of objectives. These can be summarised as;

1. allowing flexibility in growth,
2. accommodating high car ownership,
3. having a clear road and route hierarchy,
4. segregation of vehicles and pedestrians,
5. creating environmental areas,
6. spreading traffic flows,
7. providing a coherent identify in the town,
8. ensuring a balanced population,
9. avoiding disruption to the existing town.

Of the nine, six related closely to highway issues and through their interaction a basic module for the town was developed (Figure 1). These basic residential units were to be located in three main areas, east, south west and west. In contrast to Harlow these basic units (note the avoidance of neighbourhoods) were to "... be placed in a separate valley, along the floor of which schools, community facilities and bus routes were planned".



The outer limits of these basic units were the "high speed roads". These can be seen on the original Master Plan sweeping south to east. The inner limits were formed by "transverse roads" running between the "high speed roads".

This simple basic structure can be seen in the 1969 plan but this was changed in the revised plan of 1972/73. The south eastern high speed road is there but the north western arc starts apparently arbitrarily in the south and ends equally indeterminately in the north east. The original Master Plan was not clear about the southern origin of the road but it clearly expected to continue its eastern route. But Wellingborough did not support that and the concept of progressive eastward expansion was dropped. But there is a significant new element on the 1972/73 plan. A strong west/east road, basically the A45 and a north/south road have emerged. No longer do we have an arc of segments but external pressures are creating a cross road form. No longer are there bus routes and only two real transverse roads. By 1985 the south eastern arc has been achieved. The Weston Favell transverse route has become a high speed road. The outer arc remains only as vestiges

Of the east west route again only fragments remain but it is still expected to function as an alternative route between junctions 15 and 16 on the M1 in time of emergency.

Today the county as highway authority continues the search for a western approach road. The notion of a north western bypass is being pursued. But the county is doing this without the benefit of a local plan and in the context of countywide demands and not just those of Northampton.

DOES THIS MATTER?

Certainly the road system is not as satisfactory as it might have been. The existing population have been inconvenienced but their overall road structure has improved. Northampton has relatively low unemployment and demand for new private housing is high. In terms of its original population target, an intake of 70,000 by 1981, the picture is more complex. At the time of wind up in 1985 the population was 170,000. That is 35000 below the population level of 205000 expected by the Master Plan. There is still opportunity for growth but the official impetus has gone. SERPLAN expects no planned migration from the South East. However the flexibility of the plan has resulted in a town which still functions well, unlike Skelmersdale where the Concourse sits like a whale stranded by the ebb of the financial tide.

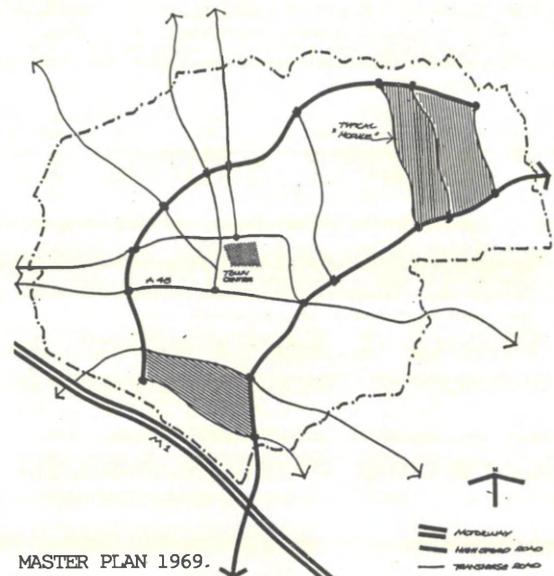
CONCLUSION

What lessons can be learned for the inner cities? From Harlow there is evidence of a danger that "the noble idea" when interpreted in a strong physical form can change from being a mirror of social aspirations to becoming a shibboleth without present sense but representing a continuing burden.

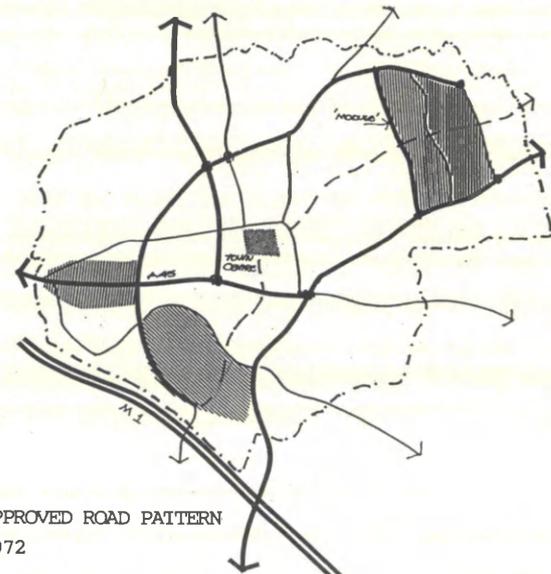
From Skelmersdale we can see the need to provide a first phase form of development that will represent a complete and sensible whole in itself and not rely on some long term expectation before it functions fully.

From Northampton the flexibility of approach taken when grafting major development onto an existing town provides the closest model for our new needs.

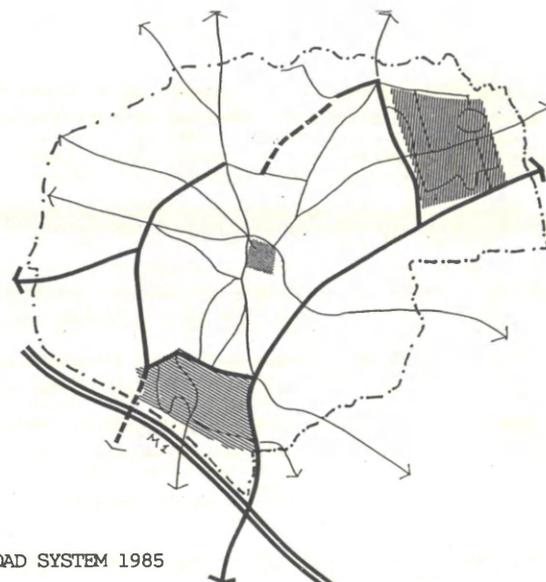
Only through flexibility and respect for existing communities can we expect to match the needs of the complex and intricate task of weaving new life into old urban areas. ■



MASTER PLAN 1969.
NORTHAMPTON'S HIGHWAY STRUCTURE



APPROVED ROAD PATTERN
1972



ROAD SYSTEM 1985

DISCUSSION

Question

How do you see the problem of the escalating land values in development corporations, for example in Peterborough. How do you cope with the problem of providing social housing. Why aren't development corporations interested in doing this.

Lee Shostak

The way we are starting to advise people both as planning authorities and as land and planning authorities, is to structure deals with a planning brief where a policy framework requires housing for rent or shared ownership as well as housing for sale. When the developer bids for a site, he is basically bidding for a mixed-use scheme, or a mixed-tenure scheme. I think they are having some success also at Greenland Dock with a similar kind of formula. I think that is going to be the way of the future, unless the Treasury starts recognising that a proportion of the increased land value arising from the designation of the development corporation should constructively be used for rented housing.

The other way forward is the North Housing initiative, where the larger housing associations are using their assets to raise finance. They try to get land cheaply, or the development corporation takes an equity position in the deal and they do a joint venture.

Question

Are there any new images about creating a sense of place or are we still using well worn philosophies.

Lee Shostak

This is where I part company from my professional design colleagues, because the sense of place vocabulary that I would use and do use when I am giving advice is different from the values and images that Jim Grove was putting forward. My colleagues feel this is something to do with a sense of place for grander buildings which the Americans and the Europeans have got right and in Britain we are not getting right. I have just come back from a visit to the States and I was amazed at the number of commercial mixed-use developments which were very pleasant places to be in. It's to do with quality of infrastructure, quality of landscaping, quality of materials. It is to do with proportion and it's to do with orientation. All the stuff that you see in textbooks is fine but it's how we use those principles. I would say that Central Milton Keynes is as good an example of creating a sense of place in a city centre as I think we are seeing at the moment with one important qualification which is to do with its relationship to the winds. It could be improved to be a lot better, but it still falls a lot short of the sense of place that's being created in modern environments in the States. I think the areas that I am most optimistic about on that score, are some things that are happening in the Royal Docks and the Isle of Dogs. Generally, I think there could be some very exciting places created.

Question

Who's going to take over all those public spaces and roads in your Welsh village. Where are you going to get the money for the infrastructure and to maintain the development in the future.

Jim Grove

We reckon we will make a margin of about 40% on the selling price of the house which does not have to be paid out to the developer. Buying the land at a very low rate enables the Trust to pay for the infrastructure, the landscaping, the community facilities and provide a cash fund for the village. The community will have a trust which is a well-

endowed one which has a continuous purpose and which will pay for the maintenance of the landscape, so we

Question

Whether we talk about master plans or frameworks or whatever, 90% of the future built up areas in this country are already there. The opportunities for creating the sense of place that we have talked about in for example new villages, are very little. Nevertheless existing areas need a fair degree of attention in terms of repair and attention to detail. How can a sense of place be achieved in that situation?

Lee Shostak

One of the things we have done very recently is we are on a short-list of four consultants to prepare the master plan for Cardiff Bay so we have to face that problem quite directly. There's a large part of Cardiff Bay designated area which is already built up and we had to face the question of do we propose demolition of some of those very unattractive, not listed historic warehouses, which have no intrinsic value whatsoever, other than as accommodation for service uses or manufacturing, or do we leave it and let that accommodation as it is. The conclusion we came to is that if you are going to provide an area for Cardiff City Centre to expand into the designated area then this would involve a programme of demolition and relocation of some existing companies. We therefore recommended the creation of a framework which would allow that programme of demolition and relocation to occur. And there's nothing new in that. British local authorities used to have programmes of urban renewal demolition, clearance and redevelopment. It is basically going back and trying to do that in a more sensitive way. But what you are going to find increasingly as the boundaries around cities become tighter and tighter as a result of structure plans and the like, is that the only way central business districts are going to expand is through moving into areas which are currently occupied by secondary uses. The issue is: are planners going to face that and put forward frameworks to guide that redevelopment or is it going to be totally the market forces? It's going to happen one way or the other.

Jim Grove

This is the back to the point that I was making. You have got to get in charge of the process. The changes have got to be paid for somehow. Habitually, we looked to the exchequer to pay for things which we couldn't think how to pay for, but it is a dried-up source with certain exceptions. Unless you can find a source of funding by some means, unless you yourself can become involved in the process and deliver the cash flow, then it won't get paid for. The money has got to come from somewhere and if it can't be found within that neighbourhood, perhaps the right decision for that place is to knock it down.

Arnold Linden

I seem to remember that the valuation surveyors and the economists used to talk about transfer value. You try and enhance rateable value, as you were suggesting. You improve an adjacent site in order to enhance the value.

Gordon Davies

There's a good example in Cumbernauld where the development corporation for a very long time considered the first phase of the town centre to be something of a millstone round their neck and it certainly was not very popular with the local townspeople. And they have, successfully, over a

number of years, allowed other developments to take place around it. They have carried out a primary exercise of refurbishing the whole development and now they have successfully marketed and sold the whole thing to the private sector. If you've got the development opportunities around you can create a relationship which will provide you with what you are looking for.

David Wood

You have got to have the courage to knock down before you make any more breakthroughs, and this is the great debate which is going on with Killingworth phase one shopping centre and certainly has already been decided about our disastrous multi-storey car park. You have just got to take courage in both hands in order to clear the debt.

Richard Cole

In Skelmersdale we did knock down more than one of our local centres. But even on the main centre, The Concourse, we are disposing not just of the centre, but the land on either side to give opportunities for development. The centre may be demolished, but that's the only way that we can get the private sector to be involved.

Lee Shostak

I think what's happening is that it's the handover of the assets to the Commission for the New Towns in the first instance and ultimately to the private sector which is putting a different team in charge. When the new team gets on stream they try to make things happen differently and I think what the Commission has been doing for many years now in some of the new towns is working with the District Council to take a different view of the opportunities there. I think it does change. I think what will happen in Harlow will dramatically transform the town centre, which can be seen in Hemel Hempstead. When the commission gets its hands on Milton Keynes it will have a substantial impact and it's not the change from the public sector to the private sector that is important but the changes from one group of men and women to another group of men and women.

Arnold Linden

I think there has been some suggestion during the day and a half that the process is more important than the professionals. Have I got that wrong?

Jim Grove

I think you have got it a little bit wrong. I think that as long as the professional gets involved in the process he will, or she will, have an effect, but if we allow the process to rule us instead of getting some kind of a grip on it, then the professionals will have less to contribute, and it will be the blind forces that have an effect.

David Wood

And it won't flow smoothly all the time. It is going to depend entirely on the forcefulness of different personalities. For instance when Roy Gazzard was in the chair in Killingworth he was a very powerful personality and he swept people along. Now, we are far more democratic, far more sharing and even the parson has some sort of influence on whether the shops go up or whether they go down. It varies according to the team of people we are talking about.

Lee Shostak

If professionals were responsible for the big framework, for the regional framework, for the strategic frameworks and had more responsibility

rather than very little I think we would have better frameworks. I think most planners and most regional officials would like to see more breath blown into planning frameworks and they are severely hampered from so doing by the collective nimbies. Not in my back yard syndrome. Equally, I think the professional advising a group or advising a developer has an important role to play in individual projects in any given framework.

Question

How would the Docklands development have benefitted from a master plan or overall framework.

Lee Shostak

The Isle of Dogs would have been developed in a way where you would be able to find your way through it much more easily than I think you can. The buildings would have some relationship to each other and I think pedestrians in particular, not only car users, would find real circulation routes and real places to be. The Isle of Dogs in my view is not taking advantage of the fact that the Light Railway will be serving it well and is not providing pleasant places for pedestrians, and the quality of the buildings is quite mediocre.

The Royals solution is worse. You've got what could be a major growth generator and the planning is being done is by developers individually coming up with ideas. Thankfully, from the London Docklands Development Corporation's point of view, there are three development consortiums with a great deal of finance that want to pay experienced consultants to come up with these ideas because the stakes are worth paying for. Some of those developers may lose out because the development corporation has no obligation whatsoever to take any of those proposals other than a political obligation. That's not a good way to allocate land for housing by a government which allegedly wants to sell as much as possible of inner urban land for housing. On top of all that, you have the Canary Wharf story where LDCC had invited bids on parts of the Isle of Dogs, and handshake deals with individual developers were just blown away when the Canary Wharf proposal came forward.

POSTSCRIPT ON KILLINGWORTH
a poem on architectural truth.

"Planners say each one must be the same
For if it differs from the house next door
Variety will confuse and be irregular.
By all means lay it out in different shapes
But each house side by side must be a twin.
And so it was we had our garths
Spread across the virgin fields,
In all kinds of shapes with cul-de-sacs,
But every house within each garth the same.

Everything they build is square or rectangle
Sharp edges everywhere to offend the eye.
No contrasts as in nature's colour scheme.
Or carefully contrived shapes to blend in one,
Only the tidiness of man's extreme conceit.
All this stands out for men to see
And yet degrees and forms and drawing boards,
Give unseeing men the right to build,
While those who live within this hard new world
Are left alone to make it what they will."

by Reverend David Wood

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