

SEP. 1981

INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR "MANAGING THE METROPOLIS"

PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS

Rotterdam
januari 12 - 15, 1976

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PREFACE, by

dr. J.D. Buissink,

Director of the Research Centre for Physical Planning TNO

In the period from 12 to 15 January 1976 about 70 people from all over North Western Europe and some from the U.S.A. were together in Rotterdam to discuss problems concerning the management of metropolitan areas. The 70 persons referred to, were birds of different feather, administrators, professionals, academics, and so on, but they had one thing in common: they were all involved in activities connected with urban and regional planning or with physical planning in general. To explain their presence in Rotterdam we have to go back to the middle of the year 1973 when an international conference took place in Coventry, England. The central theme of this conference was rather sweepingly described as: Cities and City Regions in Europe. The general aim of the conference was to gather information from international comparison concerning worthwhile lines of attack bearing on metropolitan problems. The organization had intentionally limited the number of participants to about 80; therefore, the conference had the character of a seminar. Consequently, an intensive exchange of ideas could take place and real progress was made. However, time was limited as it always is. At the close of the conference all the participants had a not unreasonable feeling that there was still much to discuss and that it would be desirable to meet again in a not too distant future. A small preparatory committee was appointed and entrusted with the preparation of a follow-up.

One of the members of this committee was mr. Frans Vonk, senior researcher at the "Planologisch Studiecentrum TNO" (Research Centre for Physical Planning TNO). This institute had taken part in the Eriplan (European Institute for Urban and Regional Planning) project on the North-West European Megalopolis, for which Eriplan was commissioned by the European Communities, and therefore, and for various other reasons, was very

interested in the matter at hand. Consequently, it offered to take over the organisation of the second seminar. This offer was accepted. The preparations for the seminar can be said to have started on Friday, 31 January 1975, when the first meeting took place at Delft. After several attempts a steering committee was formed with the following members:

Dr. John Buissink, chairman	Director PSC
Dr. Herman Baeyens	Director Eriplan
Mr. Jean Brunot de Rouvre	Director C.E.T.E. Nord-Picardie
Mr. Jacques Gaillard	Agglomération de Bruxelles
Mr. John Holliday	Lanchester Polytechnic
Mr. David Liggins	West Midlands County Council
Mr. William Ogden	Lanchester Polytechnic
Prof. Dipl.-Ing. Heinz Weyl	Regional Planning Officer, Grossraum Hannover
Mr. Frans Vonk, secretary	PSC

After exploring the field the committee chose as central theme for the seminar the problem of managing the metropolis with special emphasis on the role of the "planner". In this context it was to be understood that "managing" means keeping the urban organisation running with a minimum of fuss, meanwhile steering the urban development in the desired direction. In the process of managing four collective "actors" are involved:

- the administration;
- the vested interests: enterprises, corporations, institutions, etc.;
- the population at large;
- the professional "planners".

The principal questions to be answered - or at least to be discussed - by the participants were:

- which, if any, efforts are being made to bring about concerted action by the interested parties - the four actors mentioned - in the metropolitan framework?
- on the metropolitan planning level: how and in which way are the goals and objectives formulated, how much influence is exercised by each of

the four actors and how much latitude is allowed to the metropolitan community by higher levels of planning?

- in which way are the various actors involved in the implementation of the planning policy that has been decided upon?
- how much weight carries the expertise of the professional planners in the course of the managing process and in which way can the "planner" most efficiently introduce his know-how into the joint effort?

These questions - and the other questions left unquoted - together constituted the basic and central theme of the seminar: how to contribute in mutual endeavour by way of sound management to diminishing the effects of the imperfections in the metropolitan structure and thereby raise the quality of life in a metropolitan environment.

The subject matter defined by the quoted central theme is, of course, almost infinite. To give the necessary structure to the seminar two decisions were taken:

- a. to request each of the five participating countries to submit one case-study as an illustration of the way in which in these countries the management-problems of large urban areas are approached;
- b. to concentrate in the case-studies on four topics:
 1. housing and the residential environment;
 2. urban traffic and transportation;
 3. social integration and desintegration;
 4. economic development.

The case-studies chosen were:

- the West-Midlands (Great Britain)
- the "Grossraum Hannover" (West-Germany)
- the Lille area (France)
- the Brussels-agglomeration (Belgium)
- the Rijnmond area (Netherlands)

It was further decided to form four workshops within the framework of the seminar in each of which one topic would be subject of discussion. The topics of these four workshops were:

1. planning and planning implementation
2. internal and external forces
3. actors in the management process
4. planning methods (future oriented).

Each workshop had to link its own topic with metropolitan management. As it was felt that an intensive discussion could best take place in a group not exceeding 25 persons, participation in the seminar was limited to 100 participants.

In the present report are brought together: the case-studies and other papers submitted to the organization for discussion during the seminar; the reports of the various workshops and further all additional material that has a bearing on the proceedings of the seminar. On the base of the material presented, a fair idea can be gathered about the scientific importance of the meeting. However, the success of an international gathering like this can be expressed in other terms too, viz. what did the participants take home with them? From this point of view there is much reason for satisfaction. As a result of the formula chosen, the individual participants all had the opportunity to put forward the particular problems that form part of their daily activities. This opportunity of being able to discuss in small groups common problems, was very much appreciated. The general feeling was that as a result of the seminar, the own job had gained in meaning.

It was realized, however, that the planning environments of the various nationalities were so different that it would take some time before a common ground for discussion could be found. Real progress was made during the seminar but again, as in Coventry, it was realized that there was still much to discuss. Therefore, it was very satisfying to hear during the official dinner that M. Delebarre of the Région du Nord invited the participants to be present at a third seminar that

would be organized in Lille in the beginning of the year 1977. It is to be hoped that the success of the coming seminar in Lille will be on the same level as the success in Rotterdam. It is further hoped that the owners of a copy of the proceedings will derive as much satisfaction from reading the papers, as the participants had in attending the seminar and meeting and discussing problems with their colleagues from other countries in North-Western Europe.

OPENING ADDRESS, by

dr. L.B.J. Stuyt,

Chairman of the executive committee of the central organization TNO.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is a pleasure to give the opening address to this seminar. And it is a pleasure for various reasons.

As President of the Netherlands Organisation for Applied Scientific Research I congratulate, you organisers, with the theme you have chosen: "Managing the Metropolis". And then with special emphasis on the role of the "planner one of the four, as you call them collective actors, involved in the managing process.

The managing of large urban areas is an urgent problem. According to Alwin Toffler in his book "Future shock" the world had only four cities with over one million inhabitants in 1850, 141 cities in 1960, and De Vries and Thyss predict a rise of this urban population in the world of 6.5% a year. These statistical data mean a doubling of the urban population within the next ten to fifteen years. That means, if we go on as we go now.

What do we have in mind when we talk of managing? You describe it as "keeping the urban organisation running with a minimum of fuss, meanwhile steering the urban development in the desired direction". That is quite a task.

To fulfil this task it is necessary to have a thorough knowledge of the system concerned. In this case a large urban system, called by lack of a better word, the metropolitan system. This knowledge is the basis on which a relevant and efficient management-organisation has to be built. To be equal to the job, this organisation will have to deal with all the essential elements and also be sufficiently flexible to cope with the sudden unexpected. I understand that much is still unclear in this respect; I hope that you will mutually benefit from the exchange of ideas and experiences these coming days.

There is another point. In this company it needs hardly be stressed that speaking of the metropolitan system is but a technical way of referring

to a community of people who live in a metropolis; it is not an end in itself. It is a means to promote that the human community in the metropolis is a happy community. Taking human nature into account as far as possible.

Within a metropolis all kinds of people and groups of people go about their daily business. They all have their different needs, values and expectations. Their various interests clash as likely as not.

We have to accept the fact that conflicts between management and citizen, in the widest sense of this term, cannot always be avoided. One has to look for possibilities to reduce the frequency of occurrence of these conflicts to an acceptable minimum. It seems to me, that one of the most promising possibilities in this respect is to try to involve, in a meaningful way, the population at large in the process of managing.

In Holland, as no doubt in other countries, one of the pressing problems the government is faced with, is how to ensure citizen-participation in the various government activities, without undue loss of time and efficiency. Planning is one of the major concerns in this respect.

Citizen-participation is part of the act of actor number 3 in your theme for this seminar: "The population at large". And with this aspect comes another dimension in the managing process, the political aspect.

In the total process of managing one has to bear in mind all the diverse aspects, technical, economical, social and political. I can therefore well imagine, that one of the principal questions you are going to discuss these coming days, concerns the stimulation of concerted action. It is a most relevant question.

For one aspect I would like to ask your special attention. In a former capacity as minister of Health I was engaged in public health and environmental hygiene. I need hardly point out that health problems and metropolitan environment have an extensive interface. Not long ago that was even more so. The urban environment had then a very unfavourable effect on public health. Overcrowding inadequate systems of sewage and refuse disposal in general, to mention but a few failures, contributed to a very high rate of sickness and death, not only absolutely, but relative to the prevailing rates in the rural environment as well.

This situation is a thing of the past. However, I cannot help having the feeling sometimes that planners are not much bothered by problems of public health. I do not mean, that they knowingly ignore these problems, or that they are not considered in their planning.

Surely, the opposite is true. The tendency is to lower housing densities; for instance there is more fresh air; to ensure a good supply of this fresh air, residential areas as a rule have more green surroundings. So far, so good.

On the larger regional scale, however, there is less reason for satisfaction. In many large, highly industrialised urban areas - and most metropolitan areas belong to this category - many residents, literally live under the cloak of industry. The nature of the industrial effusions comes forward in the common nick-name of "black country", in use for such areas in different parts of the world. This is but one drawback of having to live in these areas; I need not mention other drawbacks, they are too well-known.

These negative elements form a well-recognized threat to public health, and planners are well aware of this. Therefore, I did not have this situation in mind when I said that sometimes I have the impression that planners are not much bothered by problems of public health. What I did have in mind is that planners are, maybe insufficiently, aware of the existing interdependency between health, especially mental health, and the physical man-made environment. I do know that, in the general framework of planning, research has been carried out concerning the link between living-conditions and the incidence of psycho-somatic complaints. However, I doubt whether the results of these investigations have sufficiently penetrated into the awareness of the average planner, and I wonder whether these results have carried their due weight in the practice of town- en regional planning. I may be wrong of course, I hope I am. However, I would be very glad if, within the limitations of this seminar, some time could be devoted to affairs of public health in metropolitan areas.

Before finishing my short talk to you I would like to come back on a remark I made in the beginning. I gave you some statistical data that

predict a doubling of the urban population in the not too far away future.

What I want to ask you is, are there no boundary conditions as to the size of a metropolis or a metropolitan area? I know that in the old days, a metropolis meant a city of a size, big enough to send out its citizen to build daughter-communities in the surroundings. Is what we are doing irreversible and is there a limit to growth? And is there not a tendency to follow Schumacher's philosophy "Small is beautiful"?

I put these questions because I agree with you that the metropolitan environment has its shortcomings. Some of them unavoidable. This week you are concerned with the shortcomings, due specially to bad management.

I express the hope that your deliberations will lead to more insight into what makes for a good management in a metropolitan frame-work.

I wish you successful and pleasant days.

I. SETTING THE FRAMEWORK

1. Introductory speech
2. Background-paper

CHAPTER 1RECENT METROPOLITAN DEVELOPMENTS IN NORTH-WEST EUROPE: an evaluation

Introductory speech by Frans Vonk, Research Centre for Physical Planning TNO.

1. Introduction

"History is looking into the future by the mirror of the past".

The expression I quoted was the first English expression which I learned as a Dutch schoolboy, and it is almost the only one I still remember.

This expression came back in my mind when I was thinking about this opening address. Let me explain why.

Most of us will know from experience that in conferences, or seminars like this, when practical planners, academics (working in management and planning) and also politicians come together to talk about urban problems, urban planning and urban management, at least a few will state their dissatisfaction with their width and depth of knowledge of the real world. They will argue that political decision-making, which indeed is, and will certainly remain an imperfect art, is based on poor understanding of the complexity of the problems, how and why they are changing, how they interact one with another and how decisions might be made to be robust for uncertain futures.

In other words, they say that the mirror of the past is both misted over and only gives us an incomplete reflection of part of our past. Consequently, they go on, it is not possible to give sound scientific advice to those politicians who have to make decisions about how to tackle existing and future problems of urban areas.

I think these people are right if they stick to this argument. There is only limited knowledge of how and why society changes. We make piecemeal studies, and we are rarely able to bring the pieces together to deepen insight. We are therefore in deep water when we search for and explore those ideas which will determine the goals, objectives and instruments for urban policies.

But practitioners retort that these are unreal academic objections to the essentially pragmatic processes of public administration. Practitioners, working in both private and public sectors, must make what bricks they can with or without straw. They are responsible to all the actors in the political decision-making process, and in particular to governmental ministers who have to implement agreed policies. In practice, they want answers to questions such as:

- what are the possible consequences of an urban renewal programme?
- what is the likely impact of a new sub-centre for shopping on the many related urban authorities?
- how will activity patterns change when new recreation grounds are developed?

and they do what they can to get the answers. But it is also their experience, and now I quote Peter Hall, in the Preface of his London 2000, that "time will not wait for us to satisfy every academic scruple" (Hall, 1971).

In contrast to the academics who tend to concentrate their studies on the past, practitioners must look to the future, whether or not the mirror's reflection is misty or incomplete. Unfortunately, their looking to the future is strongly constrained by the present and the politicians' need for short-term answers to urgent questions. Moreover, the organisation to implement agreed measures appears to be inadequate to cope with accelerating change and the steadily increasing complexity of society. Reasons for this inadequacy are actors who are incapable and inherent inertia in their organisations. The futurologists who criticise practitioners; they think in terms of decades ahead, many focusing on the year 2000.

Whilst preparing this speech, I wondered how a presentation of about an hour's length could be able to deal adequately with the arguments of practitioners and their commitment to society they serve.

Going back to my quotation, I would like to talk first about the picture reflected in the mirror; a picture of what urbanisation in Western Europe is all about and how it can be explained. I want to focus on the human consequences of what used to be called metropolitanisation. Let me admit now that the academics will find plenty of evidence to support their

argument that decision-making is an imperfect art; the picture is indeed imperfect and misty.

2. West European urbanisation: a picture

In this introductory speech, I want to present a framework of N.W. European urbanisation within which we can study the five regions discussed at this seminar, and more specifically to which we can relate the problems of urban management.

I want to move quickly over some well-known facts, and concentrate on the development of metropolitan areas in N.W. Europe between 1960 and 1970.

I have not only taken 1960/1961 as a starting point because some countries took their censuses then; they mark the end of a period of reconstruction after the war of 1939/1945 and the period of an integrating Europe facing world problems of inflation and strong competition for markets and raw material.

N.W. Europe by 1960/1961 has solved the main problems of reconstruction. Although many areas still had a housing shortage, and some suffering even now, the physical infrastructure and buildings destroyed in the war period had been rebuilt. Also, Western Europe had recovered economically. Stimulated by the new organisation of EFTA and the EEC, there was faith in a new economic take-off usually interpreted as a belief in the progress of mankind. This economic growth was connected with what Gottman has called "an awakening of the demand for and expectations of social progress" (Gottman, 1965).

I do not wish to discredit those responsible for the post-war reconstruction. On the contrary, I agree with the German sociologist Hans-Paul Bahrdt that we all bear responsibility for what happened, both planners and politicians (Bahrdt, 1968). The purpose of this analysis is to look at what happened as objectively as I can and why it came about. Some of us may prefer to say it less objectively. For them, their purpose is to go to the root of mistakes in re-building our urban environment and get insight into the mechanisms which led us to make them. No matter how we go about this study, I hope that it may contribute to new insights into both planning and the management of our urban systems and their futures.

The words "metropolitan area" raise semantic questions. What is a metropolitan area? Can we say that the five areas of this seminar are metropolitan areas? Are they metropolises? How should we draw boundaries to such an area for planning and management?

Although this seminar is not for comparative philology, we must make sure we understand one another. Too many multi-national discussions have missed the point because of differences in interpretation of similar words.

In international planning literature we find a large number of terms and definitions intended to describe forms of human settlements providing for large populations living in central areas at high density. Moving out from these centres, there is a general but irregular decline in population density and the intensity of use (see e.g. Forstall and Jones, 1970)*.

In N.W. Europe, with its cultural variations and differing national traditions, there is a variety of definitions. These differences are not the result of mere chance: they reflect objective differences in patterns of settlements (Elkins, 1973).

Two years ago, our Institute was involved in a multi-national study for the European Commission in Brussels, which resulted in a report called "North-West Europe Megalopolis, a prospective study" (1974).

In our contribution to this study, focusing on urban development, we found in the five countries of our study (Belgium, France, Germany, Holland and the U.K.) nine more or less different definitions of the same morphological functional urban systems: in the U.K., 'conurbations' and 'standard metropolitan Labour Areas' (SMLA's); in France, 'agglomérations' and 'zones de peuplement industriel ou urbain'; in West-Germany, 'Ballungsgebiete', 'Verdichtungsräume' and 'Stadtregionen'; while in Holland and Belgium, 'agglomeraties' are distinguished using different definitions.

*For other definitions - among other recent attempts to describe metropolitanisation - see e.g. Hall (1963), Hall et al (1973), Berry (1973) and Glickman (1975).

A comparison of these terms, and their corresponding areal boundaries, show that a multi-national investigation could not draw precise conclusions. Clearly, inadequate standardisation of terminology and definition is one of the reasons why the overall picture of metropolitan N.W. Europe is so misty.

Terms are chosen almost independently by each country and for internal needs. Nevertheless, as some of these terms have elements in common, we have decided to use for our comparative analysis 'SMLA's', 'agglomérations', 'Stadtregionen' and 'agglomeraties'.

And, to increase the range of this analysis, we have chosen a lower limit of 100,000 inhabitants in 1960. These definitions gave us 208 urban areas which, following international practice, we call metropolitan areas, abbreviated as metra. Together, these metropolitan areas had a population of more than 90 million people, or slightly more than 53 per cent of the total population of the five countries.

Before looking at the changing sizes and structure of metras, I must emphasise the wide range of their populations between 74 per cent for England and Wales and 30 per cent for Belgium.

Apart from minor differences of definition, the wide range is a measure of comparative concentrations of urban populations.

The first remarkable point which emerges is that the metropolitan areas as a whole are still growing, although their rates of growth are falling behind the national rates: the metropolitan share has decreased slightly (from 53.1 to 52.6 per cent) from 1960/1961 to 1970/1971.

But this trend is not true for all five countries: in West-Germany and France, the metropolitan rate exceeds the national rate; while in Holland, the metropolitan share has the greatest decline (about 4 per cent).

If we choose as one aspect of metropolitanisation the absolute and relative increase of population in metropolitan areas as they have been defined, the conclusion would be drawn that in N.W. Europe metropolitanisation has stopped. Unfortunately, employment is left out of consideration because we do not have statistical information on economic activities.

But before reaching this conclusion, more analysis of our 208 metras is required. A typology, based on the size of the metropolitan areas in 1960/1962 and the growth rate as compared with the national figures has been formulated:

Population growth of metropolitan areas as compared to national growth

class size	Growth characteristic				TOTAL
	decline	slow	fast	very fast	
I	8	54	20	39	121
II	3	29	10	14	56
III	-	11	3	2	16
IV	4	8	-	3	15
total	15	102	33	58	208

<u>class size</u>	I	100 - 225,000 inhabitants (about 1960)
	II	225 - 500,000
	III	500 - 1,000,000
	IV	1,000,000 and over.

growth characteristic

slow : growth rate is less than 50 per cent above the national rate

fast : growth is more than 50 per cent above the national rate, but less than 100 per cent above this figure

very fast : growth rate 100 per cent and more above the national figure.

What does such a typology show?

First, that only a minority of the metras have a declining population, 7 per cent.

Second, almost half of the metras have comparatively slow growth, up to 50 per cent above the national rate.

Last, this typology shows that 91 metras (nearly 50 per cent) are growing fast or very fast, at twice the speed of national change.

For this last group, it seems permissible to talk of a continuing process of metropolitanisation, in the way I defined this term. It is remarkable that the typology does not suggest statistically significant differences in the development pattern of metras according to size. Nevertheless, the smaller metras tend to grow faster.

The absence of this significant difference has to do with the national differences in development patterns. For example, in 15 metras of over one million inhabitants, 4 are declining absolutely, while 3 have growth rates more than twice the average national rates. The 3 growth areas are in West-Germany, where there is no primate city, such as Paris, London and Brussels, cities which are dominant in the urban patterns of their countries.

These disparities underline the need for careful multi-national comparisons. There are two other cautionary disparities: first, the changing intra-metropolitan distribution of population and employment; and second, the differing patterns of metropolitan expansion. These disparities highlight the problems of the 5 metropolitan areas of our seminar. They are problems of great complexity because their social, spatial and financial aspects are inextricably combined one with another.

During the period under review, there is a general trend for the population and jobs in the inner cities in metropolitan regions to move into their outer metropolitan areas. So we can talk of a process of urban deconcentration.

In some countries, such as Holland and Belgium in particular, but also to some extent in France and West-Germany, this out-migration not only filled up the open spaces in the core urban region, but the more affluent city-dwellers moved into the expanding peripheries of the metropolitan areas.

In 61 out of the 208 central cities in N.W. Europe, out-migration from the central cities caused their populations to decline absolutely: without an inward movement of foreigners, people from the Commonwealth countries and the Mediterranean area, the number of declining cities would have been much higher. The reason for this outward movement seems clear: most of the older residential areas are no longer preferred by an increasing number of people. Increased affluence for the majority of the population has lifted

their aspirations for a satisfying dwelling and its environment. The supply of new houses, or at least the supply of land, in municipalities around the traditional centres, often promoted by government policies, has given many people the opportunity to leave the city, and rapid growth of private car ownership has made commuting possible. People in fairly high income groups and younger couples with an educational level far above the average make up the majority of these short-distance migratory movements, thus contributing to a process of socio-spatial segregation (or social polarisation). Governmental housing policies have much to answer for in this process.

During the 1950's and also in the 1960's, the attention of planners and politicians was focused on the building of new residential areas on the edges of the urbanised areas. The political emphasis was on the building of more and more houses, to overcome shortages. Let us not forget that the drive to expand the housing stock was not only to match population growth, to replace deteriorating houses in central cities, and to meet demand for higher housing and living standards, but also with the expectation that population would keep on growing. Moreover, to increase the housing stock became part of the conventional wisdom of growth generally. Consequently, it was not difficult to find local authorities who wanted to play their part in this growth because it gave them the feeling of sharing in the progress of mankind.

Although there was a time-lag between the movement of people and movement of employment, there is a corresponding intra-metropolitan movement of jobs. In particular, manufacturing firms left the inner cities to locate on the fringes of the central cities. Partly because of governmental intervention in the core areas, resulting in a boom of new office space, tertiary employment showed a much greater resistance to locational change. Therefore, urban extensions and suburban areas have been built which in general provide housing which is much better than in many parts of the central cities; also social amenities are available and reasonably accessible. But from other points of view, including architectural, economic, social, environmental and even town planning, this urban growth and to some degree also suburbanisation is mono-functional, boring, dull and monotonous. During the day it is inhabited by green-widows and their

children; during the night it is uninspiringly just a place to sleep for male commuters.

Looking back, we know now that to build houses is not enough. It seems we have forgotten how to build towns. We must ask what a town, a city or a metropolis means to us today.

Moreover, the sprawl of the new suburbia and the need for more and better transport to the traditional central cities, encroaches on the green spaces between the various urban regions.

I do not need to emphasise the social importance of these open spaces. In some parts of N.W. Europe, urban sprawl and suburbanisation have pushed out so far from traditional cities that some metropolitan areas touch one another and even overlap. In terms of urban management, this overlap can cause conflict between authorities.

At the same time, we have tried to rebuild parts of the inner cores of our cities and have given them a so-called new heart: usually of towering office blocks, some very expensive residential flats, and new roads and urban transport. However, large areas of these cities have been left to the poor, who are faced by a decaying stock of housing and a built environment without green spaces or playing fields, with streets crowded with the parked cars of commuters. To add to their troubles, these poor and deprived people must learn to live with poor immigrants from other countries and with different cultures. We can find these areas in Birmingham, Rotterdam and Hannover, and in other major concentrations of N.W. Europe. The poor and deprived of the metropolitan area increasingly find themselves in a central city ghetto, abandoned by other social groups and seeing their jobs moving away from them to follow the better-off. You will find information on the problems of these groups in the contributions of the West Midlands group and Rick Groves.

The poor and deprived are now facing structural unemployment in, to them, an aggravated form. The urban economies with their balanced structure and high degree of diversification of a few years ago with low unemployment were focal points for national economic growth.

Today, unemployment in urban areas can exceed the national rates and may be higher than in so-called backward areas. Nevertheless, national governments still seem intent on moving firms and their employees away from crowded cities to areas of high unemployment with more or less success. This not only applies to the so-called primate cities, such as Paris and London, but to Birmingham and Rotterdam which both need more tertiary employment.

This is a common story with regional variations, as you will see in the papers for the seminar. In 'Région Nord', economic change is forced by, in particular, the declining mining industry; whilst Brussels suffers from its boom in office employment as the capital of the European Community. No matter who tells the story, the topics are similar: radical economic change, deterioration of the pre-war housing stock, socio-spatial segregation, suburbanisation. And, in all five countries, governments do not have more than limited powers and opportunities to intervene. These limitations are caused partly by fragmentation of the functions. In short, many of our problems are the result of large and fast expansions of our cities and city-regions.

3. United States of America - N.W. Europe: a tentative comparison

Not long ago, West Europeans would say that their cities, with their long history and their distinctive cultural and social character heritage, were so different from American cities that it was most unlikely that they would develop along similar lines. Nevertheless, our analysis so far must sound like a report on American cities.

This is not the place to discuss the similarities and differences between N.W. Europe and the United States of America, and yet I would like to mention a few points which seem to me crucial because they refer to the human aspects of metropolitanisation.

Metropolitan growth in the contemporary United States of America has brought efficiency and confusion, affluence and degradation, individual advancement and alienation. Metropolitan growth means different things to different people. Peter Hall has summarised some of these contradictions; what he calls "strange anomalies which must be regarded as failures of urban poli

On the one hand, widespread diffusion of a remarkably high level of material wealth; on the other, minorities living in poverty which is striking just because it is so far below the general level. On the one hand, massive construction achievements in areas such as suburban housing and new highways; on the other, paralysis and decay in the inner cities. On the one hand, general private affluence at a level not witnessed elsewhere in the world; on the other, in places, real public squalor in the form of blighted landscapes and obvious failures to get to grips with the problems of pollution."(Hall, 1974, p 267).

Of course, European and American metropolitan areas still differ in size and scale. And governmental influence in Europe is apparently stronger. An important question is how far we can contain urban growth, and solve the complex problems in our inner cities, in a period of economic transformation. Experience of the 1960's suggests there is a good chance that Europe will continue to imitate the New World and consequently make the same mistakes.

A few months ago, some American planners said, after having visited Birmingham's inner city, this is the most American city in Europe. Maybe they did not know the sweeping changes in the urban fabric of Hanover and Brussels to bring the cars into the traditional city centres. They may not have seen the suburban Rotterdam.

We should now ask whether the forces which appear to account for the metropolitan developments in the 1960's will continue and whether new forces can be recognised to give us hope that what might be called the Americanisation of our metropolitan areas will be checked.

Without aiming for completeness, and without indicating priorities, I would like to mention two relevant factors which have been important in the recent past, and which may also be important in the near future.

4. Management and planning in the 1960's and beginning 1970's

Perhaps the best way to do this, and probably the least time-consuming, is to give a brief account of urban planning and urban management during the sixties. I must warn you that this is a generalisation. There will be national differences and regional variations.

In retrospect, metropolitan planning and management in the 1960's may be characterised by paraphrasing Lindblom's remark as a "muddling through".

First, urban planning has been an activity of optimism. Planners were optimistic not only because they accepted continued economic growth as a foundation on which to build their concepts and theories, but also because they had to some degree the feeling that urban planning was a remedy for many problems of society. This optimism led planners to formulate goals which never could be reached, simply because they assumed that planned development was completely under the control of the governments concerned the goals and activities of other governments and other actors were left of account. These unrealistic assumptions led to disappointment and a waning belief in the effectiveness of planning and intervention by government.

My next point is that the planning and management of urban systems has had to try to overcome the strands of fragmentation: there are many actors, bodies and activities which should collaborate because decisions in one activity will affect those in another. But the machinery for "integration" of multiple decision-making has not been there. Each actor or body has his own job to do; he is accountable for it; nobody has been accountable for the corporate whole. This "management" problem has still to be solved. The lack of solution has understandably led, for example, to social segregation of various classes and individual group

Third, segregated development has contributed to the alienation from which many people suffer today. I hasten to add that there are other causes of alienation. One such cause may be the accelerating pace of our time, dehumanised working conditions, the new rapid means of communication and many other things, which in one way and another have led to a loss of identity - a sense of place and community. What is true, I think, is that planners and politicians have allowed or brought about change in the urban fabric, particularly its scale, its visual aspects, and have not really attempted to help people find a new identity by offering a sympathetic place to live in.

In practice, and especially during the 1950's and 1960's, segregation had two related aspects: the economic or social segregation of land-use and

activities; and the professional segregation of practising planners from both the people they serve and the politicians who employed them. The one led to the other. Planners appeared to live in an ivory tower; and they did not always speak the language of politics and the shop-floor, nor did they understand these languages. To whom was, and is, the planner accountable? Whose concepts and ideas about the city does he accept and interpret in his job?

Fourth, planning in the 1960's was mainly focused on the processes of physical design. There was little attention paid to the need for instruments to implement policies, and consequently, there was no systematic effort to make sure that policies were implemented, how the various measures worked and their impact.

Finally, within the framework of governmental agencies, it was rare for any attempt to be made to integrate goals and instruments either horizontally or vertically.

This last comment brings in management: the lack of inter-organisational planning was directly related to the fragmentation of the government machinery. Unfortunately, neither was there enough voluntary co-operation to help actors implement their ideas as well as they might. Frequently, local government has been at the mercy of external actors, who could play one off against the other. This process of non-co-operation has led to increasing centralisation of power in the hands of central government. Non-co-operation was, and still is, found not only at the lowest level of the administration but also between tiers in any one organisation and between national organisations.

Since the early 1960's both the processes of planning and management and their environment have changed. There is a growing concern about the impact of planning, not only on society as a whole, but in particular on differing groups in society. There is also a recognition of the inter-dependence of various planning fields and the need to bring them together in both planning and management of the environment. There is now much more attention paid to the integration of issues such as urban renewal and social deprivation. Planning is now seen as a continuous process. The emotional relationships between man and his environment are accepted in

their widest sense.

Also, optimism about the impact of planning is declining. One reason is that, for some groups in the population, planning appears to have made their living conditions worse.

Finally, new organisational structures have been established: metropolitan regions. But the papers presented to this seminar question whether the new bodies will be better equipped to cope with the new challenges of our changing society. Although these new structures are a step towards better management and planning at the metropolitan level, there is serious doubt about the effectiveness and consistency of the various levels of plan preparation, decision-making and plan implementation. And is there an appropriate spatial size of a metropolitan region?

In contrast to the devolution of power to new metropolitan authorities, and so on to the people, there is increasing centralisation. How devolution and centralisation of power and functions are to be accommodated within the same system is not clear. One critique of this kind of conflict may be the idea of corporate thinking. There is also ongoing fragmentation both in planning and governmental organisations, competition between local authorities and between regions; there seems to be a revival of regionalism and even between countries. A co-ordinated European urban policy is most unlikely during the next two years.

Last, but certainly not least, a lot of thinking about the future is necessary. Economic diversification, changing job-structures, increasing pluralism, a halt to the growth of population in the cities and their surroundings, or even a decline, are all variables for future study and the formulation of working hypotheses.

The almost panic reactions to the Club of Rome report, or the oil crisis, or the emerging need for strengthening our economies make it clear that we have still not learned from experience. These things are to be expected and we need policies robust enough to enable us to use these events to our advantage and not be defeated by them.

5. Final remarks

I once attended a workshop on integrated planning. One of the speakers honestly said he did not know what integrated planning is, and, at the end of his lecture, it was still a fuzzy notion.

This short story may explain why I have said hardly a word on 'managing the metropolis'. Although the term has been defined in the "Background-paper", it is nevertheless a vague concept. Similarly, terms such as 'urban management' and 'managing' are seldom made clear in urban planning literature. This reminds me of another speaker I once heard. He said that, over the last 25 years or so, little changed in the theory and practice of urban planning. Only the words had changed. But changing the words does not solve the problems. I do not agree with him. Neither do I think that the introduction of the concept of urban management is solely, and I want to underline this, to distract attention from the real issues. The problems of our urban areas cannot be solved by what is usually called urban planning. Neither market forces alone nor increasing intervention by government alone can bring about acceptable solutions. The processes of urban management put the planners' contribution into a wider range of mutually interdependent activities and a variety of decision-making in a pluralistic society. Pluralism implies conflicting interests, arising out of differing preferences. The differences can be neither denied nor ignored. We must face them squarely.

I am one of those who hold that it is the task of social science research to analyse these differences, gain insights into their backgrounds, and make conjectures about these differences for the future. The facts and expectations of social science must then be brought together with those of economics, technology and the environmental sciences, to set up alternative scenarios of the future as guides to actors.

Urban management can be the point where the final weighting of alternatives takes place, and choice made about the goals for society.

In this great orchestra, urban planning is there but not playing the first fiddle. There are other instruments which take the lead from time to time. Planners must practice hard and rehearse in harmony with other members of the orchestra.

This seminar is organised as just such a rehearsal. I hope it will help extend our network of understanding and bring about an increasing international exchange of ideas so that we can improve the quality of life for all the people we serve.

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CHAPTER 2**BACKGROUND-PAPER: "Managing the Metropolis"****Preface**

The purpose of this paper, which is a joint product of the chairmen of the workshops and the secretariat, is to present the participants of our Seminar a framework or background which sets the boundaries for the discussions and at the same time formulates the basic questions for each of these workshops.

The authors have neither tried to raise all the question which are possible nor have they tried to present a polished text.

It is hoped that the text of this paper (including the questions) will be provocative and consequently stimulate the discussions in both the plenary sessions and the workshops.

December 1975

I. FRAMEWORK

It will not be too difficult to agree that we can speak of an international urban crisis of substantial proportions.

A crisis which seems more prevalent in older, more industrialized urban areas than in urban areas at a much earlier stage of industrialization and urbanization. The former may be a nightmare toward which others will move, unless there are major changes in public policy and private sector practices to reverse the trend toward a more desirable situation.

How could the trend be reversed, and what can planners contribute?

Before this question can be answered, one has to describe and analyze the 'urban crisis'. At least two aspects have to be recognized.

1. A substantive aspect, referring to the living conditions and social problems. It includes the existence of slums, urban sprawl, social segregation, poverty, crime, alienation, congestion, environmental decay, just as the functioning of the many entities which can be distinguished.
2. A management aspect, referring to the ways various actors try to influence and or control the developments of the urban system 1).

This urban crisis originates on the one hand from developments in society and on the other hand from the inability and unwillingness of government (and other organizations) to influence the wide variety of developments.

Although it seems to force an open door, it may be useful to emphasize that the West European societies have been changed, in particular since the beginning 1960's.

Without trying to explain these societal changes, or indicating when or where it started, one can say that as compared with e.g. the beginning 1950's, our society is characterized by a growing complexity, a changing scale of societal processes, an increasing pace of developments, and an

1) This aspect includes the problem met in setting down - by whom - guidelines for the future.

increasing differentiation of norms and values (it is right to talk of a pluralistic society).

Another aspect which has to be mentioned refers to the fact that notwithstanding the growing welfare, one can notice a growing sense of discomfort and dissatisfaction.

Most probably this new feeling is most pronounced or, perhaps better: highly organized and more effectively expressed, in the urban foci of our society. Partly the feeling of discomfort and dissatisfaction is connected with or can be attributed to the inadequacy of the governmental machinery and other organizational structures to cope with the new and continuing challenges. In both this machinery and in these structures, organizations (and people) have not been able or have not been willing to deal with change, trying instead to keep going and to conserve what is there. To a certain degree this is a struggle between status quo and change. Partly these feelings can also be explained by the difficulties which a lot of people experience individually to cope with the new situations, which brings up feelings of insecurity.

It is not far from the truth to say that as one consequence of the awareness of the abovementioned inability, many facets of local government have been questioned and subject to change. New administrative units have been formed, new types of action developed and new techniques adopted. One of the organizational structures which have come into being is the metropolitan area, not only as a geographical unit for the gathering of statistical data but as a form of local government at a regional level.

The creation of these new bodies - which can be found almost all over West-Europe - became necessary because old systems and practices were proving inappropriate to provide services and facilities.

In the traditional interpretation of government - as an administration running services and offering facilities - the purpose of the transformation and reorganization was to create a better internal management in order to perform more adequately its functions. The emphasis was on the improvement of the efficiency of the administration.

There has been a shift however in the public opinion about the role of government. Increasingly, government is now also being expected to take

initiative in preventing or inhibiting undesirable occurrences and developments, in promoting social and economic benefits and the physical environment. This changing role of government, which seems beyond its traditional powers is accompanied by the growing need for public participation and the increasing politicizing of governmental decision-making.

In direct line with the abovementioned changes in the internal management the new role of government involves new management decisions and - problems in a wider sense.

This management refers to the variety of possible actions by local authorities national and regional agencies of government and other public bodies, whereby efforts are made to regulate, influence and plan the richly interactive process of societal development. At the level of the metropolitan area this could be called metropolitan management.

In particular during the last decade a lot of planners have become aware that their activities are embedded in and subordinate to the metropolitan management in the wider sense. It has become clear that the extent to which the metropolitan system can be changed does not solely, not even primarily, depend upon the planner's ability to isolate those points at which intervention is possible and necessary, to pick the most suitable means of intervention and to predict the effects of intervention upon the system as a whole. They have learnt that planning is an essential ingredient to management and therefore they themselves are partners in this activity. Planners have come to know that their activities are taking place in a real (planning) environment which sets the boundaries. But the real world's rationality is not necessarily completely the planner's rationality. Therefore, the great technical skill and the value-judgement of planners will be of little use unless equal attention is paid to the ways of putting the results of the planner's activities into practice. But this implies that his activities need to be brought to bear on the problems of the real world. Both aspects require a special expertise and understanding which did not always exist in the recent past. For that reason it would be quite wrong to trace the burden for the social problems solely to the failures of metropolitan management.

When planners come together to look at their role in managing metropolitan areas, they have to take into account the turbulent societal and management

situation, they have to evaluate their contribution to the failure of past metropolitan management, and to find out what their contribution could or should be to solve or at least alleviate the existing and future problems. In doing so, they have to be aware of the turbulent planning environment which is a consequence of a turbulent society, which includes the on-going transformation of the governmental machinery, the need for a more integrated approach, the call for decentralization in decision-making and -taking, for public participation, etc..

II. WORKSHOPS

1. METROPOLITAN FORCES

(by chairman Herman Bayens)

- Introduction

One of the roles of the planner is to analyze the metropolitan urban system as a societal subsystem. What are the inter-relationships between developments, what are the forces (economic, technological, political etc.) which evoke changes in the system or which are the barriers to change.

These forces could be divided into two: internal forces, i.e. within the metropolitan system, and external forces, i.e. impacting on the system from outside.

Notwithstanding a long tradition of research, it cannot be denied that there is still a lack of information and knowledge on the wide range of societal developments.

There is a growing awareness among planners to present more and better policy-relevant studies 1).

"While these studies - some done by or for city governments themselves - and other analyses of urban problems and efforts to solve them have resulted in a virtual avalanche of publications, too little of the knowledge gained has worked its way to the operational levels of policy-making and management. No small part of the reason for this is that social scientists and urban managers are seldom comfortable with each other's

1) See for instance the work done in the Action-Research

priorities and perspectives" 1)

This analysis will inevitably touch upon the existing problems and the latitude which is left to change purposefully the actual state of (parts of) the system.

Crucial for future metropolitan planning is the question in how far the changing state of the system and the possibly corollary changes of the inter-relationships, will require another planning approach. See also workshop 4.

- Elaboration

Adequate "Management of the metropolis" requires an understanding of the metropolitan development process and the underlying forces, within the frame of the overall urbanisation process. For this reason we have to explore some historical determinants of the urbanisation process and to review some emerging theories of urbanisation which might clarify the determinants of the metropolitan process.

Determinants of the Urban Process

According to G. Sjoberg (The Preindustrial City 1961) the origin and evolution of urbanisation is related to the three major levels of human organisation (folk-societies, civilized pre-industrial or feudal societies, industrial societies). Towns and cities emerged only during the second stage (since 5500 years ago) but large scale urbanisation as a consequence of industrialisation began only about 100 years ago.

According to L. Reissman (The Urban Process - Cities in Industrial Societies, 1964) urbanisation under influence of industrialisation is connected on a world scale with the emergence of middle classes and the rise of nationalism. Tertiary societies again show new types of urbanisation with a complex set of determining factors of physical and sociological urbanisation.

1) David Rogers and Willis D. Hawley (1974), The Mismanagement of the Cities and Defective Delivery Systems; Willis D. Hawley and David Rogers, Improving the Quality of Urban Management, p. 14.

Determinants of the Metropolitan Process

In 1800 there were no cities with one million inhabitants. In 1850 there were more than 100 cities in the world with more than one million. Metropolitan formation is clearly a result of the industrial revolution and now tertiary development, although as early as the middle ages the relatively rural area of the present North-West European megalopolis, already concentrated prosperous port cities which only became metropolitan areas after 1800.

Then they were transformed into growth poles as a consequence of the economic multiplier effects of multisectoral investments, public as well as private. The role of the middle and entrepreneurial class is clear as they were initiated by locational opportunities in the cities and the people concerned were trained there. But also the role of the public sector is apparent: the most centralized nations have now also the biggest capital cities, more decentralized nations tend to have more decentralized urban patterns, too. It would be interesting to compare specific factors and determinants of metropolitan formation among the selected metropolitan areas (Rotterdam under the influence of the port, Eindhoven as a product of Philips, Lille as an 18th century industrial area, Brussels as capital city, etc.).

In general the factors at work in the metropolitan process can be divided as follows (there are surely more):

- a) External - internal factors
- b) Public - private factors
- c) Economic - societal political forces
- d) Materialistic - Voluntaristic factors
- e) Sectorial decisions

a) External and Internal factors

The city is largely a product of societal development in the national and international context. The external factors for city development are mainly the type of societal organisation (with the economic organisation) and the organisation of power as the two main determinants.

The internal factors are mainly modifying and influencing factors for the character and appearance of the city.

J. Friedmann (urbanisation, planning and national development; 1973) indicates as main factors for urbanisation: innovations, decision-making, migration and investment.

D. Foley and Webber (Explorations into Urban Structure; 1964) indicate as main influencing and modifying factors at the outset the normative or cultural aspects (goals and objectives) with functional-organizational and physical environmental aspects, which influence process and form, spatial and aspatial elements, changing in time, etc.

It is clear that the internal forces of the metropolis are determined by the value system, the plurality of goals and objectives of all participants in the metropolitan process.

b) Public and Private Sector

Who are these participants in the metropolitan process?

The private sector predominant in the last century, the free market capitalistic western societies have in this century seen an increasing influence of the public sector. The making of metropolitan and megalopolitan areas has been a combined effort of the private and the public sector, since the industrial revolution. Only during the last decades has the public sector become aware of the diseconomics of excessive concentration (and recently also the private sector shown by the spontaneous outmigration of industries). Recently decentralisation policies have been initiated in different centralised countries.

c) Economic forces - societal-political determinants

It is clear that the emergence and predominance of the secondary sector and in the last decades of the tertiary and quaternary sectors have been the driving forces behind the western urbanisation process with, as a consequence, massive migrations towards urban centers of employment and new opportunities and the emergence of propulsive growth poles and growth areas. The growth pole concept of F. Perroux became a well-known explaining factor of the economic forces behind the metropolitan formations. It has recently been criticised as being characteristic for the capitalistic societal

organisation. Since the urban network is usually a reflection of societal organisation, it is clear that these factors play an important role. The apparent correlation between physical and institutional centralisation or decentralisation is a case on point. The rise and fall of cities as G. Sjoberg writes is mainly dependent upon welfare or decline of nations.

d) Materialistic - Voluntaristic factors

In the history of urban sociology and ecology there is a clear move from more materialistic interpretation of urban development.

The rather materialistic interpretations stress the importance of environment, population, social organisation and technology (inductive approaches) or the correlations between technological progress, division of labour and distribution of objects of consumption (deductive approaches). Economy, Technology and Environment are utilized as the main explaining factors of urban development.

The rather voluntaristic interpretations stress the value-system as the main determining factor with the application of the social action theory on the use of the environment. Firey (1947) and S. Wilhelm (1962) stress culture as the main intervening variable between man and his environment which determines his adaptation to space. Others stress mainly social power as the main determining factor for the environment (of private investors, land speculators, the public at large, government). It is an attempt to make the role of the planners, in this respect, more important. How far have they been successful in mastering the urban process? (Mens en ruimte, The Mastery of Urban Growth; 1971)

e) Sectorial Decision

The metropolitan end-product (in permanent evolution) is the result of such a large variety of sectorial decisions in and outside the metropolis, which constantly transforms it in time. Sectorial decisions in a variety of economic sectors (now more and more tertiary and quaternary) in the social, cultural, recreational field, in the field of technology, transportation, communications utilities, the environment, etc. by the private as well as by the public sector.

In a too unified approach of planning we often forget that in fact coordination is needed at the metropolitan level of an extremely large and complex variety of sectorial goals and forces.

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If we try to plan and to manage the metropolitan process we have to take this variety of factors into account and try to coordinate and give guidance by means of an improving the instrumentarium of planning and management methods and measures.

Questions

1. Do you agree that in fact the external factors of the metropolitan development are more important than the internal factors?
2. Do you agree with the fact that the private sector has been much more important than the public sector in the metropolitan development process?
3. Are the economic determinants for capitalistic societal organisation not unavoidably leading towards metropolitan and megalopolitan formations?
4. Voluntaristic intervention of planners and public authorities has not yet been very influential in determining metropolitan process.
5. Do you agree that sectorial decisions mainly at the national level in fact have been the most influential factor in metropolitan decision-making?

2. ACTORS IN THE MANAGEMENT

(by chairman Heinz Weyl)

- Introduction

As formulated under part I of this note, planning is an activity which indissolubly is part of the total management process.

This implies that planners have to take account of all those people and organizations which try to influence the nature and the direction of the process and the decisions which have to be taken. It also implies that planners as such are one of the powerful forces in the management

process. There are many other actors involved in the process of metropolitan management, which has to do with the increasing differentiation: besides government there are the public (is the public involved in the planning and management process?) property developers, landlords, industry (the latter sometimes represented by Chambers of Commerce) etc. Therefore: "Society has few clear and unequivocal aims to which all decisions will contribute. The tensions in society are real tensions and the conflicts of aims and objectives no less real. We have to be aware of these conflicts and help to clarify what they are rather than to try to obscure them" 1).

What is the power of each of the actors involved, what in particular is the power of government, are changes needed in the power structure to ensure the implementation of metropolitan planning (this change can refer to both the power of government as compared with non-governmental actors and to the division of power between governmental organizations).

What in particular is the contribution made by the new metropolitan governments, and what is the experience of the areas involved in this seminar? Has governmental reform increased the power and influence in the management process?

- Elaboration

This workshop will focus on the power structure inside and outside of regional areas. It will scope the aspects of people and organizations involved and show the roll of the planner, facing an increasing differentiation between both public and private interests. As planning is a decision making process, we have to look at the forces which can influence these decisions on federal- state- and regional level. On the other hand side we have to take into account the public interests - citizens, developers, land owners and pressure groups, etc...

1) Burns, Wilfred, (1975) The role of new techniques in policy making, in
Urban Development Models, eds. Richard Baxter, Marcial Echenique and Janet Owers, p. 289.

As stated by Russel Ackoff: Planning is something we do in advance of taking action. That means anticipatory decision making. If these decisions could be taken quickly without concerning other influences, planning would not be required. Planning is required when the future state we desire requires a set of interdependent decisions, that is a system of decisions. This set of inter-dependent decisions can be influenced by a lot of groups and actors, both public and governmental.

The main forces which do influence the actors of the planning disciplines underly certain constraints which are rapidly changing during the last years. This trend-change relates to manifold alterations in the demographic, social, economic, technological and ecological framework-conditions of our society. The impact of this development makes the present goals and objectives for the regional planning in our countries uncertain. In the following we will focus on the main criteria for this trend change

Demographic criteria

Since the end of the sixties the demographic development of the Federal Republic is marked by steadily shrinking birth-rates of the German population; even the positive foreign labour force policy was unable to prevent the shrinking of the whole population.

This will effect until 1985

- a decrease of the percentage of the under 15 years old, by approx. 30% (1972 = 100)
- a decrease of the whole population by 3% (1972 = 100)
- whereas the position of the labour population (15 to 60 years) will increase in the same time by 8.3% or approx. 2,8 million people 1).

Consequently, this requires the increase of the supply of job-opportunities, whereas in the same time there will be a decrease of the demand for educational institutions - first on the primary school level and then later on (from 1985) on the higher educational level.

Economical Framework Conditions

These demographic trend changes coincide with the crest of the industrial labour development and with changes of the overall economic conditions which are related to basically structural changes of the international economy. That means:

1) Federal statistics, K. Schwarz Ph.D.

- changes of the competitive system due to the alterations of the international monetary systems influencing export orientated industries;
- changes of the competitive system by over-proportional increases of the wage level on international comparisons enforcing the tendency to transfer labour-intensive productions into countries with low wage levels;
- increasing industrialization of the 'Third World' hindering the export especially of low standard industrial products.

Thereby exist additional criteria effecting alterations of regional growth:

- the necessity of replacing whole ineffective industries by new innovative technologies which created changes within the concerned industries and their traditional allocations and therefrom to structural changes of complex economically connected systems (for instance energy supply and -distribution, increase of computer oriented systems);
- changes of allocation benefits subsequent to the introduction of high standard and hierarchical traffic systems (intercity railroad net) and the stronger concentration of other transport systems on high rank allocations (regional airports);
- concentration of the labor force of the service sector on high rank central allocations thereby minimizing the developing chances of locations in peripher areas;
- changes of traditional allocation benefits of ports by new transport technologies - container transports;
- changes of the allocation structure of energy supply institutions (primary energies, oil, earth-gas, atomic energy);
- changes of allocation benefits of mining industries (transfer to coast regions);
- higher concern of environmental influences creating alterations of the relative allocation benefits and increases of production costs thereby leading to additional shifting tendencies.

These changes are directly related to regional development goals forcing a well-timed and realistic cooperation with all groups involved in this comprehensive and long term regional planning process.

Technological Framework Conditions

The technological development in the last time has led to important implications within the regional land use structure, creating living and labour concentrations at special central allocations. The construction and redevelopment of transportsystems influenced the regional planning targets to a high degree.

Those regionally important influences are for instance:

- the concentration of railroad traffic on highly frequenced railroads and the additional construction of rapid transit railways connecting the metropolitan areas; thereby reducing the ubiquity of railroad transport and favouring a hierarchy within the railway network,
- the limited capacity of the regional air transport system made it necessary to extend the rapid transit railroad system giving the 'rail' a higher quality,
- the nearly completed arterial road system which secures a highly elastic traffic service even in peripheral areas,
- the already mentioned alterations of the ocean traffic (almost complete abolishment of passenger service, introduction of container systems, transition to great units in the bulk- and oil carrier traffic) which changed rapidly the connected transport systems and influenced heavily regional planning goals,
- the still on-going mechanization and automatization of the agriculture effected greater farming units and thereby a decrease of the rural population,
- the change over from traditional energy supply towards large nuclear power plants with main implications for the concerned environment shifted allocation benefits which are today hardly conceivable.

Out of these developments social changes and problems arose which are directly related to the changes of the demographic, economical and technological framework conditions.

That means:

- The demand for labour opportunities of all population groups is to combine with a high accessibility of the labour concentrations and a high mobility of all labourers,
- age-specific segregation problems which lead to migrations of retired people out of the conurbated regions,

- problems concerning the integration or segregation of foreign labourers in connection with specific regions and economies,
- changes of the labour-structure: decrease of less qualified labour opportunities in favour of more high qualified jobs with special 'know how' functions.

From these trends we can derive certain basic statements:

Without governmental influences, these trends will create an increasingly polarizing effect within the different regional categories. Besides that they will effect distinct structural shifts among the conurbated areas and the related regions. Especially the concentration of economical growth on some few selected areas will lead to strong economical and political tensions which can lead to question the actual federal system.

Corresponding to that the demand for a balance of regional disparities must be newly oriented. The unimplementable disparity balance between all different regional categories is to replace by the demand for balanced developments within the single regional categories; especially on regard of a compensated development of the conurbated regions.

The creation and maintainance of equal living conditions is also to regard under new aspects. The so far uniformly formulated criteria for the standards of the living conditions must be differentiated in connection with regional specific conditions.

So the remaining influences of the regional planning policy and their realization will depend on how far it succeeds, to use the technological and economical innovations as tools in the regional planning process. Opportunities for that are given within the huge budget framework of the planned innovations (basic changes by the winning of primary-energy, development of specialized and therefore expensive technologies for new traffic systems, as in the fields of metallurgy and electronics) which cannot be realized without the assistance of the government.

Under such circumstances a target oriented regional planning policy of the government has a much greater influence on structurally important allocations and institutions as before.

Further Proceedings

For the Rotterdam workshop it will be proposed how alternative organizational forms of regional planning authorities do handle the problems

of managing processes in their regions.

Comparisons will be researched on the

- Hamburg,
- Munich,
- Stuttgart,
- Frankfurt,
- Rhine-Neckar,
- and Hanover regions.

These comparisons will be evaluated and trends will be extracted for further developments.

3. METROPOLITAN PLANNING PRACTICE (by chairman Jean Brunot de Rouvre)

- Introduction

The continuously growing amount of publications on planning theory (or theory of planning) shows some characteristics which make it most likely to expect a divergency between planning theory and planning practice.

First of all one can notice in planning theory an emphasis on what is called the understanding (or prediction) of the societal (sub-)system and the designing 1) while much less attention is paid to the effectiveness of the designed actions and the implementation of the preferred plan (or programme).

Most probably this has to do with the fact that the planning theory is based on the planner's rationality. Notwithstanding the introduction of the term 'planning environment' 2) the planner still expects a decision-making process which takes place according to his own rationality. In a recent article Tony Bird has put it this way: "There is another form of rationality, however, which has a tendency to impose itself on both the bounded technical rationality of definir choices, and the consensual rationalities involved in applying value-

1) Terminology of Alan Wilson, quoted by Peter Hall (1974), Urban and Regional Planning

2) See Andreas Faludi (1973), Planning Theory

judgements to these choices. This is what can be termed 'administrative' or 'institutional' rationality. With the best will in the world, the exercise of great technical skill and considered value-judgements will be of little use unless equal attention is paid to the ways of putting those results into practice" 1).

The political rationality could be considered as one aspect of this wider institutional rationality. As Peter Hall argued: "Unfortunately, as is well-known, political decision-making is a highly imperfect art" 2).

Nevertheless, one could add, a part of the real world around the planner. Planners in the field will therefore agree with what the same author says: "Planning in practice, however, well managed, is therefore a long way from the tidy sequence of the theorists" 3). This workshop offers planners the possibility to compare how planning effectively is done in their respective areas, how it is organized, Its focus is on the emperical comparison of the ways things happen in the five regions, which difficulties are met (governmental fragmentation, finance etc.) and how they are solved.

Is planning mainly dealing with governmental policy preparation and implementation (thus being a highly technical-administrative activity) or is it also involved in the political decision-making, proceeding the policy formulation? What can practioners, in particular those working in the recently established institutions, learn from planning theorists, and what can they contribute to improve the theory, to make it more applicable, more realistic?

Is there a growing mutual understanding between planners and other people (administrators, politicians) as is sometimes suggested?

What is the impact of the planning environment on the planners rationality and vice versa?

1) Bird, Tony, (1975), The Boundaries of Planning Rationality, The Planner, March, p. 108

2) Hall, P., op.cit. p. 291

3) Hall, P.,, op.cit. p. 293

Elaboration

Introduction

1. Planning practice may be viewed as the way planners feel about their work in everyday conditions, and gain experience and knowledge from an increasing amount of practical constraints upon their task, such as societal interests, political forces, pressure groups, reactions of the public, related decision areas, and growing intricacy of the institutional pattern of local government and agencies.

An evaluation of planning practice may also be understood as the analysis of the results of planning policies. What does the public think of the implementation of the policies that have been planned? To what extent do the results of decisions reflect the goals and objectives which have been chosen? What amount of unexpected consequences or unpredicted needs and behaviours speak for a policy reappraisal and new sets of goals and objectives?

Are we aware of the gap between the way the public understood the policies which have been set up and worded, and the people's feeling about the results? Are we ready to recognize this gap and admit the failures? Is the planner himself involved in decision making within the local government, or does he feel responsible for decisions taken by elected members on his advice?

2. Anyhow, the planners and the public have probably different views about planning.

In both cases planning practice may be opposed to planning theory. From the planners viewpoint, experience and difficulties resulting from practical constraints will emphasize the limits of the theory. With better knowledge of the societal environment, of the governmental machinery and of numerous interrelated decision areas, planning practice helps to criticize existing theories and build up better ones. But from the public point of view the emphasis is likely to be on critics of planning practice. Public participation makes it still more inevitable. The policies that have been chosen and explained to the people in order to gain their support can be remembered, and the results

are to be compared with the goals. It is not easy to change the opinion of people who have been convinced of the advantages of a certain policy, that not only the solutions but perhaps the goals as well should be shifted for others. Planners and local government are likely to be criticized on the implementation, rather than on choices in policy making.

3. Yet, planners and local government could argue that many errors are due to insufficient theory. Especially for the metropolis, no satisfactory theory was given when the planning machinery was put to function, and nobody could have foreseen all the consequences of making choices between possible policies. Who is responsible for giving planners good theoretical aids? Did planners pay enough attention to social science research? Did central governments give enough to develop social sciences and planning theory? Is not the society as a whole responsible for the cultural and ideological background which scientists and planners introduce into their models, although they are not often aware of it?

One may say that since planning practice is the necessary field of experiment to build up and test any theory of planning, it cannot be avoided that the theories reflect to some extent the existing conditions of social forces and governmental organisation.

4. This makes it obvious that workshop no. 3 cannot avoid paying attention to other workshops dealing with metropolitan forces and actors in the management.

Within a given framework of local authorities, the role of planners is also dependent upon the planning machinery. That is to say that the workshop should not only focus on the political and institutional environment, but also pay attention to the practical aspects of planners work in their relations with other disciplines and other agencies, belonging or not to the same local or regional authority.

Fragmentation versus integration: planning practice shows the difficulties of every step towards better integrated policy making, in spite of human behaviours and all sorts of divisions. Some relevant items for this workshop could be:

- How do planners from different origins and training work together?

Are there only differences of language between disciplines, several viewpoints emphasizing different aspects of the same reality, or hidden ideological differences between specialists with unreconcilable social theories?

- How do officers of different services react to planners proposals? Do they participate in planning policies through some sort of corporate planning implying all the agencies of a given local authority Or do the many services involved belong to different authorities?
- How is planning separated from implementation control? How do planners get any feedback from the results, and how can they make sure implementation follows the planned policies?
- How do planners report to politicians and who makes the final decisions? To what extent are planners really understood by decision makers, and what do they really explain when proposing policies or decisions?
- Are there differences in planners' behaviour, whether they belong to local, regional or central government? How do planners take into account the views of other authorities, of other agencies or of other departments of central government?
- How do planners explain their points to the public, and how do they take into account the public reactions? How do they deal with conflicting interests of different social groups? Are they aware any political choice is in favor of some of these groups and against some others?

Differences and similarities

5. Planning practice in general offers a wide range of variations between countries and local authorities. Moreover, in the case of the main metropolises or metropolitan regions, which have generally special managerial structures, and whose problems and issues may differ from other local authorities, we have a still wider range of solutions.

This workshop should be aware of the many differences between planning

practice in the studied cases:

- either because of differences in the training and the environment of planners from country to country
- or because of differences between institutions and governmental structures of any metropolis and those of the average local authorities.

6. Nevertheless, this workshop ought to concentrate on the possible similarities resulting from planning practice within these somewhat unique and fast evolving structure of the metropolises. The similarity which arises from comparable problems, from the size and population of the areas to be planned and managed, from the crisis in the same type of industries, very often owned by international firms, makes it the more necessary to compare planning practice in the different metropolitan areas throughout Western Europe.

As governmental structures within these metropolitan areas have recently been modified in most countries and are likely to keep evolving in order to adapt to the mentioned specific problems, it is quite possible that fairly comparable solutions or structures come out of the present variety of cases. For example, despite the sharp differences between highly centralized countries like France and federal countries like Western Germany, we can already notice that most governmental structures of the metropolises tend to become a two-tier organization of local government. This is due to the size of the metropolitan areas, which is so big that no authority can cope both with planning land use and transportation of the whole area, and managing public services for the citizen at the required level of vicinity.

7. Planning practice in the metropolis is highly dependent upon these local governmental structures. Moreover, as planners would be newly involved in ever changing organizational patterns, their experience of former structures is of little help. They have to adapt to new conditions, and they look for comparisons with other examples abroad to test the possible solutions.

Among the main issues of managing the metropolis, one is the choice of managerial structures which could fit at best the delivery of a wide range of services to the population, and allow as well planning

their development at sufficient scale and time range. A compromise between planning and managing, between long term and day to day action between wide dimension and proximity to the citizen, between efficiency and participation, between desirable structures and existing authorities or administrations, leads generally to the choice of a few 'territorial levels' of local government.

Planners not only have to fit into such compromise, but have to work out the necessary shift between the types of services which ought to be provided by each of these 'territorial levels' or tiers of local authority.

They have at least to find satisfactory agreements with their colleagues of the other levels or tiers within the same area. They also may find that avoiding conflicts and defining the frontiers between authorities and agencies is so time consuming that the efficiency of the whole machinery becomes questionable.

Such an opinion is frequently heard in all countries where sophisticated governmental structures have recently been set up for metropolitan areas: there are obvious similarities in the difficulties between metropolitan counties and metropolitan districts in Britain, between Régions and Départements or between Communautés urbaines and Communes in France, between Régions and Intercommunales in Belgium, and so on. Special structures which are almost unique, such as the Rijnmond for the Rotterdam metropolitan area, or Grossraum Hannover (the only two-tier organisation for an urban area in Western Germany) may prove to be rather fragile, or in danger of harsh competition with other authorities, as it appears from the recent conflict between S.V.R., the planning authority for the Ruhr coal district, and the Land N.R.W.

8. Yet, when listening to planners who criticize such complicated and fragile structures, we should wonder if the difficulties they feel are really harmful to the public, or if they just reflect the conflicts between professionals. We ought to be aware that many officers, and planners as well, tend to identify conflicts of competence between agencies with their own ambitions or territorial behaviour. Are we sure that the emphasis on the conflicts within a sophisticated managerial structure is not overstated by the professionals and that improvement

will not come from the adaptation of behaviours through practice?

Nevertheless, once new authorities have been set up, provided they have a political direction with elected members, it is clear that conflicts are likely to result from real differences of interests between the different groups of people represented in the different authorities. The reason for setting up such new authorities is to find a way of dealing with conflicts between former existing authorities, and settling most of them via some sort of bargaining: we could say a new authority proves useful as long as it helps to solve more conflicts than its creation has arisen.

But the people should be cautious about the reality of 'objective' conflicts to be negotiated, not to get involved in 'subjective' conflicts between professionals or even politicians. When problems arise between men belonging to the same political or governmental machinery, we should wonder what social groups are involved, or if personal interests are not the key explanation. France is a good example of a multitude of conflicts between all sorts of departments or agencies belonging to the same central government machinery: it is unlikely that all these conflicts reflect the reality of social forces.

9. If we agree to look at all these types of conflicts as normal or even necessary and if we are aware it is impossible to reach a single 'consensus rationality' managing the conflicts might be given as a definition for strategic planning. Such an approach could also be chosen as an example of feed-back from planning practice to planning theory.

The role of the planner, especially in metropolitan areas, is not only to foresee possible conflicts between economic forces and social groups, and work out a way of negotiation at the different steps of policy choices and decision making. It may be also to imagine and propose appropriate structures and procedures for this negotiation.

So planners are anything but passive in the process of creating new governmental structures and local authorities for the metropolis. Instead of having to adapt themselves to changing institutions they often criticize, planners may look to people as responsible (among

others) of the growing complexity of local government structures. Although an important political issue, any reform in the pattern of local government implies many occasions for planners to make their point and influence the decisions.

For instance, any observer could notice a similarity between the study areas of some land-use transportation studies in the U.K. and the boundaries which were proposed a few years later for the new metropolitan counties. On the other hand, the planners' theory of town and country unit has determined some choices of the Maud report, even if the final reform abandoned most of it. One might find in every country examples alike of the influence of planning agencies upon modifications of local government pattern of machinery.

Must we conclude that planning practice is likely to play a major role in the evolution of local government, especially when the complexity of metropolitan areas makes it more difficult for the politicians and for the people to keep controlling the whole machinery?

4. DEVELOPMENT OF THE PLANNING METHOD (by chairman William Ogden)

- Introduction

It can hardly be denied that much work in planning (in particular planning research) is deeply rooted in actual concerns. Short term thinking, preoccupation with quick answers to pragmatic questions has tended to obscure the need for a future oriented approach. The creation of new metropolitan organizations might imply that new planning environments (in a stricter sense) have come into being which are more open to new approaches and methods.

But than the question is: how do we start from here? Which lessons can be derived from planning experiences in the post-war period, in particular since the metropolitan areas were created?

Which new methods have to be developed, or have to be chosen to improve metropolitan planning? Do we need a more integrated approach?

Can we use the operational research approach in decision-making problems? In contrast to workshop 3 which focuses on the planning practice, this workshop will be more theoretical. Its main concern will be the development of the planning methodology.

Questions like those, mentioned above of course bring in the future. Under which conditions will planning in the near future most probably take place?

In this respect the starting point is very important. On the one hand one can find Wilbur Thompson's remark on "the most marvelous machinery ever created by man: the great city" 1)

On the other hand we find Theodore Roszak's opinion, suggesting a process of de-urbanization because of the negative aspects of the urban "technopolitic structure" 2).

No matter how we appreciate the actual situation in great cities or

1) Toward a framework for urban public management, p. 244 in Planning for a nation of cities, ed. Sam Bass Warner jr. (1972, fourth paperback printing)

2) Theodore Roszak, Where the wasteland ends (1972).

metropolitan areas, how we look at the urban phenomenon, it is more probable that management and planning in the near future will be undertaken under conditions which differ from the actual conditions. Evidences of yesterday will be questioned to-morrow.

In the first place this has to do with the fact that there is an accelerating pace of change in human values, which is attended by an increasing diversity of values.

In other words: one can notice a decreasing consensus. Future management and planning have to face this new diverging sets of values.

For most greater urban areas in Western Europe, governmental action, including planning, was based on the growth phenomenon: growth of population, of economic activities, of welfare, of services, of infrastructure.

For various reasons this action will have to start from another basis.

- Elaboration

- a. When we seek to advance the method of planning the metropolitan regions we should bear in mind that there are several related disciplines and activities in which improvement of their own method will contribute, perhaps fundamentally to our task. Thus, the politician and the political scientist can explain how the political systems of the regions are changing, what political forces are at work, and how these forces may be shaping social institutions and the formulation of social policies. Similarly, the social scientist may invite the social philosopher to join with him in a synthesis of their disciplines to improve the handling of social problems, or define the values which should underpin social policies and how they are carried out. The economist may be able to set out clearly the comparative costs, both public and private, of alternative courses of action. An example might be to point to the human costs of unemployment caused by industry's increasing efficiency in producing goods and services with fewer men and women. Or the engineer or

technologist might develop substitutes for metals or fossil fuels or proteins which could have a profound effect on the demand for land or natural resources such as coal, iron and other minerals.

Question 1: What complementary disciplines contribute to the development of planning method, and how?

What is the Planning Method?

b. Just as there are many complementary disciplines in the urban planning field, there are many complementary authorities and organisations in both the traditionally defined public and private sectors. A more useful classification for our studies of planning method may be to regroup public and private sector organisations into

- (i) user supported: such as the health and some welfare activities, private housing and education, utilities, transport, retail trading;
- (ii) public supported: such as public housing, other education at all levels, environmental management, consumer protection, public order, and government generally;

This classification has the advantage of distinguishing more clearly between organisations which respectively have relatively easy-to-define aims and identifiable decision-making bodies, and those where defining aims and taking decisions are more diffuse 1). In the second group are all those aims and activities which concern government in the fields of economic and social policies.

c. All organisations "plan" their activities. Even individuals do the same. Their aim is to improve their performance by choosing cheaper or more rewarding "factors of production" rather than the dearer or less profitable. Most organisations and individuals are concerned not only with their performance now, but how well

1) See P.Ë. Checkland: Towards a Systems-based methodology for Real-World Problem Solving; Journal of Systems Engineering; Winter 1972.

their present choices are likely to lead them to desirable rather than undesirable performance in the future. In the private sector performance can be measured in money terms, although the costs of alternative choices may not be easy to compare. In the public sector the overall performance cannot be measured in either the short or the longer term. This inability to measure performance goes to the heart of the question of what metropolitan urban systems are. The definition put forward here as a starting point for discussion is that they are "appreciative systems" carried out by our interests, structured by our expectations and evaluated by our standards of judgement 1).

It follows that these systems are always changing as for example expectations, and the aspirations of the people, rise. But they are also changing politically and structurally. Political change can alter the mix of the economy and in Great Britain there is a steady intervention in the private sector; structural change is brought about by both institutional re-organisation as recently in Britain, the economic and social pressures of advancing technologies, and the steady devolution of power from governments and industrial managements to the people in participation and the role of worker-directors.

Question 2: Does the workshop agree that the complex organisation of metropolitan regions has the characteristics of "appreciative systems?"

Approaches to the development of Planning Method

d. Within changing and complex appreciative systems how can the planning method be developed. The short answer is probably by empirical studies and trial and error on the job. The workshop might usefully discuss the following areas of study and practice:

- (i) Piecemeal social engineering, not as part of an incrementalist theory of planning, but carefully chosen and executed to bring about feasible improvements, in welfare

1) Sir Geoffrey Vickers; Value Systems and the Social Process; Tavistock 1968.

or the urban fabric, according to reasoned priorities and within longer-term guidelines of policy;

- (ii) the inter-corporate dimension; this is the development of corporate planning by several inter-acting authorities or organisations;
- (iii) the improvement of methods of strategic choice, including the analysis of uncertainty and its acceptance in the decision-making processes; and their implementation;
- (iv) the improvement of forecasting. This is not seen only as ways of looking at alternative possible futures but of working out the feasibility of "inventing" desirable futures;
- (v) the improvement of the environmental design processes. This is a very wide field. It includes studies of consumer demand, the technology of design having regard to the encouragement of innovation and the translation of design into the substance of the environment, and the sharing of responsibility for design by both consumers and professional planners and architects etc.
- (vi) Conflict management. This area of methodology is of increasing importance. Conflict can be used creatively; it is part of the process of bargaining and trade-off between authorities and their competitors.
- (vii) information systems. The problem is to collect the minimum of information, but to have access to the maximum required for the job. The amount and quality of information needed for on the one hand a wide range of public administration and on the other the variety of real-world problems which should be tackled immediately, is not necessarily large and excellent. There can be much advantage in using "quick and dirty" information and methods of analysis in a continuous flow of decision-making within multi-organisational systems. Can the workshop come to some conclusions about the design of information systems to support the development of planning method?

- (viii) allied to information is communication. There are three aspects: communication within the systems, which is probably a management problem; the perception of the message which should be sent, its structure and comprehension; and the learning process which depends so much on the effectiveness of communication.
- (ix) research. Is it not true that research into the development of planning method is inadequate when measured against the risks of expensive mistakes in making both short and long-term decisions about investment in the metropolitan environment? Can the workshop set down some priorities for research and give some indication of resources required and their possible pay-off?
- (x) Last, there are questions about the consequences of planning in distributing wealth. The wealth might be cash in the sense that planning decisions can increase or decrease the value of properties or businesses. But the wealth might also be the social wage from improvements in the environment or greater opportunities for social or cultural activity.

Question 3: Which of these areas of study and practice are likely to be most rewarding at the Rotterdam seminar? How can they be tackled? Are there others?

Question 4: Are there questions about the development of democracy, and the rule of law, which should be seen as part of planning method?

For example are the present rights of citizens to enjoy their own property and freedom threatened by "planning" within complex multi-organisational systems?

II. SUBSTANTIVE PAPERS

3. L'agglomeration de Bruxelles;
Summary
4. Planning the Northern France Metropolitan
Region
5. Integrierte Planung und Planungsdurchführung
in Grossstadträumen Verband Grossraum Hannover;
Summary
6. The Rijnmond authority: attempts to manage the
urban environment at the regional level
7. The West Midlands Metropolitan County

CHAPTER 3

L'AGGLOMÉRATION DE BRUXELLES

C. Druez, J. Gaillard

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I. LES INSTITUTIONS POLITIQUES DE LA BELGIQUE REGIONALISEE

1. Impact de la révision de la constitution sur les institutions régionales.

Jusqu'a la révision de la constitution opérée de 1967 à 1971, le schéma des institutions politiques belges s'établissait à trois niveaux: l'Etat, les provinces et les communes.

Le territoire belge est divisé en neuf provinces qui sont composées d'arrondissements.

Les arrondissements sont constitués de communes. La commune étant la plus petite subdivision du territoire dotée d'une personnalité juridique et l'entité politique la plus proche du citoyen.

Aujourd'hui, avec les réformes apparues lors de la révision de la constitution, le schéma est plus complexe.

En effet, des notions nouvelles ont été inscrites formellement dans la constitution.

Ainsi l'article 3 bis précise que la Belgique comprend quatre régions linguistiques: une de langue française, une de langue néerlandaise, la région bilingue de Bruxelles-capitale et la région de langue allemande.

L'article 3 ter énonce que la Belgique comprend trois communautés culturelles: une française, une néerlandaise et une allemande.

L'article 59 crée des Conseils culturels pour chaque communauté culturelle.

L'article 107 quater reconnaît l'existence de trois régions: la flamande, la wallonne et la bruxelloise.

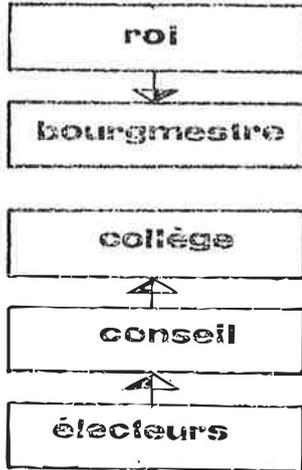
L'article 108 bis crée des agglomérations et fédérations de communes.

La loi du 15 juillet 1970 porte sur l'organisation de la planification et de la décentralisation économique. Cette loi institue les conseils économiques régionaux, les sociétés de développement régional et la direction générale du bureau du plan.

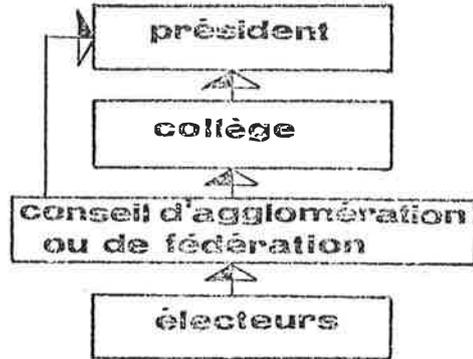
Le tableau illustre la structure institutionnelle de la Belgique régionalisée.

PYRAMIDE INSTITUTIONNELLE DE LA BELGIQUE REGIONALISEE

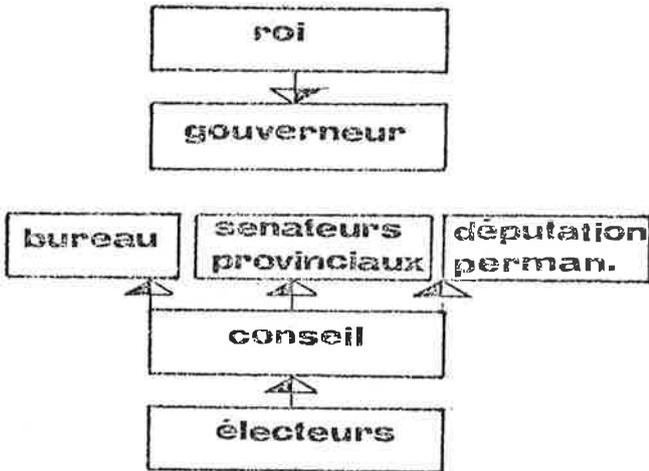
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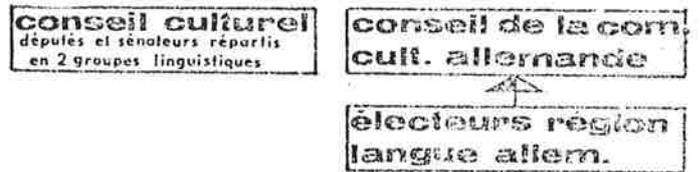
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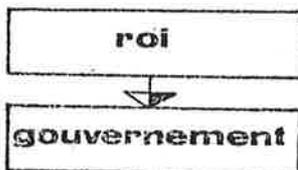
PROVINCIAL



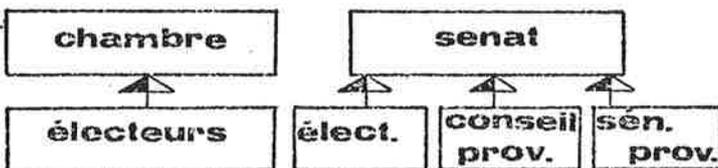
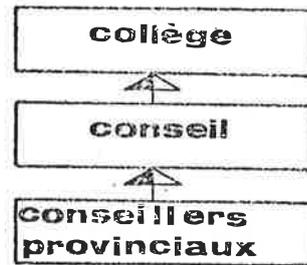
COMMUNAUTAIRE

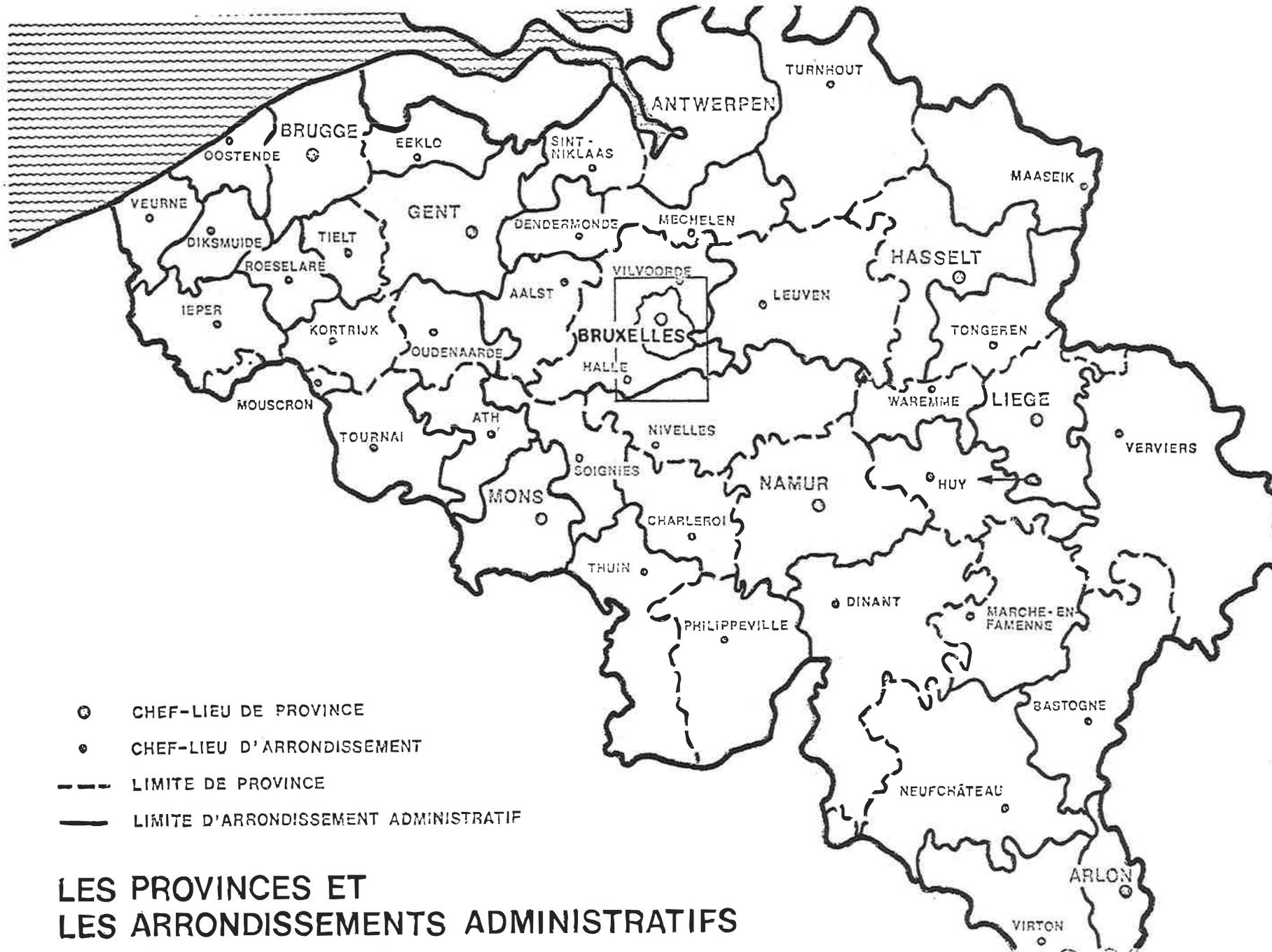


GOUVERNEMENTAL

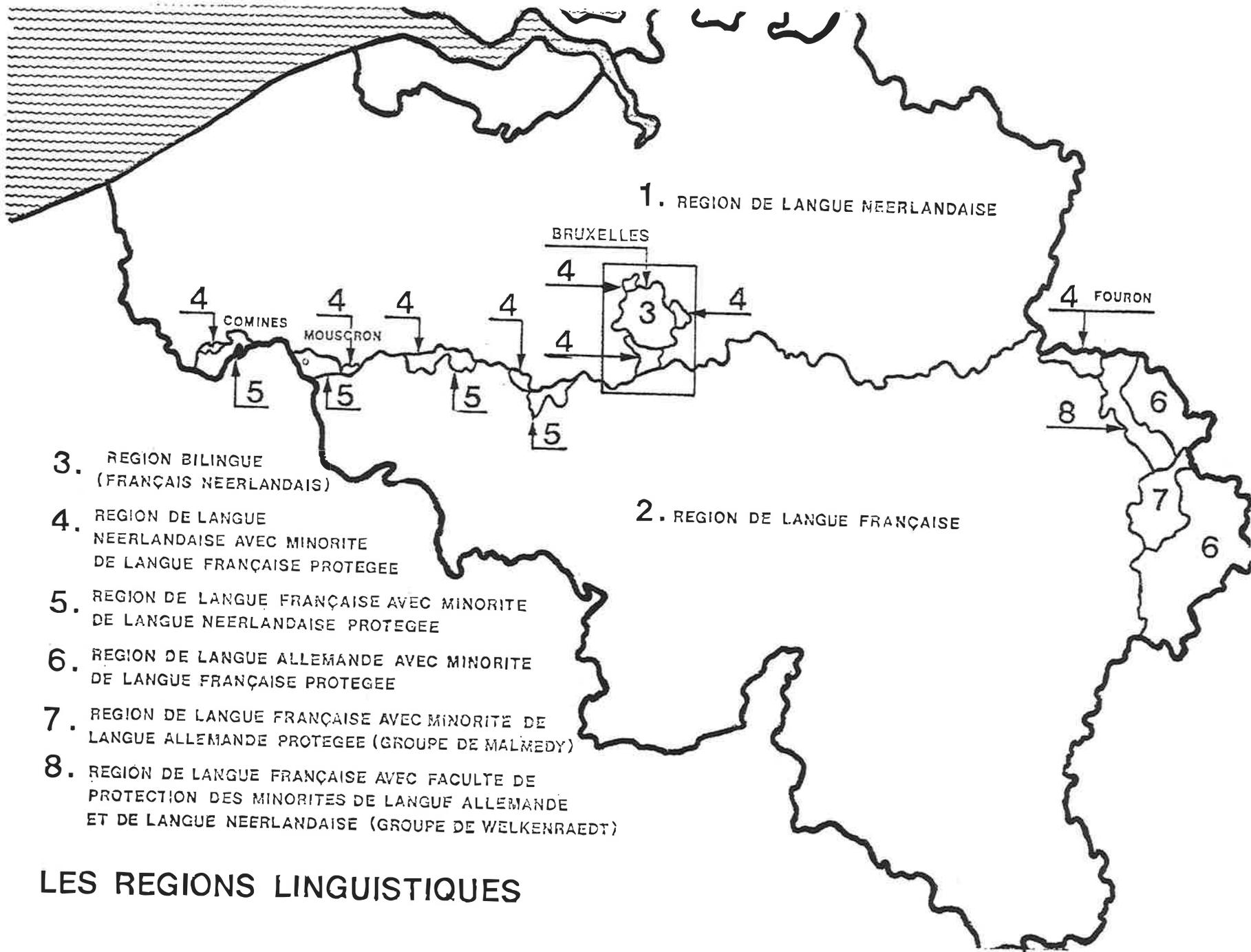


REGIONAL





LES PROVINCES ET LES ARRONDISSEMENTS ADMINISTRATIFS



- 1. REGION DE LANGUE NEERLANDAISE
- 2. REGION DE LANGUE FRANÇAISE
- 3. REGION BILINGUE (FRANÇAIS NEERLANDAIS)
- 4. REGION DE LANGUE NEERLANDAISE AVEC MINORITE DE LANGUE FRANÇAISE PROTEGEE
- 5. REGION DE LANGUE FRANÇAISE AVEC MINORITE DE LANGUE NEERLANDAISE PROTEGEE
- 6. REGION DE LANGUE ALLEMANDE AVEC MINORITE DE LANGUE FRANÇAISE PROTEGEE
- 7. REGION DE LANGUE FRANÇAISE AVEC MINORITE DE LANGUE ALLEMANDE PROTEGEE (GROUPE DE MALMEDY)
- 8. REGION DE LANGUE FRANÇAISE AVEC FACULTE DE PROTECTION DES MINORITES DE LANGUE ALLEMANDE ET DE LANGUE NEERLANDAISE (GROUPE DE WELKENRAEDT)

LES REGIONS LINGUISTIQUES

2. Place de l'Agglomération au sein des institutions régionales.

a. Institution des agglomérations et fédérations de communes par la législation.

Sur la base des articles 108 bis et 108 ter de la constitution, a été votée la loi du 26 juillet 1971 qui fixe les règles générales créant les agglomérations et fédérations de communes.

Cette loi institutionnalise 5 agglomérations:

une bilingue: Bruxelles

deux néerlandophones: Gand et Anvers

deux francophones: Liège et Charleroi.

La loi stipule également que toute commune du Royaume qui ne fait pas partie d'une agglomération peut faire partie d'une éventuelle fédération de communes (toute fédération réunissant des communes proches d'une agglomération est dénommée "fédération périphérique").

La différence entre une agglomération et une fédération n'est qu'une différence de fait: une agglomération est un ensemble de commune formant une importante concentration urbaine; une fédération est un groupement de communes qui sont moins concentrées.

Les nouvelles institutions permettent aux nouvelles entités d'assumer, sur le plan supracommunal, des tâches que les communes ne peuvent remplir isolément (Ex.: l'aménagement du territoire, la lutte contre l'incendie, l'enlèvement et le traitement des immondices)

La création des agglomérations et des fédérations voulait répondre à un double problème:

- d'une part, l'aspiration de la population à une décentralisation effective du pouvoir de l'Etat.
- d'autre part l'incapacité des communes de répondre aux besoins à satisfaire à cause de leurs dimensions réduites, de leurs moyens insuffisants et de leur manque de coordination entre elles.

b. Le premier cas d'application:

l'Agglomération de Bruxelles et les fédérations périphériques.

A l'heure actuelle, seule l'Agglomération de Bruxelles a été créée ainsi que cinq fédérations néerlandophones. Celles-ci ont respectivement comme centre les communes de Hal, Asse, Vilvorde, Zaventem et Tervuren.

Six communes appartenant à l'une ou l'autre de ces 5 fédérations ont un régime particulier. Elles sont dites "à facilités linguistiques" parce que les habitants francophones jouissent de certaines facilités dans leurs relations avec l'administration communale néerlandophone.

3. Situation territoriale de Bruxelles par rapport à la Belgique et le problème linguistique

Un des problèmes spécifiques à Bruxelles réside dans le fait que, situés aux confins de deux régions linguistiques, Bruxelles, dans le contexte national, est une capitale bilingue mais entourée de territoire flamand.

Or la majorité des Bruxellois (+/- 85%) sont des citoyens d'expression francophone.

La reconquête linguistique de la capitale est devenue pour les nationalistes flamands un sujet de revendication important.

D'autre part, s'appuyant sur le principe du "droit du sol", ils agissent pour mettre un frein à toute extension de la "tache d'huile bruxelloise".

En conséquence, sous la pression des néerlandophones majoritaires sur le plan national, les limites de l'agglomération ont été fixées arbitrairement à 19 communes (1.070.000 habitants sur 160 km²).

Or, économiquement, géographiquement et urbanistiquement, la région naturelle de Bruxelles déborde largement les 19 communes.

De nombreuses études scientifiques l'ont démontré, telles que par

exemple une étude de B. Jouret, intitulée "Définition spatiale du phénomène urbain bruxellois", Edition de l'Université de Bruxelles, et un travail publié par le CRISP et réalisé par un chercheur de l'Université de Gand, M. Van Hecke.

B. Jouret dans son étude a, en effet, donné une définition spatiale de l'agglomération bruxelloise. Se basant sur une série de critères démographiques, socioprofessionnels et morphologiques, il considère l'agglomération bruxelloise comme une entité géographiques de 61 communes (les 19 communes et 42 communes périphériques).

II. STRUCTURE DE L'AGGLOMERATION DE BRUXELLES

1. Création

Jusqu'en 1971, Bruxelles était composée d'un ensemble de communes indépendantes les unes des autres. Le manque de coordination était préjudiciable au bon fonctionnement de la cité, En effet, certaines tâches communes à l'ensemble des communes peuvent être effectuées plus efficacement par un service unique.

Il est ainsi souhaitable de décharger les communes de certaines tâches d'intérêt plus général telles que l'aménagement du territoire, la lutte contre l'incendie, le traitement et l'enlèvement des immondices

Mais ce projet d'unification des communes date de plusieurs années; en effet, dès 1873, il y eut un premier projet (VANMEENEN) de créer une province de Bruxelles, mais il fut rejeté.

En 1937, un rapport du Baron Holvoet montre que les limites séparatives des communes des agglomérations suivent des lignes fantaisistes. Il montre combien ces agglomérations qui se développent graduellement suivant des lois économiques et démographiques seraient mieux gérées sous un régime qui en ferait un corps unique et vivant.

Sous l'occupation allemande (1940-1945), de grandes agglomérations furent créées par voie d'autorité, non conforme aux principes démocratiques.

Ensuite, il y eut encore plusieurs autres projets d'unification des communes, mais ils n'eurent pas de suite.

Cependant, en 1968, le Gouvernement se penche sérieusement sur le problème et s'engage à créer des agglomérations.

Finalement, pour Bruxelles, une institution nouvelle "L'agglomération" est créée par la loi du 26 juillet 1971, conformément aux articles 108 bis et 108 ter de la nouvelle Constitution.

Il faut remarquer cependant que depuis la fin du siècle dernier, les Bourgmestres de Bruxelles-Ville et des communes environnantes avaient mis sur pied la "Conférence des Bourgmestres". Celle-ci se réunissait lorsque des questions d'intérêt commun se posaient. Elle ne dispose d'aucun pouvoir coercitif. Chaque bourgmestre reste libre d'agir à sa guise. Elle essaie toutefois de traiter certains problèmes d'intérêt commun qui ne sont pas de la compétence du Conseil d'Agglomération.

D'autre part, une commission de contact officieuse a été créée en octobre 1972 entre le Conseil d'Agglomération et la Conférence des Bourgmestres. Elle a notamment pour objet de préparer des accords entre l'Agglomération et chacune des communes en ce qui concerne le transfert des compétences de Communes à Agglomération.

2. Les attributions de l'Agglomération

Les attributions comprennent:

- a) la coordination de certaines activités communales;
- b) des tâches relevant précédemment des communes et transférées à l'Agglomération;
 - aménagement du territoire (voir détail p.19)
 - l'élaboration et l'adoption des plans généraux d'aménagement
 - l'avis sur les plans de secteur
 - l'avis sur les plans particuliers d'aménagement
 - la réglementation de la bâtisse et du lotissement
 - l'expansion économique
 - environnement
 - défense et protection de l'environnement, notamment les espaces verts et les sites

- services

l'enlèvement et le traitement des immondices

le démergement

le transport rémunéré de personnes

la lutte contre l'incendie

l'aide médicale urgente

c) des tâches pouvant être transférées pour toutes les communes avec l'accord de la moitié d'entre elles représentant deux tiers de la population de l'agglomération.

Par ce transfert, les 19 communes renoncent à toute intervention ultérieure dans les domaines. Ces transferts peuvent se faire dans les domaines suivants:

- la voirie (y compris la police de la circulation et les plans d'alignement)
- les aéroports
- les services publics
- les abattoirs
- les marchés importants
- le tourisme
- le camping
- les fours crématoires
- l'aide technique aux communes

d) des tâches pouvant, en outre, faire l'objet de transferts de compétence, soit de la part d'une ou plusieurs communes de l'agglomération, soit de la part des provinces ou de l'Etat (décentralisation).

Remarque: à ce jour ni l'Etat ni les communes n'ont cédé d'autres compétences à l'Agglomération que celles reprises au b)

e) en outre, dans toutes ces matières, l'Agglomération dispose d'un pouvoir de recommandation auprès des communes. Celles-ci sont tenues d'y répondre.

3. Financement et tutelle

L'article 113 de la constitution reconnaît un pouvoir fiscal propre à l'Agglomération.

L'Agglomération peut lever des taxes et des centimes additionnels.

Elle peut également conclure des emprunts, exiger des contributions

des communes après approbation royale, ou des redevances.

La tutelle administrative sur l'Agglomération est exercée par le roi. Cette tutelle est de même étendue que celle qui concerne les communes, c'est-à-dire que pour l'agglomération et les 19 communes qui la composent la Province du Brabant a perdu toutes ses compétences tutélaires.

4. Les organes de l'Agglomération

a) Le Conseil

Celui-ci règle tout ce qui est de la compétence de l'entité. Il est composé de 83 membres élus tous les six ans par les électeurs des 19 communes. Les 83 conseillers sont répartis en un groupe linguistique français et un groupe linguistique néerlandais.

b) Le Président

Celui-ci est élu par les conseillers à la majorité absolue. Son élection est ratifiée par le roi.

Il préside le Conseil et le Collège d'Agglomération.

c) Le Collège

Celui-ci est l'organe exécutif.

Il est composé de 13 membres (6 néerlandophones, 6 francophones + le président,) choisis au sein du Conseil, proportionnellement aux forces politiques en présence, pour une durée de six ans.

Il est à remarquer qu'il s'agit du seul organe exécutif d'une autorité publique belge où l'opposition est légalement et obligatoirement représentée.

Les membres du Collège peuvent se voir confier des attributions spécialisées, mais les décisions sont prises collégalement à la majorité.

Au Collège doit prévaloir la parité linguistique, le Président étant hors compte.

d) Le système de "sonnette d'alarme"

Si trois quarts des conseillers d'un groupe linguistique introduisent une "motion motivée" déclarant que telle disposition de projet ou proposition de règlement ou d'arrêté est de nature à porter gravement atteinte aux relations entre les 2 communautés linguistiques, la procédure doit être suspendue.

Le Collège doit alors répondre à la motion et introduire d'éventuels amendements dans un délai de trente jours.

Le Conseil vote ensuite sur les amendements et sur l'ensemble, mais le roi garde son pouvoir de tutelle administrative à l'égard de la décision finale, sur proposition du Conseil des Ministres. La procédure ne peut être utilisée qu'une fois sur le même projet de proposition.

5. Les commissions de la Culture pour l'Agglomération de Bruxelles

L'article 108 ter crée également pour l'Agglomération de Bruxelles une commission française de la culture, une commission néerlandaise de la culture, composée chacune de onze membres, et la commission réunie formée de la jonction des deux précédentes. Les membres des deux commissions sont désignés respectivement par chaque groupe linguistique du Conseil d'Agglomération. Chaque commission est sous la tutelle du Ministre de l'Education nationale et de la Culture de son rôle linguistique; elle peut prendre des règlements et arrêtés soumis à l'approbation du roi, et qui ne peuvent être contraires aux lois, décrets, arrêtés généraux ou provinciaux.

Les commissions sont financées par une dotation inscrite aux budgets des Conseils culturels. La commission réunie peut, moyennant approbation royale, contraindre les communes à leur consentir une contribution.

III. LES OUTILS DE PLANIFICATION

A. Le CMCES et le Bureau du Plan

1. Le CMCES

C'est le Comité Ministériel de Coordination Economique et Sociale (CMCES) qui arrête les bases techniques de la politique économique, financière et sociale du gouvernement et en coordonne l'exécution. En effet, la loi du 15 juillet 1970 portant sur la planification et la décentralisation économique et la loi du 31 décembre 1970 organisant l'expansion économique ont fourni au pouvoir exécutif les outils nécessaires pour prévoir un certain nombre d'évolutions dans les domaines démographique, économique et social, pour fixer les objectifs raisonnables en fonction d'un projet politique sur l'évolution économique et sociale du pays et enfin pour déterminer

les moyens que l'on utilisera pour parvenir à ces objectifs. Les "outils" sont essentiellement les Conseils Economiques Régionaux, le Bureau du Plan et l'Office de Promotion Industrielle institutions nouvelles créées en 1971.

Les organismes existants tels que les associations intercommunales (1922), les sociétés d'investissements (1962), le comité national d'expansion économique (1960), le CMCES sont également intégrés et contribuent à l'organisation de l'économie belge par la planification.

2. Le Bureau du Plan

Le Bureau du Plan joue un rôle essentiel dans l'élaboration de la planification. Il dépend du Premier Ministre et du Ministre des Affaires Economiques.

Les directions générale et sectorielle de ce Bureau dressent un inventaire des principaux choix qui sont ensuite confrontés avec les options régionales en collaboration avec les Conseils Economiques Régionaux.

Le Bureau du Plan adresse ensuite un projet au gouvernement qui transmet ce document aux Chambres, avec indication de ses propositions. Des avis y sont annexés. Les Chambres se prononcent alors sur les options à prendre en considération et le Plan devient impératif pour les pouvoirs publics dès son approbation.

B. L'Aménagement du territoire

a) en Belgique

Pendant des années, il y a eu en Belgique un grand "laisser-aller", "laisser-faire" en matière d'urbanisme.

Ce n'est qu'en 1948 que les autorités prirent conscience des problèmes d'aménagement. En effet, la reconstruction des quartiers ravagés par la dernière guerre posait alors des problèmes et obligeait les autorités communales et autres à voir plus loin que leur simple relèvement.

A la libération fut ainsi instituée une administration de l'urbanisme rattachée au Ministère des Travaux publics, de même qu'un Conseil supérieur de l'urbanisme (remplacé aujourd'hui par la Commission nationale de l'Aménagement du Territoire). Celui-ci mit sur pied une commission baptisée "Plan national" qui, après quelques mois

d'études, proposa de rassembler les données générales concernant le pays tout entier, sous la forme de cartes, de cartogrammes et de diagrammes. Cette idée donna lieu en 1948 au Service du Survey National.

Cependant, il n'y avait ni schéma directeur d'urbanisme, ni véritable pouvoir de coordination et de planification urbaine. Ce n'est qu'en 1962 que l'Etat manifesta son intention de planifier et promulgua une première loi organique d'aménagement du territoire et d'urbanisme. Cette loi fut complétée par deux autres lois (22.4.70 et 22.12.70).

Elle prévoit quatre types de plans et deux pouvoirs pour les concevoir et les mettre en oeuvre:

- les plans régionaux et de secteur qui relèvent de l'Etat
- les plans généraux d'aménagement et les plans particuliers d'aménagement qui relèvent des communes.

Dès que ces plans sont établis, ils sont soumis pour examen et consultation aux différents départements ministériels ainsi qu'aux représentants des intérêts économiques.

Au niveau communal, la consultation suit une procédure précise, incluant plusieurs réunions avec les auteurs de l'avant-projet, l'Administration et le Conseil communal; les plans sont ensuite "mis en enquête publique", c'est-à-dire que tous les habitants du secteur concerné ont le droit de connaître ces plans et de donner leur avis.

1. Les plans régionaux

Les régions qui doivent faire l'objet de plans régionaux sont désignées par le roi.

Dans chacune des régions ainsi désignées, le roi institue une Commission Consultative.

Le plan régional comporte:

- l'indication de la situation existante
- les mesures générales d'aménagement requises par les besoins économiques et sociaux de la région.

Le plan peut également comporter:

- des mesures générales d'aménagement du réseau des principales voies de communication.

- des prescriptions générales d'ordre esthétique
- l'indication des limites approximatives des secteurs.

2. Les plans de secteur

C'est le roi qui désigne les secteurs qui doivent faire l'objet de plans d'aménagement.

48 plans de secteur sont prévus pour la Belgique, c'est-à-dire un plan de secteur par arrondissement.

Le plan de secteur comporte:

- l'indication de la situation existante
- les mesures d'aménagement requises par les besoins économiques et sociaux du secteur.
- les mesures d'aménagement du réseau des principales voies de communication.

Il peut comporter également:

- des prescriptions générales d'ordre esthétique
- tout ou partie des matières que comporte un plan général communal.

Le plan de secteur s'inspire, en les complétant, des indications et stipulations du plan régional lorsqu'il en existe un. Il peut au besoin y déroger.

3. Les plans généraux d'aménagement

Les plans généraux d'aménagement relèvent des communes; ils définissent l'aménagement au niveau de l'îlot. Ils s'appliquent au territoire d'une ou plusieurs communes.

Le plan général d'aménagement indique:

- la situation existante
- l'affectation de diverses zones du territoire à l'habitation, à l'industrie, à l'agriculture ou à tout autre usage.
- le tracé des principales modifications à apporter au réseau existant des voies de communications.

Il peut indiquer en outre:

- des prescriptions générales d'ordre esthétique,
- les emplacements prévus pour les espaces verts, réserves boisées, plaines de sport et cimetières ainsi que pour les bâtiments publics et les monuments,

- des règles générales relatives à l'implantation et au volume des constructions à ériger.

4. Les plans particuliers d'aménagement

Les plans particuliers d'aménagement relèvent des communes; ils définissent l'aménagement au niveau de la parcelle.

Le plan particulier d'aménagement indique pour la partie du territoire communal qu'il détermine

- la situation existante,
- l'affectation de diverses zones du territoire à l'habitation, à l'industrie, à l'agriculture ou à tout autre usage,
- le tracé de toutes modifications à apporter au réseau existant des voies de communications,
- les prescriptions relatives à l'implantation, au volume et à l'esthétique des constructions et clôtures ainsi que celles relatives aux cours et jardins.

Il peut indiquer en outre:

- les prescriptions relatives à l'établissement et à l'équipement de la voirie, aux zones de recul et aux plantations,
- les emplacements prévus pour les espaces verts, réserves boisées, plaines de sport et cimetières ainsi que pour les bâtiments publics et les monuments.

5. Les permis de bâtir

Toute construction ou démolition de bâtiments nécessite un permis préalable du collège des Bourgmestre et Echevins.

Le Conseil Communal peut édicter des règlements sur les bâtisses; les permis de bâtir sont soumis aux prescriptions de ces règlements.

Si pour le territoire où se trouve situé le bien, il n'existe pas de plan particulier d'aménagement, le permis est délivré selon l'avis conforme du fonctionnaire délégué de l'Administration de l'urbanisme et de l'aménagement du territoire.

S'il existe un plan particulier d'aménagement pour le territoire où se trouve situé le bien, le fonctionnaire délégué vérifie si le permis est conforme au plan particulier ou au règlement général sur les bâtisses.

En cas de non conformité, il suspend le permis. La même disposition

vaut pour un permis de bâtir dans un lotissement autorisé.

6. Les permis de lotir

Toute vente ou toute location pour plus de 9 ans d'un lot faisant partie d'un lotissement destiné à la construction d'habitation doit faire l'objet d'un permis préalable du collège des Bourgmestres et Echevins. Les règles en matière de délivrance d'un permis de lotir sont les mêmes que celles qui régissent la délivrance d'un permis de bâtir.

7. Les règlements communaux sur les bâtisses

Le Conseil communal peut édicter des règlements sur la bâtisse. L'adoption ou la modification de ces règlements communaux est soumise à l'avis de la députation permanente et à l'approbation du Roi (Ministre des Travaux publics).

b) à Bruxelles

Le territoire de Bruxelles, limité aux dix-neuf communes est à la fois région, secteur et agglomération.

Pour Bruxelles, il n'est pas envisagé de plan régional, mais l'élaboration d'un plan de secteur, de plans généraux d'aménagement et de plans particuliers d'aménagement est prévue.

1. Le plan de secteur

Un avant-projet de plan de secteur a été présenté par le Ministre des Affaires bruxelloises en mars 1975. Il a été soumis à enquête publique et diverses institutions, telles que le Conseil d'Agglomération, la société de développement régional, les dix-neuf communes, les comités de quartier et le public, ont été invitées à donner un avis sur cet avant-projet. En tenant compte de ces différents avis, le plan de secteur définitif sera élaboré et publié dans quelques mois.

2. Les plans généraux d'aménagement

Leurs élaboration a été confiée à l'Agglomération de Bruxelles. Celle-ci en est à la phase préparatoire. Le relevé de la situation existante est terminé.

Face à l'évolution défavorable de la démographie bruxelloise et la dépopulation accélérée de la région, des mesures conservatoires

ont été rattachées à ce plan de la situation existante déjà élaboré.

Les prescriptions conservatoires étant destinées à éviter la prolifération des bureaux au centre de la ville, à assurer la protection réelle de l'habitat, de l'emploi secondaire et des espaces verts en attendant l'approbation du plan de secteur.

3. Les plans particuliers d'aménagement

Les plans particuliers d'aménagement, outils d'aménagement au niveau de la parcelle, fixent l'affectation et l'usage possible du sol. La commune les élabore en tenant compte des indications générales données par le plan de secteur et les plans généraux d'aménagement.

L'Agglomération émet un avis sur ces plans entre leur adoption communale provisoire et définitive.

4. Le règlement sur la bâtisse

Un autre élément permettant d'acquérir un certain contrôle du phénomène urbanistique et permettant de lutter contre un urbanisme anarchique est l'élaboration d'un règlement général sur la bâtisse afin d'assurer l'unification des règlements des 19 communes.

Le règlement est en cours d'élaboration par l'Agglomération de Bruxelles. Des titres ont été adoptés par le pouvoir de tutelle. Ce règlement concerne principalement les demandes de permis et les autorisations de bâtir.

Il énumère les actes et travaux pour lesquels le permis est imposé et réglemente la destination des locaux et la portée du permis de bâtir.

La hauteur des bâtiments, la profondeur des constructions et leur implantation est également réglementée.

Ce règlement concerne également la hauteur sous plafond et l'éclairage des locaux d'habitation ou de séjour.

Afin de lutter contre la spéculation immobilière, le règlement prévoit des mesures spéciales lorsque des logements sont volontairement abandonnés. Dans de tels cas, le propriétaire est tenu à remettre les lieux en état locatif. Afin d'encourager les initiatives de réhabilitation des logements anciens, le règle-

ment prévoit l'octroi de prêts pour la réalisation de ces travaux.

Un autre titre du règlement s'occupe de l'ouverture des tranchées dans la voie publique et des possibilités de regrouper les différents réseaux dans des galeries techniques.

IV. ASPECTS DE L'AGGLOMERATION DE BRUXELLES

A. Evolution socio-démographique

1. Généralités

Actuellement l'agglomération de Bruxelles compte environ un million d'habitants répartis sur un territoire de 16.219 hectares. Bruxelles regroupe donc 12% de la population totale de la Belgique sur un territoire qui représente 0,53% de la population totale de la Belgique de la superficie totale du royaume.

La densité moyenne de la population est de 66 habitants à l'hectare soit la plus forte densité observée dans les grosses agglomérations urbaines de la Belgique. Cette moyenne est le condensé de densités très variables d'une commune à l'autre: ainsi par exemple les communes de Saint-Gilles et Saint-Josse-ten-Noode ont des densités particulièrement élevés avec 218 et 208 habitants à l'hectare alors que Bruxelles n'atteint que 49 habitants à l'hectare (tableau a).

En 1972, on a enregistré pour l'ensemble des 19 communes, 14.365 décès pour 14.038 naissances, 111.191 sorties pour 105.797 entrées, on dénombrait au total 1.069.005 habitants (tableau b).

L'ensemble de la région flamande a attiré 19.282 bruxellois en 1969 et 18.665 en 1970 et la Wallonie 12.246 en 1969 et 13.416 en 1970.

2. Evolution démographique

La population des communes qui composent l'agglomération a pratiquement triplée en 100 ans. Grosso modo, toutes les communes ou l'Agglomération ont régulièrement accru leur population jusqu'en 1930 date à partir de laquelle on assiste à des évolutions différentes:

- la population des communes centrales les plus anciennes

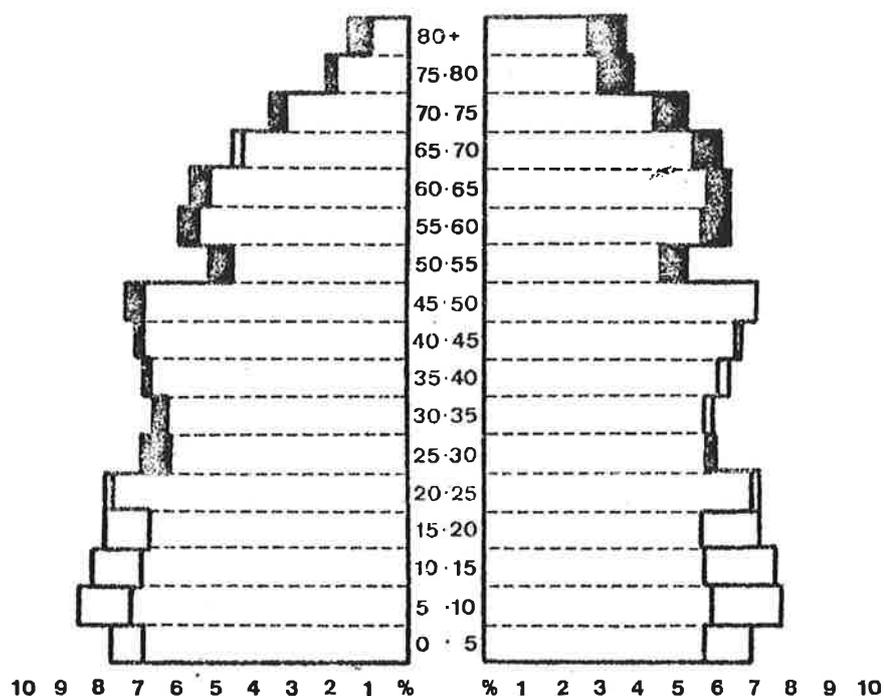
Communes	Superficie (ha) 1970	Chiffre de population					Densité à l'hectare			
		1930	1947	1961	1970	1973	1930	1947	1961	1970
Anderlecht	1.776	80.046	86.412	94.677	103.796	102.466	45	49	53	58
Auderghem	903	14.090	18.640	27.600	34.546	34.134	16	21	31	38
Berchem-Sainte-Agathe . .	295	7.359	11.180	15.867	19.087	18.852	25	38	54	65
Bruxelles	3.292	200.433	184.838	170.489	161.080	153.405	61	56	52	49
Etterbeek	316	45.328	50.040	52.837	51.030	49.476	144	159	167	162
Evere	510	10.016	15.277	22.460	26.957	29.248	20	30	44	53
Forest	664	39.594	47.370	51.503	55.135	54.448	63	76	83	88
Gansboren	241	5.527	9.092	15.346	21.147	22.742	23	38	63	86
Ixelles	634	83.912	90.711	94.211	86.450	82.930	133	143	149	136
Jette	509	22.226	29.484	34.927	40.013	41.694	44	58	69	79
Koekelberg	117	13.906	15.103	16.442	17.570	17.165	119	129	140	150
Molenbeek-Saint-Jean . .	589	64.775	63.922	63.528	68.411	70.844	110	109	108	116
Saint-Gilles	252	64.116	61.396	55.101	55.055	53.681	256	245	218	218
Saint-Josse-ten-Noode . .	113	30.917	28.155	24.463	23.633	23.185	273	248	216	208
Schaerbeek	815	118.722	123.671	117.180	118.950	116.038	146	152	144	146
Uccle	2.291	43.322	56.156	71.725	78.909	79.066	19	25	31	34
Watermael-Boitsfort . . .	1.293	16.138	19.683	23.488	25.123	25.554	12	15	18	19
Woluwe-Saint-Lambert . . .	724	18.244	26.344	38.202	47.360	47.258	25	36	53	65
Woluwe-Saint-Pierre . . .	885	13.512	18.455	32.749	40.884	41.088	15	21	37	46
Bruxelles-Capitale	16.219	892.183	955.929	1.022.795	1.075.136	1.063.274				66

TABLEAU □

Tableau b
Population des communes de l'agglomération bruxelloise (31 décembre 1972)

Communes et arrondissements	Entrées				Sorties				Population au 31 décembre 1972		
	Naissances		Immigrations		Décès		Émigrations		Hommes	Femmes	Total
	Hommes	Femmes	Hommes	Femmes	Hommes	Femmes	Hommes	Femmes			
ARRONDISSEMENTS DE BRUXELLES-CAPITALE											
Anderlecht	736	732	3 963	3 695	698	621	4 124	3 884	49 521	53 990	103 511
Auderghem	225	200	1 159	1 293	168	183	1 410	1 524	16 143	18 079	34 222
Berchem-Ste-Agathe	109	117	800	895	176	177	826	888	8 822	10 140	18 962
Bruxelles	923	914	9 451	8 100	1 213	1 132	10 283	9 381	74 080	81 487	155 567
Etterbeek	330	337	2 650	2 480	367	357	2 955	2 712	22 951	27 403	50 354
Evere	180	185	1 294	1 272	165	136	1 031	994	13 506	15 037	28 543
Forest-Vorst	392	354	2 537	2 482	348	390	2 729	2 736	25 121	29 461	54 582
Ganshoren	162	136	1 119	1 219	127	138	982	1 012	10 213	12 084	22 297
Ixelles-Elsene	556	495	5 272	4 974	570	725	5 907	5 472	38 306	46 122	84 428
Jette	255	237	1 994	2 203	275	295	1 660	1 743	19 151	22 393	41 544
Koekelberg	124	100	1 065	1 065	114	116	1 059	1 180	7 995	9 314	17 309
Molenbeek-St-Jean	571	481	3 839	3 641	498	462	3 489	3 328	33 434	36 720	70 154
St-Gilles	385	379	3 737	3 216	371	421	4 070	3 500	25 690	28 580	54 270
St-Josse-ten-Noode	186	182	1 800	1 523	160	164	1 915	1 626	11 024	12 275	23 299
Schaerbeek	950	906	5 318	5 220	812	890	6 091	5 906	54 880	62 385	117 265
Uccle	413	411	3 355	3 729	448	437	3 449	3 789	36 455	42 555	79 010
Watermael-Boitsfort	152	151	1 019	1 006	165	144	964	981	11 831	13 390	25 221
Woluwe-St-Lambert	314	315	1 833	2 076	219	263	1 897	2 151	21 723	25 816	47 539
Woluwe-St-Pierre	220	223	1 633	1 870	204	216	1 640	1 903	19 051	21 877	40 928
TOTAL	7 183	6 855	53 838	51 959	7 098	7 267	56 481	54 710	499 897	569 108	1 069 005

PYRAMIDE DES AGES
COMPARAISON ROYAUME/AGGLOMERATION DE BRUXELLES



En traduisant, pour l'année 1970, les chiffres du tableau reproduit ci-avant, l'on obtient deux pyramides d'âges. Leur superposition permet d'évaluer les écarts par classe d'âge.

Les excédents de l'Agglomération par rapport aux chiffres du Royaume sont traduits par les espaces complètement obscurcis; quant aux déficits ils sont laissés en blanc.

TABLEAU C

TABLEAU d

POPULATION ETRANGERE A BRUXELLES-EVOLUTION 61-70-73

Part relative dans les populations communales et moyennes agglomérations.

Communes	1961	% par rapport popul. totale communale	1970	% par rapport popul. totale communale	1973	% par rapport popul. totale communale
Anderlecht	4.285	8,6	15.150	14,6	17.085	16,7
Auderghes	1.004	6,9	2.664	7,7	3.022	8,9
Berchem Ste Agathe	521	6,3	1.004	5,2	1.070	5,7
Bruxelles	14.040	15,5	32.561	20,2	33.696	22,-
Etterbeek	3.099	10,8	6.620	13,0	7.757	15,7
Evere	556	4,8	1.534	5,7	2.038	7,-
Forest	3.008	10,8	9.253	16,8	10.875	20,-
Ganshoren	565	6,9	1.347	6,4	1.726	7,6
Ixelles	9.366	17,7	16.221	18,8	18.033	21,8
Jette	1.219	6,4	2.444	6,1	2.812	7,-
Koekelberg	785	8,9	2.094	11,9	2.334	13,6
Molenbeek	2.487	7,3	11.372	16,6	14.556	20,6
Saint-Gilles	6.362	20,9	15.434	33,5	20.906	38,9
Saint-Josse	2.510	18,7	6.518	27,6	7.562	32,6
Schaerbeek	7.971	12,5	23.569	19,8	27.994	24,1
Uccle	5.365	13,8	10.817	13,7	11.942	15,1
Watermael-Boitsfort	1.045	8,4	1.748	7,0	2.147	6,0
Woluwe Saint-Lambert	2.178	10,5	4.448	9,4	4.952	10,5
Woluwe Saint-Pierre	2.623	15,1	5.709	14,0	5.775	14,0
Arrondissement de Bruxelles-capitale	68.989	11 %	173.507	16 %	196.282	18 %

- (Bruxelles, Saint-Josse, Forest,) est en régression,
- d'autres communes telles que Molenbeek et Saint-Gilles ont connu une chute de population de 1920 à 1961. A partir de 1961 on assiste à une légère augmentation due à l'immigration d'étrangers,
 - des communes périphériques telles que Watermael-Boitsfort, Evere, Ganshoren connaissent un accroissement assez net de leur population.

On assiste donc à un dépeuplement des communes centrales de l'agglomération, dépeuplement dû notamment à des soldes naturels et migratoires négatifs, au développement des fonctions tertiaires au détriment de la fonction résidentielle et en général à la faiblesse de la reconversion urbaine. Par contre les communes périphériques connaissent un accroissement de la population.

Un double mouvement apparaît donc :

d'une part, un mouvement centrifuge d'expulsion et de colonisation de l'espace périphérique résultant notamment de l'extension propre de Bruxelles et du développement des zones tertiaires du centre,

d'autre part, un mouvement centripète qui correspond à un intense phénomène d'attraction lié à l'impact socio-économique de Bruxelles.

Un autre problème qui mérite d'être souligné est celui de la structure vieillie de la population bruxelloise comme l'illustre la pyramide des âges (tableau c).

On remarque en effet que la moyenne de population pour l'agglomération est inférieure à la moyenne du pays pour les classes d'âges de 0 à 25 ans.

Pour les classes d'âge de 25 à 80 ans, on constate un excédent de l'agglomération par rapport aux chiffres du royaume.

Cette situation pose un problème de dynamisme social qui se manifeste par un conformisme plus grand, par une augmentation relative des charges de soins de santé par habitant, par une plus faible stimulation du développement d'équipement et d'activités attrayantes pour les populations jeunes

Cependant un certain vieillissement de la population, le bilan

naturel de population (solde naturel naissance-décès) est plus ou moins équilibré, ceci est dû au fait que la natalité au sein de la population étrangère est plus forte.

3. Population étrangère

L'apport de population étrangère s'est surtout effectuée durant les quinze dernière années. Elle est passée de 68.989 en 1961 à 196.282 en 1973 (tableau d) et représente 18% de la population totale. Cette population étrangère est à nette prédominance masculine. Au point de vue nationalité l'on remarque qu'en dehors des ressortissants des pays limitrophes, ce sont essentiellement les pays méditerranéens qui sont représentés suivis par l'Afrique du Nord, notamment le Maroc.

Le nombre d'étrangers fixés dans les communes accuse les plus fortes concentrations dans les communes de Saint-Gilles, Saint-Josse-ten-Noode, Schaerbeek, Ixelles et Molenbeek (tableau d). Cet afflux d'étrangers de nationalités diverses pose quelques problèmes. Pour eux d'abord, celui de la stabilité et de la protection de l'emploi, du droit au logement, de l'accueil dans la collectivité.

Pour les Belges ensuite, dans la mesure où cela modifie le marché de l'emploi, le paysage social des écoles, la représentativité réelle des mandataires belges au niveau communal, ou le climat social de certains quartiers résidentiels. Il faut en tout état de cause distinguer quatre types de population étrangère résidente selon la raison d'être de leur présence à Bruxelles.

- 1) la première, la plus nombreuse ($\pm 70\%$), est demandeur d'emploi et provient de pays plus pauvres exportateurs de main-d'oeuvre, (Italie, Espagne, Turquie, Maroc,),
- 2) la seconde, ($\pm 10\%$) qui gonfle rapidement depuis 1965, est liée aux contingents de représentation des différents pays du marché commun dans les organes exécutifs de la communauté européenne,
- 3) la troisième est composée des agents diplomatiques accrédités en Belgique ($\pm 2\%$),
- 4) la quatrième est composée d'employés et de cadres étrangers

des entreprises étrangères installées à Bruxelles (+ 18%). Sans que l'on puisse toujours faire le décompte exact de leur importance relative, il faut se rendre compte de la grande diversité des comportements d'intégration et des aspirations de ces différentes catégories d'étrangers résidant à Bruxelles. De toute façon, lorsqu'une telle minorité devient à ce point importante, ce n'est plus une minorité.

B. Evolution économique

1. Structure de l'emploi

Si à l'origine, Bruxelles n'était guère une ville plus importante que ses proches voisines Louvain, Malines, la situation devint différente lorsqu'elle fut choisie comme capitale de l'Etat belge. Au développement de la fonction administrative se joignit un essor industriel et commercial qui en fit le centre économique du pays.

Actuellement, Bruxelles avec environ 12% de la population de la Belgique est encore avec 20% de l'emploi, le pôle économique le plus important du pays.

Comme l'illustre le tableau 1, Bruxelles compte environ 33.000 entreprises qui occupent 606.000 travailleurs.

Le tableau 2 montre la structure de l'emploi dans l'agglomération bruxelloise en 1972.

On peut remarquer que le secteur tertiaire domine nettement. En effet, plus de 70% d'emplois se trouvent dans le tertiaire.

Ceci ne résulte pas seulement du nombre et de l'importance des entreprises exerçant leur activité dans le secteur mais aussi du poids de l'administration centrale (appareil de l'Etat et parastataux), ainsi que l'implantation à Bruxelles des institutions européennes et des sièges de nombreuses firmes multinationales. Ainsi, par exemple, la CEE occupe environ 7.850 personnes et 583 sociétés internationales ont installé leur siège à Bruxelles.

L'expansion du secteur tertiaire a entraîné une augmentation du nombre d'employés alors que le nombre d'ouvriers et le secteur secondaire a stagné, voire est en train de décroître.

Tableau I

D'après les derniers relevés, Bruxelles-Capitale comptait au deuxième trimestre 1973 un total de 33.032 entreprises occupant des travailleurs assujettis à l'O.N.S.S.

Ces entreprises occupaient 606.351 travailleurs
 (387.527 hommes et 218.824 femmes)
 dont 209.102 travailleurs et manuels
 (144.268 hommes et 64.834 femmes)
 et 397.249 travailleurs intellectuels
 (243.259 hommes et 153.990 femmes)

Dimension des entreprises

En ce qui concerne leurs dimensions, ces entreprises se répartissaient comme suit:

	Nombre d'entreprises	travailleurs occupés
Moins de 5 travailleurs	21.822	36.213
De 5 à 9 travailleurs	4.331	28.676
De 10 à 19 travailleurs	2.869	39.069
De 20 à 49 travailleurs	2.235	68.957
De 50 à 99 travailleurs	851	58.649
De 100 à 199 travailleurs	461	64.846
De 200 à 499 travailleurs	307	93.064
De 500 à 999 travailleurs	94	64.945
1000 travailleurs et plus	62	151.932
Total	33.032	606.351
	=====	=====

Les entreprises industrielles

Un gros tiers des travailleurs occupés dans l'agglomération bruxelloise travaillent dans les 7.700 entreprises exerçant leurs activités dans l'industrie, le bâtiment et les transports. Ces entreprises occupent environ 204.000 travailleurs dont 120.000 ouvriers et 84.000 employés.

Tableau 2

Structure de l'emploi dans l'agglomération bruxelloise (1972) ¹⁾

Secteur	Travailleurs manuels et intellectuels	
	en unités	en %
Secteur primaire	465	0,1
Secteur secondaire	182.155	30,2
industrie manufacturière	141.393	23,4
construction	40.762	6,8
Secteur tertiaire	421.283	69,7
transports	15.241	2,5
commerce	90.933	15,0
entreprises de crédit	52.564	8,7
agences diverses	32.005	5,3
hôtels, soins personnels	35.464	5,9
services publics et d'intérêt général	195.076	32,3
	603.903	100,0

¹⁾ Source: Office Nationale de la Sécurité Sociale (ONSS), Rapport annuel pour 1972.

Extrait de Bruxelles, centre de négociation, CRISP et Agglomération de Bruxelles, p.7, tableau no. 1.

Le type d'expansion a abouti à une structure de l'emploi différente dans la région bruxelloise par rapport à la moyenne du pays. La région bruxelloise compte 55% d'employés et 45% d'ouvriers. Le royaume compte 45% d'employés et 55% d'ouvriers. Le secteur industriel est toujours solide mais proportionnellement en nette diminution face au développement énorme des activités tertiaires.

Les régressions se sont manifestées dans plusieurs activités traditionnelles comme l'alimentation, certaines fabrications métalliques et chimiques et l'imprimerie.

Fort peu d'entreprises se sont établies dans l'agglomération bruxelloise et les investissements ont été nettement inférieurs à ceux effectués dans les autres régions du pays.

En effet durant les cinq dernières années (1969 - 1974) ils représentent seulement 2,5% des investissements effectués en Belgique. Il faut également noter que la limite de la capitale à 19 communes, rend l'implantation de nouvelles industries problématiques. Elle ne compte plus en effet que quelques zones à vocation industrielle (Neerpede à Anderlecht, l'ancien domaine militaire d'Evers et Haren à Bruxelles-ville).

La comparaison avec les deux autres régions témoigne du retard relatif de la production industrielle bruxelloise (tableau 3).

Tableau 3 - La production industrielle à Bruxelles (100 en 1964)

Années	Sans la construction			Avec la construction		
	Flandre	Wallonie	Bruxelles	Flandre	Wallonie	Bruxelles
1970	140	114,5	111,4	136,9	115,9	114,1
1971	146	115,7	112	141,9	116,7	114,4
1972	160	119,9	113,8	152,4	120,6	113,6
1973 (1 ^o)				162,5	123,8	114,4

Source: chiffres de l'Union des Entreprises de Bruxelles sauf (1), à partir des chiffres de l'I.N.S.

Cela se traduit par la fermeture de plusieurs entreprises ou par des réductions de personnel. Au cours des dix dernières années, quelque 300 entreprises ont fermé leurs portes dans la région

bruxelloise entraînant la perte de 18.000 emplois; l'aggravation de la situation a accéléré le mouvement. En 1974, 644 des 1881 faillites enregistrées en Belgique l'ont été dans l'agglomération bruxelloise.

2. Les migrations alternantes

Une autre caractéristique de la région bruxelloise est le fait que près de 250.000 personnes qui y travaillent habitent en dehors de l'agglomération tandis que 32.000 habitants font la navette dans l'autre sans et vont travailler hors de l'agglomération.

Tableau 4 - Evolution de la migration alternante vers Bruxelles de 1896 à 1970					
Année	Nombre de naveteurs vers Bruxelles	dont Flandre	dont Wallonie	Nombre de communes représentées	Total des communes de Belgique
1896	11.000	69 %	31 %	372	2.996
1910	27.000	80 %	20 %	962	2.629
1930	69.000				
1947	114.000	79 %	21 %	2.251	2.670
1961	190.000	78 %	22 %	2.224	2.663
1970	246.000	71 %	29 %	2.309	2.379

Source: I.N.S. Bulletin de statistiques 1974, No 3, p. 236

Les migrants alternants entrants bruxellois représentent 38% de l'ensemble des personnes travaillant à Bruxelles-Capitale, une personne sur douze fait régulièrement la navette vers Bruxelles. Les migrants viennent de 2.309 communes, soit 97% des communes du pays. 71% viennent de la région flamande et 29% de la région wallonne.

Sur 100 migrants alternants, 71 recourent aux transports publics et 27 utilisent leur voiture. Ce sont les arrondissements périphériques qui fournissent la majorité de ces actifs, l'arrondissement de Hal-Vilvorde fournit par exemple un tiers de la totalité des migrants.

Cette réalité témoigne de profondes modifications dans le genre

de vie des populations périphériques qui deviennent de moins en moins rurales et de plus en plus orientées vers le pôle de développement qu'est le centre bruxellois.

C. Caractères généraux du logement dans l'Agglomération de Bruxelles

1. Salubrité

La région de Bruxelles jouit, en ce qui concerne la salubrité des logements (1) d'une situation favorable par rapport à l'ensemble du pays: 47,01% des logements sont salubres, alors que la moyenne pour le pays ne dépasse pas 43,91%. On relève par ailleurs que 20% des logements sont insalubres améliorables - contre 25% dans l'ensemble - et près de 25% fonctionnellement inadaptés, contre 17% en Belgique. Cette position relativement avancée n'obscurcit toutefois pas le fait que moins de la moitié des habitations sont conformes aux critères de salubrité et que, au total, 45% des logements existants à Bruxelles doivent subir des transformations sensibles pour pouvoir répondre aux normes que nos modes de vie imposent actuellement aux habitations.

2. Equipement

<u>Logements à Bruxelles</u>	1961	1968
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
raccordés à une canalisation publique d'eau	98,2	99,6
raccordés à une canalisation d'égouts	97,2	99,1
disposent de lieux d'aisance privés dans le logement, avec chasse d'eau	78,1	90,6
avec salle de bain privée ou douche	38,8	56,6
avec chauffage central	30,3	44,8

L'allure générale du parc résidentiel de Bruxelles marque une évolution positive en rapport à l'équipement.

L'effort doit être poursuivi pour atteindre des conditions minimales d'installation. En effet, si 99,6% des logements sont raccordés au réseau public de distribution d'eau, seulement une

(1) D'après une enquête réalisée en 1971-72 pour l'I.N.L., relative au parc des bâtiments résidentiels au 31 décembre 1968.

partie de ceux-ci (89,85%) ont une installation suffisante. Les habitants d'à peu près 10% des logements sont contraints pour s'alimenter en eau, de sortir de leur habitation; alors que pour le Royaume ce pourcentage s'élève à 6,2.

Pour être plus précis, cet aperçu général doit être accompagné d'une vue analytique des 19 communes qui composent l'agglomération et qui présentent des caractéristiques fort différentes.

Nous allons retenir trois critères de confort et de renouvellement des conditions d'habitat.

1. Logement avec eau courante, lieux d'aisance avec chasse d'eau, salle de bain ou douche et chauffage central.
2. Logement avec téléphone.
3. Logement construit en 1962 et après.

Ces critères et d'autres tels que le caractère résidentiel, le surpeuplement, l'âge de la bâtisse (1), permettent de ranger les 19 communes en 2 zones:

Zone A: St-Gilles, St-Josse, Bruxelles, Molenbeek, Ixelles, Schaerbeek, Etterbeek, Anderlecht, Forest, c'est-à-dire, les communes situées au centre de l'agglomération;

Zone B: Watermael-Boitsfort, Woluwé-St-Pierre, Woluwé-St-Lambert, Ganshoren, Berchem, Audergem, Uccle, Evere, à savoir les communes situées en bordure de l'agglomération.

Les communes de la zone A, sont d'ailleurs les mêmes qui accueillent les plus hauts pourcentages d'étrangers (2) et qui depuis 62, assistent à une diminution de la population belge seulement en partie compensée ou endiguée par l'arrivée des étrangers.

Ce phénomène de substitution de population dans l'habitat dégradé et dans les quartiers sous-équipés fait par exemple que 46% des étrangers habitent un logement insalubre contre 39% de l'ensemble de la population résidant en Belgique.

(1) A. Martens, S. Wolf, les travailleurs migrants et l'habitat urbain, Reading on migration, n^o Louvain.

(2) Allant d'un maximum de 38,95% à St-Gilles, en 1973, au taux plus faible pour cette zone qui est donné par Etterbeek avec 15,68%.

3. Les logements sociaux

En 1970, les logements sociaux de la S.N.L. à Bruxelles abritent 4,75% du nombre total des ménages. Déjà exigü, ce pourcentage se réduit vis à vis de la population étrangère: 2,4% des ménages logés par la S.N.L. sont étrangers. Le nombre d'habitations sociales pour familles nombreuses est particulièrement limité. D'autre part, pour des raisons qui tiennent aux filières de distribution de ces logements, on y souhaite davantage de belges que des immigrés. De 1921 à 1950, 13.634 logements sociaux ont été construits et ils n'ont pas été améliorés depuis lors par la construction, de 1948 à 1969, d'un peu plus de 15.000 logements sociaux pour toute l'agglomération.

4. Les sociétés agréées par la Société Nationale du Logement

Les sociétés agréées sont des sociétés qui sont créées dans un but d'intérêt social et ont pour objectif exclusif, l'achat, la construction, l'amélioration, la location et la vente d'habitations sociales, l'achat de terrains à aménager pour construire des habitations sociales, sont susceptibles d'être agréés aux termes de la loi du 11 octobre 1919.

Il existe 4 types de sociétés agréées en Belgique:

- Les sociétés locales ou régionales (anonymes ou coopératives)	280
- Les sociétés coopératives de locataires	21
- Les sociétés à caractère industriel	7
- Les sociétés à caractère social	4

Total au 31 décembre 1972

312

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a) Les sociétés locales ou régionales ordinaires

Elles sont constituées pour la plupart à l'initiative des communes, elles ont un caractère purement social d'ordre général. Les administrations publiques (Etat, Provinces, Communes, C.A.P. souscrivent la plus grande partie du capital et disposent toujours de la majorité dans les conseils d'administration et assemblées générales.

b) Les sociétés coopératives de locataires

Les pouvoirs publics souscrivent pour une moins grande part au

capital social. Celle-ci est constituée en majeure partie par les locataires qui se trouvent dans beaucoup de cas eux-mêmes copropriétaires.

Ces sociétés construisent des logements pour la location et a l'heure actuelle, aussi pour la vente. Les occupants de ces logements s'intéressent à la gestion du patrimoine, sa conservation et son embellissement.

c) Les sociétés à caractère industriel

Elles peuvent être anonymes ou coopératives.

L'actionnaire principal est généralement un charbonnage ou une grosse entreprise.

L'industriel s'est engagé, à la constitution de la société, d'intervenir pour 1/3 dans le coût de la construction des logements et a couvrir le déficit éventuel de la société.

Exemple: la S.C. des H.B.M. de Zonhoven à Zonhoven, dont le patrimoine a été repris par la S.C. "Kempisch Tehuis" à Houthalen.

d) Les sociétés à caractère social

Créées par des associations sociales dans le but de loger des personnes bien déterminées: infirmières, grands invalides, militaires, orphelins, etc....

e) Les sociétés agréées de l'Agglomération de Bruxelles

Les premières sociétés à s'être occupées de la construction de logements sociaux sont:

- le logement Molenbeekois,
- la société anonyme du Logement de l'Agglomération de Bruxelles,
- Le Foyer Schaerbeekois

qui virent le jour durant les années 1899-1900;

- sur les 38 sociétés:

- 17 furent fondées avant 1920,
- 10 furent fondées entre 1921 et 1930,
- 2 furent fondées entre 1930 et 1940,
- 9 furent fondées après 1940

- sur ces 38 sociétés:

- 29 ont leur siège social dans la commune où elles ont construit,
- 9 ont établi leur siège à Bruxelles.

f) Répartition des sociétés agréées dans l'Agglomération de Bruxelles suivant le type juridique

Les 38 sociétés agréées de l'Agglomération de Bruxelles sont réparties comme suit:

- 13 sociétés anonymes dont:
 - 12 ont une activité locale,
 - 1 a une activité régionale;
- 14 sociétés coopératives dont:
 - 10 ont une activité locale,
 - 4 ont une activité régionale;
- 11 sociétés cooperatives de locataires dont:
 - 5 ont une activité locale,
 - 6 ont une activité régionale.

5. Les Loyers

En 1973, la moyenne générale du montant des loyers était à Bruxelles de 2.505 Frs par mois, c'est-à-dire, plus élevée que dans les régions flamandes, 1.086 Frs, et wallonne 1.921 Frs. De 1962 à 1973, l'augmentation avait été de 6,5%, mais comme celle des prix de détail s'était élevée à 35,56%, ceci implique un retard reflétant le vieillissement des immeubles.

6. Prix du sol et construction

La croissance des prix du sol s'avère très forte. Ainsi, lorsqu'on compare l'évolution du prix du terrain à bâtir au cours des deux dernières décades (1948-50 et 1968-70 (1)), on constate, pour les quartiers directement périphériques au coeur de Bruxelles, une augmentation de près de 1.000%. En plus, l'industrie de la construction qui bâtit à but commercial, atteint un rendement de 10% environ, ce qui est nettement plus élevé que dans le marché du logement où il n'y a que 6,5% ou même 5,6%. Sous la contrainte de ces deux facteurs, l'Institut National du Logement cherche-t-il à faire abandonner la construction individualisée pour y substituer la construction groupée dans l'espoir d'aboutir à l'industrialisation du logement belge.

(1) Ch. Vandermotte, le marché du terrain à bâtir dans la région bruxelloise (1912-1968) Edition de l'Institut de Sociologie de l'Université de Bruxelles, Bruxelles 1971.

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Summary of the SUBSTANTIVE PAPER ON THE BRUSSELS AGGLOMERATION

- POLITICAL AUTHORITIES AT REGIONAL LEVEL IN BELGIUM

Before the Belgian Constitution was amended, which took place from 1967 till 1973, the Belgian political authorities were divided into three levels: State, provinces and municipalities.

Reforms due to the amended Constitution have led to a more complex situation. By now, Belgium has been divided into:

- 4 linguistic regions
- 3 socio-economical regions
- 3 cultural communities
- 3 cultural councils
- 5 conurbations and federations of municipalities.

- STATUTE OF THE GREATER BRUSSELS COUNCIL WITHIN THE REGIONAL AUTHORITIES

The Act of July 26th, 1971 has established five conurbations:

- a bilingual one: Brussels
- two Dutch-speaking ones: Ghent and Antwerp
- two French-speaking ones: Liège and Charleroi

By now, only one conurbation (viz. Greater Brussels) has been established. This novel authority, covering an area of 19 municipalities, is in charge of tasks which can't be provided for by the municipalities separately.

The main powers devoluted to the Greater Brussels Council are:

- town and country planning
- environment
- refuse removal and processing, public transport, fire brigade, first medical care.

Greater Brussels is endowed with its own taxation power, although supervised by the King via the Minister of Home Affairs (guardianship authorities).

- TOWARDS A WAY OF PLANNING

1. The Government Committee of Economic and Social Coordination and the Planning Office

This Committee has been settling the technical bases of the economical, financial and social Government policy and its executive coordination. Especially the new established authorities, such as the regional economic Councils, the Planning Office and the Industrial Promotion Office play a leading part in town planning. The Planning Office works out the outline policy drawn by the Government Committee.

This will lead to a "Plan", showing the following items:

- to provide for a number of demographic, economical and social evolutions,
- to set up a policy according to a political draft on the country's economical and social evolution,
- to determine the means to achieve this policy.

As soon as the Plan is achieved, it will be transmitted to the Government and onward to the Chambers. Deputies and senators then decide with regard to the optional measures. Hence, the Plan has got imperative power for the public authorities, as soon as it has been approved.

2. Town and Country Planning

The first Act of particular significance to Town and Country Planning was introduced in Belgium in 1962. It has since been consolidated by two more Acts in 1970. It provides in 4 planning types and two authorities to carry out:

- regional and sector planning under state authority,
- structure and local planning under municipal authority.

The former defines the measures to be taken at the level of the regions and the sectors.

Forty-eight sector planning schemes have been worked out for Belgium. No regional planning scheme has been worked out for Brussels. Its sector planning is in charge of the Ministry of Brussels Affairs.

On the other hand, structure plans involve house block structure, whilst local plans include still smaller land patches. The former are worked out by the Greater Brussels Council, the latter are developed by the municipalities, which eventually refer to the Council's advice.

CHAPTER 4

PLANNING THE NORTHERN FRANCE METROPOLITAN REGION

E. Tempia

November 1975

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1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Under the Roman Empire, the Menapia province, the present Flanders area, was already producing a kind of woollen cloak (birri)*. In Merovingian and Carolingian eras, woollen cloth was based on the raw material produced in the maritime meadows of the Flemish plain. The feudal peace permitted the establishment of true markets under the protective shadow of the castles - and so the first merchant towns were built at Ieper, Brugge, Gent and Lille. Production grew rapidly, and new sources of raw materials were sought. At the English wool fairs the best customers came from the Flanders. Woollen cloth was woven everywhere: the population growth of the thirteenth century encouraged the diffusion of production to the countryside, where manpower was plentiful**. A massive output was then possible. A kind of capitalist system was born under the control of the town merchants. These acquired the ability to invest. Henceforth, they no longer worked for their personal consumption: they worked to see their capital grow and produce more.

Their ability to invest worked wonders when England kept her wool to produce her clothes and the Flanders were not only deprived of the raw material but also subjected to a powerful competition which they could not resist even in their home markets: the merchants were able to switch their capital to the production of linen. Flax was grown on the same countryside areas where its fibers were woven. The same ability to shift the textile industry from one fiber to another was displayed again in the last century, when Roubaix changed from wool to cotton, to follow the demand of the market, and then changed back again to wool when the frontier with Belgium was established which suppressed the competition from Verviers.

Thus the seeds of the capitalist (industrial) revolution were sown in the Flanders, although the fruits were ripened and harvested in England.

All these facts weigh heavily on present-day situation.

* Corpus Inscript. lat., III, 801

** Raoul Blanchard, La Flandre . Dunkerque, Société Dunkerquoise, 1906, 528 pages (Chapter 14 : "Flandre intérieure : l'industrie", pages 370-408).

A kind of religious faith in the virtues of industrial growth has directed economic behaviour throughout the industrial revolution up to now. This was extremely good when growth and the creation of new jobs were a direct and immediate consequence of industrial investment and of better communication networks (the first development tide of the Flanders was based not only on tradition and a local raw material, but mainly on a wonderful natural communication network: the rivers).

However, even than the picture had a dark side. A purely materialist civilization was established, in which working men were considered as tools to be exploited to the end, to be fed and housed as cheaply as possible. When a massive rise in textile production induced a sudden urban growth, workers were housed next to the manufacturers, in small courtyards without running water or proper sanitation: in Roubaix and even Lille, several hundreds of such courtyards are still waiting to be replaced - although their present inhabitants much prefer them to the new tall housing development in which public authorities want to rehouse them*.

The rural environment was taken as a space for industrial consumption, for factories and housing and as a dumping ground for all kinds of refuse: first polluted water in the rivers, then spoil piled in huge heaps when coal was discovered and mined.

This is a quite familiar picture for all the old industrial areas of Western Europe.

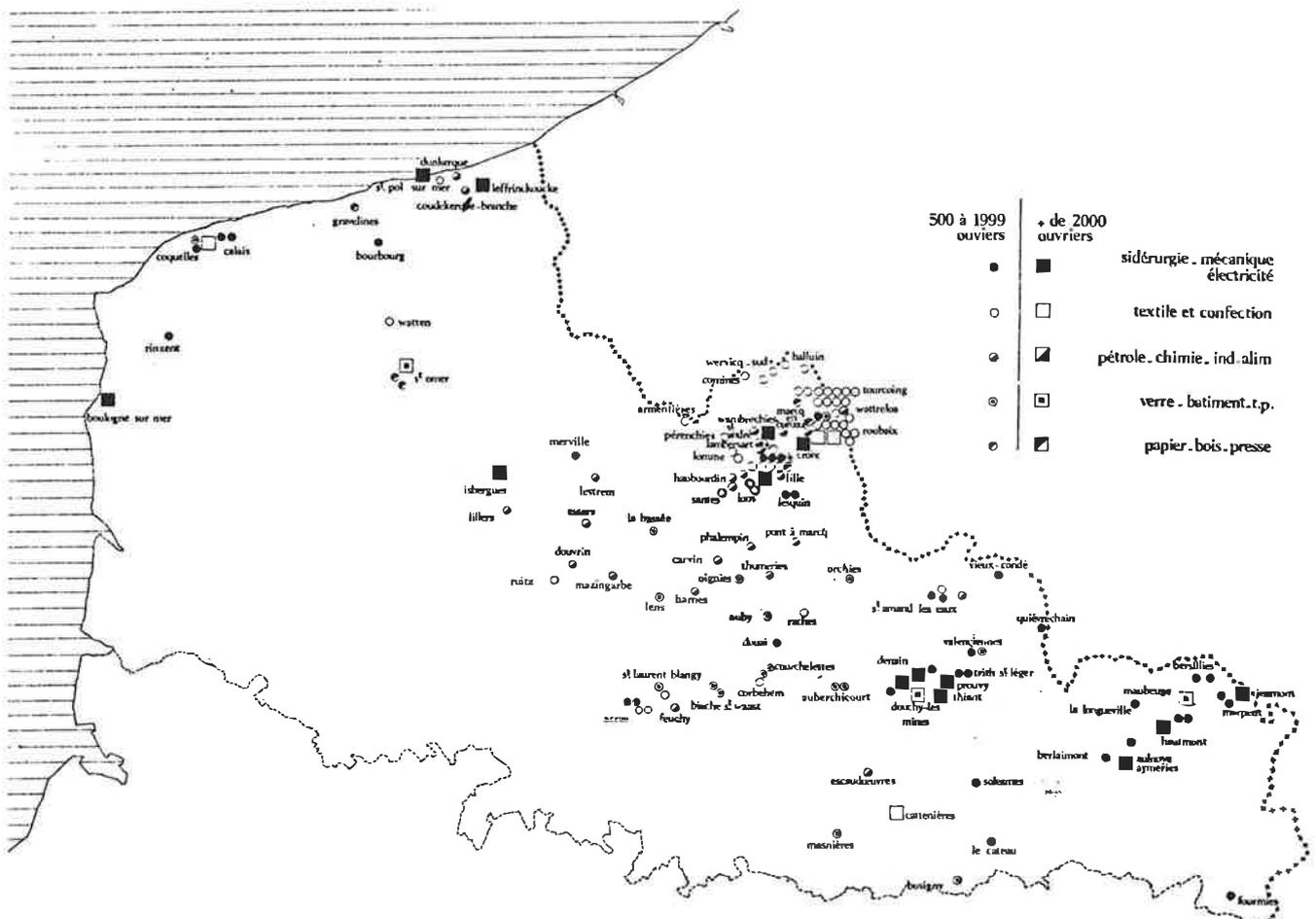
Several attitudes appear to be peculiar to Northern France.

The religion of work of this materialist industrial civilization left no place for culture. No major technological breakthrough was achieved in the area. There was no hope for a mass culture of the kind that was launched in the first half of last century in rural Denmark through schooling all the population.

* OREAM Nord. Cadre de vie et économie, vol. 1, Lille, December 1975

Not only the towns became human and material dumping grounds, even the human capital was impoverished by the destruction of the old culture - partly by urbanization and industrial work, partly by a kind of cultural imperialism. The Flemish-speaking areas were a conquered country since the Aachen peace (1668). More than a century after the years when the industrial revolution was in full action, the region is still a poor relative in the country as a whole concerning the school and university attendance ... Research establishments are scarce and poorly - staffed and no science - based new industry can develop and replace old, declining or disappearing activities: textile, steel, coal mining.

1. Industrial plants in the metropolitan region.



Environmental quality was and still is a privilege for a happy few. Just after Haussmann almost rebuilt Paris, the new housing areas of Lille, around the Prefecture, were properly planned. The upper middle class immediately occupied the beautiful houses built along the new straight boulevards and streets. Even in Roubaix, the wool capital, a short-lived planning effort was made one century ago: a few squares were laid out. They celebrated "Freedom", "Fraternity" and "Work": this is crystal-clear evidence of the paternalistic spirit of the era. The British experience of handling the new huge masses of urban workers was particularly useful in the mining basin, where coal companies housed, educated, instructed (in religion) and even fed (through gardening) their workers. An efficient, repressive urban environment was achieved: somewhat cleaner than textile towns, but much more oppressive. Streets were straight as in military towns; everything belonged to the companies which expressed their authority through the "castle" where the chief engineer lived as a feudal lord.

But the British model was copied only in its more paternal features. No equivalent of the "Victoria parks" laid out at the time in British towns was planned. The only exception was Roubaix. The digging of a canal had to be abandoned because of huge landslips. A park was planted, and a long lake created in the cutting. It was immediately successful: all the top industrialists of the town flocked there to build large classic villas in beautiful surroundings ...

At the time, the state exerted mainly police powers. But the rise of an economic capital at the centre of the empire left no room for decision-taking in the town of the once-proud Flemish towns. It was only after the second world war that a kind of spatial and economic system emerged in France and in the region.

2. THE BEGINNING OF PLANNING

Thus, the regional historic background was not particularly bright for either kind of planning.

The first economic development plan set clear priorities in order to restart economic development in a country which had been stagnant, or worse, for thirty years. At the national level, this plan was extremely successful.

In our region, it was a mixed blessing. Coal mining was favoured at the national level, so a large part of the region manpower was kept in an industry without a clear future: the seams were thin and irregular, the workable reserves were modest. Steel was developed inland: only later on, in the mid-fifties, the decision was taken to establish a huge complex on the coast. Concerning direct public investment, a major work was begun a canal from the sea to the inland steel area. The war destructions gave the opportunity to rebuild a lock at the wide european gange: it was taken. So the state had to continue the project, which is not yet finished. In the meantime, coal and iron are no longer transported on barges, since the largest steel plant is now in a sea port where coal comes from the United States or Poland, and ore from Mauritania.

City planning had also an opportunity for a good start. It was lost. The cities were rebuilt without imagination, according to the "golden" rules of the twenties and the early thirties. Straight and wide streets replaced the intertwinning, "natural" old medieval network where city life was born and developed for centuries. The hearts of old cities such as Maubeuge, Calais, Dunkirk almost ceased to beat. The Boulogne site was destroyed by a series of tall slabs. The frail machinery established at the time could not survive such mistakes, and others made in urban development projects, but was not really replaced until the end of the sixties.

This failure has to be imputed to a total lack of connections between economic and spatial planning. The economic planning system was only national. The physical planning system was almost only local, and was also under - and badly staffed. Most "planners" were in fact architects trained in the thirties at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, where teaching methods had scarcely changed since the Napoleon era.

A new awareness of the links to be established between economic development and physical planning developed at the national level at the end of the fifties (at the time, economic planning had already lost most of the power it had in the forties). In 1959, an attempt was made to establish a planning authority for the Paris region: it failed for legal reasons, but the authority was born in 1961 after an act had been passed in Parliament.

3. REGIONAL PLANNING

In 1963 regional planning started at last but at the national level only (Délégation à l'aménagement du territoire et à l'action régionale, DATAR). This was an important reform of the government system, modelled on the economic planning machinery established in 1945 which was already in a state of soft lethargy.

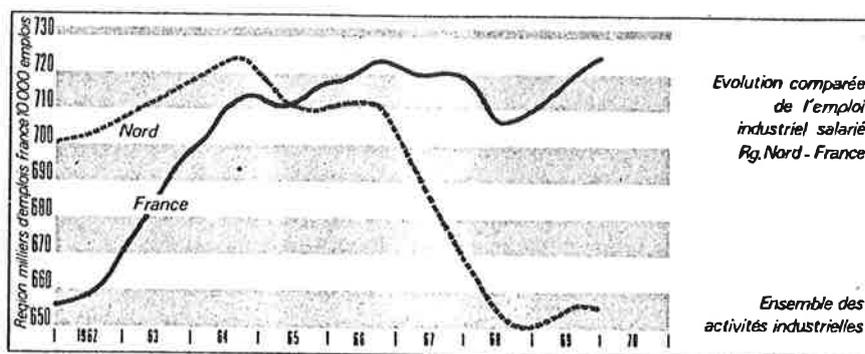
For the second time, the government machinery was thus somewhat changed from a "vertical" system, the ministries and their directorates in the départements, to a "horizontal" one, first at national level, then, in 1966, at regional level, when regional planning organizations were set up by prefectural decrees.

OREAM Nord, the regional planning organization for Northern France, was thus set up only nine years ago: physical planning (at the regional level only) began at that time. It must be added that the Northern France Metropolitan Area which OREAM Nord had to plan was the only one outside Paris to cover a "programme region" (i.e. the region for which the Commissariat Général au Plan and its "Mission Régionale" had to prepare a regional programme included in the purely indicative national economic and social development plan).

The problems which OREAM Nord inherited from the industrial past were major ones. Coal mining was (and is) scheduled to stop in 1985, textile employment was going down steeply since the early fifties, steel plants were closing inland because of the major complex built at Dunkirk to replace them. The European Common Market was submitting the region to several kinds of competition: for its industries, for new jobs, for economic power. Industrial competition was stimulating modernization efforts and was thus healthy. Competition for jobs was (and still is) somewhat unfair. Inside France, the rural West and the Paris basin were more attractive as rural, unpolluted areas than an old industrial area with a rotten urban environment. Outside France, the adjoining Belgian regions could offer better financial, political and administrative incentives to attract American, British or Japanese multinational firms. Concerning economic power, the old families who had started industrial development were losing control of their firms, taken over by, or merged in, national concerns. Even manpower was being lost:

not all jobs disappearing in mining, textile or steel were replaced. Moreover the most able young people felt that existing or new employment opportunities were unattractive, and so moved away, mainly to Paris.

2. Industrial employment trends 1962-1970.



However, during the sixties the French economy was developing at an usual rhythm of more or less 5% every year.

Therefore, the first, and earliest solution to the region's problem appeared to be an economic one.

A major growth point appeared in Dunkirk, when the new steel plant began its production in 1962.

Another activity, an almost new one for the region, was also quickly developing at the time, the motor car industry. So the first actions of the DATAR consisted in pushing car firms to a region where manpower was plentiful and lying idle. The targets of the moves were the Sambre valley the hardest hit area by the transfer of steel production to the seashore, and, of course, the coal mining basin. Several plants were built, at Maubeuge (body assembly), Ruitz (transmissions), Douvrin (motor production and, the last and largest, near Douai.

A "motor car first" ideology developed at the time at the national level. The motor car industry was seen as the "pulling" activity for the whole economic system. Motorway building was speeded up, so the Lille-Paris axis was completed, then the Lille-Dunkirk and even Lille-Valenciennes motorway

were started. In the Pas-de-Calais mining basin (i.e. the West of the region's coal area) a short motorway was built in the hope to bring new industrial development there.

This piecemeal and narrow approach to a general economic and physical planning was certainly not sufficient to bring about a general solution.

However, a first attempt to study a physical "plan" for the whole country was being made (First report of the Commission nationale pour l'aménagement du territoire 1964). The most interesting idea for our region was the selection of a few cities which were to be developed as "métropoles d'équilibre" in order to counteract the attraction of the Paris region: at the time, the regional plan for the capital foresaw a population growth to at least twelve and at worst sixteen million people at the end of the century (Paul Delouvrier et al: Schéma directeur d'aménagement et d'urbanisme de la région de Paris, 1965).

4. THE REGIONAL STRATEGY

The planning strategy for the region was stated by OREAM less than two years after the organization was set up.

It was a bold attempt to meet all challenges at once.

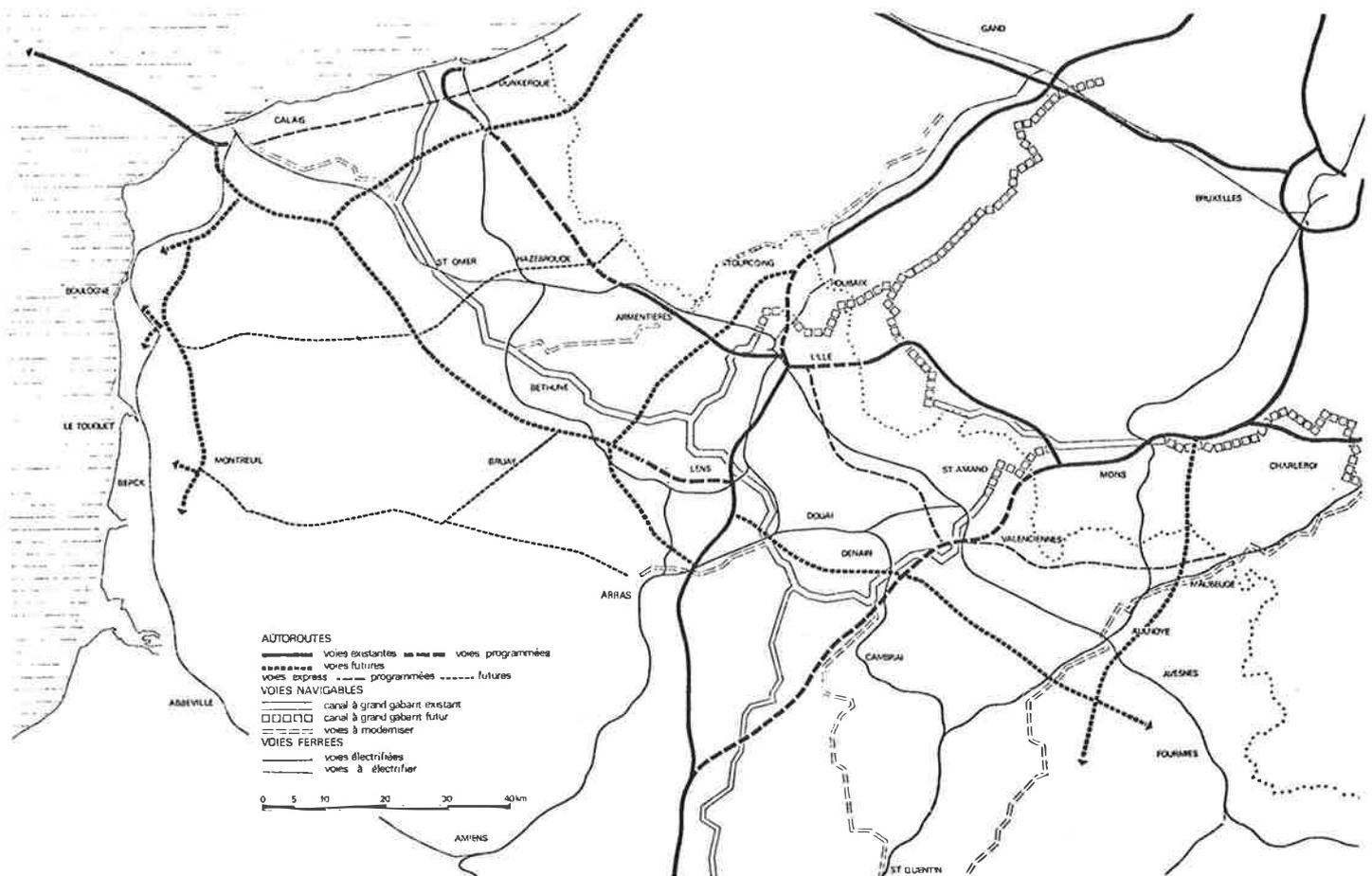
From the development and physical planning points of view, the suppression of the frontier was seen as an advantage, as an exceptional opportunity to be taken. Not only as a stimulus for existing firms. The opening of the region to Europe was at last possible: geography was regaining its rights, against historical accidents. The Northern Metropolitan Region would no longer be an insulated border land.

However, a new communication network had to be laid out to take the Common Market opportunities in full.

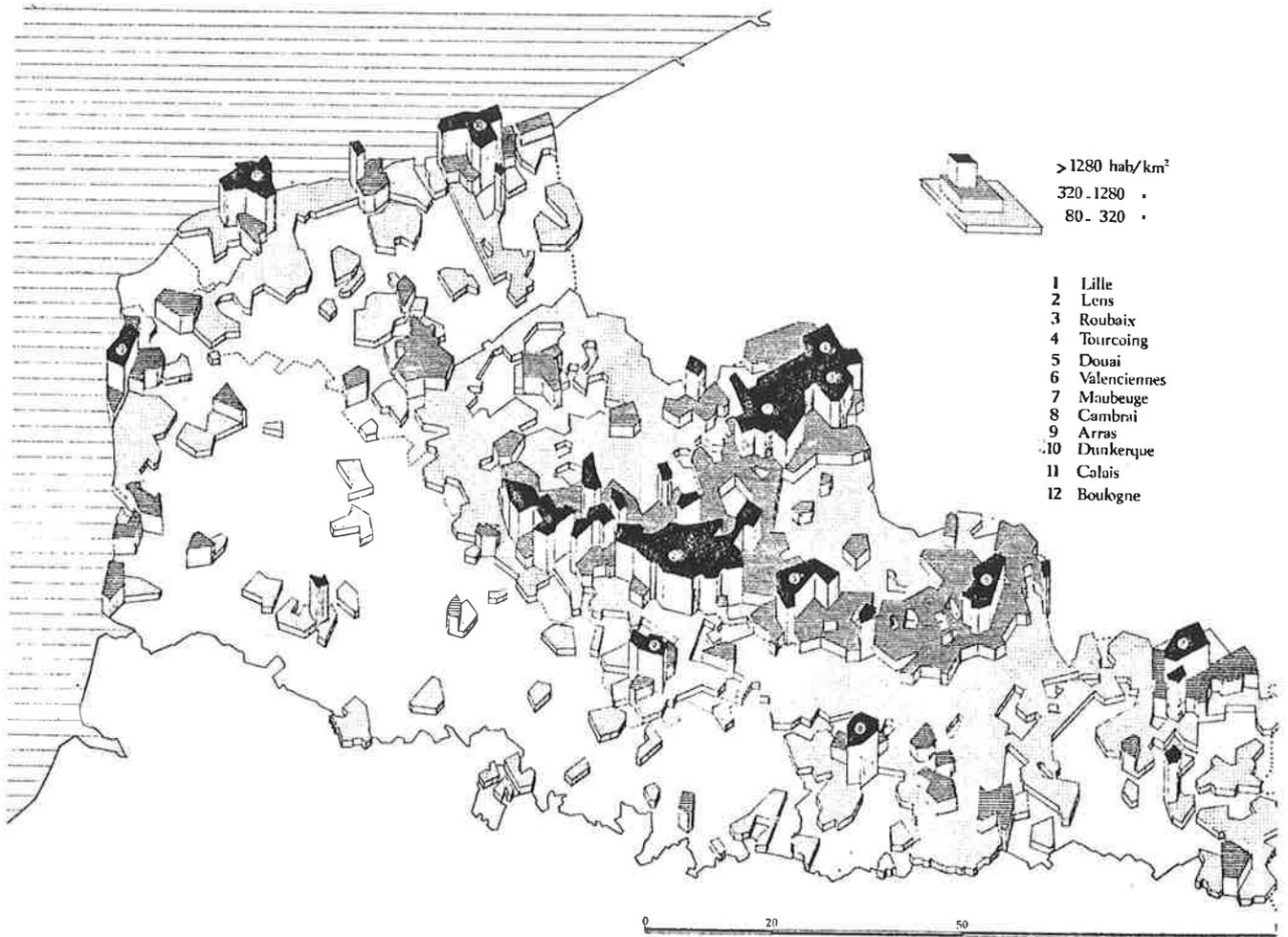
The Channel tunnel was seen as the key work to establish this network, not only to open the region to the outside world, but also to bring its pieces together. This communication network would consist of:

. A motorway system linking twice the coast to the inland urban area. The A26 motorway would link Britain to Germany, and go from Calais to Lorraine, and function as an urban motorway for the Mining Basin. The A25 from Dunkirk to Lille would continue towards Brussels on the one hand, towards Valenciennes, Maubeuge on the other one. Thus this network would be perpendicular to the major roads (including motorways A1 from Lille and A2 from Brussels and Valenciennes) to the power centre, Paris.

3. The motorway and canal network.



5. Population densities in 1962.



Another communication network, a purely regional one, was also planned in order to associate complementary urban areas. This had several aims. The first one was purely economic: to link weak and strong areas in order to use the latter as crutches for the former. The second one was social: to give all the inhabitants of the large inland urban area (made up of the Lille metropolis, of the mining basin and of the Escaut and Sambre Valleys: "rosaries" of towns) a large employment market where they could have an infinitely larger choice of jobs than in their insulated towns. The third one was to push up Lille as the regional centre, and for this accessibility had also to be improved, for workers and "customers" alike.

A peculiar attention was paid to a few major problems, for which long-term solutions were sought.

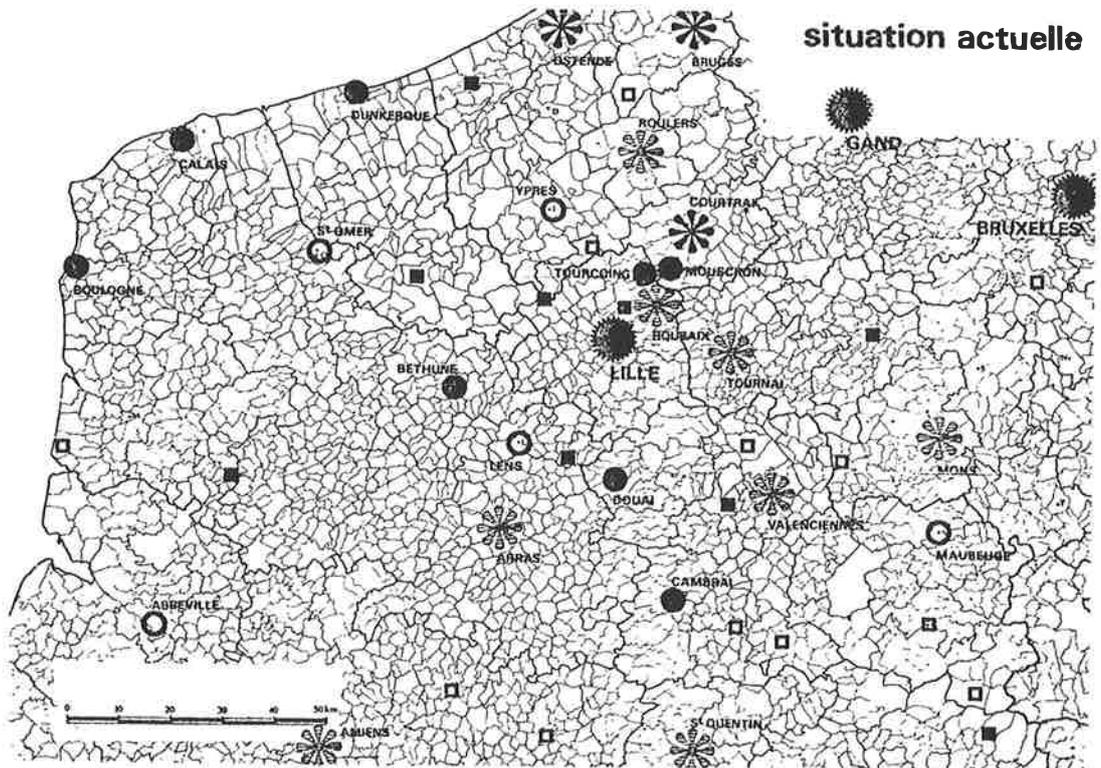
The regional capital was foreseen as a "decision" centre where major economic (and perhaps, later on, political) actions will be conceived, taken and implemented. It was also seen as a research centre which had to produce new ideas, new products and new industrial processes in order to restart development on firmer bases. Therefore, Lille and its associate towns were to become a major white-collar employment centre capable of competing with Paris (this was a national policy, as stated above).

A new town was started (Villeneuve d'Ascq) to breed science-based industries next to two new (but, unfortunately, quite dull) university campuses and a large urban park of more than 200 hectares.

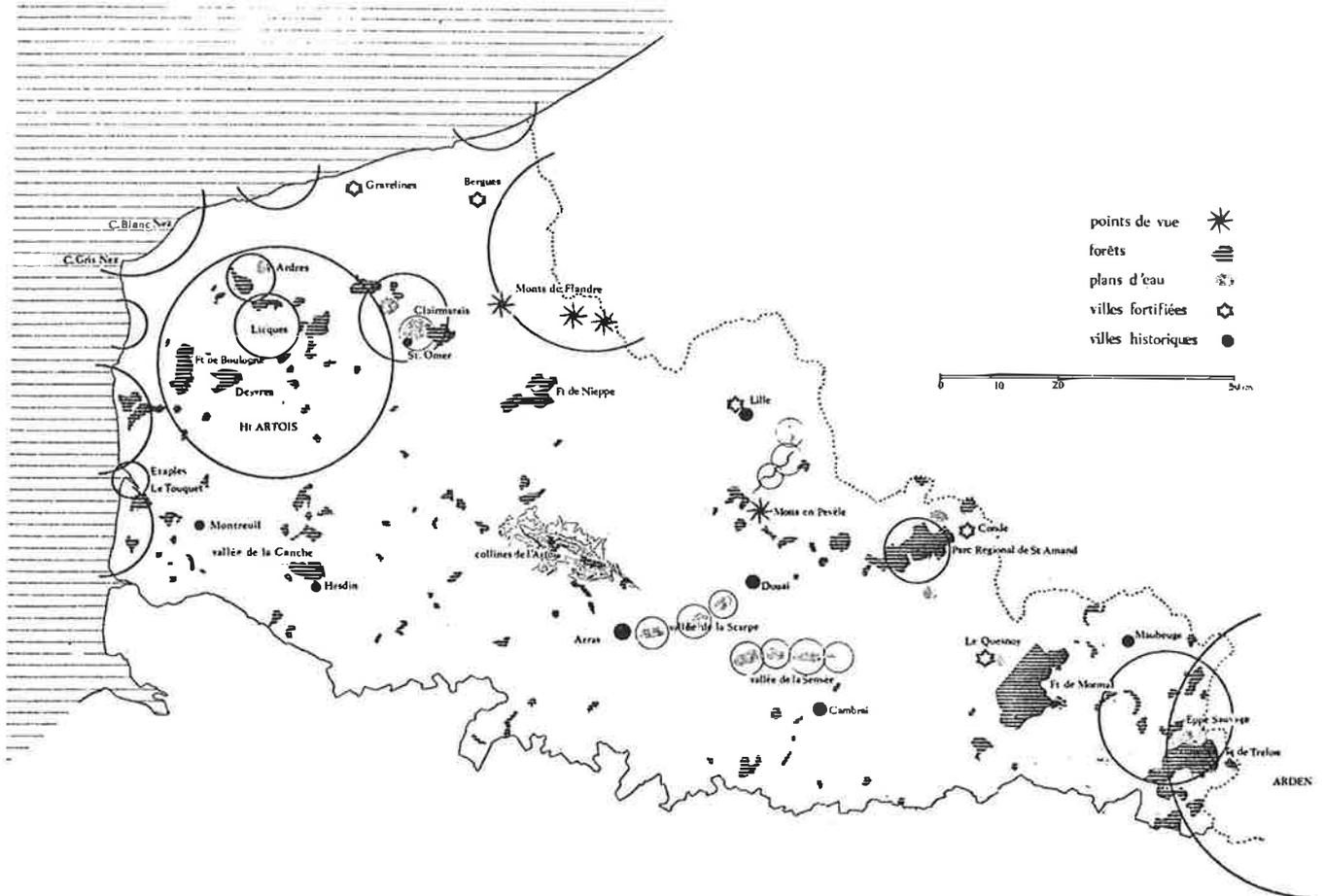
The service functions of all other important towns were studied (see next map) and suggestions for a long-term development policy were made. However, this policy was very crude: it was based on a mathematical modelling effort which failed (we will not try it again).

6. Service functions of town centres.

présence de types de services dans les types de villes		TYPES DE SERVICES				
		c	b	a3	a2	a1
		ex.: correspondant de journal	ex.: laboratoire d'analyse	ex.: dia spécialités de médecine	ex.: décorateur	ex.: conseil en organisation
TYPES DE VILLES						
 A1	ex.: LYON STRASBOURG	LILLE				
 A2	ex.: CAEN ANGERS					
 A3	ex.: COLMAR ST BRIEUC	ARRAS, ROUBAIX, VALENCIENNES				
 B1	ex.: LAVAL EPINAL	BETHUNE, BOULOGNE, CALAIS, CAMBRAI, DOUAI, DUNKERQUE, TOURCOING				
 B2	ex.: ARLES MORLAIX	LENS, MAUBEUGE, S ^t OMER				
 C1	ex.: PONTIVY S ^t CHAMOND	ARMENTIERES, DENAIN, HAZEBROUCK, HENIN-LIETARD, MARCQ-EN-BARŒUL				
 C2	ex.: TOUL BELLEGARDE	AVESNES sur Helpe, BERCK, LE CATEAU, CAUDRY, HESDIN, S ^t AMAND				



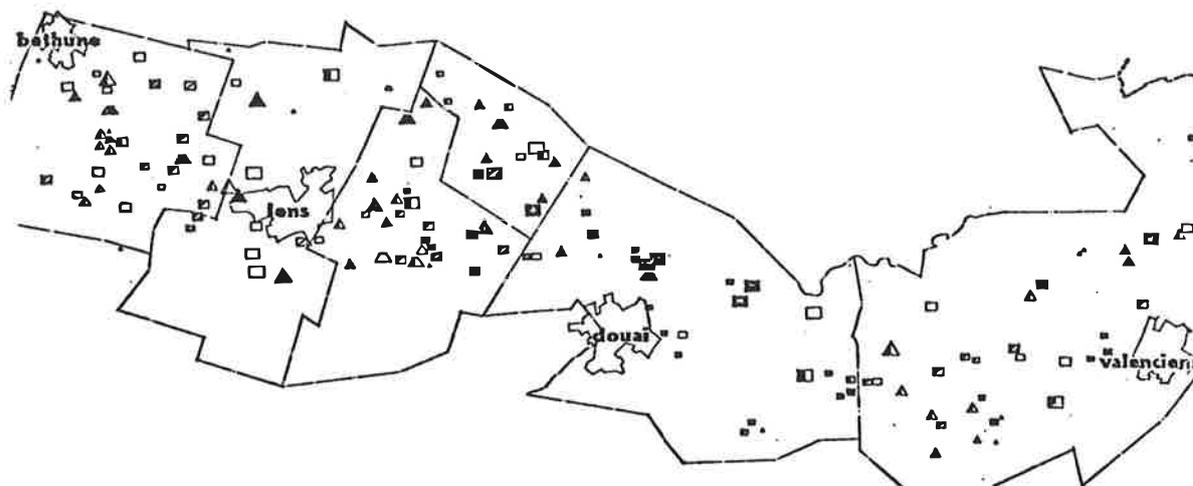
8. Leisure resources (forests, lakes, historic towns, hills) and major leisure areas of the metropolitan region.



And at last, a major effort to clean up the big urban junkyard that this region had become was asked for. For instance, there were 202 spoil heaps in the coal mining area. (See map on the following page).

9. Spoil heaps in the coal mining basin

Spoil heaps are most difficult to take out of the landscape. Many of them are comparatively small but tall, and still burning inside. The map below shows their forms and state: black and burning, or red, i.e. burnt out and being hidden by spontaneous plant growth.



The rivers were the worst polluted in the country (and were exporting pollutants to Belgium): a river agency had, fortunately, been set up by an act of Parliament in 1962, as in all river basins.

This cleaning up was particularly necessary in order to keep, or attract, the brightest people in the region, and so establish new growth activities.

The regional plan was finished five years ago and approved by the regional planning committee of ministers (Comité interministériel d'aménagement du territoire) on February 10th, 1971.

5. FIRST RESULTS

What are the achievements of this five-year period?

Considering the dominant mood of the sixties, it is not surprising that the best results have been achieved in road building. The regional plan network is almost entirely completed or under construction. The only major gaps are either related to the now stopped Channel tunnel or to the

poorest mining areas east of Douai...

The high-speed train lines will be delayed for many years, since they are related to the tunnel for at least two-thirds. The canal system will not be finished until the eighties, since the Rhine Rhone connection will henceforth have priority. Besides this, the system could be a mixed blessing: it could divert traffic away from Dunkirk to Antwerp or even Rotterdam through the Belgian canal system.

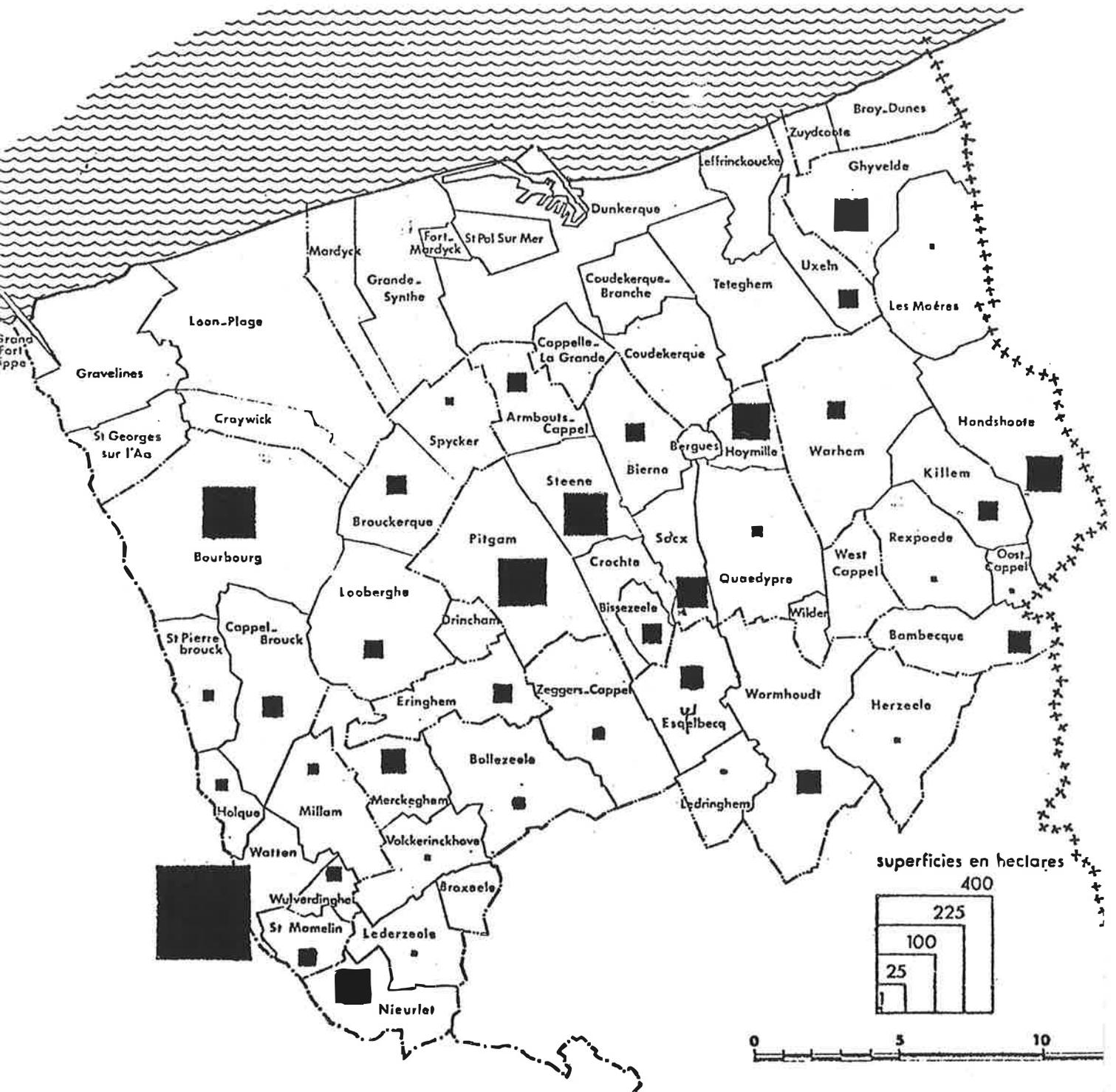
Lille is not yet a regional capital in the German or Italian way. The regional authorities established by the July, 1972 Act are financially weak.

Several Paris-based banks, insurance and other service companies have set up large regional offices, but service employment does not grow quickly enough to compensate for the loss of industrial jobs. Many new office buildings are lying idle and are felt too expensive by potential users. Villeneuve d'Ascq shows no signs of becoming a French equivalent of Boston's Route 128, although the new town does well for housing development. Its central park is being opened.

However, a kind of regional growth pole centred on Dunkirk shows some signs of existence. For instance, a new important heavy engineering plant is being set up in Bruay, in the western mining area, downstream from the sea shore steel plants. The steam cracking plant being built at Dunkirk (by a partnership of ... The State Coal Mines and The Qatar Emirate) will give powerful development stimuli to the old, coal-based, chemical plants of the mining basin.

The planning machinery has improved. The December 31, 1966, Act established new Metropolitan Authorities in several places, including Lille. Another such authority has been set up by municipal will at Dunkirk. However, they seem too small from the planner's point of view, and perhaps too large from the citizen's. In particular, they are unable to stop urban sprawl outside their boundaries since Albin Chaladon's Act of July 16, 1971 (No. 71-581) permitted building on any plot of more than 1000 m² along a road and a water main, or of more than 4000 m² along a road only.

11. Land owned by property companies around Dunkirk Metropolitan Authority



However, a larger planning association has been set up in the coast plain from the Belgian border to beyond Calais. Unfortunately, it lacks any power and has to implement its policies through the communes or the Dunkirk Metropolitan Authority.

No land policy had been possible at the regional level, because of a Treasury veto on any new regional land agency (only three such agencies exist in France). However, the Regional Authority (Etablissement Public Régional) plans to start a land policy of its own. OREAM Nord is working on it, in close touch with the working party set up within the Regional Planning Committee.

The land study is one of several subject or subregional plans which aim at the implementation of the general planning rules set up by the regional plan.

On behalf of the regional authority, the DATAR and the national transport directorate OREAM Nord is making a transportation plan covering the whole region. OREAM started this plan on its own, for the inland urban region. The regional authority asked for a regional plan when it saw the first report. This plan could bring about major improvements in public transport services (which were somewhat neglected since a mass market for motor cars was created), and bring the areas of the region together.

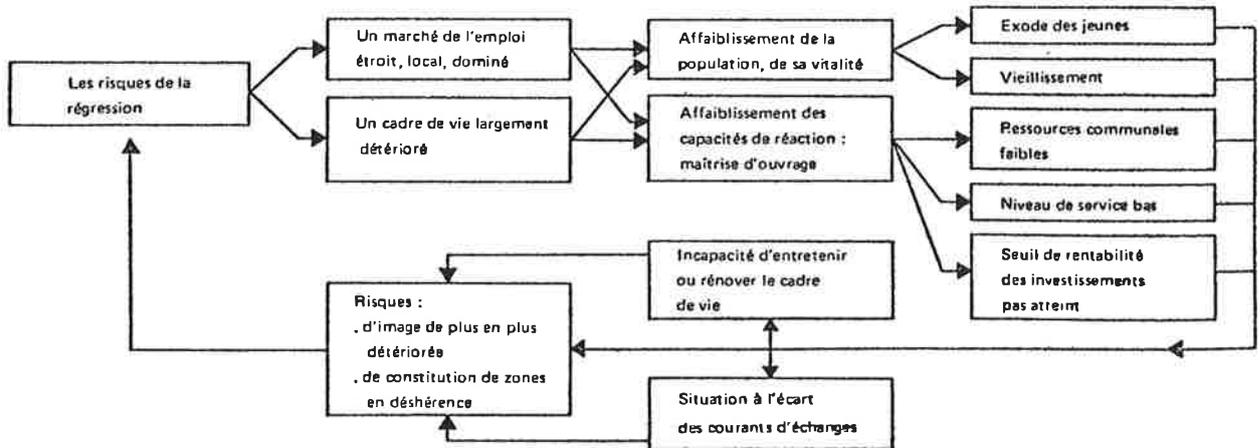
Another major study is on the consequences of economic (industrial, service, agricultural) activities on the quality of urban environments. It is a very critical analysis of past policies and inefficient urban management. It is aimed at a change in the regional ethic of "work first and only work" which has led to a neglect of the quality of urban life. This is, in our eyes, planning for change at its best.

A regional leisure plan has been started two years ago, and will be the official plan for the Secretary of State for Tourism. The leisure demand is already known through a sociological study made in 1967, in partnership with DATAR. The plan is based on a statistical and geographic analysis of existing leisure facilities, and will be aimed at a detailed survey of leisure development opportunities.

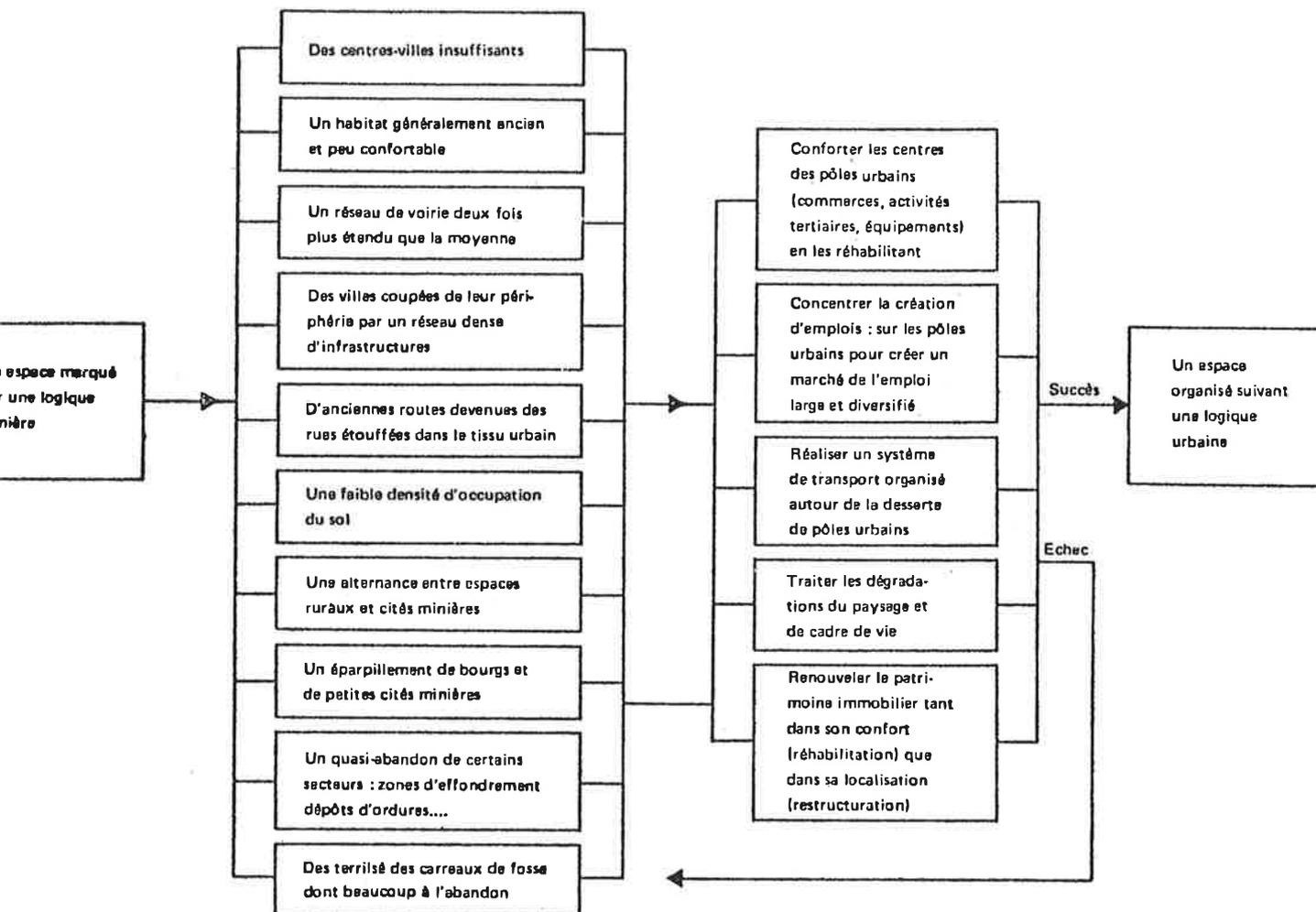
The Deule park is being laid out through a land policy and through the creation of a water panification system consisting of a series of lakes (400 hectares in all) financed by the River Authority.

A kind of "new town in town" has been designed for the western (and poorer) part of the mining area (Auchel-Bruay). It is a first (and last) attempt to save an area which is quickly losing most of its working-age population. The aims of this project are those of the regional plan: to renew the urban areas, to create a true urban system out of mining "villages" that were mere housing appendices of the pits, to clean out the environment through a massive planting programme and new large subregional parks in the valley (Clarence, Lawe) and on the central Auchel spoil heaps (to be regraded). Hopefully, this planning action could reverse the migration trends and so give a new life to the area. Unfortunately, the political and administrative system does not seem quite capable of handling such a task. And a new development corporation seems out of question for the time being.

12. The under-development cycle in the Mining Basin.



13. The problems and the planned solutions for the Auchel/Bruay Mining area.



OREAM Nord has also been associated from the start to the planning of the metropolitan region's rural areas, in close partnership with the rural planning organization of the Ministry of Agriculture (Atelier régional d'études économique et d'aménagement rural, AREEAR). It published a "Green Paper", that is a regional plan for rural areas and now continues its planning research. One subject study was on small industrial growth poles to be set up in the countryside. Another one is on the consequences of new developments around the cities. And the chief regional planning engineer of the Ministry of Agriculture has asked us to take part in a study of the consequences of urban planning (made by the Equipment Ministry..).

And at last our planning ideas seem to filter through the regional economic (five-year) plans (which the state is not in fact obliged to implement...

A "strategic planning" report was prepared by OREAM and the Prefect's Mission Economique Regionale (which is in charge of economic planning) in order to show to political decision makers what two different plans could be, one aimed at economic, the other at social development. The Regional Authority report clearly prefers the latter. Public investment should grow steadily for health (4 to 10% of total five-year investment), culture (0.5 to 1.5%) research (0.4 to 2) and stay at the same level for education (15 in spite of the huge efforts made in the past years. Urban development (29.5 to 24.5%) and transport (25.2 to 22%) should have a smaller share of the total*.

*Région Nord/Pas-de-Calais. Réflexions sur le 7ème Plan.
Lille, October 1975, 99 pages.

CHAPTER 5

INTEGRIERTE PLANUNG UND PLANUNGSDURCHFÜHRUNG IN GROSSSTADTRÄUMEN
'VERBAND GROSSRAUM HANNOVER'

Prof. Heinz Weyl, Hannover.

August, 1975.

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EINLEITUNG

Der Grossraum Hannover nimmt unter den hier behandelten Stadtregionen insoweit einen besonderen Platz ein, als die Stadtregion Hannover in dem 'Verband Grossraum Hannover' einen institutionalisierten Träger der Regionalplanung besitzt, dem durch Gesetz die volle Kompetenz zur Regionalplanung innerhalb seines Bereichs übertragen ist und der zusätzlich über einen verhältnismässig breiten und weit gefächerten Katalog von Zuständigkeiten in bezug auf Planung und Durchführung regional bedeutsamer Massnahmen verfügt.

Der Verband ist also Träger der gesetzlich definierten Regionalplanung, in die sich die örtlichen Planungen der verbandsangehörigen Gemeinden wie auch die Fachplanungen innerhalb des Verbandsbereichs einfügen müssen

Entsprechend vollzieht sich die Integration der Planung in der Region Hannover nicht etwa in Form einer additiv wirkenden Koordinierung lokaler Einzelplanungen, sondern primär in Ausfüllung der von dem Verband aufgestellten regionalen Rahmenplanung durch die gemeindlichen Planungen (und die Fachplanungen) und erst zusätzlich in Form einer detaillierten Koordinierung der zwischengemeindlichen Planungen.

Im folgenden soll dargelegt werden, wie sich diese Systematik der Planung auf dem Hintergrund des besonderen Planungsraumes und der hier geschaffenen Planungsinstitution abspielt.

1.0. PLANUNGSGRUNDLAGEN

1.1. Planungsraum: Region Hannover

Die Grundsituation des regionalen Planungsraumes Hannover war in den 50er und 60er Jahren gekennzeichnet durch ein explosionsartiges Wachstum, durch das die Einwohnerzahl des Raumes in wenig mehr als 10 Jahren von etwas über 0,15 Mio auf ca. 1 Mio Einwohner anstieg.

Diese Grundsituation der 50er und 60er Jahre ist seit Anfang der 70er Jahre abgelöst worden durch die demografische Stagnation des Gesamt- raumes bei Anhalten der überaus starken innerregionalen Wanderungsbewegungen zwischen zentraler Stadt und Umland.

Der Grossraum Hannover als Institutionalisierung der Stadtregion Hannover umfasst z.Zt. (1975) 2.275 qkm mit 1,1 Mio EW, d.h. also im statistischen Mittel 484 EW/qkm. Dabei entfallen auf die Stadt Hannover 575.000 EW bei einer Dichte von ca. 3.000 EW/qkm, während die äusseren Gemeinden des Verbandsbereichs nur eine Einwohnerdichte von ca. 180 EW/qkm aufweisen. Die Region besitzt z.Zt. 525.000 Arbeitsplätze, von denen über 400.000 auf die Stadt Hannover entfallen.

Aus diesen Zahlen folgt einmal das hohe Mass der Massierung von Arbeitsplätzen der Region in der zentralen Stadt und zum anderen die Notwendigkeit, einen grossen Teil der Arbeitsplätze durch Pendler auszufüllen. In der Tat betrug die Zahl der Einpendler nach Hannover Anfang 1974 (vor der kommunalen Neugliederung) ca. 134.000. Zu diesen Berufseinpendlern addieren sich Ausbildungseinpendler und tägliche Besucher, die insgesamt auf weit über 200.000 geschätzt werden. Daraus folgt aber, dass die Tagesbevölkerung der Stadt Hannover um über 60% grösser als die Wohnbevölkerung ist, ein für die Kernstädte derartiger Stadtregionen nicht ungewöhnliches Verhältnis.

Aus diesen Strukturmerkmalen leitete sich als Planungshintergrund die spezielle Problematik des Raumes ab: Massierung der Arbeitsplätze innerhalb der Stadt Hannover einerseits und Entwicklung einer starken urbanisierten bzw. suburbanisierten Zone ausserhalb der Grenzen der Kernstadt unter (zunächst) Vernachlässigung wesentlicher Bedingungen der Infrastruktur und sonstigen Versorgung.

Daraus folgte die Entwicklung starker grenzüberschreitender Beziehungen zwischen Hannover und seinen Randgemeinden, aus denen sich angesichts der Vielzahl der beteiligten kommunalen und staatlichen Verwaltungen die typischen Probleme grosser Verdichtungs- und Verflechtungsräume ergaben. Dazu gehörten insbesondere die Unterversorgung mit gemeindlichen Infrastruktureinrichtungen und Einrichtungen der Bildungs- und Daseinvorsorge, aber auch mangelnde Abstimmung zwischen den örtlichen Planungen der beteiligten Gemeinden und Erschwerung der übergeordneten Fachplanungen durch die Vielzahl örtlicher Kompetenzen.

1.2. Planungsinstitution

Zur Lösung dieser für Verdichtungsräume spezifischen Probleme gibt es theoretisch eine Vielzahl von Modellen, beginnend mit staatlichen Behörden über Zweckverbände und mehrstufige Gebietskörperschaften (Regionalkreise) bis hin zu mehrstufigen Grossgemeinden mit Bezirkseinteilungen.

1.2.1. 1. Modell Verband 'Grossraum Hannover' von 1962

Das Land Niedersachsen wählte in dem 1. Gesetz zur Ordnung des Grossraumes Hannover von 1962 nach längeren Diskussionen mit den Betroffenen und den politischen Parteien die Lösung eines regionalen Planungsverbandes mit zusätzlichen Durchführungsaufgaben, weil ein derartiges Modell zunächst ohne allzu grossen Aufwand zu verwirklichen war und dazu ein hohes Mass an Elastizität bei der Regelung der übertragenen Aufgaben versprach.

Generell gesehen übertrug das Land Niedersachsen im Rahmen dieses Gesetzes von 1962 die staatliche Aufgabe der Landesplanung für den Bereich des Verdichtungsraumes Hannover auf den neu gebildeten regionalen Planungsverband 'Grossraum Hannover' und kommunalisierte insoweit die bislang staatliche Aufgabe 'Regionalplanung'.

Die Kompetenzen dieses 1. Verbandes umfassten im eigenen Wirkungsbereich

- die Regionalplanung mit dem Ziel der Aufstellung eines Verbandsplanes. Der Verbandsplan wurde durch Satzung beschlossen und erhielt damit Rechtskraft gegenüber den verbandsangehörigen Gemeinden und den Trägern aller Fachplanungen, soweit diese gehört worden waren;
- die Festlegung von Grundsätzen für die Nutzung des Bodens;
- die Befugnis zum Erwerb und zur Vorhaltung von Grund und Boden zur Förderung einer Vielzahl von regionalen Belangen;
- die Förderung der Entwicklung der Verbandsglieder durch einheitliche Planung;
- die Durchführung entwicklungsbestimmender Massnahmen, soweit es für die Verbandsaufgaben förderlich ist.

Im übertragenen Wirkungsbereich war der Verband

- Untere Landesplanungsbehörde mit der Massgabe, dass die wesentlichen Kompetenzen der höheren Landesplanungsbehörde gleichfalls von ihm wahrgenommen wurden;
- Untere Naturschutzbehörde,
- Untere Landespflegebehörde nach dem Nds. Bodenabbaugesetz und
- Waldbehörde nach dem Nds. Waldgesetz.

Insoweit verfügte schon dieser Verband über eine Vielzahl von Kompetenzen zur Ordnung des Raumes innerhalb und ausserhalb besiedelter Flächen.

Ab 1969 wuchs dem Verband sodann der Aufgabenbereich einer regionalen Nahverkehrsbehörde zu mit den sehr umfangreichen Durchführungsaufgaben, die sich aus der Bildung des Verkehrsverbundes innerhalb des Verbandsbereichs ableiten - deren Geschäftsführung auf den Verband überging - sowie mittelbar durch den Erwerb des grössten kommunalen Verkehrsunternehmens, der ÜSTRA, durch den Verband.

Der Verband finanzierte sich nach dem Modell der Nds. Landkreise, d.h. durch die Erhebung einer Verbandsumlage. Zu der Verbandsumlage wurden bei diesem 1. Verband alle Gebietskörperschaften der Kreisebene veranlagt, sowie die namentlich aufgeführten grösseren kreisangehörigen Städte und Gemeinden (das waren alle Gemeinden, die mehr als 10.000 EW hatten). Die Höhe der Verbandsumlage errechnete sich für die einzelnen Veranlagten aus den Steuerkraftmesszahlen, aus denen auch die Kreisumlagen jährlich neu ermittelt wurden.

Neben der Verbandsumlage erhielt der Verband zur Erfüllung der ihm übertragenen staatlichen Aufgaben jährliche Zuschüsse sowie zum Ausgleich aussergewöhnlicher Belastungen auch Beihilfen aus Landesmitteln. Im Rahmen der Gegenfinanzierung von Vorhaben aufgrund von Bundesprogrammen erhielt er schliesslich auch Bundesmittel etwa im Rahmen des Gesetzes zur Verbesserung der Verkehrsverhältnisse in den Gemeinden.

Das Haushaltsvolumen dieses 1. Verbandes Grossraum Hannover ist in der Zeit seines Bestehens von ca. 0,9 Mio (1962) auf ca. 125 Mio (1974) gestiegen. Diese Erhöhung um das 175-fache in den 12 Jahren des Bestehens des 1. Verbandes ist nicht etwa mit der starken Ausnutzung der den Verband zunächst Übertragenen vorwiegend planerischen Kompetenzen zu erklären. Vielmehr spiegelt sich darin im wesentlichen der enorme Mittelbedarf, der durch die Übernahme der Funktionen einer regionalen Nahverkehrsbehörde einerseits und des damit in Zusammenhang stehenden Ankaufs der kommunalen Nahverkehrsgesellschaft ÜSTRA aufgetreten ist. Anders ausgedrückt entfielen etwa 63% des Haushaltsvolumens 1974 auf Subventionen und Investitionen im Bereich des öffentlichen Nahverkehrs.

Nicht nur im kameralistischen Sinne interessant mag sein, dass auch der Personalaufwand des 1. Verbandes von DM 50.000 (1963) auf DM 3,7 Mio (1974) angestiegen ist, also etwa im gleichen Verhältnis, wie sich auch das zu verwaltende Haushaltsvolumen erhöht hat.

Nach dem 1. Grossraumgesetz von 1962 besass der Verband eine Vertretungskörperschaft (Verbandsversammlung) aus nichtgewählten, sondern von den Verbandsgliedern der Kreisstufe und den grösseren kreisangehörigen Gemeinden benannten Vertretern. Durch besondere Regelungen war dabei sichergestellt, dass die Kernstadt, die damals wie heute mehr als 50% der Einwohner des Grossraumes umfasste, nicht mehr als 40% und nicht weniger als 36% der Mitglieder der Verbandsversammlung stellen konnte. Damit wurde einmal die Majorisierung des Umlandes durch die Kernstadt ausgeschlossen, zum anderen aber auch die Majorisierung der Kernstadt in lebenswichtigen Fragen durch das Umland, da hierfür eine 2/3-Mehrheit der Verbandsversammlung erforderlich war. Die Verbandsversammlung bildete eine Reihe von Fachausschüssen, in denen sich die eigentliche politische Arbeit des Verbandes abwickelte.

Das zweite Organ dieses Verbandes war der Vorstand, der sich aus Mitgliedern der Verbandsversammlung, und zwar aus den leitenden Verwaltungsbeamten der Kreisebene, den Vorsitzenden der entsprechenden politischen Gremien und den wesentlichen Trägern der politischen Willensbildung des Verbandsbereiches zusammensetzte.

Dazu kam als 3. Organ der Verbandsdirektor mit der Verbandsverwaltung (zunächst ca. 30, später ca. 70 Personen) und als weiteres Gremium der Verbandsbeirat, ein beratendes Organ aus Fachleuten und Vertretern der im Verbandsbereich wirkenden sozialen Kräfte.

1.2.2. 2. Modell Verband 'Grossraum Hannover' von 1974

Das 1. Modell des Verbandes Grossraum Hannover hat sich in den 12 Jahren seines Bestehens bewährt, zumindest, soweit es sich bei den Kompetenzen dieses Verbandes um planerische und lenkende Aufgaben handelte.

Insoweit wirkte sich auch der elastisch konzipierte generalstabsartig organisierte Aufbau dieses Verbandes positiv aus. Denn mit dieser Organisationsform konnte die Fülle planerischer Entscheidungen ohne den langwierigen Aufwand 'normaler Verwaltungsbehörden' mit kurzen Verwaltungswegen, und d.h. kurzfristig bei vergleichsweise geringem Aufwand, getroffen werden.

Dies änderte sich, als dem Verband neben seinen vorwiegend planerischen und Koordinierungsaufgaben auch wesentliche und besonders umfangreiche Durchführungsaufgaben der regionalen und kommunalen Daseinsvorsorge übertragen wurden, wie es ab 1970 in bezug auf den öffentlichen Personennahverkehr der Fall war. Es zeigte sich, dass ein Verwaltungsaufbau, der zur Erledigung von planerischen und sonstigen Lenkungs- und Koordinierungsaufgaben optimal war, sich nicht ohne weiteres auch für die routinemässige Erledigung umfangreicher und dabei wenig spezifizierter Verwaltungsaufgaben eignete.

Ähnliches wurde insbesondere von den politischen Kräften des Raumes in bezug auf das Verhältnis zwischen demokratischer Legitimation und erweiterter Aufgabenstellung ins Feld geführt. Hier gewann insbesondere die Auffassung an Raum, dass zur Wahrnehmung umfangreicher Aufgaben kommunaler und regionaler Daseinsvorsorge - in deren Rahmen weitaus grössere finanzielle Mittel zu bewegen waren als dies bei nur planerischen oder Koordinierungsaufgaben der Fall sein konnte - auch eine stärkere demokratische Legitimation der kontrollierende Gremien erforderlich sei.

Daraus folgte als Auffassung der vorherrschenden politischen Gruppierungen die Forderung nach Errichtung eines stärker demokratisch legitimierten Verbandes, dessen Verbandsversammlung in unmittelbaren Wahlen zu wählen und nicht mehr wie bislang aus mittelbar ernannten Vertretern zusammensetzen sei.

Insbesondere aus diesem Grunde, aber auch im Rahmen der Durchführung der Verwaltungs- und Gebietsreform in diesem zentralen Bereich Niedersachsens wurde durch ein neues Landesgesetz vom 13. Februar 1974 das Gesetz über die kommunale Neugliederung im Raum Hannover beschlossen, dessen Artikel II die Neufassung des Gesetzes zur Ordnung des Grossraumes Hannover enthält.

Diese Neufassung soll hinfort als 2. Modell des Regionalverbandes 'Grossraum Hannover' bezeichnet werden.

Der 2. Verband 'Grossraum Hannover' hat einmal die gleichen Kompetenzen wie der 1. Verband; zusätzlich erhielt er die Befugnis, auf einer Reihe von Sachgebieten regionale Fachpläne aufzustellen, in denen die anzustrebende Ausstattung mit bedeutsamen öffentlichen Einrichtungen dargestellt werden soll. Solche regionalen Fachpläne sollen für die Sachbereiche

- Krankenhäuser,
- Erwachsenenbildung,
- Erholungseinrichtungen,
- Wasser- und Energieversorgung,
- Abfall- und Abwasserbeseitigung,
- Verkehrswege und dazugehörige Anlagen

aufgestellt werden. Dazu kommt die Befugnis zur Aufstellung eines Rahmenplanes für die Schulentwicklung.

Die regionalen Fachpläne sind als sektorale Investitionspläne aufzufassen, in denen zugleich die zeitliche Reihenfolge bei der Durchführung der betreffenden Investitionen bestimmt und die Prioritätsentscheidungen zwischen den einzelnen Fachgebieten getroffen werden sollen. Mit den regionalen Fachplänen werden nicht nur die Entscheidungen und der Mitteleinsatz des Verbandes in diesen Fachbereichen gebunden, sondern auch die der Verbandsglieder.

Weiter besitzt der neue Verband die ausschliessliche Zuständigkeit für den öffentlichen Nahverkehr sowie für den Rettungsdienst und das Krankentransportwesen.

Zusätzlich zu den schon bislang von dem 1. Verband ausgeübten Aufgaben kann der neue Verband auch Massnahmen in den Bereichen

- Ausbau und Unterhaltung bedeutsamer Erholungseinrichtungen,
- Wasser- und Energieversorgung,
- Abfall- und Abwasserbeseitigung,
- Verwaltungsautomation,
- Häfen,
- Messen,
- Erwachsenenbildung,
- Wohnungsbauförderung und
- Städtebau

durchführen. Weiterhin kann er Aufgaben einzelner Verbandsglieder auf den Gebieten Ausbau von Erholungseinrichtungen, Wasserversorgung, Abwasserbeseitigung und Abfallbeseitigung übernehmen.

Damit verfügt dieser 2. Verband ausser seinen raumordnerischen Kompetenzen über eine grosse Zahl von Zuständigkeiten sowohl in wichtigen Bereichen der Fachplanung wie auch in bezug auf Durchführungsaufgaben der allgemeinen Daseinsvorsorge. Diese erhebliche Kompetenzanreicherung des neuen Verbandes bewirkt aber zugleich eine Umgewichtung seiner bisherigen Tätigkeitsmerkmale vom Planungsverband zum kommunal-wirtschaftlich orientierten Regional-Verband.

Die haushalts-rechtlichen Grundlagen des 2. Verbandes blieben die gleichen wie die des 1. Verbandes mit der Massgabe, dass der neue Verband die Verbandsumlage von allen verbandsangehörigen Gemeinden erhebt, während der Landkreis Hannover von der Zahlung der Verbandsumlage ausgenommen ist.

Die politisch wohl wichtigste Veränderung zwischen dem 1. und dem 2. Verband Grossraum Hannover ist, dass der 2. Verband in Erfüllung der bereits angeführten regional-politischen Forderungen über eine Verbandsversammlung verfügt, deren Mitglieder in geheimen und direkten Wahlen aus den Einwohnern des Verbandsbereichs gewählt werden.

An Stelle des Verbandsvorstandes des 1. Verbandes ist der Verbandsausschuss des 2. Verbandes getreten, der aus dem Vorsitzenden und 12 weiteren Mitgliedern der Verbandsversammlung besteht sowie den Wahlbeamten des Verbandes und den Hauptverwaltungsbeamten der Landeshauptstadt Hannover und des Landkreises Hannover.

Die Institution des Verbandsbeirats des 1. Verbandes ist in den 2. Verband nicht mehr übernommen worden.

Das 3. Organ des Verbandes, die Verbandsverwaltung, ist entsprechend der erweiterten Aufgabenstellung auf zurzeit 116 Personen erweitert worden.

2.0. METHODIK DER PLANUNG

2.1. Regionalplanung

Die wichtigste Aufgabe auch des 2. Verbandes ist nach wie vor die Aufstellung des Regionalplanes, der zugleich Bezirksraumordnungsprogramm für den Verbandsbereich ist. Der Regionalplan wird im Rahmen eines sehr intensiven mehrfachen Anhörungsverfahrens, an dem die betroffenen Gemeinden ebenso beteiligt sind wie alle im Verbandsbereich wirkenden anderen Träger öffentlicher Belange, von dem Verband aufgestellt und durch Satzung der Verbandsversammlung beschlossen. Die Gültigkeit des Regionalplanes erlischt nach Ablauf von fünf Jahren, wenn er nicht vorher neu beschlossen wird. Damit ist sichergestellt, dass die regionalplanerischen Aussagen des Verbandes im Rahmen einer 5-jährigen Automatik immer wieder neu überprüft und mit der tatsächlichen Entwicklung in Einklang gebracht werden können.

Im regionalen Raumordnungsprogramm (Verbandsplan) werden zunächst die Grundsätze für die räumliche und sektorale Entwicklung der Region bestimmt. Sodann wird der planerische Rahmen der gesamten Region Hannover und der Entwicklungsspielraum der einzelnen verbandsangehörigen Gemeinden in bezug auf Zentralität, Schwerpunktprogramme, Entwicklung des Wohnungswesens, der gewerblichen Wirtschaft, des Verkehrs und von Massnahmen des Landespflege und Erholung in Form von räumlichen und sachlichen Programmen festgelegt.

Neben der Aufstellung des regionalen Raumordnungsprogramms obliegt dem Verband die Planungskontrolle innerhalb seines Bereichs. Dieser übergeordnete Begriff enthält nicht nur die Kontrolle darüber, inwieweit sich die gemeindlichen Planungen bzw. die Fachplanungen in den Rahmen des Regionalplanes einfügen, sondern umfasst auch die Feinabstimmung etwa zwischen benachbarten gemeindlichen Planungen sowie zwischen Fachplanungen und gemeindlichen Planungen. Insoweit übt der Verband eine umfassende Kontrolle über alle planerischen Tätigkeiten oberhalb der gemeindlichen Ebene aus.

Das Aufstellungsverfahren für das regionale Raumordnungsprogramm ist grundsätzlich dem in der Bundesrepublik festgelegten Aufstellungsverfahren für gemeindliche Flächennutzungspläne nachgebildet. Bei der Aufstellung des 2. und 3. regionalen Raumordnungsprogramms wurden die Erfahrungen, die bei der Aufstellung des 1. Planes gesammelt worden waren, verwertet, so dass zunächst aufgetretene Mängel etwa durch unzureichende Informationen der betroffenen Gemeinden über die einzelnen Ziele des Regionalplans behoben werden konnten. Angesichts der Interessenlage bei der Aufstellung des Regionalplanes muss angemerkt werden, dass die Betroffenen in diesem Fall nicht die Bürger des Raumes, sondern - wenigstens zunächst - die Gemeinden (und die Fachbehörden) sind. Entsprechend werden sich die Informations- und Kooperationsbemühungen des Verbandes darauf zu richten haben, Einvernehmen mit den gemeindlichen Körperschaften über die allgemeinen und speziellen Ziele der Raumordnung innerhalb der Region zu erlangen. Es hat sich dagegen gezeigt, dass es schwierig ist, den 'Bürger' für die im allgemeinen abstrakt wirkenden Ziele der Raumordnung zu interessieren; derartige Bürgerinteressen werden im allgemeinen erst dann geweckt, wenn in Durchführung der Regionalplanung Entscheidungen über den Bau (etwa von Verkehrsanlagen) getroffen werden müssen, durch die Gruppen von Bürgern direkt betroffen werden.

2.2. Fachplanungen

Während der Verband über erhebliche Erfahrungen bei der Aufstellung und Durchführung der Regionalplanung verfügt, ist ihm die Kompetenz zur Aufstellung regionaler Fachpläne erst vor einem Jahr übertragen worden, so dass über die Aufstellung solcher regionalen Fachpläne noch keine Erfahrungen vorliegen.

Angesichts der sehr unterschiedlichen Fachgebiete, auf denen der Verband regionale Fachpläne aufstellen soll, werden auch die betreffenden Aufstellungsverfahren in Aufbau, Detaillierung und Wirkungsweise sehr unterschiedlich sein müssen.

Grundsätzlich sollen alle regionalen Fachpläne auf dem regionalen Raumordnungsprogramm aufbauen, das gewissermassen als Dach aller aufzustellenden regionalen Fachpläne gilt. Schwierigkeiten bei der Aufstellung der einzelnen Fachpläne ergeben sich auch weniger aus der Ableitung aus dem Raumordnungsprogramm, als vielmehr aus der im Gesetz begründeten Sachlage, wonach der Verband nicht in allen sektoralen Bereichen der öffentlichen Daseinsvorsorge, sondern nur in einzelnen solcher Bereiche regionale Fachpläne aufstellen kann. Denn mit der Aufstellung dieser sektoralen, regionalen Entwicklungspläne werden Teile der Finanzmasse aller öffentlichen Hände im Verbandsbereich gebunden ohne Vorabstimmung darüber, welche Mittel etwa von den Gemeinden für andere Sektoren verwendet werden sollen, die nicht von den Fachplänen des Verbandes überdeckt werden. Als verfahrensmässiger Ausweg bietet sich hier die simulierte Planaufstellung auch für die anderen - nicht in der Kompetenz des Verbandes liegenden - Fachbereiche an, ein Verfahren, das einen hohen Grad von Abstimmung nicht nur zwischen den betroffenen Verwaltungen, sondern auch zwischen ihren Entscheidungsgremien voraussetzt.

2.3. Grünraumplanung

Einfacher und dabei doch effizienter wird sich vermutlich die Aufstellung und Wirkung des regionalen Fachplanes 'Erholungseinrichtungen' gestalten, allerdings auch hier unter der Voraussetzung, dass Vorab-Entscheidungen über das hierfür erforderliche finanzielle Volumen der betroffenen öffentlichen Hände herbeigeführt werden können. Denn im Bereich der Erholung und Grünplanung besitzt der Verband umfassende Zuständigkeiten (einschl. Naturschutz), die es ihm erlauben, bereits vor Inangriffnahme des Fachplanes Landschaftspläne als Ergänzung der gemeindlichen Flächennutzungspläne und (im Auftrag der betreffenden Gemeinden) 'grüne Bebauungspläne' aufzustellen.

Allerdings liegen auch mit der Aufstellung dieses Fachplanes noch keine Erfahrungen vor, so dass diese Feststellungen nur unter Vorbehalt abgegeben werden können.

2.4. Durchführungskompetenzen

Da der Verband nach Deutschem Recht keine Gebietskörperschaft ist und auch nicht sein kann, hat er auch nicht die Möglichkeit, beliebige Durchführungskompetenzen seiner Mitglieder an sich zu ziehen. Entsprechend hat der Gesetzgeber die Durchführungskompetenzen des Verbandes auf relativ wenige Gebiete begrenzt.

2.4.1. Die wichtigste Durchführungskompetenz betrifft den öffentlichen Nahverkehr, der im Verbandsbereich aussch. dem Verband obliegt. Das wichtigste Instrument zur Realisierung dieser Kompetenz ist der 'Grossraumverkehr Hannover', also der Verkehrsverbund in der Region Hannover, zu dem sich die Bundesunternehmen, das kommunale Verkehrsunternehmen USTRA und die im Regionalbereich verkehrenden privaten Unternehmen zusammengeschlossen haben. Die Geschäftsstelle und damit die Federführung des Grossraumverkehrs obliegt dem Verband.

Als fachliches Beschlussgremium des Verkehrsverbundes ist ein Nahverkehrsrat gebildet worden, in dem der Verband gleichfalls Sitz und Stimme hat. Da das wichtigste Verkehrsunternehmen der Region, der USTRA, im Eigentum des Verbandes steht, sind die Einwirkungsmöglichkeiten des Verbandes auf den ÖPNV in der Region ausserordentlich gross und vielfältig.

Dem Grossraumverkehr obliegt sowohl die Netzgestaltung der beteiligten Betriebe als auch der Netzausbau und die Netzbedienung, die Fahrplan- und die Tarifgestaltung. Ziel bei der Bildung des Grossraumverkehrs Hannover war neben der Erleichterung der Verkehrsbedienung für den Benutzer auch eine höhere Effizienz des ÖPNV und die Einsparung öffentlicher Mittel. Wenn dies auch bis zu einem gewissen Grad möglich geworden ist, hat sich doch gezeigt, dass ein Betrieb, der auch soziale Gesichtspunkte etwa bei der Tarifgestaltung berücksichtigen soll, nicht nur keine Kostendeckung erreichen kann, sondern im Gegenteil zu immer höheren Subventionen durch die beteiligten öffentlichen Hände führen muss.

Das ist auch der Grund, warum die bislang wenig angefochtene Priorität des öffentlichen Nahverkehrs in der Region in den letzten Jahren häufiger infrage gestellt wird; dazu kommt, dass gerade auch der Haushalt des Verbandes in zeitweise kaum noch erträglichem Masse durch die für den öffentlichen Personenverkehr zu erbringenden Leistungen (Subventionen und Investitionen) belastet wird.

2.4.2. Als 2. wichtige Durchführungskompetenz des Verbandes gilt der Ausbau von Erholungseinrichtungen. Basierend auf den von der Grünplanung erarbeiteten Planungsunterlagen wird der Verband hier schwerpunktartig in den wichtigsten Erholungsgebieten seines Bereichs tätig. Dazu gehört z.B. der Ausbau des stadtnahen Überschwemmungsgebietes der Leine zu einer vielfältigen 'amphibischen' Erholungslandschaft, der seit einigen Jahren in Zusammenarbeit mit den hier tätigen Wirtschaftsunternehmen (Kies- und Sandwerke) im Gang ist und Ende der 80er Jahre abgeschlossen werden soll. Daneben baut der Verband eine Vielzahl von Erholungseinrichtungen im Einzugsbereich des grössten Sees der Region - des Steinhuder Meeres - aus und legt in den bevorzugten Wandergebieten Wege, Parkplätze und dergl. an.

2.4.3. Die übrigen Durchführungskompetenzen des Verbandes - Rettungsdienst, Abfall- und Abwasserbeseitigung - haben bislang nur wenig zu Buche geschlagen, doch sind auch hier zumindest organisatorische Vorarbeiten für die Regelung der betreffenden Fachbereiche angelaufen (z.B. Erstellung von regionalen Abwasser- und Müllbeseitigungsplänen, Beteiligung am Bau von Grosskläranlagen und Grossdeponien).

3.0. REGIONAL-POLITISCHE ERWAGUNGEN

3.1. Aufgabenkatalog und Legitimation der Gremien

Aus den bisher gesammelten Erfahrungen ergibt sich, dass der derzeitige Aufgaben- und Kompetenzenkatalog des Verbandes in seiner breiten Aufgabenfächerung ausreichend (u.U. bereits etwas überzogen) ist, um die der Region gestellten politischen Ziele (Bildung eines einheitlichen regionalen Lebensraumes und Arbeitsmarktes) zu erreichen. Da mit der Übertragung dieser vielfältigen Aufgaben auf eine regionale

Körperschaft zugleich eine entsprechende Beschneidung oder doch Einschränkung der Kompetenzen sowohl der Kreisebene als auch der verbandangehörigen Gemeinden verbunden ist, resultiert aus der Neuverteilung kommunaler Aufgaben einmal ein höheres Mass an Polarität zwischen dem Verband und seinen Gliedern und zum anderen die Rechtfertigung für den höheren Aufwand an demokratischen Kontrollorganen (Bildung eines echten regionalen Parlaments), wie es die Schaffung der aus unmittelbaren Wahlen hervorgehenden Verbandsversammlung darstellt.

Aus der Aufgabe des dem 1. Verbandsmodell zugrunde liegenden Charakters eines echten Kommunalverbandes zugunsten der Bildung einer Beinahe-Gebietskörperschaft haben sich aber Probleme, insbesondere solche verfassungsrechtlicher Art, ergeben, die von dem Nds. Gesetzgeber offenbar nicht gesehen worden sind.

Solange nämlich die verbandsangehörigen Gemeinden an der Willensbildung des Verbandes selbst mitwirken konnten, waren auch die Eingriffsmöglichkeiten des Verbandes auf seine Gemeinden von diesen sehr viel leichter zu dulden als unter dem jetzigen Modell, nach dem den Gemeinden keine direkte Möglichkeit der Mitwirkung an den Entscheidungen des Verbandes vorbehalten ist. Denn das demokratische Kontrollorgan des Verbandes besteht jetzt nicht mehr aus Vertretern der Gemeinden, sondern aus Volksvertretern, die an Aufträge der Gemeinden nicht gebunden sind. Damit ist aber der Verband in verfassungsrechtlichem Sinne nicht mehr Zusammenschluss von Gemeinden, sondern im Verhältnis zu den Gemeinden ein 'Aliud' mit der Konsequenz, dass von ihm Einschränkungen in der grundgesetzlich verankerten Autonomie der Gemeinden etwa in bezug auf Forderungen in der Raumplanung oder in kommunalwirtschaftlichem Rahmen nur noch bedingt oder auf jeden Fall in weniger detaillierter oder bestimmter Form vorgenommen werden können, als dies nach dem 1. Modell möglich war (während z.B. der 1. Verband als Planungsverband nach dem Bundesbaugesetz auch die Aufstellung der Flächennutzungspläne der verbandsangehörigen Gemeinden hätte an sich ziehen können, ist dies nach dem derzeitigen Verbandsmodell nicht mehr möglich).

3.2. Ausgewogenheit in der Finanzgebarung

In der Zusammensetzung des Verbandshaushaltes zeigen sich immer deutlicher die Auswirkungen der Verzerrungen, die durch das starke Vorherrschen der Leistungen für den ÖPNV (zurzeit immer noch ca. 63% des Haushaltsvolumens!) verursacht werden. Auch hat es den Anschein, als ob diese Verzerrungen, die nicht nur den Haushalt, sondern das gesamte Gefüge des Verbandes nach innen und seine Identifizierung nach aussen betreffen, so lange nicht bereinigt werden können, wie nur eine bedeutende Durchführungsaufgabe von der regionalen Instanz wahrgenommen wird. Auch diese Erkenntnis war ein Grund für den Gesetzgeber, dem Verband weitere Durchführungsaufgaben zu übertragen. Grundsätzlich zeigt sich aber, dass derartigen umfangreiche Durchführungsaufgaben der kommunalen Daseinsvorsorge besser entweder im Rahmen der Allzuständigkeit der Gemeinden mit ihren entsprechend ausgewogenen und dimensionierten Haushalten verbleiben sollten oder von entsprechenden Ein-zweckverbänden wahrzunehmen wären, wenigstens solange es nicht gelingt, regionale Gebietskörperschaften mit entsprechend vielseitigen Durchführungskompetenzen zu schaffen.

Andererseits war es politisches Ziel, durch die Übertragung einer Vielzahl von Durchführungsaufgaben an die Regionalinstanz zu einem höheren Mass an Konzentration der Mittel aller öffentlichen Hände und damit zugleich zu einem höheren Grad an Effizienz in der Verwendung der Finanzmasse zu kommen. Ob und inwieweit das als Folge des allmählichen Inkrafttretens der Vielzahl regionaler Fachpläne zu verwirklichen sein wird, kann heute noch nicht übersehen werden. Insbesondere, da auch hier mit verfassungsrechtlich gesetzten Grenzen in bezug auf Eingriffe in den unverzichtbaren Aufgabenbestand der Gemeinden gerechnet werden muss.

So stellt sich die Frage, ob nicht die Übertragung nur von Steuerungsfunktionen auf die regionale Ebene zur Erfüllung der angestrebten regional-politischen Ziele besser geeignet ist als die Übertragung der Durchführungsaufgaben mit der damit verbundenen Einbusse an Elastizität und der gleichfalls damit bewirkten Verlagerung gemeindlicher Finanzmassen auf die regionale Ebene.

3.3. Interdependenz zwischen Verfassung, räumlicher Organisation und Aufgaben

Das 2. Verbandsmodell beinhaltet im Grunde drei kommunale Instanzen innerhalb der Region, nämlich die Gemeinde, die Kreisinstanz und die Regionalinstanz. Obwohl von dem Gesetzgeber versucht worden war, zu einer klareren Kompetenzabgrenzung zwischen diesen drei Instanzen innerhalb der Region zu kommen, zeigt sich immer deutlicher, dass dieser dreistufige Aufbau nicht nur für den Bürger schwer überschaubar ist, sondern auch zu echten Kompetenzschwierigkeiten führt, so dass im Endeffekt eine dieser drei Ebenen zu viel ist.

Dazu kommt, dass als Folge der Gebiets- und Verwaltungsreform in Niedersachsen Grossgemeinden von z.T. überdehntem räumlichen Zuschnitt entstanden sind mit der Folge, dass auch die Kreisebene in der Region (früher 4 Landkreise) zu einem grossen Kreis um die Landeshauptstadt zusammengelegt wurde. Damit ist aber eine latente Konkurrenzsituation zwischen den beiden räumlich weitgehend identischen Verbänden 'Landkreis Hannover' und 'Grossraum Hannover' gegeben, die auf Dauer zu weiteren Kompetenzschwierigkeiten und damit eher zu Beeinträchtigungen in der Erreichung kommunal-politischer Ziele führen wird als zu entsprechenden Erleichterungen.

4.0. Zusammenfassung

Zusammenfassend kann festgestellt werden, dass das Modell 2 des Verbandes Grossraum Hannover in der Bundesrepublik die bislang am weitesten vorgetriebene institutionalisierte Lösung zur Regelung der Vielfalt regionaler Probleme darstellt. Da dieses Modell einen zusätzlichen Schritt in der Weiterentwicklung bislang erprobter regionaler Kommunalverbände in Richtung auf eine echte regionale Gebietskörperschaft darstellt, ist abzuwarten, inwieweit es sich in den nächsten Jahren, und d.h. nach Realisierung der im Gesetz angelegten Möglichkeiten, bewähren wird. Erst dann wird es möglich sein, auch Aussagen darüber zu treffen, ob und inwieweit die Übertragung regionaler Funktionen auf eine Selbstverwaltungskörperschaft in der hier geschehenen Form über den Modellcharakter hinaus fortgesetzt werden sollte oder nicht.

Summary of the SUBSTANTIVE PAPER ON THE REGIONAL PLANNING IN THE
GREATER HANOVER AREA

1. Introduction

Regional planning as it is implemented in the Greater Hanover area is an instrument to amalgamate or to decide upon both sides of influencing interests. This instrument has been developed out of the understanding that state and private investments for infrastructure institutions have always a strong impact at the regional and local level. The necessity of an areal co-ordination of different investments create relatively early a communal planning instrument: city planning. Steady and fast growing cities had to ascertain an optimal and manifold use of their area resources in combination with the infrastructural network.

Accordingly, the integration of planning in the Hanover region is carried out not in the form of an additive co-ordination of single local planning, but primarily in completion of the Greater Hanover regional planning concept by local planning and then additional in form of a detailed co-ordination of intercommunal planning.

Before Greater Hanover started its activities, there was especially a lack of regional infrastructural institutions, but also an insufficient co-ordination between the local planning boards and an aggravation of the overall framework planning concepts by the multitude of the local competences.

2. The model Greater Hanover Area Association of 1962

The Greater Hanover Act of 1962 communalized the prevailing state task "Regional Planning" as this task was assigned to an association at the regional level.

The competences of this first area association encompassed:

- Regional planning with the goal of a Regional Planning Program for the area,
- Establishment of principles for the land use,
- Authority for acquisition and reservation of land,
- Advancement of the development of the communities by unified and controlled planning,
- Accomplishment of regionally important measures,
- Lower and higher state planning board,
- Lower natural reservation board,
- Lower land cultivation board,
- Forest board in according to the Lower Saxony forest law.

Out of this enumeration it will be obvious, that these tasks require a great deal of managing activities, especially when since 1969 the area association gained the task of the regional transport authority. Therefore the balance of the first association increased since 1962 from approx. 0.9 mio to approx. 125.0 mio DM in 1974.

The main institution for handling the necessary decisions was (and in a revised form still is) the area association assembly. In 1962 this assembly was comprised out of non elected but delegated representatives from the important communities and delegates from the county council level.

By special regulations it was assured, that the core-city - which had and still has more than 50% of the region's population - could send not more than 40% but less than 36% of the delegates to the assembly. So a major influence of the hinterland by the core-city was excluded, and vice versa, in essential problems because these decisions require a two/third majority of the association assembly.

This assembly was supported by the association directorate, the association council, and the administration staff with the area association director.

3. The model Greater Hanover of 1974

In 1974 extensive implementation tasks of regional and communal infrastructure supply had been transferred to the area association besides the planning and co-ordinating competences. It proved that the

administrative organization which was optimal for planning and co-ordination, could not simply be adapted to the routine management of extensive and less specified tasks.

Similar arguments came out of the political parties and groups of the region, concerning the relation between democratic legitimation and the expanded problem situation. From there followed as opinion of the political groups the requirement for the establishment of a more democratic legalized area association. The association assembly should be elected in direct polling acts instead of indirect delegated representatives. These changes have been included in the Lower Saxony law of February 1974.

The second Greater Hanover Area Association has the same competences like the first area association: in addition the association got the authority to set up regional framework plans for a set of planning programs, which will explain the desired complementary public infrastructure institutions.

These regional plans will be established for:

- hospitals,
- adult education,
- recreation and leisure time activities,
- water- and energy supply,
- garbage- and sewage disposal,
- traffic and transport institutions,
- school development on the higher level.

With these plans not only the decision about the budget of the association in the related fields is made, but also of the participating communities.

Obviously this will lead to changes within the power structure and the decisions which are to be taken in this region. The structural changes concerning the budgets of the various regional planning authorities have steadily influenced the planning competences of many communities.

Only few of the metropolitan cities are nowadays in the situation to establish a comprehensive autonomous planning program for their territories. If this is a right statement, one can conclude that regional planning is not to be considered as an appendix of sectoral and function

planning concepts at the communal level, but must be carried on at all levels of state responsibility.

4. Planning Co-ordination and Control

Besides the setting up of the Regional Planning Program "Greater Hanover" has the duty of planning control within the region. This implies not only the control whether the communal planning and the special plans correspond with the goals and objectives of the Regional Planning Program, but it also includes the balancing of neighbouring communal planning activities and other planning concepts. In so far the Greater Hanover association controls extensively all planning activities at the higher planning level.

For the second and third Regional Planning Program the experiences of the first program have been utilized, so that the first shortcomings - for instance insufficient informations about the communities concerned - could be removed, according to the goals of the program.

Facing the fields of interest by setting up this Regional Program, it must be said, that those primarily concerned are not the single citizens of the region - but the communities and institutions involved. Accordingly, the efforts for information and co-operation of the association are focused on the balance with the communities about the common and special goals within the region.

On the other hand it is to observe, that it is difficult for the 'common citizen' to develop an interest for the almost abstract goals of a regional planning program. Public spirit mainly starts to rise, when in accomplishment of the program decisions are to be taken in the real world (for instance for building arterial roads), which will directly effect groups and people living there. We will have to observe whether a directly elected association assembly is able to change this situation.

CHAPTER 6

THE RIJNMOND AUTHORITY

attempts to manage the urban environment at the regional level.

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to provide an introduction on the theme of the seminar as it relates to the Rijnmond Authority.

This authority is a young and new form of government, administration and planning for handling problems of the urban environment at the regional level.

The theme discussed in the seminar can be summarized as:

- what is the role of the planner or planning at the metropolitan level in managing urban development in relation to the actions and influences of other collective actors such as the administration, the population and the enterprises and institutions;
- in what way are the actors mentioned above involved in the planning process like the formulation of objectives, new planning methods and plan implementation.

Secondly, the manner in which the recently approved regional plan was prepared will be discussed. Attention will be given to the formulation of objectives and programmes, models used in plan preparation, future land use and participation ').

The last part will consist of three examples of regional action in practice in the fields of housing and the residential environment, urban traffic and transportation and economic development.

')

Attached are two maps: The Rijnmond Area (existing situation)
The Regional Plan (1986)

PART I A BRIEF OUTLINE OF RIJNMOND

1. THE RIJNMOND AUTHORITY

The Rijnmond Authority is an example of a new form of government organization. It was established by a special Act, passed by parliament on 26th November, 1964.

Until that date the Netherlands had three government levels: the national, the provincial and the local level.

The Netherlands has 11 provinces, together comprising 840 municipalities.

The creation of the Rijnmond Authority introduced a new government level, the regional level, situated between those of the province and the municipality.

Although it was not the intention to establish a fourth government level - Rijnmond would primarily serve to co-ordinate municipal tasks - Rijnmond, in view of its responsibilities, tasks and relationship with the municipalities in its area and the province in which it is situated, can neither be regarded as entirely municipal nor provincial government.

The main reason for establishing the Rijnmond Authority is to be found in the desire to unify the sometimes divergent interests of the twenty-three municipalities in its area. Rotterdam, the second largest municipality in the Netherlands, is located within the Rijnmond area.

Since the Second World War it has grown into one of the largest port and industrial cities in the world. Rotterdam has been and still is confronted with many problems which cannot be solved within the boundaries of its intensively used area, such as the need for new harbours, industrial, housing, recreational and other areas.

Industrial development, in the hands of the municipality of Rotterdam, has also had undesirable consequences - pollution, noise and so on - in the other municipalities within the Rijnmond area.

To solve these difficult and complicated intermunicipal problems, a new governmental organization was considered necessary. This organi-

zation would co-ordinate those activities which could and should be jointly undertaken whilst leaving to the municipality those activities that need to be undertaken, in close contact with citizens and citizen groups, at the local level.

The Rijnmond Authority was therefore established as an experiment from which the national government could gather experience for the creation of new governmental institutions in other metropolitan areas with similar problems.

The Rijnmond Authority has so far remained the only regional institution which has been established by a special act. In other parts of the Netherlands, regional organizations have been established on the basis of voluntary co-operation, mostly with a limited aim, such as the preparation of a structure plan. Such regional bodies do not possess a council composed of representatives directly chosen by the population.

The Rijnmond Authority has such a council; it comprises 81 members. As in the case of municipal and provincial councils, as well as the parliament, elections are held every four years.

The chairman of the council is appointed by the Crown. The chairman, together with six elected representatives chosen from the council, constitute the executive board.

Rijnmond has now been in existence for ten years and the results of the experiment can thus be reviewed. As a regional body it has importantly contributed to the effective co-ordination and integration of those municipal activities which need to be undertaken jointly. With respect to these interests, the Authority comprises an important link between local government on the one hand and provincial and national government on the other. As such, its existence is regarded as useful, even indispensable. It has become clear that the solution of the problems of the metropolis would be facilitated by transferring to Rijnmond more municipal and provincial and even some national responsibilities.

Limitations, however, have also become apparent. Statutory possibilities and powers have in certain instances been found to be insufficient. The system of financing has also been found to leave much to be desired:

two thirds of the Authority's financial resources are contributed by the municipalities in the Rijnmond area in direct proportion to their number of inhabitants and the remaining third is contributed by central government. The lack of own financial resources can be considered a limitation.

Some municipalities view the existing Rijnmond as an additional time-consuming link in policy and administrative procedures. The transferal of powers from municipalities and province to the region, needed for new regional tasks, is meeting difficulties in practice, especially when it is felt as a diminishing of powers and when the Rijnmond has attempted to implement policies which were not completely endorsed.

In recent years many new ideas for an improved Rijnmond Act and the creation of regional authorities throughout the Netherlands have been launched. These ideas are based on the assumption that the regional level is the most suitable for many government tasks and activities which are now the responsibility of municipalities or provinces.

Tasks at the local level, however, should be undertaken in such a way that the greatest degree of citizen participation is made possible. Using this balance between centralization and decentralization as a starting point, an outline for a prospective bill has recently been published which envisages the division of the eleven existing provinces into twenty-six regions with municipal and provincial (and state) tasks in order to achieve a more effective system of government whilst preventing the creation of a fourth level of government concern.

2. RESPONSIBILITIES AND ACTIVITIES

The most important responsibilities provided by the 1964 Act are the following:

- the preparation of a regional plan for the Rijnmond area, a responsibility formerly exercised by the province.

Municipal structure and detail plans must conform with this regional

plan. The provincial government, which must approve municipal plans, has to seek the advice of the Rijnmond Authority prior to the approval of such plans. A regional plan is valid for ten years and has an overall character. The plan provides, for a planning period of ten to fifteen years, a quantitative programme for principal functions, such as housing, industry, recreation, transport and agriculture, as well as the location of these functions;

- when considered in the interest of the Rijnmond area, such as the realization of the regional plan, the Rijnmond Authority can issue directives and instructions.

Directives are not compulsory recommendations; instructions on the other hand are binding. Directives and instructions can be issued with respect to the construction of harbours and associated industrial areas, the establishment of industry in these and other areas, residential development. The application of the 1947 Housing Act, open air recreation, the construction and improvement of highways and waterways, bridges and tunnels, the transport of persons and goods, and the control of water and air pollution;

- municipal and higher government tasks can be transferred to the Rijnmond Authority.

Until recently the principal activities of the Rijnmond Authority resided in the field of planning and research. Now increasing attention is given to the measures required to effectuate approved policies, such as implementation and control.

- Planning and research.

As mentioned above, one of the main tasks of the Rijnmond Authority is the drafting a regional plan for the Rijnmond area. In April 1974 a regional plan for the whole area was adopted by the Rijnmond council.

Policies for economic activities, traffic and transport, outdoor recreation, housing and education have also been prepared or are in the course of preparation. The physical aspects of these planning

sectors have been integrated in the regional plan.

For the handling of economic activities, research was done on the economic structure of the region and on the location criteria of basic industries. The input-output relationships were incorporated in a model.

This economic structure model provided the information required for formulating a policy for economic development required as part of the regional plan.

In the field of traffic and transportation, a comprehensive land use/transportation study was conducted jointly with the city of Rotterdam. The transportation model developed during this study has proven a very valuable tool in planning transportation facilities. A provisional policy was formulated in 1970 and the first parts of an integrated transportation plan for the region have recently been published.

A broad study on environmental quality was started in 1969, the results of which will be used as a basis for formulating an integrated policy for the physical environment. The first results of this study served as a starting point for the preparation of the regional plan.

A broad survey of existing housing conditions and housing stock has also been started. The results of the investigation are expected to provide a basis for formulating policies on housing improvement and conservation as well indicate the qualities required in future housing developments.

In April this year a plan for main open air recreation facilities in the Rijnmond area was prepared. Policies in the field of education have also been formulated.

- Implementation and control.

From its beginning, the Rijnmond Authority has played an important role in controlling and measuring environmental quality.

Air pollution in the highly industrialized Rijnmond area is the cause of much trouble to the population. After preliminary studies by local committees for environmental hygiene in the Rijnmond area a Central Control Room for measuring air and noise pollution (abbreviation: CMRK) was established by Rijnmond in 1965.

A very important task of the CMRK is to deal with complaints received by telephone. This telephone service is available both day and night to the public.

In the first year, 7,200 complaints about stench and noise were received. In 1970, the total number of complaints reached almost 20,000.

A telephone service for dealing with complaints is valuable. More important, however, is the answer to the question: how can complaints be prevented. Apart from the complaints service, Rijnmond operates a computerized warning system for air pollution.

In the Rijnmond area some 31 sampling stations, so-called "sniffing poles", have been installed roughly in an ellipse around the major industries. These sensors continuously measure the sulphur dioxide (SO₂) content of the atmosphere. Every minute the results (given in microgrammes per cub. metre) are directly transmitted to the computer, which has been installed in the Central Control Room at Schiedam.

When the hourly mean concentrations of SO₂ exceed a given threshold then, assuming climatic conditions remain stable, a concentration of malodorous components can be expected to develop. After contact with the weather station at Rotterdam airport, a warning is sent to industries in the area. They are requested to take measures to prevent malodorous compounds escaping into the air.

The kind of measures requested depend upon the severity of the situation. Measures that can be requested include extra checking on leakages, postponing maintenance and cleaning activities.

The Rijnmond Authority is increasingly engaged in the process of implementation, especially when this shows signs of stagnating. Implementation of government policy, however, is and remains largely in the hands of municipalities.

The Rijnmond Authority is beginning to become active with respect to the provision of recreational areas and, more recently, with the construction of several residential areas. This is organized in co-operation with those agencies with formal responsibilities in these fields.

The tasks and activities of the Rijnmond Authority are increasing; only the most important have been listed above. In addition, for example, it is also involved in development of an integrated ambulance transport and fire-fighting system.

In the last few years the number of people employed by the Authority has grown to approximately 260. Its annual budget required in connection with the above activities, is Nfls. 25 million.

3. FACTS AND FIGURES

General

The Rijnmond area is situated at the mouth of the rivers Rhine and Maas which provide good connections with the industrial and population concentrations of north-west Europe.

The area covers approximately 662 sq.km, some 1.6% of the total surface area of the Netherlands. In 1974 the area had a resident population of 1,050,000, which represents 7.8% of the total Dutch population. Population density is very high: 1,864 persons per sq.km, compared with 402 persons for the Netherlands as a whole.

In the urban areas of Rijnmond, which account for approx. two thirds of the total population, the density is more than 3,100 persons per sq.km.

It is estimated that in the period 1965 - 1970 the area accounted for 13% of the Netherlands' production and 20% of national exports.

Economic activities

The in and out transport of goods has undoubtedly been the motive force behind the Rijnmond's growth.

The port of Rotterdam, measured in terms of quantity of goods loaded

and unloaded, is the largest in the world.

The following table gives an impression of harbour activities in several of the world's largest ports.

Table 1

Import and export of goods in million tons of several large ports in 1960 and 1966 - 1969.

	1960	1966	1969	1971	1973	Average annual growth
Rotterdam	83,4	130,4	182,6	232,8	309,8	10.6
New York	92,2	95,7	*	110.0	*	1.6
Marseille	23,9	63.5	66.2	77.0	102.5	11.9
London	58.3	59.0	58.9	57.4	57.2	-0.2
Antwerp	37.5	59.2	73.0	72.2	72.3	5.2
Genoa	20.6	39.0	53.5	56.7	61.6	8.8
Hamburg	30.8	37.5	40.9	45.3	49.9	3.8
Yokohama	12.1	35.3	43.2	112.1	130.6	20.9
Kobe	*	*	*	114.3	142.3	11.6

*) unknown

Table 2

International goods transport by sea from Rotterdam (mln. tons)

Year	Bulk cargo							Old category general cargo	Total
	Grains	Ores	Coal	Mineral oils	Fertilizers	Other	Total		
1960	5.4	12.7	5.3	40.0	3.0	2.3	75.5	14.6	90.1
1965	5.9	15.9	5.3	68.5	3.9	4.2	104.0	18.6	122.7
1969	4.5	25.3	5.3	107.3	4.8	7.3	154.7	27.8	182.6
1972	5.2	25.1	5.8	187.9	5.0	5.8	235.8	32.7	268.5
1974*	15.6	38.0	8.1	169.2	3.8	12.0	246.9	31.4	278.3

*) preliminary figures

Apárt from the transport of goods, a port industrial complex has developed. The chemical industry and oil refineries have played a particularly important role in the growth of gross production in the Rijnmond area. The petro-chemical industry accounts for 61% of the total Rijnmond production; this production represents 43% of the total Netherlands production in the chemical and oil refining sectors.

Some 20% of Rijnmond production is accounted for by the basic metal, machinery, electro-technical and means of transport (shipbuilding) industries - 8 to 9% of all Netherlands production in these sectors.

Table 3

Crude oil refining capacity of oil refineries

	1950	1960	1965	1969	1971	1973
Shell	5	15	18	25	25	25
Chevron	1	3	4	12½	12½	15
Esso	-	5	8	16	16	16
Gulf	-	-	1½	4½	4½	5
B.P.	-	-	-	5	15	23
Total	6	23	31½	63	73	84

Employment

Because of its many industrial activities, the Rijnmond area is characterized by a high percentage of employment in the secondary sector. In comparison with other industrial metropolitan areas the percentage is low, due to the high degree of automatization in the petro-chemical industry (Table 4).

The Rijnmond has an economically active population of 420,000. Although a considerable number choose to work in employment centres outside Rijnmond (such as The Hague), there is a net surplus of incoming commuters of approx. 50,000.

Table 4

Employment by sector in the Regional Area (x 1,000 workplaces)

	1960		1965		1970	
	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%
Primary sector (Agriculture)	8.5	2	6.4	1	6.0	1
Secondary sector (Industry and Building)	163.2	40	171.6	39	176.2	38
Tertiary sector (Services)	205.9	50	231.9	52	250.8	53
Government	32.4	8	35.5	8	38.4	8
Total	410.0	100	445.2	100	471.4	100

Population

As noted earlier, the population of the Rijnmond area is approx. 1,050,000. The housing stock is in the order of 377,000. Despite an increase in the housing stock of more than 7,000 dwellings per year during the 1960's, the total population has hardly increased. In recent years the population has in fact shown a small decline; housing construction is also declining to approx. 6,000 dwellings a year.

The reduction in family size has been largely responsible for these phenomena. Both the average age of marriage and the age at which couples have children have declined. Moreover, the number of persons living alone is rapidly increasing.

4. PROBLEMS AND POLICIES

The most important problems confronting the regional government are the result of post-war port and industrial development which has taken place on a comparatively limited area. Locational advantages make the area highly suited for storage and transit depots, petrochemical plants and shipbuilding industries. These activities attract

support and conglomerate activities: those that furnish the major industries with products and services. The demand for industrial space in the Rijnmond area far exceeds available supply.

As a result of this there is, in contrast with other parts of the Netherlands, virtually no unemployment. There is, however, a certain imbalance in the employment structure and this is reflected in a discrepancy in supply and demand on the labour market. Because the active resident population is in general skilled and well-trained, it tends to seek work in higher level employment, for example in the tertiary sector. This has resulted in an excess of jobs calling for unskilled labour, a demand which has largely been filled by foreign migrant workers drawn predominantly from countries around the Mediterranean Sea.

Through a selective location policy with respect to the remaining harbour and industrial areas and the promotion of the tertiary sector, an attempt is now being made to qualitatively attune the labour market with employment.

Given the pattern of employment which developed after 1945, it has proven a problem to provide a sufficient number of dwellings within an acceptable travel distance of the main industrial and office centres. A housing shortage still exists, albeit much less now than in the past. The growth of such facilities and services as recreation and public transport has not generally kept pace with residential development. In addition, many pre-war as well as some post-war dwellings (especially in extensive high-rise housing schemes) no longer meet present housing requirements.

Policies have been formulated and are being actively implemented to overcome deficiencies in facilities and services, to rehabilitate old dwellings and neighbourhoods, and to adjust recent schemes to the desires of inhabitants.

Considerable attention is thus being devoted to the quality of the built environment, The costs associated with such policies, however, are such that they constrain the scale at which they can be applied.

The problem of air and other forms of pollution caused by industry in the Rijnmond area was noted earlier. The heavy flows of traffic

within the area also contribute to this problem. Faced with this, an attempt is being made to deliberately promote the use of public transport through such measures as restricting the construction of new roads, the development of a competitive public transport system, and the introduction of parking restrictions in the main centres.

The problems noted above have resulted in a decision not to construct more harbour and industrial areas.

Throughout the region it is being emphasized that, despite the fact that they are of great national importance, there is simply no more space for new harbours and industry.

PART II THE PREPARATION OF THE REGIONAL PLAN

1. THE FORMULATION OF OBJECTIVES

In many respects, the quality of Rijnmond's physical environment leaves much to be desired. The reason for the present deficiency seems to reside in the preoccupation in our developed society for economic things and what we choose to call 'growth'.

In view of current deficiencies, an Integrated Environmental Study (I.E.S.) was started in 1969 in order to furnish answers on the ways in which inhabitants of the Rijnmond area are affected by poor environmental quality.

In deciding to undertake such a study, it was acknowledged that policies designed to improve environmental quality tended to be haphazard. The study was thus designed to provide a basis for a more consistent environmental policy. The results of the study were also to provide inputs into the preparation of physical plans, especially the regional plan.

The purpose of the I.E.S. was to acquire information regarding the extent to which the environment in Rijnmond accords with the needs and wishes of its population. Further elaboration of this aim involved the clarification of at least two other points, namely what is meant by "environment" and what the relevant needs and wishes are.

After study of the meaning to be attached to the term "environment", it was decided to limit the study to the "three-dimensional" or "spatial" environment. Consequently, the social environment and the work environment were not objects of direct study, although their influences were allowed to interfere.

The spatial environment was defined generally so as to include the following:

- a. the micro-environment: the home including outside premises;
- b. the meso-environment: the immediate surroundings of the home, comprising the visual surroundings on the one hand and the facilities within walking distance on the other;
- c. the macro-environment: the district or area and the facilities situated within it, including traffic, transportation and recreation;
- d. the bio-environment, comprising:
 - the quality of the air, water and soil;
 - the noise level;
 - the possibility of disasters;
 - vegetable and animal life.

The question as to what needs and wishes constitute the subject of study in the survey was answered on the basis of the premise of an affluent society, i.e. the satisfaction of the primary needs which determine the ability of human beings to stay alive. The principle means that the needs associated with the minimum subsistence level did not form the subject of the study. What we were concerned with here was the extent to which needs and wishes associated with the spatial environment, needs which only make themselves felt once basic existence appears secured, were satisfied.

That being the case, the I.E.S. may be characterized as a survey to determine whether and, if so, to what extent the inhabitants of Rijnmond may be regarded as "relatively deprived persons" in the matter of their spatial environment.

The term "relative deprivation" was employed in the context if the

situation in which a group of the population lives compared unfavourably with that of a reference group, which for the purpose of the investigation was the population of the Netherlands as a whole. For our purpose, differences between the situations in which groups live can be described in terms of quality of life; the I.E.S. was therefore a quality-of-life survey.

The key-question was to determine to what extent the population of the Rijnmond area consider their well-being to be damaged by aspects of the physical environment. To measure this, a questionnaire was drawn up covering three kinds of indicators:

- a. satisfaction with relation to the physical environment;
- b. alienation with relation to the physical environment;
- c. health-perception.

The satisfaction indicator was used as the most direct indicator for actual feelings of discord.

The indicators alienation and health-perception were used because the indicator satisfaction only indicates manifest shortages. To know more about latent shortages we need other indicators which measure the effects of the physical environment more indirectly. The concept of alienation seems the most suited for this purpose. Various environment alienation scales were therefore developed: namely:

- powerlessness in relation to the area;
- perspective on the physical environments;
- inclination to move house.

These scales were used together with scales measuring general alienation, such as a general powerlessness-scale, a social isolation-scale and a scale future-perspective.

In addition, to know more about latent shortages of a physical environment, a comprehensive series of medical questions was prepared.

On the basis of this questionnaire some 2,500 people were interviewed in two highly urbanized regions of the country, namely Rotterdam

and surroundings (Rijnmond), Amsterdam and surroundings (Noordzeekanaalgebied) and, moreover, 600 people selected as representing the whole country.

The I.E.S. survey has so far produced much valuable information. The two most valuable results would appear to be the following:

- a. Life in the Rijnmond area is appreciated much less positively than living in a less urbanized area. This must be ascribed not only to environmental pollution but also, and particularly, to the quality of accommodation and to the planning and lay-out of the immediate surroundings of the home.
- b. Life in the Rijnmond area is felt to be less pleasant than in an area which, from the viewpoint of urbanization, is comparable.

It appears that this situation must be ascribed principally to the environment stress caused on the one hand by industrial activity and on the other by a lack of facilities for open air recreation, including parks, and a shortage of town centre facilities.

The results which emerged from the Integrated Environmental Study made it clear that very considerable attention would need to be given to environmental quality in drawing up the regional plan. This concern is reflected in the central objective formulated at the start of the plan preparation process: the improvement of the physical environment, i.e. the control of soil, water and air pollution, the improvement of living conditions (the dwelling, the housing environment and the required levels of facilities and services), and placing care for the preservation of the remaining areas of open space (the natural and cultural environment still largely unaffected by urban development processes) above the further growth of population and employment.

Sectoral objectives for population, economic development, traffic and transport, and facilities and services were derived from the central objective. With respect to population, the maintenance of the present level or a further decline was not considered

objectionable. It was, however, viewed as essential that imbalance in the population structure (with respect to age groups, levels of education and income) should be corrected and further prevented. Failure to accomplish this would result in inadequately supported levels of facilities and services with, as a consequence, a deterioration in the quality of the urban way of life prevailing in the Rijnmond area. The prevention of such imbalances, it was contended could be accomplished through the implementation of a differentiated residential development programme.

With respect to employment and economic development, the emphasis placed on environmental quality called for the rejection of those activities considered damaging to the environment and the extensive and rapid replacement of existing pollutive industry. The environment and labour supply were considered the determining factors for establishing the nature and extent of employment. It follows that, in relation to what has been said about population, only the level of commuting - travel times of up to 45 minutes being considered acceptable - permitted limited growth in total employment. The better attunement of demand on the labour market would need to be obtained through the promotion of the tertiary sector.

For traffic and transport, the central objective meant that travel should be reduced as much as possible and that the use of public transport should be promoted. It further meant that slower modes of transport should be allowed to play a more important role in movement patterns than has hitherto been the case.

The starting point for the location of facilities and services in the fields of recreation, education, health and social care, was strongly related to the sectoral objective, formulated for traffic and transport: that these should be integrated to the greatest possible extent with residential areas. In addition, existing deficiencies in service levels should be corrected as soon as possible.

By first formulating a central objective and using it to derive sectoral objectives, the plan preparation process guaranteed the general attunement of different plan sectors.

2. THE FORMULATION OF PROGRAMMES

The existing situation and past trends in development were, with the help of several models and assumptions made with respect to processes which could not be influenced by government, used as a basis for protecting possible future developments.

The results obtained together with their possible effects on land use and the environment were confronted with the objectives. Apparent discrepancies were highlighted. On the basis of these discrepancies, policy assumptions were adjusted, in other words, made compatible with the objectives. In this way, the principal quantitative elements such as population, employment, traffic flows and housing were established in accordance with the objectives.

In some instances, the results emerging from the application of a model were used as policy assumptions for other models, e.g. population and employment forecasts were used as inputs into the transportation model. This approach ensured a high degree of integration between the different programmes.

Programmes for facilities and services such as education, health care and recreation were derived from the chosen population forecast. These programmes were compared with those already existing and adjustments were made when necessary.

3. MODELS USED IN PLAN PREPARATION

a. The economic Structure Model

Economic structure and development were summarized in a model. The model is a set of mathematical equations which examines the relationships between consumption, production, investment and employment. The model was used to examine the consequences of different policy assumptions.

The model is in principle an input-output model. The input-output table used for the model provides an overview of all deliveries made

in one year by establishments to other establishments, consumers, government and investors both within and outside the Rijnmond. The table also provides an overview of all incoming deliveries. The result of the table is the gross added value defined as the difference between the total production of all establishments in the Rijnmond and the deliveries made to the region.

The essential of the model is that it allows forecasts of production and employment to be made for 32 branches of industry in the region on the basis of projections concerning the demand for products manufactured within the region.

b. The Transportation Model

The traffic and transport model reviews existing relationships between three main factors: households and employment, highway and public transport networks, and their respective flows. Traffic flows can be forecasted on the basis of assumptions made with respect to the size and distribution of households and employment and on the size and configuration of networks. The model used comprised four sub-models:

- Category Analysis Trip End Model - for prediction of trip ends generated in and attracted to the individual traffic analysis zones, with the characteristic data for the zones placed in "categories".
- Interactance Trip Distribution Model - for prediction of travel between pairs of zones based on the interacting factors of the distance between the zones, the relative strength of the attractive or generative force in each zone, and purpose of the trip.
- Diversion Modal Split Model - for prediction of the split, of total travel demand among the various modes serving the zone pairs.
- Traffic Assignment (Minimum-path) Model - allocation or "assignment" of the travel demands between zones to the network representing the system of roads or public transport routes.

As can be seen from the above, the model used is comparable with those used in many other transportation/land use studies.

c. Stench Perception Model

This model consists of two components: a distribution model and a perception model. The distribution of industrial air pollution is related to the size of industrial areas and meteorological conditions. The simulated concentrations show a high correlation with the complaints received on stench. This correlation forms the basis of the perception model which is used for forecasting the extent to which populations residing within certain distances of industrial concentrations might perceive the problem of air pollution defined in terms of stench. Moreover, the pattern of complaints received can be used as a partial basis for determining the relative magnitude of pollutive emissions.

d. The Population Model

This model was used for determining the size and age structure of the population. Inputs to the model were assumptions on demographic factors (mortality, natality and migration) and the number of dwellings. This model was also used for projecting the housing stock.

4. FUTURE LAND USE

A map depicting future land use constitutes an important part of the regional plan. The description and distribution of the proposed land uses were based upon criteria derived from the objectives noted above. In those harbour and industrial areas close to residential development, for example, the further expansion of industries considered pollutive was excluded. Only changes leading to a reduction in pollutive emissions were permitted, as were new establishments which could be shown to be non-pollutive.

Other examples include: the location of facilities and services close to or within residential areas rather than in the main centres, such as in the Rotterdam central area; the protection of

areas with high landscape and natural history values; limiting the area of horticulture under glass; and the abandonment of some motorways.

Municipalities are obliged, in preparing their plans, to conform with the land use policies contained in the regional plan.

5. PARTICIPATION

An extensive participation programme was organized following the preparation of the first draft of the regional plan. An independent institute was responsible for organizing this programme. Some 30 working groups composed of interested citizens drawn from different parts of the region were formed. These groups discussed the objectives, programmes and draft plan and prepared alternatives. In addition, a questionnaire was published in local newspapers to give those citizens not represented in the working groups the opportunity to influence decisions. Public enquiries were also held in different parts of the region.

The above-mentioned procedure was organized in addition to that contained in existing town planning legislation which enables everyone to object to the contents of the plan. According to existing legislation consultation must take place between the Rijnmond Authority and the municipalities in its area.

The official procedure was extended. Those with objections had direct access to a Committee of Council Members responsible for advising the Executive Board and the council on town planning matters. The procedure was also extended in the sense that two consultative rounds were held with municipalities rather than the one round called for under planning legislation.

Among those which made objections were relatively many enterprises and their institutions like the Chambers of Commerce. The objections very often concerned the constraints proposed on limiting opportunities for establishing new industrial plants in the harbour area.

Also the institutions of farmers and of environmental conservation groups made objections. The first were opposed to limiting the expansion of intensive farming and horticulture under glass, while the latter objected to the fact that the same limitations gave too many opportunities to agriculture in spite of the conservation of existing areas with high natural and cultural landscape values.

The municipalities, of course, had the opportunity to present their own local interests and views.

The participation procedure resulted in important modifications to the draft regional plan. These included: greater protection for the natural environment and open space by restricting the area and type of new residential development; limiting the length of the proposed motorway network; and the creation of buffer zones between existing industrial and residential areas.

The participation procedure required more than one year from beginning to end but the results obtained more than justified the time consumed.

PART III EXAMPLES OF REGIONAL ACTION

1. HOUSING AND RESIDENTIAL ENVIRONMENT

The problems in the field of housing and residential environment are not basically different to those in other metropolitan areas. A housing shortage has existed since the end of the Second World War. More than 50% of the 377.000 houses in the Rijnmond area were built before the war. Of these, a considerable number is unsuitable for many residential activities and either must be demolished or made suitable at very high cost. Another part can be made suitable at costst of up to Nfls. 30.000 per dwelling. These old houses are generally situated in areas in which environmental standards fall well below the currently accepted norms. They frequently have, for example, open space deficiencies,

unacceptably high densities, and are characteristically mixed use with a range of incompatible activities.

Improvement, clearance, environmental rehabilitation and the rapid decline of family size combined with the political decision to maintain the population at its current level, means that per year 8.000 houses should be built. Despite the programmes of the authority, this target is not being achieved. Building activity is stagnating and there are many reasons for this.

The inhabitants and their elected representatives are resistant to expansion programmes calling for the development of agricultural land because, in a relatively highly urbanized area, this would result, in their eyes, in deprivation: less open space, more congested roads and so on. Other factors are the time consuming procedures required for plan approval and implementation subsidies by higher administration levels, plan preparation at the local level because decision making is subject to internal dispute and public participation, and resistance at the local level since facilities and services are not always built simultaneously with the houses.

The Rijnmond Authority has recently started an interesting action to solve the problems associated with the implementation of housing and facilities and services.

A special committee was formed by the executive responsible for physical planning in Rijnmond (a elected member of the Rijnmond Council) consisting of administrators and politicians of national, provincial, regional and local government and administrative bodies. This committee manages a scheme whereby all plan procedures are brought together and intervenes when the required procedures threaten to exceed the jointly agreed deadlines. In addition, the activities of the committee have resulted in two or three plans, involving thousands of houses, being brought forward for implementation at dates earlier than those originally envisaged in the regional programme.

A special Rijnmond team operates daily as 'troubleshooters' in the process of building houses and facilities. Every three months

the results of their activities are reported to a steering group under the guidance of the Minister of Housing and Physical Planning.

The results of the work of the committee and the Rijnmond 'trouble-shooters' have so far been encouraging. It serves as a good example of the advantages which can be obtained from combining local, regional and national interests. Efficient organization of the co-operation between the different levels of government, administration and planning is more than necessary and has become one of the most important tasks for the regional authority in planning and plan implementation.

2. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND POLICY

The powers given to the Rijnmond Authority by the Rijnmond Act of 1964 in the economic field are quite limited. They are restricted to:

- a. the possibilities offered by the physical plan, an instrument with severe imitations for implementing economic policy; and
- b. the powers explicitly mentioned in the act, of giving directives to municipalities concerning
 - industrial settlement
 - sea-port development
 - development of industrial premises in the port
 - use of these premises.

In the context of Rijnmond's task of co-ordinating municipal policies, it soon became clear that its power had to be exercised in a difficult decision-making environment, since

- a. the most important municipality, Rotterdam, did not accept the Rijnmond Authority as an additional-third-level of government, falling as it does between the local and regional levels;
- b. the provincial executive Zuid-Holland resented the infringement of its physical planning powers.

What could the Rijnmond executive and staff effectively do in these circumstances?

Their first answer was to attempt to obtain a satisfactory grip on the knowledge required for formulating economic policy. This has been an appropriate response since provinces in the Netherlands have traditionally more a controlling function, and since the smaller communities in the region experience difficulties in integrating their various economic policy measures.

Rijnmond attracted highly capable staff in different fields, including economics and statistics, and built up their administrative and professional competence. Economic research is being conducted and this has tended to focus on the following subjects

- regional economic and labour statistics;
- regional input-output analyses and the development of an input-output model;
- the adaption of the input-output model to linear programming;
- labour market research;
- location and settlement analyses of the industrial and office sectors;
- distribution economics.

This research has been partly conducted by the Rijnmond staff itself, in co-operation with the staff of the Rotterdam municipality and universities, and partly by specialized consultancy groups.

The second answer to its difficult position was to increase its range of activities and powers. This was considered important as a means amongst other things to ensure the implementation of effective economic development policy. In the economic field Rijnmond quite recently obtained an important task provided by the new "Selective Investment Regulation Act" which came into force on 1st October, 1975.

The Investment Act has a fiscal and a licensing component.

In most of the Rijnmond area a once for all 10% levy is requested on investments in industrial, commercial and office buildings over Nfls. 1 million and a 3% levy on industrial installations over Nfls. 5 million.

The fiscal aspect need not detain us here, as it is completely a central government affair. Rijnmond fulfils an important role in the licensing procedures. Licences are required for projects over Nfls. 1 million for buildings and over Nfls. 5 million for industrial installations within the Rijnmond area. The decision over the awarding of a licence lies with the central government (Ministry of Economic Affairs), at least in principle. In practice, however, the Rijnmond Executive Committee is empowered to issue licences for projects under Nfls. 10 million for buildings and Nfls. 50 million for installations. In cases of projects over Nfls. 10 million and Nfls. 50 million respectively, the ministry requests Rijnmond for its advice. The province and the municipality involved are also asked for advice, which is given to the ministry for the major projects and to Rijnmond for lesser projects. The decision on a licence has to be taken within 4 months after application (in exceptional cases 6 months). Advice has to be given within 2 months.

Criteria for refusal are:

1. The concentration of population and activities.
2. The labour market situation.
3. The economic structure.

Criteria have to be balanced against

4. The interest of the applicant.

Within Rijnmond, advice will be prepared by officers of different disciplines and the decision will be taken by the Executive Committee on the basis of this advice. However, some of the act's criteria, in particular that of concentration of population and activities, are already embodied in the physical plan. The new legislation thus increases the authority's scope for implementing economic policy and pursuing its goal of more integrated and more comprehensive regional government.

It is certain that the authority will, once the system is working well, be empowered with more opportunities to implement its economic development policy.

3. TRANSPORTATION PLANNING

The regional physical plan also covers the sector of transportation. Since the regional plan is to serve as a guideline for the development of the region, transportation planning has to be geared to the needs, possibilities and limitations of this physical plan.

Since there has, at least up to now, been no official framework for transport planning, all activities in this field have been more or less experimental. Moreover, there are no adequate procedures for ensuring integrated transportation planning. Decisions in the field of transportation were, until quite recently, taken in a rather haphazard way. This was due to the fact that both the financing and the management of transport infrastructure were spread among a large number of authorities. Since most lower-level authorities are nowadays faced with growing deficits, not only in the field of public transportation but also with regard to road-construction and maintenance, the influence of the central government (the main tax collector) is growing. To obtain some control over the way subsidies are spent the Minister of Transport has instructed municipalities to provide for this area, a transportation plan and, for the short-term, a circulation plan.

Especially in the field of transportation it is very difficult to make plans without taking account of developments and events in surrounding areas. There is, therefore, considerable scope for co-ordination. With all this in mind, a start was recently made in the preparation of a regional transportation plan (RTP). The intention of the RTP is to provide an overall plan for transportation facilities and management in the region. It is the intention that the much more detailed local plans be prepared within this overall framework. And for the main financier, the Minister, the RTP can serve as an instrument for evaluating priorities and determining an overall level of expenditure.

The plan is being produced in a number of phases. In the first phase, the policy objectives are formulated and discussed by

the regional council.

In the second phase, the main characteristics of the current situation are identified and analyzed and, with help of a transportation model, possible future situations are explored.

On the basis of the objectives and the factual information, existing and possible future bottle-necks are identified and discussed.

Finally, a transportation policy will be formulated from a range of alternative approaches.

As noted earlier, there is no formal procedure to implement the RTP. Considerable effort must therefore be devoted to co-ordinate the opinions and policies of those authorities responsible for parts of the infrastructure in the region and/or authorities who have tasks in the management field.

To achieve this co-ordination, there will be extensive participation, not so much of the public but rather of the officials and politicians involved in the region's transportation problems.

When general agreement on the RTP has been reached, the most difficult phase will start. To prevent the plan from becoming obsolete in a rather short space of time, various forms of continuity must be built into the plan. First of all, feed-back relationships have to be established with physical planning. Developments in the field of economics and pollution also have to be watched carefully. And, last but not least, there has to be strong links between national policies and the implementation of the plan.

In this manner, the RTP is unlikely to become a rigid plan. It will be a regional platform where decisions are synchronised with developments in different fields of societal action.

To conclude, reference should be made to some of the developments which are likely to dominate the RTP for the Rijnmond region. First of all, there is a shift of population to more outlying areas resulting in longer average travel distances. Combined with this, there is still a relatively rapid increase in the level of car-ownership, car usage can thus be expected to intensify. These aspects, however, are not unique in the Netherlands.

More outspoken is the geographical layout which gives a dominant position to the rivercrossings, especially in road-traffic. And finally, for a great many years to come, the deficits in operation of public transport will be a continuous sorrow for those involved in transportation planning.

SOME PUBLICATIONS OF THE RIJNMOND AUTHORITY ON THE SUBJECTS
MENTIONED

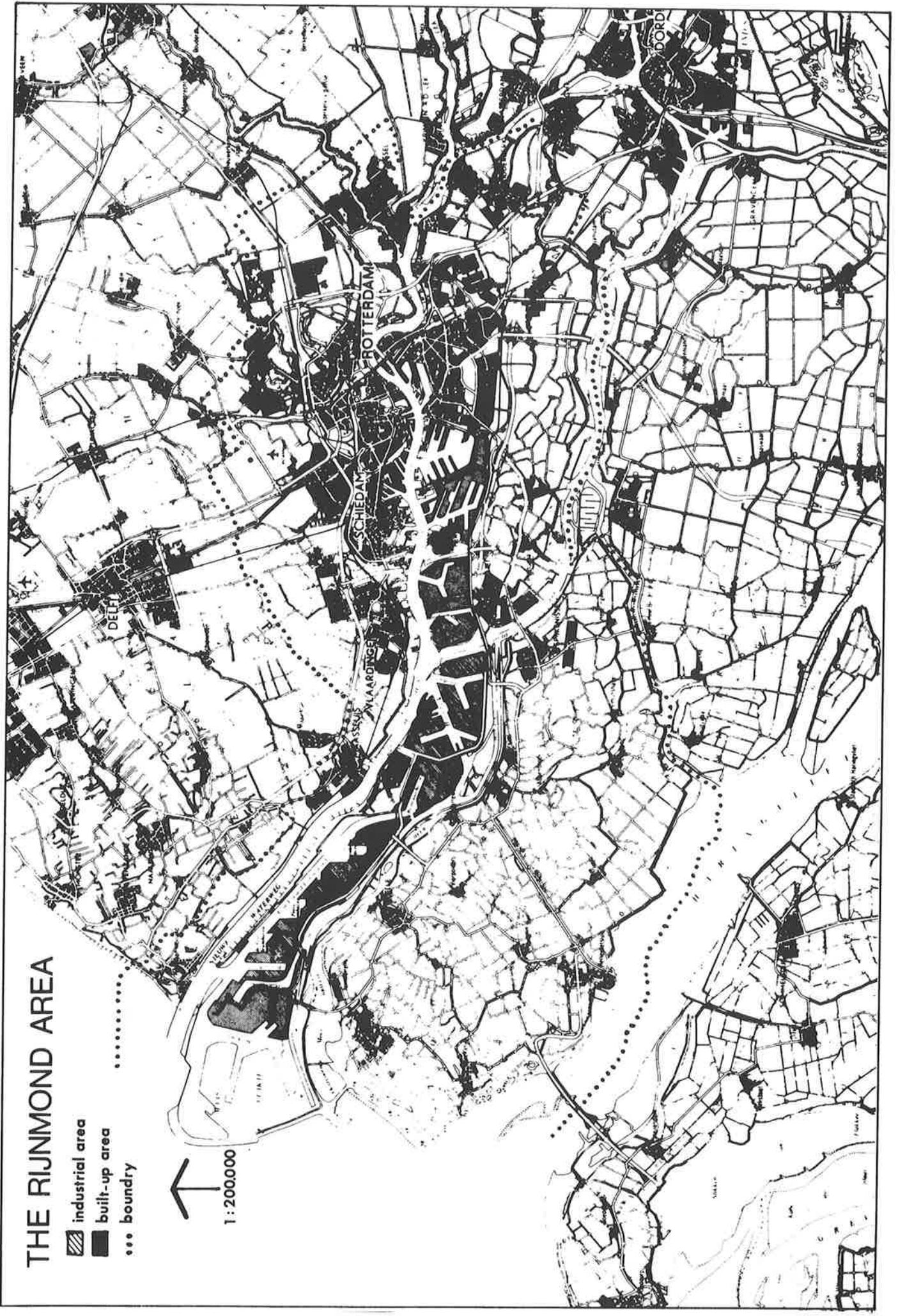
1. Streekplan Rijnmond, april 1974.
2. Rijnmond economie in de jaren zeventig:
een schets van een beheerste ontwikkeling, juni 1972.
3. Land use and transportation study, May 1970, 4 volumes
(study undertaken in co-operation with the city of
Rotterdam).
4. Milieubelasting door stank, 1972.
5. Geïntegreerd Milieu-onderzoek - Interimrapport, maart 1974.

THE RIJNMOND AREA

-  industrial area
-  built-up area
-  boundary



1:200,000



CHAPTER 7

THE WEST MIDLANDS METROPOLITAN COUNTY

F.J. Amos/I. Black/G. Cherry/P.L. Cordie/J.D. Hender/J.C. Holliday/
D. Liggins/S.N. Mustow/W.M. Ogden.

November 1975

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THE WEST MIDLANDS CORE GROUP

This substantive paper carries the names of nine authors who actually contributed written papers (background, issues, appendices). But many other people commented on earlier drafts of these papers in the West Midlands Core Group which was formed early in 1975 to prepare the material for the Rotterdam conference. This Group consisted of:

F.J. Amos	Chief Executive, Birmingham City Council
F.S.H. Birch	Assistent Executive, West Midlands County Council
I. Black	Transport Research Group, Warwick University
I. Bowyer	West Midlands Regional Study Team
J. Bridges	West Midlands Regional Officer of the Department of the Environment
M. Checketts	Assistent County Planner, West Midlands County Council
G. Cherry	Deputy Director, Centre for Urban and Regional Studies, University of Birmingham
P.L. Cordle	Assistent County Treasurer, West Midlands County Council
T. Gregory	Chief Executive, Coventry City Council
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Prof. T. Travis	Director, Centre for Urban and Regional Studies, University of Birmingham
M. Wilkinson	Centre for Urban and Regional Studies, University of Birmingham
A.A. Wood	County Planner, West Midlands County Council

In addition, D. Macdonald, B. Patterson and S. Westbrook, Economic Development Section, County Treasurer's Department, West Midlands County Council helped to complete the final draft, and R. Argyle, County Planning Department, West Midlands County Council prepared the figures.

FOREWORD

This is an abbreviated version of the substantive paper on the West Midlands Metropolitan County. It has the prime aim of acquainting the delegates to the Rotterdam seminar with the essential details of the planning process in the West Midlands County. A few copies of the full paper (containing appendices on economic planning, social policy, transport planning and housing) extending to some 135 pages are available on request.

We should clarify the fact that this paper is very much written from the point of view of the West Midlands County Council and the Department of Urban and Regional Planning at Lanchester Polytechnic, Coventry, simply because these two organisations have taken on the major roles in organising the British contribution to the seminar. The style and content of the paper is not meant to imply that other organisations such as central government departments, District Councils, industry, trade unions, universities and community groups, do not make significant contributions to the planning process in the West Midlands. They do, and these contributions are referred to many times in this paper, but perhaps not often enough. To have attempted to describe the background and issues in complete detail would have made this paper inordinately long, and would probably have pre-empted much of the discussion which we look forward to participating in at the seminar. We apologise to these other bodies if they do feel somewhat left out, and hope that we can take them on board in the ongoing discussion subsequent to Rotterdam.

J.C. Holliday

D. Liggins

W.M. Ogden

British members of the Rotterdam
International Steering Committee

1. BACKGROUND PAPER ON THE WEST MIDLANDS METROPOLITAN COUNTY

Contents:

I.1. Geographical and administrative units	
I.2. Brief economic history of the West Midlands	
I.3. National policy responses to regional and metropolitan area problems	
I.4. Plans and planning since 1945	
I.5. The responsibilities of the West Midlands Metropolitan County Council	
I.6. The organisation and management of the planning process within the West Midlands County	
I.7. Current West Midlands County Council policy	
I.8. From past history to current issues	

I.1. GEOGRAPHICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS

To an outsider, it can be confusing attempting to distinguish between the West Midlands Region and the West Midlands County, and their various constituent parts. The metropolitan area which is the subject of study in this comparative analysis is centred on the West Midlands County, but it does not extend to include the whole of the West Midlands Region.

The West Midlands Region came into being in 1964, when the Labor Government divided the United Kingdom into eleven economic planning regions (ten regions in Great Britain plus Northern Ireland) prior to embarking on their ill-fated national economic plan, which was supposed to have eleven regional components. Although the national plan was soon abandoned and there were no subsequent medium-term economic plans prepared, the 1964 economic planning regions have remained the basis of most regional statistics (see Figure I.1.). Prior to 1964, regional data were published for different U.K. regions, but the "Midlands" region of that period is sufficiently close to the present West Midlands Region to be able to work with data series going back earlier than 1964. There have never been any regional elected bodies in Great Britain, although proposals for the creation of such bodies for Scotland and Wales are now well advanced, and there is some talk of creating similar bodies for the English regions.

The five Counties which made up the West Midlands Region prior to the British Local Government Reorganisation of 1974 are shown in Figure I.2. Counties are administrative units and County Councils are elected political

Figure I.1.

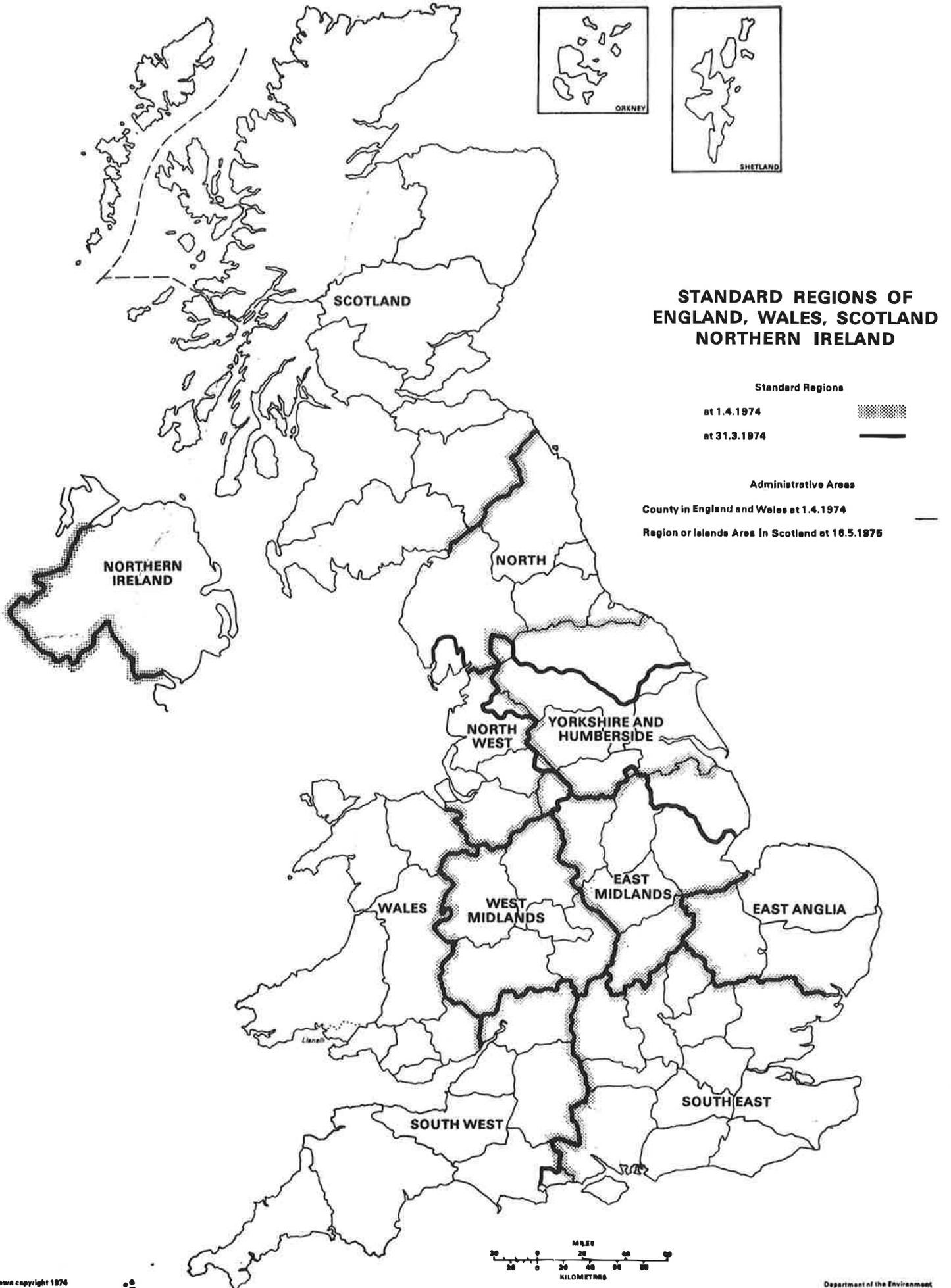
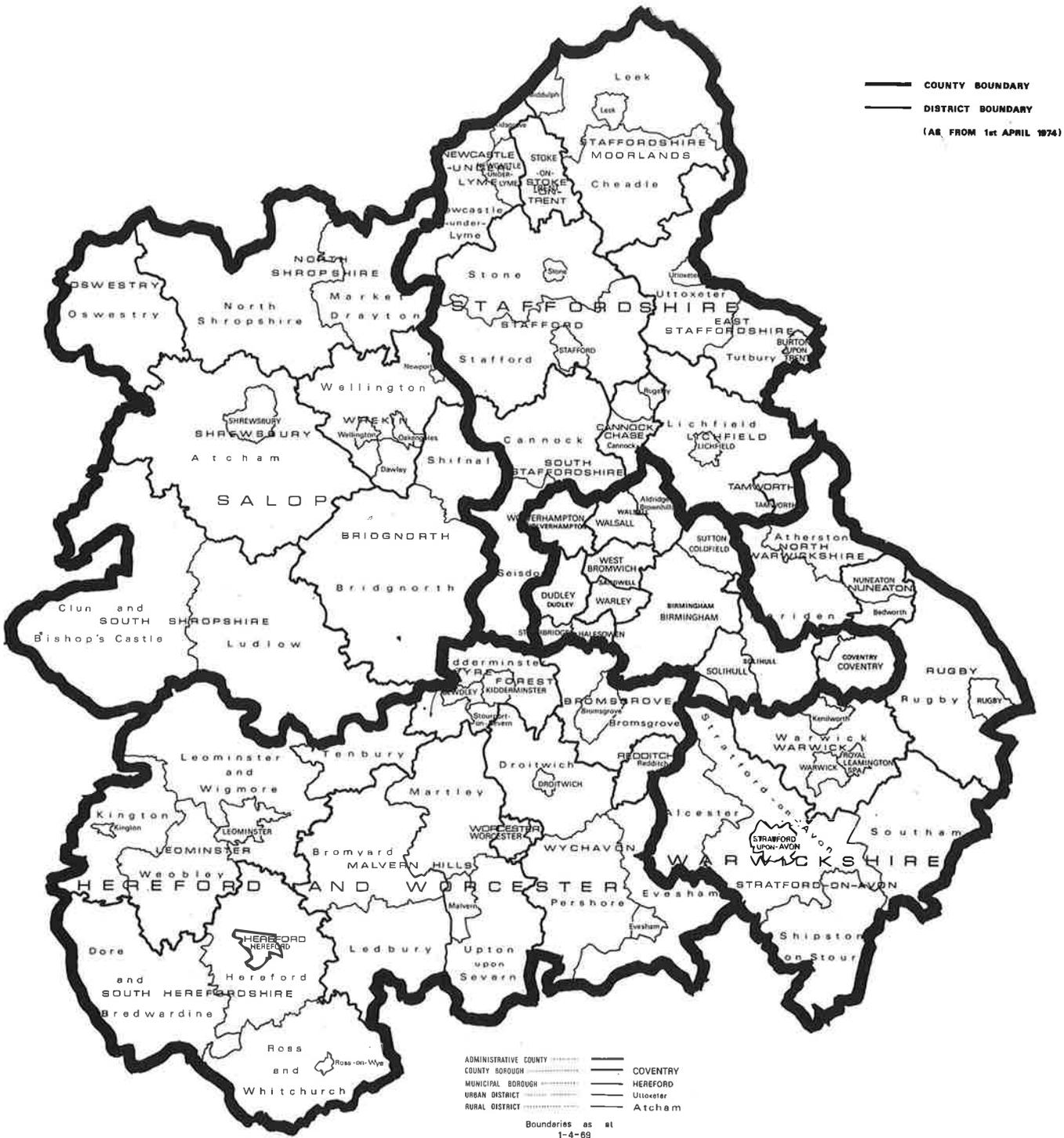


Figure 1.2.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT REFORM WEST MIDLANDS



Based on the Ordnance Survey Map

bodies. There are still five Counties in the West Midlands Region, but since April 1974 their boundaries and names have changed:

The five Counties of the West Midlands Region

<u>Pre-April 1974</u>	<u>Post-April 1974</u>
Staffordshire	Staffordshire
Herefordshire	Hereford and Worcester
Worcestershire	West Midlands
Warwickshire	Warwickshire
Shropshire	Shropshire (Salop)

Within the West Midlands economic planning region, five sub-regions are distinguished for statistical purposes: the rural west, North Staffordshire, central, conurbation and the Coventry belt. Four of these can reasonably be described as sub-economies (i.e. it makes some sense to regard them as distinctive economic units), the odd one out being the central sub-region which is really the residual after the other four sub-regions have been accounted for (see Figure I.3.). These five sub-regions are mainly recognised for statistical purposes; certain results of the Census of Production and the Census of Distribution are presented for economic planning sub-regions.

A comparison of Figures I.2. and I.3. reveals that the newly formed West Midlands County cuts across three economic planning sub-regions. This not only creates data problems, but it means that there is really no such thing as the West Midlands County economy. The West Midlands Conurbation is quite different from Coventry in many respects (the travel-to-work patterns are different, for instance, with very few commuters between the Conurbation and Coventry in either direction) and indeed within the Conurbation itself, Birmingham is distinct from the Black Country, in social and cultural patterns as well as economic.

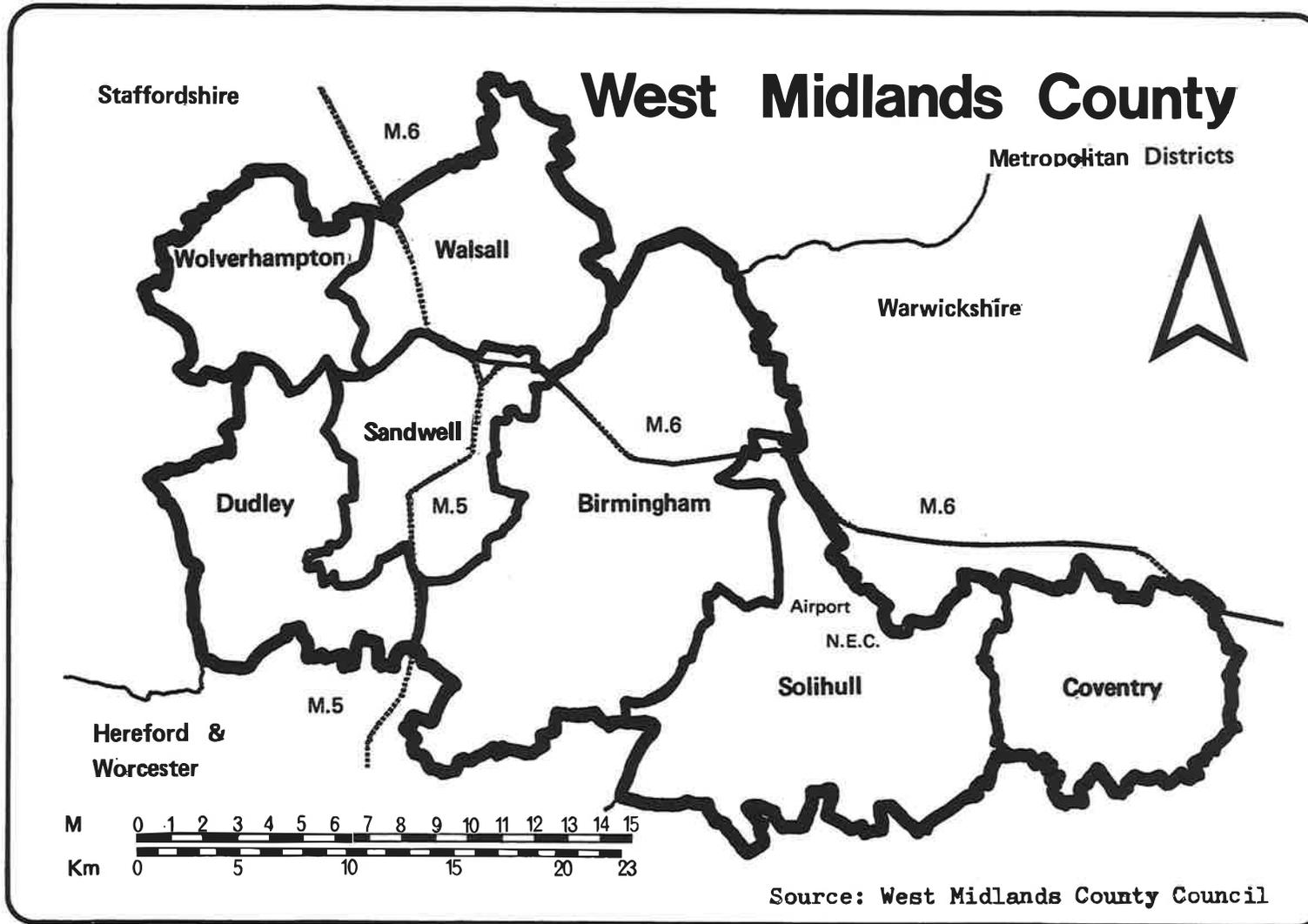
Prior to April 1974, Local Government was based on County Boroughs, Municipal Boroughs, Urban Districts and Rural Districts. Within the present West Midlands County, there are now seven Metropolitan Districts: Birmingham, Coventry, Dudley, Sandwell, Solihull, Walsall and Wolverhampton. These are shown in Figure I.4. The boundaries of the new Districts do not match the boundaries of the old County Boroughs, a situation which creates particular planning problems by virtue of the fact that the existing struc-

Figure I.3.

WEST MIDLANDS ECONOMIC PLANNING REGION PLANNING SUB-REGIONS



Figure I.4.



ture plans (explained in section I.5. below) were prepared before Local Government Reorganisation and hence relate to County Borough boundaries.

I.2. BRIEF ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE WEST MIDLANDS

The region has until recently experienced sustained economic growth since the early 18th century. Exploitation of the then abundant coal fields of Staffordshire allowed the development of iron smelting and metal working, proximity to coal being at the time the major determinant in the location of the iron industry. Birmingham, a local market centre since the 14th century, began producing a variety of metal goods and toys, while the 'Black Country' (the metropolitan area to the north and west of Birmingham) produced principally nails, locks, bridles and bits. Towards the north of the region around Stoke, the 'Potteries' grew from proximity to deposits of pottery clay and shallow coalbeds.

The growth of Birmingham in the 19th century was stimulated through the greatly increased demand for small finished metal products, enabling it to profit from proximity to the raw materials and a tradition of skilled metal making. The advantages of a central location were reinforced by the development of rail linkages. By 1860, the brass trade had become Birmingham's major industry, with the manufacture of guns, jewellery, buttons and small iron products also important, while the Black Country was producing wrought iron tubes, nuts and bolts, irons castings, anchors, chains, locks, nails and hollowware. Engineering in the region was still unimportant in the 19th century relative to textile areas such as Manchester, where the heavy textile machinery was produced. The West Midlands, however, by the late 19th century had developed light machine-tool production and bicycle manufacture.

The bicycle industry began in Coventry where it grew out of the Coventry Sewing Machine Company which, in turn, had been established as an attempt to replace the failing silk trade in the town. This industry spread to Birmingham and Wolverhampton and benefit from an upsurge in demand in the 1890's. The originally chance location of the bicycle industry was consolidated when small metal working trades began producing components and accessories on an increasingly large scale.

At the beginning of the 20th century, Coventry bicycle firms had turned to the production of cars, while in Birmingham car production began in firms

with engineering roots. The West Midlands were rather fortuitous at that time in securing two car firms, Wolseley and Daimler, which were to become very successful and could easily have located elsewhere. By 1913, the West Midlands had become by far the most important car producing centre in the U.K., and firms which were producing their own components were as large as those in shipbuilding and armament production. After 1914, component and accessory firms began to develop and the electrical engineering industry grew rapidly in the region, partly due to the demand from car producers for electrical components.

20th century growth in the region has been due in a large part to the continuing adaptability in production of the metal working firms in Birmingham and the Black Country to changes in demand. Between 1918 and 1939, some of the heavier branches of metal shaping were depressed in the region, due to firms moving to steel producing areas, but light pressing and sheet metal work increased. In general, the depression of the 1930's affected the region only relatively mildly.

The car industry throughout the present century accelerated in importance to the national economy, which helped the West Midlands greatly, although growth of employment in the industry was slower in 1924-1937 in Birmingham than in the U.K. due to the lack of a pool of unskilled labour, and has been held back since 1950 by the operation of the Government's regional policy (outlined below). Between 1953 and 1963, employment in vehicles grew by only 1.7% in the region compared to a national rate of 11%. Nevertheless, in the middle 1950's, the West Midlands accounted for 50% of the nation's employment in the car industry. Study of inter-industry linkages shows that the car industry took 3.9% of the output of other industries in 1954 and 5.5% in 1963, which considering the proliferation of West Midlands firms with such linkages, goes a long way towards explaining the very healthy state of the region in this period, as is confirmed by low unemployment statistics.

Economic growth, in terms of output and employment, in the conurbation and Coventry has brought its attendant problems of overcrowding and environmental stress, some of which will be briefly discussed below.

The region has had a steadily rising population since 1801 and Table I.1. shows how this accelerated relative to the U.K. after 1911. This acceleration

<u>Table I.1.</u>	<u>POPULATION: Region compared with U.K.</u>										
	<u>1861</u>	<u>'71</u>	<u>'81</u>	<u>'91</u>	<u>1901</u>	<u>'11</u>	<u>'21</u>	<u>'31</u>	<u>'51</u>	<u>'61</u>	<u>'66</u>
W. Midlands Region ('000)	1993	2232	2504	2696	2985	3275	3501	3743	4423	4757	4909
% of U.K.	8.1	8.1	8.1	7.8	7.8	7.8	8.0	8.1	8.8	9.0	9.1

<u>Table I.2.</u>	<u>POPULATION: Conurbation compared with region</u>									
	<u>1871</u>	<u>'81</u>	<u>'91</u>	<u>1901</u>	<u>'11</u>	<u>'21</u>	<u>'31</u>	<u>'51</u>	<u>'61</u>	<u>'66</u>
Pop. in Conurbation ('000)	969	1134	1269	1483	1635	1773	1933	2237	2247	2374
% of region	43.4	45.3	47.1	49.7	49.9	50.7	51.6	50.6	49.3	48.4

<u>Table I.3.</u>	<u>POPULATION: Conurbation Growth Rate</u>								
	<u>1871-81</u>	<u>81-91</u>	<u>91-01</u>	<u>1901-11</u>	<u>11-21</u>	<u>21-31</u>	<u>31-51</u>	<u>51-61</u>	<u>61-66</u>
Rate of Growth of Conurbation (%)	1.58	1.12	1.57	0.97	0.82	0.87	0.73	0.48	0.24

<u>Table I.4.</u>	<u>Changes in the West Midlands Region's Industrial Structure</u>					
	<u>1881</u>		<u>1921</u>		<u>1961</u>	
	<u>'000</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>'000</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>'000</u>	<u>%</u>
Agriculture, Forestry & Fishing	119.4	11.3	95.3	5.8	67.5	2.9
Mining and Quarrying	54.6	5.2	96.6	5.9	53.1	2.3
Food, Drink & Tobacco	12.2	1.1	48.0	2.9	62.2	2.7
Chemicals & Allied Industries	3.4	0.3	10.1	0.6	26.3	1.1
Metal Manufacture	100.2	9.5	101.3	6.2	138.9	6.0
Engineering & Electrical Goods	26.1	2.5	89.0	5.4	276.2	12.0
Shipbuilding & Marine Engineering	0.6	0.1	0.6	-	0.4	-
Vehicles	8.9	0.8	103.7	6.3	215.4	9.4
Metal Goods not specified elsewhere	52.8	5.0	167.0	10.2	197.7	8.6
Textiles	27.8	2.6	33.1	2.0	37.4	1.6
Leather, Leather Goods and Fur	9.7	0.9	10.2	0.6	6.6	0.3
Clothing and Footwear	80.2	7.6	46.9	2.9	21.6	0.9
Bricks, Pottery, Glass, Cement, etc.	52.2	5.0	79.6	4.8	80.9	3.5
Timber, Furniture, etc.	13.7	1.3	19.0	1.2	21.2	0.9
Paper, Printing and Publishing	8.6	0.8	20.3	1.2	31.8	1.4
Other Manufacturing Industries	7.2	0.7	26.9	1.6	39.1	1.7
Construction	62.8	6.0	54.6	3.3	139.8	6.1
Gas, Electricity and Water	1.8	0.2	13.9	0.8	35.4	1.5
Transport and Communication	42.8	4.1	67.5	4.1	104.8	4.6
Distributive Trades	61.3	5.8	130.8	8.0	262.7	11.4
Insurance, Banking and Finance	5.5	0.5	16.3	1.0	34.2	1.5
Professional and Scientific Services	33.1	3.2	31.5	1.9	170.8	7.5
Miscellaneous Services	165.8	15.8	135.7	8.2	170.1	7.4
Public Administration and Defence	10.1	1.0	77.0	4.7	101.6	4.4
Not Classified	91.4	8.7	171.0	10.4	7.7	0.3
Total	1052.2	100.0	1645.9	100.0	230.3	100.0

Source: Lee, Regional Economic Growth in the U.K. since the 1880's.

was due to in-migration, significantly of Commonwealth and Irish citizens, and to indigenous growth.

The dominance of the conurbation in the Region is illustrated by Tables I.2. and I.3. The West Midlands conurbation was the fastest growing, in population terms, of all the country's conurbations in the periods 1931-1951, 1951-1961, and 1961-1966 despite the slowdown in the rate of growth. The regional activity rate was below the U.K. average in 1881, but had risen above it by 1921 and in 1961 was the highest of all the regions in the country. Regional employment peaked at 2,374,500 in 1966, but has fallen rather dramatically since.

Changes in the industrial distribution of the West Midlands working population can be seen in Table I.4. Since the early 1960's, various economic indicators show the West Midlands region to be declining, relative to other regions, towards the economic condition of the Development and Intermediate Areas. Industrial output, public and private investment, rate of growth of earnings, and unemployment all give cause for local concern when viewed as a trend. The region is very dependent on manufacturing industry, particularly vehicles and related industry, which is currently in difficulties. Growth industries in the manufacturing sector are poorly represented in the region, partly due to the locational factors but also as a result of a long period of Government controls on industrial expansion in the area.

These issues are taken up in some detail in the second major part of this substantive paper.

I.3. NATIONAL POLICY RESPONSES TO REGIONAL AND METROPOLITAN AREA PROBLEMS

There is a wealth of literature on urban and regional policy. No attempt has been made in this paper to reflect the many analyses which exist on the impact and effectiveness of these policies (this is covered to some extent in the appendices on economic, social, housing and transportation policy); only the briefest outline of the facts is presented, drawing on one particular source^{*}. There clearly are others which could have been used for the same purpose.

^{*}G. MANNERS, D. KEEBLE, B. RODGERS and K. WARREN, Regional Development in Britain, J. Wiley and Sons, London, 1972.

The basic problems which these policies have sought to solve are congestion (of people, traffic and economic activity) in one set of regions (in the South East and the Midlands), and stagnation and decay in others (in the North and West). The policies which were formulated at the time these problems became particularly important constituted one of the most comprehensive sets of regional and environmental legislation in existence anywhere in the world. This package included, among others:

- 1934 Special Areas Act
- 1940 Royal Commission on the Distribution of Industrial Population
- 1943 Creation of Ministry of Town and Country Planning
- 1945 Distribution of Industry Act
- 1946 New Towns Act
- 1947 Town and Country Planning Act
- 1949 Distribution of Industry Act

There were two main driving forces behind this package: the desire to control the use of land, and the social responsibility of Government to provide employment.

As is stated above, one part of the original package and the subsequent similar policies was, and still is, aimed at the Midlands and the South East. They were designed to tackle major problems of environment, mobility and the (perceived but not proven) disadvantages of continued economic expansion, and other problems of the urban system and its organisation.

Two particular policies have attempted to restrain economic growth in these regions. The first, IDC ("Industrial Development Certificate") policy, has been in existence since 1947. It requires any industrialist who wishes to expand or build a new factory over a certain size (this limit has varied during the 28 years of the policy between 1000 square feet and 15000 square feet) to apply to the Department of Industry for approval. The likelihood of such approval depends on the strength of the Government's regional policy at the time the industrialist applies. This strength has also varied significantly over time. The second measure, the office decentralisation policy, has operated in a similar way. The Location of Office Bureau (LOB) was set up in 1963, and the enabling legislation was the 1965 Control of Office and Industrial Development Act, requiring office developments permits (ODP's) within London and the West Midlands conurbation. It was later extended to the whole of the West

Midlands region, but now only applies to London. The effect of this policy is shown in Figure I.5.

The policy aimed at constraining physical expansion is green belt policy. This was not approved for the West Midlands until 1965 (long after London's) and many amendments, extensions and appeals have taken place since.

The green belt as at 1971 is shown in Figure I.6. which also illustrated the third aspect of the anti-congestion policy: overspill. New towns were conceived over 70 years ago. Letchworth (1903) and Welwyn Garden City (1920) were the prototypes built with private capital. In 1949, 8 more were designated around London, and there were others in other parts of the country, but no new towns were designated in the West Midlands in the 1940's and 1950's. Telford (originally named Dawley) was designated in 1963 and Redditch in 1964. Originally (i.e. immediately post-war), new towns were conceived of as small, self-contained communities with a job structure based on manufacturing industry. This conception changed after 10 years or so to allow much larger new towns (with population targets of 250,000 in some cases) with service sector jobs and a substantial amount of commuting back into conurbations. This conception has now changed yet again, with population targets being revised downwards (Telford is now officially not expected to reach its target population planned in 1963) and doubts being raised over whether the jobs should be provided in the new towns themselves (i.e. industry should accompany population out of the conurbation) or retained in the cities.

Much more use has been made of the 1952 Town Development Act under which conurbation local authorities are able to negotiate overspill agreements with other local authorities beyond the green belt. Birmingham, Wolverhampton and Walsall have more than 20 such agreements with "expanded towns", some of which are shown in Figure I.6. Such arrangements are cheaper than building new towns, but they have a rather dubious success rate. Progress in new and expanded towns as at 1974 is shown in Table I.5.

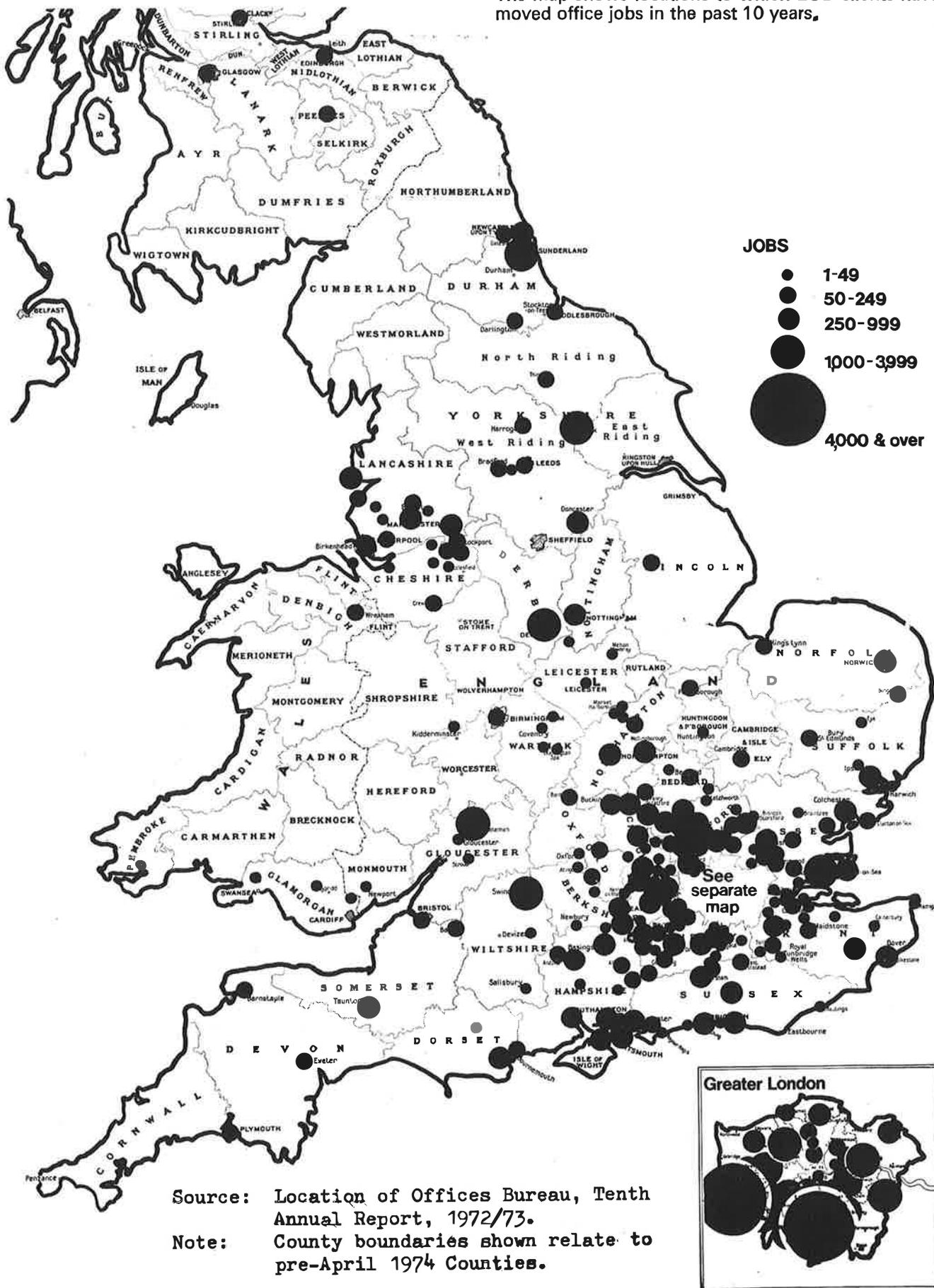
The rapid growth in car ownership and the consequent switch from public to private transport imply a greater tendency to geographical dispersion of people and jobs and more congestion. Such trends are now not so marked, but they did lead to a number of important transportation studies as it was realised that transportation policies have fundamental implications for the generation and distribution of urban growth, and to the creation, under the

Figure I.5.

CONTROL OF OFFICE DEVELOPMENT: DIRECTION OF MOVES, 1963/64 - 1972/73

DIRECTION OF MOVES

The map shows locations to which LOB clients have moved office jobs in the past 10 years.



Source: Location of Offices Bureau, Tenth Annual Report, 1972/73.

Note: County boundaries shown relate to pre-April 1974 Counties.

THE WEST MIDLANDS: GREEN BELT POLICY

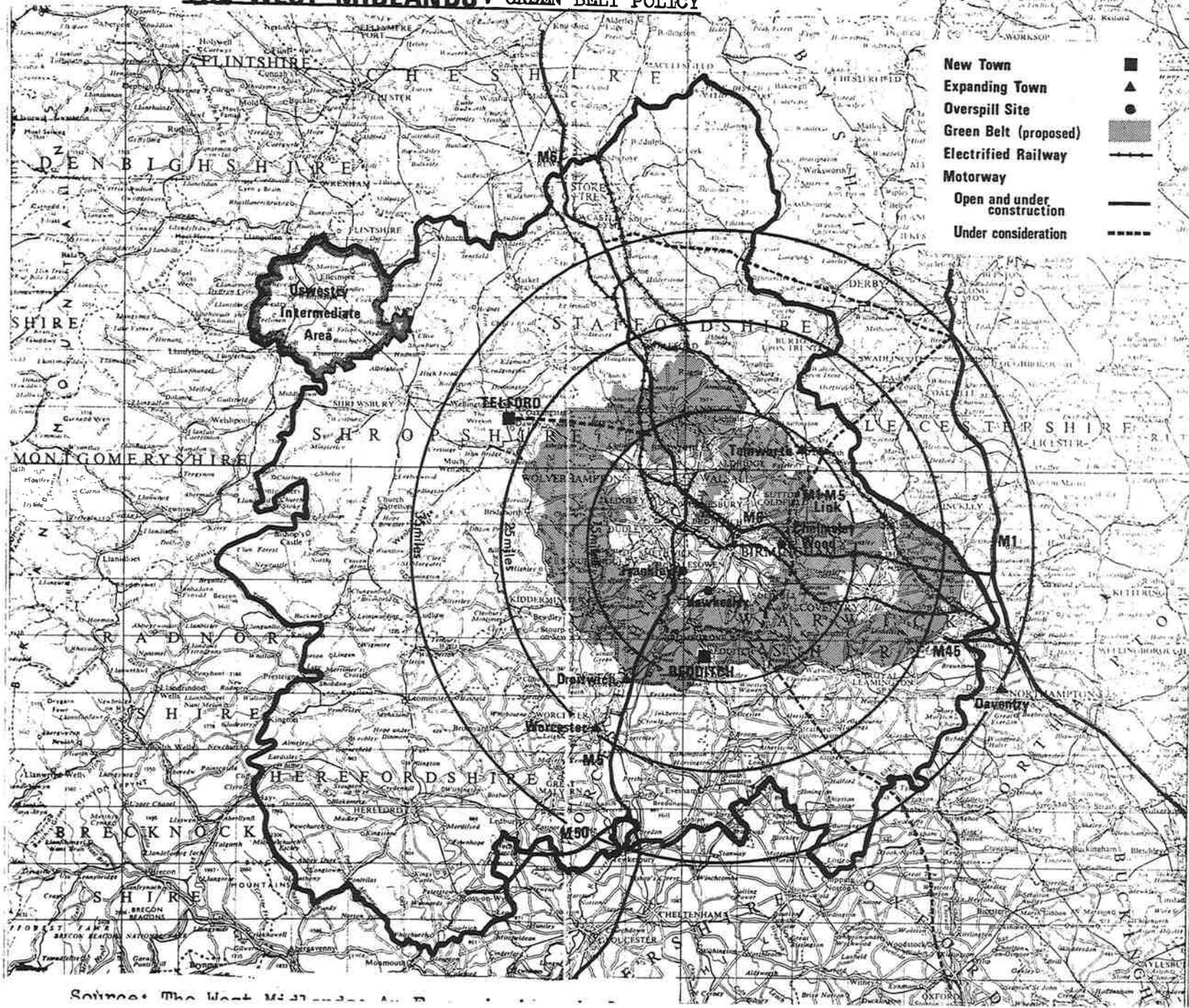


Figure I.6.

Source: The West Midlands: A...

TABLE I.5

PROGRESS IN THE NEW AND EXPANDED TOWNS

A. NEW TOWNS	Date of Designation	Population			Total Employment			
		Original	Proposed	31st Dec. 1974	Males	Females	Total	Date
WEST MIDLANDS								
Redditch	10. 4.1964	32000	90000	49730	14400	9200	23600	Dec. 1974
Telford	12.12.1968	70000	250000 ¹	94200	28800	14200	43000	Dec. 1974
Total West Midlands	-	102000	340000	143930	43200	23400	66600	-
LONDON RING								
Basildon	4. 1.1949	25000	134000	84900	22600	16400	39000	Dec. 1974
Bracknell	17. 6.1949	5140	60000	41300	14448	8566	23014	Oct. 1974
Crawley	9. 1.1947	9100	120000	71000	25500	16600	42100	June 1973
Harlow	25. 3.1947	4500	90000+	82250	20498	14696	35194	Oct. 1974
Hatfield	20. 5.1948	8500	29500	26000	18000	9000	27000	Dec. 1974
Hemel Hempstead	4. 2.1947	21000	80000	73000	20150	16140	36290	Dec. 1974
Stevenage	11.11.1946	6700	10500	74800	24500	13000	37500	Dec. 1974
Welwyn Garden City	20. 5.1948	18500	50000	40000	17000	11000	28000	Dec. 1974
Total London Ring	-	98440	668500+	493250	162696	105402	268098	-
BRITAIN - GRAND TOTAL	-	952317	n.a.	1824113	n.a.	n.a.	901032	-

1. Recently the revised objective for Telford has been reduced to around 155,00 by 1986, although the larger population of 250,000 has not been discarded as the ultimate target.

B. EXPORTING AREA under the Town Development Act (as at December 1973)	No. of Schemes agreed	Dwellings		
		To be built	Completed	Under Construction
Birmingham	15	21011	10330	151
Walsall	2	444	444	-
Wolverhampton	4	4527	4527	-
Total West Midlands	21	25982	15301	-
Total all Schemes	68	163384	23110	2,861

Source: Town and County Planning Association

1969 Transport Act, of the West Midlands Passenger Transport Authority, charged with framing policy and supervising finance. This Authority is now responsible to the West Midlands County Council. The issues raised by the energy crisis and the West Midlands County Council's policy of subsidised public transport are presently receiving attention at national and local levels.

Another critical element in the planning and control of metropolitan areas is the renewal of the fabric of central city areas. The extent to which this is encouraged has a considerable influence on the rate of population overspill, the attractiveness of city centres to employment and hence congestion.

National policies have until recently favoured urban renewal since the war, in particular with substantial subsidies on high rise accommodation. This policy is now out of favour, and the debate on housing densities, overspill and resources is very much a current issue in the West Midlands.

The final component in the policies directed towards all metropolitan areas is the organisational and administrative one. This, of course, affects all regions, not only the so-called congested ones, but the West Midlands is in a special (and unique) situation because, following local government reorganisation in April 1974, it is the only metropolitan County Council in a non-assisted area. This poses particular problems in relations with central Government who, on the one hand acknowledge the problems of old inner city areas in all six metropolitan authorities, but on the other hand continue to operate negative policies against only one (the West Midlands) out of the six.

The above description of national policy responses to problems in the Midlands and the South East needs to be complemented by a brief description of the policies directed towards the other less prosperous (for most of the post-war period) regions. In some cases, these policies have had a greater indirect impact on the West Midlands than the policies directed primarily towards the Midlands. The following chronological sequence of events, legislation and geographic changes in assisted areas is adequate for a proper understanding of British regional policy, but it conveys something of the complexity and uncertainty which has been associated with the policy for 40 years:

1934	Special Areas Act. Industrial estates built in 4 special areas (see Figure I.7.(a)) excluding the major towns in these areas.
1939-1945	Direction of industry away from the south for strategic and defence purposes. The aluminium, aircraft and engineering firms moved from an important foundation for the diversification of the regions.
1945	Development areas created (see Figure I.7.(b)) including the major towns in the qualifying regions.
1958	Designation of some towns outside the development areas as qualifying for assistance.
1960	Extension of the 1958 idea by the creation of development districts (see Figure I.7.(c)) under the Local Employment Act, enabling any employment exchange area with a certain level of unemployment to qualify for assistance. Thus, the worst parts of the less prosperous regions received greater attention.
1963	Growth point philosophy gained popularity, but not implemented because of change of Government.
1964	Economic planning regions created (see Figure I.1.).
1964	Industrial Training Act. Belated emphasis on training.
1966	Industrial Development Act. New development areas created.
1967	Special development areas introduced (see Figure I.8.).
1967	Regional employment premium announced in the Finance Act.
1969	Hunt Report. Intermediate areas created (see Figure I.8.).
1972	Industry Act.
1975/1976	New Industry Act. National Enterprise Board.

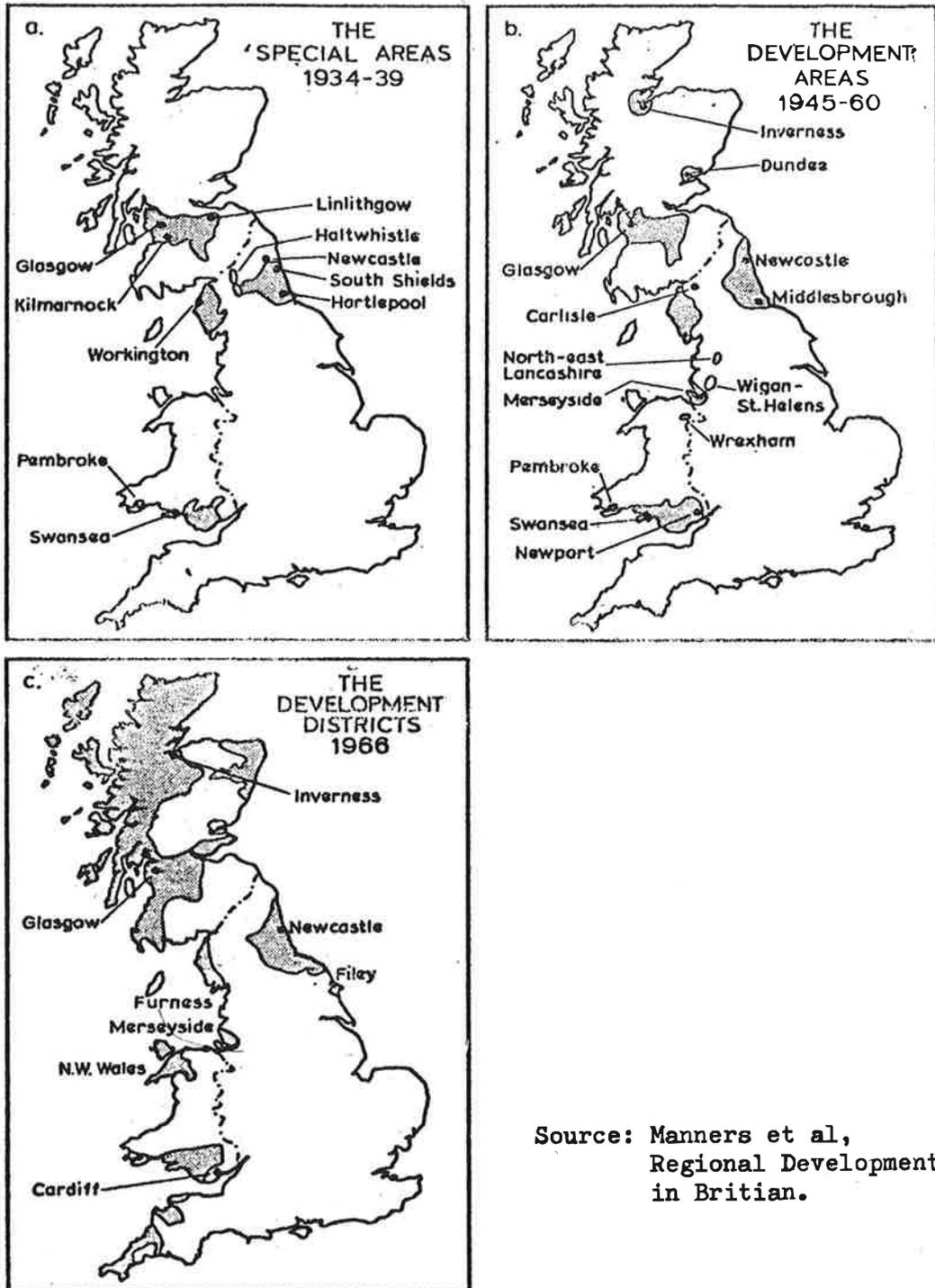
There has been a great deal of argument and debate on the effectiveness of these policies. A major enquiry carried out by a Government Committee^{*} in 1972 was inconclusive. A more recent independent evaluation^{**} imputes significant effects to specific policies, particularly the IDC policy. The arguments put forward by the West Midlands County Council are summarised in the economic policy appendix to the full paper, where reference is made to a number of other publications.

^{*} Second report from the House of Commons Expenditure Committee, Regional Development Incentives, Session 1973/1974.

^{**} Rhodes, J. and Moore, B., Regional Economic Policy and the Movement of Manufacturing Firms to Development Areas, presented to Regional Studies Association Conference on Regional Economic Policy, April, 1975.

Figure I.7.

BRITAIN: THE CHANGING GEOGRAPHY OF ASSISTANCE
TO THE PROSPEROUS REGIONS, 1934-1966

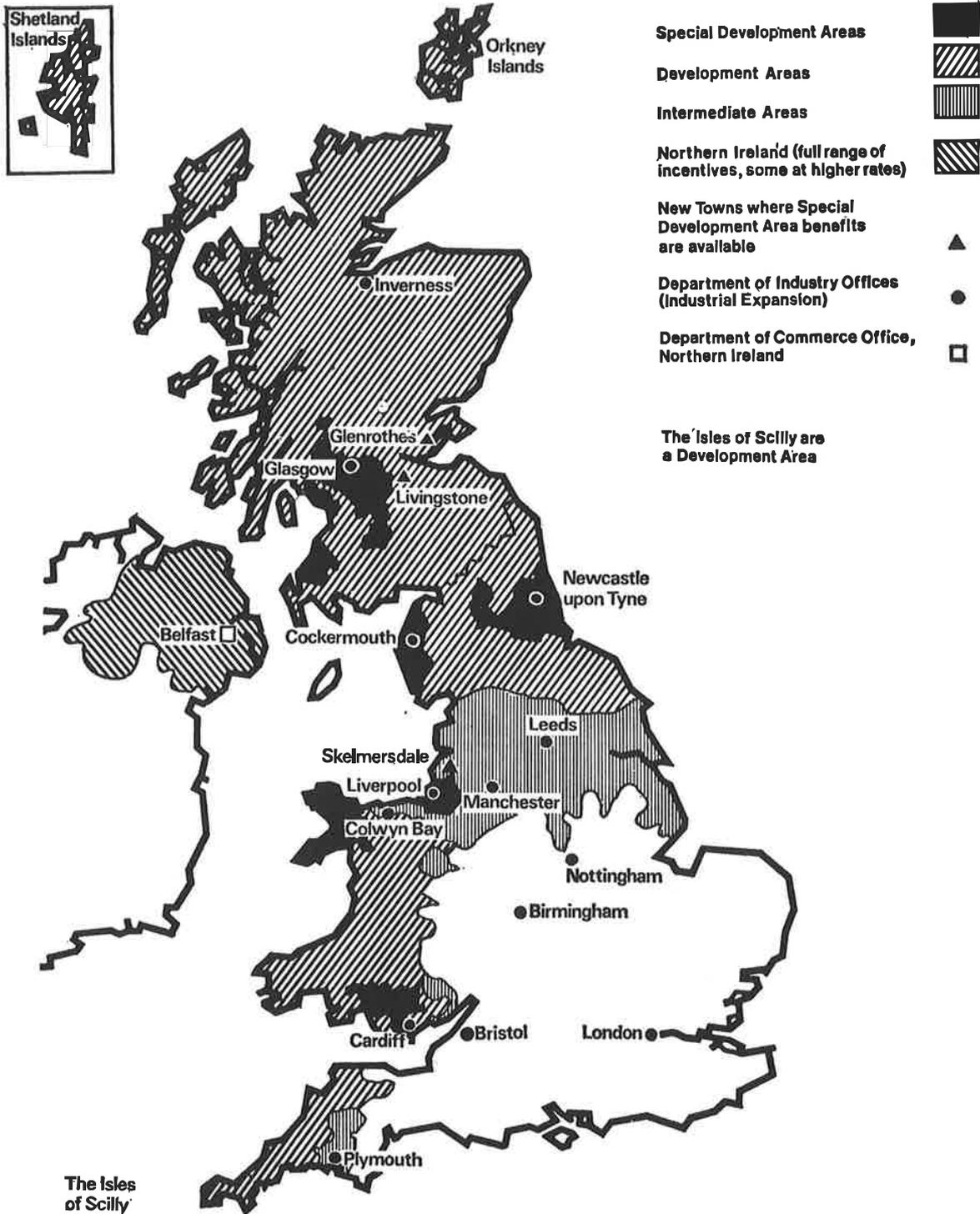


Source: Manners et al,
Regional Development
in Britain.

Figure 1.8.

THE ASSISTED AREAS, FEBRUARY 1975

The Assisted Areas



Source: Department of Industry

I.4. PLANS AND PLANNING SINCE 1945

The Town and Country Planning Act, 1947, made it a duty of local planning authorities to prepare Development Plans for their areas. The Development Plans gave the policies of the local authorities on certain subjects, defined in detail the zoning and reservation of land for specific purposes, laid down density standards for residential areas, and set out a programme for implementation. These Plans constituted the basis for the administration of local authority planning powers. The Development Plan for Birmingham was approved by the Minister of Housing and Local Government on 21st December, 1960. The following abbreviated list which relates to the Birmingham Development Plan provides an insight to the nature of these plans:

Population: The Development Plan forecast a City population of 1,060,000 at 1971, and on the basis of the Registrar General's estimated total of 1,178,700 at that date, there would be an overspill ("planned" and voluntary) of 118,700.

Housing: The Development Plan defined three housing density zones for the City:

Inner Density Zone	144/90 rooms per acre
Outer Density Zone	60 rooms per acre
Edgbaston Area	36 rooms per acre.

These density limits have been applied through the administration of development control powers.

Industry: The Development Plan proposed the provision of new sites for relocated firms in areas allocated for industry and also the removal of non-conforming uses in existing industrial areas.

Shopping and Business Centres: The Development Plan recognised the problem of congestion in the City Centre and as well as proposing to extend the Centre by reserving shopping frontage under the Inner Ring Road Scheme, it proposed to set back the ground floor frontage with the piecemeal re-development of New Street and Corporation Street. In the residential areas, shopping centres would be provided on new estates and further provision would be considered where required.

Open Space: The Development Plan made provision for approximately 245 hectares (5436 acres) of open space, both public and private, in addition to that being provided in the inner areas in the course of redevelopment.

Communications: The Development Plan included proposals for the improvement of the major network, including the Inner, Middle and Outer Ring Roads along with the Arterial Roads, parts of which had already been completed. Other proposals included three by-passes, for the Northfield, King Heath and Warwick Road/Stratford Road shopping centres as well as a number of car parks.

A number of Development Plans were prepared by local authorities for areas which now fall within the West Midlands County:

<u>Development Plan</u>	<u>Approved by Government</u>
Birmingham	1960
Coventry	1957
Sutton Coldfield	1956
Walsall	1960
Wolverhampton	1957
Dudley	1959
West Bromwich	1956
Aldridge-Brownhills	1972

At the same time as the national legislation appeared requiring local authorities to prepare Development Plans, there was considerable interest in planning on a larger scale. Several studies have been carried out at various levels within the West Midlands Region.

- (i) 'Conurbation' - published in 1948 by the West Midlands Study Group indicated the main problems and possible solutions facing the conurbation during post-war reconstruction.
- (ii) 'The West Midlands Plan' - prepared in 1948 for the Central Government by Abercrombie and Jackson; its main features being the definition of a Green Belt and accomodation of overspill in expanded towns.
- (iii) 'The West Midlands - A Regional Study' - published in 1965 by the Ministry of Housing and Local Government which confirmed the principle of a Green Belt with limited

peripheral growth of the conurbation, supported the completion of the town expansion schemes at Dawley, Redditch, Droitwich and Daventry and suggested various sites for new overspill schemes.

- (iv) 'Patterns of Growth' - published in 1968 by the West Midlands Economic Planning Council indicated that the conurbation should be contained within approximately its present limits, but because of the limited amount of "mobile" industry it was realistic that at least part of the redistributed population should be within reasonable commuting distance of existing employment opportunities in the conurbation. The Government's observations on this publication endorsed the view that industrial movement would be small in extent.
- (v) 'The West Midlands - An Economic Appraisal' - this second report of the Economic Planning Council was published in 1971 and called for a more positive policy in order to maintain the economic strength of the West Midlands.
- (vi) 'A Strategy for the Sub-Region' - Report of the Coventry-Solihull-Warwickshire Sub-Regional Planning Study, May 1971. Approved by the three Councils in 1971.
- (vii) 'A Planning Strategy for the Region' - Report of the West Midlands Planning Authorities Conference 1972. Approved by the Government in 1974.

Some of the principal findings of three of these studies are presented below.

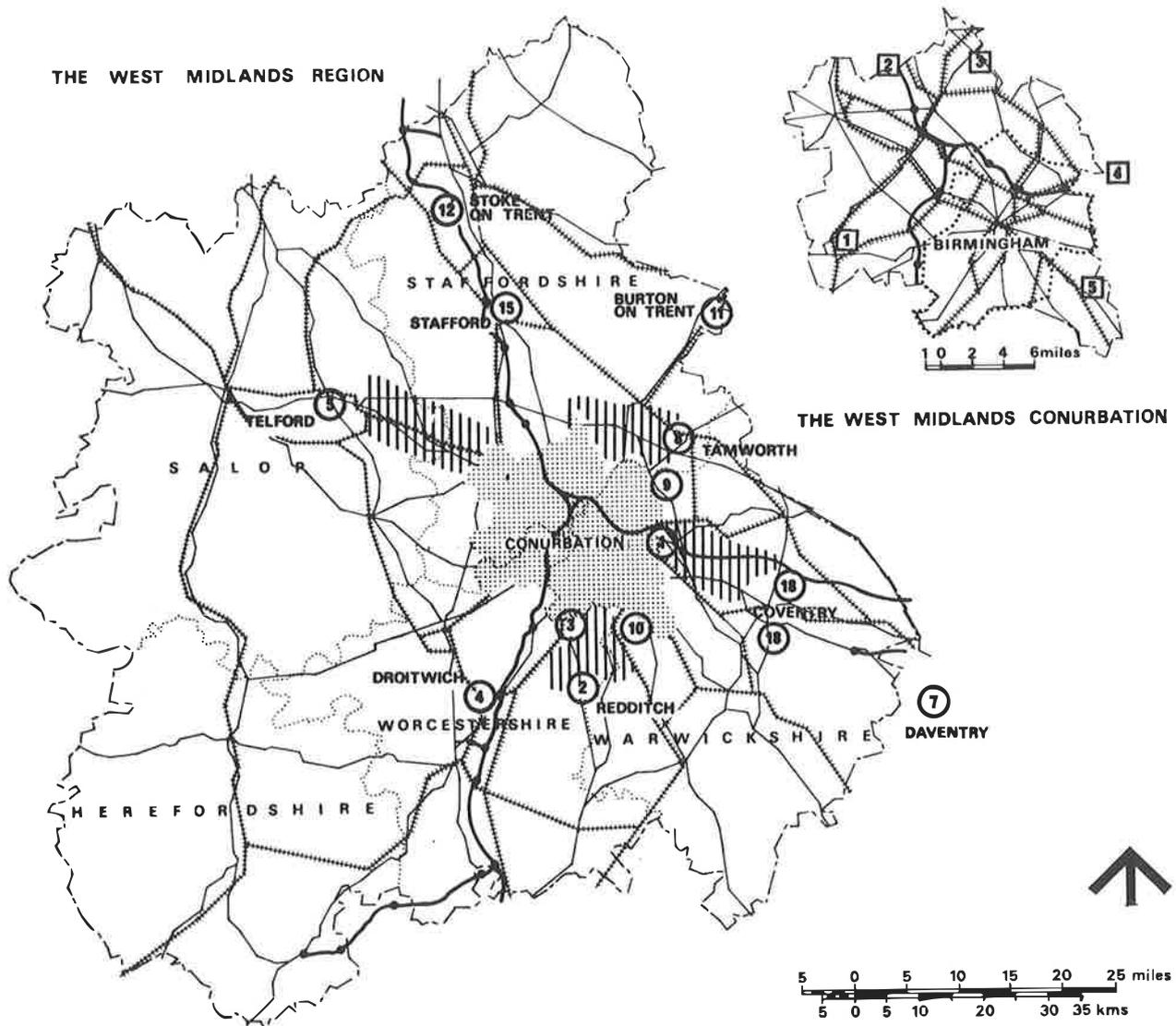
(a) The Regional Strategy

The original estimates in the Study Report indicated an overspill between 1966 and 1981 of 300,000 persons or 100,000 households from the conurbation. These figures were later revised to a range of possible overspill of 225,000 to 300,000 persons up to 1981. The revised estimates indicated that some 70,000 families from Birmingham's total population would have to be found housing outside the conurbation between 1966 and 1981.

The study suggested the location of a number of housing option areas for the period 1966 to 1981. These are indicated diagrammatically in Figure I.9.

THE WEST MIDLAND REGIONAL STUDY 1966-1981 OPTIONS

Figure I.9.



DIAGRAMMATIC LOCATION OF:

- ④ OPTION POPULATION 1966-1981
- ② NEW INDUSTRIAL AREAS WITHIN & ADJOINING THE CONURBATION 1966-2001
- ||||| AREAS OF SPECIAL CONTROL 1966-2001

SOURCE: WEST MIDLAND REGIONAL STUDY

The Study Report also envisaged that there would be a movement of jobs from the conurbation to the option locations. In the updated Report the level of mobile manufacturing employment was indicated to be within the range of 20,000 to 35,000 jobs with a "most likely" estimate of 25,000 jobs. It is evident that a large part of the mobile employment would have to come from Birmingham.

The Study Report also suggests the location of new industrial developments on the rim of the conurbation. These sites would provide for the industrial restructuring of the conurbation by the relocation of firms at present located elsewhere in the conurbation, and would also provide opportunities for improved servicing and related functions in the older industrial areas. The detailed location and extent of these sites is a matter for the local authorities in the preparation of their structure plans.

One of the restructuring sites is diagrammatically indicated on the east side of Birmingham close to the M6 Motorway (Figure I.9.).

It now seems probable in the view of the Department of the Environment and Department of Trade and Industry that if the sites for industrial restructuring were to be developed then the level of mobile manufacturing employment from the conurbation might well be lower than the lower end of the range referred to above.

The first annual report of the Joint Monitoring Steering Group, set up to monitor the strategy, was published in October 1975.

(b) An Economic Appraisal

The resilience and potential for growth of the industrial economy in the region and the likely levels of mobile industry from the conurbation also feature prominently in the "Economic Appraisal". In noting that if the West Midlands continues on its present course its rate of growth will not be sufficient to meet regional or national needs the Appraisal suggests the selective introduction of new industry, particularly of new science-based industries.

With regard to service employment the report notes that the region is still under-represented in this respect and suggests that at present there is no evidence to support the view that a faster rate of growth is

likely in the next ten years. Action suggested included the establishment of a major business school in the region and a greater investment in the region's infrastructure, particularly in those areas of the region capable of attracting service employment.

(c) A Transportation Plan for 1981

The Report of the West Midlands Transportation Study Group provides the context within which the conurbation authorities can formulate policies and programme investments up to 1981. The Study Group was set up by the conurbation authorities to prepare a transport plan for 1981 within a budget of £175m to £200m (at 1970 prices) put forward by the Department of the Environment as the likely availability of capital over the design period 1968 to 1981. In addition, the recently published Transport Development Plan prepared by the West Midlands Passenger Transport Executive provides guidance on the scale and nature of investment in public transport up to 1981.

Stage 1 of the W.M.T.S. indicated that it would not be practicable in financial or environmental terms to construct a highway network that would cope with the forecast volume of traffic for 1981. It was concluded therefore that a combination of transport methods would be required to make up the final transport plan for the conurbation. These comprised a highway network; a public transport system combining bus and rail networks, and a parking policy to ensure the balanced use of public and private transport.

Stage 2 of the Study concentrated on finding suitable policies involving combinations of all three elements within the overall budget of about £200m. The recommended plan, which would cost some £213m in capital expenditure comprises the following:

(i)	Completed or presently authorised highway improvement expenditure (1968-1972)	£	63.2m
(ii)	Proposed highway improvements including minor and traffice management schemes under £25,000	£	110.2m
(iii)	Costs of providing public transport infrastructure including base and improvements outside the Study Area	£	39.6m
(iv)	Provision of a Birmingham City Centre Station and mechanised passenger connection to New Street	£	<u>2.6m</u>
	TOTAL	£	212.9m

Many of the projections referred to in (a) - (c) above have since been overtaken by events, and the strategies and plans are now being evaluated and new projections calculated. Below the regional level, the West Midlands County Council now finds its area completely covered by 11 existing Structure Plans (the successors to Development Plans), all prepared before it came into existence. These are: Birmingham, Coventry, Dudley, Solihull, Walsall, Warley, West Bromwich, Wolverhampton and parts of the Staffordshire, Warwickshire and Worcestershire Structure Plans. The County Council did have the opportunity of commenting on the Birmingham, Dudley, Walsall, Warley, West Bromwich, Wolverhampton and Staffordshire Plans because they were examined in public after April 1974. The Secretary of State still has to formally approve these plans. The County Council is now preparing its own Structure Plan, but until this is approved (perhaps in 1980) it is obliged to work to these other 11 Plans, non of which prepared itself.

It is impossible to summarise all 11 Plans in a paper of this length. The County Council has already commented at length on many of them, and numerous publications have appeared of a technical and a policy nature incorporating these comments. In particular, numerous documents were produced before and during the examination in public of the last 6 Plans (Birmingham, Dudley, Walsall, Warley, West Bromwich and Wolverhampton).

I.5. THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE WEST MIDLANDS METROPOLITAN COUNTY COUNCIL

The County Council formally began operations in April 1974 when, under the Local Government Act of 1972, local government was restructured such that metropolitan area functions were to be shared between new Metropolitan County Councils and Metropolitan District Councils, the latter in most cases involving directly from the old County Borough authorities which were replaced by the new system.

The following list indicates how responsibilities are shared between Metropolitan Counties and Metropolitan Districts. Many responsibilities are marked (c) = (concurrent). In these cases, specific areas of responsibility and financial commitment will develop through practice.

In the list, the responsibilities are indicated by MC (Metropolitan County) and MD (Metropolitan District). In addition, T = Trading Service.

Social Services & Personal Health Services

Social Services (MD).

Education & Related Services

Education (MD), Youth Employment (MD), Libraries (MD), Museums and Art Galleries (c; MC, MD), Arts and Crafts (c; MC, MD).

Housing & Town Development

Certain Reserve Powers, e.g. overspill (MC), Town Development (c; MC, MD), Housing, including management and building, slum clearance, house and area improvement (MD).

Town & Country Planning & Related Matters

Structure Plans (MC), Local Plans (c; MC, MD), Development Control (MC (strategic and reserved decisions), MD (most)).

Acquisition & Disposal of Land for Planning Purposes

Development or Redevelopment (c; MC, MD), Clearance of Derelict Land (c; MC, MD), National Parks (subject to the existence of Boards; MC), Country Parks (c; MC, MD), Footpaths and Bridleways (c; MC, MD), Commons: management (MD), registration (MC), Caravan Sites: licensing and management (MD), provision (c; MC, MD), Gipsy Sites: management (MD), provision (MC), Smallholdings and Cottage Holdings (MC), Allotments (MD), Designation of Conservation Areas and Service of Preservation Notices (c; MC, MD).

Highways & Related Subjects

Transport Planning (MC), Highways: all (subject to the rights of Districts to claim powers) (MC), right to claim maintenance powers in relation to unclassified roads in urban areas (MD), Traffic (MC), Parking (MC), Passenger Transport Authorities (T)(MC), Road Safety (MC), Street Lightning (MC).

Environmental Health

Food, Safety & Hygiene (MD), Control of Communicable Disease (MD), Office, Shops and Railway Premises Act (MD), Factories Act (MD), Port Health (MD).

Other Environmental Services

Local Services (MD), Land Drainage (c; MC, MD), Refuse Collection (MD), Litter (MD), Refuse Disposal (including abandoned vehicles) (MC), Coast Protection (MD), Clean Air (MD), Building Regulations (MD), Street Cleansing (MD), Nuisances (MD), Cemeteries and Crematoria (MD), Markets

(MD), Offensive Trades (MD), Health Education (c; MC, MD).

Consumer Protection

Weights and Measures (MC), Food and Drugs (MC), Trade Description (MC), Consumer Protection Act 1961 (MC).

Police and Fire

Police (MC), Fire (MC).

Recreation and Tourism

Playing Fields and Swimming Baths (c; MC, MD), Parks and Open Spaces (c; MC, MD), Physical Training and Recreation (c; MC, MD), Publicity for Tourist Attractions (c; MC, MD).

Licensing and Registration Functions

Most (MD).

Other Services

Entertainments (T)(c; MC, MD), Aerodromes (T)(c; MC, MD), Natural Emergencies (c; MC, MD), Restaurants (T)(MD).

I.6. THE ORGANISATION AND MANAGEMENT OF THE PLANNING PROCES WITHIN THE WEST MIDLANDS COUNTY

The West Midlands County Council has specific responsibility for strategic planning in the West Midlands County. It is the only authority within the area with such wide planning powers, but it is expected to consult and liase with many other organisations involved in the planning process. Strategic planning is not a well-defined term, however, and there is no such thing as a statutory (i.e. legal) strategic plan. Instead, the County Council is responsible for a statutory structure plan (basically land use); a statutory transport policy and programme, a wast disposal plan, and the formulation of various other planning policies. The County Council does not have full legislative backing to implement all the policies it has chosen to formulate (this applies particularly to economic and industrial policy), but it has adopted the approach that if there is a serious issue within the West Midlands County which bodies are apparently unable or unwilling to tackle, then it will consider the issue, decide whether or not it deserves priority, formulate a policy, and then seek a vehicle to implement it (either directly or by encouraging others). This process is

carried out by one or more of the political committees shown in Figure I.10.

Within the County Council, the planning process has a number of strands which run concurrently and which need to proceed on a compatible basis. Although these individual strands, such as TPP or Structure Plan preparation, have different timescales, it is essential that the County Council has some vehicle whereby a total picture can be built up of the problems facing the County Council and the choices that are available to solve those problems. This vehicle should take the form of an annual policy document which would be produced in July of each year. As part of the process for producing this policy document (which has been referred to as the County Strategy Plan), it is intended to produce a COUNTY SURVEY during February/March of each year. This document will attempt to distill from all individual planning processes the main components of individual plans. It is not a substitute for such plans, nor is it intended to compete with them. It will provide a focal point to bring before Council Members, an overall view of the County Council's activities. It is vital that this member involvement is successful if it is intended to get a meaningful commitment by members to proper planning.

The County Survey is a consultation document which will provide a focal point for:

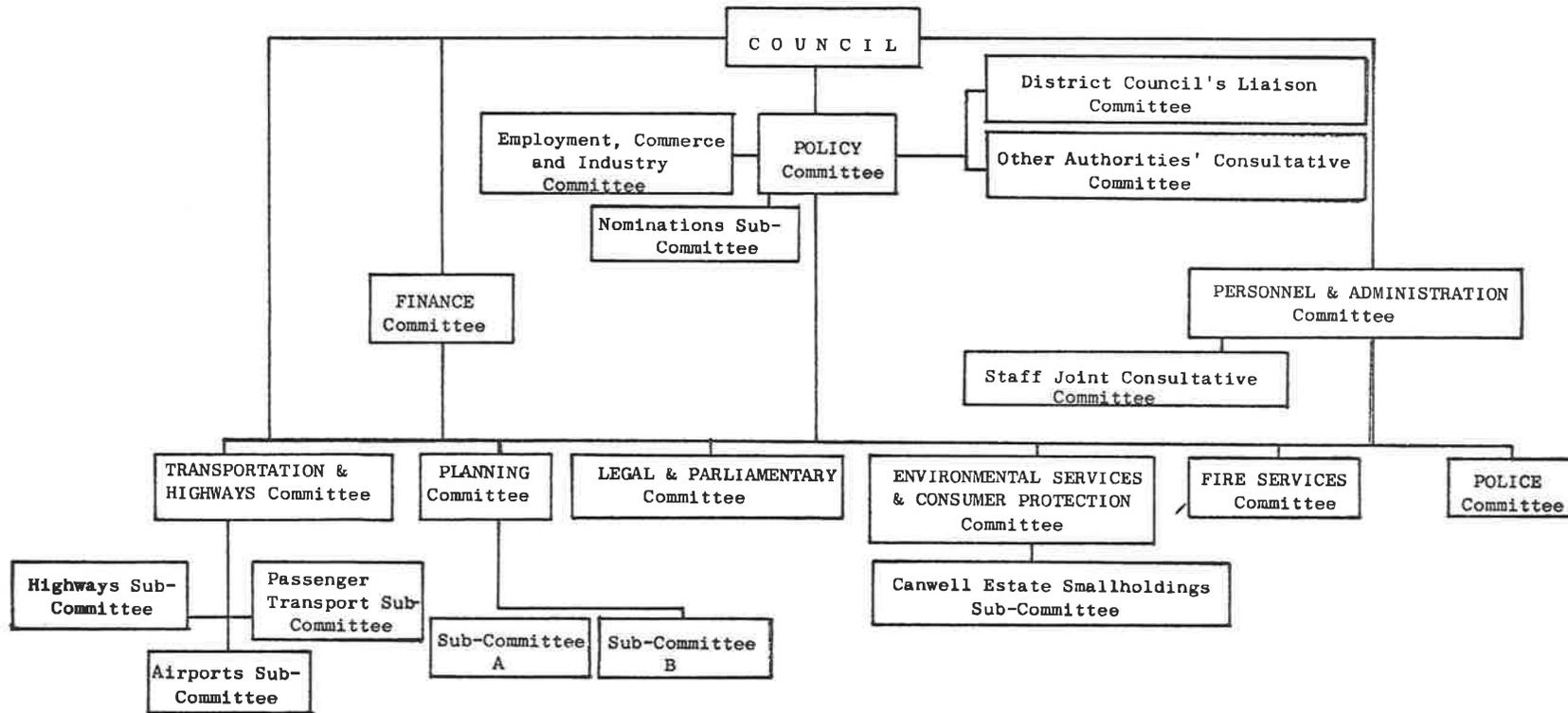
- (i) Bringing together the ongoing examination of the physical, economic and social trends in the County area and West Midlands Region;
- (ii) Identifying the issues, problems and opportunities arising therefrom;
- (iii) Defining major policy objectives resulting from this identification;
- (iv) Proposing policy packages to meet these objectives;
- (v) Exposing resource constraints within which policy options must be determined.

The County Survey will embrace all the major services of the County Council as well as referring to the executive responsibilities of other bodies such as District Councils, RWA, etc. As it will provide a comprehensive summary of all the County Council's plans and policy proposals, it will need to be a self contained document drawing on material from other plans with appropriate cross-references, where necessary. It is suggested that 4 main

Figure I.10.

WEST MIDLANDS COUNTY COUNCIL

COMMITTEE STRUCTURE



sections would be covered as follows:

(i) Review

A review of the past 3 years, say, 1973/1974/1975 for the major local authority services, identifying separately County Council services. This will include reference to the preparation of current County Council's plans - notably the structure plan, but also including, for example, the development of attitudes leading to existing policies such as the present fares policy.

(ii) Issues, Problems and Opportunities

This section would attempt to identify the issues, problems and opportunities facing the County Council. It would include general problems followed by problems which can more readily be related to County and District Services. Suggested sub-sections are:

- (a) Population changes in structure, size and location
- (b) Changing social attitudes
- (c) Employment and the economy
- (d) The Physical Environment
- (e) The Protective Services
- (f) Transportation
- (g) Support Services, e.g. legal, financial etc.
- (h) District Council Services
- (i) Resources

(iii) Policy Objectives

For each County Service a brief statement of policy objectives, framed in realistic terms which can be related to terms which can be related to possible solutions reflected in policy package proposals. Vague statements such as "to improve the Wellbeing of the Community" must be avoided.

(iv) Policy Package Proposals

Broad proposals for the attainment of policy objectives - options together with justification statements.

The strategic planning function is supported within the County Council by corporate officer groups. This does not mean to say that the large part of the County's work which has to be carried on in individual departments is supported by inter-disciplinary groups, but that most of the strategic planning tasks which require authority-wide skills and views are guided by a set of officer groups drawn from relevant departments.

I.7. CURRENT WEST MIDLANDS COUNTY COUNCIL POLICY

The County Council have, over the past year, issued policy statements of its intentions with regard to social, economic and transportation aspects of the County. These statements are given below.

West Midlands County Council presented the following policies at the Structure Plans Hearing of the 6 former Conurbation local authorities which took place in April, 1975.

(a) Employment

The County Council has adopted a policy of planning for a level of labour demand that will ensure an adequate job provision for the working population within the County and neighbouring areas who look to the conurbation for employment. This policy means a reversal of employment trends which, since 1966, have led to fewer jobs in the conurbation.

(b) Land Availability

W.M.C.C., in conjunction with the Metropolitan District Councils, will undertake an urgent survey to identify all available land that is suitable for industrial use so that an element of choice in size of site and location will be available for industrialists; seek to ensure that sufficient land is available for industrial use so that a balance labour demand and labour supply can be achieved; monitor the demand for industrial land.

(c) Derelict Land

W.M.C.C. intends to make a major impact in derelict land reclamation in the next 10 year period and will give a major priority to the allocation of resources to this end. In the near future industrial and housing schemes will be the principal beneficiaries of this reclamation work.

(d) Inner Areas

In recognition of the special problems of these areas W.M.C.C. will actively encourage:

- (i) the rehabilitation of industries located in these areas and, by changing the emphasis from redevelopment to renewal, ease the pressure for relocation of existing firms.
- (ii) the improvement of job opportunities for residents of these areas, especially in relation to the provision of industrial estates.
- (iii) the establishment of the particular needs for training in these areas and the implementation of appropriate programmes.

- (iv) a change in the allocation of IDC's to help inner areas in particular.
- (v) the implementation of a search to find suitable industrial sites in these areas.

W.M.C.C. will examine the proposals for industrial restructuring locations suggested in the regional strategy.

(e) Manufacturing

W.M.C.C. will encourage the revitalisation and diversification of the manufacturing base, paying particular attention to competitiveness and the likely future growth prospects of industry at the same time as seeking to develop the potential for service growth which exists in the County.

(f) Offices

W.M.C.C. believes that:

- (i) offices attached to industrial premises are acceptable
- (ii) reservations should be placed upon speculative central area office development
- (iii) whilst some service sector growth in Birmingham should be maintained they support the policy of a moratorium on major new office development in the City Centre
- (iv) in certain suburban locations some office employments should be encouraged in circumstances where:
 - it was related to the development of the National Exhibition Centre and Elmdon Airport
 - the population of the area had the skills appropriate for office development
 - there was good transport, especially public transport corridors
 - office development might divert some part of the current high level of commuting into office jobs in City Centre locations.

(g) Quality of Working Environment

W.M.C.C. will encourage approval of policies aimed at improving the West Midlands lower than average standard of social welfare.

(h) Elmdon Airport

W.M.C.C. is to undertake further examination of Elmdon Airport as an employment generator.

Specific policies have been formulated with regard to the European Economic Community, Industrial Estates and Training.

(a) E.E.C.

"The West Midlands County Council wishes to ensure that the County's industrial, trade and social organisations are fully aware of their rights to E.E.C. funds and finance, and as such will publicise and advise on the available funds open to the West Midlands. Furthermore, the County Council will encourage and develop applications in the West Midlands interest to E.E.C. funds and the European Investment Bank. In addition, the County Council will, through its industrial information service, provide summaries to E.E.C. policy which may directly or indirectly affect the West Midlands economy."

(b) Industrial Estates

- (i) The West Midlands County Council wishes to ensure that sufficient serviced land, purpose built units and advance factories are available to industrialists in the County to meet both the needs of local residents affected by relocation, and new businesses and industry, in general, wishing to expand in the County.
- (ii) The West Midlands County Council is aware of the current availability of industrial premises in the County but wishes to take positive action to prevent a shortage of premises and serviced land when the economic upturn begins, by taking all appropriate steps to see that industrial estates are developed.
- (iii) The West Midlands County Council is aware of a number of old empty industrial premises in the County and will consider the possibility of modernisation and/or modification for short/medium-term industrial use prior to redevelopment. Furthermore, in line with its policies against derelict land, the West Midlands County Council will consider development of industrial estates on reclaimed land.

(c) Training

"The W.M.C.C. fully appreciate the role of training in providing efficient manpower to industry and commerce, in attaining high levels of employment of labour resources, and in securing employment and financial stability for its population. In recognition of these facts, the W.M.C.C. will actively

undertake, subject to consultation with the District Councils and other relevant bodies:

- (i) A role in the guidance and promotion of training in the County, and in the formulation of policies to this end.
- (ii) Manpower forecasting for the County which will be forwarded to relevant bodies (such as the Training Services Agency and Industrial Training Boards).
- (iii) A study into the problems of the "Outer Labour Market" within the County, with the intentions of formulating specific remedies."

On transportation, the West Midlands County Council has included a policy statement in its Transportation Policy and Programme.

I.8. FROM PAST HISTORY TO CURRENT ISSUES

Part I of this substantive paper has highlighted the main geographical, administrative, historical, political and organisational features of the West Midlands County. Each of these gives rise to current problems:

- (i) the tightness of the West Midlands County; geographical boundaries unduly restrict the strategic planning function;
- (ii) national and local administrations seek different policy responses to the same underlying problems and the County Council is expected to assimilate their often conflicting pressures in its own policy planning;
- (iii) the economic history of the West Midlands creates an image in other people's minds of a prosperous regional economy well able to continue contributing jobs to other regions;
- (iv) the ability of local politicians is now being severely tested by the increased magnitude of the issues created by local government re-organisations and the economic recession;
- (v) likewise, the calibre of local government officers is also being put to the test as they grapple with the same large-scale problems of the planning management process.

These are some of the issues which are now taken up in more detail in Part II.

II. PLANNING ISSUES AND THE PROGRESSES OF DECISION TAKING

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II.1. Introduction	
II.2. Towards a set of inter-related issues	
II.3. Three categories of issues	
II.4. Issues which are specific to the region	
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II.6. Public administration	
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II.1. INTRODUCTION

The region can be seen as a laboratory for the formulation and testing of hypotheses about urban and regional Government and the development of complementary planning theory. For example, there is a long history of "indicative" plans going back to 1948. How well have they worked: in economic terms, as guidelines for public and private investment, as physical constraints or in opening up opportunities for the development of a buoyant economy, and in shaping the structure of public administration? In addition to the earlier indicative plans, strategies for public investment, as foundations for implementing "regional" policies prepared jointly by Central and Local Government, were hammered out during the early 1970's in the Regional Economic Planning Council, a non-executive body set up as part of the machinery for National Economic Planning in 1964*, and the complementary West Midlands Planning Authorities' Conference, a powerful but non-statutory body appointed to explore the more important economic and social issues of the region in

*The National Plan, prepared in 1965 was soon abandoned. The Regional Economic Planning Councils became important bodies advising Central and Local Government, the semi-public and private sectors on economic questions, and stimulating wide discussion. The Economic Planning Board made up of the heads of government departments in the region is the corporate executive body. At the same time, the Conference provided a powerful and united front for the authorities in their arguments with central government and in their opposition to the competing powers and functions of ad-hoc boards.

Neither the Council nor the Conference have been as successful as they hoped. They have not persuaded Central Government to accept some of the issues which seem to them to be particularly important, such as providing more resources to improve the regional economy to offset rising unemployment and make better use of the assets of large force, skills, capital and central location in Britain, nor did they prevent the setting up of the Severn-Trent Water Authority, a non-elected body which has taken over, mainly from Local Government, responsibility for all water supply and main drainage investment in the region. This Authority began work in April 1974 when the whole of English and Welsh Local Government was reorganised.

In this region the West Midlands Metropolitan County Council was created as the strategic planning authority, and Metropolitan District Councils were formed out of the previous system of County Boroughs and parts of old County Councils. (See Figures I.2., I.3. and I.4. which show the institutional structure). One of the first tasks of the Metropolitan County Council was to present a set of issues and policy proposals, primarily about the region's changing economy, for urgent public discussion (published in "A Time For Action" in September 1974 and March 1975). They have proved to be a useful instrument for the development of collaboration not only between the County Council and the District and neighbouring County Councils, but with industry and commerce, central government, and some parts of the organisation of the European Communities in Brussels and Luxemburg.

II.2. TOWARDS A SET OF INTER-RELATED ISSUES

Although the County Council, with the support of the District Councils, has made a start with the analysis of economic issues, they cannot be tackled outside their wider social, environmental and financial planning context.

During discussions on the draft of this report it was pointed out that an issue can be a question about a wide area of policy, for example to widen the functions of the Metropolitan County Council well beyond its statutory duties, or a narrower problem about finding more land for housing. The argument ran that whilst this common and imprecise use of the word may not be wrong, should not the report contain at least a preliminary analysis of

what issues are, or can be, and how their selection contributes to insight and understanding of the management problems of the Metropolitan region and to the methodology for dealing with those problems in the on-going system of public administration?

In a Metropolitan region there are many authorities and bodies engaged in public administration. What is more, they collaborate with one another, with the private sector and the community. Issues are therefore necessarily defined for a wide range of public administration; complementary issues are put forward by industry, commerce and community associations to help inter-corporate management.

Issues can be recognised and listed by those who have experience of where the shoe pinches in the particular field of management being examined. But a superficial selection is unlikely to be profitable. To provide insight into the management problems, issues should be selected carefully after rigorous analysis of what the organisation, such as the Metropolitan County Council, is about, how priorities are being defined and what resource constraints over time must be taken into account. The range of issues must not be so wide as to become unmanageable. Issues which stretch across the boundaries of Central and Local Government, and other institutional boundaries are starting points for inter-corporate management.

II.3. THREE CATEGORIES OF ISSUES

There are three useful categories of issues: those that are international as well as domestic; those that are primarily national although clearly regional too; and those that are specific to the Metropolitan Region. This distinction is important operationally. The inter-corporate planning system for each are different because the "actors" are different in international, national and regional organisations. Also the County Council may have duties and powers to act regionally which it does not have nationally or internationally. The ways in which the County Council can act directly in these areas to achieve its aims, or alternatively use its influence to persuade other bodies and people to give it support, might be a useful subject for discussion at Rotterdam; and the County Council can support other organisations in the metropolitan system.

Before preparing a possible set of issues which are specific to the Metropolitan Region, the first 2 categories should be mentioned briefly; they will not be explored in depth in this paper although in a few years time, some of them as competition for scarce resources from the Third World, may come to dominate many domestic decisions about investment choices in the developed countries.

First, of the issues facing this region which have international origins, the most important in the short-run is probably foreign competition in industrial and commercial fields, which can cause serious unemployment in the West Midlands. There is evidence that some regional firms, including those making vehicles, metal goods and machine tools on which the region is heavily dependent, are facing increasing competition in terms of price, quality and delivery dates, not only from developed countries but from others which are not yet industrialised but which are determined to catch up, increase their national product from manufacturing and get a much bigger share of world trade. Almost certainly the Region must fund novel answers to this kind of competition, and quickly. World inflation, which might be equated for the purpose of this paper with rising hopes and aspirations for a better life, may generate issues for the region concerned with hard choices for the distribution of comparatively scarce and expensive goods and welfare services. Increasing competition for scarce world resources of food and raw materials may cause a good deal of disappointment and urban stress. This last point is related to a warning given by O.E.C.D. in 1971 (Science, Growth and Society, O.E.C.D., 1971) that in some developed societies, and Britain is probably one of them, the composition of the goods and services produced is likely to shift away from private goods for the market to those bought collectively or supplied for the public sector, including education, health, clean air and water, and civic order. The issue here may be to do with the changing duties and competences of public authorities: can they acquire powers and develop capabilities quickly enough to match the growth of demand? Are there likely to be constitutional questions to answer concerned with the freedom of the individual?

The second category of primarily national issues includes firstly, regional policies for helping "assisted areas" in Britain, which, during the last 15 years, although some of the policies have been operating for longer than

this, have been a brake on the expansion of the West Midlands economy; secondly, the Government's constraints on public expenditure together with the whole apparatus of financing local government, which restricts the freedom of local authorities to spend as they might wish; and thirdly, the many national policies on for example, education, public transport, housing, employment, welfare and environmental services which do not necessarily match regional needs.

It might be objected that some, or all, of these issues are not for the Metropolitan County Council. But if the County Council is to be the Regional Strategic Planning Authority, and it is, it must be concerned with the whole range of policies which affect decisions on investment in its region, both public and private, as well as all those concerned with welfare, even though some of the welfare agencies are parts of Government Departments or are ad-hoc like the Health Authorities. A County Council which keeps its eyes fixed only on its statutory duties is not going to be very effective as a strategic planning authority.

II.4. ISSUES WHICH ARE SPECIFIC TO THE REGION

The range of regional issues is very wide. An indication of its width is given in the Appendix. This is probably unmanageable in the short-run partly because the corporate planning machinery, which is still primitive, cannot cope with such complexity, and also because the creative processes of decision making cannot be carried out across more than a limited number of the wide and varied fields by the comparatively few politicians and administrators who are accountable for decisions. Figure II.1. gives some idea of the complexity of the urban system. The corporate planning processes will be discussed later in this paper. At this point, a comparatively small number of the more important issues which can be tackled should be selected. There are three tests. Firstly, they should be important to the aims and functions of the County Council and its co-operating organisations; secondly, any action which is likely to be generated by them, whether on jobs to be done or on policies to be pursued, should be practicable; and finally, whatever action must be taken should be likely to be desirable in the long run and not exposed to unnecessary long run risks or uncertainties.

The first step is to define the area of concern. This can be seen as 4

overlapping areas of social policy, economic policy, environmental policy and financial policy. Within each there are several policy fields: for example there are housing, education, and welfare in the economic area; urban structure, transport, clean air, aesthetics and urban design in the environmental area; to mention only a few. The financial area includes not only policies for both public and private investment in the region during specific periods but the budgetary control of the County Council's activities within the management of the national economy, with the County Council exercising its discretion up to permissible boundaries. In the selection of a short-list of issues none of these areas can be omitted. They are of crucial importance. They are interacting and in many policy fields mutually dependent. An example of mutual dependence might be industrial development, job mobility, housing, public transport and budgetary priority for the related public works. The public works would necessarily be carried out by several agencies.

If the first short list is based on political pragmatism and local knowledge of where the shoe pinches, experience shows that this will not necessarily be the most rewarding in either the short or the long run. The tests mentioned in paragraph II.3. have been found in practice to be useful. If they are neglected a lot of work can easily be done which is not focused on the right questions or which is not soundly based within its inter-
corporate system, or the action which should follow is not practicable at the estimated cost or in the time available, or the possible long-run consequences were not considered carefully enough.

All the policy fields are to do with social values. At the next stage when the policy fields spelled out as operational issues for planning purposes, both objectives and values may have to be sharpened and choices made between, on the one hand, more desirable but more costly and, on the other hand, less desirable but more practicable objectives and values. For example, a choice may be made to build or extend factories to create work in this region at substantial local environmental costs, or no-growth financial policies may be chosen to create a longer life for some slums. Planning is always a process of choice between alternatives. Planning in this Metropolitan Region during the next 2 decades is going to demand hard and difficult choices. How will they be made? Are their systematic approaches to decision-taking which should make choices more robust and profitable?

II.5. MANAGING DECISIONS

This is not the place for a paper on decision taking in the public sector but recent advances in techniques are being adopted and adapted to the institutional system of the West Midlands. Three should be mentioned as a starting point for discussion. They are: corporate planning within the Metropolitan County Council and separately in the District Councils; strategic choice of policies for public investment in the region (in the structure plan) related to possible private investment during the next 10 to 15 years; the beginnings of inter-corporate planning between the County Council and other collaborating bodies including Government Departments and the E.E.C. The steps in the emerging methodology might be described as follows:

- (i) define the areas of concern and the institutional system corresponding to the concern: for example, the institutional system concerned with improving job opportunities in the region includes Local and Central Government, Industry and the Chamber of Commerce, Trade Unions and the E.E.C.
- (ii) analyse existing various policy fields within each concern: e.g. policy fields about British regional industrial policy.
- (iii) define and select "issues" for analysis and use in inter-corporate discussions.
- (iv) take key political decisions to switch resources or priorities to increase pay-off from multiple decisions; e.g. to bring decisions to invest in housing, transport, utilities and industrial development together within specified periods.
- (v) in the analysis leading up to decisions, have regard to uncertainties in the input of information and values, and in related decision fields; make the best possible exploration of long-run consequences of short-run action.
- (vi) when taking decisions make reasonably sure that they can be implemented within the resources available and to the required time-table.

If there are 2 key phrases to illustrate the essential processes in this emerging methodology, they are "to work to increase understanding", and to "so structure problem situations that the will to make decisions can be exercised".

In Appendices A.2. to A.5. to the full paper, there are explorations in some depth of 4 policy fields. They are of 2 kinds: papers on social and economic policy discuss 2 of the 4 overlapping areas of concern mentioned in paragraph II.4. the other 2 are about the more limited policy fields of transport and housing. They have been drafted to relate one to another and to illuminate the theme of this paper.

Finally, there are issues for the West Midlands and other similar large urban areas which are not about inherent social and economic policies of change but about its institutional structure.

II.6. PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

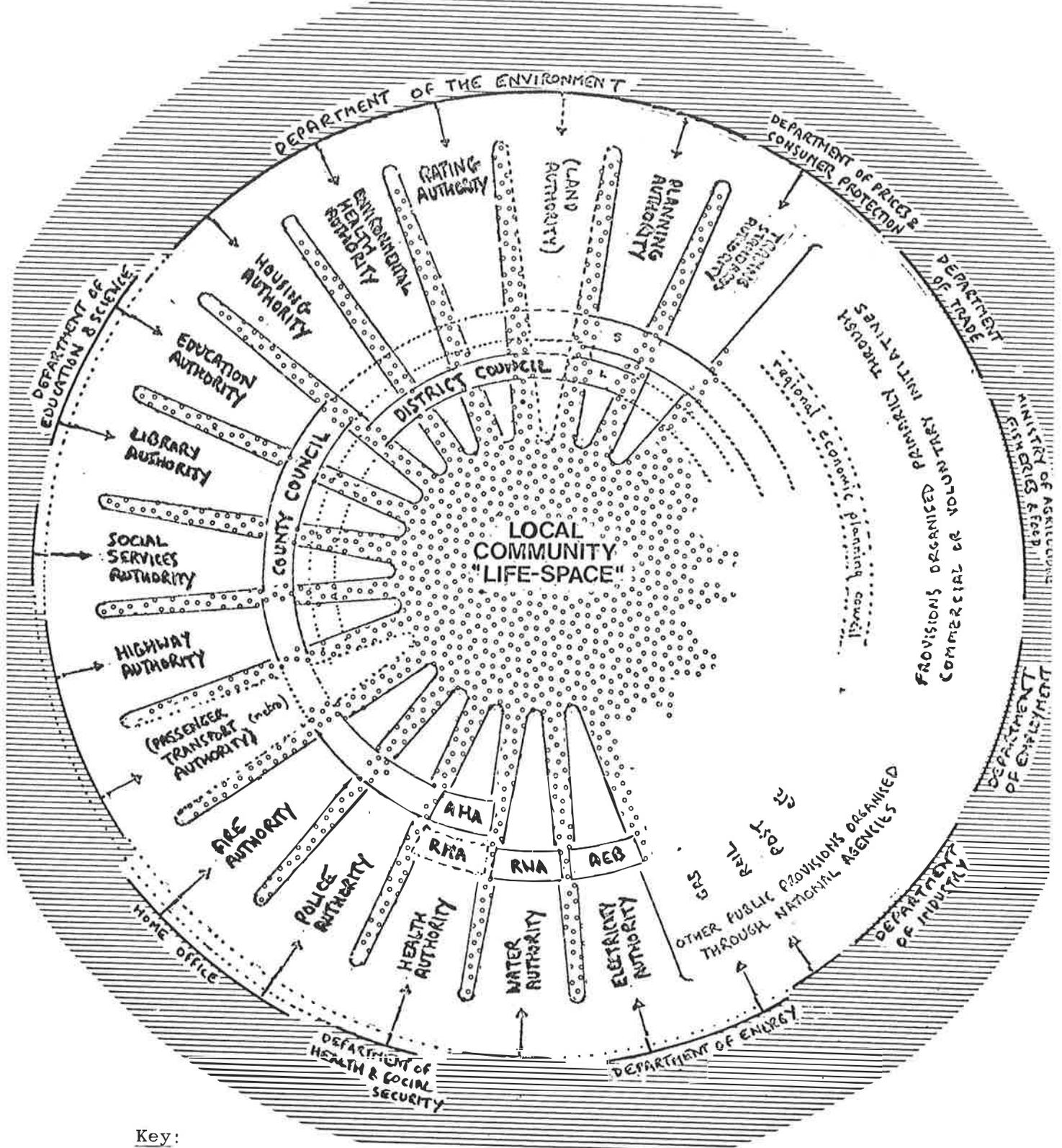
The statutory division of Local Government functions in Metropolitan Regions is set out in the first section of this paper. Here the argument is based on the complexity of the West Midlands metropolitan system of administration in which the County Council is at the heart of corporate planning and corporate policy making with wide responsibilities for the implementation of these policies. Figure II.1. gives a community viewpoint on the provision of local community services. During the one and a half year of the life of the County Council, 4 groups of institutional issues have been tackled.

- (i) conflict for power between upper and lower tiers, particularly in this region where the traditionally powerful County Boroughs have lost strategic planning powers to the new County Council. There is also tension between Local and Central Government;
- (ii) the sheer complexity of the public administrative system; corporate planning is being developed within each body, but inter-corporate planning by interacting authorities is politically and technically at a very large stage. The increased scale of organisation may have increased institutional inertia and insensitivity to external changes;
- (iii) the new Metropolitan County Councils are being challenged by the facts of life, to lift their eyes from their statutory functions alone, and to grasp some of the emerging problems of western industrial societies in rapid change. This is a difficult task politically and institutionally,
- (iv) the changing relationship between Central and Local Government is also an "issue". The relationship includes the distribution of

Figure II.1.

A COMMUNITY VIEWPOINT ON THE PROVISION OF LOCAL COMMUNITY SERVICES

Case of West Midlands Metropolitan County Council, indicating statutory roles and controlling Departments of Government



- Key:
- L = local)
 - S = strategic) planning authority
 - AHA = area health authority
 - RHA = regional health authority
 - RWA = regional water authority
 - AEB = area electricity board

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functions, finance, the working of national economic regulators, social policies and their implementation, and Central Government's overall responsibility for the quality of local administration and the effectiveness of public participation in Government.

The whole problem of devolution of Central Government functions to elected assemblies in Wales and Scotland and possibly in English regions is now to be the subject of a government white paper for public discussion. There are arguments for devolution of powers to English regional authorities based on first, the need to move as much business as possible away from over-taxed Ministries in Whitehall; second, to bring as much decision as possible nearer to "the people"; third, to stimulate local innovation and spread accountability for Government much more widely. But there is one hard objection to devolution in England; the new local authorities should not be disturbed until they have forged new tools to do their jobs effectively and with greater economy in the use of resources than the old system bequeathed to them. England may not be able to afford upheaval in Local Government so soon.

How is the County Council tackling these issues? There are no simple answers or quick solutions. But with regard to conflict the County Council tries to use the principle that conflict can be rewarding if handled with goodwill and understanding of the background and arguments on all sides. Conflict management is a skill which is of increasing importance and it may not be an over-statement that it is the touch-stone to successful administration.

II.8. THE STYLE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE WEST MIDLANDS

The conurbation has been described as a classic example of the growth of an industrial concentration during and since the Industrial Revolution (Kenneth Rosing and Peter A. Wood, Character of a Conurbation, University of London Press, 1971). Based on coal, iron ores and limestone for flux it flourished in the 18th and 19th centuries. Many of the men who built this region were non-conformists from this country and the continent of Europe, and they gave it the stamp of sturdy independence and robustness in adversity, which still exists. Thus, although Great Britain is now growing through a period of social and economic stress there is a style of determination to succeed in the government of this region. This style runs

like a common thread through most of the region's activities and it dominates its planning. The farsightedness of the pioneering industrialists is found equally today in the managers of both industry and Government.

Appendix

Check List of West Midlands County Issues

A. Public Administration Issues

- A1. Conflict for power between the 2 tiers of Local Government.
- A2. How can the inertia of large bodies and organisations be more effectively channelled to produce efficient inter-corporate management?
- A3. Should the West Midlands County Council tackle wider problems than its statutory functions allow?
- A4. Should the West Midlands County Council be involved in the actual formulation of national policies?
- A5. What is an adequate resource base for the local authorities operating within the West Midlands County? Where should these resources come from?

B. Urban System Issues

- B1. How should the natural expansion of the West Midlands conurbation be contained along growth corridors? In New Towns? Peripheral expansion?
- B2. Central area issues:
 - (a) Should there be one business centre within the West Midlands County?
 - (b) Who should pay for the facilities of the inner area and City Centres?
- B3. Economic issues:
 - (a) Dependence on the motor industry. Diversify into what?
 - (b) Regional policy: Does it need to be more selective? More positive?
 - (c) Low investment, low productivity, obsolescence. Cause?
 - (d) Over-manning. Redundancy. Re-training for what?
- B4. Transportation issues:
 - (a) Public versus private: Free fares?
 - (b) Should commuting be positively reduced? Parking policy?
- B5. Housing issues:
 - (a) Land shortage. Higher densities? More overspill?
 - (b) More public or private housing?

- (c) Tenure: Will incomes be high enough in the future?
- (d) Redevelopment or renovation?
- (e) Industrial relations. Worker participation? Industrial co-operatives? Common ownership schemes? More management training?

B6. Inner Areas/Community/Social Issues:

- (a) How can co-ordinated action be taken to up-grade socially deprived areas?
- (b) Immigrant problems.
- (c) Should there be positive attempts to get a better balance of socio-economic grouping within inner areas?

III. SUPPLEMENTARY PAPERS

8. Financing of local government in the United Kingdom
9. Taking strategic decisions
10. Management of the environment
11. Lessons from the urban poverty programmes
12. Discussion paper: thinking about the future
13. Local government in France

CHAPTER 8

FINANCING OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

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1. INTRODUCTION

The present time is one of turmoil for local finance in the United Kingdom as local authorities, like other bodies and organisations, are experiencing, to them, unique problems in the administration of local services. These problems have in turn triggered changing relationships between local and central government - changing relationships which form a continuous thread in this paper.

Policy formulation and resource allocation are the two main inter-dependent elements in this relationship, elements which connect and yet divide local and central governments. This paper will therefore examine these elements from three viewpoints:

- a. the public expenditure survey system and its effects on local authority policies;
- b. local authority finance, from both local and central sources, and the central government's control over that finance; and
- c. the role of the local authority associations.

This main section will be preceded by an outline of local government expenditure in relation to the national economy, and followed by a brief summary of the main financial problems being experienced by metropolitan authorities currently.

2. LOCAL/CENTRAL RELATIONSHIPS

2.1. National Context

Constitutionally local authorities are autonomous statutory bodies which have always maintained that, in the best interests of the community, they should have the maximum possible freedom in providing the wide range of services for which they are responsible. The alternative is a continued movement towards a system under which the local administration of services would finally be controlled by central government. Independence for local government, however, can mean no more than freedom to operate within predetermined agreed overall resource constraints and within certain broad national policy guidelines laid down by the Government for key services. In practice, for both economic and political reasons, central government has very specific interests in the actions of local government, and not the least among these interests are the effects on the national economy of

local government's call on resources and central financial support, through grant aid, of locally administered services.

Current discussions on the future of the rate as the only independent source of revenue and alternative sources of finance for local government, together with local government's disquiet about its increasing reliance on grant aid, dramatic increases in rate-calls in the past two or three years and frequent pronouncements by Government Ministers on controls over local expenditure as a result of continuing large rises in that expenditure, are all merely elements in a more fundamental question - the fate of local autonomy.

2.2. Local Authority Income and Expenditure

Local authorities have their own independent source of finance in the local property tax - rates; but local taxation has provided a diminishing proportion of local revenue over the last few years. Under the 1975/76 grant settlement the government will provide 66.5% of the total relevant expenditure of local authorities. Total local authority expenditure in 1975 exceeded £13,000 million including debt interest, or 18% of the Gross National Product, and local authorities spent an average of £4.50 per week for every man, woman and child in their jurisdiction.

Over the last twenty years local authorities' demands on national resources have grown substantially. The annual average compound growth rate in local authority expenditure (excluding debt interest) from 1954-74 was 5.3%, twice the growth rate in Gross National Product (2.7%) and substantially in excess of the growth of public sector expenditure as a whole (4.4%).

The share of the gross national product demanded by local authorities has also risen substantially in the last ten years. Between 1954 and 1964 local authority expenditure (excluding debt interest) rose from 9% of 11% of G.N.P. but from 1964 to 1974 the proportion increased to over 15%.

With this background it can be seen that at the present time, when cuts in public expenditure at all levels is a recurring cry, it is understandable that local authority expenditure and financing should be put under the microscope. The direct result of this examination is likely to be fundamental changes in the relationships between local and central government.

3. POLICY FORMULATION AND RESOURCE ALLOCATION

3.1. Background

As local authorities are statutory bodies their powers and duties are conferred upon them by Parliament - by the Government of the day. They cannot do anything which they are not empowered to do, and this philosophy of ultra-vires (beyond their powers) has been upheld a number of times in courts of law. Thus central government has complete overall control over the responsibilities of local authorities. This is not to say however that central government has detailed control over the actions of those authorities or that local government has no areas of local discrimination or autonomy in its operations. Many statutes do not specify the detailed administrative arrangements which should be followed while some confer only discretionary powers on local authorities.

Local finance is in a similar position. Although central government supports locally administered services through grants the bulk of these are general grants which, though not open-ended, are not accompanied by regulations forcing authorities to make specific allocations to individual services. Nor are there at present any controls, other than Ministerial exhortations, over rate-levels, though the Government has already announced that grants may be adjusted in 1976/77 to penalise authorities who, in the Government's eyes, have unduly increased their calls on ratepayers.

The following sections of this paper outline the ways in which the central/local relationship is determined by financial matters - either by centrally directed growth of local expenditure or by the extent of Central control and influence of local financial resources. These sections are entitled:

- a. the Public Expenditure Survey system and more recent Government pronouncements;
- b. Governments grants to local authorities;
- c. the Rating System;
- d. the role of the local authority associations.

3.2. Public Expenditure Survey system

The government undertakes regular surveys of "public expenditure as a whole" and is now projecting expenditure trends for the next five years. The latest survey (Cmnd 5879) published on January 31st 1975 deals with Public Expenditure 1978-79.

The Public Expenditure Survey system as it is now operated has gradually developed over the last fifteen years. The Survey's beginnings can be dated from the Report of the Plowden Committee on the Control of Public Expenditure in 1961 (Cmnd 1432). Their report reflected the growing concern in Parliament, the Treasury and elsewhere, at the limitations of the methods then in use for planning and controlling expenditure. The Committee recommended that in future:-

"Regular surveys should be made of public expenditure as a whole, over a period of years ahead, and in relation to prospective resources, decision involving substantial future expenditure should be taken in the light of the surveys".

The annual timetables for the Surveys may vary slightly from year to year but is typically:-

December: Instructions on the conduct of the coming year's Survey are issued by the Treasury.

End-February: Departments responsible for blocks of expenditure send returns to the Treasury including their up-to-date estimates of the cost of existing policies for the coming five years.

March-April: The Treasury and the individual spending Departments discuss these estimates, and the supporting information provided by the Departments in order to reach agreement on the policy and statistical assumptions on which the estimates should be based, and then on the figures themselves.

May: A draft report on public expenditure is drawn up by the Treasury, and agreed in the Public Expenditure Survey Committee.

June: A report is submitted to Ministers.

July-November: Ministerial decisions are taken on the aggregate of public expenditure and its allocation on the various programmes.

November-December: Publication of the programme estimates embodying these decisions in the annual public expenditure White Paper.

A statistical/administrative unit within the Treasury collates the material for the Surveys, carries out the necessary co-ordination with Departments and other Treasury Divisions, and with their help drafts the report. As submitted to Ministers, the report sets out an inter-Departmentally agreed, up-to-date, costing of all existing policies. (Any disagreements over the costings are separately recorded). It contains no recommendations on what the future level of individual programmes or of public expenditure as a whole should be; it simply states what it will be if present policies are pursued throughout the period.

The Public Expenditure Survey Committee, which oversees this operation, is chaired by a Deputy Secretary of the Treasury and consists of the Under Secretaries in charge of Finance Divisions of all major spending Departments. (From the initials of this Committee, the Survey system for planning and controlling public expenditure has become loosely known as the "PESC" system.)

White Papers on Public Expenditure were not published on a regular annual basis until 1969. Each White Paper is now considered in detail by the House of Commons Select Committee on Expenditure and the House of Commons debates public expenditure each time a White Paper is published.

The White Papers are published primarily to aid the government in its planning processes and expenditure is analysed in terms of government programme areas rather than local authority heads of expenditure. The degree of aggregation is such that it is not possible for local authorities to derive growth rates from the White Paper for quite large individual heads of expenditure, particularly in the environmental services field.

The programme costings contained in the White Paper are based upon what Ministers regard as responsible provision of local authority services and there is no opportunity for local authorities to influence decisions on the strength of their assessments of local needs and priorities.

As the Chartered Institute of Public Finance and Accountancy stated in its evidence to the Government's Committee of Inquiry into Local Government Finance (the Layfield Committee), much forward planning work already done by local authorities could usefully be adapted to provide information for the annual public expenditure survey. This in turn would result in a greater understanding by local government of its responsibilities in the implementation of national policies.

"Sudden short-term variations in the level and direction of public expenditure undermine the validity of forward programming and financial planning, and tend to have a disproportionate effect on local authority expenditure which, because of the emphasis on personal services, such as education, social services, environmental health, police and fire protection rises more rapidly than public expenditure as a whole. Many services cannot be much changed in the short-term without significant long-term consequences e.g. the effect of reduced manpower in education, social services, police and reduced capital expenditure.

Because the individual factors governing expenditure vary as between different local authorities, it is difficult for most authorities to interpret the White Paper figures for local use. Some analysis and indication of the principal reasons for growth with regional differences would greatly assist local authorities in this interpretation.

From a central government viewpoint, the effectiveness of public expenditure control is limited because of the diffusion of decision making through 500 or so local authorities. It is clearly desirable for the machinery to be developed in a way which will enable local decisions to be compatible with central government policy, without infringing on the proper area of local discretion.

Projections of expenditure for future years are made in constant price terms and for convenience local authority current expenditure is priced at the beginning of the Survey at the levels of the most recent Rate Support Grant Order or Increase Order. The constant price estimates for future years are adjusted to allow for the "relative price effect" (Because of the high labour content of local authority expenditure, prices tend to rise faster than those in the economy as a whole. The growth rates applied to local authority expenditure in the projections are adjusted upwards to allow for the resulting, greater resource demands.)

The White Paper on Public Expenditure to 1978-79 contained the following growth rates for local authority expenditure to 1978-79:

	Average for years 1975/76 to 1978/79 %	% increase over previous year				
		1974/75 %	1975/76 %	1976/77 %	1977/78 %	1978/79 %
Current Expenditure	+2.94	+9.95	+4.00	+3.16	+2.42	+2.19
Capital Expenditure	-4.20	+2.98	-11.42	-3.58	-0.92	+0.88
Total Expenditure	+0.98	+5.79	-0.21	+1.12	+1.52	+1.47

The White Paper projects a steady decline in the rate of growth of current expenditure while capital expenditure was expected to decline over the period. The overall average growth for the period 1975/76 to 1978/79 is about 1%.

The following quotation from the White Paper indicates the Government's thinking about local authority growth in January 1975:-

"While the programmes generally allow for continuing real improvement over the period, the pace of improvement must be governed by the resources available, and no programme, however great its priority, can be left free to grow without taking account of the general economic constraints. Priorities will also need to be rigorously established in the administration of the various programmes and greater stress will need to be placed on getting the best value for money.

These considerations apply particularly to expenditure by local authorities. In the three years since 1971-72 current expenditure by local authorities has been rising at an annual rate of about 8 per cent, and their current expenditure on goods and services at about 5½ per cent. In present economic circumstances, growth rates which so far outstrip the growth of national resources cannot be accommodated. The growth rates indicated in this White Paper represent the most which, in the Government's view, can now be afforded. Local authorities' expenditure and their demand on manpower, will therefore need to be subject to continuing restraint, and the Government will be in close touch with the authorities to consider the best ways of achieving this."

3.3. Recent Developments

On 15th April 1975 the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced in his Budget Statement to the House of Commons that because of the deteriorating prospects for the economy, the growth of current expenditure on goods and services would have to be reduced by $1\frac{1}{2}\%$, from 3% to $1\frac{1}{2}\%$. However, it subsequently became apparent that the growth of 4% in 1975/76 provided for the Rate Support Grant settlement, and incorporated in the White Paper, would be exceeded by some 2%.

On 5th August the Secretary of State for the Environment, Mr. Crosland stated in the House of Commons, in a written reply to a parliamentary question:

"....In very broad terms, the excess of local authority current expenditure in this year amounts to the level of real growth previously allowed for next year. This means that there is no scope for increased expenditure in total in real terms in local authority current expenditure in 1976-77. There will have to be a standstill".

In order to give effect to the standstill, local authorities have had to very closely at all their expenditure programmes in 1975/76 with a view to restricting developments that would lead to further growth in 1976/77 as authorities had to meet the full year costs of those developments.

The measures undertaken by local authorities have included:

- (i) a halt to further staff recruitment outside the government priority areas of the police and probation services;
- (ii) reduction of staff levels by natural wastage, with replacement only taking place in urgent cases;
- (iii) severe cut-backs in repair and maintenance expenditure, particularly on roads;
- (iv) curtailment of new capital expenditure proposals;
- (v) raising charges to users of services, particularly public transport fares in order to reduce the level of deficit support.

It can therefore be seen that during the past year central government, in its task of regulating the national economy, has involved itself very much in the policy formulation of local authorities through controls on expenditure and manpower.

By issuing specific and immediate controls, as opposed to the Public Expenditure White Paper which is largely a forward planning document, the Government has in effect further eroded local autonomy.

3.4. Government Grants

The Government will, in 1975-76, meet approximately two-thirds of net relevant local government expenditure (gross expenditure less income from rents and other charges). Specific grants, the Government meeting a given percentage of expenditure by individual authorities on specified services, account for approximately 10% of total Government grants (excluding the rate rebate and education awards grants and housing subsidies). The balance is accounted for by the new transport supplementary grant and the rate support grant, a general grant distributed to local authorities by agreed formulae and not directly related to expenditure on individual services by individual authorities.

In addition housing subsidies are payable under the Housing Finance Act 1972 towards deficits on the Housing Revenue Account. These subsidies are limited by reference to the state of the account and attract a linked general rate fund contribution. Of housing revenue account expenditure, only the rate fund contributions are relevant expenditure for rate support grant purposes. There are also housing grants under the Housing Acts 1969 and 1971 towards expenditure on improvement areas.

Since the introduction of the rate support grant in 1967-68, the percentage of net relevant local authority expenditure met by government grant has risen steadily from 54% to 66.5% in 1975-76 in England and Wales and from 62% to 68% in 1974-75 in Scotland as successive governments have sought to shield ratepayers, particularly domestic ratepayers, from increases in local authority expenditure and, lately, the disproportionate effect of inflation on local authority services.

However, the actual percentage of net expenditure met by government grant for individual local authorities varies considerably. These variations are accounted for by the division of the rate support grant into the needs, resources and domestic elements, and the formulae for distributing each of these elements, and by the level of housing subsidies.

The greatest part of government grants made to local authorities is distributed by means of the rate support grant. The three elements of the rate support grant - needs, resources and domestic - are distributed by formulae, which, particularly in the case of the needs element, have attracted criticism in recent years. The Chartered Institute of Public Finance and Accountancy's comments on the shortcomings of the present Rate Support Grant are:

- a. The needs element, which is by far the largest of the three elements, is distributed by a formulae derived from a regression analysis. The present formula's principal shortcomings are:
 - (i) It equates need with past expenditure per head. However recent studies have suggested that expenditure per head is not necessarily the most satisfactory indicator of need, and that expenditure per head may be influenced by other factors such as low taxable (as opposed to rateable) resources, high demand for services, or high or low cost areas. It is also historic in that it reflects past need, rather than present or future need.
 - (ii) It assumes that existing expenditure per head represents the provision of a standard level of service. According to the 1975 White Paper on the Rate Support Grant the objective of the needs element is 'to compensate for variations between authorities in the amount they need to spend per head of population to provide comparable level of service'. For the reasons given above, it is questionable whether this objective is being achieved.
 - (iii) The indicators used in the formulae for distributing the needs elements have not all objectively reflected the variations in expenditure which are genuinely attributable to need, with the result that the formulae has been open to political manipulation.
 - (iv) The formulae is also open to criticism from a statistical viewpoint. Further tests on the chosen indicators of need should be done so that false assumptions are not made. The 'goodness' of fit of the formulae with the data also needs improvement.
- b. The resources element, which was formerly used to bring the rateable resources of all authorities below the average rateable value per head of population up to that average, is now payable to all authorities whose rateable value per head of population is below a prescribed national stand

that standard being considerably above the national average. The resources element is subject to a number of criticisms:

- (i) Rateable resources of local authorities are not completely equalised. The resources of all authorities are not brought up to the level of the highest.
 - (ii) Rateable values are not necessarily a fair indication of the taxable resources of an area. Many authorities in receipt of resources element are areas of above average incomes. Moreover, the grant goes towards reducing the rate bill for all ratepayers, domestic and non-domestic, whether their individual taxable resources are low or not.
 - (iii) For the resources element to be fair and effective, rateable values must be a fair reflection of property values, not only within authorities but between them. The high level of rateable values in Greater London compared with the rest of the country, reflecting higher rent levels in London, is well known. Recent studies have however suggested that rateable value levels may be significantly different in similar parts of the same wider area. Revaluations do not necessarily remove the anomalies, and the aim of standardising rateable values between authorities on a national basis following the transfer of responsibility for valuation from local authorities in England and Wales to the Inland Revenue in 1947 has never been achieved.
 - (iv) The resources element now takes up approximately 32½% (1975-76) in England and Wales and 25% (1974-75) in Scotland of the total of the needs and resources element. It is widely considered that this results in the needs element being far too low a proportion of the total rate support grant.
- c. The domestic element of the rate support grant reduces the rate in the pound payable by domestic ratepayers, and occupiers of mixed hereditaments. In 1974-75, the effect was that in England and Wales domestic ratepayers were relieved of approximately 25% of their rate bill.
- (i) The relief is given in a flat-rate form to all domestic ratepayers, regardless of their means. The greatly increased amount allocated to the domestic element of rate support grant in 1974-75 was largely at the expense of the needs element of the grant, and in consequence necessitated high rate levies than would otherwise have been the case.

- (ii) The distribution of relief at a flat rate in the pound inevitably results in those areas with high rateable values (and often correspondingly low rate poundages) receiving greater relief in cash terms than areas with low rateable values and high rate poundages. On the other hand it can be argued that this produces slight counterbalance to the large amounts of grant channelled through the resources element to areas of low rateable values.
- (iii) It represents a fundamental weakening of the rating system, which has over the years suffered from attempts to shield various classes of ratepayers from the full impact of the local rate.

3.5. The Rating System

With minor exceptions the rate is, and has been since 1601, the only form of local taxation available to local authorities in Britain. Rates are levied by the rating authority on all property on the basis of the rateable value at which the property is assessed by the valuation officer of the Inland Revenue. This value is an adjusted notional rent which the property would attract in the open market. In England and Wales the rating authorities are district councils, London boroughs, the City of London and the Council of the Isles of Scilly. County Councils and the Greater London Council obtain their rate income requirements by precepting upon the rating authorities in their areas; in rural areas parish councils also precept upon the rating authority. In Scotland rateable values are determined by local assessors employed by local authorities and the regional authorities are responsible for the levy and collection of rates throughout their area, levying as many rates as there are district rates determined by districts in the region. In England, the rate is normally fixed by the rating authority for its own purposes at a uniform levy per pound of rateable value on all property in its area (including the levy determined by precepting authorities), although rate charges are varied within districts according to transitional provisions for differential ratings after boundary changes, and the general rate is reduced for occupiers of domestic and mixed property under the rate support grant system.

Rates are payable by the occupiers of all occupied property, except that a rating authority may resolve to rate the owner of certain property. Rate rebates are available to many ratepayers who have limited means, and all ratepayers in receipt of supplementary benefit receive a full rates allowance.

from the Department of Health and Social Security. Under the Local Government Act 1974 local authorities in England and Wales may, once a property has been unoccupied for three months (six months in the case of new property), levy empty property rate at any level up to 100% of the full rate and may treat different classes of property and different areas within the authority differently. A progressive rating surcharge has now been introduced on commercial property that has been allowed to remain unoccupied for a period of more than six months. Different provisions apply to Scotland where authorities have discretion to levy 75% of the full rate on unoccupied houses and 50% rates on other unoccupied property.

Rates have a number of advantages as a tax over other forms of local taxation that have been proposed. The yield of rates is very substantial (almost £3,000 million in 1974) and straightforward increases in the rate poundage secure a proportionate increase in the yield. They are a tax on fixed property which cannot be transferred to another local authority area to take advantage of lower rates of taxation, and are cheap to collect (around 2% of total yield).

The chief criticism of rates as a tax is their regressive nature in that they bear most heavily as a proportion of income on those with lowest incomes. This is offset by the rebate system but the take-up of rebates is far from 100% and in any case relies on a means - tested rebate system. Unlike other taxes there is no automatic compensation for the effects of inflation, so that the rate poundage has to be increased each year to allow for inflation. The notional rental base of taxation is to a considerable extent arbitrary and rateable values are not adjusted on regular basis. The last revaluation was in 1973 but the previous revaluation was in 1963 and the next general revaluation is not due to take place until 1980 or 1981. This gives rise to large numbers of anomalies in the system, and each revaluation redistributes rateable values in such a way as to cause sudden shifts in the total rates demanded from particular ratepayers. There are also a number of exemptions from rating representing hidden subsidies to those exempted, and not related to the need for subsidy, such as the derating of agriculture and the 50% relief given to industry in Scotland.

3.6. The Role of the Local Authority Associations

The creation of a new pattern of local authorities on 1st April 1974 inevitably required a new pattern of local authority associations.

Traditionally each tier of local authorities had established its own association to represent its interests; however prior to re-organisation five associations then existing announced that their joint aim was a strong federation to represent local government. This was not to be. The associations were unable to agree on the form and structure of the federation. The old enmities emerged and in consequence three main successor associations were set up. These are:

- a. the Association of County Councils representing the shire counties,
- b. the Association of District Councils representing the shire districts, and
- c. the Association of Metropolitan Authorities representing the Greater London Council, the Inner London Education Authority, the London Boroughs and the metropolitan counties and districts.

All 77 metropolitan authorities, including the West Midlands County Council are thus represented by the AMA which in consequence serves, indirectly a population of around 20 million. Alone among the local authority associations the AMA represents authorities that administer the full range of local government services. It sees its role broadly as that of negotiator and pressure group, and as a vehicle for discussion and consultation, which can best be summed up by an extract from its constitution:

"the objects (of the AMA) are:

1. to watch over, protect and promote the interests, rights, powers and duties of its member authorities as they may be affected by legislation or proposed legislation or otherwise;
2. to provide a forum for the discussion of matters of common concern to its member authorities and a means by which joint views may be formulated and expressed, particularly in negotiations with Government departments
3. to provide (in conjunction, where appropriate, with the other local authority associations) such central services for its member authorities as it may consider to be appropriate."

The AMA does not support a federation superimposed above the local authority associations, as the other associations appear to favour, but envisages joint working arrangements with the other associations - the ACC and the ADC.

There is an unwritten convention, which has continued despite re-organisation, that consultations between central and local government should take place on all important, and in practice on many less important, matters. This convention gives the local authority associations an important role to play as regular links with central government and spokesmen for local government as a whole. This is especially true for the Rate Support Grant negotiations, discussed elsewhere in this paper, where the local authority side in the talks with the central government over general grant support for local authority services consists of representatives nominated by the local authority associations.

The co-operation between the associations, as illustrated by the RSG negotiations, was given a boost in the Chancellor of the Exchequer's Budget speech on 15th April 1975. He announced that a consultative council would be set up to consider all matters of policy affecting local authorities which have major financial implications. The Chancellor went on to say: "The council will ... include senior Ministers and the leaders of the local authority associations, with senior officials from both sides meeting in support. Through this new machinery central and local government should establish a closer mutual understanding of the constraints under which they each have to operate. Each will be able to contribute, more directly and effectively than before, to the difficult but urgent policy decisions which will be necessary, and together they will be able to do the necessary monitoring".

In the long run this could be an important move in the revival of the morale of local government, and in the improvement of its relations with the Government. The Council has been largely concerned to date with the RSG negotiations for 1976/77, but reference to "financial implications" will not, it is hoped, be interpreted by the Government merely as the RSG negotiations. As almost all matters of policy today have financial implications and the local authority side expects the council to be a forum for wide discussions on local authority problems and for the development of local/central relationships.

The local authority associations must, however, maintain a united front. The worst possibility is that central government, representing one party, will always be in a position to take advantage of the politically divided local authority representatives. This has been a weakness in the occasional

confrontations in the past; it is not one which can be easily overcome, though hopeful signs are appearing. Additionally it could be construed that the establishment of the consultative council is a further step towards greater control by the Government. However local government must not allow its suspicions to cloud its judgement on a suggestion which promises the possibility of a great deal of good for both sides.

There had been hopes, until 1974, that re-organisation would lead to the establishment of a single new association able to negotiate with the Government on behalf of all authorities. Thus local government would be represented by a stronger body than in the past, when differences of interest between the local authority association weakened the influence of local government on national policy. Although these hopes were not fulfilled there appears to be closer co-operation between the new associations than the old and indications are that they are more ready to speak with one voice on many matters. The old conflict of interests seems certain to persist and the old associations will continue to act independently; conversely the new consultative council and the various pressures on and criticisms of local government as a whole may well prove to be major elements in uniting the local authority associations.

4. FINANCIAL PROBLEMS IN METROPOLITAN AREAS

Historically the concept of local authority finance was of an equal partnership between central and local government. Clearly this is no longer the case. As central financial support of local services has grown so has central control and influence over local expenditure. This has been due in the main to two factors:

- a. central government promotion of particular services, inducements being provided in the form of grants;
- b. the weakness of the rating system outlined earlier.

These have given rise, in turn, to two problems, one of which is peculiar to metropolitan areas and the other common to all local authorities.

The first problem, experienced in metropolitan areas and shared by large urban areas in many parts of the world, is the phenomenon of out-migration from the towns to the country. In the United Kingdom this is particularly

problematical because, as has been shown earlier, a very large proportion of government grant aid is calculated on the basis of population or other demographic data. Metropolitan areas have experienced, and are continuing to experience, falling population and in consequence grant aid is decreasing in real terms. However, this presupposes that fewer people means lower expenditure and this is not necessarily the case. Problems of urban renewal, upgrading of socially deprived inner areas, increased facilities for those higher age groups normally remaining in the metropolitan areas, increased expectations of environmental improvement and so on all militate against an automatic decrease in expenditure in line with a reducing population. This problem is exacerbated as government grant aid, distributed on a population basis, increases as a proportion of total resources.

The second difficulty, experienced by all local authorities for some considerable time, concerns the rateable value base of rate income. In England and Wales rateable values assessments are carried out by the Inland Revenue - a central government agency over which local authorities have no control. Rateable values are not automatically updated each year but in general remain static (despite increasing costs of property) until the next general revaluation, normally once every five years. However twice since 1963 revaluations have been cancelled by the Government, thus contributing to the rising level of the general rate in the pound and the increased reliance of local government on central funds. In its evidence to the Layfield Committee the CIPFA said:

"Rateable values are only accurate at the time they are fixed, and the shifting emphasis of rental values as between different types of property during the currency of the valuation list can only be captured at a general revaluation. The longer the period that is allowed to elapse between general revaluations the greater the degree of anomalies that will need to be rectified".

5. CONCLUSION

This paper has attempted to satisfy two objectives:

- a. to describe, albeit briefly, the main elements of the financing of local government in the United Kingdom, highlighting the problems currently being experienced in this field; and

b. to examine the controls and influences exerted by central government c
local expenditure and revenues.

From these two objectives a picture of the changing relationships between local and central government has emerged, a picture still incomplete and necessarily so at least until the conclusions of the Layfield Report have been published. Local government has been gradually losing its "local" ta over a number of years and financial problems have much to do with this gradual loss. The Layfield Committee, although entitled "the Committee of Inquiry into Local Government Finance" is ultimately considering the meri of the continuation (or re-establishment, depending on your viewpoint) of local autonomy in this country. The future of local government therefore hangs by a thread.

CHAPTER 9

TAKING STRATEGIC DECISIONS

J.K. Friend

November 1975

W.M. Ogden

INTRODUCTION

1. Metropolitan regions are complex organisations made up of many authorities and bodies in the public sector together with firms, associations and ordinary people in the private sector, which co-operate or compete with one another, and which are constantly changing in what they do, how and where they do it and in how well they perform to grow, stay alive or decline. Many have their own peculiar legislative, social or economic foundations and they are accountable to a wide variety of governments, shareholders, boards of governors and the like.
2. Any suggestions that there is a controlling hierarchy of authorities or associations would probably be hotly denied and yet it remains true that the public authorities have a firm responsibility to see that the physical infrastructure is in good working order, that social services are efficient, that there is public order and that current public investment is made within agreed guidelines for medium term futures.
3. Until recently there have been few "metropolitan authorities", the co-ordination of activities within metropolitan areas being done either by wider regional bodies such as the Länder in Germany or the advisory Standing Conferences of Local Authorities in Britain. But co-ordinated planning and administration at the metropolitan level has been established by Statute in several countries during the last ten years: the Greater Hanover Association, the Rijnmond Authority, the Brussels regional authority and the West Midlands Metropolitan County Councils are examples.* What is co-ordinated, planned and

* Regional Planning and Regional Government in Europe, Ed. E. Kalk, International Union of Local Authorities, The Hague, 1971.

administered is not identical in these metropolises although the planning of the physical environment is common to all with the proviso that local planning and its implementation may be a function of a district authority working within a strategic metropolitan framework. In this complex system how are decisions made which on the one hand are likely to be satisfactory in their own field, for example as a piece of transport investment, and on the other hand are consistent with policies or decisions in a related field such as industrial development or housing?

4. When faced by this kind of complexity many planning authorities have tried and are still trying to build up comprehensive corporate planning systems. A common starting point for corporate planning is an agreed set of objective on the argument that they are directing the work and they are essential in the choice of priorities. But there are three objections to this approach. First, to find an agreed set of comparable objectives is impossible: many are inexpressible in a useful short sentence, for example transport objectives can include not only bringing competing modes together to improve overall effectiveness, but opening up opportunities for wider social and economic activities and relieving local unemployment. Second, to try to find that kind of set of objectives is to mistake the nature of the metropolitan urban system: it is relationship-maintaining rather than goal-seeking,* whilst changing relationships at the margin to improve the system. Third, the comprehensive approach appears in practice to have several operational defects: it leads to a concentration of power and decision-taking at the centre which cannot be exercised because the variety of problems and their solutions is too great to be tabled either politically or technically and this deficiency leads to postponement of action; its advocates assume they have the capability to make a blue-print of the future of the metropolis to which all the participating bodies and people will work, but they are wrong on both counts; the comprehensive approach can lead to very large errors of judgement and costly decisions, whereas its alternative, a piecemeal social engineering approach, can be much more sensitive to error and corrected at

* P.B. Checkland: Towards a Systems-based Methodology for Real-World Problem Solving. Systems Engineering, Vol. 3, Winter 1972.
Sir Geoffrey Vickers: Value Systems and Social Progress, Tavistock, 1968.

comparatively small cost.* The concepts of piecemeal social engineering are being explored and applied experimentally in work being done in urban planning fields in the Institute for Operational Research in Britain and some of this work might make a contribution to the discussions at the Rotterdam seminar. Its generic title is Strategic Choice.

STRATEGIC CHOICE

5. There are six concepts which have so far stood the tests of experiment in a variety of fields, from building sub-regional policy plans, to improving the quality of the physical environment (general improvement areas in cities), to resolving and building on conflict in an institution of higher education. They are as follows:

- (i) The decision-centred approach. Not only does this have the advantage over the comprehensive, utopian approach of greater sensitivity to a turbulent environment and offers the possibilities of taking decisions which are both more sharply focused on their central issues, and less risky, but it leads to greater insight into the system because to grapple with a problem exposes it for analysis. Also the piecemeal approach is more easily comprehended by those, politicians and other managers, who must first agree that a problem exists and then find resources for its solution, without unnecessary cost.
- (ii) Uncertainty must be brought into the analysis and decision-taking. There is not only uncertainty about how present authorities, firms and other actors in the metropolitan system go about their own business, and compete or co-operate with one another, but there is uncertainty about how they will be behaving in the near future. Nevertheless, the principal areas of uncertainty in a particular decision field can generally be defined and explored. There are then two ways of proceeding: some uncertainty can be reduced by, for example, getting more information on revolving conflicts, or values, or bringing competing demands for resources together to agreement on a fair allocation. But other uncertainties cannot be affected by administrative

* See Sir Karl Popper: The Open Society , on Utopianism, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1952.

action in a single or group of decision fields; they must be accepted as part of the working environment and any decisions taken should be as robust as is possible in the circumstances. Handling future uncertainty includes the technique of taking sequential decisions which make sense at the time and which are likely to lead to desirable rather than undesirable future courses of action.

- (iii) Very few, if any, decisions can be made without bringing two or more decision fields together: this is known as the "inter-corporate dimension in decision-making".* Most approaches to decision-making assume implicitly or explicitly that there is only one decision-maker, whether authority of manager, involved. But in practice now decisions involve many participating organisations and often the public. It is not clear why decision-making appears to be increasingly inter-corporate unless the competition for scarce resources is becoming more intense as social aspirations rise and the demand for the sharing of power over those resources grows; and there is evidence to support this hypothesis. A disciplined method of inter-corporate planning and implementation has been worked out and tested in practice. It might be the subject of another paper.
- (iv) The political and technical aspects of a problem cannot be separated in practice. This is an important proposition for organisational theory. It is also important in public administration because it contradicts the traditional empirical rule that technical, administrative and political decisions can properly be taken in that linear sequence. Decision taking is no longer a linear process, but one in which there are many "feed-back" loops as the problems unfold, their own and related decision fields are explored, uncertainty is grasped and alternative courses of action and the longer term consequences are evaluated. Figure 1 gives some indication of this process. The proposition supports the practice of carrying out "action research" to illuminate the problems, their environment and how they might be solved. Politicians can be members of action research teams. Such membership could make profound contributions to the democratic processes of government.

* Friend, Power and Yewlett: Public Planning: the Inter-corporate Dimension, Tavistock, 1974.

** D.A. Hickling. Managing Decisions. The Strategic Choice Approach, Mantec Publications, Rugby, 1974.

- (v) The role of the managers must not be weakened with responsibility and accountability apparently shifted onto the shoulders of advisers or research teams. On the contrary, the decision-centred approach is designed to first, focus responsibility and accountability onto the people who are appointed or elected to take decisions and second, to help him decide quickly and see that the decisions are carried out.
- (vi) Finally, the result of the approach is a "commitment package". This is not an ideal end-state or master plan. Experience shows that master plans are out of date the moment they are completed. They are based on the hypothesis that management can be done effectively in discontinuous jumps. This is not true: it is an evolving process and it needs tools which are always to hand and which can be sharpened and re-modelled for the tasks as they arise. The commitment package is just one of those tools. It is described diagrammatically in Figure 2. It includes a feasible job or set of jobs to be done now, and a set of subsequent procedures.

CONCLUSION

- 6. This is an account of a method of tackling the processes of decision-taking in multi-organisational systems. In this context, metropolitan regions are seen as multi-organisational systems. The method is based on observation and experiment in English local government; it has also been successfully applied in one example of higher education; it has been used to analyse the building of a large commercial undertaking in which the undertaking, central government and local authorities had to make a set of consistent decisions before the work could go ahead. The development of the method is continuing using action research, mainly in the public sector, but there is evidence that it can be used effectively in the private sector.
- 7. Who takes the decisions? The answer must be all those actors who are accountable in one way or another for the success of the organisation employing them or who are politically responsible in the public sector. The method can be used anywhere in a multi-organisational system. To use the example of such a system in the substantive paper on the West Midlands for discussion at the Rotterdam seminar, decisions can be taken in, say, the transport field which are consistent with those for investment in housing or for the improvement of the physical environment.

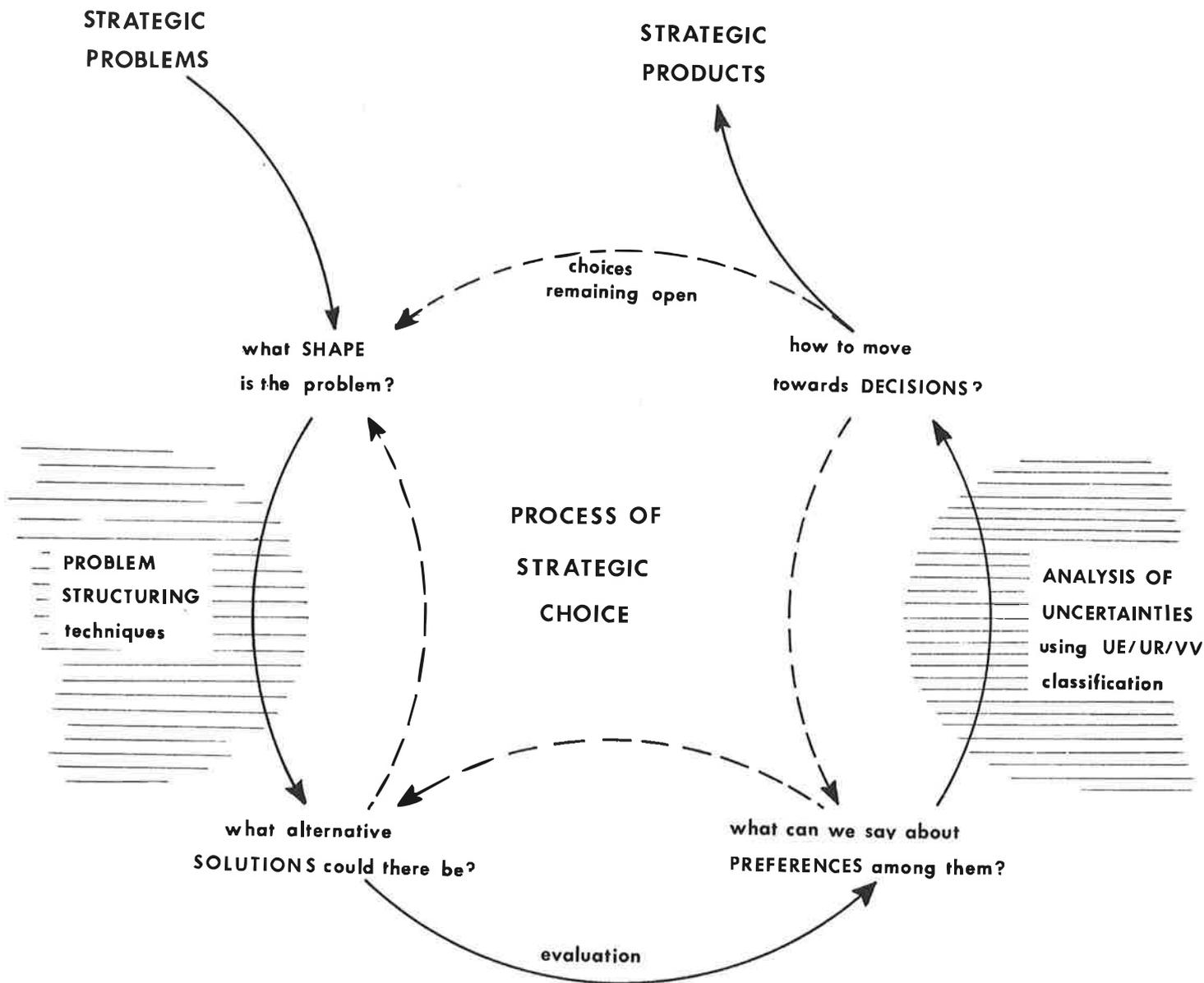


Figure 1 : Planning as a Process of Strategic Choice

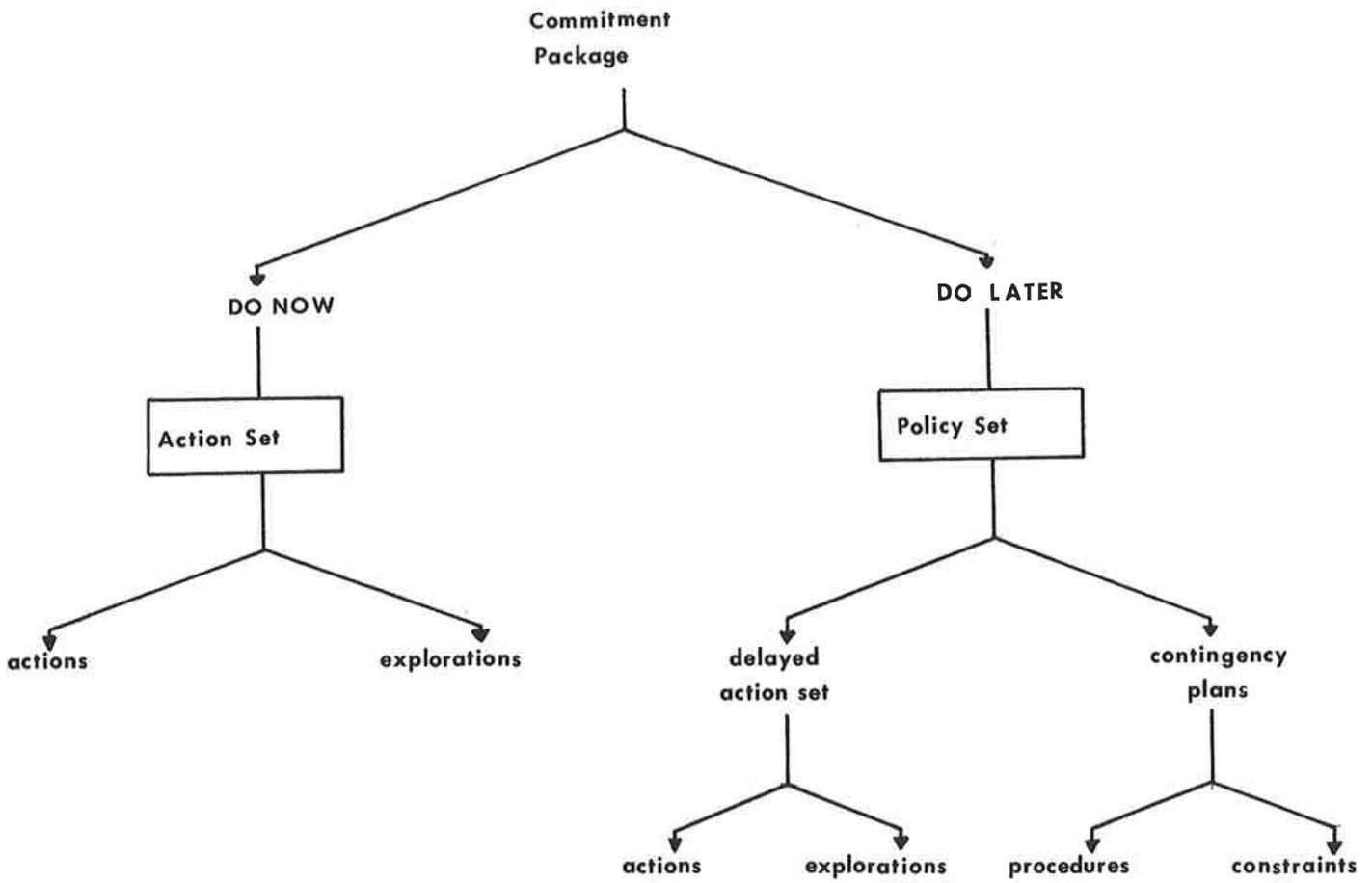


Figure 2 : Commitment Package

8. Does the method require an overall manager? No! If it did it might begin to assume the characteristics of a comprehensive goal-seeking organisation. Nevertheless, firm management is essential. It is possible that one of the invisible products of the method is to improve the practice of corporate management by helping the actors gain insight into the processes.

9. Is there a scientific basis to the method? At this stage of development it might properly be regarded as providing a conceptual framework for tackling the problems of unstructured multi-organisational systems such as metropolitan regions. Hypotheses are formulated from time to time and they generally lead to new insights into how institutions and people behave. The method is designed to be both useful in practice and help researchers explain the behaviour of institutions and people in political, social and economic change.

CHAPTER 10

MANAGEMENT OF THE ENVIRONMENT

John Holliday & Alfie Wood

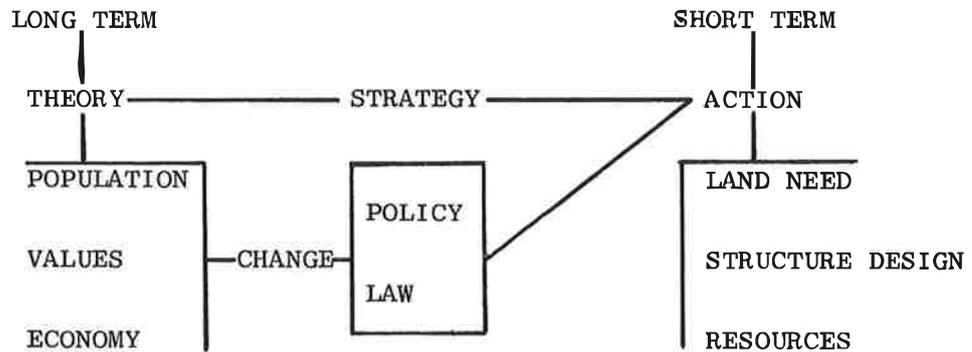
November 1975

1. BASIS

The environment interacting with society as a complex system is beginning to be understood and managed in new ways. No longer is the city region seen in terms of component objects - roads, buildings, people - it is seen as a richly interacting system which must be managed as an on-going process rather than planned in traditional ways.

Planning and design merge with economic, demographic and social understanding and skills, which, linked by concept and the actions of government and management, across public and private sectors, provide a corporate base to tackle the problems of the city region.

The elements in the systems are shown in the diagram.



Theory and Change brings understanding of the system to be acted upon. We are moving from a situation mainly concerned with quantitative measurement of population, employment, land and floor space etc., plus the values associated with the traditional disciplines of architecture, engineering and land use planning; to a situation concerned with social behaviour, participation and the development of the quality of management and policy making. This change does not invalidate concern with the physical environment; but it puts this concern into a new context.

Policy and Action. The increasing scale and complexity of city regions requires a much more effective policy making process which depends partly upon better theory and understanding, partly upon better management and partly upon a recognition of the effects of action upon ongoing theory and policy. The process is an iterative one which requires both long and short term thinking if foresight is to be part of the decisions taken.

2. PROCESS AND METHOD

Context. The process will be strongly conditioned by the culture in which it is developed. The inheritance of social, political, economic and physical institutions and forms will effect perceptions of the needs and objectives of the parts and the whole. The internal culture will have responded to external forces in the past, and must continue to do so in the future. The quality of response effects the "constitution of a city region, where the whole is greater than the sum of the parts. The environment can be managed effectively only if past and future are clearly seen as a whole.

Inputs. The addition of the behavioural sciences to the physical sciences provides a new dimension to the inputs to policy. Social behaviour and quality is more difficult to handle than physical attributes and quantities. The change from "physical object city regions" (roads, buildings, open spaces) to "city region system" (the interaction of people and institutions with their environment) provides additional inputs which make for a more complex process of decision making. This effects public and private sectors at all levels of activity.

Change. Individuals, their institutions, and their environment provide cultural inheritances in forms which are significant as attitudes, behaviours and physical symbols. Changing these attributes and objects is difficult. There is always conflict. The exposure of conflict and recognition of the plurality of values at work is essential if smooth change is to be accomplished. Time scales are significant, and they must allow for debate and changes in attitude. It is no longer enough for professionals to propose new roads or houses.

The community is often resistant and the case must be argued. The management of environment is thus similar to the management of industry. The community, like the labour force, must participate and become educated in the problems of change and decision.

Policy. The actors in the understanding of change are many - in education, the professions, the unions - but government must play the central role in guiding the system. To be successful the system must be adaptive - a learning and appreciative system - which can respond quickly to change, internal and external.

Participation is not enough. The policy makers must lead to enable constructive change to come about, leading to positive action. Questions are internal and external. How can an internal learning system be developed? How can the wider forces of economic and technological change be turned to the advantage of the metropolis? Foresight is essential to survival.

Corporate management is a contemporary response to the complex needs of large urban areas. The system must both deliver the services and act as a nerve centre which can inform management across the spectrum of activities.

Traditional Plans for Environment. The traditions of planning have two main sources: first a commitment to social reform in the city and second, action in terms of design and development. The first can be related to perceptions of need, the formulation of policy and the passing of legislation; the second to the aspirations of politicians, land owners and professional surveyors, engineers and architects, towards building forms legitimised by social policy: public housing, road building, open spaces.

Planning legislation has become focussed on land uses and structural forms. These are important matters, but they must relate to social policy.

Structure plans in the U.K. are mainly concerned with forecasting quantities of land for various uses and their location in accordance with programmes and priorities. The changing social and economic base now demands new social policies from which to consider land and structural needs. In particular concepts of conservation of energy and resources (which include buildings), and the broadening of public debate and participation require

new professional attitudes towards change in the environment.

3. THE MANAGEMENT OF THE ENVIRONMENT

A traditional plan implies, for success, mutual consistency between policy and action. The failure of such plans to adapt quickly enough to translate changes in social policy to changes in physical action has brought a need for the more effective monitoring (perception) of change, and a more adaptive system for managing the environment.

The major resource of man's own individual desire to create a good environment (his home and surroundings) must be recognised as a potential for change and improvement. But the limited perceptions of the individual or small community will require the recognition of physical elements of wide significance. Above the home territory, symbols of the city, the region and the nation, will find recognition in the formulation of policies for building, the kind of recognition which led to the rebuilding of Rotterdam, Coventry or Warsaw but which in future may be more concerned with less dramatic but equally important problems. Thus policy will be informed by an understanding of the significance of environment, and the management of environment will relate closely to the understanding of the people. At the metropolitan or conurbation scale, much of the concern will be about economic stability, for this is fundamental, but of almost equal importance will be guidance to local levels of authority about relationships between the economy of the region and such current issues as those of the inner city deprived areas.

4. SOME ISSUES FOR POLICY AND ACTION

In addressing ourselves to the immediate problems of environmental management the primary question must be, where should we take action? We, being not only the professionals involved in the every day work, but also the public, those engaged in private enterprise, and those who have a growing awareness of the importance of the environment in which they live. At the same time, the internal actions which we take must have regard to external forces, for example to the new economic climate in which we in the U.K. as a nation find ourselves. We need to re-examine our approach to policy making and this reappraisal must include re-consideration of our

life style, our settlement patterns, where people live and where they work, and how they travel; it must also include the way in which we use our resources: land, finance and manpower.

Energy. An immediate issue is to aim for a low energy consuming society. This is probably not a temporary expedient; it is the acceptance of principles of conservation which economic change has forced upon us.

In assessing this approach it is not necessary to be pessimistic; re-examination of our policies and the way we approach them offers us the chance to look more carefully at the way we plan and the way we use our resources. There is a particular need to emphasise the use and re-use of land and buildings, and to eliminate, wherever possible, sources of waste in the management of the environment. Environmental management policies for the city region often have the appearance of being macro in scale. In fact, of course, to be environmentally effective more often than not they will be micro in effect.

The approach to urban renewal will have to be re-considered; this has already started and we are no longer tearing down out-worn houses wholesale, but looking towards policies of mixed improvement, renewal and redevelopment. Not only does this provide for better use of our existing resources and the consequent retention of open fields; it also provides for the continuity of social contact so important to successful environment. This approach towards urban form, necessitated as it has from the need to conserve what is good, is taking us away from the waste represented by the action of the sixties/early seventies of turning our cities inside-out, by wholesale housing clearance reciprocated by mass re-housing on the ever extending periphery of urban areas. Large scale dispersal thereby necessitating greater use of the energy consuming car and making public transport problems more difficult, the grouping of shopping centres in ever bigger locations to provide larger catchment areas: all these moves have led to a higher energy consuming society, with possible implications for social development. The approach which is now required is to reserve some of these policies and turn to those of improvement and renewal within the inner areas of our city which have suffered as a result of dispersal and heavy investment at the periphery. Such inner city investment can combine with sensitive environmental measures; sensitive not only in terms of conservation and

landscaping but also in terms of the feelings (sensitivity) of people from whom a genuine aesthetic can be developed.

Part of the environmental management policy must be to replace industries that are frustrated from growth, through obsolete or congested buildings; not by replacement somewhere on the periphery but re-located within the inner areas where the important skills are, where community exists, and the linkages with other industries and suppliers and traders are to be found. We also need to concentrate our efforts on making city centres places where people want to be through environmental management policies, such as the laying out of footstreets and landscaped areas, and not the anaemic standardized and over-planned environment which we have now, which has become the product of our environmental policies of the last decade or so.

The return to policies encouraging the provision of jobs and houses, social and cultural facilities within the same environment should in turn lead to a lower energy consuming transportation system. The emphasis must be on providing a more amenable alternative and not solely on policies of restraint towards the car. We believe that there will be no more new roads on the scale to which we became accustomed to in the 60's and early 70's. The approach that is now required must be based on environmental capacity of roads and streets rather than their crude capacity in engineering terms. Possibly the approach to forms of tenure needs to be re-examined. There is a growing awareness amongst many people of the importance of their own surroundings and the need to move towards greater personal responsibility for the environment, be it the purely domestic environment or the external environmental of the neighbourhood. A change of approach in tenure, perhaps by encouraging the occupier, particularly of private, rented and public sector housing, to have a financial investment and commitment to the condition and improvement of the occupied property, would encourage greater responsibility in general environmental terms and a genuine participation in policies and actions.

Land. Turning next to our most important resource, land, how long is it before the needs of agriculture and forestry emerge as the most crucial elements of our economic resources? Can we any longer afford to encroach so much on the green fields that surround our city regions, our conurbations

A new approach towards waste must, wherever possible, include the re-use and reclamation of land now without beneficial use. As an example, in the West Midlands, England, there is something in excess of 10,000 acres of derelict and waste land; much of this, if reclaimed, could provide for recreation, houses and jobs in the important inner areas of the conurbation. At the present, however, and for many years, despite the important efforts of some local authorities, many acres of land have remained derelict and non-productive. Clearly this extent of waste cannot be allowed to remain. A new approach is also required towards the mixture of land uses within which, with sensitive landscaping and the implementation of improvement and renewal policies, it may even become respectable again to walk or cycle to work or to shop at the local shop, where local social contact is such an important ingredient to the environment.

Two principles can be derived from these issues:

First, in pursuing the need to aim for a low energy solution to our problems, environmental management should aim at reversing the trend of turning our cities inside out, and return to the importance of the living and working environment of the inner areas.

Secondly, at this time of scarce resources we need to mobilize, through means of partnership, resources of both the public and private sectors however they may manifest themselves; whether it be in terms of reclamation and use of under utilized land, new uses for old buildings, the deployment of investment capital, or, and most importantly, the harnessing of professional skills to guide and develop this new approach.

In general, environmental management is concerned with a package of policies affecting our environment: - where we live, where we work, how we move, in relation to social, cultural and recreation facilities. Environmental management is required to bring these together to foster the greater awareness which is already growing in the minds of many people. It is not possible to separate these policies from social and economic issues. Together they represent change in the city region and result in action. Change and policy are informed by theory on the one hand - theories of energy use for example - and action on the other - the monitoring of effects caused by new activities.

For those responsible - politicians, professionals and leaders within the community-an understanding of the system and its dynamic is essential if better management is to raise the quality of environment.

CHAPTER 11

LESSONS FROM THE URBAN POVERTY PROGRAMME 1)

R. Groves

December 1975.

Introduction

During recent years there has been increasing concern both in Europe and in the United States about the problem of urban deprivation and the distributive effects of planning activity in its widest sense. In Britain, attention on this problem has focussed around the Urban Poverty Programme and in particular, the Community Development Project. The programme emerged simultaneously with official enquiries into several crucial areas of social policy 2) and it is possible to discern the integration of several developing themes of contemporary social policy into the ideological assumptions underlying the poverty programme.

Context and Development of the Urban Poverty Programme

In the wake of the American programme the Labour government introduced a series of measures in the late 60's to tackle what were envisaged as small pockets of poverty and deprivation in the midst of an "affluent society" underpinned by the Welfare State. These measures included Educational Priority Areas set up after the Plowden Committee Report in 1967; the Urban Aid Programme introduced in 1968 to dispense grants on an annual basis for specific projects in disadvantaged areas; the Community Development Project in 1969; Inner Area Studies introduced by the intervening Conservative government in 1972; and finally, the Comprehensive Community Programmes initiated in 1974 and still at the negotiation stage.

a) Educational Priority Areas and the Urban Aid Scheme

The Plowden Committee introduced the principle of "positive discrimi-

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- 1) I have relied heavily for the information for this paper on a much longer and hitherto unpublished paper entitled "Urban Experiments Ltd." by Mike Gibson and Norman Flynn of Birmingham Polytechnic Department of Planning.
 - 2) For example, education, (the Plowden Committee report 1967); social services, (the Seeborn report 1968); housing, (the Milner-Holland report 1965 and the Cullingworth report 1969); urban planning, (the PAG report and the Skeffington report 1968); as well as the organisation and structure of local government itself, (Redcliffe-Maud report 1969).

nation" and recommended that by way of compensation educational resources should be increased to those areas containing the greatest number of deprived children, (i.e. inner city areas). These proposals were incorporated into the E.P.A. scheme in an attempt to provide greater equality of educational opportunity. A similar principle can be seen to underlie the Urban Aid Programme where a ridiculously small annual budget is made available to fund individual projects, (such as nursery schools, adventure playgrounds, literacy schemes, etc.), in areas of proven disadvantage.

b) The Community Development Project

It had already been accepted that poverty was confined to relatively small geographical areas, mostly in the inner cities, and the first assumption of CDP's was that one should look within these areas for the causes. Hence an area specific approach was adopted, " to find ways of meeting more effectively the needs of individuals suffering from many forms of social deprivation." 1)

The Seeborn Committee recognised deficiencies in the service delivery of the social welfare agencies and this provided a second theme of the projects, namely that services could more effectively meet the needs of local people if they were better coordinated and perhaps more sensitive to local and individual circumstances.

Thirdly, to the area and community based approaches was added the idea of "public participation" as a result of the ideas which were at that time being formulated by the Skeffington Committee in connection with the review of the planning process. A further objective of CDP's therefore, was to mobilise self help and mutual aid in the community to help people, " assume an increasing measure of control over their own lives." 2)

c) The Inner Area Studies

These studies were initiated by the Department of the Environment in 1972 and the terms of reference were similar to those of CDP's. They differed, however, in three important respects; firstly, they concentrated essentially on environmental issues, they did not involve a

1) Explanatory leaflet on the Community Development Project issued by Birmingham CDP, Spring 1972.

2) Op. Cit.

specific community development function and they were undertaken by private consultants. Significantly, however, the assumption is reiterated in this project that environmental poverty and decay can largely be alleviated by means of minor organisational innovations and improvements in the effectiveness of local authority services.

d) Comprehensive Community Programmes

CCP's are the latest projects which have, as yet, to get off the ground. They were introduced, "to identify and analyse the whole range of economic, social and physical problems of the area and (make) proposals for action to deal with these problems in a five year period." 1) The CCP's are to be predominantly concerned with local authority management procedures, but will involve central government departments and voluntary agencies in an attempt, " to bring about a re-ordering of priorities in favour of those living in the most acutely deprived areas." 2)

Of these area-specific projects three are located within the West Midlands. One of the first of the CDP's was set up in Hillfields in Coventry and this project has now terminated; another is located in Saltley in Birmingham. There is also an Inner Area Study working the Small Heath area of Birmingham. The discussion of the conclusions derived from the poverty programme which follows is based essentially on the experiences of these programmes.

Conclusions to be derived from this programme

- a) Much of the debate on poverty and disadvantage has revolved around the central question of whether causal explanations are to be found in the "social pathological" arguments or alternatively in the "structural" approach. The CDP teams have become increasingly critical of social pathological explanations (upon which, as I have already pointed out, the programmes themselves were based), and an inter-project report produced in February 1974 described developing thinking within the project as " a general move towards analyses which emphasise structural explanations of the problems of CDP areas." 3)

1) Home Office Press Release, "Comprehensive Community Programmes", July 1974.

2) Op. Cit.

3) National Community Development Project Report, Feb. 1974, p, 27.

By this was meant a shift away from an explanation of problems in terms of individual characteristics towards the way in which the economic, social and political system works. Similar conclusions have also been reached by the Birmingham Inner Area Study.

- b) As a result of this developing analysis that the solution to many of the problems of the inner city lies outside the control of local people and indeed often outside the terms of reference of the local authority or even the State, many of the Studies have come to the conclusion that the area specific approach has only a limited usefulness. Its function is limited to one of showing the fundamental causes of problems but it has little to offer in terms of effecting solutions.
- c) It is also apparent that the CDP programme in particular has had little influence on central government policy formulation. Moreover, this changing perspective has rendered clear difficulties in relationships with local authorities. CDP teams have increasingly come to see the improvement of service delivery, for example, as a "token" gesture, a tinkering with the system. On the other hand, local government officers have found this more generalised analysis to have little relevance to their own day-to-day tasks and have found recommendations "unacceptable".
- d) One of the most important developments has been as a result of the explicit community development function of CDP's and to a lesser extent from the development of this function by the IAS. There has been a discernible shift away from self-help on an individualised basis towards a more assertive role based on collective action. Frustrated by an inability to achieve their goals through conventional channels community organisations are attempting to link the "struggle in the neighbourhood" with the "struggle at work" by forming alliances with trade unions to bring greater pressure to bear on the local authority.

CHAPTER 12

DISCUSSION PAPER: THINKING ABOUT THE FUTURE

William Ogden

December 1975

Frans Vonk

Introduction

1. This paper is designed to be provocative. Thinking about the future of complex urban systems is not rigorous enough, and yet in them there is a large on-going investment which has a profound effect on this generation and on several generations to come. The theory that "his environment makes the man" may not be true, but there are environments which are pleasant and inspiring and others which are drab and depressing. In some both social and private costs are comparatively high. One aspect of this type of environment is that they restrict opportunities for social and economic activity. In contrast others open up opportunities cheaply in their demands on time, energy and money. The quality of the environment can be predicted, especially in the short term. In the longer term there are some frightening possibilities of shortage of energy, strategic raw materials and food. But of greater importance, perhaps is our concern about the quality of decision making in governments when under pressure to cope with inflation, unemployment, inordinately high public expenditure and at the same time trying to satisfy steadily rising aspirations of the people.
2. We are thinking about the future of the complex, organised systems in North West Europe, which we call metropolitan regions. They are made up on the one hand of social institutions which are regulatory such as central and local governments and the police, and those which produce goods and services such as water, education and public health; and on the other hand they include private firms (making goods and providing services), community associations, universities, churches and the ordinary people. The complexity of these systems is probably increasing if measured only by, for example, the growth of legislation and their bureaucracies. This growth is also connected with the

increasing governmental intervention. At the same time power to take part in decision making is being distributed widely to the grass roots of the community and to the shop floor of the factory. Our central thesis is that if decisions are to be taken by each of the many organisations and individuals concerned, with reasonable freedom of choice, then, these organisations and people must have had the opportunity and the resources to think about the choices open to them and the likely consequences of alternative decisions.

In the metropolitan regions the decisions of one body or person affects the activities of many others. Public planning should be inter-corporate 1). Indeed, inter-corporate activities are being extended. Private planning must often have similar characteristics. In this respect one can agree with what the Club of Rome concluded at a recent meeting in Salzburg: that "a new spirit of active solidarity and co-operation" among all peoples and nations is indispensable

Tackling the Burning issue

3. We are supported in our thesis by Bertrand de Jouvenel. "Now let us consider public decisions. Suppose change is accelerating: that is to say, an increasing number of new problems arises in each unit of time (a year or a legislative session), and questions calling for decisions are exerting increasing pressure on the responsible men. It seems natural and even reasonable in such a case to take the questions in order of urgency - but the results show that this is a vicious practice. No problem is put on the agenda until it is a "burning issue, when things are at such a pass that our hand is forced. No longer is any choice possible between different determining acts designed to shape a still-flexible situation. There is only one possible response, only one way out of the problem hemming us in. The powers that happen to be submit to this necessity, and will justify

1) Public Planning (1974): The Inter-Corporate Dimension

J. Friend, J. Power and C. Yewlett, Tavistock.

2) Mankind at the Turning Point (1975), M. Mesarovic and E. Pestel, Hutchinson.

themselves after the event by saying they had no choice to decide otherwise. What is actually true is that they no longer had any choice, which is something quite different: for if they cannot be blamed for a decision that was in fact inevitable, they can hardly escape censure for letting the situation go until they had no freedom to choose. The proof of improvidence lies in falling under the empire of necessity. The means of avoiding this lies in acquainting oneself with emerging situations while they can still be moulded, before they have become imperatively compelling. In other words, "without forecasting, there is effectively no freedom of decision". 3)

4. But how is the future's thinking to be done? And how can it be brought effectively into the planning processes? We make clear methodological distinction between the short run forecasts which should be part of any plan of action, and the longer run conjectures of possible futures and their likelihood. In both the short and the long run the styles of management and the characteristics of the social institutions of the regions, in their national and inter-national constituencies are important variables. The styles and characteristics are changing as complexity increases and power is distributed more widely 4). But "democratic" solutions to short and long term problems are threatened by the "ominous instability of man made ecosystems" 5). We remain optimistic about the future, but are deeply concerned to improve our understanding of alternative futures for society and to gain insight into ways of making more robust decisions.

The short run

5. We want to forecast in order to take reasonable action. Whatever is done will be part of a process of decision-making and the carrying out of those decisions. We must first get a firm grasp of the dynamics of the process. In addition we must find points of leverage where pressure can be exerted to change the process in desirable rather than undesirable

3) The Art of Conjecture, (1967) B. de Jouvenel, Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

4) See e.g. Planning Theory (1973), Andreas Faludi, Pergamon.

5) Forecasting and the Social Services; ed., Michael Young: Concepts, Methods, and Anticipations by Fred Emery; Heinemann, (1968).

A second look at Doom; Lord Ashby; University of Southampton (1975).

directions.

6. The choice of desirable rather than undesirable directions will undoubtedly be influenced by whatever social goals command general support. The choice will also be influenced, even determined, by futures which are thought to be feasible, and what is thought to be feasible may be undesirable to many people. An example is the British Government's decision to build nuclear fission reactors to supply much of the energy requirements of the latter part of this century; they are very dangerous and they provide raw material for nuclear bombs. Risks of this kind are predictable and we return to de Jouvenel's advice to make sure that policy choices remain open for those who will follow us in making future decisions.

7. Is there a systematic approach to thinking about short run futures? We think there is, and we include the use of explanatory and predictive models, the techniques of defining and managing uncertainty and the recognised processes of social choice and decision making. We are doubtful about the value of "sophisticated" prediction which is based primarily on the characteristics of the recent past and which is essentially extrapolations of selected variables of the past. Rougher but more widely based conjectures supported by detailed explorations of problem areas and the exploitation of points of leverage are likely to be much cheaper and more effective. "Quick and Dirty" methods of analysis are often preferable to the slower and marginally more accurate

Longer term conjecture

8. Conjecture is always needed in decision making. But it is easily suppressed by pressure to act now, as though emergencies are always with us, or by those in power who do not want to expose alternative courses of action either to themselves or their constituencies. Our argument is that conjecture is morally essential, and it should be open to challenge.

9. Conjecture is probably made richer or poorer by the quality of the ideas which are developed, or which come intuitively in the course of systematic thinking about the future. There is danger in ideas, unless they are kept under control, they may be subjective preferences

and take hold of an argument to injure or perhaps kill it. A safeguard might lie in the setting up of an advisory "sormising forum" as de Jouvenel recommends 6). The next steps are to subject conjecture to the tests of feasibility and then to draw up long range guidelines for short run decisions.

The Central Policy Review Staff in the British Civil Service is a kind of surmising forum. It has probably become indispensable as an adviser to government in Britain 7). Without doubt the proposed forums will be confronted with the decreasing consensus in society. Therefore, it is most likely that their discussions will have a conflictive character.

Conclusions

10. It was reported recently in The Times 8) that the European Community has been strongly recommended, by a group set up by the Council of Ministers in 1974, to develop techniques of long term forecasting used by multi-national corporations 9). Their report goes on to state that if the Community does not accept this advice it may not survive. Whether this threat has substance or not we do not know, but there appears to be growing concern about on the one hand the adequacy of food, fuels, strategic raw materials and industrial capability to improve the quality of life significantly for a rapidly growing world population, and on the other hand the political will, especially in advanced countries, to share scarce world resources and persuade the comparatively rich to reduce their consumption and abandon their claims for a constantly increasing standard of living 10).

6) Bernard de Jouvenel, op. cit.

7) The Private Government of Public Money (1974); Heclo & Wildavsky; McMillan.

8) The Times: 2nd December 1975

9) Things to come (1972), Herman Kahn and B.Bruce-Briggs, Hudson Institute, McMillan

10) - Limits to Growth (1972), D.Meadows et al; Behrens Pan Books.

- Thinking about the future, a critique of the Limits to Growth (1973), eds. H.S.D.Cole, Christopher Freeman, Marie Jahoda and K.L.R.Pavitt, Sussex University Press.

- Mankind at the Turning Point, op cit.

- The Resources of Technological Man (1974), Peter M.Ross, Cambridge.

11. But we return to our thesis. If the many inter-acting organisations which together plan and manage the metropolitan regions of North West Europe are to retain reasonable freedom of choice in future they must severally and corporately explore their alternative futures and make "open" decisions which command widespread support. Their difficulties are not likely to be technological so much as political, human and social.

Does this hold true for the 5 regions to be compared in the Seminar?

What is the way ahead?

CHAPTER 13

LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN FRANCE

Francis Cuillier

January 1976

1. Specific aspects of the French system of government
 - a. Historical and general aspects
 - b. The role of the bureaucracy

2. The local government

 - a. Description and evolution
 - b. The financial situation
 - c. The reform of local structures

3. The Lille-Roubaix-Tourcoing metropolitan area

 - a. Description
 - b. The urban community: Creation and organization
 - c. Powers and conflicts

1. SPECIFIC ASPECTS OF THE FRENCH SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT

a. Historical and general aspects

One characteristic, unique in Europe, is the large number of townships; 38.000 in 1970 for 52 million people, 92% of them having less than 2.000 inhabitants. The boundaries of the townships came, legally, from the French Revolution of 1789, but in fact they are mostly identical with the 44.000 parishes we had under the Ancien Régime.

Before the urban revolution, this multitude of local governments was not a problem and was even an advantage in terms of social integration and the political process. But, as soon as France had entered into the urban revolution process 20 years ago, with a rural population representing 11.5% in 1970 (versus 28% in 1950, when the proportion was 6.4% for the U.K., 15.4% for the U.S. and 16.4% for Germany) *this dispersed structure of local government became an important problem in the metropolitan area.*

A second important particularity is related to the centralization of power and the role of the national administration, both of which are historical traditions. The centralized system was very well established under the Ancien Régime with a royal administration, efficient and powerful. Then, under the French revolution, the Jacobins, supporters of a solid and centralized power, triumphed over the partisans of regionalism and decentralization, and later Napoléon reinforced this system. The modern state in France was practically established at that point, and the tradition of a strong power and intervention of the administration could no longer be denied. The French Revolution has suppressed the regions and created administrative districts having approximately the same size: the "departements".

An administration was created in each "departement", and the head of this regional administration, direct representative of the national government, the "Prefet", has become the real power at the regional and local level.

Each branch of the national government, each ministry (finance, economy, public works, housing, planning, agriculture, and so on), has its own administration, organized hierarchically with agencies at the national, regional, and local level. Some of these administrations are very old, created under the Ancien Régime or under Napoléon I, and some have been created recently when new problems appeared for instance, which needed an administrative or bureaucratic response (ex: national and regional planning

employment, social security, energy, ...).

b. The role of the bureaucracy

All these administrations, generally, turn out their own high civil servants and this bureaucracy which has grown progressively, is now the real power at any level of government. But this situation is not necessarily disadvantageous; for example, during a period of political instability under the fourth Republic between 1945 and 1958, this bureaucracy was a positive factor to assure stability and development.

The power of the administration is sometimes contested, but never seriously, and we can say that it is a fundamental characteristic of our system.

Several sociological studies have shown that, in France there is a lack of voluntary activities in an informal context. Tocqueville has explained how the fiscal and municipal policies during the 17th and the 18th centuries have suppressed any kind of initiative at the local level. The royal power prevented anything which would be a threat to it. This model of social action is still alive, and can be shown in many domains. Michel Crozier, in his book *The Bureaucratic Phenomenon*, has demonstrated how the notion of power in France is a mixture of rationality and "bon plaisir".

According to Crozier, the French bureaucratic system of organization is the best possible solution to the contradictions French society suffers in terms of authority. Rationality and "bon plaisir" seem to be contradictory but their opposition can be solved in a bureaucratic system because the existence of impersonal rules and centralization allow by the same token an absolutist conception of power and an elimination of any direct relationship of dependence.

These contradictions have been maintained by a very old tradition of centralized and authoritarian administration which can deal with these variables: *guaranteeing independence of individuals and assuring rationality and success of collective action.*

But the French administration should not be condemned as a static system. It is constantly engaged in a process of rationalizing to eliminate abnormal situations and the problem of metropolitan government gives us an excellent example.

Another paradox is the relative weakness of central power, theoretically very powerful but it is perhaps a characteristic of a weak state to have so centralized a system. In fact, the central level depends on the lower power levels which can obstruct or penalize if the decisions have been made contrary to their own advantage. This fact partly explains why the French system often needs to face a deep crisis before some of its problems are solved.

Another disadvantage of this situation is the time the system needs to react, because it has to solve the problem and to keep control. The regional question and the claims for decentralization are offering, at the moment, a good example. It has occurred to the region and cities that the yoke of the central power is too heavy and that they would be better off in having real power in the conduct of their affairs. The policy of the central government is at least ambiguous in order to postpone a decision which would be irreversible and would create a new situation difficult to control.

Crozier feels that the bureaucratic process is an answer to governmental problems that an organization has to face in order to function. Any change will have, as a first consequence, a strengthening of centralization because change can happen only if it breaks down local privileges which have developed in "abnormal" situation. In the case of the French administration, what happens is that the administration tries to control changes and to avoid crisis by itself motivating and directing change. The traditional French administrations have been careful to control and direct the dangerous role of the agent of change. To do so, they have generated a system of castes isolated from other civil servants: they are the technocrats, the members of the "Grand Corps" (National School of Administration, and the Polytechnic School). These are executives who are separated from other civil servants by their selection, their training and their career, in order to be above the pressure which can occur from the inside of the organization they will manage.

In France, the head of the territorial division is the "Prefet" who carries, legally, the responsibilities of all administrative activities, being the direct representative of the government. He controls directly or indirectly all civil servants, and he is the coordinator of any administrative activity. The mayors and the aldermen are elected, but are under his trusteeship. But the real power of the Prefet in the cities

lies more in his capacity to help the local government financially.

The Prefet has an important role in the decision making process, allowing all kinds of governmental grants and subventions to the cities, and this fact is more important than his legal power. *The "Prefet" position is a complex entity because it involves a high civil servant who is almost the only political civil servant.* He is the main link between the local and the central administration, but with a fundamental political mission. One reason for this situation lies historically in the fact that the revolution suppressed any link, any articulation between the base and the central power, and the public administration has filled up this lack progressively.

In the French administrative and political system, the decision-making process may have three distinct but interdependent forms:

- 1) the administrative form, which assumes all decisions which can be integrated in multiple programs, or routine;
- 2) the political form for all decisions which are not in 1), like long term policy making, economic development, international affairs, and so on;
- 3) the extra legal or revolutionary forms like strikes, and social movements.

But, a new aspect since WWII lies in the growing dominant role of the administrative form to the detriment of the political form. For example, the local government was more powerful at the beginning of the XXth century. The rupture point seems to take place at the end of the IIIrd Republic in 1939, and under the Vichy regime. There was an attempt to increase administrative rationalization. The Vichy regime used regionalization as a means of strenghtening state control over local governments by the subsitution of appointed officials for elected officials in many instances. After the war, all decisions of the Vichy regime were cancelled, but the state administration has progressively absorbed or taken control over many sectors of activity.

In this system, the politicians and local leaders being dependent on the bureaucracy are less responsible for their communities than intermediaries capable of manipulating the administration.

Another reason for the increasing centralization of the decision making process and the power of the administration in the late 40s and 50s lies

in the necessary but slow adaptation of a rural oriented society into an urban oriented society. But, at the present time, urban residents do not feel represented either by the present politicians or by the bureaucrats and technocrats. *Society is fragmentated and a new approach integrating all these problems is a necessity.*

The need for new structures of coordination at all levels is at the origin of all the new agencies and offices which have bloomed these last few years. On the one hand, the French system has some disadvantages in its lack of flexibility toward necessary change and its slowness to respond, but on the other hand, the bureaucratic system knows and understands its disfunctions and once a reform is decided, its application can be generalized successfully.

Some creations such as the National Planning Office (Commissariat General au Plan), created in 1946, the Regional Councils recently created in 1972, or the Five Year Plan and Program of Investment for the Metropolitan Areas (P.M.E.) decided in 1959 may attest to this capability. The National Office of Planning has been created after WWII in 1946 in order to bring some rationality and coordination in the economic development. The first task of this office was to elaborate a certain number of programs for public investment in the six main sectors of the national economy (transportation, energy, steel, production, agriculture, construction and machines). At that time, the government rejected any kind of decentralization or the regional structure of the Vichy regime. Regionalism, at that time, meant conservatism or traditionalism.

The first plans until 1956 ignored the problem of regions and cities but the government progressively included urban problems and decentralization, for example in the studies and in the decision making process of the public investment. Now, the elaboration of the plan is carried out through a continuous feed-back between the national and regional levels. In 1959, in order to respond to the dawning problems of the big cities and to introduce more rationality in their development, the government created the plan and program of public investment for the metropolitan areas. This process had the advantage, without changing the existing structure of the cities, to be a first step in correcting the flaws of metropolitan fragmentation and to associate all mayors, aldermen, and all regional bureaucrats in the elaboration of the program.

Each city over 50.000 inhabitants was obliged to have a coherent plan

of public investment each five years, with a financial analysis and a guarantee about getting the money for these investments (grants from national government, loans, self-financing, and so on).

But the policy for urban development is changing at the present time, and the central government has given up the process of Plan for Modernization and Equipment (PME) during the 6th Plan (1971-75).

The studies of the needs of the metropolitan areas (in terms of public equipment and investment) have been carried out, but the programming phase and the financial guarantee have never been worked out in common by the local and the central government.

Only the metropolitan areas having an 'Urban Community' (Communautés Urbaines of Lille, Marseille, Lyon for example) and a few of the medium sized cities have concluded an agreement with the central government.

For the 7th Plan (1976-80), which is, at the present time under study, the process is different.

Giving up the global approach to planning which covered all social, economic and cultural activities, in order to design the future shape of the community, the central government is now trying to build up a planning system based on selectivity.

The 7th Plan will favour several fields of action such as improving quality of life or reducing social inequalities, putting the non selected fields of action aside from planning.

The 7th Plan will be essentially a strategic plan with priorities, but with flexibility in implementation, in order to allow adjustments at any time.

In particular, the central government wants to be able to modify the programs of the 7th Plan, according to the evolution of the economic situation (short term policy versus long term policy).

For the metropolitan areas, the central government has decided that a new kind of public investment program will be negotiated with the local authorities which will be the selective local program, instead of the PME.

This new type of program will be a way of coordinating any or all actions judged necessary as a response to the specific problems of each metropolitan area.

The different actors (local and central governments) will enter into a financial engagement for several years to implement this program.

Having analyzed one of the most important aspects of the French system of government, i.e. the role of the bureaucracy it is now possible to look at the organization and the role of the local governments.

2. THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT

a. Description and evolution

The cities and towns in France are governed by an elected council, led by the mayor. The mayor embodies the city from a subjective point of view, (the inhabitants) and from an objective point of view, (the reality of power); the personality and the methods of the mayor vary, but in general the mayors do not delegate authority and make all the decisions. They choose their deputies among the members of the council and delegate powers. A physician is often in charge of health problems, an engineer of public works, and so on.

The real government is composed of the mayor and some of his deputies. The council is generally weak. It meets once a month, sometimes more, depending on the mayor and on the present problems. In the big cities, the decisions are prepared by some specialized commissions.

To sum up, the decision making power is concentrated, as in the presidential system. But, given the first remarks on the role of bureaucracy, a question remains: what really is the magnitude of this power ?

The impression of the mayors is that their power is narrow compared to the central power and the bureaucrats. They suffer from a lack of autonomy. They are very dependent on the administration for any kind of financing, for any decision for public works investment, and need also the technical help of the administration. The mayors have generally no staff of professionals capable of advising them for their decisions, of studying their projects and their programs, and have given up this function to the technical ministries. This tendency is changing in the case of the metropolitan areas which are creating more and more their own technical task force. But if the administrative trusteeship of the "Prefet" and the lack or the weakness of the technical staff are important, the main problem for the cities, in terms of independence and free decision making, lies in their financial difficulties.

The roots of the cities' crisis lie in the deep changes they have undergone for the last 20 years. The second wave of urbanization during the 50's has considerably modified the functions which were usually assumed by the local government. Moreover, the change in the strategy of the central government towards the local authority has emphasized the crisis, and the financial difficulties are mainly a consequence of this situation.

First of all, the functions assumed by the local governments have evolved from the traditional administrative role to a new one of investor, builder, developer, in order to realize housing, community equipments, infrastructures to fulfill the needs of the population. On the other hand, the local government is now more and more involved in economic development.

From 1950 to 1970, the main objective was to fulfill the social needs of the population, and a consensus central power/local government was established on the basis of investing and realizing those public equipments. The debate and conflicts mainly concerned the type and amount of grants and loans the local government could get from the central power the complexity of the administrative procedures, and the slowness of the process.

But for the last five years, the local governments have discovered that the problems of management, underestimated until recently, are becoming more and more important. The central government has also changed its strategy, and is trying to transfer its responsibility for social regulation to the local government.

Fast economic development and urban growth are creating social tensions that the local level is in charge of regulating.

A way to demonstrate the changing functions of city governments lies in the evolution of services. For the last 20 years, the accents has been on community equipment (cultural, sports, welfare, health education), economic development and employment (industrial areas, financial and fiscal advantages for investors), public housing, transportation, public works, and city planning. In France, some public services are directly assumed by the national government, such as education, welfare, or health care. But the cities must nevertheless participate in the cost and generally share a part of the total investment, assume the maintenance of the buildings and of the equipment, and a part of the functioning costs (staff, heating, ...).

In general, the cities assume the following public services:

- water supply, sewage, street lighting, garbage collection, fire service;

- cultural equipment (theaters, libraries, concert halls, civic centres, sports, swimming pools and so on);
- costs of maintenance for primary school cafeteria, vacation camps, roads network;
- public housing.

The cities have a heavy financial burden, and cannot support these costs themselves and are obliged to get financial help from the national government, either in grants or loans.

The administrative structure of the big cities has changed in the last decade. Between the new functions the cities are now assuming, and the complexity of the problems they have to deal with, a new system is implied and the majority of local governments is now trying to build up an urban administration highly competent and capable of dialoguing with the powerful state administration. Quite often the mayor now has a technical staff of professionals coming mainly from the state administration, and the relationships between local and national governments are thus changing.

Several social analysts have pointed out that a real danger exists that the phenomenon observed in central government with its powerful casts of technocrats, might develop in the local governments in exactly the same manner. Those experts are helping to find a new way of managing the cities, from the old traditional system to a new form of relationships with the central government based on technical expertise on both sides.

It seems that the central government is now ready to accept the delegation of more power to the local level under one fundamental condition: that the financial control will remain a central government privilege.

b. The financial situation

Another fundamental aspect of the cities' crisis to be analyzed is the financial situation.

Their expenses have increased enormously over the last 20 years either in functioning costs, or in public investments. At the same time, there has been a regular decrease of governmental grants which has obliged the local government to borrow more money, and to raise heavy local taxes.

During the sixties, the amount of investments for public equipment increased at a 10% annual rate. For example, the Vth plan (1966-1970) had forecast so high a rythm of investment that without increase of the national government share, the cities would have been obliged to borrow three times what they had borrowed in 1964 (see tabel 1).

Recently, the conference of mayors of large cities has published a study showing the magnitude of the present financial crisis.

An analysis of the budgets of the main cities between 1954 and 1974 shows that:

- the total amount of expenses per capita has increased by 297%
- the total amount of investment per capita has increased by 546%
- the total amount of functioning expenses per capita has increased by 220%
- the amount of annual debt per capita has increased by 1,583.5%.

According to this report, the large cities are supporting more and more of the weight of financial responsibility in community services which should be assumed by the central government, given the current system of taxation. The mayors are asking for a shift or a redistribution of the burden.

The involved community services are mainly: education, health, welfare and other social activities, transportation, police, fire station, and sport equipments.

The cities' returns come from 3 main sources:

1) Taxes:

The cities collect four local taxes on property, residential and business activities. The property tax is divided into two different taxes: on both the building and on the land and it is paid by the owner.

The tax on residential activity is paid by the tenant, and is based on the rent value estimated by the ministry of finances.

Finally, a tax on business activities is paid, directly to the local government by all the companies settled in the city.

TABLE 1

Public Investments, V Plan, 1966-1970

Sector	Amount	National Amount	Government Part %
Professional training	0.62	0.62	100
Research and development	3.90	3.90	100
School, university, sports equipment	25.50	20.50	80.4
Post office and télécommunications, telephone.	13.50	10.70	79.2
Cultural equipment (museums, theaters..)	1.90	1.45	76.3
Roads and highways	26.00	14.80	57.3
Other transportation	9.60	4.50	46.8
Rural area equipment (water, sewerage, etc)	13.70	5.10	37.2
Social and Health equipments *)	12.90	3.20	24.7
Equipment for urban areas	16.20	2.30	14.2
Total	123.82	67.07	54.1

*) This figure is lower than the reality because of the important part of investment supported by the national health system (governmental).

Source: Analyse économique des budgets communaux, p.337 and following in: Aménagement du Territoire et Développement régional -
- IEP Grenoble - 1968.

The cities get also returns on salaries (VRTS) from the central government, which represent about 4% of the amount of salaries paid by the employers.

In France, all direct taxes on salaries and company benefits being collected by the central government, the latter returns directly a part of the local government. This tax has no link with the income of the inhabitants but is proportional to the level of population.

The cities also collect taxes, such as garbage collection taxes, or fire protection.

The local authorities in the large cities are facing, at the present time, a difficult political problem because of the level of direct local taxes. Their average amount has increased by 1,399.27% between 1954 and 1974, and by 75.6% from 1968 to 1973 (see tables 2 to 5).

TABLE 2

Evolution de la fiscalité locale directe, de 1954 à 1974, dans les grandes villes.

Année	Francs constants		
	Valeur du centime	Nombre de centimes	Charge par habitant
1954	549,0713 F	6 750,84	24,85 F
1959	561,1476 F	16 229,44	54,65 F
1964	625,8212 F	31 037,39	102,94 F
1969	693,6200 F	55 540,532	191,04 F
1974	758,6525 F	99 387,60	372,57 F
% 1954/74	+ 38,17 %	+ 1 372,22 %	+ 1 399,27 %

TABLE 3

Evolution de la fiscalité locale directe à Lille de 1954 à 1974.

Année	Francs courants		
	Valeur du centime	Nombre de centimes	Charge par habitant
1954	1 018,9627 F	6 221	33,56 F
1959	948,9112 F	12 962	63,20 F
1964	1 002,7245 F	27 063	136,34 F
1969	1 052,5420 F	39 287	320,09 F
1974	1 067,4258 F	59 484	541,88 F
% 1954/74	+ 4,75 %	+ 856,18 %	+ 1 514,7 %

TABLE 4

Evolution de la fiscalité locale directe à Roubaix de 1954 à 1974.

Année	Francs courants		
	Valeur du centime	Nombre de centimes	Charge par habitant
1954	476,1937 F	7 438,38	32,18 F
1959	456,6106 F	13 937,48	57,82 F
1964	506,1219 F	24 390	109,02 F
1969	516,2387 F	31 000	139,43 F
1974	526,6430 F	45 000	206,48 F
% 1954/74	+ 10,5943 %	+ 504,97 %	+ 541,64 %

TABLE 5

Evolution de la fiscalité locale directe à Nancy de 1954 à 1974.

Année	Francs courants		
	Valeur du centime	Nombre de centimes	Charge par habitant
1954	580,2867 F	7 647	39,10 F
1959	523,3522 F	15 451	64,77 F
1964	572,3464 F	41 429	177,57 F
1969	584,5323 F	68 734	314,31 F
1974	587,6605 F	125 251	575,82 F
% 1954/74	+ 1,27 %	+ 1 537,91 %	+ 1 372,68 %

Source: LES GRANDES VILLES DEVANT L'AVENIR (Association des Maires des grandes villes de France) 1975.

2) Grants:

The grants, which represent a 15 to 30% amount of the local public investments, are attributed by the central government or by the departmental assembly.

But the national government share of the cost of public projects has considerably decreased over the past years as indicated on the tables 6 and 7.

TABLE 6

Public investment % central government and local government.

	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972
central government	31 %	29 %	29.5 %	28.4 %	27 %
local government	50 %	52 %	53 %	53.5 %	54 %

Source: Comptabilité nationale.

TABLE 7

Grants from national government in local investments.

1965	1970	1971
25.5 %	17.8 %	13.3 %

Source: Comptabilité nationale.

The present policy is directed towards a new kind of relationship between the central and local governments based on contracts between the two parties (selective local program, medium sized city programs, ...) but it is not well accepted.

Nevertheless, a project is presently being studied in order to create a new fund to help the local authorities in their investments.

The money will partly come from the new tax on maximum permissible density on building (PLD), and from a return on value added tax (TVA) paid by the local authorities.

3) *Loans:*

Loans are essentially provided by the public financial organizations, controlled by the national government (Caisse des Dépôts et Consignations, CAEC, for example).

But the cities' mayors protest and ask for loans with lower interest rates over a longer period of refunding.

A reform is presently being implemented in order to simplify the system of loans.

The mayors' conference is asking for a new definition of the financial responsibility between the central government and the local authority. In particular, the mayors are calling for a reform of the local taxation system and for an exemption of the TVA in order to be able to respond to the charges the local government now assumes.

Because the local governments are obliged to pay the value added taxes (TVA) to the central government, it often turns out that the central government gets more in return from the cities with the TVA, than is given to them through the grants.

The present organization and structure of the metropolitan areas has reinforced these difficulties. With the existing fragmentation, the cities with commercial and industrial activities are favoured versus the exclusively residential ones. For example, some suburban townships have received an important part of the residential development, which is often public housing projects, and are financially exhausted.

Secondly, this fragmentation has created, obviously, a lack of efficiency in terms of cost of public services and management. The cities are now in very deep financial crisis, and they will have to support more in terms of maintenance and management for public services in the future.

The reform of local finances is a necessity for the large cities: they are on the verge of bankruptcy, and the mayors cannot increase local taxes because this fiscal pressure has reached a political limit.

c. The reform of local structures

The reform of local structures seems to have speeded up over the last 15 years.

In order to correct what seems to be the principal problems, the fragmentation of the metropolitan and rural areas, the central government has undertaken several reforms toward a better integration of the urban areas.

The first one was the bill on association of townships (1959) when they needed to be associated in order to realize or to manage a public service at a larger scale, like schools, water supply, sewage or garbage collection, several townships may create an association which may have

one or several purposes. A charter has to be approved by all the voluntary townships, defining exactly the attributions and areas of intervention.

A second step lies in the Urban District Act of 1959. An urban district is also a voluntary association gathering several townships being in the same metropolitan area. The association is created to organize and to manage some public services in order to reduce the administrative circuits to concentrate means, to reduce the operating costs, in other words to be more efficient.

This step was decided by the government in order to prepare for future mergers of communes. This type of association is decided by the different city councils when more than 2/3 of the city councils representing more than 50% of the total population of the metropolitan area, or when more than one half of the city councils representing more than 2/3 of the total population want to create an urban district.

The 'Prefet' has to approve it. The urban district is automatically in charge of some public services, and other prerogatives may be decided by the Council. The normal prerogatives are housing, fire station, garbage collection, water, sewage, and so on. The council may decide to give other attributes to the urban district, such as new schools, planning, and so on. The urban district may get the same attributions as a municipality. The executive power of the urban district is the chairman (generally the mayor of the biggest city) and the vice chairman of the council. The budget comes from the collection of all allowed taxes, grants and loans a city can get. The amount accorded to the district is decided by the different local councils.

The last step before the bill on merger, was the Urban Community Act of 1966. This type of association is reserved for a metropolitan area having more than 50,000 inhabitants. These cases (the four larger cities except Paris: Lille, Lyon, Bordeaux, Strasbourg), or by some of the cities voluntarily (Le Mans, Brest, Dunkerque).

The urban community is different from the urban district because its attributions are automatically larger, and concern: all public services, plus city planning (strategic and land use plans), public investment, public housing, public industrial ares, public land banks, creation of

recreational parks, new developments, urban renewal, public transportation, high schools, water, sewage, roads, garbage collection, cemeteries. *The president of the urban community has all the powers of a mayor applied to all the cities.* The council may also vote the transfer or some supplementary attributions such as: cultural equipment, sports fields, stadiums, social and health services and so on.

The urban community has its own resources, and its own taxes, in addition to the part it gets from each municipality. It has financial autonomy, may borrow and guarantee loans. The urban community may receive any kind of patrimony from all the townships, which is necessary to fulfill its mission (buildings, roads, equipment,...). It may expropriate for public purpose, and is controlled both by each township and by the central power (prefet, general treasurer). Like the urban districts the urban community may get the same attributions as a municipality.

The legislative branch is the urban community council whose members are not elected by people but appointed by each township to sit in the Council. The executive branch is composed of the President and the board of vice presidents of the urban community council.

Finally, after several decades of hesitation and experimentation a bill deciding the merger or the association of the majority of the 37,708 municipalities has been enacted in 1971 (cf. Table 8).

TABLE 8

Structure of townships in France.

- Over 100,000 inhabitants	37	(19% of the total amount of population)
- 30,000 to 100,000	160	
- 10,000 to 30,000	482	
- 5 to 10,000	642	
- 2 to 5,000	1938	
- 1 to 2,000	3618	
- less than 1,000	30831	(19% of the total amount of population).

The 1971 Act has decided the general and systematic application of merger or association with other municipalities according to the specific case of each township, but seems to have been a relative failure.

In order to keep control, and to assure the coordination, *the operation of fusion or association was directed by the 'Prefet' who elaborated the plan of reorganization with the mayors.* The government had insisted on the total merger of townships, as a priority, but in order to go quickly and not to upset too much, it had recommended an adaptation according to the particular situation of each area. For instance, the government had recommended the formula of association in the rural areas, and the urban district structure for the mixed agglomeration, such as an urban center in a rural area. In the metropolitan areas above 50,000 inhabitants, the urban community formula was recommended. But in any solution, association, urban district or urban community, the fusion between several townships was recommended.

An important element in this reform was that the new cities automatically get competence in planning, land use plans, land banks, new development and all public services having a metropolitan scale (transportation, schools, and so on). According to the type of structure chosen by the cities, the offered *financial advantages* were more or less incentive:

- more grants, from 5 to 20% for association, and up to 50% for merger and that, during a maximum period of five years (for operation and management costs and public investment).
- more returns on taxes collected at the national level.

Five years after the acceptance of this new bill, it seems quite clear that the results of such a reform are very disappointing.

Before the 1971 Act, there were about 1,108 multi purpose associations, 90 urban districts, and 9 urban communities.

At the national level, the total amount of programs, elaborated by the 'Prefets' for 91 'departments' intended to realize: 3,482 mergers (including 9,761 townships), 307 urban districts (including 3,245 townships), and 1,492 multi purpose associations (including 12,979 townships).

But, there is a wide gap between ambition and reality. In October 1974, only part of the plan had been implemented: 779 mergers (1,909 townships), several dozen urban districts, 1 urban community and 250 multi purpose associations.

For the department of the North, the Prefet's plan forecasts: 7 mergers, 31 multi purpose associations, and no urban district or urban community, whereas the implementation at the end of 1973 was: 3 mergers, and 19 multi purpose associations concerning only very small townships.

What conclusions can be drawn? The government has been trying to cope with the two problems of fragmentation and decentralization for many years and has given answers corresponding to our particular system. But some questions remain to be answered.

A bureaucratic system can accept decentralization only, firstly when it is really necessary and when nothing else is possible and secondly, when the system is sure to control the decentralization process.

Moreover, a functional and territorial fragmentation permits a better control to the central government.

Applied to the French case, this means that the policy of decentralization is carried out with a permanent control and a great deal of care. The first outcome is a greater complexity of the decision making process, allied with a reinforced centralization, hopefully temporary.

The fact that, in a bureaucratic system, the head is weaker in reality than it appears to be theoretically is one major constraint for a reform against fragmentation. The local level does not want to loose its prerogatives. Consequently, this policy has created many conflicts which weaken the expected results.

In our case, there is a dysfunction between the technocrat at the top of the decision making process and the bureaucracy. At the bottom, the bureaucrats work with the leading citizens; they know them, and are used to working with them, and they do not contest the role and the authority of the state, that is the bureaucrats. The administration encourages and favours some politicians in order to limit the new leaders who could refuse this game. But, if this scheme functions fairly well in the rural areas, and in the small towns, it does not work in the big cities, where this traditional political establishment is not representative of the population. It does not assume its role of necessary intermediary and, the technocrats refusing, or at least not encouraging the dialogue with the other groups of citizens like labour unions and

community groups, a kind of sociological break exists now within urban society.

On the other hand, the majority of mayors and councillors are afraid of a loss of power and also of the unknown. They fear these new structures which the technocrats try to impose and which will modify the network of relationships they are used to. They are not conscious that the weakness of their power, of their means, encourage the traditional interventionism of the national bureaucracy. The townships in their relationships between them and the government reproduce the very old model of the Ancien Régime.

The objectives of the central power when it wants bigger townships and metropolitan governments is to rationalize this complicated, heavy and inefficient decision making process, but according to its own logic, to its own rationality and to its own goals. But each actor in the system has its own rationality, and has its own notion of territory and some conflicts appear in terms of political territory, administrative territory and technical territory.

The national government sees the local level as a basic level of the state administration. Consequently, the local governments have to respect and follow the policy decided by the national government. Therefore, the administration does not want really powerful mayors. By way of financial help and technical competence, the technocracy can control all the local decision making power. A next step for the cities is hence to improve considerably their technical staff and to correct the local disparities in the fiscal situation in order to get more independence and cohesion.

In our system, a federation of local governments is a necessary first step, and then decentralization will follow. First, people in the metropolitan areas are thinking more and more in terms of metropolitan areas. They perceive now their city as a more complex entity but as a whole. Instead of having a power with no face (the bureaucracy), they should be able to know, to visualize better the government of their city with a stronger local power. But the local politicians have a fundamental role to play in their new situation, created by the rise of people's consciousness, and they are facing now new demands within the metropolitan areas, for a real decentralization. The pressure

from the community groups may modify quickly the present relations of power and transform an administrative decentralization into a political decentralization.

3. THE LILLE-ROUBAIX-TOURCOING METROPOLITAN AREA

a. Description

The Lille-Roubaix-Tourcoing metropolitan area has a population of 1,1 million inhabitants with about one third living in the three main cities.

This metropolis offers one of the few examples in France of an urban settlement organized around 3 nuclei.

The urban growth of the region had been linked to the development of the textile sector during the XIXth century, and the urban form reflects the form of this particular industrial growth (for instance, the tight overlapping of factories and housing in the old urban web of the central cities, and the accentuated segregation of social groups in the residential developments).

The metropolitan area contains the classical functions of a regional center:

- important administrative center ('Prefecture' for the department and the region, departmental and regional administrative headquarters for finances, housing, public works, education, agriculture, ...)
- intense commercial and business activities (headquarters, department stores)
- university and research centers (4 universities: 3 state universities, 1 catholic university, several high technical schools of engineering, and 40,000 university students)
- important decision making center with all professional chambers (commerce, industry, artisans, small business, ...).

But the region is going through a difficult phase of economic conversion, and except in the tertiary activities, the dynamism of the local economy is weak.

Having been too specialized for too long, the northern region is now facing a painful period.

In 1968, 54% of the labour force was employed in the industrial sector, and among the industrial sector, the textile activities offered 43% of the jobs.

Moreover, what used to be the main industrial activity has lost 30,000 jobs between 1962 and 1968, and is expected to loose at least 10,000 more before 1985.

At the same time the industrial sector as a whole was losing jobs, the tertiary activities were undergoing a fast growth which has compensated more or less for the job deficit.

But the recent economic evolution is speeding up the process of segregation between the northern and the southern parts of the metropolitan area. While the northern part (Roubaix and Tourcoing) is suffering deeply from the crisis in the textile sector because its economic structure is based on a dominant activity with almost no tertiary activities and only a few other industrial plants, the southern part (around Lille) is undergoing a rapid and diversified development: new industrial plants in the south tertiary activities (mostly concentrated in Lille where it represents 55% of the total amount of employment) and university activities in the new town.

Under those circumstances, the old and continuous antagonism between the 3 cities can only be aggravated, and the new body represented by the "Urban Community" might offer the opportunity to deal successfully with this problem.

b. The Urban Community: creation and organization

Until recently, the metropolitan area had a dispersed structure of local governments which became an important problem in terms of management.

Before the creation of the urban community in 1967, there were about 22 different forms of association of townships existing in the metropolitan area for several purposes: water, sewage, garbage collection, transportation, housing, industrial areas, and so on.

In 1964, Tourcoing and 11 townships created an urban district.

Then, finally the urban community bill decided on the creation of the "Communauté Urbaine de Lille-Roubaix-Tourcoing", gathering 87 townships and about 1 million inhabitants.

The powers transferred to the new urban community were those defined in the urban community bill of 1966.

- City planning and urban development programs
- land use plans
- land bank
- housing, urban development, urban renewal
- fire station, water, sewage and garbage collection
- urban transportation
- roads and parkings
- high schools
- cemeteries.

The urban community is powerful, and may intervene in many domains: urban development, public works, social policy and may participate in many organizations such as economic development office, public housing, housing rehabilitation, public corporations, new town corporation.

The urban community may guarantee loans for those organizations and consequently has some power in management.

In order to be able to accomplish these various tasks, the urban community has its own budget, and may raise taxes. Its financial resources come from grants, loans, a share of local taxes, and of the VRTS (returns on salaries).

The urban community is administrated by a council of 90 members, who are nominated by the local council of each township. There is 1 councillor for about 11,000 inhabitants (between 9 to 14,000). At the present time, the council can be devided roughly as follows: 1/3 of the councillors from the left wing, 1/3 from the center and 1/3 from the right wing.

The urban community council elects the President and 12 vice-presidents each of whom is in charge of one committee such as: finances, urban renewal and business district, juridical and real estate services, roads, traffic, industrial areas, housing, water and sewage, public transportation, urban development, education, and fire station. The President is in charge of city planning, new town and expressways.

The administrative body of the urban community is composed of several divisions from the general manager to the different administrative and technical divisions (2,250 employees).

The city planning office has a special status, and is controlled by both the urban community and the central government.

The city planning office is in charge of all kinds of legal planning documents (SDAU, POS).

c. Powers and conflicts

Theoretically, the urban community is powerful. But the situation is complex owing to the past and the different strategies of the economic and political forces.

The northern region has been deeply influenced by industrial development and is trying to pass from the stage of industrial capitalism to one of modern capitalism.

For the last decade, there is some opposition between the representatives of the old declining industries and the newcomers from tertiary and industrial activities.

Moreover, the strong political conflicts one can see at the national level, between, on the one hand, the labour unions and the left wing and, on the other hand, the government and its political majority, are reflected here more than elsewhere in a traditionally left wing region.

Under those circumstances, the urban community is trying to establish a consensus which is necessary but difficult to obtain, in order to accomplish the planning and managing activities in the metropolitan area.

The possibility to realize and to make decisions is subject to the agreements and the equilibrium which can be reached on the main objectives. But it is often difficult to find this consensus on more than general objectives in order to avoid conflicts between the main decision makers.

Moreover, the state administration has complicated the game and encouraged the confusion by creating several planning agencies dealing with close problems: the 'Prefet' has its own staff, the DATAR its regional planning office, the ministry of Housing and Public Works its planning divisions and a public corporation for the new town.

Several examples can be furnished which show the difficulties in obtaining a consensus.

In terms of economic development, the divergent evolutions of Lille and Roubaix-Tourcoing are accentuating the gap between the northern and the southern parts of the metropolitan area.

In terms of housing policy, there is no clear choice in the new developments between the central cities and the suburbs, or between public and private projects.

Policies of urban renewal and rehabilitation or of public housing projects are expensive because the urban community has to invest in public equipments or in land.

Moreover, this policy conflicts with the present tendency of spontaneous suburban development which favours the small townships on the outskirts.

An example of conflict between the urban community and the townships has been recently given with the decision concerning the land use plans.

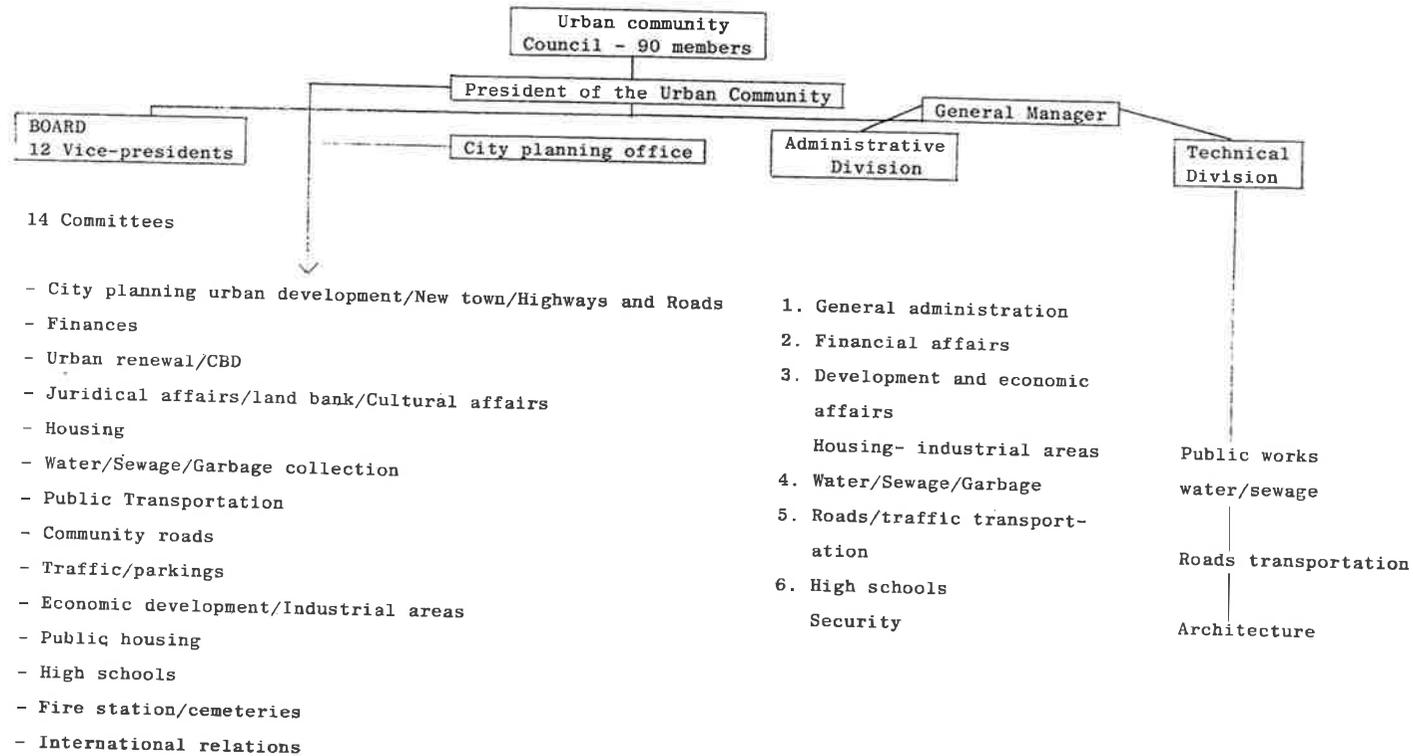
These plans have been formulated by the city planning office under the leadership of the President of the Urban Community and approved by the metropolitan council. But the task of informing and explaining the land use plans to the inhabitants was given to each town council, which was in the curious situation of justifying a plan it has not formulated.

In that case, the Urban Community has effectively broken down the traditional relationships which existed between a local government and its constituents.

To sum up, the urban community of Lille-Roubaix-Tourcoing is trying to build a new system of management in a difficult situation as always happens when a reform is undertaken.

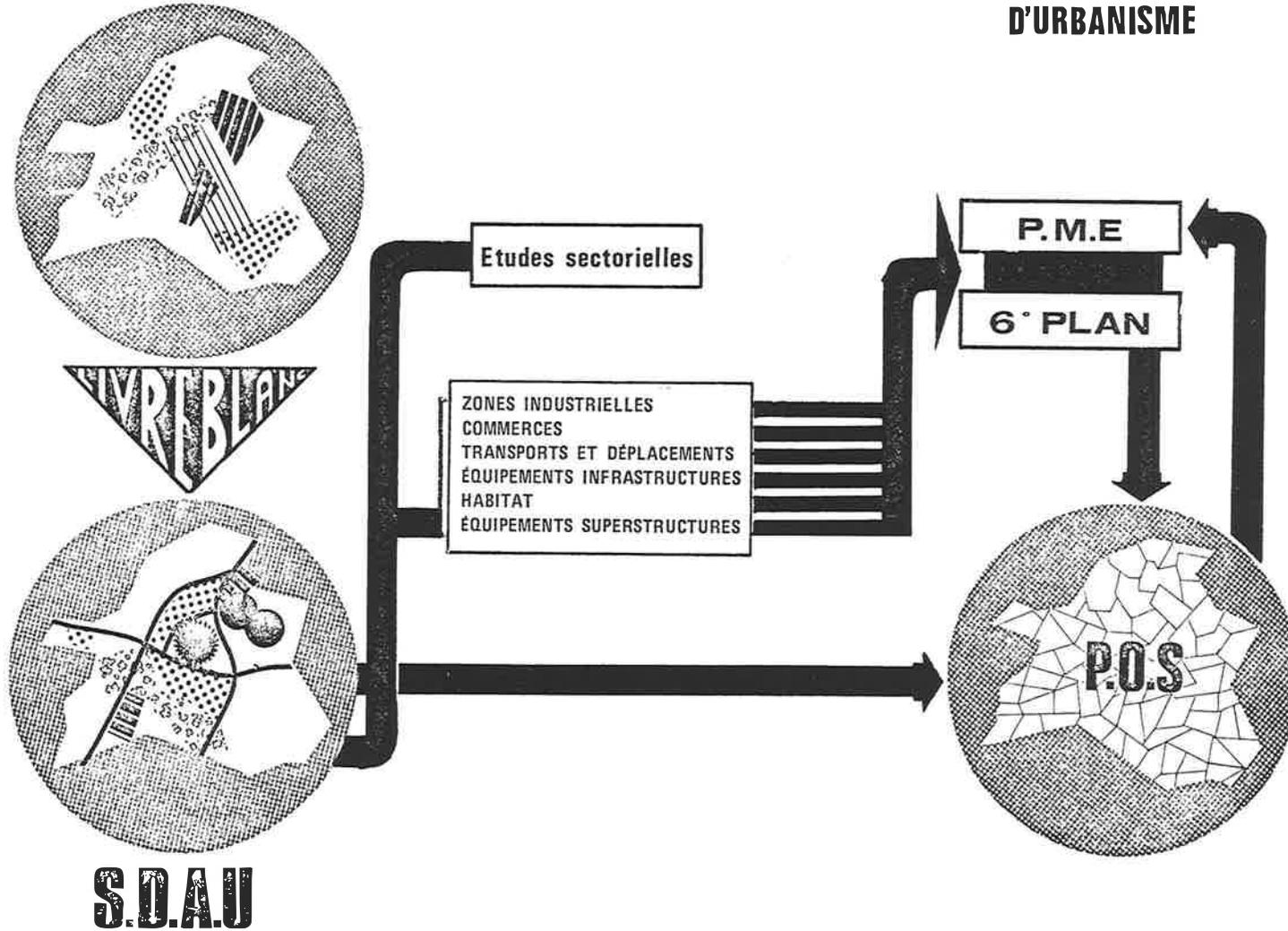
Although the metropolitan decision-making power is concentrated as for the local government, this has not been sufficient to prevent it from being limited by its strong dependance on the state administration for all kind of financing and technical aid.

SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE OF THE URBAN COMMUNITY

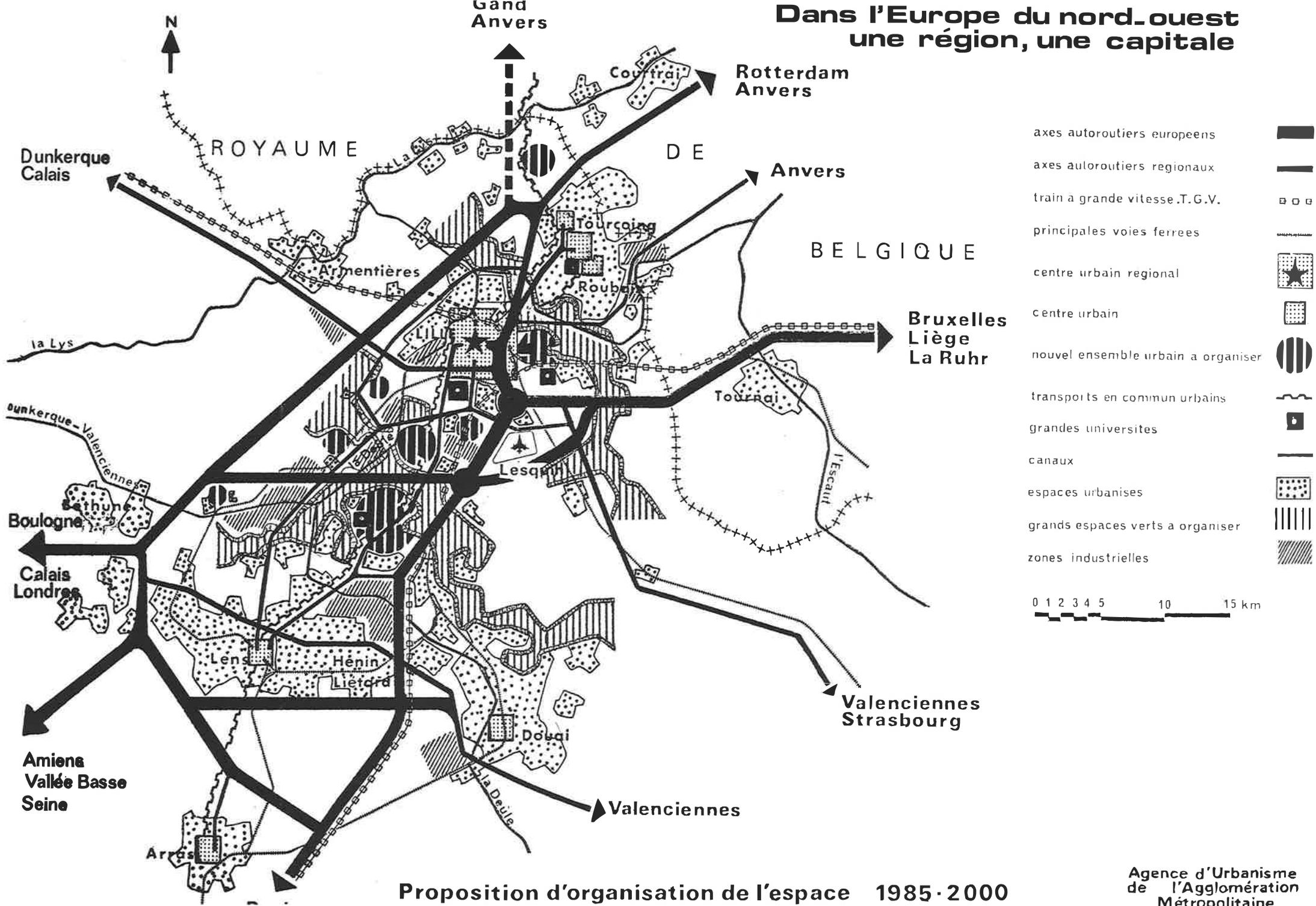


Situation d'hier

L'ORGANISATION DE LA CITE PAR LES DOCUMENTS D'URBANISME



Dans l'Europe du nord-ouest une région, une capitale



- axes autoroutiers europeens 
 - axes autoroutiers regionaux 
 - train a grande vitesse.T.G.V. 
 - principales voies ferrees 
 - centre urbain regional 
 - centre urbain 
 - nouvel ensemble urbain a organiser 
 - transports en commun urbains 
 - grandes universites 
 - canaux 
 - espaces urbanises 
 - grands espaces verts a organiser 
 - zones industrielles 
- 0 1 2 3 4 5 10 15 km

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IV. REPORTS

14. Reports of the four workshops
15. Closing speech

CHAPTER 14REPORTS OF THE FOUR WORKSHOPS

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REPORT WORKSHOP 1 - METROPOLITAN FORCES

1. Introduction

The procedure, proposed by the chairman and accepted by the participants in the workshop is as follows:

- a. Tuesday-sessions: presentation of the various metropolitan areas with specification of the underlying forces. Comparison of the presented metropolitan areas.
- b. Thursday-session: Discussion of the background-paper with respect to the outcomes of the tuesday-sessions.
Conclusions.

2. Exploration of the underlying forces at work in different metropolitan areas

a. Rijnmond-area (by Mr. Laan & Mr. Grunfeld).

The major tasks in the postwar years were:

- rebuilding the City
- stimulating a differentiated employment (as a reaction upon the "economic crisis in the 1930's").

The industrial development was left in the hands of the municipality of Rotterdam.

External forces were responsible for the fact, that it was not so much a problem of attracting (multinational) firms but a problem of selecting them.

The selection-criterium was "to get a high income from taxes", so, that "Amsterdam is the capital and Rotterdam has the capital" (cit. Gordon Cherry).

What are the channels of multinational influence in decision-making?

The most important role is played by the Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce (who has an experience of some 30 years and who could be considered as "one of the two burgomasters").

Furthermore, there are 2 pressure-groups (Scheepvaartvereniging Zuid en Europoortbelangen), that try to influence the Council ("Rijnmondraad").

The shift of problems

Rotterdam has been - and still is - confronted with many problems, which cannot be solved within the boundaries of its intensively used area.

To solve the intermunicipal problems (a.o. environmental problems) a new governmental organisation was established: The Rijnmond Authority. In the late 1960's the so called "bread-bird discussion" arose.

Responsible forces were:

- political forces (new organisation),
- (environmental) action groups (against airpollution),
- shortage of labourers,
- problem of the foreign workers (the danger of ghetto-formation).

Up till the "oil-crisis" social problems got more attention. Afterwards, - when the weakness of the economic position of Rijnmond was made clear - it was Central Government, that gave more attention to economic problems (and took over the traditional role of the local government).

Comparison with Marseille

In his presentation Mr. Soulas argued that there are many differences in the kind of problems and the chosen solutions, between the two harbours.

Marseille has been a commercial town and not an industrial one.

Important to the development of an industrial Marseillan area were the increasing demographic and economic problems resulting from the dis-integration of the French Empire.

The initiator of industrial development was not the local government, but the Central Government, with the consequence that those industries have not been connected with Marseille, but with Paris^{*}.

Other differences with Rotterdam:

1. there were two growth poles,
2. taxes to 3 municipalities,
3. there is hardly any agreement between the harbour authority and the municipalities.

b. Dunkirk-Lille (Mr. Cuillier, Mr. Nouveau).

Coalmining was favoured by the national government, but will be stopped in 1985.

Textile employment is going down.

There is competition for jobs, but this competition is unfair, because of the growing influence of national and multinational concerns in

^{*}This means that the region is in competition with other regions.

other regions, moving away a lot of manpower.

In 1962 the central government initiated a growth pole in Dunkirk (new steel plant, motor car industry, motorway building). Important (in the future) would be the Channel tunnel and the common market opportunities. The economic planning system was only national, the physical planning system was almost only local.

In 1963 regional planning started at last but only at the national level. Nevertheless, this can be considered as a step from a "vertical system" to a "horizontal" one.

It is difficult to attract multinational firms, because of the fact that adjoining Belgian regions could offer better financial, political and administrative incentives.

c. The West Midlands (Mr. Liggins & Mr. Hender).

Economic developments : - traditional industry is in trouble,
- region's economy is going through a time of painful structural change,
- rose of the share of the region's employment in professional and scientific work,
- social indicators for education, housing and health suggest that their quality fell from just above the national regional average in 1966 to one of the lowest in the country by 1973.

Demographic developments: - the rate of population increase slowed down in the latter half of the 1960's,
- change in net migration in the metropolitan county in 1962: population moved out to the new and expanding towns within the hinterland.

Housing
- sustained attack on slums; since 1970 the emphasis has been on improving rather than demolishing houses,
- new houses have been build extensively (both within the older urban areas of the metropolitan region and in new expanding towns and suburbs),
- huge transfers of families to new residential areas, but there has not always been a matching movement of jobs.

Policy : - since last war it has been Government policy to constrain industrial growth in the relatively prosperous southern half of Britain to steer firms to the "assisted areas" (with poorly physical and social infrastructure).

Regional policies : - 1963-1970 varying mixes of instruments were used to try to reduce disparities in economic growth, to arrest net emigration from the poorer to richer regions and to raise incomes in the poorer,

- 1970-1972 the government policies began to discriminate against "lame duck" firms and regions. The amended policy marginally built on strength rather than spent scarce resources on the weak,
- 1972 a new Industrial Act was passed. The government could bring its aid to bear more selectively on areas of need,
- 1975 Industry Act and the setting up of the National Enterprise Board to regenerate british industry (redistribution of industry).

Summing up,

Mr. Saunders argued that the historical forces are no longer at work. Multinationals do not choose the West Midlands*. Actual forces are: the offices, public sector. The problems are: What to do with the Centre? What to do with the social preferences of individuals (in terms of suburbanisation/dispersion)?

d. The Brussels Agglomeration (Mr. Druez).

Developments: population decline in the central municipalities of the agglomeration,
development of the tertiary functions at the cost of residential functions,
suburbanisation of housing.

* Maybe because of the "Machinery-like public decision making" and (therefore?) the loss of power of intervention.

The domination of the tertiary sector was caused by the establishment of:

- central government administration
- E.E.G. institutions
- offices of multinational firms

Problems: Population dispersal,
Spread of office building: because there are no expansion chances,
There is a suburbanisation of offices

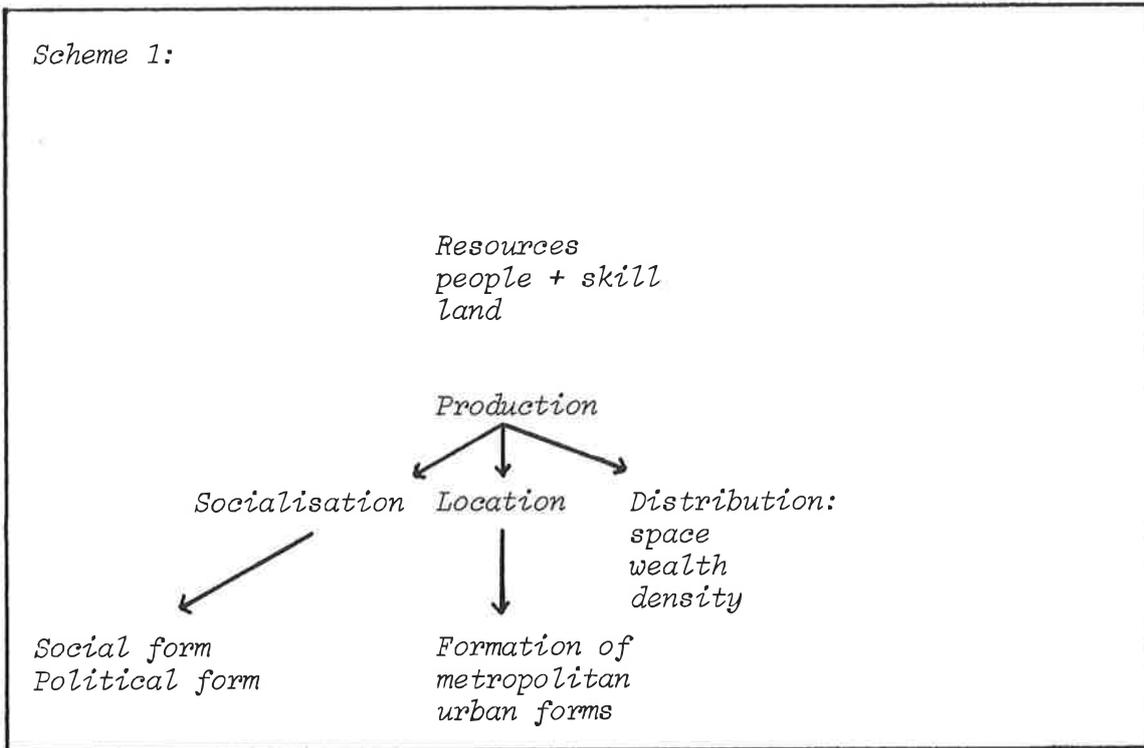
e. The Hanover area had no representative in Workshop 1.

THURSDAY SESSION

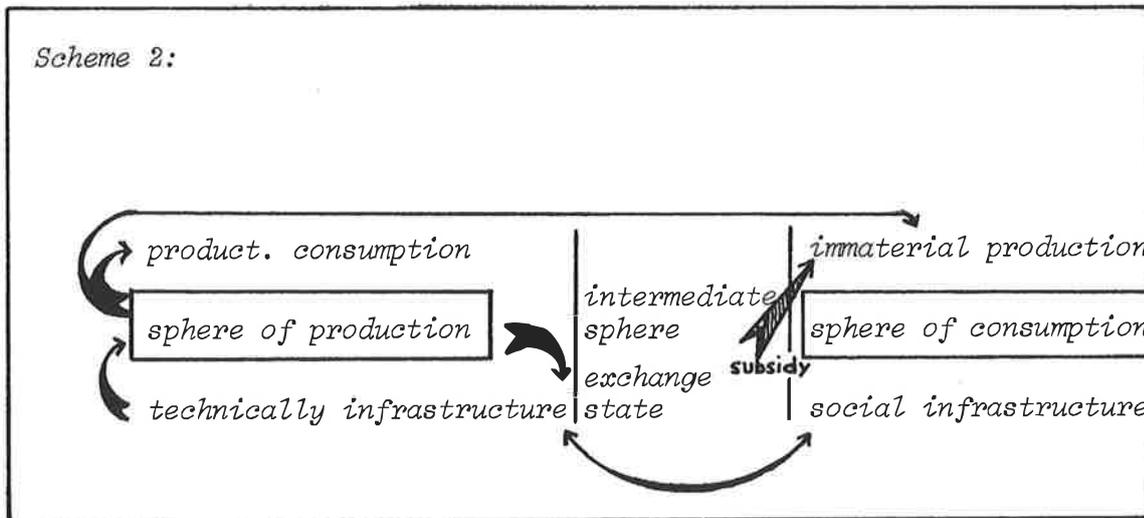
3. Synthesis of the underlying forces; discussion of the background-paper

- a. It was very hard to subscribe the propositions made in the background-paper. The workshop agreed with the fact that in general, the urban process was a result of the industrial process. External factors together with opportunities given or created by people and policymakers are the most important. The private sector is most important, but there is hardly insight in the decisionmaking process of especially multinational firms and in fact the multinational firms are the most important in creating metropolitan areas.
- b. Macro-political forces play a role, in the case of Brussels. It is interesting to see the different forces, opportunities at work that led to the situation in which Brussels and not Strassbourg became the Capital of Western-Europe.
- c. There is an economic accumulation process at work, there are technological and social forces. What are the predictions? and: How is public organisation now in relation to these forces? Can we understand the relationships?
The workshop tried to answer these questions, but lack of time prevented the further detailing of several proposed schemes:

Scheme 1:

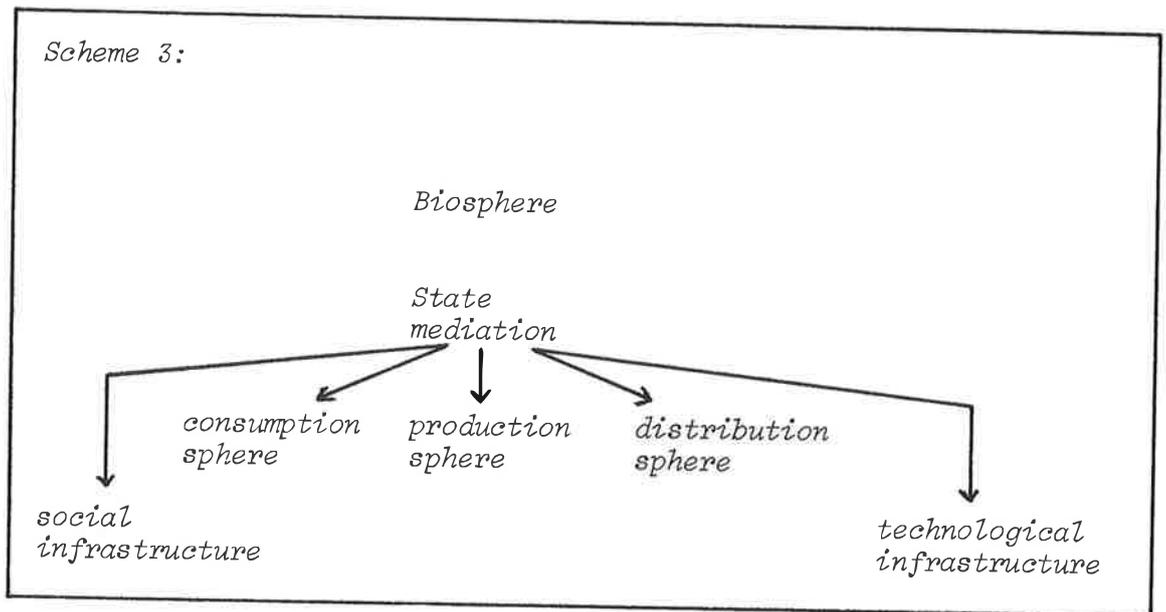


Scheme 2:



This scheme 2 has been adapted by Mr. Holliday (?) during lunchtime (and was not further discussed by the participants).

This resulted in Scheme 3 (presented by the chairman) during the final report thursday-afternoon.



d. In the opinion of the participants several work has to be done in future.

They distinguished however some conflicts:

1. a gap between theory ————— practice
2. a lack of common language between practitioners and academics.

For instance: What can practitioners do with the schemes presented above?

Is this general thinking not a subject matter for the long run? In the short run we need more empirical studies on social practices. In this context it is worth noting that:

- decisionmaking environments in the participating countries are different;
- there are different actors, that play different roles (and have different interests);
- the role of different actors can change in decisionmaking environment;
- the government is an actor with different caps;
- planners are different and it is a problem to integrate them;
- the postwar philosophy of planners can be characterized as being an agent of (negative) control and not being an agent of change.

So the question remains:

Are you (we) managing the metropolis or not?

REPORT WORKSHOP 2 - ACTORS IN THE MANAGEMENT

by Hanneke van DIJCK, Research Centre for Physical Planning TNO

1. At the beginning and the end of the discussions the term "management" was questioned. No real working definition was used, but during the discussions the term was mainly identified with "planning, programming and day-to-day running of the metropolis". In order to be able to run a metropolis (= to manage) some conditions were thought necessary, of which the unification and transparency (clarity) of technical, social and other services and systems, and exchange and feedback of information of the different affiliated municipalities and other public agencies were regarded as being most important. In this respect much value was attached to the idea of intercorporate-planning
2. Who are the actors in the management? In order to discuss properly the group compiled a short-list of actors.

LIST OF ACTORS IN THE METROPOLITAN MANAGEMENT

METROPOLITAN AUTHORITY - politicians
 - administrative staff

REGIONAL/PROVINCIAL AUTHORITY

NATIONAL AUTHORITY

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

OTHER PUBLIC AGENCIES (with sector responsibilities)

ORGANISED (METROPOLITAN) INTEREST GROUPS

- * INDUSTRY AND OTHER MAJOR EMPLOYERS
- * ORGANISED LABOUR
- * INVESTMENT AGENCIES

ORGANISED LOCAL INTEREST GROUPS

MASS MEDIA

GENERAL PUBLIC

3. The question was raised what ought to be considered as the main tasks/ concerns of the metropolitan/regional authorities. Basically they were mostly the same for the different participating countries, physical structure-planning, transportation and recreational planning being

predominant with a tendency towards widening the competences.

In this process the guideline should be as much responsibility as necessary for the metropolitan level, but as much responsibility as possible for the local level, as effective citizen-involvement and understanding depend on this.

Some differences exist as to whether the council-members are appointed or elected, and as to whether and how the metropolitan authorities are able to implement their plans. The last question is very much related to the problem of having a significant budget and therefore being able to influence and orient other actors.

4. During the discussions the term "metropolitan area" was used in different ways. In the case of Brussels it appeared to be restricted only to the built-up area, in the other cases it was a much larger area including rural and the suburban commuting areas as well (e.g. Hanover and Nord), or suburban commuting areas only (West Midlands, Rijnmond). It is important to notice that these differences arise from political and historical factors. It was considered that the appropriate unit for a metro-authority is one which covers both the urban area and its suburban and rural hinterland, and which reflects some general perception of a community of interest.
5. A very important question appears to be "what is the influence of the various governmental levels on metropolitan decision-making". There appears to be certain state influence, particularly notable in France. Another problem is the conflict of roles of politicians who are sitting in both the local and regional councils. In a young metropolitan council (like the West-Midlands or Brussels) the role-conflict can be rather strong because the metropolitan council is not yet well established and still regarded with a certain suspicion, certainly when it has taken away tasks of local government.
Some experience shows that this can change after some governmental session-periods, especially when public interest is aroused by certain measures (like a metropolisation of public transport).
6. This brings up the subject of (public) participation. The real participation (i.e. contributing to the decision-making process) appears to be most effectful at the neighbourhood level. Here the individual

interest is touched more severely than at local or metropolitan level. At the metropolitan level metropolitan interest groups should be included in the decision-making, at least be consulted. An important measure to attract and keep the attention and interest of the general public can be the creation of multi-purpose organisations with clearly defined boundaries and responsibilities. However there is the danger of the very large and distant organisation being unresponsive to the need of the citizen in his daily life. This requires a decentralization of points of contact. It should be pointed out that one-purpose organisations also tend to be organisations which cannot be checked by the "man-in-the-street".

7. The working of the metro-management process cannot fully be understood by reference to overt rationality. The influence of individuals with mixed responsibilities ("different caps": especially both private and public) and of individual preferences came up as subjects of discussion. It can be very difficult to discern what the influence of a certain cap can be on decisions taken with another one.
8. In the decision-making process irrational preferences play a big role, e.g. in location of firms.
This also seems true for the perception of information about possible locations (once acquiring information that a certain location is O.K., there will be hardly any investigations into other locations). Real good background-information about a region/county could be as important as adequate infra-structure in order to select properly.
9. This leads also to the question whether the metropolitan government can really (re-)act on changing economic demographic and technological situations. The influence of metro-government is perhaps not as big as the politicians would like to be, mainly due to the fact that e.g. large industries take their own decisions.
It was concluded that economic forces ultimately may be the most important "actors" in metro-management.

REPORT WORKSHOP 3 - METROPOLITAN PLANNING PRACTICE

by J. BRUNOT de ROUVRE, Directeur du C.E.T.E. NORD PICARDIE, LILLE (F)

What distinguishes planning practice in the metropolis ?

A short review of institutions in Western Europe metropolitan areas shows that the metropolises enjoy the most sophisticated local government structure and planning machinery. This sophistication seems appropriate to the administration of such highly complex areas. However, the complexity of administration in the metropolitan areas pose difficult problems in planning practice:

- The number of tiers and levels of planning on the same territory multiplies the possibilities of conflicts or stress between policies, and makes it more difficult to make local decisions.
- The different authorities are involved in frequent and difficult negotiations about the boundaries of areas on which decisions have to be taken.
- Public participation is quite impossible to get on broad issues, since the public see no clear relation between objectives and local decisions. How to deal with public acceptancy in democracy? Whole groups of people deliberately don't want to get involved in policy making.
- The complexity of the machinery makes it difficult to establish the responsibilities for important decisions. However, comfortable for politicians or planners, this situation frustrates people who would like to know who is responsible for what.
- It is not easy to get feedback from monitoring the implementation in order to reassess the objectives and review the plans. 'Political realism' may be reluctant to publish such an evaluation, or to give voice to the public and to neighbourhood associations for discussion.

- 'Planning realism' induces planners into keeping the maximum flexibility in their plans (defense upon challenge), or even to use the most ambiguous language, letting different groups have different interpretations of the policy worded.

These difficulties could have dangerous consequences (although these views may be somewhat pessimistic):

- a trend of distrust in local government democracy (local government is 'inapt and/or corrupt')
- a temptation for planners to ask for still more complicated machinery (special authorities set up to tackle every new different problem, adding to complexity, like *Water Authorities*; refinements in policy making on corporate basis, in joint agreements with other authorities, in cross examination, make planning more and more time consuming).
- a temptation for politicians to get rid of participation and even of planners (the search for efficiency seeks to make decisions without consultation of the public, or even of the experts, as it sometimes happens in France).

Some questions to be handed out to other workshops :

We should look for the reasons why :

- the metropolitan authorities rarely cover the relevant territory for an all-purpose authority, or at least are often drawn so tightly they cannot assume many important functions
- the metropolitan authorities seem rather weak and fragile, especially when the upper tier is very strong ('big regions'; or *Land* in Germany)

Some possible explanations :

- The population of the metropolis is so big that its government (however sophisticated and sometimes inefficient) holds an enormous political power ; this may not please regional or even national government.

Unavoidable conflicts arise between two levels of government when their sizes come too near (as 'big regions' and 'metro city regions') and the stronger tries to weaken or destroy the other.

('Planning regions' in the U.K. are not favoured by the strong Metro Counties, e.g. WMPAC vs. WMMCC; *Land NRW* in BRD diminished the powers of *SVR*, the Ruhr planning authority)

- When stronger, the 'big region' has several means of weakening the metropolitan authority (or preventing to get too strong):

- . one is to prevent the constitution of any single planning authority for a metropolitan region by maintaining administrative divisions within (*NRW* keeps 3 or 2 *Regierungsbezirke* within the Ruhr area)
- . or to favour the multiplication of different authorities with different territories for separate functions
- . or by drawing the borders of metro-authorities so tightly that it is not easy for them to deal with many functions (such as transport): *West Midlands County* is cut from its cities rural catchment area, *Rijnmond* is just drawn around the cities harbour to deal with its immediate environment.
- . or by separating planning from implementation, and give only one power to the metro-agency (thus, french *Agences d'Urbanisme* in big towns or *OREAM* in metro-regions are very weak planning bodies)

Possible remedies and actions

One should seek : relevant scale
simplicity for responsibility
clear involvement

Scale

Should planners make their point more strongly and publicly, in the political debate to set up proper authorities for the relevant territory?

Up to now little attention has been paid to planners view, or even to any planning rationality. Transportation studies have been a strong case for setting up new metropolitan authorities. But in the United Kingdom, the borders of Metro-Counties are less relevant than were the PTE's.

Simplicity

For people to understand the responsibilities and for elected politicians to assume them, all purpose authorities seem always preferable. At least planning power should never be separated from implementation control.

Involvement

If we admit to live in a diversified society, with normally conflicting social groups, planners could work for these groups and help doing some sort of advocacy planning. It should be normal that every social category or local community could have their own planners.

PTE : Passenger Transport Executives
WMPAC : West Midlands Planning Authorities Conference
WMMCC : West Midlands Metropolitan County Council
NRW : Land Nordrhein - Westphalen
BRD : Bundesrepublik Deutschland
SVR : Siedlungsverband Ruhrkohlenbezirk
OREAM : Organisation d'Etude d'Aire Metropolitaine

APPENDIX 1.

WORKSHOP 3 - METROPOLITAN PLANNING PRACTICE

by Govert SLOB, Planner, Research Centre for Physical Planning TNO

In the draft paper about the first day discussion in workshop 3 the weak influence of the planners view concerning the arrangement of territories of new authorities (e.g. *Metropolitan areas*) has been underlined. This conclusion may be right in the cases of the West Midlands, Brussels, the Ruhr area and the Nord - Pas de Calais, but in the Netherlands the planners view played a more important role in the discussion about the proposals (recent) for a *reform of the institutional system*.

The spatial arrangement of the proposed new *26 provinces* (see the Rijnmond paper, page 5) has been based to a high degree on the *functional relationships* between the urban centres and their urbanized hinterlands, nowadays and in the future. Of course, there are other criteria, in the organizational field (the possibility to take over some tasks of the national government, a financial independency, the quality of the administration), but these criteria are specially important for fixing a *minimum of inhabitants*. A basic point of the outline for the above mentioned bill is that the new provincial authorities will take over some implementation tasks of the municipalities (centralisation) and some tasks (not defined !) from the national government (decentralisation). This idea has been very seriously criticized as a technocratic solution, undermining the local democracy and the possibility for the people to participate in the decision-making. So the conclusion may be that the planners view has been too strongly accentuated, but we have to add to this conclusion that the mentioned planners view is in the first place a geographer's view.

Another conclusion of the first day discussion is not a surprising one. That's the conclusion that it is very difficult to discuss planning practice in an area as North Western Europe with such a *diversity of institutional systems*. A lot of time had to be spent on a further presentation of the institutional organization in the various countries and German *Länder*.

APPENDIX 2.

WORKSHOP 3 - METROPOLITAN PLANNING PRACTICE

by Sir J. CHADWICK, Director International Institute for Applied
Technology (Milan), Esher Surrey (UK)

The workshop examined the present arrangements for planning and administration in the four metropolitan regions under discussion, and also in some other areas. In general, current planning practice appeared to be similar in all areas. But there are differences in powers of *enforcement*, or *implementation*, and in the extent of the *involvement of the national government*.

There are four main difficulties in current planning practice, all of them concerned with implementation of the plans, and all arising from the highly political nature of the implementation of planning decisions:

1. The *planning authorities* are usually separated from the *executive authorities* which should administer the plan. The planning authorities therefore often lack the power to prevent the implementation of decisions which are not consonant with the plan.
2. Even if, during the planning process, there has been extensive consultation with the general public or its representatives, action to implement the plan almost always evokes the vociferous and organized opposition of those persons or bodies which are adversely affected by the plan. The consequence is not merely delay but also, very often, suspension of action. This is previously a question of the extent to which political/administrative leadership of the region can be convinced of the validity of the proposals contained in the plan.
3. In some metropolitan regions, the planning authority works in association with an elected body representing the people living in the region; but since the planning authority lacks the power to

implement its plans, the members of the elected body tend to think that their work is ineffective, and therefore to be dissatisfied, in political terms, with the role allotted to them.

4. It follows from the foregoing that there is little or no guarantee that the plans will be fulfilled, at least in the form in which it is proposed by the planners.

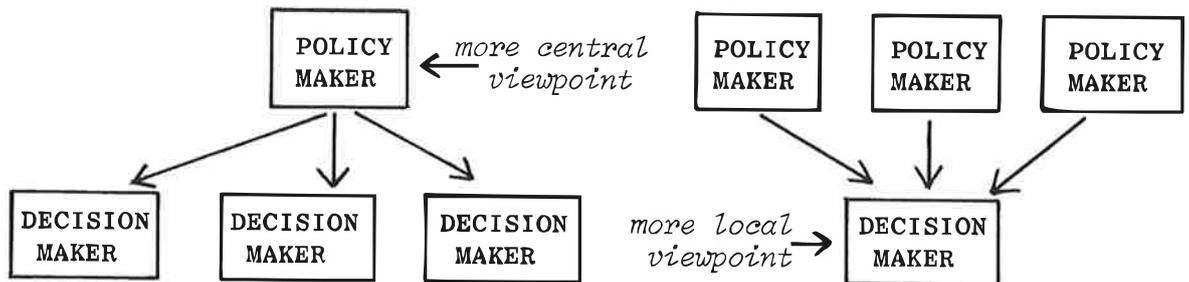
APPENDIX 3.

WORKSHOP 3 - METROPOLITAN PLANNING PRACTICE

by J. FRIEND, Senior Operational Research Scientist, Institute for Operational Research, Coventry (UK).

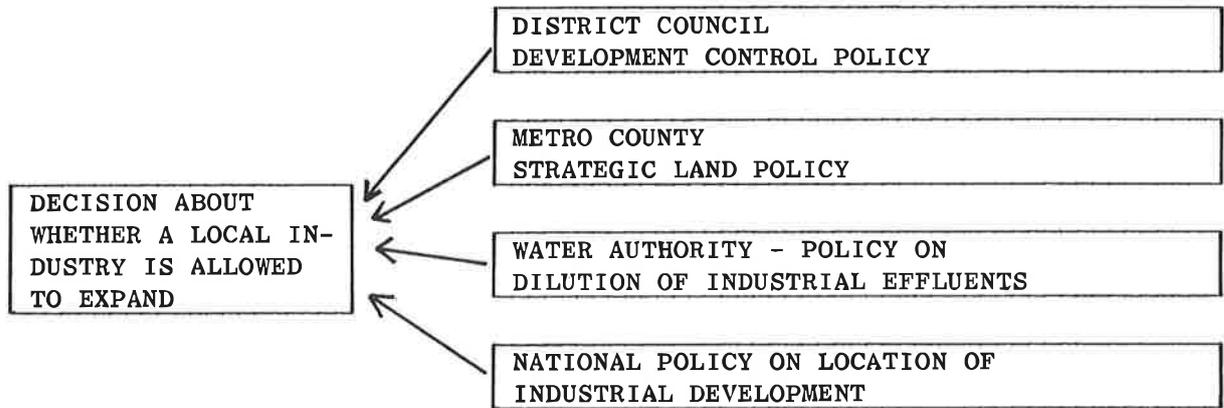
Some notes of further questions we might ask ourselves, and members of other workshops.

While we are discussing the problems of implementation of plans and policies in metropolitan areas, I referred to the following diagrams which I find useful in giving contrasting views of what is meant by 'implementation':



What this shows is that, while the central 'policy maker' may often be puzzled or frustrated when he finds that more local decision makers fail to 'implement' his policies, there is often a very different view from the local decision makers end. He is usually aware that he may have a very complex local problem to solve. But he must do so under the *constraints* or several different policies, some of which may come from his own authority, others from provincial or national government, others perhaps from an inter-mediate metropolitan authority.

Here for instance is an example from the West Midlands:



In particular cases, it may be very difficult to find a solution which is compatible with all the various policies, especially if these are expressed in a very specific (as opposed to an ambiguous) way. A state of 'policy stress' thus arises, and the local decision-maker may feed back to the central planner or policy-makers suggestions for modifying the current policy guidelines after to make them more flexible.

It would be interesting to take some examples like this one of types of decision situation that can arise in each country, and compare the main types of policy which impinge on these decision under the various systems of government. We could then discuss what differences there are in the metropolitan and non-metropolitan authority makes decision-making either simpler or more difficult.

WORKSHOP 3 - METROPOLITAN PLANNING PRACTICE

by Mr. U. WANNOP, regional planner, Strathclyde Regional Council
Department of Physical Planning, McIver House, Cadogan Street,
GLASGOW G2 (G.B.).

REGIONAL PLANNING PRACTICE AND ADMINISTRATION IN SCOTLAND

1. Reorganisation of local government in Scotland produced 12 *Regional Authorities* for local government, for a total population of 5 millions. 10 of these authorities are equivalent to small English *counties*. Two only are 'major regions' by the common British definition:
 - the *Highland region* covers 1/3 of the land area of Scotland and has special problems of remoteness, a marginal agricultural economy and very low density of population.
 - the *Strathclyde region* covers 1/6 of the area of Scotland, but its population of 2.5 millions is half that of Scotland, and it combines the metropolitan conurbation of *Glasgow/Clydeside* with a rural hinterland which extends up to 100 km beyond the metropolitan boundary.
2. Strathclyde is the only authority in Scotland with a population size comparable to that of the English *Metropolitan Counties*.

However, Strathclydes responsibilities are significantly greater than those of the English Metropolitan Counties and make the *Regional Council* a more effective strategic planning authority.
3. The difference between the *Strathclyde Regional Council* and the *English Metropolitan Counties* are:

FACTORS IN MANAGEMENT OF METROPOLITAN REGIONS	ENGLISH METROPOLITAN REGIONS: ADMINISTRATIVE RESPONSIBILITIES	STRATHCLYDE ADMINISTRATIVE RESPONSIBILITIES
National development guidelines and initiatives	Central Government	Central Government
National transportation planning	" "	" "
Regional transportation planning { Metropolitan area { Metropolitan Hinterland	Metropolitan county Shire counties	} Regional council
Regional Public Transport operations { Metropolitan area { Metropolitan Hinterland	Metropolitan county British Rail/National Bus Co	} Regional council
Regional Land Use Planning { Metropolitan area { Metropolitan Hinterland	Metropolitan county Shire counties + voluntary assoc. of these counties	} Regional council
Sewer planning and construction } Water Supply and Construction	Regional Water Authority	} Regional council
School Planning and Construction	District Councils	Regional council
Local Land Use Planning	" "	" "
Public Housebuilding	" "	" "
Public Factory/Commercial Construct	" "	" "
Regional Economic Planning	Regional Economic Planning Councils	Regional council

4. The advantages of the Strathclyde system in regional planning are seen currently in relation to the *New Towns*. Both *West Midlands Metropolitan County* and *Strathclyde Regional Council* wish to see a stop to one of the New Towns in their respective regions (i.e. *Telford* and *Stonehouse*)

Telford lies outside the West Midlands County area, and the County Council have no financial or other responsibility for any part of investment in, or administration of Telford. The West Midlands County Council can only advise the Government that it wishes that Telford were slowed down or stopped, and this advice is contradicted by opposite advice from *Shropshire County Council* in whose area Telford lies. The Government has not been prepared to stop Telford and has merely propose a lower growth target for the New Town which is more consistent with its current prospects for attracting new jobs.

5. By contrast, *Stonehouse* New Town lies with in the area of Strathclyde Regional Council, as do the three other New Towns which are directly related to the *Glasgow/Clydeside* metropolis.

The Regional Council has advised the Government that it wishes the development of Stonehouse to stop. If the Regional Council lacked responsibility for schools, sewers and water supply - as the West Midlands County Council lacks these responsibilities - this advice might have failed. However, because the Strathclyde Council is not prepared to provide these services to support the houses and factories which the Government would build at Stonehouse, it now appears certain that Government will stop the New Town.

6. This comparison confirms the significance of two elements in the management of Regional plans:
- (i) *one administrative area* which includes both the metropolis, its Green Belt and its social and economic hinterland
 - (ii) responsibility for planning *and* realisation of plans to be combined in a *single elected local authority*.

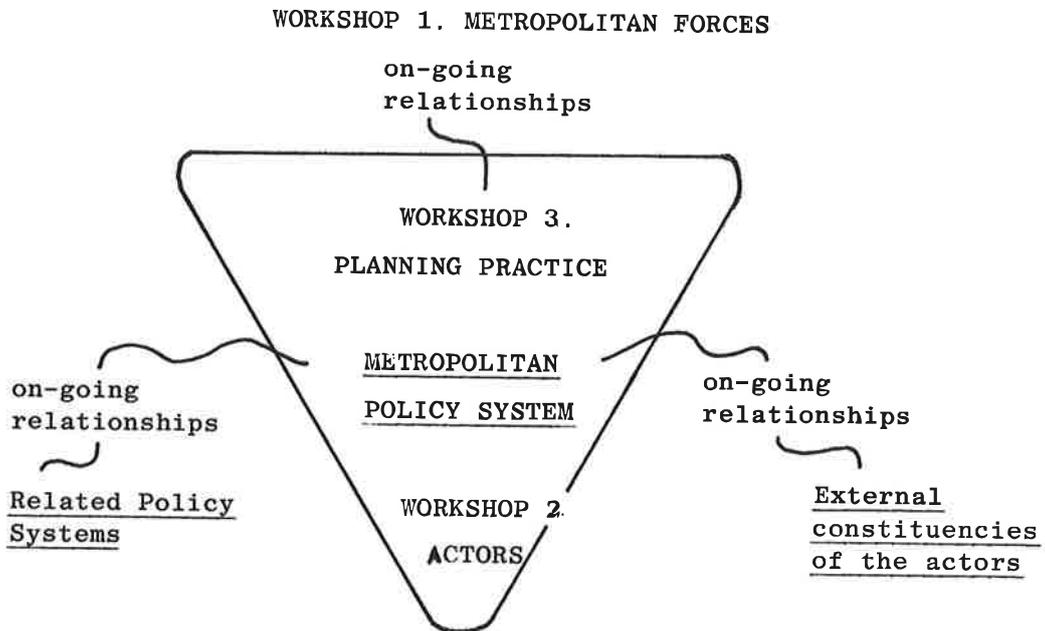
REPORT WORKSHOP 4 - DEVELOPMENT OF PLANNING METHOD

by William Ogden, Lanchester Polytechnic

An Interacting framework for the Four Workshops

1. The development of planning method can be described as the improvement of on-going relationships between the actors in relevant inter-acting organisations and the public at large. Thus a planning authority, which may be a metropolitan authority, must collaborate and negotiate with lower tier authorities, water and transport boards, universities, churches and community associations in the public or semi-public sector, and with industry and commerce in the private. All plan their activities, choosing what appear to be the most rewarding, and their plans are in varying degrees inter-dependent. These organisations have developed and are developing new relationships one with another. They may and often do compete, but competition is merely a special kind of relationship.
2. Diagram 1 shows the conceptual interaction between planning practice (workshop 1) within and external to a metropolitan policy system, the forces at work within the operating environment and penetrating the metropolitan system (workshop 2), the actors in the management and planning processes (workshop 3), and the development of planning method to improve on-going relationships within and external to the metropolitan system (workshop 4). There are illustrations of this conceptual interaction in the accounts of the workshop's discussions.
3. Planning Method in a Mixed Economy

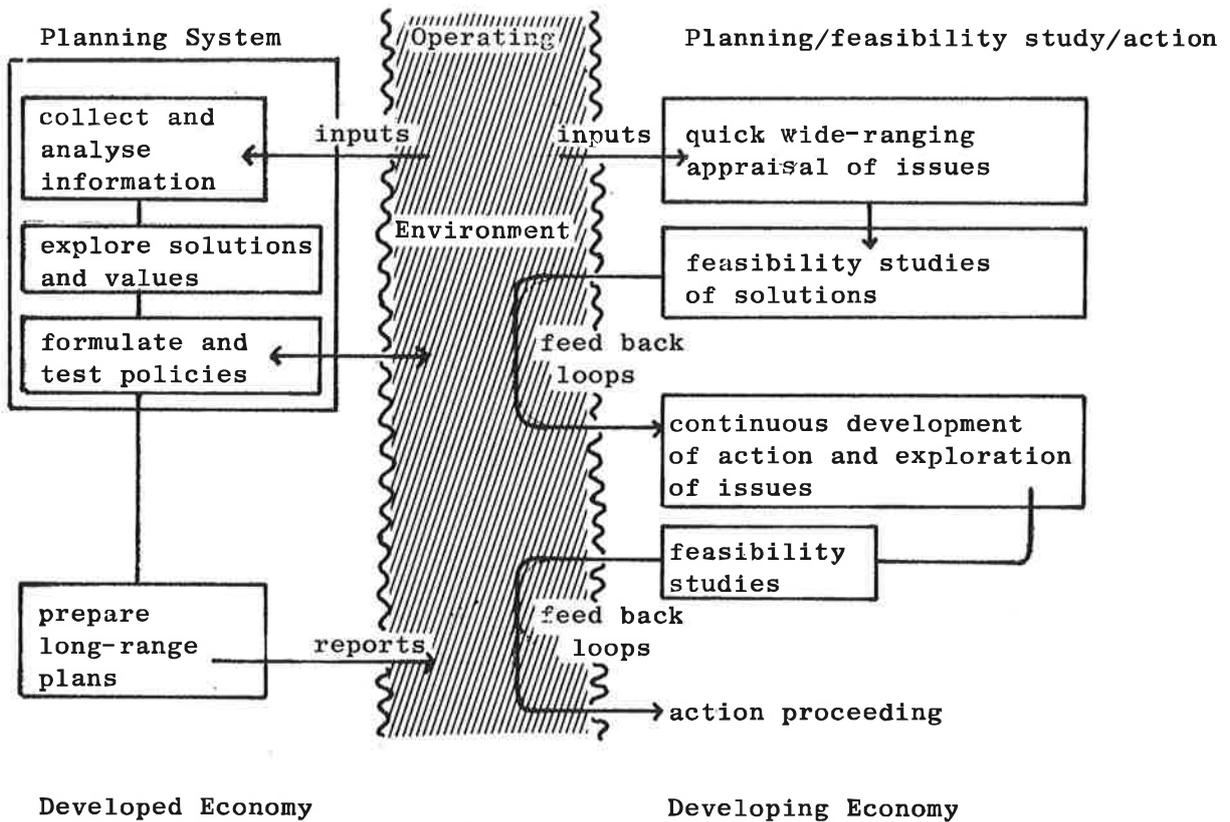
This workshop decided to explore the development of planning method in the context of western Europe where there are mixed economies and increasing intervention by governments in the private sector. Some characteristics of western European metropolitan systems and of intervention are described in later paragraphs.

DIAGRAM 1.An Interacting Framework for the Four WorkshopsOperating Environment

Workshop 4 was concerned with planning the improvement of on-going relationships within the metropolitan policy system and across the INTER-FACES with related policy systems and the actors constituencies.

DIAGRAM 2.

Comparative Approaches to the Solutions of Planning Problems in Developed and Developing Economies



4. Although the discussions were focused on western Europe, the differences in the approach to planning problems in developed and developing economies are important enough to mention, especially as pressures are growing to bring the two approaches together. The differences are illustrated in diagram 2. On the one hand in the developed countries the "planners" collect a lot of information and code it for computer analysis, make detailed analyses of comprehensive solutions and prepare long-term plans, slowly. In contrast the developing countries will not only not wait for sophisticated plans, but they want something done to relieve hunger or improve the water supply quickly, and experimentally. In the former the plans are largely based on conventional wisdom of the past; in the latter action is taken on conjectures of the future and its results are fed back to improve the planning and development organisation. But accelerating political and economic change is now making authorities in developed countries use the planning/feasibility study/action feed-back approach to some of the more urgent problems. The traditional "planners" are being asked to practice new skills in these fields: too many of their analyses have been based on the past and its extrapolation instead of conjecture about the future and the formulation of policies to bring about desirable changes in socio-economic as well as physical environmental fields.

5. The Questions before the Workshop

Four questions were put before the workshop in the preparatory note, reprinted here paragraphs 1 to 5. This note was used as a framework for discussion and answers were given within the field of each question. The discussions ranged widely across many disciplines and practices of "managing the metropolis" in north-west Europe. For the purposes of this report the answers are brought together in that framework.

6. What complementary Disciplines contribute to the Development of Planning Method, and how?

There are no boundaries to the range of disciplines which contribute, necessarily, to planning and managing urban systems. Although the "planner"

has been given the task of managing the growth and changing structure of cities and city-regions, especially since the end of World War I, he has slowly had to learn that his physical plans are shaped by the political, economic and social forces at work in the societies he serves. He may exercise skills in urban design, but they are both encouraged and constrained by his immediate culture; on the other hand, the more useful planners have learned how to bring together the many actors in urban processes and provide opportunities for the exercise of that political will which is required to get jobs done reasonably quickly and effectively. In learning these skills the planner looks for help and advice to the social sciences. For many years the social scientists gave him little help; they also were exploring new ground of their own. But they are contributing now, with hesitation and reservations about their understanding of how society works today and with greater reservations about how societies might work tomorrow. There is, perhaps, one lesson from the last decade or two and that is that a comprehensive, utopian, approach to planning metropolitan regions is not feasible. There are two reasons: first, urban change takes place at the margins of established activities within the physical environment of communities using houses, shops, factories and other social capital; and second, we know from experience that we cannot assume that a comprehensive reconstruction of our social world will lead at once to a workable system - we can only learn by Trial and Error. "Irrationalism is inherent in radicalism".² This lesson leads us to our second question.

7. Does the Workshop agree that the complex organisation of Metropolitan Regions has the characteristics of Appreciative Systems?

Appreciative systems are defined in paragraphs 3 and 4. The workshop gave a qualified "Yes" to this question. The qualification concerned the value and use of models for planning analysis. The following set of models, put forward by Professor Masser has been found useful in practice. Are they helpful explanatory models of appreciative systems or are they sharp tools for decision-making and prediction?

²The Open Society and its Enemies. Vol.1. Sir Karl Popper.

A framework of Planning Models

DESCRIPTIVE - HARD

spatial interaction;
transportation;
input - output;
social accounting;
population;

DESCRIPTIVE - SOFT

scenarios of alternative futures;
think-tanks and their analyses;
gaming and simulation exercises;
application of the methods of
systems dynamics;

PRESCRIPTIVE - HARD

Mathematical programming, etc. ;
problem solving models;

PRESCRIPTIVE - SOFT

the application of operational
research methods in for example
the analysis of inter-connected
decision areas and the management
of multi-organisation planning
systems* .

8. The workshop did not have enough time to answer the question fully: members asked for the opportunity to comment on their draft report, and perhaps add to the answers given here. The burden of their argument is that planning in complex appreciative systems leads to the formulation of many inter-related policies. These policies are not decisions to act. To equate policy-formulation with decision-making leads to two errors. The first is that understanding of the social processes underlying policy formulation can be clouded by the apparent precision of the relationships postulated in the models, and which are necessarily only partial pictures of the real world. The second is that if models do influence the formulation of policies they may be inappropriate, because built for other purposes. They can hinder rather than help gain insight into social processes. One recent example of inappropriate models is those prepared for the Club of

* See Public Planning; the Inter-Corporate Dimension; by Friend, Power & Yewlett.

Rome which would have led to extreme and unrealistic policies to save the people three generations hence from pollution and starvation when the urgent need appears to be to "arrest a creeping palsy due to failure of political and social innovation, now".* On the other hand there is a role for formal and rigorous decision-making models. Many different kinds of models are required and the framework sets out four classes. They can be likened to the tools in the cabinet makers bag: there is a tool to every task and the good craftsman will make his own tools and use the right tool for the right job. The workshop drew attention to two classes of model on which much more work is required urgently: first, the development of scenarios to help formulate longer-term guidelines for short-run decisions and their associated feasibility studies**; second, the application of operational research to public administration***, and the development of prescriptive models. The urgency for the second is in the need to make increasingly complex organisations work together more efficiently.

9. The discussion about models raised a question about the planning processes: are they concerned with "optimising" the use of resources? In a very restricted sense, such as handling traffic, or choosing a site for a school they may optimise investment in traffic management for a highway authority, or in costs of infrastructure for a school. But most planning problems do not have this singleness of purpose. For example there are many perceptions of an "optimum" traffic management system. The businessman might find convenient car-parking denied him; the buses and taxis may have further to travel at high private costs to the passenger; the environmentalist may object strongly to a lowering of standard in a residential or conservation area; the mother may face added dangers from faster moving traffic in getting children to school. So, even if the actual and perceived problems of the concerned people and organisations are the same, their interests may differ widely. Diversity of perception and interest makes a "best" policy approach to decision-making impracticable. The more appropriate

* A Second Look at Doom: The Lord Ashby of Brandon, University of Southampton, 1975.

** See, The Small is Beautiful: E.F. Schumacher, Blond Briggs, 1973.

*** Institution for Operational Research, Coventry, unpublished papers, 1974 to 1976.

model for this kind of social process is that of bargaining and negotiation. This discussion took the Workshop into four interesting areas; of the evaluation of comparative policies and decisions; of the openness and freedom of flows of information; of conflict management and of the role of the planner as negotiator.

10. Evaluation of Alternative Policies or Courses of Action

The fundamental distinction between formulating policies and making decisions to carry them out led to an equally fundamental distinction between evaluating policies, both at the formulation stage of choosing one rather than another and at the feed-back stage within the development of on-going relationships; and similarly with decisions to act. There was not time for much discussion in the Workshop. But as a broad conclusion it might be stated that when formulating policies in appreciative systems they cannot be "evaluated" in the sense of measuring them within a goals-achievement matrix, or accounting balance-sheet with proxy values for unmeasurable qualities. In these systems the policies are validated as they emerge from inter-organisational analysis or are injected from their politic environment, or grow out of the grass roots of popular concern. On the other hand testing decisions can be, and often is, done using models. The tests will not rely wholly on models, because they cannot include all the variables in the real world. Nevertheless they can, with management skills and judgement inform the decisions in ways which are fairly easily communicable.

Monitoring both policies and their consequent decisions is being developed with some rigour in for example the south-east and west midlands of England. Monitoring can help define and measure the relative importance of those uncertainties which must be brought into the analysis and decisions.

11. Free and Open Information Flows

Members have much experience of the manipulation of information for administrative or political ends. The cases quoted were of officials using

information with calculated discrimination to persuade politicians to follow courses of action desirable to the officials. The officials no doubt thought they were doing right: they have to earn their living in a turbulent world, and they must use their influence to keep their ship on a steady course through rough political seas, and gusty winds of change. But the officials are not accountable for political action, and there is a difference between saying what is good, proper and desirable, and finding out how to do it. There is another point about political accountability. The policy maker might find little consolation in moralising about his own values if he fails to set courses of action to implement the values of the citizens at large. As Raymond A. Bauer has said in his paper to the American Psychological Association: "if we expose ourselves to the intellectual and moral discipline of policy formulation, we are stripped both of easy virtue and omnipotence".* The workshop did not choose easy virtue. But information should be freely available to all concerned in both policy formulation and decision-making. If not, trust withers away. And as a general rule for advancing planning method, trust must be planted and nurtured. In any on-going relationships if there is no reservoir of goodwill, important things will not get done. Here Workshop 4 trod in the fields of Workshop 1 on practice, and argued about the quality of the actors of Workshop 2.

12. Conflict Management

The Workshop came to the conclusion that continuing conflict of interests is inevitable. The challenge to planning method, and practice, is to find courses of action which the contestants are willing to live with and which should at the same time stimulate innovation. The Workshop believes much good can come from conflict. Under no circumstances should conflict be brushed under the carpet! But this may be the advice of idealists. Planners must be realists as well as optimists, or that was the message from the Workshop.

*Social Psychology and the Study of Policy Formation: Raymond A. BAUER. .
Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration: American Psychologist
1965.

13. Tactics in Negotiation

As the Workshop concluded earlier, much decision-making, once strategic policies have been formulated and agreed, depends for its effectiveness on good negotiators. Are planners regarded within their organisations and by the people and bodies outside as having a negotiating role? Clearly some are, and not necessarily only those in senior positions. But all planners as negotiators must stand on firm policy foundations. That many are not trusted to negotiate, or whose organisations reserve this role for other skills, may have led to an air of pessimism in many attending the Seminar. The negotiator must have something to trade-off for concessions to his authority's policy, and much of the planners' training leads him to prepare tightly interlocking proposals which by their very nature, representing large investments, cannot easily be negotiated in parts. But good planning method should lead to negotiable trade-offs.

14. Intervention in the Private Sector

Negotiable trade-offs will be particularly important when the politicians in the public section intervene in the private. Intervention in the countries of the European Community appears to have three aims:

- (i) to help governments carry out regional policies to improve incomes, job prospects and local industry in regions suffering from structural decline of their economies:
- (ii) to help selected firms weather competition and inflationary pressures on profits and cash-flows where these firms are important to maintain a high level of exports or a labour force in a sensitive political area.
- (iii) to help finance investment in new plant and buildings, and improve productivity in changing technologies and markets.

The challenge to planning method here is first to be sensitive to the changing political and industrial environment, and to show how these kinds of change can be brought together with social and environmental change and their demands for public and private expenditure. Second, there is the challenge to innovate.

15. The Development of Planning Method

The argument in the Workshop moved slowly towards the third question in the preliminary note, paragraph 5: "which of these areas of study and practice are likely to be the most rewarding at the Rotterdam seminar? How can they be tackled? Are there others?" Many of the areas had already been debated but one not mentioned in the note was picked out. It is about the use of creative imagination.

16. Imagination

Too much stress cannot be placed on the importance of imagination. Its use is not merely in the design and shaping of our towns and buildings. It is probably the driving force in all organisations; it is the ground of the intellectual process; and judgement must depend for its quality on the imagination which can be brought to bear on it. Can imagination, and organisational vision, be fostered by training, or are they innate qualities of man? The Workshop had no answer.

17. The Advancing of Theory

The ten areas of study and practice set out in paragraph 5 were all agreed by the Workshop as important. Some, such as the inter-corporate dimension in appreciative systems, conflict management, and the freedom of information flows are touched on in this report. The improvement of methods of strategic choice and forecasting are discussed in supplementary papers to the Seminar. The advancing of a general theory of planning did not get rigorous treatment, and yet the argument as far as it went should be set down here.

18. First, it was agreed that pragmatism is unlikely to produce a "best" action in either the short or the longer term. One example might be the pragmatic regional policy in Britain of the last forty years, and referred to in the summary of the substantive paper of the

West-Midlands.[✱] Although most public decisions are probably taken in a half-light of knowledge and understanding, and they must be taken to respond to the stream of social change and pressure for change, not to get to grips with the underlying issues and study them systematically in indefensible.^{✱✱}

19. Second, systematic study should go along with practice as an essential part of the management processes. The gains would be immeasurable. The quotation for Mao Tse-Tung makes the same point:

"If you want to acquire knowledge you must take part in the practice of changing reality.

If we have a correct theory, but merely talk about it, lay it aside, and fail to put it into practice, then that theory, however good, has no importance.

Knowledge begins with practice, reaches the theoretical level through practice, and then returns to practice."

Mao Tse-Tung.

On Practice, 1937.

This means that the Workshop is asking for a radical change in practice, and a large expansion of "research" in the field. The Workshop was concerned to narrow the gap between theory and practice. In their view "muddling through" has no place in either practice or theory, and "incrementalism" is a dangerous concept because it can have all the Poverty of Historicism.^{✱✱✱}

[✱] (i) Second Report from the Expenditure Committee: Regional Development Incentives. H.M.S.O. December, 1973.

(ii) Regional Development Policy in Britain: Gavin McCrone, Unwin University Book, 1971.

(iii) The Framework of Regional Economies in the United Kingdom: A.J. Brown: Cambridge University Press, 1972.

^{✱✱} A Joint Framework for Social Policies: Report of the Central Policy Review Staff; H.M.S.O., London 1975.

^{✱✱✱} The Poverty of Historicism: Karl R. Popper; Routledge & Kegan, Paul, London 1974.

20. Third, and to focus more sharply on the second conclusion, formulating hypotheses and using systems ideas will assist the "structuring" of problems to be solved, or of the organisations within which strategic choices must be made: diffuse, ill-structural problems can be brought into manageable order in this way without distorting either the problems or the organisation.*

A conceptual framework will be useful, even essential, in bringing many different aspects of problems or potential choices together. One set of aspects will be about uncertainty, both that which must be accepted because it is external to the organisations and the influence of the actors concerned, and that which can be managed or reduced by for example getting more relevant information, or making decisions on the values to be used, or by doing more work in related decision areas.**

21. Much of this work is research. It may also be described as better-informed administration. Advance in the directions suggested by the Workshop will depend upon first, a wider recognition of the political, economic and social advantages of "looking before leaping, and having leaped to see what has been gained, and lost". Second, more, many more people trained to prosecute social science, including political science, are needed to work in partnership with practitioners of all kinds in public and private businesses. The urgent need for advances of this kind is well put by Lord Ashby in his 1975 Fawley Lecture to the University of Southampton.*** Lord Ashby's argument is also applicable to the last question in the preliminary note, paragraph 5: are there questions about the development of democracy, and the rule of law, which should be seen as part of planning method? The Workshop gave an unqualified Yes in answer.

* Towards a Systems-based Methodology for Real-World Problem Solving: P.B. Checkland; University of Lancaster, England.

** Public Planning: The inter-corporate dimension; Friend, Power & Yewlett, Tavistock, 1974.

*** A Second Look at Doom: The Lord Ashby of Brandon, Southampton, 1975.

15. CLOSING SPEECH

by the seminar chairman,
Prof.dr. G. Wissink
University of Nijmegen

Ladies and Gentlemen,

A friend of mine used to write down in a few key words every good joke or good story he heard. I never developed that habit, but during this seminar the one I appreciated most was whether we, as planners, are on top of the metropolitan elephant, trying to steer the colossus in the right direction, or whether we are only hanging at its tail. If the latter would be the right supposition, this seminar might be characterized as a struggle to climb up along the tail while the animal is moving.

Nor were we all too confident. We agreed that the metropolis is very complex and that greater unification and transparency is urgently needed. But we were very doubtful about applying the standards and measures which worked satisfactorily for towns and cities of more conventional configuration. There was considerable uneasiness about the real significance of some fairly sophisticated techniques. Does the politician need them and will he be in a position to wait for their results? And if he is, will our precious understanding make much difference to the multitude of actors and forces outside the control of regional government?

We certainly reached a fair amount of agreement and mutual understanding, but we need not hide that several contradictory assessments and opinions became apparent as well:

- Information as the key to everything, but not too much information and not necessarily too precise, and sometimes for heaven's sake do not give too much information to others.
- Participation, but not on so-called abstract regional issues, and please keep your strategy implicit lest others will prevent you from reaching your goals.
- Simplicity through multi-purpose planning authorities for fairly large metropolitan areas or regions, with the power to implement and control, but, for the sake of involvement, let every social category and local community have their own planners.

- Finally, some said that in order to really reach our goals (by the way: are they ours?) we should be close to the politicians and be tacticians in our own right, but there were others who stressed humility and asked who is to plan the planner.

Some of these differences go back to a different conception of the role of the planner. Our French friends, in particular, seemed inclined to stress political ways and means, which may be related to a national talent and inclination, historically explainable by the 38,000 municipalities they have had for so long a time.

However, some of the seeming incompatibilities might not necessarily be real, at least not if we concentrate on our firm basis of understanding. That is that planners should engage in reasoned thinking about the ways and means of future moves, on the basis of information on current and emerging problems, with the aims of taking away unfavourable circumstances, of providing every individual (in particular the deprived one) with as much freedom of choice as possible, and of providing the maximum opportunity for personal development, all of this without inducing an undesirable long-term future. This, indeed provides firm guidelines for our professional behaviour, if we keep it clearly before us and make it a matter of great personal concern.

As for another seeming incompatibility: we may have been too narrowly obsessed or not humble enough where it concerns the delimitation of metropolitan areas or regions. We have discovered substantial differences in size and character of the area included and then jump to the conclusion that they all need to be large, encompassing the total functional entity at the least. Certainly, we are willing to comprehend and appreciate that there are some justifiable differences as related to the political system of the respective countries, but in general we seem to be of the opinion that planners should have a large say in the debate to set up proper authorities and then of course for the relevant, undoubtedly large territory. But are we certain which planners we mean?

Apart from reasons related to the national political system, politicians may have their own particular motives for maybe a tight way of delineating a metropolitan region, be they for instance intuitive ones of promoting

diversity. But that is exactly the type of issue that should be resolved at the higher, which may be the national level. Sure enough, planners at that level should be heavily involved in these issues. However, we left them out of consideration at the present seminar.

This raises the question of the type of planning - and of co-ordination among departments - at the higher, including the national level. I want to plead for responsible, high-quality national physical planning, which in a permanent vigilance is strongly concerned with healthy planning bodies at the appropriate levels, as part of its task. As I said, we left the subject largely out, although the case of national physical planning in the Netherlands would have provided an excellent illustration.

Neither can we do without the look, including the planners', from below. I have noted a few pleas for not centralizing anything before it has clearly appeared to be a must, and for first studying how far you can get with co-ordination. These pleas have emotional undertones, but the reasons of the heart are important. So we should be careful in our appraisal. Had we solicited the views of national and local planners, we might have had greater conflict. However, as Mr Ogden put it: conflict can be creative.

To arouse some, hopefully creative, conflicts I will now mention one point I feel very strongly about. That is the contention that there be no efforts to involve as large a part of the general public as we possibly can reach. My own contention is that we must double our efforts. If we believe that full information from an early point likely would be abused, we ought to fight the abuse, and the institutional system which makes possible the abuse. Of course there are some limits in some cases, but they are to be established by law. The other way is the easy one at first, but in the end it will do harm to the profession. It is the easy one at first also, because we would not be urged so strongly to do away with our own particular brand of thieves' slang, which in the end will do harm to the profession as well.

A further point is not so much one of contradiction as of articulation. We speak about attending to current and emerging problems and the decisions related to these. I am not sure, however, that we are

sufficiently aware that there are unavoidably related sequences of decisions over time. This focuses our attention on key decisions which greatly affect all kinds of minor decisions, which together for instance may strongly influence the direction of growth. This in turn may induce a further particular key decision. I am of the opinion that development paths through time as related to key decisions should be studied more closely than we have done till now.

However, the purpose should be the same as that for the problem-centered approach in general, that is to close off as little possibilities for the future as possible and to leave the greatest number of potentially desirable options open. And as the report of workshop 4 states it: for the long range there will be only "lighthouses" to chart our course. Perhaps some relationship can be established between the study of key decisions over time and prescriptive models (as a technique and as an instrument of understanding). Finally, dealing with problems and decisions will certainly bring us closer to the trade of the politician, but in our own professional capacity.

It may have occurred to you that I am standing before you as a criticaster. Nothing is less true. I am very much convinced that we learned a great deal from each other's observations and experiences. Part of it is contained in the papers of the workshops, which I will not try to repeat. We surely will learn further by quiet meditation and by re-reading the several substantive papers afterwards. There certainly emerged a solid inner ring of consensus. We undoubtedly have the elephant at its tail and we will early take notice if it takes a different direction. We even know something, although not enough, about how to feed it in order to keep it on or to get it off track. The reports of workshops 2 and 3 even indicate how to breed a slightly more obedient elephant.

The metropolis is complex. We cannot hope to fully grasp its complexity, but we will continue trying. Although we should not plan for simplicity in every conceivable respect (note the plea for diversity), the planner certainly ought to express himself as clearly and simply as possible. Simplicity, however, should not keep us from having, in a somewhat different sense, greater respect for detail again, partly through the mediation of planners at a different than metropolitan level.

The key words for the planner are: concern, wisdom, determination and perseverance. Sheer power does not fit in with these. We should not be so desirous to be politicians as we should be to have politicians (including, the case being, managers of multinationals) and citizens concern about good planning. Then they might eventually help us sharpening and multiplying the instruments and means of planning implementation.

This learning process may require that we know their logic, which to a considerable extent means their justifiable values. This will make us humble, and this again will enhance our respect for minorities and our capacity to unify or integrate several views (or find a just compromise). Then the institutional system related to planning will strengthen itself. In this indirect way we will be actors, (as directly perhaps by monitoring), and this way planning itself will be a force.

V. ANNEXES

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management of technology: a plea for co-operation

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MANAGEMENT OF TECHNOLOGY A PLEA FOR CO-OPERATION

Sir John Chadwick, Milan

January 1976.

Summary

Imminent economic and social change demands international cooperation, which, while it exists in a compartmentalised form, does not at present provide an interchange between governments and industries on an international scale.

The needed interchange could be by means of joint studies of particular problems of a limited kind. The work would be modest in scope and must be done in collaboration with other institutions, world-wide, but could be organised economically.

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In the past two or three years there has been much discussion in all countries and in many organisations of the long-term outlook for the availability of foodstuffs, energy and raw materials during the next twenty to thirty years and of the extent to which the feared shortages of some of these commodities can be overcome by the world-wide application of technology. The discussion has led to a general picture of the future of the world which suggests that in the coming twenty years very large changes will be necessary in the economic, the social and the political structure of the developed countries, probably of the developing countries too, in order to economize in the use of energy and of materials in short supply, and to develop new sources of energy and new kinds of materials. European society needs new technology as a basis for its future survival.

The necessary adaptations can hardly be brought about without international cooperation. But practical problems are often so fraught with political and economic difficulties that it is easier to put off the time of confronting the problems than to deal with the situation which might arise from finding solutions to them. And yet, advanced industrial planning for

the development of new technological resources requires 15 to 20 years for its fulfilment. Since extensive restructuring of the world economy and of its social systems seems inevitable in the next twenty years, the leaders and managers of large industrial firms have a need both for guidance concerning the future prospects for their own particular products or their own lines of research, and also for the opportunity of contributing to international planning their own estimates of future possibilities, technological or commercial; in the fields in which they are active.

Industrialists would be greatly helped in their planning by being able to contribute to a detailed examination of difficult choices both with governments (not exclusively their own) and with other industrialists. Governments, both collectively and severally, would derive benefit in their policy-making from drawing in the experience and knowledge of industrialists, not merely of their own nationality but others too.

In most developed countries, other than Japan, consultation between governments and industries is somewhat at arm's length; and even in that form it tends to be inward-looking, concerned with domestic interests and domestic problems. Internationally, few organisations are engaged in the examination of future prospects, and those that are have little or no impact on industry at large.

There is thus considerable scope for the examination of specific problems which

- (a) are of concern to government agencies as well as to industries
- (b) are transnational
- (c) can be solved by the application of existing knowledge either directly or through new research and development, when such knowledge is widely scattered among government agencies, industrial concerns and academic bodies.

The object is to seek solutions by means of studies in a non-political environment and with the minimum of publicity. What is needed is an "Information Base" for indicating guidelines for the solution of particular problems.

In so large a field as that described above, it is important not to be

over-ambitious. The proposals here put forward are modest and are designed to meet the practical possibilities of starting the action going.

Method of Operation

1. Agreement would be thought among all those interested in this proposal on a specific problem or set of problems to be examined. For illustration only, and not as a specific proposal for action, an example of the sort of problems might be the Interrelationship of Strategic Urban Plans and Industrial and Commercial Planning; or the State of Development of Advance Information Services in Europe as an Aid to Industrial Decision-making.
2. The problem could presumably be broken up into several components or sub-systems. Either the problem as a whole, or each sub-system of it, would be allotted to a task-force, or study group, the members of which would be asked to study the problem in depth over a period of six to nine months, and to produce a report with recommendations as to the possible options for future action.
3. The report or reports of the task forces, when completed, would be discussed in a conference lasting two or three days, at which the numbers attending would be limited to 50 or 60, including specially invited guests. The object of the conference would be to discuss the recommendations of the task forces and agree upon the conclusions to be drawn from the reports. These might often take the form of recommendations for further work, in laboratories, university faculties, or elsewhere.

The advantage of the method proposed are:

- (1) that it is economical;
- (2) that it causes government officials, industrial managers and academics to work together in seeking a common understanding of the problem under examination;
- (3) that its results should be on a technical level and reasonably free from political nationalistic and emotional overtones.

There are other possible methods of carrying out the proposed studies. They vary considerably in financial cost, the most expensive being a think-tank with about 100 professional staff. Another economical method is to appoint three or four sponsored experts to manage the study, and to prepare a series of seminars at which the nature of the problem would be discussed in all its elements.

If finance were forthcoming, it would also be useful to place research contracts with national research institutions (university or other) in order to obtain comparative results in building up the reports to be submitted to the conferences. This method could be used in several different ways.

Conclusion

Considerable interest in these proposals has already been shown by a number of industrial managers and academics. It is hoped that the need for joint problem-solving studies will be generally recognised by European industry, and that many firms and most European governments will be ready to sponsor the participation of members of their staffs in examining the problems of concern to them.