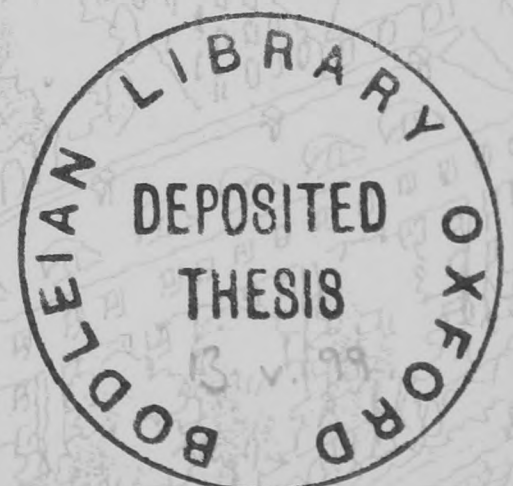

ENVISIONING URBAN VILLAGES

A critique of a movement and
two urban transformations

Michelle Thompson-Fawcett
Worcester College

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
University of Oxford
Michaelmas Term 1998



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Shifts in developmental and environmental imperatives in the late 1980s and early 1990s have prompted concomitant reassessments of urban management practice. In this context, the urban village discourse has emerged as an alternative take on how to create the built landscape. The ideas promoted in the discourse have been quickly adopted into national policy and implemented in urban development projects. However, it is the argument of this thesis that such endorsement of urban village principles has been hasty and uncritical.

Employing the urban village as a material example, this thesis examines the implications of the production of urban form in the communication of meanings and social relations. The approach uses 'landscape' as an organising concept. This approach acknowledges the ideological foundations of urban transformation processes and the role that the built landscape has in signifying societal intentions. What the investigation confirmed was that not only does the urban village discourse have a concern with fashioning physical environments, but it also attempts to procure specific social outcomes through the built form.

Case studies of two urban village landscapes, that are currently under construction, are used to progress this argument. The first is a green field extension to a small county town, the Poundbury project in Dorchester, Dorset. The second is a regeneration scheme in the centre of a major city, the Crown Street project in Glasgow. Through these two urban landscapes it is possible to analyse the divergent application of urban village premises and ideologies amidst competing influences. The projects illustrate the diversity in physical form and economic context that is possible within the urban village discourse. However, their social agendas are closely aligned.

Three principal arguments are made in the thesis. Firstly, that urban village conception and construction of the built environment communicates a specific conservative social order. Secondly, that when embracing new paradigms the planning and development communities need to make themselves aware of the intrinsic implications and complex ideological enterprises associated with them. Finally, that a critical landscape approach is a powerful tool for unveiling the foundations of newly emerging planning visions.

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Chapter 1

ESTABLISHING THE STUDY'S BEARINGS

Urban Villages

A concept for creating mixed-use urban developments on a sustainable scale

(Aldous, 1992: 2)

The launch in earnest of the British Urban Villages Campaign¹ began at Parliament Square, London on the 3rd of June 1992. Stimulated by indefatigable architectural critic HRH the Prince of Wales, it was a campaign born out of disillusionment with conventional development practice:

The need for new buildings is beyond question, but the organisational structures for achieving them - the way in which development is planned, approved and financed - conspire to create attitudes which pay insufficient regard to the need to create 'liveable places', which foster pride of place and encourage community spirit (Aldous, 1992: 11).

Campaign protagonists' 'practical' solution to this problem was the dedicated creation of 'urban villages' within the built environment (Aldous, 1992: 12). The Campaign's internet website neatly summarises the type of alternative called for:

The 'Urban Village' is a form of development characterised by economic, environmental and social sustainability. In particular it should include:

- A variety of uses, such as shopping, leisure and community facilities alongside housing
- A choice of tenures, both residential and commercial
- A density of development which can help encourage the use of non-housing activities
- A strong sense of place, with basic amenities within easy walking distance of all residents
- A high level of involvement by local residents in the planning and onward management of the new development (<http://propertymall.com/uvf/forum.html>)

Throughout the 1990s the Urban Villages Campaign has advanced with astounding momentum. It has built up a large body of discourse, infiltrated national and local planning policy, fostered construction projects, and turned its nomenclature into popular parlance. The investigation that follows critically examines the Campaign, its discourse, and its implications in the creation of urban form.

1. REASONS FOR EXPLORING THE URBAN VILLAGES CAMPAIGN

Current national and international exhortation is compelling those who seek to manage urban areas to reconsider existing settlement patterns. The urban village has emerged as one of many ripostes to the resulting complex deliberations regarding the sufficiency of modernist planning and the gravity of societal sustainability. But when planning the future direction of urbanisation, policy makers are often in a position where it is politically advisable to hurriedly devise or endorse such approaches without the luxury of detailed analysis in respect of their contradictions, externalities and long-term implications. This is an incessant predicament for policy makers: the pressure to implement untested and undeveloped alternative futures over and against the unacceptability of reproducing a flawed but persistent status quo. It is the dilemma I faced while preparing new urban policy for the Manukau municipal authority in New Zealand immediately prior to coming to Oxford.

Recent changes to New Zealand's resource management structure have aroused an increased flurry of urban policy drafting activity. A major reform exercise took place in

relation to all environmental statutes in the late 1980s. The outcome of the reassessment was a total remodelling of the legislation and the appearance of a new amalgamation in the form of a single Act, the Resource Management Act 1991. Amongst other things, the changes to the law were one part of a national agenda for implementing the broader concept of sustainable development. The purpose of the Resource Management Act is now the apex of the planning system. The Act's function is to 'promote' sustainable management, a positive statement requiring action.

The Ministry for the Environment (the Act's administering authority) suggests that sustainable management of urban areas under the Act needs to involve minimising energy demands, especially in relation to travel and heating, minimising pollution, and minimising urban encroachment onto green field sites. Their policy guidance advises the need to contain and intensify the development of existing cities, and make urban living relatively more attractive to people than life in an extensive suburbia or dispersed urban periphery semi-rural blocks (which have been a common feature).

It is in this context that options such as urban villages were suddenly being contemplated for New Zealand (by bureaucrats, developers and politicians) as potentially offering more environmentally sound and efficient urbanisation than the present form of suburban development.

Manukau City, where I was employed as a senior policy analyst, is the fastest growing urban area in New Zealand. The management of urbanisation is a particularly important issue here. In light of the 1991 Resource Management Act, the City and region (Auckland) as a whole is having to reconsider its low density suburban expansion into designated future development zones. Options of containment, consolidation and intensification have all been under consideration. One alternative that has been receiving close attention is the idea of a creating a network of concentrated nodes of development both through intensification of the existing urban area and by medium density

development of the future development zones. Urban village development has been mooted as one means of achieving this.

However, attempting to specify policy for urban form under the umbrella of sustainable resource management has reiterated concerns about how imprecise current knowledge is of the implications of different settlement patterns and the way in which they are effected. Moreover, the concentrated effort on devising technical solutions left no time for looking beyond the physical measures to their wider societal ramifications. The most alarming aspect has been the pressure placed on the bureaucracy to develop pragmatic responses despite the lack of extensive research. Furthermore, in expeditiously preparing my policy responses on the potential application of urban villages, I found that most popular and professional analyses of the British urban village concept concentrated on final outcomes, leaving out important insights to be gained by also examining the context, process and intentions relevant to the implementation of urban villages. Scholarly assessments of the urban village concept were virtually non-existent. Hence, it was this gap that I sought to fill when I elected to undertake the research that is set out below.

Needless to say, the project has changed significantly in approach since the original proposal. It began, somewhat instinctively, as a study of the applicability and implications of the urban village model to urban management aimed at sustainable outcomes. However, as preliminary investigations progressed, that initial quest showed itself to be too naïve. In part this was due to the discovery that the model was much more vague and motivationally complex than anticipated, and less focussed on urban sustainability than was revealed on a first reading. But it was also a response to my moving beyond the comfort of work in planning practice with its enduring search for technical solutions. Rather, I had placed myself purposively in the company of a group of much more critically aware human geographers. This uncovered a range of alternative means by which to approach the study.

2. GEOGRAPHICAL APPROACH

I settled on a geographical approach to the research that was based principally within the realms of 'new' cultural geography. In particular, it applies the concepts of ideology and discourse to a 'humanised' study of landscape transformation. Chapter Two expands on these notions. This approach offered considerable scope for an in-depth critical analysis of urban village rhetoric, processes and manifestations. The overall aim is to amend the popular account given of urban village ideas. The research addresses the process of formation of urban village discourse. It examines the entailments of the discourse and its recent concretisation in the urban landscape. The creation of the urban landscape is viewed in this research as a mediated process which involves power struggles, the deliberate communication of meanings and the reproduction of specific social relations. An attempt is made to explain such processes as they relate to the case of the dissemination and enactment of urban village ideas. Consequently, there are two basic components in the study, a critique of the Urban Villages Movement and its discourse, and an analysis of two urban village manifestations.

2.1 Urban Villages Movement and its discourse

In this component of the study I attempt to understand how the various participants involved in the process of promoting and establishing urban villages view the urban environment and their role in it, and attempt to transform it. This necessarily involves discerning the forces motivating and sanctioning their actions as well as the geographical, historical and social context to which they respond and within which they contend and operate. The objectives in this part are to:

(i) examine the ways in which the contributors are constructing meanings,

- (ii) distinguish the ways in which various contributors differ, and where the discourse is coherent and incoherent,
- (iii) establish how the discourse is used to govern the flow of ideas on urbanisation, and the way in which participants construct arguments to gain support from a diverse range of sources,
- (iv) determine the kind of change promoted via the discourse, how that change is to occur, and its expected outcomes, and
- (v) explore the way in which the urban village project can be seen to provide a discourse not only about the urban landscape but also about society.

2.2 Case Studies

In the case studies, I analyse two specific physical transformations. I have chosen examples from different positions on the urban village spectrum. Both case studies acknowledge the same basic discourse. However, their divergent interpretations of that discourse and their local contexts are leading to very different results on the ground. One is a green field development on the urban periphery of a small town (Poundbury, Dorchester), the other is a redevelopment in an inner city area of a metropolitan centre (Crown Street, Glasgow). By choosing these dissimilar cases I have the opportunity to interpret contrasts in process that occur between the two localities. Hence the characteristics and outcomes of dissimilar realisations of the same discourse can be compared. My objectives in this part of the research are to:

- (i) describe and understand the transformation which is being effected and represented in landscape through the urban village discourse,
- (ii) probe the founding premises of each village and indicate their consequences,

(iii) analyse the motivations and embodiments of the planning precepts - their intentions, internal coherence, the instruments and conditions they entail, and the interpretations and social processes they engage, and

(iv) highlight the uniqueness of each place and the differences in cultural-political process that have produced them, revealing the forces of dominant ideas and prevailing practices, and recognising each village as an urban cultural form that is socially constructed and contingent.

3. ORDER OF PROGRESS

Coming, as I did, to this research directly from ten years in planning policy making was more difficult than I thought. I had a distinct idea of what I wanted to achieve. However, clarifying a critical geographical approach to the task was no mean feat. It is in response to that situation that this thesis commences in Chapter Two by setting out a theoretical and methodological framework for the investigation. Preparing that framework as the first assignment in writing up the thesis has served a practical purpose in focussing what follows. The chapter situates the investigation's conceptual approach within geographical thought. It elaborates on the key constructs utilised and their interconnections. A link is then made between the theoretical position taken and the qualitative methodology used. Techniques employed to gather, corroborate and analyse evidence are also detailed.

The subsequent leap to Chapter Three is a large one. It is here that the empirical evidence makes its first appearance. The origins and intentions of the Urban Villages Movement are examined. Primary players who have guided the Movement's ideas and directions are introduced. This is followed in Chapter Four by a detailed analysis of the Movement's discourse. Urban village principles, classifications and implementation mechanisms are explored, along with their implications. The chapter also reveals the

continuing evolution of the Movement in terms of its structure, funding, functions and premises.

Chapters Five and Six then deliver case studies of urban village landscape construction. The Poundbury and Crown Street projects are probed respectively. Explicit accounts are given of the tenets and processes pursued on each of these sites. In addition the projects are assessed in relation to their aims, implications and significance to the Urban Villages Movement.

The final chapter of the thesis synthesises the findings of Chapters Three to Six by means of the conceptual framework established in Chapter Two. It also reflects on a number of issues raised by the study and opportunities for further research.

In its entirety, this thesis is an attempt to present a comprehensive critical analysis on an issue within contemporary urban practice that I have found to be disturbingly lacking in scholarship. The story I deliver does not provide a categorical determination on urban transformation processes. However, it does introduce a fresh understanding of the part played by the Urban Villages Movement in conceiving and constructing urban form and concurrently communicating and producing specific meanings and relations. Furthermore, the research contributes to and extends the landscape approach within geography, and offers a mechanism for linking this approach with the evaluation of fledgling planning visions.

* The Urban Villages Campaign was initiated by a small assembly known as the Urban Villages Group. This Group subsequently invited a larger membership to join a body known as the Urban Villages Forum. They also formed an Urban Villages Company with the view to building urban villages themselves. Over the years the term Urban Villages Movement has been used to refer to the Campaign, the Group, the Forum and the Company. All five terms will be found in this thesis. The distinctions between the Group, the Forum and the Company are explained in Chapters Three and Four.

Chapter 2

STRATEGIC FRAMEWORK FOR THE RESEARCH

In the chapters that follow I attempt to critically reconstitute the popular story of urban villages in terms of my own interpretation and explanation of landscape reconstruction processes. The sections that follow in the current chapter outline the mechanism I am using to examine this particular body of discourse, which is functioning ideologically to transform society through the landscape, and both represents and progresses contemporary cultural evolution. I begin by introducing the research approach and situating it within geographical study. I explain the weighting that I give to the influence of human agency as compared with structural forces. This is followed by a definition of my adaptation of the notion of 'landscape' to investigating urban transformations. An interpretation is given also of the terms 'discourse' and 'ideology' and the roles they play in this thesis. I then establish the link between urban transformation and revisions of contemporary culture. Having established the theoretical position taken in the thesis, this is then connected with the qualitative research design employed. Finally, I highlight the implications of semi-structured interviewing as the major data source for the research, and outline how the evidence gathered has been corroborated and analysed.

1. INTRODUCTION

The built landscape, and its urban design and architecture, functions as one of many symbolic communication mechanisms in the conscious negotiation of the production and reproduction of social relations. Not only does it have a role in communicating particular relations, the built environment is itself also a product of those relations. It is a basic truism that the 'meanings associated with the built environment are not innate, but rather are authored by certain social groups and interests' (Jacobs, 1994: 229). In Zukin's words 'landscape is always socially constructed: it is built around dominant social institutions ... and ordered by their power' (Zukin, 1992: 224). Understanding the relationship between the ideology and power of such alliances and the built form is thus a crucial part of investigating the social production of the landscape.

The present thesis examines the envisioning of the urban village landscape. Part of the allure of recently formulated urban village landscapes is their dynamism and how they reflect, and attempt to resolve clashes of, competing societal convictions, and indeed demonstrate the mood of the period. In keeping with my interest in negotiations over the re-creation of the built environment, I have not considered the urban village primarily as a material object in this thesis. Rather I have examined the processes via which it is being conceived and produced (through political practice and personal intention) as a physical *and* social entity, and concomitantly the constitutive role this landscape plays in the process of establishing and reproducing social relations (compare with Duncan, 1990: 5). Investigating landscape production in this way is an important step towards establishing some of the key elements in the reproduction and contestation of power (Duncan, 1990).

Revelation of the processes encapsulated in the perpetual transformation of landscape is grounded in this thesis by means of probing the ideology and discourse which has surrounded the urban village campaign, by interrogating the creators of two specific landscapes, and by examining key documents that deal with the ambition and erection of

those landscapes, such as planning proposals, masterplans and building codes. I have chosen to interpret and explain the urban village landscapes in terms of the beliefs and attitudes of the professional and bureaucratic contributors to the discourse and planning process, considering amongst other things the various ways in which their posture has been represented via the landscape. Deriving and developing key concepts from this discourse and case study work will not only assist in the understanding of the particular landscapes concerned, but will open the door to more general theoretical contributions.

The research is distinct from previous work in that it confronts a popular, current urbanisation model and is based largely on interviews with the model's inventors and implementers about their intentions and motivations. Furthermore, the study is not limited to a single locale, but examines the implications of disparate application of the same model. While there have been studies using a similar landscape-discourse approach before, most have been historical in nature. These have largely relied on archives, written texts and high culture as primary sources of information (for example Cosgrove, 1993; Duncan, 1990; Schorske, 1981). Studies of more recent landscapes have chosen a single place, rather than a campaign, as the focus of enquiry. Researchers such as Till (1993) and Kenny (1992) have tended to focus on the competing intentions of multiple developers, planners, bureaucrats and politicians in relation to construction in a particular locality. In fact, most of the work on present day urban developments examines not so much intentions as the marketing and reading of new landscapes. Furthermore, no single promotional campaign generating a significant visionary discourse linked to the production of a cohesive and substantial landscape exists in most of these studies.

The nearest comparable studies to mine are those of Ley (1993), Holston (1989) and Mills (1989 and 1993). The first of these is a research project on an oppositional co-operative housing movement in Vancouver by David Ley (1993). Here Ley presents a critical reading of a postmodern landscape process in an attempt to disclose the duplicitous social relations implicated in urban construction. Ley examines the changes in the modernist city

that stimulated this critical discourse of resistance, and interviews those involved in co-operative housing about the influences on them, and their goals. Ley's study has provided me with significant guidance in terms of deciphering the social relations implicit in landscape processes, discerning the contexts in which landscape forms emerge, and recognising the double-dealing in landscape models.

The second study that takes a similar approach to that I have chosen is an anthropological critical analysis of modernist Brasilia by James Holston (1989). While Holston's ethnographic account is not strictly within the 'landscape' tradition, it analyses the motivations and entailments of Brasilia's founding premises in a fashion that is congruous with that approach. However, his work extends beyond mine in that he comes to the urbanisation project at a much later stage and therefore can take the opportunity to evaluate the way in which the inhabitants of the city foiled its founding premises and reasserted a social order the utopia intended to avoid. Nevertheless, his qualitative investigative procedure, in relation to historical agency and the intentions of architects and levels of government, is particularly relevant to the approach taken in my research.

The third particularly relevant study is one undertaken by Caroline Mills (1989 and 1993). Mills combines the Berkeley tradition of landscape, with a cultural history/literary theory understanding of the politics of landscape. She uses this fusion of approaches in order to examine the meaning of gentrification via a specific case study of an inner city Vancouver neighbourhood. She begins (1989) by providing a critical appraisal of common geographical approaches to the explanation of gentrification. Then she moves beyond the dominant notion at the time of spatial restructuring based on consumption explanations and structural Marxist explanations, and instead argues for a critical cultural geography of urban change. It is this latter approach that has been particularly useful for the present research. Taking a lead from Mills' argument, I apply a critical cultural geography approach to the exploration of urban villages and associated landscape transformations.

By investigating the social relationships implicated in the creation of urban form, my project addresses an acknowledged gap in the research agenda of cultural geography (Ley, 1993). Ley (1993: 129) identifies the need to make apparent and question the social processes present in the construction of landscapes, and to ascertain 'the contingencies of family relations, social structure and political authority'.

In addition, taking contemporary examples based on a specific campaign distinguishes the research from previous work. Hence, the project is enlightening on a theoretical and methodological level because it provides this new entry point into what might be termed a landscape-discourse approach. It is also illuminating at the level of professional practice because it critically assesses a movement in the urban transformation process which has acquired considerable popular momentum in the 1990s. In addition, the study has generated a significant archive of the development process, through the production of taped interviews with participants in that process. This is a source of primary documentation which can be re-examined and re-interpreted in the future as further work is done on the outcomes of urban village construction and people's experience of these places.

2. REHUMANISATION

In keeping with the 'rehumanisation' of urban geography (Sharpe, 1986) over the last decade and a half, the approach I take in this thesis re-emphasises human agency in a field that has previously been strongly influenced by form and structure. The goal is to synthesise the force of structure with the charisma of individual and co-operating agents. My research is situated in particular discourse contexts and localities, dealing with micro-interactions which create specific understandings and practices, and result in various forms of localised social domination. This stands in contrast to more structural figurings which leave 'little room for human agency' (Ley, 1988: 103). It is quite possible to attempt an

explanation of the urban landscape in terms of seemingly irrevocable structural forces. There are undeniable structural and contextual constraints on that landscape and its production and interpretation. But, limiting explanation to structural forces diminishes the role of individuals to latency and incredulity in the light of all-encompassing, impersonal processes. Therefore, I agree with Samuels (1979) that to limit explanation in this way unacceptably relegates culpability and responsibility for landscape transformation to irrelevancies in establishing the meaning of a landscape. It also denies the potential to examine the interrelations between individuals and groups that reveal the networking processes operating in spatial change.

In contrast, my research evolves from Ley's position that

Urban places are not the inevitable outcome of seemingly irreversible and impersonal forces - people remake places in their own image as they are able to in confronting the opportunities and limits of a local environment, an environment which is simultaneously stable and unstable as, for example, economic contexts shift and political priorities evolve (Ley, 1988: 99).

Ley (1974) encourages geographers to investigate beneath physical and societal structures and see the key role that the very nature of people has to play in affecting the condition of the city. He suggests that recognising the character of a city's creators is a promising starting point for urban explanation.

The recent emergence of the urban village discourse within the last decade means that its advocates have had little time to develop and implement their strategy to the point where evaluation of anything other than intentions is possible in terms of physical outcomes on the ground (although their considerable success at a policy level will be examined in Chapter Four). Similarly, given the period of my research, in relation to the construction time-frames of my case study projects, it would be difficult to establish exactly what is signified by the case study landscapes other than at the level of intention. It is too early to seek out the lived experience of the local people who are now starting to inhabit these places. Therefore, I make an effort to highlight the way that landscape transformation can be used by protagonists to serve particular, often covert, personal, group and societal

goals. Stimulated by Knox (1982: 294), in analysing the meaning of the built environment as envisaged I have chosen to confront questions as to who is communicating through this landscape transformation, what is their purpose, who is the audience, and what is the effect. Primarily I approach the task by means of examining the direction of actors' intentionality and their intrinsic interconnections with, and location in, broader structural, historical, cultural, social and interpersonal settings. By concentrating on the conceivers and creators of the new landscapes, the question can then be asked as to what importance these people are placing on this landscape and how their understanding of the landscape contributes to a general conception which transforms and/or naturalises contemporary social relations. What vision of social order are they intending to institute and represent through the visible landscape and its various interpretations? Their aspirations are an important part of the constitution of the changing landscape. They can have lasting impacts on lay and resident cognition of the social world, despite continuing contestation and modification.

As is the case with my informants, these landscape intentions may in fact be directed towards conceptual ideals that cannot actually be brought fully into existence. Projects guided predominantly by ideological forces are often utopian in nature, easily running into a multitude of practical problems. Nevertheless despite any deluded visions, the significance comes from the fact that people continue to act upon their plans and attempt to reconstruct the landscape in their own image, a visible expression of their own values - a 'cultural self-projection', to use Schorske's (1981) terminology. The urban landscape is always in constant flux, its direction open to such persuasion. The dynamics of that process warrant exploration.

This acknowledgement of the importance of creators' accounts is of course made with the proviso that such accounts need to be treated cautiously:

for causes of actions and causes of collectively achieved structural conditions are by no means exhausted by actors' reasons. There will always be unintended and unacknowledged conditions of action (Duncan, 1990: 18).

The developing landscapes at my case study sites will not simply correspond with the intentions of those who have invented the targets and produced the plans of transformation. It is essential not to assume any hegemony of interpretation deriving from the creators' original intent. There is a danger in privileging the landscape 'as designed' to the point where the less powerful visions (for example, on the part of community groups) that were rejected and not built are ignored all together; or where the remoulding of the landscape by people experiencing it is disregarded. Those who live in and view the resultant landscape may be affected differently than anticipated by the designers and builders. Urban blueprints may consequently be shaken by this indeterminate force. Contrasting interpretations and reinventions of the masterplan and broader structural influences will all compete to determine what predominates on the ground at any moment. 'Ultimately the relationship between plan and landscape is an issue of power' (Kenny, 1992: 184). Who's interpretation prevails at any point in time rests with the politics of deciphering the plan and living with the developing landscape. Investigating that evolution will be an important future task, but currently it must lie beyond the remit of this thesis.

3. A LANDSCAPE APPROACH

Recent innovations in landscape studies have a lot to offer in terms of conducting research which is congruous with the rehumanised approach outlined above. The notion of landscape has a long association with geographical enquiry, its complex evolution having had great significance, particularly in European and North American thought. Its import is by no means simply depicted.

In geographical usage landscape is an imprecise and ambiguous concept whose meaning has defied the many attempts to define it it incorporates far more than merely the visual and functional arrangement of natural and human phenomena landscape denotes the external world mediated through subjective human experience in

a way that neither 'region' nor 'area' immediately suggest. Landscape is not merely the world we see, it is a construction, a composition of that world. (Cosgrove, 1984: 13; my quotation marks)

The landscape concept has undergone a recovery and interpretive reorientation in the 1980s and 1990s, merging and evolving antecedent traditions in urban managerialism and cultural landscape. The intellectual agenda of landscape has broadened significantly, from its origins in artefact and pattern observation and morphological description, to incorporate the symbolic, as well as 'material culture, "text", and social process' (Zukin, 1992: 223). These are changes largely brought about under the influence of the disciplines of cultural history and literary theory, and 'grasped through the languages of post-structuralism and postmodernism' (Mills, 1993: 149).

Landscapes are not simply artefacts that reflect culture. Rather, landscapes are 'a *social* product, the consequence of a collective human transformation of nature' (Cosgrove, 1984: 14). They are rife with ideological foundations and influences on social process. As Duncan (1990: 17) argues, landscape is a central element in culture. It acts 'as a signifying system through which a social order is communicated, reproduced, experienced, and explored' (Williams, 1981: 13). It is inherently 'structured and structuring' (to use Duncan's terminology), a 'medium and outcome of cultural processes' (Cosgrove, 1993: 5). Landscape 'reveals a human drama of ideas and ideologies, interest groups and power blocs nested within particular social and economic contexts' (Ley, 1987: 41). Daniels (1989: 206) calls for an exploration of the duplicitous, oppositional meanings of landscape inherent in the tension between illusory élitist notions of landscape and the vernacular lived landscape. The visual representation of landscape can easily deceive and depoliticise by veiling the struggles and experiences which actually take place related to it. Landscapes operate as instruments for both hegemony and resistance. Their representation and material shape require attention in order to gain an understanding of 'relationships between mind, society, and environment in concrete studies of real places' (Walton, 1995: 65). This implies 'figuring out how landscapes work, as both physical "thing" and as representation'

(Mitchell, 1996: 96); and 'understanding how landscapes are constitutive of social relations' (Walton, 1996: 100).

Using landscape as an organising concept is plausible for my study by virtue of the fact that urban village discourse and landscapes inherently relate to specific urban units and holistic thematic landscapes, as opposed to ad hoc and unrelated urban developments. This provides a meaningful domain and context for landscape study. It is also a particularly useful way to examine urban villages at this time. None of the urban villages establishing in Britain have yet completed the processes of gaining final planning permissions. Each is being established in stages over one or more decades, and none had reached their target construction 'end' dates by the time I completed my field research. Therefore, it is too early to analyse their outcomes meaningfully. Rather, it is timely to interpret and explain the foundations that are stimulating them as mechanisms for change in urbanisation. Urban villages can be viewed as landscapes that elucidate and advance certain current social and political goals. The complexity of the associated urbanisation process should not be underestimated. 'Landscapes never have a single meaning', rather an unstable plurality of meanings, and their production and interpretation cannot be innocent (Duncan, 1990: 182). Landscape transformation entails duplicitous processes, 'high tension', and continual power contestation. These landscape dynamics deserve illumination, not in a merely descriptive sense, but in terms of the history and practice of landscape construction. They communicate significant information on transformation processes and the impact of various actors and alliances. The multiplicity of agendas associated with urban village creation along with the resultant landscape's local pervasiveness, make this particular urbanisation process very attractive for analysis. The approach taken in the present research thus attempts to combine an analysis of the fine texture of the material landscape with the broader processes of social production.

4. THE NOTIONS OF DISCOURSE, IDEOLOGY AND CULTURE

The manner in which I have employed the landscape approach necessitates the clarification of three concepts that are pivotal to the research. These are the closely related notions of discourse, ideology and culture. A brief explanation of the way in which I have chosen to interpret each is given in the following three sub-sections.

4.1 Discourse

The idea that there is a single 'normal' language, a common currency shared equally by all members of society, is an illusion. Any actual language consists of a highly complex range of discourses, differentiated according to class, region, gender, status and so on, which can by no means be neatly unified into a single homogeneous linguistic community (Eagleton, 1983: 5).

Understanding the process of production, intent, and influence of ideological discourses is critical to this study. Landscape transformation processes are highlighted in the thesis through the discourse of the Urban Villages Campaign. Such a discourse is not an autonomous element of intrinsic interest. Rather it is socially constructed and integrally related to multifarious contexts and structures. It is 'constitutive of, as well as constituted by, social and political relationships' (Duncan, 1990: 155). Consequently, the importance of any discourse is not so much the 'entity' itself, but the social relations of power that it expresses and encourages.

Duncan (1990: 16) defines discourses as:

the social framework of intelligibility within which all practices are communicated, negotiated, or challenged. These discourses are both enabling resources as well as constraints or limits within which certain ways of thinking and acting seem natural and beyond which most who have learned to think within the discourse can not easily stray.

Barnes and Duncan (1992: 8) similarly define discourses as 'frameworks that embrace particular combinations of narratives, concepts, ideologies and signifying practices, each

relevant to a particular realm of social action'. Furthermore, they 'are not unified, but are subject to negotiation, challenge and transformation'.

Some commentators such as Michel Foucault (1967) and Louis Althusser (1971) see discourses as being significantly deterministic. Individuals are the product of discourse and any semblance of an ability to act as unfettered agents is illusory. Structural forces and social conditions diminish individual agency to something that is inconsequential. Bourdieu's (1977: 72) notion of habitus ('systems of durable, transposable dispositions') similarly diminishes the potential for individuals to give meaning to their practices by projection of their intentions:

Even when they appear as the realization of the explicit, and explicitly stated, purposes of a project or plan, the practices produced by the habitus, as the strategy-generating principle enabling agents to cope with unforeseen and ever-changing situations, are only apparently determined by the future. If they seem determined by anticipation of their own consequences, thereby encouraging the finalist illusion, the fact is that, always tending to reproduce the objective structures of which they are the product, they are determined by the past conditions which have produced the principle of their production, that is, by the actual outcome of identical or interchangeable past practices, which coincides with their own outcome to the extent (*and only to the extent*) that the objective structures of which they are the product are prolonged in the structure within which they function....

(I)† is yesterday's man who inevitably predominates in us, since the present amounts to little compared with the long past in the course of which we were formed and from which we result. Yet we do not sense this man of the past, because he is inveterate in us; he makes up the unconscious part of ourselves. Consequently we are led to take no account of him (Bourdieu, 1977: 72-3, 79).

In my own research, while recognising that an individual's reasons or intentions alone cannot account for the courses of action they take, I have chosen to take a less structural approach, in keeping with the reasoning of Duncan (1990) and Harré and Gillett (1994). That is, I insert agency back into discursive theory, acknowledging the productive role of an individual's conscious activity and their need to be included in explanation as a situated agent, 'a participant in and not merely an object of social causation' (Harré and Gillett, 1994: 118). While the way we conceptualise and act is integrally linked to the discourses within which we operate, it is inevitable that we take particular positions within discourses and fashion them for our own purposes, whether intentionally or not (Harré and Gillett, 1994: 25).

People are constantly operating in the midst of evaluative and interpersonal influences that shape and direct their activity. People are also agents who have their own construals and expressive acts to produce from the contexts in which they are embedded (Harré and Gillett, 1994: 26).

The training that inculcates ways of signifying (within a discourse) constrains the reasons we can adopt for acting thus and so and disposes us to judge according to certain evaluative norms. But this process is as much facilitatory and empowering as conforming and restrictive (Harré and Gillett, 1994: 115).

Any discourse, through its language (and the same word can have dissimilar meanings within different discourses) and narrative structure, inevitably reveals concomitant ideologies and power relations. These may be hegemonic or contestatory (disputing contemporary practice) in nature. Hence, a discourse is more than simply an 'objective reporting of an uncontested reality'. It 'functions ideologically to shape our attention', provide reasons for action, and convey a comprehensible story (Beauregard, 1993: xi). In Beauregard's (1993: 5) analysis the meaning of a particular discourse is revealed 'in the ways that it conveys practical advice' as to how to respond in a given situation, mediating between the choices available, collective values, and ability to act. One objective of my study has been to reveal the ways in which the urban village discourse 'prescribes actions, legitimates conditions, and reconciles responsibilities' in the complicated process of urbanisation (Beauregard, 1993: 9). Our understandings of urban management options pivot around the way in which such discourses are constituted and admitted.

Yet, despite certain responses being favoured by a discourse, the choices available within it vary and conflict. They are not necessarily tightly constricted. Discourses may be 'fragmented and equivocal', 'a collection of unstable and contentious interpretations' (Beauregard, 1993: 6). Individuals operating within a discourse will each have different discursive contexts, hence each may bring alternative ways of conceptualising and responding to events (from fractional disjunction to extreme contradiction), further muddling the discourse they have in common. In addition, it can be difficult to draw boundaries between what is and what is not part of a discourse. Narrow definitions of a discourse like the urban village discourse, would limit the links made with closely connected and relevant issues, and diminish ability to understand the meaning of the discourse. For

example, the notion of an urban village is itself very polysemic, its surrounding discourse is thus inevitably so.

As previously indicated, the manner in which landscape can be used as a communicative tool in order to yield a specific social order is a primary matter of concern to me. This communication can take place through the influence of the visible form of the landscape, as well as via the metaphors embedded in the landscape which proclaim the mission of the discourse which is transforming the place. The urban village discourse, through its relatively high profile portrayal of contemporary urbanisation, can be seen as a mechanism for communicating ostensibly reasonable information on how and where to urbanise. Whether approached via visible structures or through texts and discourses, urban village landscapes deliver a particular representation of a utopian vision. The Urban Villages Campaign, in its discourse fabrication and acceptance, forms a type of 'interpretive community' (to use Duncan and Duncan's terminology, 1988: 122) with a common understanding of what the urban landscape should be. But more than this, as is indicated in later chapters, many Campaign members actually have a significant stake in the discourse. As Beauregard found in his study of urban decline, 'to the extent that powerful groups and organizations can shape the discourse to support their interests, they improve their prospects and retain their dominance' (1993: 26).

The Urban Villages Campaign has been attempting to fix the language and meanings of the broader discursive field (the range of discourses relevant to the urban management arena) within which they operate. That is, it has been seeking to widely establish its ideology, and correlative utopia, thereby advancing its preferred social order. The Campaign, by setting out and consciously representing its ideology within text, plans and tangible urban design, can manipulate the representation of urbanisation issues and even universalise meaning for others. This control is closely linked to notions of social power which can be institutionalised in such codes as village masterplans and community management systems. The protagonists attempt to produce a hegemonic treatise, albeit

resisted or only selectively sanctioned. Such treatises are not ingenuous. There is always an agenda associated with them, often linked to the material interests of those involved. They hide important silences and absences within their illusory unity. The value of an examination of these texts, plans and thoughts therefore, is that it can clarify the shrouded elements of the guiding ideology for the landscape and even expose misinterpreted relations that have been naïvely or deceitfully designated as natural. Within a specific urban village, the village creators themselves will have a certain control, at least initially, over the media which represent the resultant landscape. This incipient control may 'determine the limits of meaning' for those inhabiting this landscape for a long time to come, helping to 'shape feelings, ideas and values' (Cosgrove, 1993: 7, 8). Accordingly, discourses are a key instrument in the development, transmission and maintenance of 'knowledge', regardless of the validity of that knowledge. The different meanings contained in a discourse provide alternative understandings, which, although not necessarily equal in merit, are important in terms of comprehending how meanings are constructed, change and influence societal processes. More important than its truthfulness is its impact and influence. More important than elaborating on the content and function of the discourse is addressing the meaning of the discourse beyond that which is self-evident. In particular, this involves establishing the foundational context and ideological core of the discourse, along with its oblique implications, even hidden agenda.

4.2 Ideology

Excavation of the ideology underlying the urban village discourse is one of the major tasks of this thesis. But, ideology can be understood in a number of different ways. The way that I have chosen to employ it largely corresponds to Thompson's (1984) preferred usage. In Thompson's assessment, ideology is best characterised as a signification system

facilitating the realisation of distinct interests while also supporting particular power relations.

Eagleton (1994: 15) describes theories of ideology as, amongst other things:

attempts to explain why it is that men and women come to hold certain views; and to this extent they examine the relation between thought and social reality. However that relation is conceived ... these theories assume that there are specific historical reasons why people come to feel, reason, desire and imagine as they do.

Some people have considered that all of our thought and perception is in fact ideological. But this is surely to widen the term to the point of uselessness.... if ideology just means something like "a specific way of seeing", or even "a set of doctrinal beliefs" then it rapidly dwindles in interest.... Ideology, in short, is a matter of discourse - of practical communication between historically situated subjects - rather than just of language (of the kinds of propositions we utter). (Eagleton, 1994: 11)

Using notions borrowed from Eagleton's work on literary theory, the landscape can be seen as not an 'expression' of ideology, but a particular 'production' of ideology transformed into a unique entity (1978: 64). Through utopian vision and discourse, protagonists can propel ideology into a new social and physical reality. The structural force of an ideological discourse provides a means for change. Of course ideology is only one of many elements (such as finance, resources, other structural systems) which shape the landscape. Sometimes it may be of limited importance within a particular transformation. On the other hand, there can be 'profound ideological implications' associated with apparently innocent landscapes (Duncan and Duncan, 1992: 18). The significance of ideology in geographic processes should not be underestimated. Landscape is one means of bringing ideology alive, mobilising it in a specific way. But landscape is not the ideology 'in action' or enacted. The transformation of ideological resources into a specific landscape cannot be routinely inferred by examining the ideology itself. This is an important distinction in the case of my research where two divergent case study landscapes revive, expand, elaborate and reproduce the same ideology in very different ways.

Baker (1992: 4-6) suggests that three characteristics of ideology are especially relevant to the creation and interpretation of landscape. Firstly, ideologies are closely connected to the search for ordered, unambiguous plans for the world that provide a comforting assurance for society. Such plans are commonly translated into utopian visions and discourses. Secondly, ideologies are also connected to assertions of authority,

involving power struggles between competing groups. And finally, ideologies are complete and holistic in character with a globalising function that seeks 'total transformation' via a realisation of the ideal. The hegemony of the ideology may be achieved via either conquest or withdrawal in terms of the reorganising of a landscape, and in both cases a 'realignment of authority' is communicated.

Of particular significance is the manner in which ideologies communicated through landscape, upholding values about how society should be arranged, can reproduce new and distinct 'social and political practices' (Duncan, 1990: 18). Ideologies are activated in specific ways within the landscape and they tend to be reinforced by figurings of that landscape. Therefore, once established, a landscape can in fact manipulate rhetoric and practice.

Ideology is fundamental to the processes of appropriation and reproduction of space in that, amongst other things, it seeks to establish, legitimate and sustain hegemony. Illumination of this process is a primary task of a landscape approach. My thesis attempts to expose the ideological nature of landscape transformation. Probing the multifarious intentions of the key contemporary figures (and the Urban Villages Campaign in general) to discover the meanings they ascribe to their urban transformations, can be achieved chiefly by engaging directly with them in their context and by reviewing what others say about them.

The paradigms and transformations that such agents and groups have a role in communicating are in part an expression of their own individual ideologies, and in part also result from a fusion with, and reworking of, the general ideology and discourses within which they are operating. However,

trying to detect an ideology behind a planned landscape is a difficult venture ... as ideology is not always the obvious or dominant initiative in a particular planning process; although it often will provide the underlying structure (Denecke, 1992: 303).

This is related to the fact that one of the functions of ideology is 'reductive normalizing' (Pratt, 1986: 140), that is:

the attempt to make both subjects and objects appear as fixed, codified, reified, to make what is patently cultural appear as if it were natural.... By becoming part of the everyday, the taken-for-granted, the objective, and the natural, the landscape masks the artifice and ideological nature of its form and content. Its history as a social construction is unexamined (Duncan, 1990: 19).

Similarly, Eagleton suggests that:

it is one of the functions of ideology to "naturalize" social reality, to make it seem as innocent and unchangeable as Nature itself. Ideology seeks to convert culture into Nature, and the "natural" sign is one of its weapons.... Ideology, in this sense, is a kind of contemporary mythology, a realm which has purged itself of ambiguity and alternative possibility (1983: 135).

Mills (1993: 168) found that '(c)onservative, radical and liberal projects all invoke an "authentic" organization of space to naturalize a mythical version of the way the world works'. My study seeks to reinsert the ideological dimension and thereby redress such 'cultural amnesia' about how and why particular landscapes have been produced. It is the visible landscape that has been the mainstay of much cultural geography in the past. In the last decade, however, a new emphasis has been placed on also examining other mechanisms for understanding landscape, such as representations in art, literature, bureaucratic documentation, cartography and discourse. Hence my research also examines the metaphorical aspects of the landscape, those 'signs, symbols, icons, and specialized tropes' (Duncan, 1990: 20) used by people to relay priorities about personal and societal orders. In my case studies, these tropes are primarily taken from pre-twentieth century romanticism. Such nostalgia can be derived, or even invented, from selective memories of the past (which portray an historical harmony and diminish past complexities), and may be used for many different social purposes. In my critical analysis of the urban village discourse and its manifestations I attempt to denaturalise its existence and landscape outcomes, and unveil the rational forces and social interchange which created particular landscapes and which the discourse bolsters yet generally keeps concealed. Discourses are attached to particular ideologies, and more fundamentally, particular ontologies which their perpetrators attempt to naturalise, in an effort to demonstrate that the process and outcome is simply the way the world is. It is all too easy for the history (in

terms of contestation as opposed to a sequence of events) of the creation of such landscapes to be subsumed by their subsequent consumption (Zukin, 1992: 225), for landscape form to mystify landscape process. I seek to reconstruct that process.

4.3 Culture

The research presented in this thesis also uses the transformation of landscape and its relation to the ideology of the discourse of urban village planning and design as a mode of entry into contemporary cultural evolution, cultural evolution effected and represented through landscape. Obviously I am only considering one very specific branch of planning and design, which in many respects is not representative of contemporary general discourse in these disciplines. However, it is a planning and design paradigm that has gained some popularity in Europe and North America in the last decade. That accepted, and taking a lead from Duncan and Ley (1993), in my analysis of urban village discourse and specific landscapes I prioritise planning and design themes within culture as devices for revealing intention and significance in societal development.

Defining culture is a difficult matter, as Williams acknowledges in his description of it as 'one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language' (1988: 87). Cosgrove suggests that to attempt to define culture precisely would actually be a reductionist denial of its 'essential subjectivity' (1983: 1). In generalised terms, culture might be summarised as a concept involving all those 'conscious and unconscious processes whereby people dwell in nature, give meaning to their lives and communicate that meaning to themselves, each other and to outsiders' (Cosgrove, 1993: 6). Duncan and Duncan (1984: 257) describe culture as 'a complex but amorphous web of ideas and practices that forms the context of social action'. 'There is some agreement that culture refers to the "ways of life" and the "systems of meaning" established by groups of people who form communicating networks, or did so at one time' (Agnew et al, 1984: 1). 'Culture ...

need not be thought of as superorganic or mental in origin and continuation, but as practically rooted in material social life' (Agnew et al, 1984: 6). Williams (1982: 12-13) further emphasises that cultural practice and production are 'major elements' (amongst others) in communicating, constituting and reproducing a social order. An important factor in understanding these elements is the recognition that they are continuously contested and redefined. 'While a hegemonic culture is always dominant by definition, it is rarely totally dominant or exclusive There can be alternative or directly opposing cultures within a society at any time' (Agnew et al, 1984: 7). The urban village movement is both a product of current cultural trends in planning and design (and other domains) and also an attempt to shift culture in a slightly different direction. It aims to reorient hegemonic culture so far as it relates to human settlement and social order.

5. THE QUALITATIVE RESEARCH DESIGN

There is a need to make a connection between the above positions that I take in relation to theory and my use of methodology. Douglas (1985) posits that there are two broad and competing perspectives of primary significance to social scientists embarking on field research. One could be called absolutist 'rationalism-scientism' where research fundamentally seeks the ideal of an absolute, predictable reality with actual social facts. Questionnaire surveys and structured interviews can draw their roots from within this perspective with assumptions of replicability and objectivity. The second perspective, which clearly sits more easily with the theoretical line I have adopted, 'assumes that all of human life is partially, necessarily situated.... (where) effective decisions and actions must always take into consideration the concrete situation that emerges at a given time' (1985: 17). Briggs (1986: 112) considers that a shift has been occurring in favour of the latter of these two perspectives:

Scholars from diverse disciplinary and theoretical perspectives have moved away from an emphasis on static structure and codes as abstracted from human conduct.

Research has focused increasingly on the way codes relate to messages, or structure to action, and the manner in which the system is transformed through use.

The practical conduct of a research project into urban village landscape processes, prioritising a rehumanised approach to ideological discourse, requires an interpretative methodology which is 'simultaneously able to pick up the nuances of landscapes and their creators, while not overlooking the broader contexts which structure local life chances' (Ley, 1988: 100). Ley suggests that there is merit in using qualitative interpretation based on local ethnography methods such as 'individual case histories, field observations, the interpretation of letters and other documentary sources, unstructured interviews, and participant observation' (1988: 100). This is a purposive approach based on theoretical (as opposed to statistical) representation. Such exploration highlights the unceasing processes of negotiation operating in urban transformation. Taking a lead from this in my study, an examination of the landscape via written documents, visual images and direct interaction with the creators (that is a range of "texts") has allowed me to disclose some of the meanings that these agents attach to the landscape and 'to relate those meanings to other aspects and conditions of human existence' (Cosgrove and Jackson, 1987: 96).

The research employed a qualitative methodology adapted to the urban village context and based on three main sources of information which each emphasise different dimensions of the research problem:

- (i) written sources such as promotional, policy, proposal, procedural, and decision making documentation on the Urban Villages Campaign and the situations in each of the case study areas,
- (ii) observation and participant observation of some of the lead actors through their involvement in the meetings of the Urban Villages Campaign (see Appendix A),
- (iii) fifty interviews with key informants within the Campaign and within the case study areas (see Appendix B). These interviews are the most significant data source for the research. They allow the positions of the key actors to be identified and their interaction with others

involved in the process to be traced. They also enable a reconstruction (cross-checked via other interviews and documentation) of the processes involved in urban village promotion and creation.

6. SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWING

Semi-structured interviewing provided a major source of evidence for this research project. It is a qualitative method using an unstandardised format of open-ended questions. Unlike the fixed questionnaire survey, this method does not enable formal hypothesis testing or statistical manipulation and generalisation (Schoenberger, 1991). However, it can assist the formation of hypotheses relating to various actions, events and processes. It also permits the presentation of analytical generalisations which are relevant to theoretical propositions (Yin, 1989). This is an approach based on intentional explanation. That is, rather than saying beliefs and desires cause action, this approach asserts that beliefs and desires explain actions by giving them meaning. The key is the intelligibility the beliefs and desires render in relation to acts of voluntary behaviour. One advantage of using this qualitative methodology is that it encourages an intimate knowledge of the data which is invaluable for 'developing the analytical, conceptual, and categorical components of explanation from the data itself'.

In the semi-structured interviews for this project, I used interview question guides (Appendix C) to serve as a reminder of the principal themes to be addressed in each interview. These were employed simply as prompts, without a fixed wording or ordering of questions. The question guide itself was continually revised, especially early on in the research, as informants revealed new information of particular interest. Working on this flexible basis allowed the person being interviewed to be expansive and voluntarily introduce new information. One of the advantages of the semi-structured style of interview is that the participants have the opportunity to negotiate the meaning of what is being

said, and hence reduce potential misunderstandings. Interviews inevitably involve the extraction of information outside of the context in which it would naturally be conveyed. Therefore careful attention has been paid to ensure that the research would not simply 'reinforce our preconceptions rather than ... draw on our consultant's understandings in broadening our horizons and deepening our comprehension' (Briggs, 1986: 119). That understood, the semi-structured interview is particularly useful for questioning professionals, business people and community representatives in order to discover their involvement in and interpretations of particular processes. Although the approach reduces comparability of results it does permit development of the respondent's perceptions and explanations. This allows access to the 'motives, meanings, actions and reactions' (Minichiello et al, 1990: 6) of these people in their own contexts. Here the interview is of prime assistance. Robson and Foster describe the intensive interview with individuals as 'the unique technique of the motivational researcher, for if it is used correctly, it is the deep digging tool' (1989: 57). It enables the researcher to consider what the essential ingredients are that stimulate actors into social action, and in particular, how culture mediates that action (McCracken, 1988). Schoenberger suggests that 'the richness of detail and historical complexity that can be derived from a qualitative interview-based approach allows one to reconstruct a coherent representation of how and why particular phenomena came to be' (1991: 188). Even so, it is important not to merely provide a complicitous description from the informant's representations. Their thoughts as given in interviews cannot be treated as the reasons or motives that are the determining cause of the practices that they have been involved in (Bourdieu, 1977). The meaning behind the existence of the Urban Villages Movement lies beyond the conscious intentions of its creators. That understood, the value of the semi-structured interview for the present research is that it has been a primary mechanism for directly obtaining, in a flexible and comprehensive manner, information on the changing and conflicting opinions, rationales, interpretations and contexts that underlie complex and incessant processes, particularly when supplemented by concurrent use of documentary evidence. It has also provided the means for the mapping of networks of relationships

between the various actors and organisations, indicating the intricacies of the strategies and contingencies involved, and the magnitude of divergent interpretations of situations and processes. Furthermore, this technique has enabled me to understand a broad range of people and contexts in a short period. This is an important element in the current research project because the informants being interviewed are from disparate locations, organisations and disciplines, yet all have strong links with the urban village concept, albeit for quite different purposes. A further reason for choosing a qualitative interview method is that it grants 'access to, and an understanding of, activities and events which cannot be observed directly' (Minichiello et al, 1990: 96). This has been a relevant factor, given that much of the present research relied on analysing recent processes and activities which occurred just prior to the commencement of my investigation.

Selection of candidates to be interviewed for the research was not based on a notion of statistically representative sampling. Rather candidates who had specific roles in the emergence of urban villages were chosen on the basis of my prior knowledge of the Campaign and case study situations. For example, from the Urban Villages Campaign, active members who were working party chairpersons, regional chairpersons, or instrumental in writing Campaign texts, or developing urban village models, were selected. In the case study areas, project managers, masterplanners, architects, planners, developers, bureaucrats, housing providers and community workers in the process were selected. However, the procedure did not always go as smoothly as planned. One person I wanted to interview was Kevin Knox from the Duchy of Cornwall. Knox not only had a knowledge of the Poundbury project, but was also the Duchy representative on the Urban Villages Group, a cynical representative. However, when I tried to establish a meeting date with him, I was informed by his secretary that his boss, Jimmy James, the chief executive of the Duchy of Cornwall, preferred that I see him instead of Knox. While this allowed extra insights into the Duchy's project at Poundbury, it meant that I was unable to gain much information on the

Duchy's interaction with the Urban Villages Group. Similarly, when I attempted to see David Lunts once he became executive officer of the Urban Villages Group I was re-directed to his second in command, Gail Hallyburton, instead. Given that Hallyburton had been the acting chief for the last eighteen months, this was not too much of a disadvantage. In other cases I simply was unable to see relevant people at all. John Greenslade, chief planning officer from West Dorset District Council sent me a great deal of Council documentation, but persistently refused my requests for a meeting. Then, as might be expected, my attempts to make any contact, even just of a written nature, with HRH the Prince of Wales, about his role in establishing the Urban Villages Group and the Poundbury project, were met with a stony silence.

Prior to meeting, each of the interview candidates was sent a letter outlining my purpose in seeing them. In these letters, and in subsequent telephone conversations to arrange appointments, I indicated that I wanted to discuss the interviewee's involvement in the process of establishing urban villages. In order to give myself some practical professional credibility with the informants, I stated that I had worked for ten years in the field of urban policy preparation in local government. All were made aware that I was well versed in the existing urban village situation and that I therefore wanted expansion on, rather than repetition of, relevant hard copy documentation, and elaboration on their motivations and support for their interpretations. I also indicated that my reason for undertaking the research was to fulfil an obligation to the New Zealand Planning Institute to examine the applicability of urban village development to the New Zealand context. While I am obliged to the Planning Institute to a degree, this is not my main motivation. However, I considered it a useful stance to emphasise because it suggested that as well as being a researcher I was also a participant in urban transformation myself. Such an assertion implied a non-threatening, if not favourable, position on my part and engendered a considerable degree of trust on the part of the informants towards me. This approach is particularly useful to reduce any intimidation from questions about perceived failures of the Campaign or

developments. There is an implication that I ask only to learn their opinion as to a more effective way to achieve their own goals, not to criticise what they may consider to be sensitive inadequacies. Because of this, most interviewees warmly welcomed my interest. However, if they had thought the result of my research would be a reproachful treatise I suspect some would not have spoken to me. Hence, the ethics of my approach might be called into question. But when I first commenced the research I genuinely had minimal captious intent. To a degree then, both the informants and I agreed that there was a story worth telling, however, ultimately we would not wholly 'agree what that story (was) or how or why it should be told' (Pile, 1991: 464).

Any assessment of the interview data needs to consider issues of power within the interview interaction and the communication norms of the participants. Kress and Fowler (1979: 63) suggest 'that communicative relationships are generally asymmetrical, in the sense that one participant has more authority than the other(s)'. A risk associated with the interviews conducted in the present research study was that the majority involved meeting with corporate executives and professionals. Thus while I had some control over the mechanics of the interview, such as the nature of the questions and topics covered, interview aims were compromised on occasion by the more powerful position of the person being interviewed. For example, when I arrived at my interview with the Chairman of the Urban Villages Group, the informant literally plucked the question guide from my hands. He then proceeded to work his way through the list at pace, allowing minimal interjection from me. He focussed on providing brief answers to the topics listed, rather than elaborating more fully on topics that were of priority to him. Hence I did not achieve as clear an indication of his priorities as I would have liked.

Furthermore, by interviewing the business and professional informants in their own offices, it allowed them to manipulate the setting to corroborate the face they chose to adopt in this instance, giving them a certain territorial advantage. Hence, while I may have oriented questions with a particular purpose in mind, the respondent's reply was sometimes

based on a completely different motivation, that is, we talked past each other. Interviewer and respondent goals for such interaction are quite likely to be dissimilar. For example, while the goal in this research project was to discover the respondent's ideological stance and motivation for involvement in urban villages, the respondent's goal in a handful of cases was more oriented to trying to make links to New Zealand with a view to potentially winning contracts there for urban village construction (a goal plainly encouraged by my stated purpose in being there). Such duplicity in communication is to be expected and account needs to be taken of it, as Briggs (1986: 103) advises:

The unifunctional utterance, one that accomplishes only one communicative function, is rare, at least in conversation. Statements nearly always relate to two or more features of the communicative situation, such as distinct interactional goals, at the same time. If one considers each "answer" only in the context of the preceding question, then a great deal of meaning will be lost.

Obtaining genuine personal disclosures from the consultant on the topic at hand is an essential assignment of the semi-structured interview. However this is a complex matter given the typical interview interaction. The question necessarily arises as to whether the interviewees really told me who they are and what motivates their acts, or did they try to construct a 'self' to meet the interview situation? The reasons given by an actor for their actions are not necessarily the only possible ones. What the informants offer may be more justifications for the researcher's ears than reasons. Hence, asking questions of someone, or reading what they write, may not be a sufficient way of discovering their intent. Therefore, it is important to be aware of the mobile social frameworks within which the interviewee is living. In addition, it is necessary to know as much as possible of their social conditioning. There are constraints they operate within that may not be apparent to them. An intimate knowledge of the informant is therefore a critical guide for the purposes of interpretation. The aim of an interview is necessarily to draw out information in a short space of time that might otherwise only be available to those who have known and observed the consultant for a very long period. The lack of long-term observation means there is less opportunity to gain a deep understanding of the consultant's outlook and thus place the responses in the

broader context external to the interview. The task is not easy given that 'human reality is generally complex and often protected by layer upon layer of presentational "front-work" (Douglas, 1985: 150). In addition, because of the dynamics of the interview interaction it is easy to artificially induce and intensify certain opinions. This may result in statements that are clearly a product of the interview situation rather than a legitimate representation of the informant's motivations and experiences. Therefore, during the course of the interviews, it was important to win the respondent's confidence by assuming a supportive and non-argumentative posture in order to encourage genuine self-disclosure. In addition, some remarks needed to be challenged as a result of them being bent to suit the particular face being presented, especially where they appeared inconsistent with earlier statements, previous interviews, or written documents. Nevertheless, it is

difficult for in-depth interviewers to know the difference between exaggeration and distortion purposefully employed, and authentic perspectives which are inevitably biased and subjective the qualitative researcher is not primarily geared to finding out the truth per se but rather the truth as the informant sees it to be (Minichiello et al, 1990: 128).

Informants inevitably select what seems significant in their mind to report within the context of the interview. However, this does not necessarily mean that responses offered in interviews can be judged as biased or inaccurate. Rather, they commonly 'display cultural realities which are neither biased nor accurate but real' (Silverman, 1985: 176). It is even quite normal for people to 'hold logically contradictory views simultaneously and ... these form a valid part of the account' (Minichiello et al, 1990: 129).

Clearly then, it is important to understand that 'all language ... is relational' (Kress and Fowler, 1979: 63). It cannot be assumed 'that the accounts given are simply answers to questions; they are the joint product of the questions as perceived by informants and the social situational circumstances within which the questions were put to them' (Brenner, 1985: 151). Therefore, responses should not be taken literally. To address this problem, I examined the content of the interviews for overt influences on my part and for misunderstandings and

alternative motivations on the part of the consultant. I also compared the informant's responses with interview data from other respondents and with written documentation.

In terms of the practical conduct of interviews, I followed Mostyn's (1985: 135) counsel to 'make certain that the open-ended questions to be put to respondents (were) presented via the "funnel" approach, that is, starting with the most general and moving to the specific'. This enabled the informants to raise matters of particular priority to them early in the interview. Key questions were put to the consultant in anticipation of a detailed reply in keeping with my own objectives, then secondary more probing questions were used to follow up if the desired information was not forthcoming. A further crucial aspect of the interviewing technique was that I always attempted to ask questions non-directively (that is, I avoided leading questions) so as not to exert any pressure on the respondent to reply in a particular way. This aided the process of ensuring that interviewees raised and approached issues in the way that was most revealing of their own priorities as opposed to mine.

On a final note in regard to the interview process, all but three interviews in this study were taped. Those not taped included a telephone interview, an interview where the informant met me on a work site and we moved around between offices and other buildings, and one where I attempted to tape but had the microphone plugged into the earphone socket by mistake. The vast majority of informants seemed completely unperturbed by the recorder. The three or four who initially expressed reservation quickly became comfortable with it. A small number had the recorder turned off briefly while they spoke critically of others, but most willingly pronounced judgement on people and processes with the machine running. Undoubtedly the recorder introduced a slight distortion to the conversation, but perhaps less so than if I had taken full notes instead, thereby causing informants to feel encouraged to speak at greater length (or not) about those matters they saw me choosing to scribble down. However, I did undertake some minor bullet-point note making during and after the interviews. Kress and Fowler (1979: 65) recommend that 'any complete analysis of face-to-face spoken interaction would ideally

contain statements, full as possible, about the situation in which it took place, the participants, their purposes, etc.' 'Detailed notes on the setting, participants, time of day, ongoing social or ritual events, and so forth should be complemented by the researcher's perceptions of the interaction' (Briggs, 1986: 104). However, the option of relying solely on note-taking without recording actually intrudes more into the natural flow of the interview than a tape-recorder by inhibiting interaction, and directing and slowing down communication. Even so, early in the research I did take reasonably comprehensive notes during interviews as a safety precaution against any technical glitches with the tape. This proved invaluable at the very first interview, which was with the Chairman of the Urban Villages Group, Trevor Osborne. In the fluster of the occasion, not eased by Osborne's imperious manner, I pushed the wrong switch on the recorder and failed to tape the first ten minutes of his soliloquy. Then again, as mentioned above, at the sixth interview I mixed the leads up and failed to tape anything at all. Realising this immediately after the interview, I was able to prepare a comprehensive summary from the notes taken during the interaction. After a handful of interviews the taping procedure became routine and non problematic.

The tapes provide a permanent verbatim record of the interviews. Briggs suggests that such data are therefore open-ended as far as interpretation is concerned:

As the researcher's social-cultural and linguistic competence grows, new dimensions become apparent. New theoretical understandings can similarly be applied to the original recordings to see if they can resolve persistent problems. Notes are frozen at the level of competence possessed by the researcher at the time of their writing, and they are much less useful in exploring new theoretical orientations (1986: 99).

Furthermore, my full transcripts of the tapes allow other investigators to access the raw data. This enables fresh analysis at a later date and provides the potential for my interpretations to be assessed by others in terms of likely biases and preconceptions (see Silverman, 1993).

7. CORROBORATING DATA AND INTERPRETATIVE ANALYSIS

The concepts most commonly referred to in judging whether data are bona fide or not are reliability and validity. In positivist research this implies generating 'data which hold independently of both the research setting and the researcher' (Silverman, 1993: 92). In interactionist research however, it implies the need for a 'deep understanding' of the informants (Silverman, 1993: 94). Briggs (1986: 23) defines reliability as 'the probability that the repetition of the same procedures, either by the same researcher or by another investigator, will produce the same results'. He defines validity as 'the accuracy of a given technique, that is, the extent to which the results conform to the characteristics of the phenomena in question' or, according to Minichiello et al (1990: 208), 'the extent to which it gives the correct answer, or a finding is interpreted in correct ways'. Mostyn (1985: 117) suggests that whereas reliability and validity can be determined in a quantitative approach, they can rarely be determined for qualitative research. Briggs (1986) questions whether seeking both reliability and validity are even compatible missions. Brown and Sime (1981: 161) go so far as to offer alternative concepts in the form of 'authenticity' and 'attestability', which, respectively, encourage the analyst to seek corroborative support and explicitly state their methodology. I have chosen to approach the issue from this latter perspective.

One of the key starting points for minimising inaccuracies is to have a good understanding, prior to an interview, of the business/group under consideration and the particular informant's role in it. To an extent, individual accounts can have their consistency tested by interviewing multiple informants from groups and by acquiring pertinent documentation. The value of such triangulation is closely related to the objective of ensuring legitimate data. Minichiello et al (1990) encourage the use of multiple research methods as a strategy to enhance validity and confront problems of bias. According to Briggs (1986: 98), in any investigation the use of multiple research methods is desirable:

interview techniques rely primarily on the referential or descriptive function of language and on knowledge that lies within ... the limits of awareness of speakers. This means that interviews will be totally ineffectual in dealing with some topics, and they certainly will exclude important facets of those subjects that can be treated in interviews. It is thus crucial to design a methodological plan in such a way that interview data are systematically supplemented with other types of information whenever possible.

In this research project, as mentioned earlier, in-depth interviews have been balanced primarily by an analysis of the content of various promotional and bureaucratic documents, but also by observation of the urban village campaigners in their regular meetings.

There are many different schools of thought on how to interpret data from qualitative research. In this research a slightly pluralistic approach was taken which incorporates facets from those who might be labelled empiricist interpretivists such as grounded theorists (Glaser and Straus, 1967) to those who might be labelled interactional humanist interpretivists. Such crossing of simplistic categories is not uncommon in qualitative analysis.

Data collection and analysis have been carried out concurrently, ensuring that research questions evolved as conceptual insights emerged (see Minichiello et al, 1990: 10). In the initial phase of the research the emphasis was on coding data and detecting themes, while later on priority was given to crystallising propositions (see Minichiello et al, 1990: 285). My approach has been to emphasise those themes stressed by the creators and perpetrators of the urban village discourse in interviews, speeches, books, articles, and newspapers. Consequently, those matters raised more frequently and expanded on in more detail by the discourse participants are given more attention in my analysis. In keeping with this approach, and to facilitate the reader's acquaintance with the participants, I have used extensively the words of the participants via direct quotations in my presentation of research findings.

In this research a similar mechanism for organising information has been adopted to that offered by Minichiello et al (1990). Collation of the research data has been a mechanical aspect of the analysis, involving transcribing, coding, and filing the information

to assist identification of patterns and themes (Minichiello et al, 1990: 250). A collation system based on three general repositories in relation to the data was employed: a transcript register, a methodology log, and a concepts log.

Within the transcript register each file contained information as to the interview date, time, length, place, setting, participants; and some background on the informant, why they were chosen and the significance of their position in the sequence of interviews (Minichiello et al, 1990: 256). The margins of the transcript page were used to make notes as to non-verbal communication, issues to follow up, emerging ideas, themes, and matters of interview technique. Summarising each interview was a useful aid to analysis, given that the verbatim transcripts were very long and not clearly organised into themes. These summaries were also used as a mechanism for comparison between different interviews and in that way enabled a check on the generalisability of propositions being developed throughout the project (see Minichiello et al, 1990: 301).

A methodology log recorded in detail the strategy, procedures and modifications in tactics used in bringing about and conducting the interviews and collecting documentation, including any problems with the research design. This is a primary mechanism used in the research to enhance the attestability of the qualitative data.

Maintaining a concepts log was a very helpful way of reflecting on interview questions and emergent ideas in the transcripts and documents, and of keeping track of all possible propositions related to the research as it progressed (see Mostyn, 1985; Minichiello et al, 1990). 'For data to become meaningful for analysis, the researcher has to identify common themes which link issues together, and ground the analysis in the informant's understandings and scientific translations of it' (Minichiello et al, 1990: 286). During the whole data collection period probationary propositions in relation to the data were formulated to sensitise my research to the information coming from the people and documents under investigation. These propositions were used flexibly and new possibilities embraced as appropriate. Concepts, themes, relationships and patterns were characterised and re-characterised as I became more immersed in the data and, for

example, questions to later informants were reoriented accordingly. The later selection of categories, through which the analysis has been organised, was directly linked to these propositions. Mostyn (1985: 137) advises that when devising such categories the analyst must ensure they reflect the purpose of the research, are exhaustive, and are mutually exclusive. In this research they were explicitly derived from the data, conceptually rooted, and defined precisely (see Minichiello et al, 1990: 295). Coding the data into themes within my theoretical framework took place immediately after each interview. The categories within which codes have been created include history, context, concepts, campaign strategies, key players, network connections, personal details and development projects. The framework for my analysis was only loosely fixed prior entering the field. Yet maintaining a relatively clear theoretical orientation was a very useful check on my understanding of the meanings and implications of the data collected (see Minichiello et al, 1990: 211). This approach to analysis is close to Robson and Foster's description:

Analysis ... is about finding a meaningful framework within which to order the data which are emerging. But this is not a fixed framework. It has to be constantly reviewed as the research progresses, otherwise it becomes a straightjacket which confines the data and prevents new unpredicted findings being incorporated into the picture which is being built up (1989:95).

Nevertheless, concern is often expressed about the lack of rigour that may characterise the analysis and interpretation of qualitative research, and interviews in particular. Briggs (1986: 102) considers

the single most serious shortcoming relating to the use of interviews in the social sciences ... (to) be the commonsensical, unreflexive manner in which most analyses of interview data are conducted.... The usual practice thus consists of extracting statements that pertain to a given theme, event, symbol, or what have you from field notes or transcriptions. These responses are then juxtaposed, yielding a composite picture of things that seem to go together in the eyes of the researcher on the basis of referential, decontextualized content.

In his dissatisfaction with such an approach, Briggs proposes a process of interpretation involving an holistic analysis of the interview interaction, followed by identification of key components emerging from the individual statements within the interview. The first of these steps should identify, interpret and synthesise such aspects as

important themes emerging from the informant's remarks, reactions between the participants, differences in perceptions and goals, the progression of styles (for example, from informal to introductory to broad issues to detailed matters, to informal again) and distinct segments of the interaction (such as changes of topical focus, or periods of simultaneous activity, for example, one of my informants prepared us lunch during the course of the taped interview).

The second step involves identifying those statements that address the matter at hand, following which 'the analyst can focus on ascertaining how specific utterances fit into the broad communicative outlines that have been sketched for the interview as a whole' (Briggs, 1986: 105).

In the present research, an attempt was made to follow a procedure of interpretation which adhered to the recommendations put forward by Briggs, which first identified the broad picture painted in the interview followed by a more detailed extraction of principal elements within the informant's specific statements. A rigorous, reflexive process along these lines broke up the job of interpretation into more manageable units.

The question as to what method of representation is appropriate necessarily arises when seeking to interpret what the promoters and creators of landscape transformations intend or believe is being signified in their plans and constructions. Such authors' plans, texts and personal explanations of intentions cannot provide a determinate, exhaustible meaning for their discourse or the resulting (evolving) landscape. Furthermore, there is much room for debate, multiple interpretations and transfiguration in any exegesis. In unravelling the words of my informants there has unavoidably been a reliance on 'imaginative reconstruction' on my part which necessarily brings with it a 'vagueness and uncertainty' in terms of the understanding painted of the speaker's intention (Schutz, 1972: 128). In addition, as with any writer, my interpretations (as well as those of my informants) inevitably reflect (albeit indirectly) my own historical and cultural background, audience and genre, standing and agenda, the contemporary social context, and are constrained by my intellectual framework and use of language, particularly in terms of discourse and

categorisation (Duncan, 1990: 12). The rendering offered is but one of any number that could be offered. For this reason, Duncan and Ley (1993: 7) argue that an academic's representations can only be considered as contingent 'partial truths', validated by contextual description of place and time, a comparative approach, and the avowal of the commentator's positionality as a constitutive element of the portrayal, in keeping with a hermeneutic tradition. Similarly, Cosgrove (1993: 7) suggests, therefore, that an appropriate method for combining evidence and theory, despite individual interpretations and consequent multiple layers of signification, is via narrative, 'the synthetic skill of selecting and weaving theory and evidence into convincing representations of specific historical and geographical moments'. Consequently, in keeping with many academics working in this area (see Duncan and Ley, 1993), I treat the categories used by me and my informants (which are frequently taken-for-granted) as socially constructed and requiring explication.

Hence my deciphering of the nature of landscape transformation will necessarily be partial. Interpreting such things as discourse and landscape is, to use Eagleton's words, 'an ideological decipherment of an ideological product' (1978: 62). Needless to say, I have directed my reader towards a certain understanding of the urbanisation process under consideration via my selection (and discarding) of documents and informants, presentation of excerpts and transcripts, delineation and organisation (both prior to conducting research and later grounded in the research) of key themes, and through my own (albeit deliberately restrained) intrusion into the discourse itself. In recognition of that situation, I have elected to adopt an approach based on accepting the legitimacy of my own assumptions, and those of my informants, in the formation of knowledge, knowledge that is inevitably contestable.

A further point of significance along these lines is that in writing about urban processes commentators actually, to an extent, bring about those processes by making it virtually impossible to divorce the account from the 'reality'. 'Writing is constitutive, not simply reflective' (Barnes and Duncan, 1992: 3), interpretations and theories create rather than correspond to 'real' landscapes (Barnes, 1992: 134). Consequently, 'the method used

to tell a particular story, while itself distinguishable, nevertheless becomes inseparable from the very tale being told' (Merrifield, 1993: 336). Lefebvre acknowledges this intertwining of understanding and constitution in his interpretation of space, stating that 'if space is a product, our knowledge of it must be expected to reproduce and expound the process of production' (1991: 36). This reinforces the importance of researchers confronting their assumptions and methodologies, that is, being explicit about their interpretive procedures and their theorising. My aim while conducting this study was, therefore, to be both critical of the working of the processes under examination, and self-critical of the part I played in the analysis and explanation.

8. SUMMARY OF APPROACH

The present chapter has set out the framework for the research project presented in the thesis. The study takes as central the need to question the vision and strategies of those who seek to transform the built environment. To achieve this, guidance is sought from recent approaches in the field of landscape study. Such approaches acknowledge the ideological foundations of landscape processes and the role landscape has as both a structured outcome and a structuring medium, visibly signifying and influencing social relations and societal order. Taking the discourse of the Urban Villages Campaign and those involved in erecting urban villages on the ground, the approach considers the manner in which the discourse functions ideologically to shape attention, guide action and ultimately to establish and maintain hegemony. The approach thereby attempts to demystify and recall landscape processes often hidden from view. In so doing there is also an opportunity to consider how the evolution of contemporary culture is both represented and effected through such transformation of the built landscape.

An interpretative methodology has been adopted for the project given the latter's suitability for both examining the intentions of discourse and landscape creators and the

wider structural contexts. Data collection and analysis have been conducted concurrently allowing for an informed evolution of the research questions for the project. The main information gathering device has been the semi-structured interview, which is a primary method for drawing out an informant's understandings of processes and social networks of operation. It is also a practicable tool in research that aims at intentional explanation. In combination with corroborative support from documentary sources and participant observation, the technique can produce authentic, reliable data. Closely linked to this is the need to keep an explicit record of research procedures associated with the data collection and analysis. Such a record is especially important given the emphasis in the research on prioritising the themes stressed by the informants under investigation. The project necessarily acknowledges and accepts the legitimacy of my own assumptions in the interpretative process and those of my informants in the formation of knowledge relating to the built landscape.

The next four chapters, which examine the Urban Villages Campaign and its discourse, and the Poundbury and Crown Street case studies, have been overtly moulded from the framework elaborated above. The story told in these four chapters is, therefore, analytically constructed even before the explanatory synthesis which follows in Chapter Seven.

Chapter 3

KEY FOUNDERS AND ORIGINS OF THE URBAN VILLAGES MOVEMENT

The Urban Villages Movement was conceived towards the end of a decade of Thatcherism. This period of Conservative government witnessed particularly vigorous rhetoric with a distaste for bureaucrats, welfarism, and state intervention, and a predisposition for individualism, entrepreneurialism, free market activity and authoritarian patriotism. In the development industry this inspired an extended period of thinking big. In the larger cities, especially London, there was an unsustainable increase in office floor-space, providing more work places than would be required, while the regulatory climate mitigated against any concurrent provision of an inner city residential population. Similarly in the housing sector rental tenancies were stigmatised and effort concentrated on construction for owner occupation. In the planning profession it aroused another bout of self-doubt and philosophical reappraisal. As the decade drew to a close, and the buoyancy of the mid-eighties collapsed, there was an enlivened willingness to consider alternatives to the dogma of the Thatcher years and its repercussions for planning and development. That being the case, it was an easier time than usual to spur developers and planners alike to join forces in the fresh assembly that would come to be known as the Urban Villages Movement.

But the Urban Villages Movement as it appears today is quite a changed creature from that envisaged in the early days of its beginnings back in the late 1980s. In the

following sections I outline the original driving forces behind the establishment of the Movement and the conception of its principles for an urbanisation process and outcome that is intended to be distinctly different to most contemporary urban development in this country. In particular, the strong influences of HRH the Prince of Wales, Robert Davies and Leon Krier are highlighted. These three provided the drive behind the Movement and constructed its meanings, governing the original flow of ideas for the Campaign. In addition, other members of the Urban Villages Group, along with its Chairman, Trevor Osborne, are also introduced, as is their first major agenda item as a united body. Their membership selection process and work are important ingredients in understanding the ideology, premises and intentions stimulating the crusade.

The present chapter makes the first step from the abstract framework presented in Chapter Two towards the provision of concrete evidence related to the investigation of urban landscape processes.

1. LANCING THE CARBUNCLES WITH PRINCE CHARLES

'Business leadership in community development is one hobby-horse of the Prince of Wales. Neo-traditional urbanism is another. Harness the two together and you have the Urban Villages Forum' (Hebbert, 1996: 388). Architecture and urban development processes comprise two of the many fronts upon which HRH the Prince of Wales has chosen to engage in popular debate in the hope of challenging standard contemporary practice. Not only that, these are areas in which he has taken major steps to implement his ideas directly, especially through the construction of his urban settlement Poundbury in Dorset and via the establishment of his Institute of Architecture in London. In particular he has shown a concern for inner city issues and has called for a revival of traditional urban layout and a community architecture reflecting the relationship between the human spirit, the natural world and God. His assessment is very much that of the outsider looking over the

fence. The Prince would never live in an urban area on a full time basis. In fact, he struggled to cope with life in Cambridge while he was at university there, escaping to the countryside at every possible opportunity. In private correspondence while a student he frequently complained of his dislike of being confined to urban living (despite the obvious attractiveness of Cambridge compared to many towns) as opposed to the bliss of the Balmoral mountains and the joy of the Sandringham fields (Dimbleby, 1994). Nevertheless, his voice has been one of the most audible to the general public (and the building professionals) in his battle against bland and heartless post war development.

The Prince's first public foray into this arena was not until 1984, although he had long had a personal interest in the field. It was the May celebration of the 150th anniversary of the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) at which he chose to unveil his hitherto concealed anguish. The Institute asked the Prince to give a speech at their banquet. Members were not aware of the Prince having any particular interest in architecture, however they desired a royal presence at their function and thought the Prince of Wales more likely to be able to fit such an engagement into his diary than the Queen. The Prince willingly accepted the invitation. However, the Institute were more than shocked at the outcome.

The Prince had in fact harboured a very strong distaste for post World War II urbanisation. In particular he detested predominating modernist building design and the alienating environment he felt it fostered, particularly as observed in mass housing estates and tower blocks in the inner cities. His misgiving was not so much with style (as is shown in his admiration for modern edifices such as the glass pyramids in the forecourt of the Louvre in Paris and the new stand, fashioned after a marquee tent, at Lord's Cricket Ground in London); rather it was with those modernist designs that he found lacking in human reference. According to English Heritage's Simon Jenkins, one of Charles' sympathisers, modernism has proved particularly susceptible to such debasement (1989: 70). Combined with this was his long developed fondness of traditionalism, reflected in his commitment to

both British and foreign (particularly Islamic and Hindu) traditional building forms, spaces and scales; and his high regard for the notions of community architecture and the need for due consideration to be given to the wishes of ordinary people. Hence, while RIBA members anticipated a gentle pat on the back in keeping with their festivities, the Prince instead dropped a bombshell. A fervent attack was made on conventional architectural practice. The Prince described a then proposed building to adjoin St Paul's in London as another 'giant glass stump' and a then proposed extension of the National Gallery in Trafalgar Square as a 'monstrous carbuncle' (and was later accused of interfering undemocratically in the official planning processes as both schemes were subsequently quashed). Rather than designing such buildings for their own intra-professional approval, the Prince suggested architects and planners consider organic and traditional alternatives, developed in consultation with the general public. Even his parting words provided no reprieve:

In this 150th anniversary year, which provides an opportunity for a fresh look at the path ahead ... may I express the earnest hope that the next 150 years will see a new harmony between imagination and taste and in the relationship between the architects and the people of this country. (Prince of Wales, 1984)

While the Prince's supposedly quirky proclivities in other disciplines had won him ridicule in the press, this time it was the professional establishment's counter attack to his onslaught that was met by media scepticism. Architects labelled Prince Charles's blow as 'nostalgic' (Michael Manser - President of the RIBA at the time of the speech - 1989: 18) and 'looking backwards rather than forward' (Peter Ahrends, designer of the National Gallery's ill-fated 'carbuncle' - cited in Dimbleby, 1994: 385). Celebrated architect (now Lord) Richard Rogers complained that the Prince's conjecture lacked 'scholarly depth.... (F)acile barbs in the "carbuncle" mould can not make up for an in-depth and historical examination of the choices facing architects and the public' (1989a: 69). But the Prince's trespass onto the experts' turf had struck a popular chord (although he can hardly be said to have invented the discourse). Hence, it was just the beginning of an ongoing altercation between the

architectural old guard and the Prince. The highlights of the interaction and the Prince's growing commitment to the cause include a number of other speeches and debates (such as the December 1987 Mansion House Speech and the November 1989 Official Debate); the Prince taking up the Presidency of Business in the Community in 1985; an urban extension project on Duchy of Cornwall land in Dorset (his inner city concern oddly enough transferred to a rural township, Poundbury); the production of *A Vision of Britain* documentary in 1988 and associated book in 1989; an exhibition of the Prince's vision at the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1989; the inauguration of the Urban Villages Group in 1989; the founding of the Prince of Wales's Institute of Architecture in 1992; and the setting up of the charitable trust called the Prince of Wales's Foundation for Architecture and the Urban Environment (headed by the Urban Villages' Forum's chief executive) in 1998 to act as a co-ordinating body for the many initiatives concerned with urban affairs and the built environment with which the Prince of Wales is associated.

Naturally, the Prince exploited his unique power to summon advisers to assist him in his quest. The fluid coterie he gathered about him included such architectural traditionalists as Colin Amery, Jules Lubbock, John Simpson, Brian Hanson, Theo Crosby, Keith Critchlow, Christopher Martin and Leon Krier. With the reassurance of such attendants his arguments became not only more confrontational but also more sophisticated. In his speech to the Annual Dinner of the Corporation of London Planning and Communication Committee at Mansion House in December 1987 he used the scheme for the Paternoster Square development around St Paul's Cathedral in London as a topical metaphor in his attack on contemporary architecture and planning ('deeply depressed' with the Paternoster schemes, the Prince intervened in the planning consultation process on behalf of the ordinary person in the name of democracy, yet in a very undemocratic fashion). The Mansion House speech would be chiefly remembered for the Prince's deprecating account of post war development, '(y)ou have ... to give this much to the Luftwaffe: when it knocked down our buildings, it didn't replace them with anything more offensive than rubble. We did that'

He then petitioned for the early involvement of the non-expert citizenry in the development process in order to avoid repetition of such an outcome in the future: 'if there is one message I would like to deliver this evening, it is that large numbers of us in this country are fed up with being talked down to and dictated to by the existing planning, architectural and development establishment ...' (Prince of Wales, 1987).

For the Prince, if only city builders could wake up to the destructive plague that much modernist development had released over the built environment there would be the potential for a 'second chance'. However, he had a basic lack of faith in this being possible because he believed there to be some fundamental flaws in the education of town makers. '(W)e ... need to be teaching in a more sensitive and imaginative way the architects, planners and designers of tomorrow - to say nothing of the property developers, road engineers and volume housebuilders' (Prince of Wales, 1996: 35). He could point to no school in the United Kingdom where traditional design was taught and few where measured drawing was part of the curriculum. These shortcomings spurred the Prince into arranging practical summer schools in civil architecture in Europe from 1989 onwards and led ultimately to the formation of the Prince of Wales's Institute of Architecture in 1992. Both forums attempt to engage students in areas of learning not presently addressed in Britain. The overriding aim of the Institute, and the summer schools which are now under its banner, is to advance the principles of the traditional city through pragmatic demonstration. This adheres to the Prince's own favoured methodology of understanding the city by means of visiting and considering places he judges work well.

Immediately prior to the Institute's first intake of students the Prince wrote to Dr Brian Hanson, his secretary in architecture responsible for establishing the academy, stating:

I hope you can keep in mind the overriding need for the Institute to act as a catalyst to bring together the professions associated with the built environment so that we can emphasise the need to rediscover a kinder, more appropriate approach I want the Institute to teach its students reverence - reverence for the landscape and the soil; for the human spirit which is a reflection in some small measure of the Divine; and for the 'grammar' of architecture which, as in a language, enables an infinite variety of forms to be expressed within the context of harmonised sentences ... (Prince of Wales, 1992).

At the formal opening of the Institute on 28 October 1992 he emphasised his concern that in carrying out the above aim the Institute should not limit itself to words and books, 'I believe that one of the most important tasks for my Institute is to apply theory to the creation of practical examples which can be seen to work' (1993: 9). The Institute has accordingly striven to introduce innovative teaching methods extending architectural theory into the broader avenues of planning, the fine arts and building crafts, while stressing hands on experience in traditional skills (such as sculpture, drawing, stone-carving, thatching, metal and woodwork) and direct participation in major construction projects, all in an attempt to explore and promote ways of applying human values to the built environment. In addition, in an endeavour to forge new links between the many disciplines contributing to the built environment the Institute combines formal tertiary education aimed at school leavers, those with a background in building, architects, and those not wishing to be architects, with broader based forms of public outreach consisting of workshops, seminars, focus groups, short courses and projects targeted at community action groups as well as planners, surveyors, managers, financiers, engineers and architects.

Explicit about its assignment to remedy the loss of cultural identity associated with the twentieth century hegemony of the Modern Movement, the Institute calls on an unashamedly homogeneous collection of tutors to mentor its students. Many of the world's most prominent traditionalists have permanent or occasional teaching commitments in the school. Recent instructors include Leon Krier, Brian Hanson, Colin Amery, John Thompson, Trevor Osborne, Andrew Hamilton, Christopher Alexander, Maurice Culot, Andres Duany, Richard Economakis, Herbert Girardet, David Watkin, John Simpson, Gavin Stamp, and Demetri Porphyrios, many of whom are also involved with other projects undertaken by the Prince of Wales. But the Institute is struggling to maintain student numbers. In a drastic departure from the norm, Adrian Gale, a modernist architect who had worked with Mies van der Rohe on the proposed 'glass stump' the Prince slated in his 1984 speech, was

appointed as the new head of education for the Institute in early 1998. Gale was presumably meant to broaden the appeal of the school. In any case the beginning of the calendar year saw the Institute's board making a rigorous assessment of all activities (including their flailing, and now defunct, *Perspectives* journal), and seeking to establish a new corporate agenda. Critics naturally abound. Jonathan Glancey, writer with *The Guardian* describes the Prince's Institute as 'a finishing school for aesthetically-inclined young fogies with a desire to recreate Renaissance Italy in the backyards of Blighty' (1998: 10)

Even so the Institute still overtly maintains the goal of realising the Prince of Wales's mission. However, his ad hoc presentation of speeches, exhibitions, documentaries and the like can give quite a disjointed impression of what the Prince's priorities actually are. On one occasion his priorities seem to be related to one issue on another occasion they would appear to give preference to a different issue. Furthermore, 'Charles has proved adept at cutting and pasting from all sorts of sources' (Wright, 1992: 359). The result can be confusing, particularly when the media and critics attempt to marry the Prince's ideas with those of his supposed advisers. The Prince's interests tend to be much broader in subscription than those of his more highly focussed advisers (for example, the Prince upholds both the community architecture objectives of John Thompson and the traditional town design of Leon Krier, two architects who openly abhor each other's modus operandi). Furthermore, given his position as the heir apparent he tends to steer rather cautiously through issues that have political currency where his opinions might be interpreted as siding with one political party as opposed to another. Therefore, piecing together and ordering the Prince's rhetoric is not uncomplicated. Dimbleby describes the task as being 'like trying to make sense of the shards of colour and shape in a revolving kaleidoscope. Rather than contemplate that myriad, it (i)s tempting to cling to one or other of the multiple caricatures that (a)re so readily at hand' (1994: 397). These include caricatures like the one painted by Jonathan Glancey in *The Guardian* in early 1998: 'Charles wants to shape a classical, hand-crafted,

spiritual sort of world that although romantic and charming - assuming it ever existed - has long since gone and not always with regret' (Glancey, 1998: 10). However, there is one comprehensively delivered reckoning of the Prince's personal rationalisation, in the form of his own manuscript depicting his vision.

For a long time I have felt strongly about the wanton destruction which has taken place in this country in the name of progress; about the sheer, unadulterated ugliness and mediocrity of public and commercial buildings, and of housing estates, not to mention the dreariness and heartlessness of so much urban planning (Prince of Wales, 1989a: 7).

So commences the Prince of Wales's coffee table handbook: *A Vision of Britain: a personal view of architecture*. What follows is the plea of the non-expert, 'ordinary' man (if a Prince could ever be such a person) for architectural humility and regard for the lessons of the past. In his analysis, most modernist architecture deliberately turns away from what has gone before, often seeking the 'fool's gold of the "International Style"' (1989a: 123). The Prince warns that 'when a man loses contact with the past he loses his soul' (1989a: 10) - although prominent architect Richard Rogers insists that in reality the Prince is 'besotted with a past that never existed' (Rogers, 1989a:67). Nevertheless, confident that he appreciates the 'true aspirations' of the British people, and as their representative, the Prince promotes a more classical alternative for architecture and planning in the future (1989a: 156).

The book communicates in a chatty, colloquial tone, with copious elegantly presented photographs, sketches and paintings - suitable for the lay reader. The style is also that of the lay author. It is full of harsh, simplistic judgements that lack acknowledgement of structural complexities and the incessant contests surrounding twentieth century architecture and planning. The Prince pays no regard to the narrow, short term interests of the market oriented economy within which his city creators operate. The heavy blame he places on architects and planners 'obscures the extent to which the large corporations, developers and governments are deeply implicated' in the urbanisation process (Rogers,

1989a: 69). He also fails to see that modernist post war reconstruction was in part an attempt to create a memorial to the war, institute social reform and build a distinctly new Britain (Wright, 1992: 365-368). Instead the Prince bases his argument on ostensibly authoritative anecdotal 'empirical' evidence derived from his trips to various places of interest, including his occasional investigative tête-à-têtes with locals, such as Mrs Huck in her new Skipton flat and Madge Atkins the Albany Place Residents' Representative in Bow. Appealing to common sense rather than academy, instinct rather than sagacity, the Prince defiantly outlines his vision for civilised development.

'Civilised life is made more pleasurable by a shared understanding of simple rules of conduct' (Prince of Wales, 1989a: 80). Consequently the Prince attempts to sketch out ten commandments that might provide such pleasure in the discipline of architecture. Of these he says 'of course, they aren't commandments at all, but more like pieces of folklore drawn from our inherited experience' (1989a: 13). Needless to say, the Prince's rules are one of the best known attempts to draw together basic principles of urban design. While some critics call them naïve (Jencks, 1990), others acknowledge that they embrace the fundamental criteria of many other urban theorists (Punter, 1990). '(T)he famous principles are modest, practical and thoroughly unremarkable; nothing that the man on the Clapham omnibus, Piers Gough's granny or, in actual fact, most architects would disagree with' (Jenkins, 1989: 11). They do not represent something new. Rather, they are 'a simple extension of the rules and patterns that have guided architects and builders for centuries' (Prince of Wales, 1989a: 77). All are too vague and open to multiple interpretations to be labelled diktats, but their traditionalist intent is unmistakable:

1. **The Place:** this principle prioritises aesthetic considerations. It encourages the design of human scale buildings which are not intrusive but rather blend in with the landscape, respecting 'the lie of the land and its contours'; creating a gentle skyline, enhancing landscape beauty; and grouping buildings to avoid sprawl thereby helping to retain a 'sense of wilderness' adjoining areas of development (1989a: 78-79).

2. **Hierarchy:** two hierarchies are addressed. Firstly, buildings should vary in their size and siting in a way that indicates their relative public importance. Secondly, each individual building should clearly indicate the relative importance of its various elements. For example, emphasis should be given to the entranceway so that it is clear where the front door is.

3. **Scale:** the scale of buildings should relate to both human proportions and surrounding structures, respecting existing plot sizes, street patterns and public spaces. Inappropriately placed and oversized (in terms of height and bulk) buildings should be avoided.

4. **Harmony:** this principle makes a plea for a humility of design that avoids boasting on the part of individual buildings and any jarring between structures by encouraging harmonious relationships among buildings despite the passage of time.

5. **Enclosure:** the aim of this tenet is to promote the enclosing of such spaces as squares and courtyards to provide secure, private and beautiful places within which 'a recognisable community of neighbours' can develop (1989a: 87).

6. **Materials:** here the Prince advocates the compilation of inventories of local building materials. From this he seeks to reduce uniformity in construction cladding, foster the uniqueness of individual localities and reinvigorate traditional craft and building skills.

7. **Decoration:** a call is also made for the revival of ornamental, decorative and symbolic patterns in the detail of contemporary construction. The Prince states that in this way 'we need to reinstate architecture as the mistress of the arts and the crafts' (1989a: 91).

8. **Art:** similarly, the Prince seeks a union between architect and artist to ensure that art is integral in new constructions. To facilitate this, he suggests the skills of art need to be prioritised within architectural education.

9. **Signs and lights:** poor quality road signs and excessive street lighting are indicative of inadequate contemporary control. The suggestion is made that some of the options used in other European historic centres would be apposite.

10. **Community:** with his final principle the Prince makes a strong plea for the use of what might be called community architecture or collaborative planning. '(W)e all need to be involved together - planning and architecture are much too important to be left to the professionals' (1989a: 97). He submits that the necessary community democracy and community pride to make these processes work is closely related to maintaining a relatively small sized neighbourhood to enable effective local organisation and long-term management, whether in the inner city or a village. 'We need design and layout which positively encourage neighbourliness, intimacy and, where possible, a sense of shared belonging to a recognisable community' (1989a:156).

The latter principle in particular has provided one of the Prince's chief entry points into a hands-on encounter with planning and architecture. The Prince of Wales has devoted a considerable amount of his time to following the progress of many inner city housing projects, especially those committed to effective community participation and interagency partnership. During the 1980s his frequent trips to a variety of inner city locations (such as Brixton, Handsworth, Spitalfields, Southwark, Macclesfield) were well known. His avid belief that a first hand viewing, of inner city deprivation and the hope offered by young people in such locations, was essential to giving a sense of urgency about inner city needs even led him to develop a "Seeing is Believing" campaign aimed at business leaders and politicians. He spoke at numerous engagements with an intense passion about 'the desperate plight of the inner-city areas' (Prince of Wales, 1985). Hoping to challenge business leaders, financiers, officials, professionals and politicians alike, his pleas were often spirited rebukes, although carefully orchestrated to lack direct reprimand of the Thatcher administration while also avoiding any hint of socialist doctrine.

During one of his many meetings related to such issues, the Prince was introduced to Stephen O'Brien, the chief executive of an innovative organisation named Business in the Community (BITC). Established in 1982, BITC is a charity that promotes business involvement with communities. Its membership is drawn from 400 companies, such as American Express Europe, Arthur Andersen, Barclays Bank, Boots, British Petroleum, Cadbury, Ford Motor Company, IBM UK, Marks and Spencer and Tesco (and includes 75 of the FTSE 'top 100'), who finance the organisation's activities by their contributions. At their first meeting in mid 1985, O'Brien spoke of the need for class and race barriers to be broken down in order to allow effective collaboration between industry leaders and leaders of Britain's black community. Impressed with O'Brien's initiative, the Prince was inspired to assist BITC's cause further. Shortly afterwards, he presided over a curious day-long seminar between some of Britain's most influential business people and radical black representatives, organised through O'Brien. It was hoped this would be the start of an ongoing dialogue.

Before the end of the year the Prince of Wales had become BITC's first president (a role he still performs). His association immediately amplified the profile and acclaim of the enterprise. But it was not a one-way relationship. BITC's ability to successfully link the resources of the business world with the latent talent in the inner city fulfilled one of the Prince's deepest yearnings. Consequently he performed his role for the organisation with exceptional vigour, undertaking in the vicinity of 30 engagements a year on its behalf. One of his most important inputs to BITC was to recommend the formal establishment of partnerships between business and the community in an effort to regenerate neighbourhoods and encourage local employment. The inspiration for such a venture had come from a visit made by the Prince to such a partnership in a town near Boston. BITC took up this model enthusiastically, establishing nineteen of the partnerships by 1989 (the government's Training and Enterprise Councils were significantly modelled on these). Similarly, the Prince sparked BITC's development of over sixty 'compacts' between inner city schools and local employers. Aimed at improving links between local businesses, training,

and employment prospects for local school leavers, the idea also gained official support and resulted in government sponsorship of 'education and business partnerships'.

Furthermore, via BITC there was also potential to tackle a number of the other principles outlined in the *Vision of Britain* book. On one of his many reconnoitres, the Prince once shared a short car ride in 1988 through London's east end with Robert Davies (then deputy chief executive of BITC). It was during the ensuing discussion that the Prince sparked in Davies a coalescence of ideas that would ultimately result in the formation of the Urban Villages Group. The Prince's ambition was that BITC would be able to encourage business leaders (and in particular developers and house builders) to actually construct 'urban villages' in order to reintroduce human scale, intimacy and a vibrant street life. These factors can help to restore to people their sense of belonging and pride in their own particular surroundings' (Prince of Wales, 1989a: 14).

2. ESTABLISHING THE URBAN VILLAGES GROUP

Robert Davies was key in translating the Prince's thoughts into a campaign. Davies had moved to Business in the Community in 1983. On a personal level he had always enjoyed and chosen to reside within urban areas, confessing a long-standing commitment to them. This commitment had been significantly strengthened some years earlier while working for the National Council of Voluntary Organisations. During the late 1970s Davies attempted to draw non-governmental organisations, civic groups and government together to take an integrated approach to inner city regeneration. Notwithstanding his Left politics background, he despaired at the paternalistic excesses of 'welfarism' and 'lousy' urban management via over-specialised zoning and comprehensive redevelopment. In his National Council post he encouraged a more pluralistic approach to urban management, an approach that would achieve better access, diversity and power for community groups. In May 1979 Davies took a trip to the USA to look at various inner city 'success' stories. It was

then that he was introduced to the work of Jane Jacobs in *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, and he praises: 'it completely changed my life' (Davies, 1995 interview). He was later able to meet up with this 'marvellous woman' whom he designated: 'a great heroine of my life' (Davies, 1995 interview). Like so many, whether Left or Right, modernist or anti-modernist, Davies acknowledges Jacobs' work as a primary stimulus for the vision he advances. In particular, he deciphered in her work the desirability of encouraging such factors as neighbourhood diversity and a mixing of uses which might enhance the self-generating capacity of a city, in a spontaneous and organic sense.

When Davies made the move to Business in the Community in 1983 he became interested in addressing two major shortcomings he diagnosed in the organisation's involvement with urban regeneration. Firstly, he observed a need to develop multi-lateral partnerships between business, local authorities and communities as opposed to the bi-lateral ones he saw in operation. Secondly, he considered uni-dimensional approaches to urban problem solving, via drug programmes or housing co-operatives or tenant power schemes, needed to be replaced with more holistic and integrated campaigns. Subsequently, it was during that pivotal car ride with HRH Prince of Wales that he realised how aligned his goals for holism were with those of the Prince. Furthermore, as deputy chief executive of BITC he was actually in a position to action a response.

Therefore in the summer of 1988, at the Business in the Community annual conference in Sheffield, Davies drew aside a small group, consisting of himself, the Prince of Wales, Sir Allen Sheppard (Chairman of Grand Metropolitan Plc, a major sponsor of BITC, and parent company of Grand Metropolitan Estates Ltd who would subsequently provide the lion's share of the private sector sponsorship for the Urban Villages Campaign in its first few years) and Sir Hector Laing (Lord Laing of Dunphail, as of 1991, Life President of United Biscuits Holdings Plc and Vice President of Business in the Community), to discuss the potential for implementing the Prince's vision for human-scale urban regeneration. By the end of the year this had stimulated a visit to Montparnasse in Paris, upon the

recommendation of the Prince of Wales who had been 'much impressed' by the district on a tour in November that year (Prince of Wales, 1989a: 14). Davies, with an architect and some property developers made the journey immediately before Christmas. The aim was to derive a variety of principles of human scale urban regeneration from the Montparnasse example.

Montparnasse is an old urban quarter in central Paris. In the early part of the twentieth century it was a centre of Paris's bohemian artistic and cultural life. An area of relatively high density five storey buildings and mixed uses, it was known for its lively urban atmosphere. By the 1970s the neighbourhood was scheduled for major redevelopment, a process which has continued right into the 1990s. Initially this programme took the form of radical comprehensive renewal. Small traditional streets and buildings were replaced with much larger roads and blocks. However, the most recent phase of the programme has endorsed a scale and style of renewal more in keeping with traditional Parisian development. It retains many of the original street patterns and buildings. New streets are narrow incorporating numerous public spaces in the form of squares, courtyards and circles dressed with street furniture, vegetation and art. New buildings have a diversity of character, often featuring modern materials and colours, but largely keep to a height of just five storeys and deliberately integrate with existing designs. The renewal has primarily taken place on a building by building basis. The result has been the retention of the working and living environment throughout the project.

Davies' visiting British delegation were impressed by the project's human scale, traditional street pattern, diversity of uses and architecture, intermix of old and new buildings, and the gradual approach to redevelopment; all factors they considered replicable elsewhere. In response a discussion report was prepared in January 1989: *The village in the city: urban regeneration on a human scale*. Authored by Davies, the paper elaborated on the Montparnasse situation and presented five main principles for adaptation to the British context. The first principle dealt with the approach the group

believed it appropriate to take for planning and developing renewal projects. It incorporated the necessity of developing a partnership between the public, private and non-profit parties involved; a need to enable effective citizen participation and 'ownership' of the project; an obligation to phase development in such a way as to minimise local disruption and displacement; a requirement to prepare planning briefs which allowed for a mix of residential, open space and commercial uses even on costly sites; along with an aim to reproduce traditional development patterns, conserve and re-create traditional built features, and build at a modest scale. The second principle covered the specifics of design. It encouraged giving special attention to corner sites and intersections; sympathetically blending new materials and colours with natural and traditional materials; incorporating street furniture, planting, and public art; restricting traffic but ensuring adequate public transport; designing to increase security and inhibit crime; and stimulating opportunities for traditional artisans in the regeneration process itself. The third principle stressed the imperative of creating a mixed development incorporating mixed uses, mixed tenures, mixed property values, and a wide variety of community facilities. The fourth principle addressed concerns about ensuring the neighbourhood would share in the project's progress and prosperity. It included goals for community consultation; local access to regeneration jobs; choice of affordable housing of varying types; educational opportunities relating to community management; community services to assist the elderly, disabled and those with young children to maintain independence; and the provision of cultural opportunities that amongst other things would encourage residents to 'celebrate their communities' (Davies, 1989: 9). The final principle tackled the long-term management of the neighbourhood. It emphasises achieving maximum responsibility on the part of local inhabitants for the management of their own communities, including certain policing functions. All five principles closely foreshadow the criteria that were later expounded in the inaugural publication of the Urban Villages Group in 1992.

However, in setting out these principles Davies was insistent that they did not represent a blueprint for redevelopment:

The answer does not lie alone in the planning process, the design, the materials, the redevelopment or renovation of single buildings, the partnership of public and private sector, the mixture of uses, the scale or the speed of development.

Many of the mistakes of comprehensive renewal of the past ... failed to recognise that true regeneration is an organic, sensitive and multi-faceted process. There is no single way forward.... (Davies, 1989: 5)

Nevertheless, in *Business in the Community* Davies saw potential for promoting the philosophy of human scale regeneration as outlined in the principles. BITC's Urban Regeneration Target Team would be the focus of the campaign. In particular, he recommended this team draw together a coalition of private, public and community sector leaders in order to clarify the principles for them and have them consider embarking on the preparation of a prospectus and related conference. In addition, Davies recommended that BITC as a whole encourage an understanding of the regeneration principles amongst builders, developers and local authorities; actively pursue the principles in their various partnership projects; persuade educational institutions to empower local citizens to meaningfully participate in their urban environment; and encourage BITC members to understand and speak out on the principles.

It is the first of the recommendations noted above that was to have the most significance. The Regeneration Team did pull together a coalition to further develop the idea of a human scale 'city village' in early 1989. This coalition largely consisted of developers and house builders. Using the same evidence gathering technique as the Prince had done for his *Vision of Britain*, various combinations of the group embarked on a series of visits to places where the key elements considered desirable for the development of sustainable and civilised urban areas might be witnessed. For comparison, they also toured the sites of urban 'mistakes' where, for example, 'the only logic to the layout was that the arm of the crane could deliver the concrete blocks' (Davies, 1995 interview). Within the

UK they called on such places as Edinburgh New Town and Clerkenwell in London, as well as various locations within Yorkshire, Lancashire, South Wales and the Home Counties. International excursions included trips to Charleston in South Carolina, USA and Prague in the Czech Republic. Detailed deliberations on international urban practice were held between the group and their hosts in these latter two locations, as well as in Paris and Brussels. The understandings gained from these visits were pivotal in enabling the group members to endorse an amended vision for contemporary urbanisation practice.

Yet Davies was not content with the way the BITC Regeneration Team were administering this 'city village' project. He felt they had not grasped the essence of the concept they were dealing with and that they retained fixed ideas from their previous experience in urban renewal. However, on the trip to Edinburgh Davies had become particularly impressed by one of the participating developers, Trevor Osborne. He recognised in Osborne the type of commitment that could move the campaign along positively. Therefore, on returning to London an approach was made to Osborne, through HRH the Prince of Wales, to chair the initiative. Osborne accepted.

Trevor Osborne had been working in entrepreneurial property activities since the mid 1960s. His involvement in small scale development resulted in the formation of a company known as Speyhawk in 1973. This company was later listed on the London Stock Exchange in 1981. Osborne chaired Speyhawk from 1973 until 1993. At the time of his introduction to the BITC project, most of his preoccupation had been with commercial work, with a small amount of experience in residential development. He had built up a considerable measure of respect amongst peers in his field. Consequently he had been the president of the British Property Federation (1991-1992), a council member of the City Property Association, a director of Redland Plc and London First, and the chairman of St George Plc, Building and Property Management Services Limited and Lucknam Park Limited. In addition, he has had considerable commitment to the arts and strong links with his local Conservative Association. For several years he was a member of Wokingham District Council, where he

was Council Leader from 1980 to 1982. At present Osborne is Chairman of Hawk Development Management Plc and also of The Trevor Osborne Property Group Limited (involving 21 companies), and a director of Luckman Park Limited, The Oxford Science Park Limited, Speyhawk Plc and the Urban Village Company Limited. It was because of these sort of credentials that it was hoped Osborne would have the savoir-faire to start bringing this 'city village' vision into existence on the ground.

Provided he had a dependable team to work with and about two years to clearly document the criteria and process for development, Osborne was confident he could stir the project into fruitful action. So the existence of the "Urban Villages Group" was formally sanctioned by the Prince of Wales at the Guildhall, London on 15 June 1990. As a first step they set about further understanding and clarifying the concept they envisaged, demonstrating the case for it, and preparing a detailed report on the way to achieve it.

Without doubt Davies was correct in his assessment that Osborne would be committed. Osborne has now unfailingly chaired the Group for ten years. All his colleagues on that Group are unanimous in their admiration for his enthusiasm and continuing momentum. He is unquestionably a highly competent operator within professional, entrepreneurial and aristocratic circles. He is also a powerful and persuasive leader, orchestrating manoeuvres with a certain charm and tirelessly drawing commitment from his commercial sector contacts for the Urban Villages Campaign.

The initial hope was to encourage business leaders to become involved directly in bringing about the 'city villages'. The aim was to help them to

see the light, to understand the concept and then be ambassadors, to demonstrate whether or not this was commercially viable, because it was no good demonstrating it if it purely relied on a wealthy land owner to put a lot of their resources in, although it does take a very, very long-term view. (Davies, 1995 interview)

To that end, a number of prominent figures in the building, property and finance world were invited to sign up with the team. They included Bob Williams (Chairman and Managing Director of Grand Metropolitan Estates Ltd), Sir Martin Laing (Chairman of John

Laing Plc), William Stevenson (Deputy Chairman, Bellway Homes, Urban Renewal Division), David Taylor (Managing Director, AMEC Regeneration Ltd), John Swanson (Chairman, The Swanson Enterprise Company Ltd), Andrew Wadsworth (Chairman, Jacobs Island Company Plc/ Landworth Ltd), David Goldstone (Chief Executive, Regalian Properties Plc), and Terry Thomas (Managing Director, The Co-operative Bank Plc). In addition, Kevin Knott (Deputy Secretary, Duchy of Cornwall) was brought on board because of the link that would afford the Group to the Duchy's Poundbury development project in Dorset. Ken Bartlett (Assistant Chief Executive, Housing Corporation) and Martin Bradshaw (Director, Civic Trust) were also invited to participate because of their links into both the building industry and policy making. Leon Krier was summoned to fulfill the mentoring role in the Group.

There is no doubt at all that the allure of the Prince had much to do with these men's willingness to co-operate. Many Group members are happy to admit this:

I would suspect it (the developer's interest in the Urban Villages Group) had much to do with the Prince of Wales, who's got, of course, considerable drawing power in his own inimitable way. And if he says 'well look I'd like a group of these reasonably well known developers to come together and help me generate this idea and do things better', they'll all come. They'll all be there. They'll all want to impress. It's all leading to OBEs and Knighthoods and things like that. But that's not meant to be too cynical.... I think the lure of the Prince and his saying 'right guys how are we going to take this forward' always brings a group together that way. (Bradshaw, 1995 interview)

And maybe there's also that element, which may not be unique to the developers of course, that they like to be seen to be involved in these things because it casts them in a good light and HRH might even invite them to Highgrove for tea. Isn't that cynical of me. (Sparks, 1995 interview)

I suppose everybody is a degree sceptical about ... the reasons for it.... All of us wonder what's really behind it. What drives Trevor to do all this and put a huge amount of work in the thing. I suppose we've all got opinions about that. (Reid postulated Osborne was seeking a Knighthood) (Reid, 1995 interview)

We've benefited from the Prince's involvement *hugely* and I'd never not admit that, but ... in a way it slightly clouds the issue because people get terribly star-struck. (Hallyburton, 1996 interview)

While this royal puissance does not prohibit detection of the members' perfunctory motivations (that is, the plan each had in mind at the time they agreed to participate), it makes it more difficult to discover, by means of interview, their genuine deeper convictions (the balance of experiential, ideological and structural factors behind their action, refer Schutz, 1972). Their own self-explication has become tainted by their allegiance to the

Prince and thus many present themselves as more committed to urban revival, prior to their 'call', than is born out by their personal history.

Members' motivations for involvement in the Group are mixed. 'I think it's not entirely altruistic.... There is a little bit of self-interest in all of these things' (Reid, 1995 interview). Initially, many of the property sector members were dubious about the ideas being held up to them by the Prince, Davies, Krier and Osborne. Few, apart from Wadsworth and Osborne, had previously attempted to incorporate such principles in their own developments. However:

Most of them have an eye to the main chance ... and through that runs a thread of greater or lesser commitment to the idea. The commercial animal does very few things for free. The commercial animal may have a pocket marked philanthropic benefactions, charities, social development and so on. He's really doing those because they're good PR, or they're good for labour relations or whatever. But they don't do anything for free. But if the commercial animal is faced by saying you've got to cross these hurdles if you want the pay-off, then it gets its act together and does them. And I think that's the ultimate. If you say in a convincing way this is a requirement of the planning system, this is a requirement of the financial/fiscal system then the commercial animal will respond, because that's its nature. And if you don't make it absolutely clear that this is what you want and there will be penalties if it isn't complied with then most of them won't. (Aldous, 1995 interview)

If the Urban Villages Group could get urban villages formally recognised by central and local government, and thereby given priority over other forms of urban development, then these developers might have the potential to receive preferential treatment over their competitors in grant and land use applications. This is an outcome that would make their involvement worthwhile. Similarly, Sparks (1995 interview) also suggests the developers have an eye to the main chance, and draws the obvious parallel with the 1980s new settlements developer group called Consortium Development Limited, CDL, (some of whom are members of the Urban Villages Group, but by coincidence rather than design according to Osborne, 1995 interview):

Now if the developer is looking to build the free-standing urban village in the countryside they might well run into problems. And if you presented it as an urban village you would probably run into far fewer problems than you would if he'd just set out to say 'I want to build 5,000 houses here, give me permission'. I suspect, and I've got no actual evidence for this, but I suspect that some of the people who got involved in urban villages initially may have thought that here's a way of getting past that problem that they'd had with the planning system which had been closing down any new free-standing settlements that hadn't been thought of first of all by the planning authority. And there

was a history in the mid '80s in particular, where a number of developers, and there was in fact an organisation chaired by Lord Northfield, ... Consortium Developments, set out to build some new settlements and ran into planning problems.

Bradshaw (1995 interview) confirms this early account of the Group. 'It was simply seen as a developers' charter to get chunks of green land, not necessarily in the greenbelt, but land which would be helpful to those people in the development business, particularly the housing development business.'

While the image of the Group has now changed from that of new settlement promoters to inner city regenerators, Osborne (1995 interview) candidly admits that altruism is still not a dominating justification for involvement in the Group. He claims that some independent members are essentially beneficent. However, house builder, developer and consultant members all look to the potential for the Group to enhance their opportunities and profitability. Lichfield (1995 interview) reiterates this view:

There was a meeting of it (the Urban Villages Group) last night, last evening. Now at the meeting yesterday for example it was said, and I think it's true, everybody joins it for a different purpose. Everybody has a purpose. The purpose is not all the same. Some people, one extreme, I can think of, other organisations, they're willing to join, pay hard money, because they believe in the idea. The other extreme, the Urban Villages Company which are basically developers. There's people like myself and others, John Thompson, who also would like to work. We're interested in the idea.... But as a follow through we're hoping, this office as consultants, to be asked to be involved. Not necessarily to make money. But certainly because the idea of doing urban villages is something that appeals to us.... So we've got a professional interest. The developers would hope to make development money out of it. The academics might be interested in the idea. So it's very varied. And it doesn't mesh as one co-ordinated group.... people have obviously a common interest in participating, different motivations, and they mix when they're interested in a particular aspect.

In general, it appears that the majority of the original property members of the Group agreed to join in order to latch on to some fashionable environmental and social thinking to better place themselves for future financial rewards, and to achieve kudos within their sector and with the Prince. But on another level, most also joined because of some degree of conviction that they had a role to play in improving urban conditions, albeit an ill-defined role. Later members, who came from a wider professional base, while still often seeking to maximise opportunities and kudos via the Group, more often joined (or rather

were invited to join) because of long-held fundamental beliefs in the need for such attributes as urban revival, community responsibility and collaborative partnerships.

That understood, during interviews with Group members about their own commitment and that of their colleagues, they present a convincing picture of an earnest pledge to the cause. For example, consider the following three comments on personal commitment and then two on the commitment of others:

Well urban villages is all about process and it's about participatory methodologies in terms of both the design process early on and also in terms of how the thing grows, how it's managed. So it all fits with my personal professional philosophy and is therefore worth committing quite a lot of time to, you know, for nothing to try and promote it. (Thompson, 1995 interview)

Now what I would like to see, my aim for urban areas, is to have an urban population that finds it a delight, that really likes living in urban areas. Yes there should be choice and there are always going to be edges to urban areas.... there will always be a gradation away, but that the core and the inner areas of our cities should be urban, that they should provide high standards of living and environment, but they should be urban and they should be populated both residentially and by people who actually think that good. (Galloway, 1995 interview)

Well you want to end up with places which are safe for people to live and work in ... so you've got security. The environmental side of it I'm very keen on. And having been fortunate enough to live in villages where everybody does know each other ... there's a real soul and community spirit. And it's a way of cementing society together. Whereas much of what we did after the war in terms of tower blocks and goodness knows what else is the concept of breaking society up I think. (Laing, 1995 interview)

Most of them, I believe, on the Group have got a genuine concern to improve things. A chap called Bill Stevenson from Bellway, he's a guy worth talking to.... But guys like that would have responded I think because they would like to feel they could do it well. It's in their own interests after all, their marketability, saleability. (Bradshaw, 1995 interview)

I think to me the interesting thing is that there isn't any sort of wide divergence of view (between Urban Villages Group members) about the benefits of going down this path. Developers are interested in creating long-term value, they are. So I think the unity is quite remarkable.... So there's no divorce of view, no. But it's interesting.... it's deeply sincere. (Welbank, 1995 interview)

Genuine intentions or not, the Group was at the start, and has remained, an *élite* assembly of upper-middle class, neo-conservative and liberal, white, middle-aged males. In this context, *élite* is used to indicate the relatively high level of wealth, education, social position, power and choice of these men. As a group they offer a protest against the perceived malaise of conventional post World War II urbanisation, despite the fact that they are personally largely exempt from its direct effects. For example, very few of the Group's members over the years have actually chosen to live in urban areas, despite going to them

each day to work. Davies and Krier are two of the small number of members who express a real joy for urban life and have consciously elected to live in urban locations (although Krier has recently permanently retreated to a remote rural village in Provence). But others have their residence in the countryside, Osborne in Berkshire, Laing near Chipping Norton in Oxfordshire, Black near Sherborne in Dorset; and some, such as Bradshaw and Hallyburton, when seeking new homes, have been looking around the small villages of the Cotswolds. So the Group is not a social movement which has emerged from a ground swell of grievance over unsatisfactory lived personal experience, but an élite mustered together out of abstract paternal concern.

Trying to keep such a assemblage moving in the direction intended by the original instigators was no easy task. The various city visits had placed the design criteria on the table, but keeping to the agenda required particular vigilance. Davies was instrumental in this, as was Dr Brian Hanson (who also posits Jane Jacob's writings as a primary stimulus for the Campaign). At this time Hanson held the position of Secretary in Architecture to HRH the Prince of Wales. Hanson had studied at the Bartlett School of Architecture in London, and maintained a particular interest in the ideas of the artisan in architecture. He had worked with the Prince since 1988 and the heady days of the Mansion House speech. Subsequently, he had close involvement with the Prince's *Vision of Britain* documentary and book. Later he would also play a key role in establishing the Prince of Wales's Institute of Architecture, subsequently becoming its Director. While not a formal member of the Group, Hanson, in his capacity as an agent for the Prince of Wales, advised the Group on architectural issues, attending all meetings and discussions in the two year period that led up to the publication of the Group's first public report.

3. THE INSPIRATION AND BRIMSTONE THAT IS KRIER

A chief concern for Hanson during this period was to ensure that the eloquent and meticulous urban theorist Leon Krier (one of the Prince of Wales's favoured mentors) played an active part in the Group's discussions. 'Krier represents an extreme rationalist point of view, extreme traditionalist point of view ... in relation to urban design, and probably one of the most difficult things is to marry this hard-nosed group of developers with that kind of ideology' (Hanson, 1995 interview). But at the will of the Prince of Wales, this collection of business people indulged the royally sanctioned guru. In fact, most willingly applauded the enthusiastic Krier's leading, and even brilliant or visionary, part in setting out the key components of the Group's urban design template, despite his uncompromising temperament and lack of a practical track record. As the principal theoretician present, Krier provided the conceptual basis for the Group's work. He certainly found the whole process draining. The Group met regularly, often weekly, over 1990 and 1991. Krier stalwartly expounded his perspective on urban development. Used to making his living by articulating and selling such ideas, he was disturbed that it took him two years of intense exertion to satisfactorily convince the Group of his viewpoint. And all for no fee.

3.1 Introducing Krier's position

Krier has not only played a significant role in the development of the Urban Villages Group, but is also a crucial participant in the Poundbury case study presented in Chapter Five. Therefore, the following section introduces him in detail. Born in Luxembourg in 1946, and educated at Stuttgart University, Krier's career has been principally stimulated by the effects of post-war development on Europe's historic towns. He is renowned for his passionate critique of what he interprets as the intolerable drudgery of contemporary cities and civilisation at large. Personal distress over the 'devastation' and 'rape' of his 'beautiful

birthplace' was a major life shaping factor for Krier. '(T)he combined forces of planning and building alienated me from my homeland, but it gave sense and direction to my life' (Krier, 1992c: 7). The direction is one opposed to the outcomes of fragmentary land speculation, the self gratifying experimentation with form and space, the obsession with expressing the spirit of the age, the construction of unconventional building types, and the inadequate planning therein observed.

Camillo Sitte has been a particular inspiration to Krier's formulation of urban theory. Krier credits Sitte with writing about cities in a manner that had not been achieved before. A communitarian theorist out of the artisan mould, with a historical aesthetic orientation, Sitte's foremost publication, *Der Städte-Bau nach seinen künstlerischen Grundsätzen* (*City building according to its artistic principles*) of 1889 was a reprehension of the modern capitalist city. Krier pays homage, 'that was for me a fundamental text like none' (1996 interview). Contrary to the rationalised mechanistic product of capitalism with its broad gridded traffic ways, Sitte advocated the humanised free form development of ancient and medieval urban areas, replete with irregular streets and enclosed squares. His ambition was to intentionally plan for what had previously been attained spontaneously over years of slow growth, and in so doing, forge a community wholeness that would regenerate culture and aesthetics. One particular appeal to Krier was the way that Sitte dealt with urban spaces very positively, not merely as left-over bits between buildings (Krier, 1996 interview). Sitte prioritised this aspect of design that in the past had been incorporated very 'naturally', albeit consciously, in town making. Krier embraces the concept wholeheartedly. A general lack of regard for such space, and subsequently the total loss of that space from contemporary urban design, is something that Krier has attempted to redress in his own theorising. But more generally, Krier can be seen to be a respectful disciple of the Sitte school of artistic and spiritual city making.

Other than Sitte, Krier states that a lot of people have influenced him to lesser extents in one way or another. The list includes consummate modernist Le Corbusier whose

presentation skills Krier has clearly purloined, particularly in the form of Le Corbusier's 1920s animations - cars, planes, people - which Krier unreservedly uses in his own perspectives (figure 1). Even so, while he regards Le Corbusier as an inspiration, Krier finds his built constructions depressing. Krier has also been linked with German architect and planner Heinrich Tessenow best known for his traditional vernacular work and as co-planner of the first German Garden City at Hellerau. However, Krier acknowledges no mentor as such: 'I looked for somebody, for a mentor, but I didn't find one' (1996 interview). In his early career Krier spent a brief period of time working for the esteemed British architect James Stirling in the hope of finding him to be a source of intellectual light. But he was disappointed. While he treasured his time in this office (1992h: 39), he found Stirling 'had absolutely no theory at all to speak of - you need a theory to build a city' (facetiously, Krier was later to draw caricatures of a bemused Stirling clad in jumper, alongside other figures in period costume, into several of his perspectives) (Krier, 1996 interview). Eventually, it was the paucity of suitable luminaries that thrust Krier into his theoretical work. 'I chose not to study - and not to build, but to think, to draw, and to publish instead; not because I felt a special gift in either direction, but because of an absurd realisation that nobody else seemed inclined to do what I imperatively felt had to be done' (1992c: 7).

Despite any reticence, Krier has been extremely effective in getting his viewpoint across and stimulating debate on both sides of the fence. His colourful disposition has been invaluable in his crusade and helped earn him a myriad of responses from all sides:

Leon Krier: visionary artist, maker of myths, poet, dreamer,
recaptor of a pre-industrial past.

Leon Krier: clear-headed pragmatist, rationalist, simplifier,
thinker, shaper of a post-Orwellian future.

Leon Krier: gadfly, destroyer of reputations, perennial 'bad boy',
polemicist, outraged reformer, bringer of fire and brimstone.

Leon Krier: man of character and conviction; firm friend,
fierce antagonist; brother, husband.

Leon Krier: scholarly, introspective; intolerant, generous; plain,
affected, normal, eccentric; aristocratic, bourgeois; discriminating,
wide ranging; prince, peasant.

Leon Krier: scorned, adored; exaggerated, underrated;
contradictory, consistent; a leader, alone.

Leon Krier: artist/architect, political philosopher, moralist/prophet.

(Robertson, 1984: 11)

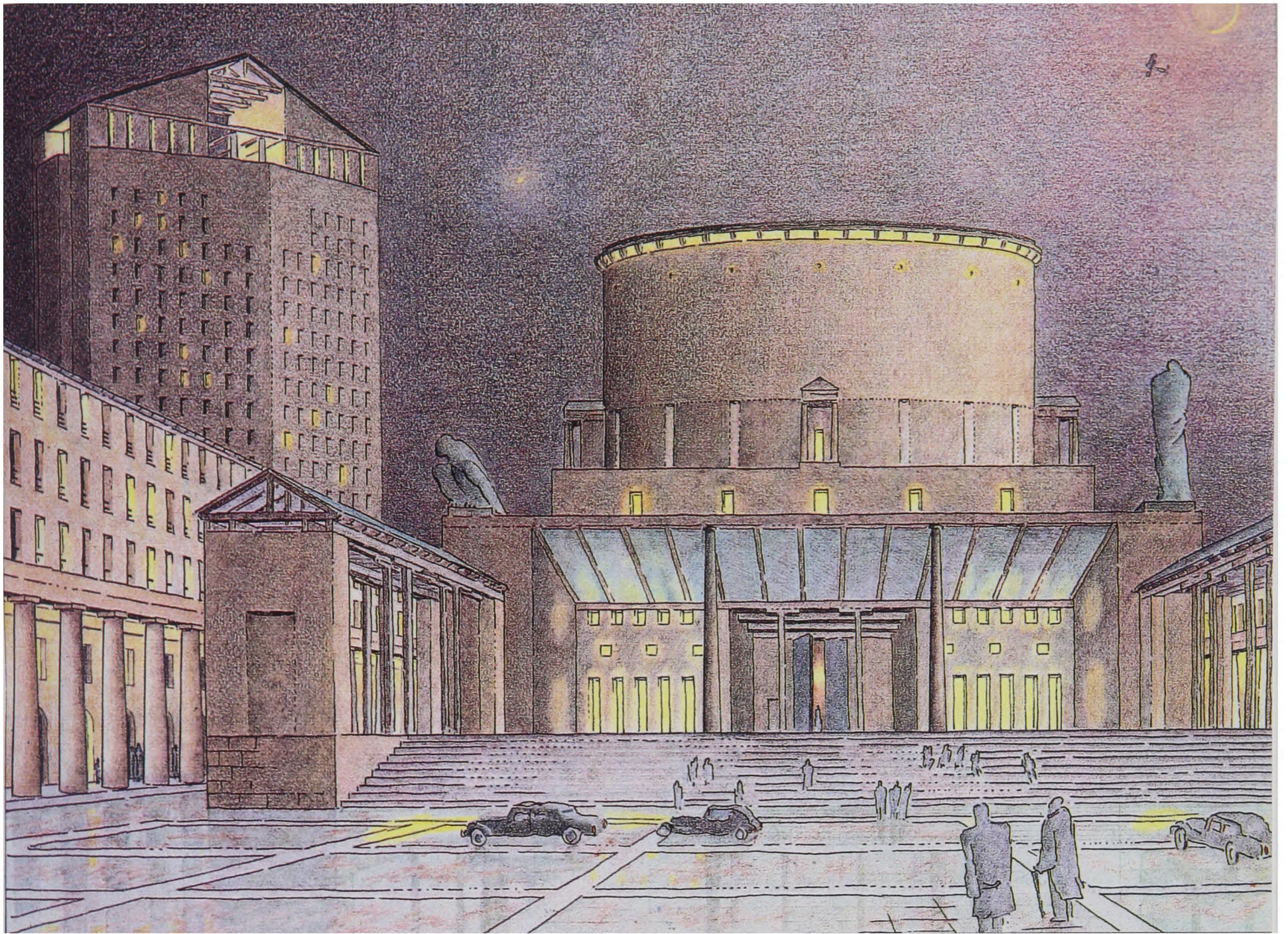


FIGURE 1: Krier perspective for European Parliament and Library, with Corbusian inspired accessories (Economakis, 1992: 93)

Needless to say, various labels have been used to characterise Krier, including neo-rationalist (Colquhoun, 1981), classical revivalist (Wright, 1989), humanist (Porphyrios, 1992), and even Marxist (Maxwell, 1977b). One of the most popular recent designations has been that of postmodernist (Harvey, 1989; Jencks, 1991; Knox, 1993b; Ellin, 1996), a title he definitely takes as 'an insult' (Krier, 1996 interview). Although Krier's drawings are clearly distinguished by ironic references and historical imagery, his project has a social objective and mode of implementation that is decidedly contrary to postmodern rhetoric. In fact, Krier is opposed to the commercial popularism of postmodern development (Werner, 1988: 88). As a matter of preference then, Krier describes himself as a traditionalist. The transcendence of times and regions, combined with the integration of new elements, are principal features of his traditionalism, which he depicts as

an extremely articulate language which has both a vernacular and a monumental language. It varies from region to region, yet it (is) also ... international. (It has a) vast inventory of forms ... it cannot be put down to one style or one period, but it's an inventory which is constantly developing (and) is not limited to *historic* architecture.... (A) typical mistake of modernist thinking ... is to call us historic. We are *not* historic. All architecture has a historic element in it, but the largest element in language, in any form of communication, including architecture, is in transcendence. (Krier, 1996 interview)

However, in Krier's opinion, much post World War II development sets out to deliberately avoid such transcendence and pointedly detach from the past in an 'obsessive drive' for 'technical innovations' (Krier, 1978: 38).

What is being drawn and built nowadays is often full of bravura and brutal vitality; one senses above all an almost mad will of expression. The storey-lines of Canary Wharf, La Defense or Hong Kong are full of very plain messages and their content is generally as banal as it is superficially extravagant. (Krier, 1992d: 15)

Even worse, the ascendancy of petty-bourgeois ideology and commercialisation of urban land has resulted in architects becoming the 'servile executors of grand speculation and the large building monopolies', losing 'their traditional credibility as creators of a better tomorrow' (Krier, 1978: 38). Similarly, industrialised construction processes have crushed the culture of the artisan builder. The outcome in Europe, as Krier interprets it, is the greatest

level of physical and social destruction and fragmentation the cities have ever seen.

Bourgeois town planning has

destroyed the very foundations of the ancient urban dialectic between public and private life, between production and free time, between anonymity and individuality, between the street and the square, between the monumental and the humdrum, between architecture and nature. (Werner, 1988: 89)

This is a blight beyond any experienced in the world wars. Accordingly, Krier took 'a critical attitude in relation to Modern Architecture in particular and in relation to the bourgeois production of Architecture in general' (1978: 39). In Krier's analysis, the complexity and unpredictability of nineteenth century highly concentrated city life was 'the most powerful threat to the growing power of the industrial bourgeoisie' (1978: 40). The technical solution for the latter group was provided by low density suburban developments popularised in such forms as Ebenezer Howard's Garden City concept. Krier proffers that such solutions 'have been instrumental in the bureaucratisation of class struggle' and the proliferation of conservatism in Western Europe (1978: 41).

During the 1960s and early 1970s Krier was one of several European thinkers who advanced a reinvigorated rationalist architecture. Aldo Rossi, Manfredo Tafuri, Paolo Portoghesi, and Massimo Scolari were among the most influential participants in this move. Their shift, away from the universalised functional model (applicable anywhere) approach of modernists, draws on culture and history to prioritise certain fundamental types and forms exhibited in existing structures and locales (and acknowledged to differ between places). In so doing, they reject as oversimplistic the modernist assumption of form following function. Industrial cities constructed purposively to fulfill a 20th Century economic project lack the adaptability to survive major crises and changes in *modus operandi*. In contrast, these theorists celebrate the complexity and longevity of traditional urban form despite contextual (and functional) changes, and its potential to be read as a text with multiple interpretations. Not only is there a hint of Jacques Derrida's deconstruction thinking in this (in terms of 'deconstructing' functionalism and 'reading' architecture), but also an adaptation

of ideas stemming from urban and cultural geography (Ellin, 1996), particularly in terms of the importance of 'place' to collective memory (compare to the work of geographers Maurice Halbwachs, 1992 and Georges Chabot, 1952). Architectural design should express the memories associated with a location and thereby reinforce the significance of that place. As a minimum, architecture should create environments which lend themselves to become 'theatres of memory'.

But more than this, Ellin (1996: 16) argues that 'this movement diverged from the Modern Movement with regards to the architectural mode of production as well as the product'. Neo rationalist adherents sought an alternative to what they saw as capitalism's speculative, profit oriented, labour alienating and consumptive tendencies. At the same time however, they conceded the enormity of the task in a modern industrial economy. Their contribution was just 'one component of a global strategy of anti-industrial resistance' (Ellin, 1996: 16).

Krier's own ideas have been deeply influenced by his 'resistance' activities within Belgium. Krier and some like-minded local contemporaries (not all architects) such as Maurice Culot, Robert Delevoy and Anthony Vidler began to draw together an oppositional architecture movement based in Brussels. This was an attempt to bring about the reconstruction of that city. As a starting point, and in direct contrast to the anti-historicist approach of Modernist architects, Krier and his colleagues turned to the history of the city and all its typological components (in terms of types of settlements, spaces, buildings, construction) for their guidance. In so doing, they asserted that the dynamics of urban space should not be regarded as solely the outcome of political, social and economic structures, but also the product of the 'rational intention of culture' (Krier, 1978: 42).

As Krier expressed it, the outcome of this research was recognition of the common principles of design (*disegno*) and dimension (*misura*) that are to be found in historic cities. From these it was possible to develop a normative concept. It was Krier's personal conviction that there was no point in a critique without a countermeasure, nor in

historiography without vision. But rather than a rigid utopian model, he offered a more flexible paradigm or exemplar, free of any potential for precise copying or cloning. Any design or form that might be drawn up to elaborate the fundamental ideas would merely serve as a beacon. It would not be intended to exist in itself except by approximations. That approach in mind, Krier formulated the following theses as the basis for urban reconstruction in the image of the traditional city

A CITY CAN ONLY BE RECONSTRUCTED IN THE FORM OF STREETS, SQUARES AND URBAN QUARTERS.
 THESE QUARTERS MUST INTEGRATE ALL FUNCTIONS OF URBAN LIFE, IN AREAS NOT TO EXCEED 35 HA AND 15,000 INHABITANTS.
 THE STREETS AND SQUARES MUST PRESENT A FAMILIAR CHARACTER.
 THEIR DIMENSIONS AND PROPORTIONS MUST BE THOSE OF THE BEST AND MOST BEAUTIFUL PRE-INDUSTRIAL CITIES.
 SIMPLICITY MUST BE THE GOAL OF URBAN TOPOGRAPHY, HOWEVER COMPLEX.
 THE CITY MUST BE ARTICULATED INTO PUBLIC AND DOMESTIC SPACES, MONUMENTS AND URBAN FABRIC, SQUARES AND STREETS, CLASSICAL ARCHITECTURE AND VERNACULAR BUILDING. AND IN THAT HIERARCHY. (Krier, 1980: ii)

The object was not academic in nature. It was rooted in extensive involvement in urban struggles through the late 1960s in conjunction with La Cambre sociologist René Schoonbrodt's ARAU, the Atelier de Recherché et d'Action Urbaines (the Workshop for Urban Research and Action). By 1968 Maurice Culot had founded the Archives de l'Architecture Moderne (AAM) in Brussels, where he was Assistant Director of La Cambre architecture school. Aside from its role in publishing, AAM was initially primarily known for its active opposition to private and public speculation in Brussels. At the petition of various residents' groups, AAM and ARAU drew up counter projects to such speculation, free of charge. Krier was intimately involved in this anti-industrial resistance movement, as were the students of La Cambre. In the first two years of its existence, AAM prepared over a hundred counter projects, showing the potential for a more traditionalist redevelopment of Brussels, all in response to local requests. For Krier it was part of an attempt to procure urban democracy. Not only did the work demonstrate that his thesis could win the support of ordinary residents, it apparently highlighted a shared urban memory that was still present in the historic city. The projects were also a mechanism whereby intellectuals could 'commit

themselves to urban struggles at a daily level ... outside any spirit of artistic avant-garde' (Krier, 1980: ii). Formulating a reconstruction theory and the strategic manoeuvres for an AAM victory was the task Krier adopted as his own.

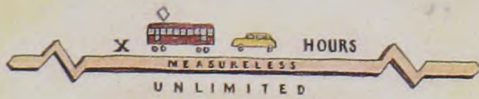
However, these counter projects started to be seen as an embarrassment at the national political level. Concerned about the economic threat and general 'public menace' (Krier, 1996 interview), those involved in the construction and real estate industry combined with practising architects and local politicians to present a case against the AAM's alternative architecture and its collusion with local inhabitants' groups. By the summer of 1979 matters had become so uncomfortable that the Minister of National Education took the extreme step of closing La Cambre and expelling twenty-four teaching staff connected with Culot's counter-project scheme. The affair had received considerable media coverage in the days leading up to the closure, ensuring the ripples were felt over Western Europe in the architecture and education communities. Many from these latter communities spoke out in support of La Cambre staff. But the school remained closed for a year until the Minister appointed more business-oriented architects to realign the teaching programme. In the interim the expelled teachers established a private school in order to continue their traditional pedagogy and production of alternative architectural schemes for Brussels. The new school foundered after a year, although the work of ARAU and AAM continued, albeit from dispersed locations and with severely diminished spirit.

The wider European neo-rationalist network also continued. The London exhibition of 1975 saw Leon Krier assemble a collection of testimonies in favour of a new rational architecture. The collection was later published by AAM under the title *Rational Architecture: the reconstruction of the European City*. In 1978 they presented the first formal communication of their position. The text was prepared by Krier and delivered at the architectural conference *La ville dans la ville* in Palermo, Sicily in April. Entitled the *Declaration de Palerme*, and published later that year by AAM, it outlined a charter for the Movement for the Reconstruction of the European City (a counter measure to the Athens

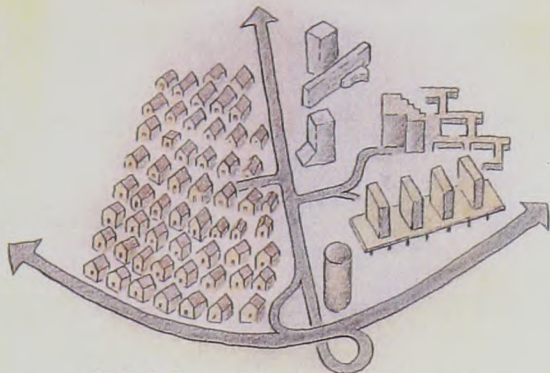
Charter of the modernists). The Movement's ideas were further elaborated in the *Declaration de Bruxelles*, published by AAM in 1980, and an extended version of both declarations was delivered by Krier as a keynote address to delegates at the International Union of Architects XV Congress in Cairo in January 1985.

For Krier, the purpose of creating the charter was to set out societal and individual rights and duties. Such a document, in his opinion, would complement and mirror image the concomitant political composition. In his augmentative document of 1985 Krier provided a critique of the industrial rationality for city (or rather anti-city) making, followed by a framework of characteristics for a project for the reconstruction of the city. The distinct attributes of the anti-city versus Krier's preferred city of urban communities are shown in figure 2. In Krier's assessment, the development and progress-led rationality of industrial activity had resulted in near ecological exhaustion and the destruction of cultures, traditions, landscapes, cities, resources and fundamental human values. Industrial cities have over-expanded, both vertically (by high rise, dense development in the inner city) and horizontally (by single storey, dispersed development in a suburban periphery). One of the primary tools advancing this industrial offensive has been zoning. The integrated and multifunctional nature of parishes, quarters, districts, villages and cities has been fragmented and replaced by monofunctional zones of commerce or industry or administration or housing, all supported by financial resource allocation policies. One outcome is a highly mobilised society because in any location only one function can be performed. Inevitably there is considerable consumption of time, energy and infrastructure in spanning the distances involved. But more than this, Krier asserts that '(f)unctional zoning is not a neutral, technical planning instrument; it is the means to destroy the infinitely complex cultural and economic fabric of urban culture and democracy' (Krier, 1992a: 16). Of particular concern to Krier is the fragmentation of integrated urban units which subsequently diminishes the reality of effective local democracy. Hence Krier finds the

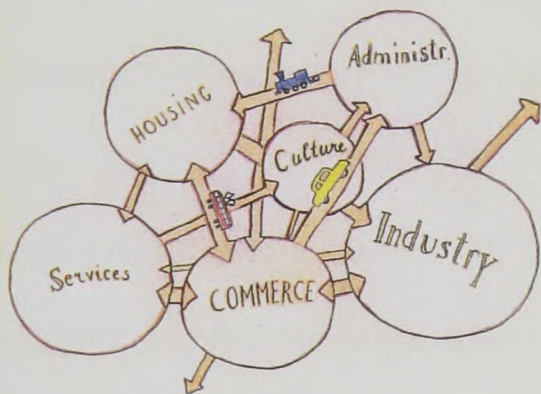
THE ANTI-CITY OF FUNCTIONAL ZONES



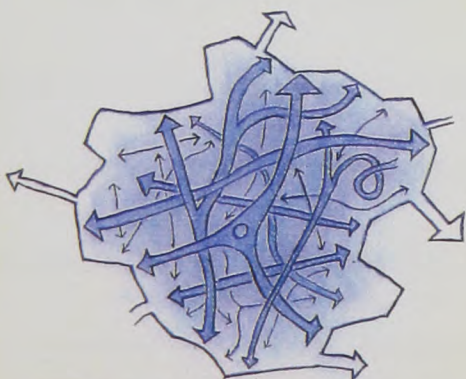
SUB-URBIA INDUSTRIAL



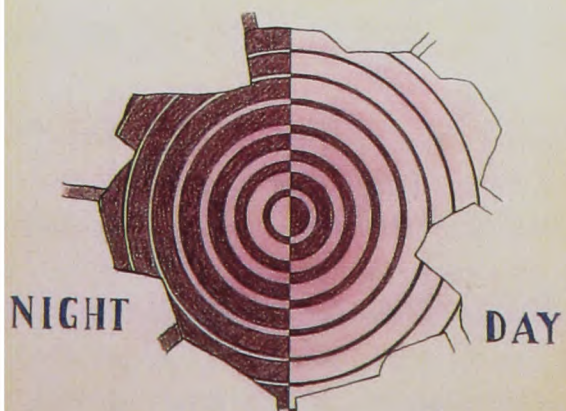
MASS-SOCIETIES
NEITHER CITY NOR LANDSCAPE



OBLIGATORY
SEGREGATION OF URBAN FUNCTIONS



MAXIMUM DISTANCES & MOVEMENTS
MAXIMUM CONSUMPTION OF TIME & ENERGY



A ~ CENTRAL
MONO-FUNCTIONAL "CENTRES"

THE CITY OF URBAN COMMUNITIES



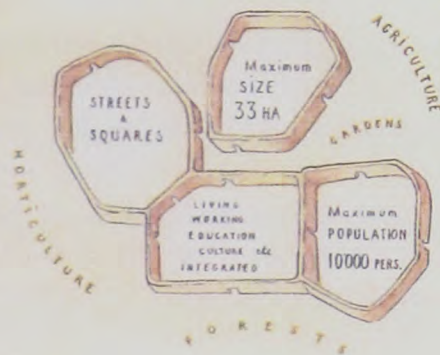
URBS CRAFTS AND ARTS

CIVITAS

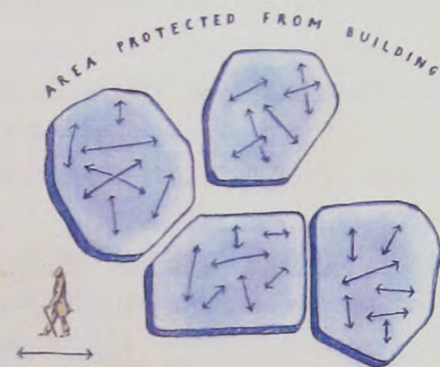


A QUARTER IS A COMPLETE CITY

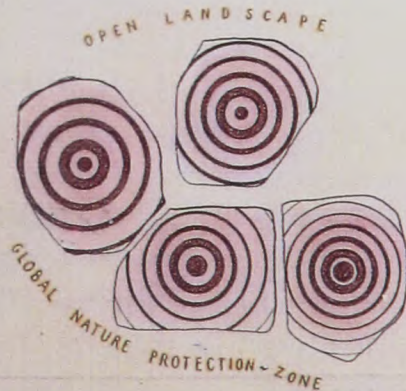
MAX. SIZE OF A COMMUNITY 33HA. 10'000 PERS.
INTEGRATION OF ALL URBAN FUNCTIONS



THE CITY WITHIN THE CITY
FEDERATION OF AUTONOMOUS CITY-DISTRICTS



MINIMAL DISTANCES & MOVEMENTS
OPTIMAL USE OF TIME & ENERGY



POLY-CENTRAL
POLY-FUNCTIONAL CENTRES

FIGURE 2: Krier drawings of the Anti-City and the City of Urban Communities (Economakis, 1992: 16-17)

industrial rationality to be an instrument and expression 'of moral, ecological and social short sightedness' (Krier: 1992a: 17).

Structural fate is not something that Krier subscribes to however. Rather than the form of production dictating the form of the city, Krier argues for the form of the city to shape 'forms of production and exchange'. That is the onerous task of his 'ecological' and 'moral' project for the reconstruction of the city. He starts by setting out his two key criteria for a city. Firstly that it must be limited in size, in terms of surface area, volume, population and number of activities. Any growth should occur by duplication rather than hypertrophic expansion (figure 3). Rather than extensive metropolitan regions, Krier's proposition is a polypolis, consisting of several clearly bounded cities. Then secondly, a city should synthesise (in contrast to segregate, as is dictated by zoning) all daily and less frequent urban activities, 'whether private or public, commercial or productive, religious or political' (Krier, 1992a: 17). The city itself would be comprised of a federation of autonomous boroughs, each of which in turn is comprised of up to four largely self-sufficient urban quarters (in his later work, Krier added a further level to this hierarchy, in the form of a town: a unit coming immediately under the city and comprising up to five boroughs).

As an entity distinct from its urban components, Krier's city provides for the more major functions that are not necessary or appropriate within boroughs or districts, such as those of a national or international nature. The location of such functions would be between borough or district boundaries, or on the clearly defined outer city boundary. The city centre itself is a crucial and complex feature, providing an intimate, 'highly urban environment' as 'the basis of urban culture' and 'intense social, cultural and economic exchange' (Krier, 1992e: 27). Similarly, the boroughs have clearly tangible centres, legible boundaries and cater for daily and less frequent activities (being self-sufficient in terms of secondary schools, weekly shopping, and local recreation and administration) which are located between individual urban quarters or on the borough boundary.

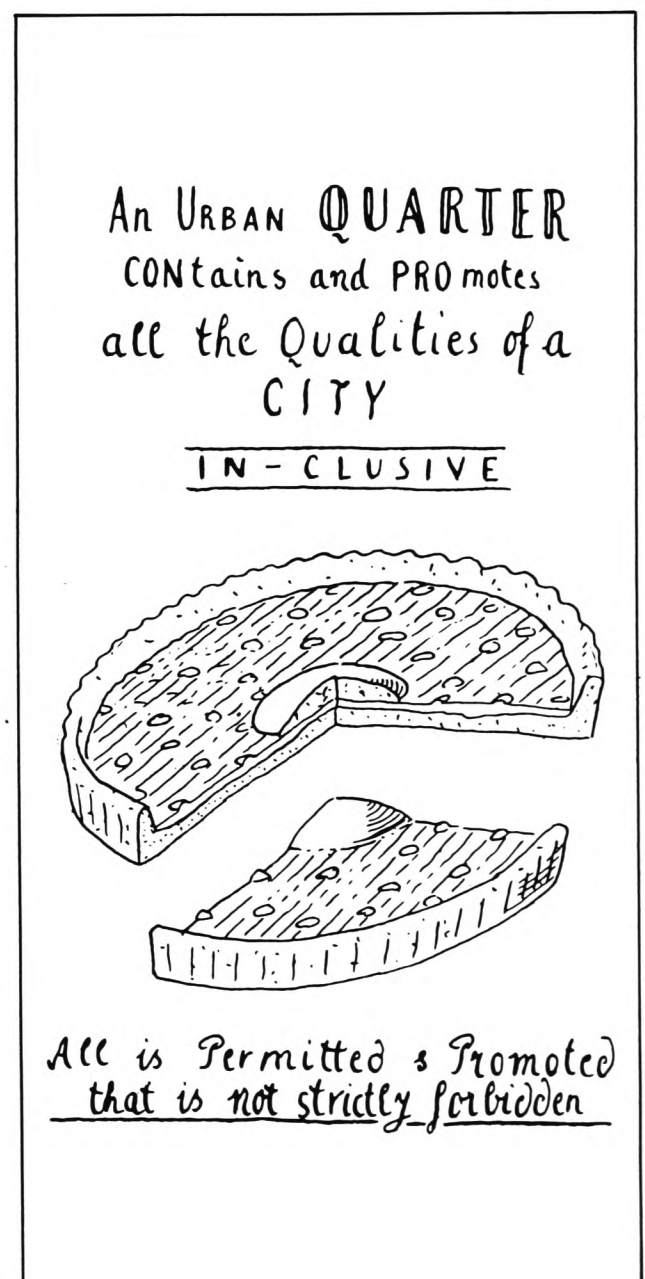
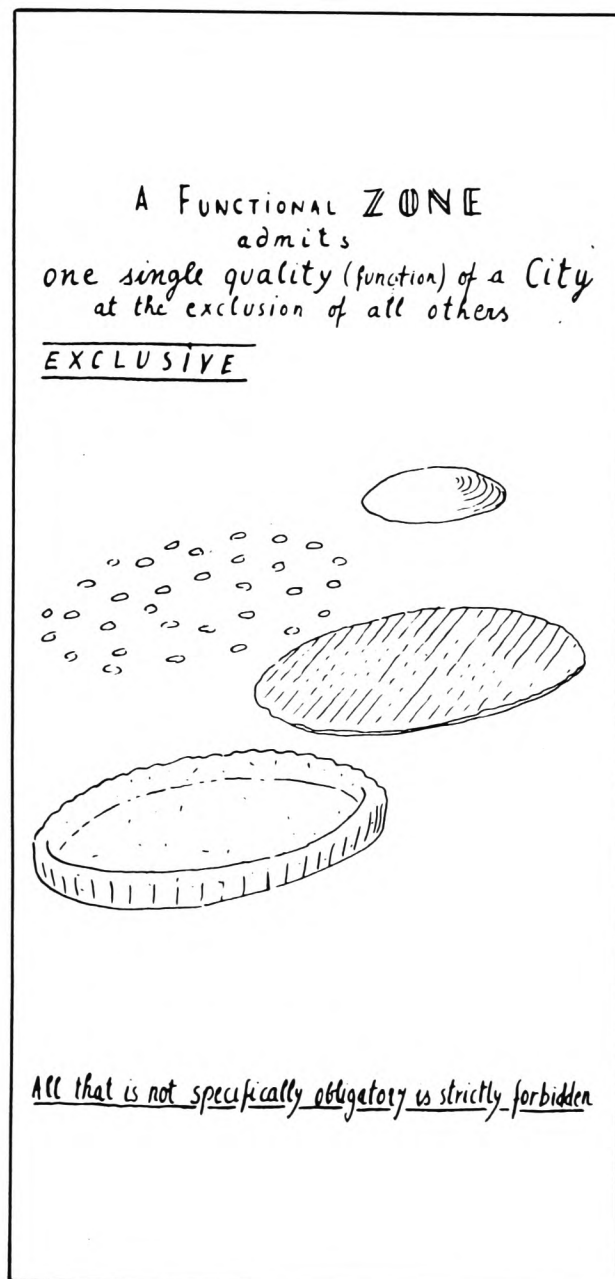
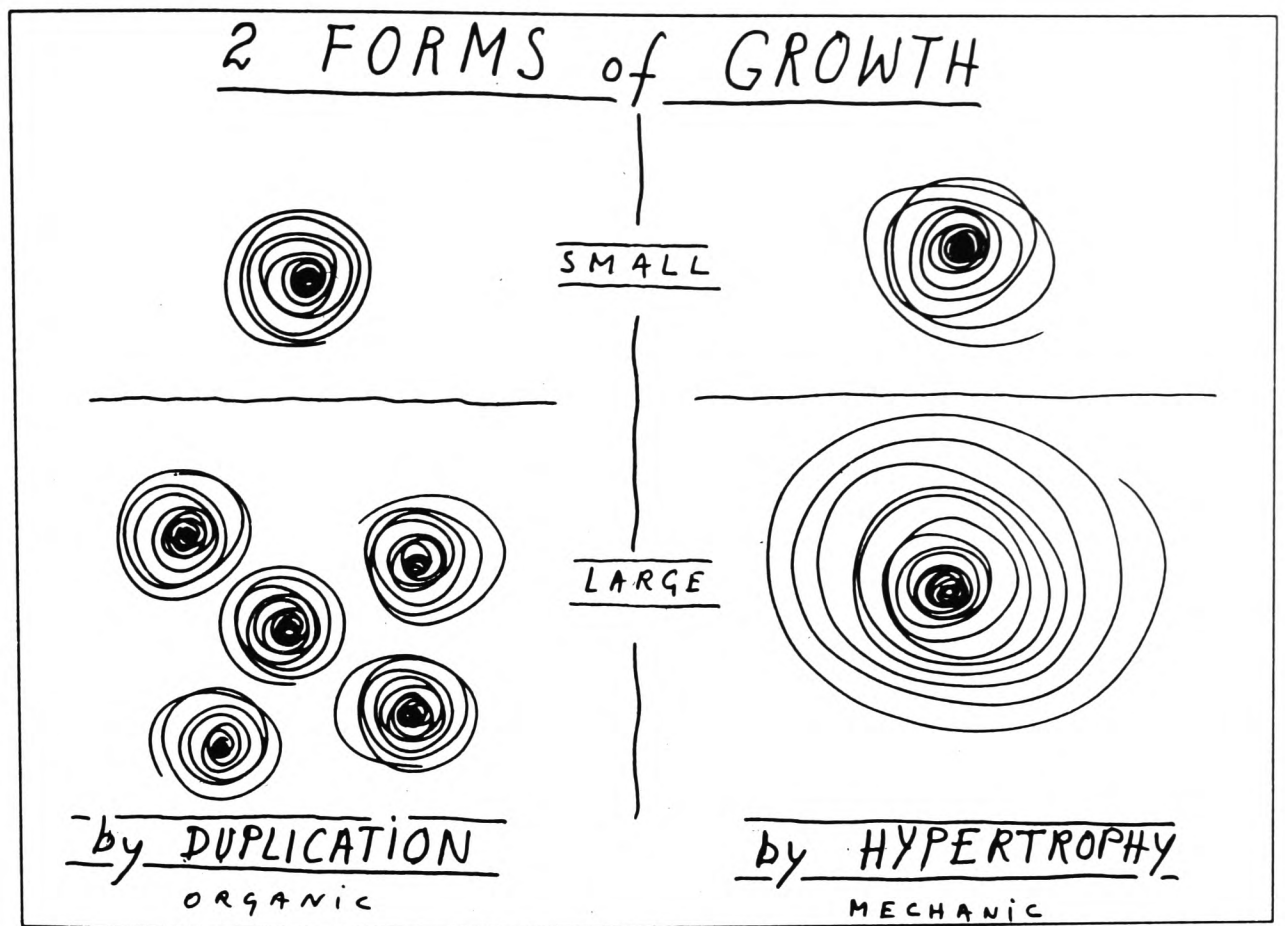


FIGURE 3: Krier line drawings (Economakis, 1992: 23 and 30)
Duplication versus Hypertrophy (top)
Functional Zones versus Urban Quarters (bottom)

The urban quarter, as he sees it demonstrated within such centres as Florence, Paris, Munich and Luxembourg, is Krier's primary building block for the city (figure 3). It is a relatively independent, multifunctional 'city within the city' (Krier, 1992f: 30). Provision for all daily and some weekly local functions exists within each quarter, including housing, pre-school and primary education, employment, daily shopping, and cultural and health facilities. The spatial extent of the quarter is dimensioned on a diameter of ten minutes walking distance, creating a fairly ring-shaped land unit with an area of around 32 hectares and a population of about 10,000. Again, Krier expresses the need for this level in the urban hierarchy to also maintain a discernible centre and intelligible bounds. With the urban quarter as the building block for urban growth management, Krier argues that there is a viable opponent to the anti-city of zones. The key to its effective implementation in specific locations is in the preparation of a masterplan to define the location, size and shape of each quarter, to broadly describe the integration required and the relations between buildings and spaces. Detailed urban, architectural and public space codes would establish the more detailed ground plan. This is an approach strongly indicative of Krier's neo-rationalist orientation to design.

It is the above basis of a charter for the reconstruction of the city that has been the foundational thread which permeates all of Krier's subsequent multi-faceted work. Work which has itself, until very recently, remained exclusively aural or printed in form in an effort to avoid personal compromise and the dirtying of his hands in 'industrial' construction within a system that he does not support (Krier and Culot, 1980). Wright (1989: 3) designates Krier the 'true master of this genre', commenting that:

It is often said that practice makes perfect, but this maxim doesn't always apply to the classical revivalists, who like to sing songs of innocence rather than experience. Of course, they speak highly of traditional apprenticeship, but the true classical revivalist also seems to be the one who has refused to build at all.

Drawing, writing, and teaching have been Krier's primary activities. He has been involved in the preparation of numerous articles, books, and exhibition catalogues dealing

with urban quarters, rational architecture, new classicism, urban renaissance, and even the works of the ignominious Albert Speer (Krier is adamant that architecture per se is apolitical, neither authoritarian nor democratic, although it can be produced and used for political purposes, 1984: 106). His latest major work entitled *Architecture: choice or fate*, published in English in 1998, reiterates his critique of modernism. It addresses the question of whether the architecture and cities of the future will be the result of a conscious and free choice, in line with human needs, or be imposed on society by the industrial economy? In terms of teaching, further to his early involvement instructing Culot's students in Belgium, Krier has been a lecturer at the Architectural Association and at the Prince of Wales' Institute of Architecture both in London, Professor of Architecture and Town Planning at the Royal College of Arts in London, Professor at Princeton University 1974-77, the Jefferson Professor at the University of Virginia 1982, and the Davenport Professor at Yale 1990-91. In addition he has also lectured at numerous short term courses and summer schools. But perhaps most powerful have been Krier's drawings, models, schemas, essays and satirical cartoons for various architectural competitions, exhibitions and personal flights of fancy. Each of these (as demonstrated below) whether caricature or potential construction at the scale of a city or a house, wholly reinforce firstly, his primary commitment to the reconstruction of urban fabric over disembodied architectural follies (even his single structures are always designed to clearly belong to a wider group of buildings); and, secondly, his belief in rationalism as a mechanism for clarifying analysis of the city, rather than as a design style (Werner, 1988). Some of his most important works include his many burlesque dualisms contrasting industrial/mechanistic/pluralistic and non-industrial/organic/traditional development (see example given in figure 4); his schemes for the re-building of existing towns and urban quarters, including Leinfelden, Bremen, Berlin (Tegel, Tiergarten), Paris (La Villette, Les Halles, see figure 5), London (Trafalgar Square, Royal Mint Avenue, Blackfriars to Westminster South Bank, Spitalfields Market), Rome (Civic Centres), Luxembourg (Promenade), and Stockholm (Södermalm); his proposals for the construction or completion of new towns, including

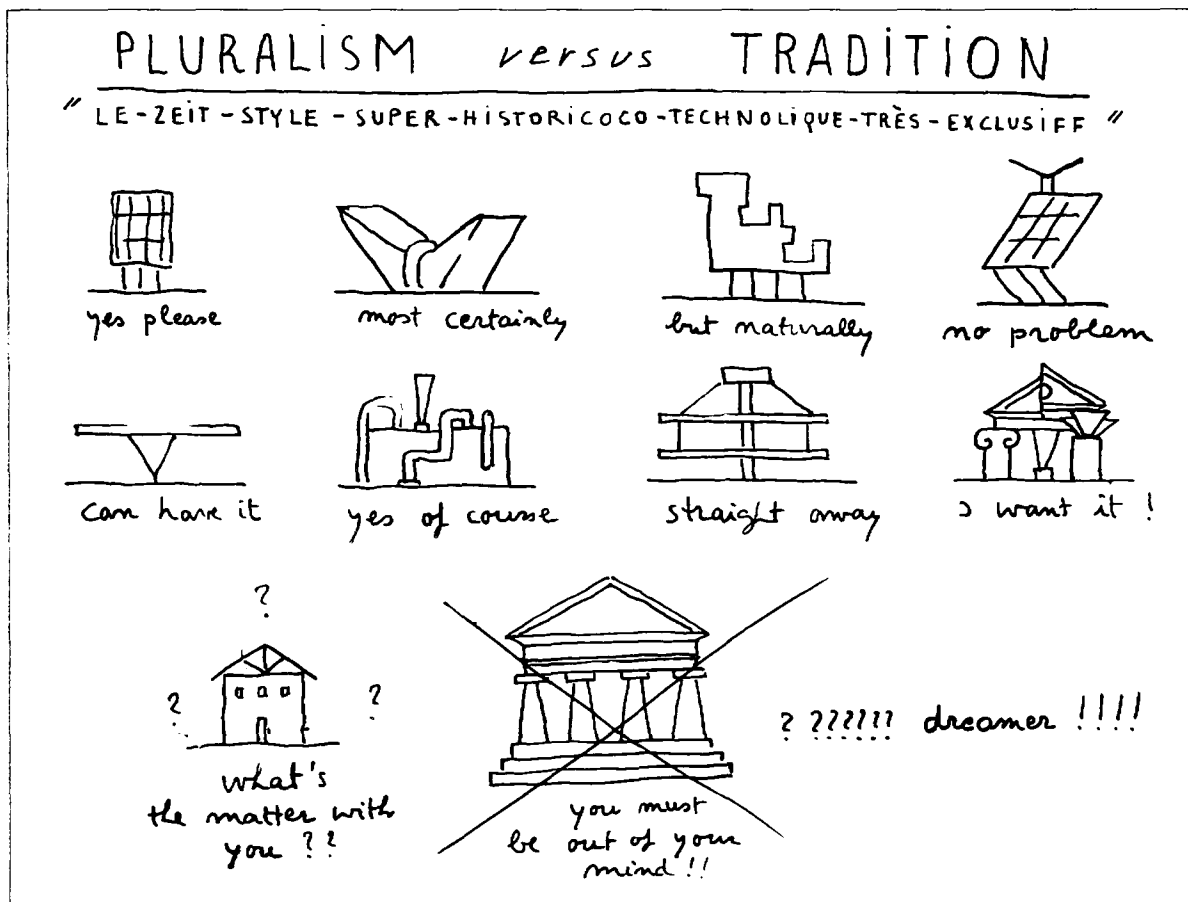


FIGURE 4: Krier dualisms - Pluralism versus Tradition (Economakis, 1992: 13)

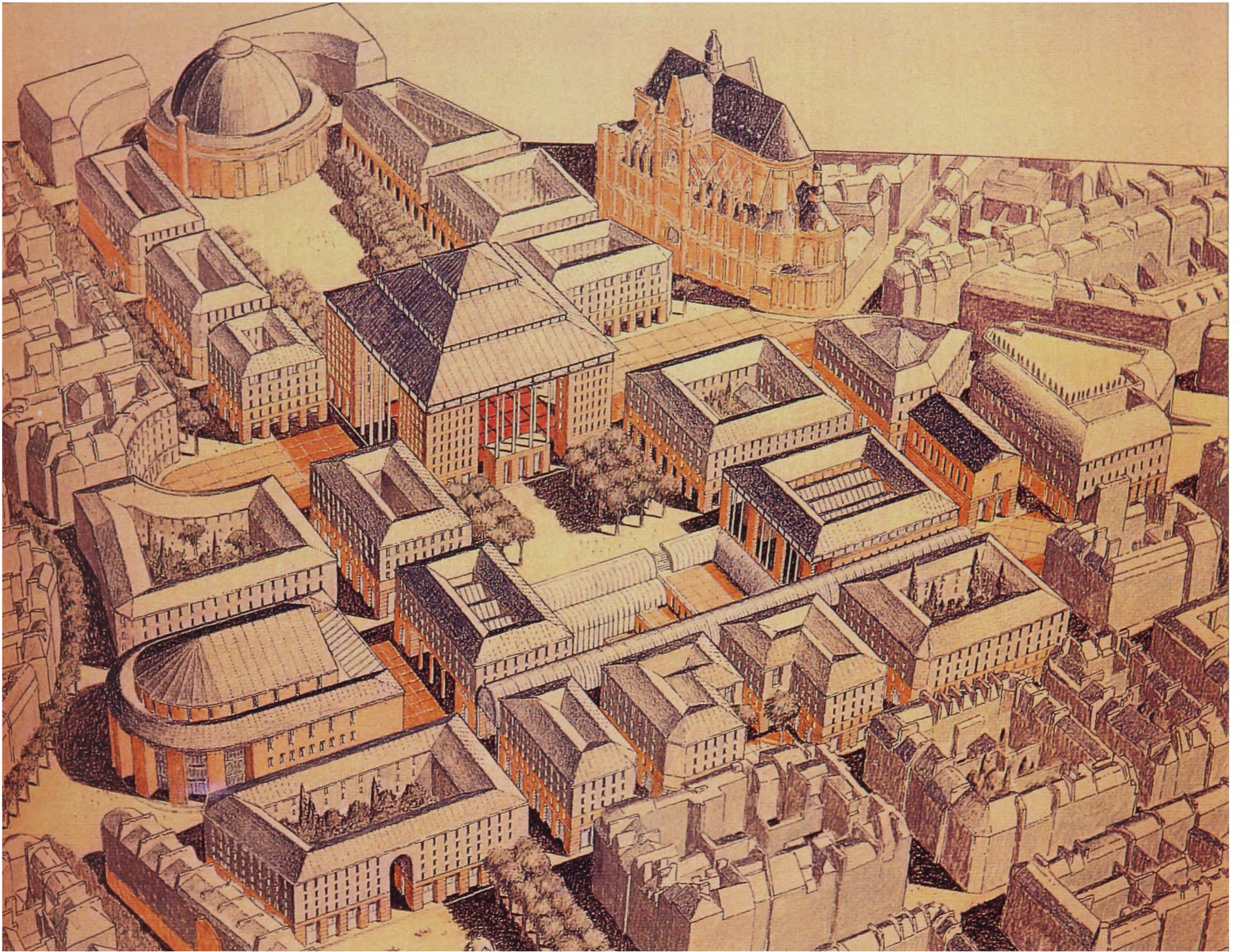


FIGURE 5: Krier perspective for Quartier des Halles, Paris (Economakis, 1992:123)

Luxembourg (European Quarters, see figure 6), Munich (Poing), Athens (Piraeus), Washington DC (Federal City) and Atlantis (a new town in Tenerife, see figure 7); and his plans for individual institutions and houses, including the extension of Echternach's Abbey school (Luxembourg), St Quentin-en-Yvelines School (near Versailles), New College residences and square (Oxford), and Pliny's Villa (near Ostia, Rome). Only through Krier's involvement with the Prince of Wales's Poundbury project and the Urban Villages Group (and more recently with projects in Alessandra and Florence in Italy) do his theoretical machinations begin to be put to the test on the ground.

Returning now to the work of the Urban Villages Group, it is important to realise just how strongly Krier guided the development of the policy and all the more technical details published in the Group's inaugural campaign document in June 1992, *Urban villages: a concept for creating mixed-use urban developments on a sustainable scale* (Aldous, 1992). The concept of an 'urban village' as depicted in this initial work is quite simply a direct application of Krier's notion of urban quarters.

However, by the time this first major report was published, Krier was plainly disheartened with the Group. Two particular issues serve to illustrate his frustration. The first occurred in relation to what ended up being for Krier a somewhat urgent task to obtain unanimous agreement for a name for the concept and Group prior to the launch of the first report. The matter had been hotly contended over a considerable time period, and Krier was one of several involved who was not entirely convinced by the final outcome. The proposal to use the name 'urban village' was, in Krier's opinion, 'a disaster', 'it is a contradiction in terms. Why not call the baby by the name? We are talking about urban quarters or about villages, but not about urban villages' (Krier, 1996 interview).



FIGURE 6: Krier masterplan for new European Quarters, Luxembourg
Old town shown centre bottom (Economakis, 1992: 88)



FIGURE 7: Krier model for Atlantis, a new town proposed for Tenerife (Economakis, 1992: 235)

3.2 What's in a name?

For Krier, the term urban village was a kind of promotional gimmick whereby one thing could be sold as something else by virtue of not being entirely one thing nor the other. As always Krier carefully chose his moment to make a last stand against the name before it went into print. At a meeting of the Group in Edinburgh, with Government Ministers and the Prince of Wales in attendance, Krier made a final plea. He argued that despite a good idea being launched, a 'daft title' (Krier, 1996 interview) could be the fatal blow that would sink the project. The Prince retorted that 'urban village' was the best the Group could come up with, and that Krier's preference for 'urban quarter' was inappropriate because it brought with it negative connotations of such realities as segregated Arab quarters and Jewish quarters. The Prince had favoured the term 'urban village' from the outset. He had referred to such a notion in his 1989 book, '(t)hrough an organisation called Business in the Community, of which I am President, I am hoping we can encourage the development of 'urban villages' ' (Prince of Wales, 1989a: 14).

Nevertheless, Krier was determined to take the matter further. He obtained the Prince's agreement to follow up the issue of the connotations and meanings of 'urban quarter' with language specialists at Oxford and Cambridge. Notwithstanding reassurances given by the latter, the Group members were not comfortable with the use of 'urban quarter' in a British context, despite its common acceptance in continental Europe. 'Urban Village' was the title adopted. Nevertheless, members of the Group frankly admit that the term was not ideal. They have variously described it as 'twee' (Hanson, 1995 interview), 'rarefied' (Watts, 1995 interview), 'loaded' (Sparks, 1995 interview), 'rural' (Bradshaw, 1995 interview), 'obscure' (Lichfield, 1995 interview), and even 'awful' (Welbank, 1995 interview). However, members are generally content that their initial anxiety about the term was barely warranted. It has not proven to be a 'drawback' to their cause at all (Bradshaw, 1995 interview). Rather, it has encouraged the Group not to assume that the term has a

generally understood meaning, and therefore to continually reiterate the Group's own definition. The most common public misperception is that which equates the word 'village' with rurality, and a very middle class rurality at that (Osborne, 1995 interview; Bradshaw, 1995 interview; Sparks, 1995 interview; Hanson, 1995 interview; Welbank, 1995 interview; Watts, 1995 interview). This is a misunderstanding the Group is eager to nullify. The Group's primary concerns have always been with inner city areas. The image they endeavour to project is one based on an interpretation of British cities as comprising historical clusters of villages. For example, London is perceived as encompassing such historical villages as Maida Vale, Pimlico, Wimbledon, Clerkenwell (notably each 'village' the Group cites might be described as a middle-class enclave). Hence, to simply equate 'village' with an English rural idyll is inappropriate:

'Village' should denote community, belonging, identity, and so on. 'Urban' suggests scale, suggests urban texture, suggests buildings that come forward towards the pavement, suggests a place for people not cars, not sub-urban and not rural, the opposite to that. (Osborne, 1995 interview)

After continuing to experience flak in regard to their chosen title, the Group found it necessary to reiterate their position on the name in their 1995 *Economics of Urban Villages* report, ' "village" denotes the importance of human scale and personal contact; "urban" emphasises the importance of compactness and accessibility by foot and cycle' (Aldous, 1995: 20).

In the end, despite his reservations and the apparent ambiguity of the term 'urban village', Krier admits that it has effectively taken in urban development circles, finding its way into common parlance. Although both he and Osborne agree that a different label is needed for use in Europe in order to have the concept readily understood (Aldous, 1992: 13).

Just how HRH the Prince of Wales first came to use the term 'urban village' to describe his project is unclear. Members of the Urban Villages Group are by and large unfamiliar with the term's specific 1960s-70s use in sociology (including Gans, 1962; Pahl,

1968), and totally unaware of its contemporary use in international planning literature (for example, Newman and Kenworthy, 1991; Van der Ryn and Calthorpe, 1986). However, a general recognition of the term's previous existence is acknowledged by most members, presumably as a result of a degree of popularisation from the original academic literature. In the early part of the twentieth century considerable criticism had been levelled at the apparent impersonal, segmented and transient nature of modern urban life. In ensuing debate about perceptions of place and community in rural versus urban areas, a number of studies claimed that to an extent the village ambience was occasionally being replicated in the city. Herbert Gans's 1962 treatise, *The urban villagers: group and class in the life of Italian Americans*, examined a community of second generation Italians in the low income neighbourhood of West End, in central Boston. Gans was careful not to label all city neighbourhoods as urban villages, and also careful not to romanticise the West End as a 'charming neighbourhood' with a 'cohesive sense of community' (1962: 16). Rather, the West End 'was a run-down area of people struggling with the problems of low income, poor education, and related difficulties. Even so, it was by and large a good place to live' (1962:16). Gans applies the term 'urban village' to this neighbourhood. By urban village he means 'areas of first or second settlement for urban migrants' where, typically, such groups as European, Black or Caribbean immigrants 'try to adapt their nonurban institutions and cultures to the urban milieu' (Gans, 1962: 4). Such areas are often described ethnically, such as Little Italy or China Town. In this instance, the 'urban village' term is an explanatory category, and of course the West End does not represent a pure example of that ideal type. As Gans puts it, the term is 'purely descriptive' and 'should not be taken too literally'. '(N)either in economic, demographic, or physical terms do such areas resemble villages'. The term characterises 'the quality of social life, but do(es) not definitively identify social structure or culture' (Gans, 1962: 4). Similarly, in his study of the rural-urban continuum Pahl (1968) recorded the existence of urban villages in the inner city. Such communities were discernible by virtue of their kinship networks, social cohesion, cultural values and residential

stability. Taylor (1973) took the urban village idea and began to apply it in a normative sense. In his book, *The village in the city*, Taylor advocated medium density urban villages as a win-win option for city living. Connell (1974) on the other hand, investigating migration from rural areas, argued that delineating often deprived urban communities as urban villages was little more than wishful, naïve thinking.

A great number of the ideas coming through these sociological writings relating to achieving a sense of place and community within the city have infiltrated the Urban Villages Group's thinking, especially via Davies and HRH the Prince of Wales. The prospect of transferring many of the social qualities of rural village living to the city is definitely prominent in both Davies and the Prince of Wales's documents. And while there are close similarities to the notions in late 1980s planning literature, these parallel ideas seem to have been arrived at independently by the Group. That later work, by Newman and Kenworthy, and Van der Ryn and Calthorpe, is much more resolutely based on urban management and energy goals, despite their acknowledgment of certain social and architectural objectives as well.

3.3 A time to move on

A second illustration of Krier's frustration with the Group relates to contrary interpretations in regard to Krier's role in the preparation of the inaugural report. Krier understood that he was to prepare the architectural content of the report. Over the two years of debate leading up to the report, Krier had clarified his ideas with the Group and prepared a text he considered would be a 'readable, understandable and printable' (Krier, 1996 interview) representation of the Group's concept for development. What ensued is not certain. Krier's interpretation is that the Group had come to feel uncomfortable about his dominant voice on the architectural issues. Whatever the stimulus, Trevor Osborne asked London architect Richard Reid (with the assistance of Max Lyons) to prepare an aerial

perspective of an imaginary urban village, named Greenville (see figure 10 in Chapter Four) for the report. Osborne and Reid had met in the past and Osborne had been impressed by Reid's work. The result was an illustrative scheme with remarkable similarity to those Krier had been drawing for the previous twenty years. In addition, Reid was commissioned to re-draw Krier's idiogrammatic sketches, as well as add some new ones. Krier was aghast. He later insisted that any such re-sketches, along with any of his own original schemes that had been incorporated in the report, unambiguously acknowledge Krier as source.

But Krier was angered further by the re-writing of his text. Again, on Trevor Osborne's recommendation the Group decided to employ London architectural journalist Tony Aldous to edit the text. As Aldous (1995 interview) explains it, attempts had already been made at putting together a document, but the result did not read satisfactorily. Aldous contributed a significant 'lyrical' (Krier, 1996 interview) content, but always under the 'powerful' (Aldous, 1995 interview) direction of Osborne, who was the overriding controller of both content and process. Aldous also restructured the document and added a section on transportation. But the technical aspects and detail relating to urban village precedents were substantially as Krier had written them, apart from some stylistic embellishment. Yet the title page of the report carried only Aldous's name as the writer of the text (although, in the introduction to the book written by Trevor Osborne, Aldous is simply acknowledged as the editor). Krier was furious:

I had disappeared (to) somewhere in the third footnote, number b55. I thought this quite incredible. I talk my head off for two years every week coming to your offices to convince you that these are the ideas. Once you accept it you ask somebody else to write the same thing and kick me in the backside. (Krier, 1996 interview)

There was an unsuccessful attempt to pacify Krier and reassure him that there had been no intention to back-stab. After complaining to Brian Hanson, who followed the matter up with the Prince of Wales, Krier was asked to prepare his own credit note acknowledging his contribution to the report. This credit was duly incorporated on page 10 of the book, immediately before the introduction to the text, 'The Urban Villages Group wish

particularly to acknowledge the contribution of Leon Krier, whose theoretical work and projects have been fundamental in defining the urban village concept'. Interestingly, Trevor Osborne also singles out Krier for special mention in his introductory note for the book, 'I want also to pay tribute ... to Leon Krier, whose vision of a civilised and efficient urban quarter has been a mainspring of our researches' (Aldous, 1992: 13). Both these acknowledgments disappeared in the 1997 second edition of the book (as did Aldous's name from the title page). However, the Prince of Wales made special mention of only three contributors to the Group in his new Foreword for the book, and indicated his loyalty to his mentor, 'inspired initially by the pioneering work of Leon Krier, and assisted by Dr Brian Hanson, this group gradually took shape under Trevor Osborne' (Aldous, 1997: 7).

It was at the official launch of the first report on 3 June 1992 that Krier elected to diminish his commitment to the Group. Krier was formally invited to the launch celebration in Parliament Square, London. However, he felt his significant contribution to the report was slighted by his so-called 'reporter' (Krier, 1996 interview) status at this celebratory function. The final insult came from the Chairman of the Group:

Trevor Osborne got up and thanked everybody right up to the last, to the courier who carried the paper, but didn't say a word about me. So that was enough. I'd had enough of Trevor Osborne and company. If he at least had put into reality what he promised to do I would have said 'OK that's the price to pay for these things'. But he talked a lot and didn't do anything, just tried to get close to the Prince, who doesn't need him at all because he wanted a practical man from the business side. (Krier, 1996 interview)

Initially then, Krier had great hopes for the Prince's campaign. He saw the Group as a working party involving thinkers who could discuss and 'sell' (Krier, 1996 interview) ideas about urban development; and more importantly, a working party where those involved in the construction industry, led by Trevor Osborne and his 'big promises' (Krier, 1996 interview), could actually bring those ideas into built reality. However, after two years of working with the Group, Krier was fretting about this latter goal still not being achieved. The Group had failed to advance from their theoretical discussions.

Krier now regards his involvement with the Urban Villages Group as one of his worst experiences, and especially so because 'it cost so much energy' (Krier, 1996 interview). The Urban Villages Group has been a disappointing assemblage. In Krier's assessment, despite successfully raising a significant amount of money for the cause, the Group's thinking has not been rigorous and little has come of its efforts. Much of his discontent stems from his own perfectionism and distaste for compromise. As Gail Hallyburton (1996 interview), former acting chief executive for the Urban Villages Campaign, puts it, 'Leon is one of the greatest visionaries and there's just no doubt about that. But he also likes his vision kept quite pure. In the end he's not really in the business of sitting round with a bunch of house builders agonising over this or that'. Similarly, Hanson (1995 interview) surmises the situation:

The Urban Villages report probably fell a little way short of sanctioning Krier's central concerns, particularly about things like the re-urbanisation of suburbia and those kind of issues which to Krier were extremely important, which seem much less important to the Urban Villages Group.

Undoubtedly Krier had been pivotal in setting the framework for the Urban Villages Group. The urban village concept would not have come together without him. But having performed that role, future ramifications were now well and truly out of his hands.

4. CONCLUSION

It is a mixed bag of contributors that have established the Urban Villages Movement in Britain. In terms of setting the agenda, the lead has unmistakably come from the Prince of Wales himself along with Leon Krier, and to a lesser extent Robert Davies, Brian Hanson and Trevor Osborne. In this very inceptive phase the force of the housing builders' and developers' contribution was yet to be felt. That their voices were kept relatively quiet was a deliberate measure enforced by the Prince, Davies and Hanson. Here was an attempt by a small group of traditionalists to lead these successful business people down an alternative path of urbanisation. It was an attempt to share a glimpse of historic urban exemplars,

along with the principles and rationale those places relied upon, as part of an endeavour to stimulate these city builders into a new mode of operation. That the agenda would be moulded over time by a business leaning more overtly comfortable within the wider capitalist framework was inevitable given the Group's composition. This is the subject of the next section.

The initial founders of the idea were HRH the Prince of Wales and BITC's Robert Davies. The Prince's instinctive dislike for mediocre modern urbanisation had led him to beseech a more traditional approach to urban layout, design and aesthetics which would encapsulate the human spirit and reinforce local democracy. Similarly, Davies advocated traditional urban patterns and the use of artisan skills and materials in an urbanisation process that incorporated enabling partnerships between the community, business and civic organisations, both during the construction period and throughout the long-term urban management. Aware that they were in key positions to help bring their ideas to fruition, they engaged the support of those who could better hone their faint abstractions and, more particularly, those who had the facility to action their recommendations. The primary aim was to encourage the building and finance industry to turn a corner, to radically change from their conventional approach to development. To this end, Davies called on his BITC contacts. Likewise, the Prince of Wales activated his royal magnetism, to draw together potential movers and shakers to implement his agenda. The potent persuasive powers of a royal meant that for the most part he got who he wanted to partake, but by the same token they came out of a certain willingness to please him rather than necessarily out of a commitment to his idea. This meant that the Group comprised a considerable array of motivations and convictions. Therefore, in order to achieve the desired implementation, it was first necessary to convincingly enlighten these magnates. The Prince of Wales's favoured architectural advisors, Leon Krier and Brian Hanson, were recruited to bravely undertake the honing, and the onerous educative task that would establish a firm conceptual foundation for the business leaders to launch from.

Once finally established as a campaign body, serviced by BITC, the Urban Villages Group embarked on its maiden assignment. That assignment was a two year project to document the criteria and process for creating an urban alternative to conventional, bland, soulless, over-expanded, post-World War II development. It culminated in the production of the Group's first report in 1992. Facilitated by Trevor Osborne, Krier, with Hanson's assistance, was the principal provider of the theoretical principles and empirical evidence necessary to give birth to this inaugural publication. While carefully avoiding any temptation to present an idealised model for the Group, Krier infused a rationalist understanding of the city and its components, based on existing exemplars. He further instilled the imperative of taking a traditional synthesising approach to urban layout and design, and the need to expedite an effective local democracy.

But while Krier, operating under the guardianship of the Prince of Wales and Hanson, carried the torch over the inceptive period, the unavoidable tensions between him and the business leaders became increasingly obvious as Osborne more forcefully asserted his role as Chairman of the Group. Inevitably, the more pragmatic concerns of the commercial sector began to compromise Krier's project, albeit after the overriding focus of the Group had already been resolutely set. The way in which the Group has taken up these ideas and advanced its course is the subject of the next chapter. It has become an influential collection of business and professional élites. What is particularly interesting is how the Group has adapted and modified Krier's way of rationalising the city and his traditionalist beliefs in order to promote its own interests and reinforce some quite specific power relations. There is no doubt that this is not a grass roots movement. Its top-down approach has its basis in the princely origins of the Group. That beginning has infused the Campaign with an objective for a social order befitting a sovereign.

Chapter 4

DISCOURSE AND EVOLUTION OF THE URBAN VILLAGES MOVEMENT

Over the last decade, the Urban Villages Movement has produced a wealth of discourse in many forms. Its principal works include its two main reports, entitled *Urban Villages* (Aldous, 1992) and *Economics of Urban Villages* (Aldous, 1995). A significant part of the present chapter is devoted to considering these texts. The purpose is not to merely describe them, nor concur with their self-understanding. Rather, an attempt is made to demonstrate what lies behind the texts, what circumstances have produced them, matters about which the texts appear taciturn. The inclusion of extensive comments from interviews with more than twenty Urban Villages Group members is a part of that process. These remarks have been invaluable in excavating beneath the eloquence and overt agenda as presented in the texts, which themselves are not immaterial however. This is important as part of my endeavour to unravel the ideology and meaning of the Group. Much of that ideology and meaning is shrouded in the texts and discourse of the Urban Villages Forum, not necessarily purposively, but, because of the way the Group constructs reality. That meaning is understood as natural by them, hence beyond the need for explication.

In addition, using these two texts and interviews in conjunction with other sources, including newsletters, speeches, meetings, and ad hoc publications of the Movement, the evolution and influence of the Movement is also traced from its inception to the present

day. An attempt is made to understand how participants in the promotion of urban villages understand their role in the urban environment and attempt to transform that environment.

Organised largely chronologically, the chapter is interlaced with examinations and analyses of the Urban Villages Campaign premises, intentions, instruments, function, funding, connections and metamorphoses.

1. THE FIRST REPORT

Canary Wharf, a symbol of late 1980s Thatcherite enterprise, failed in the week immediately prior to the launch of the Urban Villages Group's first report. On May 28th 1992 the Canadian development firm of Olympia & York was bankrupted while 'owing banks 550 million pounds and still needing 600 million pounds for the completion of the project including the funding promised to complete the Jubilee Line' underground extension (Kershen, 1993: 7). The receivers stepped in, and the banks and insurance companies began writing off the millions of pounds. As Davies (1995 interview) described it, with the Canary failure, 'the previous approach to development had collapsed with a capital C'. For the Urban Villages Group, the timing was impeccable. Media curiosity regarding their urban village option was heightened. The consequent coverage secured was significantly greater than expected. Osborne and Davies split the task of giving more than a dozen interviews to various journalists. The common starting point for most was the comparison between Canary Wharf and the urban village alternative. The situation allowed Osborne and Davies the consummate riposte to critics who accused the urban village concept of being a gratuitous hobby-horse fantasy of the Prince of Wales, or of demanding too much from financiers because of its mixed use approach as opposed to conventional specialised single use design. In a flash it seemed legitimate, even imperative, for the property industry itself to question development norms. The Urban Villages Group basked in the moment.

They had successfully made their initial mark, and more than 4,000 copies of their publication changed hands.

1.1 Overview of the first report

At 95 pages, with a measured 50:50 split between text and glossy photographs/drawings (figures 8 and 9), it is not immediately obvious just who the publication is aimed at. It is an unusual combination of coffee-table book and policy report. Its bold hope appears to be to attract the attention of planners, designers, financiers and developers alike. The volume commences by establishing a context for the Group's concerns about urban development. Listing a range of qualities that the Group believes proper in urban areas (including diverse architecture, a legible layout, mixed uses, community commitment and sustainability), the report then lays the blame for their absence on the structural pervasiveness of urban monoculturalism (especially land use zoning). The concept of an urban village is introduced at this point as a riposte to monocultural planning (with obvious parallels to denunciations of monoculturalism within agriculture). Its fundamental characteristics (such as its compact size, self-sufficiency, organic nature and resident mix), siting options, and potential for complementary polycentric grouping are presented as not only sensible urban management, but also socially advantageous and financially viable.

As a prerequisite to successful implementation of an urban village, the report then advocates early and continuing public participation in the planning process. It also offers a ten-point participation checklist for potential project promoters. Perhaps the most significant element of that list is the suggestion for community development trusts to be established to ensure practical community involvement. The following chapter moves on to deal with the physical design characteristics of an urban village. It details a range of essential elements (for instance public squares, traffic calming, green spaces, public art and building hierarchies) and in Appendix C provides examples of urban areas where they are

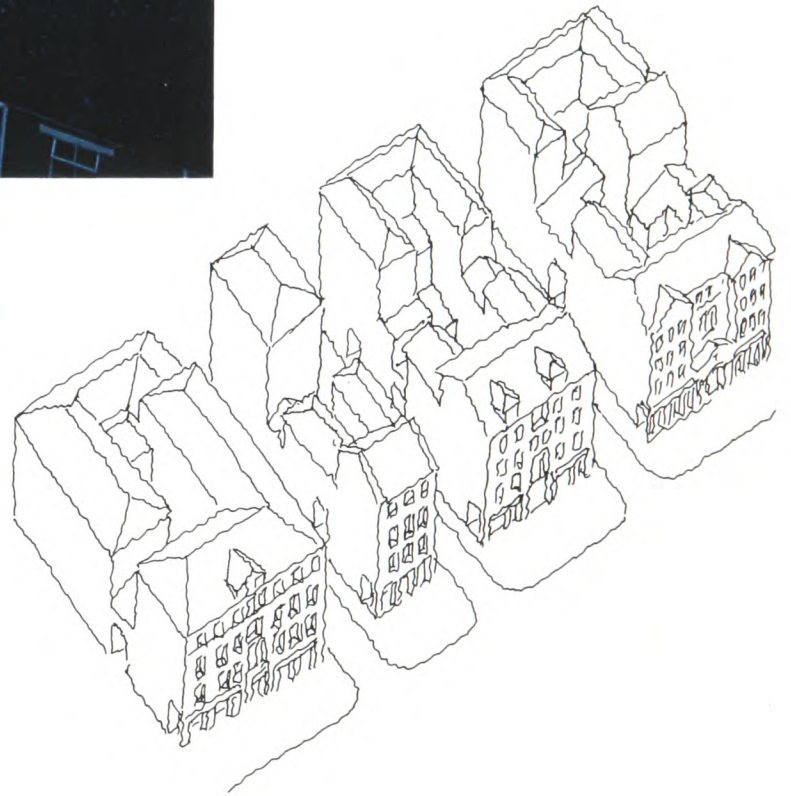


FIGURE 8: Illustrations of appropriate townscape, as shown in the first Urban Villages report (Aldous, 1992: 49)

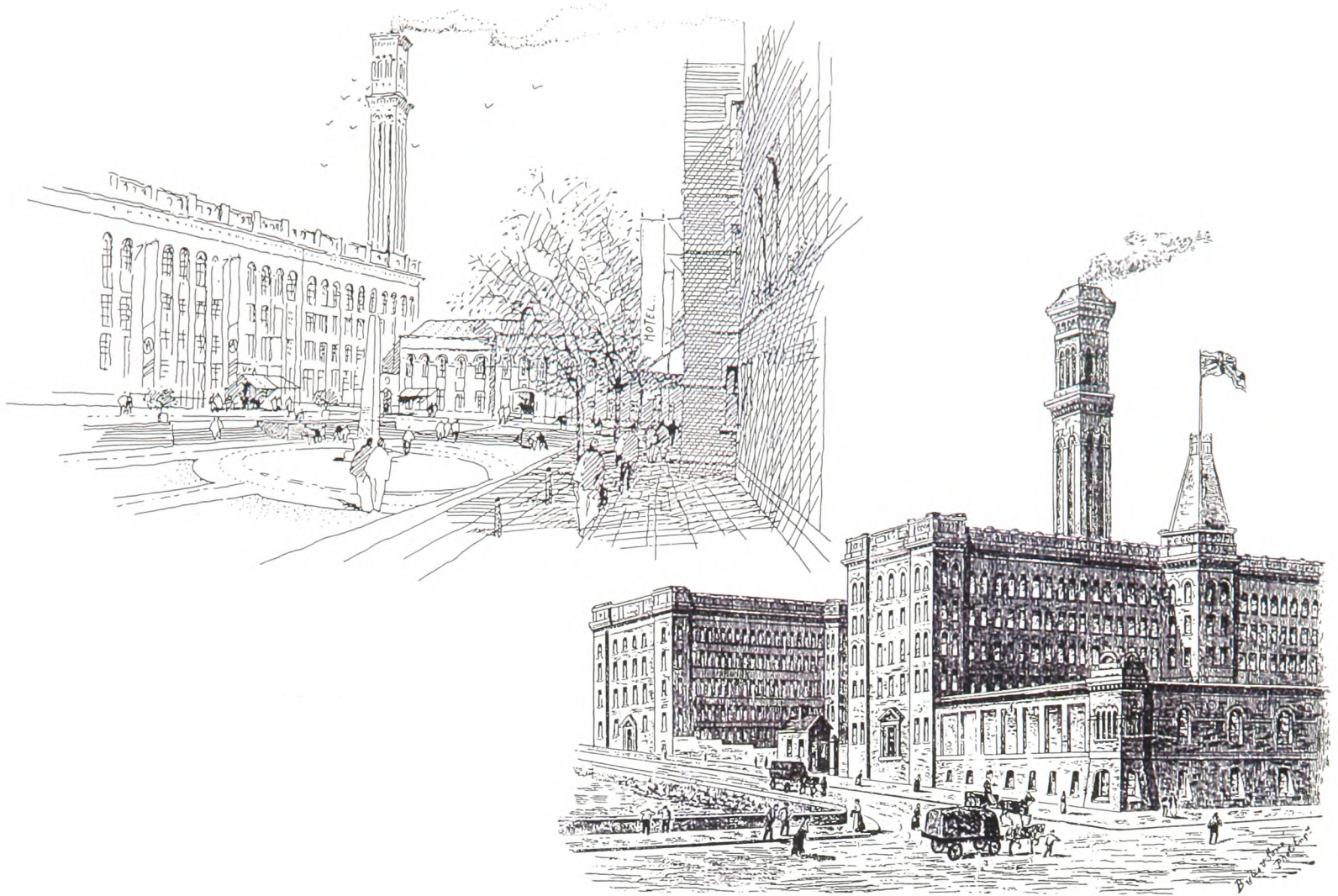


FIGURE 9: Opportunities for refurbishment, as depicted in the first Urban Villages report (Aldous, 1992: 66)

applied to good effect, such as Lucca, San Gimignano, Pienza in Italy; San Sebastian in Spain; Bern in Switzerland; Bath, York, Tunbridge Wells, Edinburgh New Town, Clerkenwell in Britain; and Williamsburg in the USA. It also calls for their enforcement via the institution of codes for infrastructure, urban layout, architecture and public space, plus an environmental action plan, each of which operates within the overarching masterplan for the project. This is drawn directly from Krier's ideas as described in the previous chapter. In Appendix A to their report, the Urban Villages Group (courtesy of Leon Krier) makes detailed suggestions as to how the layout, design and site management could be regulated via these codes. A broad range of matters, from road construction standards and street block dimensions through to roof shape and street furniture design, are covered. Related to this, an explicit description of the recommended long term estate management is provided in Appendix B of the report.

Chapter five follows with a very general discussion of transportation. While it is intended that urban villages will reduce the dependence on private cars, transit is unavoidable. Therefore, any urban village project should incorporate strategies to prevent vehicle related degradation of environmental quality, and offer positive public transport systems. An unfocussed raft of possible options is presented in the chapter and loosely tied to the urban village concept. The sixth chapter then outlines the four types of locale that lend themselves to urban village development. The first, and preferred, option is the large inner city 'brown land' site (central, empty or underused areas). The second choice is the 'suburban or edge-of-town' site (Aldous, 1992: 64). The latter might include redundant hospital, college or research sites now available for redevelopment. Then, in keeping with the Urban Villages Group's conclusion that new settlements are unavoidable, they offer a third locality for urban village development, that of the 'carefully chosen green field' site (Aldous, 1992: 64). Finally, they propose that where large sites are not available, incremental infill development following urban village principles could usefully complement existing areas.

Having laid down the fundamental features of the urban village concept, the report then shifts its attention to questions of implementation. Chapter seven recommends a number of changes aimed at developers, financiers and government. In the first instance it warns that developers and funding institutions will need to take a longer term view, recognising that development may be spread over say a ten year time-frame and that profits will be delayed 'until the middle or later stages' of that period (Aldous, 1992: 70). Secondly, it recommends the installation of a single promoter for the project. The significant scale of urban village projects will necessitate that such a promoter would comprise 'a new kind of consortium' with an 'undivided ownership of all the land' (Aldous, 1992: 71).

Finally, in order to achieve promoter confidence, the report insists that a specific planning designation for a 'separate category of development' relating to urban villages under the Planning Policy Guidance notes (PPGs) must be enacted by the Secretary of State for the Environment (Aldous, 1992: 71). It is noteworthy that this entire chapter of the publication was deleted from the 1997 Second Edition. The Urban Villages Group had assessed these three criteria to have been successfully met in the intervening five years. Then in order to concretise their ideas, and given that the Urban Villages Group cannot point to specific recent British exemplars on the ground, the next chapter of the book develops a case study for an imaginary 'Greenville' project. Through this case study the planning and building process for a proposed urban village is demonstrated. A programme of twenty-seven steps is outlined for Greenville, from the initial formation of a development team and consequent site identification, to the preparation of a masterplan, and ultimately right through to the establishment of a community development trust, the granting of planning consents, and the final completion of the project. A graphic presentation of the time-scale anticipated for each of these steps is also given. Again it highlights the long term commitment required for such a development, with, for example, up to a four year lead-in time and more than six years of phased construction indicated.

The concluding chapter of the report, entitled 'The next steps', records immediate tasks the Urban Villages Group believes need to be undertaken in order to bring about this 'better quality of life in a more civilised environment' (Aldous, 1992: 79) that the urban village promises. Firstly the Group implores 'widespread consideration' of their report by town builders and policy makers. The outcome of such deliberation is intended to be the cataloguing of existing good practice, the ascertaining of the applicability of urban village concepts for particular future developments, and the identification and designation of potential urban village sites. For itself, the Urban Villages Group itemises such assignments as undertaking a programme of regional seminars on urban villages; organising study visits to urban village precedent sites for developers and planners; and monitoring and documenting good urban practice for dissemination to developers and planners. The Group earmarks its own principal role as that of general advocate and refiner of the urban village concept, while specific application of the concept would fall to developers (in their project planning) and local authorities (in reviewing their statutory plans). Even so, the parting statement of the report declares: '(s)even developer members of the Group have formed a separate Urban Villages Company which intends to undertake one or more urban village developments' (Aldous, 1992: 80). The activities of the Company will be addressed later in this chapter. It is clear that the original objective of HRH the Prince of Wales and Davies was that the developers and builders participating in the Urban Villages Group would themselves construct urban village projects. Their initial willingness to attempt this is demonstrated in the formation of the joint company.

Despite calling in an experienced architectural journalist (in the form of Tony Aldous) to act as sole editor for the report, the result is not a coherent and harmonious document. The structure is messy and disjointed, particularly in the middle. Chapter two introduces the urban village concept. It is strongly influenced by Krier's thinking and his vigilant writing style. But then chapter three makes the leap to issues of public participation. Krier is not the sage behind this section. Rather, it has been developed under the influence of HRH the Prince of

Wales himself and community architecture advisers to the Group like John Thompson (who begins to feature even more prominently in Urban Village work in the mid 1990s). The historic approach to the chapter and its slightly ambivalent style is markedly different from that of the previous chapter. Thereupon the fourth chapter shifts back to the urban village concept. Its concern with issues of layout and architecture is once again directly shaped by Krier. The chapter reflects Krier's forthright, rationalist prescription for civilised urban design. This train of thought is again interrupted by chapter five's departure into transportation issues. In writing this chapter Aldous was seeking to rectify what he saw as a major lack in the preliminary work for the book. But rather than integrate it into the urban village framework in a decisive way, he presents a somewhat vague overview of the transport question without pledge to an explicit course of action. The section is neither sharp nor focused, and could be considerably reduced in length in order to sit more appropriately with the other more plainspoken sections.

After this chapter, there is yet another switch back to the urban village concept; this time its locational opportunities. Here it is possible to see arguably the broadest mix of influences from the Urban Villages Group as a whole. The siting options presented reflect not only the Prince of Wales's and Davies's penchant for inner city regeneration, and Krier's desire for redevelopment of the suburban periphery, but also the developers' unequivocal propensity for developing green field new settlements. The pragmatic chapters which come next also demonstrate the input of the Group's property barons, dealing with the realities of moving theoretical notions from paper to concrete. Finally, the impact of Trevor Osborne on the end product cannot be underestimated. Aldous describes the finalising of the text in conjunction with the Urban Villages Group members in the following way:

it was a process of saying 'this is what we propose to say, we want your comments by such and such a date and if you don't have them then we'll work with what we've got'. Mostly they didn't reply. They replied in terms which allowed Trevor, as a really powerful chairman and the engine of the whole thing, to say 'well I don't agree with that and we can't take it on board', or 'it doesn't make sense'. The process of writing that first report in the end involved my driving to his place that he had in Berkshire on a Sunday morning and just hammering it out. Then he would circulate it and people would comment or probably not comment. (Aldous, 1995 interview)

Unmistakable in this first report, and revealed through its often nebulous text with its structural and stylistic inconsistencies, is the diversity of its backers. It patently lacks the determination and fervour of a single author with an exact target. It also lacks the cohesion and precision of movements comprised chiefly of a sole profession, such as the Group's close collaborator in the USA, the Congress for the New Urbanism, which is architect based. The resulting report is attributable to a disparate membership where discord is inevitable, unanimity unattainable and compromise indispensable. Even then it is certain that the text intimates a greater level of concord than actually exists between Group members, as will be evidenced in later sections of this thesis. Furthermore, in attempting to tell a tale for a wide audience, the Report also tends to flatten out the priorities of the Group and its members. In order to give a united, intelligible and comprehensive representation of the urban village story, the Report alludes to a broader remit for the Group than they earnestly embrace. In later sections I explore the many missions of the Urban Villages Group in comparison with this first text.

1.2 The urban village concept

The preceding overview of the *Urban Villages* report indicates how broadly the Group is looking at the urbanisation process. The text is not limited to an elaboration of a physical design concept. Rather it encompasses many issues of process, such as those related to consultation, statutory planning, estate management and financing. It does not pretend to represent an attack on prevailing structural processes at the societal level. Even though their standpoint largely sits within the capitalist status quo, the Group members are somewhat naïve in expecting their proposed changes to proceed without addressing these wider obstacles. However, the initial position that the Group elected to take in this regard was based on the majority of its members' perceived function in society: to build.

'(D)isappointing urban environments' that help to foster a 'breakdown of community spirit and growth of social unrest' should be replaced by urban environments 'which would encourage development of healthy communities' (Aldous, 1992: 11-12). This hint of environmental determinism is fundamental to the Urban Villages Group's approach. While acknowledging the many structural restraints which conspire against them, their rudimentary starting point is not with process, but with form - a typical Cartesian point of departure. With this in mind, I propose to elaborate the exact nature of the physical form that underlines the endeavour of the Urban Villages Group. Therefore, the following subsection defines what it is that the Group means by the term 'urban village'.

Shaped by Krier, the report begins by arguing that 'there are some timeless principles which underlie successful communities' (Aldous, 1992: 16). However, this continuity has been severed by the separation of residential from industrial activities, and subsequent single use zoning, that commenced in the nineteenth century. The result of this 'rigid compartmentalism' (Aldous, 1992: 23) has been drab, lifeless, soulless, unfriendly, disenchanting and alienating urban areas. Protracted replication of monofunctional planning is now needless though, particularly given improvements in such areas as public transport, energy efficiency, pollution control and computer technology. The prospect of re-connecting with more favourable traditional urban practices, as encapsulated in the notion of an urban village, is more attainable than it has been for over a century. But the connection between the urban village notion and tradition and continuity brings with it attendant concerns about retrogression and nostalgia.

The adoption of the European City as an urban paradigm (is) a gross setback to the idea of progress. Traditional ... forms of urbanisation ... have in the past proven dangerous setbacks to the economic, political and cultural progress of civilisation. Tradition ... fosters an authoritarianism that invariably stifles progress (Porphyrios, 1984: 17).

Diane Suggich (1993), of *Blueprint* magazine, believes that perceiving urban areas as comprising a series of villages is 'a very naive and innocent idea of what a city is'. Harvey (1993) likewise counsels that 'taking refuge in the practical utopia of some urban village

appears more like trying to stop the world and ... get off, rather than seeking a genuine panacea for the difficulties of contemporary urban life'. However,

Critics of the urban village ideal often fail to appreciate the depths of its appeal. To begin with, many of us, not only in Britain, believe we're living in something like a village anyway, even when we're living in the midst of millions.... But the thought also appeals because the village conjures up some long lost rural ideal in which individuals know each other and supposedly have some say over what happens in their particular community and their particular place. It promises a way of urban living that soothes the jangled nerves and minimises stress. But how much control can we really expect? How much peace of mind can we achieve. How practical can this practical utopia be when property developers, as in past years, have the force with them? (Harvey, 1993)

Richard MacCormac (past president of RIBA and officially a member of the Urban Villages Group) also believes the Group's vision is unachievable in contemporary society:

There's a rather romantic, rather sentimental idea that villages are the form of community that we should try and imitate. And that's a sort of ruralist idea. And it's an idea that also has implicitly a sense that cities are kind of bad and that we've got to try and recreate communities in cities by making villages. I don't actually think that's what happens. I don't think you can make communities by making physical arrangements and somehow ... people are going to start behaving like eighteenth century villagers.... Modern societies are networks to do with employment and schools and so on. And people, even if they live in a housing group that looks like a community, have these other communities to do with work, to do with where their children go to school - maybe more specialised communities - which link them with other people they like, in different parts of the city as a whole (MacCormac, 1993).

The problem ... is that the way in which the economics of modern societies work, and the way employment and retailing, for example, are distributed, are no longer based on the scale of the village.... All small towns and villages these days are part of regional networks. Their vitality depends on the network system. (MacCormac, 1995 interview)

However, the Group does not see itself as stagnating in past urban forms and processes as these criticisms and the term 'nostalgia' might imply. Rather, their understanding of tradition is that it is in a continual process of evolution informed by contemporary societal inclinations. For example, the Urban Villages Group asserts that self-reliant, compact communities such as urban villages can address constructively many environmental and social concerns high on the public agenda at present. They claim a positive contribution towards such matters as reducing private travel needs and improving accessibility, street life and security. The increased densities they promote can support the more stringent viability targets of many commercial services. Furthermore, they maintain that advances in electronic communications reinforce the potential for their model, with

teleworking and telecentres reducing time and space obstacles to working near home. However, their assertions are difficult to substantiate. Built urban villages are few in number and far from completion. The equation between self-sufficient, higher urban density nodes and greater sustainability is as yet unproved. For instance, given that the greatest proportion of growth in car use is related to leisure, would it not be possible that reducing the time spent in commuting to work might be transferred to a greater amount of time being spent using private vehicles for leisure pursuits. But in any case, how likely is it that people will choose to reside and work in the same neighbourhood anyway? As a further illustration, even if a new, denser development establishes a mix of uses at the outset, wider economic considerations may lead some businesses to further increase the density threshold necessary to maintain their operation. Hence services may later be withdrawn despite the intentions of a masterplan. But at this stage, making any assessment as to whether these new urban villages have met the challenges of contemporary urbanisation is premature.

The types of qualities that the Group members believe encapsulate their objectives for an urban village are summarised by Aldous as follows: a degree of neighbourliness; a sense of belonging and commitment to community and self-policing; diverse yet harmonious architecture; occasional outstanding buildings; flexible, reusable buildings; quality public spaces; adequate greenery; a topographically based, bounded and relatively disciplined layout; a degree of compactness; a variety of mixed uses; opportunity to walk and cycle to work; efficient public transport; a mixture of residents; a resolve to work towards environmental and social sustainability; a human environment which is secure, civilised, stimulating, attractive and lively; and an urban environment which is organic (Aldous, 1992: 17-25). Despite the vagueness of these qualities (and their potential for implementation in innumerable contradictory ways), there is no question that the Urban Villages Group's motivation extends beyond the achievement of urban design principles to a social agenda. However, their instrument for accomplishing this agenda is architecturally

founded, rather than drawn from the precepts of alternatives such as community development or, more radically, social revolution. To the Urban Villages Group, achievement of a traditional social order necessitates the construction of a traditional physical urban order. In this way the proponents offer a type of physical determinism in the hope of moulding social behaviour. The Group does not elaborate in detail on this agenda item in their first report. Even so, the report's brief insights combined with the embellishments of Group members, make their intentions quite explicit. In the first instance, there is an aim to reassert the value of the traditional nuclear family as they perceive it. The urban village therefore should be a place where people 'positively wish to live, work and bring up a family', a place where 'you yourself or your children would be glad to live' (Prince of Wales cited in Aldous, 1992: 16). Osborne (1997) rates family as one of the foremost goals of the Group. According to him, the primary benefit of urban villages to the nation is the way in which they can contribute to the established need for more housing. A close second, however, is the major benefit that urban villages have to offer in redressing the late twentieth century's apparent 'death of the family' (Osborne, 1997). In part this restitution might be achieved by the self-sufficient nature of an urban village in which people have the opportunity to both work and reside. 'Why spend the equivalent of two working days every week in making the same monotonous journey backwards and forwards with the distress that that creates, why spend that time doing that when you could be with your family' (Osborne, 1996: 107). Likewise, Laing (1995 interview) expresses the hope that with the implementation of urban village principles 'the family unit would be much stronger'. This emphasis on the family has a striking accord with the Conservative Government's mid 1990s stance, applied to housing provision by Secretary of State John Gummer (Baber, 1996: 2) in the following way, '(w)e must start by reaffirming our strong belief in the continuing value of marriage and the family'.

Associated with this prioritisation of the family are also wider lifestyle and social implications. Not only does the Group encourage a traditional notion of family, but also a

traditional notion of interaction between families and between individuals, including neighbourliness and decency. Such orderly community and family relations contrast with the loss of control that the Group detects within twentieth century urban life. These aspects of the Urban Villages Group agenda are illustrated in the various sub-sections below.

The essential characteristics of an urban village are set out in chapters two and four of the first report. They cover six main areas of concern: village size; integration into the wider vicinity; self-sufficiency; occupancy mix; architecture and landscaping; and transportation and access. Each of these are addressed briefly below.

1.2.1 Size

A notional area of 100 acres (40 hectares) with a combined resident and worker population of 3,000 - 5,000 is suggested for an urban village. It is worth noting that the spatial limits proposed are slightly larger than Krier's ideal urban quarter of 80 acres (32 hectares), and the population substantially less than Krier's goal of 10,000. The concept has been modified to appeal to a British audience that is perceived to be significantly less urban in orientation than continental Europeans. The proposed aerial extent, if based roughly on a circular shape (having a diameter of just over half a mile or 900 metres) with no remote corners, is intended to allow for anywhere in the village to be reached by foot in ten minutes or less. This is equated to the size of neighbourhoods like Soho, Covent Garden and Clerkenwell in London. It is small enough to allow easy access to the local resources and also to allow a degree of familiarity (even if just by association) with those living and working in the village. This is a factor that has been firmly endorsed by all members of the Urban Villages Group. John Thompson (1995 interview) suggests that 'most people want a commitment to their local area'. One of the aims of an urban village is to make a place where such community commitment and consequent community responsibility and self-policing might flourish (Aldous, 1992: 17 & 24). Ted Watts (1995 interview), Urban Villages Group member and past president of the Royal Institute of Chartered Surveyors, maintains

that the key is 'trying to define an area that people relate to and wish to maintain and develop'. Hence 'you feel responsible for your environment, and therefore you do not behave in an anti-social manner with graffiti, litter, vandalism, muggings and the like ... there's a feeling of security'. Crucial to this are the various relationships built up within that community. Martin Laing (1995 interview), Vice Chairman of the Urban Villages Group and Chairman of John Laing Plc, argues that 'where everybody does know each other ... there's a real soul and community spirit, and it's a way of cementing society together'. It is hoped that this common experience will help give potency to the local community.

In addition, the proposed size of an urban village is intended to have 'sufficient critical mass' (Aldous, 1992: 47) to inspire commercial confidence and make the provision of a wide range of functions and amenities economically feasible. Furthermore, through this intended community strength and business vitality, it is anticipated that an effective local democracy will flourish and defend the interests of the neighbourhood.

Even so, these targets in relation to size and shape are meant to be flexible so that where an urban village adjoins existing development it can dovetail in a complementary fashion. Notwithstanding this, on particularly large sites, say 150 - 200 acres (60 - 80 hectares), construction of two urban villages rather than a single oversized unit is recommended.

1.2.2 Integration

It is fundamental that urban villages should not be produced as isolated elements. Rather, they are meant to integrate with other urban villages and with adjoining neighbourhoods, linked by cycle and footpath networks as well as public transit. New urban villages should complement the facilities of the bordering areas and also cater for any deficiencies in those places.

In keeping with Krier's interest in regenerating suburban areas, the report also recommends the application of these notions of integration on smaller sites. Incremental,

organic redevelopment should increase the mix of uses in these locales and gradually attain the qualities necessary to create an urban village in the vicinity. While this option is not overemphasised in the report compared with the larger site options, it is one that many Urban Villages Group members believe to be a useful and realistic starting point. Laing (1995 interview) contends 'it doesn't have to be that 100 acres we were talking about ... you could do it in 5 acres really, just to see how it would work'. Wadsworth (1995 interview) claims that he has been involved in a number of projects which, while not overtly planned as urban villages, are 'basically bits of an urban village' and eventually take on most of the wider features of an urban village. Similarly, Watts (1995 interview) asserts 'that taking an existing community and using the principles contained within the Urban Villages Group to improve it, that's a good way of doing it'. Stuart Black (1995 interview), Urban Villages Group member and managing director of his own property investment company Clipper Estates, claims that 'there's no reason why the urban village concept can't be applied in miniature to small communities, because you're planning from the ground up'. Professor Nat Lichfield (Urban Villages Group member and former president of the Royal Town Planning Institute) recommends this approach for larger centres as well, 'you can think in terms of applying urban village principles to making over and revitalising and rehabilitating established areas. And if you think about the country as a whole there's much more leeway in that direction than there is in simply building a lot of villages. And I think this could be in the end the biggest impact' (1995 interview). Aldous (1995 interview) sums it up by saying 'the simplistic response ... is if it's not doing the whole job it's not doing it at all. Whereas, actually the gains are to be made at the margin'.

At the larger scale, and again adopting Krier's goals, the report suggests the polycentric grouping of urban villages wherever possible. This has the added benefit of allowing a broader range of functions to be performed within the grouping, including some 'regional' activities (such as major sports facilities or secondary schools) not available within every urban village. Trevor Osborne has been vigilant in hammering home this message,

particularly to local authority councillors so as they see their existing urban areas in a new light. He (1995 interview), like Krier, views 'the natural shape' of a city or town as 'a group of urban villages' that are linked together. 'One facility should be in one urban village and a complementary facility should be in the next urban village. You can't stick them all in one because then you've got a town centre again'. It is worth noting that in the Urban Villages Group's second report, *Economics of Urban Villages*, Lichfield (the report's director) has altered the terminology used from 'polycentric grouping' to urban village 'clusters', mirroring Ebenezer Howard's words a century ago.

1.2.3 Self-sufficiency

A mixing of uses is promoted within the village as a whole in order to encourage self-sufficiency, including within street blocks, and, in the case of the more densely built up main streets and central area, within individual buildings as well. In the latter situation, ground floor space would be dedicated to such uses as shops, restaurants, pubs and public and private activities which generate a certain liveliness within and in front of the building. Upper floors might be used for housing and offices for example. This mixing of uses is certainly one aspect of an urban village that has been stressed repeatedly by Group members. Reid (1995 interview), Watts (1995 interview) and Cary-Elwes (1995 interview), Urban Villages Group member and secretary general of the British Urban Regeneration Association, respectively describe mixed use as a vital ingredient for village conviviality, self-support and vibrancy. Martin Bradshaw (1995 interview), Urban Villages Group member, then director of the Civic Trust, and past president of the Royal Town Planning Institute, believes the key to urban villages 'lies in how you achieve this mixed use idea'. Certainly the activities of the Urban Villages campaign since 1996 have placed much more weight on the mixed use aspect of urban villages than on other aspects, as will be discussed later in this chapter.

Overall there should be a balance between housing units and workspace. The aim is 'a theoretical 1:1 ratio between jobs and residents able and willing to work' (Aldous, 1992: 30). This will enhance the opportunity to work 'within walking distance of home' (Aldous, 1992: 30), although it is accepted that commuting into and out of an urban village will occur. In addition, the proximity and mix of uses will also provide an agreeable environment for such people as those who work from home, students who study at home, and the elderly who require support services. Altogether, the result for the urban village is a considerable degree of self-sufficiency, particularly in terms of 'daily shopping, basic health facilities, nursery and primary schools, ... some recreational and cultural facilities' and employment (Aldous, 1992: 36). Laing (1995 interview) along with many other Group members thinks that the urban village's 'uniqueness is the concept that the community is a holistic community. It has everything there to itself'. This fundamental notion has been a particular mainstay for the Group since its inception.

1.2.4 Occupancy mix

A more overtly social piece of the Urban Villages Group agenda is their desire to see a diversity of housing and employment unit types and sizes. Related to this is a policy of offering a wide variety of tenancy arrangements. These range from owner occupation to rental to equity-share for homes, and from freehold to leasehold (including initial low, non-commercial rents) to easy in-out licences for businesses. The ultimate aim is to encourage the early and continued provision of local services, including small independent enterprises, and a diversity of residents in terms of income, ethnicity, age and household type. This diversity of residents is a primary factor in the Krier quest for local democracy, urbanity and civility:

civilisation (is) a form of making things regular, every day things, habits and everything which contributes to daily life, to make it not just an affair of necessity but also a form of civility and urbanity in a positive sense.... Urbanity also is a form of good manners which are advantageous to people.... Every morning you walk in the street, everybody says 'Bonjour Monsieur, Bonjour Madame'. These simple forms, they're incredibly pleasant and they create a link between people which is at once distant and also cordial. (Krier, 1996 interview)

Despite the sparks that have flown between Krier and John Thompson in relation to community consultation, this mix is something they both agree on. Thompson (1995 interview) has elaborated on it in the following way, 'in principle you do need to have variety in order to keep a community sustainable'. 'I think it's a good expression that the urban village philosophy's about creating civilising environments, environments which plan to bring people together.'

(A) lot of it is to do with the ability to carry out local transactions and to have a local repertoire of opportunities to meet other people that share the same community but are not actually like you. It's not that the only people you know are the same as you and you go and travel by car to meet them wherever they are. You actually have a network which is sometimes unrecognised, but it's an important network which is generated by daily activity carried out locally. So whether it's the corner shop or the pub or the cinema, all these things add up to local transactions which work beneficially in both ways and allow you to carry out civilised activities ... with the possibility of seeing other people.

There is an express objective here to encourage people to meet with social difference and otherness. The reason is to enable an understanding of, and empathy for, heterogeneity, and thereby enhance community civility and democracy. However, among most Urban Villages Group members the occupancy mix is not envisaged as a static situation. Their view reflects their middle class, market oriented alignment. For example, Osborne (1997) sees the scope for social mobility as a positive feature of urban villages, 'I believe one of the things that moves people upwards is living in mixed communities and getting aspirations from others there'. He quotes the example of Ancoats urban village in Manchester where working class people, who had previously lived in the area now undergoing regeneration, were very keen to return once they saw the 'high class urban village' going up, in which they might be able to run small businesses. Similarly, a significant comment in the Urban Villages Group's second report relates to how house prices in urban villages would increase in value more quickly than in conventional housing estates, 'in the longer term, urban village advantages should lead to higher property values' (Aldous, 1995: 16) and 'as urban villages grow in number, disposal prices to occupiers should

also, over time, show comparatively larger increases' (Aldous, 1995: 110). This is somewhat ironic given that to ensure an initial occupancy mix, the prices of many housing units for sale have been kept low in urban villages built to date (as will be evidenced in Chapters Five and Six examining the Poundbury and Crown Street projects). However, given the view expressed by the Urban Villages Group above, ultimately they must see the only way for lower income residents to inhabit these places as being via social housing provision, or other forms of tenancy, because the latter would not be able to afford to buy later down the track.

1.2.5 Architecture and landscaping

This is the issue that receives the greatest degree of attention in these chapters dealing with urban village characteristics. That it is so prominent reflects the influence of Krier, and his concern with traditional town making, on the publication. However, it is particularly interesting to note that in the summary of key urban village characteristics presented in the Group's second report, *Economics of Urban Villages*, this particular element is the only one abandoned, completely downplaying this aspect of urban villages.

As a point of departure, the first report advocates that an urban village should 'focus on a public square or place of sufficient size and quality to give people a sense of place' (Aldous, 1992: 48). Being the heart and showpiece of the development, this square 'must have architectural distinction, presence, (and) vitality' (Aldous, 1992: 48), encouraging lively public use. In typical Krier rationalist fashion, maintaining a strict building hierarchy is advised. The buildings surrounding the square should be taller than most others in the village in order to exhibit a grand architectural presence. They should also occupy smaller plots than elsewhere in the village to enable a dense and fine-grained level of urban activity. Among the edifices located in this central common should be such civic buildings as a community hall and local council branch office. Again, this reveals the civility being sought in an urban village. These buildings and their location 'are tiny reminders of the civility, of the authority of which they are part and parcel' (Reid, 1995 interview). Other

activities around the edge might include shops, bars, cafés and restaurants accessed via the numerous entrances which should permeate the square. Points of focus within the square and a sense of enclosure are features considered architecturally imperative.

Elsewhere there should be a broad mix of different building types and sizes. Large, important buildings should always be placed in key locations offering visual impact. Corner buildings should be designed with particular care in order to maintain a strong urban form giving the corners visual incident as entry points into principal and minor streets. Gardens and set backs should consequently be avoided on corner sites. Other buildings on minor streets and lanes should be largely architecturally modest.

It is also important that the streets and squares have a comprehensible layout and respond to existing landscape and historic features. Any existing meritorious or historic structures should be conserved to add variety and continuity to the townscape and to provide a visual and psychological asset. Finally, parks, gardens and other public spaces should be small but abundant throughout the urban village. These need to be designed as an integral part of the village, with appropriate lighting, seating and other embellishments to reinforce the village identity.

The responses of Group members to these design principles are a little mixed, although broadly in agreement with the way the *Urban Villages* report has presented them. There were two points in particular that were commonly made by Group members during interviews with them. Firstly, many members were keen to clarify that the Group's architectural views should not be assumed to equate with those of HRH the Prince of Wales. For example, Welbank (1995 interview) stated that architecturally speaking, the Prince 'has an extra dimension about the way it (an urban village) should be expressed' which is not necessarily shared by the Group as a whole. Similarly, Watts (1995 interview) remarked that the Prince's

views on architecture I think are recognised by him and by the people on the Group as being his own. He makes absolutely clear that this is his view.... I believe that if you start to attach too rigidly a physical form to the concept of an urban village you lose the point. And I don't think that the Prince of Wales is saying an urban village is only about high

density, four storey, five storey blocks of flats.... I think that's what he would like to see but I don't think he's prescriptive in any way.

That accepted, in Martin Laing's (1995 interview) experience in the building industry he believes that 'the British, in terms of the housing that they like ... are traditionalist by nature' anyway. So the Prince's views pose no particular problem in terms of consumer popularity.

Secondly, many members, particularly those with a distinct interest in architecture, felt compelled to restate that the report did not specify any specific style of architecture for urban villages. Rather, it elaborated traditional design principles which could be implemented via many different architectural styles. For example, Thompson (1995 interview) expresses it in the following way:

the campaign's got nothing to do with style.... (T)here are timeless principles that have been around in all sorts of cultures. You finish up with lots of different sorts of buildings.... (T)he urban villages thing is about process and not about style.... (I)t's traditional planning, nothing's original. It's about enclosure of space ... gateways and vistas, and contraction and expansion (I)t just so happens that the traditional timeless urban design principles about buildings enclosing space are much better from a security point of view.... (T)raditional urban design does actually create about the safest environment you can get. So that's all handy when you've got high levels of social breakdown.... (Y)ou can't solve anybody's problems by just giving them something physical (T)here is no architectural determinism which leads to one type of building being better or more satisfying than another. It all depends on the match between the social and economic and cultural needs of the people and what you provide for them.

Similarly, using the Prince's project at Poundbury as a comparison, Hanson (1995 interview) reiterates that it is not intended that the architectural style be prescribed for urban villages:

I would strongly defend Poundbury taking the aesthetic line it's taken, but I don't think that makes it an urban village or not. What makes an urban village is the plan and mix of uses and tenures, scale somewhat, the way traffic is handled.... So I think that that kind of thing could manifest itself in a whole range of ways. I don't think the traditional look is inevitable in an urban village.

As mentioned previously, the implementation of a series of codes under the guidance of a masterplan is advocated in the report in order to fortify the above principles. Krier believes the masterplan and codes are a precondition for the successful integration of communities, buildings and spaces. For Krier these tools highlight the necessary quality

required, raising the sights of developers and residents alike (Thompson-Fawcett, 1998: 177). While potentially allowing a range of options to meet requirements, there is inevitably a degree of community conformity implied in the enforcement of codes. A tight rein needs to be kept to reclaim the desired traditional urban form from the prevailing contemporary alternative. Therefore, certain functional and aesthetic standards will be prioritised over individual freedom, more so than is the case in conventional development. This could have an influence on who ends up living in a particular village (that is, primarily those prepared to accept the restrictions, or those, such as housing association tenants, who have limited choice), resulting in residents with a degree of homogeneity in terms of their convictions. In addition, such an approach seeks to endorse civilised community interaction in accordance with basic decencies in order to ensure effective code implementation. Again this reveals the understated attempt by the Urban Villages Group to guarantee their own preference for civilised behaviour and community commitment, an objective which might justifiably be labelled authoritarian.

On a different theme, one *Urban Villages* report goal that members were quick to support during interviews was that of sustainability. While this notion is established as a central conviction in the report, there is no attempt to define it or discuss it in detail. However, in terms of architecture, the report regards a pledge to architectural adaptability and durability to be a necessary step towards attaining sustainability. Thompson (1995 interview) echoes the report's stance:

There is a very clear vision about the quality of the civilised environment that we want to create which is mixed use, mixed tenure and that has a lot to do with sustainability as well.... (M)ost cities regenerate cyclically, and they don't get knocked out. And this means a pragmatic approach to designing the buildings, as much as anything, and the way they fit together so that they constantly can be remodelled.

While the urban village idea has certainly (especially initially) been derived from a concern with traditional aesthetics, the Group has come to realise that their thinking is closely aligned to much of the rhetoric being pumped out on the sustainability issue, particularly as it pertains to compact cities, self-sufficiency, transportation, building

durability, and the use of local materials. As a result, at the instigation of the Group, there has been a merging of their urban village idea with the ill-defined concept of sustainability. This has worked in the Group's favour by actually reinforcing the legitimacy of their paradigm with other interest groups.

1.2.6 Transportation and access

A readable, plain arrangement of streets, lanes, pedestrian paths and public spaces, which radiates out from the small blocks surrounding the central square to the larger blocks on the village periphery, should be provided for the benefit of walkers, cyclists and drivers. Traffic calming combined with physical measures to acknowledge pedestrian priority can be used to tame motor vehicles accessing the central square (the report indicates that this may involve changing current highway engineering standards). Generally, however, street, building and space layout should be such as to encourage pedestrian access and minimise private vehicle use, while still according priority to public transport systems for journeys which cannot be made by foot, such as longer trips or trips made by those with restricted personal mobility. Those activities which generate high vehicle movements and freight should be sited on the periphery of the village preferably in the spaces that separate one urban village from another, accessed by designated boulevards.

One thing that was interesting during interviews with members of the Urban Villages Group was that although most voluntarily raised the importance of transport issues to the urban village concept, no one ever elaborated on them. It is certain that transportation has been an item on the Group's agenda. For example, Watts (1995 interview) offered the following insight:

There've been enormous debates that I've attended about whether or not every urban village should have a railway station.... Can you honestly be an urban village if you don't have a railway station, because it means that if you haven't got a railway station you have to have a car, and if you have to have a car that shoots the whole concept, shoots it in the foot.

However, nobody on the Group has a credible background in transportation questions, and transport, while recognised as important, is not a foundational element in the Group's project. As Duncan McLaren (1994 interview), co-author of the seminal text *Reviving the City* and staff member of Friends of the Earth, an organisation who have been asked several times without success to join the Urban Villages Campaign, assessed it, the origins of the urban village concept are unmistakably in architecture rather than transport.

1.2.7 Greenville

Most of the urban village characteristics summarised in the six sub sections above are graphically depicted in the large Greenville poster which accompanied every copy of the *Urban Villages* report (figure 10). This imaginary urban village designed by Richard Reid and Max Lyons, has been prepared for a site previously occupied by a small village, a disused railway, a neglected canal and some defunct warehouse buildings. Many of the existing features have been restored and incorporated into the development. It covers an oval area of nearly 100 acres (40 hectares) with a width of $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile (1,200 metres) at the widest point. The new urban village is focused on a central square towards the south west, which is linked to a park, a shopping street and a small market beside a canal basin. Ground floor premises in the square include such uses as shops, cafés, and bars, with a mixture of flats, offices and other work spaces overhead. This inner village area is more intensively developed with buildings, streets and passages than elsewhere in the village. It also has smaller plots and higher buildings. Pedestrian movement is prioritised via the walkway and road pattern, but vehicle access is also catered for. A large recreation area has been provided to the south. Other amenities within the urban village include a church, meeting hall, council office, branch library, health centre, primary school, marina, cinema, leisure centre, adult education centre and fire station. Traffic generating uses have been located on the periphery. The disused railway that runs beside the southern boundary of the village is being converted for use as part of a light rail rapid transit network.



FIGURE 10: Greenville imaginary urban village (Aldous, 1992: 72-3)

Of his representation of an urban village, Reid (1995 interview) states '(d)oes it really matter whether it ends up like this or something else?' 'I don't think the thing should be a fixed vision. I think it should have that ability to grow and extend and change and accommodate things. I think it ought to be much more open and adventurous.'

I think the thing really was merely an illustration for what might this thing be. But I could have equally made it a slightly different looking thing. I don't think it would change. It would still just have been an illustration. It may be enough to galvanise things, that here was some hook to hang the thing on. But it was no more than that.

Despite the drawing's striking resemblance to the type of project Krier had been talking about all along, and despite Reid's insistence that it was just one galvanising option of many potential alternatives, there has been a small measure of discontent expressed about it, particularly by more recent town planner members of the Urban Villages Group. A belief that the artwork overplayed a backward looking design above effective planning was intimated. Outspoken former president of the Royal Town Planning Institute and member of the Urban Villages Group since the publication of the first report, Professor Michael Welbank, went so far as to describe it as a 'wretched drawing' (1995 interview). However, it is notable that during interviews with the author the property sector members of the Group conveyed no feelings one way or the other in relation to this exemplar of their concept. It was not an issue for them.

All told the Urban Villages report very closely mirrors the musings of Leon Krier, HRH the Prince of Wales and Robert Davies. The concern of all three with pre-industrial traditional urban types, spaces, patterns and scales; legible urban units; neighbourhood diversity and democracy; monumental and humble architecture hierarchies; art and artisanal skills; and organic adaptability have been directly incorporated into the inceptive *Urban Villages* publication. Furthermore, the additional concerns of Krier with regard to the need for a masterplan and detailed implementation codes for each development, and the broader requirement for the polycentric linking of all such urban units, have also been addressed. But while for the Prince of Wales and Davies the report represents an embellishment of their ideas, for Krier it is instead a simplification to the point of slight

fuzziness. The justification of Krier's rationalist project and finesse of his paradigm is consequently weakened in the report. This makes the gradual whittling away of his aims and re-prioritising of his focus easier to achieve in the long-term, as will be evidenced in later sections.

1.3 Collaboration and partnership

A commitment to effective multi-lateral participation in planning and management processes related to the establishment and maintenance of urban villages is a further goal in the first report which deserves some attention. This is not a factor that Krier has a passion for. Rather the impetus has been derived from HRH the Prince of Wales's regard for community democracy and Robert Davies' commitment to neighbourhood, civic and business partnerships. It is an area where the Urban Villages Group has chosen to place considerable effort, particularly noticeable in the many community planning weekends it has been associated with since 1993.

From the outset the *Urban Villages* report is candid about the fact that the public involvement foreseen is not an attempt to ask 'the public to "design" the village' (Aldous, 1992: 40). It is an opportunity for the community 'to find out what is envisaged, offer information and comment, feel they are helping to shape the development' (Aldous, 1992: 40). It may also enable community members a direct role in the planning, implementation and management process. Urban Villages Group members have repeatedly reinforced this notion of establishing partnerships to inform, as opposed to design, urban village developments. Davies (1995 interview) indicates that there may have been some initial confusion:

there was a lot of people at one stage assuming what the Prince of Wales meant by this concept (urban villages) was to do with community architecture, community involvement. Of course it doesn't mean that. Very often he despaired at the things that people designed as a result of consultation. Because he actually felt that, and I personally felt that, whenever you were going to get communities involved you really ought to take them off to places that work and let them deduce the answers. Because if you put people together and say "look design your community", what happens is they

want cul-de-sacs, they want this, they want that, and they want old people over here and young people over there, and the idea of mixed uses really comes from analysing places that work. And therefore there's an educational process to do.

Conventional public meetings, while often necessary, are not regarded as the most beneficial mechanism for public involvement. Instead the report suggests in-depth interviews and dialogue with residents and special interest groups, community planning workshop sessions (participatory planning events run over several days), and community architecture consultation processes (for specific projects where the design brief is worked out with the existing or intended users and residents). In particular the establishment of a community development trust is recommended. Such a trust would be formed at the commencement of a project and would be consulted during the planning process, would advise on implementation, and would be an equity partner in the long-term management of the urban village. Typically it would have a charity status. While its members might vary in accordance with its tasks at any one time, they would include residents, local business people and local authority representatives. This is a mechanism designed to encourage the community to 'embrace a sense of control, ... a sense of responsibility, an owning of the idea, ... a preparedness to work together', an ability to 'see the problems as being their own', and an authority 'to put (them) right' (Watts, 1995 interview). For the long-term the role of the community development trust might include holding the lease over amenities such as the community hall, meeting rooms, sports buildings and other leisure facilities (the trust concept is elaborated on in the Group's second report, *Economics of urban villages*, 1995). In addition, it should also have shareholder status in a village management company established to enforce the village objectives and provide specified services.

Nat Lichfield and Gail Hallyburton (Acting Chief Executive of the Urban Villages campaign, 1995-96) respectively highlight the significance of forming early partnerships in the urban village planning process:

It so happens that the urban village movement has embraced as part of the planning of urban villages ... 'planning for real', the new buzz word is 'collaborative planning'. And I would say that's not new - this kind of planning I've seen references back to the '70s. But the urban village movement is being launched in various parts of the

country very much under the influence of collaborative planning, bringing everybody in.... But the novel thing is the idea that you ... get the management side and the governance side right in on the ground floor.... the management and governance are brought in right at the beginning.... Now I think this is a very big important thing.... But this is not *new*, because after all, to some degree, it was already incorporated in the New Towns, already to some degree. So you're picking up a lot of contemporary ideas: environment, community, collaborative planning - ... all these things are being brought together ... as a sort of philosophy. (Lichfield, 1995 interview)

(U)nless you get to the right brief at the beginning of the planning process then you do end up producing very flawed places. The right brief is surely one in which a number of parties have been consulted and involved. Too much of our modern cities are horribly planned on the basis of some ... surveyor sitting in a cupboard somewhere with a drawing board, not very informed kind of a guy. Then suddenly that becomes the reality. And OK you go into a planning process, ... but so much damage is done by that adversarial process taking place. I think a lot of what we're trying to say is not so much bleeding heart, you must talk to communities about the way they feel about their lives, so much as saying there's a series of stake holders in any given area, and that may be people who live there, or it may be businesses, or it may be farmers, whatever it is, but people who have some claim to ownership over there. Get them involved in a positive way at the beginning and then they probably won't argue as much about it. Hopefully it does inform the process because you don't do anything sensible without researching it properly first. (Hallyburton, 1996 interview)

Such notions of collaboration and partnership are now being popularly adopted in many development projects. But the extent of authority offered to the community varies widely, as will be evidenced in Chapters Five and Six. More often than not the community is 'a partner with very little power' (Thompson-Fawcett, 1996: 309).

1.4 The Urban Villages Movement's unique offering

Despite the discussion of the urban village concept presented in the previous three sub-sections it remains difficult to distil the unique contribution of this notion to contemporary urbanisation. Certainly in a physical sense it would be virtually impossible to detect an urban village solely by viewing its plan or built appearance. The urban village is posited more in the form of a cloudy paradigm than a prescriptive model, making it especially vulnerable to liberal interpretation. Consequently it is also frequently subject to complaints of ambiguity. Furthermore, many outside the Group claim that they are already doing that which the Group makes a plea for. To an extent this is true, certain aspects of the Urban Villages agenda are fulfilled in current urban developments. As Welbank (1995

interview) indicates, this is par for the course with a loose definition, '(t)he clearer definition of what an urban village is, the clearer you define it, then the harder it is to achieve it'. That clarity is certainly lacking in the popular rhetoric that has been derived from the Urban Villages Movement.

Since its inception the Urban Villages Group has been frank about the fact that their concept is a 'bastard concoction' (Aldous, 1995 interview). The many elements that comprise an urban village process and outcome are not here created from new. Rather, the Group has revisited old ideas with a tried and tested track record (such as traditional design principles and estate management), drawn them together with many contemporary ideas (relating to sustainability, compact cities and collaborative planning), and repackaged them into what they perceive to be a more fashionable, holistic, contemporary parcel. As Lichfield (1995 interview) describes it, you 'dress it up in new names, new clothes, and you bang the drum'. It is understandable then that such eclecticism results in confusion.

However, the first report was not explicit about the historical foundations of the urban village. The report presents an urban archetype but neglects to trace its genealogical associations. As a result, Welbank and Lichfield for example labelled the notion as displayed in the first report as 'wombling around' (Welbank, 1995 interview), and devoid of a coherent 'intellectual basis' (Lichfield, 1995 interview). Les Sparks (Urban Village Group member after 1992 and City Planner for Birmingham City Council) goes as far as to say 'I think in a funny sort of way ... the people who came together and invented it (the urban village) a few years ago almost invented it from scratch without being aware of the philosophical and historical precedents' (1995 interview). The previous chapter demonstrates that despite the silence on the matter in its text, the urban village concept is deliberately predicated on a rational understanding of traditional (and predominantly pre-industrial) urban design courtesy of Leon Krier. Nevertheless, many other components of the broader concept, which do not emanate from Krier and apparently have no maestro championing them beyond the Group members' common knowledge, give the impression

of having materialised in a historical vacuum. The town planner members of the Group (such as Welbank, Lichfield and Sparks), all of whom were invited to join post production of the *Urban Villages* report, are particularly aware of this situation. They are quick to recall earlier planning models which encompassed remarkably similar, although more detailed expressions of many of these ideas. Other members of the Group (including Osborne, Black, Galloway and Thompson) also make connections to precedents not mentioned in the report. These are much more recent than Krier's pre-industrial precedents. Generally they are also models for new settlements as opposed to ideas for the regeneration of existing cities - the latter being the primary focus of the Urban Villages Group.

Most frequently referred to by Group members were New Towns, Garden Cities, the planned communities of philanthropic industrialists, and the ideas of Jane Jacobs. Members indicated that the urban village notion borrowed heavily, albeit very selectively, from such sources in terms of its humanitarian objectives, community commitment ideals and long-term management structures (significantly not one built example from these sources is listed as an urban village precedent, in terms of physical features, in Appendix C of the *Urban Villages* report). Although these various models and their associated movements differed in their details (sometimes markedly, as in Jacobs' dislike for Howard's Garden Cities despite the latter's primary ambition to conserve such localities as Jacobs' prized Greenwich Village), they were all examples of a cognate approach to urban reform, an approach of which the Urban Villages campaign is also clearly an example. Like these late nineteenth to mid twentieth century predecessors, the Urban Villages Group tends to view the troubles of the city in terms of 'victims rather than villains', to use Stretton's phrase (1978: 21). They comprehend city inhabitants as the objects of poor physical surrounds, rather than as the casualties of deeper structural processes of exploitation. Hence they consider it reasonable to seek a cure to urban ills which does not significantly threaten present interests and in fact provides an alternative within, not beyond, the existing society. Needless to say, the Urban Villages Group is also subject to the same reproach of hypocritical petit bourgeois romanticism as these forebears (Beevers, 1988:183). Their

egalitarian liberal reform is of the 'soft' variety that Stretton speaks of in his account of Ebenezer Howard and like-minded visionaries, '(t)hey hoped to improve some equalities, especially of health and space and access, but without attacking the rich or the general distribution of wealth' (1978: 25). These reformers 'argued for peaceful and co-operative styles of urban life' and undervalued 'the conflicts and questions of justice which are present in every kind of social life' (Stretton, 1978: 30-1).

The following paragraphs take a succinct look at some of these forerunners. The example that industrialist planned communities offer to urban villages (particularly Bournville, Port Sunlight and Saltaire), is mentioned several times by Urban Villages Group members (including Black, Sparks, Reid, Galloway and Welbank). Sparks (1995 interview) goes so far as to state that:

Saltaire is an urban village that was conceived in the nineteenth century and created almost as a precedent for everything they (the Urban Villages Group) have talked about. Extraordinary, wonderful place, but there you've got it all really. You've got the shops and the school and the institute and the factory and the public open space and the church and the monument, and it's lovely.

According to Scargill (1979) Saltaire (on which construction commenced in the 1850s) is one of the more significant industrialist communities by virtue of its size, which approximates a traditional town as opposed to a worker colony, its futuristic provision for social needs, and its achievement of a degree of social mix within aesthetically pleasing (Italianate style) but humbly designed housing rows. Although paternalistic and contrived to optimise worker output via good quality living conditions, such projects demonstrated the value of having a single promoter with a manifest interest in the construction and sustainability of the place being created.

Turning to Garden Cities, despite Krier's (1978) aversion to them as far as their mechanistic, orderly layout and prescriptive use arrangement is concerned, many of Howard's ideas (borrowed heavily from Ledoux, Owen, Pemberton, Buckingham, Kropotkin, More, Saint-Simon, Fourier, Marshall, Bellamy, and Ruskin, according to Hall, 1996) run in parallel to Krier's own. Even so, the emphasis of the aesthetically indifferent Howard (Miller,

1989: 5) is much more stilted and technical than Krier's passionate, informal traditionalism. The *Urban Villages* report has deliberately steered clear of siphoning off any of the physical aspects of Howard's work. This is reinforced by several Group members, who describe the physical form of Garden Cities, and the more closely related New Towns, as too monofunctional, suburban and car-oriented (refer Osborne, 1995 interview; Black, 1995 interview; Lichfield, 1995 interview; Thompson, 1995 interview). Howard's principal aim was to stem the overcrowding of inner city areas and the residential sprawl at their urban periphery (and he was primarily thinking of London) via an alternative mode of growth based on unit additions. Growth would be directed away to new, densely populated settlements (although nowhere near as dense as Krier's proposals) of approximately 32,000 residents on 1,000 acres (400 hectares) of land, each with a high degree of self-sufficiency in terms of employment and food production. In theory (and Howard did not intend for precise replication of his blueprint on the ground) every Garden City would be circular in form, with a radius of approximately $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile (1,200 metres). It would be crossed by six principal boulevards, which would divide the city into six equally sized wards. The town centre would contain a large public garden surrounded by civic and community buildings. On the outer side of the public buildings would be a much larger central park in the shape of a concentric ring, itself surrounded by a circular retail arcade and winter garden. Outside this ring would be a ring of residential land, bordered by a Grand Avenue containing such activities as schools, playgrounds and churches. This avenue would separate the inner town from an industrial belt on the periphery. Beyond the urban development lies a belt of agricultural land supporting the city itself. At the wider scale, six of these garden cities could cluster together in a region around a central urban area to make a larger polycentric Social City incorporating both town and country, all linked by road and rail. At the core of the plan and perhaps the most significant contribution of his model, is not the physical form but a social process: the goal that Howard's Social City be developed on land that is in citizen ownership and that might therefore enable coherent planning, implementation and community dividends in perpetuity (that is, the use of profit

from the development process for community benefit). His original intent to create co-operative commonwealths as an anarchistic alternative to cities based on capitalist competition was somewhat downscaled by the reality of bringing his ideas to fruition. Furthermore, in constructing his two Garden Cities at Letchworth and Welwyn, Howard 'did not even achieve the first step of a city owned and governed by the community, and the ultimate goal of a new social and industrial order remained in the realms of the unattainable' (Beevers, 1988: 182). Even so, Howard's innovation in regard to common ownership has had a distinct influence on the management criteria adopted for urban villages.

Letchworth and Welwyn were private initiative new settlements. By 1946, and the passing of the New Towns Act, the state commenced its own foray into new settlement building, resulting in the construction of 32 New Towns over the next several decades. In 1948 Welwyn itself was designated as one of London's New Towns as part of this government scheme. As mentioned in the previous sub-section, the manner in which New Towns established early and consistent mechanisms of town governance and plan implementation has had a special sway on the thinking of the Urban Villages Group. But in addition to that has been the influence of the New Towns focus on community vitality. The New Towns were built in two distinct phases. The first of these has particular relevance to the logic behind the urban villages idea. While aiming for a one to one ratio between residents and employment, contrary to the urban village objective the New Towns were low in density and pro land use zoning. However, this first phase of New Towns was forcefully influenced by the neighbourhood unit principle popularised by American Clarence Perry in the 1920s (Scargill, 1979: 164). Perry was a sociologist and planner. He had a particular concern for encouraging community interaction in terms of face to face contact and co-operation. He was convinced that a well designed neighbourhood unit was an essential key in bringing about the community spirit lacking within the fragmented modern city. Hence suburban sprawl, dominated as it was by motor traffic, should be reorganised into

village forms. These would have a central meeting place, and would be grouped and clearly delineated by an encircling green belt. His model was focused on the local elementary school which established the neighbourhood's parameters in terms of aerial extent (based on the children being able to walk to school) and density (based on a population of 5,000 inhabitants). The local playground and community centre would also be based at the school. Shops would be located at the junctions of adjoining neighbourhood units, allowing them to serve several communities and provide higher order goods than justified by a single unit. Traffic would be directed onto the principal arteries which bounded individual neighbourhoods, thus limiting traffic within units and encouraging what Perry referred to as a 'residential environment'. These principles were adapted and applied to the development of individual neighbourhoods within the early New Towns (prior to the more car oriented second phase New Towns). Lichfield (1995 interview) has consciously established a link between the neighbourhood unit, 'new towns in town' and urban villages. In the Urban Villages Group's second report, *Economics of Urban Villages*, Lichfield was responsible for adding several sections that formally acknowledged this connection. When interviewed, Lichfield (1995 interview) described his addition of this pedigree in the following way:

Anybody with a bit of historic perspective can see it's (urban villages) not a new idea... we've had to back peddle a bit (from the first *Urban Villages* report). But obviously we had to do it with a certain amount of discretion and loyalty. So we've used it (the *Economics of Urban Villages* report) as a sounding board and pushed the boat out in different directions which are now welcomed.... (E)ssentially the urban village idea is what we used to call the neighbourhood unit idea. And if you look at the literature on neighbourhood unit and what a neighbourhood unit set out to do I think you'll find a great similarity between that and the (urban village).... I think they're (the Urban Villages Group) much stronger on mixed use, mixed tenure and all that sort of stuff than is the neighbourhood literature.... (T)here are some hints in the beginning of the (*Economics of Urban Villages*) report which pick it up. I did it with a certain amount of temerity because that was part of the departure - to say look we're not really creating the world, we have our roots.

All in all, the key ingredient appropriated from these earlier models is that there must be a common interest in the village over and above the interests of the individuals who may reside and work there or own property there. In past models that common interest was

usually represented through the single ownership of the land involved, headed by a sort of benevolent dictatorship. Its translation to an urban village is also via a single land owner or consortium for the village, but this time overseen by a promoter and community development trust who maintain and continue the village along the agreed lines on a long-term basis. There are many forces working against the achievement of such an approach. This sort of position runs contrary to the championing of individual/citizen rights. Individual property rights for example have been given precedence over the broader dimension of neighbourhood management. Concomitantly, there has been a loss of any intermediate tier (between the individual and the state) expression of community (Welbank, 1995 interview). A number of these intermediate tiers have existed historically, in this instance best exemplified by the traditional city-state. But this fabric has broken down swiftly in the second half of the twentieth century. The increasingly interdependent nature of cities within a wider urban system has apparently toppled the 'age of the city' (refer Scargill, 1979: 261). The Urban Villages Group however, is seeking to reinsert that middle layer back into contemporary development. It cannot be left to the market, and certainly during the Thatcher years was actively discouraged, not least through the dismantling of the leasehold system.

What the Urban Villages Group proposes then is the formalising of a partnership between the public and private sectors. Whereas philanthropic communities and Garden Cities were private sector based and New Towns were public sector based, urban villages attempt to combine the two sectors into an effective partnership enjoying the private sector's enterprise skills and the public sector's accountability and long-term vision. To this end, the Urban Villages Group has created a new platform for connecting the private and public sectors with some long established planner/architect understandings of city design and management. It is not a movement driven by planning and architectural professionals debating internal discourse, rather, house builders, developers, investors, local authorities

and state bureaucrats have all been intimately involved in developing and actioning the idea from the beginning.

The uniqueness of the Urban Villages Movement cannot be found via its constituent parts, but only through the sum of its parts. Anchored in its multidisciplinary platform, it takes the organic, holistic, urbanistic, polycentric, aesthetic nature of pre-industrial city quarters and villages, combines that with the community and management ideals of late nineteenth century and early twentieth century utopian models, and then integrates these with current objectives for sustainability, compact cities and collaborative planning. The potential for realising this vision in toto is recognised by Urban Villages Group members as limited, and even described as 'myth' (Bradshaw, 1995 interview) or 'fantasy' (Watts, 1995 interview). But their task is to commence a change in this direction as opposed to remaining content with conventional contemporary urbanisation.

2. THE URBAN VILLAGES COMPANY

In keeping with their original purpose, once the conceptual basis had been firmly laid down (that is, as per the *Urban Villages* report), the property sector-based Urban Villages Group was meant to go forth and construct. To that end, the developers and house builders involved were invited to form a company whereby to realise built urban villages. Accordingly, the Urban Villages Company was formally registered. Its original shareholders, each of whom held shares equally, consisted of seven of the Group's founding corporate members: AMEC Plc (via MD David Taylor - who later moved to head up English Partnerships - see mentions in following sub-sections); Barratt Developments (who withdrew after only a short period); Grand Metropolitan Estates Ltd (via Chairman and MD Bob Williams); Jacobs Island Company Plc (later replaced by Landworth Ltd - both chaired by Andrew Wadsworth); John Laing Holdings Ltd (via Chairman J. Martin Laing); Regalian Properties Plc (via CEO David Goldstone); and Speyhawk Enterprises Ltd (later replaced by

St George Plc - both chaired by Trevor Osborne). It was hoped that this consortium might be able to erect the exemplar urban village. The Company therefore searched for a suitable site in England or Wales on which to promote such a pilot (Aldous, 1992: 12). With a very entrepreneurial developer as Chairman (Osborne), and emerging towards the end of the 1980s property boom when a number of exciting projects were underway such an undertaking seemed quite plausible (Hallyburton, 1996 interview).

As a first proposition it looked like the Company might have a contribution to make to the Prince's Poundbury venture in West Dorset. The manner in which the Prince had set up the Urban Villages Group, inviting aboard prominent property people but also the Duchy of Cornwall (administrators of the Poundbury project) had certainly left the Group with an expectation of involvement. This was affirmed within the *Urban Villages* report itself, where in his introduction Osborne spoke of the possibility of collaboration (Aldous, 1992: 12). However, the Duchy decision-makers seem to have thought otherwise:

the line between the original Company and Poundbury was drawn very firmly by the Duchy of Cornwall who basically didn't want the developers in the Urban Villages Company to have anything to do with it (mimicking Duchy officials:) 'thank you very much, goodbye, not today, we'll call you, don't call us'. And I think that there was some sort of peculiar politics going on there. It's always struck me as a bit strange that the Prince should've invited this group of developers who were sympathetic to the idea and easily had the power to help in Poundbury that none of those developers or builders have had anything to do with Poundbury at all, nothing whatsoever. And yet on the Urban Villages Group membership are Duchy of Cornwall people. So there is a slightly strange situation there.... But a lot of that's to do with the politics of the Duchy and The Treasury and the particular people involved in the Duchy. I don't know if you've met Kevin Knott (the chief Duchy representative on the Urban Villages Group)? I don't think you'll find him necessarily terribly helpful with anything to be perfectly honest. He's not of a nature to be helpful. I don't know Jimmy James very well, but he's now the Secretary (that is, the chief executive of the Duchy) I think he thinks that they (the Urban Villages Company) are potential interferers. Certainly that's how Kevin sees us. You know, (mimicking Kevin Knott:) 'they might have ideas which are different from our ideas and if we let them look at our ideas they might tell the Prince that our ideas are stupid and that just wouldn't do would it? That would be embarrassing'. Well there's an awful lot of that goes on around the Prince. And although he's a great initiator of some marvellous things, once he's initiated them there's quite a lot of funny politics going on all the time. (Wadsworth, 1995 interview)

Undoubtedly the Duchy are wary of the Urban Villages Group. Jimmy James (1995 interview) admitted guardedly that he was 'cynical' about the Group. He considers them largely a bunch of 'developers with an eye for the main chance'. Even so, the exact

reasons for the Urban Villages Company's lack of involvement in the Poundbury project are indistinct.

An opening with more promise emerged in 1993. The first significant urban regeneration scheme in the Royal Docks since the 1987 commencement of the London City airport, was about to spring into life. The London Docklands Development Corporation (LDDC) were marketing West Silvertown on the south side of the Royal Victoria Dock (which closed in 1969) as an opportunity for the creation of a new self-sustaining community of 5,000, incorporating homes, jobs and facilities. John Redwood, when Minister for Inner Cities, had been successfully courted by the Urban Villages Campaign, and openly stated that he wanted to see an urban village at the royal docks (Urban Villages Forum, 1994: 4). LDDC responded positively. A partnership was to be formed between the public and private landowners, and private developers to further such a project. Prior to the latter arrangement being finalised, the Urban Villages Forum (the 'Forum' is elaborated on in the next sub-section) took responsibility for running a Planning Weekend consultation programme in West Silvertown. Held from 3 - 6 December 1993, the exercise was organised for the Forum by Hunt Thompson Associates - architecture, urban design and community planning consultants (as in John Thompson, Urban Villages Group member), with support from LDDC, the London Borough of Newham, The Peabody Trust (a local housing association), and Tate and Lyle Sugars (the largest cane refinery in the world, based in Silvertown).

Entitled 'An Urban Village for Docklands?', the long weekend involved a day of public workshops, covering housing, economic, development, social, community and environmental issues; a day of 'planning for real', hands on public participation sessions translating ideas into options; two days of an invited planning team (consisting of architects, urban designers, surveyors, ecologists, developers, engineers, community workers, and a number of Urban Villages Campaign supporters, including John Thompson, Stuart Black, David Cadman, Mike Galloway, Andrew Wadsworth and Ted Watts) analysing the outcome

of the previous sessions and turning it into a three-dimensional vision and action strategy; culminating in a public presentation on the final evening. 'The aim was to bring together all parties with an interest in the area - public and private sector landowners, existing and prospective developers, local residents and potential inward settlers - to explore their needs and aspirations' (Hunt Thompson Associates, 1993: 51). But it was exploration within certain parameters. A particular kind of outcome, set by the Urban Villages Forum, was being sought. Communication procedures employed during the weekend ensured that agenda was kept to.

The end result was the skeleton for an urban village. Unmistakably led by urban village campaigners, the main Planning Weekend findings were that the urban village concept was endorsed for the renewal project; the development process should be consensus led; the project promoters should comprise a partnership between the landowners and the local community; profits should be shared with the whole village and should also ensure investment in local infrastructure. Important recommendations included the need for immediate establishment of a development trust; the early preparation of a strategic masterplan; the introduction of a mechanism to disassociate monetary value from specific pieces of land; the undertaking of a detailed social survey of existing residents' needs, aspirations and skills; and the introduction of a joint management strategy for existing and new housing to ensure a balanced community.

Three days after the Planning Weekend, the Urban Villages Forum held a meeting at the Royal Victoria Dock to go over the conclusions with 300 private and public sector and community leaders. During this event, the Peabody Trust, East London Housing Association and LDDC all pledged money towards the establishment of a development trust for the project. In total, their contributions amounted to £360,000 being made available for that purpose over a three year period.

Having completed this information-consultation procedure, the strategic development and design principles for West Silvertown were fleshed out by the LDDC in

conjunction with the Newham council. These were incorporated into Newham's development plan and into the development brief for West Silvertown. This was done in preparation for the design-led, two stage competition for the project. Here the Urban Villages Company spied an outlet for its creative urge. Four of the share-holding companies elected to participate in the Phase I competition. To their ranks were added a further company chaired by Osborne, plus Alfred McAlpine Homes Ltd (an Urban Villages Forum corporate member and campaign sponsor). The organisational structure proposed by this assemblage is shown in figure 11. Within the group, four companies were experienced residential developers, one was a commercial developer, and one had been involved in several mixed use developments. In addition, Hawk Development Management Plc had considerable project management expertise. For the purposes of the competition, they titled themselves the Royal Victoria Dock Consortium (RVDC). As a result of the LDDC having chosen to run with the concept of an urban village for the scheme, the RVDC played heavily upon its long-term commitment to the urban village notion through its individual members' involvement with the Urban Villages Movement. They made ample use of the material in the *Urban Villages* report to lay the foundation for their submission in terms of social and physical characteristics, urban design, project management, community collaboration, and implementation codes. Their colour perspectives (figure 12) presented a very urban but human scale design, crowned with a densely developed causeway linking the north and south areas of the village.

However, the consortium's submission never made it on to the LDDC's short list. In July 1994 it was announced that the first phase of the urban village would be developed by Wimpey Homes in conjunction with planning consultants Tibbalds Munro and social housing providers the Peabody Trust and the East Thames Housing Group. The winning criteria on which the decision was made were the 'masterplanning and architectural excellence' of the Wimpey submission (although their proposal was not as compact and architecturally varied as that of the RVDC), and the 'appropriate financial package' (Karski and Gardner,

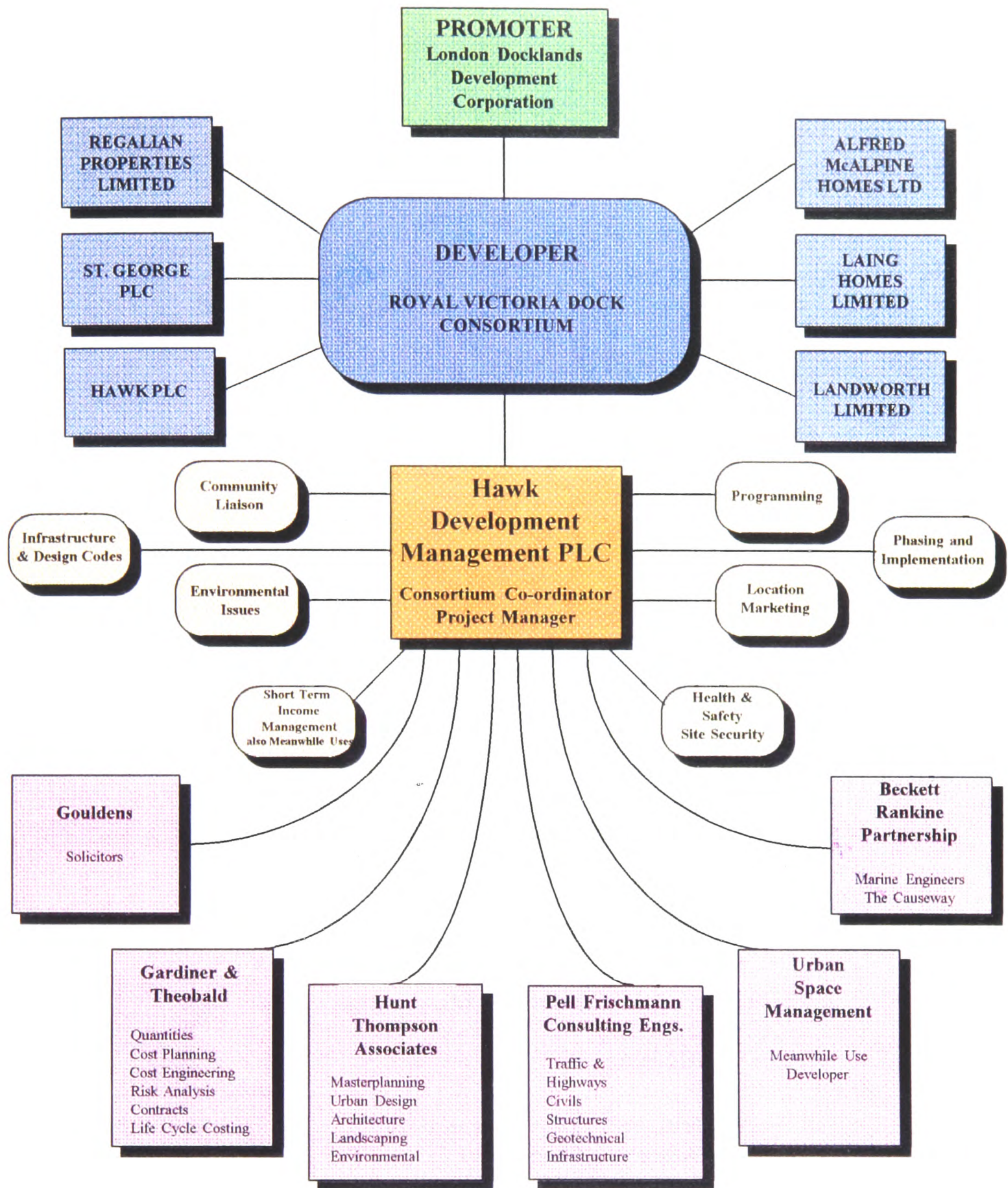


FIGURE 11: The organisational structure of the proposed Consortium founded by the Urban Villages Company/Group (Royal Victoria Dock Consortium, 1994: 2)



FIGURE 12: Perspectives for West Silvertown
(Royal Victoria Dock Consortium, 1994: 13)

1997: 14). Some in the Urban Villages Group expressed the opinion that yet again short-term financial considerations had won the day:

Even the LDDC who pretended that this was an urban village have actually taken the highest bid from the simplest developer who says 'well I'm going to build you a load of houses and I'll stick some shops on the corner and maybe a pub'. (mimicking the LDDC:) 'You're in'. But somebody (that is, the RVDC) comes in and says 'well I want to involve the community and I want to do this and I want to do that', they (LDDC) go 'oh for god's sake, you know, life's too short'. (Wadsworth, 1995 interview)

Such accusations are difficult to substantiate. In any case, the Urban Villages Group has not dwelt on them. Instead, they have given the West Silvertown project considerable support and publicity as a worthy example of an urban village.

Since that time however, the Urban Villages Company has slipped into obscurity. There have been a number of reasons for its demise. In the first instance, the recession of the early 1990s shattered most of the confidence necessary to brave the demands of any urban village scheme. The housing market changed and it was simply bad timing for innovations requiring an extra risk. Laing (1995 interview) explains it as follows:

I think that we underestimated the difficulties of doing it. I think we also underestimated some of the difficulties of actually funding the thing. So actually financing a village is a bit of a challenge because you've got to do things around the wrong way really. And at times when the housing market wasn't actually vibrant, or quite so vibrant, then people were reluctant to actually pay for the front end cost. And so the idea's of getting a landowner who had the whole area of land in one ownership to sort of kick it in and then take his money out later, we weren't able to pull that one off.... So rather than getting the money up front you spread it out over years, which we assumed we could do in a tax efficient way. So that instead of getting a hundred acres being sold off for half a million each and you pay the capital gains tax and at least you can get it out over ten years it would be better for it. But nobody was really prepared to. One hasn't up 'til now been prepared to take a gamble I suppose. Still is a lot of faith required in this.

By the time the economic climate began to pick up again in the late 1990s, the Urban Villages Company had well and truly lost its impetus, although it does still exist as an entity.

A second factor working against the successful operation of the Urban Villages Company has been the lack of unison between the shareholders involved. One initial plan was to have the Company find a suitable place and then go ahead and develop an urban village on it. However, they met with a supply obstacle. Finding hundred acre sites is not an

easy business, they are few and far between (Laing, 1995 interview). Needless to say, the Company failed to identify any opportunity that all shareholders could agree on. In part this reflected the diverse nature of the shareholder companies:

I believe there are fundamental problems with any five, or seven companies originally ... forming a partnership. You know, you've got very different cultures within that group. You've got tiny little companies like us (Landworth) (and) huge companies like Grand Metropolitan for goodness sake. For them to put a million on the table and start a big project they just write a cheque. For us we're scrambling around raising capital. It's a whole different ball game. Some of them you've got as commercial developers, like Speyhawk when it joined, which was Trevor Osborne's company, others were, you know, nobby box house builders, and others were kind of entrepreneurial mixed use, small scale like us. So to actually just try and align the cultures of seven different companies to do anything is almost impossible unless they've got a very specific role. Camelot that does the National Lottery I think is four companies. But ... one of them is in charge of the distribution to all the news-agents, well I think that's Cadbury Schweppes who, you know, distribute chocolate to them and confectionery; another one does the computer technology; another one does all the media stuff on it. So they've got very defined roles in areas where they have specific expertise and they can bring something to the party. But where you've got seven developers it's very difficult to define it as clearly as that. And then you've got the sheer scale of the task at hand, you know. You're talking in terms of a ten year project, millions and millions of pounds, usually just to get it going. And who manages it? Who makes the fundamental decisions about the expenditure of that money? You know, if you were director of a company would you put a million quid into a project, or ten million, or whatever it is, and let someone else go and spend it for you? It's very, very difficult. And I think that's been one of the fundamental problems as why it hasn't happened, is mixed culture, and just how do you organise seven lots of people.... I can't see the Urban Villages Company actually doing a scheme ... as it was originally formed as a company, because of the business culture problem of the seven different companies. But I can see one or two of them either individually or in partnership going and doing a 'Cardiff Bay' for example, where the government is prepared ... in certain situations ... to put value ahead of cash. Long-term value as opposed to short-term cash. (Wadsworth, 1995 interview)

The final factor, which over time hammered the nail in the Company's coffin, was a major shift in the focus of the Urban Villages Group's attention. Perhaps born out of disquiet with the Company's lack of progress, the Urban Villages Group began to concentrate more and more on alternative avenues whereby to push its message. This was not an entirely conscious decision, except when viewed with hindsight by certain members. It was something that was drifted into by virtue of the Company's nonperformance, the demands attached to certain key sources of funding made available to the Group, and the force of the broadened campaign membership under the new Forum (refer to next sub-section). Laing (1995 interview) puts it this way:

I think that the Urban Villages Company will never actually do a development But the Forum, with its wider mixture of people, can undoubtedly spread the word, spread

the gospel, spread the message, so that there is a far greater likelihood of it occurring somewhere.

Eventually, resigned to their inability to physically construct an urban village on the ground, the decision was made that 'it would be better to simply use the Group to act as an advisory body to those individual developers or consortiums who were working on specific projects with an urban village focus' (Osborne, 1995 interview). In March 1995, the Group declared the Urban Villages Company dormant. Then in November 1997, Trevor Osborne offered a formal explanation for its disappearance from the scene, 'individual developers have been willing to take up the challenge of these opportunities (for urban village projects), making it unnecessary to work through the intended consortia of the Urban Villages Company' (Aldous, 1997: 11). Although only gradually arrived at, this decision represented an enormous U-turn away from the purpose laid out for the Group by HRH the Prince of Wales, Robert Davies and Leon Krier. The Group's existence had been justified on the expectation of implementation. It was inevitable that such a reversal would totally transform the structure, nature and membership of the Group. The initiators of the campaign finally yielded to the logic of the change. More recent disciples think it only appropriate:

I think it (the Urban Villages Company) was perhaps a flawed idea because in the end I think it's very difficult for any group to set itself up on a platform and say we're doing something that's the last word. I think it's quite dangerous to do that. In the end commercial reality's always going to come in and probably compromise the vision. And if it's the Forum, which is essentially the lobbying group, in a way the promoter and guardian of the idea, who's in that position and potentially up there being compromised, it's not very good news. I think what has emerged, partly through necessity and I think partly through a maturing of the view of what the Forum is about, is that there has to be a separation between the lobby, essentially, and those who go out there and do it.... (!) It's a very, very, very special set of skills that are required to make that (a built village) happen. There's a very different set of skills required to get a message out to the general public, to the professional public, and to get that to stick. To try to do both things is not very sensible. (Hallyburton, 1996 interview)

3. INAUGURATION AND EVOLUTION OF THE URBAN VILLAGES FORUM

The Urban Villages Forum was launched formally in London on 11th January 1993. In part it came about as a response to the interest generated by the *Urban Villages* report.

This body would offer the potential for a diverse array of supporters to argue the case for urban villages. Its activities would be guided by the Urban Villages Group. But whereas membership of the Group remained limited and by invitation only, the new Urban Villages Forum could be joined by '(a)ny organisation or individual subscribing generally to the aims of the Campaign' (Urban Villages Forum, 1993: 3). Proof of the latter commitment was to be provided by prospective members agreeing to sign the Urban Villages Charter. The Charter succinctly outlined the main tenets of the urban village concept (human scale development, mixed uses, tenure diversity and affordability, design quality, well-planned infrastructure, and effective urban management). Its signatories committed themselves to assisting in advancing the concept and its implementation via promotion and education, contributing to practical demonstrations, and encouraging planning authority endorsement. It was anticipated that the Urban Villages Forum would result in a widening of support for the Campaign, and would also allow organisations and individuals who had not previously been involved to play a fuller role in promoting the urban village idea.

To keep the momentum rolling after the publication of the first report and the launch of the new Forum, the Urban Villages Group decided upon two main strategies. The first was to establish a series of regional teams to work with local authorities and landowners to identify areas for development or regeneration in accordance with urban village principles. Chairmen located in the various regions were appointed from the ranks of the Urban Villages Group. These included Trevor Osborne and Gerrald Cary-Elwes in the South-East, Stuart Black of Dorset in the South-West region, Les Sparks of Birmingham in the West Midlands, John Swanson (Managing Director of Tay Homes Plc) of Leeds in the North East, Mike Galloway of Glasgow in Scotland, and Sir Geoffrey Inkin (Chairman of the Land Authority for Wales) of Cardiff in Wales.

Formation of these regional bases was a recognition of the impracticality of attempting to run the entire campaign from London. Each of the chairmen drew around them prominent citizens from their area, both from within the Urban Villages Forum

membership and from beyond it, including the curious and the sceptical. Local representatives from the development and business communities, academics, housing trust directors, local authority chief executives, and planning managers were drawn together at regional meetings, seminars and conferences. To varying degrees the Forum's regional chairmen used these gatherings to secure support for the campaign, to encourage endorsement of local urban village proposals, and to create a network that would actively facilitate implementation of such proposals. In addition, they also offered advice and assistance to promoters interested in bringing about urban village projects. More recently their efforts have been complemented by the Forum's creation of a regional projects team, which is discussed later in this chapter.

The second strategy involved the institution of seven working parties. According to Welbank (1995 interview), the first *Urban Villages* report

didn't have any substance.... (U)nderneath it the idea of building communities as distinct from lots of buildings was absolutely fine ... (but) you had to do something more substantial. Therefore, the working parties were set up to try and give substance to that general idea.

Bradshaw (1995 interview) offers a more charitable view of the establishment of the working parties:

Trevor, in his wonderful enthusiasm - and he has driven it really very well - began to want to look at different components of the problem, like the economics of it, like the planning policy issue, like the transportation issue, and so on. So we've ended up with working groups.

The topics and emcees of these Working Parties were: economics, chaired by Nat Lichfield; interface with the planning system, chaired by Martin Bradshaw; masterplanning, codes, framework agreements and estate management, chaired by Michael Welbank; project promotion, management and implementation, chaired by Frank Bowness (Osborne's colleague, the Director of Hawk Development Management); collaborative planning and community involvement, chaired by John Thompson and then Robert Cowan; environmental implications, chaired by Ted Watts; and international links, chaired by David Edmonds (the General Manager of Group Property and Central Services at

National Westminster Bank). The intent was to produce written supplements to the *Urban Villages* report. But support for such an outcome was not unequivocal as Bradshaw (1995 interview) commented, why 'write another glossy product that we can't afford to print (and) we're not sure who'll buy?' While many of the working party leaders managed to draw together a team from Forum members to outline an agenda, few got beyond that stage. Lichfield (1995 interview) described it this way, 'some potential groups are having problems in mustering'. Ultimately most became defunct, demonstrating the difficulty of bringing already busy people together on a voluntary basis to produce such tomes. Even so, the Campaign today still operates working groups that deal with planning policy, finance, projects and marketing.

Nevertheless, two of the original Working Parties went on to make a substantial contribution to the Urban Villages Campaign. These were the Economics Working Party and the Interface with the Planning System Working Party, both of which are considered in detail below. A third working party, that dealing with collaborative planning and community involvement, purposively elected not to establish a formal group. Instead, its chairmen, particularly John Thompson, (along with several other Urban Village campaigners, including Hanson, Watts, Taylor, Knevitt, Rasmussen, Hallyburton and Marshall) became involved pivotally in the joint production, between the Urban Villages Forum and the Prince of Wales's Institute of Architecture, of a guidebook entitled, *Action Planning: how to use planning weekends and urban design action teams to improve your environment*. Based on recent community planning exercises such as those for Blairs College in Aberdeen, Shankhill Road in Belfast, West Silvertown in London, Angell Town in Brixton and Poundbury in Dorchester, the book presented a step by step account of action planning events, and incorporated sample documents and checklists for use before, during and after the participation sessions. It is a useful guide as to best practice in planners' attempts at community involvement. But in keeping with the royal patronage, the official launch of the publication was in the unmistakably non-populist ambience of St James's Palace.

3.1 Economics Working Party

(W)hen the first report was published ... it was criticised as being light on economics and finance. Therefore, Trevor Osborne had the idea of supplementing that report on the economic and financial side. (He) asked me, because this is one of my special fields, if I would chair a working party. I said yes, and that's how I became involved. (Lichfield, 1995 interview)

Lichfield had mixed feelings about the first report (he had not been involved in its production). He perceived the report as presenting an indeterminate concept overly focussed on architecture, design, new settlements and nostalgic Princely predilections. However, he welcomed what he considered to be its timely delivery of a notion and movement concerned with the environment, collaborative planning processes and village governance. Hence he was more than willing to lend his support to the campaign.

The formation of an Economics Working Party was announced by Osborne in October 1992. Its official standing, with Nat Lichfield at the helm, was confirmed at the launch of the Urban Villages Forum in January 1993. The brief was to prepare a supplementary report to *Urban Villages* which would address the economic implications of creating urban villages. As Lichfield saw it (1994), it was already apparent that there was a social case and a design case in favour of urban villages, but what was the economic case? How could the Movement demonstrate that their idea was not simply 'pie in the sky'? That was the challenge for the Working Party. Osborne's preface to the second report echoes this '... we have to be able to show that this form of approach will bring *tangible* benefits to society and to individuals, both to the public purse and to the private investor' (Aldous, 1995: 7-8). Even so, Lichfield (1995 interview) recognises that further evidence is warranted to better support their claim.

The Working Party had its first meeting in April 1993. At this gathering the Working Party developed its own terms of reference which were subsequently approved by Osborne. The two principal tasks were (a) to provide a guide 'on how to plan and

implement urban villages in a way which has full regard to economic considerations', and (b) to tackle all four possible urban village locations, as described in the first report, 'bringing out the differences and similarities between them' in terms of execution (Aldous, 1995: 7).

Membership of the Working Party was open to all members of the Urban Villages Forum. Only the Chairman's role was fixed in advance. The support for Lichfield taking that role appears to have been unanimous. Group members are prolific with praise for the man and his work. That enthusiasm carried through to the Working Party which has enjoyed a high degree of success compared with most of the other working parties established.

(I)t was announced I would chair it. We got a fantastic response. Everybody wanted to be in on an economics working party because they recognised it was missing in the first report. I have a certain reputation in this particular field so they thought it might be good value. And I think we settled down in the end - must've had about fifty people (initially). But the thing was then self-selecting because certain people ... showed their interest not simply by registering but showed their interest by appearing at meetings and writing papers and turning up at discussions. So they settled into the group.... (W)e had one or two people turn up offering no contribution, straight architects or something, no contribution to this, so I politely suggested they don't come because it's a waste of everybody's time. And then when we sent round drafts to people who'd expressed interest I think I had one reply. So actually it happened naturally. I think it happened very well because we're a very diverse group. I might say, I keep on saying this, they were top people. There were no duds ... they're all good. And they were all varied. They weren't all equal. In fact the only man who dared call himself an economist on it was myself. There were surveyors, and planners, financial people, housers. So it really happened that way. And I think that's the only way. You could always invite somebody. If I'd have thought I had a gap and wanted somebody in particular I could've invited him. I don't think in the end I did. It just happened. (Lichfield, 1995 interview)

Finally, the Working Party settled on a voluntary membership of eleven people, plus editor. The journalistic skills of Tony Aldous were again called upon to draw together this second report. However, there was not the same scope for incorporation of Aldous's own ideas as there had been during the production of the first report. The economics report was directed with precision by Nat Lichfield. Aldous was simply called in to make Lichfield's academic writing style more readable and to clarify the concepts in the text for lay readers. The intention was to make the report accessible, in terms of language and format, to a wide variety of people, including builders, developers, engineers, local authority councillors, shop keepers, land owners, property and planning professionals, and potential occupants, that is, those who might invest in an urban village. It was not designed as a technical report

(Lichfield, 1994). Furthermore, rather than address the many obstacles to implementation (such as the unconventional funding implications of mixed use projects), the Working Party elected to take a very positive stance. That is, how could people who really wanted to make an urban village work go ahead and do it?

The report was actually created from eighteen separate working papers (eight of which had Lichfield as the primary author) over a period of fourteen months. Each member of the Economics Working Party was responsible for producing at least one of these papers. Prominent contributors included Stuart Black (Managing Director of Clipper Estates), Nicholas Falk (Director of URBED Urban & Economic Development Group), Mike Galloway (Director of Crown Street Regeneration Project in Glasgow), David Morgan (Chief Executive of Black Country Development Corporation) and David Cadman (from the Cambridge University Land Economy Department, although I could find no record of the latter ever being a registered member of the Urban Villages Forum). The seventeen short chapters that comprise the book are further divided into individually numbered and labelled paragraphs. 'This obsessive fragmentation does more to confuse than clarify' and furthermore helps to carry the 'simple didacticism' of the first *Urban Villages* report 'to an extreme' (Hebbert, 1996: 388).

3.1.1 Part I: Introduction

Launched at St. James's Palace in October 1994 (although officially published in 1995), the sleek *Economics of Urban Villages* volume is divided into three distinct parts. The first part provides the report's summary and recommendations, along with a general introduction to the primary concern of the report and synopsis of the key characteristics of urban villages. The boldest claim made in this Part, if not the boldest in the whole document, is that the long-term social costs of urban village development would be significantly lower than costs associated with conventional housing estates (figure 13). Post-war housing estates are labelled as 'unsatisfactory' in the report, meaning 'lacking the

Diagram 1 Physical Development: Comparison of annual costs in two options

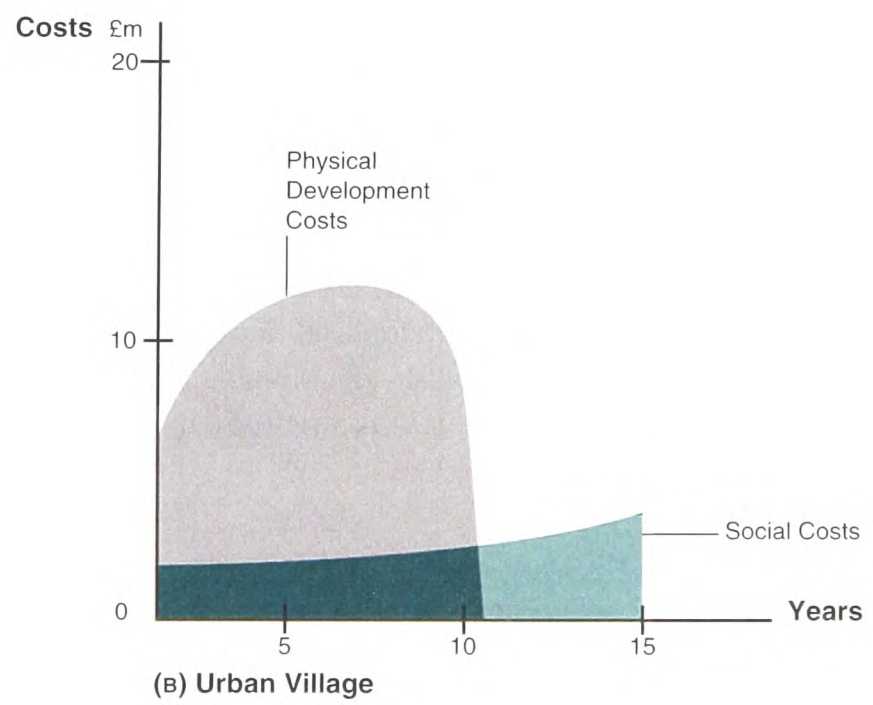
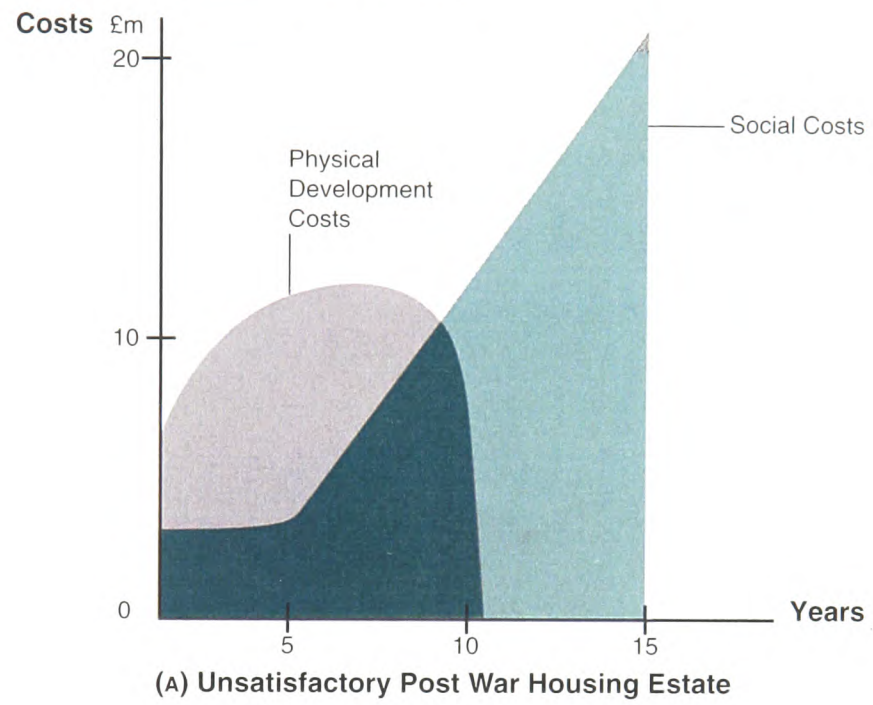


FIGURE 13: Comparison between conventional housing estate and urban village costs (Aldous, 1995: 32)

attributes we have indicated as desirable in an urban village' (Aldous, 1995: 32). Whereas the physical development costs associated with either type of project would follow a similar pattern, the social costs (which are not met by the developer but by the resident and taxpayer) related to poor environmental conditions affecting 'employment, health, crime prevention, commuting, traffic pollution, and the natural environment' (Aldous, 1995: 32) would increase sharply in housing estates in contrast to a much more modest growth in urban villages. 'In the least satisfactory of post-war housing estates, these social costs begin to climb early, in perhaps year 5 or 6; then rise exponentially as the estate suffers increasingly from deprivation, social insecurity and neglect' (Aldous, 1995: 32). Black (1995 interview) describes these as 'the operating costs of a badly built, badly designed, badly conceived housing scheme'.

Despite the audacity of such statements (not to mention their obvious allusion to environmental determinism), the report offers no evidence to back its assertion. The claim stands on its own, although both Lichfield and Black admit it is an avenue requiring further research (1995 interviews). Even the figures offered in the diagrams in terms of millions of pounds of costs are 'just indicative This hasn't been quantified at all' (Lichfield, 1995 interview). However, the point is a pivotal one in the report. The Economics Working Party is not only attempting to convince promoters, developers and funders that urban villages can be financially viable in a conventional sense, but they also aim to demonstrate social viability to a wider audience. In particular, '(t)he idea here is to try and impress The Treasury that there's something in it' (Lichfield, 1995 interview). Black (1995 interview) puts it this way:

we say, well look, if you don't do it this way the net effect is that the taxpayer is going to be picking up more and more of the social costs which are now beginning to flow out of ... poor estates.... And we feel that the urban village concept is the only way that we're going to break that vicious circle. So this was aimed at The Treasury, mainly because we felt that if The Treasury could buy that argument and see that they'd have so much more money available for other services by not having to spend so much on the social services and the police, etc., in say ten years time, they'd be really keen on trying to implement it.

Just whether the report had the desired effect on The Treasury is not clear. Certainly it has held some sway with the Department of the Environment, and that has been where

the Urban Villages Group as a whole has concentrated a lot of effort (Lichfield, 1995 interview), as will be confirmed in sub-section 3.2 below on the Interface with the Planning System Working Party.

3.1.2 Part II: Institutional Framework

Part II of the report sets out an institutional framework, creating the foundations for the approach outlined later in the report. The urban village is seen as a long-term investment requiring an understanding from the outset of constitutional and management implications. The two chapters in this Part indicate which bodies need to be involved in the process and the necessary links to the statutory planning system. A number of themes are pushed quite forcefully here. The interdependence of the planning, development and management phases is stressed. Such interdependence necessitates a common purpose and collaboration between the planning authority, landowner, developer, builders, funders and professional advisers. The report recommends the preparation of an urban village constitution as a framework for such collaboration. One alternative for this constitution is presented diagrammatically in the report, covering all three phases in the process (figure 14).

The roles of the promoter, Urban Villages Trust and Community Trust are given specific attention, expanding on the hints given in the *Urban Villages* report. The promoter is designated as the person or body committing to urban village implementation on a particular site. This role is crucial in terms of maintaining the project vision, implementing development codes, and procuring an adequately resourced management structure. The promoter would also be responsible for 'securing the site, obtaining planning permission, (providing) infrastructure and leasing or selling sections of the site to individual housebuilders' (Aldous, 1995: 36). The role is seen as being that of 'entrepreneur and risk-taker, entitled to a developer's share of the profits; or as a project manager, not taking the risk but working for a fee for the promoter or a local authority' (Aldous, 1995: 38). A degree

Diagram 2 A Possible Framework for Creating an Urban Village

Key actors	Planning	Development	Management
Land owner	provides land	<i>equity partner</i>	<i>equity partner</i>
Promoter	provides finance decides brief	develops infrastructure	<i>equity partner</i>
Housebuilder	provides finance	develops houses	<i>equity partner</i>
Local authority: District/Parish Council	determines the statutory planning	provides infrastructure with utility companies	provides services collects rates
Community Trust	<i>consulted</i>	advises	<i>equity partner</i> shares power
Urban Village Trust	← Steering the overall process →		

Notes: Possible roles in italics distinguished from typical roles

FIGURE 14: The roles of different players in each phase of urban village creation (Aldous, 1995: 36)

of tailoring of the role is considered necessary depending on circumstances, possibly even resulting in a consortium of consultants or joint venture between the public and private sectors.

The Urban Village Trust would be established by the promoter at the outset of the project. Its members would include the promoter, landowner, builder, local authority, and others depending on the situation and phase of development. The primary task of the Trust would be to guide the overall process, keeping the project on track.

The Community Trust would be largely an elected body, representing village householders, businesses, and also including the 'nominated representatives of the promoter, housebuilders, investors, and the local authority' (Aldous, 1995: 39). The Trust could 'give expression to community interests' (Aldous, 1995: 37), provide certain community activities, and take 'responsibility for post-completion management of the village in association with the equity partners' (Aldous, 1995: 39). Rather than responsibility for the maintenance of common spaces, infrastructure and facilities falling on local government or public agencies, in an urban village the Community Trust could perform these functions, as well as provide other services not typically offered by local government. Funding for the Trust should be sourced from both a community chest, kept afloat by profits from the Urban Villages Trust, and service charges. However, the Working Party acknowledges that achieving such alternative arrangements would be easiest on free-standing sites. Urban villages located within existing urban areas 'would tend to push these arrangements towards the conventional' (Aldous, 1995: 107).

The Working Party clearly regards their proposed development process structure as different from the prevailing approach. The broader based concern of their alternative is again indicated diagrammatically (figure 15). One of the fundamental differences between the traditional versus the urban village representation is the latter's lack of a definitive developer 'exit' post construction. Traditional development is portrayed as being 'controlled from the outset by the developer/housebuilder who is not accountable for what

Diagram 3 Structure of Development Process

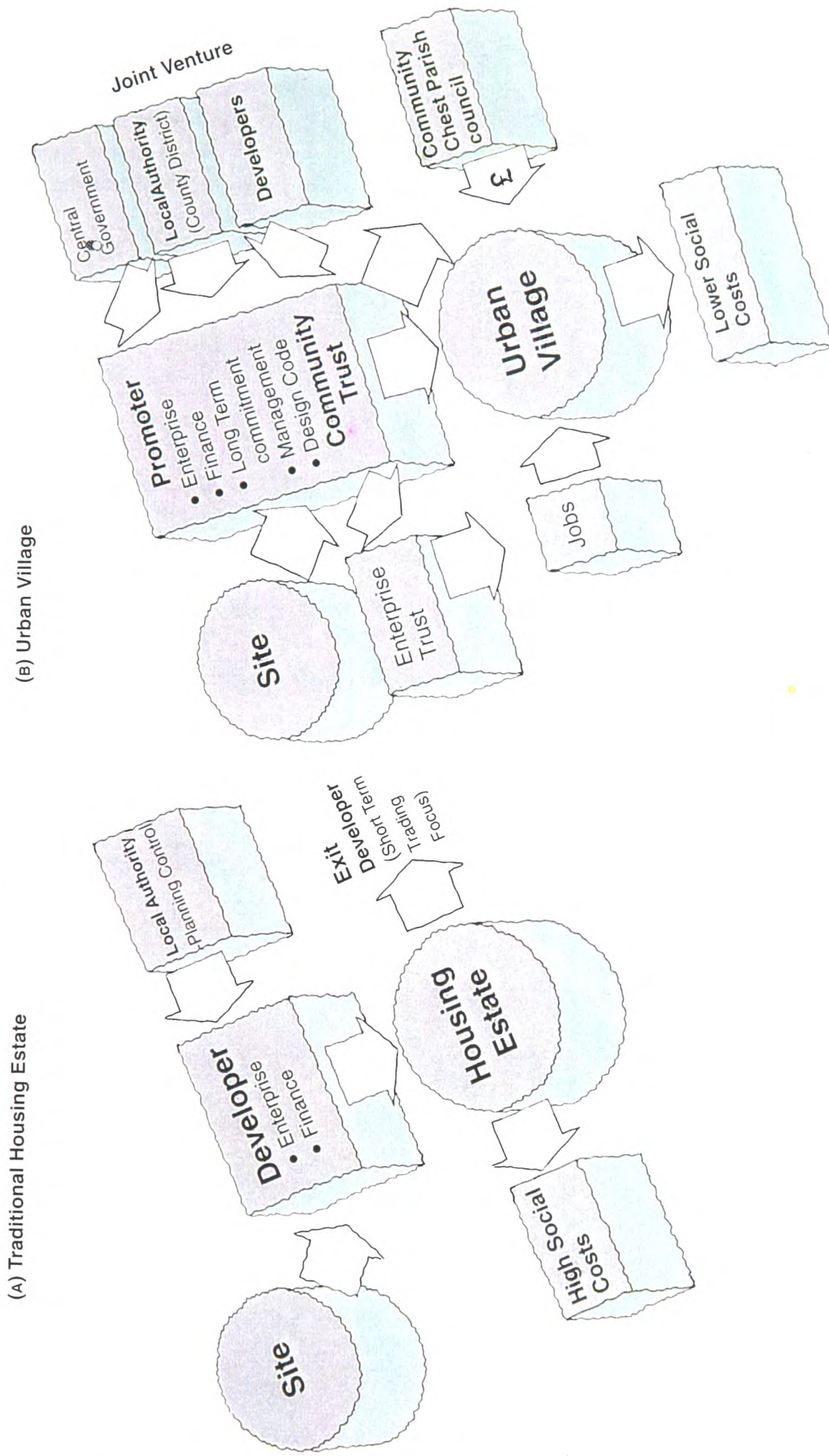


FIGURE 15: Comparison of the conventional and urban village development processes (Aldous, 1995: 38)

he leaves behind once he has sold the house, except for quality of construction' (Aldous, 1995: 39). In contrast, the urban village process involves:

- (i) The progressive change of the "promoter" into a *community trust* geared to future long-term management;
- (ii) Endowment of the community trust with funds by means of a "community chest";
- (iii) Formation in conjunction with local businesses of an "enterprise trust" to help create employment opportunities. (Aldous, 1995: 39)

Hence, it is a critical requirement that early collaboration between the promoter and the community trust establishes a joint vision and a long-term orientation. Furthermore, the Working Party suggests that their tasks would be significantly aided by retention of a leasehold system of land disposal to secure the comprehensive management intent.

This second part of the report also presents recommendations regarding the links that might be established between urban village development and the statutory planning process. To facilitate these links, the report indicates that it is necessary for urban villages to be officially recognised by central government via regulation or planning policy guidance, PPG (a matter followed up in sub-section 3.2). Such recognition is considered the key to assuring the long-term support of local authorities for urban village projects in their jurisdictional areas. It opens the door for the concept in general, and site specific designations, to be incorporated into structure plans and local development plans. If urban villages can be viewed by local authorities as offering more rounded, lively, durable and integrated prospects than 'run-of-the-mill' alternatives then a 'warm welcome' might be expected for any 'well-thought out proposal' (Aldous, 1995: 43). Thus the commitment desired from a local authority goes beyond their role in granting planning consent and obtaining Section 106 agreements under the Planning Acts. That commitment would be further reinforced by extending the local authority an invitation to join any proposed urban village project's Community Trust. But all this requires a considerable lead-in time. Plan-led procedures will add significantly to the length of the total process.

3.1.3 Part III: Economics

The remainder of the book (well over 50 per cent), Part III, details the economic principles appropriate for implementing an urban village. It commences by setting out a conceptual model (figure 16) of the economics of the proposed development process. The model is generic in design, allowing flexible use for urban village development in a full range of locations and situations. It provides the framework for the remainder of the report, showing 'how the *demand* and *supply* of economic activity could be brought to bear on it (an urban village site) and the village thus made more readily implementable *vis-à-vis* economic considerations' (Aldous, 1995: 47).

The first factor considered in this economic analysis is the site. Tentative site identification should be followed by both a feasibility study and an impact assessment. The next step is then to ensure single ownership of the site involved, via land pooling (with gain sharing), or compulsory purchase if necessary. The crucial aspect of site price is raised, with the proposal that the purchase price reflect both physical and social infrastructure costs. 'If the village is to be viable, the land must be valued for acquisition at a price lower than implied by its unencumbered development value' (Aldous, 1995: 12). While this may leave the owner of a green field site with a positive development value, it is acknowledged that the high front-end costs associated with brown land or inner city sites are still likely to produce a negative development value, resulting in a need for some form of public subsidy.

The second major issue covered relates to the demand for development. There is a close interdependence between the location of a site and its potential to build a strong socio-economic base upon which to achieve the urban village aim of relative self-sufficiency. Hence, the next step advocated in the report is to assess the likely demand for socio-economic activity in a potential village. The report recommends that village promoters undertake a kind of development planning study, employing such techniques as population projections, disposable income predictions, housing and shopping demand

Diagram 4 Conceptual Model for Economics in Planned Development of Urban Village

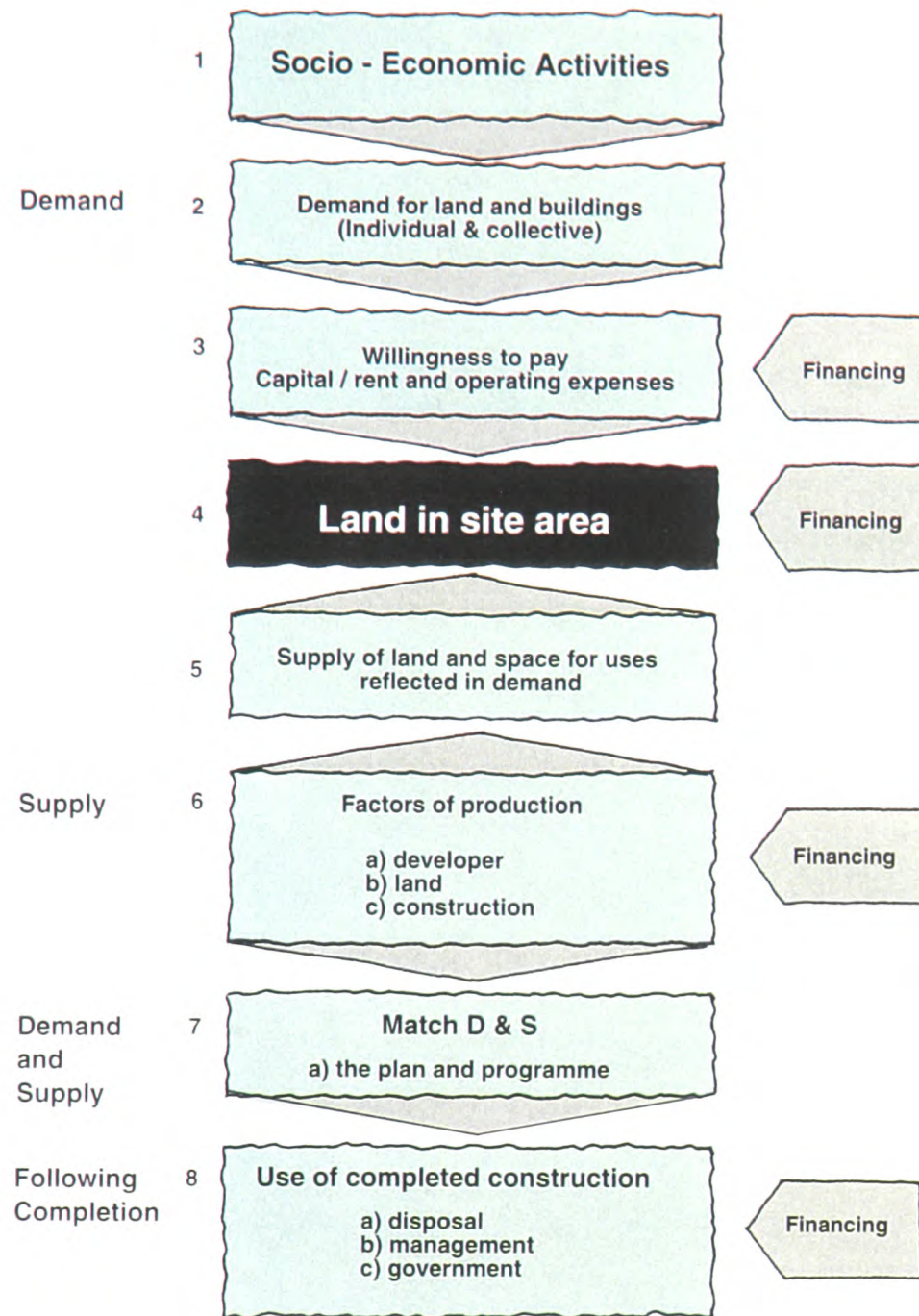


FIGURE 16: Conceptual model for economics in urban village development (Aldous, 1995: 48)

forecasts, and direct enquiry at public and private agencies in order to obtain a realistic indication of demand, expressed in sequential time phases.

Having completed such a study, the report advises that the subsequent task is to prepare a number of optional phased development schedules (incorporating demographics, natural resources, infrastructure, transport, telecommunications, urban fabric and open spaces). From these a preferred construction programme in terms of cost and value can be selected. The outcome then needs to have its viability tested. The report endorses four methods derived from the cost-benefit family of analysis: financial development appraisal, cash flow appraisal, social financial appraisal, and community impact appraisal. Which of these would be used depends on the particular objectives of the stakeholder involved.

3.1.3.1 Appraisals

The Working Party then considers each of these forms of analysis in the longest chapter of the report, chapter eleven. This chapter presents some of the most interesting material of the publication, offering comparisons between urban village and conventional developments. In the first instance, the Working Party shows how appraisal might be applied in contrasting two options for the development of 1,500 dwellings on an edge-of-town site. Option A is a conventional housing scheme and option B is an urban village. A comparison of development costs and values is provided (figure 17) based on 1994 market prices, and assuming a fixed land value of £18.0 million. Incorporating the developer's profit as a return for risk, the conventional scheme's (A) expenses are estimated at £97.1 million with a completed development value of £116.0 million, contrasting with the urban village's (B) expenses of £103.5 million with a completed value of £118.5 million. The latter option shows a lower level of profit while at the same time offering over £8 million more in terms of community facilities and subsidies (items 4-6 in the table).

**Table 4 Construction Costs and Value of Completed Development:
Comparison Between Volume Housing Estate and Urban Village**

Element	Traditional Volume Housing Estate Option (A)		Urban Village Option (B)			
	Development Costs	Completed Value	Promoter	Housebuilder	Total	Completed Value
1 Land Purchase	18.0		18.0		18.0	
2 Dwellings (approx 1500)	65.0	115.0		65.0	65.0	115.0
3 Roads/Services/Infrastructure	6.0	-	5.0	-	5.0	-
4 Commercial Space: - shops, offices, industrial	0.6	1.0	3.0	-	3.0	3.5
5 Community Space: - recreation, open space	0.5	-	3.5	-	3.5	-
6 Subsidy for shops, transport and Community Trust	-	-	3.0	-	3.0	-
7 Short Term Finance	5.0	-	2.0	2.0	4.0	-
8 Professional Team Fees	2.0	-	1.0	1.0	2.0	-
Total	97.1	-	35.5	68.0	103.5	
9 Return for risk	18.9		3.0	12.0		
Total Costs / Value	116.0	116.0	38.5	80.0	118.5	118.5
Housebuilder's Return on G.D.V. (Gross Development Value) (Return on costs)	16.3% (19.5%)			10.1% (11.6%)		

Assumptions

- 1 Cost of site purchase at a fixed price of £18m (approximately £120,000 per acre on 150 acres). This assumption is made to bring out the important relationship between land value and profitability. Should the land be bought following CPO for an urban village the site cost is likely to be considerably lower, resulting in higher profits to the urban village, which could be ploughed back to the village in a variety of ways.
- 2 Construction costs for housing similar in overall terms at approximately £43 per sq ft average including minor infrastructure.
- 3 Road costs for traditional estate likely to be higher overall and per unit on account of lower density.
- 4 Commercial space minimal on traditional housing estate. Scale of commercial in urban village will depend on location but assuming edge of town say 50,000 sq ft of small offices and 40,000 sq ft industrial.
- 5 Subsidy for shops and transport required in early stages by way of float from Community Trust.
- 6 Higher short term finance costs allowed for traditional estate on account of planning and other delays, which should be less relevant in urban village joint venture with the local authority, with clear mandate.
- 7 The high rate of profit (16.3%) to the housebuilder of the traditional estate is created by the site's land value. The lower return of 10.1% for a housebuilder in an urban village would be quite acceptable to many housebuilders.
- 8 End value of urban village houses could actually be higher with benefit of proper marketing of village and community character from outset, provided that housing is sensibly integrated. In this instance we have assumed prices to be the same in both A and B for consistency and ease of comparison.

FIGURE 17: Comparison of costs and values between an estate and an urban village (Aldous, 1995: 73)

The report also presents a financial development appraisal (figure 18) for this edge-of-town case study. One important difference from their previous table is that this appraisal is not based on a fixed land value, rather profit levels influence the residual land value which is variable. The 'return' assumptions of this table are also different from those of the previous table. It is assumed that in both options the housebuilders would accept reduced rates of return (12% for A and 10% for B). This would increase the land value for the conventional scheme from £18.0 million to £23.5 million, and up to £18.5 million for the urban village. Given that the urban village incurs extra costs associated with the provision of community facilities, the conventional scheme's housebuilder has lower costs and can afford to pay more for the land. But, because of the higher density of an urban village, the latter requires less land in total, resulting in a residual land value not dissimilar to that in option A.

This type of residual land valuation has been very popular for checking a project's financial viability and concomitantly how much a developer can afford to pay for the land. In their following table, the Economics Working Party provide an estimate of how much each of these two developers can afford to pay for the site (figure 19). In the case of the conventional housing estate the original landowner could expect to receive £135,000 per acre. In contrast, with an urban village, the landowner would receive £121,000 per acre. However, the Working Party is quick to point out that at this stage of any development process only a limited amount of information is available, therefore reevaluations will be required as new information comes to hand. That understood, the report argues with some confidence that despite the extra costs associated with urban village development, it is an option which produces profits albeit at a reduced rate and over a longer term than standard development.

The report then takes a brief look at a potential urban village on a brown land site. Contrary to the necessity for containment of land value in the edge-of-town case, in the inner city the problem is often the need to create value. The latter sites may in fact have

**Table 5 Financial Development Appraisal and Residual Land Valuation
Comparison Between Volume House Builder and Urban Village**

£ M

	Volume Housebuilder Option A		Urban Village Option B			
	Development Costs	Completed Value	Development Costs Promoter	Housebuilder	Total	Completed Value
Completed Value of:						
- Housing		115.0				115.0
- Commercial Space		1.0				3.5
Total		116.0				118.5
Development Costs:						
1 Dwellings	65.0			65.0	65.0	
2 Roads / Services / Infrastructure	6.0		5.0	-	5.0	
3 Commercial Space	0.6		3.0	-	3.0	
4 Community Space	-		3.5	-	3.5	
5 Subsidies (Community Chest)	-		3.0	-	3.0	
6 Short Term Finance	5.0		2.0	2.0	4.0	
7 Professional Fees	2.0		1.0	1.0	2.0	
8 Return: to promoter	-		3.0		3.0	
to housebuilders	13.9			11.5	11.5	
Total Development Cost (ex land)	92.5		20.5	79.5	100.0	
COMMERCIAL RESIDUAL LAND VALUE (incl interest)	23.5					
SOCIAL RESIDUAL LAND VALUE (incl interest)	-		18.5		18.5	
Total		116.0	39.0	79.5	118.5	

Assumptions

1 Residual land value (including holdings costs e.g. interest) variable.

2 Volume housebuilder's required return assuming whole site acquired at outset = 12% of G.D.V. (or Completed Value)

3 Housebuilder's required return in urban village (less risk) = 10% of G.D.V.

FIGURE 18: Comparison of appraisals and valuations between volume house builder and urban village (Aldous, 1995: 74)

Table 6 Edge of Town Site
Residual Land Valuation Under Option A or B¹ - Summary

	Option A		Option B	
	£m	£m	£m	£m
Completed value		116.0		118.5
<i>less</i>				
Development costs				
(a) Dwellings ²	65.0		65.0	
(b) Infrastructure costs (roads and services) and design and profit related thereto ³	27.5		35.0	
(c) Interest on land ⁴	3.2		3.0	
Total cost to housebuilder / promoter		95.7		103.0
Residual value of land (excl. interest)		20.3		15.5
Price paid per acre - 150 acres		£135,000		
128 acres				£121,000

1 Data derived from Table 5

2 Housebuilder's costs excluding land element but including profit and interest on construction

3 Including short term finance, professional fees and contingencies

4 Estimated interest on land holding costs

FIGURE 19: Estimate of how much each developer can afford to pay for the site, A = conventional, B = urban village (Aldous, 1995: 76)

'negative land values brought about by (a) physical contamination or (b) a social malaise which results in no-one wanting to live there, or possibly both (a) and (b)' (Aldous, 1995: 77). Central and local government consequently have 'to juggle with resources so as to ensure that sufficient value is created to begin to attract private sector finance' (Aldous, 1995: 77).

Using the figures from their previous example as a base (figure 18), the Working Party demonstrates that in the initial stages of unit sales the market value is not high enough to cover costs, even when land costs are excluded, using a negative land value of £18.5 million (figure 20). Pump-priming by the public sector is therefore crucial in the early development phase until the market demand strengthens. In their example, the Working Party advocates an £18.5 million cash injection, in the form of grants or loans, by the public sector in order 'to induce the private sector to provide the balance of finance needed to complete the village' (Aldous, 1995: 77). Confident that their urban village housing values will rise more rapidly than in conventional regeneration projects, the Working Party indicates that in the future the public sector will be quite likely to recover some of that up-front subsidy.

The report follows this with a succinct, although abstract, account of cash flow appraisal and social financial appraisal. More fascinating however, is the output of their section on community impact appraisal. Unfortunately the diagram they provide (figure 21) is not backed with specific source material, but it continues the comparison between the conventional development option and that of the urban village. According to the Working Party, their community impact appraisal

shows that the social costs of option (A) mass housing rise more steeply than those of (B), the urban village, leading to falling house prices and rents. If all costs and benefits are considered from a social viewpoint, (A)'s social costs exceed value. In the longer term, its investment value could be negative, while that of (B) the urban village, could be positive (Aldous, 1995: 14).

This section and its diagram extend the argument made earlier in the report that the social costs associated with an urban village are minimal compared with those of a contemporary housing estate (figure 13). What this later embellishment adds is the

**Table 7 Brown Land Site
Residual Land Valuation**

	Urban Village		
	Development Costs		Completed Value
	Promoter	Housebuilder	
Completed Value of:			
- Housing			85.0
- Commercial Space			4.0
- Total			89.0
Development Costs			
1 Dwellings		65.0	
2 Road/Services/Infrastructure	5.0		
3 Commercial Space	3.0		
4 Community Space	3.5		
5 Subsidies (shops/transport/housing)	3.0		
6 Short Term Finance	2.0	2.0	
7 Professional Fees	1.0	1.0	
8 Return - to promoter	6.0		
- to housebuilder (18% of GDV)		16.0	
Total Development Cost (excl land)	23.5	84.0	107.5
SOCIAL RESIDUAL LAND VALUE			(18.5)

FIGURE 20: Residual land valuation for a brown land example (Aldous, 1995: 78)

Diagram 5 Comparison of Cumulative Social Value & Commercial Value in Two Situations

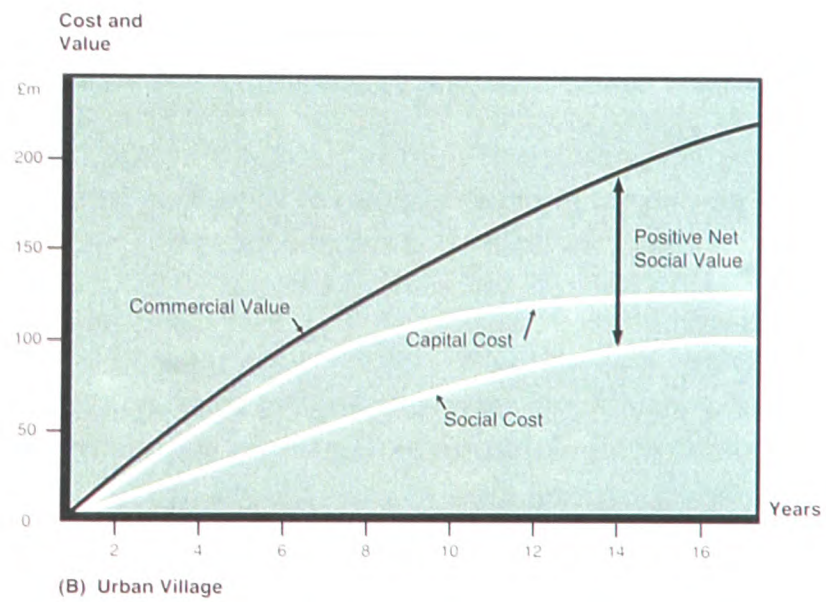
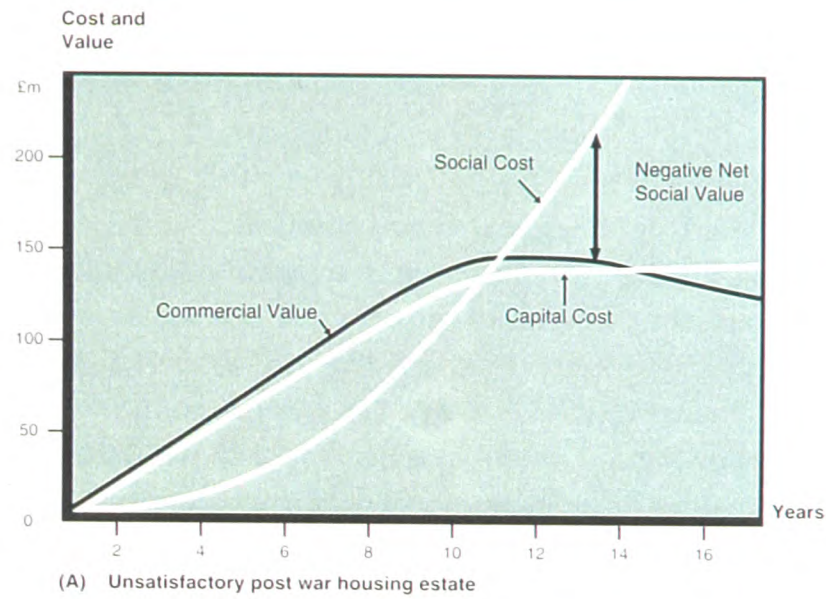


FIGURE 21: Comparison of costs and values over time between an estate and an urban village (Aldous, 1995: 85)

investment component, claiming that while after ten years the commercial value of the housing estate takes a negative turn, the value of an urban village actually continues to rise. However, as Hebbert (1996: 389) notes, it is regrettable that the Working Party 'presents its case through ludicrously oversimplified comparisons Some very dubious causal links are imputed between social performance ... and physical design and facilities'. In justification of their conclusion, the Working Party states '(i)t has long been recognised that those urban developments which are created with quality, and make provision for the maintenance of that quality, show high values in the long term and impose less burden on the public purse' (Aldous, 1995: 111). Even so, Lichfield (1995 interview) recognises that further evidence is warranted to better support their claim.

The conclusion from the appraisals is something that Lichfield (1995 interview) has 'attached tremendous importance to':

It comes out in the Prince of Wales's foreword: 'A key message of this new report is that social value for money and financial value for money are inextricably linked'. I think he's picked up a - I won't say he didn't have any help in that - he's picked up a gem. And chapter eleven of this report really spells that out. This is important again because there's no suggestion here that you're building these things for charity. You're not going to get these things built unless the people who come in say 'well are we going to make money?' and the answer is 'yes, you can make money out of it provided you're not anxious to make it tomorrow'. If *all* you're going to do is make money out of it it may not be a good urban village because you've neglected what we might call the social value.

This represents the overriding dispatch the Urban Villages Group wants to send out to its audience, both within the public sector and the private sector. These appraisals lay the groundwork that the Group hopes will influence each to take positive steps towards actually bringing about the construction of urban villages. This is arguably the most significant contribution that the report attempts to make. The message is neatly summed up in the Prince's foreword:

Civilising towns and cities, expressing more human virtues, will not just bring environmental and social benefits for their inhabitants, they are likely to generate cost savings for Government and the environment as a whole, and bring a sound return for the investor (cited in Aldous, 1995: 5).

While the Urban Villages Group have been unanimous in their support for the accuracy and soundness of the appraisals presented by the Working Party, there has been a small amount of discontent over the chosen case studies. Lichfield himself was one of the vocal critics of what he saw as a concept too oriented to green field sites in the first *Urban Villages* report. In this second report he had a specific intent to bring in innovations which would move the concept on from its green field inclination rather than wholeheartedly endorse the concept as presented in *Urban Villages*. Hence he states (1995 interview) that the *Economics of Urban Villages* report 'is definitely oriented towards essentially what we call brown sites, but including ... the expansion of the edge-of-town sites. Our examples are edge-of-town sites'. In taking such examples, Lichfield (1994) was attempting, in the first instance, to think generically about the urban village concept, taking the edge-of-town site as an uncomplicated illustration. The specific priorities within different locations are then addressed very concisely in the 15th chapter of the report.

However, some members of the Urban Villages Group felt the Working Party did not go far enough to dispel criticisms that they were yet another developer lobby group pushing new settlements. Prior to the publication of the first report, Bradshaw (1995 interview) had counselled the Urban Villages Group to be careful not to discredit themselves by their approach. The urban village concept might easily be

seen as a developers' charter to get chunks of green land, not necessarily in the greenbelt, but land which would be helpful to those people in the development business, particularly the housing development business.... Its purposes to me were distorted. If an urban village concept could be derived from a place in the middle of the east end of London because that had village characteristics but of a more urban nature, what the hell were we doing trying to transfer that out into the middle of nowhere? I countenanced, as best I could, a certain degree of worry that this was a green rather than a brown idea, as we put it, and wouldn't get very far.

By the time the first report actually surfaced in mid 1992 it contributed a concept much less oriented to the green site than the direction it had been heading in late 1991. Even so, it did not go as far as some such as Bradshaw and Davies would have favoured. Hence the mild discontent when the second report also failed to concentrate its attention

on urban village development within existing urban areas. Bradshaw (1995 interview) expresses it this way:

Nat Lichfield's report ... to me is still the old mould (as per the first report). I can't see how much of that is applicable in the sort of urban situations that most of us have to deal with.... They've produced ... a glossy economic report which does to me read as though you're still talking about green field situations, new, largish bits of land. All his (Lichfield) terminology pushes you in that direction.

This is one of the few aspects of the second report to receive any adverse comment from the internal ranks of the campaign. The Working Party can hardly have expected otherwise. They admit within the report that their worked examples are oriented to the 'greenfield situation' (Aldous, 1995: 106). They also acknowledge 'that in accordance with planning policy these (green field developments) will be the exception rather than the rule. The application (of urban villages) will in practice most often be in other locations' (Aldous, 1995: 106). Yet they persist with their chosen case study because '(c)learly the full urban village concept could in general be more readily applied to a green field site detached from other urban developments, and it is there that the economic principles are most clearly demonstrable' (Aldous, 1995: 106). But in many respects this is counter productive on the part of the Working Party. As they state in their report, 'the greatest difference among our four kinds of site is between the green field village with high development values and the other three. Brown-land, suburban and infill are all likely to show the economic characteristics of regeneration as opposed to new build' (Aldous, 1995: 106). Surely concentrating on the economics of regeneration, and thereby reinforcing the Urban Villages Group's stated preferred siting options and also recognising the development alternatives most likely to successfully gain planning approval, would have been more useful to the campaign?

3.1.3.2 Funding

Funding is the element taken up in the twelfth chapter of the report.

Sources of funding for urban villages are a little different from those required for any conventional development. The key distinction is that responsibility for, and control

of, finance is in the hands of promoters who have a commitment to the wider, longer-term result. This is in contrast to the housebuilder who necessarily tends to take a trader's short-term and robustly commercial view (Aldous, 1995: 89).

Ensuring a balance between supply and demand is essential to achieving credibility for funding. If an urban village location initially lacks demand due to such viability problems as poor 'infrastructure, land contamination, or social deprivation' (Aldous, 1995: 89) then short-term public funding (such as grants, interest free loans and time-limited guarantees) will commonly be necessary until the market begins to appreciate the development and longer-term finance can then be secured from banks, building societies, private funds and possibly life and pension funds. To help ensure the transition to market sources, the Working Group recommends that each urban village should at the outset fix a target of acquiring 70-100 per cent of its funding from the private sector in the long-term.

One of the main points made in this exploration of funding is that urban villages call for a greater mix of tenure options than is usual. In particular, somewhere in the order of 40 per cent of homes should be either rented (whether private or social rentals) or in shared ownership. This runs contrary to a consumer preference for freehold owner occupation. The implications of this are that new funding arrangements need to be developed for the urban village. Possible options include public sector subsidy, cross-subsidy from high return to low return tenures in the village, and some form of condominium style ownership.

Taking up their edge-of-town urban village example again, the Working Party ultimately envisages the following financial arrangement:

60% equity and debt finance: owner-occupied houses funded through building societies;
20% institutional investment: rented or shared ownership housing at market levels;
10% housing association finance of the affordable housing element, backed by the Housing Corporation;
10% local authority, community trust and private sector finance: for community, retail, offices and other facilities, including homes above shops;
The result: an end-ratio of approximately 10% public funding, 90% private; that is, about 1:9 (Aldous, 1995: 98-9).

3.1.3.3 Social Repercussions

In the end, the Working Party also suggests that their model has significant social repercussions, particularly in terms of establishing a new pattern of social relations:

A village organised and financed in the way described would certainly result in a change in personal relationships, potentially different from those resulting from the traditional situation.

In so far as these arrangements tend to mould social relations, a different kind of community could evolve, with greater shared responsibility and interests. At the very least, this new pattern of relationships could provide the foundation for the kind of positive social and economic development of communities to be seen in government designated new towns (Aldous, 1995: 103).

Nevertheless, the report calls for further research on this matter in terms of how valid it is 'to assume that the physical layout of an urban village, with mixed use, mixed tenure, etc, and its improved community management, would make for improved personal and community relations between families' (Aldous, 1995: 113). Even so, these statements further serve to illustrate the agenda of the Urban Villages Group as far as the creation of a suitable social order for their paradigm is concerned. There is an undeniable aspiration to reinforce their notion of the family, civilised personal interactions, shared community interests, and local neighbourhood responsibility (as addressed in sub-section 1.2 above).

3.1.4 Outcome

Overall, the success for the Urban Villages Group of *Economics of Urban Villages* has been only partial. The report does present a reasoned answer to their motivating question: what is the economic case for an urban village? It demonstrates that the private sector can be part of such projects and still effect a profit. Somewhat less convincingly it also indicates the potential benefits to the public purse. While those indicated benefits likely do have some truth to them, the Working Party does not offer the substantiating evidence for it.

The book is rather less successful in fulfilling its task of distinguishing the different implementation ramifications associated with each of the four location options. The vast majority of the report is given to the edge-of-town option, with no detail presented for the siting options within existing urban areas. Even so, it is important to note that the Urban

Villages Group's inner city focus has shone through in some quarters anyway. A striking example is the fact that it was English Partnerships (the Government's regeneration agency) who sponsored the publication of the *Economics of Urban Villages* report.

Many other findings of the report do move the campaign on from its previous position. In particular, the way in which the report develops the concepts of the Urban Villages Trust, Community Trust, Community Chest, Enterprise Trust, urban village constitution, and leasehold property disposal, adds significantly to an understanding of the development process and long-term management envisaged for an urban village.

It is difficult to assess directly the impact of the second report beyond the Urban Villages Group itself. Its circulation has unquestionably been greatly assisted by the formation of the Urban Villages Forum, through which it has been promoted. Copies of the document sold well in 1995 according to both Osborne and Lichfield, and even encouraged an increase in Forum membership. But some prominent Group members doubt its ability to persuade developers and funders that urban villages are worth the risk. Martin Laing (1995 interview), who while not an official Working Party member did actually contribute to the report, commented in the following way about the effect of the *Economics of Urban Villages*:

I haven't heard anything negative. But I don't think I've heard anything, you might say, outrageously positive either. It was designed to try and prove that these things (urban villages) were viable. I think it went a long way towards doing that actually. But, again people have to change. As always that's the difficult thing. Bankers have got to change, building societies have got to change, and supermarket people have got to change etc., etc. I mean everybody had to be prepared to approach the thing in a different way because they wanted to achieve the end entity. And that's been difficult... I still think you've got to convince the developers that it's worthwhile giving it a whirl for real.

Similarly, Welbank (1995 interview) expresses his reservations, 'Nat has produced this demonstration that it (the urban village concept) isn't a wild and woolly thing. It is economic sense.... (I)t is typical, one hundred per cent, super-rational Nat thinking, wonderful. Whether it has any bite out there I doubt, I doubt'.

3.2 Interface with the Planning System Working Party

While it did not meet the original aims laid down for it (the production of another glossy supplementary report), the Interface with the Planning System Working Party has probably achieved more for the campaign than any other working party. Martin Bradshaw, a former local authority planner, then heading up the Civic Trust, and the first 'planner, environmentalist, local authority representative ... rolled into one' on the Urban Villages Group (Bradshaw, 1995 interview), chaired the assembly. Its primary task was to follow up the first report's recommendation for urban villages to be incorporated into the government's Planning Policy Guidance notes (PPGs), preferably via the designation of urban villages as a separate category of development. In addition, they were to have a role in detailing other mechanisms for smoothing the path for urban villages within the statutory planning process.

It was their primary task that the Working Party concentrated effort upon. Unlike the semi-retired Nat Lichfield, Bradshaw found he simply could not make time available to produce as abundantly as his colleague had for the Economics Working Party. Even so, solely concentrating on possible changes to the PPGs was perfectly justifiable to the Urban Villages Group, which saw this as an essential and urgent assignment. PPGs are used to set out Government planning policies. Local planning authorities are required to take account of their content when preparing development plans. If urban villages could have the weight of policy from central government level behind them, then they would have tremendous impact on local authorities and developers alike.

The enthusiasm was not unidirectional either. The Department of the Environment encouraged the Urban Villages Group to prepare their modifications. In response to a number of meetings between the Group and the 'top brass' from the Department (Lichfield, 1995 interview), the latter actually extended an invitation (much to the Group's surprise and

delight) to draft a policy statement for incorporation into the Guidance notes. The Working Party did so in collaboration with Chris Brearley, a Deputy Secretary with the Department.

The draft was six months in the making. It was designed to be a statement which indicated to local authorities how they could practically introduce urban villages into their local planning system (Bradshaw, 1995 interview). The Working Party submitted their proposed addition to the PPGs early in the summer of 1995. At the Urban Villages Forum Christmas meeting later that year, they received decisive feedback from the then Minister for Planning, Construction and Energy Efficiency, Robert Jones MP. In Jones's speech to the Forum he indicated that the forthcoming revision of PPG1 (which is the foundational guidance note covering general planning policy and principles) gave the Department of the Environment

the opportunity to spell out, in general terms, our support for quality mixed-use developments, such as urban villages, and how these can be delivered through the planning system.... We hope to be highlighting the characteristics of urban village type developments....

I must, however, stress that we think a special planning designation for urban villages would be inappropriate, indeed in some cases unhelpful. This is because of the multiplicity of forms which such a development might take in different locations and the inevitable difficulties which would follow of having to define what is, and what is not, an urban village. Yours is a rich and complex concept, capable of infinite variety, which I do not think can be encapsulated in one simple, universal definition.

In any case, under the plan-led system it is not necessary to have such a designation in order to bring forward such proposals and we intend to outline a number of planning approaches which can be used to enable them to occur.... (For example) Development plans might identify a particular site The local authority might include in their plan a short statement of requirements for proposals ... such as urban villages Development briefs will also be likely to play an important role

What you (the Urban Villages Forum) are trying to achieve is working with the grain of Government policy - or you might say that Government policy is working within the grain of your policy.... (Jones, 1995)

In general the Urban Villages Group were flattered by the Department's response. The rejection of site specific designations for urban villages was not unexpected. Departmental reluctance had been expressed all along (Marshall, former Urban Villages Campaign Manager, 1994 interview). John Gummer, then Secretary of State for the Environment, had himself hinted at this back in July 1995. He revealed at a seminar in Manchester promoting his 'Quality in Town and Country' initiative, that

I am currently considering the need for further advice and guidance on mixed use development, including urban villages. (But) There can be no universal blue print for how an urban village should be developed and each scheme will need to be integrated with its particular own surroundings. The planning system, with its new emphasis on the planned approach, is capable of bringing such proposals forward (Gummer, 1995).

Of course what the Department had recognised was the somewhat catholic nature of the urban village concept. That they have been prepared to consider incorporating the term at all is probably 'testament to this cloudiness. A more tightly specified model might have less popular appeal' (Thompson-Fawcett, 1996: 304). Furthermore, according to one Departmental advisor, lack of construction of certified urban villages also adds some appeal, 'nothing's been done for it to be seen to be contentious' (O'Connor, 1996 interview).

Confirmation of the inclusion of urban villages in the Guidance notes was provided in July 1996 when a consultation draft of the revised PPG1 was circulated for comment. The Urban Villages Group were gratified that their concept was to be incorporated in the main body of the notes, rather than merely annexed at the end. The final version, issued in February 1997, retained the paragraph on urban villages in almost exactly the same form as the draft. Although the original submission had been much more detailed than the approved paragraph, the content was still very much derived from that provided by the Interface with the Planning System Working Party. Relevant parts of the PPG read as follows:

The planning system can be used to deliver high quality, mixed-use developments, such as 'urban villages'. Built on large sites, usually within urban areas, they are characterised by:

- compactness
- a mixture of uses and dwelling types, including affordable housing
- a range of employment, leisure and community services
- high standards of urban design
- access to public open space and green spaces
- ready access to public transport

Local planning authorities should consider whether this represents an appropriate form of development for any part of their area.... This approach might also help to improve an existing residential area of poor quality through the gradual introduction of the urban village characteristics mentioned above. (Department of the Environment, 1997)

In general the revised PPG1 represented an about-face on the part of the Tory Government. Their former hands-off philosophy was replaced with a concern for quality

urban design which the public sector and the planning system now had a legitimate role in delivering. Furthermore, design, mixed use and sustainable development were linked as the three themes underpinning the Government's new, broader approach to the planning system. This elevation of mixed use in particular indicates that:

the guidance accepts the current orthodoxy that single-use zoning is both divisive and anti-social, leading to unwelcome homogenisation in the environment. This largely unqualified support for mixed use ... is justified on the basis that such development reduces the need to travel and creates both vitality and diversity - all now well accepted goals of sustainable design (Carmona, 1996: 240).

It is in relation to this goal of mixed use development that 'compact' urban villages are acknowledged in the Guidance as fashioning an appropriate environment that 'people will choose to live in' (Gummer, 1997: 3). The prominence of the urban village in the Guidance notes, other official documents, and in the Department of the Environment general lexicon, is a lucid sign of how powerfully the Urban Villages Campaign is making its voice heard.

3.3 The changing resources and focus of the Forum

Efforts to build up support via the labour of the Working Parties highlighted the lack of funding and staffing resources available to the Campaign. '(W)e are in the position of having more opportunities to develop our Campaign than our human and financial resources permit us to take up' (Osborne, 1994: 1). Similarly, Lichfield (1995 interview) commented, '(t)he thing is desperately poor. It's amazing what they do on a shoe string'. Until 1993, funding had primarily been sourced from developer members of the Group such as Grand Metropolitan Estates Ltd (who provided £25,000 for the 1994-95 financial year alone), supplemented with assistance given by The Commission of the European Communities (DGXI), the Urban Villages Company, along with fourteen other organisations, for the publication of the *Urban Villages* report.

I think maybe the thing hasn't been structured financially strong enough to make sure we have the right secretariat, to make sure we get the right agendas, and one thing

and another. Which is, I suppose, a partial criticism. But ... it's had to find all its own money from somewhere. It doesn't get any major funds from the government It just so happens that our particular industry, construction, in the last five years has been in the pits of a recession. So you don't actually have too many people who are willing to keep on digging in their pocket as it were So it's very much hand to mouth type situation, which is unfortunate for everyone who's involved in it. (Laing, 1995 interview)

Courtesy of Robert Davies' foundational role, the Urban Villages Group had initially been serviced administratively through Business in the Community (BITC). One full-time Campaign Manager (Charmian Marshall) and one half-time Campaign Assistant were allocated to the task. When Davies left BITC to set up International Business in the Community (later re-named The Prince of Wales Business Leaders Forum) in 1990, this servicing task was also transferred. In part the move was considered appropriate for the Group because the international orientation of the new organisation complemented the Urban Villages Group's networking with international bodies (such as the Congress for the New Urbanism in the USA). Both advocated the responsibility of international businesses to the environment and to the community. But it also reflected the lack of understanding within BITC circles of the *raison d'être* of the Campaign and concomitantly Davies' wish to avoid any possible compromise associated with the Urban Villages Group remaining in BITC's care once he had moved on.

However, in October 1993 the Urban Villages Campaign and its staff were transferred back to BITC. The Campaign's primary focus on the UK meant that in due course it stood out as a misfit programme within the Business Leaders Forum, which began to concentrate its efforts on emerging non-western nations. Staffing levels for the Campaign remained the same after the move. The main tasks involved basic administrative work, arranging meetings, and most importantly, after the establishment of the Urban Villages Forum, chasing up membership. This left the staff no time for undertaking any research or promotional activities that might advance the cause of the Forum. However, with funding so tight, gaining membership subscriptions was where the immediate priority was deemed to lie.

3.3.1 Forum membership subscriptions

Concentrating initially on the development sector and then on public bodies and voluntary and community organisations, the Forum sought to swell its numbers rapidly. Group member John Swanson (Managing Director of Tay Homes Plc) also led a major fund raising drive in 1993. Osborne's role over this period was particularly important. 'Well as far as this structure goes, I've got to say it depends more than usual even upon individuals. Without Trevor's personality and contacts it would probably have sunk without trace' (Aldous, 1995 interview).

Within a year of its inception, the Forum had a membership of 195. Of these, 9 per cent were campaign sponsors paying at least £1,000 per annum to the Forum, 17 per cent were corporate members paying at least £250 per annum, 22 per cent were public sector members paying £100 per annum, 15 per cent were charities paying between £25 and £50 per annum, and 35 per cent were private individuals paying £50 per annum. After that initial membership drive, numbers fluctuated around the 200 to 220 level for several years. By the end of 1997, a membership of approximately 250 had been achieved. Nearly half the income received at this time from subscriptions was actually derived from just under 5 per cent of the total membership, via the new member category 'core sponsor', with a minimum annual contribution of £5,000. Campaign sponsors, representing just over 5 per cent of the membership retained their £1,000 fee, while fees for the 17 per cent who were corporate members rose to £500, for the 29 per cent who were public sector members rose to £300, and for the 9 per cent and 30 per cent who were, respectively, charities and individual members, rose to £100. With a total of approximately £100,000 derived from subscriptions, this indicated a significant increase in income despite the somewhat modest growth of membership. However, a snowballing effect started to take place in 1998 in conjunction with the Forum's ever rising profile. By late 1998 the membership had grown to 370.

3.3.2 Government connections

Government links also proved financially rewarding for the Campaign. The Secretary of State for the Environment (John Gummer) had openly welcomed the *Urban Villages* report and its basic concept. His Department incorporated several lessons from the Urban Villages work (related to urban layout, design, transport, quality and consultation) directly into their 1994-95 'Quality in Town and Country Campaign', and commended the contribution of the movement. This is hardly surprising given that one of the key advisors to the Secretary of State on this campaign was architect Liam O'Connor, a close associate of Leon Krier, and assistant in the preparation of the Poundbury project masterplan.

In the early years of the Forum's existence, the Department of the Environment was an especially valuable source of funds. In 1993 the Department granted the Forum a two year contract worth £19,200, under its Special Grants Programme. Provision of the grant was intended by the Department to assist the Forum to continue its research, and in particular to encourage the development of more specific criteria via which to define an urban village. The problem of indiscriminate use of the term 'urban village' as a marketing ploy by certain house builders had already been recognised. Hence the Forum took very seriously the need to improve what they had entitled an Urban Village Sieve. The Sieve provided a checklist against which to measure development projects and thereby acknowledge deserving built examples displaying strong urban village characteristics. In practice one of the most useful ways the Forum has found to encourage such deserving examples is to become directly involved on an advisory basis with developers as they are planning and constructing urban villages.

The tie to the Department of the Environment has also continued in the more recent work of the Forum. A further three years of funding, commencing in 1996, was provided by the Department. The purpose of this grant was to enable the Forum to carry out a programme of awareness-raising seminars aimed at local authorities and quangos, to take

place in each government office region. 'The idea behind the road shows is to go out there and talk to them in specifics about how they can act in a kind of promotional role to get some of these projects to stick' (Hallyburton, 1996 interview). This was perceived by the Forum as a definite move onwards from their concentrated effort on matters of theory and policy in the early 1990s to a positive involvement in implementation and construction in the late 1990s.

Also aligned to this latest stage in their evolution is a service contract the Forum has negotiated with English Partnerships. At the ceremonial inauguration, David Lock (former chief planning advisor to the Department of the Environment) gave the opening address and described the alliance as an 'extraordinary relationship' - the marriage of a government agency and a quixotic lobby group. Commencing in October 1996, the joint venture between the two bodies sought to assist mixed use schemes (including urban villages) in brown-field and regeneration areas. Anthony Dunnett (1997), the Chief Executive of English Partnerships, stated that he was not sure that the 'urban village' label best described what his organisation was attempting to endorse. However, it reinforced the fact that 'mixed use' was only a part of English Partnerships' agenda and too limiting a label to use on its own. For the first time, the Forum was in a position to 'seriously influence the assembly and funding of high quality, mixed use developments' (Urban Villages Forum, 1996b: 1). Furthermore, under this arrangement they also had the opportunity to consider 'the scope for creating a new investment framework for mixed use schemes, which could operate without direct support from the public purse' (Urban Villages Forum, 1996b: 1). Even so, to launch the initiative, in February 1997 English Partnerships announced that it was making £50 million from its Investment Fund available between 1997 and 2000 'to help meet the abnormal costs associated with mixed development schemes in regeneration areas' (Urban Villages Forum, 1997: 1). This is an explicit recognition of the reluctance on the part of the property industry to innovate. The latter prefers to operate on the basis of precedent. Therefore, the funding has been made available in order to help bring about a series of public-private

sector partnership pilot projects that will demonstrate in quite different scenarios how mixed use developments might proceed. Ultimately the intention is for such development to be private sector led. 'The concepts are incredibly simple, but the number of interests which have to come together makes the vision extremely difficult to achieve' (Urban Villages Forum, 1996a: 8). English Partnerships does appear to be having some success in this regard however. In its 1998 annual report the organisation claimed it had attracted £767 million in private finance to its regeneration projects. The Urban Villages Forum's role involves identifying potential urban village or mixed use projects, assisting project partners in working up their proposals, priming the process with the relevant local authorities, advising English Partnerships on approaches to the Agency for finance, maintaining a knowledge base of material examples of best practice, operating as a dedicated resource for large scale schemes, and also organising seminars sponsored by English Partnerships to present information on how best to further mixed use developments. The arrangement is unlikely to continue in the same form beyond the year 2003. Between the present time and 2003, the Government proposes that the regional functions of English Partnerships be transferred to the Regional Development Agencies and that at the national level English Partnerships be merged with the Commission for New Towns. Nevertheless, the organisation's role in spotting suitable sites for major regeneration projects will remain with them for at least the length of the transition period.

Despite the change from a Conservative to Labour Government in 1997, Government support for the Forum has continued. Needless to say there has been a great deal of similarity between the planning and regeneration policy of the new Labour and the last Conservative administrations. Even so, long before the end of the Tory term, the Urban Villages Group had been flirting with Labour, and in particular, Keith Vaz, the shadow minister and party spokesperson on planning and regeneration. In return, Vaz was openly supportive, 'I commend the work of the Urban Villages Forum. What it has been doing on liveable communities is really worth looking at' (1996: 10). Once in power, the new Deputy

Prime Minister and Secretary of State for the Environment, John Prescott, coined the term 'urban renaissance' to describe his vision for revitalising Britain's towns and cities. The Urban Villages Forum responded by titling their 1998 member conference 'urban renaissance', making an opportunity to explore the implications of this agenda with Prescott himself. The Forum's persistence was simultaneously rewarded by the invitation being extended in May 1998, courtesy of the new Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions, for their chief executive to be one of the fourteen-strong Urban Task Force, to be chaired by internationally celebrated architect Lord Richard Rogers. Rogers has been long known for his preference for a compact, polycentric urban form comprising dense multi-functional areas rather than dispersed and segregated activities. Yet in spite of issuing their invitation, the Urban Villages Forum have never managed to convince him to join their own ranks. The aim of Rogers' expert-driven, top-down Task Force is to

identify causes of urban decline in England and recommend practical solutions to bring people back into our cities, towns and urban neighbourhoods. It will establish a new vision for urban regeneration founded on the principles of design excellence, social well-being and environmental responsibility within a viable economic and legislative framework (Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions, 1998: 2)

Their report is due in the spring of 1999, in time to have an input into the Government's proposals for its Urban White Paper. However, the structural influences that are working to pull the populace away from city centres stand well beyond the Task Force's terms of reference. This will impact heavily on the group's potential for success. Recent research by the Town and Country Planning Association (1998) confirms that there is a continuing dispersal throughout the urban hierarchy, from the metropolis right down to the hamlet. By involving bodies such as the Urban Villages Forum and English Partnerships in the Task Force, the hope is that they will provide best practice examples that show an alternative to this dispersal. In fact, the Forum confidently claims that several of the projects it upholds, such as in Manchester and Glasgow have managed to increase formerly declining city centres (Lunts, 1997: 85). By examining such contributions, the Government is

seeking a means of achieving the commitment to building some 60 per cent of the projected 4.4 million new homes needed between 1991 and 2016 on brown-field sites.

3.3.3 Staffing resources and management structure

Related to these various changes in funding sources and activities, but recognised as an issue from the Forum's outset, have been questions concerning the staffing levels and management structure of the Urban Villages Forum. Once a financial base had been secured through member subscriptions and the first Department of the Environment grant, the Forum looked to improve its staffing resources. This was regarded as an essential element in running a credible campaign in the eyes of developers and local authorities. In particular members were concerned firstly that someone who held sway with local authorities and could persuade them to overcome their resistance to urban villages be taken on, and secondly that someone with an ability to promote the campaign, deal with the press and push the Forum forward be employed. In the first instance they attempted to appoint a high profile Director for the Forum. The position was advertised in early 1995. The situation was a demanding one, seeking a prominent and experienced player to manage a small and enigmatic movement.

It's definitely an all things to all men sort of position. In an ideal world you'd been looking for someone who'd got development project management experience, who'd got a visionary take on planning, who was great with local authorities, who could chat up financiers, and was desperately charismatic on television as well, and was also quite happy to run a few conferences and do a whole load of really bogey work that these organisations land up - you know, the meat and potatoes of running something like this. In the end there's a percentage of glamour and there's an awful lot of it is actually just quite hard work.... So it's not an easy one to fill. (Hallyburton, 1996 interview)

Furthermore, as Hallyburton (1996 interview) somewhat cynically read it, another essential factor was that the Group was after a 'man for the job'. Despite Hallyburton's likely frustration at not being offered the job herself, this interpretation is not difficult to understand in light of the overwhelmingly middle-aged, conventional, male composition of the Urban Villages Group.

Needless to say the post took much longer to fill than anticipated. The Urban Villages Group began a head-hunting exercise to entice a person with existing standing within the planning and property world to front their Forum. Offers were made, but none came to immediate fruition. Meantime, in mid 1995 there was a complete turn-over of the existing staff of one and a half persons. Charmian Marshall, the Campaign Manager, left and was replaced by Gail Hallyburton who took the title of Acting Director. The new title reflected the more pro-active role now sought from the incumbent. Hallyburton had been involved in property analysis, regeneration consultancy, and teaching at both the Bartlett Planning School and Reading University. She brought with her considerable professional respect from the property and planning sectors, and an ability to link into developer and bureaucrat circles and argue forcefully the case for urban villages. However, Hallyburton was just 'Acting' head, and the search continued for a Director. The intention was to expand total staff numbers to two and a half or three persons.

Finally in January 1996 David Lunts took up the post of Director of the Forum. From the appointers' point of view, Lunts met one very key criteria superlatively. Since the next step in the Forum's plan was to promote urban villages with local authorities, an appointee with significant local body experience would be a major advantage to the campaign. Lunts had just that experience. His prior achievements had included being housing manager of a housing association, chairing Manchester City Council's housing committee (1988-95), and being the joint chair of Hulme Regeneration, a public-private partnership initiative. This latter involvement also added weight to Lunts' value 'as a practitioner in the art of assembling partnerships and helping to make them effective' (Urban Villages Forum, 1996a: 8).

Concomitant with Lunts' appointment came a whole raft of changes to the management of the Forum. From the 1st of July 1996 the Urban Villages Forum became an independent company limited by guarantee and not-for-profit. The guardian role played by BITC was relinquished. The Forum immediately moved out of the BITC premises in Mayfair

and into its own accommodation in Clerkenwell (then moved again in Spring 1998 to offices mid-way between Soho and Bloomsbury). The Forum had certainly enjoyed the links to a wide range of major companies outside the property sector via BITC. It had also relished the mutually beneficial interactions with other BITC economic and community development initiatives and resources. But the move away echoed the campaign's desire to create a stronger identity and manage its own affairs without the additional obligations inevitable in being part of a much larger organisation. In Hallyburton's (1996 interview) terms, the shift allowed the Forum to get 'on with our own thing'.

Now the Forum would be managed by a board of trustee directors together with a smaller Executive Committee. The directors would constitute a governing body known as the Urban Villages Council. The first Council, chaired by Trevor Osborne, was in fact simply the existing Urban Villages Group. However, at the inaugural annual general meeting of the Forum in December 1997, subscribers to the new company (that is, all members of the Forum) had the opportunity to elect (in effect re-elect) the Council. The Council itself meets four times a year, with the Executive Committee (chaired by Osborne) and a Projects Committee (chaired by Stuart Black) both meeting once a month. Parallel with this, the Forum also established a charitable Urban Villages Trust to support various aspects of its educational undertakings.

In tandem with these changes to the management structure, and also the joint venture with English Partnerships, came an increase in staff numbers. The English Partnerships endeavour itself required the creation of a dedicated Projects Team. This team took responsibility for encouraging, advising and supporting suitable mixed use and urban village projects. Three Project Managers were envisaged to carry out this task, one of which was Hallyburton plus two new appointees. The work was divided up into geographical regions within England, including London and the South; the Midlands and the North West; and Yorkshire, Humberside and the North East. In addition, to carry on the work of promoting Forum membership, sponsorship, conferences and events, a replacement

Campaign Director was appointed. A new campaign assistant, events coordinator, and an administrator were also added to the staff list, bringing the total to eight.

A staffing level of that size has enabled the Forum to promote its campaign very professionally and on many fronts. Some of their main activities have included publishing quarterly newsletters, assisting with several community planning weekends (for example related to proposed developments in Milton Keynes and South Deeside), holding conferences, leading site visits and study tours to contemporary urban villages and their historic precedents, hosting talks with visiting urbanists (such as neo-traditional architect Andres Duany), delivering a series of regional seminars on 'making mixed use happen', giving presentations at numerous meetings within the UK and overseas, heading up small discussion groups and briefing sessions on topics considered relevant to urban villages (for example, such topics as tele-working villages, design codes and guides, walkable neighbourhoods, and urban village strategies for Northern Ireland), jointly sponsoring events with such organisations as the Royal Town Planning Institute, the Urban and Economic Development Group, the Sustainable Urban Neighbourhood Initiative and the Urban Design Group, not to mention hosting regular social receptions for Forum members.

However, the ever evolving movement is now about to enter another phase in its development. As of early 1999 the Forum is to merge with the newly established Prince of Wales's Foundation for Architecture and the Urban Environment. This charity aims to co-ordinate and integrate various movements under the guardianship of the Prince, including the Forum, The Prince of Wales's Institute of Architecture, Regeneration through Heritage, and the Phoenix Trust. While the Forum will retain its own Council and membership, its staff will move to the new joint location in Shoreditch in anticipation of an increase in resources and a heightened profile. The change demonstrates how close the bond with the Prince of Wales still remains for the movement.

3.3.4 Building urban villages

Throughout the existence of the Campaign, and further reinforced by the joint venture with English Partnerships, there has been a pronounced emphasis on seeking out, supporting, and holding up in illustration, contemporary development projects which are implementing (or propose to implement) urban village principles. From the outset the Forum has been fairly liberal in its assessment of what constitutes a project worthy of recognition. Some diverse projects which meet only a few of the key characteristics of the Campaign's original concept have been endorsed, such as Bordesley Village in inner Birmingham (which while embracing a small proportion of mixed use and a collaborative framework, lacks the density and design qualities highlighted in the *Urban Villages* report), and Great Notley Garden Village near Braintree, Essex (which while aiming at a high degree of self-sufficiency, has been designed as a very low density, car-oriented suburb with clear segregation of residential and business uses). This is ironic given the Forum's concern about the indiscriminate use of the term 'urban village' by some house builders and developers. Furthermore, this tendency has been reinforced in the Forum's work for English Partnerships. The chief criteria for Urban Villages Forum sanction are now heavily weighted towards the element of mixed use. However, individual Forum members and members of their steering body the Urban Villages Group (1989-1997)/Urban Villages Council (1997 onwards) are not by any means unanimous in their approval of the projects to which the Forum lends its support. Members hold an array of quite strong and assorted opinions as to what constitutes a reasonable approximation of an urban village. Again this is indicative of the inexact nature of the concept.

Table 1 lists the projects and proposals with urban village characteristics that the Forum has expressed support for over the last six years (these are not equivalent to the projects it has been working on with English Partnerships). Many of these schemes are still at an early stage in their development. The Forum is having a direct input into the planning phase of a number of such schemes, particularly those lower on the list. There are a handful

TABLE 1: PROJECTS & POTENTIAL PROJECTS URBAN VILLAGES FORUM HAVE EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR

Scheme	Location	Promoter	Designer	Area	Characteristics
1. Poundbury urban extension	Dorchester, Dorset	Duchy of Cornwall	Leon Krier (with Liam O'Connor)	158 ha	5,000 residents; mixed tenure; shops; offices; light industry; workshops; community facilities; traffic calming
2. Crown Street Regeneration Project	The Gorbals, Glasgow	Glasgow Dvlt Agency/ Scottish Homes/Glasgow District Council	Piers Gough of CZWG	16 ha	800 homes; mixed tenure; businesses; shops; offices; hotel; park; traffic calming
3. West Silvertown redevelopment	Royal Docks, London	LDDC / Peabody Trust/ Newham Council/ Tate & Lyle	Tibbalds Monro (phase 1)	73 ha	5,000 residents; mixed tenure; shops; community leisure & employment facilities; healthcare; exhibition centre
4. Bordesley regeneration project	Inner city, Birmingham	Birmingham Heartlands Development Corp	Wells Design and others	38 ha	1,100 homes; mixed tenure; community facilities; shops; jobs; traffic calming
5. Hulme regeneration project	Inner city, Manchester	Hulme Regeneration Ltd & Manchester City Council	Berridge Greenberg Lewinberg Mills etc.	100ha	3,000 homes; mixed tenure; shops; offices; community facilities; civic spaces
6. Tipton Urban Village	Black Country, W. Midlands	Tipton Challenge Partnership			homes; shops; park; community facilities
7. Cambourne (three hamlets)	Cambridge-shire	Alfred McAlpine Homes	Terry Farrell & Partners		3,000 homes; shops; business park; community & leisure facilities
8. Ravenscraig project	Motherwell Lanarkshire	Ravenscraig Dvlt Group, Lanarkshire Dvlt Agency		443 ha	homes; workshops; businesses; shops; community facilities
9. Blairs College	South Deeside, Aberdeen	Trustees of Blairs College Estate via the Muir Group Plc		450 ha	2,000 homes; mixed tenure; community facilities; park; employment; shops
10. Micheldever Station	Hampshire	Eagle Star Properties Ltd		400 ha	5,000 homes; community facilities; employment
11. St John's	Wolverhampton town centre	Wolverhampton Borough Council		10 ha	500 homes; mixed tenure; revitalised businesses; shops; community facilities
12. Tranmere Urban Village	Merseyside	Wirral Council, Lairdsid Regen		20 ha	homes; supermarket; retail; community uses; employment

TABLE 1 continued

Scheme	Location	Promoter	Designer	Area	Characteristics
13. Ancoats	Manchester	Manchester City Council; Ancoats Urban Village Co./ Eastside Regen.	Ian Finlay & Paul Butler	20 ha	homes for 2,500; tourist, community, commercial & industrial facilities; 1,000 new jobs; workshops
14. Gallions Reach	Thamesmead London	Thamesmead Town		50 ha	1,500 homes; shops; community & leisure facilities; pubs; park; jobs
15. Broughton & Atterbury urban village	Milton Keynes	Commission for New Towns	EDAW		homes; convenience shops; offices; parks; recreation grounds; community services school
16. Great Notley Garden Village	Braintree, Essex	Countryside Properties		188 ha	2,000 homes; shopping centre; leisure centre; community facilities; business park; park
17. Brindleyplace	Birmingham			7 ha	home, retail, leisure, offices
18. Lightmoor	Telford	Bournville Village Trust, Commission for New Towns	Tibbalds Monro		
19. Lincoln Urban Village	Western edge extension of Lincoln	Lincoln Council, Development Partners		140 ha	mixed use
20. Manor Estate	Sheffield				demolition followed by new mixed use neighbourhood
21. Jewellery Quarter	Birmingham	Birmingham City Council		106 ha	2,000 homes; retail; leisure uses, employment
22. Royal Ordnance	Chorley	local authorities		165 ha	homes, retail, community uses, jobs
23. Wicklow Village	Kings Cross, London				urban village
24. Wapping Wharf	Bristol	Bristol City Council			mixed use
25. Portishead	North Somerset	North Somerset Council, & Crest Strategic projects		80 ha	2,000 homes, mixed use
26. Radstock town centre redevelopment	North East Somerset	Bath & North East Somerset Council			mixed use
27. Radford Green Urban Village	Coventry			22 ha	mixed use
28. Brindley Urban Village	Smethwick Midlands				homes, school
29. Garston Urban Village	Liverpool	Liverpool City Council; Speke Garston Partners		50 ha	350 new homes, live / work accommodation; community uses, retail, commercial, jobs

of projects (those higher on the list) that are well into their construction phases. These have clear potential for evaluation in terms of their planning and implementation process. From disclosures obtained during the early stages of my research, and supported by evidence drawn from Forum newsletters and reports, the projects under construction that members consider offer the best current examples of urban villages are the first two on the list, Poundbury and Crown Street (although over time, as more projects complete their early phases of construction, this 'best examples' list may be slowly growing to include such projects as West Silvertown, Cambourne, and with David Lunts' arrival, his Hulme project in Manchester). However, there is not unanimous support for either of the two. While several members uphold them both, some members strongly support one and equally firmly consider the other inadequate.

For example, of Poundbury, Hanson (1995 interview) states 'I think Poundbury is, or will be, a very good example of a particular kind of urban village, ... one that's built in a location with a very strong local identity, local distinctiveness'. Similarly, Hallyburton (1996 interview) labels Poundbury as a 'very good' and 'relevant' example of urban villages in Britain. Yet Sparks (1995 interview) finds Poundbury 'twee', 'unusual', 'admirable', but not identifiable as an urban village. Likewise, despite his professional involvement with the project, Thompson (1995 interview) declares that 'Poundbury is going down a route which doesn't really include a lot of the ideals of the Urban Villages Group, strangely'. Furthermore, Welbank (1995 interview) is sceptical of Poundbury's validity as an example, 'if you were going to say 'look where could we do an urban village?' the last place you would do it is there'.

Similar disagreement is found in relation to the Crown Street project. Thompson (1995 interview) remarks that Crown Street is 'a very good example' of an urban village. Black (1995 interview) and Aldous (1995 interview) are even more enthusiastic, respectively claiming Crown Street is 'the closest we get' to an urban village, and 'the nearest thing we have to an urban village'. On the other hand, Welbank (1995 interview) believes Crown

Street is a 'fine' development, '(b)ut I don't think it's an urban village'. In a like manner, Hanson (1995 interview) is not convinced Crown Street is an example 'we can crow about too loudly'.

These two 'best examples' are the subject matter of the next two chapters. Both projects acknowledge the same basic discourse. However, their divergent interpretations of that discourse and their local contexts are leading to very different results on the ground. By choosing disparate cases I have had the opportunity to interpret contrasts in process that have occurred between the two localities. Hence the characteristics and outcomes of dissimilar realisations of the same discourse can be compared.

4. CONCLUSION

At the most cursory level, the Urban Villages Movement presents an argument for environmental benefits via compact, self-sufficient, diversely populated, traditionally designed, quality neighbourhoods which are integrated into surrounding areas, and planned and managed by multi-lateral partnerships. Beyond this surface interpretation there is also a fundamental ideological goal. The physical design, and its development process, is an instrument for achieving a social agenda. This agenda upholds the 'traditional' nuclear family; neighbourliness and decency; community commitment, responsibility and self-policing; and orderly social relations. Combined, the Movement's physical and social agendas are expected to reduce environmental and societal costs. While the mechanics of the physical agenda, and its eclectic genealogy, lack the determination and conviction of a homogeneous body, the goals of the social agenda are much more coherently endorsed by the leaders of the Urban Villages Movement.

At the outset, the Movement meant to focus its energy on constructing urban villages itself. However, the many difficulties involved in bringing that about gradually resulted in a re-channelling of activity into effecting policy and attitudinal changes within

the property and finance sectors, and central and local government bureaucracies. With this transfer of exertion also came concomitant changes in the Movement's understanding of their own concept, moving further away from notions of rational architecture and a compact critical mass, and more towards mixed use and integration with existing communities.

Most recently the Movement has advanced from that policy phase and is now actively encouraging developers and promoters to construct urban villages and other mixed use neighbourhoods. In so doing, they have also progressed from a very leanly resourced and staffed lobby group to a proficient independent company, fittingly financed and staffed courtesy of member subscriptions and government agencies.

Despite some noble intentions, there is no denying that the Urban Villages Movement is not a grassroots movement. It is guided by an élite clique offering a traditional urban and social model, not for direct application to themselves, but for assimilation by the ordinary populace. The former would benefit however. Whether sub-conscious or not, the Movement's principles for urban development prioritise a certain order of social relations which is a projection of the Urban Villages Group/Council members' idealised personal histories, a kind of nostalgic social reproduction. The social structures of which they are a part inevitably mediate and limit their inventiveness in addressing the future of urbanisation. Through urban village representations in texts and other discourse a fundamental basis in middle class perceptions of traditional social order is visible. 'Built urban villages are a medium through which Urban Villages Movement utopian ideology is physically constructing images of harmony between urbanity, civility, community and family' (Thompson-Fawcett, 1996: 307-8). A revival of perceived pre-industrial family and community life in a compact neighbourhood encouraging civil and polite behaviour is being sought. These constructs have been equated by the Movement with traditional urban form in an apparent demonstration of physical determinism. Without doubt the urban landscape does have some potential to reinforce the attributes sought by the

members, thereby expressing the values of the Movement (and the wider hegemony of which it is a part) and also reproducing them as if natural. While most members accept that a change in social order is an important part of their agenda, none interviewed indicated the kind of self knowledge that would see this as an élite projection, and possible contrary to the aspiration of those for whom the Movement is prescribing it. The benefit to themselves, however, would be the maintenance of their élite status by reinforcing their own traditional values throughout the wider community, thereby minimising alternative and radical orders (or disorders) and interactions which threaten their position of privilege. Part of the malaise that the Movement has detected in twentieth century urban trends relates to a perceived break-down of society as they have understood it, a society which as it happens favoured them. Hence, although to some extent unwittingly, and without a doubt not maliciously, their plan aims to reassert the dominant culture of the recent past by reforging hegemonic discourse on urban values and retrofitting the urban landscape. Even their *modus operandi* is indicative of this. In striving to better the places where the masses live, Movement members do not know and have not involved those who are going to live in the environments they seek to build. Their model is abstractly derived and collaborative participation only becomes possible once much of the agenda has already been set when specific project proposals come to the fore. The Group/Council functions as an élite lobby organisation (with operational similarities to the countryside, retailing, and road building lobbies), and powerfully too, given their success in changing national policy guidance, local development plans, and in seeing urban villages establish on the ground. Members network with alacrity, gaining access to prominent politicians, bureaucrats and business leaders, meeting in chic London venues such as the Arts Club, Leighton House, Novelli, and even royal country houses and palaces. These are hardly the rallying points of a grassroots movement.

Given their ideological base, the Urban Villages Movement undoubtedly has a nostalgic element to its discourse. Many of its ideas are derived from an idealised and

filtered, if not imagined, recollection of pre-industrial urban form and social relations. Obvious comparisons could be made with the highly developed rural nostalgia so extensive in this country, particularly given the Movement's decision to adopt the term 'village' in their title. Such an illusory romanticism of the past sets a target for the Movement which has a regressive foundation rather than a progressive one. That leaves the Campaign open to condemnation from those who see such a basis as a retreat from the realities of the twentieth century city, its many levels of networks, its copious layers of battles, and its place in international dynamics.

Notwithstanding the similarity between Urban Villages Group/Council members in terms of their education, social status, age, sex and class, they are multi-disciplinary and diverse so far as their work history is concerned. There are house builders seeking profit opportunities, developers testing mixed use options, architects requesting traditional urban form and quality architecture, community architects pursuing collaborative processes, planners upholding long-term management, to name just the main discussants. Marrying the wish-lists associated with these various sub-groups results in an eclectic, hodgepodge of ideas, making the urban village a notion which is liable to advocate competing, if not paradoxical, objectives. For example, how fully collaborative can the approach be to a new development when the agenda is already set to achieve a traditional urban form? Hence, although they uphold the same basic ideology of traditional social order, there remains considerable scope for internal conflict and incoherence in their discourse. Over the years, the many and constantly changing players, have contributed to an urban village concept which is increasingly difficult to distinguish. Their diversity and transience accounts for the disjointed text with its numerous inconsistencies in the Group's first report; the many changes of course subtly taken in their second report; and the ease with which the most recent revisions of direction were made in order to work intimately with government bodies.

Thus, while a harsh criticism, there is a degree to which the key players of the Movement are a unit of convenience as opposed to one of conviction. Few members

regard themselves as an integral part of the Group. Osborne, Davies and Wadsworth express their own belonging to the Group by referring to it in terms of 'we' and 'us'. However, most other members distance themselves, always speaking of the Group as 'they' and 'them' even though each is a key constituent of 'them'. But all members hope for a variety of personal and business gains via the alliance, in addition to any societal gains. The urban village notion they have coined consequently covers a very wide range of urban phenomena, as will be further elaborated in the following two chapters. Whatever else it is, it cannot be denied that the urban village term is a clever marketing tool. Through the policy changes encouraged by the Group, this notion now effectively gives priority status to quite disparate developments. Such coinages of terminology are not uncommon. A prime example is the term 'national park', which covers such dissimilar landscapes as snowy mountains and sunny coastlines. Whatever other deserving attributes are associated with national parks, they are also a shrewd tool for ensuring special funding assistance for building restoration and conversions for those living within their diverse environments. Similarly, the Urban Villages Group have fought diligently to bring such preferential treatment to their diffuse paradigm in order to increase the scope for appropriately labelled developments.

The legitimacy of the Movement's action is reinforced by the way in which it dovetails into fashionable debates within the wider policy-making community. To a degree the Campaign synthesises and symbolises through its paradigm many popular currents in late twentieth century British environmental and planning dialogue. In particular, it is one of many possible pragmatic replies to deliberations over the adequacy of modernist planning and the urgency of environmental and social sustainability. A reiterated neo-traditional urban form and modified environmental and social orders are being envisaged and constituted via the urban village discourse. Furthermore, the approach is winning favour. The continuing pressure to reconsider urban patterns and conditions on those charged with

managing the city (particularly local authorities) has led to widespread adoption of principles such as those rendered by the Urban Villages Movement.

However, the urban predicament in the late twentieth century is very complex. Any attempt to develop an unwavering package for ideal urbanisation is inevitably oversimplistic in its understanding of contemporary urban processes. This is the case with the Urban Villages Movement. These proponents take a managerialist line, believing that it is possible to manage the city, to control the city, in order to improve the urban condition. Minimal recognition is given to the influence of extensive structural forces and the reasons behind the seeming poor state of the city. Instead, the Movement concentrates on the potential for itself as an agent to influence the re-allocation of resources, largely ignoring the meaning of the mal-distribution in the first place as well as the continuing powerful forces of capital.

On the other hand, the deepened fragmentation of markets witnessed internationally since the mid 1980s in response to economic restructuring actually extends some support to an urban village type of model. This recent expression of advanced capitalism is reflected in, but also in part sustained by, the niche markets created in conjunction with high quality urban village type developments (refer Knox, 1991). This strengthens the obvious critique of the Movement as being simply a contrivance of the new right to promote bourgeois enclaves.

Even so, the urban village is an entity which cannot be written-off as a hollow right wing project. Although a discordant and double-dealing contributor to urbanisation, the urban village has some social and environmental merit, and conceivably presents improvements on standard urbanisation processes and outcomes. To further examine these matters it is a logical next step to analyse built manifestations of the urban village discourse. For various reasons (especially its catholic conceptual base) the Urban Villages Campaign has effectively shifted beyond the abstractions of discourse and helped to realise the

production of a new urban space. Two examples of this new space, and its projected social transformation, are the substance of the succeeding two chapters.

Chapter 5

RECLAIMING THE MATHEMATICAL LINE: THE POUNDBURY PROJECT

As a man with strong views about architecture, a high public profile and enormous private wealth, he (the Prince of Wales) has an extraordinary opportunity to commission buildings for his large estates. But he has yet to produce a noteworthy construction ... (Rogers, 1989b)

Architect Richard Rogers here throws down the challenge to the Prince of Wales to put his money where his mouth is. The founding of the Poundbury urban extension to the town of Dorchester has become the Prince's most significant response to Rogers' reproach. Poundbury is a twenty year, staged development for 5,000 inhabitants. Covering a site of 158 hectares, the project will ultimately provide four discrete mixed use quarters. Construction began in late 1993, and to date, most of the first quarter has been completed and work on the second quarter is underway. In the present chapter the Poundbury project is examined in detail.

Following a similar approach to the previous chapter, this chapter relies heavily on the interpretations of Poundbury's creators. The text is consequently dotted with insightful quotations from interviews with these various players (who are listed in Appendix B). The reason for this is to assist the development of an intricate understanding of the scheme's founding premises, instruments and processes, as well as cognition of its instigators' motivations.

In addition, the chapter provides an analysis of the implementation of the Poundbury plan to date. It also furnishes a preliminary evaluation of planning processes and physical outcomes, in terms of the originators' purposes, media judgements, and fulfillment of the criteria of the Urban Villages Forum.

1. DORCHESTER UNDER PRESSURE

Dorchester is the unpretentious county town of Dorset in the south of England. Its primary role has always been that of market town, servicing an agricultural vicinity, but providing no substantial industry. The town has a long and eventful history. Its medley of mounds, monuments and structures preserve the town's historic links from Neolithic to modern times. The large earthworks within and immediately adjoining Dorchester, including Maiden Castle (the largest causewayed camp in Europe), Poundbury hillfort and Maumbury Rings henge and amphitheatre indicate that Dorchester has been an important centre for nearly 6,000 years. But it was the Romans who formally laid out the town some time between 43 and 70 AD, changing the locality's style of occupation. The layout was based on a grid pattern, enclosing rectangular *insulae* (land islands). The Roman stone walls, erected between the third and fourth century, set the boundary of the town until 1836, long after the walls themselves had all but disappeared. The Roman internal road system was not retained for such a length of time however. The neat grid plan was largely superseded in the Saxon period by irregular lanes, perhaps after a brief period of no occupation. It is this medieval layout that the twentieth century Dorchester inherited. The buildings within the original bounds of Dorchester are generally much more recent in origin. A history punctuated by severe fires, causing widespread damage to the largely thatched town, has left only a very small number of structures predating the nineteenth century.

Within unusually close proximity to Dorchester (only one kilometre) is the village of Fordington. The development of the two was closely linked during Saxon times (Draper,

1992: 36). Formerly belonging to the King, Fordington was taken over by the Duchy of Cornwall (a body discussed in sub-section 2 below) in the seventeenth century. In keeping with the move elsewhere in the country during that century, the Duchy proposed enclosure of Fordington's open field system. When finally enclosed in 1874, considerably later than elsewhere, Fordington effectively became the first suburb of Dorchester. A rapid expansion of housing occurred in Fordington immediately following the enclosure. The village doubled in population to over 6,000 by the year 1901 (Draper, 1992: 50), almost twice the size of Dorchester itself. In addition, construction of the railway lines through Dorchester from 1847 onwards further encouraged the expansion of the town other than at Fordington.

However, the portrayals of Dorchester before expansion, made by Thomas Hardy in the late nineteenth century, have long held pride of place in the myriad of local histories of the town (Taylor, 1970). These descriptions closely match the 1772 map of the town (figure 22) provided in John Hutchins' *The history and antiquities of Dorset* (cited in Skilling, 1975: 13-15). Until the early 1800s Dorchester occupied an area of just 40 hectares with 4,000 people living and working within its Roman bounds. Most of the line of the old Roman wall is reflected in the tree-lined 'walks' which to this day remain in existence.

Its squareness was, indeed, the characteristic which most struck the eye in this antiquated borough ... untouched by the faintest sprinkle of modernism. It was compact as a box of dominoes. It had no suburbs - in the ordinary sense. County and town met at a mathematical line. (Hardy, 1994: 30)

There was no ... transitional intermixture of town and down. It stood with regard to the wide fertile land adjoining, clean-cut and distinct, like a chess-board on a green table-cloth. (Hardy, 1994: 105)

Thomas Hardy's portrait of 1850s Dorchester, as presented under alias in his novel *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, has held generous sway over the pens of those draughting the Poundbury scheme. The Victorian depiction of the essence of Dorchester as Hardy had once known it is affectionately acknowledged by Poundbury's promoters, architects and developers alike. All cleave to a vision of their new extension to Dorchester as a compact, clearly-bounded defiance of the suburban storm of modernism that now lies between their site and the historic centre of Dorchester. At the helm, the Prince of Wales zestfully leads this



FIGURE 22: John Hutchins' map of Dorchester, Dorset (Skilling, 1975: 14-15)

vision along with its logic based on the project's position adjoining Dorchester. David Lindale, former chief of the Duchy of Cornwall, described the mission this way, 'the Prince sees it as essential that in 25 years time we do not look down from Maiden Castle and see a jigsaw which does not fit' (Lindale, 1988:18).

It is a 'jigsaw which does not fit' that is observed in the late nineteenth and twentieth century suburban expansion of Dorchester and Fordington. Figure 23 indicates the location of this growth as mapped by Christopher Chaplin (cited in Draper, 1992: 86). Extensions first occurred to the west of Dorchester with the military barracks, and to the east around Fordington. Then, with the enclosure of Fordington and railway construction, residential development advanced adjoining those areas in the east, south and west. Post World War II suburban expansion then continued further in these directions, with development to the north constrained by the Frome river floodplain. A small industrial area also emerged to the west near the Poundbury hillfort.

Also playing on the memories of the creators of the Poundbury project is the Duchy's recent involvement in suburban extensions around Fordington (given the Duchy's ownership of most of the land surrounding Dorchester, they are intimately linked to the town's spatial growth). The Duchy's sale of over 12 hectares of Fordington Fields in the early 1980s resulted in the construction of a fairly conventional, low density residential area. The 'banal' (Hamilton, 1995 interview) outcome 'depressed' (Krier, 1996 interview) the Prince of Wales, who was determined to ensure no such further repetition on Duchy property.

1.1 Alternative development strategies

In 1987 West Dorset District Council, the local planning authority for Dorchester, received a planning application to develop a large area of rural land at Coker's Frome for urban purposes. The site was on one of the only pieces of land surrounding Dorchester not owned by the Duchy of Cornwall. It was situated immediately north of the old town centre.

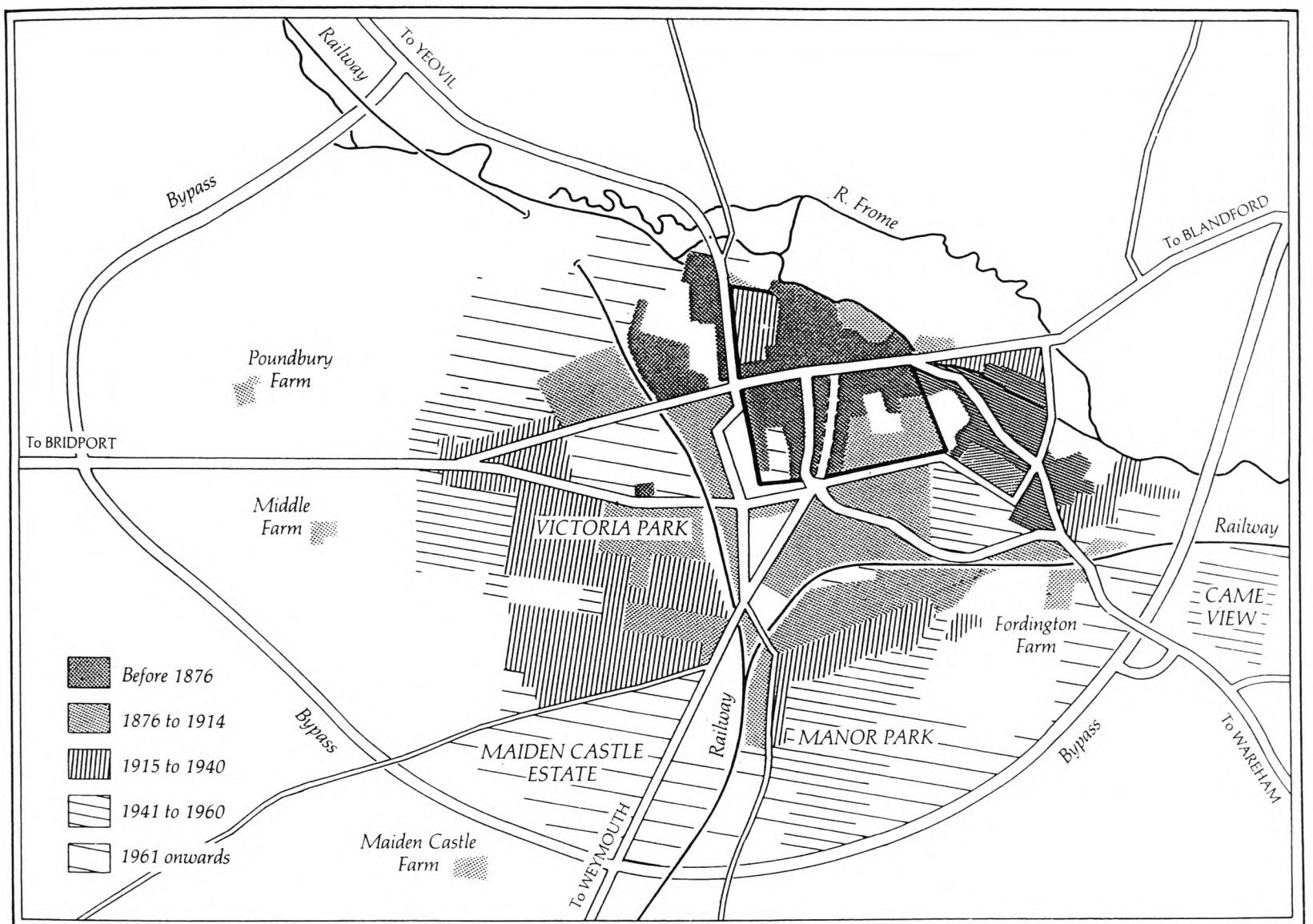


Figure 23: Nineteenth and Twentieth Century expansion of Dorchester, Dorset (Draper, 1992: 86)

But the presence of the water meadows on the northern perimeter of the existing town added significantly to the complexity of issues associated with the application.

The District Council faced sizable pressure from the property sector to release further land for housing, and more especially for employment activities. But from the District's point of view, the land already available for urban development in Dorchester adequately met the Dorset County Council's Structure Plan requirements for a regular supply of development land (the Structure Plan being the strategic policy guide the District Council should conform with on such matters). Therefore, the District felt 'no urgency' (West Dorset District Council, 1987: 2) to grant the Coker's Frome planning application.

In 1981 the District and County Councils had determined that between 1980 and 1996 Dorchester would supply enough land for housing to accommodate between 1,400 and 1,700 new dwellings, on average 100 units per year. It was accepted that this might involve the District in purchasing the necessary extra land from rural landowners, or making other agreements, as had been done with the Duchy at Fordington during the mid 1980s. Concurrently, during the structure planning process it was also agreed between the two Councils that Dorchester might appropriately expand beyond the above requirements (which only amounted to an infilling and rounding-off of the existing town). Such greater expansion would necessitate the development of a major new urban area, probably north of the water meadows, or, by the further encroachment into high quality agricultural land, to the west or south.

By 1987 a total of 1424 new dwellings had been approved in Dorchester since 1980. That is, the 1996 target figure had been reached already, reflecting the buoyant housing market of the mid 1980s. Most of this development involved the re-use of large and small sites within the built-up area, often for flats. The perceived predominance of flats was however redressed by construction of family housing in the new Fordington residential area. Even so, as at March 1988, the Council's waiting list for social housing stood at 445, reflecting a different kind of local housing need. But overall, because new land was not being taken

up in great quantities, the District Council was confident that there was no necessity, based on housing need, to pursue the town's further extension via a major new development on the urban periphery.

While supply of land for housing was judged adequate by the District Council, the land available for employment activities was concluded to be insufficient. A total just exceeding 8 hectares had gained planning consent in the seven years since 1980. However, many existing firms found their established, centrally-located sites too restricting and hoped to relocate, making their old properties available for more valuable uses. In addition, the Council had been approached by potential new companies unable to acquire suitable premises in the town. Not wanting to discourage such employment activities, the District Council decided it was 'necessary to look for a major green field site well related to the strategic highway network and in particular close to a junction on the proposed by-pass' (West Dorset District Council, 1987: 3). The need for 'a major departure from the present built form' was acknowledged (West Dorset District Council, 1987: 6). However, a piecemeal approach was deemed highly undesirable, not least because of West Dorset's environmentally sensitive attributes and high proportion of areas of outstanding natural beauty. The urban augmentation would need to establish the pattern of growth for the next twenty to thirty years. A comprehensive, phased development of a substantial new area, catering for a mix of housing types, providing recreational and cultural facilities, and creating additional jobs on serviced employment sites was held to be fundamental.

Rather than bow instantaneously to coercion from the developers knocking at their door then, the District Council elected to respond more pro-actively. Careful not to be interpreted as 'endorsing or encouraging rapid development or change' (Lock, 1987: i), the District Council launched its own comprehensive study of alternative development strategies for Dorchester and its vicinity. As the Chairman of the Council's Development and Planning Committee announced:

For any town to flourish it must generate its own organic growth, encouraging new ideas and opportunities. While respecting the past we must not be strangled by it, rather, learning to re-create the spirit of our history, changing and adapting, as becomes necessary, to our age. (Lock, 1987: i)

The District Council thought it an opportune time to assess a number of long-term options in anticipation of the forthcoming review, or possible roll forward, of the County's Structure Plan. Their efforts culminated in the production of a discussion document outlining various options on 30 July 1987. The document was widely circulated for comment from public agencies, lobby groups, community groups and individuals. The document, and comments, on it are summarised below.

Four main strategy alternatives, based on the following locations, were identified for the future growth of Dorchester:

- Option A: the area immediately north of the water meadows, incorporating the Croker's Frome site (figure 24);
- Option B: the area immediately to the west of Dorchester, on Duchy of Cornwall property (figure 25);
- Option C: the Charminster and Herrison area, over 2 kilometres to the north west of Dorchester (figure 26); and
- Option D: dispersed growth throughout the neighbouring villages (the central Dorset sub-area of the Structure Plan).

1.1.1 Option A

Option A is located across the River Frome from the existing Dorchester settlement. The new urban area would be physically separated from the rest of the town by a topographical boundary and the Frome floodplain. The development site itself would be an area of gently sloping and undulating landscape. From the Council's point of view, the main advantage of Option A was the opportunity it presented to develop the water meadows for recreational use. However, there were disapproving reactions to the option, from such bodies as Wessex Water, the Nature Conservancy Council, the Council for the

DORCHESTER A Development option.

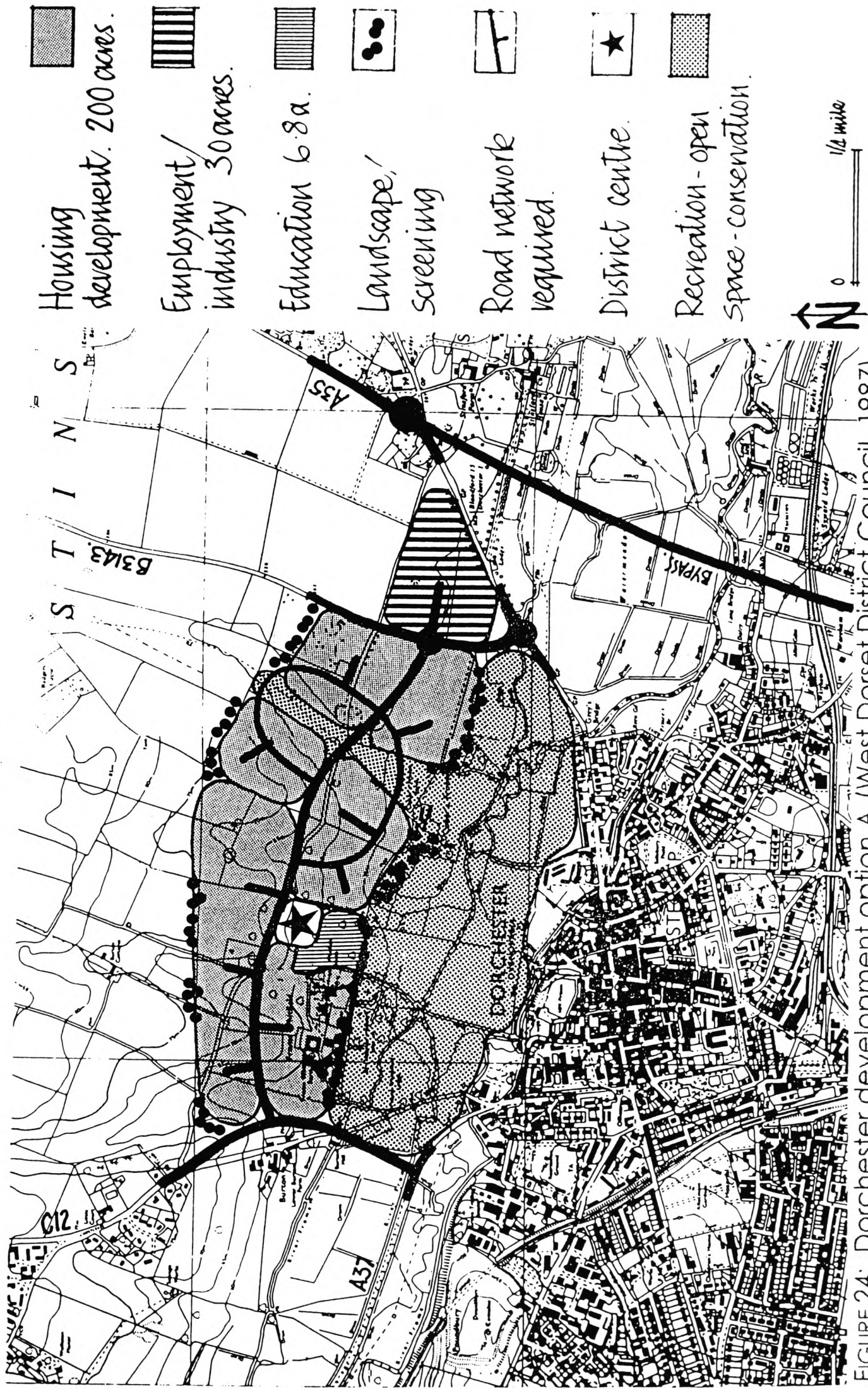


FIGURE 24: Dorchester development option A (West Dorset District Council, 1987)

Protection of Rural England (CPRE), the Dorset Trust for Nature Conservation and private individuals, based on anticipated negative urban impacts on the water meadows from environmental, ecological and water supply protection points of view. The prominence of the water meadows in literary works was even raised as an argument against interference with the locality. David Oliver (District Council architect) claimed 'there was one hell of a public outcry' in regard to the water meadows (Oliver, 1995 interview).

The option also raised traffic issues. The proposed Dorchester by-pass would run from east to west along the southern side of the town. A development to the north of the town would draw traffic towards roads not intended for high flow volumes. The consequent infrastructure costs were estimated to be particularly high. In addition, the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food (MAFF) also raised objections to the conversion of high quality rural land on the northern most portion of the site.

1.1.2 Option B

Option B is located on the top of a topographically exposed, relatively featureless area of chalk downs 1½ kilometres to the west of the centre of Dorchester. The option was considered well located, being just inside the proposed by-pass and abutting existing suburban areas. It could also integrate easily with the existing town, particularly in terms of public transport, provision of educational facilities, and use of recreational areas. Its main disadvantage was that the site was almost entirely Grade 2 farmland, with small areas of Grade 3A. Such good quality, versatile land makes up only a small proportion of Dorset. Where possible, urban development on this land is avoided in the County. In addition, approximately a third of the land within this option is designated as being of Great Landscape Value and/or an Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty.

As expected MAFF strongly opposed this option. However, their objection was one of very few. Of all four options, Option B gained the most positive response from groups and individuals. Even the Nature Conservancy Council, Countryside Commission, CPRE and the

DORCHESTER B Development option.

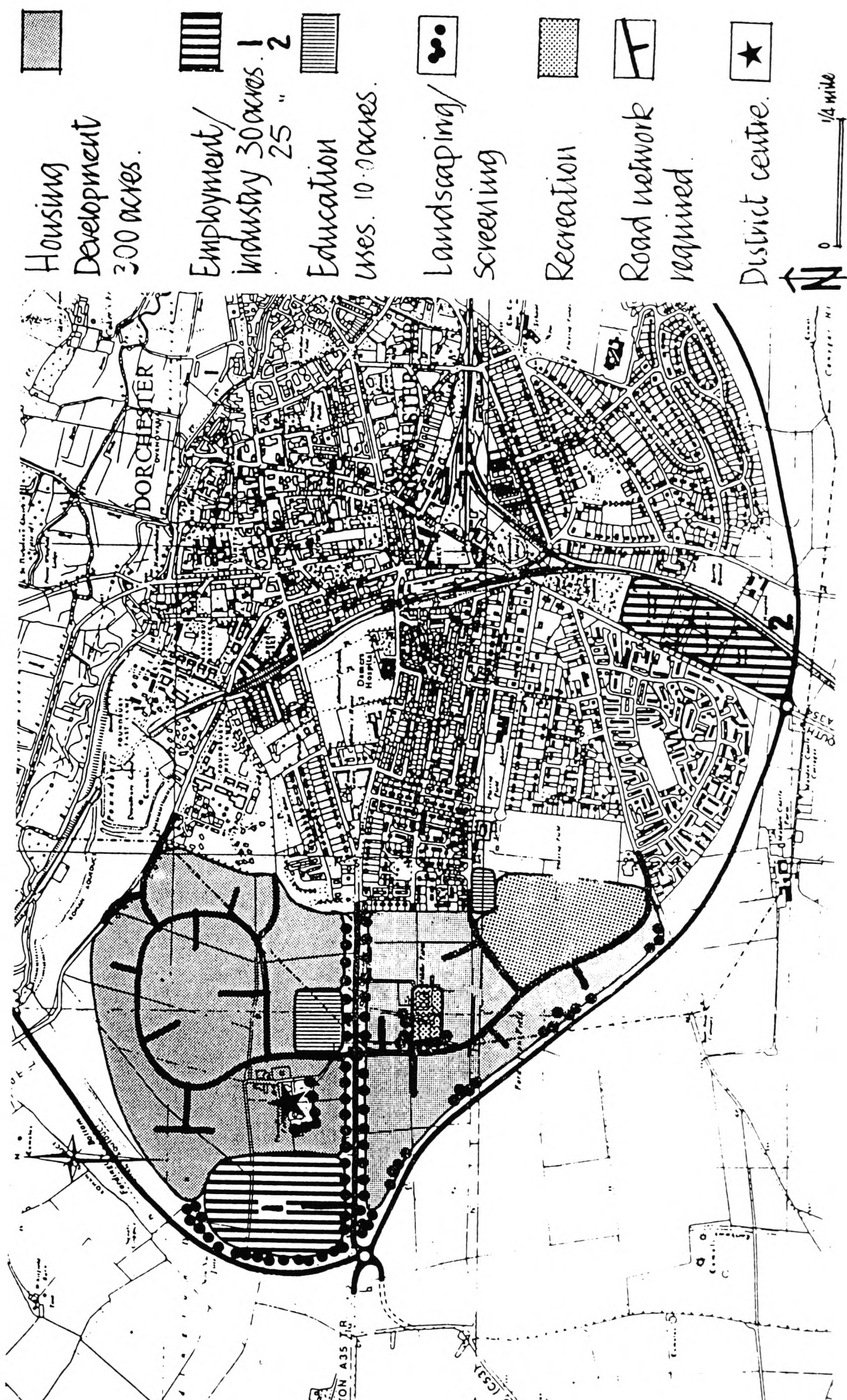


Figure 25: Dorchester development option B (West Dorset District Council, 1987)

local conservation societies supported the option. It was assessed to be the alternative having least conflict with the environment. Furthermore, the proposed by-pass was now reckoned a more appropriate boundary between Dorchester and its adjoining Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty.

1.1.3 Option C

In the first instance, the Charminster/Herrison option came about in response to the West Dorset Area Health Authority's intention to vacate their Herrison hospital site by the mid 1990s. The hospital site had in place a number of community resources, including sports fields and a chapel. To convert hospital buildings for residential purposes and build additional units on the other areas of the site would effectively create a new village.

Subsequent to this, in 1988 the West Dorset District Council received three separate planning applications from Charminster landowners to develop green field sites for urban purposes. This reiterated the need to consider Charminster in the growth alternatives study. While the Charminster/Herrison option would not offer the advantages of integrating directly with Dorchester, it would allow for the re-use of existing infrastructure on low grade agricultural land outside of the Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty.

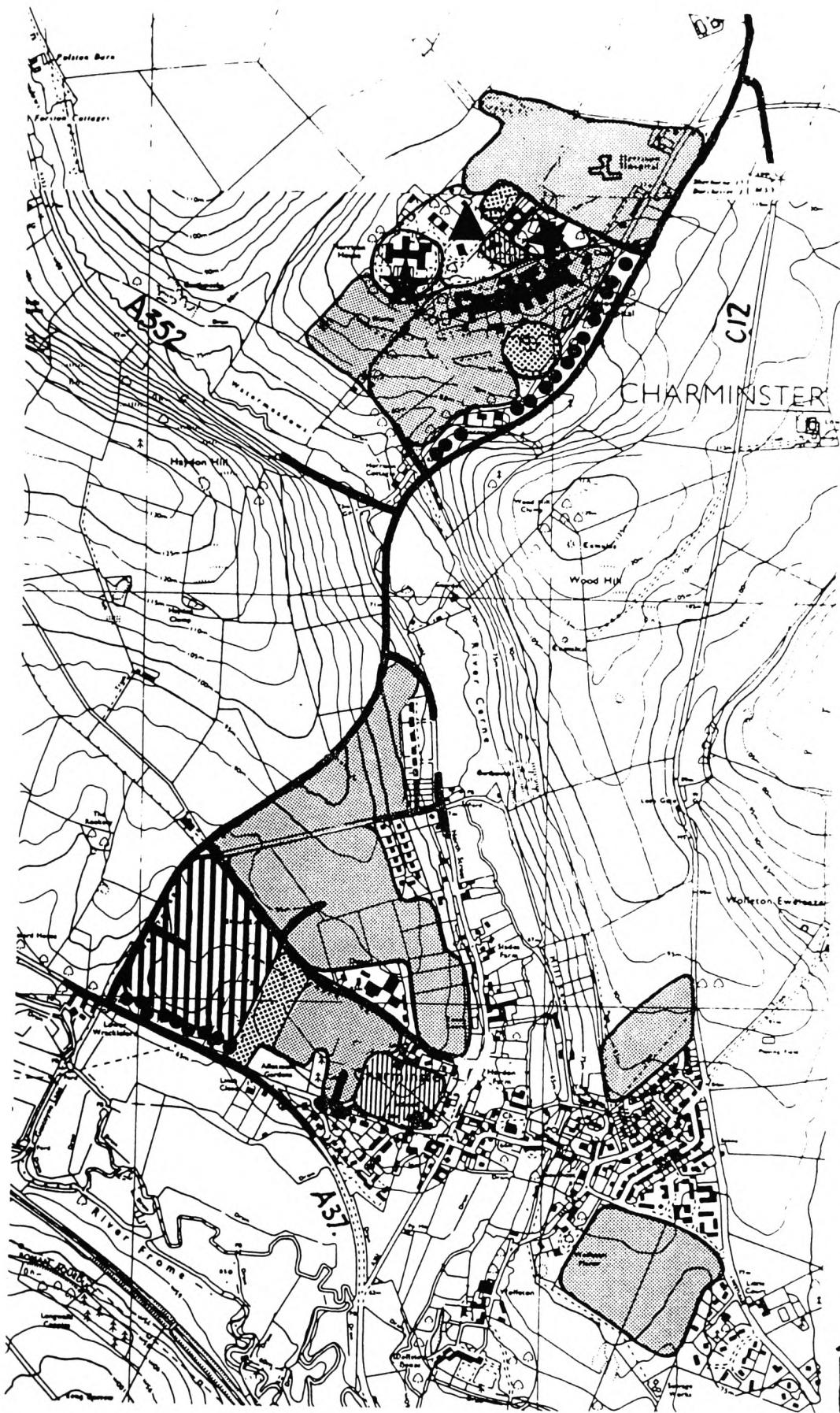
Public response to Option C was not generally favourable. The development would be too large in scale and out of character with the existing Charminster village. Large scale development was regarded as environmentally detrimental by several of the conservation groups. Some of the development areas would also be on quite steeply sloping valley sides. Past policies had resisted development on such sites. Furthermore, the development would need to be supported by the provision of relatively expensive highway infrastructure across quite difficult terrain in terms of gradients and levels.

The redevelopment of the Herrison hospital site on its own was a different matter however. The Council received overwhelming support for the notion of a reduced scale of urbanisation at this site.

DORCHESTER

Development option.

C



Prestige offices
or Hotel.



Community
uses.



Housing
development.
200 acres.



Employment
industry



Education
uses. 7-8 acres.



Landscaping/
Screening.



Recreation
uses.



Road network
required.



FIGURE 26: Dorchester development option C (West Dorset District Council, 1987)

1.1.4 Option D

Although put forward as an option, the idea of spreading the proposed development around nearby villages was never a serious alternative. Aside from being an inefficient option in terms of infrastructure requirements, it was also unlikely that sufficient land could be made available in these locations without critical modifications to the character of the villages concerned. The public feedback was almost unanimous in its disapproval of this approach.

1.2 The chosen strategy

After evaluating the public comments on their discussion document, the District Council's Working Party reported its findings on the 3rd of March 1988. The Working Party had carried out a systematic assessment of Options A, B and C based on the following indicators: economic structure, housing, leisure, landscape/environment, and infrastructure.

The Working Party recommendation was two-fold. Firstly, it recommended a smaller scale development of the Herrison hospital site. This would cater for approximately 400 dwelling units, and would retain the Chapel, Herrison House, the Ballroom, the "Gothic Building", and the farm buildings.

Secondly, the Working Party recommended that Option B would be the best location for the future extension of Dorchester. To that end the Working Party suggested a working / steering group (in response to advice from the Duchy of Cornwall's consultants) should be established to prepare a planning brief detailing such matters as the phasing, housing types and tenures, community facilities, and landscaping. The attributes which made Option B the most attractive for Dorchester's expansion included the location's potential to allow the early release of employment land; the greater control possible through the Duchy of Cornwall in terms of phasing, house type and local housing provision;

the ability to better relate to the existing settlement and existing services and facilities; the potential to create a pattern of development that would enhance the appearance of Dorchester when viewed from Maiden Castle; the minimal need for off-site road construction; and the ease with which the public transport network could be extended to the new area.

On the 25th of May 1988 a special meeting of the Development and Planning Committee was held to give additional consideration to the Working Party's recommendations. More presentations and supplementary plans were invited from the land owners, and their agents, of each of the alternative sites. The outcome further confirmed the Working Party's counsel. Soon afterward, following a formal verdict from the Development and Planning Committee, the matter was resolved after the relatively brief period (in planning terms) of just over a year. On the 23rd of June 1988, the District Council adopted the following resolution:

- (a) That the future development needs of Dorchester and the immediately surrounding area be met by a limited development at Herrison Hospital and by expansion of the town westwards (Option B) ... providing that the Council can be satisfied that an early release of land for affordable housing and small employment units can be achieved.
- (b) That Options A, C and D be rejected as a means of meeting the future land use development needs of Dorchester.
- (c) That a Local Plan be prepared in accordance with the Brief ... including the monitoring of progress on the timing of release of land for affordable housing and small employment units. (West Dorset District Council, 1988: DP 3)

2. ENTER THE DUCHY OF CORNWALL

The Duchy of Cornwall is a landed estate founded in 1337 by Edward III for his son, the Black Prince. The name of the estate is derived from the title "Duke of Cornwall", a title vested in the eldest surviving adult son of the monarch. At present, HRH the Prince of Wales is the 24th Duke of Cornwall. The Duchy is in his stewardship while he is the Heir Apparent. If there is no Duke, the Duchy and its assets are administered by the Crown. The primary function of the Duchy is to provide the Heir and his family with an income from its assets. However, the Heir is not entitled to the estate's capital, which is maintained in order to

provide for future heirs. The Treasury has the responsibility to ensure that this requirement is complied with.

The estate comprises more than 50,000 hectares of agricultural and commercial land and property in 23 counties, together with a stock exchange portfolio. The Prince of Wales runs the estate on a commercial basis with the support of an administrative staff headed by the Secretary and Keeper of the Records. The Prince does have the ability to significantly influence the operation of the Duchy. Two of his principal innovations to date have included encouraging the Duchy to experiment with organic farming and promoting high quality residential and building projects.

2.1 The Duchy and Dorchester's growth

Although the Duchy was in no way instrumental in bringing about the Dorchester alternative development strategies study, it quickly became actively involved in the process. The District Council's proposed Option B was situated on Duchy land commonly known as Poundbury Farm and Middle Farm. Jimmy James, Secretary and Keeper of the Records, observes 'I think our interest burgeoned as the West Dorset District Council's interest in locating at Poundbury gathered momentum' (1995 interview). Such a potential land use change on the sites represented an important, potentially lucrative, opportunity for the Duchy. Needless to say, the Duchy instructed its property, surveying and planning consultants, Drivers Jonas (consultants to the Duchy for over 150 years), to prepare a draft development strategy to present to the Council. In February 1988 Drivers Jonas produced their succinct eleven page proposal.

The document was very non-specific, outlining tasks that should be undertaken to progress Option B, but providing no details in terms of a development project. What it did make patently clear was the Duchy's desire to welcome Dorchester's expansion onto their land. They advocated a comprehensive, planned development which would be

implemented 'over a period of time' (Drivers Jonas, 1988: 3) in response 'to prevailing circumstances and requirements' (Lindale, 1989: 1). That non-urgent approach appealed to the District Council, who harboured reservations that the landowners involved in Options A and C wanted a more speedy return on their schemes.

On the other hand, there was doubt as to how quickly the Duchy could service their land for potential employment related activities. This was an urgent task from the District Council's perspective. Moreover, because the Duchy had expressed a wish to create an environment which would serve as an example to others, the Council feared only prestigious, large uses would be allowed in by the Duchy, as opposed to more general industrial units, and in particular, the smaller units for which there had been high demand. However, on gauging the Council's anxiety, the Duchy came back with a revised schedule, bringing forward the surface water drainage improvement scheme in order to allow the early release of employment space. Again they attempted to justify a business park/high tech. type of employment use for the site, and to a certain extent gained some extra ground with the Council, although finding a place for smaller and varied employment activities was still a District priority.

A sign of hope for the Council in regard to dealing with the Duchy site was Drivers Jonas's proposition that a Working Group and a Steering Group be established to deal with the urban extension. The former would comprise Council officers and consultants who would examine issues related to the development and undertake any necessary studies, liaising with affected bodies. The Steering Group would include representatives from the Council, its planning office, Drivers Jonas and the Duchy, who would monitor the progress, and deliberate on the recommendations, of the Working Party. The District Council was impressed by the co-operative nature of the Duchy's strategy. It was the Council's preference that Dorchester's expansion should be advanced slowly and comprehensively. The Duchy-led plan indicated a level of restraint and collaboration that was attractive for its potential to ensure development did not get out of hand from the Council's standpoint.

The latter advantage was also recognised by a local movement of citizens calling themselves the Dorchester Town Project. Established in 1987 in direct response to the large development applications and the consequent growth alternatives study, this group resolved to ensure a wide public involvement in the Council's reckonings. To that end they circulated a questionnaire on the matter to all householders in Dorchester. Three quarters of the 469 inhabitants who replied endorsed the Duchy's ideas for the Option B site (Smith, 1988). Barney Smith, the Chair of the Group and former town planner, stated 'we are privileged in Dorchester to have a single landowner who can take the longer view' (Barker, 1989). Furthermore, in contrast to speculative builders, the group is content that 'the Duchy can be trusted to develop slowly in cooperation with the public, giving priority to local needs' (Williams, 1989: 51).

2.2 The early planning for Poundbury

Once the Council decision in favour of Option B (now commonly referred to as Poundbury) was official, the Duchy attempted to cement its proposals. However, the going was not as routine as they had anticipated. Drivers Jonas had been working on preliminary plans for the development, in conjunction with urban design consultant Alan Rowley and consulting engineers J.M.P. Consultants, since the beginning of 1988. They outlined a draft masterplan for the new site which was based on a standard housing estate not unlike the Duchy's earlier profitable scheme at Fordington Fields. However, HRH the Prince of Wales was dissatisfied with their proposition. He felt its scale and character were at odds with the local environs, and what is more, the scheme was contrary to his well-known convictions relating to urbanisation (Dimbleby, 1994). After several months of continued disappointment over revised plans, the Prince in September 1988 implored the Duchy to take on Leon Krier as masterplanner for the project. The Duchy complied, giving Krier a blank sheet to work from, but they retained Drivers Jonas to oversee his performance.

Krier took up the assignment immediately. He had interacted with the Prince in the past on issues of planning and design and knew he had the Prince's respect. He came to Dorchester and spent several months studying the site, undertaking an analysis of urban Dorchester, examining neighbouring exemplars such as Wareham, Bridport and Blandford Forum, and consulting with the District Council and community groups about what should be accomplished. Once Krier had drawn-up some rudimentary conceptual plans, and in keeping with their commitment to operate in partnership with the District Council, the Duchy arranged a meeting with the chief planning officer and his architect to introduce their ideas. The meeting was a success. The officers were encouraged by Krier's outline. The Council were now locked into the reality that Poundbury was where development would take place. But up until this time no one really had a clue as to what the development would actually be like. 'I suspect that everybody envisaged just another nasty housing estate. The Duchy would simply sell the land to Wimpey or something and that would be it' (Oliver, 1995 interview). The meeting revealed an altogether different approach.

For District Council architect David Oliver it was an instant meeting of minds. Oliver had been successfully promoting traditional architecture and design with developers and builders in West Dorset for several years, but usually only on a house by house or individual street basis. Krier's drafts endorsed and surpassed his ideals. Oliver (1995, interview) recalls the first meeting in this way:

Through the door came five people, I suppose, from the Duchy, one of whom was Leon Krier, who promptly rolled out this set of drawings. I looked at it and said 'oh *that's* how it's done', click.... Up 'til then we'd only been dealing with single streets. I'd been pondering what the hell to do with such things - how to do a town in depth. There it was, it was instantaneous, as soon as I saw it I took. It works, it's obvious, yes.'

The alliance between District Architect and Masterplanner developed into a firm and lasting one. The respect is clearly mutual. Krier regards Oliver as an 'essential link'. 'He's an interesting form of professional who works inside the bureaucracy but it's not a problem He works much more like an intelligent practical person, which is very rare to find within the permitting authorities' (Krier, 1996 interview). More importantly, because Krier now lives

in the south of France he cannot take as active a part as he would want in influencing the architecture of Poundbury. He does not trust the Duchy's appointed architects in this capacity. Fortunately, he is confident that he can rely on Oliver to have a direct and appropriate influence. Although Oliver has no official role in this capacity, he also tends to be used as the first port of call by Poundbury's builders when they have any problems (Fry, 1996 interview)

The association between Krier and Oliver has been a crucial one in setting and maintaining the direction of development for Poundbury. Its significance has been accentuated by Krier's poor relationship with the Duchy and its consultants. Problems between Krier and the Duchy began almost immediately after his appointment. Krier sensed he did not have the support of their agents, Drivers Jonas, from the outset. 'When I showed the first plans of course, in the typically English way, they said "it's fantastic". But then they worked behind my back in order to make it collapse' (Krier, 1996 interview). Krier describes the situation in his characteristic suspicious style. Even so, his interpretation may have been close to the truth, given his lack of experience with real development projects. Following the production of his initial masterplan for Poundbury in early 1989, Drivers Jonas estimated that the Krier ideal would result in enormous financial losses for the Duchy. Drastic amendment of the plan was accordingly sought from this quarter.

There were in fact a great many people who had serious doubts about the practicability of Krier's initial masterplan. This did not deter the Prince. In a letter to the developer Stephen Mattick, the Prince wrote:

the crucial question hanging over everything is the economics of the scheme. Many people, especially cynical old developers and accountants are worried - but I am not surprised. I want to explore every conceivable means - novel, revolutionary or old-fashioned - to succeed with my aim. (Prince of Wales, 1989a)

However, the concern of the Prince's advisors went further than this. The Duchy is answerable to the Treasury with regard to all its financial arrangements. Krier's grand design seemed beyond anything the Treasury could approve. The Duchy has a legal responsibility to be profitable. As James (1995 interview) tells it, in regard to their 'capital estate,

Parliament decreed that the Treasury would keep an eye on us, you know, to make sure we conserve it for future Dukes of Cornwall. And so we have to answer to the Treasury when we sell land that we're getting full value for it'. Still the Prince was resolute, as he demonstrated in this letter to the Duchy's attorney:

Whatever happens, the Treasury and others will believe that various aspects of this project will not be economically feasible and somehow I will have to find a way of overcoming this negative vision. These things need an act of faith - and long term vision, neither of which come easily to treasury officials, or for that matter, organisations like the Duchy! My battles have only just begun ... (Prince of Wales, 1989c)

Indeed the battles had only just begun. The Duchy's attempts to pull Krier into 'reality' irritated the masterplanner immeasurably: 'we had such difficulties internally that I had to show extreme flexibility to respond to everybody's wishes and desires' (Krier, 1996 interview). In fact, Krier threatened to resign from the project on a number of occasions. He had sought to make alterations to his plan in keeping with financial advice from another consultant, Sarah Oborn, hired by the Duchy. However, his inexperience in translating such visions from paper to building site was conspicuously evident. Even so, the bureaucratic obstinacy of the Duchy was based on their very unvisionary realism - where 'real' equals 'short-term financial gain'. Krier was insistent that his project was financially sound as it stood, and what could not be built immediately could be left until it could be afforded. What was being demonstrated at Poundbury was an entirely different design process to standard commercial relationships. Krier, via the Prince, wielded significantly more power on the design front than is normally possible on the part of masterplanners. As McGlynn (1993) has shown in her study of power distribution in the design process, generally the most power rests with the developers (in this case the Duchy). Developers in turn are heavily influenced by their funding providers. In contrast, the designers only exercise minimal control over the outcome of their work. However with crusty developers inexperienced in developing, an unyielding masterplanner inexperienced in practice, and an idealistic royal figurehead attempting to marry the two, the relative influence of the various actors at Poundbury was nothing short of unique.

After more than a year of contention over the viability of Krier's scheme, in mid 1990 the prickly Duchy Deputy Secretary, Kevin Knott, and the frustrated Krier had perhaps the biggest of their many altercations. The clash almost terminated the whole endeavour. Krier (1996 interview) claims 'they (the Duchy) were scared of me ... because they didn't know what sort of animal I was.... They tried to get me out by all means, even in an extremely nasty way'. And he was ready to go. It was only the unrelinquishing determination of the Prince of Wales to see his dream through that managed to hold the project together. He was not about to be defeated by officials from within his own team. However, Poundbury's organisational structure was consequently highly modified at the beginning of 1991 in order to facilitate a reduction in the animosities and progress the project.

It was this reorganisation that ensured the continued involvement of Krier. The change was not solely in terms of management structure. There was also a side-lining of many of the consultants to the Duchy and an installation of a new guard more receptive to Krier's ideas and the potential for reconciling the latter with the Duchy's financial objectives. Krier interpreted the change as only sensible, and naturally in his favour:

I was put at the head of a team of about twenty people, and they were all against it (his draft scheme). They thought initially they would wear us (Krier and the Prince) out. But the Prince, he actually wanted that (scheme) and that's how I survived again. None of these people who were there initially survived. Yes, they had to go because they just were unable to do it. They would just present the normal formulas and that was it. Very large consultants' firms who have absolutely no imagination. They just repeat formulas. They don't dare do anything which hasn't been done a hundred times. (Krier, 1996 interview)

Despite the changes, no truce between Krier and the Duchy was evident.

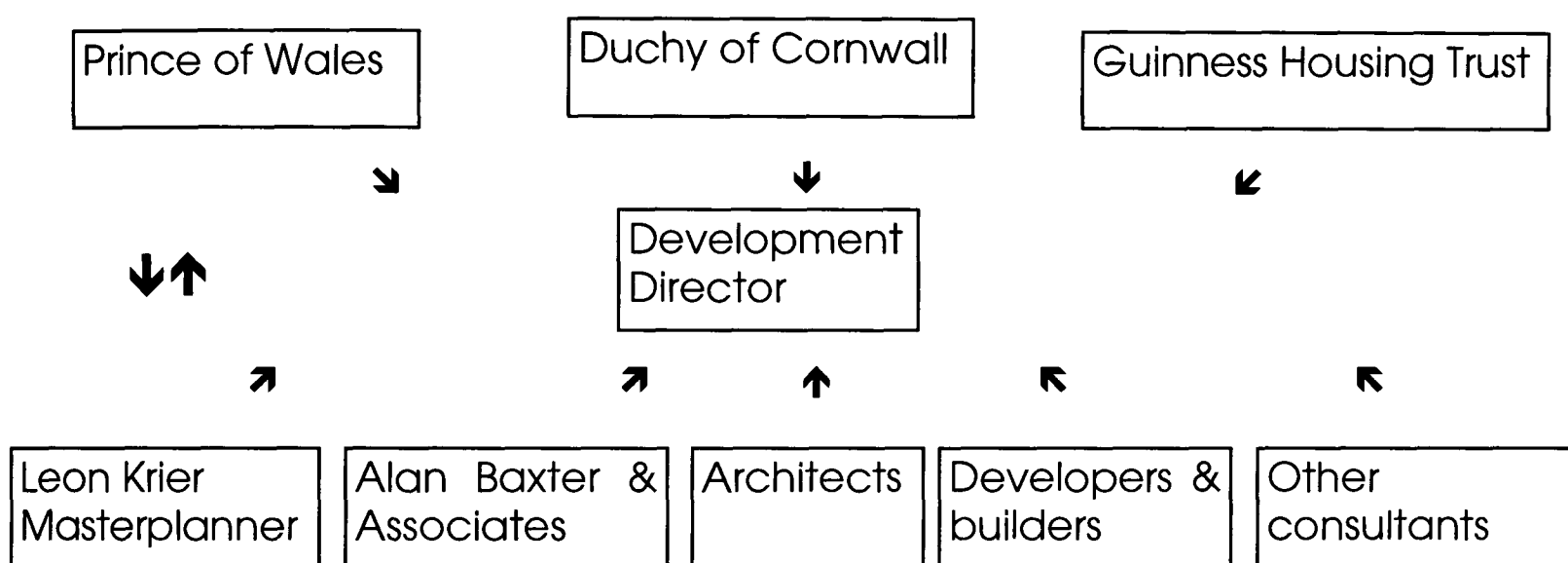
2.3 Under new management

The revised structure involved the appointment of an experienced development director. The director, rather than the Duchy, would now be the primary point of contact with Krier, and would co-ordinate all the other consultants on the project. In turn, the director would report directly to the Prince of Wales and the Duchy (figure 27). Andrew

Hamilton, a successful property developer (best known for his role in the large, classical Richmond Riverside scheme at Richmond upon Thames in London), was commissioned for the task. Hamilton explains that he was brought in to fill an obvious gap:

There was really no team leader because obviously the Prince of Wales hasn't got the time to do it personally and there were no skills there in the Duchy either. So that's when I was approached and they asked me whether I would come on board and help them out on this thing. (Hamilton, 1995 interview)

Figure 27: Management Structure of the Poundbury Project



The development director position was a recognition of the fact that the Duchy is not, and never has been, a developer. In the past when their property had been converted for urban purposes it was sold on to developers to undertake the task. This time, the Duchy chose to retain its interest in the land so that it could ensure high standards in the development in future years. The Duchy's retention of Poundbury meant they were now experimenting in a completely different avenue of work, and unsure of their ground. Hamilton helped to simplify the necessary demarcations:

The Duchy didn't have the resources to actually build this scheme themselves. The Duchy has wealth clearly, it has a lot of land holdings, but it's not really in the business of taking risk because the main purpose of the Duchy of Cornwall is to provide income for future Princes of Wales. So it's not in the risk business. Really the feeling was that we should encourage others to do the actual building work and take the risk. We would be the enabler. We would provide the land and we would provide perhaps some of the infrastructure, but we would enable it to happen. (Hamilton, 1995 interview)

With Hamilton in place, Krier aimed to formalise his avoidance of Duchy personnel.

He now sees himself as an agent of the Prince:

The only link I have to that scheme is through him (the Prince). The Duchy would get me out if they could. I have his protection. Essentially when it comes to a situation of a conflict he normally protects me. But these are over reasonable things. I don't try to win because I try to win today. They're usually practical matters. (Krier, 1996 interview)

Krier meets regularly with Hamilton, minimising any interaction with the Duchy.

Hamilton finds the relationship unproblematic:

We work very closely together. He lives in France most of the time and I also live in France part of the time. So I see him down there and I see him here. So we liaise closely. We work very well together. (Hamilton, 1995 interview)

But Hamilton was not the only new blood. The consultants charged with implementing Krier's masterplan also changed. Drivers Jonas were moved aside and Alan Baxter and Associates became the lead consultants:

We came on board ... the Christmas of 1990.... What happened was Poundbury stalled for a number of reasons. Leo (Krier) asked us to come on board and really give his plans a boost and look at progressing the scheme. That's what we did. We've been involved ever since. (Taylor, a partner in Alan Baxter and Associates, 1995 interview)

Alan Baxter and Associates had joined forces with Krier in the past on a number of occasions. For example, most recently they had collaborated on the 1990 preparation of plans for new student residences and a square at New College, Oxford. They also had dealings with him through the teaching programme at the Prince of Wales's Institute of Architecture. Hence Krier knew Alan Baxter and Associates were capable of realising his ideas. A firm of consulting engineers, their role at Poundbury is to interpret Krier's masterplan (which remains broad and conceptual in form) by developing the detailed plans relating to urban layout and servicing; preparing the briefs for each block of land, covering: size of building, approximate budget cost, and the constraints on the outcome sought; submitting plans for Council approval then ensuring compliance with regulatory requirements; and scheduling the timing and sequencing of the development.

3 THE PLANNING WEEKEND

Virtually the only matter that Krier and the Duchy have ever found themselves taking the same side on was the Poundbury planning weekend. Both parties were adamantly against this public consultation exercise which took place over five days from the 15th to the 19th of June 1989. The Duchy argued that such a participation process was unnecessary in the Poundbury context. The only outcome would be an impossible list of demands that could not be satisfied. The consequences of any failure to satisfy would serve to heighten the cries of the project's media-wise critics. For Krier the purpose of meeting with the public should be to demonstrate your ideas, allow people to imagine what the built environment would be like, and thereby win their acceptance. 'You don't design towns with people. It's not something which can be designed by people off the street.... These things (planning weekends), they're terribly hypocritical, trying always to play safe' (Krier, 1996 interview). Krier was afraid that the proposed planning weekend was going to go much further than merely present the Poundbury scheme. He too tried to dissuade the Prince from taking this course of action. But the Prince was immovable. He had a long-standing commitment to community architecture and was eager to apply such a process to the Poundbury development. To that end he had enlisted the services of community architect John Thompson, with whom he had had involvement on several Business in the Community (BITC) projects, and whom the Duchy had employed to work with their former housing estate, Newquay House in Kennington.

The Prince was unsure as to how best consult the local people about Poundbury. It was Thompson who suggested the planning weekend - a tool he had adapted from the American Institute of Architects' Urban Design Assistance Team (UDAT) charrettes (a particular kind of participatory exercise). The aim would be to pull together a multidisciplinary team to consider the local circumstances, community views and

development opportunities, and through a collaborative approach, produce a set of development proposals at the end of the weekend exercise.

However, for Thompson there was a critical obstacle, 'Leon Krier, who got in first, had already designed it all' (Thompson, 1995 interview). The manner in which Thompson normally ran planning weekends meant that draft masterplans were the result of the collaborative effort, not the starting point as in this case. Furthermore, Krier was insistent that his masterplan be not tampered with, 'I said "John this is my plan. It's designed, I don't need to re-design it. You just may consult it and represent the scheme and we'll see how it goes down, how people take it" ' (1996 interview).

The situation disconcerted Thompson and clearly threatened Krier. Every move Thompson made to encourage public contributions to the planning process was interpreted by Krier as a bid to oust the masterplanner from his post. Krier assessed Thompson to be 'a fairly serious menace':

He tried to take over my job. I felt this several times. So I'm not hiding, I declared war openly. It was actually a public dual in Dorchester. He organised a planning weekend, and it was essentially set up to get me out of my job and send him in with his 35 consultants.... It was a real dual.... He has his own agenda. He is an architect designer just like everybody else, just selling his hardware in a different way.... He did everything he could to collapse the presentation that I did, to make myself look ridiculous, a kind of megalomaniac masterplanner. But it worked against him. (Krier, 1996 interview)

Thompson was a man without a true title at Poundbury. He could not perform a traditional piece of community architecture or even public consultation for that matter. Rather, he was restricted to showing the draft scheme, identifying any aspects that might require better tailoring to local needs, and generating ideas about how the scheme might be implemented. He was worried that Krier's ardent classicism, with its Italian motifs, would alienate the public. On the contrary, Krier's exemplars, which included Dorset's own Georgian Weymouth, gained credence with the audience, perhaps more convincingly than Thompson's imported expert speakers and charrette technology (Wright, 1992: 380; Oliver, 1995 interview). But, most accounts of the planning weekend indicate that the Krier-

Thompson feud, and the many other tensions within the Poundbury camp, remained concealed from the viewing public.

3.1 Accounts of the weekend

Over a thousand people took part in the planning weekend, which was mostly based in marquees and the existing barn on the Poundbury site. Krier's conceptual plans were displayed to the public for the first time, as was a figurative Italianate model (made in Krier's brother's studio in Vienna, figure 28) of the project's intended first phase. Thompson co-ordinated the event and brought in his team to develop proposals from the public forums. Included in this team were Robert Davies and Andrew Wadsworth (two founding members of the Urban Villages Group), Nick Wates (who collaborated with Thompson on the joint Prince of Wales's Institute of Architecture / Urban Villages Forum publication *Action Planning*), David Hall (then director of the Town and Country Planning Association), and several others from environmental improvement trusts, government agencies, community-led projects, and urban regeneration schemes.

The long weekend began with an introductory town meeting on the Thursday evening. Friday followed with sessions on the needs and aspirations of Dorchester, including the historical and planning background, an overview of Dorchester's needs, employment and training initiatives, plus a series of special interest workshops, in which the Prince of Wales made a brief contribution during his 'unannounced' two hour visit to the weekend. The Saturday sessions dealt with masterplanning objectives and the development process, including the aims and objectives of the masterplanning, public and private housing and other use procurement, the development process alternatives, and present and future trends elsewhere in the world. On the Sunday there was an open exhibition related to the proposals at the County Museum. The remainder of the time was allocated to the planning



FIGURE 28: Krier's model of Poundbury's first phase development (Aldous, 1992:38)

weekend team for the preparation of their proposals. The weekend closed with a report back meeting on the Monday evening.

Dissatisfaction with the planning weekend was unanimous amongst those interviewed for the present research. Thompson felt compromised by the timing of the event relative to the Duchy's planning process. Others interviewed found the weekend expensive and sanctimonious, and doubted whether the consultation had managed to break beyond the articulate minority and on to the wider Dorchester public.

The Duchy went into the event with a negative frame of mind and that did not change according to Secretary and Keeper of the Records, Jimmy James:

The Prince of Wales is enormously supportive of the John Thompson approach to life. I actually believe it needs to be more disciplined than that. I don't think that you can just throw these things to the wolves and expect to get a sensible answer. I think there is a controlled way of allowing local participation and a feeling of involvement without going overboard.... We really did have a hellish two years after the Poundbury weekend, when we had this shopping list as long as our arm trying to make it work. (1995 interview)

David Oliver from the District Council was similarly unimpressed by the exercise:

I'm not sure of its value. I mean the Prince turned up himself on one day and he fed them. Those who came on the other two days were fed. God knows what it cost him, lots and lots of money. We had all these people from all round the world coming to tell us spurious things like teleworking and sociologists.... It's a nonsense because the community were baffled by theory and science. (1995 interview)

Krier (1996 interview) was also disturbed at the cost and value of the exercise, 'He (Thompson) made the report (the Poundbury planning weekend report) which was absolutely useless, cost a lot of money - yet more - which was completely useless and didn't help us at all to put it on the ground.... that weekend was in my mind, just a waste of money. It cost another £100,000...'

Mike Cohen, head of the Guinness Trust who are providing the social housing at Poundbury (and also a Council member of the Urban Villages Forum), was nothing short of scathing:

It all culminated in a bonanza event called a planning weekend ... where the world and his wife were invited. It was a big public relations - totally cosmetic - exercise, disgraceful charade in my opinion - although I had to participate - because the people

behind it had decided what was going to happen before they pretended to consult everybody. (1995 interview)

But the masterplanner and his assistant, Liam O'Connor, were both convinced that Krier was a howling success and the saviour of the whole affair. On the Saturday '(t)he audience was evidently flattered and impressed by Krier's exegesis, which was delivered with all the biblical authority of Moses at the foot of the Mount' (Dimbleby, 1994: 563). Even the local, national and professional press relayed the story of how well the public had responded to Krier's display. Stephanie Williams, writing in *New Statesman and Society* observed, 'The citizens of Dorchester judged Krier's town a success. The people liked the plans' (1989: 51). Similarly, in the *Architects' Journal*, Dan Cruickshank reported an enthusiastic reception at Poundbury's 'dazzling', 'curious' and 'often baffling' weekend:

Krier, whose scheme was revealed a day earlier than planned due to public demand, seemed as confused as many in the audience about the exact purpose of the planning weekend. Krier had carried out his own public consultation exercise some months before and, it seems, with some success, for the audience - when finally initiated - were most enthusiastic. (1989: 28)

As Krier (1996 interview) recounts, he was unaware of any menacing objection to his plan:

It was an important exercise in a way to show that we did not do something which people would not seem to accept. I presented the scheme fairly clearly - what it would be - so that people could imagine what it would look like. There was no problem. I never saw any problem with the locals, neither with the politicians nor with the people.

O'Connor (1996 interview) might be justifiably labelled sycophantic in his description of Krier at the standing-room-only (which may have had something to do with the standing ovation cited below) Monday report back meeting:

the planning weekend actually could have killed Poundbury, and Leo saved it.... Leo just stood up in the bar, and at the end of the thing said 'I don't do community architecture, but this will be a great community'. He convinced them and he had a standing ovation from the entire town because they knew that he was going to deliver this. He had managed to develop very strong trust with the local community, every individual, which is extraordinary given the hostility with which people approached it at the beginning, extraordinary.

From this perspective at least, the planning weekend had a better outcome than the Duchy and Krier had expected. Concerns about the likely response to Krier's performance proved unfounded. The exotic dandy in the double breasted white suit, waistcoat and trademark matching silk scarf, with panama hat in hand, had pitched his sell just right it seemed. He came across not as a slick and alluring PR man, but a forthright and candid enthusiast, who would simply pack up and go home if the citizens were content with conventional suburbia. At the Monday evening public meeting, the planning weekend team concluded that Dorchester had greeted Krier's plans with considerable enthusiasm, and only a small measure of caution.

The latter reticence mostly related to concern over whether Dorchester should grow at all; concern about the size and speed of development at Poundbury; concern that the nostalgic design would be a step backward and inappropriate given modern realities; and dissatisfaction over the tardiness (relative to the Duchy's planning process) and inadequacy of the public consultation. These are not minor matters. Each is incorporated into discussions raised elsewhere in this chapter. Naturally, there were also those who expressed (albeit in hushed tones) thorough contentment in their existing Dorchester cul-de-sacs. The reason they stopped short of actually advocating such a model for Poundbury, Krier suggests, is that once presented with an alternative during workshop discussions, these suburbanites 'became more ambitious' (Wright, 1992: 388) and heeded the masterplanner's call. Quite possibly some were persuaded.

3.2 The weekend outcomes

The *Declaration for Dorchester* (Poundbury planning team, 1989) was the first output of Thompson's team. Presented at the Monday evening wrap-up session, it is framed like a pompous architectural charter in the genre of the CIAM Athens Charter. Supposedly summarising the unanimous feeling of all participants at the planning weekend, it is

inevitably general. It commences with a broad endorsement of the Poundbury development and its potential to 'transform the destiny of Dorchester', 'set a new standard for the building of towns' and 'create civilised environments'. This is followed by four fundamental assertions. Firstly, and hinting shamelessly at physical determinism, 'We support the Masterplanning principles ...' as the basis for 'organic ... urban quarters' promoting 'human dignity and fulfillment'. Secondly, 'We propose ...' a 'flexible and responsive' development framework which enables 'the full involvement of people in shaping their homes and environment' and thereby enhances 'a sense of community, belonging and of individual and collective pride'. Thirdly, and without any helpful clues as to how, 'We believe that innovative techniques should be promoted to secure civic facilities, affordable housing and employment in a balanced community' Then finally, in a mildly audacious dig, 'We commend this approach as being fully compatible with the needs of the Duchy of Cornwall' in terms of its 'financial responsibilities' and 'public accountability'. Just how the team was in a position to make the latter affirmation from their five days of research and consideration of public contributions is not made explicit.

The function of the Declaration is presumably to set an overriding and enduring mission to which the Duchy, the District Council and the people of Dorchester can return in their later negotiations over which community requests are taken up and which are shelved. In that sense, perhaps it is meant to offer a collectively agreed goal.

Facing more serious negotiation tussles, or even just unmediated abandonment by the Duchy, were the team's specific proposals. Effectively these were recommendations which the Duchy planned to consider in consultation with their financial and legal advisors, and from there decide which would be acted upon and in what priority. The main suggestions the team made include the following:

- that a Poundbury planning centre be set up as an information source and focal point for continuing participation by Dorchester people;

- that the Duchy take a long-term approach, matching development pace with the need for growth;
- that the first phase of development incorporate as much affordable rental, shared equity and owner-occupied housing as economically feasible, over and above the 20% social housing already requested by the District Council;
- that a mix of housing types and tenancies be provided in the first phase;
- that the Duchy establish a charity trust involving local citizens with the goal of actively linking Poundbury to Dorchester, encouraging responsible development and achieving a good physical environment;
- that this trust operate through a development company, set up to carry out development in the interests of Dorchester, including Poundbury;
- that a management company involving Poundbury residents and businesses be established to maintain communal facilities and systems;
- that mechanisms to encourage enterprise be put in place, such as a business advice centre, business innovation centre, venture capital fund and growth enterprise programme;
- that a range of spaces for employment activities be provided;
- that a programme be designed to train local people in skills relevant for work opportunities arising from the construction of Poundbury;
- that a forum on arts, leisure and recreation be brought together to co-ordinate between Poundbury and the rest of Dorchester in regard to facility requirements;
- that a centrally located building in Poundbury be completed early on to house various healthcare and community facilities.

3.3 The Duchy's response

To its credit, the Duchy of Cornwall has taken the 'extra burden' of these suggestions, along with other 'wish list' contributions asking for extra facilities such as a new school,

cemetery space, additional recreational area, and local shops, quite seriously. The majority of the recommendations outlined above have been taken up. One of the most consequential was the down-scaling of the first phase of the development in keeping with concern about the extent and pace of proposed development at Poundbury. This matter was also raised in relation to the Duchy's 1989 application for outline planning consent to phase one of their project. Originally it was intended that phase one would provide 650 homes. This would account for almost all of the Duchy land between the Bridport Road to the north and the Dorchester by-pass to the south. However, within two months of the planning weekend, this stage of the development had been limited to building just 250 dwelling units in an area of a little more than 7 hectares, taking development only as far west as the existing Middle Farm buildings. Both the Duchy and Krier were comfortable with the more modest proposal. It reduced the financial risk associated with the development and also helped to ensure that construction on the phase produced a cohesive neighbourhood and did not end up being fragmented because some areas were completed while others were left. Furthermore, with the depressed housing market evident in Dorchester by the beginning of the 1990s (made worse by severe Defence cut-backs in the Dorset area), the Duchy was not inclined to rush into development of the site. Development director, Andrew Hamilton is relaxed about the time-frame involved. The projected construction of around 2,000 houses for 5,000 residents over the entire Poundbury site might take 'a twenty year period (or) it might be a fifty year period'.

It's an agricultural community round here. There's not a lot of industry. There's not a lot of reason why industry should come here because communications are bad, the rail links are poor, the road links are diabolical, they're not going to get much better, you've got the run down of the Defence establishments at Portland and Weymouth, so the unemployment is rising in the region, and whilst it doesn't look a depressed area it is.... So I said 'well look, there's no point in just building hundreds of houses here, we've got to demonstrate to ourselves at least that there is demand for this housing'. It was quite clear to me, and this was early '90s, that even then demand was slack to put it mildly. There was very little new house building going on in the area, little pockets in some villages, but not a lot on the scale we were going to do. So I said 'well just hold on, let's phase this very carefully and we won't release too much housing in one go, 'cause otherwise we'll just swamp the market and you'll have all these houses sitting empty. (Hamilton, 1995 interview)

In regard to the request to increase affordable housing in the early stages, the Duchy also accepted this suggestion. Plans were drawn up to reduce the number of very large houses and to increase the proportion of affordable private housing and rented social housing in the early sections of the scheme. Again, it was not a sacrificial move on their part, but one designed to help kick-start the project. With the housing market in such bad shape, the development could only get under way by having a powerful housing association (the Guinness Trust) obtain grants to build the first houses. Of the first 62 houses built, 35 were social housing. By placing their contract with the chosen Duchy-employed builder, the Guinness Trust put him in a position to obtain finance for the private houses which followed. The Trust had no problem playing such a role. In addition they were anxious to put up as much social housing as possible to address the local need, as chief executive Mike Cohen explains:

there are terrible housing problems. They're a combination of things. Unemployment is not as bad as it is in other places, but people have jobs on very, very low incomes, and it's now sufficiently near to London that house prices are affected Young people can't house themselves there.... So there are real problems in all the towns and villages for the young people especially.... What they don't need in this area is piles more expensive houses for families who are moving into the area just because it's nice. You ought to be building more houses for the people who are already here, who are doing useful jobs on low incomes.... you get the support of the town, the community ... by building more houses for them and their children than ... by building houses for other people. (Cohen, 1996 interview)

The Trust wants to continue the higher than 20% proportion of social housing in later stages of the development, but Cohen doubts whether they will win that argument with the Duchy.

Turning to the requests about employment activities and promoting enterprise, the Duchy, in conjunction with the District Council, has responded favourably in this area also. From the very beginning of development on the site considerable effort has been made to accommodate employment activities. SMTech, a high technology electronics company, was the first major business to move in at the commencement of phase one, taking over the existing Middle Farm barn buildings. Adjoining the SMTech site, the West Dorset District Council Enterprise Centre (designed by Oliver) was erected, to encourage new business

into the district and offer serviced offices (one of which has been taken up by the Princes Trust, an organisation providing support, advice and loans for the personal development and enterprise needs of young people). Opposite the Enterprise Centre, Oliver designed accommodation for workshops, varying in size from 37 to 93 square metres. Two of the first users of the workshops included a furniture restorer and a new Guinness tenant who set up as a soft furnishings, curtain and clothes maker. A range of other light industrial activities have begun to establish now on phase two areas of the Poundbury site. Fears of a lack of employment locations have proved unwarranted.

The suggested management company is another idea the Duchy has picked up on. Now in existence, the management company effectively comprises the new residents of the Poundbury development, via the Residents' Association, with the Duchy maintaining a 'golden share' (James, 1995 interview). Once the development is more fully established, the Duchy will withdraw from the company. As at July 1996 an annual contribution of £60 was made by each household to the management company for the upkeep of their shared private amenities, including street lights, trees and shrubs in the courtyards, courtyard surfacing, the communal television system, playgrounds, and third party injury insurance.

Arguably the most significant of the planning weekend recommendations that the Duchy chose not to implement was the notion of establishing a charity trust. The trust would have formed the basis of a formal equity partnership between the inhabitants, the Council and the Duchy. Its aim would have been to advise on priorities and courses of action during the development process, and encourage a feeling of community responsibility. However, the Duchy shied away from offering this much authority to the local community. Instead, during the inceptive stages of their planning process, the Duchy continued with an exhibition based approach. Initially they purchased a shop on the Dorchester High Street in which to display their revised plans and receive further comments from those interested in visiting their centre. They were also involved in giving talks at various public meetings organised by such groups as the Dorchester Civic Society and the County Museum. Later

on the Duchy moved their exhibition up to the restored Middle Farm barns. They set up an elaborate exhibit in conjunction with several utility companies, the Department of Trade and Industry, and the County and District Councils, which demonstrated the energy efficiency and conservation design criteria being applied at Poundbury amongst other things. As project planning progressed, the Duchy provided fresh displays to show the public the latest ideas for the development, and receive feedback.

Then, once a core of new residents had moved onto the site, the Duchy together with the Guinness Trust, turned their attention to the creation of a Poundbury residents' association. The association acts for both the social housing tenants and the freehold owners. As at mid 1998 almost a hundred percent of Poundbury's residents were members. The intention is that this association will help to involve the residents actively in the development and maintenance of their community. The association is also being used to assist in building good relations between the owner occupiers and the Guinness Trust tenants. Early in the construction of Poundbury a problem arose between those in social and private housing in response to children's play habits. Most children on the site came from families living in social housing. It was always recognised that a high proportion of those on the social housing waiting list in Dorchester were young families with children, so such an outcome was only to be expected. While the masterplan included playground and recreational areas, the decision to concentrate on building Guinness Trust housing at the start of the development caught the Duchy off-guard in so far as actually having these amenities ready for use. Hence, the children ended up playing in the car parking courtyards to the rear of the houses. Some of the private residents found this unacceptable. Thus, one of the first tasks of the residents' association was to work with the Duchy to find a solution. A temporary play area, with football pitch, swings, slides and other equipment was quickly established adjoining the new housing. Since the successful resolution of this problem, the Duchy have continued to encourage the residents' association as a forum for ironing out such contentions as they arise.

4. THE MASTERPLAN

The present chapter has mirrored the Poundbury planning process by holding back the masterplan until the end of the planning weekend discussion. The starting point for the masterplan was the Prince of Wales's list of 'ten commandments', which were examined at the beginning of Chapter Three. To recap briefly, the main principles endorsed: place, hierarchy, human scale, harmony, enclosure, traditional materials, decoration, art, quality signs and lights, and a sense of community. Krier's brief was to incorporate each of these principles into his plan for the extension to Dorchester and to maintain a regard for the traditional towns of Dorset in his design. With these guidelines in mind, as well as his own urbanist convictions (elaborated on in Chapter Three), Krier began by examining Dorchester and its neighbouring towns. He found historic central Dorchester to be very different in form and function from its surrounding, dependent suburbs. The central core of approximately 40 hectares had lost most of its residents and been transformed into a concentrated retail and administrative centre for the surrounding suburbs and villages which almost totally lacked such facilities. In Krier's view, adding another residential suburb to the western edge of Dorchester would exacerbate this situation by increasing the pressure for centralised functions in the historic core and correspondingly intensifying traffic congestion in the vicinity. Instead, Krier's approach was to recommend the endorsement of several neighbourhoods in Dorchester with a high degree of self-sufficiency in terms of daily and even weekly needs. He devised a polycentric vision for the whole town in contrast to the existing monocentric situation (figure 29). 'Krier is keen that really the whole of Dorchester should have a clear definition as to where the urban fabric starts and finishes, and that where it does finish there is a hard edge to the town ... these areas are tight, defined, urban areas' (Hamilton, 1995 interview).

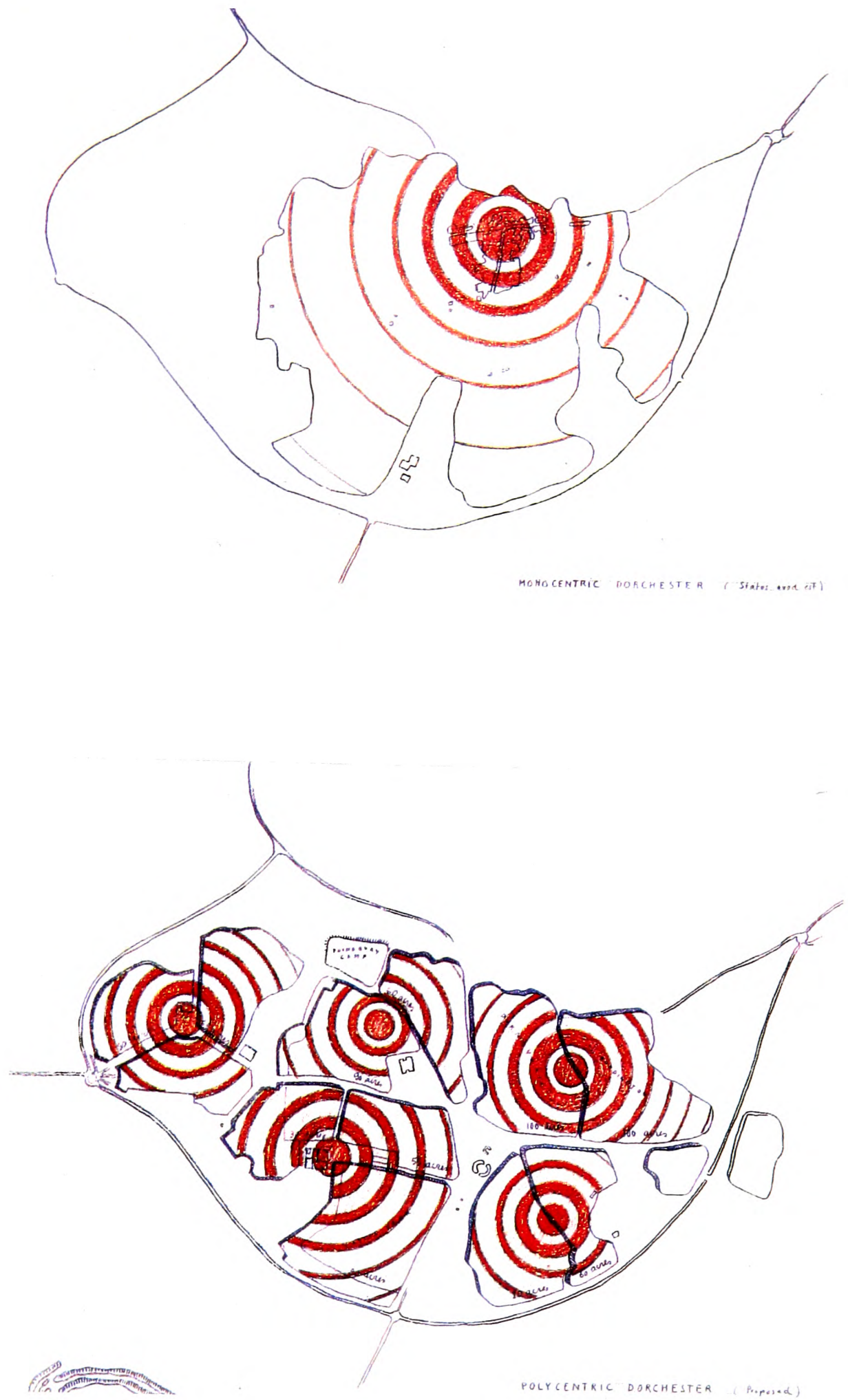


FIGURE 29: Existing monocentric Dorchester (top)
 Krier's proposed polycentric Dorchester (bottom)
 (Economakis, 1992: 264)

For ideas as to how to achieve this vision at Poundbury he turned to the historic centre of Dorset's towns. Figure 30 illustrates part of this process. Here Krier has actually drawn the centres of these towns onto the Poundbury development site. From this exercise Krier gained an understanding of typical Dorset (historic) town layouts, sizes and functions. His study also made it apparent that the total Poundbury site was roughly equivalent to four of these historic towns, each approximating 40 hectares in extent. Accordingly, based on this information, Krier drew up four new urban quarters for Poundbury (figure 31). Each was conceived of as a traditional Dorset town for 500 - 800 households, with a traditional permeable layout covering no more than 40 hectares (thereby ensuring only a ten minute walk between the furthest parts of a quarter), and using traditional building types and materials (figures 32, 33, 34). In this way it was anticipated that the quarters would mature into distinct communities that nurture their historical and cultural continuity with the rest of Dorset. The quarters would all provide local education, employment, shopping and leisure facilities. Part of the aim was to make it enticing for residents of each quarter to walk or cycle to these various activities, thereby potentially reducing the need to rely on the car for short journeys. A compact (35 - 37 dwellings per hectare) quarter with a rich mix of uses would be a minimum prerequisite for any attempt to encourage such a response from residents.

Krier's location of each quarter was defined by the site's topography in conjunction with the position of the adjoining suburbs. In particular, the first quarter, Middle Farm, would be an organic rounding off of the existing Cambridge Road suburb, adding a local centre to which the existing and new areas of that neighbourhood could relate. The other three quarters would be built largely on the old Poundbury Farm site. As drawn, this would require a major realignment of the existing Bridport Road, resulting in a separation between the Middle Farm quarter and the three Poundbury Farm quarters. The latter would jointly focus on a new district centre to be constructed on the high ground around the existing Poundbury Farm buildings.

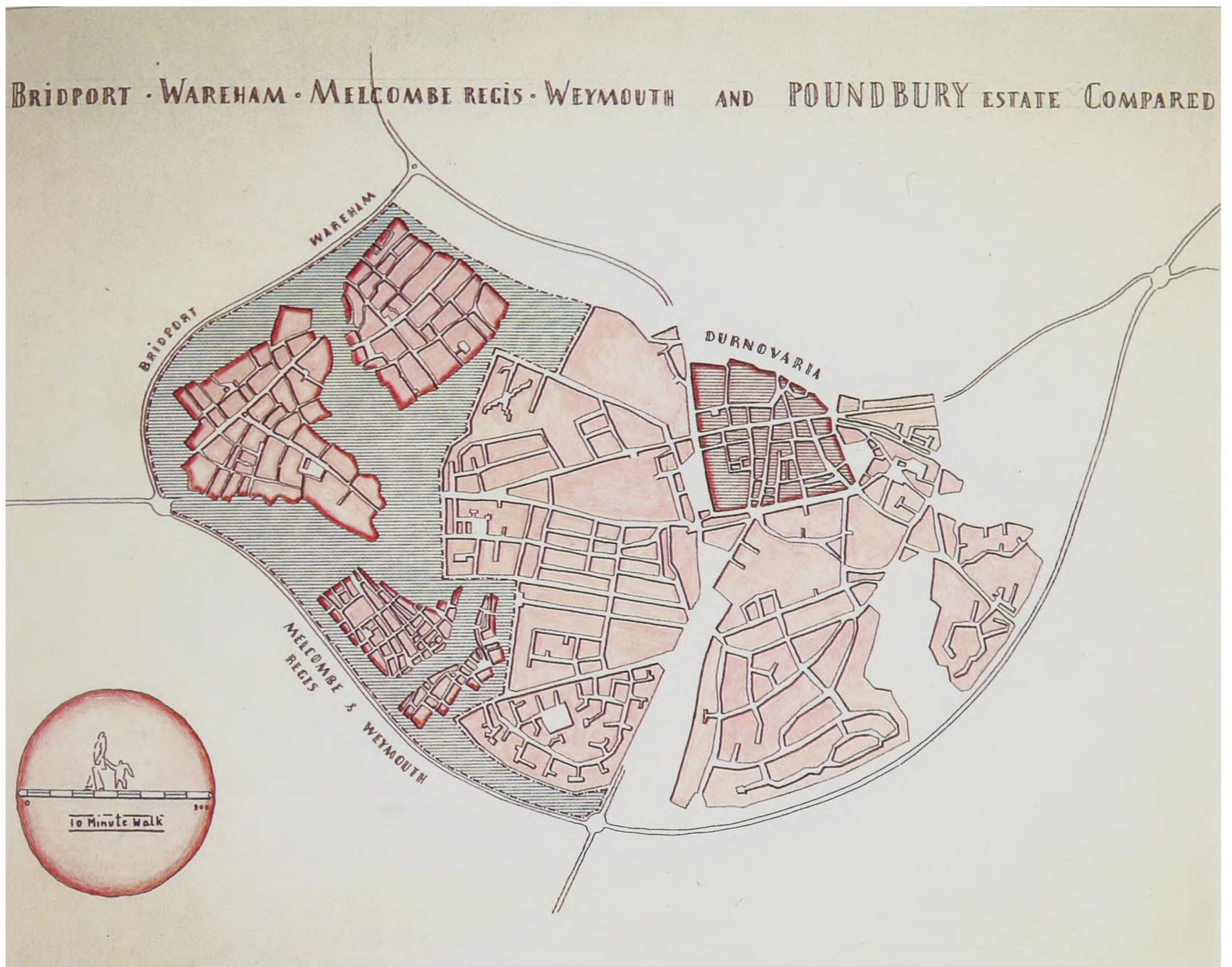


FIGURE 30: The historic centres of Dorset towns superimposed over the Poundbury site (Papadakis, 1989: 52)

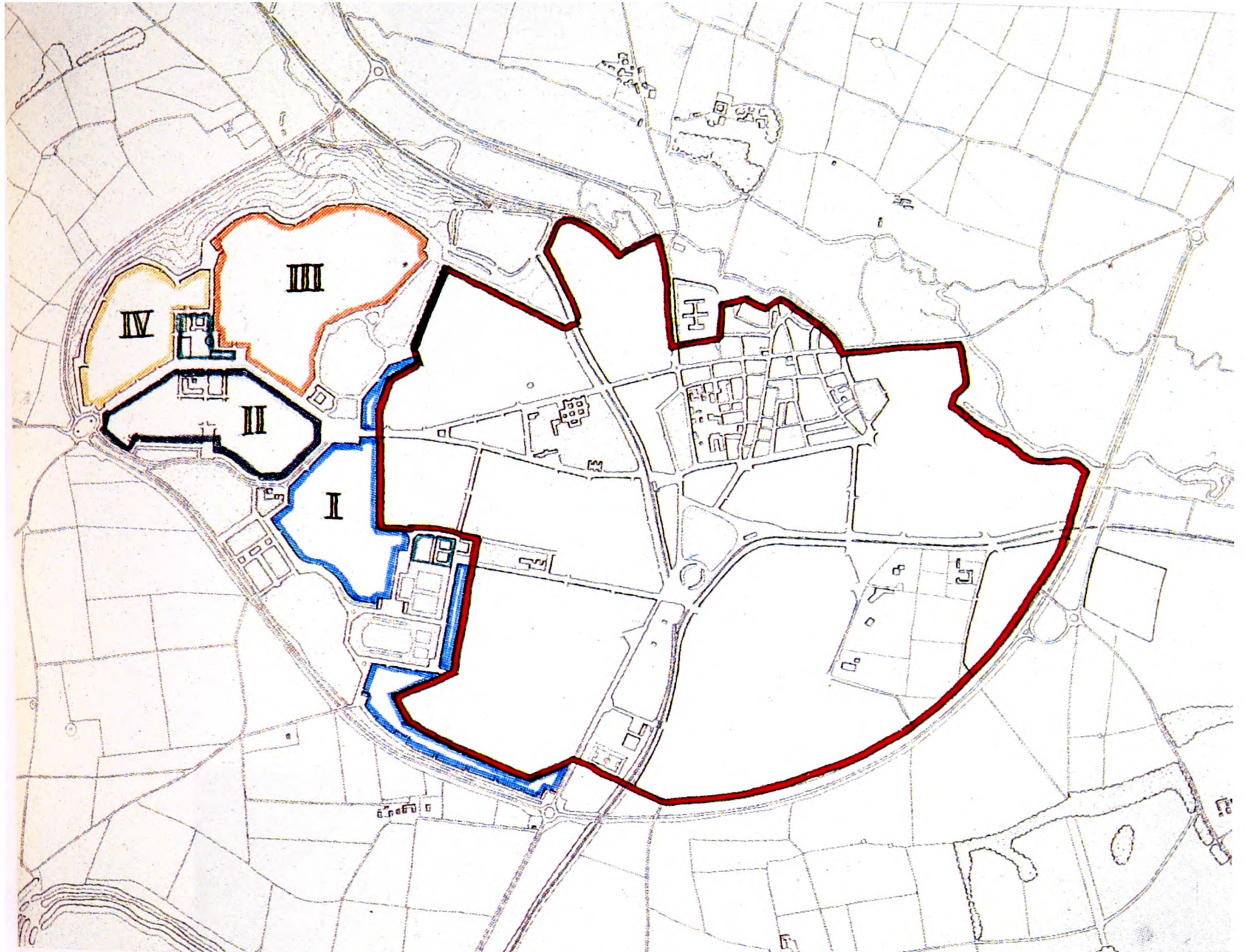


FIGURE 31: Four new urban quarters for Poundbury (Economakis, 1992: 264)



FIGURE 32: Central Dorchester building types and materials



FIGURE 33: Central Dorchester street frontages



FIGURE 34: Traditional Dorset villages near Dorchester, Portesham (top) and Abbotsbury (bottom)

The above are the fundamental features of the long-term masterplan. It is a general document indicating the number, location, size and shape of the proposed urban communities. It also denotes how each quarter interacts with neighbouring quarters, and marks the local centres and high streets. It is a necessary feature that the masterplan is kept at this broad level. The development will be taking place over two or more decades. To maintain its relevance in the light of external changes, the masterplan cannot be over-detailed, and must allow for flexible interpretation. This is what Krier has attempted to achieve.

However, there are two other more specific dimensions to the Poundbury masterplan. These are the detailed ground plans, which are prepared sequentially as development progresses, and the building code, which establishes continuity between the different phases. Each is contemplated below.

4.1 The ground plans

The ground plans for each urban quarter delineate the shape of spaces and buildings, the pattern of streets and squares, and the individual plots for each block. Krier is in charge of the preparation these drawings as and when the development is ready to move onto the next phase. The reason for drawing up these plans only gradually is to allow the planning to take account of changing circumstances over time. The ground plans for phase one, the Middle Farm quarter, were prepared in 1989 (figure 35). The ground plans for phase two, the eastern half of the southern-most of the Poundbury Farm quarters, were prepared in 1995 (figure 36). This sequential preparation will continue in the future, as project director Hamilton (1995 interview) indicates:

When it comes to phases three and four, frankly we're a long way away from them. I think it would be a mistake to plan that in any detail now. All we do want to know though is that the urban form is there, that we can build to this basic design in the future and keep the integrity of the concept in tact.

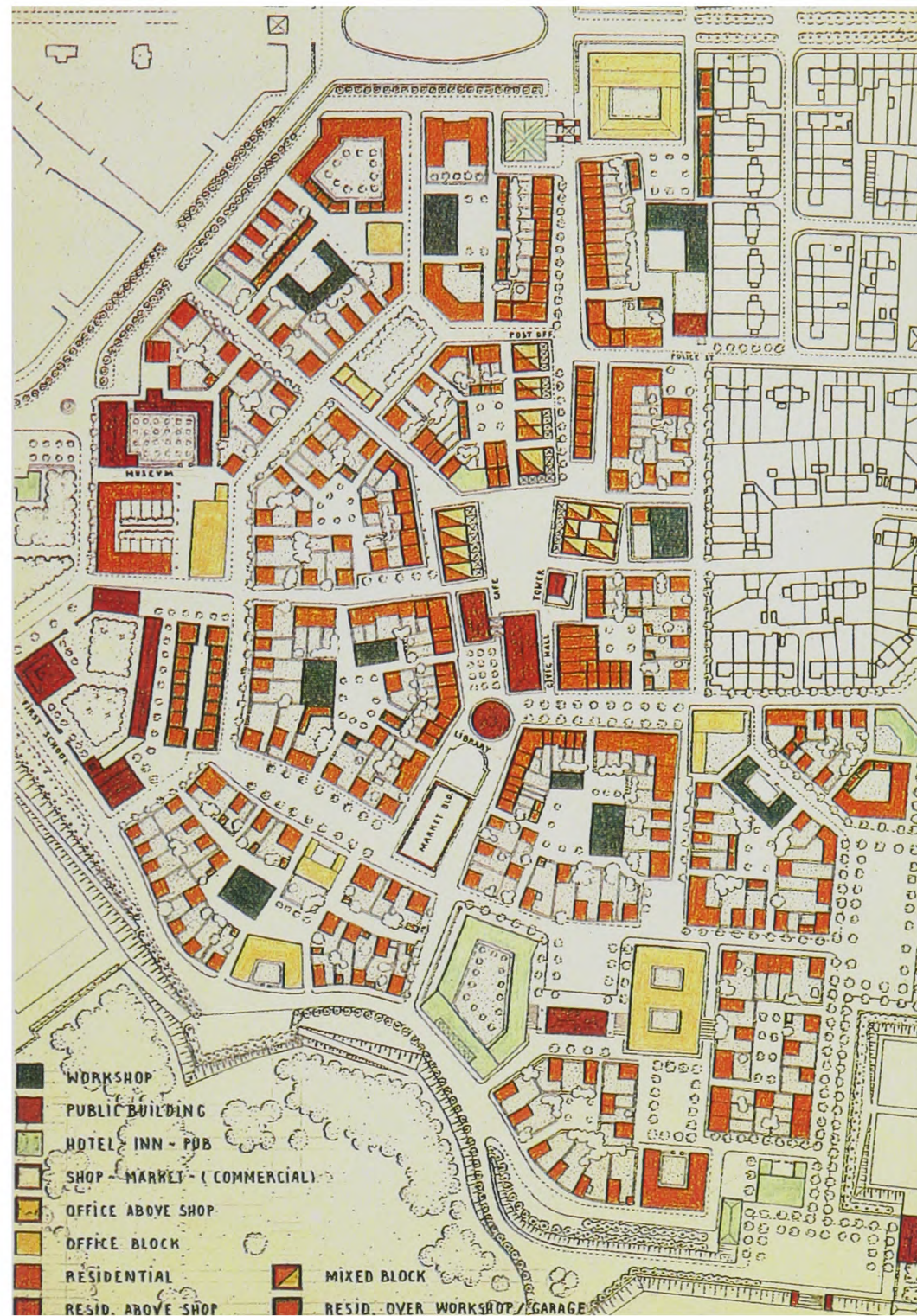


FIGURE 35: Original ground plan for phase one (Middle Farm quarter) at Poundbury (Economakis, 1993: 77)

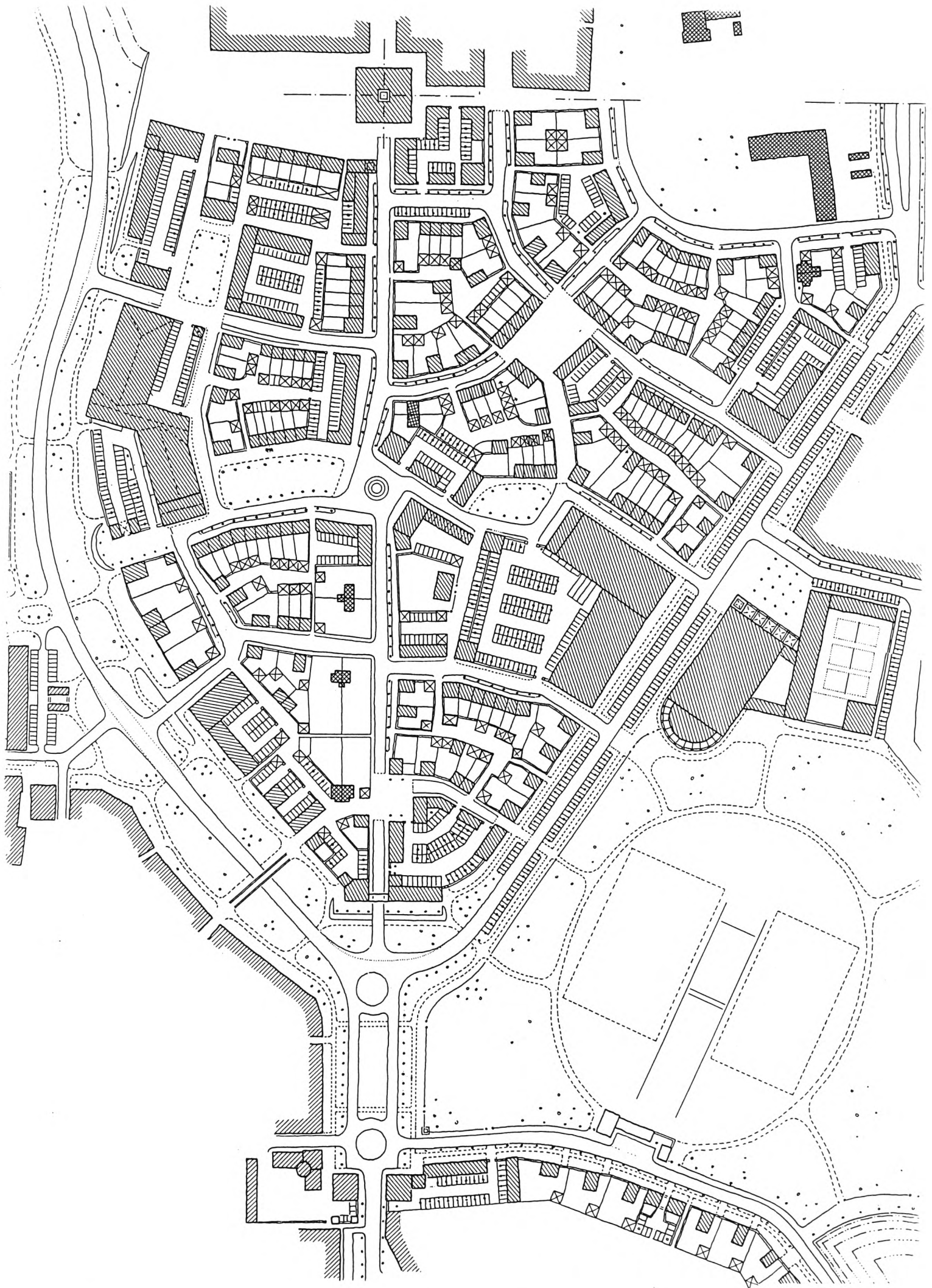


FIGURE 36: Ground plan for phase two (eastern half of second quarter)
(plan courtesy of Leon Krier)

With the ground plans in hand, Alan Baxter and Associates, in consultation with Krier, then prepares plans for individual blocks or plots, designating the uses involved, relationships between buildings and space, number of floors, and each building's external appearance. This then operates as a form of design brief for the architect responsible for a particular building.

It is the ground plans that are submitted when the Duchy applies for outline planning consent for each phase of the development. It was during this process that the ground plans and general masterplan were altered in mid 1989. Prior to the planning weekend, the Duchy lodged an application for outline consent to phase one. However, in response to objections raised by Castlefield School and the residents of James Road, and informal concerns expressed at the planning weekend, the masterplan was modified with regard to phase one (figure 37a), reducing the extent of the urban quarter and its links to the existing suburb. The ground plans were modified accordingly (figure 37b).

The various features of the ground plans are examined below. The layout of plots, buildings and spaces is the point of departure for these plans. Plots are deliberately mixed in size and shape to ensure a variety of spaces and uses. Large and small plots adjoin each other, catering for residential and non-residential uses, and private and public owners. Buildings are arranged on the plots in a way that provides interesting public spaces in between (spaces which focus on buildings or landscape, not the horizon, for example, one of the roads radiating out of the Middle Farm quarter is aligned with the Hardy hilltop monument nine kilometers from town) and also allows for private gardens, attractive rear courtyards for parking, and inviting passages and alleys. Public and private spaces are delineated by buildings and high masonry walls. Krier explains his reasoning this way:

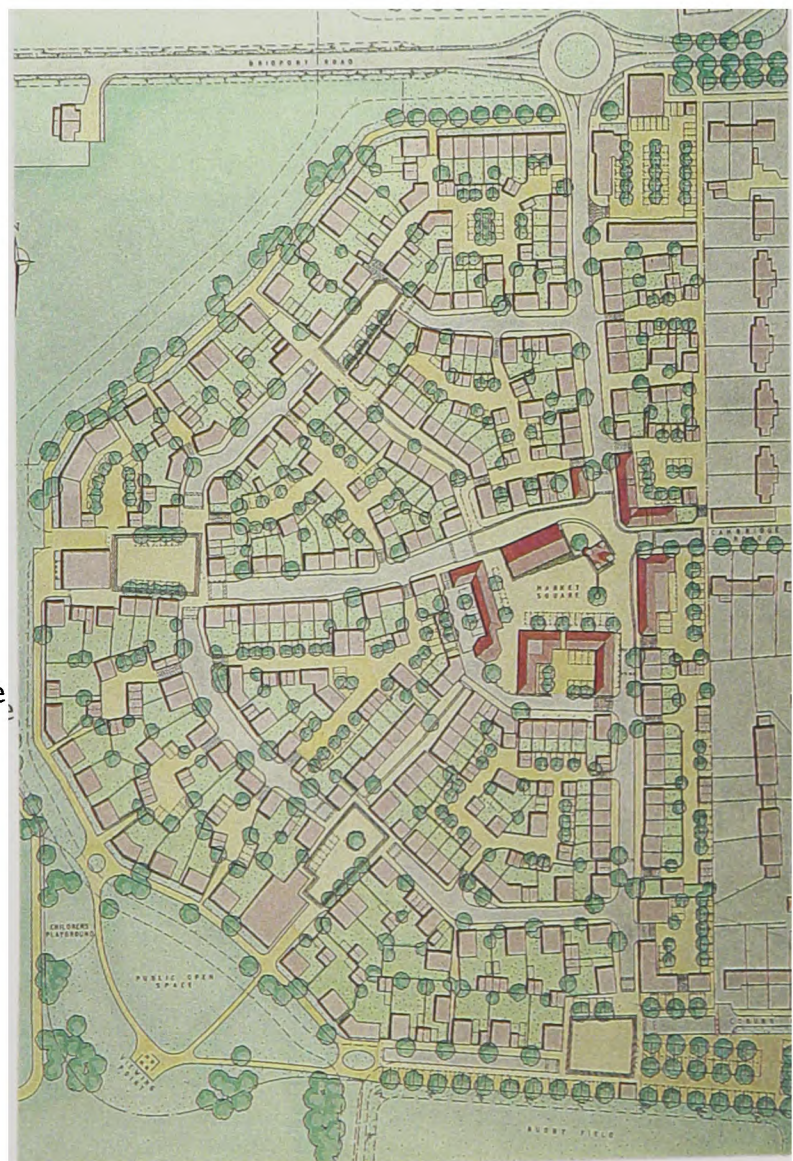
I think the key to understand this problem is that it has initially nothing to do with style or even with local style. It's essentially a different form of selling land. That's all it is. A different form first of drawing, of plotting, and then of selling land. The whole idea is to have a great mix of sizes of plots as neighbours and a great mix of uses as neighbours. If one does that well they create beautiful places. If one does it moderately well they create decent places. If one does it very badly they still create places, they are not very good, but they still make places. So it's a system which you can't go completely wrong with, even if you have absolutely abominable architecture. If you maintain those sort of densities and mixes you can't go totally wrong. (Krier, 1996 interview)



FIGURE 37:

- a) Modified masterplan reducing size of Middle Farm quarter (top)
- b) Modified ground plan for Middle Farm quarter (bottom)

(plans courtesy of Duchy of Cornwall)



Once Krier is pleased with the arrangement of the plots, buildings and spaces, short roads are then fitted around them. This inevitably results in roads with an irregular width, sharp corners and often winding route. It is an entirely different result to that of prevailing development whereby the rigid lines of streets and cul-de-sacs dictate the plots sizes and building arrangement (figure 38). Unlike conventional suburbs, Krier's pattern is created with an aesthetic eye to induce variety and visual interest in the street. Ultimately this is part of an endeavour to cultivate a sense of place. An additional advantage is the way in which this use of space can be employed to control the speed of cars without the need to resort to signs or such devices as speed humps. Irregular, winding streets, with buildings erected right against the pavement, automatically slow down the motorist. Only the main parkways and the avenues in-between quarters are designed to run relatively straight, but even they are aligned to focus on significant built and natural features.

The freely shaped geometry of Poundbury's public spaces and permeable street pattern (well illustrated in Krier's initial plans of plots and building outlines, figures 39 and 40) is of primary importance to the masterplanner. Krier believes his most important task in overseeing the implementation of the masterplan is to ensure the retention of this geometry (Krier, 1996 interview). The diversity of block and plot configurations and magnitudes lays the foundation for the architectural variety (albeit modest not egotistical) that is absent in standard housing estates. Hamilton praises Krier's ability in this regard:

he does actually understand in minute detail how the placing of the housing, the spaces between the houses, is so critical, whether they face north, south, east, west or whatever. That is where he has been fairly dogmatic in terms of the urban design, but it works. When you see the housing now and you look down at the roof pattern and everything, you can really see that it does actually come together. It looks very good. (Hamilton, 1995 interview)

Related to this plot geometry is the deliberate avoidance of setting down in advance a strict development programme for buildings and uses. The initial plot plans do not specify uses or a zoning for any plots or blocks. Rather, they are inclusive by design, open to any market demand. Plots vary in size from 7,500 square metres to 140 square

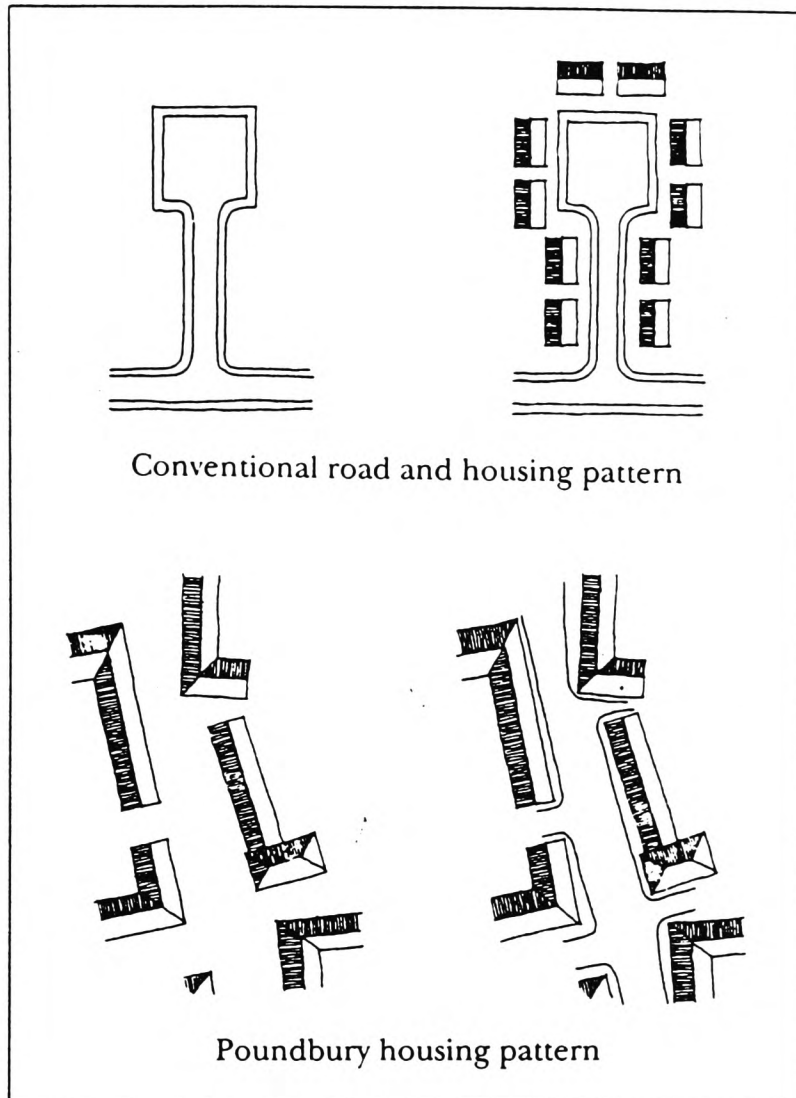


FIGURE 38: Poundbury layout based on plots and buildings rather than roads (drawing courtesy of Leon Krier)



FIGURE 39: Phase one plot outlines (top) and building outlines (bottom)
(drawings courtesy of Leon Krier)



FIGURE 40: Phase two plot outlines (drawing courtesy of Leon Krier)

metres. Activities ranging from residential, retail and office to workshop and light industrial can be placed on virtually any plot which will meet their size and location requirements. The very largest plots are generally located on the periphery of each quarter to allow easy access by heavy vehicles. There are some sites that are held aside for public activities. While these public activities are not specifically named, appropriate facilities will be considered for such plots once a need for them has been established.

When detailed planning for a specific development phase gets underway, indicative activities may be suggested on the ground plans. However, these uses are subject to change depending on demand. The ground plan for phase one allowed for residential, retail, office, public, workshop, hotel and mixed uses on individual plots. At the centre of the quarter, around a sunken market square, would be the shops, public house and market hall. Residential accommodation near the square would be dense in nature, comprising blocks of terraced houses and single bedroom flats. Larger detached houses would be located towards the edge of the quarter. Housing association flats and houses would be dispersed throughout the quarter, although, as noted earlier, a higher proportion ended up being built at the beginning of the project (the pepper potting is a new experience for the Guinness Trust whose usual practice is to build whole estates solely of affordable housing). Commercial buildings would be distributed throughout the site, with most in three contained areas near the periphery.

Car parking has been given an interesting treatment at Poundbury. As shown in the phase one ground plans, residential parking areas and garages are usually accessed from the rear or side. There is generally no access to parking via driveways on the main frontage of individual plots. Residents of terraced houses, flats and cottages access their car parks and garages through communal courtyards at the back of the dwelling sites. These courtyards, or mews as Krier prefers to call them, are never purely for parking. There are between one and three houses located in each. This, in combination with the hard and soft landscaping in the courtyards, means that they are not desolate places, but somewhere

attractive for strolling, chatting, using as passageways and so on. Larger houses have parking on their individual plots. Some off-road visitor parking is provided, but most visitors are expected to park on the roads and in various squares throughout the neighbourhood. Despite arguing against the requirement, on the grounds that their development would reduce the necessity for car ownership, the Duchy have still been required to provide 2.3 car parking spaces per household. Parking for commercial sites is provided in adjacent courtyards. As for the market square, there are a number of parking spaces available within the square, plus additional parking next to the rugby field to the south of the quarter.

Krier and Alan Baxter and Associates have had to be persistent in order to bring their ideas to fruition. Considerable liaison with West Dorset District Council, and more particularly the Dorset County Council Highways Department, was necessary to arrive at an agreement with regard to both the general road and parking layout and also the technical design of Poundbury's streets and courtyards. Their efforts have won them praise from central policy makers recently. In the second half of 1998 the Department of Environment, Transport and the Regions produced *Places, Streets and Movement*, a good practice companion guide to government advice on residential roads and footpaths contained in *Design Bulletin 32*. The guide signalled the need to end road-led urban layout, such as cul-de-sac designs, and to replace them with networks more like those found in Poundbury.

In conclusion, although the ground plans leave flexibility for individual solutions in terms of the specific uses and designs for each plot, they are the most decisive factor in terms of achieving the particular urban entity that Krier is looking for. The actual architectural styles to be used, for example, are not intrinsic to these ground plans. Quite different styles could be employed and still meet the intent of a ground plan. For Krier, the critical factor in achieving a pleasing urban setting is in the geometry of the mix of plot sizes and shapes. His starting point is steeped in a certain understanding of urban aesthetics. This is not a rarefied, high order intellectual type of aesthetics focused on beauty and external appearance. Rather, Krier's understanding of aesthetics harks back to the old, broader

Greek conceptions. Aesthetics for Krier, is a practical issue, relevant to everyday life and concerned with the creation of useable and enjoyable public space.

4.2 The building code

Effectively the Poundbury building code is that part of the masterplan that monitors implementation over time. It is a mechanism for ensuring that the project's main tenets are adhered to, and that consistently high standards of design and construction, in keeping with the scale, proportions and materials of traditional Dorset urban areas, are achieved. However, it is also intended to leave adequate room for individual 'creativity and spontaneity' (Krier, 1992g: 263). The code operates in addition to normal planning and building regulations administered by the local authorities. Its enforcement is overseen by the Poundbury Architectural Review Committee (PARC), a body who also has the power to grant exceptions and adjudicate on adjustments to the code's provisions. In this regard, it should be noted that the code functions as a working document, and modifications to it are expected as an outcome of experience in its implementation.

Krier called on his American friends, architects Andreas Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, to assist with the preparation of the code. Duany and Plater-Zyberk are prominent in neo-traditional development on the eastern side of the USA. They are also founding members of the Congress for the New Urbanism (an urbanist movement closely associated with the Urban Villages Forum). Their partnership has a vast experience in producing detailed architectural codes for the many new settlements they have designed in the last two decades. Krier had first hand experience working with one of their codes when he designed and built a house for himself at their famed Seaside project in Florida. Duany and Plater-Zyberk were consulted as to the most useful role for a code in the Poundbury context, what matters it should cover in what detail and via what mechanisms.

The resulting code is a 23 page document detailing performance standards and prescriptive requirements in relation to the following seven matters: external walls of buildings, roofs and chimneys, windows and doors, building and subsidiary elements, gardens, garden walls and fences, accessibility, and environmental targets. The idea behind the code is that anyone should be able to follow its guidance and thereby erect buildings and other structures which automatically conform with the precepts of the masterplan. However, while the code generally allows builders and owners to develop their own solutions to its provisions, it also has many strict prohibitions and mandates. The different sections of the code are examined below.

4.2.1 External walls of buildings

This section of the code identifies how new external walls built in Poundbury can follow the traditional Dorset styles. It lists the materials that walls may be constructed from; how those materials should be put in place; which mortars and paints should be applied; the dimensions of party walls, gables and parapets; the construction of lintels; and the framing and cladding of outbuildings. Generally, this section of the code enables a wide range of options. Only a small number of outright bans are listed, for example, shiplap boarding is not permitted on outbuildings, and bell-drop mouldings are not to be used on rendered external walls.

The rationale behind the diversity of materials and treatments relates directly to the variety found in central Dorchester. Whereas some neighbouring villages had a uniform approach to construction, for example Abbotsbury is stone and thatch and Blandford Forum is brick, Dorchester is a mix:

the town centre is a bit of stucco, a bit of brick, a bit of stone, a bit of everything, bit of slate and a bit of tiles.... So we opted generally for a mix of materials as long as it was structurally consistent ... not just clad on, which normally the house developers do, they build in some kind of wood structure and then they hand on ... materials to make it look different. (Krier, 1996 interview)

Needless to say, in order to achieve a traditional appearance, the use of traditional local stones, bricks, slates and tiles is encouraged.

4.2.2 Roofs and chimneys

The main purpose of this section is to ensure variety in Poundbury's 'roofscape'. A diversity of roof pitches, styles and materials, in combination with the provision of chimneys, is advocated as an important contribution to urban character. Again, this section allows a diversity of alternatives to meet the majority of its requirements. The most significant of its strict prescriptions are that each house should have at least one fireplace and chimney; no flat roofs are permitted; plastic components are not acceptable on visible portions of roof; and skylights are not allowed. In addition, the code advises against a roof pitch of 45 degrees because such pitches produce 'ineffably dull' roofs - a consummate Krier judgement.

4.2.3 Windows and doors

Guidelines in this section have an explicit aesthetic aim. Particular attention is to be paid to the proportioning, design and finish of both doors and windows. Solutions to the requirements again are open to the architect or builder's creativity, but quite a large number of restrictions are also included to ensure simplicity of look. For instance, windows and doors are to be entirely built of timber, unless they are leaded light in iron casements. Windows are to be painted white, and doors painted white or dark gloss. Stained, UPVC, aluminium, and plastic coated frames are not allowed. For the sake of a modest appearance, pivot, swivel, picture, roof and asymmetric windows are not permitted. Glass is generally required to be clear and colourless, and partly for this reason bathroom windows are not generally permitted to face the street. All windows are required to be double glazed in keeping with the energy conservation goals for Poundbury (discussed

below). One example of how the Duchy has endeavoured to implement such code requirements was given by Mike Cohen from the Guinness Trust:

We had all sorts of other arguments. One of the best ones was that sometimes bathrooms were at the front. The Duchy's architects were very concerned about frosted glass.... Therefore, they wanted us to put a clause in our tenancy agreement which prevented the tenants from changing the clear glass, that we had to put in, to frosted. We said 'that's mad'.... What we did in the end was we went and asked our solicitors and they said 'don't do anything about it, if the Duchy makes you take a tenant to court because they changed the glass they will make themselves look silly'. (Cohen, 1996 interview)

The Guinness Trust stuck to their position. But in the end it has not been a matter of concern to their tenants who have arrived at their own solutions to the clear bathroom windows, 'well they've all got blinds, venetian blinds. It wasn't the issue that we thought it was' (Cohen, 1996 interview).

A final item of note is an attempt to discourage elaborate and pastiche door design. All door patterns need the approval of the Poundbury Architectural Review Committee, and historical patterns are allowed only if they are true imitations in terms of their form, construction and proportions. In this respect, architect involvement in design has been minimised and reliance placed on the builders. Some of the architects designing Poundbury houses find this frustrating:

the little bits of interest, the doors, the porches, whatever, have got to be properly done, and they haven't been done. They weren't designed by the architects, they weren't sufficiently detailed, and so the builder has just done his own thing, and he's done it rather clumsily. (Saunders, 1996 interview)

Others believe de-emphasising the role of the architect is crucial to the achievement of modest, vernacular housing:

We were appointed architects to design some houses in the current phase of development. So we took that to planning permission level and we're not really involved now in detailed drawings etcetera, partly because of the nature of the project. It's very low key. It's very vernacular. And many of the details on the way the building's put together are not architect designed as much as they are using the wisdom of the local builders, who know the local vernacular inside out. So it's as unselfconsciously local as possible really. So it's a very unfabricated sense of local authenticity. They've just designed out design, in a way, which is fantastic; which means the masterplan will have a clarity which it otherwise wouldn't have, as each architect gets obsessive about his little commission ... (O'Connor, 1996 interview)

4.2.4 Building and subsidiary elements

The main structural and architectural provisions have been specified in earlier segments of the code. This section delves into the finer aspects. As Krier explains it, the 'appearance and character of a building is determined by the quality, design and detailing of all its constituent parts.... However, it is often small features that spoil the appearance of an otherwise well detailed building' (Krier, 1992g: 264). Instruction on how to eliminate and conceal such visual intrusions is provided in this section of the code. It has a particularly restrictive and prescriptive character. Information on preferences for the construction and finish of columns, posts, piers, brackets, verandahs, balconies and shop fronts are furnished. Alternatives to visual intrusions are also provided. For example, external television aerials and satellite dishes are not permitted, but instead a communal aerial system has been installed. In addition, items that need to remain unseen are specified. Clothes dryers, meter boxes, air extractors, dustbins, roof-top solar collectors and soil pipes are all to be located where they cannot be viewed from the street. Finally, certain items are absolutely forbidden at Poundbury. These include bubble skylights, pre-fabricated accessory buildings, permanent plastic sun-blinds/awnings, plastic commercial fascias and lettering, and internally illuminated signs. An appendix is attached to the code delineating principles and guidelines for lettering, signs, lighting, street numbers, and house names at Poundbury.

4.2.5 Gardens, garden walls and fences

Most buildings in Poundbury are sited directly up against the edge of the road pavement. Open space between public roads and gardens to the rear or side of the property (such as for street planting or car parking) is kept to a minimum. Given this very urban layout, particular attention is to be paid to the provision of good quality soft and hard landscaping in both private and public spaces. The specific details of public and private landscaping and planting are to be agreed as need arises with the co-ordinating architect in light of the overall landscape plan. In addition, the distinction between public and

private areas is to be reinforced by building lines and garden boundaries. Boundary walls and fences consequently play an important role.

The information presented in this section is mainly in the form of guidelines, giving wide scope for variation. Requirements relating to the height, width, design and finish of walls, wooden fences, wrought iron railings, gates and pergolas are specified, as are directives for private pavements and pathways. In line with the aim to delineate private from public areas, boundary walls are to be between 1.8 and 2.1 metres in height. Similarly, wooden fences serving a privacy function are to be at least 1.65 metres high.

4.2.6 Accessibility

This section of the code sets out the Duchy's minimum specifications for building accessibility. Their aim is to construct accessible buildings and houses which can easily be adapted to suit the physical needs of most people without major structural alteration. Moreover, all houses are to be designed to enable those in wheelchairs to visit.

4.2.7 Environmental issues

The final section of the code reflects the Duchy's objective of making Poundbury more environmentally sound than conventional developments. To this end, all houses are to be assessed using the Building Research Establishment Environmental Assessment Method (BREEAM). Through this scheme, independent assessors are brought in to evaluate each building at the design stage. A system of credits reward buildings that achieve certain minimum requirements or better, up to a maximum of 24 credits. Factors assessed include such matters as contribution to carbon dioxide emission reduction, avoidance of CFCs and HCFCs, sustainable timber use, recycled material in roof covering, recycled masonry in external walls, composting facilities, controlled ventilation, cooker hood with extractor fan, and low energy lighting. To date, the builder at Poundbury has been achieving 20 credits and above for the new houses, exceeding normal standards.

4.2.8 General control via the code

Another point to note about the code is that it will have two different degrees of enforcement. Plots for buildings of special importance, such as those adjoining the public squares, will be subject to a more demanding degree of design control than plots in less prominent positions. These requirements will vary in accord with the precise location and the nature of the building concerned. To ensure their provisions are met, the Duchy will have architects prepare the design for these buildings prior to their plots being sold. In this way, Krier and the Duchy hope to set a standard for the remainder of Poundbury to aim for. In addition, this reinforces the building hierarchy Krier envisages for Poundbury. Key public buildings, buildings at the entranceway into the quarters, and buildings on prominent corners, should demonstrate their importance architecturally, whereas the majority of commercial and residential buildings should remain modest in appearance. Co-ordinating architect for phase one, Peterjohn Smyth, expresses it this way:

One of the things that we think for instance is that the housing should be quiet, relatively quiet, and that the other buildings, particularly the public buildings should be important, never the other way around. The housing should just fit in, ... other buildings, like main shops or something like that, should stand out. But what you have in so many cities now is that ordinary offices become sort of totem poles, those great office towers, they should never be the most important buildings because that's upside-down. It's putting the private individual in a private business as more important than the public world and the communal world. (Smyth, 1995 interview)

Furthermore, this building hierarchy is used to provide each quarter with a unique identity and make each easy to navigate your way around. David Taylor (1995 interview) of Alan Baxter and Associates observes:

Leo's ideas were basically that there would be axes through the town and at each focus of an axis there would be a dominant building, so that you could actually see your way around the town. So that you'll see that on the plans we've got for phase one, there's a tower here (figure 41), which actually is on this axis, which then joins up with another axis that runs to the top of the hill. It forms a focal point to actually just see where you're going. (figure 42)

Overall, despite the undeniably specific composition of the code, it is Krier's and the Duchy's stated intention to allow both flexibility and freedom within its requirements to

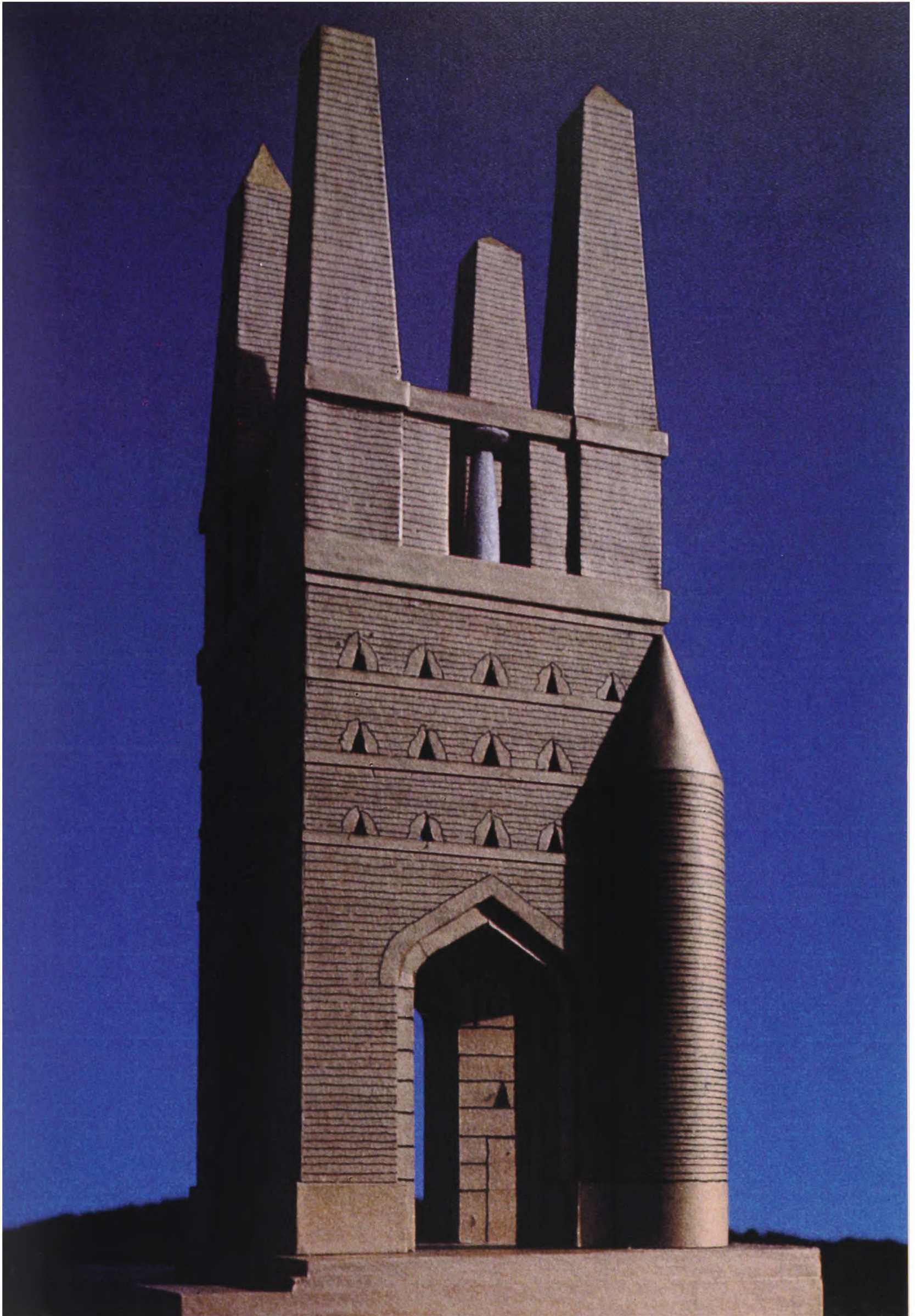


FIGURE 41: Model of market tower designed by Krier (Economakis, 1993: 80)

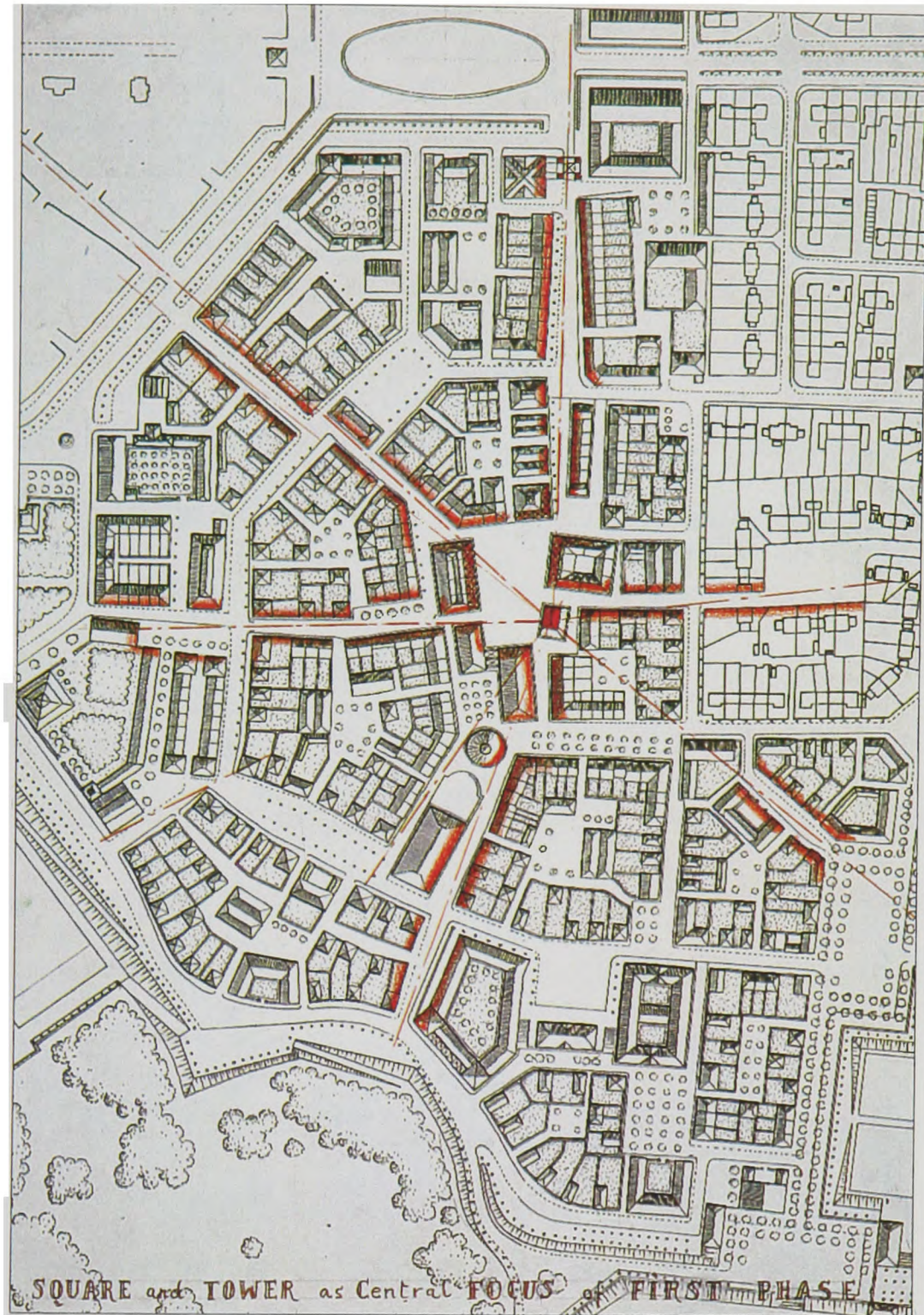


FIGURE 42: The tower as the focus of the Middle Farm quarter, with streets radiating out from its central location (Papadakis, 1989: 51)

express the Dorset vernacular. According to those familiar with codes used for neo-traditional type development, the Poundbury code is not a strict code (Hanson, 1995 interview; Oliver, 1995 interview). Krier, the co-ordinating architect and the Duchy all preview and approve or veto the building designs by the various architects employed prior to planning approval being sought from the West Dorset District Council. So, it is a freedom that is controlled in one sense, but a comparison of the townscapes of Poundbury with the conventional suburbia it adjoins might suggest the control is not altogether confining. The variety present in Poundbury form and architecture sits in stark contrast to the monotony of the Cambridge Road neighbourhood. At the design and initial implementation stage of the latter site, the dictates of money have had total control, to the exclusion of all diversity, a much harsher reality than that in Poundbury. However, the tables are turned post construction, when Poundbury's rules continue to apply to its residents, whereas the Cambridge Road inhabitants are largely free to modify their environs within their own financial priorities and the relatively relaxed stipulations of the District planning office. This ongoing intervention of the code into the lives of the Poundbury citizenry is of particular interest.

In most housing estates, once the developer exits the process, the original intentions behind the development are usually at the mercy of the new population. If they so desire, these people have the potential to completely undermine the founding premises in both physical and social terms. How much power the residents of Poundbury will have over the long-term outcomes for their neighbourhood is an unknown quantity. They certainly commence from a more difficult position than their suburban neighbours however. The Poundbury masterplan and its design code remain in force to control any physical modifications to their flats and houses. Elliott and Bar-Hillel (1993: 4) quote a Duchy spokesperson as saying:

Some control is essential to the success of the project, but we will not fossilise the scheme. We don't want people to live in a chocolate-box environment where they are not allowed to do anything. We want people to be proud of their area and not make discordant alterations.

This will inevitably have an impact on who is prepared to purchase a home. Only those willing to submit to the authority of the code, and keep their dustbins hidden away and refrain from frosting their lavatory window panes, will buy into the area. Others can simply turn their backs on the place. Does this mean that the code is actually a key determinate of who will live in Poundbury? Obviously the initial form and architecture of the development would be a particularly significant factor in itself. But the code adds an exacting long-term dimension to it. What type of person is attracted to such a regimen? How homogeneous will the resulting inhabitants end up being? Even if not significantly differentiated in terms of age, income, social status, what range of ethnic groups, for example, will opt to live in Poundbury (although to be fair, Dorset is not the most ethnically diverse of English counties)?

One interesting facet will be the response of the social housing tenants in Poundbury. These residents have not specifically chosen Poundbury over alternative places to live. They have not necessarily wholeheartedly committed themselves to the Poundbury design code. Their main avenue for input into the Poundbury development process is through the residents' association. If they hold a contrary viewpoint will they have the strength to push it through this association? Furthermore, how much persuasion is the residents' association likely to have over the implementation of the code? These issues beg future research in Poundbury as it becomes more of a living neighbourhood. However, it seems plausible that the Poundbury design code not only performs a role in controlling the physical environment but also a role in influencing resident composition (Thompson-Fawcett, 1998).

5. IMPLEMENTATION OF THE MASTERPLAN

As indicated previously, the implementation of the Poundbury masterplan is taking place via a series of phases. Applications for statutory planning consent move hand in

hand with the progression of these phases. Beginning with broad ground plans, outline planning consent for a phase will be sought. This is followed by seeking consent for road, infrastructure and plot layout of phase subsections, and ultimately consent for individual building units. The Duchy, through Alan Baxter and Associates, seeks the initial planning permissions for each phase and subsection of that phase prior to any contracts for construction being let. Subsequently the relevant developer applies for detailed consent to erect specific buildings within each phase.

5.1 Setting the development in motion

Poundbury's construction only began in November 1993. The reasons for the long lag-time between masterplan and bricks and mortar primarily relate to the negotiations that took place between the Duchy's agents, West Dorset District Council and Dorset County Council. The principal issues revolved around the implications of mixed use development; Poundbury's unusual treatment of roads; and the Duchy's request for a reduction in the parking requirements. Although the outcomes were not in perfect compliance with the project promoter's desires, both Councils eventually made plentiful concessions in comparison with their normal stipulations. The careful mixing of uses was allowed. The prevalent highway guidelines were largely rejected in favour of alternative mechanisms for controlling traffic movement which would not tamper with the plot and building layout (for example, rather than providing the gradual sweep of a forward visibility splay to ensure safe movement of cars travelling at 30 miles an hour, Poundbury streets allow a clear view of no more than 60 metres before there is a change of road direction or form that necessitates that drivers slow down). Perhaps the smallest concession on the part of the authorities related to car parking, where the customary obligation to provide 2.5 spaces per unit was only slightly decreased to 2.3. The Duchy holds out hope that this figure will be further

relaxed in the future in response to an anticipated lower than average car ownership in Poundbury (Hamilton, 1995 interview; Taylor, 1995 interview).

As of late 1998, there are two phases of Poundbury being developed concurrently. Phase one is nearing completion. Phase two is in its early stages of construction.

Phase one has been an experimental phase, a learning curve for all involved. Its division into three separate subsections, A to C, which sweep around the quarter in an arc from north-east to south-east, has allowed numerous re-evaluations and adjustments to take place as the project progresses. Each subsection has taken approximately two years to complete, with work still pending on the last portion of section C and also on some of the public features around the main market square, such as the central tower. Section A was an entirely residential area, beginning with cottages and larger houses towards the periphery of the quarter, plus a small number of flats. Section B introduced a number of non-residential activities, including workshops, offices and the as yet uninhabited shops, eateries and communal buildings at the heart of the quarter. Section C combines a few non-residential uses with a range of dwelling types.

Once the Duchy had received planning consent for phase one, section A, it appointed a company to develop and build that area. A number of companies were invited to tender for the contract. C G Fry and Son from Litton Cheney (ten miles west of Dorchester), who had recently completed developments at Abbotsbury and Broadwindsor (figure 43) which adhered to traditional town making principles, were duly awarded the contract. This involved not only building dwellings for private sale but also erecting the Guinness Trust accommodation, the designs for all of which are first approved by the Duchy. Initially the intent was that development tenders would be called for at the beginning of each new section of the phase. However, with construction of section A running well under Fry's charge it was decided that Fry's would be awarded the contract for section B. Subsequently Morrish Builders of Poole were engaged to construct section C, which is now underway.



FIGURE 43: New development at Abbotsbury constructed by C G Fry and Son

Throughout the development and construction the Duchy has remained the land owner of each plot. However, the builders have been required to take the development risk. Hence, for funding purposes it was easiest for Fry's to build the Guinness housing first with its guaranteed purchasers, and from there to move on to the private sector housing. Originally the Duchy planned to sell the land to Fry's who would later sell it on to individual housing unit buyers. However, when Fry's presented the figure that they were prepared to pay to acquire the Duchy's land, the latter considered it too low. The residual land value for the initial phase is fairly depressed. The reason for that is the above average infrastructure costs associated with the development, exaggerated by the relatively weak housing market. Eventually the two parties decided on an arrangement whereby Fry's never own the land they are developing, rather it passes directly from the Duchy to the purchasers of each dwelling. This land disposal system seems to be largely a response to constraints enforced by the Treasury to guarantee the Duchy does not diminish its capital resources.

Poundbury has more land than normal allocated to communal use, particularly given the rear courtyard parking arrangements. Gas, electricity and cable servicing is also channelled via the rear of all properties so that the necessity to tear up road frontages for maintenance is avoided. This is another costly option. Then the general specification levels imposed by the Duchy exceed the conventional, for example the use of local Purbeck stone for road curbs (figure 44), the deliberately varying width and length of pavement surfaces, and the extent of street planting and furniture (figure 45). The developer has to make a commitment to accomplish these infrastructure tasks, and therefore cannot offer a typical residual land value in order to purchase the Duchy land. Hence, the Duchy has chosen to bide their time as far as sale of their property is concerned. In the long-term, the Duchy trusts that the 'hefty investment' (James, 1995 interview) will reap a handsome reward in keeping with their own business goals:

Now, our belief is that over the twenty years there will be an increment, a premium paid for the housing at Poundbury, which will reflect in land values, which will enable us to absorb that higher infrastructure cost. But I have to say that that's fine in theory, but it's a long way away when you've got such a flat housing market. Our problem is that we've got to convince the Treasury that in year five our ship will come home, as it were. But, we'll



FIGURE 44: Purbeck stone road curbs at Poundbury



FIGURE 45: Town decoration at Poundbury, street bench designed by Krier; central square fountain

have to see.... I think they (the public) think that the Prince of Wales must be subsidising it because they cannot believe that you can get such value for money in terms of the quality and variety of design and materials.... In fact, it has to stand on its own feet. And I readily accept that in the first two phases the residual land value isn't what we hope it will be down the years. But there is a positive land value at the moment despite the enormous start-up costs and so on. (James, 1995 interview)

However, it is not simply a matter of standing on its own two feet. Provisos on the Duchy's actions mean that the creators of Poundbury frequently have to go to extraordinary lengths to carry out the development. A classic example relates to the construction of the new through road leading to the ring road, designed to take traffic off the old roman road (Bridport Road) which will become an internal High Street in the first Poundbury Farm quarter. An enormous amount of energy has been expended in an attempt to finance this road. Unlike a normal developer, the Duchy cannot take profits from its land sales and invest it in roads. One option under consideration to alleviate this problem has been the possibility of having a private Bill passed through Parliament to legalise an exception to the Duchy's standard operating rules. Such situations have made many aspects of Poundbury's creation more complicated than would be the case for an accomplished developer.

5.2 The architectural process

At the same time as the development wheels were being set in motion, the complicated architectural process was also getting underway. As part of a bid to be set apart from monotonous, standardised housing estates, several architects have been brought in by the Duchy to design the buildings for the project. In the first phase this activity is being co-ordinated by Peterjohn Smyth of the Percy Thomas Partnership in Bristol. Other key contributors include Dorset based architects Ken Morgan, Clive Hawkins, Trevor Harris, Grahame Saunders, Robert Taylor and David Oliver, along with John Souter, Liam O'Connor and the London based firm Sidell Gibson.

In readiness for work on section A of phase one, the Duchy gave a number of architects the opportunity to be considered for working on the project, although this was not

publicised and did not take to the form of a competition. The selection preferences, according to Hamilton (1995 interview), were that the architects should be local and should have experience of designing traditional vernacular buildings. In the first instance, three small local firms experienced in traditional architecture were chosen to design houses for Poundbury. The much larger firm of Percy Thomas Partnership, who had a small portfolio of traditional housing experience, were appointed to design houses and co-ordinate the overall effort.

This group commenced their preparation by engaging in an examination of Dorset architecture in general. Then Alan Baxter and Associates provided them with layout plans, a brief for each block, and details for individual plots, including those for Guinness Trust housing. Plots were allocated to individual architects so that their work was inter-mixed, not in separate clusters for each architect. Once the architects' preliminary drawings were ready, there were then meetings of the architectural team to put the various house plans together and assess how well different buildings sat next to each other. This enabled certain changes to design, site swapping between architects, and minor adaptations to the masterplan with Krier's approval.

Pursuing the goal of variety, and in response to the greater land use diversity in section B of the first phase, several more architects were added to the team in 1995. In addition, Peterjohn Smyth withdrew from playing a design role and concentrated on maintaining an even firmer hand in his capacity as co-ordinator. Generally, once built, section A had been assessed as being a little over-elaborate architecturally (Cohen, 1996 interview; Fry, 1996 interview; Hanson, 1995 interview; James, 1995 interview; Smyth, 1995 interview; Taylor, 1995 interview). For sections B and C, Smyth was requested to rationalise and dampen the flashiness, simplifying the architectural appearance while still attaining building variety.

At this point it is worth noting the Guinness Trust's experience of the architectural process. For Guinness, it has been a completely different way of operating. In the

beginning it was difficult for them to establish themselves as the actual clients. The architects were also working for the Duchy and could not easily separate out and focus on Guinness's unique requirements, 'we had a lot of tussles that we wouldn't normally have because the Duchy of Cornwall called the shots' (Cohen, 1996 interview).

Secondly, there were complications that arose because of the aim at Poundbury to mix Guinness housing with private housing and maintain architectural variety. Guinness agreed to the concept of their houses being spread out around the Middle Farm quarter. However, they were worried about the expense of the extension of that concept - that Guinness houses should be grouped in just twos or threes and designed by up to ten different architects. Guinness were more accustomed to building fifty houses of the same basic design on a flat field dedicated to just them, with all the benefits that brings in terms of negotiating contracts and general economies of scale. In the end, their compromise was that they would employ one lead architect who would commission other architects to work under his direction. But the tensions did not stop there. Guinness have a hundred years of housing experience. They have a clear set of stipulations, particularly with regard to what should be inside their houses for tenants. At the Poundbury architects' suggestion, Guinness reluctantly agreed to devote their own attention to the internal arrangements for the homes, while the architects concentrated on the external, and principally front, elevations. The results were not always ideal from Guinness's point of view. The priority given to outside aesthetics often meant internal layout and function was compromised, cupboards and staircases might be too small for families, windows might be located in positions that made cleaning impractical, and so on.

Even so, Guinness is pleased with the final outcome (figure 46):

we're quite happy with what has in the end emerged. The housing does look attractive. The people are happy to live in them. The standards are quite good. There isn't a visible difference between the tenanted houses and the owner occupied houses. So it's succeeded on those grounds. (Cohen, 1996 interview)

Furthermore, the housing managed to meet the Housing Corporation's subsidy standards in terms of design and costs:



FIGURE 46: Guinness Trust social housing at Poundbury

We would not have been able to make it competitive, in getting the grant terms, if it had been too expensive. The cost of everything in our first phase (section A) of 35 properties was near enough £2 million. So £2 million divided by 35 is £57,000, which is probably a bit above our norm. Our norm would be nearer to £50,000. That's with the Duchy virtually giving us the land at no cost. So that's construction costs and our own costs, fees, bit of contingency, and paying architects and all that. So they were slightly expensive compared to our average, but within the parameters that are laid down for subsidy. (Cohen, 1996 interview)

Despite the extra complications of the architectural process associated with Poundbury, Cohen is positive about Krier's urban design paradigm, which is ultimately what is driving that process. In particular, Cohen believes that one of the biggest successes of Poundbury is that it has shown 'you can mix tenants and owner occupiers together' (Cohen, 1996 interview).

In contrast, to date the process for phase two has been simpler, although the nature of the uses involved brings with it new difficulties. In this second phase, on the southern portion of Poundbury Farm, the emphasis shifts away from housing and more onto employment activities. Architecturally, the first question that needed to be tackled was exactly how to develop moderately large sized commercial buildings, of vernacular design, in an urban area with residential neighbours. The initial attempts in 1995 caused a great deal of anguish. As the first purpose built large commercial building, the design for this structure would act as a model for the rest of the phase, so its architecture needed to warrant its status. The architect employed to undertake the task had been previously connected with a vernacular industrial scheme in Surrey. However, when he produced his plans for Poundbury Krier was mortified, 'it looked like a factory by (Norman) Foster So I said ... "we asked you to design a Volkswagen, you gave us a Mercedes. It's a different type of thing. Can you see?" ' (Krier, 1996 interview). The plans were re-draughted, but to no avail. Eventually the architect was removed from the project. The original commercial client for the building, SMTech, moved into the revamped Middle Farm barns in the phase one area instead (figure 47a). Finally in 1997 a suitable design was approved for a new client on that original phase two commercial site, and construction began (figure 47b), soon to be followed by a second major commercial structure in 1998 (figure 47c).



FIGURE 47: Employment activities, a) SMTEch in the refurbished barns (top);
b) House of Dorchester chocolate makers in a new phase two building (middle);
c) Integrated Photomatrix building under construction (bottom)

Phase two is currently more end user driven than phase one. Whereas phase one largely consists of speculative housing and social housing, phase two is commencing by concentrating on employment activities as demand necessitates. The basic ground plans of plots and layouts have been prepared by Alan Baxter and Associates. However, plot boundaries are being kept fairly flexible. Then, as a user comes along for a specific plot, architectural drawings are prepared and detailed planning permission is sought. David Taylor from Baxter's describes the process this way:

that user will have to be the right user for that right location. We've done quite an extensive exercise over this as to say where we want specific users in the area so we generate life around the public squares, and we get the commerce in places where it's going to be least disruptive to the residents, people like that. So there's quite a balance there. There's a heck of a lot of control needed actually. The one thing that you can't do with development like this is just draw a masterplan and then just let it go. (Taylor, 1995 interview)

Altogether, implementation of the masterplan has been a slower and more complicated process than anticipated. But that process has been part of a learning curve. Organisational difficulties are being smoothed with time.

6. EVALUATION OF THE POUNDBURY PROCESS AND OUTCOME SO FAR

To round off my examination of the Poundbury project, the following subsections provide a brief evaluation of the development to date. Matters dealt with include how well the project has met its own objectives; the demand for residential and business property; popular and professional assessments of Poundbury; the project's replicability; and finally an appraisal of how closely the development meets Urban Villages Forum criteria.

6.1 Achievement of creator ambitions

It is early days indeed as far as making a useful assessment of how well project objectives are being achieved. But before launching into any attempt at this, it would be

prudent to recap on, and draw together, the many Poundbury tenets. At its heart the Poundbury scheme is an attempt to use the instruments of architecture and collaborative planning to forge a development which is distinctly urban (not suburban and not zoned) and comprised of decipherable neighbourhoods linked into the existing fabric of Dorchester, but with a high degree of self-containment courtesy of their rich mix of uses. By virtue of the neighbourhoods' very urbanity and design, it is anticipated that a vitality in terms of street life will be encouraged and the development of a sense of place, identity and most importantly a sense of community. In addition, by limiting the size of the neighbourhoods to a human scale (with diameters taking just ten minutes to walk) and by providing a range of housing types and tenancies, it is hoped that a high degree of neighbourly interaction will take place between diverse people and that a feeling of community ownership and responsibility will consequently be engendered, promoting an active local democracy. Finally, a related but slightly secondary tenet is that the development should emulate the historical Dorset vernacular in terms of traditional market town scale, pattern, design, materials and decoration.

At a less lofty level, there are a large number of objectives devised to assist in the realisation of the above goals. Most of these objectives relate to matters of urban design and architecture. They include the desire to achieve a clear urban boundary; compactness; layout, building and space variety; a building hierarchy; simplicity in housing design; an attractive and interesting public realm; unique focal points; architectural unity without uniformity; priority provision for the pedestrian and cyclist; and a re-prioritisation of design for the car in terms of street layout and private parking. The implementation of such objectives is a little easier to view on the ground than Poundbury's more fundamental precepts. But each level of aspiration will be reviewed in the following paragraphs.

Major long-term aims relating to the creation of vital, semi self-sufficient, vernacular urban quarters with a unique sense of place, a diversity of inhabitants and a strong community commitment cannot be meaningfully evaluated so soon after the arrival of the

first few citizens. Even so, in their enthusiasm a number of those interviewed offered a cautious but favourable interpretation of some of these wider ambitions. Two particular aspects that were highlighted were the social mix and the developing sense of community identity.

Many informants commented on the positive achievement of a mix of tenures within the Middle Farm quarter. For example, Hanson (1995 interview) boasts, 'I think what has worked there is that there is a real mix of tenure and so you do have housing association houses integrated very fully with private housing for sale'. Similarly, Cohen (1996 interview) is confident that they have 'shown that you can mix up tenures'. More importantly, many assessed that this housing mix was also reinforcing a mixing of residents:

we try to design the affordable housing so that it's indistinguishable from the private housing, and it's the same quality.... It's amazing how initially a lot of eyebrows were raised about that. People said 'oh it won't mix, people won't want to buy there. The private people won't want to live next door to the people who are in rented housing' But the people *are* living together. It's working, they're co-existing as they do everywhere else in the world. It finds its own level. (Hamilton, 1995 interview)

More bluntly, Taylor (1995 interview) simply asserts 'we've got a social mix'. But that is not to say that there are no ongoing tensions between the owner occupiers and Guinness tenants, as Cohen (1996 interview) explains:

Our tenants are very happy. We had a lot of tensions in the beginning between the owner occupiers and the tenants. To us this is normal. It happens all the time. We always have teething problems when new people move into an estate.... We know how to deal with these things. We manage tenanted housing all the time. So we're constantly trying to deal with them. But there are always tensions. One of our tenants has a big van which is associated with his work. He drives it home and leaves it around. This causes offence to some people. I have a standard reply to all that, which is that I am lucky I'm an owner occupier, I have terrible trouble with my neighbours sometimes, that's life. We try and sort it out. The point is it isn't because they're tenants that there's a problem. So we have to do a bit of work on that, but I think that's normal and not a problem.

At the same time, the extent of media attention paid to Poundbury has itself encouraged a degree of community cohesion according to some:

our tenants are really quite ordinary people who are now quite good at being interviewed by newspapers and so on, and who always say the right things, and who know what to say and how to deal with it and so on. That's become quite a positive process. In an odd way it's brought them all together. There are a lot of very nice people amongst the owner occupiers too, who've gone to some lengths to build bridges. (Cohen, 1996 interview)

Saunders (1996 interview) concurs with this view:

one of the things that really impressed me when I was there a few weeks ago was the sense of community, which is very strong. Now that may well be of course because they're all thrown together into this sort of goldfish bowl where people are coming to look at them all the time and so on, and that may weld them into a community. But it's quite important that that's what's being achieved. The size of the windows, the proportions of the window, is really incidental. It's to do with creating a place in which a community will be happy. So the place has got an identity, and the community have a community feel.

Turnbull (1997: 24) goes as far as to suggest that it is the carping that unites the community more than the attempt at architectural determinism, '(t)here is a shared sense of purpose, a British bulldog show of defiance in the face of all the criticism'.

Several promoters of the project argue that community identity, a sense of place and local pride are evident amongst the new Poundbury residents (Cohen, 1996 interview; Fry, 1996 interview; James, 1995 interview; Krier, 1996 interview; Saunders, 1996 interview). In a recent interview David Oliver declared, '(i)t's superb. Poundbury has a real sense of place. Against all the predictions it seems to be working as a social community' (1998). This viewpoint is also apparent in the myriad of newspaper and magazine articles about Poundbury, which often incorporate brief interviews with local residents. For instance, such opinions were recorded many times over by different papers in May 1998 when the Queen paid a visit to Poundbury, '(i)t's a totally different atmosphere here ... with a real sense of community developing' proclaimed new resident Val Hurston (Sandall, 1998). James (1995 interview) cites a fairly typical example:

There was a sort of youth theatre club production, back in was it, I suppose it would be three months ago now, and they were going to spoof the Prince of Wales and Poundbury and this sort of thing. And OK we said 'Well fine, if they want a laugh that's great' you know, and it would be churlish of us to start wrinkling our noses at it. So, then BBC South got involved and they have a weekly political programme. And they started to want to film this production and then to do some filming on Poundbury to blow it up What was so absolutely fascinating was that the film crew went up to Poundbury - and you can see the end product - what was so encouraging to us was the way in which both the social housing tenants and the freeholders defended Poundbury. They were so *proud* of it. I mean, there were these single parent mothers with two or three kids who had been in bed and breakfast accommodation on some ex-military camp somewhere where the roof leaked and there was no hot water. She said 'look at this, it's a palace, I couldn't be more thrilled here. And my children have this lovely outlook looking down to Maiden

Castle. It's warm, it's safe, everything'. And the free-holders were - we've got one or two extremely robust ones there - they were equally defensive of it. And at the end what was we feared going to be a bit of a set-up turned totally the other way. And, of course, this is the feeling that is undoubtedly growing locally.

However, there is one area where reservations were expressed in regard to the future social mix and community interaction envisaged at Poundbury. Originally, it was intended that the 20 percent of housing dedicated to the Guinness Trust would be relatively evenly distributed throughout the development. But, the prioritisation of social housing in the opening stages of phase one construction altered this balance. Now there would be very few Guinness units erected in section C of the Middle Farm quarter because the social housing allocation for this phase has almost been reached. Fry (1996 interview) for one wonders whether this situation might lead to the very sort of social stratification that the project had intended to avoid. Cohen is likewise uneasy about the spatial concentration of his tenants, '(t)hat could be a bit of a problem. When it's finished ... all of the social housing, our tenants, will be in one little corner of it, although they're mixed up with owner occupiers. We need to find a way of doing something about that' (Cohen, 1996 interview).

The matter is a serious concern for the promoters of this development if they really do have a commitment to their stated aim of achieving a significant social mix, even though it smacks of social engineering. The provision of social housing is the most effective tool the Duchy is using to actually encourage population diversity.

Another area where there is doubt about the achievement of Poundbury's central goals relates to the integration of the Middle Farm quarter with the established Cambridge Road suburb. Krier's plan had the explicit purpose of bringing these two areas together and providing a combined local centre. As mentioned previously, protests from the existing residents and school put an end to the original concept of a joint civic centre across from the school. The County further severed the links between these contiguous areas by stopping Krier's planned road connections from the Middle Farm quarter onto Cambridge Road and onto Coburg Road. The County's requirements for the management of West

Dorchester traffic prohibit a vehicular connection through to Cambridge Road, although a pedestrian footpath can be created. Krier is confident that in the long-term a link will be possible without detriment to the County's traffic management aims. His plan is designed to allow easy modification in that eventuality by laying the road anyway and simply erecting bollards to stop vehicles passing through. Where Coburg Road meets the Middle Farm quarter, the Duchy have also been required to erect bollards to stop the movement of traffic between Middle Farm and the existing suburb. However, it is already agreed that these bollards will be removed once new distributor roads for Poundbury are in operation.

However, there is an additional threat to the achievement of the masterplan's intent on the matter. This challenge comes from the new residents of Poundbury. The minutes of the Poundbury Village Residents' Association meeting held on Thursday 18th of June 1998 recorded the following example of opposition to the plan:

Severe disquiet was expressed regarding any possibility of opening up Cambridge and Coburg Road links with Poundbury. The Committee was asked to ensure that the local authorities are left in no doubt regarding our views. The next association meeting would provide a good opportunity to enforce our views in the presence of our local councillors. (Poundbury Village Residents' Association, 1998)

While the exact reasons for the disagreement with any links through to the older suburbs are not indicated, the Poundbury residents would appear to be advocating some form of territorial exclusion, even if it solely relates to anticipated traffic levels. The ongoing impact of new residents on the effective implementation of the masterplan is not something that Poundbury's creators can discount. The inhabitants have great potential to thwart even axiomatic goals if they do not own them themselves. Krier is well aware of the possibility, 'once a village population is established it also becomes an extremely conservative factor'. Hamilton (1995 interview) trusts that Poundbury's promoters have involved the residents enough in the process that they have a desire to see the plan through:

We set up a residents' association because one of the other things we wanted to do was to encourage an involvement of people who live there in the development because, at the end of the day, whether it's successful or not isn't down to the Duchy. All we can do is lay the foundations. But whether it works as a community, which is what

we're hoping, will depend on the people who live there and whether they want it to be a community, a vibrant living community, or whether they don't care. So we hope that by laying the foundations and giving them the fabric, attractive fabric, to live in and a nice urban design and all the rest of it, we hope that they will respect that and they will actually want to preserve that, so they will almost act like a conservation area, they'll be concerned if somebody abuses it, and they'll police it themselves. It's not up to us to police it, but they can do that themselves.

Peter Bryant (1998: 14), chair of the Residents' Association, believes community commitment to Poundbury's founding goals exists:

I have no doubt that the Prince of Wales has succeeded in his concept. The big difference about living here is the interest of the media in the place trying to demonstrate that it won't work - well they are wrong. We have something precious here which must be safeguarded. I have no doubt that people are happy living here.

However, the Residents' Association do not appear to have been convinced by the logic of road links to help integration with the neighbouring community.

Even so, in terms of their major long-term aims, the creators of Poundbury are content that they are well on the way to achieving them. Hanson (1995 interview) neatly summarises the general feeling, 'I think that if you look at the proportion of achievement as against ambition, I think it's quite high actually. I think we've achieved a good proportion of what we set out to achieve. But I think there's a long way to go.'

The latter point is an undeniable one. Already recognised hurdles such as the question of how to retain a social mix throughout the development need to be added to the more fundamental task of ensuring the development actually continues to progress. With the flat economy of the mid 1990s, the Duchy was legitimately concerned that the project should not 'slow down to the point of being a token progress' (James, 1995 interview). Maintaining momentum is a high priority 'just to keep the thing going. It's very important that Poundbury just doesn't stop and we put up the shutters' (James, 1995 interview).

Any looming success in their own terms cannot be based solely on what has been constructed so far. As a minimum, unless the whole of each quarter started is completed

then the development is automatically a failure. The integrity of each quarter is reliant on that achievement, as Cohen (1996 interview) indicates here:

The ideal thing that hasn't happened yet, but will happen in Poundbury, is mix of uses. There needs to be work, there needs to be retail, there needs to be commerce there. It's started, but the housing had to go first.... I just personally hope that it gets finished. It would be a great shame if it didn't, because some of those ideas are no good until they're a hundred percent carried through, and there's a long way to go yet.

For this reason it is premature to attempt to evaluate the project's success in meeting its intentions on anything other than a preliminary basis. A full evaluation would warrant a detailed analysis of Poundbury's inhabitants and their experience further down the track.

On the more routine level, assessment of the achievement of Poundbury's urban design and architectural objectives is easier to make. The application of the broad masterplan, its ground plans, and especially the building design code, via the Poundbury Architectural Review Committee, makes it almost impossible not to achieve these aims at least initially. This is further bolstered by the co-operative efforts between Poundbury's implementors and the District and County Councils.

The following photographs help to demonstrate how the various objectives are being concretised. They highlight key design features including compactness (figure 48), density gradation (figure 49), vernacular building variety (figure 50), building hierarchy via prominent buildings at the entrance to neighbourhoods and prominent buildings around the major squares (figure 51), simplicity of housing design (figure 52), use of local materials (figure 53), prioritisation of pedestrian movement (figure 54), slow winding roads around housing (figure 55), provision for residential cars at the back of properties (figure 56), and decorative elements (figure 57).

There is no doubt that Poundbury's design objectives are being met. The only questions that have arisen are in regard to the unwritten expectations that the project's many stewards hold. The most obvious example of this is the debate that has occurred within the command circle as to the extent of architectural boldness in the first part of the phase one housing. However, although an emphatic step was taken to secure more



FIGURE 48: The achievement of compactness at Poundbury (bottom photograph courtesy of Duchy of Cornwall)



FIGURE 49: Density gradation, from compact terraces adjoining the central square (top); to larger detached houses on the quarter's periphery (below)

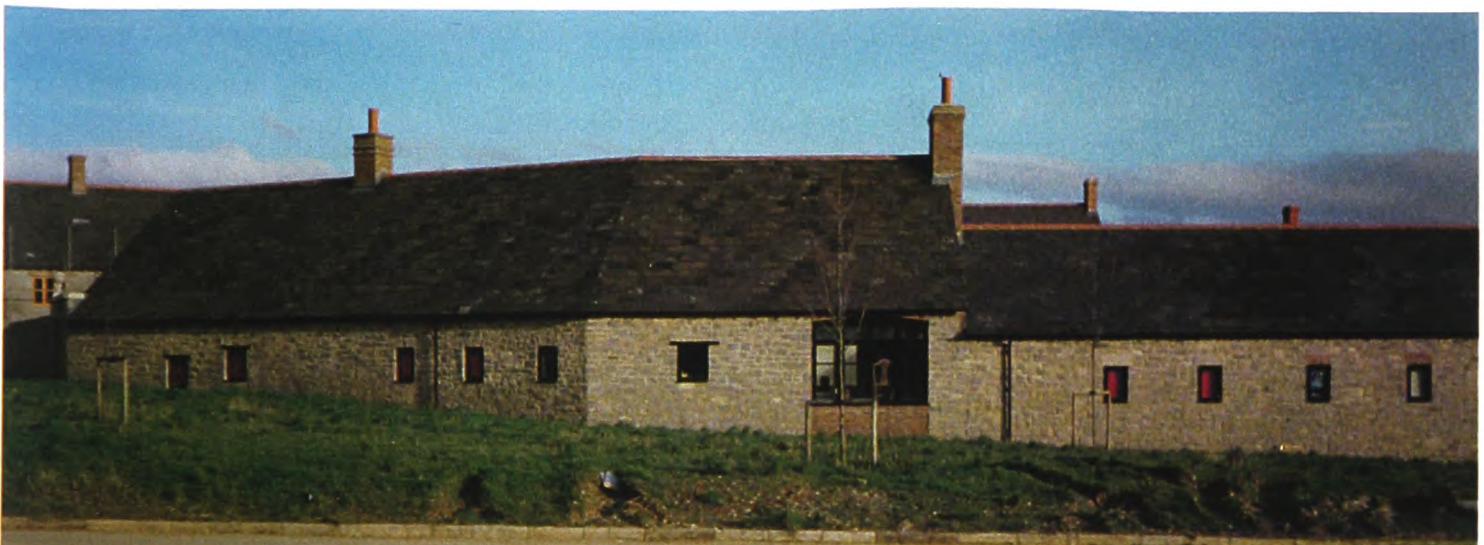


FIGURE 50: Vernacular building variety - the new Enterprise Centre (top), the new workshops (middle), which stand across the lane from each other and adjoin housing (bottom)



FIGURE 51: Building hierarchy - prominent buildings at the entrance to the quarter (top) and around the squares (bottom)



FIGURE 52: Simplicity of housing design



FIGURE 53: Use of local materials for external walls



FIGURE 54: Prioritisation of pedestrian movement via car-less lanes



FIGURE 55: Poundbury's slow, winding roads



FIGURE 56: Provision for residential cars in rear courtyards

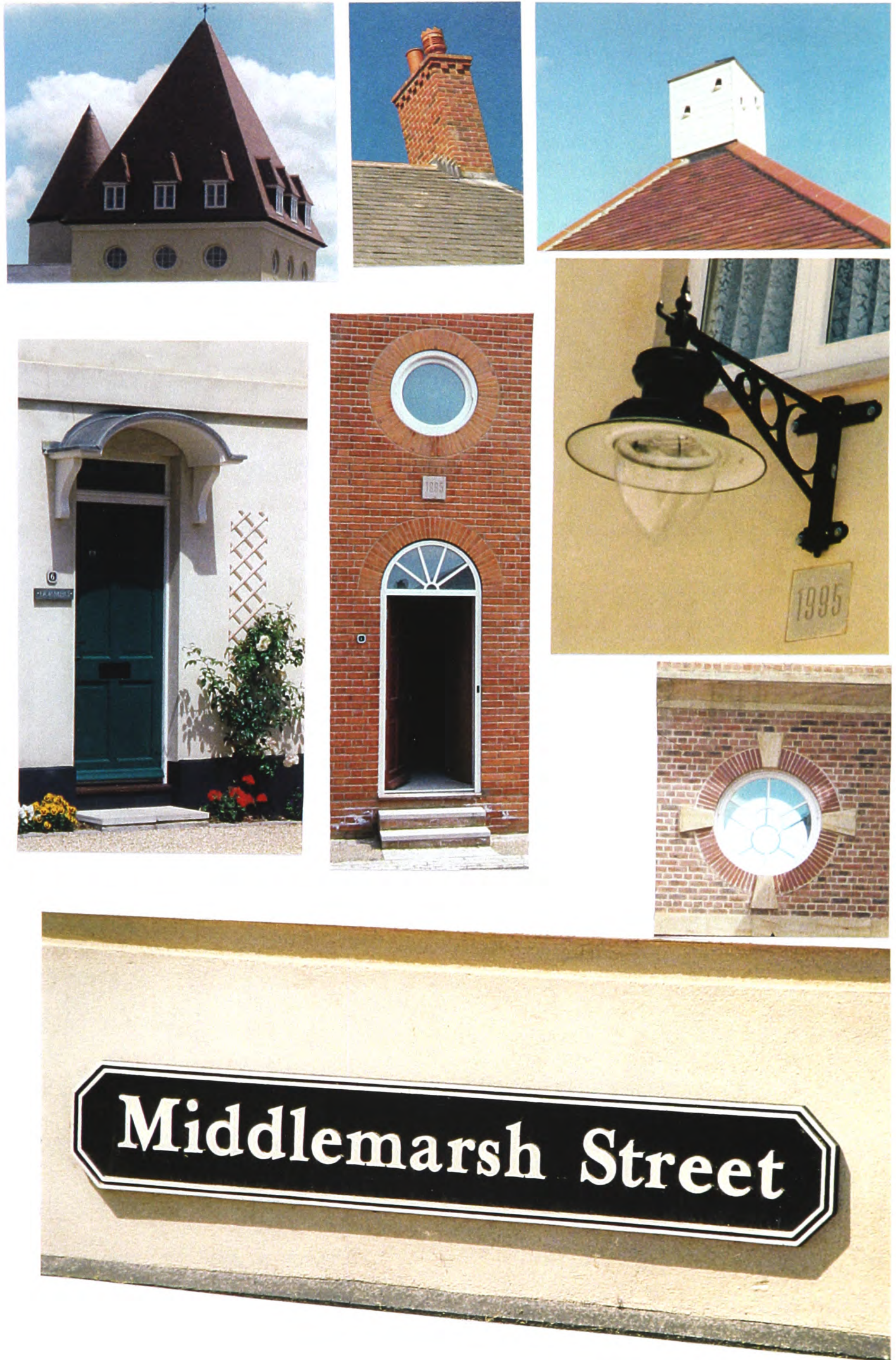


FIGURE 57: Poundbury's varied decorative elements

humble housing design in the later section of the phase, almost all of those interviewed, even Krier, were comfortable that the earlier housing was not significantly contrary to their purpose:

Initially I was extremely wary that it would be too fussy and too many materials, and I tried to calm it down a bit. I think as it goes, as it will be inhabited, and as it grows at its edges, I think it's OK, it's essentially OK. I would have preferred a bit more monotony because the plan is so varied that you don't need that much architectural (divergence), on the other hand the architecture's so modest I think once the trees are grown up it looks quite natural. (Krier, 1996 interview)

6.2 Demand for property at Poundbury

Early in the construction of the first phase (March 1994) an open day was held to promote house sales. Within the day about half a dozen houses sold. But sales were generally slow, as Hamilton indicated in 1995, '(t)he private housing is selling as well as can be expected. It got off to a fantastic start when they launched it eighteen months ago. It's been very slow this year in common with the rest of the housing market, but it's happily picking up a little bit' (1995 interview).

A year later in 1996 the rate of sales had steadily picked up to a point where there was now heavy demand. Prices range from £58,000 for small two bedroom terraces to £150,000 for large four bedroom detached houses, about 5% above average house prices elsewhere in Dorchester (Fry, 1996 interview). Fry's office receives many enquiries each day about forthcoming houses (Fry, 1996 interview). A high proportion are sold off the plans before construction has begun. As Cohen (1996 interview) puts it, being able to view an existing area of the development now helps to promote the next section. Hence, despite the poor housing market, the level of sales has kept Fry's happy with progress. As Morgan (1996 interview) suggests, '(i)f the first section hadn't been commercially successful Fry's certainly wouldn't have been foolish enough to negotiate the second'. Already some of the first house buyers are selling their homes for a profit in order to purchase larger homes in the subsequent sections of Middle Farm (Krier, 1997).

Oliver (1995 interview) attributes the success to the quality and design of the housing:

What we have discovered here in West Dorset where we're into very high quality appropriate design, appropriate to place, as opposed to just good design, in other words we match the design to the character of the area, what we have found is there hasn't been a downturn. It's as simple as that.... if you actually build ultra traditional, ultra everything to match the locality, it will sell like that (he snaps his fingers), mostly without advertisement.

Similarly, Taylor is impressed that they have managed to sell houses and get two phases of Poundbury up and running at the bottom of the market, 'it must say a lot for it I think' (Taylor, 1995 interview).

Employment and retail activities have been slower to establish in Poundbury than the housing. The District Council had stressed the importance of early provision of sites in Poundbury for employment activity, in response to a perceived demand in the vicinity. The economic downturn which immediately followed the Council's growth study was no doubt a significant factor in the loss of interest. The first serviced site available for such uses in Poundbury was on the north east segment of the Middle Farm quarter on the corner of Bridport Road and Middlemarsh Street, within section A of the development. However, even by 1996 the Duchy had not managed to attract any interest in the property for such purposes. By the end of that year, Renaissance Developments put together a proposal for a five storey block of 29 retirement apartments with adjoining offices on the site. The project went ahead in 1997, ready for residents in 1998 (figure 58). Over 270 applicants sought a unit in the residence where prices ranged from £80,000 to £180,000.

But Poundbury's promoters were working hard to attract large light industrial firms. In mid 1995 various possibilities were raised with SMTech, a high technology electronics company. Their positive response was important to progress the whole Poundbury development:

I think if we get one we'll get others, others will follow. If people realise that it's an area where high tech. industry can locate itself, because you've got low cost housing, you've got nice amenities, quality of life, which is what a lot of the high tech. people want. Frankly, with communications, with the telephones these days, they don't need to be in a town or wherever. So that is something we're really pushing hard for now, to bring forward this next phase to provide jobs there. (Hamilton, 1995 interview).



FIGURE 58: Renaissance Development retirement apartments, from an adjoining courtyard (top) & from the Bridport Road (bottom)

With SMTech finally set up in the renovated barns in 1996, there was a wait of a year before the next major advance would be made, another large scheme (2,500 square metres) this time on phase two land, for the House of Dorchester chocolate makers. In 1998 this was followed by a further project for Integrated Photomatrix to the north of the Bridport Road, also on phase two land. Apparently, demand increased to the point where a waiting list for non-residential uses emerged in 1997 (Krier, 1997). In the interim the Council's enterprise centre and the workshops on the western edge of phase one's section B area came into operation (figure 59).

Convenience retail uses still have not taken off however. Buildings for such activities as shops and cafés have been erected in the Middle Farm central square, but left boarded up (figure 60). Many of the premises have had interest expressed in them, yet, despite well over half of the 240 homes planned for the phase being inhabited, nothing has come to fruition.

In general, demand for both commercial and residential properties in Poundbury has been slower than was originally anticipated back during the growth study discussions of 1987-88. Nevertheless, by the early 1990s the Duchy was well aware that headway on their project was not going to be swift. There would seem to be little to complain about on their part, either in terms of housing sales or incoming industrial users, given the context of the wider Dorset market.

6.3 Popular and professional media verdicts

Inevitably, with the outspoken architectural critic HRH the Prince of Wales as the ultimate sponsor of the Poundbury scheme, there has been an enormous amount of scrutiny by the popular and professional press. James (1995 interview) describes it as being under a 'perpetual spotlight'. Such attention, and in particular its often negative focus, was not



FIGURE 59: Poundbury workshops occupied by a) a furniture restorer (top), and b) a soft furnishings and curtain maker (bottom)



FIGURE 60: Poundbury retail and cafe outlets remain empty in the centre of Middle Farm (top sketch courtesy of Duchy of Cornwall)

anticipated by the project's promoters (Hamilton, 1995 interview). To their initial reaction of surprise has been added the feeling of irritation as a result of adverse criticism from reporters who have not actually visited the site (Cohen, 1996 interview; James, 1995 interview), and who base their faultfinding on misinformation (Hamilton, 1995 interview; James, 1995 interview; O'Connor, 1996 interview). For example, one significant piece of misinformation which resulted in prolonged admonition by the media was that the architecture at Poundbury would be Italianate in design. This was never the case. The misunderstanding arose in response to some indicative drawings by Krier that were not intended to be taken literally (in an unfortunate habit Krier often draws in this symbolic way, and awaits practicing architects to translate across to the local context). This was explained to the District Council, and at the planning weekend, and most Durnovarians seemed well aware of the situation. However, the national press was not. The pointless debate on Poundbury's supposed Italian design took years to dissolve.

The attention from the media has surfaced in waves, corresponding with various milestones in the progress of the project. Broad level comment largely appeared in the earliest stages of the design phase, before any construction began. At intermittent periods since building commenced various evaluations of the wider scheme have occasionally been made. However, most of the more recent press has been confined to Dorset papers covering local disputes over specific planning applications within Poundbury.

Throughout the course of the scheme reaction has been mixed. It has been greeted by extreme dislike, unequivocal praise, and various shades in-between, with some taking a bet each way as to Poundbury's success. The main rebukes can be summarised under four headings: nostalgia, social engineering, restrictiveness, and un-English-ness.

6.3.1 Nostalgia

By far the biggest slice of attention has been paid to the nostalgia issue. Given the instant visual impact of Poundbury's traditional architecture, this is the most obvious element

at which to sneer. Under headings such as 'Return of the native idiom' (Ellis, 1994) and 'Back to ye future' (Lakeman, 1991), Poundbury has been characterised as retrogressive, pastiche, retrophilia, replica, mimicry, quaint, architectural confection, an olde worlde dream town, Disney, toytown, a theme park, a twee Little England, Portmeirion revisited, and a Thomas Hardy throw-back, created by nostalgic hedgehogs trapped in a timewarp. Two notable critics from the architectural discipline have been Max Hutchinson (the Prince's long-term architectural adversary) and Piers Gough (the masterplanner of the Crown Street project examined in the next chapter). Gough berates Poundbury's authors for being retrogressive in approach (Ellis, 1994). Similarly, Hutchinson (1989) calls for a more appropriate contemporary logic to be pursued, neo-modernism. Both commentators suggest that, even when combined with technological innovations, pastiche cannot accomplish the stepping forward into the new millennium that behoves architecture. Over the decade of debate many other architects, journalists and local citizens have agreed, criticising such matters as the Prince's indulgence (Hyde, 1995), romanticisation of past communities (Lakeman, 1991; Helm, 1991) and narrow band of traditionalism (Scott, 1996). More recently, John Walker, writing in *The Wessex Journal*, and Jonathan Glancey, writing in *The Guardian*, also endorse Gough and Hutchinson's views. Walker, chair of Dorchester Civic Society's conservation group, argues that Poundbury's architecture is 'ludicrous', resulting in 'hideous, joke-historical monstrosities' recreating 'everything from a late medieval Cotswold market house to curious Dickensian shop fronts' (1997: 10). The reason for this is a '(f)ailure to assimilate the basic tenets of folk craft practices result(ing) in tasteless pastiche of the external appearance of objects and buildings' (1997: 9). 'Pastiche building is a very different thing from drawing inspiration from the past, accepting its standards, limitations and sensitivities and then using them in the creation of a genuine modern expression' (1997: 10). Walker pleads with the Duchy to junk the pastiche style, and use past standards to forge new building designs (1997: 13). Glancey (1998: 10) concludes that after several years now of the 'curious'

Poundbury model being implemented via its 'period' homes, 'it has done little or nothing to take the debate on the future of city life forwards'.

By the same token, there have been an equivalent number of supporters for Poundbury's architecture, although these are usually drawn from the popular press and local citizens rather than the professional press. Their prominence has increased as Poundbury has progressed. Also, there is no doubt that the traditional architecture sells. Morgan (1996 interview) comments:

I get a lot of stick for my work from other architects, I really do, it's 'selling out', 'prostituting my art', etcetera, etcetera. I regard their comments to a large extent as being irrelevant because what I've found is that clients respond to the sort of stuff which we're doing. From a purely commercial point of view the developers love it because it's costing them a little bit more to build but they're selling at higher prices and they're selling quicker. The planners respond to it. Everybody is responding to it as a reaction against what has gone before.

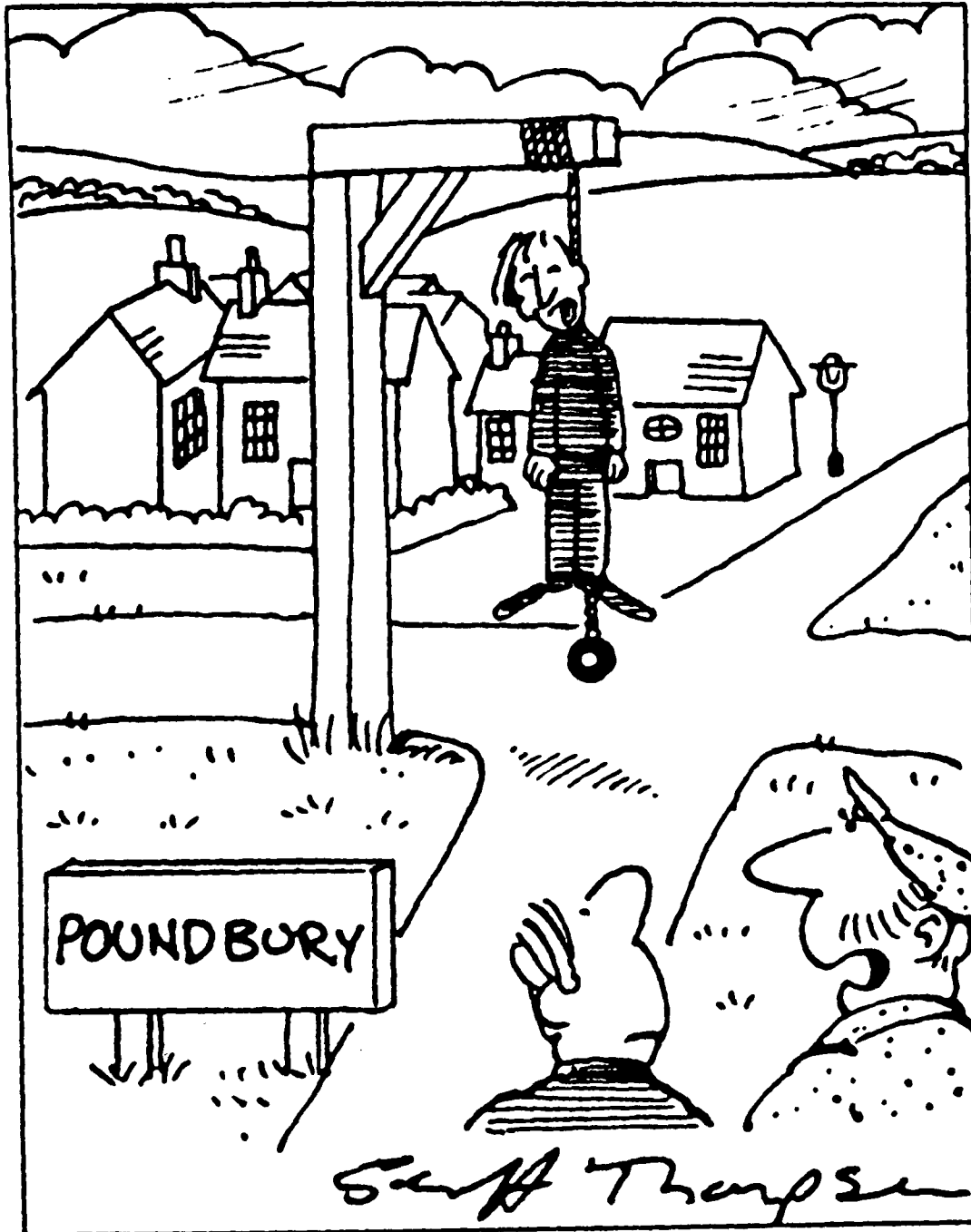
A supportive Candida Green, commissioner for English Heritage, insists that Poundbury's architecture does not bear the tell-tale marks of pastiche, like tacked-on, non-functioning detailing. Rather, 'Poundbury merely and simply demonstrates how to use the best local building styles, materials and traditions in modern housing and to blend in harmoniously with its surroundings' (1996: 64). Similarly, Marcus Binney (1991), journalist with *The Times*, praised the architectural position taken at Poundbury. He welcomed its virtue in terms of providing appealing rows of typical English cottages in a manner that did not detract from the surrounding countryside. Within the planning profession there has been praise of the design concept, urban form and architectural quality. For example, Adrian Parker (1996) recommends the urban design and layout ideas of Poundbury be translated to developments elsewhere. Paul Barker comments in the *New Statesman* that given 'the sheer quality of the work and the materials' at Poundbury '(w)ho cares whether its aesthetics are "modern" enough or not' (1997: 54). Local journalists and denizens have on many occasions extolled the benefits of Poundbury's design over that of all other housing estates in Dorchester. However, none of the supporters dare venture into the question of whether Poundbury's appearance is actually nostalgic or not. Only Krier has the confidence to

tackle this, '... nostalgia is longing for home and we all feel at home in the traditional city' (Cruickshank, 1989: 25). The matter presents no dilemma to the masterplanner. Even so, Poundbury's architects and builders are eager to defend the progressiveness of their work. They claim they take advantage of innovative techniques and changing styles without ignoring context and tradition, and without the need to force the bounds of fashion (Ellis, 1994). Furthermore, they keenly remind that architectural style is a secondary issue at Poundbury, and that Poundbury is not confined to nineteenth century Hardy-esque design. The masterplan has no intrinsic style earmarked, and can easily incorporate twentieth century styles (Hamilton, 1995 interview; Krier, 1996 interview; Morgan, 1996 interview; Taylor, 1995 interview)

6.3.2 Social engineering

Related to the comments about nostalgia, a few concerns have been expressed with respect to the social engineering goals of Poundbury. In accord with the architecture, Poundbury has been interpreted as an attempt to reintroduce historic social relations. Poundbury has a 'design which will recreate the traditional feel of an English village, where squires and gentlefolk lived happily alongside the artisan class' (Helm, 1991: 8). The only trouble is, this idyllic and enchanting form of interaction may never have actually existed in reality, and its apparent disappearance may not be something to lament (Glancey, 1988) (figure 61). Hence Barker (1997: 54) reminds the Prince that the target of 'bringing classes together' has been missed many times before, at Letchworth, Welwyn and Hampstead for example, demonstrating 'how difficult it is to conduct social engineering through architecture'.

Some believe the engineering has already begun to work though. Citing a local resident, Barker (1997: 54) remarks '(e)veryone seems to get on: "the Ford Escort class and the Volkswagen Golf class"'. Likewise, Turnbull (1997: 24) quotes resident of one year Mrs Butler, '(t)here's no hierarchy here'. Lakeman (1998) abandons his earlier cynicism about



*"It's the attention to period
detail that I like."*

FIGURE 61: Cartoonist Geoff Thompson questions Poundbury's "olde worlde" charm (Walker, 1997: 12)

Poundbury's social dream (1991) and admits that the social experiment 'could become a model for future living' (1998: 11). Lakeman quotes numerous happy Poundbury residents who are proud of the thriving, mixed community and supportive of the principle of mixing and integrating people rather than segregating them. Turnbull (1994: 24) quotes a resident who boasts the success of the 'real hodge-podge of people here'.

On the other hand, both Peter Dunn and John Walker, writing in *The Wessex Journal*, suggest that Poundbury is failing to meet its admirable social engineering goals. Dunn complains that rather than allow Renaissance Developments to erect a luxury turreted block for wealthy pensioners on the Bridport Road - Middlemarsh Street corner, the Duchy should have pursued plans to locate a medical practice and pharmacy on the site. In advocating the up-market Renaissance use, Dunn determines that the Duchy is no longer 'hot on social engineering' (1997: 5). In like fashion, Walker (1997: 12) alleges that the project's social engineering goals have been 'undermined' by the delivery of a neighbourhood that is not 'demonstrably better than the run-of-the-mill housing estate'. He goes as far as to claim that 'the hugger-mugger density of the new buildings ... in part seems to rival that of jerry-built slum housing in the nightmare industrial landscapes of the last century' (1997: 12).

Whether the social engineering goals are favoured or abhorred, it is too early to know if they are being attained. Certainly their achievement is a tall order in terms of the departure they require from contemporary social relations in other English communities.

6.3.3 Restrictiveness

It is a direct result of the nostalgic ambitions for design and behaviour that Poundbury is restrictive in nature. There are no innate processes operating to automatically maintain its desired character. However, very little has been made of this point in the media. Tony Turnbull from *The Times* is one of the few to remark on it. He observes that many of the aesthetic restrictions designed 'to keep Poundbury looking chocolate-box pretty ... fail to

acknowledge the realities of life in the 20th century' (1997: 25). He offers the example of a shop owner who was requested to keep doves in her dovecote - she stopped the holes with wire. Also, there was the battle over rubbish collection. The intent was to have rubbish collected from the rear of properties so that dustbins were never out on the street. But the Council dustcarts were too large to get into the rear courtyards. Consequently collection takes place from the front. Turnbull reasons that this constant, and often impractical, requirement to keep up appearances is frustrating, especially for housing association tenants who have not bought into the Poundbury ethos.

Some commentators see this authoritarianism as indicative of a naïve royal patronage which fails to recognise the contradictions between the princely position and the project's vain social engineering aims. Glancey (1995: 8) accuses the Poundbury creators of 'trying to build the equivalent of a tightly-packed Italian hill-town in Dorset before handing it down, as if by royal decree, to grateful bumpkins'. In the same way, David Jenkins of the *Architects' Journal* chastises the Prince of Wales for maintaining 'the voice of the country gentleman addressing the peasants' (1989: 12). Whether he unwittingly endorses a social order that revalidates his own standing and/or supports an historic sense of civility married to a more progressive inclusive interaction, the Prince obviously believes he needs to keep a tight rein on behaviour to achieve his purpose.

6.3.4 Un-English-ness

As a final instance of media criticism of the broader Poundbury rubric, the allegation that Poundbury is un-English is now raised. It is not the initial 'Italianate' misgivings that are addressed here, but a more recent critique that originated from architect Terry Farrell. Farrell is the masterplanner for Cambourne in Cambridgeshire. This is a project with many parallels to Poundbury. It aims to construct a traditional settlement, in terms of layout and architecture, based on hamlets. However, Farrell rejects Krier's model as being too French and too urban in form to be described as a traditional English village, the latter being the

ideal he is trying to create in Cambourne (Farrell, 1997). He contends that Poundbury's layout in dense, round quarters is quite different from the usual English pattern. English villages, he maintains, are based on a single road, the High Street, along which a type of ribbon development occurs and intensifies for up to about half a mile in either direction. Krier's nodal quarters on the other hand deny the linear organic growth that is inherent in England's most enchanting villages.

That may be the case. However, Krier and Farrell are working at quite different scales. Farrell is dealing with hamlets and villages. Krier, on the other hand, is developing an area more akin to a market town than a village. While Krier's use of the term 'quarter' is undeniably taken from a European context, his Poundbury model has been painstakingly based on the pattern of historic Dorset towns. Hence Farrell's complaint is misplaced. Nevertheless, it is being picked up in the architecture and design literature (Brouwer, 1996; Glancey, 1995).

6.3.5 Favourable judgements

Further to the positive comments that have counterpoised the criticisms outlined above, there are several other features of Poundbury that have been highlighted approvingly by the media. At the most general level, Poundbury has been welcomed as an 'extraordinary visionary scheme' for future development (Cruickshank 1989: 28) and as 'an exciting architectural dream come true' (Elliot and Bar-Hillel, 1993: 4). Cruickshank, who presented a lengthy analysis of the plan in the *Architects' Journal*, expressed hope that 'the most daring urban project this decade' (1989: 24) 'could actually be built. If it is, then it will become a model for others to follow' (1989: 28). In the *Sunday Telegraph*, Elliot and Bar-Hillel commended Poundbury for 'offering a pleasing alternative to the suburban sprawl and dormitory development favoured by many post-war planners' (1993: 4). Kelly (1998: 14) backs this up in *The Times Weekend*, heralding a '(m)odel village with real people' serving as a powerful example in policy making for contemporary practice, noting the influence of

Poundbury on the recent recommendations of the House of Commons' Select Committee on housing.

Associated with this admiration of urban form and design has been the acknowledgement of Poundbury's welcome challenge to 'the tyranny of the road engineer' (Worsley, 1991: 63). Giles Worsley is prompted to write by the Duchy's 1991 planning application for reserved matters, relating to layout, organisation, roads and services. He posits that the most significant contribution that Poundbury is likely to make to town planning is courtesy of its overturning of the Transport Department's assumptions as far as new development is concerned. Worsley also goes on to make the comparison between the Poundbury development and what he perceives as the very successful terraces and squares developed by the Grosvenor family in London. He hopes Poundbury will be as 'happy and influential' (1991: 63).

More recently, the local and national press has been lavishing applause for Poundbury's success in attracting industry to its doorstep and generating a flourishing community. 'Once the object of derision, (the) Prince's dream ... is a thriving reality.... Critics who mocked Poundbury as Toytown and said it would never work are having to eat their words' according to Simon de Bruxelles (1998: 11). In the same way, Jon Ashworth (1996: 27) considers that Poundbury is proving 'its critics wrong' and reaping the rewards of its approach. Ashworth predicts that the lure of the quality environment will boost interest from other investors too.

In general, it is not feasible to draw a definitive conclusion from the popular and professional media in regard to Poundbury. The messages delivered continue to be very mixed. The attention given to the project has been immense compared with other like developments. However, some areas of the press have wearied of the scheme. This loss of news-worthy-ness is particularly evident in architectural circles. A keen interest is still paid by planning and design journalists and the local press as each stage of Poundbury progresses.

6.4 Project replicability

In considering the Poundbury project as an example of an urban village, or an example of an alternative to conventional development, one of the most telling questions is whether it is reproducible. Scepticism abounds when the promoter is a prince and his instigators are a generously resourced royal institution. Even the creators themselves acknowledge the project's peculiarity, dubbing it a 'unique' (Saunders, 1996 interview), 'unusual' (Cohen, 1996 interview; Morgan, 1996 interview), and 'special' (Hanson, 1995 interview; Taylor, 1995 interview) development. Project director, Andrew Hamilton (1995 interview) goes as far as to say, '(n)o, there's nothing normal about Poundbury'. Nevertheless, from the outset a primary objective of the many players has been to ensure that Poundbury is repeatable (Cohen, 1996 interview; Taylor, 1995 interview). '(T)he Prince always wanted that it should not appear like a royal village which would be a perfect realisation of a utopian dream, because then it would be too easily discarded (as) a one-off thing. He wanted it to be like a model, to be reproduced by the industry in general' (Krier, 1996 interview).

Several factors detract from Poundbury's replicability, leading Hamilton to assess that the project is 75%, not 100%, repeatable (1995 interview). The most obvious starting point is with the Duchy itself and the way it has been able to deal with the financial arrangements. Although the Duchy operates under demanding Treasury constraints, it is a large and well-endowed organisation capable of adequately supporting the development and bidding time for a monetary reward. For example, Duchy Secretary Jimmy James (1996 interview) admits, '(w)e have quite an expensive back-up team which no other developer, or few other developers, could afford'. There is no doubt that the project has a large and costly crew working for it, paid for out of the Duchy's coffers. Even that group is a scaled-down version of what was put in place originally. In fact, Hamilton (1996 interview) recommends that for ease of implementation, future projects of this nature should have a much reduced

professional input than is the case at Poundbury. He has found the 'interference from different quarters' unhelpful. O'Connor (1996 interview) states that the Duchy itself has been the biggest obstacle in the whole project. He submits that simply having the Duchy appoint a development company would have relieved many pressures and brought the project more in line with other organisational structures common in development. As well as reductions in the composition of the development team, Hamilton suggests several other areas where costs could be reduced for future projects. By limiting the materials specified and simplifying the road pattern Hamilton believes the same objectives could be achieved at less expense. The publicity surrounding Poundbury, which presumably would not be so unwavering for any other development, has not assisted with such matters. The team has felt the need to be especially meticulous, 'the spotlight is on us and we know that, and everybody's looking at us. So we can't afford to make too many mistakes. We have to get it right' (Hamilton, 1995 interview).

Closely related to this is the Duchy's use of small, local building and architectural firms to carry out most of the development to date. By using these firms, which have good local links, and a thorough knowledge of Dorset materials and their availability, it is easily possible to produce buildings of varied design built with regional materials. Such an outcome would be much harder to achieve by working with a major national house building company who would rely on in-house architectural technicians and operate within very tight profit margins.

Another unusual factor has been the relatively potent influence of the masterplanner, via his royal patron, over the Duchy. Normally a masterplanner would have much more limited authority in the implementation of the plan. However, because of the peculiar role of the Prince in relation to the Duchy, Krier has been able to wield considerable power. Most developments would not have this odd situation. It could well be much harder to remain true to the plan's precepts in light of other priorities (especially financial) in any other projects. As has happened in the USA, this could result in new developments which

copy superficial architectural motifs because of their market popularity but replicate none of the associated urbanist, community or collaborative principles (Bressi, 1994; Langdon, 1994; Scully, 1994).

A final significant difference between Poundbury and likely future development is its sheer magnitude in terms of land area, projected population, and time-frame. However, its division into four separate, relatively self-contained neighbourhoods means that its principles are still relevant for adaptation to different contexts even if its extent is not being duplicated.

Turning now to those factors that might encourage the replication of Poundbury elsewhere, four main stimuli stand out. Firstly, the project has been financially viable and the returns are increasing with time (Taylor, 1995 interview). Even though the Duchy is a curious and affluent property owner, it has still had to perform within the Treasury's restrictions and without government subsidy. Secondly, the development is a market winner. For whatever reason, and it may be partly that traditional architecture has popular appeal at present, Poundbury houses have sold successfully even during poor economic times. Thirdly, the development has demonstrated the high quality and architectural variety possible for social housing while operating within Housing Corporation guidelines. This means that it is possible for future projects to take a similar approach to pepper-potting social housing which is physically indistinguishable from private housing and still receive a Housing Corporation grant (Cohen, 1996 interview). Finally, although Poundbury to date has been limited to traditional vernacular architecture, a wide variety of responses have been allowed to its building design code in comparison to other smaller traditional developments at places such as Abbotsbury and Broadwindsor. The latter examples have been much more architecturally disciplined and limited in their design palette. Poundbury, on the other hand, indicates that several architects can work within a design guideline and produce varied solutions. This variety is integral in Poundbury achieving its contrast to the monotony of conventional housing estates.

Therefore, although there are unique features associated with Poundbury, its principles of collaboration, design and project management have potential for adaptation and improvement in subsequent developments. Poundbury's masterminders believe they are influencing other development already. James (1995 interview) surmises that 'having lobbed the pebble into the pond, the ripples are beginning to come out'. With the publicity Poundbury has received, large numbers of developers, planners, architects and others from within Britain and abroad have been drawn to take a look at the scheme. O'Connor (1996 interview) claims that the major national developers have all been keeping tabs on Poundbury as a possible indicator of the direction of change in the industry. Says O'Connor, 'we all know what developers do when they see something working. That's all they'll do.... They'll go off on that tangent for the next thirty years'. Hamilton (1996 interview) states that he has been approached by several land owners to be involved in other similar schemes around the country. Furthermore, all those interviewed allege that a variety of projects now underway have transferred elements of Poundbury's principles to their sites. They point to examples and proposals in Cambridgeshire (Cambourne), Somerset (also on Duchy land), and elsewhere in Dorset (Christchurch, Sydling St Nicholas, Bradford Peverell and others, figure 62).

Without a doubt there are those who are unimpressed with such replication because they are not sympathetic to Poundbury's goals and traditionalism, such as Hutchinson and Gough. Some within Dorset (Walker and Dunn) fear the grip that the Poundbury philosophy seems to have over development in the County. Walker (1997: 7) speaks of the 'pastiche-adulation' that is denigrating Dorchester, and the 'bastardised version of the Duchy development's style (that) has gained a stranglehold on local authority thinking and is affecting planning decisions elsewhere'. Hence there is little doubt that at least in part Poundbury is operating as a model for development elsewhere, for better or worse.



FIGURE 62: Poundbury design principles in new development elsewhere in Dorset, Stoborough Meadow near Wareham (top) & Portesham near Dorchester (bottom)

6.5 Fulfillment of Urban Villages Forum criteria

This sub-section will now examine the degree to which Poundbury meets Urban Villages Forum criteria in terms of matters of planning process, masterplanning and physical characteristics, and economic and social objectives.

6.5.1 Collaboration and planning process

In many respects the process at Poundbury mirrors quite closely the Forum's goals. For example, from the outset the Duchy embraced a close relationship with the District Council and chosen housing association. While this has not been formalised into a specific partnership, it does appear to operate very effectively. In addition, the Duchy, the masterplanner and the lead consultants established an early dialogue with a range of groups and bodies affected by the Poundbury development, such as the utility providers and various citizen groups.

Then the planning weekend, and other conventional consultation mechanisms used by the Duchy to interact with the general public, also followed the Urban Villages Forum criteria. Despite Thompson's judgement that the planning weekend came too late, according to the Forum's policy it came at just the right time. The Forum is explicit that it does not see such occasions as an opportunity for the public to actually design the development, rather they are a chance for the community to see what is envisaged and offer comment and suggestion (Aldous, 1992: 40). This is precisely what the Poundbury weekend offered. In chapter eight of the *Urban Villages* report, the Forum describes its preferred succession of stages for a development process. Here it indicates that prior to planning weekend consultation, the project promoter should have already formed a development team, had the site designated for development, carried out preliminary appraisals, consulted with statutory and specialist bodies, and prepared a preliminary masterplan. Then, following a major public consultation exercise like a planning weekend,

and the statutory public participation inherent in applying for outline planning consent, a detailed masterplan should be prepared. The Poundbury process follows this exact formula. More than likely, the Forum developed its model progression largely from the Poundbury exercise which was taking place as the Forum was formulating its own ideas.

Later in the development process, the Duchy brought together a management company very much along the lines of that advocated by the Forum (Aldous, 1995: 39). An enterprise trust is also suggested by the Forum to help create employment opportunities. The Duchy joined forces with the District and County Councils to address this matter. The result was not the creation of a trust as such, but the founding of an Enterprise Centre operated by the District Council in new premises at Poundbury. So, in effect, the Forum's criteria were met again.

However, there is one area in which the Poundbury process fails to meet adequately the Urban Villages Forum's preferred approaches to collaborative partnership. This concerns the decision not to draw together from the outset some form of community development trust involving residents, business people and the local authority. The need for such a trust is considered a very high priority by the Forum, and hence is a major inadequacy as far as Poundbury being an example of an urban village is concerned.

Overall, apart from the significant absence of a community trust, it is easy to understand how the Urban Villages Forum might use Poundbury as an example demonstrating most of their collaborative planning and management maxims. Even so, beyond Forum standards, Poundbury could hardly be described as a stunning illustration of a collaborative approach. The Duchy has held too tight a rein for that. Nevertheless, credit can be given for going some way towards improving upon the extent of interaction evident in much contemporary development. The relative absence of formal objections to Poundbury's statutory planning applications is testament to the Duchy's success in that regard.

6.5.2 Masterplanning and physical characteristics

Given that most of the Urban Villages Forum's masterplanning and physical characteristics criteria were developed by Leon Krier, there is a high degree of conformity between the Poundbury and Forum discourse on these matters. Issues on which there is accord include neighbourhood size, integration with existing communities, polycentric neighbourhood grouping, mix of uses, local self-sufficiency, town layout, readable arrangement of streets, pedestrian orientation and road hierarchy.

The composition of the Poundbury masterplan is actually a little different from that advocated in the first *Urban Villages* report. The Forum's archetypal masterplan is more detailed. It would include a land use plan, business plan, location and floor areas for each activity, and tenure details. These features would be revealed over time as part of a programme to shift the project from the conceptual level through to its implementation on the ground. To an extent the Poundbury masterplan covers most of these aspects via its ground plans designed in co-ordination with each separate phase of the development. Where the procedure differs more markedly is in the use of codes. The Forum envisages the implementation of four distinct codes, an infrastructure code dealing with the relationship between the existing and new community in terms of roads and utilities - this matter has only been dealt with at the broader masterplan level at Poundbury; an urban code covering streets, buildings and urban form - again, this aspect has been specified at the broader level of the Poundbury masterplan, allowing no room for misinterpretation by implementers of a code; an architectural code dealing with materials, roof lines, doors and windows - this forms part of the Poundbury building code; and a public spaces code prescribing layout, paving and furnishing of public spaces - to an extent this has been covered in the Poundbury building code. The Forum's model closely emulates Krier's personal conception of a masterplan as specified in his own writings (Chapter Three). Presumably, the slight curtailing of these ideals at Poundbury was a question of the need for compromise with the

Duchy. Even now Duchy officials are not a hundred percent behind the notion of a masterplan, as James confesses:

It's always difficult, this chicken and egg situation actually, as to whether you really can do a masterplan for an area so large and complex as this and really stick to it. And we have our moments with Leon Krier.... But I think the fundamentals we stick to. That worries me a bit actually - that it's a wee bit too rigid still.... You see a masterplan for the whole of this area ... it's a hell of a long-term commitment, a twenty year commitment. And life moves on a bit, as it were. And my concern at this very early stage is that it really isn't sensible to say we've got a masterplan, we know what we're building in twenty years time. It isn't going to work out that way. On the other hand, it's good to have something, as it were. If I had a criticism of it, I think it's a bit too rigid. (James, 1995 interview)

Krier, and his assistant O'Connor, beg to differ with the Duchy, claiming the masterplan is a tool perfectly suited to being adapted to changing circumstances.

O'Connor argues:

There have been some very sensible adjustments. I think Leo's been aware of that continuously. That's the important thing about masterplans. People have this rigid view that they are very brittle things which can't be changed. It's not true. It's a very fluid way of developing things as well as being fixed. It's only as fixed as you want it to be. Of course we all know that there are a million variations where the idea can be maintained without calling into question the overall system. But people are not aware of how fluid the idea of the masterplan really is. (O'Connor, 1996 interview)

Oliver reinforces such an understanding, 'It's flexible. Up to the day you build it you keep changing it' (1995 interview).

Finally, a question could be raised as to what degree Poundbury might achieve an occupancy mix, and further, to what extent the Urban Villages Forum is seriously advocating occupancy mix anyway. Certainly Poundbury offers a range of residential and business accommodation types and tenancy arrangements, and on the surface would appear to meet the Urban Villages Forum criteria. The social housing component at least ensures a degree of occupancy mix. The inherent danger in a sunny, south coast destination like Dorchester, with relatively easy access to a number of major cities, is that a high quality new development will predominantly attract retired folk. Andrew Hamilton is adamant, '(t)hat's just what we didn't want. We didn't want it to become an exclusive retirement development' (1995 interview). But the answer to the occupancy mix question lies beyond

this research and needs to wait for Poundbury to start functioning more like a mini town in five to ten years time.

6.5.3 Economic factors

Poundbury represents as financially successful an example of an urban village development adjoining the urban periphery on a green field site as could be expected. While the project has not entirely followed the procedure outlined in the *Economics of Urban Villages* report, it has proved the report writers correct in their assumptions and early outcome predictions.

The Forum suggests a starting point of site identification, feasibility study, impact assessment and assessment of economic activity potential (the latter to ensure a mixed use community). Each of these aspects were addressed by the District Council and the Duchy in the initial research for the Dorchester growth options investigation. Once a site is selected, the Forum advises bringing it together in some form of single ownership. This was not an issue for Poundbury where the entire site was already solely in Duchy ownership.

The Forum goes on to urge that the landowner, in selling land to the developer, should apply a variable residual land value and accept a slightly lower purchase price than would conventionally be expected, given the extra infrastructure costs to be met by the developers. Likewise, the house builder would need to accept reduced rates of return at the outset. Initially, the Duchy thought of taking this path, but it was not one that allowed them to comply with their legal revenue obligations. Rather, they devised a clever alternative. The Duchy has been maintaining ownership of the land until individual buildings have been completed and ready for sale. They have also kept some of the development tasks for themselves, sharing the burden with the house builder.

In terms of funding sources, the Forum recommends that at least 70% be derived from the private sector in the long-term. The Poundbury project has easily met this goal so far. Apart from the public money used to subsidise the social housing, the remaining expenses

have been met through the Duchy's collateral, the builder's private financiers, and the Guinness Trust's resources. These arrangements will vary over time in different phases of the project depending on what is under construction and by whom. But the most difficulty in securing private funding is anticipated in the early stages, through which Poundbury has already passed.

Finally, the Forum expresses a strong preference for the landowner to use the leasehold system of property disposal so that they can maintain an enduring role in securing a project's ultimate aims are implemented. The Duchy has not taken this course. Land has been sold freehold to the new occupiers. Presumably this has been done to bring about a return on their investment in the shortest possible time in order to be seen to be complying with Treasury requirements. However, in order to ensure some control over long-term outcomes, the freeholds have been sold with binding covenants attached relating to Poundbury's appearance and activities.

Generally, Poundbury provides a very useful outworking of the Urban Villages Forum's economic ideas, with the obvious exception of the system of land disposal. Not only does the project demonstrate economic viability on a green field site, but it also presents options that can be taken to deal with the difficulties of bridging front-end funding gaps (via social housing grants) and overcoming low residual land values.

6.5.4 Social objectives

Poundbury's achievement of the Urban Villages Forum social agenda is much more complex to judge. On paper, the project and the Forum seek the same social outcomes: a diverse population, neighbourliness, common decency, orderly relations, a sense of belonging, local identity, community commitment, self-policing, local democracy, and integration with the existing community. However, as discussed above, despite some early glimmers of hope it is premature to provide any definitive conclusions as to whether the desired results are being accomplished. Certainly Poundbury is taking the same approach

as the Forum proposes, that is, using traditional urban form as the primary instrument to carry through such outcomes.

Overall then, Poundbury can be confidently labelled a promising model of a particular kind of urban village. It depicts an urban village within the Forum's edge-of-town green field category type. It also chooses an aesthetically based traditional vernacular approach, which while not a pre-requisite of urban village development, is a perfectly acceptable alternative within the Forum's basic guidelines. Many of Poundbury's makers held the opinion that the development was valuable as one example of what an urban village could be (Cohen, 1996 interview; Hamilton, 1995 interview; Hanson, 1995 interview; Krier, 1996 interview; O'Connor, 1996 interview; Oliver, 1995 interview; Taylor, 1995 interview).

7. CONCLUSION

The many struggles and hurdles associated with the Poundbury project are a warning that founding this particular kind of urban village, with its degree of attention to vernacular detail, is a formidable task. That this would be the case did not escape the attention of Poundbury's many onlookers long before the appearance of bricks and mortar. That the project was even attempted is likely testament to the naiveté of Poundbury's primary movers, the Prince, the Duchy and Leon Krier. Planting towns is a profoundly complex exercise. Totally transforming conventional practice in that town making requires extraordinary perseverance.

Poundbury was born during the last stages of the 1980s economic boom. In retrospect, having since experienced the downturn of the 1990s, it was a project that was probably premature if not unnecessary. However, such hindsight is a cruel criticism of the West Dorset decision takers who faced the bombardment of myriad ad hoc applications designed to significantly expand the urban extent of Dorchester in the late 1980s. Their actions of engaging in research into growth options, and finally choosing an alternative that

promised only a gradual expansion, were creditable. They were fortunate indeed to have a single landowner on hand who could afford to delay financial gains in order to take the development slowly and provide for a range of residential and employment opportunities.

Of course the motivations of the various participants in Poundbury's establishment were diverse. The District Council sought a development that would quickly provide for employment activities, address social housing needs, and link into the existing transport network and urban fabric. The Duchy wanted a project that would enable them to continue to meet their commitment to providing an income for the present and future Dukes of Cornwall. The Prince of Wales looked to demonstrate practically his principles of urban design, community architecture and sense of commitment to place. Leon Krier longed to implement twenty years of theoretical drawings and arguments he had formulated on the restoration of urbanism and local democracy. The Guinness Housing Trust aimed to successfully install itself within the Dorset social housing market, an identified gap in its logical housing network. The building firm, C G Fry and Son hoped to continue their winning formula of producing saleable traditional housing. To the reconciliation of these internal differences of alignment were also added many external challenges, including County Council prescriptions, Housing Corporation requirements, citizen requests, and a poor economic climate.

Nevertheless, despite numerous alterations to details, Poundbury's fundamental precepts have remained unscathed since finally instituted, rather forcefully by the Prince and Krier, in late 1988. These precepts were developed from the Prince's and Krier's desire to discontinue the sprawl of Dorchester's late nineteenth and twentieth century suburbs. As an alternative, they advocated a shift in design that would echo the size, form, density, architecture, materials and feel of pre-suburban Dorchester. They proposed a compact urban extension, which reclaimed the mathematical line between town and country, and provided identifiable, human scale neighbourhoods; a mix of uses; a blend of housing types, sizes and tenures; and a historical continuity with Dorset by virtue of an appreciation of the

vernacular. In this way it was expected that the development would encourage population diversity, a vital street life, a sense of community, relative self-sufficiency, and an active local democracy. There is no denying that, like many before them, Poundbury's creators have deliberately adopted planning and architectural instruments to try to assure social diversity and mould community interaction. In the present century copious transformations of the urban landscape have attempted exactly the same task, more often than not without success. Poundbury's authors trust that by basing their attempt on historic exemplars, their outcome will be more favourable. However, their nostalgic assumption is a dangerous one given the immense lifestyle changes that have taken place in the last hundred years. If the ideal social order they perceive to have existed in the past was ever a reality, would contemporary citizens now want to replicate it anyway? Revisiting Poundbury in fifteen to twenty years time will provide an answer to that question.

In other respects, however, Poundbury is already meeting most of its acknowledged objectives. Much of the credit for this is due to the scheme's careful implementation through a foundational masterplan, evolving ground plans, and the performance standards and restrictions contained in the building design code. As built, the development reveals a compact and interesting layout, a variety of spaces and buildings, a modest residential architecture, a grander public and key-site architecture, prioritisation of pedestrian and cyclist movement over that of the car, a merging of social and private housing, and a small degree of mixed activities. Primary concerns in terms of achieving the project's goals as it progresses include the continuing needs to ensure a tenure mix, enable integration with the existing adjoining community, and keep the development ticking along so that a full range of community, retail, commercial and industrial uses eventuate.

Despite the doubts of a small number of Urban Villages Forum members (Chapter Four), Poundbury, so far, very closely approximates their conception on collaboration, design, economic and social fronts. Its only major departures from the Forum's ideals have been its failure to establish a community development trust and its decision to sell the

freehold for individual plots. Even with these shortcomings, a cursory assessment of the projects the Forum acknowledges in Table 1 (Chapter Four), reveals Poundbury to be quite an outstanding presentation of an urban village. This is further reinforced by the project's financial and market success, which points to the potential for reproduction. Its obvious disadvantage is that it is an example on the Forum's least favoured type of development site, the green field site (even if it is attached to the urban periphery of a County town).

Nevertheless, beyond the creator interpretations, if not propaganda, that my study relies so heavily on, and in spite of the positive results in terms of Poundbury's own goals and also those of the Urban Villages Forum, it is still a peculiar development. This is poignantly displayed in the contradiction that exists between the scheme's ultimate originator and its apparent inclusionary, collaborative social purpose. Whatever his good intention, Poundbury has not been a grassroots solution to urban development. The Prince, acting in full complicity with regal function, has himself decided what is best for his subjects and bestowed it accordingly. That is not to say that his preference is somehow worse than that in the conventional development process. However, the disparity between his method of operation (monarchical) and his desired endpoint (local democracy) seems to have eluded him.

There are other curious features to the project. It is a classic case of the equating of the traditional urban landscape with a civilised and committed citizenry. This romantic view of pre-industrial social order shows a strong dissatisfaction with contemporary social relations, but a lack of vision for a progressive solution. Instead, the old order will need to be kept in trim by the imposition of a code of behaviour - in this instance, a design code, which again highlights the physical determinism which underwrites the scheme. Given this background, how popular is Poundbury ever likely to be as a model? While some elements are ripe for transference, such as mixed use, mixed tenure, road layout, and fashionable vernacular architecture, the fastidious enforcement of authoritarian codes is unlikely to take-

off around the country. Poundbury is a fascinating development, but it is an overly finicky construction at the far end of the development spectrum.

In contrast, the Crown Street Regeneration Project is less painstaking and illustrates different strengths and weaknesses from Poundbury with regard to serving as an example of an urban village. In order to provide a comparison between two divergent projects supposedly adhering to the same urban discourse, the Crown Street development will be examined in Chapter Six.

Chapter 6

REINVENTING THE TENEMENT: THE CROWN STREET PROJECT

Glasgow has experienced many incarnations. An exciting city known for its charisma rather than its classical beauty, Glaswegian leaders like to promote the notion that it is a 'can do' place, that is responsive to creative urges (Glasgow City Council, 1994: 7). In the present chapter, an examination is delivered of one contribution to the current phase of transformation in Scotland's largest city. A 16 hectare 'gaping hole' in the heart of the Gorbals district of Glasgow is in the process of being filled by a regeneration development that has been commonly branded an urban village (Galloway, 1997a: 1). Launched in 1990, the Crown Street regeneration project aims to breathe new life into this infamous locality by creating 800 accommodation units of assorted tenure, blending commercial and community activities, and attracting back a social mix of residents and private investment. Three quarters constructed, this renewal of inner city brown land is hailed as visionary, innovative and transferable by its proponents.

A similar format is followed in Chapter Six to that used in the chapter about Poundbury. In the current chapter the aim is to present the background and context for the Crown Street project, establish the project's original intentions and design principles, outline the planning and development procedure employed, and assess the project's processes and outcomes in terms of its own aims, its replicability and its value as a model urban village.

1. RE-IMAGING GLASGOW

More so than many other British cities, Glasgow is the bearer of well known, long-held and clashing images, from praise for its robust friendliness, compassion and hospitality (Morton, 1929; Gulliver, 1938; Caplan, 1960) to castigation for its grimness, violence and propensity for slums (Shadow, 1858; McArthur and Kingsley Long, 1935; Lucas, 1976). The twentieth century has witnessed a steady retrogression of the city's representations, leading to the clear predomination of the negative perceptions (Damer, 1990). This has been largely stimulated and perpetuated by the effects of Glasgow's struggle to cope with de-industrialisation, global economic restructuring, and shifts in UK policy and finance in the last fifty years (Pacione, 1995). In response, aware of the threat to investment and tourist potential caused by such unenthusiastic portrayals, the Glasgow District Council has busied itself with several high-profile counter measures. These have included the establishment of the Mayfest in 1982, an annual arts festival; the 'Glasgow's miles better' campaign, begun in 1983; the 1988 Glasgow Garden Festival; the successful acquisition of the title 'European City of Culture' for 1990; and the designation of 'UK city of architecture and design' for 1999. These initiatives have aided the sprucing-up of Glasgow's image and have brought commercial benefits to the central city. However, the gain to the city's many deprived peripheral housing estates has not been evident (Pacione, 1995 and 1993).

The Glasgow of the turn of this century is a world away from contemporary Glasgow. The city was renown as a nucleus for innovative heavy industrial activity. Sited on the banks of the Clyde for more than fifteen hundred years, Glaswegians had transformed their shallow river bed into an international shipbuilding district and port. Initially a bi-nodal village, consisting of a fishing community on the river bank and an ecclesiastical fellowship on the hill above, by the sixteenth century Glasgow was beginning to assert itself as a commercial town, growing out from its lower base by the river. Its status as a provincial

centre was overtaken gradually as Glasgow gained a national then international standing in the eighteenth century. In particular, the city developed profitable trading links with American colonies, quickly expanded its manufacturing base, and took advantage of import potential, principally the tobacco trade. With the enormous profits made from tobacco, Glasgow merchants spread their risks by acquiring land around the town and investing in new enterprises, including sugar refining, rope making, sail making, glass manufacture, the textile and printing industries, and coal and iron ore mining. 'Paradoxically, the merchant aristocracy was basically responsible for the city's slow metamorphosis from a trading into an industrial centre' (Devine, 1975: 48).

The developing iron industry in conjunction with the textile and sugar refining industries, placed significant demands on engineers to develop and maintain pumping machines. The innovations opened new export possibilities for specialised machinery and tools. By the nineteenth century a wide range of heavy engineering activities existed along the Clyde and the Forth-Clyde canal. Ship and locomotive building became the dominating sectors of this industry (Moss and Hume, 1977).

At the end of the nineteenth century ... there was hardly a branch of engineering that was not represented in Glasgow. The concentration of population and of industrial and commercial power confirmed Glasgow's position as the economic hub of Scotland and one of the greatest workshops of the world. By 1900 Glasgow was a world metropolis with justifiable claim to be the Second City of the Empire. (Pacione, 1995: 68)

The industrialisation of Glasgow had a marked influence on the city's growth and structure. Despite the hilly terrain, the Victorians proscribed a formal grid pattern over the central city expansions, while some peripheral suburbs followed the lines of their drumlins' topography. Residential tenements and industry were densely intermixed both along the Clyde and to the north of the city along the canal. As the central area became more crowded, industry and its associated housing spread westwards beside both waterways. However, the integrity of the new middle class and aristocratic enclaves in Glasgow's west-end was preserved by careful exclusionary tactics based on feu charters (a powerful management system with feudal origins) and land disposal restrictions. The inner city

housing the élites had abandoned was promptly taken up by working class families, who were crammed in, often five persons to a room.

The correlation between the poor condition of the inner city housing, its congested occupancy (up to 2,500 persons per hectare), and ill-health of its residents was repeatedly raised by the city's medical officers in the late 1800s. Until this time, housing for workers had been left to private enterprise and the market. The prevailing Victorian ideology upheld the notion of *laissez-faire* and individual responsibility. It was against these beliefs that the City Corporation struggled to bring about public involvement in the provision of quality housing for low income citizens. The attempts were continually thwarted. Eventually, grassroots agitation manifested itself in the form of a collective rent strike in 1915. The strike spread over several months with more than 20,000 residents taking part. The action even prompted legislative response in London and was indispensable in bringing about the founding of public housing throughout Britain.

In Glasgow, City Corporation housing increased from 1 per cent of the city's stock to 71 per cent (over 50,000 dwellings) by the outbreak of World War II. But by the end of the war, Glasgow was still faced with inner city overcrowding, poor housing structures, and a large waiting list for public housing (more than 90,000 people). While the Corporation proposed the construction of 200,000 new units within its boundaries to address the problem, the regional plan offered a contrary scheme. The latter recommended dispersing the Glasgow population, including the relocation of approximately 250,000 people to existing and new towns beyond Glasgow's bounds. Furthermore, the regional plan suggested a green belt be applied to contain any additional growth of the city. Despite opposition from the City Corporation, the Scottish Office endorsed the regional plan's strategy and it was enacted.

In 1954, the Glasgow Development Plan designated the neglected Gorbals, Govan and Royston inner city tenement areas for immediate demolition and comprehensive redevelopment. A further 26 redevelopment areas were added to the plan in 1957. To

deal with the re-housing of tenants from these sites, a number of peripheral housing estates were developed, including Castlemilk, Pollok, Drumchapel and Easterhouse. In addition, the City Corporation negotiated agreements with more than 50 local authorities to deal with the 'overspill' of residents.

The clearances proceeded relatively slowly through the early 1960s, concentrating on the worst pockets of nineteenth century housing at a rate of about 2,000 units per annum. The vision was reinforced in 1965 by a Highways Plan which heralded a sweeping away of the old Glasgow and the forging of a 'brave new world of the car and the high rise lifestyle' (Crown Street Regeneration Project, 1992: 12). The plan envisaged more miles of motorway per capita than in any other European city. By the beginning of the 1970s the Corporation raised the pace of demolition to around 6,000 units a year. Mixed use tenement buildings were replaced by Corbusian inspired residential towers and mid-rise (seven to eight storey) blocks. However, the decentralised rebuilding of the inner city and the process of population thinning and dispersal to other towns did not work as effectively as had been envisaged. There was an improvement in the quality of downtown housing, but Glasgow still lagged behind the rest of Britain (Cullingworth and Watson, 1971). It took some time before it was seen that the new high-rise housing and the high density mid-rise housing was not working. Hall (1996: 225) suggests that, to understand this slow recognition, onlookers need to appreciate just how bad 'the dense rows of smoke-blackened slums (were) that the towers replaced'. But gradually planning and design professionals were questioning the appropriateness of the new blocks and their layout, while renewing an appreciation for the simplicity of their tenemental predecessors (Horsey, 1990). Meanwhile, approximately 200,000 residents had been relocated in Glasgow's new high-rise peripheral estates or beyond. However, there was a reluctance by many to leave their own neighbourhoods, and public opposition became more vocal. This was compounded by a lack of employment opportunity in the overspill locations and a reticence by those localities to accept more of Glasgow's migrants. Moreover, quickly declining population numbers in

Glasgow (over and above the dispersal strategy) heightened questions about the efficacy of continuing with the overspill policy. Global and national shifts away from manufacturing and into service industries, accompanied by changes in the nature of employment, strongly influenced Glasgow, contracting its job base and population. Added to this was the common trend in large cities towards counter-urbanisation and the decline in central city residents.

Consequently, in September 1974 the City Corporation (known as the City of Glasgow District Council after local government reorganisation in 1975) placed a moratorium on their redevelopment programme proposals and reduced demolition work back to 2,000 units a year. In 1976 they confirmed the end of the overspill policy. Their new direction was based principally on the rehabilitation of existing central tenement housing. Most of the implementation of the programme was placed in the hands of housing associations with the assistance of Housing Corporation and Scottish Development Department funding. In addition the City began to pursue the principle of drawing the private sector back into housing provision. Many different schemes were executed to this end, frequently involving partnerships between the Council and various private sector firms. Enticing private developers into those areas where market demand is lacking, such as the inner city and urban fringe estates, has not been an easy task however, particularly when profits need to be controlled to ensure low income groups can take up the resulting accommodation. Success has been more readily achieved in the inner city than the periphery though. The greater potential of the inner city to act as a stimulant for further economic growth has been a major factor in attracting funds. For example, taking advantage of the central area's possibilities complemented the agenda of the Scottish Development Agency which sought to realise the economic potential of Glasgow, rather than benevolently contribute to the rehabilitation of impoverished areas (Pacione, 1993). Similarly, the private sector while open to investing in the central city have refused to commit themselves to redevelopment in the outlying areas. Hence, despite the Council's

designation of peripheral estates as priority planning areas, they have failed to entice private ventures or public-private partnerships. Therefore, although it was evident by the early 1980s that attention on the inner city could now be reduced in favour of the now more impoverished areas of Castlemilk, Easterhouse, Pollok and Drumchapel, the shift in emphasis never eventuated.

Pacione (1993) concludes that the approach to regeneration exhibited in Glasgow is founded on the macro-scale understanding of addressing urban crisis that is prevalent in UK urban policy. The intention is that by concentrating effort on bolstering the central city, a 'trickle-down' effect will also ultimately eliminate social needs and poverty. However, Pacione (1993: 94) argues that the

available evidence suggests that urban revitalisation through 'capitalism with a social conscience' is a chimera. It is naïve to expect a 'morally aware' private sector to effect the revitalisation of run-down estates. Private-sector investment decisions are founded largely upon self-interest and not philanthropy. The privatisation of urban development inevitably means accepting a policy of triage and concentrating on areas of greatest economic potential, with adverse consequences for other areas.

The Crown Street regeneration project examined in this chapter is a consummate example of this most recent sort of private-public endeavour within Glasgow's inner city. Fundamentally it is aimed at enhancing the image of the central area and inviting economic development, with positive trickle-down effects anticipated. It is a small scheme within the much larger, still disadvantaged district of the Gorbals. However, it is a project which the Council and its partners have quite deliberately set apart to be amply resourced and prominently publicised as a showpiece of Glasgow quality and innovation.

2. THE ORIGINS OF THE CROWN STREET REGENERATION PROJECT

The Gorbals is one of Glasgow's oldest districts, and probably its best known. Sited on the south side of the Clyde (with the Glasgow centre on the north), the district grew up around the western-most ford across the river (figure 63). In the thirteenth century a bridge was constructed at this point. The southern quarter subsequently became known as

STRATEGIC LOCATION OF THE GORBALS



FIGURE 63: Location of the Gorbals next to downtown Glasgow (Glasgow Regeneration Alliance, 1996: 3)

Bridgend. The 'Gorbals' name appears to have originated post 1650, when this southern area was purchased by Glasgow's Town Council ('Gorbals' likely being a corruption of 'gar' and 'baile', Gaelic for town-land).

In the last two centuries the district has undergone several major changes in character. In the nineteenth century the medieval buildings still prevalent in this village rooted in weaving were replaced by fashionable Georgian tenement housing as the area was turned into a central suburb for the middle class 'genteel folk'. In the Victorian era, the community became much more diverse. Immigrants stepping off the ships and migrants from the Highlands (driven down by the land clearances) found the Gorbals a convenient location given its proximity to the city centre and river, with their attendant employment opportunities, and given its reasonable accommodation costs. Immigrants from Ireland came in steady numbers throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, after an initial wave following the Irish famine. Italians also came in numbers, as did Jews from Russia, Lithuania and Poland (the Gorbals had the largest concentration of Jews in Scotland, Caplin, 1960). As net in-migration continued, by the early twentieth century Gorbals housing was becoming more and more crowded, the population reaching approximately 90,000 people by the mid 1930s. During the inter-war years the district became notorious as a slum, and immortalised as such courtesy of its raw depiction in *No Mean City*:

Night brings no kindly silence to the tenement dwellers of the Empire's second city.... And yet sleep falls upon the slum dwellers. It is a depressing fact that men and women can get used to almost anything - to stench and vermin and overcrowding that is close to physical discomfort. (McArthur and Kingsley Long, 1935: 22)

And thus Gorbals, with its children swarming in and out of the tenements into the spacious streets that mock the squalor and the misery of the tall hives which line them! (McArthur and Kingsley Long, 1935: 88)

Even so, while acknowledging the appalling physical conditions and related ill-health, the Gorbals produced many passionate apologists from within its ranks. The district was applauded for its 'rich community spirit', 'throbbing ... vitality' (Bell, 1995: 15), and 'courteous and friendly' diversity of residents (Caplan, 1960: 19). Blame was levelled against the City Corporation and landlords for allowing this lively neighbourhood's demise into a

ghetto (Lucas, 1976; Bell, 1995). Subsequently, reproach was also pointed in the same direction in response to the supposed remedy to the situation:

When the area had so deteriorated the final stroke which well-nigh killed off its social fabric as well as its crumbling built environment was the insensitive blanket treatment of Comprehensive Redevelopment in the 1960s and 1970s. Some of the most renowned of architects - Basil Spence and Robert Matthew - were employed to create this new utopia but the planners' schemes went awry. Utopia was stillborn - much of the Gorbals of the dreams has now been laid to waste once more. (Bell, 1995: 16)

The designated Gorbals Comprehensive Development Area (CDA) extended over 138 hectares. For organisational reasons, it was subdivided into a number of sub areas and phases. For the purposes of this study, it is the Hutchesontown-Gorbals CDA unit, and in particular the Hutchesontown 'E' phase, which is of particular relevance. This latter area corresponds more or less with the present day Crown Street regeneration project.

The Hutchesontown-Gorbals CDA, approved in 1957, was the very first of Glasgow's redevelopments. This 45 hectare site housed 27,000 people and had a net residential density of over 1,100 persons per hectare, an occupancy rate of 1.89 persons per room. 97 per cent of units had no bath and 78 per cent shared lavatories with an average of four other families (Pacione, 1995: 168). According to Corporation criteria (Lucas, 1976), 81.4 per cent of these houses were unfit to live in and incapable of improvement: 79 per cent of dwellings had unsatisfactory sanitary conditions and 95 per cent were in the lowest category in terms of structural soundness. The redevelopment scheme proposed the complete levelling of the existing dwellings, 444 dispersed shops, 48 pubs and 72 businesses employing 1,200 workers (figure 64), and their replacement by a primarily residential development to cater for 10,000 people, plus 57 outlets in designated shopping centres and 9 public houses.

Site work began on the CDA in 1958, resulting in a mix of mid-rise blocks and multi-storey towers, including an award winning scheme of 21 storey blocks designed by Coventry Cathedral architect Sir Basil Spence (the latter were ultimately demolished in 1993). Construction was to be spread over a twenty year period, at a cost of £16 million. The Hutchesontown E phase commenced in 1969 (figure 65). It comprised twelve linked



FIGURE 64: Bustling Cumberland Street, Hutesontown, 1955 (Kenna, 1990: 47)



FIGURE 65: Tower block construction in Hutchesontown-Gorbals CDA (Kenna, 1990: 52)

deck access blocks (figure 66) and two 24 storey high-rises (see figure 67 below), with flats varying in size from one to four rooms. The mid-rise deck access buildings were erected using the tracoba prefabricated system of construction, which had been pioneered by a French company in Algeria. Unfortunately the design and building method were poorly suited to the West of Scotland cool and moist climate. Chronic problems of condensation plagued the development as soon as the first tenants moved in at the end of 1971. Initially complaints about the conditions were made by individual tenants. The City Corporation retaliated, suggesting the problem lay with residents' living habits. It was not until late 1976 after rent strikes and a significant number of actions by the locally-formed 'Anti-dampness Campaign' that the Council finally retracted its position (Bryant, 1979). In fact the dampness, fungus and mould was a result of the dense, heavyweight concrete building materials which were vulnerable to condensation when lacking ventilation and adequate heating. Due to the design of the buildings, ventilation and adequate heating were virtually impossible to achieve. The first tenant was re-housed from 'The Dampies' (as the housing was dubbed locally) in December 1976. By 1982 all twelve blocks were completely vacant.

Investigations took place to attempt to solve the problems of excessive condensation and penetrating dampness in the buildings, but to no avail. After five years of sitting empty, being the popular target of vandals, and the focus of a zealous crusade by the local community, the bulldozers moved into this part of the Gorbals again. They left behind them a 16 hectare tract of cleared land in the heart of the Gorbals (figure 67). It was a step that many expressed reluctance about (Galloway, 1995). There was a fear amongst neighbouring residents that the Council would need to sell the land in order to pay for the demolition and that private developers might move in and gentrify the area (Galloway, 1995; Pacione, 1995). At this time just 1.2 per cent of Gorbals housing was in private ownership (EDAW, 1997). With existing housing conditions still considered in need of



FIGURE 66: Gorbals deck access flats (Pacione, 1995: 167)



FIGURE 67: 16 hectare cleared tract that makes up the Crown Street site, with two remaining white tower blocks (Gorbals Officer Working Group, 1994: cover)

attention, there was concern that a private development would not benefit local people awaiting re-housing (Fitzpatrick, 1995 interview).

Patently aware of public anxiety, and past failures on the site in question, Council progress relating to future directions was not swift. Nevertheless, the embarrassment of having to demolish buildings that had only been occupied for ten years meant there was a strong political will to enact alternative solutions (Henaughen, 1995 interview). Ownership of the land did change hands. However, rather than selling directly to the private sector, the Council transferred the property to the Scottish Development Agency (whose involvement was taken over by the Glasgow Development Agency in April 1991), a body charged with encouraging economic development by such means as working to deliver more jobs, supporting entrepreneurs, strengthening the business base, and creating a better business environment. Almost coincidentally, the Scottish Development Agency officials visited the International Building Exhibition projects in West Berlin in 1987. They were intrigued by the similarity between the Berlin situation and that in the Gorbals. Upon their return, they put the proposition to the District Council of employing the same kind of urban renewal process, based on multi-agency partnership and traditional tenements, within the cleared Hutchesontown E site. The Council was convinced by their argument (Galloway, 1995 interview).

So, in 1990 the Crown Street Regeneration Project was conceived to deliver a contraposition to traditional CDA approaches to renewal for the 'Hutchie E' district. The project was devised by a formal partnership comprising the Scottish Development Agency (now the Glasgow Development Agency) - who took the lead role in the process, the City of Glasgow District Council (a unitary authority as of April 1996), Scottish Homes (Scotland's national housing agency and grant giving body for both social and private housing projects), and the local community (via Community Councils and an umbrella body for all local community groups, although ultimately through a community trust). Early discussions with the private sector revealed a marked resistance on their part to become involved in

constructing and marketing owner occupied housing because of the stigma attached to the location (Lyden, 1997 interview). Therefore, using the public sector to control and pump-prime the project, it was intended that the private sector would then be brought in to work with the partnership in implementing the scheme.

A steering group originally consisting of 12 people, but now more like 20 (often referred to simply as the Crown Street Regeneration Project), made up of representatives from all project partners, including local citizens nominated by the Community Councils, chief executives and directors from each of the agencies, and local body politicians, was formed to oversee the project. The group operates on the basis of consensus decision making. Effectively each partner has the power of veto. Through its quarterly meetings, the group makes all the major decisions in respect of project implementation, and monitors progress.

In February 1991 a project director was appointed for the group, Mike Galloway. Galloway, a graduate in planning from Oxford Polytechnic and, at the time, working on city centre issues within the Glasgow City Planning Department, is also a Council member of the Urban Villages Forum, the Chair of the Scottish branch of the Forum, and a major contributor to the Forum's *Economics of Urban Villages* report. Although given a budget to set up staff to deliver the Crown Street project, Galloway chose to avoid the possibility of creating a further layer of bureaucracy (Galloway, 1995 interview). Instead, separate teams dealing with tasks such as design, marketing, and community participation, were pulled together using secondees from the partner agencies, and by buying in various consultants. Once a task is completed, the relevant team is wound up.

Against the background of previous renewal failure, one of the first tasks of the project was to draw on the lessons from the earlier 'solutions' for the Gorbals and develop a transparent set of objectives for the new development. The following conclusions were reached:

- Grand designs, social and architectural experiments on the scale of Hutchesontown simply do not work.
- Developing a site in isolation from its surroundings loses any sense of community.

- Top down solutions, which do not take account of the needs and aspirations of local people, are set to fail.
- People cannot be reduced to neat boxes on a chart.
- Solutions cannot be imposed: they must evolve. (Crown Street Regeneration Project, 1992: 16)

In addition, recognition was given to the existing assets the partnership perceived to be of particular benefit to the project:

- Despite its problems, many people still want to live in the Gorbals.
- The area is close to the city centre, to shops, workplaces and entertainment.
- The schools in the area have a reputation for quality in education.
- The Gorbals has good public transport and is close to the M8 motorway.
- The site fronts the river looking over to Glasgow Green. (In fact it does not quite front the river)
- There is a large amount of land ready for development. (Crown Street Regeneration Project, 1992: 16)

Other critical features the group highlighted were the lack of family accommodation in the vicinity, the absence of a supermarket nearby, and the unattractive and inadequate nature of the adjoining local shopping centre immediately to the east of the project site. In response the group decided upon a goal of encouraging families and young people into the area to balance the existing aging population and help to sustain community life, and on a goal of providing more than just houses so that the community actually 'live' in the area not just sleep in it. Beyond this, the group also set itself a broader challenge to improve the social, economic and environmental qualities of the Gorbals, and thereby also benefit the wider Glasgow image. The project was not envisaged as a narrowly based, housing-led scheme. Short-term fixes were not on the agenda, nor was gentrification. Rather, in addition to the physical redevelopment of the site, long-term regeneration of the location and its economy was desired. Furthermore, it was intended to be an initiative that would have an impact beyond its own bounds (EDAW, 1997).

To this end, the steering group set itself five overriding objectives and three guiding principles for the project to adhere to. The objectives are to:

- Make the Gorbals a place in which people want to live.
- Develop a new and positive image for the Gorbals as a popular, balanced community.
- Assist in bringing new energy and growth into the Gorbals economy.
- Integrate the new development into the social, economic and physical fabric of the existing community.
- Provide solutions that stand the test of time. (Crown Street Regeneration Project, 1995)

The related guiding principles are:

- The redevelopment of the site will seek to apply the highest attainable quality of development.
- The site will not be developed in isolation from the surrounding area, but become a cohesive and integrated part of the Gorbals both physically and socially.
- The development will exploit where possible the opportunities for improving the local economy of the Gorbals. (EDAW, 1997: 3)

Closely linked to these objectives and principles has been the adoption of the goal of establishing Crown Street as an urban village, or perhaps more appropriately for its size, an urban hamlet. The urban village label has been applied as a direct consequence of Galloway's involvement. Galloway (1995 interview) explains that there was a simultaneous coincidence of convictions, with both the Crown Street aims and the *Urban Villages* first report developing in the same direction at the same time:

It's really a case of just synchronicity I suppose. The time is right for this idea. The Urban Villages Movement has been a good way of putting across what we're trying to do in Crown Street, and vice versa, Crown Street has been very good for the Urban Villages Movement to show people 'look it can be done, they're building one'.

The 'urban village' label arrived on the scene after the preparation of the initial masterplan. However, it has been explicitly incorporated within the design briefs prepared for the teams implementing the scheme. Most of those involved with the project, whether members of the partnership, or architects and developers for its various phases, are happy with the project being branded an urban village. Scottish Homes for one has used the concept and its imperative of mixed tenure to justify its continued financial support for social housing in Crown Street despite growing budget constraints and concern over the level of funding required (Scottish Homes, 1997).

On the other hand, the masterplanner for the Crown Street project, Piers Gough (1995 interview), is incensed by the use of the term:

They didn't ask us (whether to apply the term urban village to Crown Street). Well my feeling is that 'urban village' is the most stupid expression I ever heard. The point of living in a city is not to live in a village. The point of living in a city is it has connections across the city. So instead of having to know the person next door, which is what happens in a village, ... the city's exactly the opposite. You all provide services to each

other but they're anonymous. The people you know are the people you want to know, you choose to know. The city provides all kinds of institutions right across the city, and if you want to go to a film you don't go down the road to a film, you go across the city to the better film, the one you really want to see, not the one that's just on. So to describe and think of cities as a series of villages I think is a most mistaken, banal, tiresome and, in the end, pointless way of thinking about cities. So I dislike the concept.... I think it stinks, the concept stinks.

However, in contrast to the Poundbury project, the Crown Street masterplanner has held very little persuasion over the implementation of the scheme. Much more influential has been the guiding role played by the intense and determined project director, Mike Galloway. In addition, the Glasgow Development Agency and Scottish Homes, as the early holders of the purse strings, have been particularly important, not least because of their own broad remits which reach beyond the architectural and urban purposes of Piers Gough. This broader power base than at Poundbury scatters the focus of the project as key contributors operate towards their own purposes.

One feature of the project that has been unanimously agreed however, is its expectation as a showpiece and nourisher of Glasgow's determined strides forward. Almost everybody interviewed raised this feature of the project without prompting. Given the prominent location of the site adjoining a main thoroughfare across the Clyde, and within very close proximity to downtown Glasgow, it was ideally suited to high profile attention from the instigators' perspective. At the initiation of the Scottish Development Agency, it was decided to pull out all the stops to tackle this notorious area:

Glasgow is very conscious of its image. It's trying to keep it going all the time. So if you can get reputably the worst area in Glasgow and turn it round, there's a lot of kudos from that. (Coleman, 1995 interview)

Crown Street is like a flagship ... and because it is such an important, critical site there's been exceptions made, and I think quite rightly, to try and make sure that it works. (Fitzpatrick, 1995 interview)

Glasgow Development Agency, or the Scottish Development Agency as it was then, came up with this idea of a show-piece housing development.... they didn't want to build standard suburban houses or anything like that. They wanted something that was going to be a development that people would come from throughout the world to have a look at. I'm not joking, that's what it's all about. (Smith, 1995 interview)

... what we're doing is using Crown Street as a catalyst, a sort of demonstration of what can be done, which would then attract in further investment, further confidence in the Gorbals as an area. And so we would hope that the process would then ripple out into the rest of the Gorbals.... the approach taken was to say there are limited resources, we've got to accept that in the public sector. What we need to do, rather than spreading the jam very, very thinly over the area, and maybe achieving equality of distribution of public moneys, but very little effect, is to actually tackle properly a key

area and use it as this catalyst which will then spark off a wider regeneration by bringing in private money. (Galloway, 1995 interview)

That remit in place, the steering group then needed to ponder how best to bring their ideas to fruition. Desiring the appropriate architectural statement to match their image conscious ambitions, they elected to run a competition to elicit inspiration for a suitable masterplan.

3. THE MASTERPLAN

To commence the masterplan process, the steering group identified a number of firms with a reputation for working with sites like that of Hutchie E. These firms were invited to prepare a planning concept for the Crown Street project as a whole and then come to an interview. From these interviews, four finalists were offered the opportunity to develop their proposals for the project as part of a design competition, the winner receiving £25,000 for their efforts. The victors were the London based architectural practice of Campbell, Zogolovitch, Wilkinson and Gough (CZWG). However, their victory was not a financial one:

we've probably never lost more money than we have on doing this project. Yeah, it cost us. Well we won it, and we got the prize which was 25 grand, but we actually spent twice that on going for it. So that wasn't a very good start. Then they were really mean about how much they'd pay us to develop it (the masterplan). Then we weren't allowed to design any of the buildings on the project, where we might have made some fees back. So all in all it's been a really bad experience, really bad financial experience. And it really kind of in a way serves us right for thinking ... here's a competition which will take us into new realms, people will start to think we can plan cities, we can do interesting things. All we've got out of it is ... lots of invitations to lecture about it.... but nobody's ever called us again, never, no, no, although this is generally reckoned to be really, really good news, absolutely not a dicky bird. The only inquiries we have are from people like you ... (Gough, 1995 interview)

CZWG had worked on a number of projects around Glasgow in the two or three years leading up to the Crown Street competition. It was that presence in the city that had drawn them to the attention of the steering group. Even so, according to Gough (1995 interview), they were fortunate to actually get a look in, '... it was just that post Glasgow festival year. At the time there was a sense that they wanted the world to look at it. So they

were able to accept that an English architect had won it, which in Scotland's quite a big deal, quite a big deal'.

Deliverer of the masterplan, Piers Gough, and his partners at CZWG had all been educated at the Architectural Association school in Bedford Square, London. Gough is in fact a recent past president of the Association. He describes himself and the other partners as 'very AA imbued people' - the AA of the 1960s that is. The school has always had a reputation for architectural innovation. Under the influence of teachers such as Richard Rogers, Nick Grimshaw and Michael Hopkins, according to Gough (1995 interview) he and his fellow students graduated with optimistic, wild and three-dimensional visions (as opposed to two dimensional elevations) for the future. They did not consider the short-comings of modernism, such as its lack of soul, but were sure they were heading beyond modernism, with anything possible. 'We thought we were just going to have a lot of fun in architecture really, in a very sort of maverick way' (Gough, 1995 interview). However, the reality post graduation was, in Gough's opinion, the opposite of their architectural grounding. Instead of creating brave new world cities from scratch, they were involved in marginal projects in existing cities where the framework was already set and all you could actually do was move the furniture around. The high levels of ambition to invent new cities dissipated, although did not completely disappear. Their efforts were subdued, 'we're now playing with old typologies and trying to see what's good and bad about what was done before' (Gough, 1995 interview). However, they avoid direct replication, 'if you're going to historic models, in a way you've got to examine them, rework them 'til they make new sense for the time that you live in' (Gough, 1995 interview). For example, one of Gough's re-thinkings of contemporary architecture is that housing is now an important place to celebrate. Unlike Krier who contends that housing should retain the modesty it had in the past, Gough believes these hitherto anonymous buildings have increased in importance relative to the palaces, churches and town halls of the past and should be recognised appropriately.

CZWG gained its prominence in the 1980s with its contributions to new housing in London's Docklands. Their work usually has an element of controversy to it, often because of the use of colour and spectacle in the design. In particular they are known for offerings such as the Cascades, China Wharf and the Circle (figure 68). The Circle on Butlers Wharf involves two semi circular seven storey apartment blocks which face each other. The street passes between the two, widening in the centre of the buildings to form a small circus. The inner facades of the buildings are clad with glossy blue bricks. On a smaller scale, Gough designed the police station for the new Cambourne village in Cambridgeshire. He kept to the village's traditional design guide requirements, but made the building less self-conscious of its historicist inclination by placing a big blue lantern on top, symbolic of the blue light found on the roof of police cars.

At Crown Street, CZWG found themselves again playing this now familiar role: working within the established set of old typologies but reworking the design. The steering group's brief for their task set the tone:

there are two options. Either you tear up history and say 'yeah, we'll do something wild, we'll do something amazing' ... but ... there's no way you were going to have any influence on this job, no chance. It was clear what level of aspiration, let's call it shall we, this was. But you can take a bigger view, which is that the point of Glasgow, if you like, the reason to live in Glasgow, is because it's Glasgow, not because it's something else. It isn't something else. It is a particular place, with a particular typology, which is the tenement block. To do even a scheme this big of something else has got a certain 'so what?' factor from the point of view of living there. (Gough, 1995 interview)

The brief left no doubt, the steering group 'were angling for a reinvention of the tenement block as being a sort of understandable housing type which could possibly halt the flood out of the city to the peripheries' (Gough, 1995 interview). In response to this fundamental requirement, Gough and his team decided to confront the notion of the tenement as their starting point, and try to formulate reasons why the tenement might still exist in the 1990s and after. As a result of their musings, the foundation CZWG decided to lay (on which their masterplan would be placed) relied on the following design concepts:

- creation of the liveable, urban city
- reinvention of the tenement block
- reversal of the road hierarchy and reintroduction of the shopping street
- redefinition of the grid pattern with linkages into surrounding communities

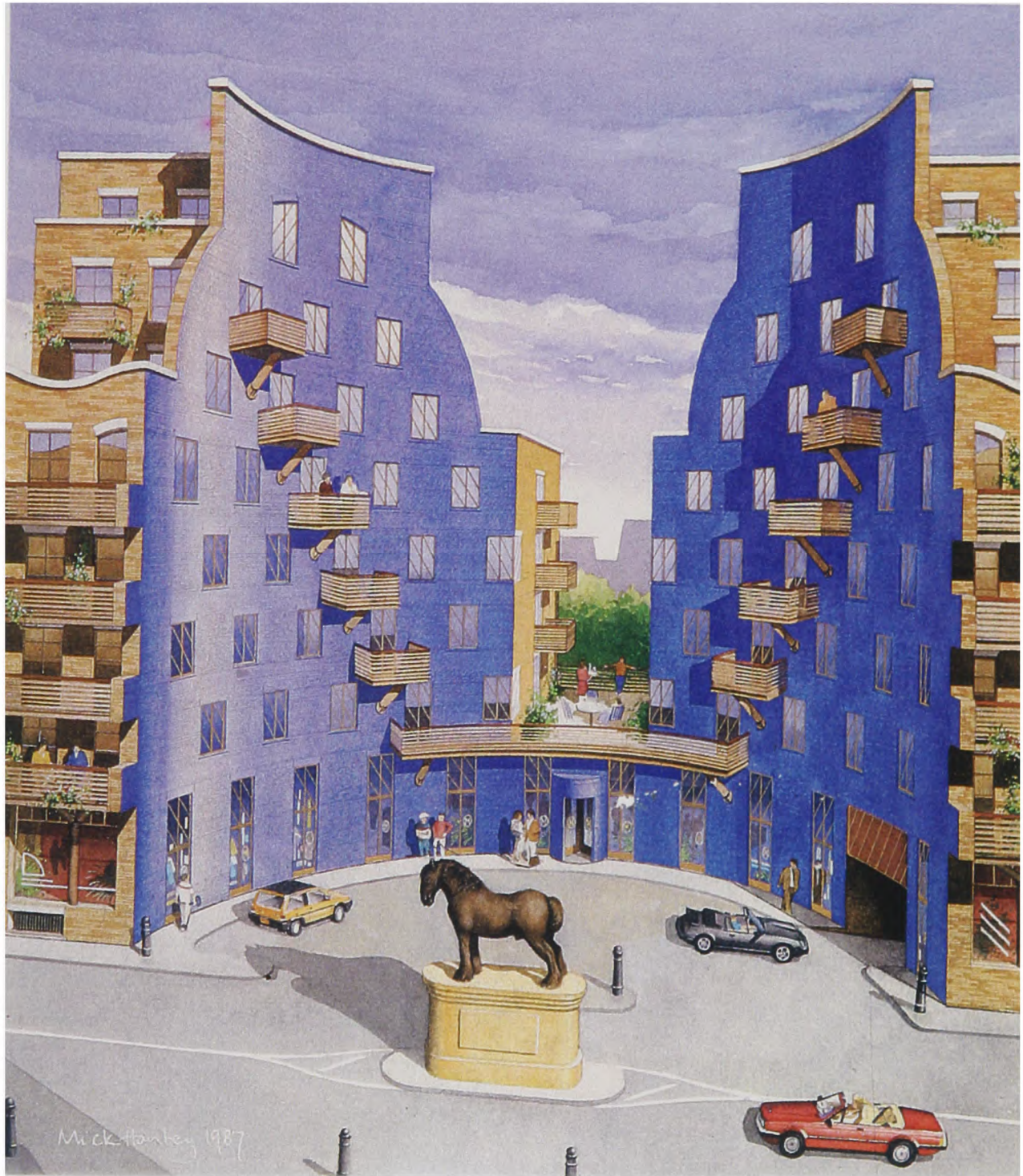


FIGURE 68: The Circle development - CZWG design, Butlers Wharf Conservation Area, London (perspective courtesy of Andrew Wadsworth, the developer)

These design concepts are reviewed below.

3.1 The liveable city

CZWG's masterplan ideas worked their way out from the level of the individual and family, to the dwelling, street and neighbourhood. Prioritising people, the masterplanners wanted to deliver a way to enjoy living in an urban environment, incorporating 'vitality' but also 'dignity' and 'calm'. Interactions within the local community were to be fostered by the approach. Yet continual exposure to the rigours of street life would be too demanding. Therefore, a reasonable degree of both internal and external privacy was also warranted. CZWG's treatment of the tenement block and street pattern attempted to address the issues of family life and private indoor and outdoor spaces. Their treatment of the grid arrangement, its links and associated activities aspired to make connections between Crown Street and the existing urban fabric, and ensure a range of shared facilities to help the neighbourhood succeed and also join with other communities. In addition, CZWG sought to integrate with and add to the 'robust mercantile gaiety which is wholly Glasgow' (CZWG, 1990: 1).

3.2 The tenement block

The tenement is an archetypal and resilient building form in Scotland, and especially so in Glasgow (figure 69). The urban townscape it creates mirrors that in the European cities with which Scotland has had a long association. Tenements have been a popular accommodation type in Glasgow for the last 150 years. Prominent Glasgow based architect Gavin Stamp (1995: 15) describes them as an 'urbane and sensible form of domestic architecture'. Even today they hold a sentimental sway over Glasgow's image



FIGURE 69: Glasgow tenements, east end of city (top), west end (bottom)

makers. 'There's an attraction about building tenements, particularly in Glasgow, because it's what Glasgow is about. That's what people think about when they think of Glasgow, is sandstone tenements' (Taylor, 1995 interview). But existing tenements vary significantly in quality, from salubrious, ornate and spacious housing for the privileged to very basic and cramped apartments for the working class, the latter often with shops on the ground floor. The blocks are normally four storeys high, with access to units via shared closes (entrance passageways) leading to a stairway. Each close and stairway would usually service eight families, with two flats provided on each landing. The close and enclosed back court to the rear of the block are the common property of the residents of the tenement. Internally, the layout has been very flexible, changing over time depending on current requirements. In the Gorbals area, the tenement housing tended to be provided in tight, linear blocks running north-south, with irregular, short east-west link roads in-between. By the twentieth century, the interior structure usually comprised small units including the notorious 'single-end' flats, which were often a single room which included the kitchen and recessed beds.

The notion of reinventing the tenement in Crown Street received a mixed response from those involved in the project. For example, on the one hand, developer in phase two of the project, Steve Lloyd (1995 interview) from Tay Homes, praised the concept, 'I think the premise now is to get people back into the city based on the tenemental format, which ... is prevalent everywhere in Glasgow, and built properly is a smashing way to deal with city areas'. On the other hand, phase one developer, Jim Coleman (1995 interview) from Wimpey Homes, was quite worried whether he would be able to sell tenement units, 'when the brief came out, it was traditional Glasgow tenement. We all went "oh" (he throws his hands up). So the jaws dropped.... I was never very happy about it'. Similarly, there were a range of views in-between the two illustrations provided here. In any case, the project partners were determined to pursue their tenement idea.

The Crown Street project emphasis on drawing families back to the area means that the traditional Gorbals tenement design needs modification to make it more attractive for

such inhabitants. The way that this is being dealt with at Crown Street is to replicate maisonettes on the first two storeys of most tenement buildings erected for private ownership (in addition, a very small number of town houses and terraces have also been provided within Crown Street). Each maisonette is a two storey dwelling with three or four bedrooms, an internal staircase, its own front and back door and a small rear private garden. The third and fourth storey of the tenement building is then used for one, two and three bedroom flats accessed by a traditional common close and stairway. The social housing tenements allow for limited maisonette development, but more commonly provide large ground floor flats with private access and dedicated gardens. In this way, approximately half the tenement units become the equivalent of the two storey semi-detached homes that are in popular demand for family housing around Glasgow at present, yet the development retains an urban character by keeping the four storey tenement form (Galloway, 1995 interview; Smith, 1995 interview; Martin, 1995 interview; Lloyd, 1995 interview). Overall, there are a wide range of accommodation types and sizes provided for via the masterplan, with a 75 per cent private to 25 per cent social-rental split in terms of ownership. Moreover, that ratio between private and public is to be blurred by the provision of housing on a shared ownership and equity share basis also.

In addition, a particular feature CZWG introduced to the adaptation of the tenement housing typology was that of the secure shared communal garden (figure 70). In the past, the off-road in-between space at the rear where tenement buildings backed up to each other has been a compact, semi-public site for privies, ash heaps, dustbins, drying lines and cars (figure 71). These spaces have lacked both privacy and security, and have been very unattractive. To avoid this 'no man's land' at Crown Street, CZWG proposed a definitive separation of the public (front) and private (rear) faces of the tenement blocks. Every dwelling would both look out over a public street area and a secure private garden. This would be achieved by joining all of the tenement buildings in a street block so that they form a ring around shared and dedicated garden areas in-between. The principal element

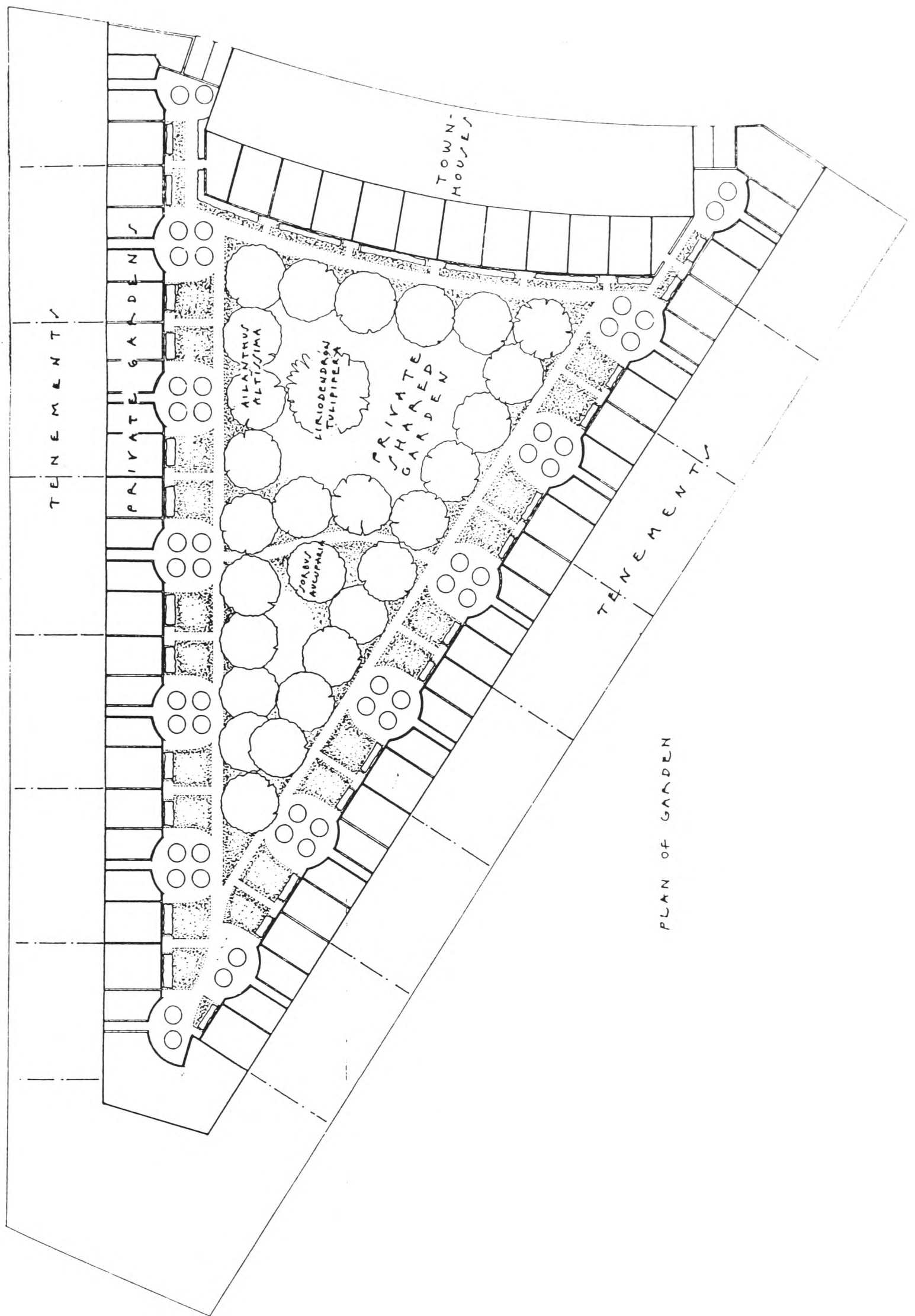


FIGURE 70: Private shared open space behind planned tenements (CZWG, 1990: 15)



FIGURE 71: The back court of 50-76 Crown Street, Gorbals, 1923, showing washing lines, stone washhouse, rectangular lavatory stacks (Pacione,1995:92)

of this internal space would be a large communal garden, with small private gardens attached to maisonettes and ground floor flats around the periphery. Access to these rear areas would be gained through lower floor units and communal closes. No access points for the general public would be provided:

The key element of that is that no one else gets in. It's ruthless. It's unliberal.... Semi-public are a nightmare really. It's the difference between whether you can let your four year old child roam around by themselves or not. Whether you feel safe.... So the idea here is that only the residents get in there.... When we drew up the plans we said everyone has to even build party walls, we will not allow gaps between buildings. (Gough, 1995 interview)

Again, in the design of this space, specific attention has been given to providing an attractive amenity for families. In the old Gorbals tenement housing, street blocks were very small and very densely packed. This left narrow rear areas, which were badly overshadowed by the surrounding buildings. CZWG's masterplan makes provision for much larger blocks, with the buildings kept wide apart, permitting sufficient room for a sunny, open space in the middle. Project director Mike Galloway (1995 interview) reiterates the importance placed on this aspect of the masterplan, 'if you're trying to attract young families into the area, you've got to give them some sort of respite from that urban life ... by creating these large communal gardens in the back of the street blocks, which are almost pastoral in their character'.

The inspiration for such an approach to the centre of the blocks came from a study CZWG made of housing developments in Glasgow and elsewhere in Scotland, but more especially from Maida Vale in London (Gough, 1995 interview). Maida Vale has various large scale flat developments built around secure, shared private gardens, which CZWG considered worked very well and provided an appropriate model for Crown Street.

Their vision in this regard was taken up very enthusiastically by the Crown Street instigators. Even so, due to the magnitude of the blocks, it did raise the issue of whether the project would achieve an urban feel given the reduced density inherent with such sizeable open spaces behind the tenements. Rebuilding the urban character of the Gorbals and doubling the local population was one of the missions for the Crown Street

project (Galloway, 1995 interview). The four storey tenement was an intrinsic part of this attempt:

we do not want Brookside coming to the Clyde - two storey housing. But we are starting to see it. Therefore, Crown Street was very definitely going against this general tide, saying 'no, Glasgow is an urban city, we're developing four storey housing' ... (Galloway, 1995 interview)

However, the masterplan called for the creation of very large street blocks, two to three times bigger than those for the original tenements on the site. So while the Crown Street facades might appear urban, would a vibrant urban temperament show through? This question was raised by the Royal Fine Arts Commission for Scotland when they reviewed the masterplan. The issue was whether the extensive open spaces resulted in too much of a thinning out of potential inhabitants and hence an under-populated look relative to the architectural appearance. Piers Gough (1995 interview) admits mild concern:

I suppose it's quite a good question.... I suppose that is a slightly lurking worry, is it'll turn out to be a bit empty. I think the shopping street will probably be OK because people will come from here and here (pointing to different locations on masterplan). If they get the right shops in, which they probably will, it will be attractive and new and pleasant to go to, and that's obviously quite key to the success of the area, that people do all come to this place to shop. But, as I say, one of the slight worries is being under-dense.

Similarly, Norman Fitzpatrick (1995 interview) from the New Gorbals Housing Association, suggests that at Crown Street the Association is achieving the same density of housing as is their norm around the Gorbals, but the emphasis of the project on an urban scale of building means that the housing blocks are actually slightly taller than the Association erects elsewhere.

However, phase two developer, Steve Lloyd (1995 interview) is confident that Crown Street's density is just sufficiently higher than typical suburban development to ensure a more urban outcome:

The density is lower than obviously it would have been if it was all purely flatted four storey development which was prevalent previously. But the density is still urban. We're talking about basically developing all street frontages in city blocks at four storey. So you are back to fairly high densities for suburban houses, not, I would suggest, for urban.

Overall, the gross density of the Crown Street site will be 50 dwellings to the hectare. This is a density of development in keeping with the historical densities of European cities, and in sharp contrast to the newer North American and Australasian cities that commonly have densities of less than 10 dwellings per hectare (Newman and Hogan, 1981). So, while not extremely dense, as in the case of late twentieth century Hong Kong (over 130 dwellings per hectare) or Dublin (over 80 dwellings per hectare), the Crown Street development is easily urban in density.

3.3 The road hierarchy

The masterplan presented by CZWG introduced tree-lined boulevards into the predominantly residential areas of the Crown Street site. In effect, the masterplanners proposed a complete reversal of the contemporary road hierarchy. Usually, the principal through roads of the city would be the widest, with the local traffic in residential neighbourhoods being served by streets of much narrower width. At Crown Street it was planned that through traffic should largely be confined to non-pedestrian roads. The project's main shopping street, which is Crown Street itself, should then be slightly wider, catering for public transport (to be re-routed there from Laurieston Road) and service deliveries, and providing broad pavements for outdoor café space, extra retail areas, and covered arcades. In this way, it is intended that the street will be very public in nature, involving shops, pubs, offices and community facilities, and contributing an interesting and comfortable route for pedestrians. It is a return to the traditional shopping street as opposed to a mall or arcade layout.

The remaining streets in the development are primarily for residential uses. The masterplanners designed them as wide, quiet, leafy, slow (20 miles per hour) boulevards in which the car is not the dictator (figure 72). The use of cul-de-sacs has been consciously avoided. In the very centre of the road would be a line of mature trees, this location

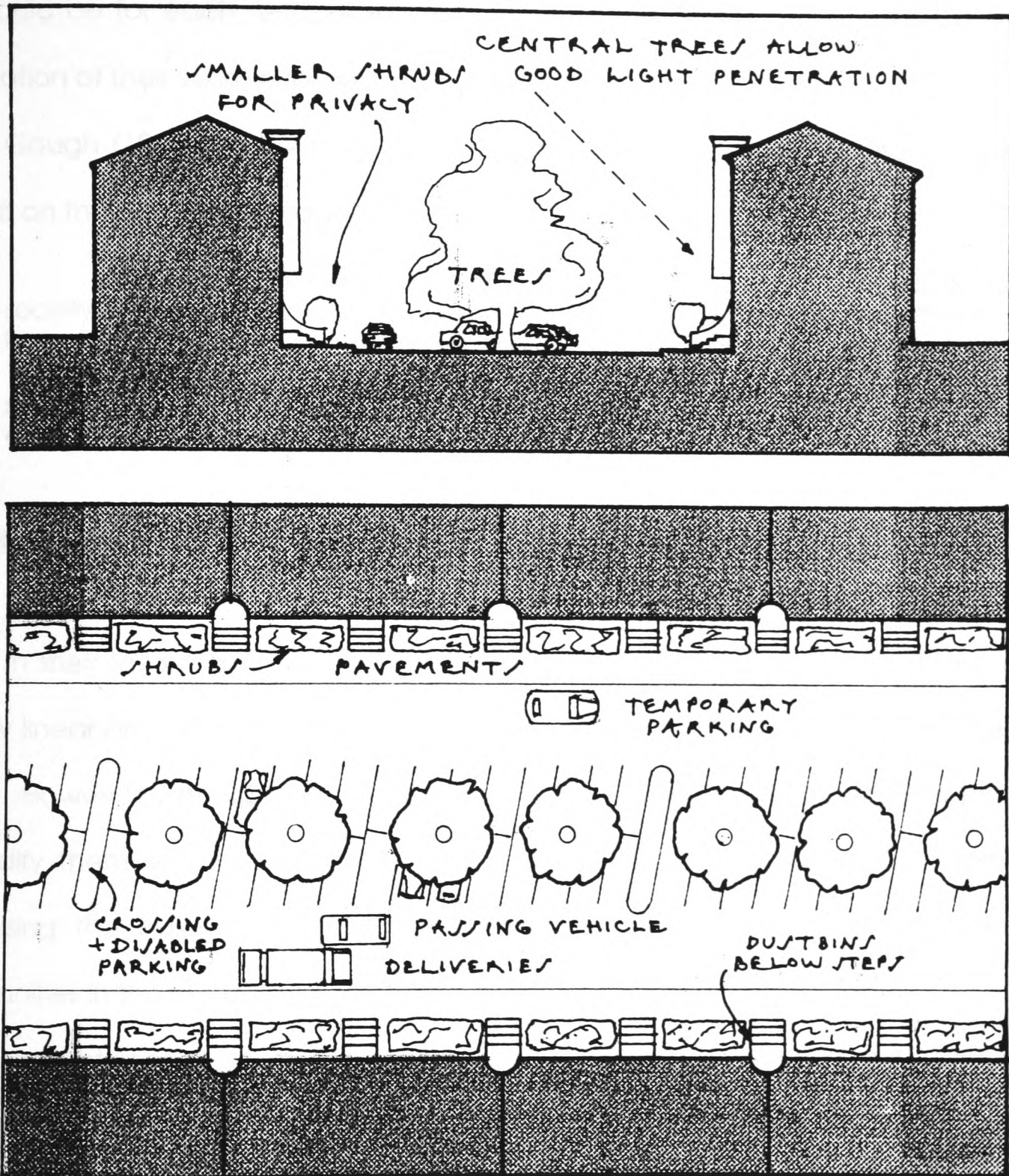


FIGURE 72: Incorporating leafy boulevards into Crown Street (CZWG, 1990: 3)

ensuring good light penetration to ground floor apartments. The presence of mature trees would also assist to soften the view of the motor vehicles. On either side of the line of trees, and still in the middle of the road, would be angled parking spaces for residents' cars. The aim would be for each resident to park opposite their dwelling and thereby enable easy observation of their vehicle for security purposes.

Gough (1995 interview) admits the notion of wide residential streets was a kind of conceit on the part of the masterplanners:

Why not make the place where you live the best place because the whole of society is reversed now, so everybody's living place is important to them. Everyone's important. It's no longer a hierarchical society in the same way, well we don't think it is.... Then you can shop on a reasonable width street and you can live on an even bigger street, a boulevard. That's how the rich like to live. They like to live on big streets, why can't we all live on big streets?

3.4 The grid pattern

In their layout of the project's street pattern, CZWG alluded to the late nineteenth century linear arrangement of the Gorbals and the grand mercantile grid of Glasgow's city centre. However, rather than directly replicate these precedents, the masterplanners chose to modify them so that Crown Street had a more responsive network of formal streets, maximising the ease of movement between, and interconnections with, neighbouring communities in the Gorbals (figure 73).

Straight lines of streets would characterise the Crown Street layout. These would be occasionally interrupted by a crescent or circus. Two main long north-south streets would remain, but in contrast to the former Victorian arrangement dominated by north-south routes (predicated on the notion that the streets moved residents towards the city centre for work and leisure), the new boulevard streets would link across to the surrounding Gorbals area via their east-west orientation. Connections between communities was a fundamental objective. In addition, given the flat terrain of the site, effort would be put into devising interesting vistas to enjoy when looking down a street, including a clock tower, an enclosed oval park, a crescent, and buildings of architectural merit.

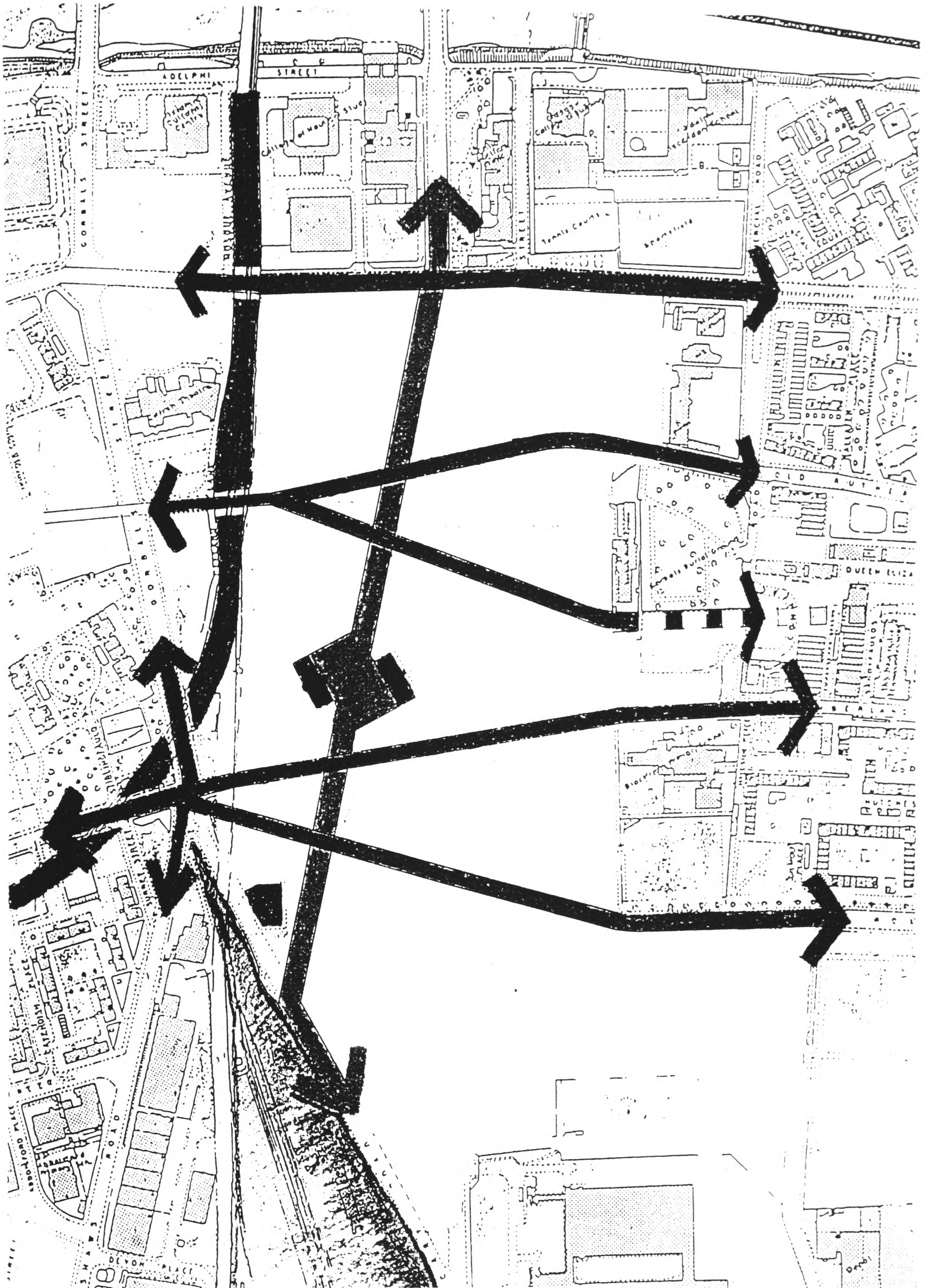


FIGURE 73: Proposed east-west links under the CZWG masterplan (CZWG, 1990: 7)

The proposals involved a number of major changes to the road infrastructure. The existing provision for through traffic was not only complicated but isolated the Crown Street area from the rest of the Gorbals to the west and south-west. CZWG recommended simplifying the main junctions and realigning Caledonia Road and the new Laurieston Road in order to make the area larger with more coherent lots. Likewise they proposed the realignment of the site's main street, Crown Street. They suggested that while continuing to start at Albert Bridge, it then move slightly to the west and proceed in-between the two remaining Sandiefields tower blocks (figure 74) and eventually head towards the historic 'Greek' Thomson church (designed by prominent Glasgow architect Alexander 'Greek' Thomson in 1856, figure 74). Gough (1995 interview) felt the high-rise towers were an 'ugly' dimension of the Crown Street site. However, by placing the street through the middle of them it would be possible to minimise their impact. Instead of being able to stand on the street and stare across to them, if the street went between them, people would be so close that viewing them was more difficult. As far as the 'Greek' Thomson church was concerned, Gough believed it to be a major asset and visual feature of the locality. By diverting Crown Street's course so that it deliberately headed straight towards the church it might bring some new life to the monument, which was in poor repair (after being gutted by fire in 1965) and effectively sited on a traffic island in the centre of a busy intersection. Needless to say, the modified grid pattern for the project became quite a focus for debate, particularly relating to the costs of the infrastructure alterations and the realignment of the Crown Street route.

3.5 The original masterplan and its urban mix

Based firmly on the concepts offered above, Piers Gough, on behalf of CZWG, presented a draft masterplan for the Crown Street project (figure 75). In addition to the elements already discussed, this plan incorporated a number of amenities designed to revitalise the urban nature of this Gorbals neighbourhood. Amongst these was the Gorbals

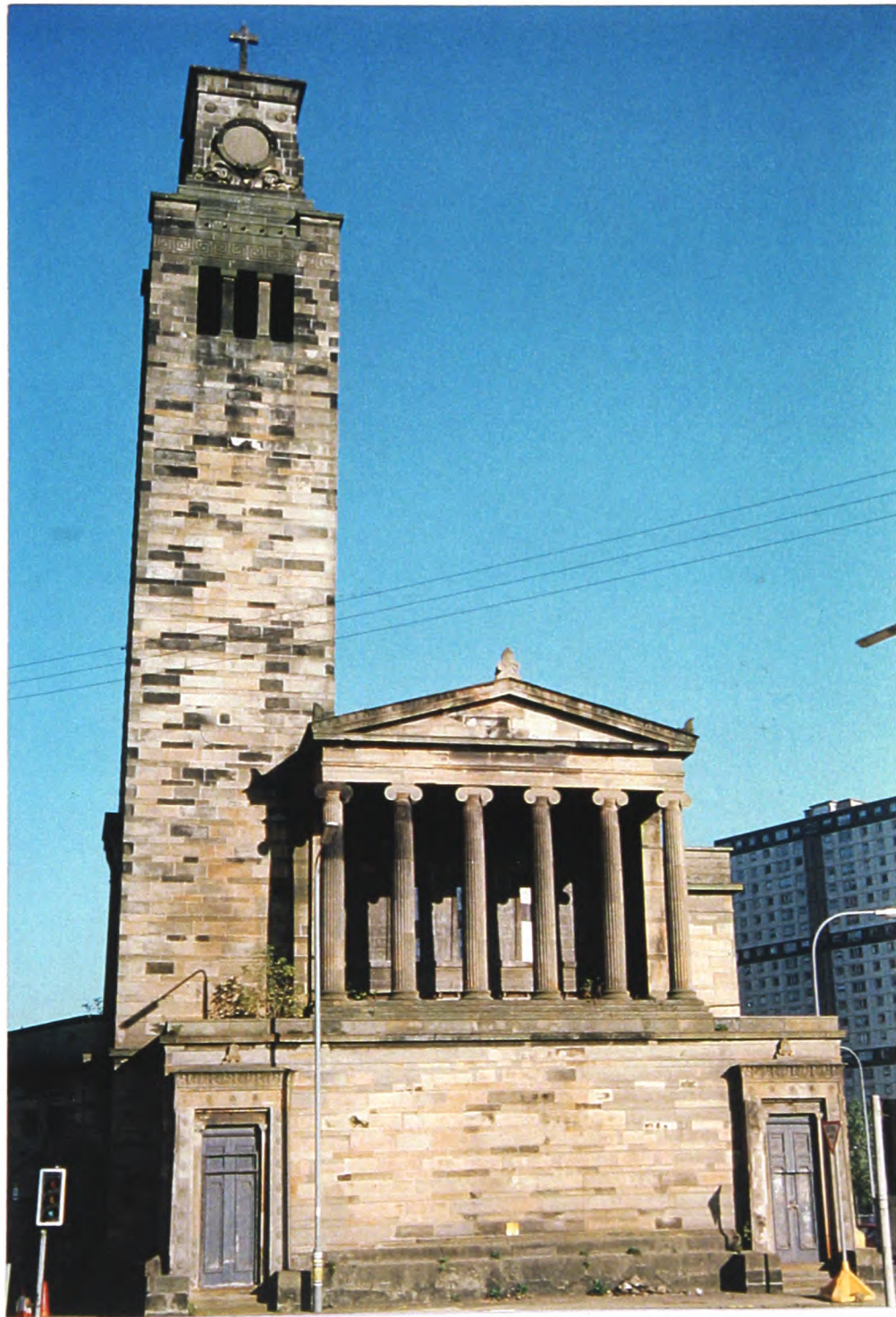


FIGURE 74: The Sandiefields tower blocks and the Alexander 'Greek' Thomson church

MASTER PLAN

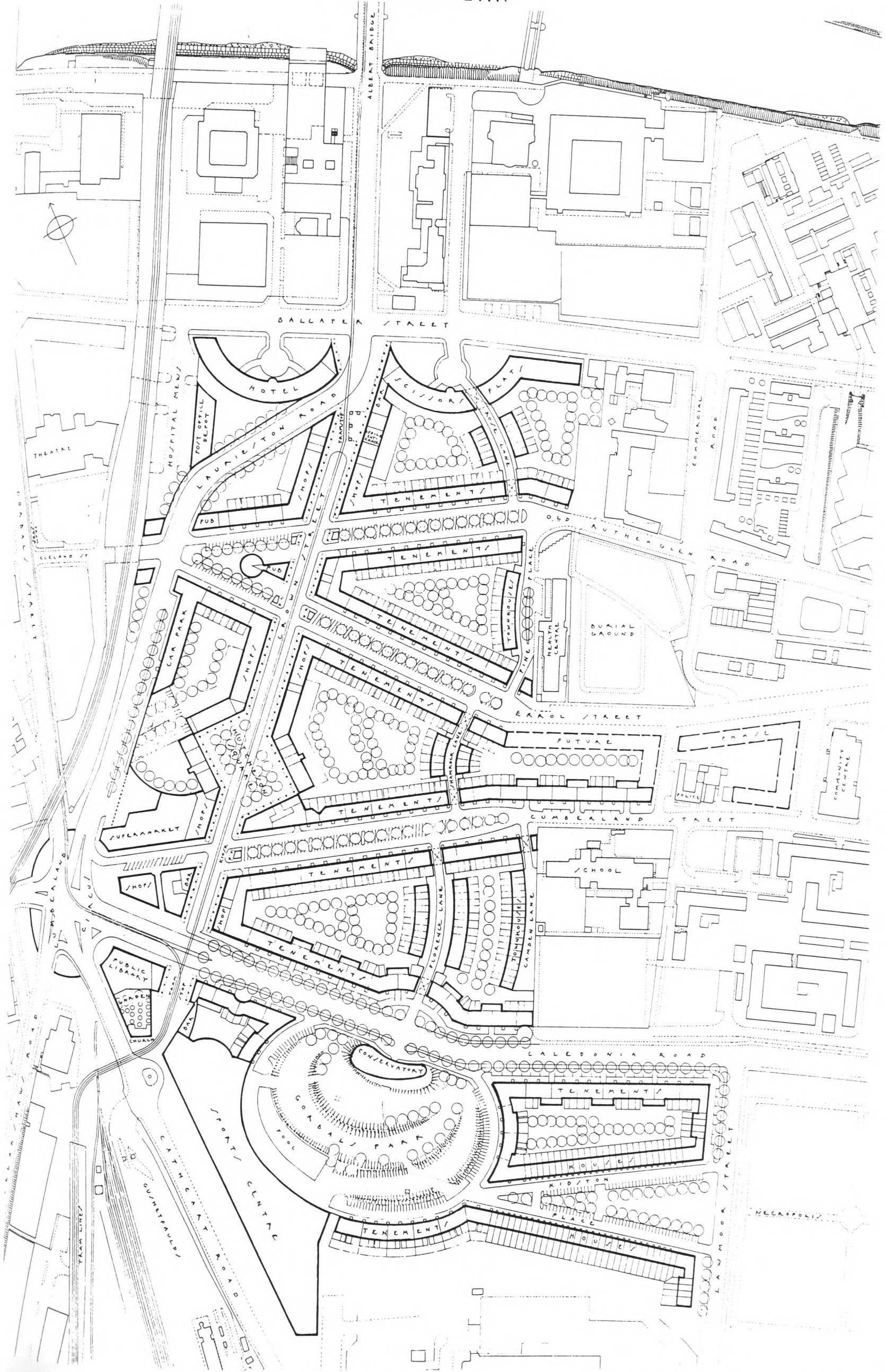


FIGURE 75: Draft CZWG masterplan for Crown Street (CZWG, 1990: 8) 370

Park. Replacing the existing 'unattractive and under-used' park at the southern bound of the Crown Street site (Crown Street Regeneration Project, 1994: 3), this park would be a multi-purpose recreation area, shaped in an oval and boarded by tenement blocks. The park would include a sports centre, public conservatory, swimming pool and landscaped gardens with sculptures by local artists.

The 'Greek' Thomson church, a Grade A listed ruin on the south-west edge of the site, would be tidied up, and made more attractive and accessible. Adjoining it, the masterplanners suggested, should be a new public library, whose readers could enjoy the outdoor courtyard of the ruins as a quiet area.

Other uses and activities in the CZWG scheme included a clock tower at the north end of Crown Street, a range of office suites, five pubs at various points close to and along the length of Crown Street, a 210 bed budget hotel at the north-west entrance to the site, a post office depot located in Hospital Mews, some small, light industrial workshops opposite the Hospital Street viaduct arches, and two multi-storey car parks, one on Laurieston Road, the other within the leisure centre off Cathcart Road.

The intention is for these various uses to provide for the new Crown Street site residents, but also to draw in residents from the adjoining communities, thereby fostering the integration of the Hutchesontown and Laurieston sections of the Gorbals.

3.6 The counter-masterplan

Despite being awarded a contract to elaborate on their concepts by the regeneration partners, there was minor discontent with the CZWG competition entry. Chiefly this emanated from the District Council Planning Department.

In planning terms, the origin of the Crown Street regeneration project is found in the Gorbals Local Plan. Under the Town and Country Planning Scotland Act 1972, planning authorities (in this case the City of Glasgow District Council) are required to produce local

plans covering the whole of their area. Glasgow chose to do this not as a whole but in small chunks, one of which being the Gorbals.

Within the Gorbals Local Plan, the most significant proposition related to the Crown Street project, an idea which surfaced roughly halfway through the rather protracted process of local plan preparation, in 1984. The critical location of the site meant that several other issues relating to the immediate vicinity needed to be resolved prior to decisions being made on the Crown Street project itself. In particular, there was the proposal to construct the southern flank of the city's inner ring road, which would go right through the Gorbals. There was also a proposal to erect a mega-shopping centre on the Crown Street site, put forward by politicians but abhorred by their planning officers.

Eventually, local plan proposals for the site recommended its residential development for a population of 15,000, and the relocation of the existing shopping centre immediately to the east of the site into the project's bounds. The Crown Street project was seen as one small component of a plan for the wider Gorbals quarter.

The conventional mechanism in Glasgow for advancing such a proposal developed under the local plan procedure is for the Planning Department to then draw up a development brief, as they have done elsewhere in the Gorbals. However, the Crown Street project gained a political momentum that overtook the officers' planning process. By the time the project partners came to run a masterplan competition, the Council's development brief had still not been finalised nor approved by the Council Planning Committee. Furthermore, the development brief as it stood 'didn't fit in with the kind of approach, you know, the showpiece type approach, that was being promoted at the time' (Smith, 1995 interview).

Consequently, the Planning Department, and in particular the Director of Planning, Jimmy Rae, raised some concerns about the winning CZWG scheme in light of the Department's own preferences. To register these concerns, in October 1990 Rae effectively produced an alternative masterplan with full support information on design objectives. The

plan covered a slightly larger area than the project site as then defined, taking in the land covered by the Queen Elizabeth Square multi-rise flats and the existing shopping arcade. Using the CZWG plan as a point of departure, Rae's document described a suggested built form for Crown Street, and incorporated a variety of new elements derived from the Department's work on Crown Street over the previous five years and from the other masterplan competition entries. Rae believed these alterations would refine the CZWG design and also take account of various comments from the public that the Department was aware of. The output was very different from the winning design (figure 76). Gough (1995 interview) found the intrusion pathetic:

Then the local planning office produced a counter design of their own. They were just so miffed that this thing had been designed without recourse to them.... And that is an unbelievably naïve document that is really, really awful.... It is abysmal. I can't tell you how bad it is.

Rae's counter plan diverted quite significantly from the CZWG scheme in many respects. In particular it offered alternative road alignments, used the standard street hierarchy, brought in Cumberland Street as the main shopping street instead of Crown Street, reduced the predominance of four storey tenements, decreased the size of most of the street blocks, and presented a very traditional steeple clock tower on Cumberland Street in contrast to the CZWG more imposing art deco styled clock tower on Crown Street. It did identify some important factors that CZWG needed to reconsider, especially in relation to road alignments. However, for the most part Rae's document proceeded no further. This was obviously annoying for the Planning Director, who subsequently elected to diminish his involvement with the project. Whereas, all other parties involved in the project partnership sent their departmental directors and chief executives to the Crown Street steering group meetings, Rae delegated the task to the Assistant Chief Planning Officer, Don Bennett, 'Jimmy Rae ... refused to be involved' (Smith, 1995 interview).



FIGURE 76: The counter masterplan (Rae, 1990: 5)

3.7 The revised masterplan

Following their competition win, CZWG worked with the Crown Street steering group, and in particular Mike Galloway, to develop and polish their masterplan for the project. While their basic design concepts remained firmly in place and 'not up for negotiation' (Galloway, 1995 interview), several important alterations were made. The process of modification has also continued throughout the implementation period, 'the masterplan is not a blueprint' (Galloway, 1995 interview). However, CZWG has not been retained on a long-term basis to undertake such alterations. CZWG does perform a loose overseeing role (with no financial recompense), although as Gough (1995 interview) reads it, the project instigators do not approach CZWG unless they think the firm will agree to the changes under consideration. From Galloway's perspective though, Gough's continuing involvement is 'like a conscience that sits on (my) shoulder and beats me over the head'.

The masterplan as it currently stands is shown in figure 77, as drawn by Mike Galloway. The main changes from the original version are the return of the Crown Street route to its pre-existing position, a realignment of the Laurieston and Caledonia Roads, the turning of the busy Laurieston through-road into a kind of boulevard fronted with housing instead of the proposed workshops despite a very heavy traffic flow and dual carriageway configuration, the provision of an extensive ground level parking area for a single storey supermarket, and the shifting of the new Gorbals park to slightly further north on the site with a down-scaling of associated facilities. In addition, just beside the north-west end of the site the potential for a future rail station, connecting to the existing rail network, is also noted.

4. THE IMPLEMENTATION PROCESS

Having established the origins and intentions of the Crown Street project in the previous two sub-sections, this fourth sub-section will now examine the implementation

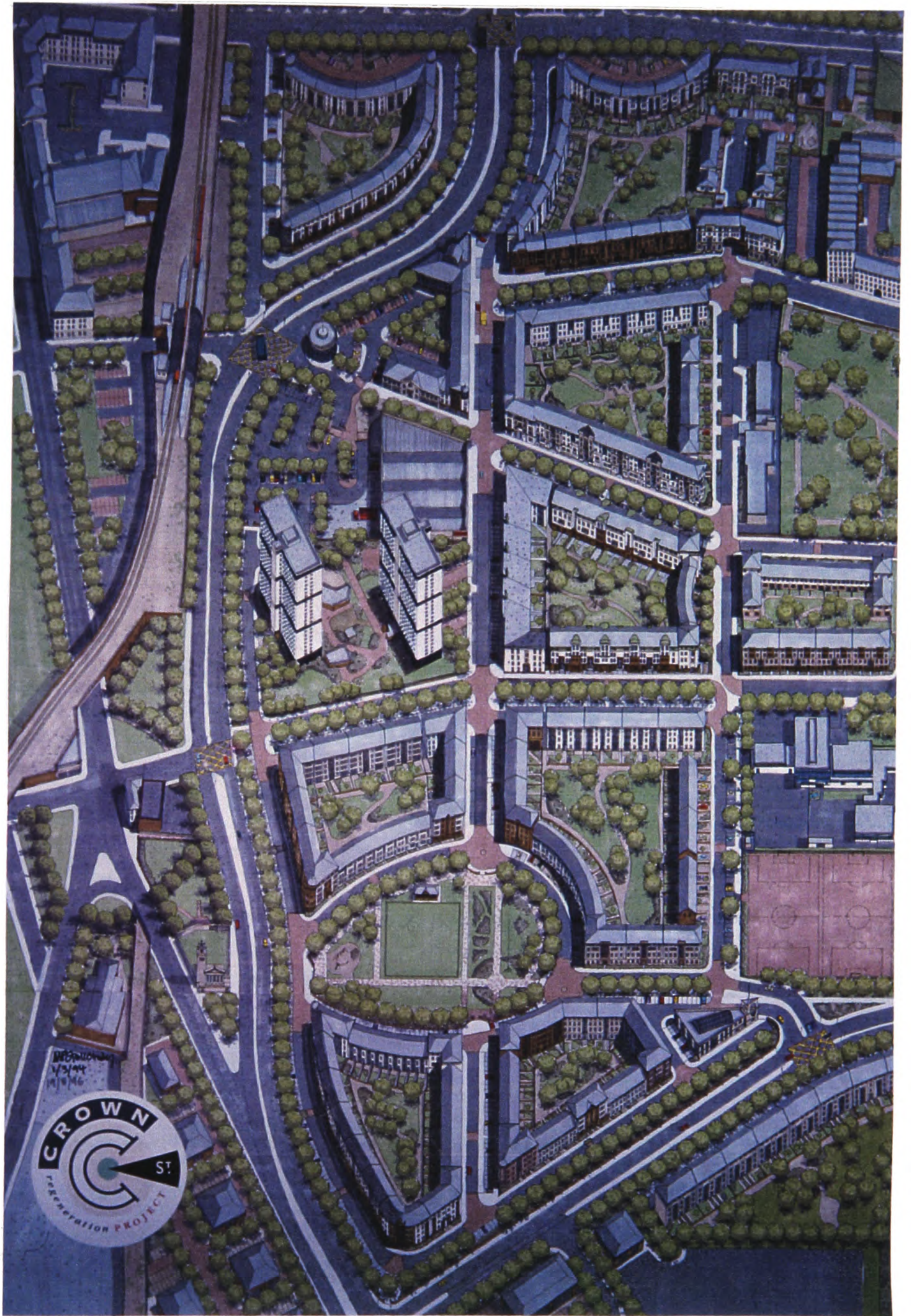


FIGURE 77: The final masterplan for Crown Street site (courtesy of Mike Galloway)

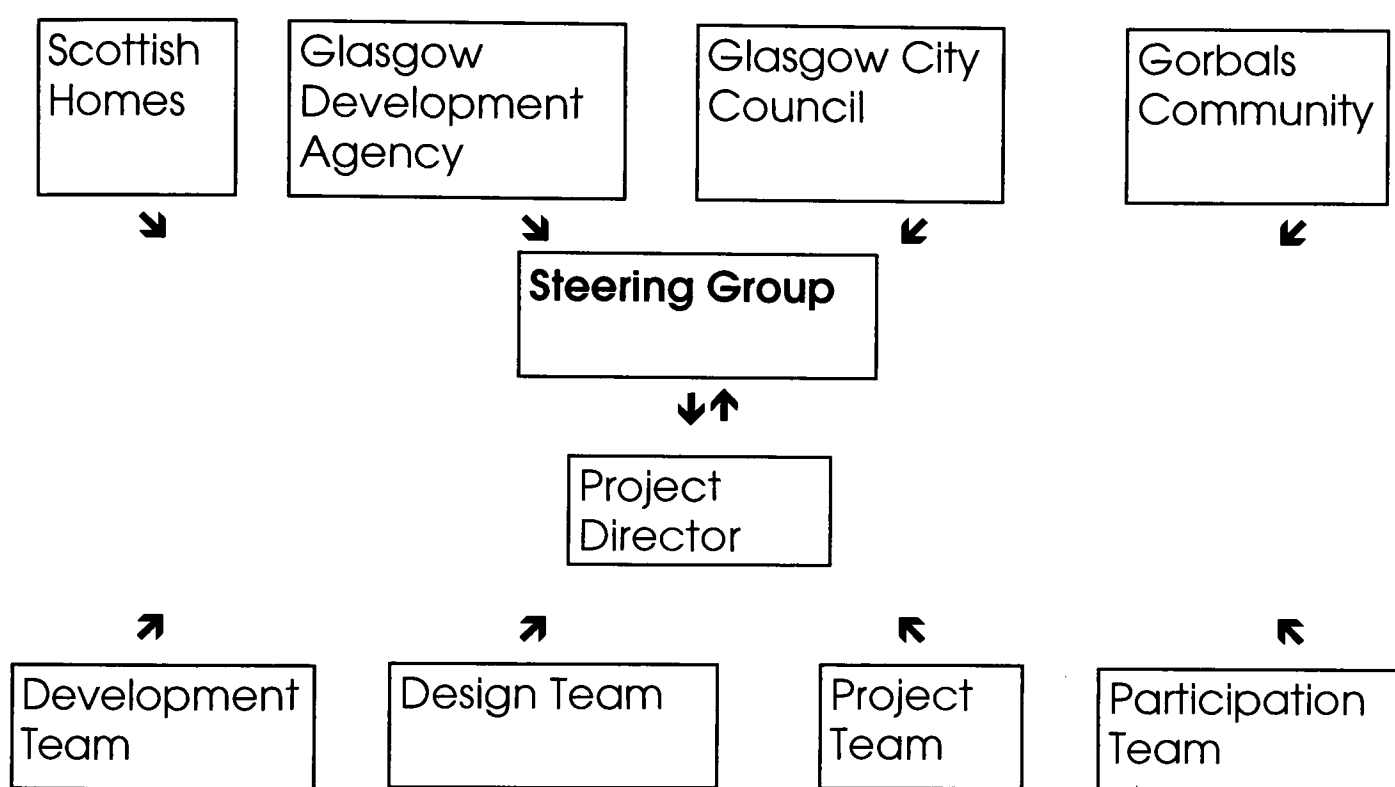
process employed in furthering the development. The first matter considered is the project management process in conjunction with the issue of community participation. This is followed by a review of the project's financial arrangements. Finally, the architectural and statutory planning processes are highlighted.

4.1 Project management and community involvement

The development's partnership arrangement and project management are defining characteristics of the implementation process. Rather than institute a formal legal structure, the partners have chosen a flexible process which encourages the input of individual members' talents via the steering group, shown in figure 78 below (the composition and staffing of the latter was indicated in sub-section two of this chapter). This personal involvement has been reinforced by the operation of the various project teams in part drawn from, and under the guidance of, the steering group. There has been general agreement that the project partners should contribute their skills via the steering group to advance the scheme, rather than simply attend quarterly meetings as corporate representatives. This has resulted in high levels of personal support and interest in the project, as well as strong commitment on the part of the partner organisations. The steering group works well as an applied team, not just a committee of delegates (EDAW, 1997). The agencies involved as partners willingly praise the arrangement. Theresa Haran (1997 interview), from the Glasgow Development Agency, indicated that Crown Street was 'one of the first projects in the city where the key funding agencies actually got together and started formally working together'. Previously, regeneration attempts had been tackled independently by various bodies, without a strategic multi-agency overview. Moreover, according to Mary Lyden (1997 interview) of Scottish Homes, 'Crown Street is one of the more successful examples of partnership working', with a dedicated lead agency (the Glasgow Development Agency) and full time project manager greatly facilitating the

speedy progress of the development relative to other schemes begun at the same time. The strategic and financial advantages of taking such an approach ultimately led to the formation of the Glasgow Regeneration Alliance in 1993 as a mechanism for joint agency identification and implementation of renewal within the city as a whole.

Figure 78: Management Structure of the Crown Street Project



One of the obvious initial hitches was that between the steering group and planning office involvement. While the Glasgow District planning office is still quick to point out that the Crown Street development should not be viewed in isolation from other regeneration work in the Gorbals, and that the project's 'showpiece' agenda has departed from their agenda, the office has shown considerable willingness to participate and offer assistance through the development process (Galloway, 1995 interview; Smith, 1995 interview). Other member organisations have occasionally slowed procedures slightly by their lack of continuity on the steering group. While this has not been a major factor, it has reinforced a

degree of dependence on the project director, Mike Galloway, that was not the original intent for the project management.

However, the most serious question hanging over the project management relates to the participation of members of the local community. That local citizens would be an equal partner in the entire process of planning, implementing and managing Crown Street was an explicit first principle. The project's founders believed such an emphasis on local involvement would be a key to successfully achieving a lasting solution for the regeneration site. In particular, it would enable the community to have direct input into the goals and development strategy for the area, and this in turn would help to restore confidence in the local community.

In the first instance, community involvement was limited to two people being placed in the steering group, Charlotte Kelly and David Stevenson. Their appointment was made on the recommendation of the local Community Councils. Aware that such a level of participation was not in itself adequate, the steering group pulled together a Participation Team to devise additional community input strategies. However, the Team's progress report in May 1992, and April 1993 workshop to establish an umbrella organisation for all of the local community groups, came long after the masterplan competition and initial planning approval. While some consultation attempts were made in the interim, such as open days to view and comment on plans, and regular newsletters to all households, there is no doubt that the local community were not at the forefront, guiding the development aspirations, but were merely reacting to fairly cemented proposals. For example, '(t)he masterplan was devised largely behind closed doors, despite anything that Crown Street will tell you, and very much a professionally oriented design concept for Crown Street' (Wilson, 1997 interview).

Furthermore, most consultation that did take place was formal in nature, using such mechanisms as displays, public meetings and questionnaires. No provision was made to ensure effective participation, such as training people how to interpret plans and consider

design options. Hence citizens were not empowered to make a valuable contribution. This situation was exacerbated by the narrow community involvement in the steering group. Local dissatisfaction with the arrangement quickly became apparent, largely because of the great number of different factions within the Gorbals:

There's always problems in terms of how you involve the local community because you can never assume that 'well we've got the local community involved and we know what they want'. Wrong. There's always changes. There are always different views coming forward, different coups happening within the community from year to year, different political movements, and therefore you've got to keep working at that. (Galloway, 1995 interview)

When John Watson (1997 interview), director of the Gorbals Initiative (the body charged with rejuvenating the local economy), set up his project in 1991, he was cautioned about the contentions he might face, 'people were saying "local politics are always a problem, but, whatever you've experienced, you will find it's *twice* as extreme or difficult to work in the Gorbals." I think that's a fair comment.' Similarly, Haran (1997 interview) contends that community representation has been a much more disputatious issue in the Gorbals than in other areas where the Glasgow Development Agency has tried to establish community involvement in projects:

The only difficulty I would say that there has been in the Gorbals is when it come to community representation. It's been a bit difficult trying to get representatives that people within the day to day communities see as someone that represents them. There are factions within the Gorbals, as there are in a lot of areas, activists, and people that will turn up at every meeting, and unfortunately they have their own baggage with them, and they're maybe not there representing the wider community. But in the absence of other people coming forward to stand against these activists, the various factions, it's difficult to get representation that's truly representative of the community.

These difficulties acknowledged, the Gorbals Umbrella Group was established in early 1994. Through this group it was hoped that the more than one hundred Gorbals community organisations could be brought together. Then the Umbrella Group could act as a community based resource for local people and encourage their involvement in the regeneration process. It was also anticipated that now the Umbrella Group would provide the community input into the steering group for the Crown Street project. However, this has not been an uncomplicated matter. The Umbrella Group has had to face⁶ considerable

political infighting between its various member organisations (EDAW, 1997). Haran (1997 interview) speaks of 'warring' groups being dragged reluctantly and unsuccessfully together in that forum. Sandra Wilson (1997 interview), the co-ordinator of the Umbrella Group, goes as far as to say that the various factions never really wanted the Umbrella Group to work. In particular there have been difficulties between the Labour Party stronghold Community Councils and the other Gorbals bodies. At one point, according to Watson (1997 interview) 'the Gorbals Umbrella Group fell apart.... In fact they didn't have a management committee for about eighteen months, it was officer managed.' The outcome is that the Crown Street project has not significantly improved its attempt at partnership with the local community via the Umbrella Group. More than simply a failure on the part of the Umbrella Group, Wilson (1997 interview) lays the blame on tokenism:

Now it depends what you mean by consultation. I think what we have in the Gorbals area is a tokenistic consultation exercise. We certainly don't have anything anywhere near a partnership project with the community.... There's no ownership, and I think that's largely one of the biggest problems that Crown Street have. It's become a white elephant. It's basically been implanted into this community and the community themselves do not feel any ownership of that product because they've had no real say in it. Crown Street will tell you that they've done a variety of different consultation exercises. It is at the very bottom end of the market in terms of consultation as you and I would see it. They've effectively said 'this is what you're getting' and they've shown them pictures of it. It's not even as good as 'you can have A or B'. 'We've looked at A and B and you're getting A, and now you can take a look at it cause that's what you're getting.'

Wilson cites a prime example of tokenism as being the instructions Mike Galloway gave her in regard to providing local participation feedback for the 1997 mid term review of the Crown Street project. Three days before Christmas 1996, Mike Galloway apparently phoned Sandra Wilson to ask her to pull together some community discussion groups for the review. Their input was to be finalised by the end of January, a tight timetable at an awkward time of year. Galloway specified that the exercise was to consist of three discussion groups, one being Crown Street residents, another being neighbouring residents, and a third being people from further afield. Moreover, each group was to comprise no more than eight people. Wilson wondered what kind of value could be obtained from a consultation exercise involving just 24 people.

Wilson's fears have been confirmed in the evaluation made for the mid term review of the project. The report concludes that 'there is little feeling of full involvement in the project amongst new residents and the wider Gorbals community' (EDAW, 1997: 14). However, the project director (Galloway, 1995 interview) has a tight development schedule of his own and wants to get on with the job of implementation, 'it has to be said, in terms of involving the community, it's extremely difficult. If you sit down and for a five year period consult the community, you never get anything done'.

A new phase in the community participation process began to emerge in mid 1997. With completion of construction expected in 1999, the establishment of a community trust to manage long-term care of the project's common areas and facilities became a timely issue, 'now is the time to do it because there needs to be an induction period for people to take on board ... training and empowerment' (Wilson, 1997 interview).

Such a move is part of the development of an exit strategy for the project's partners, with the exception of the community element of that partnership. The power of the proposed community trust will be enhanced by the land disposal system utilised by the project partners. Each development parcel has been sold by way of a Feu Disposition, with strict requirements for site management and maintenance. The Feu Superior has been retained by the project partners to enable the monitoring and enforcement of the development conditions. Ultimately, that Superiority will be transferred to the community trust owned and run by the Crown Street residents and business people. Galloway (1995 interview) explains the situation as follows:

We were utilising the fact that in Scotland we have quite a strange, old fashioned land ownership system. We have the remnants of the old medieval ownership system, where we can retain what is called the Feu Superior to the land. It's the old feudal system. So we retain the Feu Superior to all the land when we sell it to developers. Attached to that Feu Superior is a whole lot of conditions about how the land and the property has to be looked after and managed. Such that they must cut their grass every two weeks, and they must paint their windows every four years, they can't change the use of the buildings without our consent, they can't change the appearance of the buildings without our consent. A whole list of very, very detailed rules. What we're doing now is setting up a trust company. That trust company will be owned by all of the people who live and work in Crown Street. They'll all have a one pound share in this company. Then at the end of the project, we transfer the Feu Superior to that trust company, we withdraw.... (The Feu Superior) has incredible power.... if, for example, somebody refuses to abide by the regulations and rules, you warn them. If they still continue, you have the power to go to

court and what's called 'irritate' the Feu, and you can take the property back off them.... They own the space, they own the land, but we own the old feudal right to it.... There has been talk of enfranchisement and taking away these old rules. But, in fact, in terms of estate management they're very, very useful.... you use these systems to make sure it's going to be looked after.

Advancing towards the point where long-term management can be handed on to the community trust company is an ongoing and slow process. In the first instance there is the continuing problem of dealing with the Gorbals' fragmented community groups. However, while the steering group has until now limited their number of community participants given the need for the other partners to also be members, the community trust will be comprised almost entirely of local citizens. This means that the political pressure on the current very small number of appointees can be relieved. A wider community involvement should then be achieved, not least of all incorporating the newly formed residents associations. Even so, if gathering together a representative committee of the Gorbals community groups to direct the Gorbals Umbrella Group serves as an example of the task at hand, it will not be straight forward.

The second issue relates to how readily the steering group will deliver their project to the community trust. To ease the transfer, the EDAW (1997) mid term review recommended a significant community involvement was necessary to set out the tasks, decide on the representation mix, and influence the structure of the new trust. But there is reluctance on the part of the steering group to make this transition:

there is already a great deal of concern on the part of the traditional agencies like the GDA (Glasgow Development Agency) and Scottish Homes about community representation onto that board of management (the community trust company). That was OK when it was a bit of paper and it was a theoretical thing, 'yes in 1999 we'll have all these people on this board of management'. But now that it's become the reality ... people are throwing up their hands in horror because they've been left for too many years to just do what they want without any recourse back to the community. (Wilson, 1997 interview)

Overall, the promising management system and mechanism to ensure community involvement has not reached its potential as successfully as was hoped. On the positive side, the flexible partnership arrangement between the main public agencies has fostered

teamwork and commitment, ensuring the project maintained its momentum. However, bringing the community on board as an equal partner has clearly not eventuated. This failure has in part been due to: a very specific design-led, 'showpiece' orientation to development resulting in the community reacting to not directing progress; inadequate and naïve early attempts to involve the community; an inability to effectively harness the energies of the highly fragmented local groups through the Umbrella organisation; and a revised project time-frame requiring a hurried completion to coincide with the 1999 City of Architecture award. Formal inauguration of the community trust company is the immediate task before the Crown Street steering group. Again, this attempt at community involvement and the transference of power is proving a challenge for the project.

4.2 Financial arrangements

The Crown Street regeneration project is an £80 million venture (based on 1991 prices). The share of the costs is split approximately 63 per cent private sector, 12 per cent Glasgow Development Agency and 25 per cent Scottish Homes, with the City Council also contributing in terms of the provision of road realignment and a public library. This represents a very high concentration of public moneys in a small portion of the Gorbals. It has been a deliberate attempt to produce a significant development of high quality as a stimulus for future investment by the private sector. Peter Brogan (1995: 55), co-ordinator of the Miller Partnerships phase one tenements at Crown Street, suggests that the drive for such high standards demonstrates 'a degree of paranoia' on the part of the project's champions, given the intolerable track record on the site. Yet, in contrast to this desperation for success:

very little time appears to have been spent on testing the viability or feasibility of the project. One envisages hefty market research and Cost Benefit Analysis exercises being carried out to establish whether there existed a market for this project given the high proportion of owner occupation (planned) and the site's reputation, but when questioned on this, GDA (Mike Galloway) talk about 'gut feel' and 'knowing the project was worth doing', which smacks more of entrepreneurialism/gambling (given the level of public investment, some £25 million) than of sound business practice. (Brogan, 1995: 55)

It seems as if there was an element of throwing as much public money as possible into the project hoping that in itself would guarantee market success. Local politics no doubt heavily influenced such pluckiness. However, it does raise questions about the wisdom with which the public funding was employed.

The Glasgow Development Agency (following the footsteps of the now defunct Scottish Development Agency) has been the primary force behind the Crown Street project's conception and implementation. Without the Agency's initial investment the development could never have gone ahead (Lyden 1997 interview). The Glasgow Development Agency has been responsible for meeting the costs associated with administering the project, assembling the land, preparing and consolidating the ground for development, providing new infrastructure, and establishing the new local park. Spread out over a ten year period, the sum of money involved is approximately £12 million (Haran, 1997 interview). The Glasgow Development Agency took on this role when the Scottish Development Agency (the original protagonist) was restructured out of the process in 1991 (at the national level the latter was replaced by the more narrowly focused Scottish Enterprise). Both these agencies had the promotion of economic development as their *raison d'être*. Their purpose did not extend to the direct provision of housing. However, in an area like Crown Street, with its close proximity to the city centre, its location on a major thoroughfare, and its potential to rekindle vitality in the surrounding area, Development Agency assistance could be justified. Hence, from their perspective, the project symbolised much more than housing renewal. The housing was merely 'a starting block for the whole social and economic regeneration that would have to follow' (Wilson, 1997 interview). As part of their commitment to the local Gorbals economy through the Crown Street project, the Scottish Development Agency funded the establishment of the Gorbals Initiative in early 1991. The task of the Gorbals Initiative is 'to regenerate the local economy' (Watson, 1997 interview). According to its director, John Watson (1997 interview), the Initiative is attempting to do this by a) 'creating access to jobs for unemployed people, b) increasing

economic activity in the area, (and) c) increasing income in the area'. The Gorbals Initiative is a charity and a company limited by guarantee. It is owned by the Glasgow Development Agency, Scottish Homes, the City Council, and Employment Services. Measuring the outcomes of the Initiative is difficult. Perhaps all that can be said at this stage is that the percentage of unemployed in the Gorbals has now dropped to below the Glasgow average, which may in part have been influenced by the Initiative; and that due to the close liaison between the Initiative and Gorbals employers, there is now more chance that local companies will hire local labour (Watson, 1997 interview).

So, the Glasgow Development Agency launched the Crown Street project through preliminary site management and works, with a view to encouraging a broader revival of the area. However, the actual construction of residential, retail, office and community units was beyond their remit. That task belonged to Scottish Homes, the New Gorbals Housing Association and private sector developers. The mix of public and private funding was integral to the Development Agency's approach. The Gorbals was almost entirely comprised of social rental housing. Therefore a high proportion of public accommodation was seen as necessary 'to ensure that the community also felt that they still had a place in the new Gorbals' (Haran, 1997 interview). At the same time, the development of private sector confidence in the area was sought to stimulate ongoing investment in the vicinity.

The largest chunk of public funds has been provided by Scottish Homes. Scottish Homes' national objectives include improving housing quality and management, promoting home ownership, diversifying the rental sector, contributing to regeneration, and reducing housing need and homelessness. These aims coincided with those of the Development Agency in terms of creating a public-private mix within the Crown Street site:

From Scottish Homes' perspective it was an area of monolithic tenure. It was all public sector housing that existed in the Gorbals. Almost a hundred per cent of all the housing that existed was public sector, apart from a very small number of right-to-buys. I wouldn't say it was really unusual. But in terms of our role in playing a partner in the regeneration of the area, one of the objectives is to try to bring higher earning households into the area to support facilities and amenities, and also to try to lever in some private sector moneys.... What tended to happen as the area declined was that anybody who was economically active moved out. Hence you were left with the more vulnerable inhabitants, which were people with young children, usually single parents, and vulnerable

elderly people. So our overall intent in Crown Street regeneration project was to play our part in channelling investment into the area. (Lyden, 1997 interview)

Scottish Homes' investment has taken two main forms. The contribution of assistance to the New Gorbals Housing Association through HAG funding, and the payment of GRO moneys to the private sector. In addition, a small number of shared ownership units have also been assisted by Scottish Homes, for example, a total of 4 per cent in the first phase.

The Housing Association Grant (HAG) has long been available from the Housing Corporation, or more recently in Scotland from Scottish Homes. It is a capital grant given to Housing Associations to assist with the construction of social housing for rent. Until the early 1990s, Scottish associations might typically finance 80 per cent of a project this way. Pressure from the Treasury to reduce this proportion and increase contributions from private sector sources has been increasing. For comparison, English housing associations commonly receive only a 50 per cent grant. Grant levels however, are supposed to ensure that housing associations can set a rent affordable to those in low paid employment but not reliant on housing benefit to meet housing expenses.

The New Gorbals Housing Association, a community based housing provider set up in the early 1990s, has committed itself to providing rental properties within all six phases of the Crown Street project. Scottish Homes' HAG contributions to this housing are listed below by phase. The HAG contribution has been approximately £52,000 per unit in the early phases.

TABLE 2: HAG GRANTED TO NEW GORBALS HOUSING ASSOCIATION FOR CROWN STREET PROJECT

<i>Phase</i>	<i>HAG funds (millions)</i>
1C and 1D	£3.181
2A	£2.300
3A	£1.450
4A	£1.450
5A	£0.300
6A	£0.600
TOTAL	£9.281

Unpublished data courtesy of Scottish Homes

However, due to constraints imposed by Treasury on Scottish Homes' budget after the commencement of the Crown Street project, the New Gorbals Housing Association has had difficulty maintaining construction momentum in Crown Street as opposed to its other Gorbals projects, as Mary Lyden from Scottish Homes explains:

investment in social housing hasn't kept the same pace with the investment in the private sector.... Crown Street isn't the only area of the Gorbals that we're channelling investment through the Housing Association. Also a part of the Housing Association's main core area is Gorbals-East. It's actually like a competing interest in terms of our investment.... Obviously we've got commitments to the Crown Street project that were made at a time when moneys were more plentiful, five, six, seven years ago. But the local Housing Association ... only gets one cash planning target from us on an annual basis. So it tends to see its priorities at the moment more in the Gorbals-East because of the dereliction there.... With the cut back in resources, the partners of the Crown Street regeneration project are getting concerned because they see the social housing taking longer to complete because of priorities elsewhere.... In the early years of the Crown Street regeneration project, the Association was getting in the region of £5 million per annum from us. At that time it was possible for them to perhaps run the two programmes concurrently.... But now with the resource constraint, they're only maybe getting £2 - 2½ million from us.... The Crown Street project was losing credibility to a certain extent with the community because provision of the social rented housing was trailing. We took a lot of stick for that. But we've tried as far as we could to meet with the Association and agree a set of priorities. We've tried to say to them 'after the completion of this project that you've got on site in Gorbals-East, we want to see you prioritising investment in the Crown Street project to see that it meets its objectives in terms of time-scales as far as possible.' (Lyden, 1997 interview)

However, the Crown Street project will not be meeting its proposed 1999 completion date, largely as a result of the reduction in the total resources available for the New Gorbals Housing Association. In addition, the social housing component often provides one face of an enclosed street block in the plan layout. Where the remaining sides of the block have already been completed by the private sector, the lack of social housing leaves the blocks incomplete and the shared common space vulnerable to intrusion (figure 79).

On the other hand, the private sector owner occupied housing has been progressing ahead of schedule, using GRO funding assistance. The GRO grant is the government Grant for Rent and Ownership paid to private sector housing providers. The rental aspect of the grant was incorporated as a mechanism to encourage more private sector rental projects. However, it has not been popularly taken up by private companies. In Scotland, almost all GRO grants conferred by Scottish Homes have been for home ownership schemes, either



FIGURE 79: Phase two block on Crown Street, with private housing completed on three sides, awaiting social housing construction on the fourth side, October 1997

new build or renovation. The grants are commonly (although not exclusively) used in regeneration schemes where a single tenure type has predominated and diversification is now being sought. It is a subsidy offered to the private sector to attract them into areas where it would not normally be economically viable for them to provide housing. Applicants for the grant must demonstrate that the expected return from the development will not cover the predicted costs. The level of funding assistance provided is designed to be the minimum to allow the project to proceed. The level of grant offered normally falls in the range of 10 to 40 per cent of the project costs. To this end, strict financial appraisals are undertaken by Scottish Homes. In addition, the rate of return to the developer is capped by Scottish Homes and is usually within the range of 8 to 12 per cent, that is, approximately half the rate of return the private sector normally accepts (Brogan, 1995: 43).

In the earliest discussion about the possibilities for Crown Street, private house builders had expressed extreme reluctance to erect and market owner occupied housing given the Gorbals' notoriety (Lyden, 1997 interview). However, with significant assistance from Scottish Homes' GRO grants, the private sector has been able to sell its new units swiftly, and this has resulted in an acceleration of the completion of the private sector portions of the Crown Street project. On average, during the first four phases, a subsidy of £18,300 has been provided for each private dwelling via GRO funding, that is, a gearing of just over 30 per cent of the costs. The assistance given during each phase is indicated below.

TABLE 3: GRO FUNDING GRANTED TO PRIVATE DEVELOPERS FOR CROWN STREET PROJECT

<i>Phase</i>	<i>Developer</i>	<i>No. units</i>	<i>GRO Gearing</i>	<i>Sales price range</i>
1A	Miller	117	31%	£33,000 - £50,000
1B	Wimpey	92	31%	£33,000 - £50,000
2B	Tay	70	30%	£37,000 - £68,000
3B	Miller	86	30%	£37,000 - £59,000
4B	Stewart Milne	76	20%	£37,000 - £70,000
5B	pending			
6B	pending			
		Total GRO as at 1997:	£8.061 million	

Unpublished data courtesy of Scottish Homes

As indicated above, the GRO subsidy decreases over time. This takes account of the successful establishment of a market for home ownership in the Gorbals. With sales values rising more quickly than developer construction costs, the amount of deficit subsidy required is correspondingly reduced:

GRO grant subsidy is a mechanism for addressing a market failure. It is a pump-priming mechanism. Ideally you would expect in the first phase the amount of public investment going in would be relatively high, especially in an area like Gorbals who had no proven housing market in terms of owner occupation. But with the resulting successes of the first phases, we expect to see, and have seen, a tapering of the public sector investment. Obviously, as the market becomes established and natural market forces take over, we expect to see very much a tapering off of any kind of public sector investment in the area.... Ideally, eventually we'll withdraw. When that will be possible depends on how the market goes. (Lyden, 1997 interview)

The private sector have not been entirely enamoured with the funding process. While they have been surprised and delighted by the sales successes, they have reservations about the GRO grant process:

because of the level of the grant I think they (the GRO grant applications) were referred to the Scottish Office, ... every "t" crossed and "i" dotted, that kind of thing. So that was the biggest bugbear of all, was getting the grant. That was worse than normal. There's difficulties in all these sites with grant usually. But this one, for whatever reason, was a nightmare to get through. We could have been on site I reckon 12 - 15 months earlier. That was a big, big delay. (Coleman, 1995 interview)

The large sums of subsidy involved meant that not only did the developers need to justify their applications before Scottish Homes, but also before the latter's funders: the Scottish Office and the Treasury (Brogan, 1995 interview; Coleman, 1995 interview). Furthermore, the private companies felt that they carried the bulk of the risk in relation to the development. Hence a cap on returns of 12 per cent was not considered adequate reward. Their shareholders expect returns of 16 - 24 per cent according to Brogan (1995). Therefore, the companies involved found themselves surreptitiously bending the Scottish Homes' rules to increase returns. Without such bending being possible 'private companies would not participate' (Brogan, 1995: 72).

There is also a further issue that has emerged from the private sector housing. All along, the project partners have been adamant 'that they didn't want to see the area yuppified' (Lyden, 1997 interview). One way around such an outcome was to ensure that

local people had access to the new owner occupied dwellings. Therefore, Scottish Homes made a priority purchase scheme a condition of their offer to subsidise the private housing. The developers were required to target people who were on the housing waiting list within the Gorbals, people who had a Gorbals connection, and first time buyers. In addition, an initial ten per cent reduction in purchase price also applied to local people. The results were carefully monitored by the project partners. While the partners are generally content with what occurred, others believe the tenuous social mix that exists at the moment is moving towards a 'yuppification' (Wilson, 1995 interview; Brogan, 1995):

the target market and basic tenet of local people receiving 'affordable' home ownership has not been entirely successful given that the redevelopment and improvements have been so radical and of such a high quality and profile that houses have been 'snapped-up' by fairly wealthy doctors, lawyers and business people who see these properties as excellent investment opportunities, thereby denying opportunities to local people. (Brogan, 1995: 56)

In summary, the financial arrangements for the Crown Street project reveal a very large public component. This has been justified on the basis of developing a concentrated area of exceptional quality which has the potential to act as a catalyst for the regeneration of the surrounding district. Had the partners in the project undertaken serious market research prior to establishing the scheme, a more modest effort may have ensued. That was not where the political will lay at the time. However, the civic excess may have pushed the project beyond the possibility of meeting its own goals. With funding reductions inhibiting the provision of social housing, the apparent loss of community credibility associated with that, and the accentuated emphasis on private housing due to its expeditious market success, the Crown Street project is in danger of creating an isolated patch of privilege in the middle of the Gorbals.

4.3 The architectural and statutory planning process

Once a revised masterplan for the Crown Street site had been agreed upon, it was divided up into smaller parcels for execution by a diversity of developers and architects.

Progress on the parcels was designed to proceed in street blocks moving from north to south down the site. Selection of developers and architects for each parcel was based on a two stage process of competition and assessment. An open invitation was given to developer/architect teams with suitable experience to devise a scheme in line with the relevant design brief. Then a short-list of three to four teams would be made based on their initial proposal, their reputation and pertinent experience. These teams would then be asked to submit a more detailed proposal. The land values for each parcel were fixed based on the District Valuer's fiscal price for each. That meant that submissions could then 'be judged solely on their design quality, build quality and grant requirement' (Galloway, 1997a: 6).

The design briefs have been a critical part of this process. Each has been relatively detailed in nature. For example, the requirements relating to finishing materials were quite specific, demanding co-ordination of colours and textures 'in order to reflect the Glasgow tradition of large areas of monochrome masonry' (Crown Street Regeneration Project, 1994: 10). At the same time, the briefs sought 'to avoid any overtly uniform architectural appearance' (Crown Street Regeneration Project, 1994: 9). External walls might be a 'mixture of natural stone, well detailed quality clay facing brick, natural stone detailing and limited areas of rendering' (Crown Street Regeneration Project, 1994: 10). Acceptable roofs would include '(n)atural slate or good quality artificial slate. Neither tiling nor metal finishes will be accepted' (Crown Street Regeneration Project, 1994: 10). Windows must be large and vertical, in keeping with the Glasgow norm. The height of buildings is required to be within the ranges of 12 to 14 metres for tenements, 9 to 10 metres for three storey blocks, and 6 to 7 metres for two storey. Incorporation of artwork into the built form is strongly pursued via the briefs. Developers are expected to take the opportunity to integrate artwork into their constructions to the tune of one per cent of the total capital cost (figure 80). Shared common space at the rear of the blocks should be a 'simple grassed landform ... designed to undulate beneath a canopy of mature trees (with) an uncomplicated arrangement of

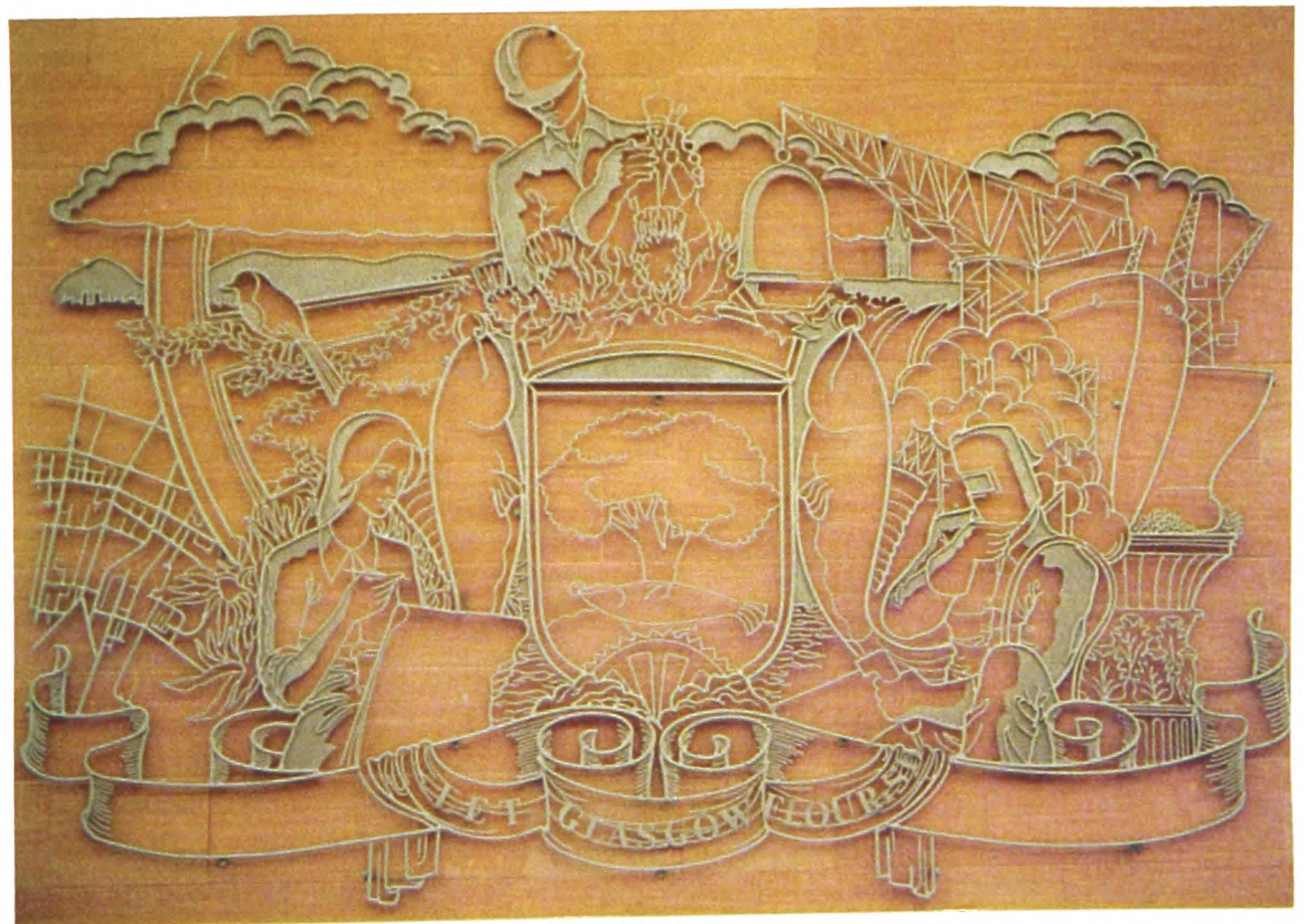


FIGURE 80: Examples of artwork in the Crown Street project

gravel paths' to complete a 'pastoral' scene (Crown Street Regeneration Project, 1994: 13). Similarly, a range of other aspects of design, such as minimum space standards, durability of materials, car parking, and housing outlook are also covered in some detail. In general, the briefs have not been definitively prescriptive nor restrictive, but have allowed considerable flexibility of interpretation within the bounds of providing a high quality, predominantly tenemental, urban landscape.

Even so, during interviews, the various competitors involved noted the demanding character of the design briefs. For example, Jim Coleman (1995 interview) of Wimpey Homes commented 'it's the tightest brief we've ever worked to, it really was. It was *that* (signals a size of a couple of centimetres) thick'. Although the extent of grant required was an important factor, the competitors believe '(i)t was very much a design led competition' (Brogan, 1995 interview); and because many costs were already defined, 'they were comparing apples with apples. I think it came down to design at the end of the day' (Coleman, 1995 interview). Furthermore:

the design brief was very much oriented toward creating architectural statements. It's not just build houses as cheaply and as quickly as you can. What they're trying to do is create an architectural identity that has some ribbon going through it that connects it all, based on the massing and the form of the building. But each one will have its own architectural identity (Lloyd, 1995 interview).

A marketing campaign for the project commenced in early 1992. In tandem with the campaign, the first design brief for housing in phase one of Crown Street was released for consideration by joint developer/architect consortia. From this, the Crown Street project partners successfully attracted over 20 proposals for phase one housing on the site. From a short-list of four, developers Miller Partnerships in conjunction with architects Holmes Partnership, won the contract to construct the first part (1A) of phase one, on the north-eastern entrance to the Crown Street site. The sub-phase involved the construction of four storey tenements for three sides of a street block (figure 81). The Holmes Partnership design draws the most heavily from Glasgow's historic tenements of any of the buildings constructed on site to date. Although taking a contemporary interpretation, the tenements



FIGURE 81: Phase 1A tenements

follow quite traditional lines and allude back to the red sandstone that is common in Glasgow's original tenements. The fourth side of the block, phase 1C, was set aside for New Gorbals Housing Association units designed by Cooper Cromar Associates. These consisted of four storey tenements plus a small number of one and two storey units (figure 82). With the New Gorbals Housing Association designated as the developer of all the social housing for Crown Street, no competitions have been necessary for these sections of the scheme.

The Crown Street partners had been greatly impressed by a number of the competition entries for phase one, particularly the work of the Wimpey Homes/Cooper Cromar Associates consortium and that of Hypostyle Architects. Consequently, both were invited to submit proposals for the next phases. Almost immediately a design brief was produced for what was now named phase 1B. The Wimpey/Cooper Cromar team was awarded the contract. As in the previous block, phase 1B called for them to erect four storey tenements on three sides of a street block (figure 83). The fourth side, phase 1D, was again allocated to the New Gorbals Housing Association, for the construction of two storey units (figure 84).

These development sub-phases began work on site early in 1994. All were completed by the end of 1995. Together, the two new street blocks, named Ballater Gardens and Errol Gardens (figure 85), provide 209 private dwellings, 61 rental units and 8 ground floor shop units fronting on to Crown Street (figure 86).

A competition for part of the second phase (2B) was held in 1994. Thirteen entries were whittled down to a short-list of three. The successful consortium were the developers Tay Homes working with Hypostyle Architects. Again their remit was to build three sides of a street block, but with some variation in housing type. Two sides were to be developed as four storey tenements (figure 87) and their third side was set aside for three storey townhouses with their own driveways and garages (figure 88). Work commenced on site in late 1995. Phase 2A is for New Gorbals Housing Association tenements designed in a more modern style by Page and Park Architects (figure 89a). However, upon completion by Tay



FIGURE 82: Phase 1C social housing tenements and two storey units



FIGURE 83: Phase 1B tenements



FIGURE 84: Phase 1D social housing, two storey units



FIGURE 85: Balllater Gardens and Errol Gardens (Gorbals Officer Working Group, 1995: cover)

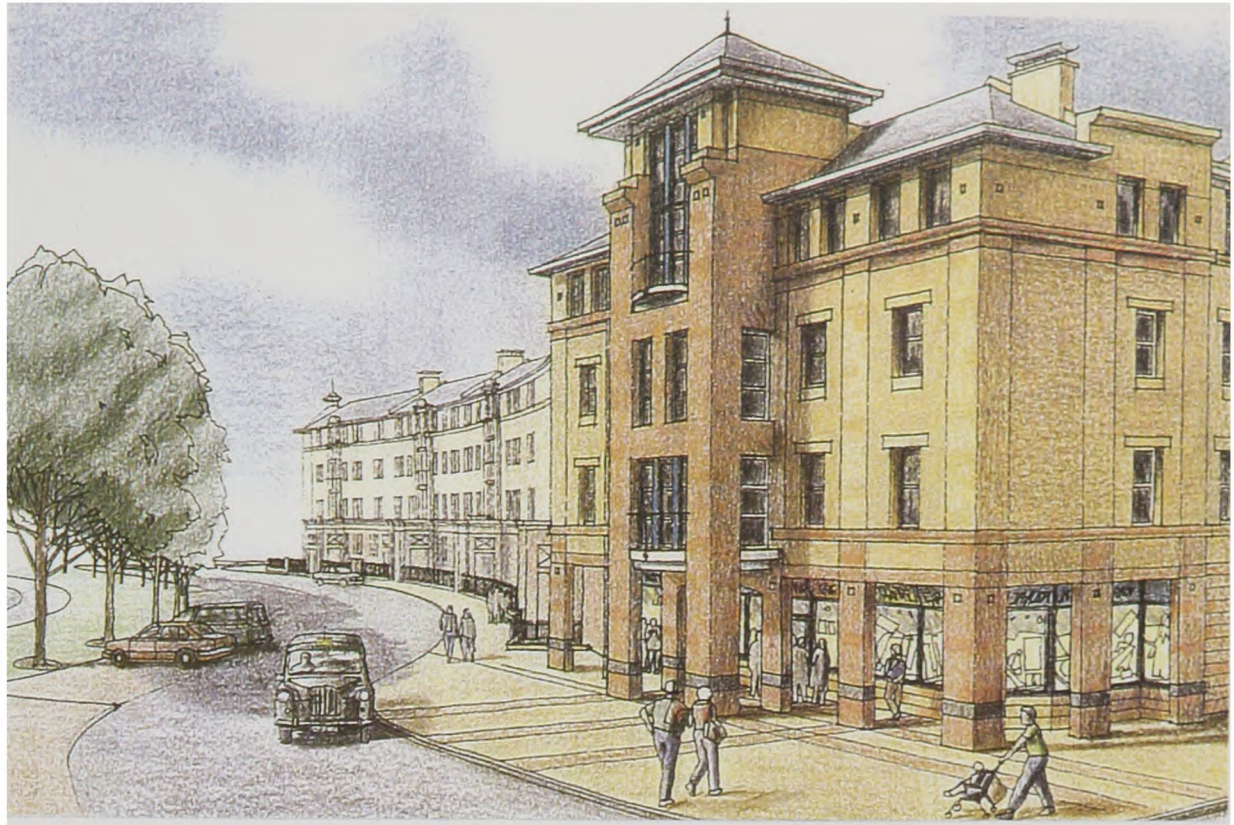


FIGURE 86: Ground floor shop units fronting onto Crown Street
(top perspective courtesy Peter Brogan)



FIGURE 87: Phase 2B tenements



FIGURE 88: Phase 2B townhouses

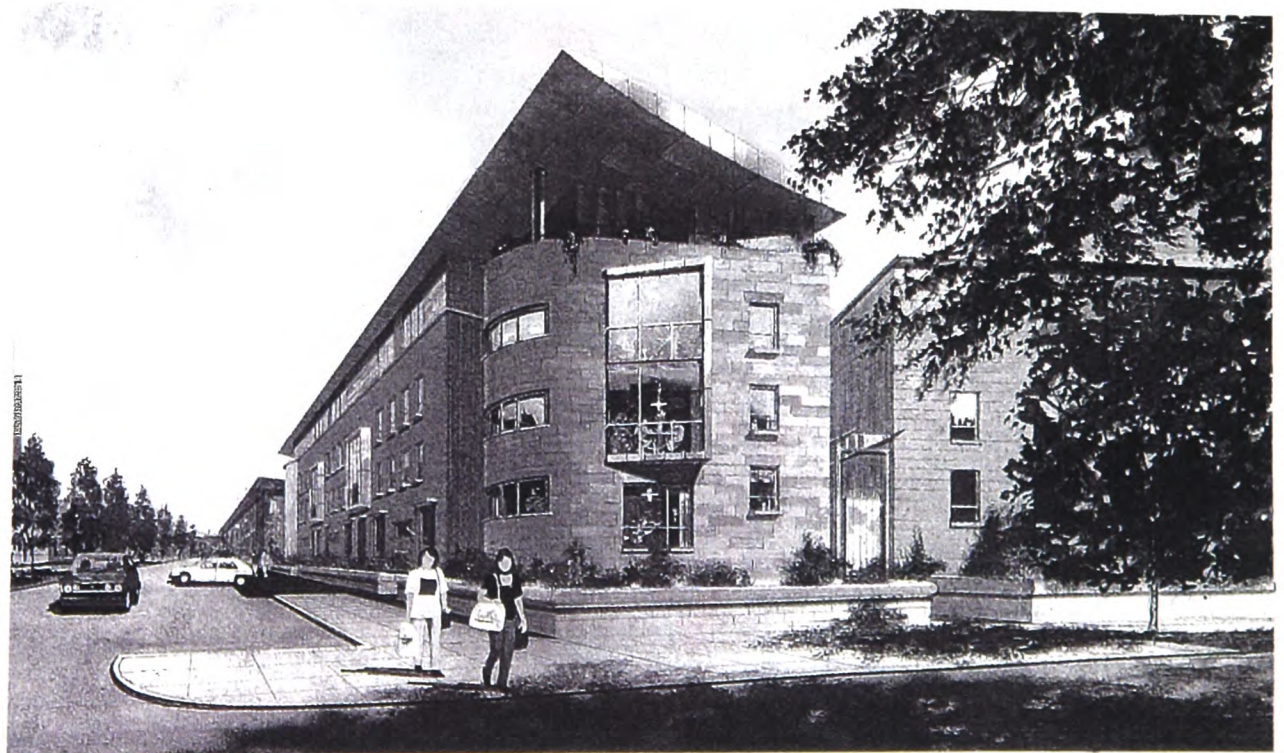
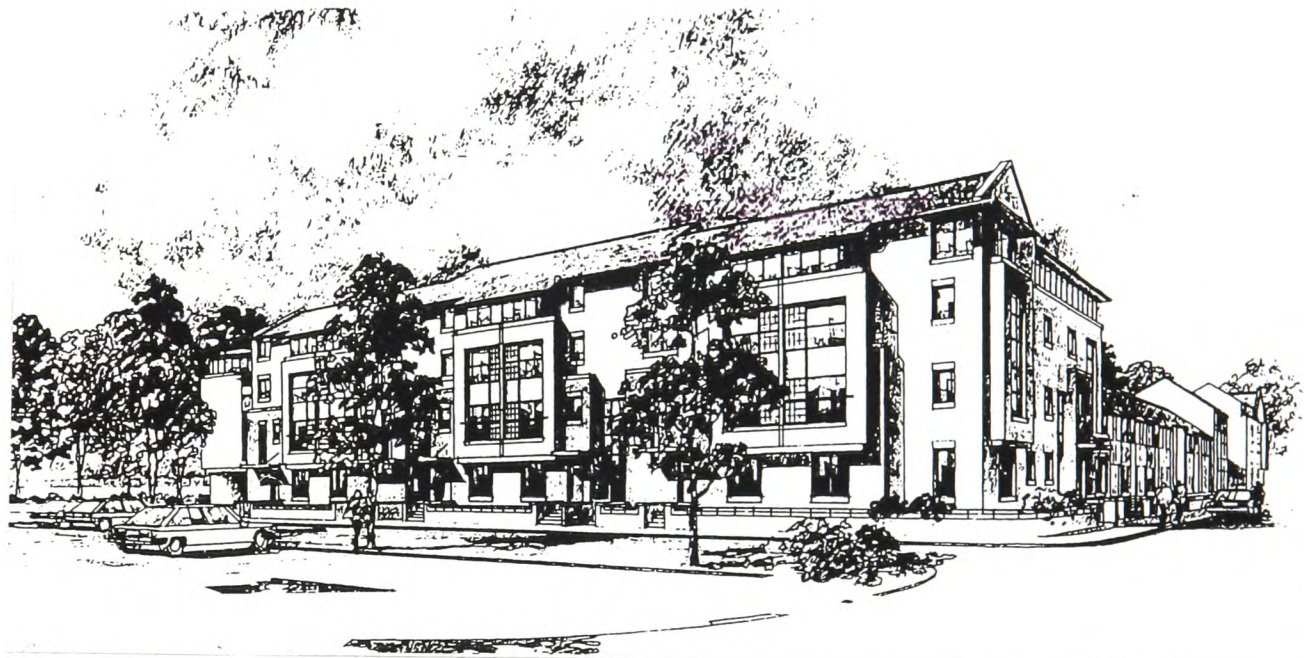
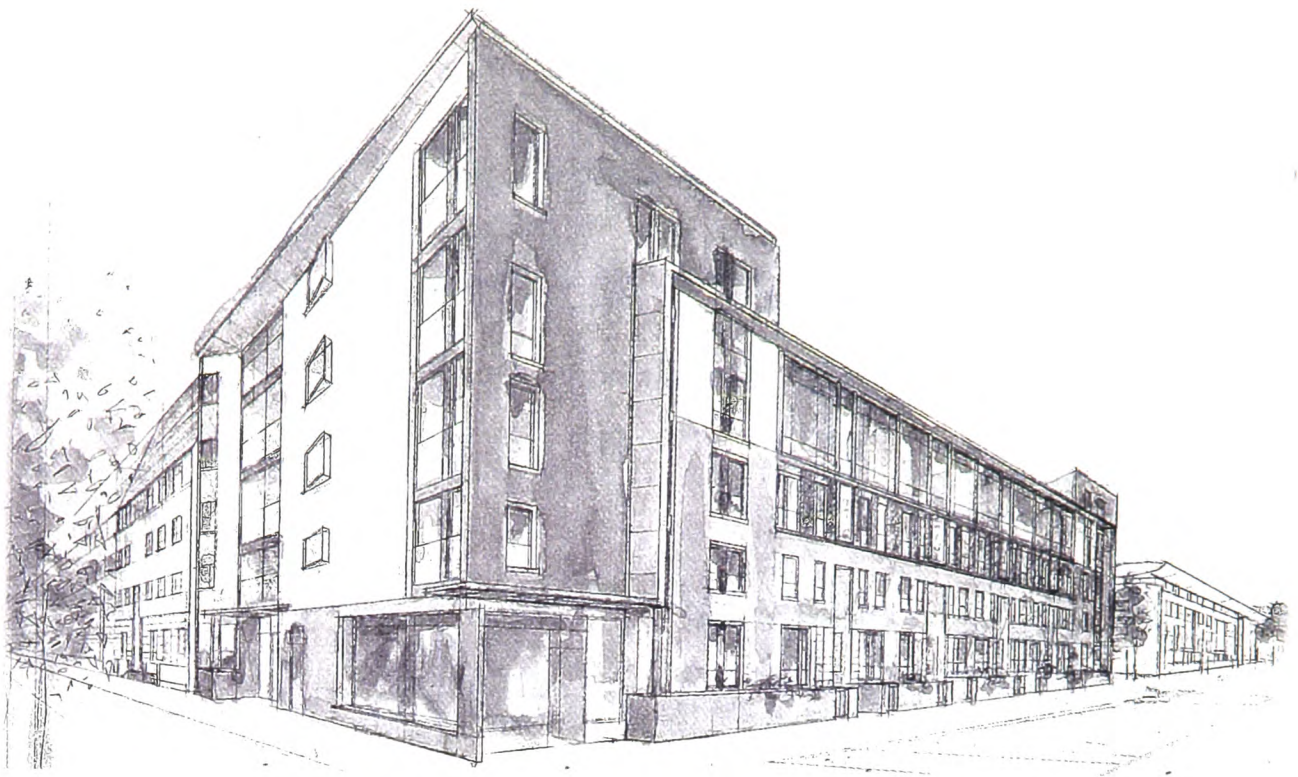


FIGURE 89: a) Phase 2A social housing tenements (top)
b) Phase 3B tenements (middle)
c) Phase 3A social housing tenements (bottom)
(all figures Gorbals Officer Working Group, 1997:31,34)

Homes of their three sides in early 1997, the fourth Housing Association side of the street block had still not started site preparations. This highlighted the pronounced delay of Crown Street's social housing construction.

All the remaining housing phases (from phase three onwards) have yet to be completed at Crown Street. As above, each involves a mix of owner occupied and social rental housing. Miller Partnerships, in combination with Cooper Cromar Architects, has been successful in winning another of these contracts, phase 3B, and will be providing 86 dwellings (figure 89b). On the Crown Street frontage, phase 3A, the New Gorbals Housing Association, with Elder and Cannon Architects, will be constructing 26 houses (figure 89c). Stewart Milne Homes, in combination with Holmes Partnership Architects, has won the private sector contract for phase 4B. They have both tenements and townhouses planned (the latter with integral single garages), contributing a total of 76 homes (figure 90). It is intended that all remaining private sector sub-phases will be completed in the year 2000, and all the social housing sub-phases should be finished in 2001.

In addition to the predominantly residential developments mentioned above, a new shopping centre containing a 900 square metre supermarket, 300 square metre convenience store and three shop units has been erected fronting Crown Street opposite the phase two housing block. An operator/architect competition for the site was held in 1993. The winning combination was Kwik Save supermarkets with Young and Gault Architects (figure 91). The centre is of a higher design specification than that normally used by Kwik Save or many other retail chains. Even so, the Crown Street partners were unable to convince any competition entrants to construct the kind of urban supermarket they had in mind. Instead they chose Kwik Save's single storey supermarket with its large surface car-parking area to the rear:

the situation of the supermarket where a triangular shaped supermarket with parking on the roof didn't go down a real bundle with the major supermarket chains in this country. So we had to think 'right, how the heck do we amend this in order to get something that's acceptable to retailers, but equally something that respects the urban design code that we are trying to bring in?'. So we've amended it. We hope that we haven't thrown the baby out with the bath-water. We now have a sort of trapezoidal shaped supermarket which, OK has surface car-parking but the building is in stone. I think it's

Laurieston
Square

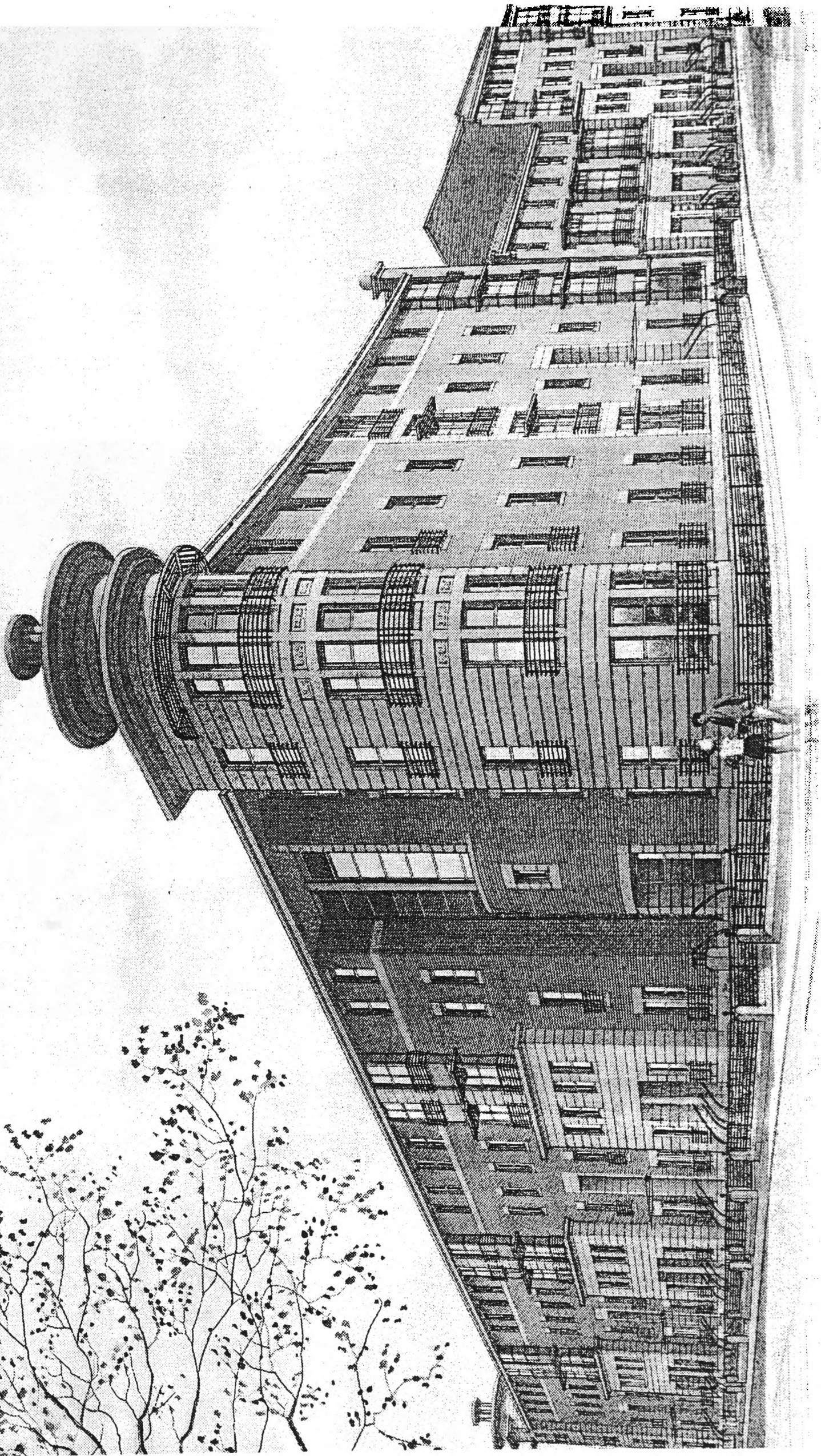


FIGURE 90: Phase 4B tenements (perspective courtesy Stewart Milne Homes)



FIGURE 91: Kwik Save supermarket and shop units on Crown Street

probably the only stone supermarket we're going to see. So it's a balance and it's all a question of judgement. (Galloway, 1995 interview)

In essence, the plans submitted in the second stage of each phase competition were prepared to a level of detail sufficient for lodging as an application for land use planning consent (Henaughen, 1995 interview; Smith, 1995 interview). Generally, with perhaps minor technical alterations, the winning submissions were lodged directly with Glasgow City's planning office. Having Glasgow City as a partner in the Crown Street project, involved in working teams and the preparation of the design briefs, and having already ironed out most major concerns through the masterplanning process, meant that statutory planning procedures for the individual phases ran fairly smoothly compared to what might normally be expected (Coleman, 1995 interview; Henaughen, 1995 interview; Lloyd, 1995 interview; Taylor, 1995 interview; EDAW, 1997). Nevertheless, the Council has repeatedly expressed anxiety about the possible inconvenience of having residential parking in the middle of the boulevard streets (in terms of legitimately parked cars being blocked in by visitors choosing to park parallel to the footpath instead of in the bays in the middle of the road); the likely maintenance problems of the communal back gardens; and the lack of two storey accommodation relative to four storey. However, in the words of Council planning officer Ron Smith (1995 interview), 'the benefit of the doubt has been given' in each case.

In conclusion, the subdivision of the project into several phases implemented by a number of developers and architects, has positively aided the architectural variety of Crown Street's new tenements and spread the risk for the untested provision of owner occupied accommodation. In addition, the incorporation of social housing in each phase and street block has guaranteed a mix of residents throughout the site (albeit behind schedule in terms of social housing construction). Furthermore, the high standard of architecture and materials required ensures that there is no distinction between the various types of housing in terms of the quality of the physical appearance. Another bonus for the project was

managing to get retail units and a supermarket built and operational so early in the process of re-establishing housing in the area. In general the project has built up an impressive momentum, but a concerted effort on the part of the New Gorbals Housing Association and Scottish Homes is now necessary in order to sustain it.

Some of the successful developers and architects grumbled about the strictness and detail of the design briefs for each phase. This was even more of a problem for unsuccessful participants in the competition process who faced considerable extra costs because of the substantial amount of information required for their submissions. However, the beneficial outcome as far as the project partners are concerned has been the lack of ambiguity about expectation, the assurance that the principles of the masterplan would be adhered to, and the reduction in the amount of negotiation needed between the developer/architect teams and the City Planning Department. Even so, the partners were unable to win the battle with the stronger forces of capital represented by the supermarket moguls.

5. EVALUATION OF THE CROWN STREET PROCESS AND OUTCOME SO FAR

The following sub-sections evaluate the Crown Street regeneration project, as so far implemented, in terms of the extent to which it is meeting its own precepts and objectives; its potential for reproduction elsewhere in Britain; and its resemblance to the concepts and goals of the Urban Villages Forum.

5.1 Achievement of creator ambitions

The overall ambitions of the creators of Crown Street have been outlined primarily within sub-sections two and three of the present chapter. What follows below is a brief assessment of the extent to which each of these aims has been reached to date. Beginning

with those ambitions given the most weight in project documentation and in interviews with the key stakeholders, they are considered in descending order of importance.

5.1.1 Crown Street the showpiece

The Crown Street regeneration project has always been envisaged as a high profile counter-measure to the notoriety of the Gorbals and a substantial contribution to the late twentieth century re-imaging of Glasgow. Design briefs for the scheme boldly claim that it will be 'one of the most significant single residential regeneration projects this Century' (Crown Street Regeneration Project, 1994: 1).

From evidence introduced earlier in the present chapter, the reality of the situation appears to be that the project partners have relied very heavily on the urban form and architecture of Crown Street to achieve their ambition of a showpiece redevelopment. In so far as they have produced a distinctive urban layout with a varied and unique architecture compared with contemporary development elsewhere in Glasgow and the rest of Britain, they have succeeded in creating a modest showpiece. However, to date it is a showpiece that has failed to attract attention. Even within Glasgow it has been partly lost amidst the myriad of splendid projects launched in conjunction with the City of Architecture year. Crown Street was never intended to be a spectacular development, rather a worthy restoration of the Gorbals encompassing unified, 'backcloth buildings' (EDAW, 1997: 12). Its attributes cannot be recognised by relying on its visual impact.

In addition, the popular and professional press has virtually ignored the development, except where project director Mike Galloway has been the instigator or contributor of a comment. With Galloway's resignation from the post in mid 1997 (to take up the chief planning officer position at Dundee City Council), the scheme has all but disappeared from view. Its only champion, outside of the project partners themselves, has been the Urban Villages Forum, which has steadfastly promoted Crown Street over the last seven years, and even led study tours to the site.

So, although the scheme provides an attractive sight on a main thoroughfare adjacent to downtown Glasgow, it has yet to win the widespread adulation its political inventors sought. Having said that, the new development is generally considered by the project partners to have made a significant contribution to changing local attitudes about the Gorbals, improving its image and potential (EDAW, 1997).

5.1.2 Integrated social and economic regeneration

Improvement of the social and economic climate of the wider Gorbals vicinity via a concerted effort within Crown Street is an ultimate aim of the project. Crown Street is meant to demonstrate the potential of the locality and thereby attract further investment, boost local confidence, and act as a catalyst for long-term social and economic regeneration. Linked to this is the desire to ensure Crown Street makes firm connections with the existing urban fabric of the Gorbals, allowing the cohesive and integrated further development of the district.

The long-term focus of this aim means that it is premature to judge its success at this time. Nevertheless, it is possible to point to a number of outcomes of the project which seek to push the development in the desired direction. In the first instance, the project has been instrumental in installing the Gorbals Initiative. The Gorbals Initiative has now firmly established itself as a key organisation in promoting local economic development and enhancing local access to employment and training. However, the results of its efforts have not been measured and assessed by the Initiative itself nor the Crown Street partners.

A second factor has been the attempt by the project partners to encourage the use of local contractors, and to ensure training and construction employment opportunities have been maximised for local people during the development of the Crown Street project. The partners pursued this by assessing short-listed developers for each phase on their local employment and training proposals, assisting (through the Gorbals Initiative) local businesses to win contracts, and providing (again through the Gorbals Initiative) an efficient

recruitment and training service for contractors. EDAW (1997) estimates that 112 full-time equivalent jobs have been created through the scheme. Of these, approximately 15 per cent have been taken by local people, which, according to Gorbals Initiative director John Watson (1997 interview) 'compares very well with all the national studies' as to the proportion of local people normally employed on such projects.

The mixed use emphasis of the project has also stimulated private sector investment and local work opportunities. The biggest impact has been that of the Kwik Save centre, which involved an investment of more than £1 million by Kwik Save, and the employment of 50 on-site staff. Furthermore, the company is following a policy of local recruitment for all its vacancies except senior management.

Another objective the project partners have pushed toward is that of attracting first-time buyers into Crown Street. Of the two-thirds of phase one owner occupiers who had no local connection to the Gorbals, a high proportion were in this category of being young first-time buyers with a professional career and relatively high income (EDAW, 1997). The purpose of this objective was to secure social diversity and to increase the income levels of the neighbourhood in order to help support a range of local amenities. However, whether these new owner occupiers are choosing to spend their income locally has not been quantified by the project partners nor the local retailers.

Even less certain are the Crown Street project's outcomes in terms of addressing integration with adjoining communities, and improvement of the local social climate. Despite the east-west connections anticipated in the project's new road layout, Crown Street remains an island on its own in the Gorbals. In part this is a result of a number of persistent physical barriers, including the Laurieston Road dual carriageway, the numerous adjoining vacant sites, and the undesirable Queen Elizabeth Square shopping precinct. Several steps could be taken by the project's partners to eliminate some of these hurdles which lie beyond the site, especially given that much of the land involved is in public ownership. In particular, attention could be paid to the potential offered by the Greek

Thomson church, the library site, and the land to the south and east of the Gorbals Health Centre on the eastern edge of the scheme.

The social barriers to integration are a much more complex issue. Within Crown Street itself residents' and tenants' associations have been formed and are functioning well within each street block (Wilson, 1997 interview). However, they prevail as a separate enclave from the rest of the vicinity. According to Sandra Wilson (1997 interview), there is a 'kind of two tier Gorbals. There's the real Gorbals, which still has all of the problems; and then (there) is Crown Street.' While Wilson is impressed with the 'balanced' social mix achieved to date in Crown Street, she is worried about how long it will continue without Crown Street residents feeling the necessity to build a protective wall around themselves. She relays anecdotal stories of concern emanating from new owner occupiers within the project area. Some residents have been so perturbed by the neighbouring social problems, especially those related to money lenders and drug users, and the proposed location of the Gorbals Addiction Service immediately adjoining new housing on the Old Rotherglen Road, that they have apparently put their new homes up for sale so that they can move out of the area (figure 92).

The inadequacies of the community participation process, outlined in sub-section four of the present chapter, have been a major factor in the project's difficulties with regard to any attempt to improve the social climate of the Gorbals. The project partners acknowledged from the outset the critical importance of involving the community effectively and not simply imposing solutions. They had the confident expectation that they would 'create new democratic structures' through the redevelopment process (Glasgow City Council, 1994: 25). However, throughout the planning and construction phases of the project there has been an acknowledged failure to bring local citizens in as equal partners. Inevitably this has reinforced (EDAW, 1997) the lack of identification that the surrounding district has had with Crown Street right from the start, as identified in a 1991 survey of 800 local residents (McArthur, 1992). Sandra Wilson (1997 interview) chides that to date 'all

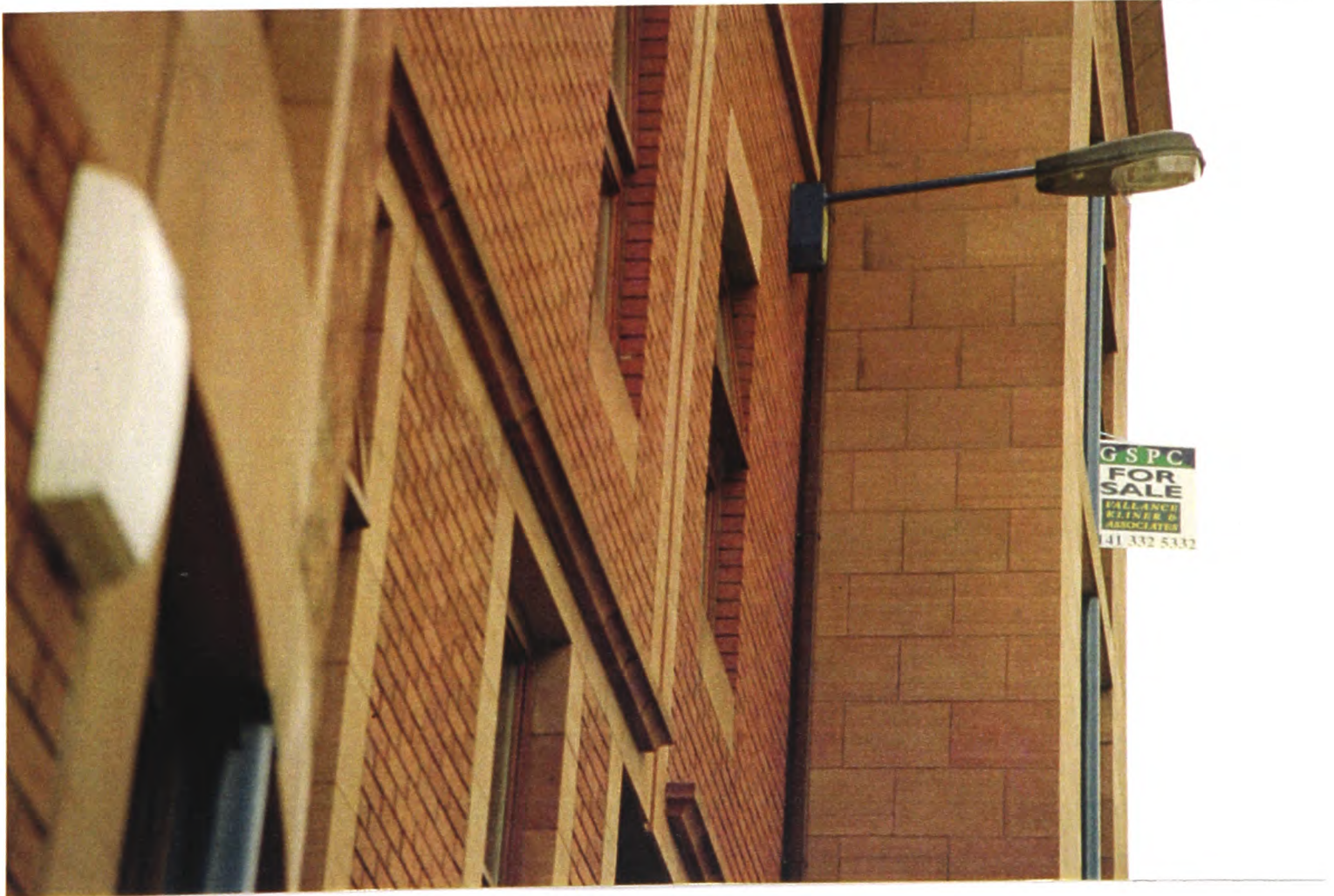


FIGURE 92: Houses coming up for sale in Phase One after two years occupation

we've achieved is buildings and that's not what a sustainable community's about. A sustainable community's about ownership. Ownership means that everybody feels a sense of ownership. I think what Crown Street has created is an alienated project.' Wilson argues that many existing Gorbals residents, such as those in Oatlands who are currently facing tenement and facility demolitions, feel marginalised, ghettoised and ignored, especially in the light of the Crown Street project. The polarisation between the new and the old communities is illustrated in the disagreements that have been occurring about the provision of local facilities. One example was of a local fish and chip vendor who wanted to move into a vacant commercial unit in Crown Street. The new residents objected to the proposal, suggesting a bistro or café would be more suitable. Furthermore, they were not happy with the late opening hours, nor the potential clientele coming across from former haunts in the old shopping arcade (and presumably bringing their drug problems with them). Similar confrontations are also taking place in respect of various community and leisure amenity proposals. In Wilson's opinion, the new residents are displaying a NIMBYism that is unrealistic if integration with the rest of the Gorbals is ever to be achieved. However, with the closing of the Queen Elizabeth Square precinct and operation of various shops and the supermarket on Crown Street, the project partners remain hopeful that an enhancement of relations between the new and existing residents will come to pass as they inevitably cross paths.

Overall, while some progress has been made in Crown Street in terms of achieving private sector commitment to the site, the project has not yet stimulated additional investment in the vicinity nor noteworthy social interaction.

5.1.3 Stable and balanced population

Closely tied to the two goals considered above is an objective devised to help fulfill them both, that of increasing the long-term social mix within the Gorbals. In particular, in a consummate piece of social engineering, the project partners sought to reduce the public

sector monopoly over housing in the area and its predominance of elderly and vulnerable tenants, and reintroduce owner occupied accommodation aimed at local residents, young families and those on higher incomes. As noted above, in part this would increase the potential disposable income available to be spent within the neighbourhood. In addition, it was hoped that this would add a liveliness and stability to the area, nourish diverse social interactions and neighbourhood cohesion, help sustain community and schooling facilities, and ultimately encourage a long-term commitment to the locality on the part of the new residents. Moreover, the project partners wanted to help curb the movement of Glaswegians to the suburbs which in part reflected the restricted tenure choice in the central city neighbourhoods. To entice purchasers in, the project partners prioritised construction of a large number of maisonettes with dedicated gardens, as well as townhouses and terraces for families, and a range of flat types for couples and single person households; ensured preferential terms were available for first time buyers; provided for the early establishment of local shops to meet daily needs; and marketed the good quality of the local schools.

An analysis of phase one, carried out by the Gorbals Research and Information Team (EDAW, 1997: 5) indicates that a mix of people from different backgrounds has taken up the Crown Street housing. A total of 34 per cent of households in phase one had previously lived in the Gorbals. Such households accounted for 93 per cent of the new social housing tenants and 20 per cent of the new owner-occupiers. In terms of household type, just over a third of phase one housing was occupied by single person households, nearly a third was occupied by couples with no children, and just under a third was taken by families that included children. In terms of the combined employment and household type characteristics, the two largest groups represented were single professional or managerial households and families headed by a skilled manual worker.

While these outcomes meet the project partners' objective almost ideally, there is recent concern that the results in later phases may not be so favourable. Two factors have

given rise to this fear. Firstly, with the increasing market success of the private housing and corresponding higher value sales, there is the very real possibility of the owner occupied units moving beyond the price range of local residents. Secondly, at the same time as the private sector housing has been built and sold ahead of schedule in response to demand, the provision of social rented housing has lagged behind. This has reinforced claims that existing Gorbals residents are alienated from the scheme and unable to benefit from it especially in so far as taking up the new housing themselves is concerned. This has further fueled the polarisation debate.

In addressing the latter worries, the project partners have placed pressure on Scottish Homes to ring-fence their funding to the New Gorbals Housing Association, guaranteeing social housing provision will be made an urgent priority on the site. However, it is not known how (or whether) the project partners intend to deal with the matter of rising house prices.

5.1.4 An affordable high quality environment

Another objective devised to contribute to the attainment of the first two goals discussed above is that of achieving a high quality of environment for the Crown Street project. The emphasis placed on this objective within the design briefs is oriented primarily towards housing quality in terms of 'variety of design, construction and finish' (Crown Street Regeneration Project, 1994: 7). Nevertheless, there is also acknowledgement of the need to achieve the broader, more nebulous outcome of 'a high quality of residential amenity' (Crown Street Regeneration Project, 1994: 6).

The objective is clearly tied to the aim of encouraging a social mix back into the Gorbals. It is founded on the desire to attract residents via the environmental quality, as opposed to creating environmental quality for such purposes as meeting urban ecological targets for instance. Furthermore, due to public sector subsidy, it is also a quality that is to be kept affordable for the potential purchasers.

Residential quality is one ambition that has definitely been achieved in the phases of Crown Street already erected. As demonstrated in figure 93, there is an architectural variety in Crown Street which is matched by high standards of construction and external cladding, along with traffic calmed boulevards and quiet communal gardens. The commitment of the project partners to investing in quality physical outcomes has, for example, enabled the provision of large room sizes; use of expensive and durable materials, including natural stone, slate and copper; contribution of artwork; and planting of semi-mature trees.

The accent on quality has been judged a success by the partners (EDAW, 1997) and developers (Brogan, 1995 interview; Coleman, 1995 interview; Lloyd, 1995 interview) in terms of luring residents to the area, 'how do you attract people into this terrible area?... They've got quite a spectacular design, very, very high quality, and selling at very, very affordable prices. And it *has* brought people back into the Gorbals. It has been successful' (Brogan, 1995 interview).

A number of those involved in implementing the scheme initially had reservations about how well properties would sell in the Gorbals, and more particularly, how well tenement housing would fare. However, it was the anticipated quality outcome that persuaded developers that they could take the risk, as Wimpey's Jim Coleman (1995 interview) indicates, '(w)hen the brief came out ... we were quite surprised. We thought long and hard before we said "we're going for this one". We said "right, we'll go for it because we'll sell on the quality of the product."

Even so, all the developers were staggered by the resulting demand for their housing. With the units sold long before construction was completed, each developer found it only sensible to speed up their work rate so that buyers could move in and they in turn could move on to new jobs (Brogan, 1995 interview; Coleman, 1995 interview; Taylor, 1995 interview). For example, Miller's reduced their time spent on site by approximately a year:

it's been a hugely successful project. We anticipated that we'd sell about fifty per year, which would make the project round about two and a bit, two and a half years, perhaps in duration. But it's literally the case now that we're filling them up as quickly as



FIGURE 93: Variety of high quality materials (stone, slate, brick) and designs

we possibly can to get people in because they are queuing up to buy. So it's a very, very successful project.... The simplest bit has been building it and selling it. The process to actually get things to that stage took five or six years. But to build it and sell it we're talking about building out and selling out in perhaps about a year and a half bizarrely. (Brogan, 1995 interview)

Wimpey's experience has been the same, and Jim Coleman (1995 interview) admits his apprehension has proved unwarranted, '(i)t's fantastic. It's one of the best sites we've had.'

Of course, this affordable, high quality environment needs to be sustained in order to meet the intentions of the project's creators. There is little guarantee that this will be the case. Considerable potential for the long-term maintenance of quality rests with the community trust which will administer the Feu Superior. How vigilantly this task will be undertaken depends entirely on the local community. Even less potential exists for ensuring owner occupied housing in the area remains affordable. While Scottish Homes can exert pressure to keep low prices for the sale of units from the developer to the first customer, future sales are open to the market.

5.1.5 The reintroduction of a recognisable, urban scale built environment

The final element of what might be categorised as the principal ambitions of Crown Street's creators is the objective to reintroduce to the Gorbals a customary piece of urbanism, reminiscent of the Glasgow of the early twentieth century (figure 94). In particular, this objective has given considerable weight to the reinvention of the tenement building with its classic Glasgow "big windaes" (large vertical windows) and the revival of the grand, linear street, with the support of subsidiary traditional features such as interconnected buildings forming enclosed communal areas within each block (figures 95 and 96), a responsive grid road pattern, street-fronting shops, and a range of community and business activities. The motivation for producing such an urban form lies in the security it offers the renewal project. Exemplars in many parts of Glasgow demonstrated that this style of development could be attractive, durable, adaptable and very popular in the late



FIGURE 94: Remembering Clydeside engineering history



FIGURE 95: Reinventing the tenement, with large communal areas to the rear



FIGURE 96: Reinventing the tenement, with maisonettes and small private gardens

twentieth century. Previous maladapted experimentation within the Gorbals, even by the most reputable of innovators, left Glasgow's leaders lacking in any nerve to seek more adventurous solutions.

The application of Crown Street's masterplan in conjunction with detailed design briefs for each street block in the site has meant that this ambition to restore a recognisable Glaswegian urbanism has largely been achieved in the phases completed thus far. The mid-term review of the project applauds the 'strong urban character' that has resulted (EDAW, 1997: 11). The obvious exception has been in regard to the Kwik Save building where, despite the masterplan and design principles, more of a suburban form was grudgingly accepted for the sake of having a large supermarket available on the new main shopping street. The other retail units in the scheme have been incorporated into the ground floor of the private sector tenements fronting Crown Street, as was the familiar pattern in the past. Here the project partners had more persuasion over the developers than they did with Kwik Save. The developers were disinclined to integrate the shops into their housing plans, but being only a small part of the total contract they reluctantly gave in.

Maintaining the project's momentum is the paramount issue for completely achieving this objective which pursues traditional urban character. If the project stalled, not only would it harm new occupier confidence, but it would damage market interest, especially relating to the provision of non-residential uses (such as the hotel, licensed premises and offices) needed to round-off the neighbourhood as a more multi-functional community reminiscent of the old Gorbals.

5.2 Project replicability

Both the project partners and the Urban Villages Forum uphold the Crown Street scheme as an example of what is possible, but not conventional, in contemporary

development. But how repeatable is the project? In its own mid-term review, doubt about replicability was expressed:

Although the Project has many facets of commendable practice, it has also been in a unique position. Therefore, not all of these practices are necessarily capable of easy transfer to other regeneration projects, whether in Glasgow, other parts of Scotland or further afield. (EDAW, 1997: 20)

Many of the developers and architects involved in the project are even more blunt in their assessment. They describe Crown Street as a definite 'one-off' undertaking (Brogan, 1995 interview; Coleman, 1995 interview; Henaughen, 1995 interview) that does not lend itself to repetition (Coleman, 1995 interview; Lloyd, 1995 interview). Nonetheless, given similar enough funding circumstances, the various developers, architects and the housing association all said they would be prepared to be involved in such an endeavour again.

The high level of public subsidy is the single biggest factor that would diminish any easy translocation of Crown Street development practice. An acknowledged 37 per cent of the project's expenses have been met by the public purse. However, this figure does not reflect a number of hidden costs that have also been absorbed by the public sector, and in particular by the City Council, such as the cost of the land, provision of utilities and the establishment of a new public library. Even if significant public funding assistance was available for future projects, it would no longer include the contribution of a body such as the Glasgow Development Agency, who focuses much more closely on economic development now. Consequently a major contribution would have to be sought from alternative funding bodies.

There are a number of aspects of the project that would be very difficult to transfer elsewhere without this high proportion of public assistance. For example, in the case of inner city renewal, it would be an onerous task to demolish such a large housing stock; re-house the residents; clear, rehabilitate and consolidate the land; realign the utility services; and assemble a single-ownership land package in the manner that it was done for Crown Street. It would also be unfeasible to achieve the same levels of physical quality, for example in terms of materials used and size of rooms provided, and keep the housing at an

affordable price. The developers involved in Crown Street intimated that the quality levels required for the project were way beyond their usual, and intended future practice:

It was all non-standard for us, so it was a real *challenge*.... The only reason we'd do that again (would be) if there was grant funding available. That's the *only* reason we'd do it. That is totally alien to our business in both form and materials. The actual stone - that's a very expensive building obviously.... Again, another thing about this is ... they're bigger houses that we would normally build, so there's a cost implication in that. (Coleman, 1995 interview)

Similarly, the New Gorbals Housing Association (Fitzpatrick, 1995 interview) stated that the construction and materials were of 'a higher specification' than their norm and impossible to replicate in their other projects, 'as much as we would like to do it, there just wouldn't be the funding available'.

Peter Brogan (1995 interview) from Millers remarked that it is the quality of Crown Street that is its principal distinguishing factor from other renewal projects, 'if I had to say that there was one difference, one differentiating feature, it would be the extremely high quality'. It is a sad commentary if the unique contribution of this supposedly model project is a high quality of built environment that cannot be readily reproduced.

In addition to matters of quality and funding, there are a number of other factors that developers and architects working on the project argue would not be transferred to future schemes. First amongst these is the concept of the tenement. Despite the market success of the new Crown Street tenements, there was general cynicism about this housing form for twenty-first century living amongst both developers and architects. Many complained that the tenement was too dominant, as compared with terraces and townhouses, in Crown Street. Some wondered how long the tenements would maintain their popularity, especially top storey units involving climbing four flights of stairs. None indicated a willingness to erect tenements in future projects, most believed the two storey house would be more appropriate, even in the centre of town. Related to that, concern was expressed about the relatively high density of the development compared to most new-build projects. Several held the view that because of its density, Crown Street had little potential for application elsewhere except in specific inner city locations.

Another feature of Crown Street that developers suspected would not be taken up in future schemes was the inclusion of retail units on the ground floor of housing blocks. The developers involved found the incorporation of shops a 'quite unusual' request (Brogan, 1995 interview) and were not tempted to repeat the exercise. The long time taken to let the shops, even with Crown Street's relatively quick housing up-take, further dampened the developers' enthusiasm.

Notwithstanding the above obstacles to Crown Street being a useful model for contemporary practice, there are some elements that could be easily brought into existence in other schemes. Foremost amongst these is the collaborative partnership formed between the main agencies promoting the project. The various agencies taking part found this an effective mechanism for agreeing on project objectives, achieving economies and ensuring project momentum. Already the model has been put to use in subsequent projects around Glasgow, reportedly with better outcomes in terms of community input.

Secondly, Crown Street demonstrates the potential of a masterplanning approach. Plainly defined physical outcomes were outlined in the masterplan and detailed in the design briefs. This has meant that the site could be divided up into manageable parcels and implemented relatively expeditiously by a variety of developers and architects. Hence, a range of architectural responses have been welcomed, from quite traditional to very modern, while still maintaining a coherent urban form interwoven with common tree-lined boulevards.

Finally, attention could be given to the potential for further developing the ideas of providing a mixture of rental accommodation and affordable owner occupied and shared ownership housing for local residents of inner city areas, and of constructing medium density urban (as opposed to suburban or high rise) dwellings in central city areas. Both these aspects of the Crown Street project were successful in terms of their popular appeal. Granted, the large public funding input meant that such goals could be achieved with high

quality results for a minimal cost to the end user. However, the degree of success begs the question of whether mixed tenure affordable housing for local citizens and overtly urban building design would still be in demand even if a more financially modest approach was employed. Following these matters up would require public agency commitment, because the private sector would not act on them of their own volition. But it may be plausible to significantly reduce the level of subsidy.

From the outset of the project, Crown Street was destined to be a lavish, although not ostentatious, masterpiece. The public agencies involved made a deliberate choice to concentrate effort on one small portion of the Gorbals rather than spread their labours more evenly. As a consequence, one of the most notable features of Crown Street is its quality of finish. However, the very high proportion of public aid used to bring about this result, at a reasonable price for the project's residents, diminishes any likelihood of replicability. Nevertheless, the high demand for housing in the project indicates that there may be potential for similar, but less extravagant, schemes. Undoubtedly the collaborative planning and implementation process and the masterplanning approach could be adapted and improved in future developments with relative ease.

5.3 Fulfillment of Urban Villages Forum criteria

Crown Street has been labelled an urban village by both the project partners and the Urban Villages Forum. It is proudly displayed as a fine example of the Forum's first preference type of urban village, an inner city regeneration of a brown land site. In this subsection, an assessment is made of the extent to which the Crown Street project actually meets the criteria of the Urban Villages Forum relating to planning and management processes, physical characteristics, and economic and social objectives.

5.3.1 Collaborative planning and management processes

The processes that the Crown Street regeneration project attempted to set in motion are very similar to those recommended by the Urban Villages Forum. This comes as no surprise given project director Mike Galloway's prominent role in the preparation of the Forum's second report, *Economics of Urban Villages*.

In the first instance, the project involved the establishment of an interagency partnership with a designated project manager working through the chief promoter, the Glasgow Development Agency. This arrangement precisely meets the Urban Villages Forum prescription. The collaboration is designed to ensure that a firm commitment to implementation is achieved and that the project vision is maintained and adequately resourced.

Related to this partnership, the Forum suggests the need for an urban villages trust, who's members vary depending on the situation and phase of development. This body would be closer to the day to day running of the project than the overriding formal partnership, and would help keep the undertaking on track. At Crown Street this role has been performed by the project's steering group.

To run parallel with the urban villages trust, the Forum recommends the formation of a community development trust. This latter trust would include representatives from the scheme's promoters, investors and the local authority, but would be primarily comprised of people elected from the village's residents and businesses. Its purpose would be to express community interests, provide community activities and ultimately manage the common spaces, infrastructure and facilities of the village. At Crown Street, rather than create two separate 'trusts', these two functions have been merged into one body. Hence the steering group has been set up to include a small community representation, who will eventually expand to comprise a much larger proportion of the membership once the development phase is finished and the focus of the group turns to long-term management. At this point the group would effectively metamorphose from a steering group into a community trust

company. This particular departure from the Forum's recommended strategy has resulted in a small, tokenistic community input to date. While the Crown Street partners have sought to redress the problem via the Gorbals Umbrella Group, their attempts have failed. Whether the formal handing over of management processes to the community trust company will bring about more effective public commitment is still an unknown factor. But without an attempt to adequately train the public for the task, it could fall flat also.

The Crown Street partners did also attempt a number of other strategies in order to inform and invite comment from the community. These included open days to view plans, interview surveys, small group meetings, and regular newsletters. However, this does not go as far as the guidance dispensed by the Urban Villages Forum, which calls for more in-depth dialogue with the existing residents, and the undertaking of planning workshops or community architecture type consultation.

Overall, what is quite evident is that the Crown Street planning and implementation process did not meet the Urban Villages Forum objectives of ensuring expression was given to community interests, and of allowing the community a direct role in planning and implementing the scheme. Even so, it is possible to see why the Forum might use Crown Street as a reasonable approximation of its partnership and management principles. While amendments are warranted, the project has made an effort to introduce a collaborative planning model.

5.3.2 Physical characteristics

In defiance of the Crown Street masterplanner's disdain for urban villages, there is a remarkable conformity between several aspects of the Forum's discourse on physical characteristics and the intended outcome at Crown Street. In particular, there is accord in regard to the need for dovetailed integration with adjoining neighbourhoods; pedestrian, road and public transit links to existing communities; a mixing of uses within street blocks and individual buildings; a range of housing unit sizes; a diversity of architecture; a strong urban

form; a comprehensible, plain street layout; an abundance of gardens and parks; traffic calming and priority provision for pedestrians.

By the same token, there are also a number of significant departures from urban village physical objectives at Crown Street. In the first place, the Crown Street scheme does not form part of a polycentric grouping of villages around the Gorbals. The scheme is just one small contribution to the regeneration of the wider Gorbals area. For the most part, this broader redevelopment is guided by the City Council via their Gorbals Local Plan. More recently, the Glasgow Regeneration Alliance has played a role also. However, while the urban village concept was adopted within Crown Street, courtesy of the persuasion of project director Mike Galloway, neither the City Council nor the Regeneration Alliance have pursued the idea further in terms of application to the rest of the Gorbals or elsewhere. For the Urban Villages Forum, this does not appear to be a noteworthy flaw in Crown Street's appeal. The vast majority of projects the Forum supports are also in this situation of not being part of a polycentric cluster. This probably indicates that the Forum does not give the objective as high a priority as other physical characteristics. The more important task is to have an urban village built. If it is part of a group of urban villages that is even better, but not judged essential this early on in the promotion of the concept.

Secondly, the mix of uses at Crown Street is not as heavily weighted towards employment activities as is the Urban Villages Forum proposed standard. The Forum urges a 1:1 ratio of residents willing to work to jobs provided in the village. In Crown Street, provision has been made for a handful of retail units, the supermarket, a hotel and some offices and community facilities. There was considerable scope to incorporate workshops, for instance, within the Crown Street site. However, this was not where the political will was. Rather, an attractive, high profile, largely residential development was wanted, without the detraction of potentially messy uses. The justification for such a limited emphasis on employment activities is based on the proximity of a range of employment opportunities within the Gorbals and the nearby city centre, and the hope that Crown Street itself might bring a

vitality that acts as a catalyst for new economic development in its vicinity. In the case of the latter, the Crown Street partners have been instrumental in establishing the Gorbals Initiative. This organisation is very similar in nature to the 'enterprise trust' that the Forum suggests project promoters should constitute to foster local employment opportunities. Hence, the Crown Street instigators are content that they have dealt appropriately with the matter of employment.

Thirdly, Crown Street does not conform to the hierarchy of spaces, plots and buildings that the Urban Villages Forum advocates. The first *Urban Villages* report stresses the importance of a central public square or similar meeting place, a gradation and mix of plot sizes from mainly small and dense in the centre of the village to larger around the periphery, and a hierarchy of buildings from tall and grand in the centre and at important junctures, to low and modest in primarily residential areas. Crown Street follows a different pattern, being fairly uniform in building and plot size (with the prominent exceptions of the Kwik Save store and the multi-storey Sandiefields flats), and lacking a more compact urban centre with a square. In part this is because Crown Street is a relatively small development and predominantly residential, designed to integrate with the wider district. But it is also part of a design choice to mimic traditional tenement design and form, and to emphasise semi-private open space (the communal gardens) over the public realm. Given the inner city context of the development and its spatial extent, the building form probably would be regarded as appropriate and unproblematic in terms of urban village criteria (although the tenement does create a relatively repetitive landscape that is more industrialist than vernacular). However, the lack of import afforded the public realm is much more significant. The main contributions made to public space at Crown Street are its tree-lined boulevards and the proposed Gorbals Park. But there is no central public place surrounded by shops and lively public uses to give the area a sense of communal identity. The Urban Villages Forum highlights the importance of such a place and its role as 'the outdoor "show house" of the whole development'. 'This is the heart of the village ... life pulses from it into

the surrounding areas' (Aldous, 1992: 48). The function of this central place extends beyond simply providing shops, eateries and amenities, to facilitating community interaction and vitality. That it is non-existent in Crown Street reveals a striking distinction between how the Forum and the Crown Street partners expect community interaction to take place. The Forum places considerably more weight on the potential for spatial layout to aid this process than do Crown Street's creators.

Finally, implementation of the masterplan follows a different strategy in Crown Street than is endorsed by the Urban Villages Forum. The preliminary masterplan and later detailed masterplan for Crown Street essentially adhered to the procedure and subject matter specified by the Forum. The point of departure occurred in relation to how the masterplan was brought into effect. The Forum envisages a masterplan, which acts as the framework for a scheme, supported by an infrastructure code, an urban code, an architectural code, and a public spaces code, which provide the details on how the masterplan is to be executed. The Crown Street partners have chosen not to enforce a formal series of codes as such. There is a broad 'design code' that the project is working to, but it simply comprises the collection of agreed goals and objectives for Crown Street in conjunction with the principles associated with the masterplan concept. These are set out in the design briefs prepared for each phase of the development (Galloway, 1997b: 7). However, the level of detail the briefs contain is considerably less than the Urban Villages Forum advises. The codes are intended to be explicit about such matters as urban layout and composition; form of frontages and set-backs; design of windows and doors; style of signage, lighting and street furniture; and so on. Crown Street's design briefs, on the other hand, generally set guiding principles rather than prescriptions. While the project partners have an unmistakable interest in producing a quality built environment that echoes traditional Glasgow form, they maintain a degree of flexibility about how that might be achieved architecturally. They are even more flexible about how other aspects of the project might be dealt with, such as streets, doors, lighting and pavements. This indicates

that at Crown Street the authors do not have a precise physical outcome in mind, but wish to allow for a degree of discretion to judge proposals with a variety of merits. Conversely, the Forum's codes seek to eliminate much of the discretionary element, and ensure that very specific results are achieved.

Generally, the Crown Street project follows the broader physical criteria that the Urban Villages Forum applies. However, its several departures from Forum principles, especially in terms of its minimal focus on employment activities and lack of a public realm must seriously reduce its value as an example of the urban village built environment, and moderate its own claim to be an urban village.

5.3.3 Economic factors

In the area of economics, Crown Street has again strayed from the path proposed by the Urban Villages Forum. At the beginning of the project, the Crown Street partners in essence skipped the task of conducting studies of feasibility, impact assessment and economic potential. Instead they relied on their joint understanding of the district concerned, its context, its location relative to the city centre and other neighbourhoods, and the political need to secure a durable transformation of the site. Once an approach to development had been agreed, and this time in accordance with Urban Villages Forum ideals, the Scottish Development Agency set about bringing the land together under the control of a single owner.

As anticipated for brown land sites in the *Economics of Urban Villages* report, Crown Street did have negative land values as a result of poor land conditions and social malaise. Hence, as expected, public sector pump priming was critical to bringing about urban regeneration, particularly in the early phases of development prior to a strengthening of market demand. However, contrary to the Forum's target of acquiring 70 to 100 per cent private sector funding for the project, Crown Street is predicted to achieve somewhat less than 63 per cent private funding. In part this is due to the relatively small scale and short

time-frame of this development compared with the Forum's generic brown land urban village. This means that less time is available to take account of improving market returns and the potential to eliminate public subsidy. Nevertheless, for political reasons there is an undeniably high proportion of public assistance at Crown Street. Therefore, in parading Crown Street as a model urban village a false impression is given of the quality of development that could realistically be attained elsewhere.

On a final note, in disposing of the land to developers and their customers, the Urban Villages Forum strongly implores the use of a leasehold system in order to safeguard the long-term comprehensive management intent. In Crown Street this objective has been tackled via the Glasgow Development Agency, and ultimately the community trust company retaining the Feu Superior to the land. This is an astute Scottish adaptation to the issue of keeping some control over the outcomes of the development, but of course it is no guarantee that the original intentions for Crown Street will be set in stone.

Once again, Crown Street delivers a mixed result in terms of conforming with the recommendations of the Urban Villages Forum. In particular, the case demonstrates the force of politics in economic decision making.

5.3.4 Social objectives

The social objectives sought at Crown Street bear a close resemblance to those of the Urban Villages Forum. However, at Crown Street the social outcomes desired are stated more simply and succinctly. They focus on social mix, community spirit and vitality, new democratic structures, integration and interaction with the existing community, and the notion of the family. The approach taken to achieving those social objectives held in common by the Crown Street partners and the Forum is the same. It is based on the use of the instruments of urban design and architecture to bring about social improvements.

In general it is not yet possible to assess whether the long-term social aims are being accomplished at Crown Street. There are some early indications that to date the project

has successfully encouraged a mix of residents and a return of families to the area. However, more definitive conclusions cannot be drawn until the construction period is complete.

6. CONCLUSION

At Crown Street, the primacy of the disposition in civic politics to present a paragon, in restitution of an unpalatable recent history, and in expectation of broader economic spin-offs, has outweighed any aspiration for the project to function as an exemplar for future urban development. That is not to say that the various instigators of the scheme have all had entirely congruous motivations. For example, the Glasgow Development Agency has had an overriding interest in stimulating economic rejuvenation via the project. Scottish Homes have sought a reintroduction of private housing into the neighbourhood to balance against the existing social housing. The City Council have pursued an improved inner city image, an increased population, an upgraded physical condition, and enhanced community facilities. The project director hoped to promote the project as a model urban village. The masterplanner aimed to bestow a present-day statement of the purpose of Glasgow. The New Gorbals Housing Association looked to establish itself as a housing provider within the Gorbals and meet the district's urgent need for social housing. The developers wanted to generate a reasonable financial return by constructing a good quality product. Generally these varying purposes have been aligned with remarkable ease through the workings of the project partnership. The most serious challenges have resulted from the inadequacies of public participation processes and national funding cut-backs to government and non-government agencies.

A background of previous renewal failure in the Gorbals weighed heavily on the shoulders of Crown Street's originators. It also pre-disposed them to an architecturally traditional approach to the physical environment because of the security that offered in

terms of predictable outcomes. However, in selecting CZWG as their masterplanners, the project partners were delivered their traditional notion in a form that had been adapted for contemporary metropolitan living, not nostalgic neighbourhood intimacy. Nevertheless, the project maintained its unambiguous aims to restore the community spirit of the Gorbals and empower an effective partnership with its citizens. But the energy required to successfully bolster and include the local community was more than expected, and ultimately beyond the partners' time-frame. Consequently, the project partners ended up with precisely the top-down redevelopment imposition that they had yearned to avoid.

Most of the project partners' other objectives have made positive progress. Chief amongst these have been the outcomes related to quality and variety in the built form, the introduction of affordable owner occupied housing, and the encouragement of a diversity of residents. Some care is required to guarantee the continued achievement of these outcomes. Still further attention needs to be paid to long-term community management of the project area, and economic regeneration, if objectives relating to these matters are to be fulfilled.

Crown Street's achievement of urban village aims is even more imperfect. At best the project might be described as a moderately credible example of an urban village. While Crown Street closely mirrors urban village partnership, management and social ideals, it only partially meets criteria related to physical characteristics, and falls short of the standards for community involvement and funding arrangements. This mediocre performance is further reinforced by the degree of difficulty that would be involved in trying to transfer features of Crown Street to other developments. One reason for the project's popularity with the Urban Villages Forum is that it was the first brown land development that approximated and acknowledged the urban village notion. In fact, a cursory examination of the other projects the Forum supports indicates that Crown Street is as reasonable an example as the majority. There simply are not any impeccable embodiments of the Forum's concept.

Nevertheless, the Crown Street regeneration project is an usual development. Far from being informed by grassroots needs, it is a scheme devised by local politicians and bureaucrats to appease consciences, serve civic purposes, and socially and environmentally purge a highly visible part of the Gorbals.

Chapter 7

BEYOND THE CAMPAIGN BRAVADO

'... we have virtually forgotten how to think about the future except as a version of the past' (Smith, forthcoming)

Although referring to the New Urbanism rife in the United States, Neil Smith's **A** comments might just as easily be applied to the discourse on urban villages. In common with most utopian models of the twentieth century, the discourse volunteers ideas 'which re-echo and recycle and reconnect' earlier planning principles (Hall, 1996: 7). In that respect it is understandable that planning academics have remained relatively silent about the urban village phenomenon - it offers little that is new as a planning tool. Nevertheless, the notable penetration of the discourse within urban development circles, as revealed in this thesis, signals the mandate for an appraisal of the implications of the urban village crusade. It is this task that can be appropriately undertaken via a critical geographical approach.

This final chapter synthesises the findings of the last four chapters using the framework established in the first half of Chapter Two. It commences with a brief overview of the research. This is followed by an elaboration of the operation of the urban village discourse, an account of its ideological foundation, and the connections between the discourse, its ideology and contemporary shifts in cultural hegemony. Next, a discussion on the

implication of urban village landscapes for social order is presented. Finally, some reflections on the merits of the research, and its significance, are offered.

1. THE RESEARCH AT A GLANCE

The creation of urban form is not an innocent process. It is a process which embodies power contests, communicates ideological ambitions, and both reflects and reproduces particular social relations (Chapter Two). This complexity is plainly visible in the campaign of the Urban Villages Movement and the projects it endorses. By examining this Movement and its inferences, I have been able to progress from an abstract understanding of these processes to one based on specific people and locations over a brief period of time. I commenced by developing an understanding of the primary instigators of the Urban Villages Movement (Chapter Three). This involved documenting their backgrounds, interests, actions and motivations. By taking this approach I was able to clarify the origins of the Movement, the differing aspirations of its protagonists, the ideological assumptions on which it is based, and the purpose which it hoped to fulfill. My intention was to demonstrate the fundamental importance of knowing the derivation of notions like that of the urban village. Such knowledge is indispensable for comprehending the broader implications of a concept that has been popularly perceived as simply technical and innocuous.

Throughout the 1990s the Urban Villages Movement has been prolific in its articulation of discourse, courtesy of a variety of texts and myriad of meetings. Therefore, a reasonable next step in my research was to analyse this discourse to reveal its overt premises and also excavate its more veiled ramifications (Chapter Four). In this way, I aimed to further build on the appreciation gained of the Movement's originators, and also disclose the evolving mission of the campaign. What this investigation confirmed was that not only does the Urban Villages Movement have a concern with creating physical environments, but it also has a passion to construct those physical environments so that they

will procure explicit social outcomes. The outcomes sought represent an expression of the campaign members' values and cultural experience. Moreover, they also indicate one element of the contemporary national political agenda (Chapter Four).

But how are these physical and social outcomes pursued on the ground? To follow up this question, I then turned to the two most frequently cited urban village manifestations. Poundbury (Chapter Five) and Crown Street (Chapter Six) sit at opposite ends of the urban village spectrum. The former is an edge of town green field development in a rural county. The latter is an inner city brown land regeneration project in a metropolitan centre. Both operate within the same urban village discourse. However, they illustrate varying degrees of commitment to the many facets that comprise that loosely bound and fragmented discourse. In these two urban landscapes it is possible to view the concrete application of the ideas and ideologies of the Urban Villages Movement amidst the influences of other power alliances embroiled in negotiating urban transformation. My goal in presenting these case studies was to gain an insight into the relationships between ideology, discourse and contemporary culture in the production of real urban places. The result has been two very different displays of powerful agents working within the capitalist system. But in neither case has a significant share of the power rested with the citizens for whom the urban village would supposedly engender a heightened local democracy.

2. THE COMMUNICATION OF THE DISCOURSE

Urban village rhetoric is more aptly understood as a discourse than as a guideline for a planning prototype. The ideas it embraces are not cemented together with the precision and dimensions of a model. Rather they are a set of adaptable principles and approximations. From the dawn of the Urban Villages Movement, the urban village concept has been a hazy portmanteau. Its lack of specificity has been a major reason for its meteoric rise within policy and development circles. There is a certain 'all things to all

people' quality about it. That is reflected in the enormous body of discourse that has built up around the concept. Not only does that discourse encompass a large number of ideas, often with the potential for conflict, but it is also dynamic (Chapter Four). As the Urban Villages Movement grows and establishes associations, its conceptual base concomitantly shifts. Thus in the last decade a reduced emphasis on such matters as aesthetic principles and traditional form has been matched by a heightened concentration on encouraging partnerships and ensuring a mixing of uses. The way in which the discourse is produced is what lies behind this situation. Most of the urban village discourse has its origins in the Urban Villages Forum. If individual communications are not directly derived from the staff of the Forum, then they are more than likely to have come from individual Forum members making a case at a meeting or in a publication. That is not to deny that the urban village discourse has gained a momentum of its own beyond the confines of the Forum. However, the Forum works hard to draw in any potential contributors to the discourse and build a large, committed 'interpretive community' (Duncan and Duncan, 1988: 120) - in this case a community that creates and determines the meaning of the discourse. That interpretive community of Forum members is an élite grouping. It is based around successful businessmen, urban development professionals, academics and bureaucrats. There is no pretense to be a grassroots organisation. Rather, the members, often with very genuine concern, seek to dispense remedies to urban malaise based on the types of middle-class environments that they themselves feel comfortable in. Their partly inadvertent aim hence becomes one of self-reproduction.

Even so, while élite, that interpretive community is still a heterogeneous body of people. The guiding inner group itself has always been diverse in terms of personal convictions, from its early embodiment as the Urban Villages Group through to its present form as the Urban Villages Council. The various members each stress different aspects of the urban villages notion, its associated processes and recent implementation, often challenging and contradicting one another (Chapters Three and Four).

As Beauregard (1993) and Harré and Gillet (1994) have reported, this is a common occurrence. Individuals operating within a discourse bring distinct backgrounds and alternative ways of conceptualising issues with them. Inevitably they will take different positions, emphasise different elements, and mould discourses in their own interests. This has certainly been the case, both in the Urban Villages Movement (Chapters Three and Four) and in the two development projects analysed in the present research. The result is that the urban village concept and its discourse can appear unbounded, incoherent, inconsistent and indistinct.

A good example is provided by comparing the Poundbury and Crown Street schemes. Apart from Urban Villages Forum members (and certainly not all of them) it is highly unlikely that any commentators initially would interpret these two landscapes and their processes as specimens from the same discourse. Their planning, implementation and management processes are different. They have dissimilar physical characteristics in terms of site size, plot dimensions, road layout, urban scale, architecture, and public space provision. There is an enormous contrast between their economic situations, and in particular their sources of funding. In fact, Poundbury and Crown Street could be paired up in order to support an argument that the urban village discourse is so catholic as to be completely meaningless. For the local government planner or urban designer assessing the discourse technically on its physical attributes, this conclusion would have some merit.

Nevertheless, Poundbury and Crown Street do actually concur on the principal characteristics endorsed by the Urban Villages Forum. These are to develop compact, self-sufficient, traditionally inspired, quality neighbourhoods which integrate with their surrounding communities and which are planned and managed by multi-lateral partnerships (Chapter Four). Furthermore, to judge the discourse as meaningless would bypass its most potent feature, that is, its social agenda. Both Poundbury and Crown Street pursue closely aligned social objectives. These include the desire for social diversity and interaction, community identity, urban vitality, local democracy and commitment, and a

family orientation. While the urban village discourse lacks congruity over many issues, the programme of both these projects emulates the social targets that are much more coherently (although less vociferously) endorsed in the discourse (Chapter Four).

Whatever the doubts about the intelligibility of the urban village discourse, its effect has been powerful. The Urban Villages Forum has achieved financial commitment from over 370 businesses, public bodies, charitable organisations and individuals. It has been given substantial grants for its campaign from central government. Forum members have been included in several government working parties. The urban village notion has been inserted into numerous pieces of national policy. English Partnerships have entered into a formal alliance with the Forum. The Forum has established an advisory relationship with many current development projects. As a result, urban village discourse has infiltrated the policy, planning, development and housing arenas. Furthermore, its proliferation has led to the uncritical adoption of the urban village concept on a grand scale, at national, local and individual organisation levels.

Evidently, in the eyes of the above practitioners, the Urban Villages Movement has conveyed, through its discourse, a comprehensible and credible story. Moreover, it has done so in very timely fashion. There has been a fortuitous coincidence between the onset of the discourse and the hurried search by public servants for alternatives to conventional urbanisation practice that has typified the late 1980s and the 1990s. Consequently, the Urban Villages Movement has not only had the opportunity to transmit its own advice on urbanisation, but to shape the attention of a receptive audience. The Movement has thereby transferred its notions into policy and the built landscape. It has gone a long way towards universalising its own understanding within urban practitioner circles. The urban village discourse is now playing a consequential role in reconstructing general figurings of contemporary urbanisation. That it has done so with relative ease and speed has been forcefully aided by its own composition. With outspoken royalty, leading house-builders and

prominent professionals networking in pertinent spheres and articulating the mission, there is every potential to have people sit up and listen.

3. THE IDEOLOGICAL BASIS OF THE DISCOURSE

The urban village discourse and the landscapes it influences can be viewed as the production of a particular ideology. This accords with Eagleton's (1978) understanding of the operation of ideology. However, ideology is not an overtly acknowledged component of the urban village discourse, nor the Poundbury or Crown Street landscapes. Furthermore, it is an aspect of the urban village discourse that has been largely overlooked in any commentaries to date. But, as Denecke (1992) suggests, ideology can still provide an underlying framework, and in this case it does.

Not all thoughts, ideas and actions have an ideological foundation. Ideology cannot be simply equated with doctrines or beliefs. Rather, ideology is historically situated, and involves practical communication between people who have come to hold particular views, and who are seeking to bring about a specific transformation (Eagleton, 1994; Baker, 1992). Ideology facilitates the realisation of these changes, and in doing so also supports the establishment, legitimisation and retention of distinct social orders and power relations (Thompson, 1984; Duncan, 1990). However, ideology is commonly troublesome to perceive. It functions in a way that makes the transformations it produces appear innocent, fixed and natural (Duncan, 1990; Eagleton, 1983; Pratt, 1986).

Although never candidly affirmed in written or verbal communications, the urban villages discourse has a determinable ideological footing. In order to ascertain this ideology, I began by probing the context, intentions and understandings of the prime originators of the Urban Villages Movement. This was combined with an analysis of the general urban villages discourse. In addition, both case studies were examined via their

creators' aspirations, masterplan and implementation procedure, and symbolic aspects of the landscape.

What this uncovered was a highly conservative ideology. There was marked discontent with contemporary urbanisation's lack of aesthetic form and rigid segregation of functions, and frustration with urban alienation and social disorder. As an alternative, those operating within the discourse sought to initiate, in a paternalistic manner, a more traditional urban configuration and idealised social relations. The hope for this transformation lies in its past, perhaps imagined, success. It offers the security that a civilised, community-conscious and family oriented social order might once again be introduced, albeit perpetuated by indispensable authoritarian measures (such as strict urban design codes). A strong equation is made between the installation of an historic urban form and the likelihood of orderly social conduct.

The ideology underpinning urban villages is conservative, authoritarian and neo-rational. But the rationalism is not instrumental nor functional. Rather, it is traditional, if not nostalgic, expressive, if not romantic, contextual and humanist. The ideology fuses aesthetics, vernacular form, social diversity and civility. It reacts against conventional functionalist and universalist planning and design ideology. Its materialisation is thus specific to time and place. Furthermore, it inevitably interconnects with broader trends in society, as suggested in the section below.

4. CONNECTIONS TO CULTURE

The urban village discourse, and its manifestations in the Poundbury and Crown Street landscapes, project wider cultural processes. That is not to presume any notion of a reified zeitgeist (Ley, 1987), but to recognise that while the planning and design domain (of which the discourse is a part) operates with a level of independence, it is also influenced by, and influences, other arenas confronting shared circumstances.

The current configuration of urban village rhetoric, as examined in the present research, emerged as a discrete discourse in Britain at the beginning of the 1990s. At that time it was outside the bounds of conventional wisdom in the planning and design disciplines. In effect, it was an oppositional discourse, essentially based on residual cultural forms (that is, it favoured modes from past social orders). The discourse appeared at the end of a decade of forthright, centralist, neo-conservative politics. This period of market-led economic restructuring and distrust of public intervention was drawing to a close. Not only was the buoyancy of the mid-eighties dissolving, but groups such as bureaucrats, planners and architects were reassessing their roles and, in particular, responding to cries radiating out from the Brundtland report (World Commission, 1987) to urgently promote sustainable development. The existing dominant culture was being nudged in a new direction. The fledgling urban villages discourse was not only influenced by this reorientation (particularly in terms of the emphasis given to issues of sustainability and the revived legitimacy of planning) but also contributed to it. The extent of this contribution is apparent in the expansion of the discourse, its effect on policy and its sway with new urban developments. Borrowing from Ley's (1987) terminology, the urban villages discourse could be considered a significant 'cultural architect', moulding the built environment. The marketability of the resulting landscapes has also encouraged those outside the discourse's own interpretive community to call on its ideas. 'Urban villages' that play on the wish of local authorities and customers for a traditional sense of place and community are not uncommon. The Urban Villages Movement attempts to subdue these counterfeit intrusions, which commonly mimic historic architecture but no other urban village attributes. However, the reactivation of this long recognised English proclivity for the nostalgia of rural village life is another strand in the 1990s cultural unfolding. Furthermore, the fragmentation of the housing market during this decade, reinforces the potential for such niche enclaves.

It can be argued that by the mid 1990s there had been a default in the current phase of dominant culture (to borrow from Williams' idea, 1980) oriented to short-termism,

modernist utilitarianism, centralised patriotism, corporate think big, and individualism, and a move towards intergenerationalism, aesthetic expression, vernacular appreciation, the human-scale, and community and family values. This would correspond with the conclusion Martin (1981) draws in her analysis of contemporary cultural change. She posits that the predominant cultural trend in the last two hundred years has been an oscillation between rational and romantic ideologies. The events of the last two decades seem to indicate the continuing swing of this cultural pendulum, albeit with certain new dimensions (such as the sustainability thrust). In keeping with this interpretation, Hall (1996) maintains that the late twentieth century view of the city as a place of decay and unrest has prompted a cultural revival, within the planning and design domain itself, towards planning's anarchist origins. That is, in the 1990s the swing is back towards the romantic.

Cosgrove (1993) characterises landscape as both an agent and consequence of cultural fluctuations. That has been the case in regard to urban villages. There has been an expeditious advancement of the urban village discourse and its landscapes, from being oppositional to becoming absorbed into mainstream practice (although not predominant practice). In part this is an outcome of the discourse and its landscapes playing a role in modifying hegemonic culture. At the same time, the discourse and landscapes have also mirrored wider cultural adjustments being made elsewhere in the planning realm and in society at large. Now, urban village discourse finds itself incorporated within the fold of the dominant culture and refined by its mastery (for example Chapter Four indicated how the Urban Villages Movement has re-prioritised its emphases in response to its wider alliances).

5. CONCEIVING LANDSCAPES

Urban village landscapes have been conceived to communicate and produce particular meanings for those who will eventually inhabit them. Of particular interest in the

present research is what they signify in terms of social order. The findings of the research in regard to this matter are now drawn together below.

Beginning at the level of ideology, it is apparent that the urban villages examined express a conservative basis for social interaction. The landscape creators have sought solace in their nostalgia about pre-twentieth century urban form and human relationships. They cherish notions of civility, decency, order, responsibility, commitment and harmony. They have faith that traditional urban form will enable and perpetuate such idealised constructs as the norm.

Secondly, at the level of the production of the discourse, it is evident that the urban villages examined induce an élite participation. The founding concepts are not generated from grassroots movements nor are they informed by them. Any community input has been solicited much later in the process, once the principles and approach have already been fixed. Hence, a top-down, patriarchal social order is embedded in the landscape visions from the outset, emulating the background and predilections of those initiating the discourse.

Thirdly, at the level of the planning, implementation and management process it is obvious that the urban villages examined have thus far failed to introduce the energetic local democracy they had aimed for. This exposes an intriguing paradox. The élitist foundation of the urban village discourse and the authoritarian measures required for its institution have helped to stifle effective collaboration and the development of community empowerment. Both Poundbury and Crown Street remain professional and political representations of place. The inhabitants have yet to stamp their identity and meaning on the landscapes.

Fourthly, at the level of social composition, both urban villages examined demonstrate the initial impact of social engineering. Part of the urban village ideology is the goal that in an urban village residents should meet with social difference. Therefore, a resident mix in terms of such characteristics as age, income, household type, gender and

ethnicity is mooted. At Poundbury and Crown Street three mechanisms to accomplish this aim are employed: a specified ratio of public and private housing, a range of house prices and ownership arrangements, and a mix of house types and sizes. While in the first instance both landscapes have seen a certain diversity of social characteristics eventuate, this does not necessarily indicate that there has been a meeting with social difference, nor that the diversity will persist in the long-term. However, the landscape creators trust that a physically conducive built environment, with a vibrant, urbane atmosphere, will encourage interaction, and that the mix of house and tenure types will maintain heterogeneity.

Earlier attempts at similar social engineering, in the middle of the present century, have been notorious failures. In particular, the reliance on physical design to dissolve social intolerance is no more than fantasy. Already in both Poundbury and Crown Street there are some indications of prejudice by the residents of the new developments towards those in the adjoining existing communities (Chapters Five and Six).

Furthermore, there is an unambiguous (although secondary) Urban Villages Movement (Aldous, 1995), Poundbury (Hamilton, 1995 interview) and Crown Street (Galloway, 1995 interview) goal of utilising the higher income residents to motivate the lower income residents onto the upward mobility spiral. Again, this is a paradoxical situation. It is quite possible that both urban villages examined could become relatively homogeneous, self-possessed enclaves instead of sites of social diversity.

Finally, at the level of material symbolism, the two urban village landscapes illustrate an historicist predisposition which alludes to past social orders. Traditional architectural forms, a rediscovery of former shopping layouts, compact spatial arrangements, attention to detailing and artwork, and diversity of design are some of the primary exhibitions of this idyllic symbolism. What they are intended to inspire is a feeling of local identity, a sense of place, a community pride and commitment, an urban vitality, and an organic continuity with bygone times. However, these physical symbols are highly contrived and require strict policing to ensure their permanence. The codes on which the policing is based mandate

the retention of a traditional but diverse built environment. That regimentation of design and diversity has such a self-conscious ordering effect on the landscape that it actually asserts a politics of homogenisation. Yet again, the paradoxical nature of urban villages is displayed. How likely is it that social difference will be retained in the light of demanding landscape enforcement provisions? This tight rein, and the physical form itself, will unavoidably exert an influence over who is prepared to live in such an environment. Those who dislike authoritarian measures, or who find the landscape uncomfortably middle class, will give these places a wide berth.

Overall then, the creation of the urban village landscapes has significant social implications. The conception of these landscapes is that of an élite group with a paternalistic mode of operation. They consequently reinforce their own identity on the landscape. Their ambition to restore a conservative social order is addressed by means of constructing a traditional urban form. However, the enforcement of that form has the potential to coalesce the local citizens so that social mix gives way to a middle class (gated) neighbourhood. Despite stated objectives, these urban villages have not been archetypes of community empowerment. At both the genesis and construction stages élites have dominated the process and advanced a paternalistic traditional model. Now as the stage of long-term 'community management' approaches, it remains to be seen whether that mould can be broken and whether social diversity can really be achieved in the face of the existing autocratic structures.

6. REFLECTIONS: ABOUT AND BEYOND THE RESEARCH

6.1 Authorial position

The investigation outcome presented in this thesis is by no means the only version possible. The story told would have been relayed differently by another researcher. In

particular, my approach has been strongly influenced by my background as a practising urban planner from New Zealand. My experience in developing policy for such matters as urban growth management, nodal intensification, and public transportation has been pragmatic and focussed on currency. That has materialised in my choice of subject to ground the present research: a contemporary urban development movement, although I have endeavoured to temper my proclivity for the contemporary by situating this movement and the case studies within their historical contexts.

Secondly, to work for over a decade as a planner within local government, necessitates a level of belief in the potential for planners as agents to effect some degree of change on the urbanisation process. Hence, I came with a bias in favour of a humanised approach to the research, acknowledging the culpability and responsibility that various actors and alliances can have in shaping processes of urbanisation.

Thirdly, the fact that I came from a distinctly different urbanisation experience in New Zealand has been important. In the first instance, it meant that I entered the research with virtually no understanding of urbanisation processes in Britain nor of present-day practice. By focussing my work on a single movement there has been the danger of not recognising how this body and its propositions interact with their wider context. In particular, because urban village ideas were so alien to the New Zealand setting it was all too easy to imprudently separate out and overstate their detachment from the much more complex British scene. On the other hand, acknowledging my New Zealand origins was remarkably helpful during the interviews for the research. This opened the door for informants to expand candidly on their own cognisance of the backdrop for urban village thinking. Furthermore, questions about failures and contradictions seemed less threatening in the light of assisting a colonial colleague involved in the process of urbanisation herself, rather than, say, an English 'critical geographer'.

I do not believe these personal impositions on the research are problematic. However, they have affected the theory, methods, and analysis techniques brought to bear on the issue. Therefore, they should be taken into account when reviewing my explication.

6.2 Matters for further attention

There are some matters that would deserve attention if this research project was being repeated. Above all the research is a critical analysis of the urban village discourse and two of its manifestations. I have used the creators of urban village discourse and built environments as an entry point into an examination of how certain agents can powerfully direct understandings of urban form, impose meaning on the built landscape, and attempt to reproduce specific social relations. I am not certain that this has been achieved with resonant clarity. The thesis is heavily weighted towards the primary research material. This may be to the detriment of a more satisfactory explanation of such impinging concepts as social order, power, hegemony, civility, community and utopia for example. Nevertheless, I believe the comprehensive treatment given to urban villages is invaluable in establishing the intentions and operations of a powerful élite. It is also beneficial as a archive of late twentieth century conduct. My preference therefore, would be to elaborate on constructs such as those listed above by way of future communications based on the evidence presented in the thesis. I do not believe the thesis lacks credibility as a result of their limited exposition. Rather, the emphasis on alternative matters was a deliberate choice in terms of how to tell the story.

There are some changes that I would have welcomed the opportunity to make however. These relate to achieving further confirmation for my representation of the urban villages discourse and its producers. When I began the research I had hoped for greater participant observation opportunities. While I joined the Urban Villages Forum, and attended all their member sessions, I also sought to join at least one Forum working party.

Unfortunately, the ones I became involved with quickly dissolved, thereby diminishing my scope to experience the operation of the Movement much more closely.

Secondly, I had hoped to have a large proportion of informants that I interviewed review my summary notes of the meeting with them in order to fine-tune my interpretation of their meanings. Given my objective to make an effort to present the informants' messages and priorities in the research this seemed a worthwhile task. However, the assignment simply proved too time-consuming. Only a small number of interviews were corroborated in this way.

Finally, my attempts to make direct contact with the Prince of Wales all failed. I was deftly moved aside at meetings he attended, and received only correspondence from his assistants in response to my written queries. Fortunately there is a wealth of his communications freely available. However, this could not answer some of my specific problems, such as, precisely how did he arrive at the term 'urban village'?

6.3 Additional research opportunities

The above gaps in my own work present opportunities for ongoing research in this area. In addition, there are many questions that deserve to be pursued in future research on the later outcomes of urban village landscapes. These include the suggestions itemised below.

First, how tenaciously has the ideological basis of urban village landscapes maintained a long-term hold over the meanings of those landscapes? Landscape meanings are unstable. The tenacity of the creators' intentions is an important factor in assessing the latter's power over the landscape and what it communicates.

Second, to what extent has there been a meeting with difference amongst the residents of urban village landscapes over time? Such a research project could address the

social agenda of urban villages, especially the obtainability of the goals of social diversity and a tolerant local democracy.

A third question might seek to establish the relationship between urban village ideology and other structural forces. For example, how significantly have various urban and economic forces (such as urban decentralisation, or service provider catchment targets) affected the achievement of dense, lively, mixed use communities?

Fourth, to what degree has urban village ideology been assimilated into, and watered-down by, the contemporary phase of cultural hegemony?

These questions overlap with each other. But several discrete packages of research could be developed from them, that either pursue a similar landscape approach or turn to contrary frameworks.

7. ENVISIONING URBAN VILLAGES

There are three dimensions to the contribution offered by the research presented in this thesis. At the level of theoretical approach, I have attempted to respond to and extend one of Ley's (1993) identified deficiencies in cultural geography research. That is, the need to consider the social relations that are implicated in the creation of landscape. By grounding such a study in the discourse and landscapes of the Urban Villages Movement, I have argued that the conception, construction and maintenance of urban form by powerful agents is a major factor in communicating and producing social relations, at least initially. That in itself is not a new revelation. However, the extensive analysis of how this process of communication has operated in the case of urban villages provides a concretisation of that abstract argument. This unique and broad record of landscape creation processes is a sizable addition to the knowledge base of the field. It can be consulted and used for analysis in related future studies. Furthermore, I have striven to advance previous scholarship that utilises a landscape-discourse approach to tackle the

question of landscape creation by exploring a single contemporary discourse and its ramifications in disparate localities. This has enabled a comparative analysis of dissimilar transmissions of the same discourse in landscape.

At the level of planning practice, I intended to provide a wide ranging critique of a popular notion (the urban village) in current urbanisation. The urban village concept as defined in this thesis, has had an exponential increase in fashionableness over the last decade. However, its adaptation into policy and construction has been undertaken in an uncritical manner. My analysis offers a message of caution. It elaborates on the origins of the urban village notion in its present usage. It highlights the primary instigators along with their ideology and purpose. It clarifies the wider implications of the notion and its various paradoxes. From that background I envisage a more informed assessment of the urban village ideal could be made by those who are considering its value to urban management. I have argued that the urban village discourse revisits planning's anarchist traditions and confers a conservative, contrived and authoritarian development option with an undeniable social agenda for community commitment, responsibility and control. Nevertheless, in its duplicity, the urban village discourse and its manifestations do have merits (or potential merits), in terms of collaborative process and physical outcomes, over and above conventional development practice. For some people, an urban village landscape seems heaven-sent, as residents of both Poundbury and Crown Street will minister.

However, the crux of the matter for those involved in planning practice is to what degree the urban village offers an improvement in urban processes and conditions for the twenty-first century. The planning and policy community need to be aware of the ingrained entanglements if they endorse the urban village paradigm. The urban village landscape being created today is not an innocent or natural form. Rather, it is integrally connected to complex ideological processes and social, even moral, enterprises.

The third dimension of this project's contribution is the way in which it forges a link between present-day planning practice and critical geography. The landscape-discourse approach has been predominantly used for historical studies, such as Duncan's (1990) study of Kandy, Cosgrove's (1993) study of the Palladian landscape, and Ley's (1987) study of the more recent Vancouver landscape. However, this approach can be adapted for the examination of development that is still in progress. In the latter case it is not possible to investigate the lived experience of the new landscapes nor the post-construction outcomes. However, its merit is in the ability to offer a critical assessment of development vogue at an early stage in its manifestation, and thereby immediately feedback into the development and planning process. This represents an important interaction that can be achieved between the geography and planning disciplines. The critical landscape geography approach has considerable potential to assist broader level investigations within the planning arena. It steps above the pragmatic and normative orientations that dominate many planning evaluations.

The urban village discourse and its associated landscape transformations are not so unique that the mechanism I have employed to understand them cannot be adapted to future studies of other discourses and landscapes which are evolving in the current urban setting. Such studies do not have to be retrospective. They can introduce a critical perspective contemporaneously with the urban practices they relate to. What an interpretive landscape-discourse approach allows at this stage of the urbanisation process is the unveiling of the ideological foundations of discourses of transformation, the demonstration of the impact these have on design and the communication of meanings, and the recognition of the fundamental implications for our understanding of social and cultural processes.

Duncan (1990: 4) describes 'reading the landscape' as 'a time-honored tradition in cultural geography'. In this thesis I have presented a reading of the landscape-as-envisioned in discourse and construction. The question of how various actors and alliances

attempt to transform landscape in order to progress social, economic and political ends is now a pillar of critical cultural geography. I have addressed it here through an analysis of the Urban Villages Movement and related physical transformations. What this has revealed is the power of an élite network of actors to influence contemporary understanding of urban areas and successfully provoke traditional and conservative physical and social orders in late twentieth century urbanisation.

Appendix A

URBAN VILLAGES CAMPAIGN MEETINGS ATTENDED

Urban Villages Forum meeting, Hulme, Manchester, 26 June 1994

Urban Villages Forum Briefing session on Belfast's urban village potential, London, 15 June 1995

Joint Urban Villages Forum/RTPI conference on Urban Villages, Glasgow, 25 May 1995

Urban Villages Forum Briefing session on Teleworking and Telecottaging, London, 7 September 1995

Urban Villages Forum Briefing session on Mixed use development, London, 7 November 1995

Urban Villages Forum Plenary Meeting, London, 13 December 1995

Urban Villages Forum site visit to Poundbury, Dorchester, 7 May 1996

Joint seminar (UVF/URBED) on Making mixed use work, London, 8 November 1996

Joint seminar (UVF/URBED) on Who will live in the inner city, London, 6 December 1996

Urban Villages Forum Reception, London, 19 December 1996

Making mixed use happen Initiative launch, Urban Villages Forum and English Partnerships, London, 5 February 1997

Urban Villages Forum Summer Reception, London, 15 May 1997

Joint conference (RTPI/UDG/UVF) on Urban Design and Housing Provision into the Next Century, London, 31 October 1997

Urban Villages Forum meeting with Andres Duany (Congress for the New Urbanism) on Traditional neighbourhood development, London, 16 December 1997

Appendix B

INTERVIEWS WITH KEY INFORMANTS

Aldous, Tony (17 May 1995, London)

Text writer for both Urban Villages Campaign major publications, and the Forum newsletter

Black, Stuart (17 July 1995, Sherborne, Dorset)

Chair Urban Villages South West Region, MD Clipper Estates Ltd

Bradshaw, Martin (15 August 1995, London)

Urban Villages Group member and Chair Interface with Planning System Working Party, Director Civic Trust, Past President RTPI (1993)

Brogan, Peter (26 May 1995, Edinburgh)

Crown Street project developer: phase 1 and 3, Miller Partnerships

Calthorpe, Peter (23 May 1996, San Francisco)

Founder of The Congress for the New Urbanism

Cary-Elwes, Gerald (4 May 1995, London)

Urban Villages Group member, Secretary General British Urban Regeneration Association

Cohen, Mike (26 July 1996, High Wycombe)

Poundbury social housing provider, Guinness Housing Trust

Coleman, Jim (24 May 1995, Glasgow)

Crown Street project developer: phase 1, Wimpey Homes Holdings Ltd (Wimpeys = UV campaign sponsor & corporate charter member)

Cook, Alan (17 March 1994, Birmingham)

Development Officer, Bordesley Urban Village, Birmingham City Council

Davies, Robert (23 August 1995, London)

Founding member Urban Villages Group, Chief Executive Prince of Wales Business Leaders Forum

Duncan, Mr. (22 May 1995, Glasgow)

Crown Street project, architect for adjoining office redevelopment, MDLO Architects

Fitzpatrick, Norman (24 May 1995, Glasgow)

Crown Street project, social housing provider, New Gorbals Housing Association

Fry, Eddie (16 July, 1996, Dorchester)

Poundbury developer and builder, CG Fry and Son

Galloway, Mike (23 May 1995, Glasgow)

Director Crown St Regeneration Project, Chair Urban Villages Scotland

Gough, Piers (7 November 1995, London)

Masterplanner Crown Street project, CZWG Architects

Hallyburton, Gail (17 July 1996, London)

Acting director of Urban Villages Campaign

Hamilton, Andrew (7 November 1995, London)

Poundbury Development Director (ex-member UV Forum, resigned in June 1995)

Hanson, Dr Brian (19 May 1995, London)

Architectural advisor to Urban Villages Group, Director of Studies the Prince of Wales's Institute of Architecture

Haran, Theresa (17 June 1997, Glasgow)

Crown Street project, Glasgow Development Agency officer

Henaughen, Mr. (25 May 1995, Glasgow)

Crown Street project, architect phase 2, Hypostyle Architects

Inkin, Sir Geoffrey (written response to questions, 30 September 1996)

Chair Urban Villages Wales, Chair Land Authority for Wales

Jackson, Victor (17 July 1995, Dorchester)

Poundbury project, Projects Manager - South-west, Duchy of Cornwall

James, Jimmy CBE (19 July 1995, London)

Poundbury project, Keeper of the Records and Secretary General, Duchy of Cornwall

Katz, Peter (21 May 1996, San Francisco)

Acting executive officer, The Congress for the New Urbanism

Krier, Leon (15 May 1996, Claviers, France)

Founding member Urban Villages Group and Poundbury Masterplanner

Laing, J Martin K CBE (16 October 1995, London)

Vice Chair Urban Villages Group/Forum, Chair John Laing Plc

Lichfield, Professor Nathaniel (19 July 1995, London)

Chair Economics of Urban Villages Working Party, Director Dalia & Nathaniel Lichfield Assoc.

Lisney, Adrian (17 July 1995, Dorchester)

Poundbury project landscape architect, Adrian Lisney & Partners

Lloyd, Steve (24 May 1995, Glasgow)

Crown Street developer: phase 2, Tay Homes (Tay MD in Leeds = Urban Villages regional chair)

Lyden, Mary (17 June 1997, Glasgow)

Crown Street project, Scottish Homes officer

MacCormac, Richard (27 September 1995, London)
Urban Villages Group member, Senior Partner MacCormac Jamieson Prichard Architects, Past President RIBA (1991-3)

Marshall, Charmian (4 May 1994, London)
Campaign manager, Urban Villages Campaign

Martin, Alan (23 May 1995, Glasgow)
Crown Street project, architect Phase 1: The Holmes Partnership

McLaren, Duncan (12 May 1994, London)
Author *Reviving the City*, officer with Friends of the Earth

Meier, Dennis (12 June 1996, Seattle)
Planner implementing urban villages, Seattle City Council

Morgan, Ken (20 August 1996, Lychett Matravers, Dorset)
Poundbury project architect

O'Connor, Liam (5 August 1996, London)
Poundbury assistant masterplanner

Oliver, David (21 August 1995, Dorchester)
Poundbury project advisor, District Architect, West Dorset District Council

Osborne, Trevor (7 April 1995, London)
Chair Urban Villages Group/Council, Company and Forum

Price, Harriet (7 April 1995, London)
Campaign assistant, Urban Villages Campaign

Reid, Richard (22 August 1995, London)
Designer of Greenville model urban village, Richard Reid Associates; and Director Reid Pinney

Richards, David (13 September 1995, London)
Poundbury project, engineer with Alan Baxter & Associates, Consulting engineers

Saunders, Graham (16 July 1996, Bridport, Dorset)
Poundbury project architect

Smith, Ron (22 May 1995, Glasgow)
Crown Street project, Council Planner, Department of Planning, Glasgow City Council

Smyth, Peterjohn (16 August 1995, Bristol)
Poundbury Co-ordinating architect, Partner Percy Thomas Partnership (member Urban Villages Forum)

Solomon, Dan (21 May 1996, San Francisco)
Founding member of The Congress for the New Urbanism

Sparks, Les (17 August 1995, Birmingham)
Chair Urban Villages Midlands Region, Director of Planning and Architecture Birmingham City

Taylor, Brian (22 May 1995, Glasgow)

Crown Street project, architect Phase 1: Cooper Cromar Associates

Taylor, David (13 September 1995, London)

Poundbury project engineer, Alan Baxter & Associates, Consulting engineers

Thompson, John (15 August 1995, London)

Urban Villages Group member and Chair Community Involvement/Application to Housing Estates Working Party, Partner Hunt Thompson Associates

Wadsworth, Andrew (7 November 1995, London)

Director Urban Villages Company, Chair Landworth Ltd.

Watson, John (18 June 1997, Glasgow)

Crown Street project, Director Gorbals Initiative

Watts, Ted (19 July 1995, London)

Urban Villages Group member and Chair Environmental Working Party, Chair Watts & Partners, Past President RICS (1992)

Welbank, Professor Michael (19 June 1995, London)

Urban Villages Group member and Chair Masterplanning Working Party, Director Shankland Cox Ltd, Past President RTPI (1992)

Wilson, Sandra (16 June 1997, Glasgow)

Crown Street project, Coordinator Gorbals Umbrella Group

INTERVIEW QUESTION GUIDES

A. URBAN VILLAGES FORUM GUIDE

1. History of Urban Villages Campaign:

- ◆ When/How/Why informant become involved in the Urban Villages Campaign.
- ◆ The factors that have stimulated the emergence of this campaign. The fundamental precepts of the campaign.
- ◆ How membership of its various sub groups was arrived at.
- ◆ The operation of the Urban Villages Group in practice.
- ◆ The mechanisms for keeping such diverse people together & moving in the same direction.
- ◆ The nature of informant's involvement with the campaign.

2. The Urban Village Model:

- ◆ The roots of the Urban Village philosophy.
- ◆ The key unique transformations in urban development or implementation process that the UV Forum seeks.
- ◆ Evaluation of the concept's implications in terms of: the implementation/development process; financial arrangements; who needs to be involved and resulting project organisation; community participation; its ultimate physical outcome; its social and environmental sustainability; its long-term management system; civilised urbanisation.

3. Success of the Campaign:

- ◆ The essential ingredients in achieving success for the UV Forum.
- ◆ The continuing impetus for the Urban Villages concept.
- ◆ Evaluation of the worth of the Urban Villages Group/Forum.

4. Links to Government & Other Organisations:

- ◆ Links to civil servants and politicians.
- ◆ Backing of HRH the Prince of Wales.
- ◆ The nature and importance of links to organisations such as BITC, English Partnerships, Prince of Wales Business Leaders Forum, and the Department of the Environment.

5. Personal Vision and Motivations:

- ◆ Personal views on the state of the British urban environment.
- ◆ Personal vision for urban areas. Personal role in achieving this vision.
- ◆ Beliefs/forces motivating involvement; personal philosophy of action; mentors.

B. CASE STUDY SITES GUIDE

1. The Concept

- ◆ How/why/when the project originated.
- ◆ The founding premises of the project. The main goals.

2. Informant's Involvement:

- ◆ Specific role in relation to implementing the project. Terms of reference. Reason for getting the contract.

3. The Partners and Organisational Structure:

- ◆ The main players in the project.
- ◆ Organisational mechanisms established to progress project implementation.
- ◆ Unique features distinguishable from other projects.

4. Finance/Economics:

- ◆ Financial arrangement. Financial constraints.
- ◆ Market price of units compared to other projects.
- ◆ Infrastructure costs.
- ◆ Financial success.

5. Statutory Bodies and Requirements:

- ◆ Key statutory/public players in the project and their involvement.
- ◆ Influence of local government policies.
- ◆ Statutory planning process.

6. The Architecture & Environment:

- ◆ Description & evaluation of the anticipated and existing architecture.
- ◆ Evaluation of the project in terms of its sustainability; functional success; the quality of the environment; likely energy consumption.

7. The Residents:

- ◆ Evaluation of the project in terms of its effects on (i) existing and (ii) new residents.
- ◆ Access to social facilities.

8. Speculation on the Process and Outcomes:

- ◆ Changes from initial conception to the built reality.
- ◆ Problems encountered in project implementation.
- ◆ Key factors for the success of the project.

9. The Urban Villages Forum:

- ◆ Effect of the Urban Villages Campaign.
- ◆ Nature of involvement with the Urban Villages Campaign.
- ◆ Understanding of the urban village concept.

10. Personal:

- ◆ Personal vision for urban areas and role in achieving it. Beliefs/forces motivating informant's work/personal philosophy of action. Mentors.
- ◆ Personal views on the state of the British urban environment.

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