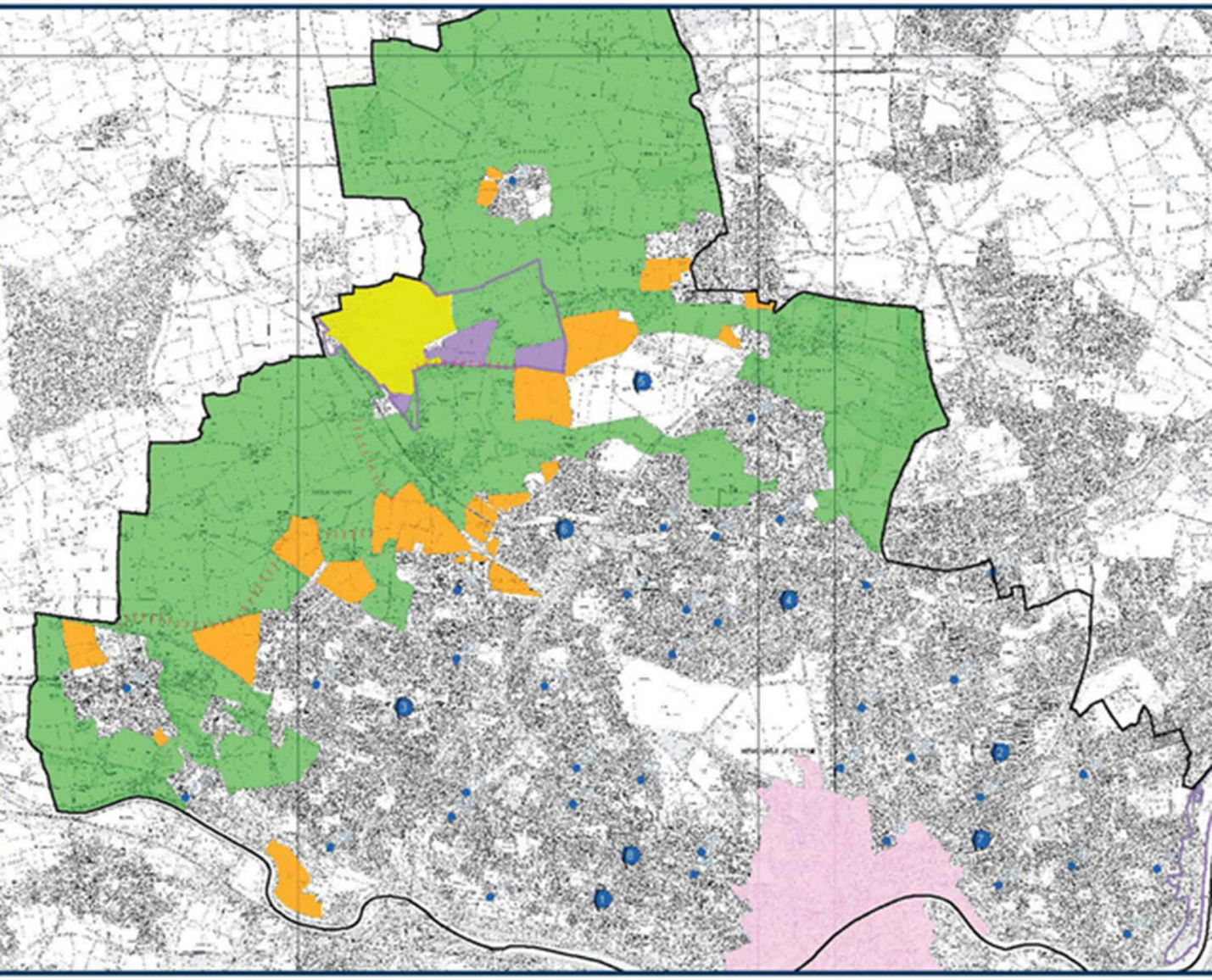
15TH EDITION

TOWN AND COUNTRY PLANNING IN THE UK



BARRY CULLINGWORTH, VINCENT NADIN, TREVOR HART,
SIMIN DAVOUDI, JOHN PENDLEBURY,
GEOFF VIGAR, DAVID WEBB AND TIM TOWNSHEND

ROUTLEDGE

TOWN AND COUNTRY PLANNING IN THE UK

Town and country planning has never been more important to the UK, nor more prominent in national debate. Planning generates great controversy: whether it's spending £80 million and four years' inquiry into Heathrow's Terminal 5, or the 200 proposed wind turbines in the Shetland Isles. On a smaller scale telecoms masts, take-aways, house extensions and even fences are often the subject of local conflict.

Town and Country Planning in the UK has been extensively revised by a new author group. The fifteenth edition incorporates the major changes to planning introduced by the Coalition government elected in 2010, particularly through the National Planning Policy Framework and associated practice guidance, and the Localism Act. It provides a critical discussion of the systems of planning, the procedures for managing development and land use change, and the mechanisms for implementing policy and proposals. It reviews current policy for sustainable development and the associated economic, social and environmental themes relevant to planning in both urban and rural contexts. Contemporary arrangements are explained with reference to their historical development, the influence of the European Union, the roles of central and local government, and developing social and economic demands for land use change.

Detailed consideration is given to:

- the nature of planning and its historical evolution;
- the role of the EU, central, regional and local government;
- mechanisms for developing policy and managing development;
- policies for guiding and delivering housing and economic development;
- sustainable development principles for planning, including pollution control;
- the importance of design in planning;
- conserving the heritage;
- community engagement in planning.

At the end of each chapter, suggestions for further reading are provided. Building on the work of Cullingworth and Nadin, this new edition will ensure that *Town and Country Planning in the UK* maintains its reputation as the 'bible' of British planning.

Barry Cullingworth was a Senior Research Fellow in the Department of Land Economy at the University of Cambridge, UK and Emeritus Professor of Urban Affairs and Public Policy at the University of Delaware, USA.

Vincent Nadin is Professor of Spatial Planning and Strategy at the Delft University of Technology, the Netherlands.

Trevor Hart is Visiting Research Fellow, **Simin Davoudi** is Professor of Environmental Policy and Planning, **John Pendlebury** is Professor and Head of School, **Geoff Vigar** is Professor of Urban Planning, **David Webb** is Lecturer in Planning and **Tim Townshend** is Head of Planning and Urban Design, all at the School of Architecture, Planning and Landscape at Newcastle University, UK.

'Reflecting the qualities of its predecessors, the fifteenth edition of "Cullingworth" remains the definitive and essential text for students and practitioners of planning and associated disciplines. As in the earlier editions, the coverage is comprehensive and the depth impressive. Old topics are revisited and refreshed and new elements are incorporated in this authoritative volume on a complex and rapidly evolving subject. The claim that the new edition maintains its reputation as the "bible" of British Planning is fully warranted.'

Peter Roberts, Professor Emeritus at the University of Leeds and Vice Chair of the Northern Ireland Housing Executive

'Planning, housing and sustainable development continue to be critical topics of national and local concern. This much-needed and updated edition of the classic grounding remains compulsory reading for all students of town planning and anyone interested in this crucial area of public policy.'

Phil Allmendinger, Professor of Land Economy, Clare College, University of Cambridge

'On the fiftieth anniversary of its first edition, the tour-de-force that is *Town and Country Planning in the UK* ("Cullingworth") is still thriving. A new team of contributors have taken on the challenge of coherently explaining and assessing the continuing and increasingly complex story of the development of planning thinking and activity in the United Kingdom. The fourteenth edition was published in 2006 when the major 2004 reforms to the planning system were only just beginning to play out. The extensive addition and refinement in the fifteenth edition reveals the range and depth of subsequent change – as we have moved from a regional to local emphasis in England, and as increasing confidence and individuality in the devolved nations has seen a significant divergence of approaches and systems across the UK. Much commendation is due to the new team for having so succinctly unpacked this world of change and so seamlessly tying it back to the earlier parts of the UK planning story.'

Colin Haylock, Principal of Haylock Planning and Design and Past President of the Royal Town Planning Institute

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Fifteenth edition

Barry Cullingworth, Vincent Nadin,
Trevor Hart, Simin Davoudi,
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David Webb and Tim Townshend

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Preface

It is fifty years since the first edition of this book was published. There have been many changes in the style and content of planning in the UK since then and this is reflected in the development of this book. It has grown significantly in size – a hardback edition from 1964 weighs in at half a kilo whilst a paperback of the fourteenth edition is edging towards three times that weight. This could be seen as a reflection of a number of factors – an apparent increase in complexity of the task of planning, a realisation that planners need to have a wider appreciation of what happens in other spheres of policy thereby extending the boundaries for planning and what planners need to be familiar with, and a seeming increasing propensity on the part of government to 'reform' planning. Such a list is certainly not complete. Comparing the two editions, there are about five times as many pages on plan making and the management of development in the most recent edition as in the first, a reflection of increasing complexity. But the priorities of planning have changed over fifty years. About a quarter of the material in the 1964 edition does not feature or have a high profile in the most recent edition: matters such as new and expanded towns, derelict land and regional planning have been replaced by coverage of environment and sustainable development, heritage and transport. This means that the issue of what to include and what to leave out has always been a consideration, and if we are to avoid producing a two-kilo book it seems even more pressing now than it was previously for Barry Cullingworth and Vincent Nadin.

As was the case for them, the team which took on this edition has had to make decisions which, at some points, have been to a degree personal. Whilst not everyone will agree with the choices we have made, we hope that we have maintained the traditional qualities of the book and that it continues to fulfil its role in providing a clear exposition of planning policies and tasks set within their historical context. We feel that the historical context has a particular value, not only because it shows how we reached where we now find ourselves, but also because it makes it possible to identify some key elements of consistency in planning, including those challenges it has yet to overcome, in spite of many years of practice.

Whilst our initial mission was merely to update, what is here is in fact extensively rewritten. This is not because of any perceived failings in the previous text, more because we found it easier to write in our own voices. This contributed to us deciding to add two new chapters, one on urban design and another on developing planning policies: the latter replaces the chapter in earlier editions focusing on 'land'. However, to avoid the book becoming ever larger, we have had to omit some items that have been included in previous editions. In some cases, these are items we felt were no longer as significant in the historical narrative, but the most significant change – in terms of the number of pages it has occupied – is the omission of the list of official publications. This is on the basis that what we see as the most relevant material is referred to in the text and is therefore included in the extensive bibliography, but it also reflects that much material is now available – or only available – on the Internet, and the UK government has been seeking to refine access to policy and consultation documents via its portal, gov.uk.

This edition has been written by a team of six people from the School of Architecture, Planning and

Landscape at Newcastle University. The fact that it now takes six people to complete a task that was for many years accomplished by Barry Cullingworth alone and then, for four editions, with the assistance of Vincent Nadin, highlights both the scale of their achievements and the growing scale of the task. The decision to use a team of people has allowed us to draw on individual enthusiasms and specialisms and we hope that this has yielded benefits to both individual chapters and to the book as a whole. The team involved were Simin Davoudi, John Pendlebury, Geoff Vigar, Dave Webb and Tim Townshend, with Trevor Hart taking the editorial role; the author(s) responsible for revising or writing individual sections are noted in the table of contents.

This text was largely completed by the spring of 2014 but, given the enthusiasm of recent governments to introduce changes to the planning system, there may well have been further changes introduced by the time you read this book. We have endeavoured to note significant proposals that were under consideration at the time of writing but readers will need to refer to government sources to ensure that they have pinned down an up-to-date picture of the ever-evolving UK planning system. However, this is a test we share with Barry Cullingworth, who in writing the first edition in 1963 was faced with anticipating the impact on planning of a London Government Bill and a Local Government Commission reviewing the structure and organisation of local government outside London. That its recommendations were subsequently abandoned did not ease his task.

Thanks are due to a number of people who offered advice or read and commented on drafts, including Jules Brand, Elizabeth Brooks, Jenny Crawford, Hannah Garrow, Graham Haughton, Neil Powe and Ernie Vickers; illustrations were prepared by Jenny Kynaston. Thanks are also due to the staff at Routledge and particularly to Andrew Mould and Sarah Gilkes, who offered an ideal blend of encouragement and prodding to get us to complete the text more or less on schedule.

Trevor Hart
School of Architecture, Planning and Landscape
Newcastle University

Barry Cullingworth 1929–2005

Barry Cullingworth died in February 2005 just before the fourteenth edition of *Town and Country Planning in the UK* was completed. He was particularly well known for this book but had a broad and distinguished academic record. As a researcher, consultant to government and prolific writer, he made an outstanding contribution to town and country planning and urban policy.

Cullingworth was born in Nottingham and started his higher education by taking a degree in music at Trinity College, London. He switched to sociology and took a degree at the University of London. In 1955 he was appointed as a research assistant at The University of Manchester and subsequently held lecturing and research appointments at Durham and Glasgow Universities. He published his first book in 1960, *Housing Needs and Planning Policy*, followed in 1963 by *Housing in Transition*. In 1966 he set up the Centre for Urban and Regional Studies at the University of Birmingham and in 1972 moved back to Scotland to set up the Planning Exchange.

While at Birmingham and Glasgow, Cullingworth chaired numerous government inquiries into housing and the new towns, the best known of which was on *Scotland's Older Houses*. The *Cullingworth Report*, as it is now known, revealed the parlous condition of private rented housing across the country and set the government on a path of radical reform. In later life he expressed disappointment with the relative lack of attention given to the quality and availability of affordable housing, especially in comparison to the priority given to protecting the countryside.

By the mid-1970s Cullingworth had published ten books, numerous official reports and undertaken consultancies at home and abroad, including reports for the OECD, WHO and United Nations. He was, therefore, the ideal candidate for appointment as Historian to the Cabinet Office to prepare the *Official History of Environmental Planning 1939–69*. With the late Gordon Cherry, he published the four volumes of the *History*, between 1975 and 1981. He explains in these volumes how 'a small group of visionaries in the civil service' reconstructed the government planning machinery intending 'to achieve a far greater degree of co-ordination and purposive action'. In many publications he was to advocate a positive role for planning as initiator of coordinated land use change.

In 1978, Cullingworth moved to North America, first as Chairman and Professor of Urban and Regional Planning at the University of Toronto and from 1983 as Unidel Professor of Urban Affairs and Public Policy at the University of Delaware. When he moved to Toronto this book was in its sixth edition and recognised as the 'leading review' in the field. He continued to publish in North America including *Urban and Regional Planning in Canada* and *Planning in the USA*, now in its fourth edition.

Cullingworth returned to Britain in 1994, working in an ambassadorial role for the University of Delaware, taking on a visiting position at Cambridge's Department of Land Economy and editing *British Planning: 50 Years of Urban and Regional Policy*. In recent years the writing of both the British and American textbooks has been shared with other authors. He was always an active partner, working energetically on the later editions until 2004. He was a generous co-writer too, with a willingness to update and change. His ability to digest vast quantities of

information was matched only by his persistence in getting at the facts.

Cullingworth's publications reflect his energy, enthusiasm and commitment – and sheer capacity for work. They also owe something to the invaluable support of his wife Betty. He took a considered and meticulous approach to research and writing that lends authority to his publications. But he will be best remembered as an author who could draw out the significant from the routine and deliver his message in a meaningful and engaging style. He wrote with the intention of being understood and accessible.

Cullingworth's family remember him as a loving and funny man with a sense of mischief. He was, of course, usually surrounded by books, but it will be a surprise to many that he had a passion for DIY, finding time alongside the research and writing to work on renovating the many houses the family moved into. He was an accomplished pianist too, with a passion for music.

Cullingworth's publications have guided many thousands of students and practitioners over more than forty years. Despite this success, he was unpretentious and modest. While making great efforts to be comprehensive in his research he would never claim that the findings were exhaustive. He preferred instead to say that he was pointing the reader to some useful material. He did much more than that. Many more students will continue to benefit from his writing.

Barry Cullingworth devoted his life to his work and family. He is survived by his wife Betty, and his children, Wendy, Jane and Peter.

Vincent Nadin

Acronyms and abbreviations

Acronyms and abbreviations have been major growth areas in public policy. The following list includes all those used in the text and others that readers may come across in the planning literature. No claim is made for comprehensiveness.

1990 Act	The Town and Country Planning Act 1990
1991 Act	The Planning and Compensation Act 1991
2004 Act	The Planning and Compulsory Purchase Act 2004
2008 Act	The Planning Act 2008
AAP	area action plan
ACC	Association of County Councils
ACO	Association of Conservation Officers
ACOST	Advisory Council on Science and Technology
ACRE	Action with Communities in Rural England
ADAS	Agricultural Development and Advice Service
ADC	Association of District Councils
AESOP	Association of European Schools of Planning
ALA	Association of London Authorities (now ALG)
ALBPO	Association of London Borough Planning Officers
ALG	Association of London Government
ALNI	Association of Local Authorities in Northern Ireland
ALURE	alternative land use and rural economy
AMA	Association of Metropolitan Authorities
AMR	annual monitoring report
ANPA	Association of National Park Authorities
AONB	area of outstanding natural beauty
AOSP	areas of special protection (for birds)
APRS	Association for the Protection of Rural Scotland
AQMA	air quality management areas
AR	assessment report
ARC	Action Resource Centre
ASAC	area of special advertisement control
ASNW	area of semi-natural woodland
ASSI	area of special scientific interest (Northern Ireland)
ATB	Agricultural Training Board
BAA	British Airports Authority
BACMI	British Aggregate Construction Materials Industries
BANANA	build absolutely nothing anywhere near anything
BAR	buildings at risk
BAT	best available techniques
BATNEEC	best available techniques not entailing excessive cost
BFL	Building for Life (also BFL12)
BIC	Business in the Community
BID	business improvement district
BIS	Business, Innovation and Skills Department
BNFL	British Nuclear Fuels Ltd
BPEO	best practicable environmental option
BPF	British Property Federation

BPM	best practicable means
BR	British Rail (now Network Rail)
BRE	Building Research Establishment
BRF	British Road Federation
BRO	Belfast Regeneration Office
BSI	British Standards Institution
BTA	British Tourist Authority (now operating as VisitBritain)
BTC	British Transport Commission
BVPI	best value performance indicators
BW	British Waterways
BWB	British Waterways Board
CA (1)	combined authority
CA (2)	Countryside Agency (formerly Countryside Commission)
CABE	Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment
Cadw	Not an acronym, but the Welsh name for the Welsh Historic Monuments Agency. The word means to keep, to preserve
CAP	Common Agricultural Policy
CAT	City Action Team
CBI	Confederation of British Industry
CC	Countryside Commission (now Countryside Agency)
CCRA	climate change risk assessment
CCS	Countryside Commission for Scotland (now Scottish Natural Heritage)
CCT	compulsory competitive tendering
CCTV	closed circuit television
CCW	Countryside Council for Wales
CDA	comprehensive development area
CDC	city development company
CDP	community development project
CEC	Commission of the European Communities (European Commission)
CEGB	Central Electricity Generating Board
CEMAT	Conférence européene des ministres responsables de l'aménagement du territoire (European Conference of Ministers responsible for Regional Planning)
CEMR	Council of European Municipalities and Regions
CFC	chlorofluorocarbon
CfIT	Commission for Integrated Transport
CHP	combined heat and power
CIA	commercial improvement area
CIEH	Chartered Institute of Environmental Health
CIL	Community Infrastructure Levy
CIPFA	Chartered Institute of Public Finance and Accountancy
CIS	community involvement scheme (Wales)
CIT	Commission for Integrated Transport
CITES	Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species
CLA	Country Land and Business Association
CLES	Centre for Local Economic Strategies
CLEUD	certificate of lawfulness of existing use or development
CLOPUD	certificate of lawfulness of proposed use or development
CLRAE	Conference of Local and Regional Authorities of Europe (Council of Europe)
CNCC	Council for Nature Conservation and Countryside (Northern Ireland)
CNT	Commission for New Towns
CO	Cabinet Office
COBA	cost–benefit analysis
COE	Council of Europe
COI	Central Office of Information (closed in 2011; remaining functions performed by Cabinet Office)
COPA	Control of Pollution Act 1974
COR	Committee of the Regions (EU)
COREPER	Committee of Permanent Representatives
CORINE	Community Information System on the State of the Environment (EU)
CoSIRA	Council for Small Industries in Rural Areas
COSLA	Convention of Scottish Local Authorities

COTER	Commission for Territorial Cohesion (EU COR)
CPO	compulsory purchase order
CPOS	County Planning Officers' Society
CPRE	Campaign to Protect Rural England (formerly Council for the Protection of Rural England)
CPRS	Central Policy Review Staff
CPTED	crime prevention through environmental design
CPTUD	crime prevention through urban design
CPRW	Campaign (formerly Council) for the Protection of Rural Wales
CRBO	Community Right to Build Order
CRE	Commission for Racial Equality (now part of the EHRC)
CROW Act	Countryside and Rights of Way Act 2000
CRP	city-region plan (Scotland)
CRRAG	Countryside Recreation Research Advisory Group
CRT	Canal and River Trust
CS	community strategy
CSD	Commission on Sustainable Development (UN)
CSERGE	Centre for Social and Economic Research on the Global Environment
CSF	community support framework
CSR	Comprehensive Spending Review
CWI	Controlled Waste Inspectorate
DAFS	Department of Agriculture and Fisheries for Scotland
DATAR	Délégation à l'aménagement du territoire et à l'action régionale (French national planning agency)
DBFO	design, build, finance, and operate (roads by the private sector)
DBRW	Development Board for Rural Wales
DC (1)	development control
DC (2)	development corporation
DC (3)	district council
DCA	Department for Constitutional Affairs
DCAN	development control advice note (NI)
DCC	Docklands Consultative Committee
DCLG	Department for Communities and Local Government
DCMS	Department for Culture, Media and Sport
DDA	Disability Discrimination Act 1995
DEA	Department of Economic Affairs
DECC	Department of Energy and Climate Change
DEFRA	Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs
DETR	Department of Environment, Transport and the Regions
DEVE	Committee on Development (EU COR)
DfID	Department for International Development
DfT	Department for Transport (formerly DoT)
DG	Directorate General of the European Commission
DLG	derelict land grant
DLR	Docklands Light Railway
DLT	development land tax
DM	development management
DNH	Department of National Heritage
DoE	Department of the Environment
DoENI	Department of the Environment for Northern Ireland
DoH	Department of Health
DoT	Department of Transport (now DfT)
DP	development plan
DPD	development plan document
DPM	Deputy Prime Minister
DPOS	District Planning Officers' Society
DRIVE	dedicated road infrastructure for vehicle safety in Europe
DSD	Department for Social Development (NI)
DTCPTF	Distressed Town Centre Property Task Force
DTI	Department of Trade and Industry
DTLR	Department of Transport, Local Government and the Regions (2000–2)
DWI	Drinking Water Inspectorate
EA	environmental assessment

EAC	Environmental Audit Committee (House of Commons)
EAF	environmental action fund
EAFRD	European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development
EAGGF	European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund
EAP	environmental action programme
EAZ	education action zone
EBRD	European Bank for Reconstruction and Development
EC	European Community
ECMT	European Conference of Ministers of Transport
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council (United Nations)
ECOTEC	emissions control optimisation technology
ECS	Economic and Social Committee (EU)
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
ECTP	European Council of Town Planners
EDC	economic development company
EDU	Equality and Diversity Unit (ODPM)
EEA (1)	European Economic Area (EU plus Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway and Switzerland)
EEA (2)	European Environment Agency
EEC (1)	European Economic Community
EEC (2)	Energy Efficiency Commitment
EFS	England Forestry Strategy
EFTA	European Free Trade Association
EfW	energy from waste
EH	English Heritage
EHCS	English House Condition Survey
EHRC	Equality and Human Rights Commission
EIA	environmental impact assessment
EIB	European Investment Bank
EIP	examination in public
EIS	environmental impact statement
EMAS	eco-management and audit scheme
EMU	European Monetary Union
EN	English Nature
EP	English Partnerships
EPA (1)	educational priority area
EPA (2)	Environmental Protection Act 1990
EPC	Economic Planning Council
ERCF	Estates Renewal Challenge Fund
ERDF	European Regional Development Fund
ERP	electronic road pricing
ERRA	Enterprise and Regulatory Reform Act 2013
ES	environmental statement (UK)
ESA	environmentally sensitive area
ESDP	European Spatial Development Perspective
ESF	European Social Fund
ESPON	European Spatial Planning Observation Network
ESRC	Economic and Social Research Council
ETB	English Tourist Board
ETC	English Tourism Council
ETLLD	Scottish Executive Enterprise, Transport and Lifelong Learning Directorate
EU	European Union
EUCC	European Union for Coastal Conservation
EURATOM	European Atomic Energy Community
EUETS	EU Emissions Trading Scheme
EZ (1)	employment zone
EZ (2)	enterprise zone
FA	Forestry Authority
FC	Forestry Commission
FCGS	Farm and Conservation Grant Scheme
FEOGA	Fonds européen d'orientation et de garantie agricole (European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund)
FIFG	Financial Instrument for Fisheries Guidance
FIG	Financial Institutions Group
FMI	financial management initiative
FoE	Friends of the Earth
FoI	Freedom of Information
FPS	Fuel Poverty Strategy
FTA	Freight Transport Association

FUA	functional urban area
FWAG	Farming and Wildlife Advisory Group
FWGS	Farm Woodland Grant Scheme
FWPS	Farm Woodland Premium Scheme
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GCR	Geological Conservation Review
GDO	General Development Order
GDP	gross domestic product
GDPO	General Development Procedure Order
GEAR	Glasgow Eastern Area Renewal
GHG	greenhouse gases
GI	green infrastructure
GIA	general improvement area
GIS	geographic information systems
GLA	Greater London Authority
GLC	Greater London Council
GLDP	Greater London Development Plan
GMCA	Greater Manchester Combined Authority
GO	government office
GOR	Government Offices for the Regions
GPDO	General Permitted Development Order
GVA	gross value added
HA	Highways Agency
HAA	housing action area
HAG	housing association grant
HAP	habitat action plan
HAT	housing action trust
HAZ	health action zone
HBF	Home Builders' Federation
HBMC	Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission
HC	House of Commons
HCA	Homes and Communities Agency
HCiS	Housing Corporation in Scotland
HER	Historic Environment Records
HERS	Heritage Economic Regeneration Schemes (EH)
HHSRS	housing, health and safety ratings system
HIA	home improvement agency
HIDB	Highlands and Islands Development Board (now HIE)
HIE	Highlands and Islands Enterprise
HIP	housing investment programme
HL	House of Lords
HLC	Historic Landscape Characterisation
HLCA	hill livestock compensatory allowances
HLF	Heritage Lottery Fund
HLW	high-level waste
HMIP	Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Pollution
HMIPI	Her Majesty's Industrial Pollution Inspectorate (Scotland)
HMNII	Her Majesty's Nuclear Installation Inspectorate
HMO (1)	hedgerow management order
HMO (2)	house in multiple occupation
HMR	Housing Market Renewal
HMSO	Her Majesty's Stationery Office
HMT	Her Majesty's Treasury
HO	Home Office
HR	human resources
HRF	Housing Research Foundation
HSA	Hazardous Substances Authority
HSE	Health and Safety Executive
HWI	Hazardous Waste Inspectorate
IACGEC	Inter-Agency Committee on Global Environmental Change
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
IAPI	Industrial Air Pollution Inspectorate
IAPs	inner area programmes
IAS	inner area study
ICE	Institution of Civil Engineers
ICNIRP	International Commission on Non-Ionising Radiation Protection
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
ICT	information and communications technology
ICZM	integrated coastal zone management
IDC	industrial development certificate
IDeA	Improvement and Development Agency
IDP	infrastructure delivery plan

IEEP	Institute for European Environmental Policy
IEG	implementing electronic government
IIA	industrial improvement area
ILD	Index of Local Deprivation
ILW	intermediate-level waste
IMP	Integrated Maritime Policy
IMPEL	EU Network for the Implementation and Enforcement of Environmental Law
INTERREG	European Community initiative for transnational spatial planning
IPC (1)	Infrastructure Planning Commission
IPC (2)	integrated pollution control
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
IPPC	integrated pollution, prevention and control
IRD	integrated rural development (Peak District)
ISOCARP	International Society of City and Regional Planners
ITA	integrated transport authority
IUCN	World Conservation Union
IWA	Inland Waterways Association
IWAAC	Inland Waterways Amenity Advisory Committee
JNCC	Joint Nature Conservation Committee
JPL	*Journal of Planning and Environment Law*
LA21	Local Agenda 21 (UNCED)
LAA	local area agreement
LAAPC	local authority air pollution control
LAQM	local air quality management
LATS	landfill allowance trading scheme
LAW	Land Authority for Wales
LAWDC	local authority waste disposal company
LBA	London Boroughs Association (now ALG)
LBAP	local biodiversity action plan
LCO	landscape conservation order
LDC	local development company
LDD	local development document
LDDC	London Docklands Development Corporation
LDF	local development framework
LDO	local development order
LDP	local development plan (Wales)
LDS	local development scheme
LEADER	Liaison entre actions de développement de l'économie rurale
LEAP	local environmental agency plan
LEC	local enterprise company (Scotland)
LEG-UP	local enterprise grants for urban projects (Scotland)
LEP	local enterprise partnership
LETS	local exchange trading system
LFA	less favoured area (agriculture)
LGA	Local Government Association
LGC	Local Government Commission for England
LGF	local government finance
LGMB	Local Government Management Board
LHS	local housing strategy (Scotland)
LLW	low-level waste
LNP	local nature partnership
LNR	local nature reserve
LOTS	living over the shop
LPA	local planning authority
LPAC	London Planning Advisory Committee
LRT	Land Restoration Trust
LSC	Learning and Skills Council
LSP	local strategic partnership
LSPU	London Strategic Policy Unit
LSTF	Local Sustainable Transport Fund
LT	London Transport (now TfL)
LTB	local transport board
LTP	local transport plan
LTS	local transport strategy (Scotland)
LUCS	Land Use Change Statistics
LULU	locally unwanted land use
LUTS	land use transportation studies
LWRA	London Waste Registration Authority
MAFF	Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food
MARS	Monuments at Risk Survey

MCC	metropolitan county council
MCZ	marine conservation zone
MEA	Manual of Environmental Assessment (for trunk roads)
MEGA	metropolitan European growth area
MEHRA	marine environmental high risk areas
MEP	Member of the European Parliament
MHLG	Ministry of Housing and Local Government
MLGP	Ministry of Local Government and Planning
MMG	marine minerals guidance note
MMO	Marine Management Organisation
MMS	multi-modal study
MNR	marine nature reserve
MOA	Mobile Operators Association
MoD	Ministry of Defence
MPA (1)	marine protected area
MPA (2)	mineral planning authority
MPG	minerals planning guidance note
MPP	Monuments Protection Programme
MPS	minerals policy statement
MSC	Manpower Services Commission
MSFD	Marine Strategy Framework Directive
MSP	maritime-spatial planning
MTAN	minerals technical advice note (Wales)
MTCP	Ministry of Town and Country Planning
MWMS	municipal waste management survey
NACRT	National Agricultural Centre Rural Trust
NAP	National Adaption Programme
NAO	National Audit Office
NARIS	National Roads Information System
NATA	New Approach to Appraisal (roads)
NAW	National Assembly for Wales
NBN	National Biodiversity Network
NCALO	Nature Conservation and Amenity Lands (Northern Ireland) Order 1985
NCC	Nature Conservancy Council
NCCI	National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants
NCCS	Nature Conservancy Council for Scotland (now Scottish Natural Heritage)
NCVO	National Council of Voluntary Organisations
NDC	New Deal for Communities
NDO	Neighbourhood Development Order
NDP	Neighbourhood Development Plan
NDPB	non-departmental public body
NE	Natural England
NEC	noise exposure category
NEDC	National Economic Development Council
NEDO	National Economic Development Office
NEET	not in employment, education or training
NERC	National Environment Research Council
NETCEN	National Environmental Technology Centre
NFC	National Forest Company
NFFO	non-fossil fuel obligation
NGC	Northern Growth Corridor
NGO	non-governmental organisation
NHA	natural heritage area (Scotland)
NHB	New Homes Bonus
NHMF	National Heritage Memorial Fund
NHS	National Health Service
NIA	nature improvement area
NID	National Infrastructure Directorate
NII	Nuclear Installations Inspectorate
NIMBY	not in my back yard
NIO	Northern Ireland Office
NIREX	Nuclear Industries Radioactive Waste Executive
NLUD	National Land Use Database
NNR	national nature reserve
NPA	national park authority
NPCU	national planning casework unit
NPF (1)	National Planning Forum
NPF (2)	National Planning Framework (Scotland)
NPG	National Planning Guideline (Scotland)

NPPF	National Planning Policy Framework
NPPG	National Planning Policy Guideline (Scotland)
NPS (1)	national policy statement
NPS (2)	noise policy statement
NR	Network Rail
NRA	National Rivers Authority (now Environment Agency)
NRF	Neighbourhood Renewal Fund
NRTF	national road traffic forecasts (GB)
NRU	Neighbourhood Renewal Unit
NSA (1)	national scenic area (Scotland)
NSA (2)	nitrate sensitive area
NSIP	nationally significant infrastructure project
NUTS	nomenclature of territorial units for statistics: designates levels of regional subdivision in the EU
NVZ	nitrate vulnerable zone
NWDO	North West Development Office (NI)
OBR	Office for Budget Responsibility
ODPM	Office of the Deputy Prime Minister
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OEEC	Organisation for European Economic Cooperation
OJ	*Official Journal of the European Communities*
ONS	Office for National Statistics
OPCS	Office of Population Censuses and Surveys (now part of ONS)
OPSR	Office of Public Services Reform
OS	Ordnance Survey
PAG	Planning Advisory Group
PAN	planning advice note (Scotland)
PAS	Planning Advisory Service
PAT	policy action team
PDG	Planning Delivery Grant
PDL	previously developed land
PDO (1)	permitted development order
PDO (2)	potentially damaging operation (SSSI)
PDR	permitted development right
PFI	Private Finance Initiative
PGS	planning gain supplement
PI	Planning Inspectorate (usually PINS)
PIC	Planning Inquiry Commission
PINS	Planning Inspectorate
PIP	partnership investment programme
PIU	Performance and Innovation Unit
PLI	public local inquiry
POS	Planning Officers' Society
PPA (1)	planning performance agreement
PPA (2)	priority partnership area (Scotland)
PPC	Pollution, Prevention and Control Act 2000
PPG	planning policy guidance note
PPP (1)	polluter pays principle
PPP (2)	public–private partnerships
PPS (1)	planning policy statement (previously PPG)
PPS (2)	planning policy statement (NI)
PPW	Planning Policy Wales
PRIDE	Programmes for Rural Initiatives and Developments (Scotland)
PSA (1)	Property Services Agency
PSA (2)	public service agreement
PSI	Policy Studies Institute
PSS	Planning Summer School (formerly TCPSS)
PTA	passenger transport authority
PTE	passenger transport executive
PTRC	Planning and Transport Research and Computation
PVC	polyvinyl chloride
QUANGO	quasi-autonomous non-governmental organisation
RA	renewal area
RB	regional body
RAC	Royal Automobile Club
RAWP	regional aggregates working parties
RCAHMS	Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland
RCC	rural community council
RCEP	Royal Commission on Environmental Pollution
RCHME	Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England
RCI	Radiochemical Inspectorate
RCU (1)	Regional Coordination Unit (ODPM)

RCU (2)	Road Construction Unit
RDA (1)	regional development agency
RDA (2)	rural development area
RDC	Rural Development Commission
RDG	regional development grant
RDO	Regional Development Office (NI)
RDP	rural development programme
RDPE	Rural Development Programme England
RDS	Regional Development Strategy Northern Ireland
REG	regional enterprise grant
RES (1)	race equality scheme
RES (2)	regional economic strategy
RGF	Regional Growth Fund
RHB	regional housing board
RHS	regional housing strategy
RIA	regulatory impact assessment
RIBA	Royal Institute of British Architects
RICS	Royal Institution of Chartered Surveyors
RIGS	regionally important geological/ geomorphological sites
ROI	regional output indicator
ROSCO	rolling stock operating company
RPB	regional planning body
RPG	regional planning guidance
RRAF	regional rural affairs forum
RS	regional strategy
RSA (1)	regional selective assistance
RSA (2)	Regional Studies Association
RSDF	regional sustainable development framework
RSL	registered social landlord
RSPB	Royal Society for the Protection of Birds
RSS	regional spatial strategy
RTB (1)	regional tourist board
RTB (2)	Right to Buy (public sector housing)
RTC	regional transport consortia (Wales)
RTP	regional transport partnership
RTPI	Royal Town Planning Institute
RTS	regional transport strategy
RUPP	road used as public path
RWMAC	Radioactive Waste Management Advisory Committee
SA	sustainability appraisal
SAC	special area of conservation (habitats)
SACTRA	Standing Advisory Committee on Trunk Road Assessment
SAGA	Sand and Gravel Association
SAP	species action plan
SAR	sustainability appraisal report
SC	standard charge
SCI	statement of community involvement
SCLSERP	Standing Conference on London and South East Regional Planning
SDA	Scottish Development Agency (now Scottish Enterprise)
SDC	Sustainable Development Commission
SDO	special development order
SDP	standard delivery plan (Scottish Housing)
SDS	Spatial Development Strategy (London)
SDU	Sustainable Development Unit
SE	Scottish Executive
SEA (1)	Single European Act 1987
SEA (2)	strategic environmental assessment
SEDD	Scottish Executive Development Department
SEEDA	South East England Development Agency
SEEDS	South East Economic Development Strategy
SEELLD	Scottish Executive Enterprise and Lifelong Learning Department
SEH	Survey of English Housing
SEHD	Scottish Executive Health Department
SEERAD	Scottish Executive Environment and Rural Affairs Department
SEM	Single European Market
SEPA	Scottish Environment Protection Agency
SERC	Science and Engineering Research Council
SERPLAN	London and South East Regional Planning Conference
SEU	Social Exclusion Unit
SFRA	strategic flood risk assessment

SHAC	Scottish Housing Advisory Committee
SHG	social housing grant
SHLAA	strategic housing land availability assessment
SHMA	strategic housing market assessment
SHQS	Scottish Housing Quality Standard
SI	statutory instrument
SIC	social inclusion partnerships (Scotland)
SINC	site of importance for nature conservation
SIP	social inclusion partnership (Scotland)
SLF	Scottish Landowners Federation
SM	scheduled monument
SME	small and medium-sized enterprises
SMR	sites and monuments records (counties)
SNAP	Shelter Neighbourhood Action Project
SNH	Scottish Natural Heritage
SO	Scottish Office
SOAEFD	Scottish Office Agriculture, Environment and Fisheries Department
SODD	Scottish Office Development Department
SOEnD	Scottish Office Environment Department (now SOAEFD)
SOID	Scottish Office Industry Department
SOIRU	Scottish Office Inquiry Reporters Unit
SoS	Secretary of State
SPA	special protection area (for birds) (EU)
SPAB	Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings
SPD (1)	single programming document
SPD (2)	supplementary planning document
SPG	supplementary planning guidance
SPP	Scottish planning policy
SPPS	strategic planning policy statement (Northern Ireland)
SPS	single payment scheme (CAP)
SPZ	simplified planning zone
SR	Spending Review
SRA	Strategic Rail Authority
SRB	Single Regeneration Budget
SSHA	Scottish Special Housing Association
SSSI	site of special scientific interest
STB	Scottish Tourist Board
SUD	Committee on Spatial and Urban Development (EU)
SUDS	sustainable urban drainage system
SURF	Scottish Urban Regeneration Forum (Scotland)
SURI	small urban regeneration inititive (Scotland)
TAN	technical advice notes (Wales)
TCPA	Town and Country Planning Association
TCPSS	Town and Country Planning Summer School (now PSS)
TEC	training and enterprise council
TEN	Trans-European Network(s)
TEST	Transport and Environment Studies
TEU	Treaty on European Union
TfL	Transport for London
THI	Townscape Heritage Initiative
THORP	thermal oxide reprocessing plant
TOC	train operating company
TPI	Targeted Programme of Improvements (DfT)
TPO	tree preservation order
TPPs	transport policies and programmes
TRL	Transport Research Laboratory
TSG	transport supplementary grant
TSO	The Stationery Office
TUC	Trades Union Congress
UA	unitary authority
UCO	Use Classes Order
UDA	urban development area
UDC	urban development corporation
UDG	urban development grant
UDP	unitary development plan
UKAEA	United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority
UKBAP	UK Biodiversity Action Plan
UKBG	UK Biodiversity Group

UNCED	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (Earth Summit, Rio, 1992)
UNCSD	United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNECE	United Nations Economic Commission for Europe
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
UP (1)	urban partnerships (Scotland)
UP (2)	Urban Programme
URA	Urban Regeneration Agency
URBAN	European Community initiative for urban regeneration
URC	urban regeneration company
UTF	Urban Task Force
VAT	value added tax
VDS	village design statement
VFM	value for money
VISEGRAD	four former communist countries: Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary
VOCS	volatile organic compounds
WAG	Welsh Assembly government
WCA	waste collection authority
WCED	World Commission on Environment and Development
WDA (1)	waste disposal authority
WDA (2)	Welsh Development Agency
WDP	waste disposal plan
WES	wildlife enhancement scheme
WFD	Water Framework Directive
WHO	World Health Organisation
WHS	World Heritage Site
WMEB	West Midlands Enterprise Board
WIC	Waste Infrastructure Credits
WIP	Waste Implementation Programme
WMO	World Meteorological Organisation
WO	Welsh Office
WOAD	Welsh Office Agriculture Department
WQO	water quality objectives
WRA	waste regulation authority
WRAP	Waste and Resources Action Programme
WRO	Wales Rural Observatory
WSP	Wales Spatial Plan
WTB	Welsh Tourist Board
WTO	World Trade Organisation
WWF	World Wide Fund for Nature (formerly World Wildlife Fund)
WWT	Wildfowl and Wetlands Trust

Encyclopedia refers to Malcolm Grant's *Encyclopedia of Planning Law and Practice*, London: Sweet and Maxwell, loose-leaf, regularly updated by supplements.

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1 The nature of planning

> If planning were judged by results, that is, by whether life followed the dictates of the plan, then planning has failed everywhere it has been tried. No one, it turns out, has the knowledge to predict sequences of actions and reactions across the realm of public policy, and no one has the power to compel obedience.
>
> (Wildavsky 1987: 21)

Introduction

It is the purpose of this chapter to give a general introduction to the character and nature of planning. This may appear to be a philosophical or theoretical matter, and it is not the purpose of this book to review or engage with theory to any significant extent: this is more appropriately done elsewhere and some reading suggestions are given at the end of this chapter. However, if we are to engage successfully with the practical details of planning – an overarching purpose of this book – we at least need to know how the various elements of purpose and process connect to each other, so considering the framework within which they sit is an important foundation for making use of the rest of the contents. Therefore, in the next few pages we will consider what it is that planning is trying to do, the context in which it is trying to do it and the means it has developed to achieve its objectives. Having considered these matters, we then go on to indicate how the various specific elements of content in the rest of the book relate to these questions.

Whilst the evolution of planning is covered in detail in the following chapter, it is perhaps worth making a couple of points here about the development of planning as a professional activity, as a means of establishing that within a changing agenda there are some important consistencies. Planning has always been about 'making better places', to use the title of one of Patsy Healey's books. Writing on Christmas Day 1939, Thomas Sharp in the preface to his book *Town Planning* (1940) saw the product of planning as being 'a new and better way of life'. So, whilst these books were written seventy years apart, and Sharp's before the 1947 Planning Act launched town planning as we now know it in Britain, they agree on a purpose for planning, that of creating an improved environment for citizens. They both agree that the process of planning is likely to deliver a better outcome than a laissez-faire approach lacking in organisation and direction, or 'a dull and shifty opportunism' as Sharp (1945: 116) rather more colourfully puts it. That this organisation and direction needs to be part of a democratic process and not become a technocratic imposition on communities is also something on which there is general agreement. So, it would be accepted by everyone other than the most avid advocate of free market approaches that 'the idea of planning as an enterprise of collective action, of public policy, is linked to a belief that it is worth striving to improve the human condition' (Healey 2010: 118) and that this should be done in a way which allows and encourages the views of both public and 'experts' to be taken into account.

However, agreement on these fundamental items does not mean that an obvious and widely accepted solution always emerges from considering the process of planning. Politics, conflict and dispute are at the centre of land use planning. Conflict arises because of the competing demands for the use of land, because of the negative effects that can arise when the use of land changes, and because of the uneven distribution of costs and benefits which result from development. As Tewdwr-Jones (2012: 1) puts it, 'Planning as an activity that attempts to manage spatial change would not exist in any meaningful way if it was not for contention over the future use and development of the land.' Indeed, planning might usefully be defined as the process by which government resolves disputes about the use of land, and this very contention is also a constant.

However, whilst there are constants, the extent to which the context in which planning operates has changed makes it inevitable that changes of emphasis and focus have arisen in planning itself. At the dawn of what we might recognise as planning, the context was one of cities (and sometimes rural areas) characterised by unhealthy environments defined by poor physical fabric and living conditions. Later, in the period of post-war reconstruction, there was an imperative to address problems of acute housing need as part of a task of rebuilding towns and cities. At these times, planning was an almost evangelical activity, with the mission of creating better environments to the fore; then, the actions of planners tended to be widely supported. However, as the welfare state was rolled out and these clear and pressing physical problems began to be addressed, the mission of planning became wider, focusing on economic and social matters as well as improving the physical fabric. The activity of planning became more of a matter of debate and dispute where planners found themselves 'operating within a complex and often uncomfortable context, within which room for transformative manoeuvre seems slight' (Healey 1997: 8). Whilst much of this loss of a clear and relatively simple mission for planning could be placed at the door of contextual change, this was also reflected in a number of changes in the agenda for planning set by government reviews of the planning system, which often cast doubt on the direction and process of planning. These are mapped and explored in the following chapters. At a number of points these changes have been prompted by what has been characterised by government as a failure on the part of planning to give sufficient importance to the role of facilitating and promoting economic growth. This points up what might be seen as a final constant, the nature of the relationship between planning and the market. Now, to a large extent, planning relies on the private sector to implement policies (Rydin 2011: 139), so how far it accommodates or seeks to adapt the working of the market is a matter which is overtly or covertly present in considering what the nature of planning can or should be.

An evolution in planning

The United Nations report *Planning Sustainable Cities* (2009: 10) identified socio-economic and institutional origins for modern town planning:

> 'Modern' urban planning emerged in the latter part of the 19th century, largely in response to rapidly growing, chaotic and polluted cities in Western Europe, brought about by the Industrial Revolution. The adoption of urban planning in this part of the world as a state function can be attributed to the rise of the modern interventionist state and Keynesian economics.

It goes on to point out that, at the outset, planning tended to be an exercise focused on physical planning and design, which was essentially the preserve of experts and was concerned with the production of some form of 'master plan'. However, such plans were often disconnected from the lives of those they served and proved ill equipped to adapt to contextual and institutional change. Some of the changes that planning has had to face include: the processes of globalisation and economic restructuring which have produced new challenges of inequality and societies which are more diverse than before; a growing concern

about sustainability and the impact of climate change; an emerging distrust of technocratic approaches and a demand for more inclusive approaches to the task of planning; a widening planning agenda which gave new or increased prominence to matters such as economic change, equality and heritage; and a political disenchantment with the era of 'big government' coupled with a move towards a more fragmented institutional framework for the delivery of public services, including planning.

The move away from master planning led to greater emphasis being given to elements such as strategy and implementation within a more flexible planning framework. The emphasis now is on 'steering' rather than 'controlling', on seeking a future, not defining a singular idea of it (Healey 1997), with the general direction of travel indicated rather than trying, and failing, to meet a predetermined ideal (Hillier 2002).

Perhaps especially given this shift away from pre-defined end states, it can be quite hard to pin down a definition of terms such as 'strategy' or the qualities it imparts to the process of shaping and managing development (Shipley and Newkirk 1999). Like many other concepts in planning, it can be seen as being borrowed from elsewhere (Cooke 1983), in this case military and business spheres. An important component of the process of developing a strategy is that of 'making choices' – about what activities are carried out, how they are configured and how they relate to each other (Porter 1996). So we might expect a 'strategy' to relate to: some form of 'vision' for the future;[1] an awareness of context and relationships; some objectives; some guiding principles; and some indication of what might be developed where (Healey 2007; Roberts 1996). This offers a more extensive and varied menu of functions for planning than would be encompassed by physical master planning. The idea that planning is an essentially 'strategic' activity is not new: it has perhaps evolved over the last fifty years and it was not a feature of the first edition of this book. So, Healey's book *Urban Complexity and Spatial Strategies* (2007) points out that the approaches to strategy development popular in planning in the 1970s differed from what she feels is the position now in two important respects. First, the relatively systematic ideas about the processes of strategy development associated with writers such as Etzioni[2] (1973) need to be replaced in an increasingly fragmented institutional landscape by more nuanced and subtle models where processes of discourse and influence assume greater importance and are an essential complement to an understanding of the physical environment which underpinned master planning. Second, in a world of greater mobility, the pattern of spatial relationships which characterised basic policy models of clear hierarchies of role and function for settlements needs to be replaced by an understanding rooted in relational rather than Cartesian geographies,[3] where planning needs to consider the determinants of the relationships between places and spaces rather than focus on a bounded analysis of the attributes of a place.

Planning has often been accused of paying insufficient regard to implementation of policy (Talen 1996), whilst some empirical research has suggested that 'plan implementation practice is generally poor' (Laurian *et al*. 2004: 573); but for planning as a public activity as the quotation at the start of this chapter suggests, now more than ever 'Promise must be dignified by performance' (Wildavsky 1973: 129). However, as Healey (2010: 230) notes, there is rarely a smooth transition from policy to action: 'instead, it involves a sustained struggle in the various arenas where place-management activity is performed, or major development projects nurtured from initiation to completion, or strategies converted into specific action programmes'. Forty years ago, Pressman and Wildavsky (1973) argued that a key contributor to implementation failure is that policymakers often do not understand the complexity and difficulty of coordinating activities and agencies involved in implementation; in the context of changing patterns of governance and a fragmenting state, the task of today's planners is certainly more complex than that faced by planners in earlier times when planning was very much about guiding the investments of the state.

Most planning policy is now implemented by the private sector, although in many cases interaction between public sector policymakers and private sector developers is important in achieving key outcomes such as area regeneration. Such interaction often takes

place within some form of partnership and, according to Balloch and Taylor (2001: 1),

> partnership makes a lot of sense. At one level it is a rational response to divisions within and between government departments and local authorities, within and between professions, and between those who deliver services and those who use them. It is also a necessary response to the fragmentation of services that the introduction of markets brought with them.

However, whether we are talking about implementation by private sector developers or through some sort of partnership vehicle, the development of planning policy with an eye on implementation means that it cannot be a self-contained activity. In such a context, planning has to understand, and to some extent embrace, the aspirations and objectives of others, but it also has to take the consequences of limitations or reductions in the authority which it possessed in earlier times (Atkinson 1999a; Teisman and Klijn 2002).

The Planning and Compulsory Purchase Act 2004 formally introduced the concept of 'spatial planning', although a key document is the Royal Town Planning Institute's *New Vision*, produced in 2001, which advocates spatial planning as part of its future objectives for planning in the UK (RTPI 2001). Part of the stated logic of the move from 'planning' to 'spatial planning' is that of providing a more proactive coordinating role designed to bring together the increasingly diverse and fragmented agents of the state (Shaw and Lord 2009). However, pinning down an agreement on the nature – practical and philosophical – of spatial planning can seem a little difficult. As with all developments and changes in the profession, the move prompted some fierce debate. For some it was seen as a 'paradigm shift' (Morphet 2009: 393), but for others it was 'slippery, (Allmendinger and Haughton (2009b: 2547). In both these texts, it seems to be defined as much by what it isn't – planning as it was – as by what it is: for one it is the Promised Land, while for the other it is a mirage. However, if we move the focus from conflict to substance, maybe we can see the introduction of the word 'spatial' as being a reminder to planners that at the heart of their discipline and profession lies the understanding of space and place and the importance of spatial relations. More concretely, spatial planning in an English context is aspiring to address some of the issues outlined above. Planning Policy Statement (PPS)1 *Delivering Sustainable Development*, published in 2005, identified cross-sectoral working, cross-boundary working and the integration of national, regional and local policy as among the attributes of successful spatial planning. Morphet (2009: 393) sees spatial planning as part of a wider process of local governance and as having as its role to 'deliver infrastructure within a local governance wide framework which comprises of a vision, objectives and shorter term delivery plans'. Ten years after the 2004 Act, spatial planning as a concept seems to have a somewhat lower profile but its formal introduction may have nudged planning as a profession towards some form of cultural change.

So, the nature of planning has evolved over time, but what is its mission now? The United Nations text quoted at the beginning of this section attempts to set out a definition of planning which it sees as being in tune with that identified by a network of twenty-five professional planning institutes from around the world, and this is reproduced in Box 1.1.

This picks up a number of items already discussed – the importance of strategy; the value of collective action, particularly in the context of a fragmenting state; although the word 'sustainability' is not used, it identifies that planning has to have a measured concern for the future. It also introduces the term 'ethical judgement', reminding us that planning should be aware of the range of values in play around any issue and have a concern for equality and social justice.

Distinctive features of the British planning system

Much of the above discussion could be applicable to a range of locations across the globe but, since the nature of a planning system is so much a product of culture and the different legal, political and administrative

BOX 1.1 A DEFINITION OF PLANNING

Definitions of planning have changed over time and are not the same in all parts of the world. Earlier views defined urban planning as physical design, enforced through land use control and centred in the state. Current perspectives recognise the institutional shift from government to governance (although in some parts of the world planning is still centred in the state), the necessarily wider scope of planning beyond land use, and the need to consider how plans are implemented.

Urban planning is therefore currently viewed as a self-conscious collective (societal) effort to imagine or reimagine a town, city, urban region or wider territory and to translate the result into priorities for area investment, conservation measures, new and upgraded areas of settlement, strategic infrastructure investments and principles of land use regulation. It is recognised that planning is not only undertaken by professional urban and regional planners (other professions and groupings are also involved); hence, it is appropriate to refer to the 'planning system' rather than just to the tasks undertaken by planners. Nonetheless, urban (and regional) planning has distinctive concerns that separate it from, for example, economic planning or health planning. At the core of urban planning is a concern with space (i.e. with 'the where of things', whether static or in movement; the protection of special 'places' and sites; the interrelations between different activities and networks in an area; and significant intersections and nodes that are physically co-located within an area).

Planning is also now viewed as a strategic rather than a comprehensive, activity. This implies selectivity, a focus on that which really makes a difference to the fortunes of an area over time. Planning also highlights a developmental movement from the past to the future. It implies that it is possible to decide between appropriate actions now in terms of their potential impact in shaping future socio-spatial relations. This future imagination is not merely a matter of short-term political expediency, but is expected to be able to project a transgenerational temporal scale, especially in relation to infrastructure investment, environmental management and quality of life.

The term 'planning' also implies a mode of governance (a form of politics) driven by the articulation of policies through some kind of deliberative process and the judgement of collective action in relation to these policies. Planning is not, therefore, a neutral technical exercise: it is shaped by values that must be made explicit, and planning itself is fundamentally concerned with making ethical judgements.

Source: UNHGR 2009: 19, for where it was adapted from Healey 2004a

approaches that this spawns, systems differ between countries. So, a quest to understand the British system[4] can be helped by comparing it with others, as it enables us to identify its distinctive features. However, it is also important to recognise that descriptions and analyses of systems will only take us so far in understanding what shapes planning outcomes, planning as experienced by citizens. As Lalenis (2010: 50) has stated, 'real planning, as opposed to that described in national planning legislation and documents, presents a wide range of variations, due to the co-existence of methods of action, more informal than formal, which are particular to each country'. Similarly, in considering a comparison between French and US planning, Cullingworth (1994: 165) observes: 'the formal system exists largely in law books, and the informal system makes it workable'.

In comparing planning systems, three features are of particular interest: first, the extent to which a planning system operates within a framework of

constitutionally protected rights; second, the degree to which a system embodies discretion; and third, the importance of history and culture.

In many countries, the constitution limits governmental action in relation to land and property. The US Bill of Rights provides that 'no person shall . . . be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken without just compensation'. These words mean much more than is apparent to the casual (non-American) reader. Since land use regulations affect property rights, they are subject to constitutional challenge. They can be disputed not only on the basis of their effect on a particular property owner, but also in principle: a regulation can be challenged on the argument that, in itself, it violates the constitution. Moreover, the constitution protects against arbitrary government actions, and this further limits what can be done in the name of land use planning. No such restraints exist in the UK system.

Constitutions also often allocate powers to different tiers of government, which effectively ensures a minimum degree of autonomy for regional and local governments. Again, there is no such constitutional safeguard in the UK. As a result, the Thatcher government was able to abolish a whole tier of metropolitan local government in England and, in consequence, that part of the planning system that went with it. Similarly, when the Coalition government came to power in 2010, regional structures were abolished and a regional tier of planning disappeared. Such action would be inconceivable in most countries. In the United States, for example, there is little to compare with the central power which is exercised by the national government in Britain. Plan making and implementation are essentially local issues, even though the federal government has become active in highways, water and environmental matters and, in recent years, a number of states have become involved in land use planning. So local is the responsibility that even the decision on whether to operate land use controls is a local one, and many US local governments have only minimal systems so that, in contrast to the UK, it could not be said that there is a national planning system (Cullingworth 1994: 162). Similarly, in much of Europe, regional and local government would not tolerate the extent of central government supervision (they might say interference) in local planning matters. But there is a point where decisions have to be made at a higher level because opposition from local decision-makers might mean that some nationally or internationally important developments never happen. Such a debate will be familiar to many readers through the controversy around what have come to be called nationally important infrastructure projects such as airport extensions, nuclear power installations and, most recently, the expansion of the rail network, High Speed 2.

Lack of constitutional constraint allows for a wide degree of discretion in the UK planning system. Describing the British planning system, Reade (1987: 11) noted that 'It rests on a high level of administrative discretion, where each piece of development requires permission: other counties are characterised by a greater closeness to a "rule of law" system.' In determining applications for planning permission, a local authority is mainly guided by the development plan, but other 'material considerations' can be taken into account. In most of the rest of the world, plans become legally binding documents. Indeed, they are part of the law and the act of giving a permit is no more than a certification that a proposal is in accordance with the plan. Plans in many other countries are different in character from those in the UK. The basis of regulation and planning in the US and many other jurisdictions is a system of zoning, based on the police powers of state and local governments. As Cullingworth and Caves state (2009: 63), 'much if not most of the land use planning in the United States is not planning but zoning and subdivision control'. Perceived advantages include relative effectiveness, ease of implementation, long-established legal precedent, and familiarity, but the dominant approach to zoning[5] has received criticism for its lack of the very flexibility which is seen as inherent to the British system.

This characteristic British discretion is further enlarged by the fact that the preparation of a local plan is carried out by the same local authority that implements it. This is so much a part of the tradition of British planning that no one comments on it. The

American situation is different, with great emphasis being placed on the separation of powers. (Typically the plan is prepared by the legislative body – the local authority – but administered by a separate board.) The British system has the advantage of relating policy and administration (and easily accommodating policy changes) but, to American eyes, 'this institutional framework blurs the distinction between policy making and policy applying, and so enlarges the role of the administrator who has to decide a specific case' (Mandelker 1962: 4). The Human Rights Convention also focuses attention on the separation of powers, since it provides for the right to appeal to an independent body against actions of government. While there is a limited right of appeal to the courts in the UK (which are independent) over planning procedures rather than substantive planning issues, most appeals are heard by the government or its representatives, in the form of the Planning Inspectorate.

Above all, in comparing planning systems, there are fundamental differences in the philosophy that underpins them. Thus, put simply (and therefore rather exaggeratedly), American planning is largely a matter of anticipating trends, while in the UK there is a conscious effort to bend them in publicly desirable directions. In France, *aménagement du territoire* deals with the planning of the activities of different government sectors to meet common social and economic goals, while in the UK town and country planning, even in the era of spatial planning, is about the management of land use, albeit taking into account social and economic concerns and the intentions of other agencies.

Planning systems are rooted in the particular historical, legal and physical conditions of individual countries and regions. In the UK, some of the many important factors which have shaped the system are the strong and long-established land preservation ethic and, in common with much of the rest of Europe, a growing conservationist ethic. In comparison, land in the United States has historically been a replaceable commodity that could and should be parcelled out for individual control and development. However, the history of early industrialisation in the UK, coupled with its small and densely developed nature, perhaps helps to explain these apparent differences.

However, a consideration of differences – with the principle one being the wide adoption of a system based on zoning compared with the British tradition of 'treating each case on its merits' – should not obscure a number of shared features across continents. These are to be found, particularly, in the realm of policy concerns. Although it may not always be expressed in the same language, the sometimes competing imperatives of economic competitiveness and sustainability are to be found as emerging agendas in most localities, whilst planning documents produced in many countries will espouse something which might be identified as some form of 'new urbanism'. Most countries will also have planning objectives which reflect a concern for the containment, management and regeneration of their urban communities and for the future of their rural communities, though, in the case of rural areas, the emphasis will vary depending on the degree of (e.g.) sparsity of population – for example, the concern with dying rural communities is much more prevalent in Australia than it is in Britain. This reference to socio-economic and geographical context is important, as policy should be a response to the nature of planning issues and be formed from an understanding of how communities 'work': unless such factors are consistent between countries then it is to be expected that, almost irrespective of the nature of the written planning system, the responses and outcomes will differ (van Leeuwen, 2010: 163–4).

Purpose and performance of planning in Britain

In legislation, for many years the stated purpose of planning in Britain was to 'regulate the development and use of land in the public interest'. From 2004, this was changed to 'contribute to the achievement of sustainable development'[6]. In 2012, the National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF) made a further change by introducing the notion that planning should be exercising a 'presumption in favour of sustainable development'. Like all policy statements, these have a very wide meaning, and one which is

rather hard to pin down. This can lead to concern over just what the impact of adopting a particular guiding purpose for planning might be on the nature of development that takes place. Just what is the 'public interest' that guided planning? It assumed a consensus which maybe existed in the aftermath of the Second World War but which is far harder to pin down now. It would now be generally agreed (Taylor 1998: 34) that there is not a unitary public interest but rather multiple interests which may be in conflict over what planning should be trying to achieve and where priorities should be placed. The lack of concrete meaning for this term can be illustrated by the fact that government was able to pursue radically different emphases to policy in the period up to its being supplanted by the achievement of sustainable development as the purpose of planning.

Whilst sustainable development is a widely used term, that does not mean that there is a shared understanding of what it means for planning practice. The consequence is that 'different people interpret sustainable development in different ways' (Haughton and Counsell 2004: 214), so whilst many people would sign up to sustainable development as a guiding principle for planning, their commitment may be challenged when faced with its application to a particular development proposal affecting them and where they live. The elusive nature of some of the principles underpinning sustainable development – environmental capacity, environmental capital, economic benefits and distribution of environmental or social costs – means that they have to be translated into more concrete terms when they are related to particular localities and to particular issues with a local expression. The dilemma that planning has to face has been summed up by Susan Owens:

> Because land-use is so closely bound up with environmental change, land-use planning demands the translation of abstract principles of sustainability into operational policies and decisions. Paradoxically, this process is likely to expose the very conflicts that 'sustainable development' was meant to reconcile . . . The planning system is likely to remain a focus of attention because it is frequently the forum in which these conflicts are first exposed
>
> (Owens 1995: 8)

The recent changes introduced by the NPPF included the introduction of a 'presumption in favour of sustainable development'. During the consultation phase starting in 2011, there were 11,000 responses, many of which expressed unease about just what this phrase might mean. Simon Jenkins, Chairman of the National Trust, felt that the content of the NPPF indicated that its proponents were 'in thrall to a few right wing nutters', perhaps reflecting a concern that this heralded a return to more laissez-faire approaches adopted in the 1980s: the guidance was more in favour of development than sustainability. This fear was reflected by the House of Commons Environmental Audit Committee in March 2011, when it highlighted that a lack of a statutory description for sustainable development in the guidance could be seen as running the risk that

> the principles of sustainable development – living with environmental limits, ensuring a strong, healthy and just society, achieving a sustainable economy, promoting good governance and using sound science responsibly – are unlikely to be adequately represented in the planning process.
>
> (Environmental Audit Committee 2011: 5)

However, it could be argued that each of these three attempts is more focused on the approach to be adopted than why we need planning in the first place, which might be thought to be closer to defining a purpose for planning. Reade (1987) felt that planning had largely avoided addressing this question because of 'premature legitimation' – planning achieved the status of a government activity before it had been properly established what it was supposed to do and why. It is relatively easy to track why this happened – regulation of development in the form of planning was introduced in response to the environmental and health problems produced by the absence of regulation – but if, as Rydin (2011: 12) puts it, 'planning is . . . a means by which society decides

collectively what urban change should be like and tries to achieve that vision by a mix of means', there is still much room for debate about the nature and purpose of planning. Lack of agreement on a purpose is perhaps a significant reason why planning has been faced with so many challenges in Britain in recent years.

In his introduction to the NPPF, Greg Clark observed that 'Planning must not simply be about scrutiny. Planning must be a creative exercise in finding ways to enhance and improve the places in which we live our lives', perhaps seeking to reconnect planning to its more visionary role of former times. Without embracing a laissez-faire doctrine, it is possible to recognise a distinction between regulatory and enabling strands in planning. Janin Rivolin (2008: 182) distinguishes between what he terms 'conforming' and 'performing' roles for planning, concluding that 'in one case, implementation is intended as the capacity to "conform" development projects to a spatial strategy; in the other, implementation consists of promoting projects able to "perform" the strategy'. This is perhaps particularly relevant in the context of the greater attention being paid to the quality of outcomes achieved through the implementation of planning policies and strategies and highlighting potential differences between the nature of 'policy on the page' and the experience of 'development on the ground'. Should planning focus on moving towards an overall objective (however that may be understood) or should it be more concerned with tying new development to a set of 'rules'? Clearly, as it is an activity which has a legal basis, rules have to be followed if decisions are to be robust and defensible, but in doing so it is important not to lose sight of what planning/a plan is trying to achieve.

As has been pointed out above, one driver for change in planning has been institutional reviews of its purpose and performance. Perhaps the first of these was *The Future of Development Plans*, produced by the Planning Advisory Group (PAG) in 1965, and the most recent was the Conservative Party's 2010 Green Paper *Open Source Planning.* In his foreword to the first, Richard Crossman, the minister responsible for planning, noted that 'Planning is criticized on two main grounds: the delays it incurs and the quality of its results.' This concern about delay/lack of speed in the planning system has been reflected in a number of other reports,[7] including *Open Source Planning*, which was concerned to get rid of 'Whole layers of bureaucracy, delay and centralised micro-management' (p. 2). It was also a notable element in the Labour government's Green Paper *Planning: Delivering a Fundamental Change* (DTLR 2001), which provided foundations for the 2004 Planning and Compensation Act and which sought a system which would come to 'robust decisions in sensible time frames' (para. 1.8). Whilst many planners would accept that unjustifiable delays can occur, others would question how far it is possible to achieve greater speed – in dealing with planning applications or producing a local plan – and at the same time ensure that better-quality decisions are made that better involve the public affected by them. However, each of the three reviews referred to above introduced significant changes to the structure of the planning system – the 1965 report was the precursor to a two-tier planning system of structure and local plans, the 2001 report led to the system of local development frameworks and an established role for regional planning, whilst the 2010 report removed the regional level and gave priority to planning at a local (neighbourhood) level.

Whilst performance as a concept clearly has a meaning in terms of just how quickly a plan or a planning decision is produced, it came to take on a wider meaning, that of how planning contributed to or inhibited national economic performance. Although it might not have been the first time that the issue was raised by Mrs Thatcher's administration, the White Paper *Lifting the Burden* (HM Government 1985) gave formal recognition to the assertion that planning could be damaging to national economic prospects and job creation, a precursor to the weakening of planning controls. The 2001 Green Paper noted that a 'successful planning system will promote economic prosperity' (para. 1.4) and this was followed by Kate Barker's two reports (2004; 2006) on the impact of planning on housing and the economy more generally. This heralded an emerging role for HM Treasury in shaping planning, with both reports being jointly sponsored by that department, as a part of Gordon Brown's

approach to promoting national competitiveness. *Open Source Planning* continued the argument, noting that 'Without a transformed planning system, our chances of getting the investment and growth we need will be hampered and possibly crippled' and George Osborne has continued the precedent set by Gordon Brown in seeking a role in shaping planning and even announced in the 2014 Budget that new garden cities would be built.

In over thirty years there have been numerous initiatives attempting to move planning towards a position which is seen by their proponents to be more favourable towards economic growth and more market-friendly, but current political rhetoric suggests that more action is still needed. Is this because the British system of planning is hard to change, because the initiatives have been poorly founded, or is there some other reason? There are inevitable tensions between the objectives of planning and the market – planning looks long term and seeks to achieve results, some of which are hard (or impossible) to translate into monetary terms, whilst business tends to look short term and is focused on making a financial return. It could be argued that the resulting planning culture does not blend easily with a business culture, a position that is reinforced by lack of understanding on both sides. As the debate over the passage of the 1947 Planning Bill demonstrated, striking a balance between these interests by deciding how far business profits should 'pay for' wider social and environmental benefits is a contentious issue and may be one which will never be resolved to everyone's satisfaction, particularly in times when national economic growth and prosperity are seen as important overriding objectives. It does seem to be the case that it can be hard to radically alter the nature of British planning, partly because of the persistent nature of this tension, but also because the system has 'enough discretion and autonomy to allow local re-interpretation and resistance' (Allmendinger and Haughton 2013: 24) to change: such resistance can be nurtured by local public opposition to the idea of development. It also has to be said that many of the 'reforms' to planning have not been shaped by systematic research into the nature of the perceived 'problems';[8] rather they have been shaped to an appreciable extent by doctrine, but perhaps a significant weakness is that they have not been based on a clear and agreed articulation of just what it is planning should be trying to achieve. This suggests that debates and political initiatives will continue over the relationship between planning and the market. However, planning has to recognise that it has the power to guide and prevent, not initiate, development, which is initiated by market mechanisms, and that plans and policies which do not take cognisance of market mechanisms are unlikely to be put into practice. Therefore, planning policies and decisions *to some extent* have to reflect market preferences. The continuing debate is over where the balance should be struck between market objectives and broader planning concerns.

A further area where planning has been charged with underperformance is the engagement of the public. In spite of the fact that the importance of public participation was highlighted more than thirty years before by Seebohm (1968) and Skeffington (1969), the 2001 Green Paper felt able to state that the system 'often fails to engage communities. The result of all this is that the community feels disempowered' (para. 2.5). Subsequent response in legislation was primarily focused on structural change as the way to help address this problem. *Open Source Planning*, however, felt that these attempts had not worked and opined that 'To establish a successful democracy, we need participation and social engagement. But our present planning system is almost wholly negative and adversarial' (p. 1). Its approach to addressing the problem encompassed a 'localist' approach combined with incentives – the localist approach involving moving some decisions on planning policy closer to neighbourhoods and the incentive approach allowing communities to directly benefit from development as a 'real incentive for local people to welcome new homes and new businesses' (p. 2). However, whether such changes can better match the inclination and capacity of communities to become involved in the sometimes protracted and legalistic processes of planning is by no means certain: past experiences have raised elements of doubt. So, whilst the many adaptations of participation process