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THE RELEVANCE OF STRATEGIC PLANNING

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1. A CONTEXT

- 1.01 The British Metropolitan problem has many facets. It would be idle to suppose they could be solved simply through town planning with its focus of action on the regulation of the use of land. However, town planning also provides an opportunity for a systematic overview of the cities and a chance to consider the contribution of planning to solving the cities' problems. This paper considers town and county, highway and transport planning and looks at strategic decisions in these fields.
- 1.02 At the time of writing we have already been subjected to the unedifying spectacle of a concert of public authorities spending large amounts of money in the media to cajole us with half truths about the nature of local democracy and the delivery of local services: while upon the other side government offers us incomplete and not particularly coherent reasoning for doing what it wants to do. By the time this paper is read we shall probably have suffered a great deal more. So I do not propose to deal with metropolitan local government reorganisation as such - although I shall touch on some principles of organisation. Rather, I want to look at the nature of strategic planning decisions at the metropolitan level and make some observations about their relevance to the problems faced by the cities.
- 1.03 Before doing so I thought I should set out a perspective of the nature of town planning activity in general so as to provide a context for what follows. It is a perspective borrowed from others and is largely economic, regarding planning as a set of interventions in the land (and property) market. Intervention is now generally accepted in Britain and elsewhere because it is widely recognised that the unfettered operation of the market produces unacceptable results. There are three reasons why this is the case.

1.04 The first is that the market is highly imperfect, failing to satisfy a number of conditions hypothesised for the perfect market in that:

- the product varies greatly so hindering price assessment
- information is incomplete
- most buyers and sellers come to the market only occasionally and lack experience.
- supply cannot quickly respond to demand
- uses such as parks and police stations are not susceptible to market transactions.

1.05 The second is that the physical conditions for the occupation of land in relation to health, safety and amenity fall within areas where governments have for long set minimum standards in order to protect people from themselves or to anticipate rising tastes. Left to itself the land market would not observe such standards since there are consumers who are careless of such matters who would not pay for the standards.

1.06 The third reason is that there are consequences external to transactions in the land market which impinge upon others but which are not heeded by the participants in the market. Congestion, loss of fine landscape, the inefficient use of services and infrastructure, and the loss of historic associations, are all examples.

1.07 Although these reasons give a clear rationale for intervention they do not reveal much about the appropriate degree and extent of intervention. This has to be judged by those elected to positions of authority having regard to what they know of people's preferences. And to inform themselves on that, they need indicators. Some indicators will come from the grass roots, but there is little doubt that the way in which people choose to spend their own money in the marketplace is, although far from perfect, the most extensive and complete indicator of preferences that is available.

- 1.08 The built environment has no end but to serve as a container for human activities, and in a society where a wide variety of tastes and life styles seek to coexist we need to be very cautious in overriding the signals from the market. As Professor Lichfield said over 20 years ago 'It is no light task to rely on the market as a prima facie guide and concurrently to try to correct for its limitations'.
- 1.09 Nonetheless that is the task and there are of course many interpretations of the correct balancing point between reliance and correction. And in passing it is worth reflecting that the Government's belief that the metropolitan authorities look too little to market signals may be a significant factor fuelling its resolve to dismantle the authorities.
- 1.10 In discussing the shortcomings of the market in the preceding paragraphs, I have not referred to the issue of redistribution of income. This may seem strange. Does it mean that I subscribe to the correctness of the present distribution? It does not. The omission is for two reasons.
- 1.11 The first reason is that the land market operates with the given income distribution just as any other market does. The income distribution is not therefore a difficulty related especially to the land market: and my purpose above was to identify the difficulties particular to the land market.
- 1.12 The second reason is that intervention in the land market with the specific intention of compensating for perceived deficiencies in income distribution is neither very effective nor appropriate. There are more direct and purposeful ways of achieving that end.
- 1.13 However, insofar as income redistribution is an objective of metropolitan authorities - in for example the lowering of impedance to travel by non-car-owners through subsidies to public transport - it is a further reason for dissatisfaction by the present Government: for such interventions run counter to Government's own policy and are one manifestation of unwelcome independent power. In many people's eyes it is to the suppression of such power that the Government's reorganisation plans are fundamentally directed, as I discuss in Chapter 2.

- 1.14 But no administrative reorganisation can obscure the fact that the distribution of income is a significant factor in many metropolitan problems. It is typically the problems faced by the less well off which gives us most cause for concern. There is a contradiction between our notions of what is a reasonably acceptable minimum living environment and the inability of the economically weak to achieve that minimum through the market. That is a very important metropolitan problem: perhaps it is the main one. If it is, it does not appear very susceptible to planning intervention.
- 1.15 But more of that later: I have canvassed an economic perspective for planning: I now go on to look at the control of city planning.

2. CONTROL OF THE PLANNING SERVICE

- 2.01 Local authorities and other public bodies provide a large range of services. Water, gas, electricity, public transport, drainage, refuse collection, library, housing, education, health and social services all spring to mind. Each of these provide a service for the direct personal benefit of the consumer and with the possible exception of education they are all services which the consumer wants.
- 2.02 Planning however is a service that confers its benefits indirectly, since the gain to individuals comes from the impact of planning upon would-be developers of all shapes and sizes. Of course, when any individual is a would-be developer he or she has to consume some planning (and pay towards the costs): but he or she does not want that consumption and does not generally benefit from it.
- 2.03 The real consumer of the metropolitan planning service is the whole set of individuals within the city, so there is no ready way of assessing consumer satisfaction. Yet the objective of public planning is to improve the welfare of the citizen and ultimately that improvement has, in a democracy, to be seen as an improvement by the citizens. So good planning must certainly have always in mind not only the interests but also the preferences and wishes of the citizens.
- 2.04 Now, subject to the safeguarding of the individual from the excesses of parish pump decisions, a local administration locally elected is a very appropriate way of controlling the planning service while making it responsive to citizens wishes for it. There is widespread consensus in Britain for such an arrangement.
- 2.05 The current contentions arise simply because there is not a consensus over the meaning of local. When the locality concerned is the whole of a metropolitan area consensus collapses. To think about this we need first to think about the nature of local government.
- 2.06 There is in Britain little history of the government of cities by the citizens. The cities have for long been subject to the writ of a larger territorial government and their citizens to a rule of law and to economic and social custom held in common with all their countrymen.

- 2.07 It is still less than a century since modern local administration was established under the first Local Government Act and this and other Acts lay upon local authorities specific tasks and duties. The authorities are subordinate to parliament and there is a clear distinction between the election of a sovereign parliament with unlimited powers to act as it thinks fit and the election of one of these local authorities. The differential turnout between the two forms of election shows that this is generally recognised if not often spelt out.
- 2.08 But of course no elected subordinate council can be perfectly circumscribed. Amidst a plethora of powers and responsibilities there is bound to emerge scope for action and influence not necessarily envisaged by parliament. There is also scope specifically granted by parliament in that such councils are empowered on their own initiative to seek parliamentary consent to extend their powers by promoting private bills. Further they are empowered to do whatever they judge fit with some of the taxation they are permitted to raise.
- 2.09 In choosing to delegate administration through elected bodies rather than agencies of government, parliament thus creates secondary centres of power which are only partially controllable. A modus vivendi has to be found between the central government and the locally elected authorities. If it is not found then parliament may be expected to be jealous of its sovereignty and may act to restrain the local authorities.
- 2.10 Present events would appear to bear interpretation in the above light. The Government finds itself frustrated by the attitudes and policies of the metropolitan authorities; and it may succeed in persuading the parliament to curtail the offending activity of those authorities.
- 2.11 Obviously such curtailment is most practicable at a time when the Government has a large majority and when the offending creatures of an earlier parliament are of a different political persuasion. But the motivation is not fundamentally one of party politics: it arises because the metropolitan authorities have the power to plan for the cities through policies not in accord with the Government's policies. So do other authorities, but it is in the metropolitan context that Government is hurt and that is because the cities are microcosms of the nation. Each is a burning glass which focusses attention on the social and economic difficulties being experienced by all of our society.

- 2.12 If any government has a prescription for those difficulties it must apply it in the cities first and foremost. It will not wish to tolerate the independent power of the cities to promote other prescriptions.
- 2.13 Moreover there can be little doubt that some at least of the local authorities have not sought a modus vivendi with Government, but have tended to emphasise the conflict with Government by interesting themselves in national or even international matters. In doing so they may have sown the wind.
- 2.14 If the above analysis is right then the metropolitan administration issue is about the distribution of power. As far as strategic planning and transport are concerned the only issue necessarily at stake is therefore where and by whom strategic planning is undertaken. I suggest it is possible and helpful to distinguish this matter from the question of the need for strategic planning. Strategic planning is a professional task like many others (only more enjoyable) and it can - if Government can be persuaded of its value - be carried on with or without the metropolitan counties.
- 2.15 Planners may have views on the desirability of one or other division of power between the central government and elected metropolitan authorities - I sometimes think it seems to be more or less compulsory to have a view in favour of the latter (vide TCPA) - but those are not I submit fundamental to the value of the planning.
- 2.16 Strategic analysis and planning for a number of services mentioned at the start of this chapter are carried out without being under the control of an elected authority. There are Regional Health Authorities, Regional Water Authorities and national power authorities. My guess is that to the average citizen with a concern or complaint there isn't a lot of difference between trying to deal with one of those bodies and trying to deal with one of the metropolitan councils. As long as a fire engine arrives at your burning house you are not likely to worry which elected body of persons has formal responsibility for the fire service.

- 2.17 Nor can it be said that metropolitan county elections are contested largely on local issues. Nearly all councillors are identified by a national political party affiliation and results seem to be influenced more by sentiment on national issues than by opinions on issues actually within the competence of local governments. In practice therefore the democratic process, as at present arranged, does not necessarily give the voter a more effective voice through an elected metropolitan authority than it does through an authority working within a brief from an elected central government.
- 2.18 One also needs to remember that, although strategic planning may largely be a local activity, the plans produced are subject to approval or modification by the central government and many strategic decisions are also subject to central government review. The removal of the strategic local tier may therefore have less practical impact on planning than often supposed. But there is no doubt that it has a practical impact on the form of democracy and I expect all those at this conference have views on that issue.
- 2.19 Whoever controls strategic metropolitan decisions, those concerned with planning will continue to advocate the desirability of informing the decisions by carrying out enough research and analysis to assess where the land market is letting us down and what measures are necessary to compensate for its imperfections.
- 2.20 In the next section I offer a view of the scope of strategy.

3. THE STRATEGIC DECISIONS

- 3.01 We have reached this far without defining strategic planning - and I fear I shall finish the paper without defining it satisfactorily. But as a working guideline I take the term to cover those planning and transport matters which have strong connotations for the spatial form of the city and which cannot properly be decided at a local (district) level. After some deliberation and in the face of criticism from some colleagues, I do not include housing policy - fundamental as it is - within my definition of strategic planning. The demand for housing, like the demand for offices, is unavoidably something to be taken into account by planners, but the organisation of the means to supply housing is a distinct function.
- 3.02 I would point out that the above working guideline does not necessarily catch major schemes, since the scale or the rarity of a use is not enough to make a decision about that use a strategic decision. For example we may need only one prison in a city, yet the decision where to locate it is not a strategic planning matter: it is a matter for the Home Office in the light of local planning policies about the suitability of sites.
- 3.03 Similarly the location of a large hotel or of a conference centre can be left between developers and district planning authorities. But the provision of a 50,000m² shopping centre could probably not be decided locally because of the impact on roads and transport services over a large area.
- 3.04 There are also matters which are not directly concerned with the use of land which may have spatial effects. The obvious case is subsidies to public transport. These may affect the land market generally; also they could give rise to confusion if applied in materially different ways in different parts of a metropolis.
- 3.05 With those observations in mind let us to turn to consider the principal instrument of city-wide planning - the Metropolitan Structure Plan. This incorporates all the proposals of the metropolitan authority on planning and transport and does not confine itself to strategic matters. It is the plan of the local authority but can in fact contain only those policies approved by the Secretary of State for the Environment.

- 3.06 It does not deal with all matters of strategic significance. On the one hand trunk infrastructures for power, water, drainage, highways and to some extent rail services, are outside the County's purview. On the other hand a County's ability to intervene financially in the land market is determined separately by central government.
- 3.07 Additionally the Structure Plan does not deal with the functional hinterland of the metropolis. The interactions can be taken on board only through liaison with adjoining authorities and by the overview of the Secretary of State. This can lead to such oddities as adopting policies to limit cross-boundary commuting while at the same time encouraging long-distance public transport commuting within the metropolis by subsidies to transport operators.
- 3.08 Let us look briefly at the scope of two particular Structure Plans for metropolitan areas. One is for West Yorkshire for which I refer to the Plan approved in July 1980 and the other is for Greater London for which I refer to the Draft Alterations published in December 1983.
- 3.09 The two plans contain 95 policies and 219+ policies respectively. I have, by dint of some heroic interpretations, categorised them into main divisions as follows:

<u>Subject</u>	<u>West Yorkshire</u>	<u>Greater London</u>
Economic	7	33
Offices	4	14
Shopping	3	12
Housing	8	31
Environment	38	74
Transport	24	Indeterminate*
Leisure	11	--
Other	--	55

*The approach to transport is for no explained reason couched rather as an essay than as a series of specific policies.

- 3.10 One general difficulty is that a considerable number of the policies are phrased in general terms offering little certainty as to their effect in particular cases. Another is that the multiplicity of policies necessarily leads to unresolved conflicts.

- 3.11 There are also policies which are little more than codification of hopes and fears about matters substantially outwith the control of the authorities. In West Yorkshire for example there are eleven Employment Priority Areas but the only policy is that they will have first priority in the allocation of public resources to secure economic development. As another example the GLC has a number of policies which constitute no more than a statement of encouragement, for example in relation to the provision of riverside wharves.
- 3.12 There are also many policies which are not strategic but which simply aggregate local policies. Examples of these policies relate to road traffic noise, to the use of derelict sites, to the refurbishment of industrial premises, and to the improvement of residential environments.
- 3.13 Nonetheless there is understandable virtue in making up a compendium volume of planning ideas for a metropolis. There is an obvious co-ordinating function in alerting local planners to the approaches and circumstances of other local planners. There is a need for standing back from the detail of the trees and seeing the whole wood.
- 3.14 It is not so certain that much is gained from codifying the overview into so large a set of policies with which local plans must comply. It is arguable that necessity demands no more than the laying down of those policies which bear on strategic decisions.
- 3.14 I suggest that the real strategic planning decisions for the cities are:
- (i) where large developments are to be permitted on undeveloped land.
 - (ii) where large areas are to be permitted to change their use in such a way as to affect the operation of the metropolis
 - (iii) which land is to be assembled to facilitate major change.
 - (iv) which roads are main traffic routes and where new main roads, railways or other major transport facilities are to be provided.
 - (v) what pricing policy is to be adopted for transport.

- 3.15 Strategic planning will then consist of the work necessary to inform those decisions together with the work necessary to maintain an overview of current urban issues for the use of local planners.
- 3.16 Some of that strategic planning is already carried out by Government or its agencies. Trunk highways are promoted and planned by the Department of Transport: some airports by the British Airports Authority: principal railways by British Rail. There seems in principle to be no technical obstacle to the remainder also being carried out centrally - though the present Government may not wish to put that principle into practice.
- 3.17 My assumption is that the strategic decisions about these matters will in fact be made whether positively or by default. My hope is that they will be informed decisions based on strategic planning advice. But even if they are so based, they may or may not make a major impact on metropolitan problems: for that depends on what the problems are. The last section examines that question.

4. THE CHANGING CITY

- 4.01 Concentrating people into cities is a form of human spatial organisation with a long history. Religion, security, trade, industry and administration have successively provided reasons for maintaining and expanding the great urban containers. In the more populated countries of the third world the city is still a main engine of change and populations are rising towards and past even that of the 14 million megalopolis of Sao Paolo in Brazil. UN projectives show concentrations of 20-30 million people early next century.
- 4.02 In Britain however the forces that have sustained the city as a cultural and economic centre are weakening. Years ago now, Lewis Mumford discerned the outlines of a multi-dimensional life-oriented economy no longer localised in cities. Those outlines are still indistinct. But there is little doubt that a wide variety of life-style opportunities today distinguishes the city from other human settlements to a very much lesser degree than hitherto..
- 4.03 The dweller in a village or modest town can if he wants to live much the same life culturally and economically as the city dweller. He has the added advantage of being in or near the country, directly tapping the well-spring of so many fundamental ideas about mans place in the world.
- 4.04 The present physical form of the city has been very largely determined by the building development carried out in the present century. The wealth generated by industry fed through into improved housing and resulted in great expansion. And the energy of industry and commerce was still sufficient to command spatial concentrations of labour.
- 4.05 Today however we are left with an urban fabric whose spatial form is no longer consistent with economic and cultural requirements. The main force favouring survival of the present form is inertia. That is to say we have a vast stock of buildings which are not moveable and which we cannot afford to replace.

4.06 Despite the inertia the population of the GLC area has fallen in every decade since the 1951 Census and the populations of the 6 metropolitan countries all fell in the decade up to 1981, though only slightly in theYorkshires and in Tyne and Wear. In total the population of all 7 areas dropped by one and a quarter million in the period 1971-1981 while the population of England as a whole rose by a third of a million. The organised dispersal of the new towns period has faltered but spontaneous change continues. The more mobile and economically advantaged sections of the population still have the ability to choose to live in more attractive areas outside the cities.

4.07 This of course tends to increase the proportion of the economically disadvantaged in the city populations. And if the urban housing stock cannot be renewed city populations may not decline so markedly as has London's. The office of population census and survey projects a further loss of only half a million from the 7 areas by 2001, while England increases a further one a half million. The estimates are sensitive to migration assumptions and I certainly expect a greater decline in the cities. London's decline was not forecast and I am unconvinced that the present forecasts are better.

4.08 The growth activities which we look to to sustain the new population distributions are attractively referred to as the sunrise industries. They do not have a total demand for employment sufficient to recreate the full employment that was characteristic until the last several years. But they offer a dynamic focus in a static environment and can command their own terms.

4.09 Locationally those terms appear to be largely unrelated to the cities as such. Instead locations are required:

- (a) where there are high amenity residential areas with easy access to recreation facilities
- (b) where there is easy access to major transport facilities to other regions and countries.

A third requirement appears to be access to centres of knowledge and research, but with the rapid onset of information technology, I suggest this is likely to have only a temporary locational effect.

- 4.10 The same information technology is already weakening the central city preferences of the administrative sectors of commerce and industry. Routine functions have already been decentralised and more senior managements will find that they too can disperse as more and more information comes on-line.
- 4.11 I will risk putting into a nutshell the principal factor behind economically-driven change. It is a pressure for more congenial environments for both living and working. But it is, as already noted, a pressure from only part of the community: coexisting with it are pressures from the economically less fortunate for basic standards of shelter and opportunity.
- 4.12 If one accedes to the pressures of the economically strong, there is the fear of making worse the plight of the disadvantaged in the cities. Yet ignoring the clear market signals may kill a golden goose. What should the poor strategic planner do? What can he do?
- 4.13 To examine that I will restate the main problem a little more fully and then consider how each area of strategic decision can assist. What is left is the part of the problem not susceptible to strategic planning action - though hopefully of course susceptible to action in other areas of policy.
- 4.14 The metropolitan problem is that of adaptation to a more dispersed form at a time when there are not only major pressures for nature conservation and environmental protection but major national difficulties in adapting to a long term reduction in the demand for labour. We no longer require 90,000 hours of working input from the average lifetime of those wanting to work. Failure to recognise this and respond to it, by directly reducing individual working lifetimes is concentrating unemployment on the young. Technological change is concentrating unemployment on the less skilled.
- 4.15 Educational attainment is seen as an unrewarding goal by many children, particularly from areas where unemployment is increasingly common. Social cohesion is clearly at risk, as the divide between those working (whose average income continues to rise) and those without work, and even more so those without even the experience of work, increases.

- 4.16 At the same time the potential for increased activity in the personal services sector is restrained by a brake on investment by the largest suppliers of such services, the Departments of Health and Social Security and of Education and Science.
- 4.17 All these factors impinge on the cities and because of the general spatial differentiation of socio-economic groups, there are large areas within the cities where the above problems are manifest.
- 4.18 This is not to say there are not positive economic elements in the economy. But the high amenity locational preferences of many of the more dynamic sunrise components favour sites outside the cities. This draws the more mobile and skilled people away from the cities and tends to increase the concentrations of the economically less fortunate within the cities.
- 4.19 So what can strategic planning do?
- 4.20 The first strategic function identified earlier was the zoning of land for major new development. If dispersal is a long term phenomenon, then there will need to be strategic decisions to permit growth outside the cities. Evidently this cannot in general be brought about by strategic planning at the city level. It requires a regional overview.
- 4.21 Such zoning will not of course directly help the cities, but will in fact exacerbate their problems in the short term. Indeed there is a temptation in the short term to use planning to try to buck the tide of dispersal by denying the allocation of sufficient land. But frustration of preferences is unlikely to be tenable for long and the objective must be to complement the new development by action in the cities.
- 4.22 Can transport policy assist? The strategic transport decisions relate to the capacity of the road and rail networks. Improvement of these networks and particularly the more flexible road network has a material effect on the attractiveness of the city for working and living. However, except in London, there is relatively little difficulty in travelling about in the cities and several metropolitan counties have already seen major road investment.

- 4.23 The scope for ameliorating the cities' problems by increased transport investment does not therefore seem to be highly significant over the next decade. Some would argue that investment in fixed track transit systems would be a major contribution to the metropolitan counties. Appealing as this is technically, it cannot in my submission be good value for money to instal an inflexible route structure in cities which must continually adapt themselves. Nor will such investment do much for the majority of the problems I have described.
- 4.24 The other strategic transport decision is about public transport subsidy. Such subsidy can affect the land market: it can for example make a city centre with substantial rail access more attractive than it would otherwise be. The chief instance in UK is London and it is interesting to note that the subsidy to London rail commuting is in fact not of much significance. Subsidies to bus services, applied across the board, have a rather different effect from rail subsidies due to the more complete network. Such subsidies probably tend to encourage dispersal of activity within the cities: and that is I suggest generally beneficial to the adaptation of the city. But again I have doubts that it can make a significant impact.
- 4.25 I now face a difficulty. I have argued earlier that subsidy to public transport is an inefficient way of redistributing income. Yet it is through that redistributive effect that the subsidy seems most likely to assist in alleviating the metropolitan problem. This is because it is one of the few concrete ways open to the planner to ameliorate the lot of the economically less favoured communities within the cities. It may be inefficient but it helps.
- 4.26 But I recognise in saying this that the plea is the same plea that could be made for subsidised housing or for subsidised employment. In short it is an argument outside the sphere of strategic town planning and squarely in the field of economic welfare planning.
- 4.27 So I come to the last strategic planning intervention, the assembly of land for redevelopment. And here there is something to be done which can be of major benefit.

- 4.28 I have identified earlier the economic pressure for better environments. These are easier to find outside the cities. Yet in the cities there are large semi-continuous areas of severely underused land and unattractive physical appearance. Only in London and Merseyside has strategic action been taken to improve two particularly extensive areas, which are nonetheless small in relation to the areas that are depressed.
- 4.29 Elsewhere inner urban renewal is hindered by a curious anomaly in the operation of the land market. I refer to two notions. The first is that of hope value which has been invented so as to attach to land as a current value part of a value which it might acquire in the future. The second - I am not sure how closely it is related to the first - is the floating value which attaches to each particular property in turn even though there is no current demand for any property.
- 4.30 Let me give a small example. My own firm, on the occasion of a rent review, was advised that a rental on one of our offices should properly be increased (though happily by less than suggested by the landlord's advisor). Yet that office had been on the market with no takers for several years. There was a clear market signal: but the prevailing methodology enabled it to be neglected. In the present illustrious gathering I feel hopeful that some explanation of this phenomenon may be forthcoming.
- 4.31 Whether or not there is a logical economic explanation, I have little doubt that there is a widespread belief that all urban land has value now because it had it in the past. This prevents private transactions (whether by individuals, private companies or public owners of surplus land) taking place at the only prices offered: and it deters public transactions to recirculate the land because of the high prices determined on valuation.
- 4.32 There is in my submission a clear need for strategic intervention to assemble lightly used unattractive urban land, to upgrade it environmentally and recycle it onto the market. A metropolitan strategic planner can identify and could execute such action: but only a national commitment to funding (or perhaps a statutory alteration in valuation procedure) can realise the action.

4.33 In conclusion I find some scope for strategic planning intervention. But I do not escape the view that it will do relatively little to solve the metropolitan problem of the next decade. It is relevant, but even with increased government commitment of resources it can only be a small contributor to bringing about the changes that have to be made.

4.34 But the planners can also have another strategic role. His interest, training and experience equip him to think about metropolitan issues, to research them and to analyse possible courses of action on a front wider than that covered by the interventions I have defined. There is a need to see the city as a whole, to relate housing, education and health care to the environment. The process of such investigation and appraisal can feedback to many areas of intervention outside those few covered by the town and county planning legislation. And in that process there is a place for the strategic planner.