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EDITORIAL

Planning in the market place requires that it be strongly justified and well defined in order that it gains public respect and acceptance in a free society. To date this has not been adequately accomplished. It is now conventional wisdom that there is a crisis in planning. As planners we are inclined to believe that we are always at some new turning point, at which our initiative and wisdom is needed to help a city, a rural area or the planning system to escape disaster and find a new future. This impasse and disappointment may be ascribed to excessive expectations of planners and their frustration at government failure. The very notion of planning carries political overtones. It is a sensitive subject on which professional and political interests are at stake. It is therefore important to understand the separation between 'plan' and 'powers' and why the practice of planning has evolved in response to the demands made on it, without any major political discussion and commitments having taken place. It is also important to assess the achievements and limitations of plans in terms of the direct and indirect effects on public and private management agencies, social groups and on the environment rather than only on plans and procedures in themselves.

Any consequent perspective will enable essential reforms to be formulated to close the gap between 'plans' and 'powers' and link together more directly and effectively the preparation of 'plans' on the one hand and the 'powers' on the other. Such an understanding is an indispensable guide to competent planning practice. A perspective on planning must include a view of the future political attitudes to planning and of change in local government.

The whole physical, social and economic environment of Local Government is subject to changes which are dynamic and progressive. The rate of change is no longer incremental, but fundamental in its implications. Yet little change has taken place in the way local government thinks plans and operates, commensurate with the degree of change in the living environment. Fundamental change is required if local government is to be accepted as being what it must aim to be if it is to retain credibility and influence.

What is important for planning is the way in which planning regimes are conceived at both the strategic and local level which can be schooled by organisational means. Substantial change must be introduced to bring planning back into the corporate overview situation, treating it as part of the central policy plan of the authority (with instruments, powers & resources), rather than as a separately conceived and managed professional activity almost external to the authority.

Local Government reorganisation must ensure a more enabling role with an implementation orientated statutory planning system designed to breed initiative, flair and design. We must hope and advocate that the present planning process of 'plans' and 'power' is capable of responding to the rate of change in the environment it presumed to service and that the 'powers' are not constrained in their hitherto attitudes that public land use management can only proceed when the 'powers' hide behind a set of regulations.

JOAN CAFFREY

President.

Urban Renewal and its Success or Otherwise in Relation to Galway City

J.W. Regan

Urban Renewal is merely a new name in the planner's language for a process which has been in existence since man stopped his nomadic way of life and began to live in settlements. The extension of a dwelling, the addition of dormer windows, the laying down of new footpaths are aspects of Urban Renewal as well as the building of an office block or multi storey hotel. There has always been a constant process of change and renewal, piecemeal if you like.

As a result of extensive war damage to some European Cities in the last war Urban Renewal took on a new meaning.

In the U.K. in 1962 the Ministry of Housing and Local Government and Ministry of Transport produced Bulletins for the guidance of Planners and Local Authorities.

Bulletin No 1 had title 'Town Centres approach to Renewal'. Bulletin No 2 in 1963 had title 'Town Centres Cost and Control of Development'.

Bulletin No 4 in 1963 'Town Centres Current Practice'.

These Bulletins gave guidelines for preparation of comprehensive redevelopment of Town Centres and showed how private enterprise could be got to carry out most of the commercial development on a partnership basis with the Local Authority.

In 1962 in this Country, Minister Neil Blaney introducing the Local Government (Planning & Development) Bill to the Dail said:

These provisions of the Bill will enable Planning Authorities to undertake Urban Renewal. Hitherto planning had been hampered especially in the Central Areas of towns by the fact that land is split up into a great many parcels in different ownership. As a result, private redevelopment tends to be piecemeal freezing for generations ahead the existing street pattern which is becoming increasingly outmoded by the mounting volume of car traffic and the needs of a development economy. Replanning and rebuilding on modern lines requires the assembly of sites and this can often be achieved only if the Planning Authority acquire the area.

He referred in his speech to what he had seen on his visit to the United States and to contemporary planning practice in the U.K. which had developed from the need to repair war damaged cities.

The Bill became the 1963 Planning and Development Act and became operative on 1/10/1964.

Under this Act each Planning Authority was required to make a plan

indicating development objectives for its area. In the case of County Boroughs, Borough, Urban Districts and Scheduled towns a development plan must consist of a written statement and plan and must contain objectives for zoning, roads/parking, development and renewal of obsolete areas, preserving improving and extending amenities

Section 77 gave further powers to Planning Authorities amongst them being

(1) (d) Provide areas of convenient shape for development

(1) (e) Secure or carry out as respect obsolete areas, the development or renewal thereof and the provision therein of open spaces

It further pointed out in this Section the powers of Compulsory Acquisition under Local Government (No 2) Act 1960 applied in relation to any necessary Compulsory Acquisition of land to secure development scheduled under Section 77

Except in a few cases these powers were not availed of by the Planning Authorities, the principal reason being lack of financial resources

Urban Renewal, perhaps understandably, is seen as having a low priority in national investment rankings

The simultaneous redevelopment of all the derelict areas of our cities and towns would of course require a massive injection of resources that we as a society would be unable to sustain

Comprehensive Redevelopment

in the Seventies there was a big change of thought with regard to Urban Renewal all over Europe

This reversal of opinion came about from experience gained from comprehensive redevelopment carried out, the number of large scale plans which failed to get off the ground the 1974 oil crisis and stock taking of European Heritage in 1975

Since 1975 the philosophy with town centres is Conservation, Renovation and Rehabilitation

There became an increasing appreciation that street patterns are a historical and cultural heritage as well as being economically and socially important to the life of a city

Causes of Dereliction

Buildings and areas can become run down and derelict for a variety of reasons

Changing transport technology has resulted in warehouses and some industries moving out from town centres

The Rent Restrictions Act which caused a transfer of rent resources from landlord to tenant so that the houses to which the control applied did not generate sufficient revenue to yield an equitable return on the capital invested in them nor to pay for their upkeep and maintenance. This led to

decay of a considerable amount of housing stock in cities

Designation of areas as obsolete areas in Development Plans

Freezing development in areas for a future proposed road which may take 20 years to implement and may never be constructed

Difficulty in getting a viable economic alternate use for old buildings formerly used for industries or warehouses

Relief of rates for derelict sites and buildings

Holding undeveloped property with full remission of rates is a gilt edge security to hedge against inflation

Urban Renewal in Galway

As a result of a query in 1973 from the Department of Local Government the Planning Department of Galway Corporation carried out a survey of derelict sites in the Galway Central Area

That survey revealed that there were at the time 61 derelict or underutilized sites in Galway Central Area involving 48 different owners

A further analysis showed that the

10 largest sites accounted for 66 % of total area of derelict sites

15 largest sites accounted for 75% of total area of derelict sites,

20 largest sites accounted for 80% of total area of derelict sites

30 largest sites accounted for 89% of total area of derelict sites

A break down of ownership in relation to percentage of the total derelict area showed that the

Single largest owner accounted for 40% of total area,

5 largest owners accounted for 64 % of total area

10 largest owners accounted for 70.2% of total area

20 largest owners accounted for 87% of total area

The next stage of analysis involved investigation the Poor Law Valuations of the derelict sites since 1955 This revealed some unexpected results

Poor Law Valuations of the 61 derelict sites

1955

£2 153 00p

1966

£1 216-50p

1973

£541 25p

At that time in 1973 the rate in the £ was £7-44p which meant that at 1955 valuation the income from rates to the Corporation for these sites would be £16 018-32p at 1966 valuations income would be £9,050-00p and at 1973 valuations income was £4 026 79p

Having realised that there was a gross under-utilization of property in the

central area 27 sites were selected and an estimate made of the potential income in rates to the Corporation if the sites were developed applying the criteria of the development plan i.e. zoning site coverage plot ratio etc. The potential income in rates from the 27 sites if developed for shops offices and flats would have been £86 000 based on the rate level in 1973 which was £7-44p in the pound. The actual income in rates in that year from same sites was £2 554-00p.

As a result of the above exercise we suggested that a possible solution to dereliction would be a change in legislation so that sites or unused buildings in an urban area would be valued at 25 per cent of potential value. This we felt would encourage owners to develop or sell the property to developers.

If such a valuation was placed on the 27 sites already mentioned the income in rates in 1973 would have been £21 500 against £2,554 which was the rates on these properties in that year.

1981 Galway Borough Development Plan

The Central Area in the 1981 Development Plan is defined as being bounded by the Eglinton Canal on the west, the site of Galway Clifden railway line on the north, Lough Atalia Inlet on the east and the docks on the south.

This has an area of 264 acres approx. and the various land uses are as follows:

Commercial	51.64 acres,
Residential	25.66 acres,
Industrial	9.67 acres,
Community facilities	37.78 acres
Vacant sites or sites with under utilised buildings	10.59 acres
Public roads including harbour roads	30.50 acres
Carparks	9.46 acres
Rail Transport	11.55 acres
Harbour Water Area	9.84 acres,
Harbour Dock Area excluding roads	18.29 acres,
Public Open Space	12.59 acres,
Fresh Water Area	36.52 acres

This Central Area is broken up into 50 street blocks and the Planning Authority's policy is set out in respect of each block. In the case of vacant property, proposed acceptable uses are suggested.

The recommended policies for the Central Area are:

- (1) Retention and enhancement of the character of the Central Area by
 - (a) minimal road improvements except
 - (1) connection on south ring from Lough Atalia Road to O'Briens Bridge
 - (2) connection of Bridge Street to Woodquay via Bowling Green, Mary Street and Daly's Place
 - (3) connection of Eyre Street carpark to Prospect Hill

(4) connection of Prospect Hill to Froster Street

(b) improving environmental quality by discouraging traffic which has no business in the area giving priority to the pedestrian in main shopping streets

(c) encouraging selective redevelopment only in key areas of outworn property

(d) ensuring, by a frontage design policy, that new construction in such locations is sympathetically related to the scale, detailing and materials of adjoining properties

(2) Retention of existing residential use as far as possible and encouragement of residential element in all new commercial development

(3) Compulsory acquisition by Corporation of all buildings and sites which are in a derelict condition

(4) Re development of sites and (3) above by either Corporation or private enterprise as soon as possible after acquisition

(5) Encouragement to shop owners of preparation of schemes for each street including removal of unnecessary advertising signs provision of canopies painting of premises etc

(6) Encouragement to Central Area motor garage users, builders yards Local Authority yards fertiliser industry to move to more attractive sites elsewhere because of limitations on vehicle access in the central area and their damaging affect to the environment of the area in which they are located

(7) Creation of riverside walks and amenity space along the river from Wolfe Tone Bridge to Salmon Weir Bridge

(8) Provision of pedestrian bridge from Cathedral carpark to Bowling Green

(9) Acquisition by Galway Corporation of all waterways removal of all rubbish from same repairs to training walls and restoration of weirs and sluices where necessary laying out as passive recreation spaces all banks by grass seeding planting of shrubs and flowers seating etc

(10) Refusal of permission for conversion of ground floor retail outlets to office use on the following areas Eyre Square William Street Eglinton Street Williamsgate Street Shop Street and Manguard Street

The following are extracts from specific objectives in the Development Plan dealing with obsolete areas

The Planning Authority will take vigorous action to eradicate derelict buildings and derelict sites firstly by seeking the co operation of the owner and failing to do so by using the powers vested in them to acquire the sites or recover costs in making the site or structure non derelict

It is an objective of the Planning Authority to seek renewal of those areas of the city which are obsolete by direct redevelopment by the Planning

Authority or in co operation with private owners

The aims of the Planning Authority's Renewal Objectives are

- (1) To secure better utilisation of lands
 - (11) To make sites available for Central Area uses
 - (111) To provide for the needs of modern traffic and pedestrian circulation and access together with the highest architectural and civic design standards to provide a good environment for the future
- There are 8 acres listed as obsolete areas and proposed uses are suggested for all of the 8 acres

Measures necessary to achieve Urban Renewal

If we are to achieve a more rapid progress in urban renewal changes in legislation and incentives are needed. I would suggest the following as necessary

(A) A National Policy is required for urban renewal and funds made available for its achievement

(B) Change in legislation so that the owner of an unused or derelict building or site would have to pay rates based on potential value of site or building after a period of 2 years vacant or underuse

(C) Each Local Authority should have a Revolving Fund for the acquisition of properties which they consider require renewal rehabilitation or restoration. The Local Authority should then prepare a brief of the development which they consider proper for each property and invite tenders from private developers through public advertisements with a stipulation as to commencement and completion of work. In this way the money for the renewal would be coming from the private sector and the Local Authority could then put the monies received from sale back into the revolving fund for the acquisition of further property

(D) Liberal Reconstruction grants should be introduced for renovation of existing housing stock or conversion of other buildings or portion of them into flats in central areas

(E) Financial assistance should be made available to private owners for the maintenance of buildings of architectural or historic interest where the listing of such a building imposes a bigger burden on the owner than if it was not listed. (Preservation of thatched cottages in Galway is an example of what I mean. It is much cheaper for the owner of a thatched cottage to renew the roof with slates or tiles or an underlay of felt than to provide a new thatched roof.)

(F) Relaxation of building regulations for new uses in old buildings

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Integrated Rural Development : Reflections On A Magic Phrase

John V Greer

The vocabulary of planners has always been peppered with words or phrases which seem to encapsulate the central tenets of the profession. Balance, co-ordination, comprehensiveness, rationality have all been in common usage and would certainly feature strongly in a word account of the literature on planning. Very often, however, the words have been used simply because they sound good rather than as a result of their underlying meanings and connotations. Wildavsky (1) has pointed up the way in which co-ordination has been embraced as a fundamental element of the planning credo without there ever having been any serious effort to analyse the term. To tell someone to achieve co-ordination may appear to be unquestionably sensible but it does not tell him/her precisely what to do or how to do it. The golden words are also seized upon as if their very invocation endowed the user with an irrefutable stance in an ensuing argument. The very mention of *rational* brings with it the unmistakable inference that any counter position taken is irrational, and by definition inferior.

The temptation is always present to exploit the charisma of the word for its own sake. In the end it becomes a tired and empty slogan, devoid of substance and ultimately discarded. In the fashion conscious world of planning, however, the search for a new totem term is never ending. The word of the moment is integration. Some feeling for the sheer power of the expression may be gained by merely saying it aloud and then uttering its converse, disintegration, with all the overtones of anarchy or the more sinister sounding segregation. The *integrated* approach in planning has replaced *rational* comprehensiveness, which became easy prey to theoretical and methodological attack once the glossy but brittle outer cover of the expression itself was pierced. Somehow integrated planning seems to lay claim to the same territory as *rational-comprehensiveness* while not sounding so brash and without coming under the spotlight of critical analysis to date.

The adjective *integrated* has been closely allied to rural development in particular, a surprising feature in itself as events in the rural realm usually follow rather than precede trends in the urban sphere. The aims of this paper are to trace the origins and evolution of the phrase *integrated rural development*, to outline what is implied in the use of the term, and to warn of the consequences of its abuse as an expedient expression, brought into play when an impressive sounding comment seems to be called for.

Integrated Rural Development (IRD) was first coined as a term by agencies working in Third World countries where in the incipient stages of development the differences in living standards between the urban centres and the rural periphery are at their starkest. While there are many facets to IRD in these circumstances, the heart of the matter is exposed in Yudelman's (2) definition of IRD as

a process intended to raise the output and incomes of the rural poor. It extends beyond agriculture, and it has the purpose of bringing the benefits of development to the rural areas, with emphasis, once more, on aiding low-income groups or those who have been passed by in the growth process.

The thrust of IRD in the Third World context may be subdivided into a number of strands, all of which have had an impact, though interpreted somewhat differently, when the term was introduced into the European setting. These are -

(1) A concern that agency funds for development were being used efficiently, and were mutually reinforcing in their impact on problems rather than being fragmented.

(2) A multi-sectoral approach to development. While improvements to agriculture are a critical element in the overall process, measures to promote the expansion of other economic activities, particularly manufacturing industry, are inherent in the concept.

(3) An attempt to concentrate effort on aiding poor areas and more specifically poor people living in such areas. As a corollary, development inputs are to be matched with the specific needs and aspirations of the target groups to which development programmes are addressed.

(4) A requirement that local people become actively involved, not only in identifying needs and opportunities for development, but also in the working through of projects.

(5) A demand for institutional and structural reforms, particularly at National Government level, so that development programmes are introduced on a broad and unified front, rather than be left in the hands of ministries and departments with single functional interests.

These components of IRD, when taken together, amount to nothing less than a manifesto which calls for radical changes in the whole approach to rural development. McNab (3) puts it succinctly when, in answering the question 'What is to be integrated with what in IRD?' he asserts that 'integration is pervasive'. Agricultural development is to be integrated with other sectors to increase incomes and create employment opportunities. Social development is to be integrated with economic development to increase the attraction of rural areas and to lessen outmigration. Policies are to be integrated to realise the aspirations of local communities. Finally, the local scale or 'bottom up' approach to development is to be integrated with the national level or 'top-down' perspective.

It is a tall order indeed not least in Third World countries where the ideas were first advanced. Major difficulties arose particularly as a result of the widening of the interpretation of IRD to include socio-political and administrative dimensions which argued for the devolution of political power from the national to regional levels and the explicit politicisation of the plight of the rural poor in contrast to the privileged minorities of the rural and urban rich. This feature together with the failure to define or even approximate an optimum territorial unit for the application of IRD in practice has led to the emergence of a sceptical view of the concept in general, as expressed by Ruttan (4). The basic question mark has been the observed failure to translate a number of relatively successful small scale or pilot rural development projects into successful long term rural development programmes. Again whatever the admittedly huge obstacles to be overcome in applying IRD concepts in Third World countries it could be argued that the approach enjoys at least the advantage of being set in conditions where regional autonomy is relatively well represented. It should also be recorded that in a recent report (5) by Third World experts on IRD made as a result of a visit to study rural development programmes in Britain there was strong comment on the observed lack of any integration in the very sphere which had been so forcefully advocated in underdeveloped countries.

The European experience of Integrated Rural Development in contrast to that of the Third World is both recent and limited. The first express use of the term may be traced to the work of the Agricultural Directorate of the European Commission and occurred less than a decade ago. In the interim, however, the term integration has come to dominate the phraseology of the Commission in general taking over from its predecessor harmonisation. The shift in usage between the two words may be interpreted as a concern on the part of the Commission to achieve stronger and more visible links between community and national level measures in promoting and implementing projects rather than the earlier pre-occupation with bringing the policies of individual Member States closer together on any issue.

The basic spur to this change of attitude was the growing conviction within the Commission that the impact of community financial instruments and mechanisms in such spheres as the regional and social funds was being disrupted because they had been designed to realise different policies on the basis of different criteria. Integration was therefore viewed as an approach which in conceptual and practical terms made for an improvement in the efficiency of community measures to promote development. The main tenets of the integrated approach as put forward by the Commission have been expressed (6) as

(1) The bringing together of efforts by community institutions and national authorities to eliminate bottlenecks of a financial technical and administrative character so as to produce results significantly greater and more palpable than the impact of various aid measures applied individually in any area

(2) The concentration of aids in geographical areas with continuing problems of a particularly serious nature and where the appropriate conditions exist for combining community national regional and local development measures

(3) The enabling of faster implementation of planned projects and measures through an increase in the flow of financial resources in the form of loans and grants emanating from a more thorough understanding of the means available at community and national level

In the sphere of Integrated Rural Development the seminal influence in the E E C context was a conference held in Bayreuth in 1979 which led to the initiation of twelve research projects spanning the range from the philosophy of IRD to detailed aspects of its possible implementation. Three of the projects were to be located in France as was also the case in Germany and the United Kingdom while Italy Belgium and Ireland accounted for the remainder. The Irish project was undertaken by An Foras Taluntais and was set in County Mayo. In parallel with the research projects the Commission sponsored three Integrated Rural Development Programmes in the Western Isles of Scotland South-East Belgium and the Department of Lozere in France. The combination of research studies and action programmes thus provided the opportunity to gain insights quickly into both the theoretical and practical dimensions of IRD in a Western European setting.

The results of the research projects are now coming to hand and a recent review by Sayce(7) would suggest that basic differences in interpretation and definitions of IRD are to be found in the studies. These may be summarised as

(1) Integrated development is a process whereby individual and sectoral policies are co-ordinated in pursuit of common community objectives. In this interpretation integrated development is a concept applicable in a variety of different environments such as urban areas the urban fringe lowlands and uplands. Its precise nature will be influenced by the national and international designations prevalent in the area defined.

(2) Integrated Rural Development is a mode of bringing co-ordination into public policies (existing and proposed) to alleviate rural social malaise in less favoured areas and relating to the local community.

One explanation for the differences in interpretation and definition of IRD in the studies is that projects undertaken in Germany and the United Kingdom were set in a very different arena of rural urban relationships to those carried out in France and Ireland. Thus the former group of studies have tended to deal with topics such as the balance between town and country and the related issues of landscape conservation and community development while the latter group were much more concerned with the improvement of socio-economic conditions in marginal rural areas where the problems of the small farm economy and population decline are uppermost. However while it is obvious that the rural periphery of Europe demands a different approach in terms of strategies for future development than rural areas close to the major urban complexes of Britain and Germany.

there is a very real danger in applying the umbrella term IRD in all circumstances. If the integrity of the term is to be preserved, it is argued here that it should be restricted to usage within the context of peripheral rural regions where the developmental needs hark back to some degree to Third World conditions in which the phrase IRD was first introduced, and in any event are of a fundamentally different order to those of rural areas facing pressure for residential or recreational development from adjacent conurbations. In the latter case the term Adapted Regional Development as mooted by Zurek (8) is much more appropriate. The central concern of Adapted Regional Development is the stabilisation of conditions of life in rural areas and the preservation of their rural character, which inter alia entails rejection of industrialization of the countryside since this would merely extend the wave of urbanization.

However, even if IRD is pegged back to describing a method of drawing policies together to reduce the social and economic problems of the peripheral rural regions of Europe, there are many difficult obstacles to be overcome. In the first instance while a multi-sectoral approach to rural development may now command widespread agreement in principle, there is little material available on how it is to be achieved in practice. The crunch issues remain those of the contribution to be made in terms of employment of wealth creation by investment in activities such as craft industry, tourism or forestry, and their relationship with agriculture. A recent study(9) of regional development in the West of Ireland, drawing upon IRD principles, concluded that manufacturing industry must remain as the main engine of growth for such areas in the future, with developments in other sectors offering but modest scope in employment generation.

Again the mutually reinforcing or synergy efforts of E.E.C. national and regional scale measures working in concert remains a dream rather than a reality. Too often the promise of E.E.C. level intervention or support seems to provide an excuse for National Governments to become less involved in any area or issue. In addition the direct interest of the community in specific problems at regional and local scales can exacerbate rather than reduce tensions between agencies and authorities working at these levels and the respective Central Government Departments. What was previously a two-sided discussion can easily become a three-sided affair with a corresponding increase in bureaucratic wrangling. In any event it may well be that regional economies in any part of Europe are far too open to respond to injections of investment in the dramatic fashion implied by synergy. There are doubts too about the capacity of local communities to become actively involved in the development process. The main problems are that many potential community leaders will have already migrated from the areas most in need of support, together with marked reluctance of local people in rural areas to accept outsiders as advisers or advocates of change, as noted by Curry(10) in his analysis of the IRD programme in South-East Belgium. The bottom up approach to development implied in IRD, must also face the difficulties of achieving any degree of devolution of powers to the regional and local scales in an era of increasing centralisation of functions.

All this is not to cast a cloud on the potential of IRD as a means of addressing the very real problems of peripheral rural regions. Policies and proposals for such areas must be drawn up in a more cohesive manner than previously if they are to have any chance of success. The purpose of this paper has rather been to warn against the gratuitous use of the term which could so easily lead to its prostitution and eventual abandonment. Integrated Rural Development deserves a better fate than that.

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Information Technology and Development Planning

R. Tobin

The purpose of this article is threefold:

Firstly it describes some of the developments which have occurred in Limerick Corporation over the past number of years and outlines some of our aspirations for future developments

Secondly it outlines a broad Philosophical position on the application of Information Technology to the preparation of Development Plans, a position which has evolved from our experiences over the past years

Thirdly it speculates about future developments, in particular the development of inter-Authority Networks

Historical Development

In preparation for the Development Plan Review which took place in 1981, the Planning Department made use of the Corporation's ICL 2904 computer for the preparation of Population Projections Land-Use Models (Lowry Model) and Land-Use and Employment Survey based on the Valuation Lists. However the ICL machine proved very slow and unfriendly for these purposes and the work was transferred to the VAX 11-780 at the NIHE Campus by arrangement with the Computer Services Division.

This move enabled development into other areas such as Statistical Mapping by Computer and the analysis of surveys by the SPSS package. It also permitted the on-line storage of much larger volumes of data as for example a database containing details of all planning permissions granted in the Corporation since 1976.

During 1983 the Planning Department became involved with the Gas Division of the Corporation in estimating the potential Energy market in Limerick City and Suburbs and a Database on all major energy users was established preparatory to a major Study.

At this time a Sirius 1 Micro computer and four basic software systems were obtained by the Planning Department to assist specifically in the Information Management connected with the preparation of a comprehensive Development program for the conversion of the Gas Division to Natural Gas. The Software Systems were,

- (1) Wordstar a wordprocessing system for Micros
- (2) Supercalc a spreadsheet Calculator system
- (3) dBase II a relational database system
- (4) Vt100 a system which emulates a DEC VT 100 Terminal

Many of our current developments and ideas, recounted in this article have

grown directly out of experiences in applying what is essentially available commercial technology to the preparation of The Natural Gas Project and the ease with which it has facilitated the concurrent maintenance of other normal Development Plan activities

For example during this period both Corporation and County Council carried out a joint survey of retailing patterns in the City and Hinterland in order to assess the effects of proposed new Suburban Shopping Developments. The Simulation of alternative future shopping patterns based on interpretations of the survey data was carried out using the Spreadsheet system which also enabled sensitivity testing of various alternative policies

Similarly during this time traffic consultants employed by the County Council requested estimates of future Land-Use and population data by Zone. This time the SPSS package at the NIHE was accessed remotely and used to prepare the Regression Equations and the Spreadsheet system was used to prepare alternative projections for various dates on request

All reports and memos emanating from these studies were prepared on the Micro-Computer using the Wordprocessing system (just as this article is so prepared). This had the advantage of speeding up the production of such reports by a significant margin since drafts are entered directly by the Planner and corrected by him. The Word Processing, Calculation Sheet and Database systems have the tremendous advantage that information and data once entered and checked remains consistently the same throughout and are not subject to the annoying typographical errors which arise from a manual system. Of course if errors do creep in one cannot blame the typist.

The major emphasis throughout the Corporation's developments has been to minimize expenditure on areas which would involve re-inventing the wheel. Thus where commercial packages were available these have been employed to the full extent of their capacity and it is intended that any major expenditure should be moved for the development of unique systems not commercially available and aimed at problems that are specifically of relevance to Development Planning. Also very little time was spent in what one systems analyst has described as selecting the best mousetrap (evaluating micros against some set of academic standards for speed, performance etc). In our view once the organization's requirements have been clearly specified there are only two critical hardware considerations: the ability to run commercially available packages and the ability to communicate with other micros or mainframes.

Present Position

Databases on Planning Permissions granted since 1976 and on major Employers/Employment Locations have now been transferred to the Micro-Computer and are accessed interactively by dbBase II. Since this system uses an English-like Query Language which is programmable special applications can be written in dBase II to process files and produce standard reports to permit additional and modification of records.

A recent development using these programmable features for example has been the production of a system which makes local population estimates

for non-standard statistical areas (Eg Drainage Districts)

The Cohort-Survival population projection technique has been implemented on the Spreadsheet system for ease and speed of use and the standard input data can be copied from one 'model' to another and updated as required. Population data by age-group is stored in the Database system and aggregations by any selection of Wards can be immediately retrieved and transferred to the Projection model in the Spreadsheet.

Work is also in progress in compiling databases on Amenity and recreation areas and buildings and sites listed for conservation and protection. The information contained therein will be used in Development Plan reviews, both as a source of statistical material and as the basis of a Register of Owners and Occupiers for the purposes of notification under the Act.

Future Developments

The most interesting potential developments however are likely to be in the area of application of Artificial Intelligence languages such as PROLOG to the creation of expert systems. Two areas have been selected for development, mainly because they are reasonably well documented and are of direct relevance to the Development Plan Review.

These are (1) integrated Population, Employment and Housing Projections based on the AFAF Manuals and (2) the classification of Rateable Hereditaments according to the AFF Land use codes. Briefly, the objective is to develop in the first case an Intelligent projection system which can combine quantitative estimates with Qualitative impressions thus leading to a machine based system which can simulate that most quintessential of planning sensibilities - local knowledge.

In the second case the objective is to develop a system capable of deducing from the 60-character text description of each rateable Hereditament what is the most probable Land Use category of that site. It is intended initially that the system would ask an operator to define words and context as they are encountered but eventually would learn to emulate the operator's logical thought process in deducing probable Use-Category.

The effects of these systems, if they can be successfully developed, will be to relieve Planners of much of the tedium and expense associated with the Survey and Analysis part of planning and provide more time for consideration and development of alternative strategies and ideas.

Global View (Information Technology as a Resource)

Information Technology can be seen as a resource facilitating Development Planning in two major ways.

First, in manipulating information and

Second, in communicating Information.

The first area may be divided into two further sub-areas which are,

(1) Technical Aids i.e.

Wordprocessing

Spreadsheets

Database Software

Computer Aided Design Systems

(2) Decision Aids ie

Systems which analyse and manipulate data relationships and other information so as to guide policy development and ensure consistency in advice

The second area, Communication, has hardly been developed at all to date except for a modern link to NIHE but our aspirations include such aspects as Networking, Electronic Publishing (Programs and Methodology) and Public (Shared) Databases. It is in this area in particular that the great potential for Inter Authority cooperation exists.

For example with the assistance of the Local Government Computer Services Board, a Nationwide network of workstations could be developed, all capable of communicating with one-another and with a central computer. Assuming that appropriate organizational arrangements were to be put in place, each participating authority could call directly upon specialist expertise in any other Authority. This would enable the full time deployment of Development Plan staff in many of the better organized Authorities to the advantage of the poorer Authorities. Work on Population Projects for Kerry could easily be carried out by someone in Monaghan and the report transmitted immediately over the network to be printed out in Kerry on a Wordprocessing quality printer.

Similarly, design work for a site in Louth could be done by some specialist in Galway and again transmitted to its destination to be drawn on a Plotting device or viewed and perhaps edited by a Computer Aided Design package. Obviously, such developments are as yet highly speculative in organizational terms but certainly do not exceed the limits imposed by currently proven technology.

In order to enable such developments (in the authors opinion) Information Technology and its application to Development Planning must be seen in a consistent overall philosophical context rather than as ad hoc application of Technological Fix to some current problem. Otherwise the benefits to the Local Authority Organization as a whole will be missed.

Thus, the view chosen in Limerick is the somewhat naive one that Planning is essentially a search for the unintended consequences of public and private decisions about development, with the explicit purpose of preventing or ameliorating adverse consequences and promoting effects believed to be good or beneficial to the community at large.

This view may be considered naive because it does not espouse any particular social or political philosophy but accepts the implicit values and aspirations of the corporate body that is the Local Authority. It is therefore deliberately value-neutral.

The view perceives the world as a set of interacting systems very much as described by McLoughlin, and thus the role of Information Technology can be seen at three distinct levels:

(1) in facilitating routine tasks such as Report Writing, Computation, and Drawing Production

(2) in the simulation of Economic and Physical systems and interactions,

(3) but especially at a higher level in facilitating the communication and coordination of the views and expertise of specialists on different aspects of Planning Problems

Aspirations for the Future

If Planning in Ireland is to fulfill the dream that gave it Genesis - each Local Authority a Development Corporation - then it is my opinion that Planners must integrate themselves totally with the policy-making activities of their respective authorities

Indeed if Planning itself is to survive the onslaught of Public Spending Cuts and staff recruitment filibustering, the planners must apply their professional knowledge more productively to the Corporate objectives of their employers - to become a vital force in the promotion of Development. Micro computers are about to revolutionize business administration in the same way that telephones did in the early years of this Century and it is my opinion that Planners should seize the opportunity presented by the introduction of new technology to establish sophisticated methods of communication and inter authority cooperation on a technical level. Failure to master the new technology and its attendant changes will result in the further weakening and isolation of Planning and its reduction to mere Development Control functions.

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Review of the LGCSB Document SS 14.02 - with particular reference to Cork Corporation Town Planning Department

S. Taheny

In September 1981 the LGCSB produced a preliminary report out-lining the requirements of a planning system and the various options available. One of the main conclusions of the report was that planning applications administration should be given priority for the application of computer techniques. The recent report *Planning System Outline Specification, Planning Administration* describes a detailed planning system operating on a Honeywell DPS6 computer which is designed to bring greater efficiency to the administration of planning applications. In meeting the objectives as defined the system can be said to have only a small number of drawbacks. However the greatest criticism that can be made is of the narrowness of these objectives and the false assumptions on which they are based.

Planning has been defined as the activities carried out by designated public agencies whose main purpose is to form policies and programmes of action and to take and implement decisions for regulating change in the physical environment of rural and urban area. These activities rely strongly on the availability of information and the quality of decision making is directly related to the quality of information available. Development control is primarily a negative activity with little scope for planners to induce development to take place or grow in accordance with development plans. Nevertheless Planning as it is practised in Ireland to date has been largely concerned with the negative function of development control. This concentration on development control to the detriment of physical planning proper is attributed by the LGCSB to a combination of staff shortages and pressure of work on the administrative side and the inability of local authorities to cope with the large volume of disaggregated data necessary for local analysis. The computerisation of planning administration as a priority will, they say, release staff to work on management of the Physical Planning function. In addition this aspect of the planning function poses a much more simple problem for the application of computer techniques than that of providing an information system for actual forward planning as well as providing the most cost effective results.

The underlying fallacy in this thinking is, the belief that staff involved in planning administration are directly interchangeable with staff in the forward planning section. The ratio of administrators to technical staff involved in development control is much higher than in forward planning. The release of staff from development control with computerisation will be the release of administrative staff - primarily clerical assistants and typists. The same number of technical persons will be required so there can be no transfer of staff from development control to forward planning. If cost effective results are to be produced then one can only assume that surplus staff will gradually be diverted to other areas of administration and overall numbers will be reduced by a process of natural wastage and limited recruitment policy. Furthermore the huge cut backs in the public sector necessitated by the present economic situation are likely to continue well into the future and will prevent any increase in technical staff in Planning Departments. Another factor which warrants mention but which is too complex to even begin to decipher is the inter and intra union relations and professional rivalries which would present obstacles all the way to the notion of substitution of Administrators by Planners.

As far as physical planning is concerned and planners working in local authorities the system proposed by the L G C S B will make no difference whatsoever. This is not to suggest that the computerisation of the administrative function should not go ahead. On the contrary it is imperative that any system which reduces monotonous and time consuming work be implemented, but let us have no false illusions about automatic benefits to the state of physical planning.

The L G C S B have given priority to the computerisation of planning administration saying that the development of a system in the area of physical planning should be considered as a long term exercise. One could argue that at least planning administration is being carried out, however efficiently, in every Local Authority without the aid of computer technology whereas forward planning, other than the production of a development plan and maps is not carried out in most local authorities and where it is, it is usually based on intuitive thinking rather than empirical information. Hence forward planning should be given priority over planning administration. However a more readily acceptable argument might be that a system for forward planning and development control need not and should not be totally separate. If the proposed system is adopted now by local authorities it will be many years before another system will be introduced to provide information for forward planning needs or before the Honeywell DPSb computer is replaced to provide a computer with larger capacity to serve all the requirements of a Local Authority Planning Department. The system introduced now should have a wider scope than simply that of development control.

This leads us to ask what are the information needs of forward planning. The GISP report published by the Department of Environment in Britain in 1972 concluded its review of the data requirements for development planning as follows:

What stood out from this study was that all the data requirements we had identified fell into three groups

Population, ie its characteristics

Activities, ie people's activities

Land and structures on land, ie on, within or between which people carry out activities

We found that data about population were generally related to location as indeed was information about activities. This meant that the bulk of the data could be related to geographic space

Further analysis of the information requirements which could be related to geographic space suggested that they could be grouped within two concepts: aerial data and network data, linking areas or points and relating to various forms of movement. Both are two-dimensional shapes to which a third dimension may be added eg height in relation to a topographic or quantity in relation to a statistical surface

Any information system for development planning must include some spatial referencing and there must be some spatial unit which is capable of being aggregated into hierarchically arranged larger units for the purpose of analysis or presentation.

Census information on the first two groups ie population and activities eg employment is presently available and at the levels of disaggregation that are necessary to Planners for the preparation of plans for national regional sub regional county city urban district and local level. There is no immediate need for local authority planning offices to have population information on computer as the amount of calculations that are carried out on the data can usually be done manually and almost as quickly when one considers the amount of time taken to put the data on computer initially. In any case such population analysis does not pose a very difficult task for computerization and the preparation of a software package suitable to most micro computers to do this analysis is a relatively simple task and not a long term exercise.

In the second area of activities much information comes from the Census on Employment at various levels of disaggregation by area. Greater disaggregation of activities is desirable for smaller areas instead of such broad categories as manufacturing with no breakdown available on type of manufacturing. Problems of confidentiality will probably prevent such data being widely available but it should be available to local authority planning departments. As with population analysis much of the analysis of employment can also be done manually from available census data. The great disadvantage from a planning perspective is however that employment in the census is linked with the place of residence of the employee and not the place of employment. Analysis of employment from the census is not a very useful tool. The information on employment bringing in the locational dimension and with more detailed classification is necessary and if this information is to be collected and analysed by the local authority then computer assisted techniques are essential. The collection

of the data and its input into the computer is by far the biggest task, programme writing and analysis being relatively simple. Admittedly it would be difficult to produce a standard software package for employment information until such time as a standard employment survey is designed and an employment classification or detailed coding system. Given the different technical resources of local authority planning departments the level of sophistication of employment surveys would vary enormously and would make the task of producing a system to suit all employment analyses quite difficult. Since information would be gathered by individual planning departments it is important to reach agreement on some common framework of classification so that meaningful comparisons can be made between different planning areas and information from different planning areas can be aggregated. Such an employment survey has been carried out by Cork Corporation Planning Department on a quinquennial basis using computer facilities in U.C.C.

Perhaps the greatest shortage of information occurs in the third area mentioned by the GISP report that of land and structures on land on, within or between which people carry out activities. Apart from a small amount of information provided in the census on age of dwelling and infrastructure of dwelling all other information on land use structures and building condition must be collected by the local Planning Department. Because of the volume of data that is involved in a landuse survey for any urban area or even small town the application of computer techniques is essential. As with employment data the biggest task is in standardising the landuse survey and reaching agreement on the classification of uses. The design of the system however is relatively simple in comparison to the actual fieldwork involved collecting the information and putting it on computer. This relies on manpower and not sophisticated computer technology and the provision of any computer package is meaningless without providing the necessary manpower. In 1981 Cork Corporation Planning Department carried out a comprehensive landuse survey for the whole city and data was analysed using computer facilities in U.C.C. Some aspects of this survey will be discussed in greater detail later.

Finally forward planning requires data on the various forms of movement between land use. This is an area where the application of computer techniques is absolutely essential. Potential exists to move away from mere analysis of data on traffic movement into the realm of models and forecasting. This obviously is a highly technical area and may not lend itself readily to any form of standardization, each urban area requiring a different model.

Summarising an information system for forward planning is not nearly as complex as the LGCSB would lead one to believe. Apart from traffic movement all other data on population, employment and landuse can readily be computerised with great benefit for its analysis and especially analysis of change over time. Cork Corporation Planning Department, with their landuse and employment surveys can be said to have already

developed their own information system for forward planning using outside computer facilities. There is no great obstacle to developing such a system for all urban planning authorities and producing some standard programs for data analysis similar to the SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) package.

The computerization of planning administration as proposed by the LGCSB will now be critically examined on the basis of its ability to meet development control requirements and suggestions are made as to how the scope of the proposed system could be widened to link up with a forward planning information system or simply to provide some information useful for forward planning.

In the system proposed details of each live Planning Application will be stored in the computer - completed applications files will be transferred to an archive file on a quarterly basis. Access to information on a file, i.e. the key is by file number or surname. The failure to have a key with a locational basis is a great shortfall of the system from the point of view of day to day enquiries and for the purpose of carrying out analysis of change by location. The majority of enquiries at the public counter will first quote the location of a proposed development. A would be objector or individual doing a planning search would not automatically know the planning reference number or the name of the applicant but would certainly know the location of the development. Since a planning permission pertains to a site and not an individual it seems more logical that location should be a key.

Ideally each planning application should be linked to a public spatial unit, i.e. plot parcel or hereditament which is described by some spatial reference such as address, property reference or geographic co-ordinates. This spatial unit would also be a basis for all information on employment, landuse building changes could then be revised regularly by reference to the planning Register. Cork Corporation's landuse and employment data already uses such a spatial referencing system called the Property Reference System. The property reference number is a ten digit number the first five digits referring to Ward Number, enumeration block or sub-ward parcel which is a subdivision of the enumeration block and finally street blocks. The additional five figures specify the exact location of the property within the street block and a complete set of reference maps of scale 1 to a 1000 were made with each property numbered. Allowance is made in this system for the future subdivision or amalgamation of properties. Two additional digits are added to the ten digit property reference number to represent the business or businesses which occupy the particular property.

The full potential of the planning Register as a source of information for forward planning is not realised in the system as proposed by the LGCSB. Even if the spatial referencing system were to be incorporated it would be of little real benefit unless there was a record of whether or not the development had been carried out. With such information on the planning register and with a property reference system similar to that operated by

Cork Corporation the amount of floor space devoted to any landuse could be assessed for the city or any subdivision of the city, at any time

Another shortfall of the LGCSB system is that on top of not having a record of whether the development has taken place neither does it have a record of compliance with conditions. Much administrative and technical time is currently expended on replying to legal enquiries about compliance with conditions. These letters could be standardised and automatically printed if this information was on file. The same problem also applies to enquiries on those estates taken in charge.

Another major shortfall in the proposed system is the lack of cross-referencing between planning applications. This would be a very simple additional function if there was a spatial referencing system. One could immediately call forth all previous planning applications with the same property reference number. Since many applications, particularly on previously undeveloped land, have no numbered address this cross referencing would be impossible to achieve with the proposed system.

In conclusion there is a tendency for Planners to be either intimidated or fascinated by the idea of computerization. Both positions are equally potentially dangerous. Computerization can provide better information and at greater speed thereby facilitating better decision making. On the other hand planners may get lost in a sea of information where the end becomes obscure and the means becomes an end in itself. The bottom line for planners should always be-what information do I need and how can it be used in policy formation and decision making? All that can be said about the L C S C B proposed system is that it makes an administrative system which operates quite well at the moment run even smoother. The number of planning decisions that go by default at present is practically nil. The proposed system provides an automatic reminder or alarm system which will ensure that no planning applications are lost track of in the works and reduces risk even more of planning decisions by default. It also reduces the amount of typing in dealing with the planning applications. The L G C S B have surely started at the wrong end!

**1. Department of the environment (1972B)
General information system for planning.
(G.I.S.P.) (H.M.S.O.)**

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Planning the Dynamic City - the failure of the Architectural approach

J. J. Reid & P. L. Braniff

Early in the twentieth century, with the pressures for rapid urbanization, it was recognised that some new professional approach was needed to the task of planning human settlements. It became evident that the uncoordinated efforts of architects, engineers, surveyors, and lawyers were proving inadequate in the context of urban problems which are becoming increasingly complex. Recognition of this situation stimulated the establishment and growth of the planning profession - a profession which was created by architects, engineers, surveyors and lawyers. When the Town Planning Institute was established in 1914, its creators came from all of these development - orientated professions.

The persons who created the planning profession were united in a great cooperative venture. Today this unity has been lost. Inter professional distrust has damaged us all but perhaps the deepest distrust exists between architects and planners.

The distrust between the two professions has its roots in their differing perspectives of the urban system. The planner must take a view which is large scale, long term and comprehensive. He must take account of all the land use systems of the city both the profit making systems and the infrastructure of non profit making systems which sustains them. He must grapple with the complex interactions between these systems and he must do so over a time scale which spans many decades. His tools are rationality, and comprehensiveness - he works within a system which is designed to be equitable but which is often seen as being bureaucratic.

The architect, on the other hand, has a vastly different approach. His interest is at the level of the individual building or group of buildings. Even at this micro scale, he is often tempted to view buildings as artistic artifacts rather than as functional components of extensive systems. The architect's commitment is to an individual, or company, client rather than to society at large. His attention span is shorter and there is very little perception of a social or political aspect to his work. There is a well established public participation dimension to planning but this dimension is largely missing from architecture.

The differing perspectives of the two professions spring not only from the differing scales at which they work but also from the educational systems which produce architects and planners. Since most planners take a degree

in planning after the completion of a relevant primary degree, their intellectual formation is not completely dominated by their planning studies.

The architectural student, on the other hand, commences his professional studies when he comes fresh out of secondary education. His long and highly specialised education sets him apart from the mainstream of university life. Emphasis is placed upon the artistic, creative and non-rational aspects of self-development - with the consequent dangers of egotism, narcissism and inarticulateness. The difference between good and bad architecture lies in this heuristic element while the difference between good and bad planning lies in its rational element.

Little wonder, then, that the two professions find it difficult to see eye to eye. The difficulties are exacerbated by the claims which certain architectural institutions make regarding the proper relationship between the two professions. Some architectural bodies claim that their members are uniquely qualified to determine planning policies at the highest level. They claim that planners are not adequately educated to perform the planning function without architectural supervision.

Such pretensions are bound to generate resentment, particularly when planners note the scarcity of architect/planners in development control sections (where they could manifestly prove useful) and their enthusiastic pursuit of top semi-administrative posts in which architectural training would appear to be almost irrelevant.

This training tends to cause a concentration on the issue of the single building or small groups of buildings to the exclusion of a more comprehensive perspective of the city. A wider perspective might show that a building, satisfactory in itself, becomes a mistake when looked at in this wider context.

Architects like anyone else, make many mistakes but this is not a new problem. It is an eternal phenomenon and indeed a natural phenomenon: man learns by trial and error or, to put it more positively, he builds success upon success. What is new, however, is that so many architectural mistakes are being made that they are developing from being simple errors into crimes because those suffering the consequences are no longer the few, the occupants of a poorly designed house for example, they are the many, the inhabitants of whole neighbourhoods or even entire cities. Furthermore, the suffering is no longer limited to a few months or even years, but will continue for generations to come.

What are these crimes, or at least the principal ones?

THE FIRST CRIME - THE HIGH RISE BUILDING

This is a major crime because such buildings work against nature by spoiling the scale of the landscape. The most visually pleasing cities of the past have been the ones where man and his constructions have been in a certain balance with nature - Athens, Florence, Amsterdam, Salzburg.

The high rise buildings work against man himself especially the most vulnerable groups the very young and the very old who lose their direct contacts with nature

These buildings work against society because they do not help the units of social importance the family the extended family, the neighbourhood group and so on, to function as normally and as naturally as before

These buildings work against man's networks since they increase densities overmuch, they overload roads, they make servicing more difficult and expensive and what is more important they create vertical networks, high in energy consumption

The conclusion is that high rise buildings work against the other elements of human settlements and this is true also from the economic point of view (the city is overloaded with people and costs) from the social and political points of view (the few, the owners of this land benefit against the interests of the many) and from the technological and cultural - aesthetic points of view

SECOND CRIME - THE DISPERSED BUILDINGS

This is also a very great crime because if dwellings and other structures are dispersed and find themselves at great distances from each other, people cannot communicate easily amongst themselves or with their facilities, and the community does not function properly. This is dangerous and inhuman the very antithesis of proper planning and development

THIRD CRIME - THE UNCONNECTED BUILDINGS

When man built his first settlements the buildings quite often were separate and unconnected. Gradually he became aware of the need to connect them into continuous systems finally arriving at the successful formula (street square arcade) of the great cities of the past. Now for the first time in urban history, we are breaking the continuity, first in the horizontal synthesis and now more recently in the vertical. These buildings destroy the balance with Nature, go against the interest of man and society by not facilitating their needs and against networks by breaking their continuity

FOURTH CRIME - THE MONUMENTAL BUILDINGS

There is no doubt that we do need some monumental buildings but only for the sole purpose of justified monumentality. Now there is an attempt to turn every office block every company headquarters into a monument, to whom or to what we do not know

It is generally acceptable to erect monuments to human achievements - to great statesmen to great military leaders, to great musicians, to great saints to great scholars - but to great insurance companies? or great public utility offices? Perhaps the intention is to impress or intimidate the member of the public using the facility, the person who, in the last analysis, is normally paying for the ego trip

Their monumental character isolates these buildings from their natural and human environment and as a consequence, the city itself rather than just the buildings becomes a discontinuous system. This is made more evident when we remember these buildings generally close their doors at six o'clock thereby freezing life around them. And even during working hours many of these buildings function as isolated fortresses.

FIFTH CRIME - THE LOSS OF HUMAN SCALE

As a result of the previous crimes, but also because we have relinquished our control of the streets and squares to the machines, mostly to the car, the human scale has been lost in most parts of the city. This is harmful to man, particularly the child, nature to the functioning of society and it does not facilitate the development of reasonable networks. The city has lost its value. This danger was recognised over 2,000 years ago. After he had conquered a city in Asia Minor, Alexander's architect suggested that a nearby cliff should be carved into a likeness of Alexander's face - a sort of a 4th Century BC Mount Rushmore - but Alexander said 'No - it would not be human.'

SIXTH CRIME - THE ANTI-HUMAN CITY

If we consider these crimes and the numerous other ones that we have not mentioned, we will realise that the greatest crime of all is that we are designing buildings which, both as single units and as systems create a city working against the most important human interest - the balance of man with nature, the balance of man and society with the man-made environment.

If such crimes can be committed with the individual building, are there limits to the crimes that could be committed through the use of the same approaches at even greater scales of operation: the neighbourhood, the city, the city region?

And what are the causes of the crimes? One crime at a unit or a series of small crimes in one locality may be the result of normal causes: individual mistakes, even bad luck. This cannot be the case now, for we have many great crimes occurring everywhere and all of the time.

One possible cause is the big increase in dimensions. City populations in general have grown from 50,000, which it was for thousands of years, to hundreds of thousands, some three centuries ago to millions just one century ago, to over ten million a mere generation ago.

Another possible cause is the unbelievable increase in alternatives - an increase in building material choices, in technology choices, in the number of building types which we need, in the number of solutions we know and let us not forget, in the number of experts and schools of thought - an explosion of choices in which we have been blinded and have lost our way. Another possible cause is the loss of cultural continuity. Invasions of new

people, be they Dorians, Goths or Normans have often caused such a loss. It seems now that the invasion of the new forces of numbers and alternatives has caused a similar interruption of cultural continuity.

Another possible cause is that we lack the people who understand the subject matter. Never before have we had so many experts, experts in transportation, in economics, in structures, in aesthetics but perhaps we are over specialising. This explosion of knowledge has enabled us to become experts in narrow fields but it has also blown us far apart so we find it difficult to communicate and we find it difficult to understand the whole subject, the city of man. In the words of Alexis Carrel - Where is the wisdom that we have lost in knowledge where is the knowledge that we have lost in information?

And have there been men who did not commit crimes? We can discover these men back in time, the men who built success upon success, and learned. They did not face problems of similar dimensions to us, and they had a great deal more time at their disposal. But, if we look carefully we can find these men. They were not always good men, often they were war lords often great common criminals but they gradually learned not to commit architectural crimes.

Aristotle said that the purpose of the city is to provide for the citizens two things and two things only - safety and happiness. Even in Aristotle's day it was recognised that the brick and stone, the plaster and wood are not man's city. They are merely the physical manifestation of a system, a system infinitely larger and more complex than in Aristotle's day and one that is changing at an ever accelerating rate.

There are many elements that comprise this system of the city of man. There is the envelope of nature within which the system must function. There is the individual person with all his physiological and spiritual needs. There is society at large with all its complex, and often conflicting needs. There are the buildings and the structures within which man carries out his activities. And there are the networks by which he connects these structures and activities together. This is a complex, interacting system, changing at an accelerating rate, the change fuelled by forces social, cultural, political, economic, technical. And yet a system that many architects claim to be able to guide by adjusting just one element, the buildings.

All of the foregoing is set out not to belittle the skills of the architect but rather to enhance them, to enhance them by placing them within the wider range of skills required for the proper planning of the city of man. If the care of the entire city of man is entrusted to the architect alone, he will almost certainly give primacy to certain aspects only of the system in his charge, and may even go as far as to imagine that by taking care of aesthetics and the individual building or group of buildings, he is taking care of the whole city of man.

There appears to be no evidence that architect/planners have been more effective than sociologist planners, economist planners or geographer planners in grappling with modern urban complexity. Indeed, with the recognition of the urban system as a very complex inter

action between political social, economic, physical and aesthetic elements, it might well appear that the architect-planner is less fitted than most other planners for the guiding of the system. In today's urban situation the skills of rational analysis are more valuable than the inspirational hunches which sufficed in the past.

Despite all this there is, and must be, a way forward. Both professions share a vital interest in tackling the physical, social and economic problems of the city. The things which unite us are ultimately more important than the things which divide us. If we are to tackle the urgent tasks confronting us all then we must adopt a new approach: let us think about the people's problems rather than our own pretensions. Let us consider the important work rather than the prestigious. Above all, let each of us do the work for which he is best fitted rather than engage in the pursuit of power for its own sake.

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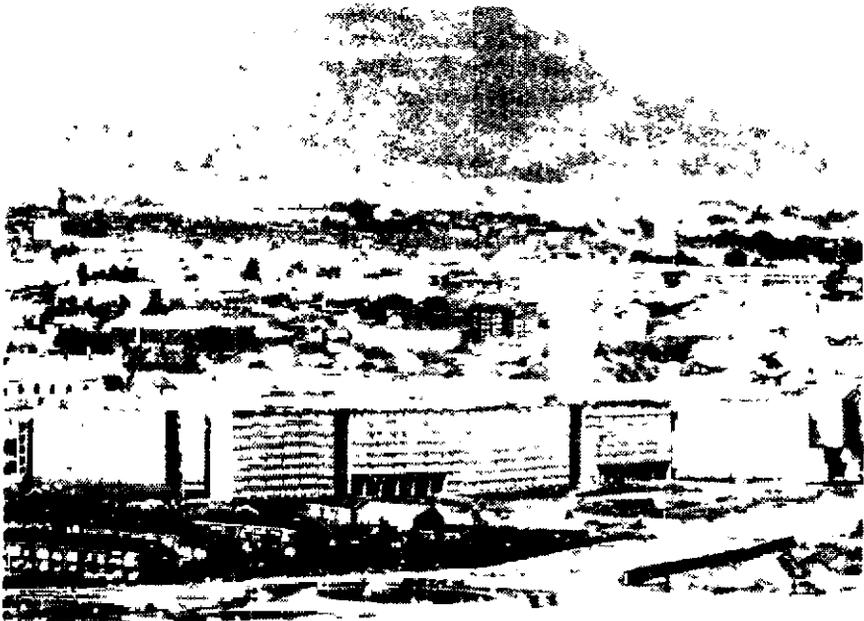
At the Annual Conference Reception (left to right) Nicholas Mansergh, John O'Donnell, Joan Caffrey, The Lord Mayor of Cork (Mr Dennehy), Stephanie Taheny, Joe McHugh (City Manager)

Divis: The Production of a Dreadful Enclosure

M. McWilliams and M. Morrissey

Introduction - the Dreadful Enclosure

Every major urban area has its problem estates. Belfast is no exception with probably a fairly high proportion of its total of public sector housing estates falling into this category. For those outside them they represent something that should be kept separate: the locale of all kinds of socially unacceptable characteristics like violence, abused children, unemployment, filth and debt. Those who inhabit them constantly confront the stigma of doing so and respond by either internalising the blame that is laid on them or by defiantly wearing their label like a badge of courage and rejecting the moral representations which construct their status. Walter (1977) has described such places as



The Divis Flats Complex, with Cave Hill in the background

Certain milieux gather reputations for moral inferiority, squalor, violence and social pathology, and consequently, they objectify the fantasy of the dreadful enclosure (P 155)

Damer (1979) is scathing about Walter's approach, indicting it for failing to recognise the degree to which the dreadful enclosure is a product of a class society representing more than just an area which has received a bad press and therefore needs its image rehabilitated. Instead Damer suggests

We are concerned to demonstrate that the image of one such place does indeed constitute an offensive weapon in the class struggle, a potent toxin, which insofar as it poisons locals' and outsiders' consciousness of the area, disorganises and demoralises the working class people who live there and hinders their ability to fight back. (P 6)

In Damer's view, the production of a dreadful enclosure (in fact he rejects the term completely) is neither accidental nor arbitrary. At the most general level it is determined by ruling class strategies which are designed to divide and ideologically hegemonise the working class. Sections of the working class are moralised by slightly better standards and by inculcating into them that their respectability is maintained through responsible behaviour and hard work while others are demoralised and become the symbol of the consequences of failure. Within that general determination, specific policies of redevelopment, housing allocation and estate management reproduce the concrete enclosures which litter the urban space.

Further, Damer contends that the ways in which such places are theorised and represented in the media act to maintain and reinforce the images they evoke and thus are integral elements in the processes which produce them. Indeed he describes one such attempt as

the most disgusting and prurient attack on the working class of Glasgow that I have ever seen on the media. (Ch. 2 P 7)

He characterises these representations as being

Firstly, Laissez-Faire, where emphasis is placed on the existence of a core of problem families whose activities cause substantial numbers of more respectable families to leave and inhibit others accepting allocations to them. Consequently the core increases in size until it determines the image of the entire estate. Linked to this is a theory of environmental determinism where the design of the estate is said to disrupt the previously solidary social relations of the slum dwellers. The subsequent anomie generates all kinds of anti-social behaviour.

Secondly, The State representation where the existence of socially deviant problem families is taken as given, and the policy objectives are

to prevent housing estates becoming populated with too many problem families. (Wofinden 1950, P 41)

Of course given that the numbers of problem families are unlikely to diminish then an alternative strategy to achieve similar results is the concentration of such families in a few estates so as to insulate the majority from their influence.

Finally, Social Democratic Accounts' which he argues has tended to predominate in attempts to theorise the phenomenon. In these whatever the causes the focus is on treatment.

Each of these is rejected in favour of a class analysis in which the designation of problem families and problem estates is part of an ongoing ideological offensive. Thus,

an ideological representation like problem family by focusing attention on alleged characteristics of dirt and noise and fecklessness, the symptoms of poverty camouflages its origins and diverts attention away from the historical determinants of social practice among the very poor of this country (Ch 3 P 34)

In such terms the function of these areas is threefold, first to misrepresent and confuse the nature of the processes which generate poverty, second to manage at least cost the most poor sections of the working class, third to inhibit solidary class action through the creation of divisions.

In the eyes of other council tenants who believe that public housing is a scarce resource awarded according to merit it is quite appropriate that there should be punishment paths for the failures. The existence of such paths reinforces the belief of the 'respectables' that they are worthy, that they are the successes in an unequal society. (Ch 3 P 79)

What of the Dreadful Enclosures in Belfast?

There are many examples to choose from Turf Lodge, Ballymurphy, Moyard or to move outside West Belfast and introduce the notion of a sub-enclosure - a disreputable area within a larger estate such as sections of Rathcoole. However perhaps the prime example is Divis Flats a redevelopment complex begun in the late 60s in the lower Falls area of Belfast. It has a considerable reputation for poverty and violence, (at one stage it bore the title 'Planet of the IRSP's) it was seen as the centre for a spate of car hi-jackings and had all the concentrated social problems of high rise living. If Damer's contention is correct then an examination of the history and characteristics of Divis should demonstrate how this dreadful enclosure was produced.

The Origins of Divis

In the 1900 Poor Law Valuation the Divis area of Belfast was described as

high density housing close to the Farset industrial complex inhabited by the lowest socio-economic group. (Dempsey 1981)

Ironically the progress of the 20th Century has left the housing and the people the same, only the job situation has changed. The linen mills along the Farsset are closed and the jobs have long since disappeared.

The Divis area had its origins and growth directly from the industrial boom in textiles. The majority of housing was built in the late 19th Century to accommodate the workers of the factory mills, which were situated nearby on the Falls Road. These mill houses or kitchen houses as they were commonly known were sturdily enough built, but lacked sanitation and suffered from serious overcrowding with the practice fairly common of two families both inhabiting a two bedroom house.

Housing policy was slow to develop in the Northern Ireland State. Some commentators (Wiener 1975) attribute this to the disproportionate political power of an urban bourgeoisie in the Unionist Party at Stormont and in the Belfast Corporation. The latter in particular was reluctant to introduce wide scale public sector housing realising the competition it would provide to the private landlords' monopoly in the working class housing market.

Conditions had hardly changed on the Falls Road up to the 1960's when redevelopment was mooted in the shape of a proposed new motorway scheme and high rise flats.

The Minister (for housing) referred to the recently announced increased subsidy for high flats and expressed the hope that they would be used in the City scheme. First clusters of old worn out houses must be swept away to provide better accommodation and a freer flow for the increasing traffic. (Northern Ireland Housing Trust Statement Annual Report 62)

A stop line was placed around the city as the planners recognised

the necessity to curtail as much as possible the encroachment on the countryside. (Northern Ireland Housing Trust 62)

Accommodation should then be provided upwards (high rise flats) rather than outwards (low density housing).

In Divis these objectives were fulfilled. The Northern Ireland Housing Trust was commissioned by the Belfast Corporation to undertake the redevelopment. The old worn out houses did indeed come down and in their place went first a 20 storey tower block - the main accommodation for old age pensioners.

Up to this point housing agencies had been enthusiastic about the possibilities of high rise living. The Northern Ireland Housing Trust had declared

Some of these people **must** be willing to live in old flats and others prepared for the adventure of living in high flats.

The adventure for these pensioners began in mid 1968 when this first stage of the redevelopment known as Divis Tower was completed. The media echoed the enthusiasm of the planners.

'Old neighbours are back together in Divis Tower

Modern homes and safety in new Divis Tower flats, says Minister

Seventy year olds took delight in having a bathroom for the first time and felt 'it was everything we could ever wish for' (Belfast Telegraph 25/7/68)

Attention was focused on the ways in which the community spirit which supposedly prevailed in the area would nevertheless be reconstituted within the new environment

Shortly there will not be a single corner left to remind them of the past. But the biggest machine in the world cannot crush the community spirit which exists in the area. And the erection of the Divis Street flats has done an even greater job of strengthening this spirit as life-long friends now live together in the same building. (Belfast Telegraph *ibid*)

The Church also participated in the process of legitimating the project. A statement was read at the Sunday masses in St. Peter's parish imploring the people to take a pride in their new flats and praising the housing authority for

providing an interior which is fresh and clean and healthy in every way

A further important part of the plan worthy of the Church's attention was that

the whole area surrounding the flats will be pleasant to look at, decorated with trees and shrubs and even a public garden with flowers. (Irish News 21/5/68)

Other residents of high flats were showing their appreciation of these features and the Divis Flat dwellers should do the same. Indeed it was asserted that they would be judged by outsiders on the upkeep of their flats - even the worth of their religion would be evaluated in terms of the ways in which the new property was treated. Parents were admonished to

respect and preserve the good conditions made available to them - to impress on their children, even the youngest, this kind of property must be respected. (Irish News 21/5/68)

The moral imperatives contained in the Church's statement reflect an already prevailing ideological configuration. The historic distinction in the Belfast area between Corporation and Trust accommodation in terms of quality, lay-out and inhabitant status had already created the climate for the designation of the dreadful enclosure. Indeed, one minister has defended Northern Ireland Housing Trust allocation policies - which were alleged to be biased against the low income applicant, in terms of the need to secured tenants who would not default on rent and who would keep their garden tidy (Birrell/Hillyard/Murie/roche 1975). The exhortations of the church were based on the notion that the enclosure is entirely the result of the action of its inhabitants whose improvement could forestall the process

The Tower Block was eventually followed by 12 deck access blocks between 6 to 8 storeys high, linked together at levels and comprising a total of 700 dwelling units. The Divis complex had a total of 795 flats containing a population of 2,700 persons. When it was finally completed in 1971, existing housing agencies had been dissolved and replaced by the Northern Ireland Housing Executive.

The Social Characteristics of Divis

During 1982 the Divis Residents Association conducted a census of the development to determine the number of families inhabiting it. Their intention was to contest figures provided by the Northern Ireland Housing Executive about rates of overcrowding. Subsequent to the census a small systematic random sample of 94 households was drawn and a questionnaire concerned with socio-economic items was administered to it. The Association was given advice and support by one of the authors (M. McWilliams) and the results were analysed via SPSS*. Although the sample is a relatively small one (though larger than that used by the Northern Ireland Housing Executive in the 1978 Belfast Household Survey) it represents the most up to date and comprehensive data on the area and provides a profile of its social characteristics.

Household Size. Just under half of the sample (47.7%) consisted of small to medium families of 4 persons or less. The next biggest concentration was in the intermediate range of 5-8 persons (45.9%). Large families of 9 or more persons constituted a small proportion of the sample (6.4%).

Terms of Residency. Most of the sample were long term residents. 48.9% of household had occupied their current residence for more than 10 years with a further 20% in the category of 6-10 years. Less than a third of the sample had been in occupation for 5 years or less. A surprisingly large number had also a previous residence in Divis (31%) perhaps reflecting a desire to move to more appropriate or more desirable accommodation within the development though the majority had come from the Lower Falls area. There was overwhelming dissatisfaction with current residence. 93.6% of the sample expressed a desire to move principally because they wanted a house in the immediate area. 14.4% of households had a transfer pending, 50% had applied for transfer and 33% were considering transfer. There were very few households who were squatting despite the external reputation of the development in that respect. 93.6% had legal rent books.

Occupations and Employment. The heads of household in the sample were asked to describe their occupation. This question was asked of the unemployed as well as the employed to provide a rough indicator of class characteristics. The answers provide a purely subjective assessment. Although there was a large proportion of heads of household not in full time work (86.2%) only a small number were completely unable to relate to an occupational category. This can be seen from Table 1.

* A computer programme available at The University of Ulster

Table 1 - Occupations of Heads of Households

Non Manual	2 1%
Skilled Manual	21 3%
Unskilled	13 8%
Pensioner	12 8%
Housewife	21 3%
Others	8 5%

Very few were able to place themselves in the non-manual category. Among the manual groups, however, relatively high proportions were in the upper categories. While the placing is subjective and this may induce upward drift, the profile is not lumpenproletarian. Moreover, even among the unemployed participation in the Black economy may provide a base from which to judge occupational status.

Income and Benefits The income distribution of the sample was excessively low. Households gave their net weekly income figures as laid out in the following table.

Table 2 - Net weekly Household Income

£0-39	20 4%
£40-59	28 0%
£60-79	26 9%
£80-99	12 9%
£100 plus	9 7%

At the time the survey was undertaken the average household weekly income in Northern Ireland was £104. This is a gross figure and needs to be adjusted downwards to make comparison with Divis. Even if the adjustment downwards is to £80 than over 3/4 of the Divis households were living below the average. Correspondingly there was a high rate of dependency on benefits of all kinds. Because individuals may be in receipt of more than one benefit, the percentages receiving different kinds of benefits aggregate to more than 100%.

Table 3 - Receipt of Benefits by Heads of Household

Retirement Widows Pension	35 1%
Unemployment Benefit	6 4%
Supplementary Benefit	81 1%
F I S	0 0
Sickness Invalidity Benefit	55 3%

The numbers receiving unemployment benefit were very small despite the very high level of unemployment within the sample. This suggests a high proportion of long term unemployed who have run out of entitlement to national insurance benefits. Because the question only referred to heads of households, young people in receipt of Supplementary Benefits because they have never worked, could not account for the high rates of dependency on that benefit.

Debt and Deductions There was considerable incidence of arrears for rent and electricity within the sample. Nearly half were in rent arrears and 35.1% were having deductions made from benefits to cover arrears. Although the opportunity for Direct Deduction under social security legislation had been in existence since 1980, the majority of deductions (81.2%) were still by means of the Payments for Debt Act. 40% of the sample had electricity arrears and again these were predominantly tackled through the PDA. The reputation of Divis is such that it is unlikely that electricity disconnections would be attempted there. Since these tend to be the bludgeon which enforce voluntary agreements, there was also a low incidence of these within the sample (15.6% of those with arrears had made voluntary agreements). However there is ample scope within social security to make the necessary deductions, so the widespread use of the Payments for Debt Act needs to be explained. One possible explanation is to do with images and a kind of historical inertia. The early use of the Payments for Debt Act was as a piece of emergency legislation against a political rent strike. Participation in the rent strike in Divis was almost 100% and so the Act was applied to its residents in a widespread fashion. Since then the image of Divis as Republican and anti-statist has been sustained. The continuity of image might be associated with the continuity of the use of the Act.

Dampness Disputes about dampness have been a constant feature of the history of Divis. The Northern Ireland Housing Executive has insisted that the problem is principally one of condensation, the residents have claimed that the cause lies in structural faults in the blocks themselves. Without being able to resolve that technical question, the survey provided some evidence about the effects of dampness. In 44.1% of the residences, some of the rooms were unuseable as the result of dampness, 60% of households had articles damaged and 26.6% of the sample claimed problems of ill health related to dampness.

The profile of the sample is that of the poorer section of the working class with high level unemployment and benefit dependency and low levels of income. Associated with these was a pattern of debt and the mobilisation of a fairly repressive piece of legislation against debtor households. Discontent with Divis was almost universal. The majority of households wanted out of Divis but did not wish to leave the general area. Finally there was a high incidence of dampness related problems which no doubt contributed to household attitudes to their conditions.

A Plurality of Social Problems

By 1971 Divis had become known as 'Europe's Youngest Slum' and 'Belfast's Eyesore'. The problems were similar to many British inner city high rise complexes but with Divis, like West Belfast in general, they were on an exaggerated and concentrated scale. As already indicated unemployment was at exceptional levels (67% in 1978 **before** the massive rises of the early 80s), public sectors debts were correspondingly large, (£207,000 was owed in rents, rates and heating in 1978) and the allocation

of high flats to large families created problems of excessive population density. Dampness rapidly became evident as a result of inefficient heating systems, inadequate insulation and low household income which determined low fuel consumption. It was reported that the Northern Ireland Housing Executive's position was that it was no more than condensation and families should turn up the heat and open all the windows.

Health care problems abounded with frequent cases of bronchitis and influenza but also rat bites and hepatitis (1980), children falling to their deaths off balconies (1982) or drowning in sewerage systems left open near play areas (1983).

The political-military crisis in Northern Ireland has had a particular impact on West Belfast not just in terms of violence and a high level of state intervention but thousands of Catholics either intimidated or fearing intimidation fled there. This created excess demand for accommodation and constant pressure on existing public sector stock. It severely inhibited opportunities of Divis residents to move out as was the solution in similar high rise in the Lower Shankill - the Weetabix blocks. For the residents there was a feeling of being trapped in a fortress or prison which was reinforced by its dour appearance, the virtual absence of shopping or recreational facilities and the army post located on the roof of Divis Tower to observe all kinds of activity in the area. The last did little to inhibit violence with a whole range of incidents occurring in or near the flats. One stairwell was reportedly haunted by the ghost of a soldier killed there. Since most of the stairwells were unlit and had frequent broken steps, a haunting was perhaps the least of the dangers associated with using them. In 1982 two young children were killed along with two soldiers in a booby trap explosion. The atmosphere of containment was exaggerated by the constant breaking down of lifts which for high rise dwellers make visits to the outside world exhausting expeditions. One newspaper report suggested that some old people had not been outside their flats in 5 years (Belfast Telegraph September 1974). Finally, maintenance was at best a sporadic activity with the Housing Executive claiming that labour would not come into the area to do repairs.

It has been already indicated that high proportions of Divis residents have sought transfers but for a variety of reasons transfers are difficult to obtain. The demand for public sector accommodation in West Belfast is very high and Divis is an area to be avoided if one has any other choice so that those desperate for accommodation tend to find themselves there. The incidence of arrears will also prevent tenants being placed on the transfer list as will the decline in public sector newbuilding and the sale of public sector houses both of which have been features of Conservative housing policy in Northern Ireland.

A small book of poems was recently produced. It was written by children living in Divis about life in the area as they perceived it. The title was *No Place For A Dog*.

Responses to the Problems

The Divis residents have mounted a succession of campaigns. In the first instance these were concerned to effect improvement, more recently the demand has been for demolishing the development and rehousing the inhabitants. The campaigns occurred in several phases and employed a variety of tactics ranging from obtaining time on the 'Open Door' television programme to physically wrecking flats as a piece-meal effort at demolition.

As far back as 1976 the Northern Ireland Housing Executive accepted the seriousness of the problems in Divis and appointed consultants to make recommendations on improvement. The consultants' report suggested the demolishing of 2 of the 12 blocks and the rehabilitation of the rest at a cost of £7.5 millions, an average of £8,750 for each flat. It was acknowledged in the report that many people were in favour of demolition of the entire development but declared that it was not practical on grounds of cost and the absence of suitable alternative accommodation. In any case it was suggested that conditions in Divis were still better than for many living in areas yet to be redeveloped and who were without bathrooms and internal W.C.s. While this last contention contained an appropriately technical rationality, it simply failed to come to terms with the nature of Divis as a dreadful enclosure. Life in Divis was embedded in a matrix not just of physical difficulties caused by the state and structure of the development, but of concentrated social problems and of toxic images which the term Divis imposed on its residents. After the Divis debacle, the rest of Lower Falls redevelopment was changed to low rise with a high proportion of houses. Those awaiting redevelopment did not expect to be incarcerated in a Divis-type structure with all that it entailed. The costs of living in their existing accommodation were to that extent reduced.

The approach by the Northern Ireland Housing Executive and the Department of the Environment fall very much into the category of state representation described by Damer. The difficulties arise more out of tenant behaviour than a failure of social policy and the objective remains the protection of these properties from the anti-social behaviour of their inhabitants. It was even claimed by one Minister that the original design of Divis was in direct response to communal demands.

We must not forget that the original decision to build Divis upwards, in deck access flats, was in response to keep the local community together, and at the same time to provide modern conveniences, which had been missed from the original streets. (P. Goodhart, Under Secretary of State, statement to Divis Residents' Association, 17.1.80)

In the same year, Charles Brett, chairman of the Northern Ireland Housing Executive issued a statement describing the causes of the problem.

Conditions in Divis at present are, as I acknowledge, highly unsatisfactory for the tenants. This is not due to one single cause. In part, the original design, which seemed right in the sixties, has proved unsuccessful in the

light of the experiences of the eighties. In part, in a time of troubles, it is difficult to provide a maintenance and repair service equal to tenant needs. In part, the present problems are due to general vandalism and lawlessness amongst some (by no means all) of the tenants and their families. Shared services (lights, rubbish chutes) have been the constant prey of people with little regard for the peace or comfort of their neighbours. (Northern Ireland Housing Executive Press Statement 17. 1. 80)

The extent to which the state representation is pervasive is reflected in the statements of the Church which continuing its theme of the late 60's into the 80's appealed once more to the residents' sense of property. In August 1982 a clean up campaign was initiated. Young and old were exhorted to lend a hand to clean up the complex in one week. Graffiti was to be painted over and all the rubbish collected, after which there was to be a music festival which a local priest claimed would show the other side of Divis. The IRA also gave its support and called for no one to interfere with the clean up campaign. Later in the week they went further and knee capped 2 men whom they accused of anti-social activities.

Last night, we took stern action against two well known criminals, Smith and McCann, from the Divis flats complex. Both were shot for their repeated criminal activities against the nationalist population. Commencing tomorrow for one week there is a Divis Festival organised within the complex. Anyone who disrupts the festival through their criminal activities or who spoils the enjoyment of the people by misbehaving in any way, will answer to the IRA. (Statement, Belfast Brigade, IRA 30/8/82)

The intention here is not to dismiss initiatives which are clearly designed to ameliorate life in the dreadful enclosure but to indicate on one hand the strength of the state representation, and on the other the central dilemma of community action in such areas. As regards the first not only does the local housing state represent the nature of the problems in certain ways but local powerful organisations even when militantly anti-statist in character are in some sense hegemonised to the same view. In the latter community activists are confronted by two linked sets of contradictions. The first concerns the scope of the demands made on the local state: should they be fundamentalist, in this case calling for demolition as the only realistic long term solution, or should they be ameliorative, specifying particular improvements which are deemed practical by the state and are therefore likely to be conceded. The second is about the appropriateness of tactics, should they be disruptive, designed to impose costs on the agency which will not accede to demands, or exemplary where the purpose is to provide support, induce responsible behaviour and ultimately detoxify the images evoked by the area. Divis has seen these contradictions in action, where for example the extreme actions of the Demolish Divis Committee even where it was able to exploit the relative autonomy of the judicial system (2 of its members who admitted in court to demolishing vacant flats were nevertheless let off by a sympathetic judge), in the end alienated residents who found themselves unable to condone such actions. The relevance of such contradictions for a theory of community action have been discussed

elsewhere (Dearlove 1974), the purpose here is rather to identify them and to assert the practical difficulties for the residents of the enclosure in developing a resistance. Action choices in relation to both demands and strategies involve costs either of engaging in performances which reinforce the disreputable feature of the enclosure and so divide the residents or of failing to tackle the root causes which generate the problems in the first place.

The Production of the Dreadful Enclosure

The suggestion here is that the development of a dreadful enclosure is not an accidental nor arbitrary process. Nor is it simply the product of a conspiracy enacted against certain populations at certain times. Rather it is an over-determined phenomenon, the result of a structure of causes. Primary among these is the constant accommodation of public housing policy to big construction capital - hence an imperative towards large scale, high rise engineered projects - and to means of restructuring the urban space in favour of capital accumulation. Of considerable significance is the level of poverty of the inhabitants of such projects.

It is this rather than the disruption of supposed solidary communal relationships which accounts for the run down state and general decay of the area. The latter is reinforced by architectural and physical defects with inefficient rubbish chutes, non working lifts etc. Allocation and housing management policies add to rather than resolve the problems. Again the specific problems of West Belfast resulting from 15 years of political crisis are embedded in the social life of Divis. Finally the imagery of the dreadful enclosure, added to by each new incident and report, imposes a powerful stigma on residents one that impedes the possibilities of collective action to reduce the problems. All of these causes are interrelated and are manifest in the symptoms of squalor, apathy and violence.

Areas such as Divis are the Gordian Knot of Social Policy and perhaps require correspondingly drastic solutions.

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**Monica Mc Williams and Mike Morrissey lecture in
in the Department of Sociology at the University of
Ulster**

S.A.A.O.s

M. Gough

On November 6th 1981 Mr Peter Barry Minister for the Environment, refused to confirm the Dublin Bay Special Amenity Area Order. Three days later his Department wrote a six page letter of Dublin Corporation explaining why. This letter is important as it provides guidelines for planners in preparing S A A O s. The Department itself sees this letter as being of wide importance and has written that it is not considered that any model order that might be prepared for the benefit of planning authorities generally would be of greater assistance in the particular and special case of Dublin Bay than the detailed advice and suggestions conveyed to the authority in the Department's letter of 9th November 1981. Unfortunately, the Department's letter has not received the attention it deserves outside of Dublin Corporation and Dun Laoghaire Corporation. I propose to set out below the main contents of the Department of the Environment's letter but before doing so I will deal with the background to the Dublin Bay Special Amenity Area Order which will help to clarify some of the points raised in the letter.

The Dublin City Development Plan, 1971 contained objectives to examine Howth and areas of the foreshore in Dublin Bay with a view to the making of a Special Amenity Area Order. Following the appointments of the City Commissioners on the 1st May 1973, a resolution proposed by nine Commissioners was adopted on the 10th June 1973 requiring that Dublin Bay be declared a Special Amenity Area with a view to making a Special Amenity Area Order as soon as possible. As a necessary preliminary to this operation Dublin Corporation's Planning and Development Committee approved the appointment of consultants to carry out a detailed study prior to the making of a Special Amenity Area Order and consultants were duly appointed. The Dublin Bay Amenity Study was prepared by Planning Consultants Brady Shipman & Martin in December 1974 for both Dublin Corporation and Dun Laoghaire Corporation. The report of the consultants was presented to the Planning Committee in March 1975 and the City Council adopted a resolution declaring part of Dublin Bay to be an area of Special Amenity in June 1975. Objections to the Order were lodged by Councillor Sean D. Dublin Bay Loftus and the Dublin Port and Docks Board. The Order was then sent to the Minister for Local Government for confirmation. However on 9th June 1976 the Department of Local Government wrote to the Corporation stating that in view of the new planning legislation then imminent on the likely changes affecting the criteria for a Special Amenity Area Order its form and content and to some extent its effects it was not proposed to hold a public inquiry as the result would be likely to be rendered nugatory by the proposed new planning

legislation Section 40 of the Local Government (Planning and Development) Act 1976 applicable to areas of Special Amenity became operative on 1st August 1976. Having regard to the revised criteria for the making of Special Amenity Area Orders therein specified it was necessary to prepare a new Special Amenity Area Order for Dublin Bay and this was approved by the City Council on 4th April 1977. Objections to the Order were subsequently received from Councillor Sean D. Dublin Bay Loftus, Dublin Port and Docks Board and the Electricity Supply Board.

The Order was transmitted to the Minister for Local Government for confirmation and a Public Local Inquiry was started on 23rd June 1978 concluding on 30th June 1978 but was suspended on 15th June 1978 following an announcement that an interim injunction had been granted by the High Court to Councillor Sean D. Dublin Bay Rockall Loftus restraining the Local Government Inspectors, the Minister for the Environment and Dublin Corporation from terminating the Inquiry before the 15th September 1978 or until a further Order of Court. The case was eventually heard by the full Supreme Court on Thursday 22nd June 1978 and it was unanimously held by the Supreme Court that the Dublin Bay Special Amenity Order was not a variation of the Development Plan and consequently the provisions of Section 21 of the 1963 Planning Act did not apply. It was further stated that the Act contemplated the co-existence of a Development Plan and an Amenity Order under Section 26 of the Act and made it clear that the Planning Code envisaged such co-existence. Following the public enquiry in 1978 the Minister refused to confirm the S A A O in November, 1981.

The Main reasons on which the Minister based his decision are set out in the now famous letter of 9th November, 1981.

(a) Having regard to the provisions of Section 42 of the 1963 Act as amended by Section 40 of the 1976 Act a Special Amenity Area Order would reasonably be expected to set out particular objectives in appropriate detail in relation to the preservation or enhancement of the character or special features of the area including objectives for the prevention or limitation of development. The Order submitted does not do this. It would add little to the powers of control or protection already inherent in the development plan and the Local Government (Planning and Development) Acts, 1963 and 1976.

(b) The Order contains provisions which are ambiguous or conflicting. This applies for example to the reasons given for including particular areas, to inconsistency, in certain respects, between provisions in the Order and provisions in the development plan to the intentions of the planning authority in relation to port and industrial development and to the provision on exempted development (which is open to conflicting interpretation).

(c) The Order is based on a development plan made in 1971 and which has since been superceded by a new plan. The provisions of the Order would appear to envisage that its effect could be altered by future amendments or revisions of the development plan rather than by the revoking or varying of the Order itself by a further Order in accordance with the provisions of Section 42 of the 1963 Act.

(d) The Order provides for the location of potentially incompatible uses within parts of the area without making provision for the separation of uses or the management of these parts

(e) The Order includes housing areas within an area designated as of outstanding natural beauty. It is not considered, having regard to the statutory provisions, that such areas are appropriate for inclusion under this designation. The north eastern boundary of Area No. 1 (Howth Head) would, for practical purposes, be difficult or impossible to locate on the ground, or to administer

(f) The Order is insufficiently detailed to provide the protection for amenity which would be expected from it

The Department's letter goes on to state that "The Minister considers that a Special Amenity Area Order (or Orders) can be suitable means by which solutions to conflicting interests might be pursued and appropriate planning objectives defined (in sufficient detail) and implemented for the different parts of the area. An Order (or Orders) to serve these purposes would need to be based on careful and thorough preparation in regard to both policy and technical content and on meaningful consultation with the interests to be affected. The Minister considers that the entire area within the Bay which meets the prescribed criteria should be dealt with on a Co-ordinated planning basis as regards the making of one or more Special Amenity Area Orders, and that the question should be pursued in association with the other local authorities concerned and in consultation with the other interests involved"

The letter also stated that an Order for the Bull Island and its environs might be given priority consideration

In the hope that it may be of assistance, the following further comments and advice are offered in the letter

A S A A O should follow from the development plan which should not contain matters to conflict with the making of an Order. It should emerge as a more detailed type of plan applied to a special area and should provide for appropriately detailed objectives and for more stringent management and control of development than would be feasible in the wider context of a development plan. An Order would be expected, on the basis of the legislative provisions, to have three main components -

(i) a declaration of the reason (Section 42(1)(a), (b) and (c) of the 1963 Act as amended) why the area should be declared an area of special amenity

(ii) The objectives of the planning authority in relation to the preservation or enhancement of the character or special features of the area

(iii) objectives for the prevention or limitation of development in the area

No (i) above is self-explanatory. No (ii) is wide-ranging and envisages a programme of management, protection and enhancement for the area and its special features. In relation to No (iii) it could reasonably be expected that provision would be made for the stringent control of development in the area and, where appropriate, the prevention of development.

In regard to categories of development permitted in an area of special amenity the letter went on to state that development for recreational or amenity purposes might be incompatible when combined in certain parts of a special amenity area. The letter strongly hints that development for recreational purposes should be separated from development for amenity purposes. The letter also states that it is not necessary for a S A A O to contain statements that certain developments will be allowed in the area which are developments not at variance with the use zoning and other provisions of the development plan or existing planning permissions or approvals. These add nothing to the Order which are not already covered elsewhere.

On page 4 of the letter criticism is made of the Dublin Bay S A A O in that one of the permitted categories of development was any future essential port development necessary for the functioning of the Port of Dublin. The letter states: It seems inappropriate that essential port development should be permitted in all parts of the area of special amenity as seems to be the effect of this provision. Moreover the phrase essential port development is not used in the development plan and is not defined in the Order as submitted. Lack of definition can lead to difficulties and disputes in implementation. The problems of the maritime boundary was also raised especially in regard to developments taking place on reclaimed land outside the 1953 boundary where development would be taking place outside the planning authority boundary.

The letter comments on the nine sub areas of the S A A and inter alia stated that (a) the more urban housing development, at least, might have been omitted. (b) that in view of the extraordinary recreational value of (sands on the southeast side of North Bull Island) and the pressures on it the lack of any detailed objectives for its development preservation or management as envisaged by legislation it is a serious deficiency which would greatly limit the value of the Order. (c) the need to differentiate between areas of special recreational value and areas needing nature conservation. (d) the need for a comprehensive plan for the proper management of the resources of the area. (e) the development plan is sufficient for the preservation of important scenic views in a seawards direction rather than the Order.

An important issue which the letter tackled was the quality of the maps submitted - The Inspectors in their report drew attention to the poor quality of the map submitted with the Order and suggested that dye line type prints were insufficiently stable to form the basis for permanent documentation defining the detailed boundaries of a statutory Order required to be laid before the Houses of the Oireachtas and having

important development and compensation implications affecting particular properties

Finally the letter ended by remarking that In setting out in detail his findings and relevant comments arising from the inquiry the Minister hopes to contribute to an approach to consideration of the question of a Special Amenity Area Order (or Orders) which would make full use of the scope provided by the relevant statutory provisions. Such an approach could bring a fundamental improvement in the basis for planning and development in the Bay area taking account both of the diverse environmental values involved and of the development needs which are necessary and appropriate

The Minister for the Environment was requested in June, 1982 by Dublin Corporation to prepare a model of a Special Amenity Area Order for the guidance of Planning Authorities. But in the Department's reply of 30th July, 1982 it was indicated that because of the Minister's statutory functions in relation to the confirmation of Special Amenity Area Orders that this would preclude him from Preparing model orders". The Department further stated that the contents of the Department's previous letter could be interpreted as the model. Hopefully the reproduction of its contents here will be of benefit to those contemplating the making of a Special Amenity Area Order

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Planning Agreements and Planning Gain

V. P. Harrington

The controversy surrounding the proposed office complex in Dublin's Georges Quay has focused attention on the use of Section 38 Agreements to secure planning gain in Ireland. Following the Dublin Corporation decision in July 1983 to grant planning permission for an office complex on this site major disagreements arose between on the one hand those in favour of the development-Irish Life Assurance Co Ltd Construction Industry Federation and Dublin Corporation, and on the other hand, those opposing the development-An Taisce Dublin Civic Group The Living City Group, and local residents associations. Allegations of bribery and disregard for the needs of the area were followed by an appeal to An Bord Pleanála. In June 1984 amid further controversy the Bord upheld the Corporation decision to grant permission. The objections to this development are at two distinct but related levels.

(1) The use of planning agreements to secure planning gain

(2) Design and composition of the development

The purpose of this article is to examine the former. Planning agreements are examined and a distinction is drawn between agreements leading to a social or an economic gain (hereafter referred to as a planning gain) and agreements leading to an amenity gain. The latter can normally be covered by a condition. A justification for the use of agreements to secure planning gain is forwarded and the Georges Quay development is examined in this light. Close attention is given throughout this article to the British planning system which has a history of planning gain pertaining to planning agreement.

Planning Agreements

A planning agreement is a contract negotiated between a local authority and a developer prior to and subject to, obtaining a planning permission which regulates the development or use of specific lands. Section 38, Local Government (Planning and Development) Act, 1963 provides for such a contract and specifies that the contract 'may contain such incidental and consequential provisions (including provisions of a financial character) as appear necessary or expedient for the purposes of the agreement -

There is a number of possible forms for such an agreement. These are categorised below under two headings,

A Agreements that can generally be secured by a planning condition

- (i) Provision of public rights of way on developers land For example, access to a river or lake
- (ii) Dedication of land to public use For Example, preservation of wooded area in large residential development
- (iii) Extinguish existing use-right For example, a developer would covenant to develop only certain lands in his possession in the urban fringe thus securing the preservation of green belts
- (iv) Commuted payment for car-parking For Example, to avoid the necessity for on-site parking
- (v) Restoration of structures or buildings
- (vi) Infrastructure provision For example, to secure the proper installation of adequate water and sewage facilities by restriction on the use of machinery in say wooded areas This category could help overcome the dilemma caused between Section 23, Public Health (Ireland) Act, 1858 and Section 56, Local Government (Planning and Development) Act, 1963
- (vii) Financial contributions (see B(iv))

B Agreements that cannot normally be secured by a planning condition (planning gain)

(i) Occupancy

This category seeks to achieve some restriction on those who occupy land or premises or the duration of occupancy The most likely reasons for this type of agreement are the local authority's concern with the preservation of the character of a local area and concern with the accommodation of those on the authority's housing lists The former reason is held to be a legitimate consideration for the local authority in exercising its discretionary development control powers (3) The latter reason is however considered unreasonable and ultra vires as a condition since it requires the developer in effect to assume the statutory duty of the local authority

(ii) Provision of community buildings For example, to secure a community facility (library) as a result of some large scale development

(iii) Gift of a site or buildings for residential use This category also seeks to secure accommodation for those on the authority's housing list As noted in (i) above, this has proved illegal as a condition but the leasing at peppercorn rent or the purchase of residential units in a mixed use development can secure the authority's requirements

(iv) Financial contributions The category seeks to achieve a contribution towards the cost of local authority housing as a result of large scale developments Contributions towards the cost of infrastructural, service and amenity provisions have been classified as gains may not be involved as the duty to provide such provisions lies with the local authority

Where the land is ripe, it could be argued that the agreement allows development which would not otherwise be possible, thus conferring a gain to the local authority. The trend in recent years is for the developer to contribute an increasing sum towards the cost of these provisions. Section 26, 2(f), of the 1963 Act provides for - conditions for requiring roads, open spaces, car parks, sewers, watermains or drains in excess of the immediate need for the proposed development.

Whether or not this is justifiable, it is assumed here that contributions toward infrastructural, service and amenity provisions can be covered by a condition and do not constitute a planning gain.

Limits of Statutory Control

Section 38 (3), 1963 Act outlines the parameters within which agreements are bound - cannot contravene materially the provision of the development plan. Section 38 however must be constructed with Section 26 1963 Act in the process of development control. Section 26 (i) provides that where an application is made to a local authority their decision is governed by the contents of the development plan and the proper planning and development of the area. It is clear that the local authority's discretion as to how applications for planning permission should be dealt with is not unlimited. The judgement of Lord Denning in the *Pyx Granite Co. Ltd v Minister of Housing and Local Government* illustrates this point.

Although the planning authorities are given fairly wide powers to impose such conditions as they think fit nevertheless the law says that conditions to be valid must fairly and reasonably relate to the permitted development. The planning authority are not at liberty to use their powers for an ulterior object, however desirable that object may seem to them to be in the public interest.

For this reason it has been suggested by some commentators that as matters covered by planning agreement in England could be ultra vires if they were made the subject of a planning condition there is a case for change. In effect planning agreements avoid the strict rigour imposed by the courts on the use of planning conditions. Two recent British cases however broaden the strict interpretation of the legitimate scope of planning previously imposed by the courts. In the first case Sir David Cairns said that the need for housing was certainly a planning consideration. In the second case Justice Glidwell ruled that it was quite legitimate for the action area plan to DEMAND planning gain where it was clearly connected to the development under consideration. An argument can thus be made for permitting the local authority to seek a planning gain that is related to the proper planning and development of the area.

Reasons for Planning Agreements

A review of the British Literature reveals two distinct reasons for the use of planning agreements

- 1 Avoidance of uncertainties of planning law

2 Reinforcement of development control particularly conditions

With reference to the latter it is suggested here that there is potential for the use of agreements as a method of combining development control and enforcement. Further discussion on this topic is, however, beyond the scope of this article. Of interest here is the avoidance of uncertainties in planning law. This is where planning gain emerges.

Following the British property boom in the 1960s certain local authorities attempted to benefit from the high profit margins associated with office and large-scale developments by the use of Section 52 Town and Country Planning Act 1971. The logic behind this move is straightforward. Market forces operate to produce areas of differential locational advantage within the built environment. To a greater or lesser extent these forces are influenced by local authority decisions - development plans, infrastructure provision et cetera. Planning agreements were seen as a method of sharing in development profits in planning jargon recoupment of betterment or Planning gain.

With monopoly control on development rights the local authority found themselves in a strong bargaining position. Thus in areas of greatest demand for say office development, the greatest gain could be secured. The extent of planning gains secured by the local authority is also dependent on a number of other factors for example, developers profit, development plan policies, costs incurred by delays in receiving permission et cetera. The limit of gain that could be secured by an agreement is thus finite. This is not to suggest that local authorities did not try to maximise planning gains in some cases. Rather it highlights that where a local authority was over ambitious the developer could appeal the case. The use of planning agreements to achieve planning gain has been strongly criticised in the PAG Report. This states that it is

unable to accept that as a matter of general practise, planning gain has any place in our system of planning control. The report fails however to provide an alternative to planning agreements and takes little cognisance of the advantages offered by such agreements - reductions of delays associated with large scale developments, reduction of uncertainty in the property market and the provision of community benefits that would otherwise not be facilitated. The author is aware that planning agreements have certain drawbacks - there may be a reduction in public participation and an increased need to trade planning gains, but this does not mean that such agreements are an unsatisfactory method of controlling development. Agreements offer a flexible approach to dealing with development in the built environment.

In Ireland and particularly Dublin, the favourable financial provisions of the Finance Act 1969 triggered off the property boom of the 1970s. Life insurance companies and pension funds began sinking money into property development. Developers could thus sell all or part of their property portfolios to the financial institutions and concentrate their own resources in the development stage of the property market. With a few notable

exceptions large profits were secured from those commercial developments. Profits were dependent on many factors including, change of use of premises, relative demand for new use and the obtaining of planning permission. Yet despite recent concern over land prices and recoupmnet of betterment the property market continued unabated. The potential of Section 38 agreement was not utilised until recently and one feels this is only a result of the severe financial constraints presently being experienced by local authorities. It is ironic that despite the recent use of planning agreements to secure planning gain the continual poor showing of the property market in recent years may well mitigate against their use for some time to come.

Georges Quay Site - an interesting example

A 4.8 acre site on Georges Quay is owned by Irish Life. The site is situated on the south bank of the Liffey directly opposite Gandon's Custom House. The Bray railway line skirts the south western edge of the site with the Tara Street Station directly adjacent to the west edge of the site. Its present form has taken 15 years to assemble and it has been derelict for many years now. Other land uses in the area include, residential (local authority) warehousing, light industry and retail. Dereliction and vacant property is a characteristic feature of this area. The Corporation is currently constructing new residential accommodation at the junction of Gloucester Street and Petersons Lane. The site is zoned D for city centre activities.

An initial application by Irish Life was lodged in September 1982. The plan envisaged a central office block 17 storeys in height surrounded by six 6 storey office blocks. This application was withdrawn before any decision was reached by the Corporation. Prior to the introduction of planning charges in March 1983 a second application was lodged. The 17 storey central tower was replaced by an agglomeration of seven interconnected office blocks reduced by 2 storeys. The plan now provided for 480,000 square feet of office floor space. Also included in the plan was a conference hall, two squash courts, four shop units, eight flats and an underground car park for approximately 400 cars.

In addition a planning agreement provided for a cash donation by Irish Life to Dublin Corporation for £500,000 prior to July 1984 and the donation of a three quarter acre site in Jervis Street north of the Liffey. This of course is subject to a favourable planning permission. In June 1984 An Bord Pleanála granted permission on appeal but the design of the development was again altered. The 6 perimeter blocks are to be reduced by one whole storey and the fourth floor to be set back on all frontages. The accommodation omitted from the perimeter blocks shall however, as far as possible, be provided in the central block. The objections to the initial permission were at two levels:-

(i) Content of Development. This includes the lack of residential accommodation and the aesthetics of the scheme.

(ii) The use of a planning agreement.

A discussion on the virtue of aesthetics is beyond the scope of this article. The number of design changes for this development to-date illustrates the futility of such a discussion. With regard to the provision of residential accommodation for people on the Corporation's housing list, it will suffice to say here that this type of condition has been ruled unlawful by the British courts. It is unlikely that the developer would favour an agreement to this end. The second objection echoes much of the criticism of British planning agreements that secure planning gain voiced in the PAG Report. This infers that the present development control system - application/permission/conditions-refusal will suffice. It is suggested here that this is not the case. Planning agreements offer the planner a more flexible approach in dealing with large scale developments. More specifically planning agreements allow for consideration to be given to the various factors acting within the property market. Furthermore, under Section 26 1963 Act, it is doubtful if contributions to the sum of £0.5m are justifiable or legitimate. It is not considered here that sharing in the developer's profits is in some way wrong or an unfair use of power by the local authority. The justification for this is the securing of a planning gain or recoupment of betterment.

There is a growing trend among developers to accept some social cost with development and recent reports have indicated this willingness. A cautionary note must be added. At present profits from property transactions are taxed at a rate of 50 per cent. Planning agreements are a further attempt to levy the developer, therefore care must be taken to ensure the developer is not levied for betterment twice.

The use of a planning agreement in the Georges Quay site provided a planning gain but at what cost? What was the price paid for this gain? The claim that no local authority housing was provided fails to take account of legal precedent. In areas zoned mixed-use, the provision of residential accommodation has led to gentrification. This is of little use to those seeking local authority housing and it effectively reduces the potential for future local authority accommodation in city areas. Equally, residential accommodation provided to comply with zoning regulations has proved unsatisfactory for developers; it is often difficult to successfully let all this accommodation. The claim that this development will give rise to Dublin's first skyscraper has no bearing on the use of planning agreements. Rather, it may question the role of An Bord Pleanála!

Two further variables require attention, -1) Zoning/Site Value, 2) Role of Developer/Financial Institutions

1) Zoning/Site-Value. This site is zoned for city centre activities. While it might be argued that zoning of this nature is intended to provide a general guideline for permitted development, it effectively favours developments with greater profit potential. Thus the site value has little relevance to its present use or indeed for uses other than that of maximizing profits. The site value, determined by market forces is the assessed price that a purchaser would pay for the site on the open market. Included in the price is a hope value, that is, the possibility of developing the site for its most profitable use.

In this case office development. Refusal to grant planning permission could lead to Irish Life serving a Purchase Notice on the Corporation. In effect the Corporation would be forced to purchase the site at market value. It was not therefore unexpected that An Bord Pleanála would impose conditions to substantially reduce the site value.

2) Role of the Developer. Financial Institutions. In the property market the role of the developer is to acquire vacant possession of a site. Financial institutions (ie pension funds or life assurance companies) provide the capital for development either initially or on completion of development. In this case Irish Life has combined both functions. It's obligation is to its policy holders to maximise their investment. Property is but one source for investment and if this does not provide sufficient return, finance will be channelled elsewhere. Clearly there is a definite limit to what Irish Life can concede to Dublin Corporation.

Are the terms of this planning agreement sufficient? If one takes the view that people in the locality in need of housing should be accommodated in the locality, there is a case for arguing that the gain is insufficient. The provision of a site at Jervis Street is of little value. As previously mentioned this locality has a history of dereliction. The re-development of these often small sites either by the Corporation or private developers of these, often

small, sites either by the Corporation or private developers could prove a more satisfactory method of providing residential accommodation. It is not the author's intention to side one way or the other on the merits of this planning gain. Without sufficient detailed knowledge of the economics involved in this development further comment on this aspect would be superfluous. It should be stressed that great expertise is required by the local authority in deciding the amount of planning gain. Perhaps this expertise is as yet lacking in Ireland. This is the only question-mark that should be held over this agreement.

CONCLUSION

The advantages of Planning Agreements to secure Planning Gain are obvious - speeding up the planning application process, potential reduction of uncertainty in the property market, early dialogue between planner and developer and securing community benefits. The disadvantages are no less apparent - reduction of public participation, trade-offs for planning gains. Despite these drawbacks, Section 38 agreements provide a flexible method of dealing with an ever changing property market. It must be emphasized here that planning agreements to secure Planning Gain are only applicable in areas of high demand and therefore are of no use to the designated areas considered the Kenny Report. Indeed it can be argued that the ability of the local authority to secure development in run down areas of the built environment is in its self a Planning Gain.

A justification for the use of planning agreements is the recoupment of betterment. It is suggested here that in principle the local authority should be able to recover part of the increase in value of sites where that increase has been caused by public authority actions. This can be seen as a material response to local problems. Agreements avoid the judicial model of application permission conditions refusal, which inhibits the local authority in pursuing its social aims and favour a contractual model of bargaining with developers.

Legal objections to the use of agreements arise from the securing of planning gain. The provisions of agreements are considered ultra vires if considered as a condition to a planning permission. It should be remembered that agreements are a voluntary contract between the developer and planner. The fear that the planner can require unrealistic gains is unfounded. The monopolistic power of the planner is not unlimited. Recoupment of Betterment is already covered in part by taxation and various development levies. These constraints will determine the value of any particular planning gain to the local authority. The provision of guidelines in development plans for planning gains related to development in certain areas may go some way toward alleviating legal concern. In certain areas may go some way toward alleviating legal concern. Inclusion of guidelines in the development plan will also help reduce uncertainty in the property market. This can only be welcome to the developer.

Planning must be geared towards implementation. In general it is the private sector developer who implements the provisions of the development plan. Financial institutions invest in property to secure a return on their money. If the particular development is not worthwhile, money will be invested elsewhere. Any attempt to secure 100% of betterment will mirror the consequences of the British 1947 Town and Country Planning Act. Care must be taken not to levy developers twice in an attempt to recover betterment. The use of planning agreements to secure planning gain requires a knowledge of the property market and especially those factors outside planning which affect development. With this knowledge I believe Section 38 agreements will prove an advantageous method of securing the proper planning and development of the built environment. In this context the decision of An Bord Pleanála to grant permission subject to a planning agreement is to be welcomed.

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Transferable Development Rights- a Policy Instrument for Dublin

J. M. Blackwell

INTRODUCTION

Development in inner Dublin has been characterised by a heavy concentration of new offices in the south-east quadrant threatening historic buildings streetscapes and open space, whilst at the same time decay and dereliction are widespread elsewhere. Attempts to shift northwards the focus of office activity have met with only limited success. A new approach is required.

The first part of this paper reviews development and planning in inner Dublin, examining in particular the spatial pattern of new development vis-a-vis conservation objectives and the performance of existing policy instruments in controlling conflicts arising. The second part of the paper, building on this analysis, suggests that the concept of transferable development rights might be introduced, albeit in modified form, as a new policy instrument in order to overcome the shortcomings of existing instruments in the area of historic building and open space conservation.

DEVELOPMENT PATTERNS AND PLANNING IN INNER DUBLIN: *The Problem Stated*

There is a serious distortion of the land market in inner Dublin resulting from a spatial dis-equilibrium between demand and supply of space. Population and industry has been flowing out and offices in. Offices, however, as Bannon (1) and Malone (2) have shown, are increasingly concentrated in the prestige, south eastern quadrant of the inner city. Land in many other parts of the inner city is seriously over-priced in relation to any foreseeable demand because, even though it is not located in areas of high commercial activity, prices are driven up by expectations - fuelled by liberal zoning and 'hope' value. This would appear to be confirmed by the large number of unused or underused vacant or derelict sites.

The Spatial Pattern of Development vis-a-vis Conservation Objectives

The obvious spatial imbalance between demand for and supply of, space in the inner area can be quantified and related to policy variables such as use-zoning, conservation and transportation objectives (3).

By applying to the site areas recorded in 1974(4) the normal maximum plot ratios permitted under the 1980 Dublin City Development Plan (Tables 1 and

2), a theoretical maximum development potential may be calculated. This yields a total of eighteen million square metres for the area between the canals. Ninety-four per cent of this potential lies on blocks with no major conservation restriction. Twenty-seven per cent of all development potential lies within a kilometre of DART stations.

By 1966, forty-nine per cent of this theoretical maximum development potential in the inner city had been exhausted by 1974 this figure had risen to sixty per cent.

Examining data at street-block level, change between 1966 and 1974 was most marked in the outer south-east zones, where ten new blocks reached saturation, and at the end of the period half of all blocks had used at least three-quarters of potential.

At zonal level the picture is even clearer (Table 3). No zone was at saturation (5) in 1966, and only two had exhausted more than three-quarters of potential - one to the north and one to the south of the river. By 1974 four were saturated and a fifth was ninety-nine per cent exhausted (Fig 2). Three of the five were in the south-east quadrant - 21, 37 and 38 (see Fig 1 for zonal definitions). These are not the use-zones of Tables 1 and 2.

The saturation over this period was occurring in use-zones B, B1 and D, with B - the hardcore Georgian areas - having increased saturation by 14 points in the period. Whilst this was not such a great increase as that experienced by B1 areas (20 points) and D (21 points) it indicates that the situation was far from being under control. Indeed, blocks with extensive conservation of frontage reached saturation during the period, and those where more than fifty per cent of the entire area was conserved, reached seventy-eight per cent saturation - a rise of 18 points.

The most over-saturated blocks lie one-half to one kilometre from DART, have a high conservation status and are zoned B, B1 and D. This is the band that stretches from west of O'Connell Street down through zones 37, 38 and 21, and back up through zone 19 to the river, encompassing the city centre and the hardcore and peripheral Georgian areas.

Discounting floorspace in zones A and E where offices are not permitted, it is clear (Table 4) that the lion's share of space is in locations characterised by a D1 use-zoning, with no conservation status, and more than one kilometre distant from DART.

Use-zones B and B1, in blocks with a high conservation status and less than one kilometre from DART, could offer only 48,000 square metres of development out of a total of 3,847,000 or 1.2 per cent.

Data from the latest land-use and building condition survey are now ten years out-of-date. Using work by Malone(6) it has been possible partially to update this information.

Analysis of developments since 1974 in conjunction with examination of patterns of saturation in 1974, proves particularly illuminating. It has been observed that in the period to 1974 there had been a rapid growth to saturation and near saturation of zones 21, 37 and 38, which had become

the most favoured office locations. If we hypothesise that land in these locations was becoming more expensive, more difficult to obtain, and subject to increasing planning constraints, we should expect a squeezing-out or spill-over area of zones 11, 19, 20, 22 and 30 added no less than 283,000 square metres, and the remainder of the inner city a tiny 30,000 square metres.

It is, of course, true that some of these office developments (e.g. Wood Quay) have been in the planning stage for many years, nevertheless, the pattern appears unmistakable. There has been considerable discussion regarding an apparent move back into the centre of Dublin of offices, reversing the south-east drift. In fact, what would appear to have been happening is the stabilisation of the new centre of gravity, say around Fitzwilliam Square, and a subsequent outward movement in all directions from this centre. Dublin has now developed into a twin-centered city, with shopping remaining around the river, and in recent years even moving somewhat north on an east-west axis across O'Connell Street, whilst offices and commerce is now stabilised one to two miles to the south.

If this hypothesis is correct, it is difficult to see how offices could be persuaded to any great extent to move into the redevelopment areas of zones 17 and 18 north of the river, embracing, as they do, only one segment of a large circle of expansion, whose locus lies chiefly to the south of the Liffey. This prognosis is disturbing. The remaining development potential in the core and spillover areas together amounted in 1974 to 1,163,000 square metres. Of this, 404,000 square metres or more than one-third, was exhausted in the next 7.8 years. Zone 21's potential was actually exhausted by 1974, yet it has absorbed one-fifth of all development since that date. Of the 2,684,000 square metres of potential lying outside the core and spillover areas a tiny 30,000 square metres or around one per cent has been used.

Conclusions are easily drawn. Firstly, the data confirm a conflict of severe dimensions between conservation and commercial development. Second, most of the unused potential for development lies in areas without a high conservation status where no conflict would arise. Third, on present trends, office developments will continue to be pushed outward from this new centre, with a bias towards certain more favoured sectors on the south of the river such as zones 19 and 30. There is no rationale, demand or likelihood for developers to jump to locations north of the river to any great extent under the present zoning regime.

Table 1: Land Use Zoning in the 1980 Dublin City Development Plan

Use Code	Description	Hectares ¹
A	To protect and/or improve residential amenities	494
B	To protect the existing architectural and civic design quality and to provide for compatible residential and office use	34
B1	To protect, improve or renew the existing civic design character and to provide for residential and such office use as is compatible with conservation and renewal requirements	116
C	To provide for and improve district centre facilities	24
C1	To provide for and improve neighbourhood centre facilities	0
D	To provide for and improve city centre activities	112
D1	To provide for mixed uses	139
E	To provide for industrial and related uses	161
F	To preserve recreational amenity including open space	68
G	To protect and improve the amenities of the special amenity area not covered by other zoning objectives	0

Source: Dublin Corporation.

1 Within the Canal Ring: These figures are an approximation due to the method of compilation

The Failure of Existing Land-Use Policies

Existing Dublin Corporation policy aimed at re-directing the spatial pattern of high-value land demand has been only partially successful. The root of the problem seems to lie with the nature and extent of the zoning and density provisions of the existing plan. The location of office developments allowed, must conform to the permitted zoning of areas as set out in the development plan. Liberal commercial zoning is combined with a plot ratio that is low by European standards, and, together, these provide for a dull uniformity of opportunity, leaving the market in the end to determine location.

Recognising this deficiency, Bannon, Eustace and O'Neill(7) suggest a more compact city centre with high plot ratios, and the concomitant extinguishment of hope value in the surrounding tracts. Holding would then be discouraged, and residential renewal made possible. A rigid zoning policy irrevocably prohibiting the prospect of commercial invasion would be essential in laying the basis for the development of settled residential areas. However, the solution which Bannon, Eustace and O'Neill propose also presents difficulties. Where is the line to be drawn within which more intensive development will be permitted? It is arguable that the business centre is now also the centre of the areas in greatest need of conservation. Will a higher density of development be permitted in these areas? If not, how will the conservation areas be zoned? Will new conversions to office use be permitted? If so, then the line is not held; if not, then the financiers of such buildings are excluded from them.

Table 2: Normal Maximum Standards of Plot Ratios under the 1980 Dublin City Development Plan and Aggregate Actual Plot Ratios for Each Zone within the Canal Ring Existing in 1974

Use Zone	Maximum Plot Ratio	Aggregate Actual Plot Ratio	Site Coverage
A	1	0.71	0.45
B	2	1.67	0.60
B1	2 & 1	1.51	0.60
C	2	0.74	0.60
C1	1.5	-	0.50
D	2.5	2.16	0.80
D1	2.5	0.81	0.80
E	2.0	0.64	0.90

Sources: Column 1: Dublin Corporation

Column 2: Derived from Dublin Corporation Land Use Survey, 1974 (unpublished data)

Column 3: Dublin Corporation

A further problem with the proposed solution is the buffer zone. Control of urban land prices seems further away than ever, and constitutionally inoperable.(8) The scheme is thus considerably weakened

Development and Conservation: the Dilemma

The continued southward drift of offices is eloquent testimony to the primacy of market forces in the face of determined attempts by the Corporation to redirect demand. Alternatives proposed seem also to present difficulties, and do not solve the dilemma which is at the heart of all current land-use planning, viz. high land values prevent direct market intervention since most acquisitions involve compensation at current market values, yet the use of the other major tool of policy - land-use zoning - is seriously constrained by the need to ensure not only that landowners are not denied a reasonably beneficial use of their land but also, in the case of many historic buildings, that the value of the use is sufficiently high to ensure good maintenance. (The irony is that the Corporation are as dependent upon market demand for historic properties in any location, to preserve them, as they are upon lack of market demand for other property in the same location.)

Many local authorities feel unable to resist the demands of developers for permissions running contrary to proper planning and development, not because the powers to preserve structures and open space, and control new development, are absent, but because they fear it will be judged a 'taking,' with a consequent liability for compensation.

The law is far from clear in this area. What is an acceptable undertaking under S.57 of the 1963 Act? What is a reasonably beneficial use, and what does 'incapable' of such a use, mean under S.29 of the Act?

Recent Court decisions(9) have strengthened the planning authority's hand in avoiding compensation by confirming that an undertaking under S.57 is valid, even where the authority cannot guarantee that a grant will be forthcoming, and that it need not be related to market demand or surrounding uses and densities. The Supreme Court, however, may yet overturn this approach on the grounds of an unreasonable use of statutory power.

Keane has summarised the position well:

It is not altogether clear (from a constitutional standpoint) what circumstances will justify the payment of compensation which is less than market value, or indeed the withholding of any compensation (10)

With Kenny report more than ten years old, and now looking constitutionally inoperable, resolution of the problem of urban land prices and the 'taking' issue seems even more remote. Under these circumstances a new concept in land-use planning - Transferable Development Rights (TDR) - developed in the United States during the 1970's, would appear to be particularly useful, not because it resolves the issue, but because it sidesteps it.

Under the present system, the value of the use can be exercised only on the site. With TDR this ceases to be so, and thus the Gordian knot is cut. TDR

enables, if it can be successfully implemented, planning authorities - for the first time - to exercise the full range of powers they already have, but cannot afford to use.

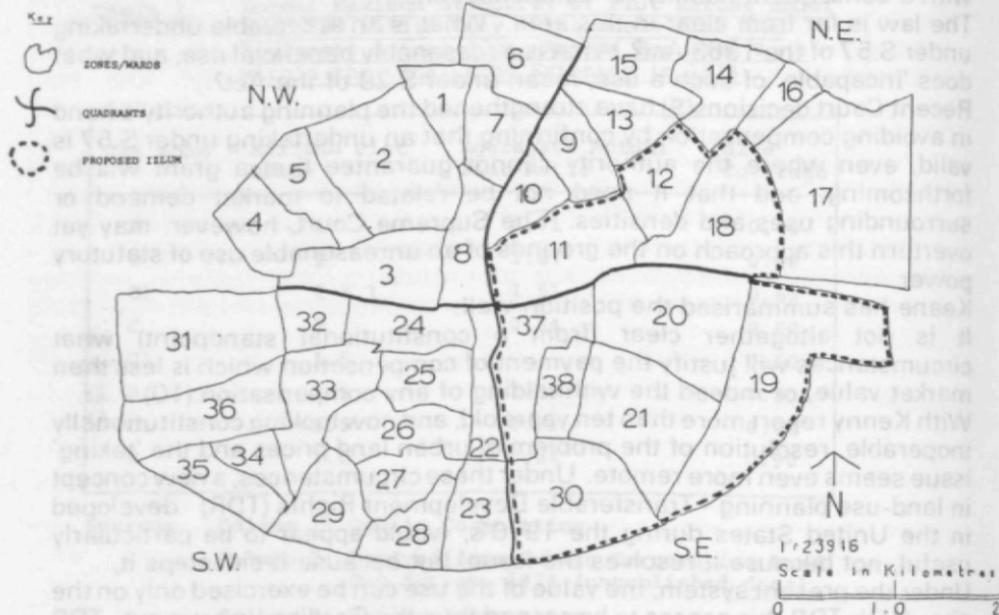
Existing strategies for conservation and proposed alternatives seem not only to be flawed but, in particular, are weak in exactly those respects in which TDR is strongest. The second part of this paper, therefore, proposes the implementation of a form of TDR in the belief that this approach can achieve the planning goals which are desired but which existing policy instruments seem unable to deliver.

TRANSFERABLE DEVELOPMENT RIGHTS: A Solution Offered

TDR - The Concept

A development right is a property right. It is one of the numerous rights included in the 'fee-simple' ownership of property. A mineral right, an air right and a way-leave are examples of land ownership rights. A development right is the right that permits the owner to build upon or develop his land; in a rapidly growing urban area it constitutes great economic value and is usually the owner's most important right.

Dublin Wards within the Canal Ring (1)



Legal Constraints

It is assumed that major constitutional changes and legislative initiative will not be forthcoming and that any TDR proposal must be relevant, defensible and workable within the existing legal framework of planning. Furthermore, in devising a suitable system, it has been a major aim that disruption of the existing planning framework as exemplified by the Dublin City Development Plan shall be kept to a minimum.

Overall, the following broad guidelines may be drawn from Irish law and planning experience to date:

Examination of the legislation suggests:

- (1) Compulsory acquisition of development rights is probably inadmissible.
- (2) Enforcement of a preservation restriction against remote takers of a title is possible under S 38 of the 1963 Act.
- (3) Creating of additional development rights is admissible provided it is established in the Development Plan.

In addition to the body of statute law, there are a number of planning precedents in Dublin inner area which may be relevant. These include development of the former Fitzwilliam Lawn Tennis Club site, the Irish Life development at George's Quay and the Burlington Hotel development. Space does not permit a discussion of these, but examination of the precedents suggests:

- (1) Transfer of development rights between adjacent sites with one or more different owners where all partners are willing is feasible and enforceable, under covenant against remote takers of the title. A Section 38 agreement might be stronger but does not seem necessary in this case.
- (2) Transfer between remote sites in common ownership would appear to be possible using a Section 38 agreement provided that the development plan is not breached.
- (3) Contributions accepted for open space provision may in some sense be regarded as a successful precedent for transfer between remote sites in separate ownership.

The Proposal

In one sense, a development right does not exist until a development permission is forthcoming. What we are therefore discussing is the possibility of a planning authority agreeing to the removal of a permission at one location in exchange for the granting of permission at another. A permission ensures for the benefit of the land, thus it is not the same permission that is forthcoming at the second location, but a new permission which is substituted in its place. It is therefore proposed that the term transferable development rights be dropped in favour of substitutionary development permission (SDP). We now spell out the favoured mode of implementation from the legal standpoint. This should take the following form:

- (a) Revision of the Development Plan

The plan would specify density maxima in the usual way (plot ratios for sites in particular use zones) and the deviations that may be permitted (based on strategic planning criteria such as proximity to transport nodes and also

Table 4: UNUSED POTENTIAL REMAINING IN 1974 CLASSIFIED BY USE ZONES, CONSERVATION STATUS AND DISTANCE FROM DART

Thousands of sq. metres.

Distance from DART	Conservation Status	Use Zones						
		A	B	B1	C	D	D1	E
less than ½ km	None	0	-	18	-	173	62	99
	< 50% Frontage	-	-	183	-	20	-	-
	> 50% Frontage	-	-	-	-	15	-	-
	< 50% Area	-	0	-	-	-	-	-
	> 50% Area	0	-	0	-	-	-	-
	None	64	-	48	-	3	6	428
½ to 1 km	< 50% Frontage	0	-	26	-	0	-	-
	> 50% Frontage	-	0	0	-	0	-	-
	< 50% Area	-	29	0	-	-	-	-
	> 50% Area	-	19	-	-	-	-	-
	None	1279	-	63	241	184	1342	1475
	< 50% Frontage	90	-	91	68	46	346	190
More than 1 km	> 50% Frontage	3	-	1	-	-	-	-
	< 50% Area	67	5	82	-	0	590	-
	> 50% Area	-	70	105	-	11	-	-
	None							

Source: Derived from Dublin Corporation 1966 and 1974 Land Use Surveys (unpublished data).

some minor exceptions). However, the plan should also state that, in addition, plot ratios in excess of that which would under other circumstances be permitted, may be acceptable, where developers can show that an equivalent volume of development at another location in the same 'integrated zone of land use management' has been foregone, and the land sterilised or density of development reduced.

The plan should also define one or more 'integrated zones of land-use management' by reference to the development plan maps, basing them on infrastructural capacities, topographical features and community identities, justifying their existence on Part II (4) and Part III (1) of the 3rd Schedule to the 1963 Act, and indicating that such areas will provide the framework for flexible site densities, within the constraint of an unchanged overall zonal density of development.

Finally, the plan should indicate that developments with excessive plot ratios which have been justified on the basis of sterilisation or reduction of density elsewhere, will be expected to contribute to the cost of the sterilisation or reduction of density which has facilitated the excessive plot ratio.

(b) 'Buying Out' Development

With regard to the building or open space to be preserved, the planning authority should approach the owner with a view to concluding a Section 38 agreement transferring the development rights from the owner to the local authority. In the case of a listed building, the agreement would also encompass an undertaking to keep the building in good repair. The property arbitrator would be asked to assess the development value of the site. Naturally, the planning authority would use all the powers currently at its disposal to minimise the compensation payable. The agreement reached would bind remote takers. Should the owners of the building be unwilling to enter into such an agreement, the planning authority would have three courses of action open to it.

First, it could attempt to expropriate the development rights of the land. Second, it could refuse planning permission. Third, it could acquire the land outright.

Of these three options, the last is to be preferred. The preset use value could be recouped by its sale, and the development value recouped as for the other options, i.e. from a developer at another location. It is preferred as an option primarily because of the weakness of Irish powers of enforcement in the area of building maintenance and control of sites. The planning authority cannot be sure of achieving its objective unless it either has direct ownership or copper-fastened S.38 agreement. In any case, the other options have further uncertainties attached to them - neither the courts nor the appeal system can be relied upon to uphold the planning authority.

(c) Recouping the Cost

The planning authority is now left with the task of recouping the development right value which it has paid out to retain the site as it is, or develop at reduced density. (It may itself be undertaking such low density development - housing, for example.)

The authority is the owner of the development rights, but they cannot per se, because of Irish law, be exercised at another location. However, by framing

the development plan in such a way that the densities of sending and receiving site are strategically linked, the authority is able to establish that its own expenditure has facilitated the increased density and it is thus recoverable under S.26 or S.38 or even S.77 (3)

Problems of Demand Deficiency

The problem which confronts any SDP system in Dublin's inner city is the task of restraining intensive office demand from the south-east quadrant and, in particular, the areas of high conservation status, and removing it north of the Liffey, in areas adjacent to DART.

Examination of 1974 land use data, using these criteria, suggests that an IZLUM (Integrated Zone of Land-Use Management) should be defined which embraces the entire south-east quadrant and zones 11, 12 and 18 directly north of the river. This area covers ninety-one per cent of blocks which are not neutral, i.e. accounts for the bulk of blocks where (a) preservation is desired, but subject to development pressure and (b) development is acceptable, but has reached saturation.

It is also roughly corresponds to the 'core' and 'spillover' areas defined above. It is, in short, the area within which manipulation of the spatial pattern of development is critical. It can also be easily defended as an area of land-use control, whose component parts are genuinely inter related in terms of economic activity, land-use, community-patterns and transportation flow.

Nevertheless, successful implementation of any SDP TDR scheme requires buoyant demand for floorspace in receiving zones and an adequate balance of sending to receiving zones. Without such demand, developers cannot be persuaded to accept a planning permission with additional floorspace, and the planning authority will be unable to recoup its expenditure on preservation of the sending blocks. Even where demand is buoyant, plans may be thwarted by an excess supply of land in adjacent areas (the 'boundary effect') possible at a cheaper unit cost.

Examination of the IZLUM defined above suggests that there are some serious shortcomings relating to demand deficiency

(1) The primary objective of Corporation strategy is to remove office activity to redevelopment areas north of the river, yet sixty-one per cent of receiving blocks are south of the river

(2) Furthermore, there are many 'neutral' blocks in the vicinity of the receiving blocks - especially north of the river - which could supply the additional floorspace at lower cost.

(3) Over the IZLUM as a whole sending blocks exceed receiving blocks by a factor of nearly 2.1.

These patterns are confirmed by other evidence, principally the response of the markets to existing Corporation redevelopment strategy. Despite the fact that the planning authority is willing to give additional floorspace in redevelopment areas, there are few takers; this does not bode well for a scheme which requires payment for additional floorspace. To implement an SDP scheme under these conditions would be to attempt to push a piece of string. In the short run, therefore, only a more modest goal is attainable

Implementation

(a) A Framework for Immediate Implementation

In the short term market demand for offices will continue to spill over from its new core to surrounding areas principally in the south-east quadrant. An immediate application of SDP is within the existing areas of high demand with the twin objectives of

(1) Making a more rational use of land within high amenity (conservation areas) thus retaining open space and listed buildings in cooperation with further development of the area

(2) Emphasising particular sectors of the circle of expansion of office development from its new centre - in particular zone 19 as against zones 21 and 30

The first of these objectives is in one sense saying no more than that it is an opportunity to use SDP as a vehicle of local planning and an opportunity to consider development on an area rather than a plot basis. The Burlington development is one example of successful implementation, except that the open space preserved is not available to the public at large. SDP in this context is an imaginative alternative to compulsory acquisition or other forms of site assembly which might be used to oil the wheels of rational and orderly development. Often it makes better urban design sense to permit a higher density on one site than would normally be allowed in order to save another site in its entirety.

The first of these objectives is in one sense saying no more than that it is an opportunity to use SDP as a vehicle of local planning and an opportunity to consider development on an area rather than a plot basis. The Burlington Hotel development is one example of successful implementation, except that the open space preserved is not available to the public at large. SDP in this context is an imaginative alternative to compulsory acquisition or other forms of site assembly which might be used to oil the wheels of rational and orderly development. Often it makes better urban design sense to permit a higher density on one site than would normally be allowed in order to save another site in its entirety.

The second objective may be seen as an exercise of the limited powers available to the planning authority to push development from one sector of high demand to another. The exercise may be likened to that of choosing the landing site of a glider. The pilot has available a number of locations determined by the lift provided by the air conditions. He has no power of his own, yet may freely choose between locations offered by elements outside his control. Ideally, the planning authority will wish to remove office development from the south-east quadrant altogether. The market largely denies them this opportunity but does permit some shifting of demand within the south-east. Thus, the northern halves of zones 19 and 20 may be more acceptable than, for example, the northern half of zone 30.

(b) Longer-term Possibilities

Stress has been laid by Bannon Eustace and O'Neill(11) on a more compact city centre, with higher plot ratios and the concomitant extinguishment of hope value in the surrounding tracts. Some difficulties with this approach have been touched upon.

Examining the possible roles of both SDP and the Compact Inner City Solution it now seems clear that both are necessary yet neither is of itself sufficient. Together however they may in the longer term provide a vehicle which will be sufficient to reach the strategic planning goals sought by Dublin Corporation but not yet achieved.

Long term development of SDP for strategic planning purposes might therefore take the following form:

(1) Declaration of an IZLUM broadly as defined above and in Fig 1. Some adjustment to these boundaries may prove necessary - the inclusion for example of some lands immediately to the south of the Grand Canal.

(2) Retention of use-zoning within the IZLUM broadly as in the 1980 development plan but revision of zoning immediately outside the boundary to exclude high-value uses (the buffer zone). This would effectively isolate the IZLUM as a unit preventing further spill-over and the boundary effect.

(3) Adjustment of existing plot ratios and other density control media in the IZLUM such that the supply of total office space is matched to or rather less than the anticipated demand over the plan period.

(4) Declaration that B and B1 zones are full and that no new development will normally be permitted in these areas (12) but that developments in excess of the revised plot ratios for offices in D and D1 use zones will be countenanced provided that the developer can demonstrate corresponding sterilisation of land in a B or B1 zone. The developer will be expected to contribute to the cost of such sterilisation which will have taken the form of a Section 38 agreement or compensation under S 29 or S 55 of the 1963 Act probably with a third party.

(5) Establishment of a revolving fund to finance such deals seeded by the sterilisation of publicly owned land in B and B1 zones which would form the first basis for collecting contributions from excess developments in D and D1 zones.

Certain elements of this plan are critical. First the supply of potential office space must be carefully judged such that overall demand at least matches it, or exceeds it. Under-supply will have an undesired price effect over-supply will make the sale of extra floorspace in D and D1 zones impossible.

Second control of office development in the buffer zone must be effective. This may entail a severe reduction in plot ratios within the buffer zone in order to discourage development, or at least minimise its impact. Third, there must be a firm resolve on the part of the Corporation to oppose development in B and B1 zones, even at the cost of full open market compensation payments. Fourth the backing of An Bord Pleanála in implementing this policy is essential.

What is likely to happen under this scenario? It is probable that applications

in B and B1 areas would increase in the knowledge that the Corporation would be prepared to oppose such developments to the extent of paying compensation. This is when the revolving fund becomes important. If the Corporation is able to ride out the storm of such compensation demands for the early years of the plan, it should be able to recoup the expenditure in later years as the market adjusts and demand quickens in D and D1 areas, assured by experience that this is the only possible area of development. In practice, what is likely to happen is a northward creep of development through D and D1 use-zones from the south-east core. Malone(13) has already noted a tendency for consolidation within the existing east-west boundary of office development. With a stop line now also imposed to the south, the only possible movement is northward.

A risk with this approach is that developers in D and D1 areas will choose not to purchase extra floorspace in the early years of the plan. Thus, over the period of the plan as a whole, floorspace will be under-supplied and the Corporation will have paid more compensation than it has received. To avoid this, it is suggested that contributions for additional floorspace should be set at below the market price in the early years of the plan, in order to encourage its purchase. Once again, the use of development rights held by the public sector is of central importance in seeding the fund.

If successful, the SDP compact centre approach will place an effective stop line on the outward movement from the new office core area on three sides and allow an incremental movement northward, hopefully biased to the west, along the DART route.

Fresh data on land use and building condition must be collected before such a plan can proceed. It is necessary to know more exactly the volume, use and condition of existing floorspace in the IZLUM, in order to gauge realistically the volume of additional floorspace that could be forthcoming in the plan period from any given plot ratio applied to the use-zones. The market demand for offices would also have to be carefully monitored.

It is possible that adjustments would be required during the currency of the plan; monitoring would be required. In practice, an SDP section within the Corporation Planning Department would be necessary.

Other Applications

TDR in embryo form is already applied by some Irish local authorities who are prepared to grant permission for development of single houses on condition that other land is sterilised (using a Section 38 agreement). These lands are always in the ownership of the developer.

There is no reason why SDP could not be applied more widely to planning at the urban fringe, and indeed, this may be a more promising application than in the urban core. It may provide a vehicle for the avoidance of Section 4s, where pressure for development arises from financial motives on the part of the landowner rather than, for example, a genuine housing need within his family. It will also increase the chances of success of the positive programme to combat ribboning recommended in paragraph 3.11 of the Department of Environment guidelines.

Footnotes and References

- (1) Bannon MJ (1973) Office Location in Ireland: the Role of Central Dublin. An Foras Forbartha Dublin 1973
- (2) Malone P (1981) Office Development in Dublin 1960-1980. Trinity College, Department of Geography, Dublin 1981
- (3) For the purpose of analysis, each street block (see note (4)) was classified according to use zone (1980 Development Plan), conservation status (1980 Development Plan defined conservation areas and frontages). Street blocks were classified for conservation as follows: (1) None, (2) Less than 50% of frontage conserved, (3) Greater than 50% of frontage conserved, (4) Less than 50% of area conserved, (5) Greater than 50% of area conserved, and transportation ((1) Less than half a kilometre from a central DART station, (2) A half to one kilometre, (3) More than one kilometre)
- (4) Land use Surveys were conducted by Dublin Corporation in 1966 and 1974. The area between the canals, which is here used as the definition of Dublin's inner area, was divided into 717 property blocks, in 38 zones, in these surveys
- (5) Zonal saturation occurs where aggregate zonal floorspace matches or exceeds the theoretical maximum development potential. It is purely a zonal density measure and does not imply that every site is fully developed
- (6) Malone P (1981) op cit
- (7) Bannon MJ, Eustace JG and O'Neill M (1981) Urbanisation: Problems of Growth and Decay in Dublin. National Economic and Social Council (No 55) Dublin 1981
- (8) See Keane R (1983) Land Use, Compensation and the Community. Second Adrian Cunningham Memorial Lecture delivered on 1 December 1983 (mimeo)
- (9) Byrne -v- Dublin Co Council (1983) ILRM 213 and Grange Development Ltd v Dublin Co Council. Justice McWilliam Unreported judgment delivered on 28.2.84
- (10) Keane op cit p 16
- (11) Bannon, Eustace and O'Neill op cit
- (12) Though an office plot should be defined for the area for the purposes of compensation assessment, this should be low, to minimise compensation payments
- (13) op cit

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Considerations

Opinion The Mort Main of Manuals

Planning is under threat. This, the latest in a long line of planning clinches, will no doubt take its place with such other profundities as "Planning is for people". Concern is with the inviability of the process rather than the quality of its product or the well being of its clients. For a change it is the planners not the community who feel threatened.

Externally the threat is overt and comes from a number of sources. The root cause - dissatisfaction/disillusionment - is common to all. Public representatives by their increasing use of section four rezoning and material contravention mechanisms destroy the integrity of the plan and indirectly call the competence of planners other than engineers or architects into question - a position publicly supported by the Department of the Environment in the case of the Dublin City planning Officer post. Finally, there is a growing public who have lost all confidence in the ability of planners and the efficacy of plans to protect the environment. Abortive road proposals, high rise flats, destruction of listed buildings, degradation of areas zoned for high amenity, cutting down of trees, the burying of archaeological treasures all patently attest the futility of planning and the impotence of the planner.

To add to all this there is the insidious, because it is unrecognised, threat from within the profession itself. In their journals (and this one is no exception) the representative institutes assist (Pray God in Ignorance) in diminishing planning by the endorsement of manuals prepared by planners. Ostensibly their purpose is to raise the level of quality of Development Plans. However appropriate this might have been in 1963 because of the shortage of trained planners, it is hard to accept their continued need in 1984 given the number of highly trained and unemployed planners at present.

Proper planning demands properly qualified and sufficient numbers of staff in Planning Authorities. Yet many employ no qualified person while others expect trojan efforts from a single planner - everything from plan preparation to development control. In the latter circumstances one would expect a high rate of natural wastage because of the incidence of nervous breakdown and subsequent certification. That this has not happened is a tribute to the stamina and stoicism engendered in the rigour of the post graduate planning courses.

Despite the potential number of planning posts and the large number of unemployed planners ready to fill them. An Foras Forbartha with the approval and co-operation of the profession prepares manuals designed to perpetuate the D.I.Y. approach in local authorities. Manuals propagate a simplistic view of the planning process. Understanding of the dynamic nature of the urban system and its interactions are lost. Complex diagrams illustrating the recursive and integrated nature of the planning process are quickly passed over in favour of simple sectoral procedures. The skill and judgement required in the formulation of sound assumptions and the knowledge of the disabilities inherent in most models is rarely conveyed. The impression is given that armed with an algorithm any Tom, Dick or Harriet can plan. Why go to planning school, why bother with continuing professional development, why employ a planner when its all in the book.

Is it any wonder that some County and City Managers think that a short course (some six weeks) at an NIHE will equip other professionals and officials to carry out the proper planning of their area. Should we be surprised when engineers, architects and draughtsmen tack 'planning consultant' onto the list of their accomplishments.

Long accused of mystifying planning, planners are now actively engaged in demystifying it out of existence. No other profession feels the need for manuals. In early days barbers were surgeons but no sane person suggests that they be allowed to operate today using manuals. Similarly in early days architects and engineers acted as planners. Solicitors fight do it yourself conveyancing on the grounds that no manual could identify the exigencies likely to arise in the sale of a property. Is planning so straightforward?

The situation can only get worse. Inevitably there are proposals to computerise the process of planning reducing it to the level of an arcade game for anyone who wants to play. The tragedy for planning and ultimately for the community is that the players, all with vested interests will have more political, administrative and/or economic power than the planners ever had. Dial a plan will replace the manuals and only an inefficient telephone service can retard the takeover.

J.J. EUSTACE

RENT-A-PLAN

As part of its continuing contribution to Ireland and the world An Foras Forbartha is offering a rent-a-plan service. For a modest outlay a local authority or private person can rent-a-plan for any size of area or for any length of time. Short term plans, those lasting 2-3 weeks, should prove very popular since they are designed to see local authorities through emergencies such as appeals, development plan deadlines and periods when the planning officer is indisposed. At the other end of the scale the long term plan should have immense appeal to local authorities of vision and imagination. Already orders have come in for the 10 000 year model. All plans are tested and tried in the 'Rent a-Plan' testing station in Kerry.

Plans must work of course, and in terms of motivation four types of plans are offered -

- 1 The Clockwork Plan. This plan will keep going for 365 days without winding. There is the danger, however, that the planning officer will forget to wind up the plan on 31st December each year with the result that development in his area may slow down. A special alarm system has been included in the plan to reduce this risk.
- 2 The Viable Plan. This is an organic plan which has to be fed and watered, but which grows so much per annum bringing prosperity to the area. The drawback here is that it reproduces, so that in time one is inundated with hundreds of plans bringing about severe plan congestion.
- 3 The On-Going Plan. This plan, which is on wheels is propelled by hot air. It should appeal to those planning authorities who have a surplus of hot air in their council chambers, an important consideration in this energy conscious age.
- 4 The Flexible Plan. This all-rubber plan is designed to suit any area, deal with any circumstance, meet with every objective. Its patent, ever-changing goals, ingredient is a special discovery by An Foras. Obviously the use of such a powerful type of plan should be restricted as it would be undesirable to have unbridled planning rampant in the land. The flexible plan will be issued only to those who hold a planning licence.

KEN MAWHINNEY

"It'd drive you to drink".

Residents of the burgeoning Dublin suburbs may be surprised to learn that conflict between recent planning policies and licensing legislation ensures that few new public houses will be built to serve them.

Some may welcome this – the fewer pubs the less we will drink. However we spend about 12% of our disposable income on alcoholic drink and will probably continue to do so be it at home, in a restaurant, in a club or in a pub. The traditional Irish pub has contributed greatly to the social and physical fabric of our towns and cities. Being a gregarious people many of us use it even if at times our image of dark cosy havens and indulgent landlords conflicts with the reality of the large barnlike structures of the suburbs.

The present impasse has arisen due to the County Dublin Planners attempting to attach some semblance of coherence to the galloping growth (4% per annum) of the county by structuring new residential areas into discernible human groupings with town centres such as Tallaght, Blanchardstown, Clondalkin at the top of the hierarchy and neighbourhoods akin to villages at the bottom. This policy creates neighbourhoods of about 5 000 persons centred upon their own local facilities of primary schools, shops, church, park etc. The planners intend that a small local pub would be provided in such centres to which people would walk rather than drive.

However licensing legislation has been developing in a different direction. One of its central objectives appears to be to limit the number of pubs. At present a new pub cannot be built without extinguishing one other existing licence in the city area or two in a rural area.

Older readers will remember the Bonafides – rural hostels on the edge of the city where you could have a drink for an hour after normal city closing time if you travelled more than three miles. This innocent practice fell into abuse in the 1950s as private motor vehicles became more widely available and cars crammed to the brim with people bearing envelopes with false addresses to indemnify them in the event of a Garda raid, sped into the countryside after normal closing hours.

The Bonafide loophole was closed but with a compensating blessing that no new licenced premises could be located within a mile of the country pub. However in early 1960s the expanding city engulfed these small rural pubs leaving them in the happy position of gaining all this new trade. The planners neighbourhood policy vanished as the Bonafides captured markets of up to 20 000 people.

Recent court decisions has distorted the picture even further. Amongst many matters which the court has to consider in new licensing applications is their convenience or inconvenience. In the cases of proposed pubs at Tallaght, Cabinteely and Rathfarnham the High Court has interpreted 'inconvenience' to mean the location of the premises and decided amongst other things that pubs close to community uses such as churches, schools, parks and housing would be 'inconvenient' on the grounds that such a use would attract a high proportion of young people who the Court

felt should be shielded from the detrimental effects of such outlets. However these are precisely where the planners have decided that pubs should be built. A catch 22 situation has arisen in that the planners will grant permission where the Courts won't issue a licence and vice versa.

Presumably the courts are prepared to permit new public houses in existing commercial areas but in the new suburbs of County Dublin these are few and far between.

The most serious consequence of the non-provision of local pubs is that people who still wish to have a pint with their friends will have to drive outside their neighbourhoods to do so. It is not necessary to quote statistics to show that the highest number of drink related accidents occurs between the hours of 9pm and 3am. It would appear therefore that current legislation is ensuring that many people will have to drive to drink. Alternatively private clubs (or restaurants according to *Building On Reality*) may take up the slack or existing premises may expand beyond their reasonable size out of scale and character with their local function. The possibility of community vigilance over small local pubs will be lost with problems shunted onto somebody else's neighbourhood.

Though I think it is open to debate perhaps the number of licences should be limited. Certainly they should be provided in areas where they are required. A recent suggestion that the State determine the number of licences required for an expanding area create them and then auction them off seems very sensible.

A Committee of the Oireachtas is currently sitting to consider amendments to our licensing legislation which is generally agreed to be out of date. The Committee might consider the proposition that a planning permission is evidence enough of the convenience of the premises. Planning permissions can be granted only if they accord with approved Development Plans and in the making of these plans and deciding on applications, the community has an opportunity for participation and debate. The approval of a site for a licenced premises has to run the double gauntlet of both Planning Authority and their attendant planning charges (which maybe up to £1,000) and the Courts with no sure decision until the end of the day. The Committee might also consider removing the mile restriction in areas zoned for development.

In the 1960s with the growth of our cities we embarked on a policy of building new towns to the west of Dublin without the necessary structures of legislation to ensure their balanced development. Twenty years later, neither Blanchardstown nor Tallaght with its population the size of Limerick city have proper town centres. And when eventually they do get them they probably won't have any pubs in them!

Fergal McCabe is a Town Planning Consultant

A Historical note on Planning Appeals

The first thirteen appeals in the Dublin County Borough poured in to the Minister at the rate of just under four cases per year. The first in February 1936 and the thirteenth on the eve of World War II in June, 1939

The average time taken to discharge these appeals was just over six months but varied from one and a half to twelve and a half months

One of these appeals was late, and five others were withdrawn or otherwise settled. The decisions in the remaining cases were six refusals of permission and one confirmation of conditions. There were no decisions against the Corporation.

Five appeals concerned shops and six related to houses. In half these cases the houses were sited in the back gardens of other houses. Proposed dairy sheds and a skin dressing factory made up the total of thirteen appeals.

A further two appeals were made but were not decided because one lay in the area of another authority and the other concerned matters relating to the Public Health Act, 1878.

The details of the cases are too various for easy summary, nor is there any clear pattern to be seen but appearance, building lines and density of development recur as topics of discussion.

R. STRINGER

REVIEWS....

**John Blackwell and Frank J. Convery (editors), -
"Promise and Performance: Irish Environmental Policies analysed."
(Resource and Environmental Policy Centre, U.C.D., 1983).
XX 434 pages. IR£ 7.95**

This book consists of 33 pages presented to a conference on Irish resource and environmental policy held in U C D in April, 1983 the editors are to be congratulated on getting the book, complete with diagrams, references and an index, into print so rapidly. They are concerned - rightly - with the ad hoc nature of many policy decisions, and the purpose of the conference was to help improve the quality of decision-making by clearly identifying the problems and options across a range of environmental issues. The commendable scope of the book poses problems for a reviewer, so I will focus on those aspects likely to be of most interest to planners.

The book is divided into eight main policy areas. The first two sections deal with water, air and environmental quality. P I Mitchell reviews the disposal of radioactive waste within the Irish Sea and at the North East Atlantic dumping sites, and while he concludes that there is no significant hazard from current operations, pressure to permit the dumping of greater quantities of more toxic waste in the Atlantic is likely to increase.

In the following section on agriculture and forestry, G E Boyle and B Kearney of An Foras Taluntais provide a detailed overview of the trend towards more intensive agriculture in Ireland. Readers may recall that Gerry Walker's article on Planning and agriculture in the E E C argued that the C A P may be biasing income distribution in favour of the richer areas. Boyle and Kearney suggest that Community structural policy may be more sympathetic towards smaller farms in the future. The environmental problems arising from intensive production are graphically illustrated in an article by Dodd and Champ on Lough Sheelin. Yvonne Scannell (School of Law, T C D) shows how both the planning and water pollution laws might be amended to deal with modern farming methods. The devastating impact of agriculture on archaeological monuments is highlighted by Gabriel Cooney (U C D) in the section on non-traded natural resources. The recent archaeological survey of Co Donegal for example, showed an overall removal rate of 33 per cent since the 1830's. However Cooney also cites the heartening story of the archaeological work which accompanied the laying of the Cork - Dublin gas pipeline - the cost worked out at 0.3% of the total budget, and the development project finished ahead of time.

Part five deals with energy. Colm McCarthy, now on the Board of the E.S.B. discusses energy pricing policy, including pricing natural gas, in his customary trenchant style. His verdict on the purchase of the Whitegate refinery, for instance. The whole strategy is a shambles, may well be illegal in any event, and has imposed huge excess costs on an already weakened economy. K. Robinson of NBST surveys renewable energy sources in Ireland, which may well play a more important role in the future.

Part 6, 'Urban Systems', is perhaps the section of most relevance to planners, and contains a number of major contributions by I.P.I. members. Michael Bannon charts the growth of urbanisation in this country, showing only Galway and Dublin have achieved a level of growth bearing any resemblance to that envisaged in the Buchanan Report. Referring to the purpose of the conference, Bannon rightly attacks the absence of effective policies at national and regional level, and the dominance of development control within the planning system. His calls for more local plans, and for a stronger policy-making role by the Department of the Environment, echo those of the Institute in its recently published Policy Papers. L. Komito (University of Pennsylvania) provides a perceptive outsider's view of the rezoning controversy in County Dublin, arguing that in this context politicians are not necessarily villains, they too are victims of the Irish political system and voters' expectations. Anngret Simms (U.C.D.) writes with conviction on the role of the historic inner city as an irreplaceable environmental resource, and stresses the conflict within the Dublin City Plan between preservation of the character of the medieval core and major street-widening proposals. Brian Meehan and his colleagues in Bolton Street use a detailed analysis of the Urban Development Areas Bill 1983 as a framework for exploring the multi-faceted problems of the central area of Dublin, and propose some thought provoking options for future policy. They recommend an incentive rather than taxation based approach towards derelict sites, and like Bannon, call for detailed action area plans. Their endorsement of the Minority Report recommendations of the Kenny Committee (on the price of building land) is insufficiently argued, however. Philip Geoghegan (U.C.D.) writes convincingly on the need for a housing improvement policy for renewal of decaying inner urban areas. Looking at 'Streets for living', E. Brangan and R. Mulvihill bring us up to date by relating the U.K. experience (particularly in Cheshire) to Irish conditions. Cheshire has fewer children living on new estates, and far more planners available to handle innovative layouts.

Part 7 of the book discusses the 'User Pays' approach. Economists Sean Barret and Brendan Walsh show that the Singapore licensing system has reduced the number of vehicles entering the city centre during the morning peak by a third. Closer to home, B. Greeney (AFF) points out that vehicles with heavy axle loads are estimated to account for 94 percent of the structural damage to Irish roads, and argues persuasively for higher taxes on such vehicles.

Part 8 Political and insitutional aspects - makes for depressing reading because it demonstrates why we end up with ad hoc decision - making despite the kind of reasoned argument put forward by the academic and professional contributors to this conference. For instance R Roche(U C D) documents the influence of big pressure - groups on Government policies while Frank Litton (I P A) goes to the heart of the matter. Senior civil servants are so preoccupied with the problem of delivering services to the satisfaction of political goals which these services might serve or damage. Finally in this section Philip Mulally provides a concrete example of bureaucratic inertia. A policy for the Environment published in 1980 has gone into Limbo. He makes a plea for a holistic approach towards the environment. If we have not got a consciousness of the whole there is no process whereby we can resist pressures and these pressures are manifest.

I hope I have quoted sufficiently from the book to illustrate its depth and breadth of vision which will counter any tunnel vision we may be susceptible to within our own segment of the environmental professions. In particular I commend to you Frank Convery's brilliant synthesis (Part 9) which not only draws the diverse strands together but indicates what needs to be done to sharpen the cutting edge of environmental policies. The 1983 conference represents the first in a series - perhaps some future conference should address itself more explicitly to the question as to why so many excellent reports and plans end up gathering dust on government shelves.

J.H. MARTIN

The Demand for Retail Space, Dublin 1984

Greer J.V

An Foras Forbartha

Retailing is a major element in the economy of the Republic of Ireland. With an annual turnover in the region of £500 millions its healthy operation is important for us all. Nevertheless there is an environmental dimension to the operations of the retail sector and it is this dimension which gives planners cause for concern.

Modern retailing is characterised by the ever increasing scale of the urban hardware necessary to sustain its functions. Supermarkets and superstores are growing bigger. Large shopping centres with their associated car parking provisions make special demands in terms of sites and locations all too often the opening of a superstore heralds the demise of the local small shops of a town or district. This can initiate a depressing cycle of economic and environmental decline destroying within a few short years, the land use structure and environmental quality of a town.

It is difficult to forecast the trends in shopping development, yesterdays supermarkets are replaced by todays superstores. Tomorrow might see the introduction of the latest development of video shopping. If this occurs the housewife will choose from purchases at a video terminal in her home. The goods will be delivered directly from the warehouse and the superstores will decline.

Obviously, this rapidly changing situation presents a challenge to planners. General guidelines have been set out in the Ministerial directive on the subject Local Government (Planning and Development) General Policy Directive 1982 (S1 No. 264 of 1982) but implementation of the policies contained in the guidelines will make demands upon the technical competence of the Profession.

Within this context the usefulness of An Foras Forbartha's new manual is readily apparent. The manual written by Mr J.V. Greer of Queens University provides a sound procedural basis for dealing with the shopping component of statutory plans or for the analysis of individual development control applications.

The chapter on the retail projection process gives a clear explanation of the steps involved together with a clear description of the relevant data sources. A clear model of the overall projection method is given in the form of a diagram which summarises the overall system.

It is no surprise to find that the section on mathematical modelling is particularly strong since the Department of Town and Country Planning at Queen's has been active in the field for some years. However having alluded to the difficulties of data availability, the author sounds this note of caution 'the use of retail models must therefore be considered in the context of the adequacy of existing data, the resources available to collect data and type the degree of detail required as output'.

Undoubtedly, data deficiencies constitute a severe difficulty. When we consider that the 1977 Census of Distribution was not published until May 1983, we can begin to see the dimensions of the problem. Sadly, this situation seems to be considered both normal and acceptable. Surely, in today's computerised environment, the Central Statistics Office could improve on this performance.

Nevertheless, as the author points out, the scope for modelling has increased with the advent of the micro computer. Planners are going to have to acquire data both by direct investigation and by systematic data capture from sources readily available to them. Modern spreadsheet programs (such as Supercalc, Visicalc, Lotus 1,2,3 etc.) will greatly aid them in their task and will herald the rebirth of simple mathematical modelling as an everyday tool in progressive planning offices.

In publishing this manual, An Foras has, once again, earned the gratitude of planners. Publications such as this are valuable because they deal with themes and problems which occur again and again during the course of our professional work. They explain techniques and methodologies in a straightforward manner which commends itself to those of us who lack the time to consult a multitude of inaccessible sources. This publication deserves a place in every planning office library.

P L BRANIFF



●At the Annual Conference Stephanie Taheny, Hank van der Kamp and Michael Kenny.

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