

Undergraduate essay by Simon Batterbury, archived on
www.simonbatterbury.net/pubs

Marked by the late
Mike Breheny

Batterbury SPJ. 1984. Assess the role that geographers have played in
post-war public policy making in the UK. Mimeo, Dept of Geography,
University of Reading.

5-11-84.

ASSESS THE ROLE THAT GEOGRAPHERS HAVE PLAYED
IN POST WAR PUBLIC POLICY MAKING IN THE
UNITED KINGDOM.

SIMON BATTERBURY.

<u>CONTENTS</u>	<u>PAGE</u>
1. INTRODUCTION	1
2. PUBLIC POLICY	1
3. SCIENCE AND PUBLIC POLICY	2
4. THE NEED FOR GEOGRAPHY IN PUBLIC POLICY	4
5. THE CONTRIBUTION OF GEOGRAPHY AND GEOGRAPHERS TO PUBLIC POLICY IN THE POST- WAR PERIOD IN BRITAIN.	5
6. CASE STUDY: PLANNING	13
7. POSSIBLE CONTRIBUTIONS OF GEOGRAPHY TO PUBLIC POLICY	16
8. CONCLUSION.	17

APPENDIX ONE - SUITABLE TOPICS FOR GEOGRAPHICAL
ANALYSIS - EIGHT EXAMPLES.

APPENDIX TWO - CONTRIBUTIONS - MAIN HEADINGS.

REFERENCES.

1. INTRODUCTION.

"But one might say, geographers yes, geography no..."
Hare 1974.

The role of geography in public policy making is not well defined. Its contribution has varied in the post-war period both in relation to its development as a discipline, but also to its changing concern with relevance and its level of interaction with the processes of the state. It is argued that, given the history of contributions to public policy and their relative success or failure, it is individuals rather than the discipline as a whole who have had the most to contribute; if not in terms of theory, then purely in terms of action and deeds. Before moving to a discussion of actual contributions which geographers have made, it is important to outline both the general relationship between science and public policy, and also to try to define public policy itself.

2 PUBLIC POLICY

"Public Policy is the way a controlling majority or a controlling minority thinks before group action takes place"

Achermann 1962.

Public policy relates to the provision and planning of public goods and services. Much of the money spent by local government is channelled into services for the community. Services have a spatial aspect; in most cases distance from a service facility reduces the benefit received from that service. The range of public services offered by local authorities is wide; perhaps the classification of most use to geographers is that of Massam working in 1975 (see Barlow 1981); his typology embraces not only everyday services, but also the planning function, an area in which geography has arguably had the greatest impact as a discipline in post-war years. Perry (1969) argues that the still expanding range of functions being assigned to local authorities provides a rationale for the use of analytical techniques and academic methods in the field. Barlow (1981) points to perhaps the two major considerations for a public policy; it needs to be (1) Adequate - in terms of territorial coverage, and the needs of the

2.

A DIVISION OF SERVICES (Massachusetts)

Services with flows from many to few destinations.

→ e.g. HOSPITALS, SCHOOLS.

Flows from few origins to many destinations. Each journey involves a central point.

→ e.g. POLICE STATIONS
FIRE STATIONS

Services with flows from few origins to many destinations and in which each journey involves many destinations

→ e.g. REFUSE COLLECTION
MAIL DELIVERY

Where a few central points provide areally based services.

→ e.g. PLANNING DISTRICTS
POLLUTION CONTROL DISTRICTS.

Community, and (2) Effective - is its desired impact or effect actually achieved? Monitoring therefore is of importance.

Given, then, that public policy embraces a wide range of functions and affects the community through the actions of government, how should academic or theoretical knowledge be applied to the real world to aid the study of policy?

3. SCIENCE AND PUBLIC POLICY

"If you want knowledge you must take part in the practice of changing reality. If you want to know the taste of a pear you must change the pear by eating it yourself"

Chairman Mao.

The 'relevance debate' is a common one in academic disciplines. It is felt by many that work based purely on theory and abstract notions achieves little; without reference to reality and real-world problems.

"I know from past experience that it is easy to fill ones time in an office by delving deeper and deeper into fascinating problems which have

3.

Less and less application to the functions of the department for which one works"

Professor W. Holford 1950 (in Green 1950)

Carter (1975) balances two important viewpoints; a discipline with no recourse to real-world situations is value free, and as such is of no real relevance. Yet the existence of value dependent social science implies that academic learning, as such, disappears and only 'propaganda' remains. In the case of Britain, relevant social research could rarely be described purely as propaganda in the literal sense of the word; rarely does it approach problems from an overtly political or radical viewpoint (yet of course exceptions do exist). Carter forwards two fields in which social science can make valid contributions to public policy; firstly to attack what is termed 'injustice', and secondly to create a demand for the elimination of exploitation - a step towards some millennial state, "whether it be in another world in the New Jerusalem or on Earth in the City of Marx". Indeed, moving on to the views of Marxists, we see another approach to the complex relationship between science and policy. For a Marxist, society must be viewed and analysed as a totality - in effect this means no aspect of public policy should be ignored by the practitioner. In Weberian sociology (Senders 1982) we see the state likened to a political market place in which the supply of policies comes to reflect the pattern of expressed effective demand from different consumers. Obviously, these policies need careful co-ordination, which is where social scientists may have a part to play.

The final argument for intervention in public policy is illustrated by Dear + Clark (1978). They feel a reappraisal of policy is needed for three main reasons;

1. The continual growth of the public sector means the state has an ever increasing impact on local neighbourhoods.

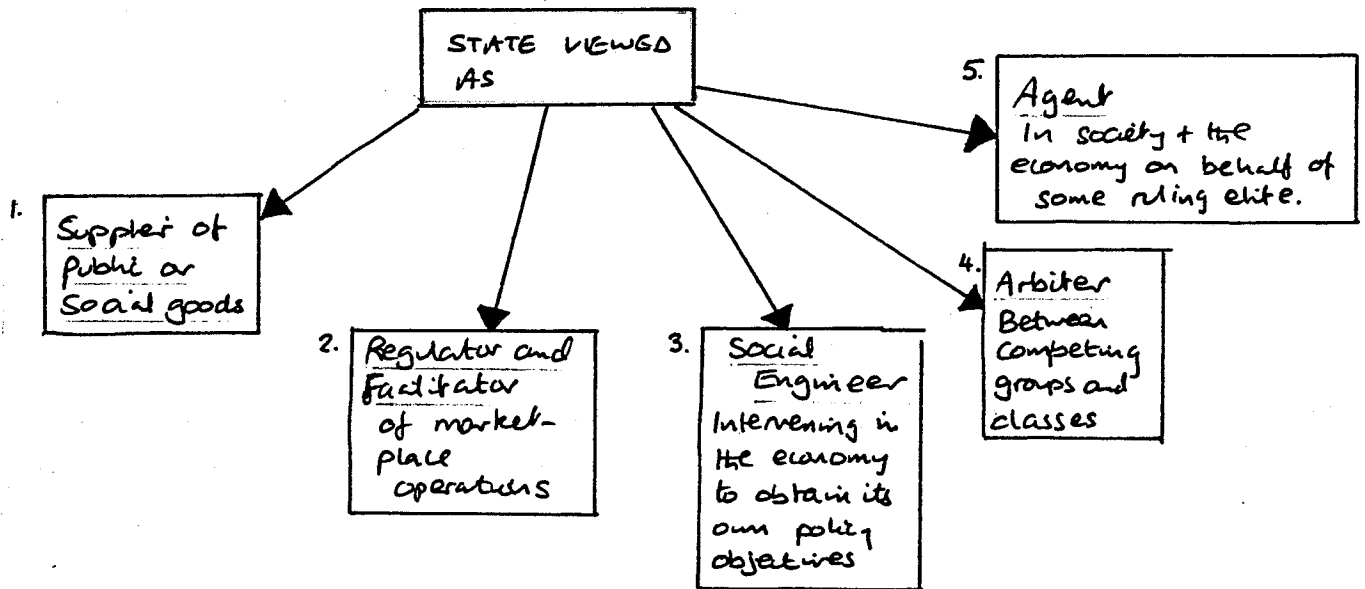
(This has to be offset, in Britain at least, against the cutbacks in local and central government services imposed in recent years).

2. Little systematic understanding of the functions of the state exist. State intervention in a given area is seen as a neglected field,

4.

3. Actual assumptions about state processes may be invalid and need reviewing. (see diagram 2)

THE ROLE OF THE STATE (Deart Clark 1978)
5 ALTERNATIVE VIEWS



4. THE NEED FOR GEOGRAPHY IN PUBLIC POLICY

"To geographers and social scientists, any observed spatial configuration, be it in the hills and valleys of an area, a river, a shoreline, a grid of land uses, a set of urban places, a flow of vehicles, a scatter of migrants or a combination of such features, has always been considered as a phenomenon worthy of explanation."

Hägerstrand 1970.

"The time for self-indulgent theoreticism is past — it is time we got our hands dirty"

Sanders 1982.

As White (1962) points out, the contributions which geographic thought can make to the advancement of society are "relatively few, simple and powerful". The range of disagreement among authors outlining suitable topics for geographical analysis is shown in Appendix One. The material

contained here is by no means comprehensive, and is liable to misinterpretation due to its general nature; yet two points emerge from the analysis. Firstly, disagreement is fairly great among authors - this is self-evident. Secondly, changes in attitudes can be identified over time - a general concern to better society, shown by White, Achermann, and Hall has given way to concern with more specific issues - Smith and welfare geography, Brecheny and planning.

Having identified the academic contribution to the analysis of public policy and related issues, it is important to draw some conclusion from this work. My view is as follows.

Bearing in mind the 'paradigm shift' syndrome which typifies the discipline of geography, with its move to quantification in the sixties, and the way this is gradually being replaced by concern with the environment and its protection, it appears to me that the only way geography as a whole can be of consistent, relevant and lasting benefit to policy problems is by confining itself to specific issues and problems. Hence we return again to the concept of geographers yes, geography no. Consistently, since the 1930's and before, it has been individuals; whether inside or outside the main stream of geographical thought at the time; who have had the most valid contributions to make to decision making in the field. Generalised discussions of the current academic work being performed, or of the state and its effect on individuals and neighbourhoods can be seen as purely academic in a literal sense. If one accepts the idea that relevance should be the prime concern of geographers, then it follows that relevance can only be achieved by reference to specific case studies and methodologies for attacking problems. This viewpoint conflicts with that of Sewell and Foster (1970) in particular; they identify a need for analysis of multiple rather than single facts or situations, general policy rather than that dedicated to case studies. It is telling that they conclude that

"Geographers have attempted to solve problems that have had, and still do have, social significance. It is also true however, that in most countries little of their work has resulted in changes in public policy."

Many others have felt that geographers' training in spatial systems and analysis is beneficial. Yet on a general scale

6.

only, as Semell and Foster point out, ^{the evidence} does not back this up. Geography is not alone in analysing spatial systems, anyway. The Institute of British Geographers 1976 debate on public policy supports this to some extent; much is made of the geographer's role in society and public policy making by the contributors, but little evidence is given that this contribution has been (a) successful, or even applied, and (b) has any more than minimal use for the examination of specific issues.

To continue, then, the general theme of 'Geographers yes, geography no' is next related to the study of public policy in 3 ways. Firstly, existing important contributions of geography to public policy are examined, hopefully showing how the useful contributions have come from individuals within the field. Secondly, the case of planning is examined, perhaps the major aspect of public policy to receive the attention of academics; thirdly, possible but as yet unrealised contributions are discussed.

5. THE CONTRIBUTION OF GEOGRAPHY AND GEOGRAPHERS TO PUBLIC POLICY IN THE POST-WAR PERIOD IN BRITAIN.

"Geographers are always asking about the meaning of things..." Hall 1970.

"As in all simple time scale models of intellectual activity there will, at any one time, be some students ahead of their time while others pursue themes which were more central at an earlier date"

Thorpe 1978.

Attempts to put public policy on a more scientific footing have been a central concern of government for the last thirty years (Batty 1978). Ignoring the field of planning for the present, a variety of individual contributions to the field of public policy are worthy of discussion. The broad changes in geographical thought which have occurred over the period, namely the shift from quantitative to qualitative analysis, the search for relevance and the move towards present day environmental concern, has had but a minimal effect on policy analysis. Of course, the quantitative revolution was accompanied by a renewed interest in real world

problems and their solutions (yet coupled perhaps with a willingness to generalise). Welfare geography in particular owes much to the new techniques developed during this period, but was perhaps more influenced by the recessional environment of the 1970's. Yet in general terms, applied geography does not now follow in any major way, the current fields of research in the discipline; by its very nature it reacts to the problems thrown up by individual situations in a variety of ways.

Public policy came under scrutiny from some geographers, albeit indirectly, before World War II. Stamp's Land Utilisation Survey (1930) showed for the first time the extent of land use in Britain, the loss of agricultural land resulting from urban spread, and put some value on agricultural land in the country. This had implications, if indirect ones, on policy. In addition, the work of Machiavello pioneered the establishment of geography as a respectable academic discipline, and introduced the idea of "geography as an aid to statecraft" (Parke 1982). He saw geography as being important on a local, national and international level, he pioneered the concept of 'geopolitics', he was keen to advance the teaching of geography and he was himself a Member of Parliament.

Much of the early contributions in geography came in the sphere of planning, and these are discussed in more detail in section 6. Smiles (1944) (1947) relates retailing to other processes in the urban environment, using it as an indicator to delimit the 'urban field'. Cammitres (1962) gained an insight into the central role of specific town centres in order to contribute to thinking about local government reorganisation. Green (1950) mapped accessibility and urban hinterlands. Green worked within local government himself. Powell (1960) gave a close analysis of London's growth pattern, population and employment changes. He assesses the future needs of the city as well as cataloguing existing problems, in a method which was a conscious step away from the earlier work of the Barlow Commission and the geography of the immediate post-war period.

The fluctuations in the fortunes of Great Britain prompted increased emphasis on the problems of social well-being and its relationship with existing or proposed public policy. Until the 1950's, Smith (1971) feels geography

was "no more than science" - facts being established without careful analysis and formal use of hypotheses. Some of the work of individuals such as Smiles may provide evidence to the contrary, but in general it is true. Quantitative methods pioneered during the 1960s, by Garrison and his graduates at Washington University, initially served purely to extend the available range of statistical techniques which could be employed; it took time for such ideas to be applied to public policy. Appendix two summarises the applications and important individual contributions of geography to public policy over the period; hopefully to simplify a fuller discussion of the important contributions, or lack of them, which geographers have made.

Firstly, then, the need for a geography of social well-being, welfare geography, has been proposed by a number of writers. Quantification of spatial variations of wellbeing helps to aid public policy dealing with social problems. Smith (1974) identified the study as one of "who gets what, where and how" - introducing a spatial variable into a wider question. The measurement of such variables as housing quality, education levels, recreational provision and general socio-economic wellbeing has been undertaken in some studies, often applied to specific areas and related to local authority or city boundaries. Holtermann in 1975 produced an index of multiple deprivation based on percentages of overcrowding, inadequate provision of household facilities, and male unemployment in enumeration districts in London, Brighton, Bournemouth and Southampton (see Coates, Knox, Johnson 1977). Lewis produced in 1968 a more comprehensive list of indicators to apply at the area level; Smith has produced similar schemes (1977). Richard Webber working at CES used Census data to develop socio-economic classifications based on local areas; this idea was subsequently applied at the national scale. The general conclusion of all this work has been that inequality in whatever form, is a product of both social and economic structures (Coates et al. 1977). The work in this field has gone to prove that certain policies may or may not be desirable, whether based in the long or short term, or based on local areas or the national scale. In the areas of planning and local government reform there is some evidence to show that changes have been made in response to such academic work, but it is easy to confuse these with political

factors and the desire to attract sections of the population by proposing policies which will seemingly lead to a betterment of living or employment conditions.

Welfare geography as a general discipline is closely related to the study of regional problems. Regional policy has been analysed in depth by those seeking both to evaluate its worth, and improve its benefit to the regions it is designed to aid. In this field, a clear distinction must be drawn; geographers' methods have been concerned with general evaluation of regional policy, as well as with formulating policies for its improvement. Examples of the former approach are numerous; Rothwell (1982) relates post-war changes in manufacturing to the state of the world economy; the need for regional innovation policies is forwarded. Ludgin et al (1979) discuss the role of manufacturing firms in employment creation. Moore and Rhodes work also provides an in depth and often critical evaluation of regional policy in the 1950s to the 1970s. Yet despite geographers' interest in regional problems, little concrete has been achieved. As Breheny and Hall (1983) point out,

"Regional policy was a popular cause in the 1960's when the question was how to allocate growth. Nowadays, with no growth to allocate, it has plenty of potential enemies - and only a few enthusiastic friends."

The drastic cuts in regional policy in 1979, and again last week, reflect this attitude. Here is an aspect of public policy where political considerations have been judged more important than the continuing patterns of inequality identified by the welfare geographers as well as by politicians and sociologists.

Associated with work on regional policy has been that relating more to industry and the changes which have taken place in the pattern of employment opportunities. Hall (1981) analyses this work, by Fothergill and Ludgin, Keeble, Massey and Meegan and others and concludes although Britain is unique in the depth of analysis employed, its application to public policy is perhaps limited and somewhat indirect.

"The only problem, perhaps, is the question; in what sense is it applied geography?"

Hall 1981.

Conclusions are indeed hard to draw from analyses such as Keeble which analyse regional employment change over an extended period. Given the unwillingness at present to extend, or even consider regional aid and incentives, its contribution to public policy making is perhaps slight. For a more relevant approach, the studies involving local areas, applying techniques developed by those such as Keeble, Donnison and Soto et al are more use; in part, this means a return to the concept of welfare geography once again, and the approaches used by Webber (social-economic analysis) and Smith (analysis of wellbeing). Lloyd and Mason (1978) apply a general study of the manufacturing industry to the specific example of Greater Manchester, showing how small firms have accounted for the most closures in recent years. It is this type of analysis which is likely to influence public policy on such issues to the greatest extent.

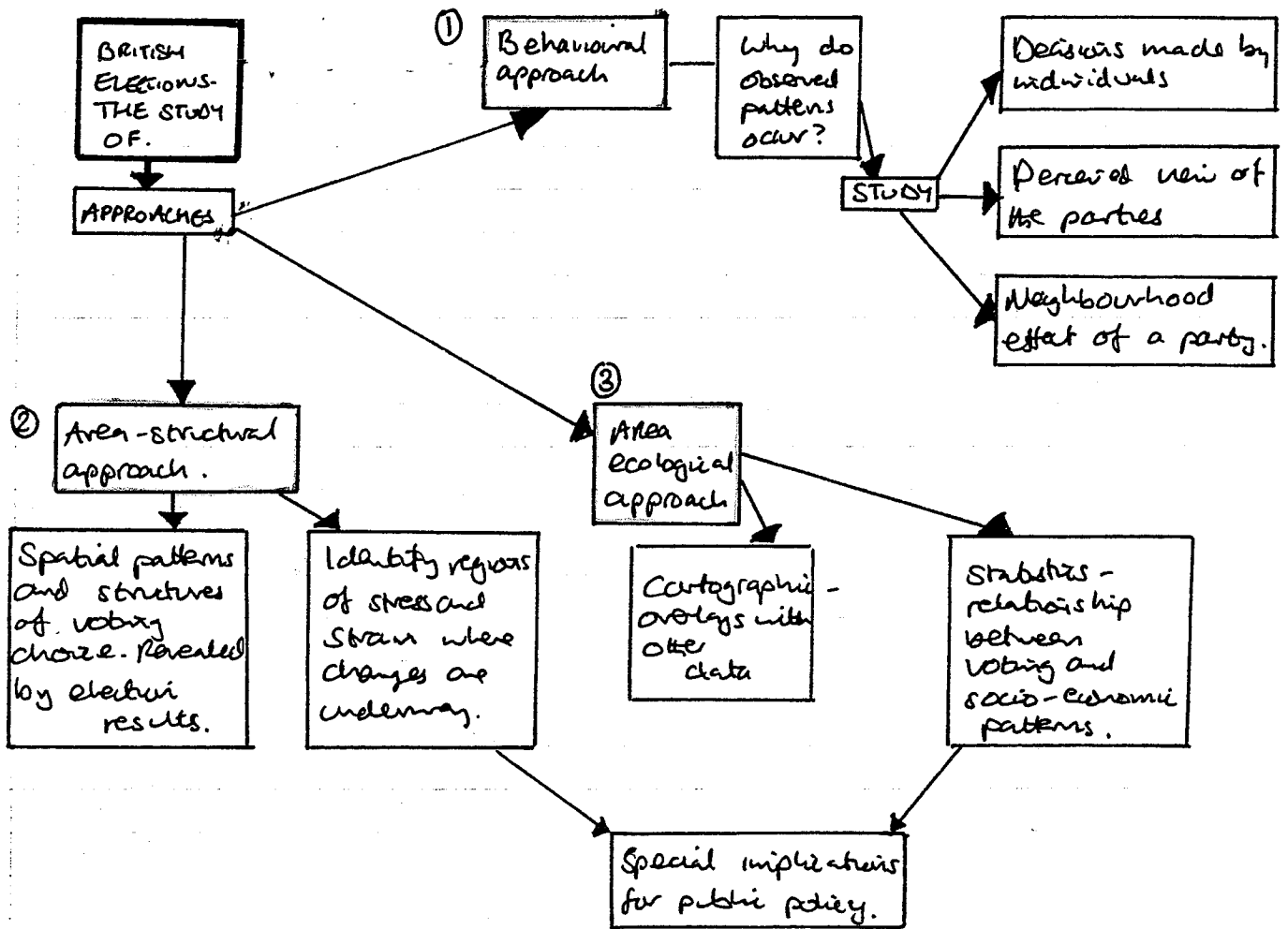
The study of elections is an interesting example of political geography turning to an applied subject, and therefore making a contribution to the study of a topic of general concern. The spatial dimensions of British political affairs did not come under scrutiny until the 1960s; Boswell (1975) analyses the contribution geography can make;

"Geography is particularly important in that it can add an entirely new dimension to the study of elections. The geographer brings a characteristic emphasis on spatial location, distribution and spatial interrelationships to the study of electoral behaviour, aspects not normally considered by other disciplines."

Electoral analysis is related to public policy in that a voting system exists on the national and local levels. Any study which increases knowledge about voting behaviour is likely to influence policy makers in terms of boundary changes or changes in the procedures adopted at elections. Indeed, constructing fair election boundaries is an application of the geographer's traditional interest in regions. Equal electorates or populations

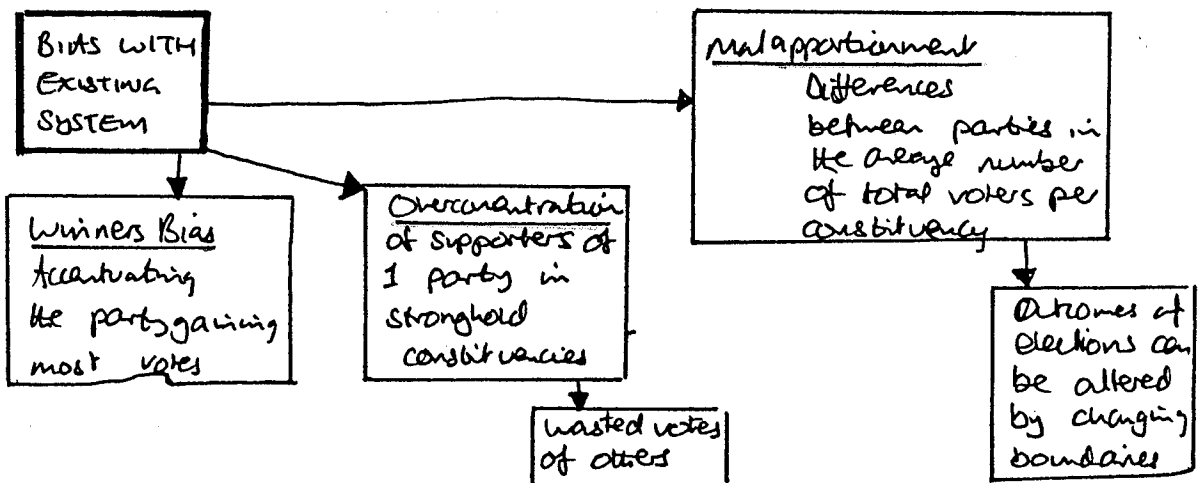
and the spatial contiguity of electoral regions are central to geographical study.

The study of elections (Busteed 1978)



Gudgin and Taylor (1978) use geographical viewpoints to pinpoint bias within the electoral system - they propose proportionality as a viable alternative to the present system. It is likely that a Liberal government would be needed before this particular idea could be incorporated into public policy.

Electoral Bias - Gudgin + Taylor (1979)



In the field of transportation, geographical techniques have been proved to be of benefit for planning and design of networks. Public agencies are usually responsible for critical decisions about the development of the transport infrastructure (Hall 1983), and therefore the advice of specialists can be of use. Traffic management schemes have been developed in several towns around the country. Using conventional geographical techniques the relationship between transport patterns and land use can be assessed. Hall himself finds examples hard to find;

"Because of these limitations ... it is not easy to find good examples of the ^{the} successful ^{Social} integration of land use and transportation planning."

However some useful work is contained in the UK Report "Transport and Public Policy" (Ed. Williams 1971), including considerations of the national motorway network by van Rost and Heard (1971). They conclude that the

"Political direction on environmental matters, and the weighting they should receive has been vague to the point of obscurantism."

- in reference to motorway policy.

Retailing and public policy shows an often neglected area where geographers have had a profound influence on public policy*, by their incorporation both on local authority planning teams, and through their more recent involvement with commercial developers - providing qualitative analysis for the feasibility studies of new stores. Thore (1978) summarises geographical participation in retailing most effectively and in the most depth. He concludes that

"The geographer can make a distinct contribution to the knowledge in general by his analysis of the retail system and its environment."

The use of location modelling also discussed by Butley (1978) in depth is an allied field - he feels

* See my dissertation

land use modelling, is an example of a topic with a close liaison both with geography, and with proposed policy.

Space precludes the discussion of many more specific areas of geographers involvement in public policy. Suffice it to say that important contributions have been made in the fields of medical geography (Knox 1984) and through discussion of environmental issues; starting with the work of Gilbert White in the 1960s, geographers have shown consistent concern for environmental protection and betterment; a range of local and national issues have been tackled over the period. It must also be remembered that geographers are both taught and are teachers - and can contribute much in the field of education. To conclude, it is only really possible to say once more that geography has been of use, and that individuals within the field will always be most relevant in their researches - since geography as a whole has to direct its attention to a wider range of issues, not all associated directly with public policy.

6. CASE STUDY: PLANNING

Urban and regional planning has suffered major cutbacks in recent years. Two points first need to be made before moving on to attempt a chronology of geographers' usefulness or otherwise.

Firstly, geography graduates have in the past formed a large proportion of the intake into the planning profession, and thus must exert some influence over policy in that fashion. However the actual number of practitioners is less important than their individual contribution to a given field. Secondly, the decline of planning can be seen in the light of both the policy and the 'economy drive' of government, seeking to reduce administration and public expenditure.

It is worthwhile to examine trends in planning in more detail. Planning is a field closely related to geography and public policy alike. As Willatts (1971) points out, there was

"little in pre-war planning to interest a geographer".

only when public concern over regional disparities and urban growth grew, was the 1937 Barlow Commission appointed to investigate the problems of an industrial population. The Royal Geographical Society was involved with the Commission, but only in a limited way - they were asked to produce a memorandum on the development of the 'axial belt' of opportunity stretching from London to Bristol. This was one of geography's first, if minor, involvements with public policy. The history of planning from this point is fairly well known. Geographers' more important contributions to the methodology are highlighted by NH Perry (1969): He points to the gradual filtering through of Christaller's work, with its application by Smiles, Green and others as already discussed. Throughout the 1940s and 1950s, geographers were employed by planning authorities, especially after the important 1947 Town and Country Planning Act. As White says, "Applied geography had become something very real".

Geographers aided the development of New Towns in the 1950s, and the local government commission for England, set up in 1958, was staffed mainly by them - important advice was given on the restructuring of public boundaries (see Pacione 1982 for recent work on public service boundaries). Others contributed directly to policy in relation to specific projects; the siting of power stations, and especially the siting of nuclear power stations in coastal locations. Powell's work on London (1960) was a step away from the by then somewhat outdated aims of the Barlow Commission.

By the 1960s regional planning had become of increasing importance - concern was voiced about disparities and the growth of the South East in particular. Peter Damesick (1980) identifies the gradual movement away from the ideas forwarded by the Barlow people. He asks that an alternative methodology is sought. The idea that the key to ending the problem of interregional disparity is the promotion of interregional transfers of labour, is clearly unrealistic today. The designation of Assisted Areas in the 1960s was not a solution in terms of scale or scope. After 1970, economic conditions deteriorated, and a ^{was ineffective} reorientation of policy based purely on manufacturing employment came to operate. The clustering of tertiary industry and hence jobs in the South of England, and especially along the main corridor, is a factor which produces nationwide inequality;

and it has been the subject of much research. Yet in a general discussion of this sort it is important not to stray too far from the central question of public policy; indeed, the growth of high technology industry can hardly be related to any concrete policy by central government; in a recessionary period a tendency exists to encourage any new development, anywhere in the country. Hence there is a reluctance to turn away companies wishing to locate in an area of relative prosperity.

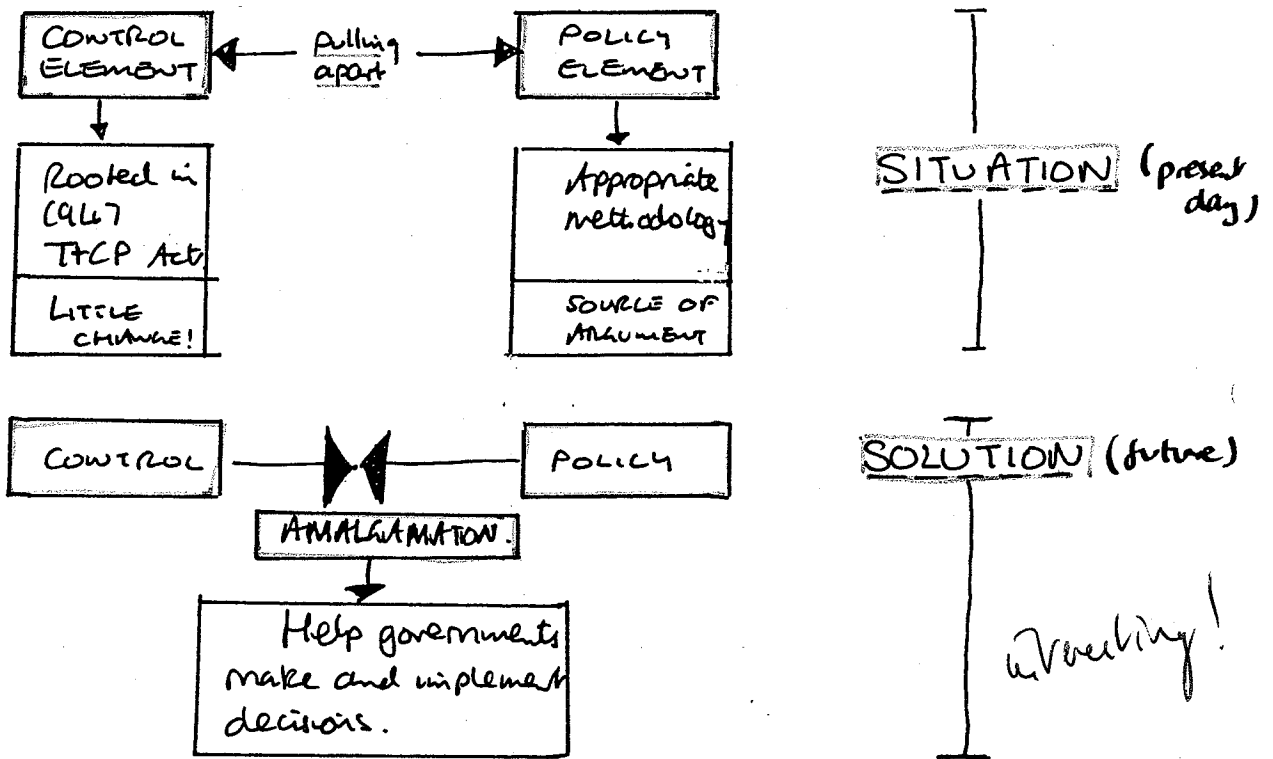
The case of Enterprise Zones, however, must surely represent one of the major contributions to public policy offered by a geographer in recent years. Enterprise Zones were first forwarded by Professor Peter Hall in 1977, his argument being that the attraction of innovation in a recessionary environment depends on production costs and overheads being kept sufficiently low to ensure profitability. Enterprise Zones were a response to this need, the first zones being set up in 1981. The lack of success in relative terms of these zones owes much to their 'fame' application of Hall's original ideas adopted by the British (and American) government. Perhaps an experiment, but nevertheless an important one and a major plank of government policy in recent years.

In addition, quantitative analysis came to play a part in the planning process. The Centre for Environmental Studies was formed in 1967; regional problems were increasingly subjected to new forms of technical analysis; Hägerstrand (1970) reviews these.

Applied geography also has played a part in major planning decisions; the siting of the third London airport being a prime example. Of course, the growing disinterest and dissatisfaction with the whole field of planning, identified by Brecheny and Hall (1984), has reduced its importance and impact as an instrument of central and local government. Brecheny and Hall point to the growing dissatisfaction with planning, and regional planning in particular, and point to the differences with the position in the 1960's and 1970's - when academics supported an articulated style of strategic planning, as shown above. The linking of theory to practice has now become broken; theorists show little or no interest in practical planning matters, while practitioners, such as individual Local Authorities, decide policy as they please. The conflicting aims and attitudes to large scale developments, highlighted by URPI among others, shows the lack

of co-ordination among policy makers. Brohony (1983) again highlights the widening gap between theory and practice.

Elements of planning (Brohony 1983)



In general, geographers' uses in the planning field have been to provide academic contributions and to work with local authorities in a variety of ways. Their effectiveness has come from working in this way; from inside the administrative framework.

7 POSSIBLE CONTRIBUTIONS OF GEOGRAPHY TO PUBLIC POLICY AND NEGLECTED AREAS.

The contributions of geographers to public policy have been great, but some areas can be outlined where more, or better use could be made of their skills. Brohony (1984) finds it surprising that, given the severity of current urban problems, no systematic methodology is employed in Britain to study these problems; he goes on to propose an extension of the American system of Urban Impact Analysis to the British case. This is proposed in the light of the fact that -

"Partial policy making in both central and local government has, for some years, become increasingly pragmatic, short term and narrow in outlook."

However, the adoption of new procedural ideas may be difficult against this background; the government and civil service are reluctant to accept new theories and practices; not so local government, but here even, planning has declined as a aid to decision making and to introduce new ideas would not really tackle the heart of the problem. Urban Impact Analysis is an extension of well developed impact analysis techniques, developed mainly in America, to assess the potential impact of a new development on the environment and the community, before it is started. In this way it is linked perhaps with the idea of land use modelling; these models originated in America too, and gained limited use in Britain as new structure plans were developed, in the 1960's. Models were applied in Manchester, Bedford and Cambridge in 1967. Yet the reaction against modelling, and later in planning in general, has limited their use. (Batty, 1978) - the future may hold a return to this type of approach should attitudes change again.

Kirby et al (1983) have a different viewpoint; that geography and planning should, in the future, confine themselves to a consideration of public policy in only the broadest sense - the 'solving' of problems is regarded as unlikely - all we can do is monitor and aid where possible. This is a rather nebulous agenda for an academic discipline.

Given the present state of the economy, the planning profession, and local government, I would suggest a middle course. Geography is developing, and so, therefore, should applied geography. The addressing of new problems with new analyses, such as those proposed above, should happen. It is also likely that closer co-operation with local government is a necessity; at present, as Hall and Bracey (1984) say, theoreticians and practitioners are diverging. Geographers can work better from within the system they are studying, rather than from outside it - this may give them a degree of objectivity, but not a degree of practicality.

8. Conclusion

This, then, is the conclusion for the future. The long list

of geographical contributions perhaps speak for themselves. No matter how hard one tries, it is hard to disguise the fact that little inroads into the perfect scheme of 'academic/practitioner' partnerships have been made. Where geographers have been of real, tangible benefit, they have studied individual problems or areas, and have often done it from within the political and administrative framework of the country. I would venture that the most concrete contribution to policy by a geographer is that which led to the formation of the Enterprise Zones. Others may disagree, but certainly in this case co-operation was reached with government bodies - the two were not at odds (this is also a criticism of the part 'Radical' Geography has to play - it fights the system). Thus perhaps to consolidate on the contributions over the years is an aim, but theory cannot be divorced from reality.

A interesting, imaginative way of dealing with the problem. I particularly liked the discussion of the nature of policy as an genre. Your appendix is very interesting. One criticism is that the text, and style generally, occasionally reads like notes rather than prose.

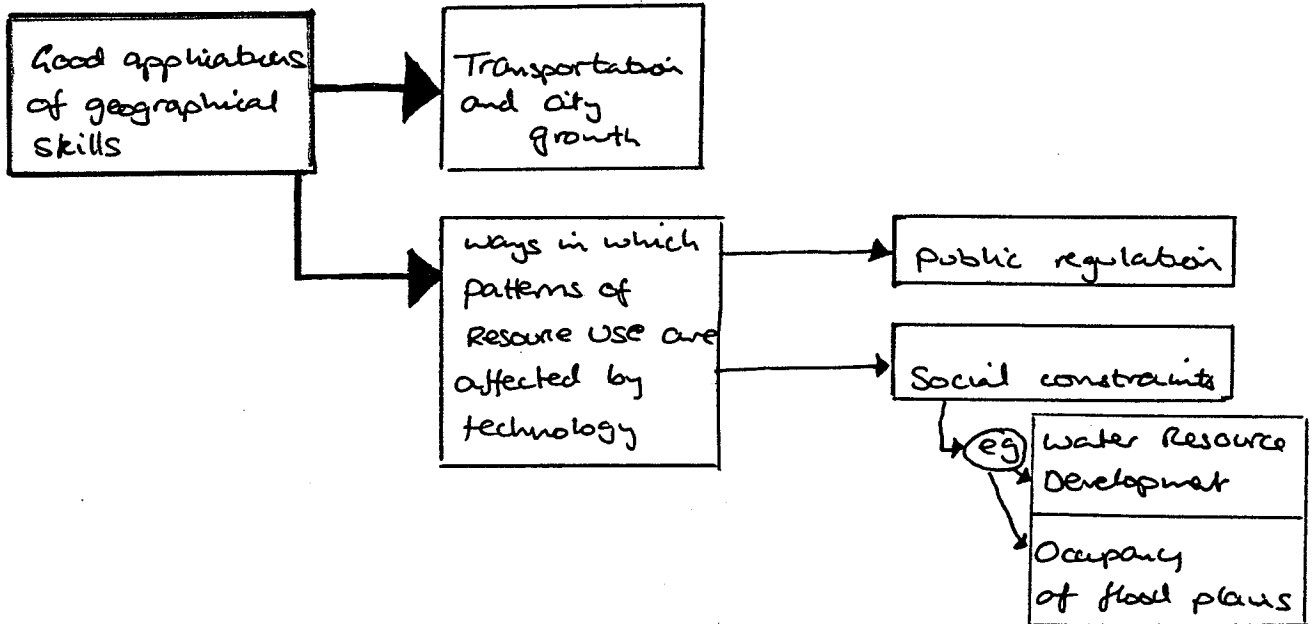
The 'Geographer - yes, Geography is true is interesting and was a good line to follow - however, I would doubt that they can be separated. Nice list of references - word preceding my impression.

71/2

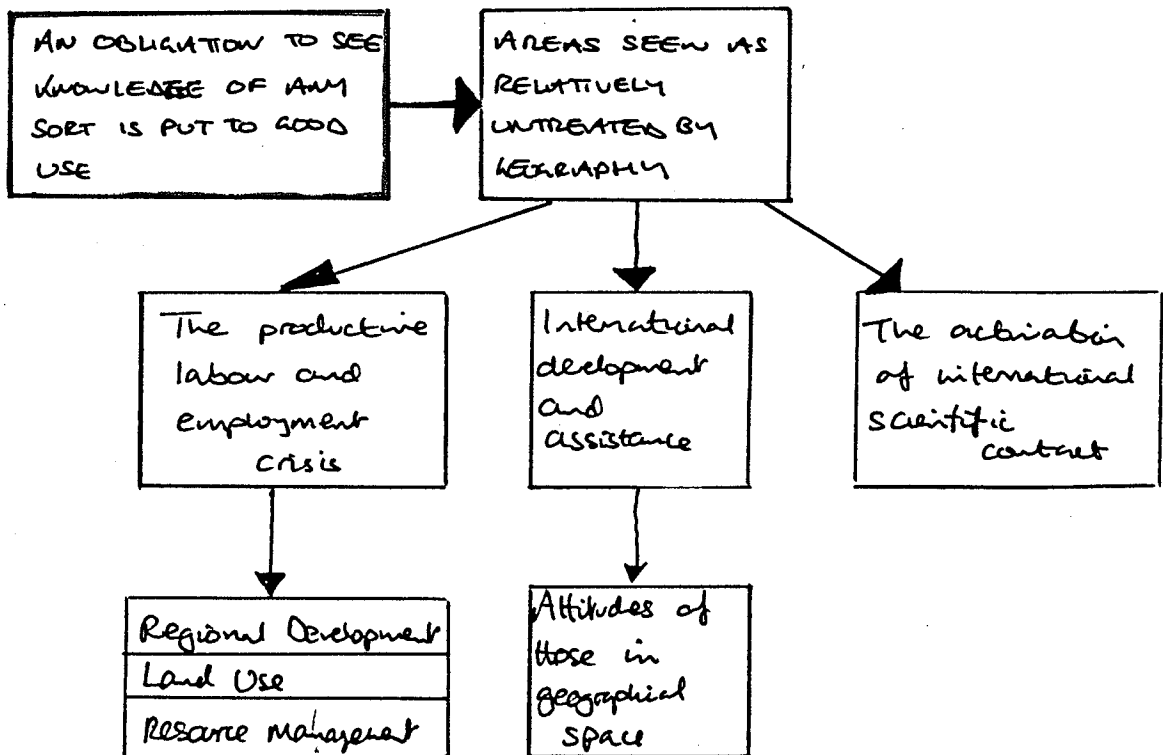
APPENDIX I

SUITABLE TOPICS FOR GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS; CONFLICTING
VIEWPOINTS; EIGHT EXAMPLES.

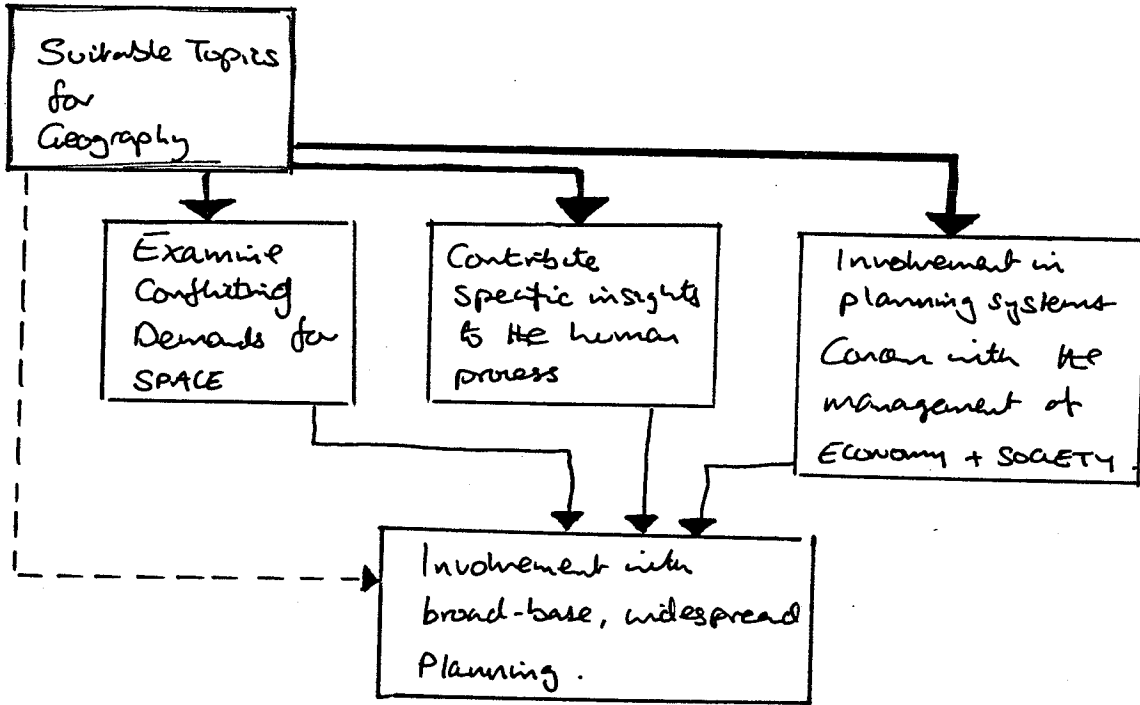
1. GILBERT F. WHITE 1962.



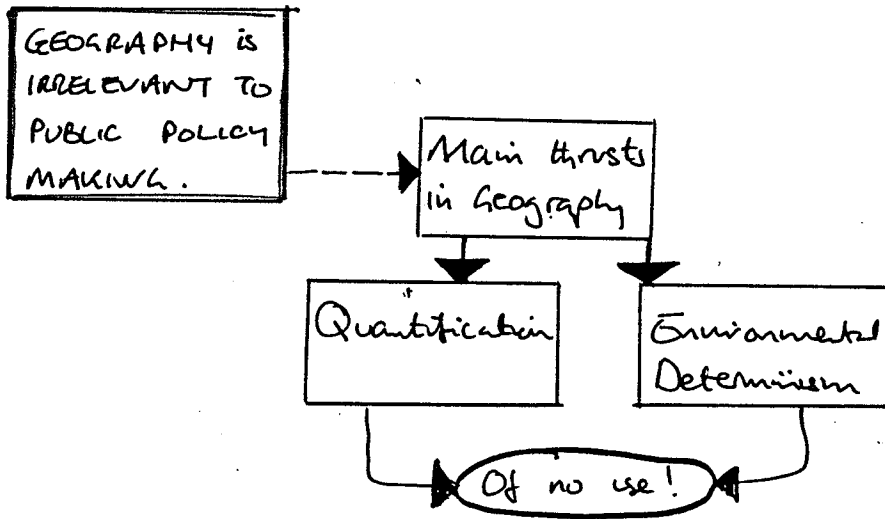
2. E. ACKERMAN 1962



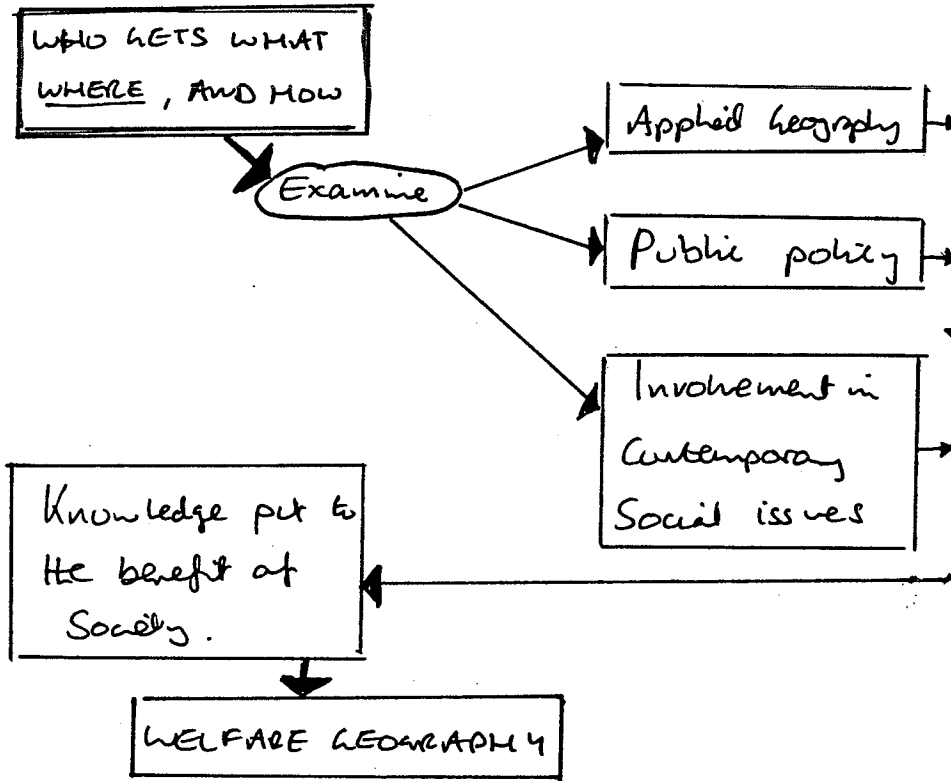
3. P. HALL 1970



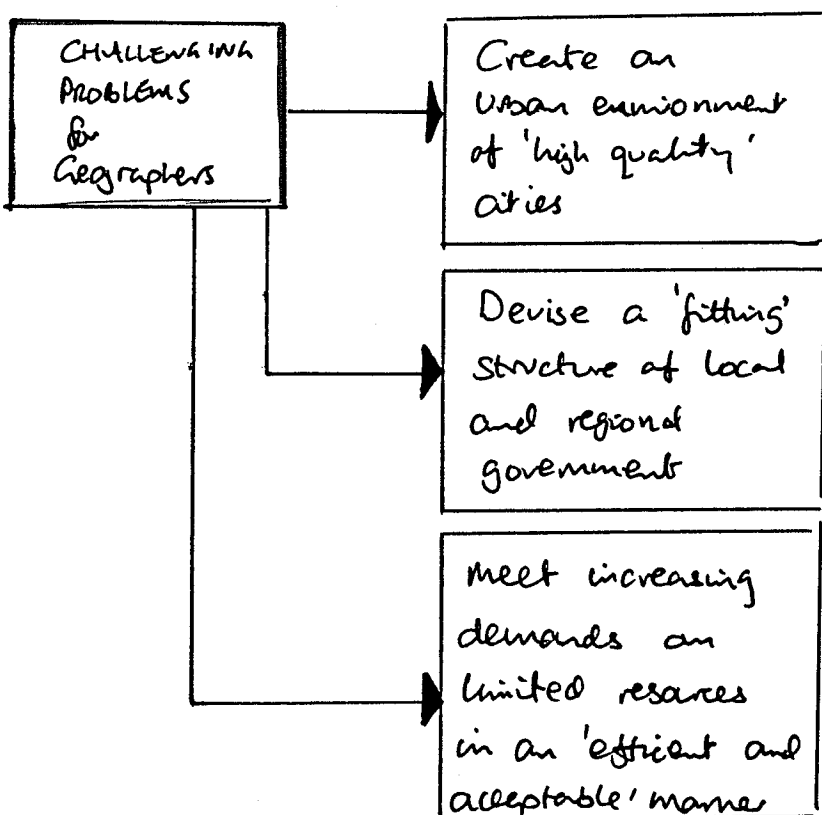
4. HARE 1974



S. D.M. SMITH 1974

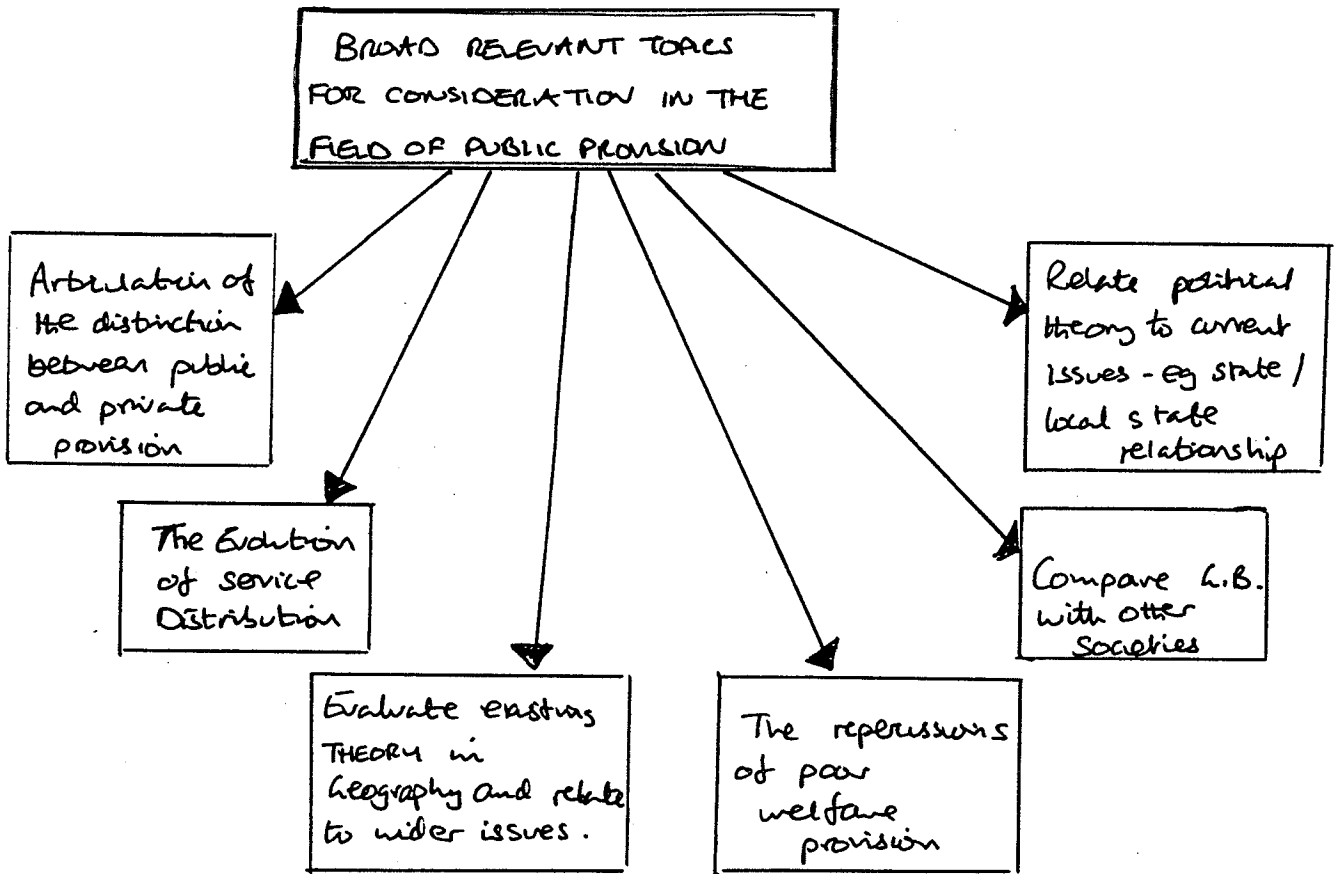


D. COPPOCK 1976

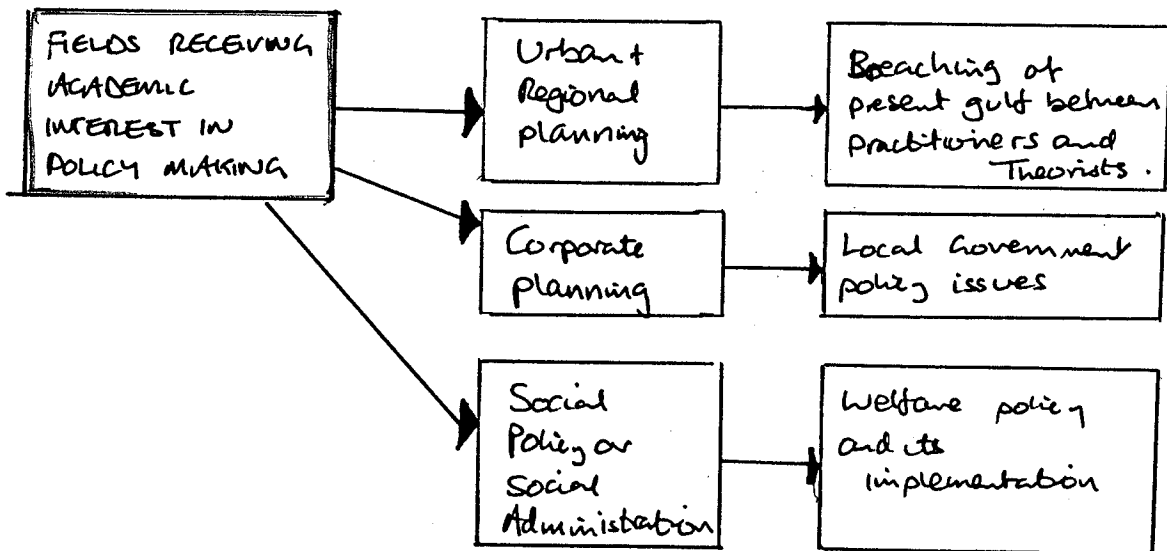


KIRBY et al 1983

Unwise to confine Geographical Analysis to a specific collection of topics; HENCE

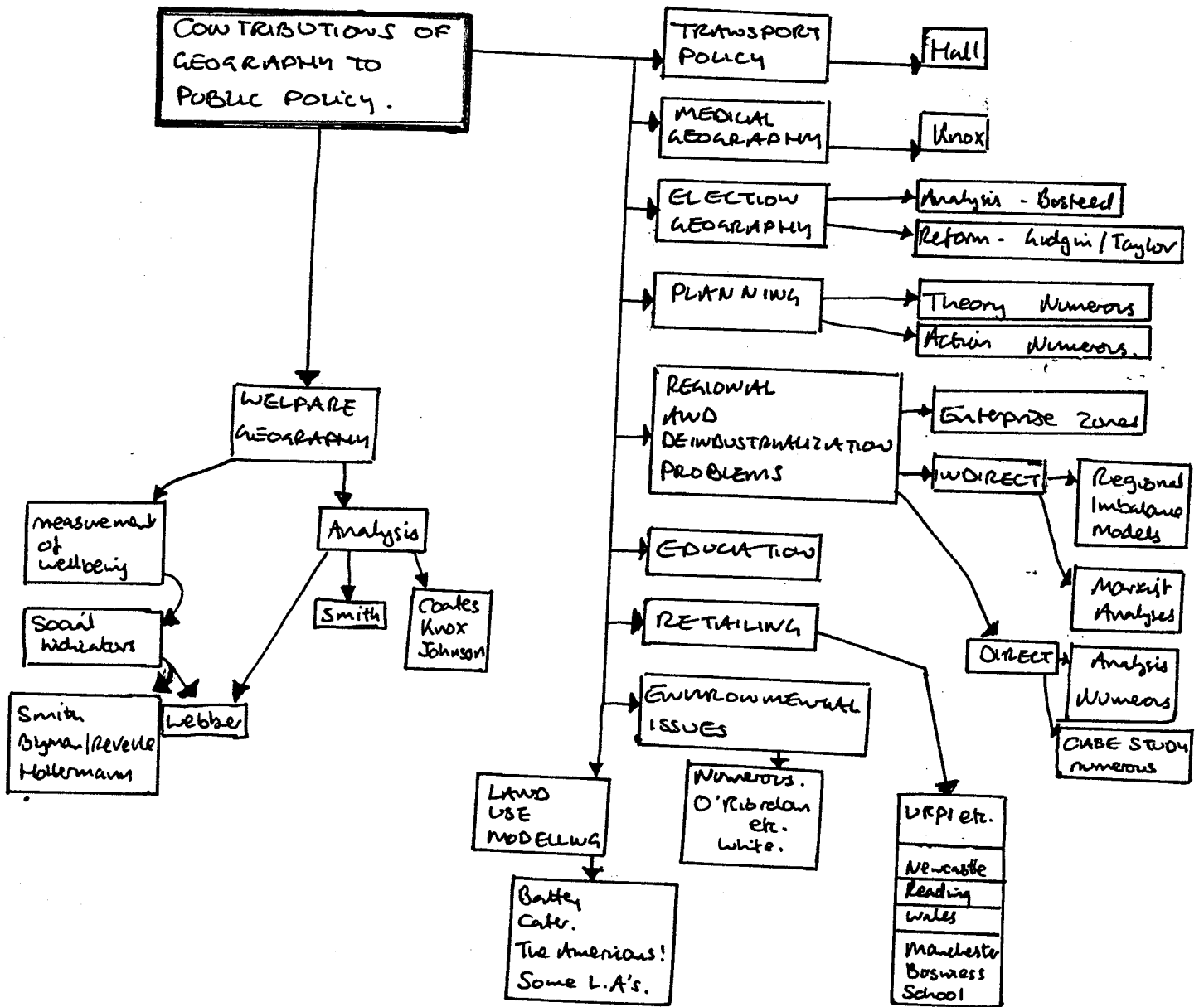


BREHENEY 1984



APPENDIX 2

CONTRIBUTIONS TO POLICY - MAIN HEADINGS.



SPECIFIC NOT COMPREHENSIVE!

REFERENCE LIST Applied Geography Essay.

Ackermann E (1962). Public Policy for the Professional Geographer. Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol 52 No 3.

Barlow I.M. (1981). Spatial Dimensions of Urban Government. Wiley.

Batley M (1978). Paradoxes of Science in Public Policy: the Baffling Case of Land Use Models. Reading Geographical Paper No. 69.

Bigman P, ReVelle C (1978). The Theory of Welfare Considerations in Public Facility Location Problems. Geographical Analysis Vol 10.

Breheny M (1983). A Practical View of Planning Theory. Planning and Design Vol 10.

Breheny M (1984). Urban Policy Impact Analysis. Environment and Planning Committee Paper 1: Economic and Social Research Council.

Breheny M, Hall P (1984). The Strange Death of Strategic Planning and the Victory of the Know Nothing School. Built Environment Vol 10 No2.

Busteed M.A. (1975). Geography and Voting Behaviour. OUP, Theory and Practice in Geography Series.

Carruthers W.I. (1962) Service Centres in Greater London. Town Planning Review, Vol 33.

Carter H. (1975) The Study of Human Geography. Arnold.

Clark G, Dear M (1978) The State and Geographic Process: a Critical Review. Environment and Planning A, Vol 10.

Coates B, Johnson R.J, Knox P (1977). Geography and Inequality. O.U.P.

Coppock J.T. (1974). Geography and Public Policy; Challenge, Opportunity and Implications. IN Coppock J.T. and Sewell W.R.D. (1976). Spatial Dimensions of Public Policy. Pergamon.

Damesick, P (1981). Regional Problems and Policy in Britain; A case for Reappraisal. Built Environment Vol 17 No2.

Fothergill, Gudgin G. (1979). New Manufacturing Firms in Employment Growth. C.E.S. Research Series No39.

- Freeman T.W. (1967). A History of Modern British Geography. Longman.
- Green (1950) Urban Hinterlands—Analysis of Bus Services. Geographical Journal Vol 116.
- Gudgin G. and Taylor P.J. (1979). Seats, Votes and the Spatial Organisation of Elections. Pion.
- Hagerstrand T. (1970) Regional Forecasting and Social Engineering. IN Chisholm M, Frey A, Haggett P. (Eds). Regional Forecasting. Colston Research Society Symposium 1970.
- Hall J.M. (1977) Geography of Planning Decisions. Longman Topics in Applied Geography Series.
- Hall P. (1970) The Future of Cities and the Future of Urban Research. IN The Geographer and Society, Western Geographical Series, University of Toronto.
- Hall P. (1981) The Geographer and Society. Geographical Journal Vol 147, Part 2.
- Hall P. (1982) The New Political Geography Seven Years On. Political Geography Quarterly Vol 1.
- Hall P. (1983). Land Use Change and Transport Policy. Habitat Intl. Vol 7, No 3/4.
- Hare K (1974). Geography and Public Policy—Challenges, Opportunities and Implications. Trans. I.B.G. Vol 63.
- Hudson, R (1981) State Policies and Changing Transport Networks; the case of Post-War Great Britain. IN Burnett A, Taylor P (Eds). Political Studies From Spatial Perspectives. Wiley.
- Johnson R.L. (1981) British Political Geography Since MacKinder. A Critical Review. IN Burnett A, Taylor P (Eds) Political Studies from Spatial Perspectives. Wiley.
- Keeble D (1977). Industrial Decline in the Inner City and Conurbation. Trans I.B.G. NS3.
- Kirby A, Knox P, Pinch S. (1983). Developments of Public Provision in Urban Politics :an Overview and Adgenda. Area Vol 15 No 4.
- Knox P.L. (1982) Geography of Medical Care Delivery: A Historical Perspective. Geoforum Vol 13 No 3.

- Lloyd P.E, Mason C.M (1978). Manufacturing Industry in the Inner City: a case study of Greater Manchester. Trans. I.B.G. NS3.
- Jassey D, Meegan R (1978). Industrial Restructuring Versus the Cities. Urban Studies Vol 15.
- Pacione (1982) Neighbourhoods and Public Service Boundaries in the City: A Geographical Analysis. Geoforum Vol 13 No 3.
- Parker W.H. (1982). Mackinder; Geography as an Aid to Statecraft. Clarendon.
- Perry N.H. (1969). Geography and Local Government Reform. IN Cooke R.U., Johnson J.H. (Eds). Trends in Geography. Pergamon.
- Powell A.G. (1960). The Recent Development of Greater London. Adv. Sci. Vol 17.
- Rothwell R (1982). The Role of Technology in Industrial Change: Implications for Regional Policy. Regional Studies Vol 16.5.
- Saunders P. (1982) The Relevance of Weberian Sociology for Urban Political Analysis. IN Kirby, Pinch (Eds). Public Provision and Urban Politics. Papers from IBG Annual Conference Jan 1982. Reading Geographical Papers, No. 80.
- Sewell, W.R. and Foster, H.D. (1970). The Relevance of Geographical Research to a Society of Change. IN Sewell W.R. and Foster H.D., The Geographer and Society, Western Geographical Series, University of Toronto.
- Smailes A.E. (1947). Analysis and Delimitation of Urban Fields. Geography, Vol 32.
- Smith D.M. (1974). Who Gets What Where, and How; A Welfare Focus for Human Geography. Geography Vol 59, No 4.
- Smith D.M. (1977) Human Geography: A Welfare Approach. Arnold.
- Thorpe D (1977). Shopping Trip Patterns and the Spread of Superstores and Hypermarkets. IN Williams A.F. (Ed) (1977) O p. Cit.
- Thorpe D (1978). Progress in the study of the Geography of Retailing and Wholesaling in Great Britain. Geoforum Vol 9 No 2.
- White G. (1962). Introduction to public policy debate. Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol 52 No 3.
- Willats E.F. (1971). Planning and Geography in the Last Three Decades. Geographical Journal Vol 137 Pt.
- Williams A.F. (1977) (Ed). Transport and Public Policy: Papers and Debate. Report of Symposium on Transport and Public Policy, I.B.G Transport Study Group, September 1977.