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Inward Investment in North-East England: Impact on the Market for Skills and Training

Frank Peck and Ian Stone

ABSTRACT:

Against a background of inward investment into the region, the paper examines crucial issues relating to labour. It examines approaches to recruitment and the selection process. Skill shortages and strategies for overcoming the problem are analysed together with a consideration about management and managers. The paper concludes with a detailed assessment of policies relating to training.

KEYWORDS: Inward investment; Recruitment; Training; Skills; Management.

INTRODUCTION

The attraction of investment from overseas is a significant component of the attempt to bring about re-industrialisation in peripheral regions of the UK. Aided by regional financial assistance and the activities of local development agencies, these regions have attracted a disproportionate share of foreign direct investment in manufacturing, which has assisted in the process of industrial diversification as well as creating employment. During the 1980s the Northern Region has been successful in the application of this strategy, particularly following the arrival of firms such as Nissan and Komatsu from Japan. As well as bringing with them the latest production technology and product innovations, many of the new incomers bring also what is widely regarded as a new "philosophy" of manufacturing. It has been argued that the new approaches derived from this philosophy generate competitive advantages for firms which adopt them, and that Japanese companies, in particular, are regarded as the exemplars of this phenomenon, thus giving rise to the term "Japanisation" (Oliver and Wilkinson, 1990).

While there are debates about the precise nature of industrial restructuring in the 1980s, there is some consensus that a real and important change has occurred. The "new" approach is principally aimed at creating a different workplace environment at plant level, characterised by generally smaller, decentralised units of production which are specifically designed to maximise flexibility and are founded upon methods of motivation which stress common purpose and commitment to team effort. This is seen as in contrast to the previous "Fordist" system of production commonly associated with much of the post-war period and characterised by large mass-production units and corporatist organisation involving nationwide bargaining between unions and employers, mediated by government. Within this latter system, it is argued that productivity gains were achieved through progressive fragmentation of work processes and de-skilling. Following this logic, workers were regarded as a "cost to be minimised" while under the new approach, they are seen as "a resource to be developed".

During the 1980s, the Northern Region has been host

to more than 100 greenfield investments from outside, including 70 from overseas. Altogether, these investments have created nearly 15,000 new direct jobs, of which nearly 40% are in Far Eastern plants and 36% in factories of European and North American origin (Peck and Stone, 1991). Management at each of these plants have had to confront the problem of assembling from scratch, and in a limited period of time, a labour force with the required characteristics for the new approach to manufacturing. These characteristics go beyond simple definitions of "skill" to embrace wider concepts of labour quality. There has been a search for new combinations of technical skills together with certain behavioural attributes. In particular, companies are seeking workers who can comply with the demands for production flexibility and who also have the ability and willingness to act effectively within teams and identify with company goals. As far as shopfloor workers are concerned, there is a greater emphasis upon multi-skilling and task flexibility. Organisational structures designed to maximise production flexibility have also led to changed requirements in relation to supervisory skills (e.g. team leaders).

This paper examines the process of building up a labour force given the overall requirement of achieving the commitment and flexibility needed for international competitiveness. It is based on research carried out on behalf of the Employment Department during 1990-91 which involved surveying all 1980s inward investors in manufacturing with more than 20 employees. The research also involved conducting detailed interviews with senior management in 20 of these plants. The results of this research have been summarised in the *North-East Labour Market Review* (Smith 1991).

Approaches to recruitment

Interviews with firms showed that almost all inward investors carried out investigations into the local labour

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market conditions prior to making their decision to locate in the Region. The depth of their inquiry varied between plants according to projected labour requirements. The Northern Development Company was prominent in this information gathering process with additional intelligence coming through more localised development agencies, private consultancies and specific job centres.

Until the later 1980s, the prime source of recruits for these greenfield plants was the large pool of unemployed. High rates of unemployment existed in the region for most of the decade, and contraction and closures affecting traditional industries including engineering meant that both semi-skilled operatives and craft workers were readily obtainable via Job Centres. Some firms moved into the region specifically in order to recruit skills released by well-publicised closures. There was financial assistance for firms to take on workers from traditional industries (e.g. grants from the European Coal and Steel Community for recruiting ex-miners and steelworkers).

The pattern of recruitment has changed over time. Towards the end of the 1980s, there was a distinct shift away from recruitment from the pool of unemployed towards specifically attracting workers who were already employed. This change is partly associated with the different phases in development of these plants (e.g. the need, in some cases, for more specialist skills as production at these new factories evolves and becomes more complex). However, evidence from inward investors arriving during the late 1980s suggested that this had become the dominant strategy for workforce assembly. Managers argued that the boom conditions ("Lawson boom") gave rise to a decline in the quantity and deterioration in the quality of potential workers on the unemployment register.

This change in recruitment has mainly affected plants which require large numbers of relatively skilled/experienced workers. Those plants with minimal skill requirement (e.g. electronics assembly) have continued to find the bulk of their new employees among those seeking work at the Job Centres. In addition, these types of plants have moved towards recruiting "women returners". These are women who have not been in work for a period of time, are not officially registered as seeking work and are thus technically outside the labour force. One large plant was located purposely in an area where there were few existing part-time work opportunities. Managers use radio advertising to target women returners on the assumption that such people do not normally scan the vacancies page in the local newspaper.

The inward investors rely principally upon formal methods of recruitment involving, for example, Job Centres and newspaper advertisements. This contrasts with the situation in established plants where management have the option of making use of more extensive informal channels including word-of-mouth communication through the existing workers and (for plants which have recently experienced contraction) personnel files on former employees. One of the noticeable features within the group of inward investors has been the development of a core-periphery workforce strategy (40% of interviewed firms). While job security and conditions among "core" workers further the current management objective of generating work commitment, the peripheral workforce acts as a pool from which to select appropriate workers

for the core. Managers are thus able to lessen their dependence upon formal channels of recruitment and increase their control over the intake. This also raises the question of whether the observed core-periphery structures constitute a short-term recruitment device or a long-term production strategy.

The Selection Process

In general, at the start of operations inward investors have not benefitted from information about recruits derived either from previous contacts with individuals or from informal labour market networks. This has necessitated the development of formal techniques of assessment and selection of applicants, the aim of which is to create a labour force which conforms to the operational objectives of the individual plant. These objectives include not only the assembly of a body of workers possessing relevant practical skills, but also with attitudes appropriate to the organisation and its ethos.

Part of the selection process involves examining the technical capabilities of applicants which varies according to the degree of sophistication of the process and/or product. This ranges from dexterity and colour-blindness tests in semi-skilled electronic assembly through to prolonged induction programmes (which in effect functioned as a selection device) and demonstrations of technical capabilities in engineering and craft areas. Once management is satisfied that applicants possess the relevant practical abilities, they are then subjected to a variety of "tests" which are designed to evaluate their "behavioural" skills. This aspect of the selection process is given greater emphasis than previously because of new philosophies of personnel management which stress the importance of self-motivation and teamwork. Our evidence confirms that these have displaced individual motivation based on "Taylorist" principles of work-study measurement and piecework as a means of generating productivity improvements.

The sophistication of the selection process and the intensity of the appointments procedure varies according to specific production requirements. Plants with a higher proportion of skilled workers tend to stress the need for workers to have an "ability to work with others"; in other words "co-operative, amenable and supportive people". They are especially interested in "socially aware individuals" who exhibit "non-conflictual attitudes towards management". Thus, rather than showing a selection preference for people with anti-union attitudes — as is sometimes alleged — these plants often tend to avoid those with "excessive views" of any kind. Union structures in these plants have in most cases been designed deliberately to prevent the emergence of craft-based unionism due to its association with demarcation. Workers are recruited according to their ability and willingness to be flexible between production tasks.

Even those plants with minimal technical skill requirements — such as in electronic assembly involving mainly semi-skilled female operatives — place emphasis in their appointments on "positive attitudes" and a desire to "belong to an organisation". One of the principle aims in these plants is to avoid recruiting people with unrealistic expectations of work. Managers accept that the work in these factories is by and large repetitive and tedious.

Personnel departments thus seek workers with the “ability not to be bored”. The key to motivation in these circumstances, particularly in the context of flat-rate payment systems that have purposefully been adopted in these factories, lies in the selection of workers who will respond to team-working and collective goals.

Many of the latter plants do not recognise trade unions and have resisted attempts by unions to grant recognition. This is a deliberate strategy which is designed to prevent the emergence of divisions of any kind within the factory. At one Far Eastern plant, for example, unions were seen as not compatible with the attempt to create a “family atmosphere of commitment”. Indeed, in some plants, applicants with a background of union activism — and even in one case any industrial background — were deliberately avoided.

Skills Shortages

In terms of conventional skill categories, the replies to the postal questionnaire indicated that the main shortages relating to the inward investors in 1990 involved technicians or workers with craft skills (41% and 27% of respondent establishments respectively). Relatively few managers indicated that they had difficulty in recruiting either clerical (5%) or semi-skilled production workers (16%), and there was apparently little problem in obtaining recruits with computer-related skills (12%). The key shortages are consistent with a problem identified at the national level in the current debate on the skills crisis. This data — as with much of the data relating to skills shortages — is far from perfect; it does not distinguish the influence of factors such as the quality of the job being advertised (pay, conditions, promotion opportunities) or the experience, skill level, skill range *and attitudes* of the applicants. New emphases of personnel management, particularly in relation to the new working practices, implies that the more qualitative aspects of labour supply and demand are of increasing importance in managers’ assessments of “skill shortages”.

The in-depth interviews with 20 senior managers revealed that technical shortages covered a wide range of requirements, including graduate quality assurance and design engineers, multi-skilled craft workers and supervisors. These reported shortages reflect trends towards greater flexibility and an emphasis on quality which have affected industry generally during the 1980s.

To most managers, a key area of flexibility is the extent to which craft workers are interchangeable. This ranges from the achievements of “low level” flexibility (e.g. fitters doing simple electrical tasks) through to full “multi-skilling” involving a range of tasks without demarcation of any kind. Ten of the interviewed firms claimed to have some degree of multi-skilling, in the sense that they can be expected to assist others when their particular skill is not in demand. It is clear from our survey, however, that the creation of anything closer to full multi-skilling is a problem. Employee capability and training costs were identified by managers as limitations on its achievement. While electricians appear to be able to do mechanical repairs and maintenance, finding fitters who can go beyond simple electrical work is difficult. In the context of such limitations in cross-boundary skills, safety considerations have also acted as an important constraint

in the implementation of more extensive multi-skilling.

Apart from the technical requirements, these craft workers are expected to display attitudes consistent with the new managerial objectives. It involves them, for example, that semi-skilled production workers may now undertake simple maintenance and machine-setting, and that they themselves may be asked to fill in on production lines where the requirements of team-based production demand it. Managers of inward investors indicated clearly that there has been very little resistance to the extent of task flexibility expected of them. Indeed, one manager noted that ex-shipyard workers, in the context of a new workplace environment, demonstrated a willingness to conform to new requirements. The main barrier to full flexibility is a technical one, which is a reflection of past patterns of skill formation in the region based on structures in which craft unionism and demarcation were prominent.

The in-depth interviews revealed a second major area of recruitment difficulty, namely, finding suitably qualified and experienced individuals to fill supervisory positions. This particular difficulty was not detected by the postal questionnaire designed around traditional skill categories due to the hybrid nature of the skills profile associated with a new type of supervisor. Superimposed upon an already multi-faceted operational role within the plant, many supervisors have been instrumental in a developmental capacity. Greenfield development where familiarity with technologies and organisation on the part of employees is low, places particular pressures on first-line management in terms of establishing work patterns and moulding these to the particular demands of the plant-specific technical environment. Even without these problems, the role of these supervisors is a demanding one since they occupy a critical position at the interface of management and workers. Thus, a supervisor is commonly expected to solve problems rather than send them up the chain of command or to specialised departments such as Personnel. They have to act as channel of communication, and possess the interpersonal skills necessary to motivate and discipline workers, as well as to encourage their involvement in team activity and projects. They also have to deal with minor disputes and oversee the training and appraisal of workers and, in some cases, are involved in decisions on recruitment. In addition, they are expected to possess knowledge sufficient to enable them to deal with technical problems on production lines and even fill in temporarily for absentees. Not unexpectedly, managers reported difficulty in finding these types of employees and have needed, in some cases, to divide the role between “team leaders” and “supervisors”.

Strategies for Overcoming Skill Shortages

Managers in the plants studied responded to the issue of skills shortage in a variety of ways, including the modification of recruitment strategies and the development of internal solutions using training programmes. One survey showed that many inward investors have a positive commitment to training and regarded such investment as crucial to their overall objectives in terms of production and efficiency. Even so, in key areas of shortage it has proved necessary to fix wages above the average for the area to attract such skills from other local firms; a solution sometimes referred to as “poaching”. Indeed, some of the

larger plants with a substantial demand for multi-skilled workers and supervisors, the urgency of recruitment has meant this has been the only viable strategy in the short-term.

This clearly has important implications for local labour markets as it can give rise to localised wage spirals for key groups of employees. It also disrupts wage differentials within the plants. For example, the high rates needed to attract design and electronic engineers has caused one plant to increase the pay of all its shift supervisors. A variant on this strategy involves trying to poach workers through publicising the non-pecuniary benefits, including quality of work environment, job security and single status conditions. As one manager put it, "we try to sell ourselves as a company worth moving to".

Resentment from local firms which lose their workers because they cannot match the wages offered by some of the larger newcomers was also observed in the course of our survey. This was a problem even for some of the smaller inward investors. As one consequence, it may deepen the reluctance of small and medium-sized firms in the region to invest resources in training.

Good wages and conditions allow employers to attract employees from a broader geographical area, since these compensate for the costs and inconvenience associated with either longer journeys to work or residential relocation. For some plants, extending the labour catchment area has been a deliberate strategy involving careful targeting of advertising outside the local area. There were several cases of managers who placed advertisements for specific skills in newspapers which circulated in the vicinity of competitor plants elsewhere in the region or country.

While aggressive external labour market strategies tend to dominate the early stages of a plant's development, the internal solution to skill shortage — namely systematic training — becomes more important as the plant moves beyond the set-up stage. As far as the local labour market is concerned, this is clearly more beneficial in terms of the development of the region's skill base. This implies that the skill shortage problem — and the costs of its solution — becomes increasingly internalised by the firms involved, which gives managers greater control over the longer-term development of skills. There are, nonetheless, a small minority of firms which profess to be "lean on training" and regard poaching as a viable long-term strategy.

In the case of requirements for multi-skilled personnel, the majority of inward investors reported that they had recruited craft workers from any background and trained them in the specific range of tasks required by their factory. This practice is referred to as "skill conversion". The creation of the truly multi-skilled worker is to some extent elusive, since all plants have to confront the trade-off between range and depth of skills on the one hand and training costs on the other. Apprenticeship schemes are being used by some of the plants to create from scratch a category of "technicians", specifically trained in a multiplicity of skills customised to the needs of the factory.

Recruitment of Managers

A net inflow of management expertise accompanying inward investment increases the stock of managerial capability in the area. The survey suggests that managers from outside the region are dominant in the early stages

of a plant's development, but become proportionately less important as the factory expands over time. The inward investment consists mainly of foreign firms thus resulting in a strong initial foreign managerial presence at greenfield establishments. These personnel are engaged in solving technical and production problems at the start-up stage. This is followed by a rapid shift to indigenous management, though in several of the plants, an expatriate manager remains behind to oversee operations.

Bearing in mind that the inward investor plants are at different stages of their development, of the 165 managers in the 20 plants, some 15% are expatriates, mostly occupying senior positions within the structure. Amongst the remainder, 59 (36%) were recruited from outside the Northern Region and 81 (49%) from within the region. There is thus currently a rough balance in terms of personnel between those coming into the region from elsewhere in the UK or abroad and those recruited locally.

In terms of *key* managers, however, those from outside the Northern Region are plainly dominant; in 60% of the plants, managers from outside hold the most senior positions. This varies between sectors. For example, it is only to be expected that in-migration of managers would be significant in the case of a major vehicles plant, given that the expertise in that industry was located outside the region. By contrast, the lower echelons of the management hierarchy in these plants tend to be dominated by persons recruited locally; thus the first 17 managers recruited by Nissan were reported to have been obtained from other vehicles manufacturers located elsewhere in the UK, while 13 of the company's first 22 supervisors came from the local area.

Even so, just over one-third of inward investor plants rely for their managerial personnel on local recruits. For motor component suppliers and consumer electronics factories, however, the required management skills were often more akin to the type of engineering activities commonly found in the North-East, and it thus proved possible for these establishments to find most of their managers locally. One principle source of such skills has emerged due to the closure of established firms in these sectors and the resulting managerial redundancies.

Assessments and Policy

Inward investors in the Northern Region have generated a substantial number of jobs during the 1980s, many of which are for male, full-time workers — the kind of employment which suffered so severely during recession in the early 1980s. They bring with them new products and process technologies as well as contributing substantially to the export performance of the regional economy. The value of development strategies based on inward investment should not be taken for granted, however. Research by Garrahan & Stewart (1992) and Sadler (1991), for example, question not only the immediate benefits of such investments, but also their long-term viability. It is clearly important to consider the publicised benefits alongside the negative aspects of these developments.

Our survey revealed that the arrival of these investors was accompanied by certain negative externality effects on the local economy, most noticeably the effects of the recruitment and skill formation strategies on the labour market. Our evidence suggests that many of these

particular negative effects are short-term in nature, reflecting the urgency of setting up a new production plant. The early stages in a plant's life are characterised by a reliance on poaching of key skills, which has important implications for established firms in terms of their wage-costs and their ability to capitalise upon training investments. At a time when there is much discussion of Britain's comparatively poor performance in industrial training, the disincentive effect upon company training activity is a significant problem in both national and regional terms (Fingold and Soskice 1988).

On the positive side, attracting workers through offering better wages and conditions is plainly of benefit to workers whose skills are in demand, and improved rewards for those who have acquired skills is likely to encourage individuals to seek training. In any case, our research indicates that as these investments mature, the majority of firms do develop internal training programmes for employees and reduce their dependence on poaching accordingly. Many have highly developed programmes of continuous training for their employees. Several interviewees reported that employees were responding positively to internal training programmes and that, in some cases, management were finding "difficulty in keeping up with the demands from employees for training". These pressures from the workforce could be very beneficial to the region as they encourage management not to fill places from outside before considering internal adjustments and training solutions. The evolution of these plants is accompanied by the development of internal labour markets which provide opportunities for individuals to "filter up" along career pathways.

The issue of training nonetheless raises many points which relate to the role of "planning" in the process of economic development. According to neoclassical theory, the market should solve the problem of skill shortage working through the wage mechanism. In reality, however, "market failure" is common. The individual firm, for example, will often undertake too little (i.e. socially sub-optimal levels of) training because private returns to the firm are below the social returns, as the employee is free to take his/her skills elsewhere. The fact that some employers — those in a position to offer high pay and good conditions — choose to act in the short or long term as "free-riders" in training and poach workers trained by other companies is central to the problem of an insufficient overall level of company training.

It is worth pausing to consider who bears the costs of inadequate training investment. The larger firms with market power clearly are able to exert control over the labour market and acquire or create the appropriate skills according to current needs. It is the small and medium-sized firms who are disadvantaged in that they often cannot match the wages and conditions offered by the larger firms, while simultaneously they are discouraged from training their own employees due to the likelihood of losing them before returns are made on the training investment. Firms which lose skilled workers in this way will be forced to operate either at a smaller scale or restrict their activities and markets to those which are less demanding in terms of quality. This can be seen as a displacement effect within the region associated with inward investment.

In terms of individuals, the setting of wages so as to

attract skilled workers from other companies will tend to disadvantage the unemployed, particularly as managers may regard those on the unemployment register as being poorer quality potential employees. Our survey showed that managers are generally unaware that, due to the constant turnover on the register, workers with suitable skills are often available through job centres even at high points in the business cycle (Employment Service 1991).

These arguments suggest that there is an important role for intervention on grounds of both equity and efficiency. Training subsidies for smaller companies affected by loss of skills to larger companies could compensate for the risk of loss associated with training of individuals, and is justified in terms of their contribution to the stock of skills in the region. Assistance could also be given in the design of customised training programmes which focus on "specific" (to the factory) rather than "general" skills which are more readily marketable to other companies (Fleisher and Kniesner, 1980).

As far as the unemployed are concerned, a parallel form of intervention needs to be considered. In conjunction with inward investors — and ahead of the opening of the factory — agencies could anticipate skill requirements and target suitably qualified and "trainable" individuals from the unemployment register. This would reduce the disruptive effects of poaching and simultaneously assist the unemployed. Included within such a scheme could be efforts to provide the unemployed with a detailed awareness of the kind of "behavioural" skills which are currently stressed by recruitment officers in inward investors. The kind of labour market planning suggested above would involve agencies adopting a more pro-active role in supplying information about potential recruits. It would also require the advance commitment of training resources and an earlier role for managers concerned with personnel than has normally applied in this region.

Our survey also indicated that managers make comparatively little use of school-leavers to satisfy their recruitment needs. Views were also expressed that such applicants had limited qualifications and were regarded as poor material for training in the new skills and attitudes. This is undoubtedly a reflection of low educational attainment and staying-on rates for which the region is well known; but in managers' views the problem is exacerbated by a tendency for bright pupils to be discouraged from pursuing a career in manufacturing. Given the central role which must be played by manufacturing in many communities within this region, it is important that high quality school leavers are available to industry. These negative attitudes towards industry are difficult to overturn, but encouragements to school-industry liaison and related initiatives need to be intensified in order to counteract unwarranted prejudice.

Training is arguably now more important than ever, given its essential role — in terms both of flexibility and motivation — within the new approaches to production management. Inward investors undoubtedly bring net benefits to the region in terms of employment and development of the skill base over time. In order to develop imaginative policy intervention aimed at (a) counteracting the inability of the labour market to provide opportunities for weaker groups and (b) achieving a socially optimal level of training activity through targeted assistance to individual

firms. These interventions would work towards an equitable distribution of benefits arising from inward investment and associated training, while also ensuring that regional competitiveness is not impaired by inadequate levels of skill formation within the working population.

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Planning Outlook — 1948-1991

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How fresh, apposite and optimistic seemed that title in 1948! The new planning system enshrined in the revolutionary 1947 Act heralded a new outlook for the process of controlling and directing development in the second half of the Twentieth Century following the Second World War. Faith in the ability of the system to "secure a proper balance between the competing demands for land, so that all the land in the country is used in the best interests of the whole people" — a phrase quoted in the journal's first editorial — was as yet relatively unclouded. With the passage of time, and a more measured judgement of the efficacy of the whole system of planning the euphoria implicit in the title *Planning Outlook* has somewhat cooled. In the Thatcherite years planning has often seemed more the servant of the economy than of the environment, and its idealism more than a little tarnished.

One clause from that first editorial presents a thought that is singularly worth repeating as an idea that tends to get lost from time to time in the constant striving for economic growth that is the mark of the present. "No one today" said the editor, "would seriously support the Nineteenth Century assumption that progress is an inevitable process of human development." And this is a truth as much, if not more, for social and intellectual progress as for that of a material kind.

The Editor at the time was the new Head of the Department of Town and Country Planning, Professor J. S. Allen, and he continued to retain the editorial role until his retirement in 1963. Curiously his successor, appointed two years later, did not follow him in this and the Editorship passed through the hands of a number of members of the Planning Department staff. It would be disingenuous to pretend that as a publication *Planning Outlook* had achieved a history of glorious progress. Its performance in achieving its publication schedules was frequently ragged, and like many similar small circulation and marginal academic publications it bumped along on the verges of economic viability, and not always on the

right side. Nevertheless it provided a service in the dissemination of planning ideas. It achieved a worldwide circulation pattern and became in this way a magazine that, one suspects, was more consulted in libraries, as a source of specific reference, than as something to be taken home and read from cover to cover.

It is invidious, inevitably, but equally inevitable that any review of its history should select what seem some of the more interesting highlights, or milestones along its path. An early achievement was to persuade Sir George Pepler to contribute a short piece to the first issue of Volume 2 in 1950, on "A National Plan for England and Wales". At the time the magazine was surprisingly forward looking because the first five volumes after Volume 1 No. 1 contained synopses in German and Spanish, though not French. This continued until 1962, following which, after a dormant period, appeared Volume 6 in 1964. Up to this point the format had been that of four numbers to each volume, but for No. 6 there were only two, though the first of those two was a singular milestone, being devoted to a report by Arthur Blenkinsop, subsequently a noted north-east MP, on National Parks. This carried an introduction by Sir Keith Joseph, the then Minister of Housing and Local Government. For this number the synopses had been dropped.

A new series was launched in 1966, but again without this particular European touch. The magazine has always, not surprisingly, been predominantly a vehicle for the staff of the department and those with tangential interests in planning and landscape from other departments. It must be a matter of regret that it never published anything by the most distinguished planning author ever to have been a member of the University's academic community, Thomas Sharp.

The format of the magazine had been octavo, printed first by Andrew Reid in Newcastle, then by Oxford University Press, and then by the University's own press. The new series inaugurated in 1967 continued the same